Distribution Agreement

In presenting this thesis or dissertation as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for an advanced degree from Emory University, I hereby grant to Emory University and its agents the non-exclusive license to archive, make accessible, and display my thesis or dissertation in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter known, including display on the world wide web. I understand that I may select some access restrictions as part of the online submission of this thesis or dissertation. I retain all ownership rights to the copyright of the thesis or dissertation. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of this thesis or dissertation.

Signature:

_____ _____

Elizabeth Gardiner Lytle Date

Water, *Aemulatio*, and Legitimization: Republican and Augustan Fountains in the City of Rome

By

Elizabeth Gardiner Lytle
Doctor of Philosophy
Art History

_____

Eric R. Varner
Advisor

_____

Gay Robins
Committee Member

_____

Bonna D. Wescoat
Committee Member

Accepted:

_____

Lisa A. Tedesco, Ph.D.
Dean of the James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies

_____

Date

Water, *Aemulatio*, and Legitimization: Republican and Augustan Fountains in the City of Rome

By

Elizabeth Gardiner Lytle
B.A., Tulane University, 2002
M.A., The University of Texas at Austin, 2005

Advisor: Eric R. Varner, Ph.D.

An abstract of
A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in Art History
2015

Abstract

Water, *Aemulatio*, and Legitimization:
Republican and Augustan Fountains in the City of Rome

By Beth Gardiner Lytle

This dissertation examines expressions of political legitimacy through fountain construction in the center of Rome during the second and first centuries BC. My research reveals that victorious generals, from Aemilius Paullus to Augustus, intentionally employed the Roman practice of *aemulatio* in fountain design to visually celebrate supreme status earned through military conquest, political authority, and divine favor. Aemulatio, close emulation of an existing form with observable enhancements, is apparent in the design, location, and symbolism of five public water monuments located along triumphal routes in the Roman Forum and Imperial Fora. Modern scholarship, which frequently privileges Greek forms, has not yet fully considered Roman originality in the creation of Roman water monuments. This dissertation argues that the earliest known *lacūs* (pools) in the Roman Forum were once natural recessions in the archaic landscape, which republican Romans intentionally monumentalized as forms of commemoration of their heroic past. Generals, dictators, and emperors accessed the Roman tradition of aemulatio to memorialize existing pools as well as create original fountains to proclaim collective and individual glory. Affiliation with a public water monument that referenced archaic Roman topography, received a continuous supply of water, and required careful maintenance insured perpetual memory of a patron's accomplishments for generations past his own lifetime. Fountain construction, accessible to only the elite few, therefore survives as a paradigm of the power struggles that led to the formation of the Roman Empire.

Water, *Aemulatio*, and Legitimization: Republican and Augustan Fountains in the City of Rome

By

Elizabeth Gardiner Lytle
B.A., Tulane University, 2002
M.A., The University of Texas at Austin, 2005

Advisor: Eric R. Varner, Ph.D.

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in Art History
2015

For Nathan and Adrian

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The formulation, research, and composition of this dissertation are indebted to a number of institutions and individuals who provided financial, intellectual, and personal support. I am deeply grateful to Emory University and the James T. Laney Graduate School for continued support throughout my entire tenure at Emory University. In particular, I thank the Laney Graduate School for the Summer Funding Grant in 2006 that allowed me to participate in the American Academy in Rome Summer Archaeology Program. In addition, the Laney Graduate School funded a preliminary research trip to Rome in 2008 during which time I was able to identify which monuments were viable research subjects. I also thank the Art History Depatment of Emory University, which granted me the Ann Abrams Award in 2013. This award supported travel to Rome in 2013 when I conducted the bulk of my fieldwork.

Several institutions have been instrumental in my professional development that has informed my approach to the dissertation. Through participation in the American Academy in Rome Summer Archaeology Program in 2006, I gained first-hand experience that allowed me to properly study and analyze the large amount of archaeological data interwoven into this dissertation. I thank also the American School of Classical Studies for admission into the 2004 Summer Program in Turkey as well as the 2005 Summer Program in Greece. My interest in water first emerged during the program in Turkey where I was struck by the number of ancient and medieval sites that relied upon water and the great efforts taken to ensure consistent supply.

While conducting fieldwork in Rome, a number of individuals facilitated access to closed archaeological sites. Many thanks to Roberto Meneghini and the

SoprintendenzaSpeciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma (Fori Imperiali) who granted me access to the Forum of Caesar and the Forum of Augustus; Francesca Montella, Valentina Mastrodonato, and the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma (Anfiteatro Flavio) who allowed me to explore the area of the Meta Sudans; and Roberta Alteri and the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma (Foro Romano e Palatino) for granting me permission to study the Lacus Curtius and Lacus Iuturnae in the Forum Romanum as well as the statuary from the Lacus Iuturnae. I am particularly grateful to dott.ssa Alteri for our conversations concerning Roman fountain construction and her advice regarding archival access. Without the assistance of these individuals, I would not have been able to complete the fieldwork needed for a thorough assessment of the archaeological remains.

The members of my committee deserve a great deal of gratitude for their guidance, patience, and inspiration. I thank Prof. Bonna Wescoat for the many hours she spent speaking with me about this project and for her insightful questions and suggestions, particularly concerning archaeological matters. I extend my thanks to Prof. Gay Robins for her unfailing encouragement as well as her relentless focus on writing, which has greatly improved my style. I owe a tremendous thank you to my advisor, Prof. Eric Varner, who has been a reliable source of support. Through our countless discussions over the years and his steady advice, Prof. Varner has been instrumental in the completion of this dissertation.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to Prof. Penelope Davies and Prof. John R. Clarke, my first mentors. I owe the inception of my dissertation topic entirely to Prof. Davies who introduced me to the Appiades Fountain. She taught me to question

established norms in pursuit of new answers to old questions, an approach that fueled my interest throughout the dissertation process. Prof. Clarke taught me how to read, listen, think, and write critically, skills that have served me well both academically and in everyday life. Prof. Davies and Prof. Clarke prepared me for the challenge of writing a dissertation, and for that I am eternally grateful.

My colleagues and friends deserve special recognition for their advice and support through the years. I extend many thanks to Clare Fitzgerald, Susan Blevins, Jackie McCollum, and Jessica Gerschultz, who have been unbelievably reliable friends and colleagues and who continue to inspire me as years pass. I send a very special thanks to Liz Parks who never fails to offer the most precious type of support and advice.

My love and appreciation goes out to my family for their understanding and encouragement. My parents, Max and Paula Gardiner, have eased my strain by being remarkable grandparents. Thank you to Angie Bonilla, who has become an honorary family member. And most importantly, I thank my husband, Nathan Lytle, and my son, Adrian Lytle, for their patience and confidence in me. They make life exceptional.

CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

INTRODUCTION

Monumental republican and Augustan *lacūs* (water basins) and *fontis* (fountains) were once prominent symbolic topographical markers in the city of Rome.[1] Rooted in Roman history, religion, and tradition, monumental public basins were symbols of collective and individual glory and divine privilege. Modern scholars, however, continue to seek Greek models for Roman fountains.[2] Through thorough examination of excavation reports, many published only recently within the last thirty years, I offer an alternative interpretation of the Roman lacūs as purely Roman forms. Rather than using a Greek model as a starting point, this study allows the evidence to guide the analysis. Archaeological, geological, literary, religious, and historical evidence all pertain directly to Rome, and in particular, Roman origins. The establishment of a Roman model, therefore, widens interpretative possibilities for both republican and imperial fountains.

This dissertation analyzes five public monumental lacūs and fountains with surviving archaeological remains dating from the beginning of the second century to the end of the first century BC (fig. 1). The Lacus Curtius (184 BC) and the Lacus Iuturnae (164 BC) were monumentalized water basins in the Forum Romanum that collected rain- and floodwater. The Appiades Fountain (46 BC), Mars Ultor Fountain (2 BC), and Baetyl Fountain (7 BC), on the other hand, received artificial water supply from aqueduct lines. The presence of hydraulic feed lines yields the identification of the latter three monuments as fountains rather than lacūs. Although the Lacus Curtius and Lacus Iuturnae were both initially monumentalized as water basins, I group them with the Caesarian and Augustan fountains because the Lacūs served as architectural and

[1] *Lacus, -ūs,* m: water basin. *Fons, -tis*, m: fountain.
[2] Walker 1979; Walker 1987; Longfellow 2011.

symbolic models for the fountains. This dissertation does not presume to state that these five lacūs and fountains are representative of all monumental fountains built in Rome. However, architectural and symbolic continuities found throughout the group suggest the practice of monumentalizing or recreating lacūs was not limited to the remaining basins.

Literary evidence survives for additional lacūs and fountains in the city of Rome, such as the Delubrum Fountain (231 BC), Lacus Servilius (88-79 BC), and the Orpheus Fountain (7 BC).[3] This dissertation has intentionally omitted comprehensive analysis of any lacus or fons that lacks published archaeological data or in situ remains. As my research has demonstrated, reliance on literary sources rather than archaeological evidence has led to misdating, misidentification, and misinterpretation of all five of the lacūs and fountains presented in this dissertation. So as not to perpetuate this cycle, I rely first on excavation reports and first-hand inspection of each monument and incorporate literary and epigraphic evidence as supporting data.

Remains of a republican water basin and several imperial domestic fountains survive on the Palatine hill. However, this study omits these monuments also due to location and date. The water basin at the foot of the Temple of Magna Mater presents several parallels with the basins and fountains in this dissertation in terms of siting and architectural form, making it a good candidate for evaluation in an expansion of the current study.[4] Ultimately, I eliminated the Magna Mater basin due to the location on the Palatine hill. By interpreting a group of monuments located in low-lying, flood-prone areas, my dissertation has identified geological and topographical connections to the

[3] For the Delubrum Fons, see Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 53; Aronen 1995c; Richardson 1992, 153, 303; Ziolkowski 1992, 38. For the Lacus Servilius, see Richardson 1992, 323. For the Orpheus Fountain, see Rodriguez Almeida 1975-6, 275-278; Rodriguez Almeida 1983, 111-113; Richardson 1992, 231; Longfellow 2011, 21-23.
[4] Pensabene 1985; Pensabene 1996.

archaic landscape of Rome. The Magna Mater basin presents a separate set of questions due to the fact that it was not located along archaic creek beds and marshes. The imperial fountains on the Palatine are domestic and therefore not as readily applicable to a study of political competition and the struggles of defining one's legitimacy.

Excavation reports, coupled with corresponding literary evidence and historical analyses of each patron, reveal political motivations behind monumentalization or construction of water basins. My study investigates issues of patronage, nuanced modes of architectural competition, and *aemulatio* (competition through emulation) amongst the Roman elite by exploring the political rhetoric associated with republican and Augustan public fountains. In ancient Rome, aemulatio defined the practice of surpassing established forms of achievement through direct reference rather than strict imitation.[5] By accessing this tradition, I contend that patrons of public fountains conveyed their military and senatorial authority and supremacy by exceeding the accomplishments of their predecessors through both water supply and refinement of public architectural form.

Scholarship concerning the Roman practice of aemulatio focuses primarily on the media of sculpture and painting.[6] E. Perry, however, presents a new interpretation of aemulatio as applied to Roman architecture in her discussion of the renovations of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.[7] Throughout all three renovation phases of the Temple of Jupiter, Perry has found that the temple remained the same in plan but received upgrades in building materials and interior and exterior decorations,

[5] For discussions of *aemulatio* in sculpture, see Gazda 2002; Hölscher 2004; Perry 2005. For discussion of *aemulatio* in poetry, see Mader 1993.
[6] Gazda 2002; Hölscher 2004; Perry 2005.
[7] Perry 2012, Perry also analyzes renovations of the Hut of Romulus.

including expensive marble columns, gilded bronze roof tiles, and exact duplicates of the Sibylline books.[8]

During the 83 BC renovation of the Temple of Jupiter, overseen by L. Cornelius Sulla, certain choices served to promote Sulla's self-image. The marble columns transported from the Athenian Olympieion, for example, were symbols of Sulla's conquest of Athens, and by extension, of Rome's role as a world leader.[9] Although Seneca the Elder and Ovid reveal that not all Romans appreciated the 83 BC upgrades, the restoration overall was rather conservative.[10] Perry argues that the perception of accurate reproduction of the original temple form was a priority because repetition was an essential mechanism in the construction of sanctity.[11]

The same concept of repetition and sanctity also applies to monumental lacūs and fountains. Although fountains appear in architectural and archaeological surveys, they are often secondary in importance to larger, more conspicuous monuments, including temples, basilicas and baths.[12] Construction of such religious and civic buildings in Rome signified the political competition that existed throughout the Republic.[13] Monumental water basins also served as a form of competition with one's predecessors. Similar to temples, basilicas, and baths, the remaining monumental lacūs and fountains followed a

---

[8] 83 B.C., A.D. 69, and A.D. 80. Perry 2012, 177-195.
[9] Plin. *HN.* 36.45; Perry 2012, 179-181.
[10] Sen. *Con.* 2.1.1; Ovid, *Fast.* 1.201-203; Perry 2012, 176, 178.
[11] Perry 2012, 177. A similar phenomenon occurred at the Parthenon, see Haselberger et al. 2002, 188.
[12] Grossi 1936; Anderson 1984; MacDonald and Pinto 1995; Marlowe 2006. Olindo and Anderson mention the Appiades Fountain only in relation to the Temple of Venus Genetrix. MacDonald and Pinto provide extensive descriptions of the fountains in Hadrian's Villa, but treat them as accessories to the larger components of the villa, rather than analyzing the significance of the fountains as individual monuments. Marlowe uses the Meta Sudans to help frame her arguments concerning the construction and political significance of the Arch of Constantine.
[13] Orlin 2002.

basic architectural model of a rectilinear recessed basin located near a sacred area. While retaining a repeated model, patrons refined and enhanced architectural forms with each renovated basin or new fountain to convey a greater symbolic value than pre-existing hydraulic monuments. Patrons were therefore able to communicate specific messages, such as political legitimacy and generosity, to the public through fountain design.

Modern scholarship concerning ancient Roman fountains falls into three general categories: 1) catalogues of fountains; 2) studies on individual fountains; and 3) excavation reports. This dissertation is the first study to incorporate all three methods in the analysis of public republican and Augustan fountains. The first approach, which tends to investigate numerous fountains in the ancient world, groups them into broad, overarching typological categories, such as grottoes, nymphaea, watering troughs, and fountain houses.[14] N. Neuerburg's seminal catalogue raisonné of ancient fountains in Italy is the first collection of many known fountains in the Mediterranean, yet it does not address political or social contexts.[15] D. Berg's dissertation on aquatic displays in the classical world concentrates on the architecture and design of each individual monument, but does not address political significance.[16]

The second avenue of study concentrates on one particular fountain, such as R. Ulrich's article on the Appiades Fountain, and E. Marlowe's essay on the Meta Sudans.[17] Studies such as those of Ulrich and Marlowe include extensive commentary of archaeological remains and architectural reconstructions, yet provide minimal discussion of the social context. Although the patron's identity and historical circumstances are

[14] Neuerburg 1965; Berg 1994; Glaser 2000; Longfellow 2011.
[15] Neuerburg 1965.
[16] Berg 1994, Berg addresses the Lacus Iuturnae.
[17] Ulrich 1986a; Marlowe 2004.

relevant to this type of scholarship, questions of social use and political control are often secondary or omitted completely.

Finally, published excavation reports are available for all five water basins included in this dissertation.[18] These field reports provide a basis for understanding the architectural structure, topographical location, and hydraulic function of each fountain. However, this project moves beyond presentation of archaeological evidence in order to interpret the use and function of the five fountains included in this dissertation. Although numerous scholarly publications concerning ancient Roman fountains excel in utilizing one or two methodologies, my study aims to provide a new, interdisciplinary approach towards the interpretation of ancient fountains as means of political competition within the city of Rome.

The dissertation is comprised of four chapters and roughly follows a chronological order to properly track changes in form and symbolism through time. By doing so, I allow the reader, equipped with relevant data, to follow the progression of aemulatio incorporated into each monument. The patron plays a critical role in the analysis of aemulatio, as seen in both renovations and new construction. Therefore, each chapter incorporates historical evidence pertaining to each patron's military and political career. This study provides in-depth discussions of motivations affiliated with republican and Augustan patrons.

Although each of the five monuments in this study underwent renovations during the imperial period, I have intentionally omitted corresponding interpretations. Once the Empire had been firmly established by the death of Augustus in AD 14, public

[18] Lacus Curtius: Giuliani and Verduchi 1987. Lacus Iuturnae: Steinby 1989b; Steinby 2012. Appiades Fountain: Ulrich 1986a; Amici 1991. Mars Ultor Fountain: Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2010. Meta Sudans: Panella et al. 2014 with previous bibliography.

construction was the prerogative of the imperial family.[19] I am more interested rather in the competition that helped shift the political structure of Rome from a republic to an empire. In order to aid modern understanding of imperial practices, I offer evidence and interpretation of the republican monuments that served as the imperial foundations.

Chapter One presents the Lacus Curtius (184 BC), the oldest known lacus with surviving archaeological remains. Although the patron of Phase I is unknown, the Lacus Curtius nevertheless appears first in this dissertation in order to provide a base model for the remaining four monuments. Utilizing archaeological, geological, and literary means of dating pertaining directly to the Lacus Curtius, Chapter One investigates the objective of monumentalizing a natural recessed space in the Roman Forum with a waterproof basin. Political interpretation is possible for the second phase of the Lacus Curtius (78 BC) because the identity of the patron, L. Cornelius Sulla, is known. This chapter explores connections between Sulla's military and political career and his divine affiliations to consider a possible evocation of legitimacy through his involvement at the Lacus Curtius.

The Lacus Iuturnae (164 BC) is the focus of Chapter Two. As a second monumentalized recessed space within the Forum valley, the Lacus Iuturnae presents architectural and archaeological parallels with the Lacus Curtius. Close readings of literary sources also reveal similar origin myths as provided for the Lacus Curtius by ancient authors, suggesting yet again correlations between the two monuments. Analysis of the first patron, L. Aemilius Paullus, contributes to our understanding of divine patronage for victorious military generals, a theme that continues throughout the dissertation.

---

[19] Longfellow 2011 provides analysis of imperial fountain construction in the city of Rome.

Chapter Three explores issues surrounding simulated lacūs. The two water basins of the Appiades Fountain (46 BC) in the Forum Iulium follow many of the same patterns embedded in the Lacus Curtius and Lacus Iuturnae in the adjacent Forum Romanum, such as the rectilinear form and proximity to a sacred area. However, the Appiades Fountain does not appear to monumentalize a natural recession in the topography, but rather is entirely man-made with buried hydraulic feed lines. By taking into account the military and political career of the patron, C. Julius Caesar, as well as his claims of divine ancestry, Chapter Three offers explanations as to why the dictator would choose to emulate the historic natural lacūs in the Roman Forum while visibly altering the conventional use of a single basin.

The final chapter of this dissertation examines two monumental fountains constructed by Augustus, the Mars Ultor Fountain (2 BC) and the so-called Meta Sudans (7 BC). The first part of Chapter Four is concerned with formal architectural quotations and promotion of legitimacy through divine and historic connections. Erasure of pre-existing structures in the Forum of Augustus also informs my interpretations of the emperor's quest to construct a new history based on his role as the new Romulus. In Part II of the chapter, the so-called Meta Sudans, which I have renamed the Baetyl Fountain, raises questions of historicity in choice of location, form, and symbolic divine patronage. I argue that Augustus incorporated design elements and symbolic values from each of the pre-existing basins and fountains to create the most evocative monument of legitimacy to date.

I present the two Augustan fountains anachronistically for several reasons. First, the Mars Ultor Fountain is closely aligned with the Appiades Fountain in form and

placement, and therefore is best understood immediately following discussion of Caesar's fountain. Second, the Forum of Augustus in which the Mars Ultor Fountain stands was already under construction in 7 BC, indicating that the design had been set prior to the construction of the Baetyl Fountain. Third, I view the Baetyl Fountain as the symbolic culmination of Augustus' ascendency to supreme authority in Rome. As the final water monument in this study, the Baetyl Fountain therefore also represents the culmination of republican competition that led to the formation of the principate.

Several works of scholarship have influenced the structure of the dissertation as well as my approach to research questions. B. Longfellow's 2011 book, *Roman Imperialism and Civic Patronage*, has provided an indispensible model for analyzing public fountains through the lens of patronage. Her study, which begins with the Flavian Meta Sudans (AD 80), explores imperial monumental fountains and nymphaea both in Rome and in the provinces. Longfellow's interpretation of private patrons and their motivations for constructing monumental fountains in the provinces set a model for my own interpretations of republican patrons. Although provincial imperial incentives were quite different due to cultural and political factors, the desire for recognition and political advancement were the foundations of self-promotion in both the republican and imperial periods.

D. Favro's book, *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome*, influences how I connect republican lacūs and fountains through the Roman use of visual memory.[20] Favro traces the way in which changes in the traditional political structure during the late Republic prompted new attitudes towards personal and state images as well as ideas about patronage. Her approach is to read the environment experientially because Romans,

[20] Favro 1996.

especially those educated in rhetoric, were predisposed to look for an underlying, coherent narrative in built environments. J. R. Clarke, B. Bergmann, and W. MacDonald, who are also engaged in experiential research, provide precedents for including the viewer in my interpretations of each lacus and fountain.[21]

Death and the Emperor, a study of Roman imperial monuments from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius, by P. Davies provides a framework model for the dissertation. Although the book is structured thematically, Davies nevertheless follows a chronological progression of her discussions, which allows each chapter to build upon the previous. In addition, the author analyzes the funerary monuments as a group or genre with perceived commonalities. Davies offers new interpretations of well-known monuments as conspicuous celebrations of individual military victories, dynastic succession, and imperial fertility and prosperity, themes that gain relevance in republican and Augustan lacūs and fountains. In addition, Davies devotes attention to topographical placement of each funerary monument, which reinforced dynastic correlations between rulers. Similarly, I emphasize the importance of siting, both in terms of geology and topography, to argue that the water monuments were in close dialogue with one another.

Perhaps most importantly, Davies moves beyond the dominant scholarly view of the imperial funerary monuments as highly adorned receptacles for the deceased rulers. She suggests that scholars consider the monuments presented in her book as conspicuous accession monuments. From the inception of this dissertation, I have followed the model of considering that the lacūs and fountains may have been more than simply utilitarian water basins. By questioning preconceived interpretations and incorporating geological, historical, literary, and religious evidence into my archaeological study, I have discovered

[21] Clarke 1991; Bergmann 1994; MacDonald 1986.

that republican and Augustan water monuments were prominent landmarks that symbolized legitimacy of military power and political supremacy.

CHAPTER ONE

THE LACUS CURTIUS: A CELEBRATION OF THE HEROIC MARSH

Standing at the lowest point of elevation in the center of the Forum Romanum, the polygonal precinct of the Lacus Curtius defied traditional Roman architectural principles of order and balance (fig. 2). All six sides of the precinct perimeter were unequal in length, and the *puteal* (wellhead) once stood asymmetrically at the eastern end of the enclosure. Such architectural anomalies found in the Lacus Curtius reveal and reinforce the antiquity of the site and sanctity of the topography. Although commonly considered a natural spring gone dry, I propose a different interpretation of the 184 BC monumentalization of the Lacus Curtius.[22] I argue that the Lacus, built of tufa, peperino and cappellaccio, preserved the memory of an archaic marsh that later transformed into a natural basin of groundwater seepage and rainwater run-off following the monumental filling of the Forum basin in the seventh to sixth centuries BC. Analysis of the renovations in 78-74 BC reveals Roman reverence for perceived histories and imminent forces of nature. *Aemulatio*, emulation through enhancement, played a crucial role in this renovation by ensuring continuity of both memory and ritual associated with the site.

Furthermore, this chapter will provide a basis for the argument that the Lacus Curtius served as a model for subsequent water basins and constructed fountains built in Rome throughout the republican period. While overseeing the renovation of the Lacus Curtius prior to his death in 78 BC, Sulla utilized literary etymologies glorifying military heroism to underscore his own achievements in battle.[23] Using the Lacus Iuturnae,

[22] Tomassetti 1904; Hülsen 1906, 15-18; Platner and Ashby 1929, 310-11.
[23] Varro, *Ling.* 5.148-150.

Appiades Fountain, Mars Ultor Fountain, and Augustan Meta Sudans as additional case studies in later chapters, I will demonstrate that these complex monuments not only highlighted the sanctity of water but also glorified their patron's military valor, deftly shifting the emphasis from collective to individual glory.

The Romans venerated the Lacus Curtius as the site of a miraculous event, of which three versions exist. Calpurnius Piso, the annalist and consul of 133 BC, offered the most ancient history of the Lacus Curtius by reporting that during the eighth century BC war between Romulus and Titus Tatius, a Sabine leader named Mettius Curtius rode his horse into a swamp at the location of the Lacus, thereby escaping the pursuit of his Roman enemies.[24] According to the second version by Q. Lutatius Catulus, consul of 102 BC, and an unidentified Cornelius, the Lacus marks a spot where lightning struck in 445 BC.[25] The consul C. Curtius promptly fenced off the location and marked it with a puteal. The third and most retold version, reported by Procillus, possibly the tribunus plebes of 56 BC, explains that a chasm opened at the location of the Lacus in 362 BC.[26] Soothsayers announced that the Romans could close the chasm by offering the *quo plurimum populus Romanus posset* (most capable of the Roman people).[27] Marcus Curtius, a young patrician, armed himself and rode his horse into the chasm, which closed after his self-sacrifice. The values of *virtus* (courage) and *pietas* (piety) were deeply embedded into the history of the monument, which proved to be appealing themes in Sulla's appropriation of the Lacus.

Previous Scholarship

[24] Varro, *Ling*. 5.149; Livy 1.12.9-10 and 13.5; Dion. Hal. 2.42.5-6; Plutarch, *Rom*. 18.4.
[25] Varro, *Ling.* 5.510.
[26] Varro, *Ling.* 5.148; Livy 7.6.1-6; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 14.11.3-4; Val. Max. 5.6.2; Plin. *HN* 15.78; Cass. Dio fr. 30.1-2; Paul. Fest. 42L; Zonar. 7.25; Oros. 3.5.
[27] Liv. *Ab Urbe Condita* 7.6.1-6.

As a well-known monument in the Roman Forum, the Lacus Curtius appears in a number of scholarly works that address Roman archaeology and architecture, fountain studies, literary analyses, political histories, and religious studies.[28] However, as C. F. Giuliani astutely reminds his reader, no scholarly studies of the Lacus Curtius reach beyond general description, despite the Lacus being one of the oldest monuments in the Forum.[29] The original 1904-1906 excavation reports of Italian archaeologist G. Boni remain unpublished, and Giuliani is the first scholar to conduct a thorough review and analysis of the archaeological remains.[30] The work of Giuliani is essential to our understanding of the dates of building phases, types of materials used, and structure and design of the monument. His interpretation of the Lacus, however, is limited to the discrepancy between literary and archaeological dates. Literary analyses of the etymologies of the monument by A. Åkerström, J. Pouchet, and A. La Regina offer insight concerning Roman perceived histories, but they do not systematically study the architectural forms of the Lacus. Likewise, political and religious studies, particularly by E. Ramage, C. Mackay, and S. Dusanic and Z. Petkovic, focus on the career of L. Cornelius Sulla and origins of the *Consualia,* and consequently use the Lacus Curtius as

---

[28] Archaeology and architecture: Åkerström 1932; Ashby 1904; Blake 1947; Boni 1903-07; Coarelli 1985a; van Deman 1922; Dennison 1908; Frank 1924; Giuliani 1996b; Giuliani and Verduchi 1987; Gjerstad 1953; Hülsen 1906; Lugli 1946; Nash 1968; Richardson 1992; Tomassetti 1904.
Fountain studies: Berg 1994; Longfellow 2011; Richard 2012.
Literary analyses: Åkerström 1932; Pouchet 1967; La Regina 1995.
Political histories: Badian 1976; Frier 1971; Gisborne 2005; Keaveney 1983; Mackay 2000; Ramage 1991.
Religious studies: Dusanic and Petkovic 2002.

[29] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 105. For previous studies that address the Lacus Curtius, see Boni 1903-07; Ashby 1904; Tomassetti 1904; Hülsen 1906; Dennison 1908; van Deman 1922; Frank 1924; Åkerström 1932; Lugli 1946; Gjerstad 1953; Nash 1968; Richardson 1992; La Regina 1995; Giuliani 1996b; Dusanic and Petkovic 2002.

[30] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 104-114.

supporting evidence for their political- and religious-driven arguments.[31] B. Longfellow explores issues of patronage in imperial fountains both in Rome and in the provinces in her 2011 book entitled *Roman Imperialism and Civic Patronage: Form, Meaning, and Ideology in Monumental Fountain Complexes*.[32] As background for her analysis of later *nymphaea,* Longfellow provides a brief history of republican water features, yet omits the Lacus Curtius. Indeed, the monument has a history of being overlooked in scholarship.

Rather than use the Lacus Curtius as support for a literary, historical, or religious argument, this chapter will elevate the Lacus to the forefront and provide a thorough report of the archaeological remains and architectural reconstruction. Literary, historical, and religious interpretations serve as supporting evidence in the analysis of the design, function, and appropriation of the monument. By doing so, this chapter offers an unexplored approach to the Lacus Curtius, and provides a valuable interpretation of the histories and values embedded within the monument itself.

History of Excavation

On April 13, 1904, the Italian archaeologist G. Boni opened the first excavation of the Lacus Curtius. He commenced explorations in the area of the so-called Equus Domitiani, searching for the location of the Lacus based on literary descriptions.[33] On February 9, 1906, excavators discovered the first piece of evidence from the Lacus Curtius, a plinth that once belonged to the marble border of the monument. During the 1906 season, Boni's findings revealed two primary phases of construction, the second of which decreased the size of the enclosed area of the Lacus. Boni unfortunately never

[31] For Sulla, see Mackay 2000; Ramage 1991. For the *Consualia*, see Dusanic and Petkovic 2002.
[32] Longfellow 2011.
[33] Plaut. *Curc*. 477; Livy 7.6.1 ff; Dion. Hal. 2.242; Plin. *HN*. 15.78-80; Stat. *Silv.* 1.66 ff; Suet. *Aug.* 57; Suet. *Galba* 20; Tac. *Hist.* 1.41; Plut. *Galb.* 27; Dio Cass. 64.6.

published a full report of his findings, but his excavation reports are now housed in the Santa Maria Nova al Palatino site of the Archivio della Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma. In her biography of the Italian archaeologist, E. Tea compiled archived letters that Boni had written throughout his life.[34] As Tea attempts to document the life, family, and achievements of the lauded Boni, his printed letters provide much insight into the archaeologist's reactions regarding his discoveries.[35] However, the details of Boni's excavation reports are practically non-existent in Tea's study.

G. Tomassetti, a member of Boni's archaeological team, published a brief review of the 1904 discovery in the *Bulletino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*.[36] Although Tomassetti focuses heavily on the literary accounts concerning the Lacus Curtius, he nonetheless provides the first published account of the actual state of the monument at the time of its discovery. According to Tomassetti, Boni's team had found a trapezoidal area of 10.16 x 8.95 m with a beveled angle and a curvilinear side, mostly encircled by a border of travertine, similar to what the team found at the Lapis Niger, suggesting the two monuments corresponded to one another in some manner (fig. 3).[37] Boni observed that the unusual orientation of the perimeter does not seem to be arbitrary. The north and west sides correspond to the direction of the Curia and the area of the Vulcanal, while the other two sides correspond to the orientation of the Basilica Julia and the west side of the Regia, allowing the monumental area of the Lacus Curtius

[34] Tea 1932.
[35] Tea 1932, 176-8 for correspondence regarding the Lacus Curtius.
[36] Tomassetti 1904, 181-187.
[37] Tomassetti 1904, 186.

to be reduced to a nucleus reproducing the lines of the entire Forum in smaller proportions.[38]

Boni was intrigued by the question of the ancient chasm, which led him to begin an exploration along the west side of the Lacus. He found a travertine border of a *cuniculus* (underground tunnel) that follows the orientation of the west side of the Lacus, which in turn, perhaps corresponds to the course of the pre-Roman Cloaca Maxima, unknown at least to Livy and Varro. Tomasetti suggests that if this cloaca rested on the flood plain, it is probable that the orientation of the west side of the Lacus, the travertine pavement, and the lowest layer of tufa represent the geological orientation of an archaic fissure.[39] The travertine floor is interrupted across the eastern extremity by a large round tufa altar (0.71 m in diameter), which is surrounded by a dodecagonal enclosure or cornice (3.50 m in diameter) of cut tufa, which presents a ritual orientation. At this point, traces of the altar base that remained further to the west are visible, which existed prior to the 46 BC gladiatorial games of Caesar.[40] Other traces of four square altars or bases (0.90 x 0.80 m) are visible in the cuttings in the travertine on the west side. Tomassetti recalls the remark by Ovid that *Curtius ille Lacus, siccas qui sustinet aras, nunc solida est tellus, sed Lacus ante fuit* (The Lake of Curtius, which supports dry altars, is now solid ground, but formerly it was a lake).[41] Through a literal reading of Ovid, Tomasetti considers this particular passage to be evidence that the Lacus was dry by the reign of Augustus.

More than forty years following Boni's discovery of the Lacus Curtius, the Swedish archaeologist E. Gjerstad conducted his own explorations in the area southwest

[38] Tomassetti 1904, 186.
[39] Tomassetti 1904, 186.
[40] Tomassetti 1904, 186.
[41] Tomassetti 1904, 186; Ov. *Fast.* 6.403-4.

of the so-called Equus Domitiani between October 17 and November 19, 1949.[42] Gjerstad excavated a rectangular area 5.90 m by 3.40 m, and published his findings in the first volume of *Early Rome*.[43] Following completion of Gjerstad's excavation and stratigraphic analysis, G. Carettoni and A. Davico discovered a sectional drawing by Boni in the archive of the Direzione Scavi del Palatino e Foro Romano.[44] The stratifications presented by Boni and Gjersad are remarkably similar with only a few minor variations in interpretation.[45]

Gjerstad provides a detailed chronology of republican activity in the Forum valley southwest of the Equus Domitiani in the vicinity of the Lacus Curtius.[46] This chronology aids in our current understanding of the development of the Lacus Curtius, prior to Phase I of monumental construction (c. 184 BC) and beyond. Gjerstad bases his chronology primarily on Boni's stratigraphical excavations and analyses in the area of the Comitium, finding striking similarities in floor elevations between the two areas of the Forum. In addition, the Swedish archaeologist relies on evidence from potsherds in different strata

---

[42] Gjerstad 1953, 22-82.
[43] Gjerstad 1953, 122-182.
[44] Gjerstad 1953, 29-43.
[45] Gjerstad 1953, 33, figs. 8-11. According to Gjerstad, Strata 1-19 contained six pavements with earth filling layers between pavements. Gjerstad hypothesizes that all pavements were once paved with slabs, although he found only the topmost travertine pavement from the seventh pavement (Gjerstad I, 43). Strata 20-22 in Gjerstad's analysis presents a floor comprised of a compact bed of pebbles, which allowed surface water to seep through (Gjerstad I, 43-44). According to Gjerstad, Strata 23-28 contained evidence of hut holes for wooden poles (fig. 23), cooking-stands (fig. 26), spools (fig. 24), spindle-whorls of terracotta (fig. 25), carbonized grains of Emmer, Eincorn, and Barley (figs. 44-46), carbonized specimens of Horsebeans (fig. 147), and animal bone fragments (Gjerstad I, 43-49). The Swedish archaeologist presented these findings as evidence for primitive hut construction in the Forum valley (Gjerstad I, 43). In Stratum 29, Gjerstad found three human skeletons: one adult male, one female, and one child (Gjerstad I 49-50, figs. 29-30). Gjerstad suggests the burials represent those of punished persons, perhaps even a Vestal virgin, her lover, and their child. The bodies display no sign of violence, and the graves contain no burial objects, suggesting they may have been buried alive. In addition, the placement of the male's hands on his shoulders, as if they were bound, and the displacement of the female's clavicle and brachial bones are rather unusual (Gjerstad I, 50).
[46] Gjerstad 1953, 72-82.

as well as previously dated floor levels in various places of the Forum Romanum. Gjerstad argues for a date of 575 BC for the first pebble floor laid immediately upon what he believes to be the last demolished archaic huts.[47] The first pavement visible in Gjerstad's strata dates to 450 BC, indicating human activity in the area three centuries prior to the 184 BC construction of the Lacus Curtius.

More than thirty years passed between Gjerstad's *Early Rome* and *L'Area Centrale del Foro Romano*, co-authored by C. F. Giuliani and P. Verduchi in 1987.[48] Giuliani's entry on the Lacus Curtius provides an overview of Boni's original excavation as well as new considerations resulting from his own explorations of the monument. As the most detailed archaeological report published to date, Giuliani's analysis of the remains provides the foundation for my interpretations of the Lacus Curtius.

Archaeological Evidence

The Lacus is located in the central area of the paved Forum Romanum, north of the Tabernae Veteres (later Basilica Iulia); west of the Temple of Vesta; southwest of the Shrine to Venus Cloacina, Tabernae Novae, and Basilica Aemilia; southeast of the Rostra and Comitium; and northeast of the Temple of Saturn. The monument stood approximately 10 m above sea level in Phase I (c. 184 BC) and 11.75-12.50 m above sea level in Phase II (c. 78-74 BC). In addition to the two republican era phases, repavings of the Forum floor as well as alterations to the precinct parapet are evident in 12 BC and c. AD 203. Phase I construction consisted of capellaccio, tufa, peperino, and cocciopesto. The materials found in Phase II are travertine, capellaccio, and peperino.

Phase I (c. 184 BC)

[47] Gjerstad 1953, 73-75.
[48] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 104-116.

Remains from the first phase of the Lacus Curtius reveal an irregular polygonal structure, measuring approximately 15.40 m on the east-west orientation and 10.20 m on the north-south orientation, which are the two greatest lengths of the precinct (fig. 4). The perimeter measures approximately 14 x 3.70 x 11.20 x 4.90 x 7.20 m. Tufa blocks form the border of the foundation, which consists of capellaccio blocks fitting awkwardly together with little attention to the joints.[49] On top of the foundation stands a layer of tufa blocks with very careful joints, aligned with the curved rather than the rectilinear side to the south.[50] A border of peperino blocks stretches out underneath the tufa foundation to create the boundaries of the precinct.[51]

Chiseled circular imprints in the tufa indicate presence of a puteal, which Giuliani reconstructs to 3.54 m in diameter based on the outline.[52] The puteal originally stood in the southern half of the precinct across from two, if not three, trapezoidal *cippi*, or altars.[53] Two imprints survive, and Giuliani reconstructs a third in the design based on the symmetry commonly observed in Roman monuments.[54] The imprint of the trapezoidal *cippus* B is delineated by a chiseled groove measuring 0.22 m in the center and 0.08 m deep.[55] Imprint C is more regular in form than imprint B, which reflects a diverse system of construction, perhaps indicating a different function from the neighboring cippus. Giuliani's reconstructed imprint D mirrors the form of cippus B on the opposite side of

---

[49] van Deman 1922, 8; Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 104-5.
[50] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 107.
[51] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 107.
[52] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 108, fig. 139, A.
[53] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 108.
[54] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 108, fig. 138, B, C, and D. Giuliani states that his reconstruction of a third cippi is merely a suggestion given the lack of archaeological evidence. The travertine level of Phase II hampers the verification of a third imprint.
[55] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 108, fig. 138. Guiliani speculates that the original depth was closer to 0.10 m, which is consistent with the groove of the orthostates in the center.

cippus C. The western edges of imprints B and C do not lie along a straight line projected from cippus C. Instead, the reversal of symmetry reveals a concave projection from the southernmost tip of cippus B to the northernmost point of reconstructed cippus D.[56] The three cippi are integrated with the design of the puteal, which stands in direct contact with imprint C. Giuliani suggests that imprint C may have been the forepart of the puteal, which was perhaps conceived in Phase I as a round *sacellum* (small shrine) similar to that of Venus Cloacina.[57]

Traces of hydraulic *cocciopesto*, lime mortar with crushed pottery, are visible on the east side on a margin of peperino as well as on the north side on a tufa pavement slab. Although cocciopesto is not found elsewhere on Phase I materials, Giuliani reasonably reconstructs the hydraulic coating across the entire pavement of the Lacus Curtius.[58] Unknown prior to Giuliani's discovery, the cocciopesto supports my suggestion that the Lacus contained water in Phase I or, at the very least, was impermeable. Ovid informs us that the Lacus Curtius was formerly a lake, although the ground was dry during his lifetime.[59] The evidence of cocciopesto is an important element in my argument that the monumentalized Lacus Curtius recreates a natural archaic marsh that collected seepage of groundwater and run off of rain- and floodwater prior to the pavement of the Forum floor.

Phase II (c. 78-74 BC)

Giuliani dates Phase II to c. 78-74 BC, in conjunction with the Sullan repaving of the Forum (fig. 5). During this integral restructuring of the precinct, the surface area was

[56] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 108, fig. 140.
[57] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 108. This is a suggestion, for Giuliani is unable to prove this claim due to lack of archaeological evidence.
[58] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 108, fig. 138, 141.
[59] Ov. *Fast.* 6.403-404.

reduced on all sides with the greatest reduction occurring at the southern extremity.[60] The new pavement consisted of travertine slabs, varying between 0.56 and 0.93 m in length and 0.26 to 0.27 m in depth, set in parallel courses that raised the floor of the precinct to match that of the new puteal.[61] The pavement of Phase II did not simply replace the older tufa floor of Phase I, but restructured the entire Lacus to utilize a large slope, presumably for drainage purposes. The largest gradient occurs on the northwest side where it reaches 3.96%, while the lowest value occurs on the southern side at 0.63%. Giuliani convincingly argues that this reorganization of the Lacus floor was either to efficiently dispose water or to avoid stagnation of standing water.[62]

Evidence of at least two cippi remain in the travertine pavement, although Tomassetti mentions traces of four square altars or bases 0.90 x 0.90 m, which were visible on the east side of the precinct during Boni's initial excavations.[63] Hülsen likewise reconstructs four altars in his review of the excavations.[64] Despite a lack of definitive present-day archaeological evidence or original data from the 1904-1906 excavations, Giuliani argues that the claims of Tomassetti and Hülsen for four bases in Phase II are justifiable.[65] Two chisled imprints remain today in the northwestern section of the precinct, 1.60 m from the puteal.[66] The northernmost squared imprint, D, is conserved on all four sides with a depth of 0.15 m. Imprint C, measuring 0.18-0.20 m in depth, is conserved on only two sides, but a square reconstruction is possible due to the surviving

[60] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 108, fig. 140.
[61] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 108.
[62] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 108.
[63] Tomassetti 1904, 106.
[64] Hülsen 1906, fig. 72.
[65] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 110.
[66] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, fig. 142, C and D.

evidence.[67] A diagonal cut near the southern border of the Lacus, which has no precedent in Phase I, suggests the existence of another altar or base.[68] This fourth possible base stands at a distance that would allow reconstruction for an equally square base between itself and imprint C. Using this reconstruction, a scheme repetition of the older phase appears, but with one additional cippus, all of which are separate from the puteal and placed on the same straight line.[69]

The raised border decreased in length in Phase II, thereby creating a smaller precinct for the Lacus.[70] A low parapet once enclosed the Lacus, providing a barrier between the precinct and the Forum outside. A set of orthostates, found in the northwest corner of the cornice, closely resemble those found in the parapet of the Lapis Niger.[71] A portion of the parapet, measuring 7-8 cm in height and 10 cm in length, is still visible on the upper facing of the cornice.[72] Along the west side, a small channel is cut into the cornice, leading directly to an adjacent pozzo.[73] This channel allowed water to drain into the subterranean galleries beneath the Forum floor. Although no such channel exists in the archaeological record near the pozzo east of the Lacus, it is likely that the decrease in gradient from north to south in Phase II assisted in drainage on both sides of the precinct.

A relief depicting Mettius Curtius once adorned the monument, most likely set in the parapet.[74] The relief, discovered in 1553 and now in the Museo Capitolino Nuovo,

---

[67] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 110.
[68] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 110, fig. 138, E.
[69] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, fig. 140.
[70] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, fig. 140.
[71] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 110, figs. 146-147.
[72] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 112.
[73] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 110, fig. 144.
[74] Palazzo dei Conservatori, Inv. No. 826, marble, fourth century A.D. See Hülsen 1906, 140; Ashby 1904, 330; Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 115, fig. 158. The relief was found between the Column of Phocas and the Temple of Castor.

depicts the Sabine Mettius Curtius, fully armed, wielding a shield in his left hand and a spear in his right. Curtius appears from the right side of the relief riding his horse into a marshy area on the left, which is represented by three tall reeds growing from the ground. The relief is dated to the fourth century AD, but Hülsen argues that it is most likely a version of a late republican original, based on the inscription of the praetor peregrinus L. Naevius Surdinus that appears on the back of the relief: L NAEVIVUS LF SVRDINVS/PR/INTER CIVIS ET PEREGRINOS.[75]

The puteal was moved during Phase II, standing two meters further to the southeast, directly upon the old tufa pavement.[76] In addition, the diameter of the puteal increased from 3.54 m in Phase I to 3.90 m in Phase II, perhaps indicating a heightened functionality of the component. The puteal is composed of peperino, a stone quarried from the surrounding hills, with a cappellaccio core.[77] The peperino base is dodecagonal in form with each of the twelve sides varying in length from 0.52 m to 1.14 m.[78] As an improvement in design from Phase I, the peperino blocks of the dodecagonal border and the cappellaccio blocks of the tondo base were cut to accommodate the circular form, whereas the blocks from the first phase remained rectilinear.[79]

Tomassetti, Hülsen, and De Ruggiero suggest that this puteal was the altar that Caesar ordered removed in order to clear a space for his last set of gladiatorial games held in the Forum in conjunction with his 46 BC triumph over Gaul, Egypt, Pontus and Africa.[80] Giuliani, however, argues that the clearing of the puteal for Caesar's gladiatorial

---

[75] Hülsen 1906, 140; Ashby 1904, 330; *CIL* 6.1468 = 31662; Coarelli 1985a Vol. I, fig. 40.
[76] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 109.
[77] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 110.
[78] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 110.
[79] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 110, fig. 142.
[80] Tomassetti 1904, 186; Hülsen 1906, 140; De Ruggiero 1913, 243, note 2; Plin. *HN* 15.78.

games is unlikely because it stood 1.60 m inside the precinct enclosure, which itself was not disturbed.[81] In addition, Giuliani found no alteration in the archaeological record between 74 BC and 12 BC, indicating that the puteal survived the games of 46 BC.[82] Caesar's quadruple triumph was a spectacle to behold, beginning with the triumphal processions that led from the Campus Martius through the Circus Flaminius, Velabrum, Via Sacra, and Forum before culminating at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus where Caesar sacrificed white bulls and placed a laurel wreath in the lap of Jupiter's statue.[83] Following each triumph, Caesar orchestrated massive public banquets, gladiatorial combats, theatrical performances, and mock naval battles with superior ingenuity than seen in previous military triumphs.[84] A complex system of awnings covered the entire the Forum, from Caesar's house near the Via Sacra to the slopes of the Capitoline, to provide shade for triumphal participants and spectators alike.[85] The precinct of the Lacus Curtius, including the puteal, survived this extensive reorganization precisely because of the antiquity associated with the monument.

This Lacus, standing in the middle of the Forum Romanum, therefore presented layers of memory and significance to the viewer. As each of the three surviving literary legends inform us, the Lacus Curtius represented deep connections to Rome's founder, Romulus; symbolized courage, one of the most revered *mores* (values) in Roman society; and demonstrated piety towards the gods.[86] It is not surprising, therefore, that Caesar

---

[81] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 110.
[82] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 110.
[83] Meier 1982, 442-444.
[84] Meier 1982, 444-445.
[85] Meier 1982, 444-445.
[86] For the Battle between Romulus and the Sabines, see Varro, *Ling*. 5.149; Livy 1.12.9-10 and 13.5; Dion. Hal. 2.42.5-6; Plut. *Vit. Rom*. 18.4. For M. Curtius riding into the chasm, see Varro, *Ling.* 5.148; Livy 7.6.1-6; Dion. Hal. 14.11.3-4; Val. Max. 5.6.2; Plin. *HN* 15.78; Cass. Dio fr.

chose to leave the Lacus Curtius in place. As the Lacus occupied the same space as his triumphal processions and spectacles, spectators and passers-by had numerous opportunities to reflect upon the similarities between the triumphant Caesar and the national heroes celebrated in this monument.

The Monument: The Marsh Preserved

The Lacus Curtius is a monument unique in many ways. The location, founding dates ascribed in literary and archaeological records, trapezoidal form, and connection with multiple deities and mythical/historical figures indicate a prominent position held in Roman memory and ritual. Based on archaeological evidence, 184 BC is the securest date for Phase I. Prior to this date, only a small number of monuments stood in the vicinity, including the Lapis Niger (eighth century BC),[87] Shrine of Venus Cloacina (eighth century BC, monumentalization prior to 178 BC),[88] Temple of Vesta (reign of Numa, 715-673 BC), [89] Regia (reign of Numa, 715-673 BC),[90] Curia Hostilia (reign of Tullus Hostilius, 673-642 BC),[91] Temple of Saturn (c. 501-493 BC),[92] Temple of Castor and Pollux (484 BC),[93] Rostra (prior to 338 BC),[94] Comitium (in use as early as eighth

---

30.1-2; Festus 42L; Zonar. 7.25; Oros. 3.5. For C. Curtius who placed the puteal in a spot struck by lightning, see Varro, *Ling.* 5.510.

[87] Hor. *Epod.* 16.13-14; Dion. Hal. 1.87.2, 3.1.2; Lugli 1946, 121-26; Coarelli 1985a, 1983, 161-199; Richardson 1992 , 267-268.

[88] Pliny 15.11.19; Obseq. 8 (62); Livy 3.48.5; Cypr. *Idol*. 4; Aug. *civ*. 4.8, 6.10.1; Min. Fel. 25.8; Plaut. *Curc*. 471; Coarelli 1993b; Richardson 1992, 92.

[89] Ov. *Fast.* 6.257-60; Dion. Hal. 2.66.1; Festus 320L; Pluta. *Vit. Numa* 11.1; Richardson 1992, 412-413.

[90] Solin. 1.21; Ovi. *Fast*. 6.263-64; Ov. *Tr.* 3.1.30; Serv. *ad Aen.* 7.153, 8.363; Tac. *Ann.* 15.41; Cass. Dio frag. 1.6.2; Plut. *Vit. Numa 14.1*; Richardson 1992, 328-329.

[91] Livy 45.24.12; Varro, *Ling.* 5.155; Richardson 1992, 102-103.

[92] Macrob. *Sat.* 1.8.1; Dion. Hal. 6.1.4; Livy 2.21.1-2; Varro, *Ling.* 5.42; Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.319; Hyg. *Fab.* 261; Richardson 1992, 343.

[93] Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.13; Plut. *Coriolanus* 3.4; Dion. Hal. 6.13.4; Mart. 1.70.3; Livy 2.20.12, 2.42.5; *FUR* pl. 21.18; Nielsen et al. 1985; Nielsen and Poulsen 1992; Richardson 1992, 74-75; Nielsen 1993.

century BC, monumentalized by beginning of third century BC),[95] and the Puteal Libonis (c. 204 BC).[96]

Varro, Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Plutarch provide an eighth century BC date for the inception of the Lacus Curtius.[97] During the Sabine War, Romulus and Roman soldiers pursued Mettius Curtius, a Sabine equestrian, who evaded capture when the marsh of the Forum basin miraculously opened. Curtius was able to steer his horse out of the chasm, but Romulus and his men were trapped on the other side. The location of the legendary chasm acquired the name of the Sabine enemy, which served to remind Romans of their ancestors' military valor as victors over such a brave and noble opponent.

Varro is the only surviving source for the next version that provides a date of 445 BC.[98] In that year, the senate decreed that C. Curtius Chilo, co-consul with M. Genucius Augurinus, fence in a place struck by lightning.[99] The consul Curtius named the new monument after himself. Lightning, as an attribute of Jupiter, was regarded as an appearance of the god himself in the realm of mortals. The Romans therefore honored Jupiter by demarcating the location, which became a sacred precinct at least by the beginning of the second century BC.

The final version, found in Varro, Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Valerius Maximus, assigns 362 BC as the founding date of the Lacus Curtius.[100] A great chasm

---

[94] Livy 8.14.12; Plin. *HN* 34.20; Dion. Hal. 1.87.2; Lugli 1946, 115-121; Richardson 1992, 334-335.
[95] Livy 27.36.8, 5.55.1, 34.45.6; Plin. *HN* 19.23; Varro, *Ling.* 5.155; Macrob. *Sat.* 3.16.15; Boni 1900, 295-340; Richardson 1992; Coarelli 1985a, 11-123, esp. 97-98.
[96] Festus 448-50L; Cicero, *Sest*. 18; Hor. *Sat.* 2.6.35; Hor. *Epist*. 1.19.8; Ov. *Rem. am.* 561-62; Pers. 4.49; Lugli 1946, 46-52; Coarelli 1985a, 166-76; Richardson 1992, 322-323.
[97] Varro, *Ling.* 5.149; Livy 1.12.9; Dion. Hal. 2.42; 14.11; Plut. *Vit. Rom*. 18.
[98] Varro, *Ling.* 5.150.
[99] Kent 1993.
[100] Livy is the only source to provide a date. Varro, *Ling.* 5.148; Livy 7.6.1-6; Dion. Hal. 14.11.1-

opened in the middle of the Forum, which could not be filled with earth. The senate decreed that *haurspices* (augurs) provide an explanation. Having consulted oracles, the augurs declared that the Romans must sacrifice their greatest strength if they wished for the chasm to close and for the Roman Republic to endure. Following failed attempts of offering first-fruits of agricultural harvests and money, a young Marcus Curtius announced to the senate that Rome's most essential strength was the valor of her men. Curtius suggested that if a man offered this sacrifice to his country voluntarily, the earth would send up many good men. Therefore, he armed himself, mounted his horse, and prayed to the gods that they fulfill the oracles and allow many men like himself to be born to the Roman state. In the midst of the gathering crowd, Curtius rode his horse into the chasm, which closed almost immediately. This etymology illustrated essential qualities of the exemplary Roman: piety towards country, obedience to the gods, military valor, and courage.

A fundamental discrepancy exists between archaeological and literary dates of the Lacus Curtius. Giuliani has addressed the issue fullest to date, focusing on the archaeological evidence.[101] As he rightly suggests, the antiquity of the Lacus that the sources ascribed is just as important to our understanding of the monument as is the later archaeological date.[102] Giuliani, however, follows A. Åkeström and J. Pouchet in their linguistic analyses of the name Mettius to argue that the legends themselves cannot be dated prior to the second century BC because the precise notion of a place tied to the name had been lost before this date.[103]

5; Val. Max. 5.6.2.
[101] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 113-114.
[102] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 113. See also Åkerström 1932, 72 ff.; Pouchet 1967, 241-243.
[103] Åkerström 1932, 83; Pouchet 1967, 241-243.

Boni's soundings did not reveal archaeological evidence of a building phase earlier than the second century BC. Giuliani dates Phase I to 184 BC, the year that Livy provides for a large drainage project in the Forum area.[104] According to Giuliani's observations, the tufa phase (Phase I) is contemporaneous with the subterranean galleries, which were built as part of the drainage project mentioned in Livy.[105] Plautus refers to both the Lacus and the cuniculi in *Curculio* 477, attesting to the monument's existence in the first decades of the second century BC. Giuliani's attention remains thoroughly grounded in archaeological evidence as he concedes that he cannot completely discount the hypothesis of earlier remains that may have been reduced or erased by nature and therefore escaped notice in Boni's soundings.[106]

Although archaeological and literary evidence are essential sources, our understanding of the Lacus Curtius does not need to rely solely on the concordance of the two. Examination of the Roman perception of the history of the monument allows us to explore the possibility of a natural, ephemeral form of the Lacus Curtius prior to the first permanent construction in 184 BC. Ovid, for instance, writes of an encounter with an elderly woman in Book 6 of his *Fasti* (c. AD 8) while witnessing a festival of Vesta near the Via Nova. The woman informs him that the Forum was once a wet swamp, and a nearby ditch collected water that overflowed from the river.[107] The Lacus Curtius was once that very ditch that often turned into a lake with floodwaters. Ovid learns that the ground is dry because the pools have receded now that the river confines the water within

[104] Livy 39.44.5; Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 113.
[105] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 113.
[106] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 113.
[107] Ov. *Fast.* 6.403-404; Frazer 1989.

its banks.[108] Despite the disappearance of the marsh in the Forum, the old custom survives. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (c. 60-7 BC) likewise informs his readers that the deep lake in the middle of the Roman Forum where Mettius Curtius escaped Romulus had been filled by his day.[109]

Geological explorations in the Roman Forum support literary accounts of an ancient marsh or lake at the site of the Lacus Curtius.[110] A. Ammerman has determined that the area of the Lacus Curtius experienced centuries of flooding both prior to and following initial construction in the second century BC.[111] His work in the Forum reveals that prior to human intervention in c. 650-575 BC, the area of the Lacus Curtius stood less than 7 m above sea level (masl), and the strata from this time period indicate wet conditions due to frequent flooding.[112] The areas of the Lacus Iuturnae and the Temple of Vesta stood at approximately 8.50 masl, and the nearby Temple of Saturn site stood significantly higher at 15 masl.[113] Following analysis of Ammerman's core samples, his reconstruction of elevations reveals a deep stratigraphical basin in the Forum valley with the Lacus Curtius in the center of the basin while the other major monuments stood along a natural ledge.[114] Even after the monumental Forum fill in the seventh to six centuries

---

[108] The lower occurrence of flooding in the Forum was also due to the monumental fill and intricate drainage system.
[109] Dion. Hal. 2.42.5-6; Cary 2001.
[110] Ammerman 1990, 644.
[111] Ammerman 1990.
[112] Ammerman 1990, 634, fig. 3. For the dating of the first Forum pavement, see Colonna 1964; Colonna 1988, who offers a date of c. 625 BC Gjerstad proposes 575 BC as the date of the first pavement. See Gjerstad 1953 I-IV, esp. 1, 29-32.
[113] Ammerman 1990, 634, fig. 3.
[114] Ammerman uses the so-called Equus Domitiani as his reference point for the center of the Forum basin. I will refer to the Lacus Curtius instead of the so-called Equus Domitiani since the two monuments are in close proximity. Ammerman 1990, 635, figs. 3-4.

BC, the Lacus Curtius stood at the lowest elevation of 9 masl, whereas the Lacus Iuturnae, for instance stood a meter higher at 10 masl.[115]

In addition to low elevation, the site of the Lacus Curtius was subject to wet conditions due to three primary factors. First, surface water naturally drained into the Forum basin from the surrounding Capitoline and Palatine Hills.[116] Second, gravel beds naturally occurred at the base of the surrounding hills, which allowed groundwater to seep to the surface, as found at the Lacus Iuturnae.[117] Finally, inundation of the Tiber River led to frequent flooding of the Forum basin.[118] Gjerstad's excavations near the Arch of Augustus and at the Regia reveal flood sediments in strata preceding the second century BC and indicate that floods reached levels of 10-11 masl.[119] During periods of extreme flooding, therefore, the ground level of Lacus Curtius would be underneath 3-4 m of water prior to the seventh century regal intervention, and 1-2 m following intervention.

I propose that the foundation legends and subsequent monumentalization of the Lacus Curtius reflect Roman perceived histories of the site, which are reflected in the trapezoidal shape of the precinct. Memories of vast floods prior to the monumental fill (c. 650-575 BC) as well as smaller pools of water collected at the lowest point of elevation following habitation of the Forum basin are preserved in both the literary and archaeological record. In addition to the rapid increase in ground level in the Forum basin, new drainage systems, which included the Cloaca Maxima, appeared to have decreased

---

[115] Ammerman 1990, 636.
[116] Ammerman 1990, 636.
[117] Boni 1901a, fig. 38 for the gravels and water from them; Steinby 1985, 76 for elevation of the natural surface in the area; Platner and Ashby 1929, 311-13; Ammerman 1990, 636.
[118] Ammerman 1990, 636.
[119] Gjerstad 1953, 3, 271, 279-283; Ammerman 1990, 637.

the number and duration of floods.[120] This new inhabitable space dramatically changed Roman life. T. J. Cornell argues, for instance, that the reorganization of the Forum led to the introduction of the religious calendar.[121] The reduced occurrence of flooding allowed for more stable religious practices with fewer disruptions from nature.

The construction of a permanent precinct for the Lacus Curtius in the second century BC suggests that flooding on some level still occurred at that time. Excavations from Phase I (c. 184 BC) reveal that the tufa pavement is level with no gradient.[122] Ester van Deman refers to the lack of a drainage slope as a "defect."[123] I propose that this "defect" was in fact intentional. The tufa paving stones were recessed below the second century BC Forum floor, above which the cornice rose approximately 0.20 m (fig. 6). The precinct of the Lacus Curtius, therefore, resembled a recessed basin. Traces of cocciopesto remain on a portion of peperino on the north side.[124] A reconstruction of the Lacus with cocciopesto running across the entire tufa pavement, as Giuliani suggests, would reveal an impermeable basin.[125] We may then imagine that during periods of inundation or heavy rainfall, water naturally collected in the precinct and remained confined within its borders as water drained and receded elsewhere in the Forum. As a result, a natural recreation of the ancient marshy landscape occurred within a man-made, artificial monument. The design of the Lacus Curtius was not flawed, but was a feat of Roman engineering and ingenuity.

---

[120] Livy 1.38.6, 1.56.2; Dion. Hal. 3.67.5, 4.44.1; Ammerman and Filipi 2004, 7-28; Filipi 2005, 93-109; Hopkins 2007; Ammerman 1990, 641.
[121] Cornell 1986, 126.
[122] Romans used *cocciopesto* to make water-proof plaster and forms of hydraulic cement.
[123] van Deman 1922, 8.
[124] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 108, fig. 141.
[125] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 104-108.

Scholars, including Hülsen, van Deman, and Giuliani, consider alterations made in Phase II to be improvements in design.[126] The first century BC renovation produced a significantly declined slope in the travertine pavement from the northwestern to southern side, presumably to allow for water drainage.[127] One cut channel survives in a cornice block at the western end of the Lacus, which leads directly into a pozzo, a shaft leading to the underground tunnels.[128] Although I agree with Giuliani's conclusion that the slope was intended to dispose of water and help avoid stagnation, I find the situation to be somewhat more complex.[129] The travertine pavement of the Lacus in Phase II was lower than the level of the Forum floor by 0.52 m at the western end and 0.20 m at the eastern end (fig. 6).[130] The raised cornice, however, stood 0.29 m higher than the Forum pavement to the west and 0.18 m higher to the east.[131] The height differences therefore formed a basin 0.81 m deep on the western side and 0.38 m deep on the eastern side of the Lacus.

Orthostate blocks found near the perimeter of the monument suggest the presence of a parapet during both phases of construction.[132] Giuliani reconstructs each parapet to approximately the same height of 0.60 m.[133] He proposes that the parapet was necessary to prevent one from stumbling into the recessed precinct accidently.[134] While this is certainly a valid suggestion, I propose that the parapet served also to help retain water within the Lacus, recreating the ancient marsh or deep pool found in literary sources and

[126] Hülsen 1906, 141; van Deman 1922, 8; Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 104-108.
[127] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 108.
[128] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 110.
[129] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 108.
[130] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 114.
[131] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 115.
[132] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, figs. 146-147.
[133] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 115.
[134] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 115.

most likely in oral traditions. Although no traces of cocciopesto remain on the travertine pavement, the layer of hydraulic cement on the tufa below would have aided in retaining water in the basin. Realistically, the Lacus could not have held water for extended periods of time due to the drainage system in place and cracks between blocks that would have allowed seepage. The natural recreation of the ancient marsh, however brief, was a valuable component of performative ritual that invited natural elements into the precinct as a tribute to Rome's perceived past.

Architectural elements found within the Lacus Curtius indicate performance of religious rituals at the site. Archaeological evidence remains for altars in both Phase I and Phase II. Imprints and chisel marks in the tufa pavement of Phase I indicate the existence of at least two altars immediately west of the puteal.[135] Altar B was originally trapezoidal and Altar C was rectangular in form.[136] Giuliani suggests placement of a third altar north of Altar C. Signified as Altar D, Giuliani reconstructs this altar as trapezoidal and places it in such a position that completes a line of symmetry across the altars.[137]

As in Phase I, two chiseled imprints of altars survive in the pavement of Phase II.[138] Tomassetti and Hülsen suggest the existence of a third altar in continuation of the scheme from Phase I.[139] These two scholars also reconstruct a fourth altar to complete the Roman propensity for balanced symmetry.[140] Although this hypothesis is logical, it is nonetheless impossible to prove due to a lack of archaeological evidence.

The size and placement of the puteal also suggest ritual activity at the Lacus

---

[135] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 108.
[136] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 108, fig. 138
[137] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 108.
[138] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, fig. 142, C, D
[139] Tomassetti 1904, 186; Hülsen 1906, 139-142; Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, fig. 142, B.
[140] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, fig. 140

Curtius. The puteal was a very large structure, measuring 3.54 m in diameter in Phase I and 3.90 m in diameter in Phase II. During the reconstruction of Phase II, the puteal was raised on a peperino base, indicating importance. Similar to the Puteal Libonis, the puteal in the Lacus Curtius marked a spot struck by lightning.[141] The placement of the puteal in front of the altars suggests the possibility of offerings made to Jupiter manifested in the lightning strike, as recounted by Varro.[142]

S. Dusanic and Z. Petkovic offer an alternative interpretation of the religious aspects of the Lacus Curtius.[143] The authors propose that the legendary Mettius Curtius was a historicized derivative of the god Quirinus/Mars. Quirinus, along with the gods Consus and Lares, was a celebrant of the *Consualia*, the festival commemorating the rape of the Sabines. Mettius Curtius, a defender of the Sabine women, is identified as a Sabine based on the origins of his name. Quirinus, who was originally a Sabine deity, participated in the Sabine War episodes as an enemy of Rome and protector of the Sabines.[144] However, once Quirinus was absorbed into Roman religion, his identity as an enemy was unacceptable. Therefore, Mettius Curtius, the Sabine enemy, evolved into the historicized human version of Quirinus, who himself eventually evolved into Romulus and Mars.

---

[141] Remains of the Puteal Libonis have not been discovered. Hor. *Sat.* 2.6.35; Hor. *Ep.* 1.19.8; Cic. *Sest.* 8; Hülsen 1906, 150.
[142] Varro, *Ling.* 5.150. Dusanic and Petkovic 2002, 69 argue that this version presents a distorted and abridged reflections of Neptune's power, for the Romans also believed that Neptune's trident was capable of producing lightning.
[143] Dusanic and Petkovic 2002.
[144] For the full argument of how Mettius Curtius evolved into Quirinus, see Dusanic and Petkovic 2002, 65.

Neptune Equester also features prominently in the foundation of the Consualia as the Sabine War broke out during a festival dedicated to the god.[145] According to Neptune legends, the god's horses were born from water and were often warlike, a quality that Dusanic and Petkovic argue extended to their riders, including Mettius Curtius.[146] In their article, they argue that it is possible to trace the Mettius Curtius legend to the wider cycle of Poseidonic myths about fierce horses and courageous riders that were inspired by belief in Poseidon's ability to create peoples, cities, and agricultural and animalistic gifts.[147] Neptune may also be connected to the Marcus Curtius version in which the youth's voluntary death into the chasm exemplifies devotion to country and divine.[148] Greeks and Romans believed Poseidon-Neptune created chasms with his trident, and the sacrifice of Marcus Curtius may have derived from practices of equine sacrifice to Poseidon-Neptune.[149]

In addition to his associations with Mars and Poseidon/Neptune, Quirinus also appears to have been an aquatic deity worshipped with Tiberinus. As master of water, an unpredictable and oftentimes dangerous element, Tiberinus often connoted war, offering great insight into Roman attitudes towards early water divinities.[150] However, similar to the promises of the Marcus Curtius myth, Quirinus and his associations with water also offered the hope of fertility and rejuvenation.

The Lacus Curtius was truly a multi-faceted monument. The untraditional

---

[145] Livy 1.9.6; Dusanic and Petkovic 2002, 65.
[146] Dusanic and Petkovic 2002, 67.
[147] Dusanic and Petkovic 2002, 68. For example, the myth of Heracles and the Eleans contains all of the mythical aspects found in the Consualia, Quirinus and Mettius Curtius stories – "a god or semi-god obtains Poseidon's horse, goes to war, and finally organizes a collective wedding which reconciles the warring sides."
[148] Dusanic and Petkovic 2002, 70-71.
[149] Dusanic and Petkovic 2002, 71.
[150] Dusanic and Petkovic 2002, 72.

precinct configuration preserved a Romulean and early regal topographical feature that imposed such a significant impact on daily life that the Romans preserved it in monumental form. The location of the Lacus in the middle of the Forum basin at the lowest point of elevation also indicates a correlation with the topography of Rome's mythical past. Whereas the earliest Forum monuments were built along the natural ledge of the Forum basin, the Lacus Curtius was the only monument constructed in the natural flood plain of the Forum by the second century BC. Geological soundings reveal continued wet conditions at the site by the second century BC despite the sophisticated drainage system in place. As I have argued throughout, the Lacus Curtius therefore preserved historical and contemporary floods in monumental form.

Literary sources also helped preserve the ancient history of the site, celebrating mythical and historical characters who personified Roman values of courage, piety, and *dignitas* (dignity/prestige). The texts also reveal Roman attitudes towards the power of natural elements, such as water, earthquakes, and lightning, which were signs of divine presence. It is highly possible that an ephemeral form of a sacred precinct survived prior to monumental intervention in 184 BC. The permanent stone monument, however, ensured sustained remembrance of divine power at the site. The Lacus Curtius is a unique monument because it celebrates multiple deities, including Jupiter, Venus, Quirinus/Mars, and Neptune, as well as the mythical figures Romulus and Marcus Curtius.[151] Embodied with a variety of histories, associated divinities, rituals, and topographical connections, the Lacus Curtius was an ideal monument for a Roman patron to appropriate and use as a symbol for his own political agenda.

[151] The Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus celebrated three deities: Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. See De Angeli 1993.

Romulean Sulla as Grand Patron

No conclusive evidence survives indicating the patron of Phase I of the Lacus Curtius. Phase II, however, is securely associated with the Sullan building program of 83 BC to 78 BC.[152] During this period, Sulla charged a number of projects in Rome that greatly impacted the topography of the city.[153] Both in Rome and the surrounding areas, Sulla built or restored temples that primarily emphasized his relationship with particular deities, including Jupiter, Venus, and Hercules. The dictator was also instrumental in restoring a number of civic buildings and spaces in both the Forum Romanum and the Capitoline.

Sulla initiated the reorganization of the Capitoline following the fire of 83 BC, allowing him to connect the two summits of the hill architecturally with the Tabularium, which Q. Lutatius Catulus completed following Sulla's death in 78 BC.[154] The Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, which also suffered damage from the 83 BC fire, received attention from Sulla who reportedly imported marble columns from the Olympieion in Athens for the reconstruction.[155] Sulla's largest contribution to the architecture of Rome occurred in the western end of the Forum, which carried more civic than military connotations, symbolizing the dictator's role in restoring Rome's

[152] For scholarhip on Sulla's building program, see van Deman 1922; Blake 1947, 141; Palmer 1975; Mackay 2000; Ramage 1991; Keaveney 1982b, 190.
[153] For differing perceptions of Sulla's building program, see Blake 1947, 140 who describes most of Sulla's program as "more practical than purely ornamental." Gisborne 2005, 119, on the other hand, views Sulla's projects as innovative: "whilst not matching the building activities of Caesar or Augustus, Sulla's activities were many and varied in comparison to his consular and censorial predecessors, who normally undertook one large project such as a road, basilica or temple."
[154] Ramage 1991, 113-114; van Deman 1922, 30-31; Blake 1947, 140; Nash 1968 2, 402; Mura Sommella 1993, 17-20.
[155] Val. Max. 9.3.8; Plin. *HN* 36.45; Tac. *Hist.* 3.72; Lugli 1946, 23; Nash 1968 1, 530; Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970, 117; van Deman 1922, 31; Blake 1947, 140; De Angeli 1993; Kleiner 1989; Perry 2012, 177-182.

fragmented government.[156] His project included repaving the Forum and constructing *cuniculi*, underground passages for staging performances in the Forum;[157] reconstruction of the Comitium;[158] rebuilding the Rostra with a togate equestrian statue of Sulla;[159] rebuilding the Curia;[160] and reconstructing the Lacus Curtius.[161] In other regions of the city, Sulla set up a statue of Hercules Sullanus on the Esquiline,[162] rebuilt the Temple of Hercules Custos near the Circus Flaminius,[163] built the Temple of Bellona Pulvinensis near the Colline Gate,[164] built a Temple to Venus Felix in an unknown location,[165] and enlarged the *pomerium* (the sacred boundary of the city) for the first time since the reign of Servius Tullius.[166] Outside of Rome, Sulla continued to honor patron deities through the restoration of the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste,[167] once a Marian stronghold; construction of the Temple of Jupiter Anxur at Terracina,[168] Temple of Hercules at Tibur,[169] and Temple of Hercules Curinus near Sulmo.[170]

---

[156] Gisborne 2005, 119.
[157] van Deman 1922, 30; Blake 1947, 137-145 for construction in Forum, esp. 140 for repaving; Purcell 1996; Giuliani 1996a; Ramage 1991, 113; Gisborne 2005, 119.
[158] van Deman 1922, 31; Blake 1947, 140.
[159] van Deman 1922, 31; Nash 1968, 272; Ramage 1991;113.
[160] Plin. *HN* 34.26; Platner and Ashby 1929, 143; van Deman 1922, 31; Blake 1947, 143; Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970, 116; Coarelli 1993c, 331-332.
[161] van Deman 1922, 20-21; Blake 1947, 142; Giuliani 1996b, 166-167.
[162] Lugli 1938, 53-54. Lugli suggests that Sulla restored Hercules Custos and renamed it Hercules Sullanus; Polombi 1996, 21-22; Ramage 1991, 113.
[163] Ov. *Fast.* 6.209-212; Platner and Ashby 1929, 252; Viscogliosi 1996, 13-14; Ritter 1995, 56; Ramage 1991,113.
[164] Richardson 1992, 58; Palmer 1975.
[165] Chioffi 1996.
[166] Sen. *Brev. Vit.* 13.8; Tac. *Ann.* 12.23; Cass. Dio 43.50.1; Ramage 1991,113; Gisborne 2005,120.
[167] Blake 1947, 234; Andreae 1977, 529-530; Ramage 1991, 114.
[168] Blake 1947, 234; Andreae 1977, 529-530; Ramage 1991, 114.
[169] Blake 1947, 235; Andreae 1977, 526-527; Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970, 140; Ramage 1991, 114.
[170] Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970, 147; Ramage 1991, 114.

The Forum repaving project may have necessitated the renovation of the Lacus Curtius, the only monumental structure standing in the middle of the Forum in the early first century BC. Several alterations to the precinct, however, suggest otherwise. The enlargement of the puteal and elaboration of the corresponding dodecagonal base, addition of a fourth altar, upgrade in building materials, and adjustment in gradient to accommodate more efficient water drainage all indicate that careful planning accompanied the reconstruction. The Sullan design could have merely left the Lacus Curtius in original form, as it did with the Lapis Niger. Instead, as this chapter argues, Sulla seized an opportunity to directly associate himself with one of the most ancient landmarks in Rome while underscoring his semblance with Romulus and emphasizing his divine favor from Jupiter, Venus, and Quirinus.

A number of Sulla's building program projects and rituals suggest intentional associations between the dictator and the founding kings of Rome. Following fire damage to the Curia Hostilia, Sulla constructed a new senate house that bore his name in the dedicatory inscription above the door, replacing the name of Hostilius.[171] In addition, he erected an equestrian statue at the entrance of the Curia, presumably to remind senators of Sulla's reforms each time they passed the statue or entered below his name.[172] As M. Gisborne suggests, Sulla ensured that the activities of the enlarged senate symbolically occurred under the auspices of his name rather than that of Hostilius'.[173] Gisborne also argues that Sulla's placement of his equestrian statue near the Lapis Niger, believed to be the burial spot of Romulus, strengthened the dictator's regal associations.[174]

---

[171] Dio Cass. 44.5.2; Gisborne 2005, 119-120.
[172] Gisborne 2005, 119; for more on Sulla's reforms, see Badian 1976, 53-58.
[173] Gisborne 2005, 120.
[174] Gisborne 2005, 120; Coarelli 1996d.

I suggest that the Lacus Curtius, also located in the vicinity of the Lapis Niger, is yet another monument that symbolically legitimized Sulla's military and political agenda. The three founding legends of the Lacus were firmly established in literature by the beginning of the first century BC, and therefore were most likely embedded in the oral tradition as well.[175] I view Sulla's renovation of the Lacus Curtius primarily as an attempt to associate himself with Romulus.[176] Although the Mettius Curtius legend initially praises the Sabine soldier for his cunning and military valor, the Romans ultimately used the story in their favor. Mettius Curtius was a strong and worthy opponent of his pursuer, Romulus, which further validated the king's prowess. Ultimately, however, Romulus led the Romans to victory in the Sabine War and united the two tribes in the city that he founded, which he ruled with Titus Tatius.

Parallels between the careers of Romulus and Sulla are discernable. Sulla distinguished himself as a strong military general throughout his career, particularly in major victories in Cicilia (96-95 BC), Achaia (86 BC), and Italy (82 BC).[177] He emerged victorious from the civil war against Marius and convinced the senate to give him full rights of dictator to reorganize the state with extensive reforms.[178] As dictator, Sulla restored the Senate to the highest power and doubled the governing body to 600

---

[175] Varro, *Ling.* 5.148-150, published in 43 BC, tells us that he is recounting the three different versions from three previous sources: Procilius, Piso, and Q. Lutatius Catulus; Roland 1993.

[176] Of the early monuments built prior to 184 BC, the Lapis Niger, Shrine of Venus Cloacina, Temple of Vesta, Regia, and the Curia Hostilia, possessed strong affiliations with Romulus or one of his regal successors. Likewise, the Romans regarded the Lacus Curtius as an important landmark during the Sabine War in which Romulus defeated the neighboring tribe and united Rome into one nation.

[177] For Cicilia, see Badian 1976, 42; Mackay 2000, 178. For Achaia, see Badian 1976, 47-50; Mackay 2000, 178. For Italy (Porta Collina), see Badian 1976, 52-53; Mackay 2000, 196-197.

[178] Sulla convinced the Senate to grant him rights of dictator by summoning the senators to The Temple of Bellona in the Campus Martius on the day following his victory at Porta Collina. He ordered approximately six thousand captives, mostly Samnites, to be executed at the Villa Publica within earshot of the senators to demonstrate that he had the power of life and death over his enemies. Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 30.3; Badian 1976, 53; Mackay 2000, 196.

members, including *equites*, knights.[179] Similar to Romulus, Sulla also united Italian tribes with Roman citizens and granted Italians senatorial rank.[180] As E. Badian argues, Sulla viewed himself as the "new Romulus, refounding the city that he had brought to the verge of destruction."[181] Rather than dwelling on his role as an instigator of the civil war, Sulla emphasized through his building campaign the peace and prosperity that accompanied his military victories. An antagonistic quote in Plutarch represents the view opposite of Sulla's when Lepidus refers to Sulla as "that perverse Romulus."[182] Although unflattering, this passage suggests that Sulla's self-image as Romulus was well known while at the same time dissented by his fellow Romans.

The other instances in which Sulla symbolically associated himself with Romulus support this chapter's argument that the general thoughtfully restored the Lacus Curtius as a means to legitimize his dictatorship. Sulla's intervention at the Curia and the Lacus Curtius, both in close proximity to Romulus' burial place at the Lapis Niger, served as symbols of rebirth in relation to the legendary king's death. Reconstruction of the senate house symbolized restored order, and updates at the Lacus Curtius ensured continued collection of rain- and floodwaters, inherent symbols of rebirth.

As a typographical signifier, Sulla chose the Campus Martius as the location for his burial, which was unusual at the time. Well-known to republican Romans, the Campus Martius was not only the area where Romans practiced for battle, but it was also the location of Romulus' apotheosis.[183] Sulla thereby created a symbiotic relationship between himself and Rome's founder. Sulla was buried in the area of the Campus

---

[179] Badian 1976, 57.
[180] Badian 1976, 58.
[181] Badian 1976, 53.
[182] Plut. *Hist*. 1.55.5: *Quae cuncta scaevos iste Romulus.*
[183] Plut. *Vit. Rom.* 27.5-8; Gisborne 2005, 120-121.

Martius (the marsh of Capra) where Romulus transformed into a god, and Romulus was buried in the Forum where Sulla imparted his god-like stamp through his massive building campaign. Gisborne furthers this argument by identifying the Antemnians as enemies of both Sulla and Romulus.[184] Sulla viewed himself as the successor of Romulus.

Sulla's self-promotion as a new Romulus was not confined to Rome. Sylleia, games performed in Sulla's honor in Thebes and Athens (80-78 BC), commemorated the general's victories in Boeotia and the Aegean.[185] A. Raubitschek proposes that the Sylleia were modeled after, and perhaps identical to, the pre-existing Theseia and Epitaphia after Sulla restored the islands of Imbros, Lemnos, Skyros, and Delos to Athens.[186] Considering that several of the restored islands appear in the Theseus legend, the Theseia was an appropriate choice with which to honor Sulla. As Rabuitschek explains, Athenians considered Theseus to have played a similar role in Athens as Romulus had in Rome: they had both founded their respective cities and transformed them into political and religious centers.[187] As evidence converges from Sulla's memoirs, building program, and rituals, it is likely that Sulla thought of himself as a new Romulus. The Athenians were able to flatter their foreign conqueror by providing this unusual honor without incurring additional expenses for themselves.[188]

---

[184] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.34.1; Gisborne 2005, 121. Romulus' first victory was over the Antemnians, and Sulla executed Antemnians with Samnites in the Villa Publica following his victory in the civil war.
[185] Plut. *Vit. Sull*. 19.6; Gisborne 2005, 114; Raubitschek 1951.
[186] Raubitschek 1951, 50, 55.
[187] Raubitschek 1951, 55-56.
[188] Raubitschek 1951, 56.

Sulla's relationship with certain gods, including Jupiter and Venus, played a defining role in the Lacus Curtius renovation.[189] The *Commentarii*, Sulla's memoirs, provide great detail about the divine favor he received through dreams, omens, portents and prophecies, all forms of communication between himself and the gods.[190] From an early moment in his career, Sulla believed that the gods sanctioned his political endeavors by ensuring safe travels, victories in battle, the consulship, and dictatorship.[191] He so deeply believed in his *felicitas,* essential good luck bestowed upon a successful general by the gods, that he assumed the title Felix after his victory at the Colline Gate.[192]

True to Roman multiplicity, I argue that Sulla utilized the remaining two founding versions of the Lacus Curtius, each pertaining to a different Curtius, to serve his political agenda as well. As recounted by Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Valerius Maximus, and Varro, the youthful Marcus Curtius sacrificed his own life in 362 BC by riding his horse into a chasm in order to appease the gods.[193] The Lacus Curtius marked the location of the chasm and became a symbol of military valor and piety towards both country and the gods. By updating the monument, Sulla visually reminded Roman viewers that he possessed the same qualities as the revered Marcus Curtius: military valor, piety towards Rome, and piety towards the gods, all three essential characteristics for a successful leader.

Sulla's investment in his relationship with Jupiter is also evident in his work at the Lacus Curtius, which further legitimized the general's absolute power in Rome, although

---

[189] Apollo was one of Sulla's earliest patron deities. See Keaveney 1983, 78.
[190] Ramage 1991, 97-98.
[191] Keaveney 1983, 79.
[192] Vell. Pat. 2.27.5; *De vir. illust.*, 25.9; App., B Civ. 1.94; Keaveney 1983, 45; Ramage 1991, 98; Sumi 2002, 415-421.
[193] Livy 7.6.1-6; Dion. Hal. 14.11.1-5; Val. Max. 5.6.2; Varro, *Ling.* 5.148.

temporary, as dictator. According to the third founding legend, found in Varro, Romans believed that lightning struck the site of the Lacus Curtius in 445 BC.[194] The senate immediately ordered the consul Curtius to enclose the area with a fence, and at some point a puteal was installed to demarcate the exact strike point as well as altars that indicate the presence of rituals performed. According to Roman tradition, therefore, an empty space was dramatically transformed due to the appearance of Jupiter, the god of lightning and thunder. Sulla had an obligation to maintain the Lacus Curtius during the Forum repaving because it had associations with the divine. Yet his plans elaborated on the design and made more efficient use of the space. The enlargement and elaboration of the puteal, the symbol of the lightning strike, may have been a visual signal of Sulla's connection with Jupiter. Rainwater, occasionally accompanied by lightning, was allowed to stand in the Lacus precinct with the aid of hydraulic cocciopesto before draining into the cuniculi below. Although Sulla may not have lived through completion of Phase II, the renovation suggests intentional alterations that underscore Sulla's special relationship with the supreme ruler of gods.

In addition to Sulla's own acts of piety towards Jupiter in his planned renovation of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus and construction of the Temple of Jupiter Anxur at Terracina, a passage by Cicero provides insight concerning Roman attitudes towards Sulla and Jupiter. During his defense of Sextus Roscius of Ameria, Cicero equates the former dictator with the god in order to persuade the court that Sextus Roscius had not murdered his own father.[195] In Cicero's speech, Jupiter, who rules the

[194] Varro, *Ling.* 5.150; Roland 1993. Varro also reveals that his source for this version is Q. Lutatius Catulus (152-87 BC, consul 102 BC) who completed many of Sulla's building projects, including the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus and the Tabularium.
[195] Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 131.

heavens, earth and seas, has the power to cause devastation but also provide the necessities of life. Likewise Sulla, an omnipotent ruler of the entire Roman world, possessed the divine ability to know all and control all. Whether an honest praise of Sulla or a mockery, Cicero's speech provides insight regarding Roman perceptions of the dictator during the first century BC.[196] As with other deities, Sulla portrayed himself as the human intercessor between Jupiter and the inhabitants of Rome.[197] J. R. Fears interprets Sulla's military and political career as the inception of the notion that the supreme ruler of Rome stood as the vicegerent of Jupiter because the general forced the Senate to recognize him as the supreme ruler of men, parallel to Jupiter the supreme ruler of gods.[198] Sulla's intervention in the Lacus Curtius, with strong associations with Jupiter, becomes clear as we recognize the dictator's influence on the public's perception of his divinely sanctioned rule.

Sulla's triumph undoubtedly helped shape this perception of legitimization through Jupiter's favor.[199] Spanning two days on January 27-28 in 81 BC, Sulla's triumph was a major spectacle with two separate processions, games, and banquets celebrating his defeat of Mithridates in Greece.[200] Triumphs spanning multiple days were rare in 81 BC. The only prior evidence pertains to T. Quinctus Flaminius who celebrated his victory over Philip V 194 BC for two days, as did L. Aemilius Paullus for his defeat

[196] Buchheit 1975 interprets the correlation as a parody. Ramage 1991, 117-118 views Cicero's speech as an accurate reflection of Sulla's constructed status during his lifetime.
[197] See discussion of Venus and Sulla.
[198] Fears 1981; Ramage 1991, 117-118.
[199] Hinard 1985, 232-37; Keaveney 1982b, 190-92; Sumi 2002, 414-419.
[200] Sumi 2002, 415. Sulla could not technically hold a triumph for his defeat of Marius, a fellow Roman, but the victory was implied throughout the celebrations. See also Mackay 2000, 209.

of Perseus in 167 BC.[201] According to Plutarch, the banquets were so extravagant that leftover food was dumped into the Tiber.[202] In an untraditional move, Sulla dedicated one-tenth of his spoils to Hercules, one of his most important patron deities, to demonstrate, as Sumi argues, that the victory was a personal one for Sulla rather than a collective one for Rome.[203]

In the midst of the celebrations, Jupiter remained the central deity beside Sulla, his human counterpart. The multiple triumphal processions allowed the general to remain in the guise of Jupiter for longer than usual and offered him the opportunity to perform a double sacrifice at the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline thereby highlighting his devout, reciprocal relationship with the deity. Jupiter bestowed felicitas upon Sulla and rewarded him with military and political victories. Sulla, in turn, honored the god with an abundance of gifts during the triumph and throughout the years leading up to his death.

The reconstruction of the Lacus Curtius is one such example of Sulla reaffirming his special relationship with Jupiter. As noted previously, the occurrence of lightning symbolized the presence of the god, and visually literate Romans would have recognized the Jupiter-Sulla connection. In addition, the location of the Lacus Curtius was significant because it was located only steps from the triumphal route that traveled through the western end of the Forum before concluding at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline. Utilizing the tradition of aemulatio, Sulla redesigned the Lacus Curtius

---

[201] Sumi Sumi 2002, 415-418. Multi-day triumphs quickly became a custom with Sulla's successors. Pompey held a two day triumph in 61 BC, Caesar celebrated four triumphs over Gaul, Alexandria, Pontus and Africa in 46 BC, and one over Spain in 45 BC, and Octavian celebrated three triumphs over Dalmatia, Actium and Alexandria in 29 BC.
[202] Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 35.1-2.
[203] Sumi 2002, 418-419.

to remain essentially the same, but better.[204] By doing so he attempted to perpetuate his name and legacy throughout all future triumphal processions, both in the Forum at the Lacus and on the Capitoline at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.[205]

Although no scholarship has explored possible connections between Venus and the Lacus Curtius, multiple strands provide evidence for such an argument. The Lacus Curtius is located at the lowest point of elevation in the Roman Forum, and traces of hydraulic cement indicate that the precinct was capable of containing water. As an attribute of Venus, who was born from the water, this natural element was an evocative symbol of birth, life and rebirth in the Roman world. Venus was as essential to the life of the Roman state as water is to life itself. The goddess birthed Aeneas, who led the Trojans to the Italian peninsula and was the ancestor of Romulus, founder of Rome. Renewal is a particularly applicable aspect of Sulla's political agenda. Water was a necessary component to sacrificial rites because it washed away the detritus and transformed the deity's altar and precinct to the original pristine state. Sulla's military and political actions during the civil war, as well as during his tenure as dictator, present a similar scenario. As general and dictator, Sulla essentially cleaned the state of his enemies through proscriptions in attempt to return the Roman Republic to its previous glory.

Sulla became a reverent worshipper of Venus following commands from the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, which reprimanded him for not honoring the goddess appropriately, as well as from the oracle of Venus Genetrix.[206] The oracle of Venus

---

[204] For the concept of "the same, but better" in architecture, see Perry 2012.
[205] Unfortunately for Sulla, the Temple of Jupiter did not bear his architectural intervention or name due to his death in 78 BC.
[206] Keaveney 1982a, 78; Ramage 1991, 101.

promised Sulla that he would receive widespread power if he made an offering to Cypris, a guise of Aphrodite/Venus, at Aphrodisias.[207] Having received divine aid from Venus and adopting the name Ephaphroditos in Greek transactions, Sulla assumed the responsibility of fighting on behalf of Venus' descendants, the Roman people.[208] Sulla dedicated a trophy to Venus after the Battle of Chaeronea, and he issued multiple coins depicting Venus as victor and peace-bringer.[209] The earliest of Sulla's Venus coin issues (83/82 BC) presents himself as a heroic general, protected by the gods, with the ability to communicate with the divine.[210] The obverse depicts Venus Victrix with the legend L SVLLA. Cupid stands beside Venus while holding the palm branch of victory, reinforcing the identification of Venus as Victrix. The reverse contains two trophies, most likely two of the three from the Battle of Chaeronea, with IMPER(ator) ITERVM to indicate that Sulla has been declared imperator for a second time. A jug and *lituus* (staff) also appear on the reverse, which symbolize Sulla's augural powers and ability to communicate directly with the gods.[211] Read holistically, this coin issue represented Sulla's intimate relationship with Venus who bestowed her divine favor upon Sulla in battle and ultimately legitimized his actions both on and off the battlefield.

***Aemulatio*: Similar but Better**

Sulla's 78 BC renovation of the Lacus Curtius presents an intricate study of the practice of aemulatio in public architecture. By emphasizing his connections with Romulus and multiple deities, the dictator successfully competed with and surpassed

---

[207] App. *B Civ.* 197; Ramage 1991, 101.
[208] Plut. 34.4; Edwin Ramage suggests that Sulla assumed the name Ephaphroditos to create a persona for himself that the Romans accepted, but that the Greeks also easily understood, Ramage 1991, 101-102. See also Keaveney 1983, 77.
[209] Fears 1981, 791; Ramage 1991, 102-103.
[210] Crawford 1974, 359.
[211] Ramage 1991, 105.

previously established forms of achievement, both in form and in symbolism. Scholarship concerning the Roman practice of aemulatio focuses primarily on the media of sculpture and painting.[212] Ellen Perry, however, recently presented a new interpretation of aemulatio as applied to Roman architecture in her discussion of the renovations of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.[213]

Perry follows three sets of renovations in 83 BC (Sulla and Q. Lutatius Catulus), AD 69 (Vespasian), and AD 80 (Domitian). Throughout all three phases of the Temple of Jupiter, Perry has found that the temple remained the same in plan but received upgrades in building materials and interior and exterior decorations, including expensive marble columns, gilded bronze roof tiles, and exact duplicates of the Sibylline books.[214] During the 83 BC renovation, certain choices served to promote Sulla's self-image. The marble columns transported from the Athenian Olympieion, for example, were symbols of Sulla's conquest of Athens, and by extension, of Rome's role as a world leader.[215] Although Seneca the Elder and Ovid reveal that not all Romans agreed with the 83 BC upgrades, the restoration overall was rather conservative.[216] Perry argues that the perception of accurate reproduction of the original temple form was a priority because "repetition was an essential mechanism in the construction of sanctity."[217]

The application of aemulatio is also apparent in Sulla's 78 BC renovation of the Lacus Curtius. Similar patterns emerge in Phase II of the Lacus as in the Temple Jupiter Optimus Maximus renovations. The elements that preserved the history and sanctity of

---

[212] Gazda 2002; Hölscher 2004; Perry 2005.
[213] Perry 2012.
[214] Perry 2012, 177-195.
[215] Plin. *HN.* 36.45; Perry 2012, 179-181.
[216] Sen. *Controv.* 2.1.1; Ov. *Fast.* 1.201-203; Perry 2012, 176, 178.
[217] Perry 2012, 177. A similar phenomenon occurred at the Parthenon, see Haselberger et al. 2002, 188.

the site were retained, while certain aspects were upgraded. The polygonal shape that recalled a natural chasm or pool remained intact, although slightly smaller. The floor of the precinct continued to stand below the level of the Forum floor, allowing the Lacus to serve as a basin with a raised cornice and parapet around the perimeter. The puteal was enlarged and placed on a higher and more carefully designed base, indicating prominence in the precinct. The previous three altars were replaced with four, which were set back from the puteal, allowing for greater movement within the Lacus as well as distinction amongst the religious components. Similar to his plans at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Sulla deviated from the original Lacus design only in aspects that allowed for improvement. The result of Phase II closely resembled the form from Phase I and therefore stood as a monument of repetition, a concept intimately connected to Roman self-definition.[218] Sulla repeated architectural forms of both the temple and Lacus to ensure continuity in Roman memory and religious practices, as well as to reaffirm his own connections with Jupiter and Romulus during his lifetime.

Sulla ensured that his affiliation with Jupiter and Romulus persisted following his death. As was customary for Roman aristocrats, Sulla most likely planned his funeral himself and included visual references to the god and king throughout.[219] According to Appian, Sulla's funeral procession remarkably resembled a triumphal procession as the body travelled into the city from outside the gates.[220] Armed soldiers, some carrying military standards and *fasces* (bundles of rods), marched in the procession, part of which traced the triumphal route along the eastern side of the Palatine to the entrance of the

---

[218] Perry 2012, 195.
[219] Other Roman aristocrats who planned their own funerals include Scipio Africanus (Livy 38.53.8), Caesar (Nic. Dam. 17.48 [FGHist. 90 F 130]), and Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 101.4; Dio Cass. 56.33.1). Petronius offers a parody of such aristocratic funerals in *Sat.* 71.
[220] App. *B Civ.* 1.105.493-106.500; Sumi 2002, 420-421.

Forum and along the Via Sacra. However, unlike the triumphal procession that ended at the Temple of Jupiter, Sulla's funeral procession paused at the Rostra for the *laudatio* (eulogy) and concluded in the Campus Martius where the body was burned. The associations with Jupiter and Romulus as triumphator are clear in the triumphal funeral procession. The procession passed many of Sulla's building projects, including the Lacus Curtius, which stands only steps from the Via Sacra. The Rostra, standing directly in front of the Lacus Curtius to the east with the Lapis Niger and new Curia immediately to the north, was the perfect setting to reflect upon Sulla's immense military and political accomplishments as well as his relationship with the divine. As participants and spectators gathered in the Forum Romanum to hear the laudatio, crowds would have unavoidably surrounded the Lacus Curtius precinct. From this perspective, the visually literate audience would have recognized Sulla's interventions at the Lacus Curtius as a continuum in the trajectory of Sulla's divinely sanctioned career.

The Lacus Curtius also represented a significant aspect of the peace and prosperity that Sulla brought to Rome following the civil war. Lucan informs us that Sulla was known as Salus Rerum, the personification of Rome's salvation. Sulla often promoted the notion that the prosperity and abundance of Rome was a direct result of his military victories and therefore came from his own person.[221] By examining inscriptions found in Rome, Sumi argues that certain rituals were conducted in Rome to symbolize Sulla's Salus Rerum as a source of well-being for all.[222] Two separate inscriptions that mention Stratonicea (81 BC) and Thasos (80 BC), cities that Sulla "liberated" from Mithridates, reveal that ambassadors from each city dedicated a crown to Jupiter Optimus

[221] Luc. 2.221; Weinstock 1971, 168; Sumi 422.
[222] Sumi 2002, 423-425.

Maximus on the Capitoline and offered a sacrifice during ceremonies over which Sulla presided.[223] Such gestures suggest that the eastern provinces honored both Sulla and Jupiter, representative of Rome, as their saviors.[224] This is not an isolated event in history. An inscription recording a Roman decree and subsequently the oath of the city Assus in the Troad presents an honor of Gaius upon his accession in A.D. 37.[225] An embassy of prominent Romans and Greeks from Assus travelled to Rome to dedicate the inscription and sacrifice at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The inscription informs us that members of the embassy prayed for the well-being of the new emperor.[226] Sumi concludes that the safety and welfare of the empire derived directly from that of the emperor; Sulla played a similar role in which he was salus rerum, the source of well-being for all.[227]

Suetonius documents the notion of salus (health, safety, well-being, salvation) at the Lacus Curtius during the reign of Augustus.[228] According to Suetonius, Roman equites celebrated the emperor's birthday (63 BC September 23) for two consecutive days. One birthday ritual involved tossing a small coin into the Lacus Curtius as a vow for his salus. By doing so, Romans believed that the emperor's continued health would ensure the continued health of the state. I suggest that the tradition of tossing coins into the Lacus Curtius as an offering towards a ruler's salus was in existence prior to the reign of Augustus. Considering Sulla's emphasis on his role as Salus Rerum, it may even be reasonable to argue that the tradition was initiated during Sulla's dictatorship.

---

[223] For the Stratonicea inscription, see Dittenberger 1903, 441**;** Sherk 1969, no. 18) II. 32, 125. For the Thasos inscription, see Sherk 1969 , 20. Col. II, fr. E, II. 7-8.
[224] Sumi 2002, 423-425.
[225] Sumi 2002, 423-425.
[226] Sumi 2002, 423-425.
[227] Sumi 2002, 425.
[228] Suet. *Aug.* 57.1.

Conclusion

As this chapter has argued throughout, Sulla intentionally crafted a new model of the successful general and politician, through his excellence in battle, potency in political matters, acquisition of divine favor, and construction or renovation of architectural projects. Sulla created a legacy that future generals, including Pompey, Caesar, and Augustus, closely followed. Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (106-48 BC) served as a close ally of Sulla, such that he protected the dictator's body following his death as well as later married his own daughter to Sulla's son, Faustus.[229] Like Sulla, Pompey held a two-day triumph with great extravagance to celebrate his victory in the East.[230] Following Sulla's example of building one of the first permanent tomb structures in the Campus Martius, Pompey built the first permanent theater complex in the Field of Mars. The younger general also adopted two of Sulla's patron deities, Venus Victrix and Felicitas, to whom he constructed a temple and shrine, respectively, in his theater complex.[231] The water features in Pompey's complex, however, varied greatly from Sulla's work at the Lacus Curtius. Sulla reworked an existing sacred precinct that celebrated the natural occurrence of water. Pompey's Maron Fountain and water cascade in the theater cavea, on the other hand, were highly artificial with aqueduct-fed water pumped into the secular environments of the garden and theater.

Gaius Julius Caesar (100-44 BC), great nephew of Sulla's nemesis Marius, attempted to distinguish himself from Sulla in his building projects.[232] On the Capitoline,

---

[229] Gisborne 2005, 122.
[230] Gisborne 2005, 122.
[231] For the Temple of Venus Victrix, see Gisborne 2005, 122; Gros 2000. For the shrine to Felicitas, see Gisborne 2005.
[232] Plut. *Vit. Caes.* 6.1-5; Mackay 2000, 166.

Caesar set up a replica of Marius' Jugurtha monument that Sulla had previously buried.[233] Caesar assumed an enormous project to remodel the Forum Romanum in conjunction with the construction of his Forum Iulium, during which time he removed the Curia rebuilt by Sulla and his son, Faustus. By doing so, Caesar effectively erased Sulla's presence from the building.[234] The new dictator apparently did not disagree with all of Sulla's projects because he too built his tumulus in the Campus Martius, which quickly became the home of imperial tumuli.[235]

Augustus, who does not appear to have been as antagonistic as Caesar toward Sulla's memory, built monumental fountains that follow the patterns utilized by Sulla. The emperor retained the ludi Victoriae Sullanae in the Augustan calendar, and he included a statue of Sulla in his collection of famous historical Romans in the Forum Augusti.[236] Sumi argues for a connection between the senatorial procession on the Ara Pacis and Sulla's funeral procession.[237] As Sumi suggests, both the conclusion of Sulla's career and the commission of the Ara Pacis demonstrated the senate's prominence in assuring the end to threats of civil war. Although Sumi does not state that Sulla presented a primary influence on Augustan policy, he does postulate that Sulla's public image that promoted peace and prosperity later became building blocks for Augustus' own imagery of peace, salvation, and civic harmony.[238]

Sulla clearly had tremendous influence over future generations, yet his mode of self-presentation was not entirely unique. Predecessors, including Titus Quinctius

---

[233] Sulla buried the monument because he and Marius were political rivals. Mackay 2000, 167.
[234] Gisborne 2005, 122.
[235] Plin. *HN* 7.158.
[236] Gisborne 2005, 122; Zanker 1988, 211; Kockel 1993.
[237] Sumi 2002, 431.
[238] Sumi 2002, 431.

Flaminius (229-174 BC), Lucius Aemilius Paullus (229-160 BC), and Gaius Marius (157-86 BC), were so successful in their military and political careers that they were able to appropriate public forms of expression for their own benefit.[239] Gisborne appropriately comments that Sulla's legacy demonstrates that he desired to emulate and exceed the dignitas of his ancestors and contemporaries, which ultimately limited his vision.[240] In order to accomplish this goal, the dictator pursued a monopoly of symbols of power rather than autocratic power itself.[241] Viewed in these terms, Sulla attempted a form of aemulatio with his own image as well as with existing monuments, such as the Lacus Curtius and Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. Just as one sees in architectural renovations, Sulla closely followed a model already set in place, but he ventured beyond the defined boundaries to create a self-representation greater than the Romans had ever experienced before. Although he was the first to seize power through military force and dominate Rome for a finite length of time, he certainly was not the last. His successors followed in the path of Sulla, yet continued to surpass his own model in the spirit of aemulatio. The rivalry between future generals and established roles of predecessors became symptomatic of the struggles that ultimately led to the collapse of the Republic.[242]

---

[239] Flaminius was the first Roman to present his portrait on a Roman coin; Paullus constructed a monument at Delphi commemorating his defeat over King Perseus; Marius erected a trophy on the Capitoline celebrating his victory over Jugurtha.
[240] Gisborne 2005, 122.
[241] Gisborne 2005, 122.
[242] Mackay 2000, 206.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LACUS IUTURNAE: A SYMBOL OF ROMAN ORIGINS

The Lacus Iuturnae, long considered to be a classic example of a natural spring monumentalized in the Greek tradition, is nothing of the sort. The quadrilateral recessed basin has clear Roman origins that monumentalize the marshy landscape at the time of Romulus' legendary foundation of the city in 753 BC. Geological evidence at the site is unable to prove the existence of a natural spring, yet it does reveal centuries of flooding. Archaeological remains demonstrate creation, or more likely retention, of a recessed hollow at the Lacus as early as the sixth century BC, centuries prior to the importation of Greek architectural forms. Examination of archaeological, geological, literary, and historical evidence concerning the Lacus Iuturnae allows for a revision of interpretation.

The Lacus Iuturnae endured centuries of use and commemoration, signifying its prominence in Roman culture. Literary sources indicate existence of the Lacus by the beginning of the fifth century BC, and archaeological evidence confirms continued use into the fifth century AD.[243] The monumental form of the Lacus Iuturnae underwent several renovations from the second century BC to the fourth century AD, yet retained the architectural integrity of its first permanent structure.

The fame of the spring of Iuturna resonated throughout Roman history as a place sacred to Castor and Pollux. According to Roman belief, the twins appeared at the Lacus Iuturnae in the Forum Romanum on two separate occasions. The first occurred in c. 498 BC immediately following the military victory of the consul and dictator Aulus

---

[243] For literary evidence of fifth century BC date, see Val. Max. 1.8.1; Dio. Hal. 6.13.4; Plut. *Vit. Aem.* 25.2; Plut. *Coriol.* 3.5. For archaeological evidence of use in the fifth century AD, see Steinby 2012, 58-59.

Postumius Albus at the Battle of Lake Regillus.[244] The dictator, having vowed a temple to the Dioscuri in return for their aid on the battlefield, successfully defeated the former king of Rome, Tarquinius Superbus.[245] The divine twins appeared soon after at the spring of Iuturna to announce the victory before news from the Roman camp had reached the capital. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch, two tall and beautiful youths of the same age appeared dressed in military attire.[246] Dripping with sweat and blood, they appeared to have come straight from battle. The two men watered and cooled their white horses at the fountain that rises near the Temple of Castor and Pollux and the Temple of Vesta.[247]

The Romans believed that the Dioscuri appeared once again at the Lacus Iuturnae in 168 BC to announce yet another military victory. The dictator Lucius Aemilius Paullus had defeated the Macedonian king Perseus at the Battle of Pydna, which effectively ended the Third Macedonian War. Similarly to their first recorded appearance more than three centuries prior to Paullus' conquest, the divine twins appeared at the fountain in the Forum Romanum to wash sweat and gore from themselves and their white horses.[248] In addition to their blood-stained appearance, Florus and Minucius Felix report that the

---

[244] Dio. Hal. 6.13.4; Plut. *Vit. Aem.* 25.2; Plut. *Coriol.* 3.5. Cicero states that the Dioscuri were present during the Battle of Lake Regillus. See Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.6.
[245] Livy 2.20.12.
[246] Dio. Hal. 6.13.4; Plut. *Vit. Aem.* 25.2; Plut. *Coriol.* 3.5.
[247] *Temple* of Castor and Pollux: Dio. Hal. 6.13.4-5; Plut. *Coriol.* 3.5. Temple of Vesta: Dio. Hal. 6.13.1-3.
[248] Val. Max. 1.8.1; Flor. 1.28.14-15; Min. Fel. 7.3. Cicero also reports that the Dioscuri announced the defeat of Perseus. However, Cicero places the twins on the road from Reate rather than at the Lacus Iuturna. In Cicero's account, the Dioscuri recounted the details to Publius Vatinius, who then carried the news to the Senate. See Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.6 for this version.

Dioscuri had traveled to Rome directly from battle in Macedonia because the brothers were still out of breath upon arrival.[249]

Lucius Aemilius Paullus (Pr. 191, Cos. 182, 168 BC) monumentalized the Lacus in c. 164 BC as a deep recessed rectangular basin built of cappellaccio, *opus incertum* (irregular facing), and Grotta Oscura tufa (fig. 7). As this chapter argues, the Lacus Iuturnae of Aemilius Paullus symbolizes Rome's origins at Samothrace, Troy, and Rome, as well as her rightful domination of the eastern homeland. I argue that the Lacus Curtius (c. 184 BC), which was monumentalized approximately eighteen years prior to the Lacus Iuturnae, commemorated the marsh in which Romulus defeated Titus Tatius in the eighth century BC and effectively established the first Roman state. The Lacus Iuturnae, also located in the flood plain of the Forum basin, presents many parallels to the Lacus Curtius, such as a lack of hydraulic feed lines, presence of hydraulic cement coating, and recession below the Forum floor. The similarities suggest the Lacus Iuturnae also celebrated the landscape of Rome's archaic past by allowing rain- and floodwater to remain in the basin as other areas of the Forum drained.

In addition, Rome's mythical foundation by Aeneas is firmly rooted in the Lacus Iuturnae through the Dioscuri. Critical to victories at Lake Regillus and Pydna, the Dioscuri were unequivocally associated with the Lacus, which stood only meters from their temple in the Forum Romanum. Well-known to mid-republican Romans, the Dioscuri were commonly associated with the Penates, the household gods that Aeneas transported from Troy to Italian soil. Through Dardanos, son of Zeus, both the line of Aeneas and the Penates ultimately originated on the island of Samothrace, where Paullus's men captured Perseus and secured Roman rule over the Macedonian empire.

[249] Flor. 1.28.14-15; Min. Fel. 7.3.

The message embodied in the Lacus Iuturnae is purely Roman. The monument is purely Roman.

Previous Scholarship

Scholarship devoted solely to the Lacus Iuturnae is quite limited. The most relevant publications are the excavation reports of Italian archaeologist G. Boni from the early twentieth century, and from Finish archaeologist E. M. Steinby, who directed excavations of the Lacus from 1982 to 1985.[250] Steinby's two edited volumes, *Lacus Iuturnae I* and *Lacus Iuturnae II: Saggi degli Anni 1982-1985*, discuss a variety of topics, including archaeological remains, literary sources, the Dioscuri, and religious aspects of the cult of Iuturna. However, little interpretation of the monument's function and symbolism appears in these volumes.

Beyond the work of Boni and Steinby, the Lacus Iuturna appears mainly in topographical dictionaries or studies of the Forum Romanum, including E. van Deman's 1922 article, "The Sullan Forum," and F. Coarelli's *Il Foro Romano*.[251] The monument also serves as supporting evidence in studies of building materials, such as Coarelli's article "Public Building in Rome between the Second Punic War and Sulla," in which he cites the 117 BC phase of the Lacus Iuturnae as an example of early opus incertum.[252]

In addition to studies directly addressing the Lacus Iuturnae itself, scholarship pertaining to mid- and late-republican politics, including the career of L. Aemilius Paullus, are particularly relevant to this study of the monument. W. Reiter provides a unique interpretation of Aemilius Paullus through readings of Polybius, Livy, and

[250] Boni 1900; Boni 1901a; Steinby 1989b; Steinby 2012.
[251] Dennison 1908, 324; De Ruggiero 1913, 279-281; van Deman 1922; Lugli 1946, 183; Coarelli 1985a, 227-255. See also Platner and Ashby 1929, 311-313; Nash 1961, 9-17.
[252] Coarelli and Crawford 1977. See also Blake 1947, I 255, II 26.

Plutarch.[253] Reiter convincingly demonstrates how motivations of these literary works have influenced scholarly interpretations of Paullus. Although the character of the general is important to this study, Roman perceptions of Paullus as a model citizen provides support to my argument that future generals and emperors intentionally used the Lacus Iuturnae as a source of inspiration for their own fountain designs. Aemilius Paullus and the traditions for which he stood were worthy of emulation.

Within his book on Republican Rome, E. Gruen covers a number of issues pertinent to my study, including the life and career of L. Aemilius Paullus, and the mixed Trojan, Greek, and Latin origins of the Roman people.[254] The relationship between the Dioscuri and the Lacus Iuturnae suggest an intentional reference to Rome's origins in Troy, Greece, and Latium. Aemilius Paullus had a personal connection with the Dioscuri, who announced the general's victory at Pydna. Having achieved domination of the Eastern world for Rome, I suggest Paullus monumentalized the Lacus Iuturnae to underscore Rome's presence in the land of her ancestors.

Beyond works addressing Roman politics, studies of Greek and Roman fountains are pertinent to this chapter as well. The Lacus Iuturnae, however, receives little attention in studies of Roman fountains. B. Longfellow's book, *Roman Imperialism and Civic Patronage*, is particularly important to the issues presented in this dissertation.[255] In the introduction of her study on imperial Roman fountains, Longfellow discusses Greek and republican precedents.[256] Although Longfellow provides little information concerning archeological or architectural remains, she clearly summarizes Aemilius Paullus' role in

---

[253] Reiter 1988.
[254] Gruen 1992. On the life and career of L.Aemilius Paullus, see 114-115, 141-145, and 245-248; for Trojan, Greek, and Latin Origins of the Roman people, see 6-51.
[255] Longfellow 2011.
[256] Longfellow 2011, 13-15.

the construction of the Lacus Iuturnae. In addition, Longfellow's approach of analyzing fountains in conjunction with motivations of patrons informs my own interpretations.

Similarly, the Lacus Iuturnae appears in D. Berg's dissertation, "Fountains and Artistic Water Displays in Classical Antiquity: Origins and Developments from 700 to 300 BC," but within the context of architectural development and innovation through archaic Greece to republican Rome.[257] Berg is primarily concerned with issues of reconstruction and provides little interpretation of the monuments within a cultural context.

This chapter aims to combine the archaeological, literary, and historical evidence to create a thorough and cohesive interpretation of the Lacus Iuturnae. In addition to compiling and assessing this quantitative data, my study proposes a new evaluation of the Lacus Iuturnae by exploring the motivations of the first known patron, L. Aemilius Paullus. As I suggest, Aemilius Paullus monumentalized the Lacus not only to celebrate his victory at Pydna, as others have already suggested, but also to symbolize Rome's rightful domination over the Eastern Mediterranean, the original home of the future Roman people.

History of Excavation

Sustained scholarly interest in the Lacus Iuturnae first appeared with the excavations of G. Boni, who published his report in 1901 in the *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichitá* (fig. 8).[258] During the 1900 season, Boni and his team excavated the Lacus,

[257] Berg 1994.
[258] Boni 1901a.

Temple of Vesta, and the stairs of the Temple of Castor and Pollux.[259] The report provides a detailed account of extant archaeological remains uncovered in 1900, as well as an overview of remains found in and near the basin, including sculpture, vases, jugs, amphorae, wood, and glass.[260] Despite the quantity of evidence discovered, Boni does not distinguish between building phases nor does he provide a chronology for the monument. Even though Boni's excavation report lacks thorough scientific documentation, it nevertheless became the basis of interpretation for almost one hundred years.

In 1955, Italian archaeologist, A. Davico, reported on the restoration of the Sacrarium of Iuturna for the Soprintendenza alla Antichità del Foro Romano e Palatino in the *Bolletino d'Arte*.[261] Davico was the first archaeologist after Boni to conduct extensive work in the area of the Lacus of Iuturna. Boni had recovered various marble fragments of the shrine, including one of the columns, broken in the three pieces, its base, and several elements in luna marble from the pronaos trabeation with a part of the epistyle that included the dedicatory inscription. Davico restored the second column and its base, the trabeation, and pediment in travertine as well as the cella walls with a brick similar in color and size to the original. Davico's brief entry does not offer any interpretation of the function of the monument.

Almost thirty years passed before the next intervention at the Lacus Iuturnae. From 1982 to 1985, E. M. Steinby directed excavations at the Lacus Iuturnae under the aegis of the Institutum Romanum Finlandiae. Steinby's explorations and subsequent

---

[259] Tea 1932, 150-154; Steinby 1985, 73. Boni's excavation reports for the area between the Temple of Vesta and Arch of Augustus, and later, along the east and west sides of the Temple of Castor and Pollux were never published.
[260] Boni 1901a, 81-131.
[261] Davico 1955. The project also included restoration of the Church of S. Maria Antiqua and the Nymphaeum of the Farnese Gardens on the Palatine.

publications of the site helped renew interest in the Lacus, which had received very little scholarly attention before this time. The first of Steinby's systematic and thorough reports, found in *Roma: Archeologica nel Centro,* reintroduced the Lacus Iuturnae to scholarship.[262] The entry provided a forecast of forthcoming publications that promised to include an organized survey of the general topography, cults, literary sources, and epigraphical evidence pertaining to the Lacus. Steinby devoted the bulk of the entry to re-examining material from Boni's excavation in conjunction with her own findings in order to devise a chronology of four building phases ranging from 164 BC to the Trajanic period.[263]

In 1989, Steinby published the edited volume, *Lacus Iuturnae I*, which focuses on subsidiary material and concepts to augment the historical understanding of the function of the Lacus.[264] Steinby herself addresses the location of the Lacus Iuturnae on the *Forma Urbis Romae* in relation to the Temple of Castor and Pollux.[265] Mika Kajava provides a catalogue of thirty-one inscriptions and fragments found in the area of the Lacus Iuturnae that include sacred inscriptions, public and honorary, a fistula, a Hebrew funerary inscription in Greek, and small fragments.[266] Jaako Aronen analyzes the cult of Iuturna and Liisa Harri reviews the sculptural remains and provides a chronology for the decorative elements.[267] Steinby's most recent publication, *Lacus Iuturnae II*, details findings from twenty soundings conducted during the 1982-1985 excavations.[268] In addition, Steinby provides updated analyses of the phases of construction of the Lacus

---

[262] Steinby 1985.
[263] Steinby 1985, 82-83 for an explanation of dates.
[264] Steinby 1989b.
[265] Steinby 1989a.
[266] Kajava 1989.
[267] Aronen 1989a; Harri 1989.
[268] Steinby 2012.

itself, from the first inception as a "primitive lacus" to the late antique and medieval periods.

Archaeological Evidence

The complete findings of Steinby's excavations, only recently published in 2012, allow for greater interpretative possibilities.[269] Steinby identifies seven securely dated phases of construction, renovation, or intervention at the Lacus from 164 BC to the medieval period. As an analysis of the Lacus Iuturnae attributed to Paullus, this chapter will consider the first three phases in detail, each of which provide considerable insight regarding the 164 BC construction.

Phase I (c. 164 BC)

The first securely identifiable remains of the Lacus Iuturnae consist of a large recessed rectangular basin with walls in opus incertum (fig. 9).[270] The basin is built on capellaccio pavement which stands at an elevation c. 9.64-9.82 masl, and is oriented north-south on the same axis as the Temple of Castor and Pollux. Boni first discovered this cappellaccio pavement in 1900, which he interpreted as the bottom of a "primitive lacus."[271] Steinby, on the other hand, identifies the pavement as part of the entire sixth century BC Forum paving.[272] Comparison of surviving paving stones from the Forum supports Steinby's argument.

The original basin of the Lacus Iuturnae is quite large. The short sides of the rectangle to the east and west measure 7.50 m each.[273] The southern wall extends for at least 8.20 m, and the exact length to north is indeterminable due to later construction. The

[269] Steinby 2012.
[270] For Phase I, see Steinby 1985, 82, fig. 2.; Steinby 1996, 169; Steinby 2012, 50-54.
[271] Boni 1901a ,112.
[272] Steinby 1996, 169.
[273] Steinby 2012, 52, Foglia PG1, pl. XLV, and fig. 16.

interior basin wall in opus incertum is c. 2.10 m in height, reaching an elevation of c. 11.78-11.80 masl. Steinby notes a layer of cocciopesto, 1-4 cm thick, on the southern interior wall, which she reconstructs across the entire basin interior, thereby rendering the structure impermeable.[274] Carefully placed Grotta Oscura blocks cover the summit of the interior basin wall, which created a clearly defined border for the Lacus.[275]

Archaeological evidence from this phase suggests a mid-second century BC date for the initial construction of the Lacus Iuturnae. The final elevation for Phase I at the Grotta Oscura border is 12.30 masl. This number corresponds closely to the elevation of the eastern side of the podium of the first Temple of Castor, whose elevation is 12.26 masl.[276] As Steinby argues, the partial reconstruction of the Temple of the Dioscuri in the middle of the second century BC, attributed to L. Aemilius Paullus, would have been a likely time frame for construction of the first monumental Lacus Iuturnae.[277] In addition, the similarity in elevation between the Lacus and temple confirms that Phase I of the Lacus Iuturnae was constructed prior to the Metellan reconstruction of the Temple of Castor after 117 BC, when the eastern crepidoma of the temple rose to 13.40 masl.[278]

During the 1900 excavations, Boni and his team discovered a sculptural group of the Dioscuri and their horses, broken in fragments, in the basin of the Lacus.[279] Boni

---

[274] Steinby 2012, 52.
[275] Grotta Oscura block dimensions: 55 cm high x 52 cm wide x 96-115 cm length.
[276] Aulus Postumius Albus vowed a temple to the Dioscuri during battle against Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, the last king of Rome, in 496 BC Postumius commenced constructed the following year, and his son dedicated the temple in 484 BC For the Temple of Castor and Pollux, see Nielsen and Poulsen 1992, esp. p. 66 for elevations.; Nielsen 1993.
[277] Steinby 2012, 53.
[278] Steinby 2012, 53.
[279] Rome, Antiquario Fornese, Inv. 3145-49, marble. The fragments consisted of part of a torso comprising back, breast, neck, shoulder and left arm of a nude youth (Inv. 3148); shoulder and right arm of another figure, nude like the first (Inv. 3146); part of the pelvis, right buttock, and leg from thigh to shin/tibia; head of a horse; fragments of the neck and breast, legs, abdomen, and pelvis of the two horses (Inv. 3149 Horse with full body and head, 186 cm); and two palmette

recognized signs of restoration and differing styles between the sculpted group of two brothers and two horses, which he interpreted as a copy of an original Greek group of the fifth century BC.[280] F. Coarelli originally dated the work in conjunction with Phase II (c. 117 BC) of the Lacus, but revised his assessment after Steinby's discovery of archaeological remains of Phase I.[281]

Liisa Harri proposes a limited chronology for the group from the middle to the end of the second century BC.[282] Harri dates Torso B and the two horses to the middle or beginning of the third quarter of the second century BC, and identifies stylistic influences from the fourth century BC on these particular figures. She dates Torso A slightly later to the end of the second century BC, with late severe style (c. 490-450 BC) influences. Despite the variation in style and quality, Harri argues that the two torsos and two horses clearly form one group. Harri also remarks that the more severe forms of the group correspond closely with the typical style of cult statues depicted within the republican era. This observation allows for possible interpretations of the religious role of the Dioscuri at the Lacus Iuturnae.[283] In addition, the stylistic dating by Harri concurs with literary evidence regarding the date of Phase I of the Lacus Iuturnae. Minucius Felix reports that the statues of the Dioscuri were installed in the Lacus after the Battle of

---

struts/supports for horses 0.78 and 0.82 m high. Boni 1901a 89-92, figs. 41-43; Martin 1987, 241-243, Cat. A 1.; Harri 1989.

[280] Boni 1901a, 89-92. See also Steinby 2012, 54.

[281] For Coarelli's first assessment, see Coarelli 1976, 26-27, 30, figs. 15-20. For his re-evaluation, see Coarelli 1985b, 156.

[282] Harri 1989, 188-198 for Harri's discussion of dating.

[283] Holloway 1995. Holloway discusses the warlike qualities of Iuturna, recipient of a temple in the Campus Martius vowed by C. Lutatius Catulus (consul in 242 BC). Due to the nymph's association with both the military and the Dioscuri, Iuturna was a desirable deity for Paullus to honor.

Pydna, indicating that the permanent Lacus either already existed by this time, or more likely, was constructed soon after Paullus' victory over Perseus.[284]

The presence of the Dioscuri group at the Lacus Iuturnae not only visually commemorated the victories of Postumius Alba (498 BC) and Aemillius Paullus (168 BC) but also allowed viewers to experience the miraculous appearance for themselves. As a visitor approached the Lacus, he or she would have witnessed the divine twins, embodied within the sculptures, watering their horses at the same spot where they appeared in 498 BC and 168 BC. I argue that a similar experiential recreation occurred during triumphal processions given that the Lacus Iuturnae is located only meters away from the Sacra Via, a major thoroughfare for republican and imperial processions. As a victorious general and his army viewed the Dioscuri group along the triumphal route, they would have recalled the victories of Postumius Alba and Aemilius Paullus, both of whom were instrumental in securing and expanding the domain of the Roman Republic.

Phase II (c. 117 BC)

In the second construction phase, the Lacus Iuturnae underwent several adjustments in configuration (fig. 10). The recessed basin was slightly reduced in size and restructured from a rectangle to an approximate square 7.80 m x 7.50 m.[285] A platform c. 1.20 m wide was created on top of all four interior walls. Archaic paving

[284] Min. Fel. *Oct.* 7.3; Harri 1989, 197. See also Clarke 1968 who provides a literal reading of Minicius Felix's *in lacu* and argues that the Dioscuri group was installed on the central pylon during Phase I. However, Clarke was unaware that the pylon is constructed of *opus incertum*, which dates it to the second phase. See also Del Chicca 1997, 238-240; Steinby 2012, 53. Archaeological evidence supports date of c. 164 BC for initial construction of the Lacus, rather than an earlier date.

[285] For Phase II, see Steinby 1985, 82; Steinby 1996, 169; Steinby 2012, 54-56. The north and south interior walls measure 7.8 m while the east and west interior walls measure 7.5 m.

stones formed a large wall in opus concretum that delineated the new southern border of the Lacus.

The most significant change to the Lacus was the addition of a pylon, built in the center of the basin, presumably to feature the Dioscuri group more prominently within the monument. This central pylon was rectangular in shape, measuring 1.85 m on the north and south sides, and 2.85 m on the east and west sides. The pylon was faced in slightly irregular reticulatum and surrounded on three sides by a low step of variable width.[286] Steinby reconstructs the sculptural group of the Dioscuri and their horses as standing on the pylon, facing north toward the southern branch of the Via Sacra, which would have ensured visual accessibility during triumphal processions.[287]

Both the platform and central pylon reached an elevation of 12.14 masl, slightly higher than the interior basin walls of Phase I, which measured at 11.80 masl.[288] The tufa containment wall also increased in height from 12.30 masl in Phase I to 13.44 masl in Phase II. This new elevation is consistent with that of the 117 BC reconstruction of the Temple of Castor and Pollux that stood at 13.40 masl, attributed to L. Caecilius Metellus.[289]

During the 1982-1985 excavations, Steinby's team also discovered preserved residues of cocciopesto on the platform and containment walls underneath the later

---

[286] Steinby 2012, 54. Steinby states that the *reticulatum* was not irregular enough to be considered *quasi reticulatum*. See figs. 7, 8, and 10 for the central pylon.
[287] Steinby 2012, 56. Steinby offers the opinion that the surface of the pylon was very narrow for the four aligned figures. See also Martin 1987, 241-243, pls. 98-103; 98-103 for the history of the Lacus Iuturnae and the Temple of the Dioscuri. Martin dates the group to the end of the second century BC in conjunction with the Metellan reconstruction of the temple.
[288] Steinby 2012, 55.
[289] Nielsen and Poulsen 1992 ,112.

imperial marble revetment.[290] Clamp holes, seen clearly on the southern side, present evidence of an earlier revetment in stone, prior to the existing imperial layer. Both the surviving cocciopesto and replaced stone revetment indicate a continued interest in the second construction phase to preserve the impermeable nature of the basin.

Phase III (Early Imperial Period)

The Lacus Iuturnae underwent renovations in the last quarter of the first century BC following a series of fires in the vicinity (fig. 11). The area of Iuturna suffered damage in 14 BC in a fire that also affected the Basilica Iulia and the Temple of Vesta.[291] Two years later in 12 BC another fire raged in the zone of the Temple of Castor.[292] Both M. E. Blake and E. La Rocca identify Tiberius as the patron of Phase III.[293] The future emperor, who presented himself as the new Castor, included the Temple of the Dioscuri and the Lacus Iuturnae in his program of reconstruction.[294] This imperial patronage further indicates the continued importance of the Lacus into the early imperial period.

The Lacus retained the same basic form as that of the previous phase, but received a number of aesthetic improvements (fig. 12).[295] The outermost limits of the monument were unaltered, thereby maintaining square dimensions of 7.80 m x 7.50 m. A wall, approximately 2.50 m thick of opus concretum faced with a rather irregular opus reticulatum, was built inside the Lacus, which reduced the internal basin to a square of 5 m x 5 m. The rectangular pylon in the center of the Lacus was covered with this same reticulatum lining. Luna marble revetment faced the newly built interior walls of the

---

[290] Steinby 2012, 55.
[291] Cass. Dio 54.24.2.
[292] Cass. Dio 54.24.2.
[293] Blake 1947, 255; La Rocca 1994.
[294] Champlin 2011.
[295] Steinby 2012, 55-57.

basin, which effectively concealed the cocciopesto layers from the previous two phases.[296] A ledge was created on top of all four new interior walls at an elevation of 12.14 masl, which was substantially lower than the outer containment wall that stood at 13.44 masl. This 1.30 m drop from the outer limits of the Lacus to the inner ledge below created a dramatic visual effect for the basin that extended for an additional 2.44 m to the bottom of the monument.[297] The ledge may have also served functional, in addition to aesthetic, purposes. The ledge measures 2.50 m in width, matching the thickness of the interior walls on which it stands. The width of 2.50 m allows an individual to walk comfortably and safely within confines of the inner basin. Such access to the interior of the basin may have facilitated maintenance of the monument as well as use of the water for religious and healing purposes.[298]

Although the form of the central pylon remained unchanged, it appeared to be further recessed in Phase III due to the increased height of the Lacus border. Additionally, the pylon platform appears to have served as a guide for the inner ledge that stood even with the pylon at 12.14 masl.[299] As Lugli observes, this elevation, which is 1.30 m lower than the imperial Forum level, corresponds to that of the Forum towards the end of the republican period.[300] Furthermore, the elevation of both the pylon and inner ledge closely match the level of the Grotta Oscura border of the Lacus of Aemilius Paullus, which reached an elevation of 12.30 masl.[301] I suggest that this correlation

[296] Steinby 2012, 56.
[297] Steinby 2012, 50. The elevation at the bottom of the basin was 9.82-9.64 masl.
[298] Aronen 1989a.
[299] Steinby 2012, 55.
[300] Lugli 1946, 183.
[301] Steinby 1985, 82; Steinby 2012, 52.

signifies an intentional reflection upon the first monumentalized form of the Lacus Iuturnae.

Alterations to the basin indicate a continued presence of water at the Lacus. During Phase III, two openings were cut in the marble pavement at the bottom of the basin at the northeast and northwest corners.[302] These cuttings led to shafts that travelled through two layers of black and brown clay to the level of the natural gravel. As Albert Ammermann notes from his geological explorations in the Forum Romanum, the permeable gravel beds at the base of the Capitoline and Palatine Hills provided excellent conditions for seepage of groundwater and occurrence of natural springs.[303]

In addition, Steinby's excavations found evidence indicating insertion of water channels to feed the Lacus Iuturnae in Phase III.[304] Following demolition of a complex to the south of the Lacus, a travertine block along the southern side of the monument was removed to allow for a channel to run from the border of the basin along a wide curve to the shaft in front of the Sacellum of Iuturna.[305] Evidence for a second channel, no longer preserved, appears on the west side of the basin, near the southern corner, where the containment wall presents a break at c. 11.78 masl.[306] Boni proposed that the channels supplied the basin with water to maintain an artificial level equal with the height of the inner platform.[307] Steinby, however, argues that both channels served to supply the basin

[302] Steinby 2012, 56.
[303] Ammerman 1990, 636.
[304] Steinby 2012, 57.
[305] The channel, which reached an elevation of c. 11.75 masl, measured 20 cm in circumference and c. 8 cm in diameter.
[306] Boni mentions presence of this channel, which he describes as a lead tube with a diameter of 0.07 m and length of 0.56 m, found in pieces. Boni 1901b, 85.
[307] Boni 1901b, 76, 85.

with water yet she does not address signs of drainage.[308] The addition of supply lines supports the argument that the Lacus was not fed from a natural spring in antiquity. The upgrades to the Lacus Iuturnae at the end of the first century BC indicate continued, and possibly increased, importance of the site more than 150 years following initial construction.

Phase IV (Trajanic Period)

The Lacus underwent only minor renovations in Phase IV, mostly in relation to adjacent structures.[309] A ramp, commonly identified as the *scalae Graecae* that originally provided access to the Palatine Hill, was eliminated and replaced by Corridor 13. In addition, a large hall with a cross vault ceiling, Sala 5, and a platform, vano 17, were constructed to the east of the Lacus Iuturnae. The platform, located between the basin and Sala 5, extended the border of the Lacus at the eastern platform by 50 cm. Steinby notes that although the motivation for the construction of Sala 5 may have been functional, it nonetheless resulted in a dramatic backdrop for the Lacus and sculpted Dioscuri group.[310]

Phase V (Late Severan Period)

In the third century AD, construction of an oblong sala on the Trajanic platform (vano 17) from the previous phase altered the shape of the Lacus Iuturnae.[311] The western wall of the new sala joined a large arch composed of bricks, set up on the north and south sides of the platform of the Lacus.[312] This effectively cut through the eastern end of the

---

[308] Steinby 2012, 57. Steinby also notes that neither of the two pipes survive with inscriptions, which she presents as evidence of a connection with an aqueduct.
[309] For Phase IV, see Steinby 1985, 82; Steinby 1996, 169; Steinby 2012, 45-46, 58. Boni dates structures from Phase IV to the Hadrianic period. See Boni 1901a, 86.
[310] Steinby 2012, 58.
[311] For Phase V, see Steinby 2012, 58.
[312] The brickwork presents characteristics of the late severan period. See Steinby 2012, 58; Lugli 1946, 183.

basin, which consequently shortened the north and south sides by c. 2 m. The narrow room of vano 17, whose west wall loomed over the basin permanently, removed visual communication between the Lacus and the backdrop created by Sala 5.

Phase VI (Early Fourth Century AD)

Construction around the Lacus Iuturnae at the beginning of the fourth century AD greatly impacted the monument.[313] A building, which Steinby identifies as the new *statio aquarum,* inaugurated in 328 AD, encompassed the monumental basin. The new encircling walls obstructed the Lacus visually, but a large axial entrance on the west side allowed the basin to remain accessible to the public.

Phase VII (Late Antique to Medieval)

The 1982-1985 excavations did not find evidence pertaining to structural alterations at the Lacus Iuturnae following the construction of the statio aquarum in Phase VI.[314] However, Boni recorded large quantities of debris and material from various phases, including a fifth century AD wooden fragment with the figure of Christ inscribed and medieval water jugs, indicating continued use at the site.[315] At some point during this phase, the statues of the Dioscuri, Diana Ephesina, and Serapis were thrown into the basin as well. Although Boni suggests that the amount of debris found in the basin indicates an interruption of activity at the Lacus, Hülsen, Aronen, and Steinby argue the opposite.[316] Archaeological evidence, including a medieval staircase into the basin and maintenance of the pozzo, denotes continued use of the water even after Iuturna and the Dioscuri were no longer prominent in Roman religion.

---

[313] Steinby 2012, 58.
[314] Steinby 2012, 58-59.
[315] Boni 1901a, 89-106.
[316] Boni 1901a, 88. See also Hülsen 1906, 70; Aronen 1989a, 149; Steinby 2012, 58-59.

The Lacus Iuturnae: A Monument to the Roman Landscape

The Lacus Iuturnae has remained in relative obscurity in modern scholarship, with the exception of Boni's and Steinby's excavation reports and analyses.[317] However, literary and archaeological evidence suggest that the monument held a rather prominent position within Roman politics, religion, and daily life. Examination of archaeological and literary dates, architectural form, and association with divine and human benefactors allows for interpretation of political motivations.

Based on archaeological evidence, Steinby dates the first architectural monumentalization of the Lacus Iuturnae to c. 164 BC following the Battle of Pydna.[318] At the time of construction, the Lacus was only one of several monuments situated along the base of the Palatine Hill, along the southern edge of the Roman Forum. Within the vicinity stood also the Temple and Atrium of Vesta to the east, and the Temple of Castor and Pollux only meters to the west.[319]

As is the case with the Lacus Curtius in the Forum Romanum, literary dates of the Lacus Iuturnae do not correlate with the archaeological evidence. Primary sources report two visits from the Dioscuri, both of which date prior to surviving archaeological remains. Valerius Maximus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Plutarch speak of the existence of the Lacus Iuturnae as early as c. 498 BC when the Dioscuri appeared following the victory of A. Postumius at the Battle of Lake Regillus. According to Valerius Maximus, Florus, and Minucius Felix, the Dioscuri appeared a second time in

---

[317] Steinby 1985; Steinby 1989b; Steinby 1996; Steinby 2012.
[318] Steinby 1985, 82, fig. 2.; Steinby 1996, 169; Steinby 2012, 50-54.
[319] Temple of Vesta (reign of Numa, 715-673 BC): Ov. *Fast.* 6.257-60; Dion. Hal. 2.66.1; Festus 320L; Plut. *Vit. Num.* 11.1; Richardson 1992, 412-413.
Temple of Castor and Pollux (484 BC): Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.13; Dion. Hal. 6.13.4; Mart. 1.70.3; Livy 2.20.12, 2.42.5; *FUR* pl. 21.18; Nielsen et al. 1985; Nielsen and Poulsen 1992; Richardson 1992 74-75.; Nielsen 1993.

168 BC to announce Paullus' victory over Perseus at the Battle of Pydna. The fifth century date suggests existence of the Lacus, perhaps in a natural form, more than three hundred years prior to the monumentalization of Aemilius Paullus.[320] The second date of 168 BC supports the theory of a natural pool prior to the construction attributed to Aemilius Paullus four years later in 164 BC.[321]

The discordance between literary and archaeological dates is striking. According to archaeological evidence, Paullus did not monumentalize the adjacent Lacus until after his return from Greece. Yet, literary sources indicate memory of a water-filled hollow or pool remained in Roman consciousness.[322] I propose that literary references to the fifth and second century Lacus Iuturnae reflect remnants of the natural environment prior to the Forum fill in the seventh and sixth centuries BC[323] Following literary sources, Boni proposed that a natural spring originally fed the monumentalized Lacus Iuturnae.[324] According to Boni, a depression in the earth occurred naturally, which allowed water to collect in a deep pool, or lacus. He interpreted the archaic cappellacio paving stones below Phase I as the foundations of a "primitive lacus" to explain the existence of the fifth century Lacus mentioned by Valerius Maximus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Plutarch.[325]

---

[320] Val. Max. 1.8.1; Dio. Hal. 6.13.4; Plut. *Vit. Aem.* 25.2; Plut. *Coriol.* 3.5.
[321] Val. Max. 1.8.1; Flor. 1.28.14-15; Min. Fel. 7.3. Cicero also reports that the Dioscuri announced the defeat of Perseus. However, Cicero places the twins on the road from Reate rather than at the Lacus Iuturna. In Cicero's account, the Dioscuri recounted the details to Publius Vatinius, who then carried the news to the Senate. See Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.6 for this version.
[322] Nielsen 1993.
[323] As T. Cornell has demonstrated, the natural landscape was instrumental in Roman construction of daily life. He argues that the reorganization of the Forum led to the introduction of the religious calendar. Cornell 1986, 126.
[324] Boni 1901a, 48.
[325] Boni 1901a, 112; Val. Max. 1.8.1; Dio. Hal. 6.13.4; Plut. *Vit. Aem*. 25.2; Plut. *Coriol.* 3.5.

Boni's assessment of the monument prevailed throughout most of the twentieth century. Many scholars, including Platner and Ashby, Blake, Gjerstad, Nash, and Richardson repeated and perpetuated the notion of a natural spring at the Lacus Iuturnae.[326] However, Steinby's excavations in the early 1980s presented new information that deserves further recognition. Steinby argues that a constructed fountain, rather than one from a natural source, was possible by the time the cults of Iuturna and the Dioscuri entered Rome at the end of the seventh to the beginning of the sixth century BC.[327] Steinby's excavations confirmed that building activity in the lowest archaic strata were higher than the cappellaccio paving stones beneath the Phase I foundations.[328] The alignment and uniformity of the paving stones found at the Lacus and at various points throughout the Forum verify chronological parallels. Unfortunately, Steinby is unable to prove her interpretation unequivocally because Boni's excavations completely eliminated the relevant strata, for which he failed to maintain proper documentation.[329]

Steinby's proposal of a constructed Lacus by the seventh to sixth century BC warrants further consideration. No architectural remnants of a possible archaic monument survive, other than the recessed cappellaccio paving stones that conform with those found in the archaic Forum. The lower elevation of these paving stones is significant because it indicates intent. Rather than paving the southern end of the Forum at a uniform elevation, a gap was either intentionally preserved or created. I propose the former.

---

[326] Platner and Ashby 1929, 311-313; Blake 1947, 255; Gjerstad 1953 IV, 385-387; Nash 1968, 9-17; Richardson 1992, 231.
[327] Steinby 2012 50-51. Van Deman also disagreed with Boni, see van Deman 1922, 5. For the cult of Iuturna, see Aronen 1989a; Aronen 1989b. For the cult of the Dioscuri, see Geppert 1996, 23-32.
[328] Steinby 1985, 76; Steinby 2012, 50.
[329] Steinby 1985, 74. Steinby does not include this archaic level as a building phase precisely because the archaeological data from this period is so sparse.

Geological explorations at and near the Lacus Iuturnae confirm existence of water at the site prior to the Forum fill c. 650-575 BC. Through geological soundings, A. Ammerman has reconstructed various elevations in the Forum basin prior to human intervention.[330] His findings reveal a deep stratigraphical basin with the so-called Equus Domitiani and Lacus Curtius at the lowest point of less than 7 masl, and the Tabularium at the highest elevation of c. 30 masl.[331] The site of Lacus Iuturnae originally stood at an elevation of c. 8.50 masl along the cusp of a natural ledge of the Forum basin.[332] This ledge, located at the base of the Palatine and Capitoline Hills, contained permeable gravel beds that, as Ammerman proposes, allowed groundwater to seep to the surface.[333]

In addition, examination of the archaic and republican strata has led Ammerman to conclude that the area endured repeated flooding prior to the Forum fill.[334] E. Gjerstad's excavations near the Arch of Augustus reveal flood sediments in Stratum 11, indicating that floods reached levels of c. 11 masl in the seventh century BC[335] During this period, the site of the Lacus Iuturnae, which stood at c. 8.50 masl, would have been buried by 2.50 m of water during heavy inundation.

The question remains, however, why the Romans chose to construct a permanent monument at the site when the entire area between the Temples of Vesta and the Dioscuri was susceptible to wet conditions, even after the monumental Forum fill and drainage project. I propose that a physical depression existed in the natural landscape that collected

---

[330] Ammerman 1990.
[331] Ammerman 1990 634, figs. 2-4.
[332] Ammerman 1990 634.
[333] Ammerman 1990 636.
[334] Ammerman 1990 636.
[335] Gjerstad 1953 III, 271; Gjerstad 1954-1955, 279-283.

and retained flood- and rainwater after other portions of the Forum had drained. The physical construction at the site memorialized this aspect of the ancient landscape.

Literary sources support my assertion that the Lacus Iuturnae was not a natural spring. In Book 5 of *De Lingua Latina*, Varro provides definitions for *lacus*, *lympha*, and *fons*. According to Varro, a lacus is an area that contains water.

> *Lacus lacuna magna, ubi aqua contineri potest*.[336]
>
> A lake is a large hollow, where water can be confined.

Varro translates lympha conceptually as water from a nymph.

> *<In> contrariis diis, ab aquae lapsu lubrico lympha. Lympha Iuturna quae iuvaret: itaque mult aegroti propter id nomen hinc aquam petere solent.*[337]
>
> Among deities of an opposite kind, water-nymph is derived from the water's slippery gliding. Juturna was a nymph whose function was to give help; therefore many sick persons, on account of this name, are wont to seek water here.

The definition of fons, on the other hand, clearly pertains to a monument with a water supply, either natural or man-made.

> *Fons unde funditur e terra aqua viva, ut fistula a qua fusus aquae*.[338]
>
> A spring is that from which running water is poured out of the earth, just as a pipe is that from which there is a outpour of water.

With the exception of two authors, surviving Latin sources favor use of lacus or lympha/nympha in reference to the Lacus Iuturna as a pool or hollow containing water.[339] Significantly, Frontinus and Statius, the two sources that describe the site as a fons, were both writing in the late first century AD, almost one century after hydraulic feed lines

---

[336] Varro, *Ling*. 5.4.26. Translation from Roland 1993, 24-25.
[337] Varro, *Ling*. 5.10.71. Translation from Roland 1993, 68-69.
[338] Varro, Ling. 5.28.123. Translation from Roland 1993, 118-119.
[339] For *Lacus*, see Ov. *Fast.* 1.708; Val. Max. 1.8.1; Flor. 1.28.14-15; and Min. Fel. 7.3. For *lympha/nympha*, see Varro, *Ling*. 5.10.71; Prop. 3.22.26. Frontinus and Statius use the term *Lacus*: Frontin. *Aq.* 1.4; Stat. *Silv*. 4.5.33-36.

were added to the Lacus in Phase III in c. 6 BC, effectively transforming the Lacus into a fons.

The literary evidence, coupled with archaeological and geological data, strongly suggests that the monumentalized Lacus Iuturnae preserved the memory of a natural recession in the landscape, rather than a natural spring. Geological findings reveal consistent alluvial sediments rather than a sustained source of groundwater. At some point between the seventh and fifth century BC, the site became associated with both Iuturna and the Dioscuri, and therefore assumed a sacred quality.[340] Although Steinby is unable to prove the existence of an archaic stone monument, the sixth century recessed cappellaccio paving stones at the site may indicate desire to maintain rather than eliminate this sacred natural hollow during the monumental Forum fill.

Regardless of the identification of the archaic paving stones, republican Romans intentionally left the space void given that Steinby found no indication of earth-removal or pavement cuttings to create such an indentation in the land. The first securely dated architectural form of the Lacus (Phase I, c. 164 BC) was waterproof. The layer of impermeable cocciopesto, 4 cm thick, on the interior basin walls would have prevented water from seeping laterally into the soil.[341] Although no traces of cocciopesto appeared on the cappellaccio foundation, the thickness of the blocks, c. 53 cm each, would have aided in water retention.[342] In addition, no evidence of hydraulic feed lines exists during this phase.[343] The thick foundations, hydraulic coating on basin walls, and lack of water

[340] As Boni and Steinby both suggest, the presence of the Lacus Iuturnae provided a sacred context for the Temple of Castor and Pollux, whose construction began in 495 BC Boni 1901a, 47; Steinby 1996, 170.
[341] Steinby 2012, 53.
[342] Steinby 2012, 53.
[343] Steinby 2012, 52-53.

pipes therefore suggests that the water source flowed into the Lacus from above rather than from below.

Phase III (c. 6 BC) first introduced hydraulic feed lines to the Lacus Iuturnae, which transformed the monument into a proper fons.[344] Boni discovered two channels, which he interpreted as one supply and one drain to maintain an artificial level of water within the basin.[345] Steinby, however, rejects this interpretation and argues that both channels were supply lines.[346] I propose that the addition of hydraulic channels indicates continued interest in preserving the memory of the flood- and rainwater pool. Development of sophisticated drainage throughout the republican period diminished the occurrence and duration of flooding in the Forum Romanum. Therefore, the artificial supply of water ensured continuation of the Lacus.

The Patronage of Lucius Aemilius Paullus and the Collective Glory of Rome

Scholars commonly attribute the monumentalization of the Lacus Iuturnae to Lucius Aemilius Paullus based on literary sources that recount the appearance of the Dioscuri at the Lacus following Paullus' victory at Pydna in 168 BC.[347] Steinby has confirmed this assumption through archaeological investigations that record corresponding elevations between Phase I of the Lacus Iuturnae and the partial renovation of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, also attributed to Paullus following his

[344] Boni 1901a, 48; Steinby 2012, 57.
[345] One lead tube survived in pieces with a diameter of 0.07 m and length of 0.56m. The second tube is no longer preserved, but the cuttings for the channel remain in blocks from the first phase. Boni 1901a, 85.
[346] Steinby notes that neither channel survives with inscriptions, which indicates connection with an aqueduct. Steinby 2012, 57.
[347] Platner and Ashby 1929, 311-313; Blake 1947, 255; Gjerstad 1953 IV, 385-387; Nash 1968, 9-17; Richardson 1992, 231.; Longfellow 2011, 14-15.

return from Greece.[348] Steinby and Longfellow have both proposed that Paullus monumentalized the Lacus Iuturnae as a victory monument, ensuring commemoration of his defeat of Perseus for years following his triumph in Rome.[349] This chapter argues, however, that while Paullus pursued a form of personal commemoration, the thrust of his architectural projects celebrated the collective glory of Rome. Examination of other water monuments in Rome, including the Lacus Curtius (184 and 78 BC), Appiades Fountain (45 BC), Augustan Meta Sudans (7 BC), and Mars Ultor Fountain (2 BC), throughout the dissertation will reveal a gradual chronological shift from collective to individual glory.[350]

The literary works of Polybius, Livy, and Plutarch provide valuable insight into the life and career of L. Aemilius Paullus.[351] Scholarship, on the other hand, is fairly limited and tends to perpetuate the dichotomies of either the virtuous model citizen, or the ruthless and greedy general.[352] W. Reiter has published the most complete study of Aemilius Paullus to date.[353] In his book, *Aemilius Paullus: Conquerer of Greece,* Reiter reads relevant passages in Polybius, Livy, and Plutarch to review the image of L. Aemilius Paullus, both in antiquity and in modern scholarship. Reiter believes that modern scholars have been influenced by ancient sources without thoroughly considering

---

[348] Steinby 2012 53. See also Nielsen and Poulsen 1992, esp. p. 66 for elevations.; Nielsen 1993.
[349] Steinby 2012, 54; Longfellow 2011, 14.
[350] Lacus Curtius: Boni 1903-07; van Deman 1922; Tomassetti 1906; Giuliani and Verduchi 1987; Giuliani 1996b.
Appiades Fountain: Ulrich 1986a; Ulrich 1993; Amici 1991.
Augustan Meta Sudans: Panella 1988; Panella 1990; Panella 1996b; Panella and Zeggio 2004.
Mars Ultor Fountain: Anderson 1984; Carnabuci 2006; Meneghini 2006; Ungaro 2007.
[351] Polyb. 18.1, 18.35.4-6, 27.10.3, 29.27.12, 30.10.3-6, 30.13.1-11, 30.14, 31.22.1-5, 31.28.5-6, 32.1-2; Livy 44.17.1, 44.17.6, 44.18.1, 44.40.4-10, 45.6.1-45.9.7, 45.27.5-45.28.5, 45.33.5-6, 45.39.5, 45.40.4; Plut. *Vit. Aem.* 2.5, 17.7-13, 18.1, 19.4-6, 23, 24.3-6, 28.1-11, 34.3-7, 39.6-9.
[352] Klebs 1893; Broughton 1951-1952; Meloni 1953; Stanley 1954; Gundel 1964; Mommsen 1965; McDonald 1970; Vianoli 1972; Reiter 1988.
[353] Reiter 1988.

the motivation behind these works.[354] Paullus was certainly extraordinary in his own day because his leadership led to the fall of Macedon and, subsequently, to Roman occupation of the known eastern Mediterranean world. Reiter, however, clearly demonstrates how and why Polybius, as a client of Paullus, depicted primarily the positive characteristics of the Roman general.[355] Later authors, including Livy and Plutarch, inflated Paullus' fame and virtue to create a model of true republican dignity. Although the study presents evidence of certain undesirable actions of Paullus, such as the sack of Epirus, Reiter demonstrates how the general's identity became malleable to suit the needs of imperial politicians.[356]

As Polybius recounts the Third Macedonian War, the author presents two opposing characters. Paullus shines as the honorable and virtuous leader, while Perseus appears indecisive and cowardly, destined to carry out a war initiated by his father.[357] Following the Battle of Pydna, Polybius' *Histories* are fragmentary, but H. Nissen argues that the detailed accounts found in Livy and Plutarch are Polybian in origin.[358] Therefore, Livy and Plutarch are essential not only to the reconstruction of events following Pydna, but also to the developing fame of Paullus following his death.

According to Polybius, Livy, and Plutarch, Perseus invoked Hercules during the Battle of Pydna, but his prayers were ignored. Hercules had already given his divine aid to Paullus and the Romans.[359] Having acknowledged defeat, Perseus fled the battlefield,

---

[354] Reiter 1988, 15.
[355] Reiter 1988, 20-21.
[356] Polyb. 31.29.8; Reiter 1988, 109-146.
[357] Paullus' *virtus:* Polyb. 18.35, 31.22-30. Perseus' cowardice and fate: Polyb. 20.18, 25.3.1-8, 29.21, 29.27.12. Reiter 1988, 20-68.
[358] Nissen 1863, 264-271, 273.
[359] Polyb. 29.16, 29.17.3-4; Plut. *Vit. Aem.* 17.7-13, 19.4-6; Livy 44.37.12, 44.42.2. Reiter 1988, 53.

which both the Romans and Macedonians perceived as cowardly, and the king's cavalry deserted him.[360] Perseus first fled from Pella to Amphipolis, then to Samothrace where he sought asylum.[361] The king's own actions, however, compromised his assurance of safety on Samothrace. Perseus had previously ordered Evander to kill Eumenes at Delphi, but the attempt had failed.[362] Upon hearing of the conspiracy, the Samothracians demanded that Perseus allow Evander to stand trial. Rather than concede, Perseus had Evander killed on Samothrace, which polluted the purity of the sanctuary. The king's crimes led his loyal soldiers to desert to the Romans. In addition, the Cretans, who had promised to help Perseus escape, robbed and deserted him on Samothrace.[363] With nothing left, Perseus finally surrendered to the Romans.

The fall of Macedon was a momentous event in Roman history. As the heir of Philip II and Alexander the Great, Perseus was the most powerful king to have been captured by this time. His empire fell into Roman control, thereby securing Roman domination over the entire eastern Mediterranean world.[364] Aemilius Paullus, as commander of the Roman army, was responsible for such a monumental victory.

Following Perseus' capture, Paullus embarked on a tour of monuments in Greece.[365] While in Delphi, Paullus inspected an unfinished pillar monument of Perseus. The general ordered the Greek sculptors to continue the work, but commanded them to place a statue of himself, rather than of Perseus, at the summit.[366] As E. Gruen argues, the

---

[360] Livy 44.43; Plut. *Vit. Aem.* 23. Reiter 1988, 53-54.
[361] Livy 44.43; 44.45; 45.4.2-7; Plut. *Vit. Aem.* 23. Reiter 1988, 54; Wescoat 2013, 49-51.
[362] For the attempted murder of Eumenes and the murder of Evander, see Livy 45.5.3-12; Diod. Sic. 29.25. Reiter 1988, 54; Wescoat 2013, 49-50.
[363] Livy 45.6.1-12. Reiter 1988, 54.
[364] Polyb. 1.1.3-4; 1.1.5; 1.2. Reiter 1988, 21.
[365] Livy 45.27-34. Gruen 1992, 141.
[366] Polyb. 30.10.2; Plut. *Vit. Aem.* 28.2; Livy 45.27.7. Gruen 1992, 141-145.

sculpted frieze, which clearly depicts Roman victory at the Battle of Pydna, the statue of Paullus, and the inscription, *L. Aimilius L. f inperator de rege Perse Macedonibusque cepet* (L. Aemilius Paullus, son of Lucius, victorious general [set this up from the spoils which he] took from King Perseus and the Macdonians), all clearly communicate Rome's dominance over Greece.[367] In addition, Gruen remarks that the genre and style of the monument would have been familiar to Greek visitors to Delphi, and therefore would have made a greater impact upon this audience.[368] The message would have been unmistakable: Rome prevailed as conqueror of Greece.

The appropriated monument at Delphi is important to our understanding of Paullus' monumentalization of the Lacus Iuturnae in Rome. As this chapter argues, the Lacus Iuturnae symbolized Rome's origins in both Greece and Troy, and therefore her rightful domination of the region. The Delphic monument reinforced this theme.

Roman Origins, Roman Dominance

Two important events marked Paullus' role in the fall of Macedon. First, the appearance of the Dioscuri at the Lacus Iuturnae announcing the Roman victory over Perseus. Second, the capture of Perseus on Samothrace. I argue that Paullus' interventions at the Lacus memorialized both of these events and, subsequently, signified Rome's perpetual glory.

The connection between the Dioscuri and Samothrace is not merely coincidental. Romans exhibited increased interest in Rome's Trojan ancestry by the early third century BC.[369] Although details varied amongst Greek and Latin authors, the canonical founding

[367] Gruen 1992,141-142. For the frieze, see Kähler 1965; Pollitt 1986, 155-158. For the inscription, see *ILLRP* 323.
[368] Gruen 1992, 145.
[369] Wescoat 2013, 51-55.

of Rome stemmed from Aeneas.[370] However, as the Trojan prince himself informs Achilles in the *Iliad*, Aeneas was the descendant of the Greek king, Dardanos, son of Zeus.[371] The fifth century BC chronicler, Hellanikos, had already identified Samothrace as the homeland of Dardanos, who moved his people to the Troad following a devastating flood.[372] In addition, S. Cole and B. Wescoat argue that fragments of the Hesiod catalogue may indicate existence of the Dardanos legend and Samothracian connections as early as the eighth to seventh century BC.[373]

Construction on both Samothrace and Ilion suggests an intentional attempt to reinforce ties between the island and Troy. On Samothrace, this is particularly evident in the third century BC Faux Mycenaean Niche and Theater. The Niche, built into the southern retaining wall east of the Stoa, contains a lintel and relieving triangle that resemble architectural elements of Mycenaean tomb entrances.[374] As Wescoat remarks, recreation of Bronze Age type monuments was rare in Hellenistic Greece, and the Faux Mycenaean Niche was perhaps a form of commemoration of Samothracian connections with Troy.[375]

The Theater on Samothrace, constructed possibly as early as the mid-third century BC, also indicates commemoration of Samothracian-Trojan connections. Wescoat suggests that the theater offered an ideal setting for performances of the life of Dardanos. Dymas of Iasos, whom the Samothracians honored in c. 200 BC, produced a drama

---

[370] Diocles of Peparethus (mid or late third century BC), adopted by Fabius Pictor; Naevius and Ennius, see Serv. *Ad Aen.* 1.273; Plut. *Vit. Rom.* 3.1-3. For a detailed account of authors and versions of the founding myth, see Gruen 1992, 6-20; Wescoat 2013, 52.
[371] *Il.* 20.251-282. Wescoat 2013, 52-53.
[372] *FGrHist* 4 F23.
[373] Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.1. Cole 1989, 1590; Wescoat 2013, 52-53.
[374] Wescoat 2013, 64. James McCredie inteprets this monument as a symbolic tomb of the founder of the Samothracian cult, Aetion. McCredie 1974.
[375] Wescoat 2013, 64-65.

celebrating the patriarch of Samothrace.[376] Performances of the work of Dymas in particular appeared in the Samothracian Dionysia, which as Wescoat argues, allowed the story of Dardanos to disseminate publically.[377] The Samothracians were therefore already promoting their connections with Troy through Dardanos by 168 BC when Paullus visited the island to seize Perseus.

B. Rose's work on Troy provides further evidence of kinship ties between Samothrace and the Troad. According to Rose, the West Sanctuary at Ilion was constructed precisely during the period when Roman interest in Trojan ancestry swelled in the second half of the third BC through the middle of the second century BC.[378] Although Rose has discounted epigraphic evidence for a Samothrakeion within Troy, he does cite three decrees published at both Ilion and Samothrace that strongly suggest worship of the Megaloi Theoi, the Samothracian Great Gods, in the West Sanctuary at Troy.[379] Incidentally, the West Sanctuary provided a direct view of the island of Samothrace, reinforcing geographical proximity of the two states.

Wescoat makes a compelling argument that construction on Samothrace and Troy in the third and second century BC indicates a desire by the inhabitants of these two states to reinforce ties of kinship with each other and with Rome. In addition to increased interest in the Trojan lineage of Rome in literature, evidence increases for Roman visitors

---

[376] Wescoat 2013, 66.
[377] Wescoat 2013, 66-67.
[378] Rose 2003, 62. See also Wescoat 2013, 55.
[379] A second century BC sympolity agreement, discovered in 1870-1871 in quadrats C4/5, references a Sanctuary of the Samothracian Gods where a copy of the decree was to be erected. Scholars had previously considered this sympolity to be evidence of a Samothrakeion in the West Sanctuary of Troy. However, Rose argues that the decree refers to a Samothrakeion in Skamandria. Since the inscription had been published in the temenos of Athena, Rose argues that it was therefore erected in Sanctuary of Athena at Ilion and in the Sanctuary of the Samothracian Gods at Skamandria. Rose 2003, 62. For inscriptions of the decrees, see Frisch 1975, nos. 45, 63; *OGIS* 225, 25.

to Samothrace beginning in the late third century BC for religious motivations.[380] Surviving inscriptions recording names of initiates into the cult of the Great Gods reveal that the majority of Roman initiates traveled from the city of Rome rather than from provincial areas. The testimonia, dedications, and initiate lists indicate that the Roman visitors primarily visited the Northern Aegean for military, political, or commercial pursuits. A detour to the island of Samothrace, whose harbor approach could be quite treacherous, required further resources, time, and dedication beyond a planned route. Yet, as the evidence shows, a great many Romans did take such risks to reach Samothrace, presumably to establish personal connections with Rome's ancestry.

The origin of the Penates also reflects increased Roman interest in Samothracian and Trojan kinship. L. Cassius Hemina, writing in the mid-second century BC, reports that the Penates originated from Samothrace.[381] According to Hemina, through Macrobius, the Penates are called θεούς μεγάλους (theoús megálous/Great Gods), θεούς χρηστούς (theoús christoús/Good Gods), θεούς δυνατούς (theoús dynatoús/Powerful Gods).[382] The first title appears in Samothracian inscriptions identifying the Great Gods, which therefore suggests a direct correlation between the Roman Penates and Samothracian Gods.[383] Hemina, Atticus, Varro, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus all trace transference of the Penates from Samothrace to Rome. The latter three authors sequentially develop the story further, adding Aeneas as the bearer of the Penates in

---

[380] Wescoat 2013, 58-63.
[381] Macrobius reports on the work of Hemina. Macrob. *Sat.* 3.4.7-9; Lewis 1959, 84, n. 182; Cole 1984, 100-103; Cole 1989, 1588-1596.; Wescoat 2013, 53.
[382] Wescoat 2013, 55.
[383] Fraser 1960, 41-57, nos. 9-11, 13-15, 18; McCredie 1979; Wescoat 2003, 103-104, figs. 3, 5, 8.

addition to more complex routes.[384] The literary evidence reveals that by the mid-second century BC the Samothracian Great Gods had unequivocally entered the Roman foundation legend through Dardanos and Aeneas, and had transformed to some degree into the sacred Roman Penates.

Fausto Zevi cites Paullus' seizure of Perseus on Samothrace as a terminus ante quem for the full development of the doctrine of Samothracian origins for the Roman Penates.[385] By studying the triangulation of Rhodes, Samothrace, and Rome, Zevi argues that the Samothracian Kaberoi, or Great Gods, had transformed into not only the Roman Penates but also the Lares Permarini prior to the dedication of the Nike of Samothrace, commonly dated to the first half of the second century BC[386] O. Palagia, however, dates the Winged Victory slightly later to the mid-second century BC based on stylistic correlations with the Great Altar of Pergamon.[387] Considering historical circumstances in the region during this period, Palagia concludes that Aemilius Paullus commissioned the Nike as a victory monument commemorating his defeat of Perseus in 168 BC. Although Wescoat does not discount Palagia's theory, she reminds her readers that a purely allegorical dedication by a Roman in a Greek sanctuary has no parallels in the second

---

[384] For a summary of the differing versions of the transference of the Penates to Rome, see Wescoat 2013, 55.
[385] Zevi 1997, 93-95.
[386] According to I. Mark, B. Ridgway, and M. Hamiaux, the Rhodians erected the Nike to celebrate the Lares Permarini for their assistance in the Roman naval victory over Antiochus the Great off the coast of Myonessos. The Roman commander, Lucius Aemilius Regillus, assisted by a Rhodian fleet, vowed a temple to the Lares Permarini during battle. The temple to the Lares Permarini in Rome, which Zevi identifies as an octastyle temple in the Campus Martius, and the Nike of Samothrace commemorate this victory that effectively secured control of the Dardanelles for Rome and her allies. Mark 1998; Ridgway 2000, 150-154; Hamiaux 2007, 36-44.; Zevi 1997, 93-95; Wescoat 2013, 54.
[387] Palagia 2010.

century BC.[388]

Similar to Wescoat, I acknowledge that no conclusive evidence exists to firmly assign the Nike to Aemilius Paullus. However, after review of historical, literary, and archaeological evidence tying Paullus to Samothrace and the Dioscuri, I propose to expand Palagia's argument and suggest that the general not only commissioned the Nike as a victory monument, but more specifically to the manifestation of the Kaberoi-Penates-Dioscuri-Lares Permarini as a celebration of Roman domination in the eastern Mediterranean.

The archaeological evidence documenting relationships amongst the Great Gods of Samothrace, Penates, Lares Permarini, and Dioscuri receives support through literary evidence. A passage by Diodorus Siculus, later retold by Valerius Flaccus, explains the transformation.[389] According to Diodorus, a storm developed during the Argonauts' voyage to Colchis. Orpheus prayed to the Great Gods of Samothrace, who calmed the winds. Shortly thereafter, flames appeared above the heads of the Dioscuri, indicating their new status as guardian deities of sailors.[390]

The Dioscuri proved to be faithful guardian deities of Aemilius Paullus as well. The twins assisted the general in battle, announced his victory at the capital, and ensured safe travels in the Aegean and Mediterranean. The victory, situated in a period of great fervor concerning Rome's Trojan ancestry, fatefully concluded on Samothrace, where the Roman people ultimately originated. Paullus' defeat of Perseus solidified Rome's

---

[388] Wescoat 2013, 75.
[389] Diod. Sic. 4.43; Val. Flac. 1.568-573; Plin. *HN* 2.101.5; Rebeggiani 2013, 61-62.
[390] This image of flaming heads becomes standard iconography for the Dioscuri by the time of Augustus. Rebeggiani 2013, 62.

domination over the Greek world. Perhaps the Nike monument, in its purely allegorical form, symbolized Rome's connection to her Trojan origins.

Conclusion

This chapter argues that the Lacus Iuturnae stood not only as a victory monument to Paullus but more importantly as symbol of Rome's ancestral connections to Samothrace and Troy, and consequently of her rightful rule over the eastern Mediterranean. In this manner, Paullus exhibited the revered qualities of a republican Roman general.

Polybius presented Paullus as a worthy symbol of Roman rule throughout the Greek world. The general's moderation and clemency, interest in religious shrines, and moral instruction were all qualities of an exemplary ruler.[391] However, Paullus exhibited no interest in becoming such. According to Polybius, and later Diodorus, the general simply served as a model for his fellow soldiers and magistrates, who collectively would continue to expand Rome's dominion to the delight of future subjects.[392]

As Reiter demonstrates, however, Aemilius Paullus was not perfect.[393] He suffered military defeat by the Lusitanians in Spain in 190 BC, and he unsuccessfully ran for consul in 186/7 and 185 BC Paullus refused to recognize Perseus' title of "king" following capture. The general also sacked Molossia for switching allegiance to Perseus,

[391] Polyb. 18.35.4, 31.22.1-5.
[392] Polyb. 29.21; Diod. Sic. 30.23.2. Reiter 1988, 57.
[393] Reiter 1988, 109-146.

and sacked and obliterated Epirus as a message to Greece not to resist Roman rule. Yet, as evidenced in literature, Romans continued to praise Paullus for his role in expansion of the Roman Empire. The image of the virtuous republican general superseded any notions of inadequacy or cruelty. It was precisely this image that survived as a model for future generals, dictators, and emperors who wished to glorify Rome's past as well as their own individual triumphs.

CHAPTER THREE

THE APPIADES IN THE FORUM IULIUM: A FOUNTAIN OF DIVINE LEGITIMACY

Located in Caesar's newly built Forum in Rome, the Appiades Fountain was constructed directly in front of the *rostra*, the speakers' platform, of the Temple of Venus Genetrix, ancestress of Caesar's family, the Julian *gens* (clan/family) and the Roman people (fig. 13). The only scholar to inspect the square basins of the fountain and publish his findings at any length is Roger Ulrich, who provides a thorough description of the archaeological remains as well as a hypothetical reconstruction.[394] Ulrich suggests that the fountain functioned as a protective barrier between speakers on the rostra and spectators at the forum level. Although Ulrich's physical reconstruction of the fountain is convincing, his brief explanation concerning its function as a barrier is insufficient.

Through examination of historical context, I propose that the primary purpose of this fountain was to express Julius Caesar's divine descent from Venus herself. Exploration of the symbolic value of the Appiades Fountain offers a more nuanced reading of Caesar's continuing quest for supreme power in the middle of the first century BC. Immediately prior to the Battle of Pharsalus in 48 BC, Caesar vowed to build a temple to Venus Victrix if the goddess aided him in battle.[395] Having successfully defeated Pompey in battle, Caesar returned to Rome victorious and kept his promise to Venus. However, rather than constructing a temple to Venus Victrix as vowed, Caesar dedicated his temple to Venus Genetrix. Significantly, the Appiades Fountain is therefore

[394] Ulrich 1986a.
[395] App. *B Civ* 2.68, 2.81; Anderson 1984, 41; Ulrich 1986a, 405; Amici 1991, 29.

associated with Venus the Ancestress, the embodiment of Venus that legitimized Caesar's claim as *dictator perpetuus*, dictator for life.

The name "Appiades Fountain" is a modern construct imposed by twentieth century scholars based on three brief literary passages in Ovid and Pliny, none of which unequivocally identify the fountain at the base of the Temple of Venus Genetrix.[396] Ovid provides a Temple of Venus as a suggested location for romantic encounters in Rome in his *Ars Amatoria*. In two separate passages, the poet identifies Venus directly as an Appian nymph as well as being in the company of Appian nymphs.[397] In *Remedia Amoris*, Ovid again identifies Venus as the Appian, who disapproves of quarrels with former lovers.[398]

As early as the 1930s, prevailing scholarship has associated the Appiades Fountain with a bronze statue group of Appian nymphs by the neo-attic sculptor, Stephanos, based solely on a passage in Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*.[399] However, Pliny does not specifically locate the statue group. Rather, the author provides a list of noteworthy works of art in the collection of Asinius Pollio. Close examination of literary passages by Ovid and Pliny the Elder in conjunction with archaeological evidence suggests the Appian group by Stephanos did not decorate the Appiades Fountain in the Forum Iulium and therefore was not the primary identifying factor for the fountain.

Instead, as I argue, the primary identification of Venus as the Appian served to emphasize Venus' association with water. The basins at the foot of the Temple of Venus Genetrix visually recalled the venerated lacūs in the Forum Romanum. However, unlike

---

[396] Ov. *Ars am.* 1.81-82, 3.451-452; Ov. *Rem. am.* 660; Plin. *HN* 36.4.33.
[397] Ov. *Ars am.* 1.81-82, 3.451-452.
[398] Ov. *Rem. am.* 660.
[399] Plin. *HN* 36.4.33.

the naturally occurring pools in the adjacent Roman Forum, the pools in Caesar's forum were artificial and manmade. Caesar thereby constructed a built narrative celebrating Venus' role as ancestress to the Roman race. As the mother goddess, Venus literally provided life-sustaining water for the Romans at the base of her temple, which enshrined the goddess herself. Symbolically, the water signified Venus transferring ruling authority to her descendant, Caesar. A precious resource in ancient Rome, the water appeared to have originated from underneath the Temple of Venus Genetrix, a sacred area that Venus granted to Caesar as a reward for quelling the civil war with Pompey. Within this carefully formulated narrative, the Appiades Fountain symbolized the intricate relationship between the goddess of peace and her earthly intercessor.

Previous Scholarship

Studies analyzing the Temple of Venus Genetrix and the Forum Iulium overwhelmingly overshadow serious consideration of the Appiades Fountain as an individual monument.[400] C. Ricci, the Italian archaeologist who directed excavations of the Forum Iulium from 1930-1933, never published his report of the fountain.[401] In his fieldwork review, published in *Capitolium* in 1932, Ricci entirely omits archaeological data concerning the fountain. However, he does identify the basins as a fountain associated with bronze figures of the Appian nymph, based on a passage by Ovid.[402]

In 1936 O. Grossi published the findings of A. Muñoz, director of the X. Ripartizione Antichità e Belle Arti del Governorato di Roma.[403] With Muñoz's permission, Grossi briefly presented findings from the 1932 season in English. Although

[400] Grossi 1936; Hastrup 1962; Amici 1991; Ulrich 1993.
[401] Ricci's field reports, including elevations, are now housed in the Archivio Storico Capiolino.
[402] Ov. *Ars am.* 1.81; Ricci 1932b, 160.
[403] Grossi 1936.

Grossi provides no archaeological evidence concerning the fountain, he does provide one of the few plans of the Temple of Venus Genetrix that includes the basins.[404] Concerning the fountain wall, the scholar suggests three possible functions as a ceremonial balustrade, support for the equestrian statue of Caesar, or as a component of a fountain of the Appiades.[405] Grossi echoes the consideration of Ricci that the fountain was associated with the Appiades, based solely on literary evidence.[406]

G. Lugli, in his 1946 *Roma Antica,* likewise identifies the two basins as a fountain that was once adorned with statues of Appian nymphs, as told by Ovid.[407] Despite noting the presence of two distinct basins, Lugli omits them entirely from his plan of the Temple of Venus Genetrix.[408] Even though the Italian scholar does not offer an interpretation of the basins, he does suggest that the wall standing between them formed a tribunal rather than a structural component of the fountain.

For fifty years following initial excavation, archaeological data concerning the basins continued to be sparse while the identification of the remains became widely accepted as the Appiades Fountain. Scholars relied on Ovid and Pliny due to limited access to both the site and original excavation reports. Yet, the literary sources alone lack enough specification to convincingly reconstruct the monument. Therefore, the fountain remained little known and little understood.

---

[404] Grossi 1936, pl. 47.
[405] Grossi 1936, 219-220.
[406] Ov. *Ars am.* 1.81-82, 3.451-452; Ov. *Rem. am.* 660; Plin. *HN* 36.4.33.
[407] Lugli 1946, 253. Lugli cites Ov. *Ars am.* 1.79 as the corresponding passing, but 1.81-82 is the accurate passage.
[408] Lugli 1946, pl.5.

Roger Ulrich provides the most detailed archaeological report of the Appiades Fountain to date in his 1986 article.[409] Upon first-hand inspection of the fountain, Ulrich became the first scholar to publish elevations and plans of the monument, more than fifty years after the excavations of Ricci. Ulrich did not participate in systematic excavations of the site, and consequently some of his data has been disproven.[410] Nonetheless, Ulrich introduced a serious discussion of the monument beyond possible affiliations with Appian sculptures, as had been the prevalent trend in scholarship.

Shortly after publication of Ulrich's article on the Appiades Fountain, C. Amici presented her monograph on the Forum Iulium in 1991.[411] Amici supplies the first systematic account and analysis of the entire area encompassed by the Forum Iulium, including the Temple of Venus Genetrix, the porticus, and the tabernae. Her comprehensive findings contribute considerably to the dating of building phases of the Appiades Fountain, allowing for the distinction between Caesarian construction, Augustan intervention, and Trajanic refurbishment.

R. Meneghini's monograph on the imperial fora, published in 2007, is also instrumental in the interpretation of the Appiades Fountain.[412] Meneghini assumed direction of the imperial fora excavations in 1991, where he and his team actively worked until 2008. Although Meneghini does not address the fountain at considerable length, his discoveries concerning preceding habitation in the area of the Forum Iulium provide new possibilities for interpretation of patron motivations.

---

[409] Ulrich 1986a.
[410] See Amici 1991, 36, 88.
[411] Amici 1991.
[412] Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007.

Despite the concentrated studies of Ulrich and Amici, the Appiades Fountain continues to remain relatively obscure in scholarship. Often connected to one- to two-line passages in Ovid and Pliny that lack specificity, the fountain deserves further analysis that favors archaeological and art historical assessment over literary evidence. This study reveals a monument deeply embedded in the historical tradition of celebrating the topography of Romulean Rome while also promoting Caesar's military and political authority over the rapidly expanding Roman domain.

History of Excavation

Glimpses of the Forum Iulium first appeared to modern Italians in the middle of the 16th century. During construction of a house for Cardinal Andrea della Valle, builders discovered remains of the Temple of Venus Genetrix.[413] The excavations were not systematic and details of the site were never published. However, Italian architects Antonio Labacco and Andrea Palladio did publish their own reconstructions of the temple. [414] Although both plans were later proven to be incorrect, the publications nonetheless helped generate great interest in the area.

From 1930-1933 C. Ricci directed excavations in the Forum Iulium, during the construction of the Via dell'Impero.[415] As part of Mussolini's urban revitalization program, the area between the Colosseum and the Piazza Venezia underwent a massive series of demolitions and excavations.[416] Ricci's work of systemization and restoration, however, was restricted by the blueprint of the Via dell'Impero. His team was able to uncover two-thirds of the forum while the eastern side of the Temple, fountain, and

[413] Ricci 1932a,162-163.
[414] Ricci 1932a, 163; Labacco 1552; Palladio 1570.
[415] The Via dell'Impero was officially opened on April 9, 1932. The road is now known as the Via dei Fori Imperiali. Ricci 1932a.
[416] Amici 1991, 13-20.

portico were sacrificed for the road construction and attendant landscaping above.[417] As a result, the eastern basin of the Appiades Fountain has not survived in its entirety. Although it is possible to reconstruct the basin based on the dimensions and design of the western basin, critical archaeological data is now unretrievable. The majority of Ricci's excavations focused on the Temple of Venus Genetrix, the Basilica Argentaria, Clivus Argentarius, and the tabernae.[418] The omission of archaeological data concerning the Appiades Fountain in Ricci's publications indicates treatment of the fountain as a secondary component to the Forum rather than as an individual monument.[419]

Most recently, R. Meneghini directed excavations of the imperial fora under the aegis of the Sovraintendenza del Comune di Roma from 1991-2008. As found in Ricci's archaeological report, Meneghini's publication of the Forum Iulium devotes very little attention to the Appiades Fountain. Instead, the work favors discussion of the Temple of Venus Genetrix, the portico and the tabernae.[420] Meneghini's work remains valuable to a study of the fountain, however, due to his revised chronologies for pre-habitation in the area and for building phases throughout the Forum Iulium.

Archaeological Evidence

The Appiades Fountain exhibits two distinguishable phases of construction and refurbishment. The exact date of Phase I is debatable. Archaeological data and literary references confirm the existence of the fountain at least by the Augustan period.[421] However, interpretation of fountain construction during the republican period strongly

---

[417] Lugli 1946, 247.
[418] Amici 1991, 13-20.
[419] Ricci 1932a, 160. Sketches and reliefs from Ricci's excavations are housed in the Archivio della Rip. X del Comune di Roma, and photographs are housed in the Gabinetto Stampe e Disegni.
[420] Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007, 31-42., 31-42.
[421] Amici 1991, 99; Ov. *Ars am.* 1.81-82, 3.451-452; Ov. *Rem. am.* 660; Plin. *HN* 36.4.33.

suggests that the Appiades Fountain was indeed part of the original Caesarian plan for the Forum Iulium. The second phase is firmly established during the Trajanic period in conjunction with the emperor's reconstruction of the Temple of Venus Genetrix.[422]

Phase I (Late Caesarian to Augustan Period)

The initial configuration of the Appiades Fountain consisted of two raised, yet shallow, square marble basins, situated at the foot of the podium of the Temple of Venus Genetrix, directly in front of the lower moldings of the reconstructed Trajanic temple (fig. 14-15).[423] Ricci excavated the entire west basin, but was able to uncover only one-third of the east basin due to the construction of the Via dell'Impero.[424] Therefore, evidence from the surviving west basin aids reconstruction of the east basin. Ulrich argues for a reconstruction of each basin to 2.90 x 2.90 m (fig. 15, b).[425] The entire southern edge of the west basin is preserved to a length of 2.90 m. However, the western flange of this basin is preserved only to 2.60 m, but is clearly broken at the northern extension. Ulrich argues that it could continue further for a maximum of 30 cm, which allows for the reconstruction of a 2.90 m square basin.[426]

The basins of the Appiades Fountain present a departure from the deeply recessed basins of the Lacus Curtius and Lacus Iuturnae. The floor of the west basin is level with the travertine forum paving stones, and raised cyma reversa moldings delineate the

---

[422] Amici 1991, 75-136.
[423] Ulrich 1986a, 405.
[424] Ulrich 1986a, 411.
[425] Ulrich 1986a, 412.
[426] Ulrich does not explain why he thinks the western flange could continue for an additional 30 cm. However, upon inspection of the fountain, it is appropriate to assume that he based his assessment on the location and orientation of surviving paving stones situated between the west basin and the Temple of Venus Genetrix.

surviving perimeters of each basin (fig. 16).[427] Sections of the basin molding and floor were carved continuously from one piece of marble rather than as separate components.[428] The cyma reversa stands at a height of 10 cm from the marble basin floor, thereby creating an extremely shallow pool.[429]

Ulrich argues that the hydraulic feed lines traveled from the Capitoline Hill, through the temple podium, and terminated underneath the forum paving, an assertion that Amici discounts.[430] Ulrich contends that a traceable line found in the core of the podium running along the main axis of the temple towards the forum is evidence of one water channel. Amici, on the other hand, challenges this interpretation by arguing that these remains are not ancient as they sit within a portion of modern reconstruction. In addition, this hydraulic line does not appear in the reliefs published by A. Bardon in 1940, thereby supporting Amici's claim that it is indeed modern in origin.[431]

Despite misinterpretation of this particular piece of evidence within the temple podium, Ulrich nonetheless contributes valuable data and interpretation of the Appiades Fountain. Ulrich reports remains of several channels of a pipeline that ran underneath the forum's travertine paving stones.[432] One such channel is found between the lower moldings of the rostra and north side of the Trajanic fountain wall, while two more run along the north and south sides of the wall. The pipeline channels run west to east at the fountain basins at approximately the same latitude as the supply line found underneath Taberna n. 3. Therefore, a reconstructed connection of the two lines into one is quite

---

[427] Ulrich 1986a, 411.
[428] Ulrich 1986a, 411.
[429] Ulrich 1986a, 411.
[430] Ulrich 1986a, 417; Amici 1991, 88.
[431] Bardon 1940, fig. 135.
[432] Ulrich 1986a, 417-418.

feasible. Continuation of the taberna feed line into that of the fountain also indicates that the initial hydraulic system was constructed in Phase I.

Traces of a hydraulic feed line survive below Taberna n. 3 to the west of the Appiades Fountain, which indicate intentional water supply to the monument.[433] Amici dates this conduit to either the end of the Caesarian period or during the reign of Augustus. Her examination of the area reveals that a feed line was constructed underneath a preexisting Caesarian ramp prior to Augustus' completion of the tabernae. Brick walls encased the water channel, which was covered by cappallaccio blocks. The entire line is untraceable as portions are obstructed across the western section and destroyed in the terminal sector to the north. However, certain surviving elements allow for a partial reconstruction. The conserved bipedales floor of the northern section of the taberna documents a slope underneath the stairs of the Caesarian ramp. Amici traces this decline in elevation as well as the trajectory of the surviving conduit segments to reconstruct a feed line that imported external water to the fountain basins at the foot of the Temple of Venus Genetrix.

Evidence of drainage is also visible in Taberna n. 3. Although heavily damaged, Amici is nonetheless able to identify a connection of a drainage channel with an excavated *cuniculus* (underground passageway) in the virgin tufa terrain.[434] Built into the interior corner of an exterior wall of Taberna n. 3, this conduit most likely funneled rainwater from the roof of the building to the underground cuniculus.[435] Such intentional

[433] For discussion of hydraulic feed line and drainage channel in Taberna n. 3, see Amici 1991, 124-125.
[434] Amici 1991, 126.
[435] Amici 1991, 126, figs. 182 and 232, C.

drainage systems prevented substantial flooding in the forum, thereby allowing the Appiades Fountain basins to prominently retain water in the historically marshy area.

In addition, surviving remnants of a concrete and rubble foundation indicate careful consideration of construction in order to ensure stability of the basins as well as efficient water abduction. A drainage hole, c. 30 cm in diameter, survives in the west basin. Ulrich argues that water flowed westward way from the temple toward the portico by traveling through a 35 cm wide drainage channel, evidence of which is discernably nestled in a recessed path between forum paving stones (fig. 15, c and fig. 17).[436] The east basin lacks evidence of drainage, but presumably employed a similar mechanism as the west basin to discard overflow.

Phase II (Trajanic Period)

Archaeological evidence indicates that the Appiades Fountain stood intact in front of the Temple of Venus Genetrix for approximately 150 years before the first appearance of significant refurbishment. The fire of AD 64, which caused damage in the Forum Iulium, provided an impetus for repairs in the area. Domitian (AD 81-91) undertook an expansive program of construction and reconstruction. The emperor restored the Curia and the southern end of the Forum Iulium, refurbished the façade along the Argiletum, began demolition of the saddle between the Capitoline and Quirinal hills, and initiated refacement of the Temple of Venus Genetrix.[437]

Trajan (AD 98-117) completed the unfinished Domitianic projects in the Forum Iulium in addition to constructing a separate forum in his own name. The Forum of Trajan connected to Caesar's forum in the space created by the demolition of the saddle

[436] Ulrich 1986a, 412, fig. 413c.
[437] Amici 1991, 65-74; Meneghini 2009, 50; Martial 10.28.5-6 for the removal of the isthmus.

between the Capitoline and Quirinal hills, directly to the north of the Forum Iulium. Trajan celebrated the completion of his massive building program on May 12, AD 113 when he dedicated both the reconstructed Temple of Venus Genetrix and the new Column of Trajan.[438] Having previously dedicated the Forum Traiani and the Basilica Ulpia the year prior, Trajan's choice to dedicate the Temple of Venus and Colum of Trajan jointly as the symbolic conclusion to his building program suggests that the emperor intentionally fashioned himself as a rejuvenated Caesar.

The east and west basins exhibit no signs of substantial repair or reconstruction in Phase II. Amici confirms that the east and west basins were not altered in size during the Trajanic period. However, indentations in the east basin signify a make-shift intervention for overflow of water (fig. 15, d).[439] Cuttings, c. 34 cm wide, appear on the eastern and southeastern edges of the marble cyma reversa moldings of the west basin. Evidence of the surviving channel from Phase I at the western end of the forum suggests that water would have typically drained underground to the sewer below. Yet, these cuttings in the east basin indicate that drainage from this particular basin had become problematic. Therefore, during periods of high volume, water was allowed to flow directly onto the forum floor. The lack of such cuttings on the west basin suggests drainage continued to flow appropriately away from this basin.

The construction of the fountain wall and addition of a central basin remain as the most significant contributions to the Appiades Fountain from the reign of Trajan. The wall, 80 cm in width, consists of two sections stretching between the east and west basins, broken in the center for 3.95 m by a third additional basin (fig. 15). Each section

[438] Amici 1991, 77; Meneghini 2009, 50.
[439] Ulrich 1986a, fig. 3d; Amici 1991, 100, fig. 169.

of wall stands on a concrete and rubble foundation, outlined with a spiccato floor with brick stamps dating to the late Trajanic, and even perhaps early Hadrianic, period.[440] According to Ulrich, the brickwork is of poor quality, which also aids in his dating of the wall.[441]

The original height of the wall is indeterminable. At the tallest point, the wall now stands 1.20 m above the forum floor. Both Ulrich and Amici conjecture the initial construction to be slightly higher. Ulrich offers a reconstruction of no higher than a man's chest so that the lower moldings of the temple rostra would remain visible.[442] Only two sections of marble blocks of the lower wall molding survive at the west end of the wall. However, the entire length of decorative molding can be reconstructed along the footprint of the wall. The forum paving stones south of the wall were scored, which is still visible, to allow the marble moldings to stand partially on the forum floor and partially on the wall foundation. Based on this in situ scoring of the travertine paving stones, Amici reconstructs the eastern and western sections of the wall across the entire façade of the Temple of Venus Genetrix, limited only by the three basins.[443] Each wall stands within 1.80 m of the corresponding end basin and once directly abutted the central basin.

Ulrich and Amici offer differing interpretations concerning the hydraulic channels in Phase II. Amici argues that the Trajanic reconstruction utilized the same hydraulic feed and drain routes as those employed in the Caesarian origin. I offer a summary of the

[440] Ulrich 1986a, 412; Amici 1991, 99, fig. 166.
[441] Ulrich 1986a, 414.
[442] Ulrich 1986a, 414.
[443] Amici 1991, 99.

dispute between Ulrich and Amici to demonstrate the complexity of the archaeology, which easily leads to misunderstandings and misinterpretations.

Ulrich reports evidence of three hydraulic channels cut into the north face of the east wall (fig. 15, i).[444] He argues that the water pipelines traveled through the temple podium and rostra to the fountain wall. Concealed within the lower moldings of the fountain wall, Ulrich suggests the pipes then turned at 90 degree angles to feed the east and west basins. Amici, however, disagrees with Ulrich's assertion based on several pieces of archaeological evidence.[445] As already noted, the traces within the temple podium that Ulrich identifies as pipelines are not ancient. In addition, the presence of a hydraulic feed line west of the fountain basins, constructed in Phase I, renders an additional supply line with a similar function redundant. Third, Ulrich's reconstruction of these pipelines poses a complicated system of access for repairs. His conjectural hydraulic lines are located within the temple and fountain wall foundations, joined at angles, and partially obstructed by travertine blocks at the extremity of each wall. The identified supply and drainage line to the west of the fountain, on the other hand, is located in an easily accessible position underneath a row of removable paving stones. Amici's final evidence in opposition to Ulrich's proposition relates to the fountain wall moldings. Ulrich argues that pipelines that originated in the temple podium were concealed underneath the moldings on the north face of the wall. However, as Amici asserts, no evidence exists that moldings were present on the north side of the wall because it was inaccessible, invisible, and therefore unnecessary.

[444] Ulrich 1986a, 415.
[445] Amici 1991, 100.

The additional third basin stands directly at the center of the temple façade between the east and west basins (fig. 15, f and fig. 18).[446] Two blocks that form the southeast corner of the basin survive in situ. Construction appears less refined than the east and west basins. The remaining marble blocks were not created solely to define the borders of the basin. The section at the eastern border, for instance, was reworked from a cornice block.[447] Unlike the east and west basins with delicately carved cyma reversa, the central basin exhibits a simple square flange only on the surviving eastern edge.[448]

Although incomplete, Ulrich reconstructs this basin as 3.95 x 4.15 to 10 m.[449] The break in the fountain wall offers a secure width of 3.95 m. However, no evidence survives that indicates the limit of the northern edge of the basin. According to Ulrich, if the basin extended to the lower moldings of the temple podium, as did the east and west basins, the length would be 10 m.[450] Yet, if the basin ended at the northern edge of the fountain wall, the length would measure 4.15 m.[451] Regardless of the exact dimensions, the central basin is unmistakably substantially larger than the east and west basins that measure 2.90 x 2.90 m.

Evidence of both temporary balustrades and a permanent fence survive in situ. Circular cuttings survive in paving stones east of the west basin and again in paving stones south of the west fountain wall (fig. 15, y and z, and fig. 19).[452] Lack of metal residue leads Ulrich to suggest that these circular cuttings once supported temporary wooden structures, which he equates with a modern police line. Ulrich and Amici both

---

[446] Lugli identifies the central basin as an altar. See Ulrich 1986a, 416.
[447] Amici 1991, 99.
[448] Ulrich 1986a, 416.
[449] Ulrich 1986a, 416.
[450] Ulrich 1986a, 416.
[451] Ulrich 1986a, 416.
[452] Ulrich 1986a, 416.

reconstruct the temporary barricade along the two portions of fountain wall.[453] No such cuttings appear in the surviving in situ paving stones so the south and west of the west basin, therefore suggesting that the temporary fence did not enclose the original basins from Phase I.

Both surviving blocks of the central basin exhibit shallow rectangular cuttings, in one of which remain traces of corroded metal material. Ulrich suggests that these cuttings supported a metal railing or fence to separate the central basin from the forum. He assigns two functions to this metal railing.[454] First, he argues that the fence served to keep pedestrians from stepping into the central basin. Secondly, the permanent barricade reinforced the function of the fountain as a security barrier to speakers on the rostra.

The Monument: Reconsiderations

Despite significant archaeological remains surviving in situ at the Appiades Fountain, the function and historical significance of the monument has received very little consideration in scholarship to date. Interpretation of the archaeological evidence, progression of fountain construction, and political motivations of patrons offers greater opportunity for analysis beyond references in Ovid and Pliny. Similar to the pre-existing Lacus Curtius and Lacus Iuturnae, as well as the future Mars Ultor Fountain and Meta Sudans, the Appiades Fountain stood as a unique, individual monument celebrating the recessed marshes of the Romulean landscape while also promoting political ambitions of Caesar.[455]

---

[453] Ulrich 1986a, 416; Amici 1991, 99.
[454] Ulrich 1986a, 416.
[455] For the Lacus Curtius, see Giuliani and Verduchi 1987. For the Lacus Iuturnae, see Steinby 2012. For the Temple of Mars Ultor, see Ganzert 1996. For the Meta Sudans, see Panella and Zeggio 2004.

In order to convincingly reconstruct a monument reflecting the ideals of Julius Caesar, this chapter addresses several critical issues. First, I use archaeological and art historical evidence to date the inception, if not the entire construction, of the Appiades Fountain to Caesar's lifetime. Second, I evaluate the only substantial scholarly interpretation of function, presented by Roger Ulrich, to propose a reassessment. Third, consideration of Caesar's military and political career offers new possibilities for interpretation of Roman identities, both collective and individual.

Dating

Assignment of a precise date for Phase I construction is a complex matter. Augustan and Trajanic interventions, including replacement of paving stones and construction of the fountain wall, obscure evidence that may have existed from Caesar's lifetime. In addition, the fountain basins themselves do not visibly present any intrinsic elements of dating.[456] Scholars have long assumed that the east and west basins belong to the Augustan construction due to the references in Ovid recounting the existence of a fountain during the reign of Augustus.[457] Yet, as Amici argues, no proof survives that the remaining basins were not remade in later phases.[458] Therefore, reliance on archaeological and art historical evidence becomes critical in dating the monument.

The archaeological gaps and literary contradictions lead Amici to assign a date of construction within the span of the late Caesarian to Augustan periods, while suggesting throughout her monograph that a Caesarian date of 54-46 BC is quite possible for the completion of the Appiades Fountain. Supply and drainage lines exist underneath a Caesarian ramp in Taberna n. 3, which lead directly to the west basin. This evidence

[456] Amici 1991, 36.
[457] Ricci 1932a; Lugli 1946; Ulrich 1986a; Coarelli 1993a; Longfellow 2011
[458] Amici 1991, 36.

strongly suggests that the fountain did in fact belong to the Caesarian plan for the forum given that the hydraulic lines were constructed prior to the Caesarian ramp.

In addition, examination of architectural progression of fountain construction as well as specific evidence from the political career of Julius Caesar strongly support a Caesarian date for, at least, the inception of construction if not the entire completion. A Caesarian date for the Appiades Fountain situates the monument within a continuum of fountain monumentalization, renovation, and construction in the center of Rome. L. Aemilius Paullus monumentalized the Lacus Iuturnae in 164 BC as a public display of both his personal affiliation with the Dioscuri as well as Rome's dominance over the eastern Mediterranean. Sulla later renovated the Lacus Curtius in 78 BC, approximately 20 years prior to the construction of the Forum Iulium. The Lacus Curtius embodied the self-promotion of Sulla as Jupiter's chosen intermediary to restore Rome to her former Romulean glory.

A Caesarian fountain is a logical progression from the two antecedents in the Roman Forum. Similar to the Lacus Iuturnae and Lacus Curtius, the Appiades Fountain is set into the ground, although not recessed. The basins are in close proximity to a sacred monument, the Temple of Venus Genetrix, just as the Lacus Iuturnae is near the Temple of Castor and Pollux, and the Lacus Curtius lies near the Lapis Niger. Each fountain is associated with a particular deity, who also served as the patron's protective deity. Finally, the embedded symbolism gradually becomes more individualized through the progression of time. Paullus celebrated the Dioscuri in gratitude for their assistance in defeating Perseus. Paullus' victory won Roman dominance over the Macedonian Empire, allowing her influence to grow throughout the Mediterranean. Sulla honored Jupiter and

Romulus for allowing him to defeat Marius and restore peace and stability for the greater good. Caesar's intended symbolism at the Appiades Fountain promoted not only Venus, but also himself and his family, which publicly legitimized his role as sole ruler in Rome. Having vowed a temple to Venus Victrix at the Battle of Pharsalus, Caesar further emphasized this intimate connection between himself, his family, and Venus through the dedication of the temple to Venus Genetrix.

In addition, the two basins situated at the foot of the Temple of Mars Ultor, which are almost identical to the Caesarian basins in size and shape, provide further evidence of the architectural progression of fountain construction. Just as I argue that the Appiades Fountain improved upon the design and symbolism of the Lacus Iuturnae and Lacus Curtius, the Mars Ultor Fountain appears to have done the same from the Appiades Fountain. The basins in the Forum of Augustus are located in similar positions as those in the Forum of Caesar, each at the furthest extreme of the respective temple façade. The Mars Ultor basins, however, are larger and more delicately molded.[459] The improvement and enlargement in form suggests an intentional reference to a pre-existing Appiades Fountain, which Augustus enhanced in his own fountain as a visual symbol of his growing political authority.

The Appian Dilemma

The lack of abundant archaeological data dating to the Caesarian period at the east and west basins has led scholars to historically rely on literary sources for purposes of dating.[460] Two passages in particular, found in Ovid's *Ars Amatoria,* compel scholars to accept unequivocally an Augustan date while refraining from committing to an earlier

[459] Mars Ultor basins are c. 3.85 x 3.6 m, and 11.5-12.5 cm in depth, whereas the Appiades Fountain basins are 2.9 x 2.9 m, and 10 cm in depth.
[460] Coarelli 1993a, 59-60; Ulrich 1986a, 420.

Caesarian date. While literary evidence often aids identification and interpretation of archaeological remains, I argue that scholarship has unjustly privileged brief and unspecific literary passages without fully considering archaeological and historical contexts. As my work demonstrates, repeated reliance on literary sources has incorrectly altered interpretations of the Appiades Fountain, and this chapter aims to provide new avenues for discussion and debate.

As early as the 1930s, scholars have connected the "Appian" passages in Ovid and Pliny with the fountain in in the Forum Iulium for three primary reasons. First, in 1932, Ricci correctly identified a fountain standing at the foot of the Temple of Venus Genetrix in the Forum Iulium.[461] Yet, a mere suggestion that his discovery may be the same fountain referenced by Ovid quickly led to acceptance as such. Second, Lugli incorrectly asserted in 1946 that a branch of the Aqua Appia fed this fountain based on the references to the Appian in Ovid.[462] Third, Ricci connected the fountain to the bronze sculptural group of Appian nymphs by Stephanos.[463]

In the introduction of Book 1 of *Ars Amatoria*, Ovid suggests locations throughout Rome for romantic encounters with one's lover. Within a list of amorous locales, including the Porticus of Pompey, the Temple of Isis, and an unspecified Temple of Venus, Ovid includes a second Temple of Venus, "where set beneath the marble shrine of Venus, the Appian nymph strikes the air with her upspringing waters."[464] The use of *pulsat aquis*, upspringing waters, has led scholars to identify the *marmore templo*, marble

[461] Ricci 1932a, 160.
[462] Lugli 1946, 253.
[463] Ricci 1932a, 160.
[464] Ov. *Ars am.* 1.81-82: *Subdita qua Veneris facto de marmore temple, Appias expressis aëra pulsat aquis.*

shrine, as the Temple of Venus Genetrix in the Forum Iulium due to the fact that a fountain existed on site by the publication date of *Ars Amatoria* in 1 BC.

Ricci and early 20th century scholars, however, did not consider the Temple of Venus Victrix when assigning this particular *Ars Amatoria* passage to the Temple of Venus Genetrix. According to Valerius Maximus, water features were built into the Theater of Pompey, which was dedicated in 55 BC prior to the construction of the Forum Iulium. Valerius Maximus characterizes Pompey as an innovator as the first theater patron to provide permanent water features designed to battle the summer heat for spectators.[465]

Archaeological evidence confirms the existence of water features in the initial construction of the Theater of Pompey. During excavations conducted in the 1960s, P. A. Gianfrotta, O. Mazzucato, and M. Polia discovered traces of an ancient structure along the western shoulder of the theater, visible in the basements of private buildings in the Piazza S. Maria di Grottapinta and the Piazza del Biscione.[466] The Italian archaeologists identified remains of water lines with surviving traces cocciopesto, hydraulic cement. Gianfrotta, Mazzucato, and Polia argue that the hydraulic lines ran east-to-west underneath the Theater of Pompey to supply water to fountains and trees within the portico.

---

[465] Val. Max. 2.4.6: *Religionem ludorum crescentibus opibus secuta lautitia est. eius instinctu Q. Catalus, Campanam imitates luxuriam, primus spectantium consessum velorum umbraculis texit. Cn. Pompeius ante omnes aquae per semitas decursu aestivum minuit fervorem. Claudius Pulcher scaenam varietate colorum adumbravit, vacuis ante pictura tabulis extentam. quam totam argento C. Antonius, auro Petreius, ebore Q. Catulus praetexuit. versatilem fecerunt Luculli, argentatis choragiis P. Lentulus Spinther adornavit. translatum, antea punicis indutum tunicis, M. Scaurus exquisite genere vestis cultum induxit.*

[466] Gianfrotta et al. 1968-69, 34.

Coupled with the assertion by Valerius Maximus that water existed in the theater itself, I suggest that the hydraulic lines discovered in the 1960s could have also supplied water features in the theater as well as in the gardens beyond. Given the documented existence of water in the Theater and Portico of Pompey, Ovid's mention of upspringing waters beneath a marble temple of Venus may have just as easily referenced the Temple of Venus Victrix as the Temple of Venus Genetrix.[467] Standing at the apex of the theater cavea, the Temple of Victrix presided over the entire complex, including the fountains and euripi in the theater and gardens.

Two additional passages in *Ars Amatoria* and *Remedia Amoris* aid scholarly identification of the monument as the Appiades Fountain as well as reaffirming existence by the reign of Augustus. In Book 3 of *Ars Amatoria*, Ovid warns his female audience of courters who appear more elegant than their female pursuits. The poet recounts how women cry throughout the entire Forum, "while Venus and her Appian Nymphs watch from her temple."[468] In *Remedia Amoris*, Ovid advises his audience how to behave after a relationship has ended. He warns, most importantly, not to hate or quarrel with a former lover, for "the Appian herself approves not such strife as that."[469] The Appian is once again equated with Venus.

Although neither passage specifically mentions a temple or existence of water, scholars nonetheless routinely identify Ovid as evidence for the Appiades Fountain.[470] Lugli's 1946 assertion that a branch of the Aqua Appia fed the fountain reinforced the

---

[467] Ov. *Ars am.* 1.81-82.
[468] Ov. *Ars am.* 3.451-2: *Has, Venus, e templis multo radiantibus auro, Lenta vides lites Appiadesque tuae.* Translation by Mozley. Mozley 1985, 150-151.
[469] Ov. *Rem. am.* 660: *Non illas lites Appias ipsa probat.* Translation by Mozley. Mozley 1985, 18-19.
[470] Ulrich 1986a, 406; Amici 1991, 36; Coarelli 1993a, 59.

connection between the "Appian" references in Ovid and the basins in the Forum Iulium.[471] However, archaeologists have found no evidence of the Aqua Appia extending to the Forum Iulium.[472] Rather, the Aqua Marcia or the Aqua Tepula are more likely candidates for the fountain water supply.[473]

Coarelli attempts to explain the divergence between literary and archaeological evidence by providing two possible scenarios. First, he suggests that the fountain in the Forum Iulium was named Appiades simply to commemorate the Aqua Appia, first aqueduct built in Rome in 312 BC, which was a symbol of the others.[474] Therefore, the Appiades may be an allegory of the other aqueducts, including the one that actually supplied the fountain. Coarelli's second scenario suggests that the fountain was named accordingly to celebrate the restoration of the Aqua Appia by Agrippa in 33 BC.[475]

Although Coarelli offers valuable insight into the problem of identification, he nevertheless privileges the literary sources over the archaeological evidence. I suggest, on the other hand, that scholarship rely on archaeological and art historical data when analyzing monumental remains. *Ars Am.* 3.451-2 and *Rem.* 660 lack the needed specificity to significantly contribute to the dating and reconstruction of the Appiades Fountain.

The final literary passage repeatedly presented in scholarship as evidence for the Appiades Fountain is found in Book 36 of Pliny the Elder's *Historia Naturalis*, published

---

[471] Lugli 1946, 253.
[472] Coarelli 1993a, 60; Frontin. *Aq.* 7.8. The Aqua Marcia may have been the source due to the fact that Trajan destroyed the section of the Aqua Tepula that reached the Capitoline during construction of the Forum of Trajan.
[473] Coarelli 1993a, 60.
[474] Coarelli 1993a, 60.
[475] Coarelli 1993a, 60; Frontin. *Aq.* 9.

c. AD 77-79.[476] While recounting famous public and personal art collections throughout Rome, Pliny discusses the artistic property of Asinius Pollio (75 BC-AD 4; consul 40 BC), which contained Appian Nymphs by Stephanos amongst other notable mythical subjects.[477] According to Pliny in Book 35, Pollio constructed the first public library sometime after 39 BC, most likely in the *Atrium Libertatis*, and "made works of genius the property of the public."[478]

Pliny indicates in *HN.* 35.2.10 that Pollio displayed portraits of esteemed men in his library. Although Pliny does not directly state in *HN* 36.4.33-34 that Pollio's collection of religious/mythical figures was also housed in his library, a reconstruction of the collection of both historical and mythical figures in one location is very plausible. Therefore, the statue group of Appian Nymphs by Stephanos may not have adorned the temple itself, but rather stood inside the library at the nearby Atrium Libertatis. Given that Asinius Pollio commissioned and erected the statue group between 39 and 33 BC, at least 15 years after construction of the Appiades Fountain, it is unlikely that the same Appian group adorned both Pollio's public art collection and the Temple of Venus

---

[476] Platner and Ashby 1929, 20.; Ulrich 1986a, 406; Amici 1991, 36; Coarelli 1993a, 60.

[477] Plin. *HN* 36.4.33-34: *Pollio Asinius, ut fuit acris vehementiae, sic quoque spectari monumenta sua voluit. In iis sunt Centauri Nymphas gerentes Arcesilae, Thespiades Cleomenis, Oceanus et Iuppiter Heniochi, Appiades Stephani, Hermerotes Taurisci, non caelatoris ilius, sed Tralliani, Iuppiter hospitalis Papyli, Praxitelis discipuli, Zethus et Amphion ac Dirce et Taurus vinculumque ex eodem lapide, a Rhodo advecta opera Apollonii et Taurisci. Parentum hi certamen de se fecere, Menecraten videri professi, sed esse naturalem Artemidorum. Eodem loco Liber pater Eutychidis laudatur, ad Octaviae vero porticum Apollo Philisci Rhodii in delubro suo, item Latona et Diana et Musae novem et alter Apollo nudus.* For the collection of Asinius Pollio, see Isager 1991, 163; Andrè 1949; Borda 1953, 22-42; Becatti 1956, 199-210; Haller 1967; Neudecker 1988, 95-96.

[478] Plin. *HN* 35.2.10: *utique maius, ut equidem arbitror, nulum est felicitates specimen quam semper omnes scire cupere, quails fuerit aqliquis. Asini Pollionis hoc Romae inventum, qui primus bibliothecam dicando ingenia hominum rem publicam fecit. An priores coeperint Alexandreae et Pergami reges, qui bibliothecas magno certamine instituere, non facile dixerim.* See also Fehrle 1986, 58-61; Isager 1991, 164.

Genetrix.[479] However, the close proximity of the Atrium Libertatis and the Temple of Venus Genetrix may have contributed to a conflated identification of the Appian statue group with the nearby Temple of Venus.

Coarelli considers this discrepancy between literary and archaeological evidence concerning the Appian nymph group.[480] He suggests that the sculpture group commissioned by Pollio for the Atrium Libertatis is the same as the one purportedly referenced in Ovid and Pliny.[481] Although the exact location of the Atrium Libertatis is unknown, the building was most likely located north of the Temple of Venus Genetrix in the area of the eastern apse of the later Basilica Ulpia.[482] Coarelli argues that since the Atrium Libertatis and the Temple of Venus Genetrix were in such close proximity to one another, the seemingly different Appian group in Ovid and Pliny were in fact one and the same.

Tracing familial alliances, Coarelli continues to support his argument by connecting the public works of Asinius Pollio and Marcus Agrippa.[483] Pollio commissioned construction of the Atrium Libertatis, the first public library in Rome to commemorate his triumph over the Parthini of Dalmatia in 39 BC.[484] Six years later, the building was dedicated in 33 BC, the same year that Agrippa restored the Aqua Appia. Coarelli suggests that if the Appian group was erected in 33 BC during the dedication of

---

[479] Coarelli 1993a, 60.
[480] Coarelli 1993a, 60. Ulrich suggests the sculptures at the Appiades Fountain may be copies of the originals, but does not explore this topic further. See Ulrich 1986a, 406.
[481] Jacob Isager suggests that Pollio commissioned a copy of the statues adorning the Appiades Fountain for the collection in the Atrium Libertatis. This argument, however, does not consider a lack of archaeological evidence confirming the existence of a statue group at the site. See Isager 1991, 165-166.
[482] Zanker 1970, 522-523; Isager 1991, 165.
[483] Coarelli 1993a, 60.
[484] Isager 1991, 164.

the Atrium Libertatis, the Appian name may have been an intentional acknowledgement of Agrippa's work on the Aqua Appia.

A future marriage, according to Coarelli, may explain the collaboration.[485] The son of Pollio, Asinius Gallus, married the daughter of Agrippa, Vispania Agrippina, after her divorce from Tiberius in 12 BC, thereby indicating strong ties between the two families. Although the marriage occurred approximately 20 years after construction of the Atrium Libertatis, Coarelli nonetheless believes that this union signifies the culmination of a strong rapport between Pollio and Agrippa.

Despite the intent of both the straightforward and intricate justifications for literary and archaeological discrepancies, such arguments provide inaccurate extrapolations that deserve reconsideration. First, I argue that any study of the Appiades Fountain must rely primarily on archaeological and art historical data. Evidence of hydraulic lines constructed underneath Taberna n. 3 that lead directly to the west basin indicates that the fountain was designed, if not completely constructed, prior to any intervention by Augustus. Scholars have relied on Ovid to prove that the fountain existed at least by the time of Augustus. Yet, as Amici asserts, the hydraulic lines provide evidence for a Caesarian date even if later Trajanic restorations have obscured signs of original work.

Second, the Appian group by Stephanos does not belong to the Appiades Fountain. No archaeological evidence suggests placement of such a statue group at the fountain. The fountain wall, which was a Trajanic addition, is too narrow to have supported the statues.[486] The basins themselves do not present signs of supporting bronze

[485] Coarelli 1993a, 60.
[486] 80 cm wide.

statues. In addition, according to Pliny, Asinius Pollio displayed the Appian nymphs within his large collection of religious sculptural groups, including Oceanus and Jupiter, and Dirce and the bull. The design of the Appiades Fountain does not allow for display of at least eight sculptural groups. Nor would the display of such a group serve a purpose at the fountain. I argue that the fountain was an individual monument separate from, yet ideologically connected to, the Temple of Venus Genetrix and the Forum Iulium. A public collection of multiple statue groups would have physically overshadowed the shallow fountain basins and their understated architectural adornment, thereby rendering them symbolically insignificant.

Third, the name assigned to the fountain is a modern construct based partially on assumptive connections to the Stephanos group found in literary sources, which I argue are questionable. However, Ovid's references to Venus and her Appian nymphs, as well as to Venus herself as an Appian, reinforce the Roman association of the goddess with water. As a being born from the water, Venus embodies both the life-sustaining properties of the natural element as well as the dangerous and unpredictable ones. Although Ovid's references to Appians do not confirm the name of the fountain itself, they do suggest a connection between Appian nymphs as guardians of water, and Venus in her role as the mother goddess, guardian of the Romans.

The Appiades Fountain as a Security Barrier: A Reevaluation

While the literary sources provide relevant information concerning an unspecified fountain, a statue group of Appian nymphs, and Venus' identification as an Appian, scholarship must not allow these sources to dictate interpretations. Rather, further evaluation of art historical, archaeological, and architectural evidence allows scholarship

to consider the fountain as a mechanism for political legitimacy through the appropriation of Venus' motherly status.

Roger Ulrich provides the only critical analysis to date of the function of the Appiades Fountain, for which he relies heavily on literary sources.[487] I suggest a reexamination of Ulrich's assessment for two primary reasons. First, Ulrich privileges literary sources that lead him to incorporate the Appian statuary group into his reconstruction. Second, his interpretation is based on the Trajanic form of the fountain (Phase II), which includes the addition of the fountain wall and central basin. Therefore, an assessment that considers these Phase II elements is not unequivocally applicable to the Caesarian fountain.

Ulrich argues that the fountain served two purposes. First, the fountain walls and basins served as settings for the adorning Appian sculptures. His argument that "it is primarily for the sculptural decoration that the monument is remembered to us by the ancient writers" signifies his endorsement of the unsupported assumptive connection made by Ricci in the 1930s.[488] Despite a lack of archaeological evidence supporting the existence of the sculptures at the site, Ulrich nonetheless speculates that the fountains supported the statue group, or even perhaps water poured from the sculptures into the central basin.[489]

The second function that Ulrich proposes for the fountain is that of a security barrier. Ulrich argues that the three basins, fountain wall, and railings were built in front of the Temple of Venus Genetrix to protect speakers on the temple's rostra from passers-

[487] Ulrich 1986a, 421-423.
[488] Ulrich 1986a, 421.
[489] Ulrich 1986a, 423.

by.[490] The design of the Temple of Venus Genetrix is somewhat unusual in Rome because it lacks a frontal staircase. Instead, two narrow lateral staircases on the long east and west sides allowed access to the temple.[491] Antecedents for such a temple façade are rare in republican Rome, with the Temple of Castor and Pollux in the Forum Romanum being one such example.[492] The side staircases of the Temple of Venus Genetrix once led to a rostra, then up to the octastyle columniated podium, and finally to the temple itself.[493] The Appiades Fountain originally sat flush with the lower moldings of the southern façade of the temple at the eastern and western extremities.

The architectural dimensions of the temple and fountain basins render this argument of a security barrier improbable. The Caesarian basins themselves would have created a separation between spectators in the Forum Iulium and speakers on the rostra at the southeast and southwestern corners of the temple for only a distance of 2.90 m. Yet, the entire central area of rostra facing the forum would have been unimpeded. In addition, Amici has determined the height of the Caesarian rostra and podium by distinguishing between Caesarian and Trajanic construction based on analysis of inclusions in the mortar and cement.[494] Her study places the Caesarian temple rostra at a height of 3.50 m and the podium at c. 5 m above the level of the piazza pavement stones, a considerable

[490] Ulrich 1986a, 421.
[491] Only the western staircase was excavated due to damage on east side of the temple as a result of the Via dell'Impero construction. Amici argues that an identical staircase originally existed on the east side as well. Amici 1991, 33, fig. 30.
[492] Nielsen et al. 1985; Nielsen and Poulsen 1992; Nielsen 1993.
[493] The Temple of Venus Genetrix was octastyle, picnostyle, and peripteral sine postico. Amici 1991, 31-35.
[494] Amici 1991, 31.

distance above spectators in the forum.[495] Vertical ascent up 3.50 m to the rostra directly from the forum pavement would have been a difficult task without support.

Ulrich's proposal of the fountain as a security barrier is also unlikely when considering Phase II additions of the wall, central basin, and balustrades. Although the original height of the fountain wall is indeterminable, Ulrich suggests that it was probably no higher than a man's chest.[496] I argue that the presence of the wall would facilitate, rather than impede, spectators reaching the rostra directly from the forum pavement. A wall, approximately 1.50 m high, would provide the support missing from Phase I for the ascent.

In addition, Ulrich's interpretation of the central basin and the corresponding balustrade warrants reconsideration. Based on shallow rectangular cuttings surviving in situ on the two remaining central basin blocks, Ulrich reconstructs a bronze railing for this basin. He suggests the necessity for the railing for two reasons. First, the fence kept pedestrians from stepping into the central pool. Secondly, the barricade reinforced the role of the fountain as protection for speakers on the rostra.

Based on the dimensions of the in situ central basin blocks, I argue that Ulrich's first assignment of function for the permanent fence requires further explanation. Each block is c. 20 cm higher than the forum pavement, which thereby creates a barrier that requires one to intentionally step over the basin border into the basin itself. However, reconstruction of a fence at the central basin is feasible for particular contexts. For instance, the fence would prevent individuals from falling or being pushed into the basin during crowded events in the Forum Iulium. Yet, no evidence survives suggesting a

[495] Amici 1991, 31, pls. 33-34; Ulrich 1986a, 417.
[496] Ulrich 1986a, 414.

similar arrangement in front of the west or east basins. The decorative moldings of the end basins stand only 10 cm above the forum pavement, and therefore suggest greater ease of stepping or falling into these basins.

The purpose of the fence separating the fountain wall from the forum most likely served to protect the wall rather than passersby from falling into the central basin, given that such care of separation was not taken at the east and west basins. Lugli initially interpreted the walls as tribunals, and Ulrich suggests that the walls once supported statues of the Appian nymphs.[497] Yet, the narrow width of the walls renders Lugli's and Ulrich's explanations unlikely. Amici, on the other hand, offers a convincing explanation that the walls were constructed for posting of public tabulae.[498] The distance between the fence and wall was short enough to allow postings to remain visible, yet far enough away to prevent tampering.

Evaluation of the original architectural form of the Appiades Fountain (Phase I) reveals the unlikelihood of the monument functioning as a security barrier or as a support for a statue group. Rather, I argue that the Appiades Fountain served a symbolic function by representing the transference of power, represented by water, from Venus to her descendent Caesar. Examination of the progression of fountain construction suggests that the Lacus Curtius and Lacus Iuturnae served as models both in form and ideology. Archaeological data confirms underground water supply, which simulated water collection at the Lacus Curtius and Lacus Iuturnae. Finally, historical material demonstrates Caesar's growing political authority that allowed him to obtain sole rule of Rome with the aid of his divine ancestress Venus.

---

[497] Lugli 1946, 253; Ulrich 1986a, 417-422.
[498] Amici 1991, 100.

Caesar as Patron: Divine Ambitions

In 69 BC Julius Caesar delivered a speech praising his aunt Julia and her divine ancestry. He declared, "The family of my aunt Julia is descended by her mother from the kings, and on her father's side is akin to the immortal Gods; for the Marcii Reges (her mother's family name) go back to Ancus Marcius, and the Julii, the family of which ours is a branch, to Venus. Our stock therefore has at once the sanctity of kings, whose power is supreme among mortal men, and the claim to reverence which attaches to the Gods, who hold sway over kings themselves."[499] This speech, as reported by Suetonius, clearly expounds Caesar's claim to political authority through his divine lineage. Construction of the Appiades Fountain publicly solidified Caesar's declaration as supreme ruler, sanctioned by Venus herself. By doing so, Caesar successfully superseded the claims of divine patronage declared by L. Aemilius Paullus at the Lacus Iuturnae and L. Cornelius Sulla at the Lacus Curtius with his own claims of divine descent at the Appiades Fountain.

As ancestress of the Roman race, Venus played an important role in the lives of her descendants. Lucretius opens his *De Rerum Natura* by addressing Venus, "the mother of Aeneas (*Aeneadum genetrix*) and his race, darling of men and gods" through whom "every kind of living thing is conceived, and rising up, looks on the light of the sun."[500] For Lucretius, writing in 50 BC, Venus represents the collective hope that peace will soon overcome the horrors of the civil wars. He pleads to the mother goddess to bring

---

[499] Suet. *Iul.* 1.6: *Amitae maea Iuliae maternum genus ab regibus ortum, paternum cum diis inmortalibus coniunctum est. Nam ab Anco Marcio sunt Marcii Reges, quo nomine fuit mater; a Venere Iulii, cuius gentis familia est nostra. Est ergo in genere et sanctitas regum, qui plurimum inter hominess pollent, et caerimonia deorum, quorum ipsi in potestate sunt reges.*

[500] *Lucr.* 1, 1-5: *Aeneadum genetrix, hominum divomque voluptas, alma Venus, caeli subter labentia signa quae mare navigerum, quae terras frugiferentis concelebras, per te quoniam genus omne animantum concipitur visitque exortum lumina solis.* Rouse 1966, 2-3.

peace in "this time of our country's troubles" for "[she] alone can delight mortals with quiet peace."[501]

The civil wars between Sulla and Marius and then between Pompey and Caesar that ravaged Rome had a dramatic affect on the morale of the Romans. Citizens, such as Lucretius who lived the majority of his life amongst the horrors of proscriptions, confiscation of properties, and the death of family members, were yearning for peace. For a short period of time, following the Battle of Pharsalus and the murder of Pompey in 48 BC, Caesar appeared to have been the man who would return stability to the Roman state and a level of normalcy to everyday life.

Caesar embarked upon an ambitious project of expanding the Forum Romanum that eventually resulted in the Forum Iulium as its own separate entity as early as 52 BC, four years before the Battle of Pharsalus.[502] The dedication of the Temple of Venus Genetrix in 46 BC established a strong connection between Caesar and his divine ancestress, the bringer of peace.[503] I propose that the Appiades Fountain served to solidify this relationship. I argue that fountain symbolizes the birth of the Roman race that descended from Aeneas, the son of Venus. Caesar, who often publicly claimed direct descent from Venus through the Julian gens, and who constructed the Appiades Fountain

---

[501] *Lucr.* 1.29-43: *effice ut interea fera moenera militia per maria ac terras omnis opita quiescent. nam tu sola potes tranquilla pace iuvare mortalis, quoniam belli fera moenera Mavors armipotens regit, in gremium qui saepe tuum se reicit aeterno devictus vulnere amoris, atque ita suspiciens tereti cervice reposta pascit amore avido inhians in te, dea, visus, eque tuo pendet resupini spirtus ore. hunc tu, diva, tuo recubantem corpore sancto circumfusa super, suavis ex ore loquellas funde petens placidam Romanis, incluta, pacem. nam neque nos agree hoc patriati tempore iniquo possumus aequo animo nec Memmi clara propago talibus in rebus communi desse saluti.* Rouse 1966, 4-5.

[502] Caesar's original intentions when the buying the land is unclear. See Cicero, *Att*. 4.16.8; Anderson 1984, 40; Hastrup 1962, 47-49; Ulrich 1993, 52-57; Westall 1996, 84-88.

[503] For the vow and dedication of the Temple of Venus Genetrix, see Amici 1991, 29; Anderson 1984, 40; Lugli 1973, 331; Ulrich 1986a, 405.

to legitimize his rule over Rome. As Venus's intercessor, Caesar succeeded in restoring peace to the Rome state, at least for six years.[504]

Fierce competition with Pompey provided a clear motivation for creating such a symbolic monument in the Appiades Fountain, coupled with Caesar's intense ambition. Pompey's career began quite favorably. By 81 BC, while in his mid-twenties, Pompey had celebrated his first triumph, the first eques to do so, for his victory in Africa.[505] His troops saluted him as *Magnus* (the Great) rather than *imperator* (commander), and he adopted the title for himself after Sulla had personally given his approval.[506] As Crawford argues, Pompey cultivated a fierce ego at a young age, preferring the title Magnus and the accompanying associations with Alexander the Great.[507]

According to Meier, although Pompey greatly desired power for himself, he genuinely tried to rectify the problems of the growing empire in the interests of the Senate.[508] Pompey's ambitions drew him to the Mediterranean in the 60s BC. In 67 BC, Pompey claimed to have rid the Mediterranean of pirates, a standing threat to the grain supply.[509] In 66 BC, he defeated Mithridates and annexed the defeated monarch's kingdom as well as the territory of the Seleucids.[510] Having gained control of this portion of Asia Minor, Pompey ruled the East independently without interference from the Senate until 62 BC.[511] Pompey gained a considerable amount of power in 57 BC when

---

[504] Anderson 1984, 53; Beard et al. 1998, 145; Suet. *Iul*. 1, 6.
[505] The date of the triumph is disputed, but generally placed between 81 and 80 BC; Crawford 1992, 176; Seager 2002, 28-29.
[506] Seager 2002, 28.
[507] Crawford 1992, 176.
[508] Meier 1982, 144.
[509] Crawford 1992, 155, 161. Piracy continued to be a problem despite Pompey's "suppression."
[510] Crawford 1992, 155.
[511] Crawford 1992.

the Senate gave him full control over the grain supply for five years.[512] In addition, he acquired sole power over finances of the state, as well as a fleet, an army, and *imperium* (command) in provinces, thereby allowing him to hold more power than the ruling provincial governors.[513]

Caesar's military and political career, on the other hand, had a late start. At the age of thirty-one, Caesar visited the monument to Alexander the Great in Gades during his quaestorship in Hispania Ulterior in 69 BC.[514] According to Suetonius, Caesar was overcome by anger. Caesar lamented that he had yet to accomplish anything great, whereas Alexander had conquered the known world by the same age.[515]

His quaestorship was a fortuitous period for Caesar. In addition to his realization at the monument of Alexander the Great, Caesar had a dream that he was raping his mother. The augurs interpreted this sign favorably, informing him that he was destined to conquer the world.[516] Although he never conquered the known world as did Alexander, Caesar undoubtedly conquered Rome.

Caesar did not begin his public career until his early-thirties. Yet, both his political offices and military victories were numerous.[517] He celebrated a total of four

---

[512] Crawford 1992, 156.
[513] Crawford 1992.
[514] Meier 1982, 141.
[515] Meier 1982, 141; Suet. *Iul*. 1.6.
[516] Meier 1982, 141; Suet. *Iul*. 1.6.
[517] At the age of thirty-one, Caesar visited the monument to Alexander the Great in Gades during his quaestorship in Hispania Ulterior in 69 BC. According to Suetonius, Caesar was overcome by anger. Caesar lamented that he had yet to accomplish anything great, whereas Alexander had conquered the known world by the same age. His quaestorship was a fortuitous period for Caesar. In addition to his realization at the monument of Alexander the Great, Caesar had a dream that he was raping his mother. The augurs interpreted this sign favorably, informing him that he was destined to conquer the world. Although he never conquered the known world as did Alexander, Caesar undoubtedly conquered Rome. See Meier 1982, 144.

triumphs in 46 BC over Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa.[518] Earlier in his career, in 60 BC, Caesar joined the First Triumvirate with Pompey and Crassus, a decision that helped solidify his power in Rome. Tensions began to grow, however, between Caesar and Pompey, especially from 59 BC to 49 BC, a period that cultivated the infamous competition between the two men.[519]

Pompey, as sole consul in 52 BC following the death of his co-consul, Clodius, passed a law stating that one must wait five years between holding a magistracy in Rome and ruling a province as governor.[520] This new legislation was a direct blow to Caesar who held the governorship in Gaul from 55 BC to 50 BC and planned to run as consul in 50 BC.[521] Recognizing Pompey's ulterior motive, Caesar refused to succumb to a private life and crossed the Rubicon in 49 BC, a decision that instigated yet another civil war. Caesar defeated Pompey in 48 BC at the Battle of Pharsalus, and Pompey was murdered when he reached Egypt during his flight from Caesar.

During the 50s BC, both Caesar and Pompey rapidly gained prestige through building programs in the city of Rome. Pompey's most notable contribution to Rome was his Theater of Pompey in the Campus Martius that he dedicated in 55 BC and finished in 52 BC.[522] Caesar soon followed suit by commencing construction on the Basilica Iulia in 55 BC and restoring the Basilica Ameilia in 54 BC.[523] He then began planning the Saepta Iulia in the Campus Martius, also in 54 BC, followed by the purchase of land in 52 BC next to the Forum Romanum with the intention of expanding the Forum. He also acquired

---

[518] Meier 1982, 442.
[519] Crawford 1992, 179.
[520] Crawford 1992, 181.
[521] Crawford 1992, 180-181.
[522] Tac. *Ann*. 14.20; Cass. Dio 39.38.1-6; Asc. *Pis*. 1; Richardson 1992, 384.
[523] Richardson 1992, 52-53, 54-56.

land for his own theater project from 50 BC to 44 BC that Augustus later finished and named the Theater of Marcellus. Caesar also enlarged the Circus Maximus in 46 BC, and he built and restored several temples from 49 BC to 44 BC.[524]

Water played an important role in several of Caesar's building projects. The Temple of Venus Genetrix itself has other maritime associations besides the Appiades Fountain. The temple's sima was once decorated with dolphins, shells, tridents, and acanthus foliage. Although this decoration dates to the first century AD, it is possible that similar reliefs adorned the temple before the fire of AD 80.[525] The temple's rostral pronaos imbues ancient references to the bows of defeated naval ships that the Romans placed on the rostra in the Forum Romanum. The shape of the apsidal cella recalls the form of a nymphaeum.[526] According to J. Anderson, the floor of the apse is actually higher than the floor of the cella, and that this was almost certainly the location of the cult statue.[527] If accurate, then the apse, with its association with water, is in a privileged position within the temple. This also strengthens the connection of water with Venus who was born from the water of the sea. The water of the fountain below then becomes a symbol of Venus giving birth to the Roman race and specifically to the Julian gens. Therefore, by dedicating the temple to Venus Genetrix, rather than Venus Victrix, both the temple and the fountain reinforce Caesar's legitimacy as the rightful heir of the mother goddess and as the sole ruler that he was becoming.

---

[524] Caesar restored the Temple of Quirinus in 49 BC, decreed the Temple of Libertas in 46 BC and the Temples of Clementia Caesaris and Concordia Nova in 44 BC. He also started planning the Temple of Felicitas in 44 BC.
[525] Ulrich 1986a, 423.
[526] Ulrich 1986a, 423; Anderson 1984, 47. Anderson suggests that the cella is apsidal in order to disguise the irregularity of the back wall that was carved into the Capitoline Hill.
[527] Anderson 1984, 47.

Caesar undertook several other building projects involving water, including the enlargement of the Circus Maximus, the Nauchmachia Caesaris, and the proposed re-direction of the Tiber River. In addition, Caesar improved the Circus visually by removing the metal railing that divided the spectators and the track, and adding a euripus, a water canal measuring 2.97 m wide x 2.97 m deep, around the entire Circus except for at the starting end.[528]

On the edge of Campus Martius in the Codeta Minor, Caesar constructed the Naumachia Caesaris, a basin for the naval show commemorating his triumph in 46 BC.[529] The Senate voted in 43 BC, however, to fill in the basin due to hygienic concerns.[530] Cicero also mentions Caesar's proposal to divert the Tiber and straighten the river's course near Monte Mario and the Vatican in order to enlarge the Campus Martius.[531]

Several of Caesar's projects were direct responses to the Theater of Pompey, such as the Saepta Iulia, which was built in close proximity to Pompey's complex in the Campus Martius.[532] The Saepta, as the proposed new voting arena, visually contradicted Pompey's theater complex. First, the Saepta was an outward-facing monument that eagerly welcomed the public to browse through the shops and to view the decorative sculptures and paintings. Although the Theater of Pompey was open to the public, its construction as an inward-facing monument was, by design, less inviting. Secondly, the function of the Saepta as a voting station reflected the Roman ideals of the Republic. This monument conveyed to the public, including the senators, equites, and plebs, that they

---

[528] Plin. *HN* 8.20-21; Suet. *Iul*. 39; Richardson 1992, 65.
[529] Richardson 1992, 265; Suet. *Iul*. 39.4; Cass. Dio 43.23.4; App. *B Civ* 2.102.
[530] Richardson 1992, 265; Cass. Dio 45.17.8; Suet. *Iul*. 44.1 states that the basin was filled in because Caesar had planned to build a temple to Mars on the site.
[531] Cic. *Att*. 13.33.4; Richardson 1992, 67.
[532] For the Saepta Iulia, see Gatti 1999.

still retained a form of power through their votes. In addition, the Saepta was a place of *negotium*, or business. The Theater of Pompey, on the other hand, as the first permanent stone theater in Rome, became an embodiment of *otium*, or leisure, with its production of Greek plays, lavish games, and the large gardens that were open to the public and a common place to find prostitutes.[533]

The construction of the Forum Iulium was yet another direct response to the Theater of Pompey.[534] The Forum Iulium, in its final form, was certainly not a place for otium, nor was it a location for negotium.[535] Rather, the Forum Iulium became an administrative center for the government.[536] The forum was connected to the tabernae that held administrative offices and the rostra on the Temple of Venus Genetrix, which became a prominent location for respectable Roman citizens to gather and listen to public announcements and speeches.[537]

Most significantly, the new Forum Iulium connected directly to the Curia Iulia, which replaced the original Curia Hostilia built by Tulius Hostilius (673-641 BC) as the senate house of Rome. The new Curia Iulia was constructed to align directly with the Caesar's forum with two rear doors that effectively turned it into a vestibule for access from the Forum Romanum to the Forum Iulium. The Curia Iulia thereby transferred the seat of power from the curia in the Theater of Pompey complex to Caesar's forum. The intrinsic administrative function of the Forum Iulium not only enhanced the prestige of

---

[533] Cic. *Pis.* 65; Plut. *Vit. Pomp*. 52.4.
[534] Ulrich 1993, 53-54.
[535] Ulrich 1993, 78.
[536] The Curia of Pompey that was located in the complex of the Theater of Pompey did hold Senate meetings following the destruction of the Curia Hostilia. However, the complex did not take over administrative duties from the Forum Romanum.
[537] The use of the Tabernae are still uncertain. Ulrich claims that they were not merchant shops. Ulrich 1993, 77-78.

the space but also effectively communicated Caesar's influence over governmental affairs.

In addition to the varying functions of the Theater of Pompey and the Forum Iulium, the use of water in these two complexes also differed considerably. Water in both the theater and portico of Pompey's complex offered relief from the summer heat, according to Valerius Maximus.[538] A. Kuttner interprets a fountain in the center of the Porticus of Pompey, known only through Propertius, as a symbol of Pompey's celebrated military career.[539] According to Propertius, plane trees once framed a central pathway in the porticus with a fountain in the center. Representations of Maron, Triton, and nymphs, members of Venus' retinue, adorned this fountain. Maron, son of Bacchus, provided Odysseus the wine that intoxicated Polyphemus and eventually led to the Cyclops' death. Kuttner argues that Maron's association with Odysseus evokes parallels between Pompey and heroic Greeks.[540] Pompey's journeys and accompanying military victories throughout the Mediterranean recall those of Odysseus. Kuttner therefore suggests that the fountain represented a microcosm of the expanded Roman world, in which Pompey played a significant role.

While one may argue that Pompey's Maron Fountain celebrated the military achievements of both Pompey individually and Rome collectively, I argue that the Appiades Fountain was more singular in symbolism, celebrating Caesar and his familial lineage. The two men had differing agendas. Pompey attempted to portray himself as the consort of Venus by placing a statue of himself in his Curia on the axis directly across

[538] Kuttner 1999, 347; Val. Max. 2.4.6.
[539] Prop. 2.32; Kuttner 1999, 356.
[540] Kuttner 1999, 356-359.

from the cult statue of Venus.[541] Caesar, however, established himself as the descendant and heir of Venus. By doing so, Caesar capitalized on the prominence Romans attributed to one's lineage over that of one's spouse's lineage.

Venus, in her role as mother of the Roman race and the ancestress of Caesar, bestowed her power upon her descendant and legitimized his rule over that of any other Roman, especially Pompey. Despite the small size and simple design of the Fountain of the Appiades, it conveyed a much more powerful statement than that of the Theater of Pompey.

The Appiades Fountain: Simulated Lacus

Caesar was instrumental in creating and promoting the narrative of divine legitimacy. I argue that the dictator intentionally chose the location and design of his fountain to visually recall the monumentalized lacūs in the Forum Romanum. The Appiades Fountain diverges from the Lacus Curtius and Lacus Iuturnae in several significant aspects. First, the Appiades received aqueduct-fed water from inception. Second, the Appiades Fountain is situated at a higher elevation that was not subject to as much flooding as the Lacus Curtius and Lacus Iuturnae. Third, Caesar's fountain lacks an etymological tale in the surviving literary sources. Despite these differences, Caesar nonetheless engineered the Appiades Fountain to resemble the antecedents in all key respects.

The Appiades Fountain is the first surviving true fountain constructed in the Forum basin. Unlike the Lacus Curtius and Lacus Iuturnae, which originally omitted hydraulic feed lines, the Appiades Fountain received an artificial supply of water from its inception. Archaeological remains of hydraulic feed lines and drainage channels near the

[541] Kuttner 1999, 345-346.

west basin and in Taberna n. 3 date to the Caesarian period, thereby indicating artificial water supply from initial construction.[542]

Secure archaeological evidence for the Lacus Curtius (184 BC) and the Lacus Iuturnae (164 BC), as well as literary evidence for the Lacus Servilius, document a cultural reverence for natural recessions in the topography of the forum basin. Retention of flood- and rainwater in these monumentalized recessions visually evoked the heroically marshy landscape at the time of Rome's foundation by Romulus. I argue that the shallow basins of the Appiades Fountain monumentalized artificial pockets within the landscape. Given the sophisticated drainage system implemented in the Forum of Caesar to discard flood- and rainwater, the hydraulic feed line from Taberna n. 3 would have ensured continual supply of reservoir water to the basins. By doing so, Caesar fashioned his own lacus, which reinforced the sanctity of his temple and forum.

Such a concerted effort at establishing sanctity and historicity was necessary because the land on which the Appiades Fountain rested was not subject to substantial flooding. Although the Forum of Julius Caesar stands in a valley at the base of the Capitoline and Quirinal Hills, the elevation of virgin soil in the piazza measures c. 14 masl, which is similar in elevation to the Temple of Saturn in the Forum Romanum.[543] The Lacus Curtius and Lacus Iuturnae are substantially lower in elevation, standing at c. 7 masl and c. 8.50 masl, respectively.[544] A. Ammerman's soundings in the Roman Forum reveal that ancient floods reached levels of 10-11 masl.[545] The virgin soil level of the Forum of Caesar therefore stands 3-4 masl above the average elevation of flooding.

---

[542] Amici 1991, 126.
[543] Ammerman 1990, 634; Amici 1991, 21.
[544] Ammerman 1990, 634.
[545] Ammerman 1990, 637.

Although the area would have been subject to run-off from the surrounding Capitoline and Quirinal hills, the topography of the Forum of Caesar was not historically marshy.

Capitalizing upon reverence for the Romulean landscape in the Roman Forum, Caesar also utilized the history embedded in land of the future Forum Iulium to his advantage. Recent excavations directed by R. Meneghini have revealed flourishings of habitation in the areas of the imperial fora, and especially in the Forum Iulium.[546] Within the piazza of the Forum Iulium, Meneghini and his team uncovered wheel ruts that date to the 13th-11th centuries BC, as well as tombs and funerary objects that date to the 11th-10th centuries BC.

Based on his findings, Meneghini proposes that Bronze Age inhabitants used the area later encompassed by the Fora of Caesar and Augustus as burials of notable groups.[547] Following the progressive consolidation of different communities in the area, which began between the 10th and 9th centuries BC, burials were repositioned in a large necropolis between the Viminal, Esquiline, and Quirinal hills, thereby allowing unification and habitation in the central area of Rome.[548] The city continued to grow, and by the 8th century BC, a dense urban environment occupied the land at the foot of the Capitoline and Quirinal hills.

In 54 BC, Caesar initiated redevelopment of this historically densely populated area to construct a new monumental complex.[549] Judging by the price paid for the land, approximately 70-100 million sesterces, Caesar purchased a prestigious piece of

[546] Meneghini 2009, 11-32.
[547] Meneghini 2009, 12.
[548] Meneghini 2009, 12.
[549] Cic. *Att.* 4.17; Suet. *Iul.* 26; Ulrich 1993; Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007, 43.

property.[550] Unlike the organic growth of the adjacent Forum Romanum, the Forum Iulium was designed and constructed almost in its entirety within a span of 12 years (54-42 BC).[551] This building environment allowed Caesar complete control over the function and symbolism of the complex.

Caesar began by leveling the area and demolishing all pre-existing structures. According to Meneghini, the original orography of the area was irregular, and therefore Caesar's engineers had to level out the natural geological bank to build terraces corresponding to the porticoes, temple, and piazza, all of which required preparation and pavement in marble and travertine.[552] Along the western and northern sides of the forum, Meneghini documents massive interventions that cut into the hills of the Capitoline and Quirinal.[553]

Caesar effectively erased mimetic visual signifiers of the area primed for his complex. He thereby had the liberty to reassign historical significance for his own self-promotion. The Appiades Fountain was not associated with an historical etymological legend as were the Lacus Curtius and Lacus Iuturnae. However, Caesar created his own foundation story, as L. Aemilius Paullus contributed to the Lacus Iuturnae history.

The dictator originally vowed a temple to Venus Victrix if he defeated Pompey at the Battle of Pharsalus in 48 BC. Yet, having emerged the victor, Caesar dedicated the temple to Venus Genetrix in 46 BC instead. I argue that the shift in dedication to Venus

---

[550] Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007, 43.
[551] Amici 1991, 34-64; Ulrich 1993; Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007, 30-42.
[552] Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007, 43.
[553] Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007, 43. Meneghini discovered traces of the republican Clivus Argentarius, which originally ran along the foot of the Capitoline. Traces of a sewer, built into the tufa rock face, exist along the east side of the republican Clivus Argentarius. Meneghini suggests that this sewer collected rainwater that descended down the steep slope of the Capitoline Hill.

was a deliberate act. Pompey had already publicly claimed Venus Victrix as his patron goddess, to whom he erected a temple in his theater complex. By evoking Pompey's divine patron in battle and receiving her aid, Caesar demonstrated Venus' preference for himself over Pompey.

Upon his return to Rome, having established himself as the victor and darling of the gods, Caesar refused to relinquish his control as dictator. The dedication of his temple to Venus Genetrix, rather than Venus Victrix, symbolized Caesar's claim to sole rule as the descendant of Venus. Caesar's temple celebrated Venus in her guise as mother of the Roman race and specifically of the Julian gens.

The Appiades Fountain reinforced this narrative and symbolically legitimized Caesar's role as dictator. Situated at the foot of the Temple of Venus Genetrix, the Appiades Fountain visually recalled the revered lacūs in the Forum Romanum, each of which were associated with a divinity and an heroic Roman who contributed to the foundation, expansion, or stability of the Roman state.

Likewise, Caesar built the Appiades Fountain to enhance his narrative of divine intercession and legitimacy. Although an aqueduct fed the Appiades Fountain, the construction of the fountain gave the appearance that the source of the water naturally occurred from the ground near the temple. The two basins therefore mimicked the natural recessions in the Forum Romanum that collected water. By doing so, the fountain validated the sanctity of the area that he had previously razed.

I suggest that the water supplied to the fountain intentionally symbolized life bestowed from Venus herself, represented through her temple. As the mother of Aeneas, Venus birthed the Roman race and therefore life to the inhabitants of Rome throughout

the Republic and Empire. As a direct descendant of Venus, Caesar viewed himself as the rightful heir of Venus' authority, with which he bestowed peace and order upon the Roman people. He had no need to relinquish this authority. Venus had chosen him as her heir and legitimized his political rule.

Conclusion

Political and military ambitions controlled Caesar's life up until his last breath in 44 BC. By the year of his assassination, Caesar had become one of the most powerful men in Rome's history, and he was undoubtedly the most powerful man alive at that time. Plutarch provides an insightful anecdote concerning the character of Julius Caesar and his sense of superiority and entitlement. As Caesar and a companion walked past a small barbarian village, his friend said to Caesar, "Is it possible that here too there are rivalries for office, competitions for honors, and jealousies of each other on the part of leading men?" To this question Caesar replied, "I would rather be first among these people than second among the Romans."[554] Caesar understood his destiny of ruling the world after dreaming of raping his mother, and he did not relent until he achieved the reality of the augurs' predictions.

Caesar ultimately secured his power by appealing to the Roman people and by promoting himself and his family through his various building projects in the capital city. The Forum Iulium was undoubtedly Caesar's most important construction in Rome. Even if Caesar did not originally intend for the space to become a separate entity from the Forum Romanum, it nevertheless became a powerful monument commemorating himself and his great achievements, the Julian gens, and the Roman State.

[554] Plut. *Vit. Caes.* 11; Millar 2002, 215. According to Millar, the authenticity of this anecdote is uncertain.

Scholars have overlooked the Appiades Fountain as an unusual and inventive element of the Forum Iulium for too long. Thanks to the works of Roger Ulrich and Carla Amici we now have a detailed description of the archaeological remains and the workings of the hydraulic system. By considering the symbolism, use, and ideology, we now see that the Appiades Fountain was more than a mere decorative element of the Temple of Venus Genetrix or security barrier in front of the temple's rostra. It was a visible reminder that Caesar was a descendent of Venus who legitimized his rule over Rome by conferring her power onto him. So powerful was his bond with the divine that he was the first mortal man that the Romans worshipped as a god following his death.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MARS ULTOR FOUNTAIN AND BAETYL FOUNTAIN (SO-CALLED META SUDANS): SYMBOLIC LANDMARKS IN THE NEW AUGUSTAN LANDSCAPE

Octavian/Augustus is a popular subject in modern scholarship.[555] Numerous studies address Augustus' political, religious, and cultural reforms, his building programs, and his innovations in sculpture and portraiture.[556] Augustan hydraulic monuments, however, receive substantially less attention. Grouped within this overlooked category are two fountains that once stood prominently within the Augustan landscape. The fountain basins of the Temple of Mars Ultor (completed 2 BC) and the Augustan Meta Sudans (7 BC) both helped legitimize Augustus' achievement of supreme authority both within the capital city and in the provinces beyond (figs. 20 and 26). As this dissertation has demonstrated through discussions of the Lacus Curtius, Lacus Iuturnae, and Appiades Fountain, the practice of *aemulatio* played a key role in the design, construction, and symbolism of monumental public pools and fountains. The Mars Ultor Basins and the Meta Sudans closely follow this pattern of emulation with discernible enhancements as a means of visually promoting Augustus' success as *princeps* (first citizen).

PART I: THE MARS ULTOR FOUNTAIN

[555] Gaius Octavius assumed the name Gaius Julius Octavius upon his adoption by his great uncle, Gaius Julius Caesar, in 44 BC. Octavius, whom modern scholars refer to as Octavian, was awarded the title Augustus in 27 BC by the senate. Therefore, while discussing the leader's life prior to 27 BC, I will refer to him as Octavian, and after 27 BC as Augustus. I will refer to him as Octavian/Augustus for events that span pre- and post-27 BC.

[556] Zanker 1968; Barnes 1974; Brunt 1984; Zanker 1988; Kleiner 1992, 59-120; Favro 1996; Galinsky 1996; Flower 2000; Galinsky 2005; Lange 2011; Galinsky 2012; Goldsworthy 2014 with comprehensive bibliography.

Two square marble basins, which measure approximately 3.85 x 3.60 m, stand flush against the lower moldings of the podium of the imposing Temple of Mars Ultor. Despite great scholarly attention lavished on the Temple of Mars Ultor in scholarship, the basins appear as side notes, if mentioned at all, in discussions of the Forum of Augustus and the temple.[557] Unlike the other basins and fountains analyzed in this dissertation, no scholarly study is devoted solely to the basins in the Forum of Augustus. In-depth analysis has been problematic due to a lack of data corresponding directly to the basins. No literary sources survive addressing the fountain; the archaeological reports are scant; and no epigraphic or numismatic evidence survives to indicate the function of the two basins. However, when considered as part of an architectural continuum of basins constructed in the Forum valley, details emerge that allow for physical and symbolic reconstructions.

The lack of scholarly consideration is reflected in the fact that the basins have no name in scholarship. This omission is most likely due to the prominence scholars have placed on ancient literary sources as a primary means of identifying monuments when no titular inscriptions survive. Scholars have not been able to assign primary or epigraphic sources specifically to the basins. As a result, they remain nameless.

I propose the title "Mars Ultor Fountain" to designate the individuality of the basins separate from the temple, while retaining the symbolic relationship with Mars. Through analysis of archaeological remains, the life and career of Octavian/Augustus, and Roman topography, this chapter argues that the Mars Ultor Fountain symbolized the emperor's achieved supreme political authority in Rome. Reflection upon and reference

[557] Kockel 1993; Zanker 1968; Anderson 1984, 65-100; Galinsky 1996, 197-213; Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007, 43-60; Meneghini 2009, 59-78; Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2010.

to historical *lacūs* in the Roman Forum visually aided in his legitimization as the new Romulus.[558] In addition, through appropriation and improvement of the Appiades model, Augustus visually highlighted his role as Caesars' successor. Octavian/Augustus' expansion of the aqueduct systems in Rome delivered water to all parts of the city and to all class levels, which perpetually reminded the residents of his power and benevolence.

Previous Scholarship and History of Excavation

Archaeological reports comprise the bulk of scholarship concerning the Mars Ultor Fountain. A. M. Colini directed partial excavations of the Forum of Augustus in the 1930s, but never published the results.[559] In 2007, R. Leone and A. Margiotta published photographs from the 1932-1933 excavations of Augustus' forum, which provide a visual record of the physical state of the area in the early 1930s.[560] However, only one photograph, dated to August 1933, depicts the north basin of the Mars Ultor Fountain.[561] The excavation photograph provides a view of the north basin paving and border stones, the positioning of which corresponds directly to the present state of the in situ remains.

Within his study of the imperial fora, J. Anderson is one of the earliest scholars to draw attention to the basins in front of the Temple of Mars Ultor.[562] Anderson published his book in 1984, a time when scholarship avoided the imperial fora due to a lack of reliable archaeological evidence. Anderson's study tackles the complex project of joining in situ remains with literary, epigraphic, and numismatic evidence to present a coherent view of the imperial topography. Although Anderson mentions the basins only briefly during his discussion of the Forum of Augustus, he nevertheless speculates that they

[558] A title that the Senate conferred upon Octavian in 27 BC.
[559] Galinsky 1996, 414, note 124. Galinsky does not name the director of excavations.
[560] Leone and Margiotta 2007, 119-126.
[561] Leone and Margiotta 2007, 124, n. 1.157.
[562] Anderson 1984.

indeed formed a fountain similar to the one found in front of the Temple of Venus Genetrix in the adjacent Forum of Caesar.

J. Ganzert, the foremost expert on the Forum of Augustus, conducted an architectural survey of the in situ remains of the forum during the 1980s.[563] In 1996, Ganzert published a monograph detailing, with great precision, the remains of the Temple of Mars Ultor. The primary aim of the monograph is to report measurements of temple components, elevations, and reconstructions. However, Ganzert devotes little attention to the fountain basins, which do not appear in his temple reconstructions. Given that Ganzert does not consider the Fountain of Mars Ultor to be a component of the temple, he provides no interpretation concerning the basins.

Shortly after Ganzert completed his study of the Temple of Mars Ultor, R. Meneghini initiated archaeological excavations of the imperial fora in 1991 under the aegis of the Sovraintendenza del Comune di Roma.[564] The excavations, which ended in 2007, investigated the Forums of Caesar, Augustus, Vespasian (Peace), Nerva, and Trajan, as well as the Domitianic Terrace. While Meneghini's excavations in the Forum of Augustus concentrated on the temple and forum hemicycles, the resulting reports offer brief but beneficial evidence concerning not only the basins of the Fountain of Mars Ultor but also a pre-existing basin and possible nymphaeum. Similar to Ganzert, however, Meneghini provides no analysis of the fountain basins.

Archaeological Evidence

Both Ganzert and Meneghini provide valuable architectural and archaeological data that enhance our understanding of the Mars Ultor Fountain. However, neither

[563] Ganzert 1996. Previous bibliography included in monograph. See also Ganzert 2007.
[564] Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007, 43-60; Meneghini 2009, 59-78; Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2010.

scholar presents sufficient evidence on which to base a study of the fountain basins. Having inspected and measured the monument myself, I present here the first dimensional record of the surviving remains, as seen in 2013.[565]

At the western end of the Temple of Mars Ultor, two square recessed basins stand flush against the lower moldings of the temple platform, separated by a distance of 27.50 m from one another. The south basin is badly damaged, with only one surviving block. The north basin, on the other hand, is preserved well enough to aid in reconstruction (fig. 21).

Modern interventions have set broken sections of the marble basin borders and floor along lines formed by the in situ blocks. Many of the replaced marble pieces of border, fountain, and forum pavement are held together with modern cement. Three basin corners allow for a reconstruction of dimensions, which are outlined by modern bricks. Four blocks survive in situ that comprise a portion of the eastern border of the north basin. The cyma reversa, a decorative molding, along the basin border no longer survives. However, the blocks themselves span approximately half the length of the eastern side, and they form a corner with the southern border. A solitary block stands at the southwestern corner, and two blocks of the border and two forum paving stones survive at the northwestern corner.

By following the lines created by the three surviving corners and cyma reversa blocks, the basin measurements are easily discernible. The exterior border of the southern side of the north basin measures 3.60 m, and the interior of the basin measures 2.70 m. The adjacent western side of the north basin presents similar dimensions, only slightly

[565] In 2013, the Sovraintendenza ai Beni Culturali del Comune di Roma (i Fori Imperiali) granted me permission to inspect, clean, and measure the Mars Ultor Fountain basins.

longer. The exterior border along the western end measures 3.85 m, and the internal line of the basin measures 3 m. No remains survive along the northern side of the north basin, and approximately half of the eastern side remains in situ. Given that two complete sides of the basin survive, I reconstruct the north basin to 3.60 m x 3.85 m along the exterior border as it meets the forum pavement, and 2.70 m x 3 m for the floor of the basin. A drainage hole, measuring 25 cm in diameter, remains in the center of the north basin. A modern grate covers the drainage hole, which obstructs further exploration and poses a challenge in determining whether or not it is ancient.

The cyma reversa molding of the north basin measures c. 40-45 cm in width and 15 cm in height. Several cuttings appear on the southern and western sides of the cyma reversa molding (fig. 22). Three cuttings along the southern side are aligned fair evenly and are rectangular in form. Two survive intact and measure 20 x 8 cm, 10 x 7 cm, whereas the third survives only partially, measuring 17 x 7 cm. Along the western end of the north basin, two rectangular cuttings remain in situ and measure 20 x 8 cm and 8 x 5.50 cm. Notably, the two largest intact cuttings, located on the southern and western sides, are identical in size (20 x 8 cm). The third largest cutting (17 x 7 cm), found on the southern end, is directly in line with the rectangular cutting that measures 20 x 8 cm. Very shallow tracks connect these rectangular indentions in the cyma reversa molding, whereas the two smaller cuttings (10 x 7 cm and 8 x 5.50 cm) are set slightly off this track. No metallic residue was visible inside the cuttings at the time of inspection, which suggests the cuttings and shallow track supported a wooden fence around the basins, similar to the Appiades Fountain basins.

Remains at the south basin are more scant. Only one marble block from this pool survives. Situated along the western side, the block clearly belongs to the border of the basin due to the surviving cyma reversa molding. Given that no other evidence from the perimeter of the basin survive, I reconstruct the south basin based on the northern counterpart to 3.60 m x 3.85 m for the external limits and 2.70 m x 3 m for the internal dimensions. Similar to the north basin, a drainage hole approximately 25 cm in diameter is covered by a modern grate. A second drainage hole is located near the northwestern corner of the south basin, and measures approximately the same size as the central drainage hole. The surrounding modern brick and cement, as well as the grate, obscure detailed inspection. It is not certain whether or not this drain is modern or ancient, either original to the Augustan basin or a later repair.

Fragments of cocciopesto, hydraulic cement, were found within the confines of the south basin, which allow for a reconstruction of a waterproof lining. One section of cocciopesto is in situ next to the drainage hole in the northwest corner of the basin. It measures c. 40 x 8 cm and is 2-4 cm thick. Two prominent loose fragments of the ancient cement measure c. 8 x 8 cm and 20 x 20 cm, and are 3-4 cm thick, which is congruous with the layer of cocciopesto from Phase I of the Lacus Iuturnae.[566]

Given this evidence, I argue for a reconstructed cocciopesto lining underneath the marble pavement of the basin interior, similar to the one found at the Lacus Iuturnae. As I reconstruct the south basin based on the dimensions of the north pool, I also use evidence of hydraulic cement to reconstruct an identical layer at the north basin. Such a lining would cause the two basins to be waterproof, thereby indicating that their primary function was to hold water.

[566] See Steinby 2012, 52.

However, no evidence exists to date confirming hydraulic feed lines to the basins. Within his monograph detailing the in situ evidence for the Temple of Mars Ultor, Ganzert carefully traces every visible water channel in and near the temple. Ganzert reconstructs two water drainage channels that run transversely through the temple podium, from south to north. A surviving metal pipe on the northern side of the podium indicates that water drained way from the temple to the north towards the forum hemicycle.[567] Despite a lack of evidence for water channels running along the axis of the podium, Meneghini nonetheless reconstructs the basins as receptacles for waterspouts that terminate along the western extremity of the temple podium.[568]

I offer two alternative explanations for the water supply. First, the feed lines were either located underneath the forum paving rather than in the temple podium, as seen in the Appiades Fountain. Or second, the basins had no artificial supply lines and instead collected rain- and floodwaters, as seen at the Lacus Curtius and Phase I of the Lacus Iuturnae.[569] Without further on-sight investigation, I am unable to provide a definitive answer. However, considering evidence from the lacūs in the Forum Romanum and the Appiades Fountain in the Forum Iulium, either explanation is viable.

The Mars Ultor Fountain Within Context: The Forum of Augustus and Temple of Mars Ultor

The Mars Ultor Fountain is an individual monument within the Forum of Augustus. However, this fountain is inextricably connected to the forum and temple. At the battle of Philippi in 42 BC, Octavian vowed to build a temple to Mars Ultor, Mars the

[567] Ganzert 1996, pl. 24b, 26. The pipes are angled at a decline towards the north, which allows Ganzert to suggest they are drainage channels.
[568] Meneghini 2009, fig. 61; Ganzert 1996, pl. 16/16a.
[569] Phase I of Lacus Iuturnae.

Avenger, if he was victorious in defeating Caesar's opponents and thereby avenging Caesar's death.[570] Forty years later, Augustus inaugurated the Temple of Mars Ultor on May 12, 2 BC.[571]

The temple stands in the center of a vast forum, which measures c. 120 x 120 m (fig. 23). A central rectangular piazza, articulated by colonnades, measures c. 70 x 50 m.[572] The flanking colonnaded porticoes, c. 15 m deep, opened outward onto two hemicycles, each 40 m in diameter, at the eastern end of the forum.[573] The interior of the forum rests against a massive 33 m high wall in opus quadratum along the northeastern end.[574] The wall, constructed of peperino blocks and Gabina stone, clearly delimited the forum perimeter as well as protected the space from frequent fires in the neighboring Subura.[575]

Corresponding to the grandeur of the Forum of Augustus, the Temple of Mars Ultor appeared imposing within the open plaza. The temple measures c. 36 x 50 m and stands on a high podium constructed of a concrete and opus quadratum core, veneered in thick marble.[576] A monumental central staircase leads from the forum floor to the temple entrance. The large 17 steps, which are also built of concrete and covered with marble, span almost the entire width of the temple podium.[577] The lower 14 steps are divided into two sections between a central altar and outcroppings of the podium that abut the

---

[570] Meneghini 2009, 59.
[571] Meneghini 2009, 65. Scholars date the inauguration of temple based on titles in the architrave inscription.
[572] Meneghini 2009, 59, pl. 2-3, fig. 57.
[573] Meneghini 2009, 59-60, figs. 57-58. Recent excavations in 1998-2000, led by Meneghini, reveal possibly two additional hemicycles, c. 30 m in diameter, at the western end of the Forum of Augustus.
[574] Meneghini 2009, 60.
[575] Meneghini 2009, 60.
[576] Meneghini 2009, 61.
[577] Meneghini 2009, 61.

fountain basins. The remaining 3 upper steps cross the entire width of the podium. Meneghini identifies the central outcropping with an exposed concrete core as the temple altar.[578]

Both the temple and forum decorations highlight Augustus' connection to Mars as well as prominent historical figures, including Romulus, the founder of Rome. The temple pediment, reconstructed from the Ara Pietatis relief, depicts a crowned Mars in the center, standing with a lance in his right hand and a sheathed sword in the other. The god's left foot is resting on the globe, symbolizing domination.[579] Venus appears in a matronly guise as she stands holding a scepter with her son, Cupid, resting on her left shoulder. To the left of Mars stands Fortuna with a cornucopia and rudder, representing prosperity. Victorious Roma sits to the left of Fortuna and holds a lance and shield. Romulus, also seated, is to the right of Venus, and rests his head on his left hand and holds a scepter with his right. The figure furthest to the left depicts a personification of the Palatine lying down, and the reclining figure on the right depicts the Tiber who holds a reed and jug. Both the Palatine and Tiber River were central to the foundation myth of Rome. Archaic settlements, gathered around the Tiber and subsidiary creeks for sustenance. Romulus, who was raised on the Palatine, created the first *pomerium* (sacred boundary of the city) around the Palatine hill. The Ara Pietatis also depicted winged Victory acroteria on the Temple of Mars Ultor. A colossal bronze foot was discovered during the 1932 excavations, which S. Rinaldi Tuffi identifies as the foot belonging to a now lost Victory acroteria.[580]

---

[578] Meneghini 2009, 61, fig. 61.
[579] Zanker 1988, 195-196, fig. 150; Galinsky 1996, 208-209, fig. 47; Meneghini 2009, 61, fig. 65 A-G.
[580] Ungaro and Milella 1995, 50-51; Rinaldi Tuffi 2002.

Augustus utilized basic iconography to highlight his relationship with each deity and/or personification in order to convey complex messages to a wide range of visitors, whose interpretations varied based on his/her knowledge of myth and tradition. Mars and Venus are central to Augustan ideology due to their ancestral roles as mother of Aeneas and father of Romulus. As the primary god worshipped in the Forum of Augustus, Mars stands most prominently in the center of the pediment. Mars, in the guise of avenger, supported and aided Octavian during the battle of Philippi. The deity thereby legitimized Octavian's rise to power, which culminated in his supreme authority. As Mars' lover, Venus often accompanies the god of war. Yet by 2 BC, Venus had also become the iconic patron deity of the Julian gens. Her presence beside Mars therefore also symbolizes Augustus' legitimacy with the support of the divine Caesar.

The colossal statues inside the Temple of Mars Ultor reinforced this ideology. Based on a relief from Carthage, scholars believe the temple housed three cult statues representing Mars, Venus, and the divine Julius Caesar (fig. 24).[581] Mars appears cuirassed but disarmed as Cupid holds up Mars' sword to Venus. Zanker interprets the disarming of Mars as a reference to the peace that follows a war, in particular the decisive battles at Philippi and Actium.[582] Galinsky also draws a connection between Augustus the princeps and the *corona civica* (crown of oak leaves) depicted on Mars' shield.[583] In 27 BC, the senate presented the corona civica to Augustus, which he affixed to the door of his house on the Palatine.[584] The crown of oak leaves quickly became the emblem of

[581] Relief from Carthage, now in the Archaeological Museum of Algiers. Zanker 1988, 195-196, fig. 151; Galinsky 1996, 208, fig. 120; Meneghini 2009, 68, fig. 69.
[582] Zanker 1988, 196.
[583] Galinsky 1996, 208.
[584] *RG* 34.2; Galinsky 1996, 208.

Augustus and his role as savior of the people.[585] The cult statue of Mars therefore became an extension of Augustus' persona as victorious general and restorer of peace.

In the reconstructed colossal statue group, Venus stands to the right of Mars in a pose similar to the one found on the Ara Pietatis pediment. The goddess is represented as a classical Aphrodite type wearing a chiton and mantel.[586] The gesture of Cupid raising Mars' sword to Venus not only represents the warrior god's disarmament but also a transferal of protective duties to the mother goddess. To the other side of Mars stands the deified Julius Caesar. As a direct descendent of Venus and Aeneas, Divus Iulius represents Augustus' own divine lineage through his adopted father. Meneghini argues that political-mythological stability was the basis of Augustus' power, which derived from his position as a son of a deity.[587] Caesar's presence inside the temple, therefore, conveys Augustus' legitimization as the new emperor. Caesar, whose actions initiated the shift to an imperial system of government, stands with two of the most significant deities in Octavian/Augustus' consolidation of power.

In 27 BC, the Senate conferred the title of Romulus to Augustus as the new founder and savior of the city.[588] The iconography of the cult statue group and images throughout the forum, conspicuously reminded visitors of Augustus' legitimate position as heir to Romulus. Through Venus, Mars, and Divus Iulius, Augustus emphasized his connection with the ancestors of Rome, especially Aeneas and Romulus.[589] Writing in 50 BC, Lucretius identifies Venus as the mother of Aeneas and his race, through whom

---

[585] Galinsky 1996, 208.
[586] Zanker 1988, 196-197. See also Ov. *Trist.* 2.295.
[587] Meneghini 2009, 66.
[588] Meneghini 2009, 67.
[589] Meneghini 2009, 68-69.

every generation of living things is conceived.[590] The son of Venus and Anchises, Aeneas fled Troy with the Penates during the Trojan War. After a long and arduous journey, the Trojan prince settled on the Italian peninsula and founded the city of Alba Longa. Aeneas founded a temple to the Penates at the future site of Lavinium, which became the new home of Trojan refugees.[591] Amongst the descendants of Aeneas were Romulus and Remus, grandsons of Numitor, an eighth century BC king of Alba Longa. Romulus, the founder of Rome, was therefore a recognized descendant of Venus.

The persona of Mars is also closely associated with Romulus. Quintus Fabius Pictor first published the history of Mars and Romulus in c. 200 BC.[592] Although his text does not survive, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (late first century BC) and Plutarch (early second century AD) both source Fabius for their versions of the Romulus myth.[593] According to the histories, Mars appeared in human form to Rhea Silvia, daughter of Numitor, the deposed king of Alba Longa. Rhea Silvia, who by that time had become a Vestal Virgin, gave birth to twins, as Mars had foretold when he proclaimed that twin sons would excel all men in warlike valor. Amulius, the usurper, imprisoned Rhea Silvia and ordered his men to put the infant twins in a box and take them to the inundated Tiber. Rather than drowning, the twins survived when the box washed up on the slope of the Palatine hill. The she-wolf discovered the twins and suckled them. Shortly thereafter, Faustulus, Amulius' swineherd, found the she-wolf and twins, and took the infants home and named them Romulus and Remus. As strong and valiant men, Romulus and Remus helped restore Numitor as king of Alba Longa. In return, Numitor granted the twins the

[590] Lucr. 1.1-5.
[591] Verg. *Aen.* 3.390, 8.84; Zanker 1988, 203.
[592] See Wiseman 1995 for a complete analysis of the foundation story.
[593] Dion. Hal. 1.76-83; Plut. *Rom.* 308; Wiseman 1995, 1-2. Wiseman reports that Plutarch gives credit to Diocles of Peparethos for the first publication of the foundation story.

right to found a city on the Palatine where they had been raised. Following Remus' death, Romulus ruled Rome, named after himself, as the city's first king.[594] Upon Romulus' death, the king became immortal and was worshipped as Quirinus, a warrior deity closely connected to water, fertility, and Mars himself.[595]

Aeneas and Romulus also featured prominently in the exedrae flanking the forum porticoes. Aeneas once stood in the center of statue groups of the Kings of Alba Longa and the Iulii as the ancestor of both groups. Zanker argues that as the savior of the Penates, Aeneas represented the exemplar of *pietas* (piety).[596] Romulus stood in the opposite exedra directly across from Aeneas and flanked by statues of *Summi Viri* (most distinguished men).[597] As Rome's first *triumphator* (victor), Romulus exemplified *virtus* (courage/valor).[598] The temple inscription naming Augustus, centralized statues of Augustus as *Pater Patriae* (father of the country), and the triumphant quadriga placed Augustus as the focal point amongst the pious Aeneas, valorous Romulus, and distinguished historical men of Rome.

Aemulatio: Building Upon the Appiades Model

Due to the lack of published evidence concerning the Mars Ultor Fountain, scholars tend to overlook the fountain as a mere copy of the Appiades side basins.[599] In her comparison of the two fountains, Longfellow states that the basins in the Forum of

[594] Sources vary about the twins' join rule and the death of Remus. For joint rule, see Plut. *Rom.* 9.4; Dion. Hal. 1.85.4-5; Liv. 1.6.4. For the dispute that led to Remus' death, see Ov. *Fast.* 4.815-818; Flor. 1.1.6-7; Val. Max. 1.4. See also Wiseman 1995, 5-13.
[595] For the connection between Quirinus and Mars, see Dusanic and Petkovic 2002.
[596] Zanker 1988, 201-210.
[597] For the *Summi Viri*, see Zanker 1988, 210-215.
[598] Zanker 1988, 201-210.
[599] Ulrich 1986a; Ungaro 2007, 130; Longfellow 2011, 21.

Augustus lack the grand, axial water display of the Appiades Fountain.[600] However, as I demonstrate in Chapter Three, scholarship should discount the misconceived interpretation of the Appiades Fountain as a three-basin monument spanning the entire width of the temple façade with bronze statues of Appian nymphs, possibly made by Stephanos himself. Similar to the basins of the Mars Ultor Fountain, the Appiades Fountain likewise consisted of two square basins at the front two corners of the Temple of Venus Genetrix. My research suggests that the Mars Ultor Fountain was in fact the more grand of the two monuments.

Consideration of the practice of aemulatio allows for such an interpretation. The fountain basins of the Mars Ultor Fountain closely resemble those found at the Appiades Fountain in the Forum of Julius Caesar in form and symbolism.[601] However, the Mars Ultor Fountain is larger and conveys a message of *imperium* (power) in addition to legitimization. Galinsky argues that one of the main motivations behind the Forum of Augustus was to express the idea of *imperium Romanum* (power of Rome), and perhaps even *imperium Augustum* (power of Augustus).[602] The fountain basins played a critical role in the dissemination of Augustan ideology.

The similarities at both fountains are readily visible to a modern viewer. In 2 BC both fountains were comprised of two shallow square basins located at the frontal corners of the temple podiums. Delicately carved cyma reversa molding outlined each basin. Neither fountain displayed a visible water source, thereby creating simulated lacūs. Wooden fences protected the basins in each fountain.

---

[600] Longfellow 2011, 21.
[601] For additional connections between the Forum of Caesar and the Forum of Augustus, see Galinsky 1996, 199.
[602] Galinsky 1996, 199.

The enhancements in the Forum of Augustus, however, are not as apparent as the similarities. The Mars Ultor basins are larger than the Appiades Fountain basins. Augustus' pools measure approximately 3.60 x 3.85 m and are 15 cm deep. The basins in the Forum Iulium are 2.90 x 2.90 m with a depth of 10 cm.[603] The additional meter of length on each side of the Mars Ultor basins is immediately apparent when viewed in person. A Roman, whose memory was etched in topography, would have undoubtedly recognized this difference between the two fountains located in the adjacent and connected fora.[604] The additional 5 cm in depth at the Mars Ultor Fountain may not immediately appear significant either to modern viewers. When combined with the enlarged dimensions, however, each of the Augustan basins was able to hold substantially more water at 2,079 liters as opposed to the 840-liter capacity at each of the Appiades Fountain basins.[605]

The architecture of the Forum of Augustus as well as the Temple of Mars Ultor dictated traffic patterns alongside or around the basins in order to approach the temple. As a Roman approached from the main entrance of the (fig. 23) forum at the western end, he/she would have walked along the central axis of the plaza toward the temple. However, the statue of Augustus as Pater Patriae and the quadriga stood in the center, thereby forcing the visitor to walk along the axis of the northern or southern half of the forum. This divergence placed the Roman in a path toward one of the two fountain basins. He/she would then need to walk around or beside the basin in order to ascend the frontal staircase. The central altar, embedded in the staircase, forced the visitor to remain

[603] Measurements taken on site.
[604] For topography and memory, see Favro 1996.
[605] Volume calculations are my own and reflect maximum capacity. Each of the Mars Ultor Fountain basins held 1,239 liters more than each corresponding basin at the Appiades Fountain.

within 10 m of the fountain basins while climbing the stairs to the temple. Everyone leaving the temple would follow the same pattern in reverse.

I argue that the designs of the forum and temple podium were intentional efforts to control movements of temple visitors in order to appeal to the collective visual and topographical memory of the city. As one approached or exited the Temple of Mars Ultor, he/she was confronted with water basins that not only recalled other significant lacūs in adjacent fora but also Augustus' relationship with Mars, father of Romulus and Remus and consort of Caesar's ancestress and patron goddess, Venus.

The plan of the Forum Iulium also forced visitors to veer around a central equestrian statue of Caesar, which by doing so, directed visitors to choose one side of the forum. The basins would have then been in a viewer's sightline. Certainly as Romans collected in the Forum of Caesar to hear speeches delivered on the temple rostra, the fountain basins played a significant role in promulgation of Caesar's divine ancestry and devotion to Roman history.

However, the basins did not play as significant a role in the religious act of visiting Venus' temple as did the Mars Ultor Fountain basins at the Temple of Mars Ultor. Narrow lateral staircases that led to the Temple of Venus Genetrix presented a closed and restricted façade, which suggests limited access. When allowed entrance, a visitor walked past the fountain basins and perhaps ruminated on the topographical and historical connections conveyed. Yet, he/she was not forced to walk near the basins to exit the temple and forum.

The wide frontal staircase at the Temple of Mars Ultor, on the other hand, was architecturally open and inviting. By placing his larger basins at the corners of his temple,

Augustus appropriately emulated the design set forth by his predecessor. However, the inclusion of the frontal staircase incorporated both visual and experiential enhancements. Visitors within the flourishing city were invited to worship Mars freely under the constant reminder of Augustus' ancestry, legitimacy, military triumphs, and political success, through which the emperor established peace and prosperity.

Longfellow suggests that the "simplicity" of the Fountain of Mars Ultor alludes to earlier fountains and Augustus' desire to return Rome to the *mores maiorum* (values of the ancestors).[606] While I agree that the fountain basins recall pre-existing monuments in Rome, I argue for a much more significant role. The Mars Ultor Fountain became another topographical marker in the history of Rome, alongside the Lacus Curtius that recalled the marshy landscape at the time of Rome's foundation, the Lacus Iuturnae that symbolized the Trojan origins of Rome as well as her conquest of the Greek East, and the Appiades Fountain that visually conveyed the divine legitimization of one man in his quest for supreme authority. The Mars Ultor Fountain, within the context of the Forum of Augustus, represents Augustus' supremacy. His connections to Romulus, Aeneas, and Caesar, whose achievements are embodied in the Lacus Curtius, Lacus Iuturnae, and Appiades Fountain, legitimized his elevated status, which earned him the titles Augustus and Romulus.

The New Augustan Landscape

Octavian/Augustus imprinted his legacy onto the Roman landscape with great effort and careful planning. The valley between the Capitoline and Quirinal hills was a vast neighborhood built up for a millennium prior to construction of the imperial fora.[607]

---

[606] Longfellow 2011, 21.
[607] Meneghini 2009, 32.

Geological explorations reveal that prior to habitation in this valley, as in the Forum, the area contained rivers, creeks, and static marshes that cut through the tufa bank thereby creating the steep surrounding hills.[608] Erosion slowly softened the roughness of the elevation, and the land was able to support human activity as early as the Bronze Age in the middle of the second millennium BC.

The recent excavations directed by Meneghini discovered archaeological evidence that reveals stable habitation as early as the thirteenth to eleventh centuries BC.[609] Wheel ruts in the Forum of Caesar date to the thirteenth to eleventh centuries BC. Tombs and funerary objects discovered in the areas of the Fora of Caesar, Augustus, and Nerva date to the eleventh to tenth centuries BC. Meneghini proposes that this area between the Quirinal and Capitoline hills was utilized for burials of notable groups prior to the progressive consolidation of different communities, which occurred in the tenth to ninth centuries BC.[610] The burials were then moved to a large necropolis between the Viminal, Esquiline, and Quirinal hills, allowing for definitive habitation in the central area later occupied by the Forum of Caesar and the Forum of Augusuts.[611] During the next one thousand years, habitation in the valley between the Quirinal and Capitoline expanded rapidly.

Like Caesar before him, Octavian faced challenges in purchasing the land on which he wished to build his forum.[612] Owners of residential homes were not persuaded easily to separate from their land and connections to Rome's past. Augustus did not

---

[608] Meneghini 2009, 11, fig. 1. For the Forum valley, see Ammerman 1990.
[609] Meneghini 2009, 11.
[610] Colini 1933, 265; Meneghini 2009, 12.
[611] Meneghini 2009, 12.
[612] Galinsky 1996, 198-199; Meneghini 2009, 59. For the Forum of Caesar land purchase, see Ulrich 1993.

utilize his right to public domain and evict any of the residing owners. Instead, he slowly purchased plots of land with proceeds from his military booty so that he could legitimately build his forum on private land as Caesar had done.[613] The irregularity in the east corner of the precinct plan indicates that Augustus was unable to purchase all of the land desired for his forum.[614] Suetonius explains that Augustus decreased the size of his forum because he did not wish to force homeowners from their land.[615]

The land that Augustus did purchase underwent dramatic changes. Italian excavations from the 1930s and early 2000s have uncovered remains of a basin, foundations of a house, nymphaeum, and an unidentified walled structure. In 1930, Colini uncovered the corner of low basin in the southern porticus near the rear of the Forum of Augustus (fig. 25).[616] Colini did not identify this structure, which he considered unimportant because of the location in which it stands. More than seventy years passed before the remains of this basin reappeared in scholarship when Leone and Margiotta published archival photographs dated 1924-1940.[617] While only partially recognizable in a photograph of the south porticus, the Italian team investigated the structure in the late 2000s. In 2010, A. Delfino presented his interpretation of the structure as a fountain basin.[618]

Excavations in the south porticus of the Forum of Augustus revealed a floor of cappellaccio tufa blocks lying directly on the natural clay soil at an elevation of c. 14

---

[613] *RG* 21.1; Galinsky 1996, 198.
[614] Galinsky 1996, 198, fig. 111.
[615] Suet. *Aug.* 56.2; Galinsky 1996, 199.
[616] Colini 1933; Delfino 2010, 18-19, figs. 1, 6-7.
[617] Leone and Margiotta 2007, 126, fig. 1.61.
[618] Delfino 2010, 18-19, figs. 1, 6-7.

masl.[619] A layer of cocciopesto, 8-10 cm thick, survives on the tufa floor, which suggests the function of the structure was to hold water.[620] A wall of ashlar cappellacio tufa originally delineated the floor of cocciopesto. To prevent water leakage, the cocciopesto covered the seams between the floor and walls. The surviving portion of the wall, which measures 66 cm long, 47 cm wide, and 25 cm high, was cut off at an elevation of c. 14.60 masl to accommodate the south porticus foundation blocks.[621] Therefore, the height of the basin wall is indeterminable. In addition, a trench used to lay foundations for the forum cuts through the pre-Augustan structure diagonally.[622] Due to this intrusion, only a corner of the basin survives, which measures 1.74 m along the south side and 1.51 m along the east side.[623] Delfino reconstructs the fountain basin to c. 1.70 x 1.50 m, oriented east to west.[624] However, the edges of the cappellacio floor are cut roughly, which suggests the basin may have extended further and was therefore larger than Delfino's reconstruction.

Without further archaeological evidence, it is difficult to identify the precise type of basin that once survived prior to the construction of the Forum of Augustus. It may have been a public fountain basin, either shallow or deep depending on the original height of the ashlar walls. If the basin was originally shallow, it is possible to surmise that it was a lacus in commemoration of the archaic marshy landscape. If it was deep, the basin may have been a public street fountain from which residents were able to collect water. Or perhaps it once belonged to a private home considering the residential nature of the area prior to Augustan intervention.

---

[619] Delfino 2010, 18.
[620] My measurements taken in 2013.
[621] Delfino 2010, 18.
[622] Delfino 2010, 18.
[623] My measurements taken in 2013.
[624] Delfino 2010, 18.

Although we may never reach a definitive answer concerning the function of the basin, its presence below the Forum of Augustus is significant. The basin confirms intentional human efforts to retain water in the area, either as historical commemoration or for utilitarian purposes. By building over this structure, Augustus essentially erased the basin and recreated the landscape with new water basins specific to his own life and career.

The same applies to the house and nymphaeum that were buried underneath the new forum. Near the pre-existing fountain basin, Meneghini's team found house foundations in opus quadratum in the subsoil of the eastern section of the forum.[625] In close proximity to the house foundations, Meneghini's team also discovered a nymphaeum along the southern porticus of the Forum of Augustus near the Temple of Minerva in the Forum Transitorium.[626] Structures belonging to the nymphaeum were built in opus caementium and opus quadratum and display signs of water use. [627] A layer of plaster originally covered the internal walls, which is still visible in the lower sections.[628] Traces of cocciopesto remain on one of the paved floors, indicating retention of water.[629]

Near the nymphaeum is a structure constructed in rectangular ashlar of granular tufa.[630] This structure is oriented north to south and is visible for a length of c. 2.80 m. In the center of the west wall, is a circular hole that Delfino interprets as a drainage channel.

---

[625] Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007, 43; Meneghini 2009, 59.
[626] Colini first reported this discovery in 1937. Colini 1937a, 22. See also Morselli and Tortorici 1989, 103-120; Tortorici 1991, 47-54; Delfino 2010, 17.
[627] As suggested to Delfino by Elisabetta Carnabuci. Delfino 2010, 18.
[628] Delfino 2010, 17.
[629] Delfino 2010, 18.
[630] Delfino 2010, 18, figs. 1, 5.

If Delfino is correct in his analysis, this structure may provide further evidence of water usage in the area prior to the construction of the Forum of Augustus.

At least three structures in a small radius underneath the southern porticus and hemicycle demonstrate prior existence of water at least by the republican period, if not earlier. As this dissertation has demonstrated, natural and aqueduct-fed water was extremely important to Roman daily life, historical traditions, and religious beliefs. Water was a precious commodity and held sacred in certain contexts. Yet Augustus obliterated the existing water infrastructure and basins and nymphaea that did not conform to his ideology in the Forum of Augustus. By the time of the forum construction, Augustus had become the supreme ruler of Rome and wielded the authority to make such changes. He did not simply cover the pre-existing structures; he replaced them with his Mars Ultor Fountain and hundreds of street basins and fountains, as discussed further in Part II of this chapter. In addition to his imposing building projects, such as the Forum of Augustus and Temple of Apollo Palatinus, Augustus imprinted his political, religious, and cultural authority, as well as benevolence, throughout the city in the form of street basins and monumental fountains.

PART II: THE AUGUSTAN BAETYL FOUNTAIN (SO-CALLED META SUDANS)

The so-called Meta Sudans (7 BC) once stood in the saddle between the Palatine and Velian hills near the Sacra Via (fig. 26). Modern viewers recognize the area as one marked dramatically by imperial structures. The present-day Colosseum valley presents visitors with a view most representative of fourth century Rome.[631] The foundations of

[631]Throughout the chapter, I will refer to the location of the so-called Meta Sudans as the Colosseum valley. Although this label is anachronistic, it is nonetheless the accepted term in

the Flavian Meta Sudans stand amongst, and are overshadowed by the Flavian Amphitheater (ded. AD 80), Temple of Venus and Roma (ded. AD 135), and Arch of Constantine (ded. AD 315).[632] Prior to construction of these imposing monuments, the original Augustan Meta Sudans dominated the surrounding landscape. As this chapter argues, the Augustan fountain represented a significant component of Augustan ideology that functioned in a similar manner as the Mars Ultor Fountain.

In Latin, the name Meta Sudans translates to "sweating conical circus marker." This modern label is a misnomer and has subsequently misled scholarship for most of the twentieth century. The so-called Meta Sudans is not associated with the circus, nor does it present any conclusive evidence of appearing sweaty in antiquity. C. Panella is the first scholar to recognize the formal parallels between the conical form of the fountain and the *baetylus*, an aniconic cult symbol of Apollo. Due to persuasive evidence, this chapter offers "Baetyl Fountain" as an alternative name for the Meta Sudans.[633]

Reliance on literary sources for identification and function has led to misinterpretations of original form and function in the few works of scholarship that address the monument.[634] The excavations and publications of Panella from the 1980s to present day have disproven many of the engrained interpretations of the Meta Sudans. However, Longfellow is the only scholar to date who has acknowledged the new evidence from Panella's fieldwork. The so-called Meta Sudans, therefore, requires a

---

modern scholarship. Panella notes that the pavement is actually from the 1800s. See Panella 2011, 76.

[632] For the Flavian Amphitheater, see Rea 1993 with bibliography. For the Temple of Venus and Roma, see Cassatella 1999 with bibliography. For the Arch of Constantine, see Capodiffero 1993 with bibliography.

[633] Throughout the chapter, I refer to the Baetyl Fountain as the Meta Sudans or so-called Meta Sudans when discussing previous scholarship.

[634] Richardson 1992, 253; Panella 1996b; Marlowe 2006.

thorough reevaluation. This chapter is the first architectural study of the Augustan Meta Sudans to consider the fountain within the progression of republican and Augustan fountain construction in ancient Rome.

Augustus placed his fountain strategically. The monument stood within the Romulean pomerium, directly in front of the ancient sanctuary of the Curiae Veteres (the oldest assemblies), near his birthplace, and at the convergence of five of the most internal Augustan regions of Rome.[635] An elongated cone stood on a raised circular base set within a rectangular pool with central exedrae that accommodated the circular form of the cone. As it towered over existing buildings in the valley between the Palatine and Velian hills, the monument became a visual marker not only of Augustus' role as a new Romulus but also of his devotion to his patron deity Apollo.

The location, elements of form, and symbolism of the Augustan fountain are all deeply embedded in Roman history, politics, religion, and fountain design. Widely considered unique and first-of-its-kind, this chapter argues that the Augustan Meta Sudan closely follows the model of collective- and self-promotion through fountain construction that Augustus' predecessors had been practicing for almost two hundred years.

Previous Scholarship

Scholarship concerning the so-called Meta Sudans is quite limited with the exception of excavation reports presented by Panella.[636] The monument appears sparsely

[635] Based on the fourth century regionary catalogues, the regions are II. Caelimonium, III. Isis et Serpais, IV. Templum Pacis, X. Palatium, and possibly I. Porta Capena. See Regionari Catalogues (100, 169 VZ I); Platner and Ashby 1929; Lugli 1946, 312; Panella 1990, 52; Gabbrielli 2000, 11.

[636] Panella 1998; Panella 1990; Panella 1996a; Panella 1996b; Panella and Zeggio 2004; Panella 2011; Panella et al. 2014.

in topographical dictionaries and studies of ancient fountains.[637] Colini, who oversaw excavations of the Meta Sudans prior to the 1936 destruction, published a brief, yet detailed report in 1937, providing measurements, construction materials, and possible reconstructions.[638] Colini's record became the scholarly foundation for the Meta Sudans for the majority of the twentieth century.

As seen with other fountains in this study, a large span of time passed before the next thorough excavation and study of the Meta Sudans occurred. Fifty-five years after Colini's fieldwork, Italian archaeologist, Panella, initiated excavations in the Colosseum valley in 1981. Between 1988 and 2014, Panella published excavation reports and interpretational analyses throughout her tenure as director of excavations, providing insight into the progression of material finds as well as theoretical analysis.

Her 1988 and 1990 articles concerning the Meta Sudans are the first reports from the 1981-1983 archaeological survey that dated the stratigraphy of the fountain and surrounding areas.[639] In consideration of possible Augustan connections, Panella analyzes the relationship of the Romulean pomerium, Curiae Veteres, birthplace of Augustus, and Meta Sudans with one another to argue that the Flavians constructed the Meta Sudans as a symbol to proclaim their allegiance to the legacy of Augustus.[640] In addition, Panella details the 1986-1989 excavations that concentrated on the Arch of Constantine and the Meta Sudans. By the time of publication, Panella and her team had not yet found the Augustan Meta Sudans, and therefore she presents the Flavian remains as a

[637] Platner and Ashby 1929, 2.62-63; Richardson 1992, 253; Panella 1996a; Longfellow 2011, 21-46.
[638] Colini 1937b.
[639] Panella 1998; Panella 1990.
[640] Panella 1998, 45-46.

reconstruction of an Augustan fountain of similar proportions in precisely the same location.[641]

The 1996 Meta Sudans LTUR entry is a concise presentation of archaeological evidence, phases of construction, and supporting numismatic evidence of the Flavian monument.[642] However, in this frequently referenced article, Panella presents Phase I as Flavian rather than Augustan due to the fact that the team had not yet discovered the foundations of the separate Augustan fountain. Within only 20 years, Panella's LTUR entry becomes increasingly outdated with each subsequent excavation season and published field report.

Also in 1996, Panella published *Meta Sudans I, Un'Area Sacra in Palatino e la Valle del Colosseo Prima e Dopo Nerone*, her most extensive report on the 1986-1989 and 1992-1993 Colosseum valley excavations.[643] As part of the broader excavations of the Arch of Constantine, Panella provides a topographical framework from the sixth century BC to the Claudian/Neronian period. Evidence from the Curiae Veteres and corresponding votive deposits reveals that the area was sacred prior to Nero's appropriation of the land. While still reporting the excavated remains of the Flavian Meta Sudans as Phase I, Panella nonetheless continues to include locations significant to Augustus, including his unidentified birthplace and reorganized districts.

Panella and S. Zeggio's publication of "Tra Palatino e valle del Colosseo: nuovi dati" in 2004 is a significant contribution to scholarship of the Meta Sudans.[644] In this report, Panella and Zeggio reveal the discovery of the Augustan Meta Sudans, thereby

[641] Panella 1990, 74-77, fig. 20.
[642] Panella 1996a.
[643] Panella 1996b.
[644] Panella and Zeggio 2004.

significantly shifting scholarly knowledge of the monument itself as well as the topography prior to the Neronian fire of AD 64. In addition, Panella and Zeggio propose identification of the meta as a baetylus. P. Zanker had previously interpreted similar forms represented in the Temple of Apollo Palatinus terracotta plaques as baetyls.[645] This evidence provides support for Panella's identification of the Meta Sudans as a baetyl.

Panella presents new finds concerning the Curiae Veteres and the Sanctuary of the Velia as well as seventh to sixth century BC habitation along the northeastern slopes of the Palatine in her 2011 paper, "Nerone e il Grande Incendio del 64 D.C."[646] Equipped with new archaeological data from the archaic and Augustan periods, Panella further develops her analysis of the Meta Sudans. She argues more resolutely that Augustus constructed the Meta Sudans to symbolize his role as the new Romulus who served the inhabitants of Rome under the protection of his patron deity Apollo.

The final excavation report to date, published in 2014, provides new evidence along the northeastern slopes of the Palatine, which Panella's team collected from the 2013 season.[647] The Italian archaeologists uncovered the sacred area of the Curiae Veteres in its entirety, allowing them to complete the timeline of construction and use beginning in the fifth to fourth century BC. In addition, Panella and her team discovered a Claudian reconstruction of a fifth century BC temple built within the area of the Curiae Veteres. The discovery of first century BC foundations that were later incorporated into Nero's Domus Aurea has led Panella to speculate that the building may in fact be the birthplace of Augustus.

---

[645] Panella and Zeggio 2004, 75; Zanker 1988, 89. See also Panella 1996b, 90-91. In 1996 Panella identifies the similarities in form, but still refers to the objects in the terracotta plaques as resembling the Meta Sudans, rather than as a baetylus.
[646] Panella 2011.
[647] Panella et al. 2014.

Longfellow presents a coherent chronology of the Meta Sudans from the reigns of Augustus to Constantine in her book, *Roman Imperialism and Civic Patronage*.[648] Her discussion of the Augustan Meta Sudans provides a concise summary of Panella's extensive field reports. However, Longfellow focuses her analysis on the Flavian Meta Sudans within her study of imperial monumental fountain complexes. Although she relies heavily on Panella for archaeological data, Longfellow also extends her discussion and interpretation of the Flavian monument beyond Rome. The author garners historical data, numismatic evidence, and literary sources from across the empire and through three centuries to support her interpretation of the Flavian fountain as a symbol of Augustan Rome. She argues further that provincial cities and future emperors adopted this symbol to emphasize connections between imperial and local histories and traditions.[649]

Elizabeth Marlowe provides valuable contributions to the scholarship on the Meta Sudans as it existed in the age of Constantine. Her 2004 article, "The Mutability of All Things: The Rise, Fall, and Rise of the Meta Sudans Fountain in Rome," outlines the modern history of the monument with particular emphasis on the politics that guided the 1936 destruction and continue to guide plans for reconstruction.[650] In Marlowe's 2006 article, "Framing the Sun: The Arch of Constantine and the Roman Cityscape," the author concentrates on analysis of the Arch of Constantine. Consideration of the Meta Sudans prior to the age of Constantine is not Marlowe's primary concern, and she presents limited historical and archaeological data concerning the monument itself.

A. Gabbrielli published a different approach to the study of the Meta Sudans in 2000. In his edited volume, *La* Meta Sudans*: La Più Antica Fontana di Rome*, Gabbrielli

---

[648] Longfellow 2011.
[649] Longfellow 2011, 49.
[650] Marlowe 2004.

outlines a project supported by the Rotary Club of Rome that attempted to recreate the ancient Meta Sudans.[651] A team of engineers devised a hydraulic system that, as they argue, simulates the pressure-feed system once utilized in antiquity. While no archaeological or reliable literary evidence exists to confirm the use of pressured jets at the fountain, this study nonetheless remains as a valuable testament to the enduring interpretation of the Meta Sudans as a "sweating cone" in antiquity.

History of Excavation

Increased interest in the Colosseum during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries led to two separate pre-modern excavations of the Flavian Meta Sudans and surrounding areas. In 1743 F. Ficoroni excavated the foundations of the fountain, which revealed a line of subterranean piping for a distance of several meters.[652] A. Nibby directed further investigations in 1828 during which time his team removed post-antique construction from the Colosseum piazza, lowered the ground level to the base of the Arch of Constantine, exposed the Flavian Meta Sudans basin, and discovered the remains of the base of the Colossus of Nero.[653]

By the early- to mid-nineteenth century, Italians and visitors alike began to consider the unsightly remains of the Meta Sudans as an unwanted obstruction to majestic views of the Colosseum.[654] As a result, a restoration project was undertaken in the mid-1800s to address the unattractive fountain remains. The workers removed the upper levels of the cone, filled in the concavities of the niches, and smoothed the uneven,

---

[651] Gabbrielli 2000.
[652] Ficoroni 1744, 36-38; Marlowe 2004, 47.
[653] Marlowe 2004, 47.
[654] Marlowe 2004, 47. Marlowe reports that in 1816 the architect Valadier described the Meta Sudans as "the most wretched ruins right in front of the 'Famous Flavian Amphitheatre.'"

weathered surfaces.[655] The restoration produced a wide, squat cone that became famous due to its inclusion in photographs of the Colosseum, reproduced in widely distributed postcards.[656] In 1871, an urban commission championed the destruction of any subsidiary monuments, such as the Meta Sudans, that obstructed grand views of major monuments.[657]

The proposed demolition of the Meta Sudans occurred more than sixty years later as part of Mussolini's urban renewal project that created space for the celebration of fascist triumphs that marched through the Arch of Constantine.[658] Colini directed excavations for two years prior to the demolition, during which time he recorded the dimensions of the conical and foundational remains. Working closely with Colini, I. Gismondi completed two reconstruction drawings that represent the monument based on available information (fig. 27).[659] Significantly, the fascist demolition project retained the foundations of the basin and central cone, which served as the starting point for Panella's excavations in the late 1900s to early 2000s.

Panella directed three major excavation campaigns under the aegis of l'Università di Roma "La Sapienza" in conjunction with la Sovrintendenza Speciale per Beni Archeologici di Roma.[660] The 1981-1983 seasons consisted mainly of archaeological surveys and inspection of visible remains. Between 1986 and 2003, Panella's team undertook systematic excavations of the Meta Sudans and Colosseum valley. The field reports from this time period reported data from the Arch of Constantine, the Flavian

---

[655] Marlowe 2004, 47.
[656] Marlowe 2004, 47, fig. 2.5.
[657] Marlowe 2004, 48.
[658] Panella 1998, 43; Gabbrielli 2000, 5; Marlowe 2004, 48-49, fig. 2.6; Marlowe 2006, 225.
[659] Marlowe 2004, fig. 2.7.
[660] Panella 2011, 76.

Meta Sudans, the Curiae Veteres, and limits of the Romulean pomerium. During 2001 to 2013, excavations continued in the Colosseum valley, but also moved to the northwestern slopes of the Palatine hill.[661] Due to the discovery of the foundations of the Augustan Meta Sudans during the most recent stage of excavations, scholarship must readjust analyses of the fountain. The prevailing argument that the Flavian Meta Sudans was the first fountain of its kind in the Colosseum valley is no longer valid. Instead, a reevaluation of the monument and its relationship with Augustus is necessary.

Archaeological Evidence

The Meta Sudans exhibits three clear phases of construction and refurbishment during the reigns of Augustus, the Flavians, and Constantine. Until only very recently, archaeologists believed the foundations of the Flavian Meta Sudans represented the first building phase. However, due to the tenacious pursuit of Italian archaeologists, Panella and her team uncovered the remains of the Augustan fountain within the first years of the twenty-first century, which she published in 2004.[662]

Phase I (Augustan/Julio Claudian Period)

The initial form of the so-called Meta Sudans was substantially smaller than the iconic Flavian monument. The fountain consisted of a rectilinear basin with two central exedrae, a raised heptagonal base, and a crowning conical form (figs. 26 and 28). The cone, which no longer survives, measured 3.55 meters in diameter at its base.[663] The raised in situ circular heptagonal base also measures 3.55 meters in diameter, which

[661] The dates of the third excavation project (2001-2013) overlap with the second project (1986-2003) because the Palatine slope excavations began prior to the conclusion of the broader Colosseum valley/Meta Sudans excavations.
[662] Panella and Zeggio 2004. See also Panella 2011.
[663] Panella and Zeggio 2004, 74.

provides the basis for reconstructing the dimensions of the cone.[664] The base, which consists of red lithoid tufa blocks, rests on a foundation and internal nucleus of opus caementium.

Based on surviving fragments of luna marble revetment, coupled with the base measurements, Panella reconstructs the cone to a height of c. 16 meters.[665] The same marble fragments used to determine the height also allowed her team to define the general architectural lines of the monument. The conical form consisted of three vertical sections with a Doric frieze and cornice separating the first and second levels, and a dodecagonal band articulating the highest section from the middle.[666]

A travertine rectangular basin, measuring 12 meters in length, served as support for the base and conical form of the fountain.[667] Two semicircular exedrae swell outward along the length of the basin, which served to frame the raised tufa base and the cone itself. A thick layer of cocciopesto covered the basin, indicating intentional retention of water.[668] The cocciopesto was later covered by a layer of fragments, which Panella interprets as an attempt to avoid stagnation of water within the basin. In this way, the Romans reduced the risk of water damage to and subsequent instability of the cement foundation.[669] The excavation team also discovered cocciopesto on a stretch of pavement near the pathway of a lead pipe, one of which was recovered in situ.[670] Such evidence suggests that the discovered pipe was a supply line leading to the waterproof fountain basin.

---

[664] Panella and Zeggio 2004, 74.
[665] Panella and Zeggio 2004, 74; Panella 2011, 86.
[666] Panella and Zeggio 2004, 74.
[667] Panella and Zeggio 2004, 74; Longfellow 2011, 24.
[668] Panella 2011, 86.
[669] Panella 2011, 86-90.
[670] Panella and Zeggio 2004, 74.

Excavations also uncovered foundations of a small quadrilateral structure adjacent to the southeastern corner of the so-called Meta Sudans basin, which Panella identifies as a compital shrine.[671] Such shrines, which stood at street intersections, were dedicated to the *Lares compitales* (gods of crossroads and boundaries). During the Augustan period, the *Genius* (spirit) of the emperor was introduced to accompany the Lares within the compital shrines.

Evidence of Tiberian and Claudian interventions appeared within the archaeological data as well. A Tiberian base was found in the immediate area, and Panella assigns a dedication date to either 7 BC or AD 4.[672] This base once held a statue of Tiberius and contained a bronze inscription to Augustus' successor.[673] Also at the so-called Meta Sudans and immediate surrounding area, Panella discovered evidence of a fire, presented by two overlapping levels of pavement that were separated by a thin layer of ash.[674] The lowest level corresponds to the initial Augustan construction. Ash provides evidence for a fire, most likely in AD 51. The second level corresponds to a Claudian restoration. The uncovered remains from both levels reveal consistent similarities in material and form, which suggests the Claudian renovation was faithful to the original Augustan Meta Sudans.

Phase II (Flavian Period, c. AD 80)

---

[671] Panella and Zeggio 2004, fig. 5; Panella 2011, 78; Panella et al. 2014, fig. 30.
[672] Panella 1996b, 115-131.
[673] *Ti(berio) Cl[a]udio Ti(beri) f(ilio)*
[Ne]roni,
[pont(ifici) co(n)s(uli) II], imp(eratori) II,
[aenator]es: tubicine[s],
[liti]cines, cornicines
Romani
See Panella 1996b, fig. 118a.
[674] Panella and Zeggio 2004, 74.

Following the fire of AD 64, many of the structures in the Colosseum valley, including the so-called Meta Sudans, were destroyed which allowed room for construction of Nero's Domus Aurea.[675] However, during the Flavian period, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian embarked on a building program to restructure the Colosseum valley that included construction of the Flavian Amphitheater, restoration of cult areas, and a complete reconstruction of the Meta Sudans.[676]

While the Flavian Meta Sudans retained the conical form of the Augustan fountain, the two monuments are drastically different in both size and hydraulic function. The massive Flavian fountain overlapped the northeastern half of the Augustan Meta Sudans, thereby retaining locale specificity (fig. 29). The cone, part of which survived until 1936, measured 7 m in diameter at its base, which allows for a height reconstruction of 17 m.[677] The diameter of the cone measured almost twice that of the Augustan cone, yet was only one meter taller. This suggests that the Flavian cone appeared fuller and stouter, whereas the Augustan monument more closely resembled the attenuated form of an obelisk. Similar to its predecessor, the Flavian cone also separated into three decorative zones. Composing the lowest level was a brick cylinder with a marble revetment, standing at 1.37 m high.[678] The middle section, a cylinder built in concrete and decorated with marble revetment, stood at a height of 3.57 m. Based on numismatic evidence, this middle layer may have contained statue niches. The final section consisted of a brick cone, 12 m high.

---

[675] Panella 1998, 46; Panella 1996b, 46-62.
[676] Panella 1996b, 62.
[677] Panella 1998, 43; Panella 1996a, 249.
[678] For measurements of each section of the Meta Sudans, see Panella 1996a, 249.

Two nuclear concentric concrete circles formed the base of the fountain basin, measuring 16 m in diameter. Located in the center of the inner circle, a shaft dropped to a depth of 9 m directly below the cone of the fountain.[679] An external semicircular drain, that serviced only the western exedra closest to the Palatine, ran between the foundations of the cone and of the basin.[680] A radial conduit, oriented to the north, splits at the central pozzo, resulting in another two conduits, semicircular in form, and flanking the central circular basin to the east and west.[681] Water collected in a drainage canal that flowed to the south and connected to the drainage system of the Via di S. Gregorio.[682] Due to a lack of physical evidence, the origin of the supply water is unknown.

Phase III (Constantinian Period, Beginning of the Fourth Century AD)

The so-called Flavian Meta Sudans stood in the Colosseum valley unaltered for more than two hundred years, a testament to enduring importance within the landscape. In conjunction with the construction of the Arch of Constantine, the fourth century interventions augmented the presence of the Meta Sudans, thereby allowing the fountain to remain prominent beside the new triumphal arch. In addition to conserving the existing foundation level, Constantine enlarged the foundation considerably by adding a third concentric circle. By doing so, the foundation increased from 16 m to 25.25 m in diameter.[683] Constantine also installed a monumental parapet around the enlarged circular

[679] Panella 1996a, 248. Panella interprets this as an operating or pumping room.
[680] Panella 1990, 77.
[681] Panella 1990, 77.
[682] Panella 1996a, 248.
[683] Panella 1996a, 248; Marlowe 2006, 234.

foundation for, according to Panella, increased monumentality that would correspond to that of the Arch of Constantine.[684]

The So-Called Augustan Meta Sudans: Reevaluations

Similar to the Mars Ultor Fountain, the Augustan Meta Sudans was a monument central to Augustan ideology in both form and location. Octavian/Augustus promoted his association with multiple deities throughout his reign. The so-called Meta Sudans symbolized Apollo's favor, protection, and legitimization of Octavian/Augustus during his rise to the position of princeps. In addition, the location of the monument established visual parallels between Romulus and Augustus, who had been awarded the title Romulus in 27 BC.

The Augustan-Flavian Confusion

Following the destruction of the final remains of the monument in 1936, literary sources and numismatic evidence replaced archaeological data as the primary means of dating. The ancient sources, all of which are late imperial to late antique, including the Chronograph of AD 354 and Cassiodorus, date the Meta Sudans to the reign of Domitian (AD 81-96).[685] A. von Gerkan presents four sestertii to validate the literary date assigned to Domitian.[686] Two sestertii dated to AD 80 represent the Amphitheater and the Meta Sudans together, and the second pair of sestertii depicts Titus (AD 79-81) as a *divus* (god) on the obverse, and the Colosseum and fountain together on the reverse. Despite the fact that the first two coins were minted prior to Titus' death in AD 81, von Gerkan

---

[684] Panella 1996a, 248. Zeggio suggests that a colonnade may have stood atop the parapet, but Marlowe argues against the colonnade in favor of a parapet that stood at a height of 1.4 m tall. Zeggio 1996; Marlowe 2006, 234.
[685] Chronogr. AD 345: MGH, Chron. II, 144.20; Hier. Chron. 273F; Prop. MGH, Chron. 1.417, 516; Cassiod. Chron. MGH, Chron. 2.140.729.
[686] von Gerkan 1925, 28.

nevertheless misconstrues the evidence to argue that Domitian minted the sestertii in recognition of his brother's participation in the construction of the amphitheater.

Stratigraphical evidence uncovered during the 1981-1983 and 1986-1989 seasons reveals that construction of the Flavian Meta Sudans and Amphitheater were contemporary, both built AD 70-80 during the reigns of Vespasian (AD 69-79) and Titus.[687] Additional numismatic material supports the archaeological evidence that the fountain was built prior to the death of Titus. An *aes* from the mint of Rome during the reign of Titus is one such example.[688] On the obverse, the togate emperor appears seated on a curule chair holding a branch in his right hand and a scroll in his left. Beside his chair rests a helmet, two shields, two spears, and perhaps a cuirass. The reverse depicts the Colosseum and the so-called Meta Sudans that resembles an obelisk form on a raised base.

Evidence of the Augustan Meta Sudans was sparse prior to Panella's discovery of the archaeological remains, which she published in 2004. Panella, however, speculated that the area had been significant during the reign of Augustus and suggested that the larger fountain was constructed as a symbol of an older monument that was destroyed in the fire of AD 64.[689] Her work in the Colosseum valley has provided detailed evidence that clearly supports an Augustan date for the inception of the so-called Meta Sudans. The fountain is therefore an Augustan monument steeped in Augustan ideology. Future reconstructions and renovations were successors of the original.

Aniconic Baetylus: The Meta Sudans Reconsidered

---

[687] Panella 1996a, 248. Material from the areas of the border of the fountain, however, are dated after AD 80.
[688] Mattingly 1930, n. 190. See also Mattingly 1930, vol. 2, 189, vol. 6, Ns. 156-158, pl. 6; Mattingly and Sydenham 1936, vol. 4, 104, N. 410, pl. 82; Colini 1937b.
[689] Panella 1996a, 248.

Based on early modern photographs and Colini's identification of the fountain, scholars have discussed the monument as a representative of a meta, or conical marker in the circus.[690] A passage in the *Epistles* of Seneca the Younger has further contributed to the confusion and misinterpretation of the so-called Meta Sudans.

> Magis mihi videtur vox avocare quam crepitus. Illa enim animum adducit, hic tantum aures implet ac verberat. In his, quae me sine avocatione circumstrepunt, essedas transcurrentes pono et fabrum inquilinum et serrarium vicinum, aut hunc, qui ad Metam Sudantem tubulas experitur et tibias, nec cantat, sed exclamat. (Sen. *Epist.* 56.4)
>
> Words seem to distract me more than noises; for words demand attention, but noises merely fill the ears and beat upon them. Among the sounds that din round me without distracting, I include passing carriages, a machinist in the same block, a saw-sharpener near by, or some fellow who is demonstrating with little pipes and flutes at the Trickling Fountain, shouting rather than singing. (Sen. *Epist.* 56.4)[691]

In a letter to his friend, Lucilius, dated to AD 62-65, Seneca describes the many sounds he hears while in his study, which is located above a bathing establishment. Seneca informs his friend that he does not find these noises as bothersome as words because words demand concentration. In response to Lucilius' suggestion that Seneca has iron nerves or deadened ears, Seneca includes additional sounds near him, including the

[690] Colini 1937b; Richardson 1992, 253; Panella 1998, 43; Panella 2011, 78.
[691] Translation by Richard M. Gummere. Henderson 1917.

trickling fountain, which scholars interpret as the Roman Meta Sudans.[692] Seneca purports to have written Epistle 56 from Campania, but C. Edwards argues that the letter was actually composed in Rome.[693] Prior to the discovery of secure archaeological remains of the Augustan Meta Sudans, Panella referred to this passage to support her suggestion that an earlier form of the monument existed beneath the Flavian Meta Sudans.[694]

We must consider, however, the feasibility of a correlation between Seneca's "trickling fountain" and Augustus' monumental fountain. If Seneca had heard the additional noises from his study, we may rule out the so-called Meta Sudans as the trickling fountain because the Augustan monument was not located next to a bath. The College of Musicians had dedicated bronze statues of the Julio-Claudian dynasty near the Curiae Veteres, which may have provided an ideal locale for inspiring musicians to perform.[695] Yet, musicians performed throughout Rome, not only near the Curiae Veteres. Even if Seneca is listing sounds that he hears throughout his day in the city, he provides no specificity concerning location, as is common throughout his letters.[696] Therefore, this chapter argues that the passage may not be used as evidence of the function and appearance of the so-called Meta Sudans. In addition, the archaeological data does not support the theory that the fountain appeared to sweat as water trickled down from the summit of the cone. A separate explanation of form and function is therefore warranted.

---

[692] Panella 1990, 61-63; Panella 1996a, 248; Richardson 1992, 253 interprets the "trickling fountain" as a separate fountain in the Bay of Naples, suggesting that the form had become common by the mid-first century AD.
[693] Edwards 2015, 42.
[694] Panella 1996a, 248.
[695] Panella 1996b, 86-87.
[696] Edwards 2015, 42.

Panella first suggested in 2004 that the conical form of the so-called Meta Sudans represents a baetylus, an aniconic cult symbol of Apollo.[697] Several depictions of the baetylus survive from edifices on the Palatine, all of which were important during the Augustan period. The House of Augustus, House of Livia, and the Temple of Apollo Palatinus each displayed images of the baetyl in prominent locations.[698] Two terracotta plaques from the temple, now in the Palatine Museum, represent the tall, attenuated form of the baetylus (fig. 30).[699] The terracotta relief baetyls appear remarkably similar to numismatic representations of the Flavian Meta Sudans, such as the AD 80 sestertius of Titus commemorating the dedication of the Flavian Amphitheater.[700] Due to the lack of visual or literary evidence concerning the exact form of the Augustan fountain, the Flavian monument aids in the reconstruction of the former. Although the Flavians appeared to have reconstructed the destroyed Augustan fountain, we must nevertheless acknowledge that the two monuments may not have been identical in the articulation of architectural form.

Both representations of the baetyl on the Palatine terracotta plaques and the fountain on the sesterius are divided into three vertical sections. Arched niches articulate the lowest zone; the second section contains two horizontal bands; and the highest zone is the attenuated cone. The middle zone of the terracotta depiction resembles the drum of a Doric column with vertical flutes, a detail that is lacking in the sestertius. The coin may

---

[697] Panella and Zeggio 2004, 75, 82.
[698] Carettoni 1971-2, 129-131; Carettoni 1973, 78-80; Strazzulla 1990, 22-29; Hekster and Rich 2006, 167. The baetylus representations in the House of Augustus were discovered in the Room of Masks, and in the *triclinium,* dining room, of the House of Livia.
[699] Zanker 1988, 89, fig. 73.
[700] Mattingly 1930, 260, n. 189, pl. 49.8; Marlowe 2006, fig. 2.3.

have eliminated this additional detail due to space constraints, or perhaps it did not exist in the middle zone of the Flavian monument.

The identification of the so-called Meta Sudans as a baetyl, rather than a meta, is particularly convincing considering Octavian/Augustus' history with Apollo. In 36 BC, Octavian announced his intention of building a new Temple of Apollo next to his private home on the Palatine.[701] In 28 BC, Octavian dedicated the temple, porticoes, and libraries, with a ramp physically connecting Octavian's home to the forecourt of the Temple of Apollo.[702]

Octavian's building activity on the Palatine reinforced his connections with both Romulus and Apollo. Having constructed his own home only meters away from the reputed hut of Romulus, Octavian placed himself topographically at the center of Rome's foundations.[703] The future emperor expounded his role within the narrative through construction of the Apollo sanctuary. Zanker identifies this arrangement of the ruler home near a sanctuary as derivative of Hellenistic palaces that showcase a deity's favor toward the incumbent ruler.[704] While the similarities are striking, I caution against a direct interpretation between the two. Octavian's interventions on the Palatine, in the modern-day Colosseum valley, and throughout Rome were deeply rooted in Roman rather than Greek tradition.

Octavian vowed to build the Temple of Apollo in 36 BC. Two primary arguments exist to explain Octavian's decision to construct a sanctuary to Apollo. The first argument looks to a military victory, the second to a sign from Apollo himself, both of which have

---

[701] Suet. *Aug.* 29.3; Hekster and Rich 2006, 149, 167; Longfellow 2011, 24.
[702] Zanker 1988, 51; Hekster and Rich 2006, 149.
[703] Dio 53.16; Davies 2000, 30; Hekster and Rich 2006, 149.
[704] Zanker 1983; Zanker 1988, 50-53, fig. 40; Kellum 1985.

clear precedents in Roman history. This chapter does not aim to debunk one theory or the other, but rather it presents the evidence as a means to understand and analyze Octavian's relation with Apollo and the baetyl.

The prevailing trend in scholarship is to assign Octavian's defeat of Sextus Pompey at the battle of Naulochus in September of 36 BC as the impetus for the project.[705] Velleius, writing during the lifetime of Augustus, reports that Octavian promised to build a temple to Apollo following the war against Sextus Pompey.[706] Temple construction resulting from military vows was a common occurrence in the Roman Republic, but this practice was waning by the end of the first century BC.

Primarily victorious generals built mid-Republican temples after a battlefield vow, which they financed with *manubiae* (money obtained from a campaign).[707] Commander temples became less common after 180 BC during which time emphasis began to shift from collective to individual glory.[708] During the late Republic, after 100 BC, construction of vowed temples became increasingly limited to generals who also exhibited great political authority, including Pompey and Caesar.[709] Octavian followed this long history of vowing a temple during battle while maintaining the trajectory that

---

[705] Zanker 1988, 50; Richardson 1992, 14; Favro 1996, 89; Galinsky 1996, 213; Claridge 1998, 131.

[706] Velleius 2.81.3: *templumque Apollinis et circa porticus facturum promisit, quod ab eo singulari exstructum munificentia est*. He (Octavaian) further promised to build a temple of Apollo with a portico about it, a work which he constructed with rare munificence. Translation by Shipley 1924, 222-223.

[707] Strong 1968, 97-109; Stambaugh 1978, 554-608; Ziolkowski 1992; Ziolkowski 1992, 1.87-91; Orlin 2002; Hekster and Rich 2006, 152.

[708] Ziolkowski 1992, 311; Orlin 2002, 194-195, 201-202 for a chart of temples built in Rome 509-55 BC.

[709] Pompey dedicated temples to Venus Victrix, Hercules, and Minerva. For the Temple of Venus Victrix, see Gros 1999 with bibliography. For the Temple of Minerva, see Palombi 1996 with bibliography; For the Temple of Hercules, see Coarelli 1996b with bibliography. Caesar dedicated the Temple of Venus Genetrix. See Amici 1991; Weinstock 1971, 80-82.

limited temple construction to the most powerful generals and, eventually, to members of the imperial family alone.

Scholars, who traditionally follow the military vow side of the argument to explain construction of the Temple of Apollo, also acknowledge the importance of a lightning strike that occurred on the Palatine in 36 BC.[710] O. Hekster and J. Rich, however, argue that the lightning strike, not a vow, was the deciding factor.[711] Relying on the later sources of Suetonius and Cassius Dio, rather than on Velleius, Hekster and Rich remind their readers that neither ancient author mentions Naulochus but both do stress the lightning strike.[712]

According to Hekster and Rich, Octavian relied on the traditions of augury and prodigy, but radically adapted them for his own purposes.[713] Following the lightning strike on the Palatine Hill, *haruspices* (individuals trained in divination) consulted the Sybilline Books and determined that Apollo desired the area for himself.[714] Similarly, in response to the emperor's narrow escape from a lightning strike while on campaign in Northern Spain in 26-25 BC, a prodigy instructed Augustus to build the Temple of Iuppiter Tonas.[715]

Roman beliefs regarding lightning strikes derived from Etruscan religion. According to Pliny the Elder, the Etruscans believed that nine gods were capable of

---

[710] See note 705.
[711] Hekster and Rich 2006.
[712] Suet. *Aug.* 29.3; Dio 49.15.5.
[713] Hekster and Rich 2006, 150-160. For other examples of omens and prodigies that proved important to Octavian/Augustus, see Suet. *Aug.* 94.2, 95.
[714] Suet. *Aug.* 29.3; Dio 49.15.5. Hekster and Rich also city Velleius 2.81.3, but this passage does not mention the lightning strike. Hekster and Rich 2006, 150-155. For other temples built in this manner, see Orlin 2002, 18-24; 76-115.
[715] Suet. *Aug.* 91.2; Hekster and Rich 2006, 156.

sending eleven different types of thunderbolts.[716] The identities of six of the nine gods are known: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Vulcan, Mars, and Saturn. Modern scholars do not know with certainty whether or not the Etruscans or pre-imperial Romans attributed lightning to Apollo.[717] If Apollo was indeed a creator of lightning, the prodigy of the haruspices is straightforward. However, given the lack of unequivocal evidence, Hekster and Rich suggest that if Apollo had not been a thunderbolt divinity, the haruspices may have consciously subordinated their religious expertise to political expediency.[718]

Octavian/Augustus carefully developed his public relationship with his patron deity Apollo as he ascended to political supremacy. Galinsky suggests that, as a respected yet somewhat minor divinity during the later republican period, Apollo offered Octavian greater control over established associations as well as further development.[719] Prior to the Temple of Apollo Palatinus, the god had only one temple in Rome, located outside the pomerium, which was the starting point for Roman triumphal processions.[720] Although an ancestor of Julius Caesar, Cn. Caesar (consul 431 BC), dedicated this earlier temple, the family connection with Apollo was minimal.[721]

Octavian, on the other hand, encountered Apollo during several major events in his own career, prompting him to align himself most closely with this particular deity. In 44 BC Octavian was in Apollonia, a city in Illyria dedicated to Apollo, when he learned of Julius Caesar's death and his legal adoption, which allowed Octavian to become

---

[716] Plin. *HN* 2.138-139.
[717] Hekster and Rich 2006, 162.
[718] Hekster and Rich 2006, 162.
[719] Galinsky 1996, 215.
[720] Liv. 25.12.15; Galinsky 1996, 215-216.
[721] Galinsky 1996, 215.

Caesar's heir.[722] According to Suetonius, after receiving the news of his great-uncle's death, Octavian and Agrippa visited the astrologer Theogenes, who predicted that Octavian was destined to rule the Roman world.[723] Significantly, the baetyl held particular importance in the city where Octavian first learned of his extraordinary fate. Two coin types minted in Lugdunum in c. 38 BC and c. 36 BC promote Octavian's relationship with both Apollo and the deceased Caesar. Both represent a baetyl above a ship prow, and the 36 BC coin adds a star superimposed on a globe, referencing Octavian's connection to Caesar as well as his own military and political aspirations.[724]

The baetyl also played a prominent role in the cult of Apollo at Actium where Octavian defeated Marc Antony in 31 BC.[725] Octavian attributed his naval victory at Actium to Apollo, whose ancient temple stood on the Actium promontory.[726] Following this victory, Octavian rebuilt the Actium Temple of Apollo and dedicated ten captured enemy ships as gratitude for the god's assistance in battle.[727] In addition, Octavian refounded the games in honor of Actian Apollo. [728] The games, which were held every four years at the new sanctuary, became equal in status with the Olympic games. Also in commemoration of this naval victory, Octavian founded the city, Nicopolis, on the north side of the straits of the Ambracian Gulf where he enlarged an existing sanctuary to Apollo and dedicated naval trophies to Neptune and Mars.[729] Recent discoveries of two

---

[722] Galinsky 1996, 215; Longfellow 2011, 25.
[723] Suet. *Aug.* 94.12.
[724] Burnett et al. 1998, 1:151, nos. 514-515; Longfellow 2011, 25.
[725] Tzouvara-Souli 2001.
[726] Galinsky 1996, 216; Hekster and Rich 2006, 162.
[727] Hekster and Rich 2006, 162.
[728] Hekster and Rich 2006, 162.
[729] For founding of Nicopolis, see Suet. *Aug.* 18.2; Galinsky 1996, 216; Hekster and Rich 2006, 162. For naval victory monuments, see Murray and Petsas 1989; Zachos 2003.

baetyls at Nicopolis provide further evidence of Apollo's favor for Octavian, which the inhabitants of the victor's city commemorated with the baetyl.[730]

Octavian/Augustan continued to promote his intimate connection with Apollo throughout his rule. After assuming the role of *Pontifex Maximus* (highest priest) in 12 BC, Augustus transferred the Sibylline Books from the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus to the Temple of Apollo Palatinus where they were stored in two gilded bookcases in the base of the cult statue of Apollo.[731] He allowed a statue of himself in the guise of Apollo to stand in the libraries of the Palatine sanctuary.[732] Based on the surviving so-called Meta, now in the Villa Albani, Zanker suggests that large-scale sculptural depictions of the terracotta baetyls once stood inside the sanctuary of Apollo Palatinus .[733] Hekster and Rich hypothesize even further that such a monumental baetyl marked the exact spot where lightning struck the Palatine in 36 BC, the event that, as they argue, led to the founding of the Palatine sanctuary of Apollo.[734]

In light of Octavian/Augustus' long and promulgated relationship with Apollo, Panella's identification of the so-called Meta Sudans as a monumental representation of a baetyl is very convincing. In addition to his monumental building projects, establishment of games, and significant offerings, all in honor of his patron deity, Augustus constructed the so-called Meta Sudans in the heart of his reformed city. The monumental Baetyl Fountain is therefore grounded firmly in the Roman tradition of legitimizing political authority through fountain construction.

Romulean Topography Transformed

---

[730] Tzouvara-Souli 2001.
[731] Suet. *Aug.* 31.1; Galinsky 1996, 216.
[732] Serv. *ad Ed.* 4.10; Galinsky 1996, 314.
[733] Zanker 1988, 89.
[734] Hekster and Rich 2006, 167. See also Longfellow 2011, 24.

The Roman landscape had changed dramatically from the earliest habitations to the Augustan city. During excavations, Panella's team uncovered evidence of settlements in the western section of the Colosseum valley along the borders of the Palatine and Velia hills dated as early as the late seventh to early sixth century BC.[735] The native inhabitants of the region adapted to natural spaces in the area and conformed to the original topography.[736] Geological data reveals that natural creek beds existed along the Palatine and Velia hills, which inundated seasonally with water flowing from the surrounding hills.[737]

The first urban infrastructure built in this area, which was completed in the second half of the sixth century BC, was a drainage system to prevent stagnation in the water and in the streets.[738] This project channeled overflow water into the Cloaca Maxima, thereby allowing this area of the city to develop.[739] One of the earliest drainage systems, located along the saddle between the Palatine and Velia, was still in place and in use centuries later during construction of the Augustan Baetyl Fountain. Such deliberate and extensive interventions to minimize flooding throughout six centuries indicate a vitality and distinction assigned to the area.

The modern-day Colosseum valley was a prominent location within Augustan Rome. Such distinction originated from the settlements of Rome's earliest inhabitants in the area. Augustus capitalized on this prestige and incorporated it into his own personal history. Significantly, four of the sixth century creek beds converged in the present-day Colosseum Valley precisely in the same area in which Augustus later built the Baetyl

[735] Panella 1998, 47; Panella 2011, 77.
[736] Panella 2011, 76.
[737] Panella 1998, 47.
[738] Panella 1998, 47.
[739] For more on the Cloaca Maxima, see Bauer 1993; Hopkins 2007.

Fountain.[740] Considering the fact that proximity to water sources during this early period was vital to survival of communities, this chapter argues that Augustus' choice of location for the fountain was an intentional reference to the landscape at the time of Rome's foundation. Through the use of collective memory of Rome's past, Augustus visually marked his role within a restructured landscape.[741]

Built adjacent to the convergence of four creek beds, and later Roman roads, the remains of the Curiae Veteres stand as a testament to the sanctity of the locale. The temple of the Curiae Veteres was built, according to tradition, by Romulus.[742] Tacitus explains that Romulus plowed the first pomerium of Rome and installed boundary-stones at the bronze bull in the Forum Boarium, the Great Altar of Hercules, the altar of Consus at the southeastern end of the Circus Maximus spina, the Curiae Veteres, the shrine of the Lares along the Sacra Via, and the Forum Romanum.[743] The Augustan Baetyl Fountain therefore stood within the boundaries of the Romulean pomerium, near the Curiae Veteres boundary marker.

As the first king of Rome, Romulus divided his citizens into *curiae* (assemblies). According to Varro, the Curiae Veteres served two separate functions. Priests met in the Curiae Veteres to attend religious matters, while the assemblies gathered to attend to

---

[740] Panella 1990, 40-41; Panella 2011, 76-77, fig. 2.
[741] Favro 1996.
[742] Tac. *Ann.* 12.24; Panella 2011, 77-78. Based on her excavations, Panella dates the Curiae Veteres also to the eighth to seventh century BC.
[743] Tac. *Ann.* 12.24. Tacitus suspects that the Forum and Capitol were not original to the pomerium of Romulus, but were added later by Titus Tatius. See also Richardson 1992, 105, 293-296; Panella 1998, 43-51; Panella 1990, 53; Panella 2011, 78; Panella et al. 2014, 161-162; Longfellow 2011, 23-24. For the Forum Boarium, see Coarelli 1995c with bibliography. For the Altar of Hercules, see Coarelli 1996a with bibliography. For the Altar of Consus, see Ciancio Rossetto 1993 with bibliography. For the Sacellum Lares, see Coarelli 1996c with bibliography.

public affairs.[744] In addition, Panella's excavations reveal evidence of dining rooms at the Curiae Veteres, leading her to suggest that members of each curia also consumed meals together on certain days of the year to reinforce bonds within each neighborhood.[745] The choice to construct the Baetyl Fountain within the boundaries of the Romulean pomerium and immediately in front of the Curiae Veteres, the oldest religious and political hub of the city, signifies Augustus' intentional self-alignment with the founder of Rome.

Augustus situated the Baetyl Fountain in close proximity to another important landmark in the Roman topography. The emperor's birthplace, also located inside the Romulean pomerium, was situated along the northern slopes of the Palatine. Although no archaeological evidence confirmed this existence prior to Panella's 2014 field report, scholars identify the location as the emperor's birthplace based on a passage by Servius.[746] In his commentaries on Virgil's *Aeneid*, Servius states that Augustus was born in the Curia Veteres.[747] Panella argues that the geographical connection between Augustus' birthplace and the earliest foundations of Rome had become so firmly linked in Augustan mythology that by the fourth century AD, Romans believed that Augustus had been born in the Romulean structure itself.[748]

The rich history of the Colosseum valley along the southeastern slopes of the Palatine hill was an ideal location for Augustus to insert himself into the historical and topographical narrative. By appealing to the memory of Rome's earliest inhabitants along the natural creek beds, the Romulean pomerium, the Curiae Veteres, and his own

---

[744] Varr. *Ling.* 5.155; Richardson 1992, 105.
[745] Panella 2011, 77-78.
[746] Panella et al. 2014. Recent Italian excavations along the southeastern slope of the Palatine hill uncovered domus structures. Panella suggests that her team may have found archaeological remains of Augustus' birthplace.
[747] Serv. *Aen.* 8.361. See Longfellow 2011, 24.
[748] Panella 1990, 53. See also Longfellow 2011, 24.

birthplace, Augustus transformed the landscape to symbolize his restoration of a war-torn Rome. In 7 BC, Augustus replaced the four Servian regions of Rome with fourteen new administrative regions (fig. 31).[749] The Baetyl Fountain stood on the spot where four to five of the most interior, and therefore most important, Augustan regions converged.[750] As verified in geological data, Augustan districts II (Caelimonium), III (Isis et Serapis), IV (Templum Pacis), X (Palatium,) and possibly I (Porta Capena) met in precisely the area where four eighth century BC creek beds intersected.[751] As the creek beds transformed into streets following the sixth century BC drainage project, Augustus appropriated the busy intersection to draw attention to this particular nodal point in his city. Longfellow argues that the fountain, as it stood in the middle of the crossroads, focused attention to the redesigned urban space.[752] As an emblem of imperial benevolence, the Baetyl Fountain also reiterated basic doctrines of Augustan ideology, especially *pietas* (religious piety).[753]

Octavian/Augustus demonstrated his devotion to the Roman deities in a number of ways. He built and restored more than eighty-two religious precincts in 28 BC alone.[754] He also revived ancestral priesthoods and ceremonies, including secular games, such as the *ludi Campitalicii* (games in honor of the crossroads Lares).[755] In 7 BC, the same year that Augustus reorganized the districts of Rome, the emperor also rededicated

---

[749] Platner and Ashby 1929; Lugli 1946; Stambaugh 1988, fig. 1; Robinson 1992, 9-13; Lott 2004, 81; Longfellow 2011, 21-23.
[750] Based on the fourth century regionary catalogues, the regions are II. Caelimonium, III. Isis et Serpais, IV. Templum Pacis, X. Palatium, and possibly I. Porta Capena. See Regionari Catalogues (100, 169 VZ I); Platner and Ashby 1929; Lugli 1946, 312; Panella 1990, 52; Gabbrielli 2000, 11.
[751] Panella 2011, 76, fig. 2.
[752] Longfellow 2011, 24.
[753] Longfellow 2011, 24.
[754] *RG* 20.4; Lott 2004, 100.
[755] Suet. *Aug.* 31.4; Lott 2004, 100.

the Lares Compitales to the *Lares Augusti* (gods of the genius of Augustus) and provided new cult statues for the shrines.[756] Augustus did not eliminate the two Lares at the compital shrines, but rather added a *Lar* of his own *genius* (spirit). Lott argues that the decision to title the compital shrines with the epithet Augusti pulled the neighborhoods, their religion, and their inhabitants into the new class system of the Principate.[757] This allowed the new regime to emphasize the importance of the active support of the city's lower classes.[758]

The citywide shift allowed Augustus to elevate himself and his image to that of a protective divinity. The emperor required citizens to adorn compital shrines biannually with garlands, once on his birthday and once during the *Compitalia*, the annual festival to the Lares Compitales.[759] Longfellow interprets this ritual as an ephemeral act of piety that drew attention to the shrines at regular intervals throughout the year.[760] This particular act of piety reaffirmed the ubiquity of the shrines and omnipresence of Augustus in the civic landscape.[761]

In addition, the decoration of the Lares Compitales on Augustus' birthday echoes the Roman practice of decorating household shrines on the birthday of the *paterfamilias* (head of the family).[762] This public visual act of piety towards Augustus thereby symbolized his role as paterfamilias of the inhabitants of all of Rome. As citizens adorned the compital shrine adjacent to the Baetyl Fountain, they were confronted with

---

[756] Suet. *Aug.* 31.3; Laurence 1994; Favro 1996, 124; Lott 2004, 98-107, esp. 101; Longfellow 2011, 21.
[757] Lott 2004, 104.
[758] Lott 2004, 107.
[759] Ov. *Fast.* 5.145-146. See also Front. *Aq.* 97
[760] Longfellow 2011, 21.
[761] Longfellow 2011, 21.
[762] Lott 2004, 70-71; Longfellow 2011, 21.

the towering baetylus that also recalled Augustus's patron deity, Apollo, who ensured his victories at Actium and Naulochus. Through divine guidance, Augustus returned stability to Rome after half a century of civil wars and maintained peace and prosperity for his subjects.

Augustus the Caretaker

Octavian/Augustus oversaw and implemented a number of projects throughout the city of Rome that enriched religious devotion, increased political efficiency, and improved the daily lives of the inhabitants of Rome. Agrippa became aedile in 33 BC, a position that, as Lott suggests, many aristocrats avoided due to close working connections with the less privileged residents and therefore more mundane local politics.[763] Lott argues that Augustus placed Agrippa in this position of aedile to act as a champion of the people in order to sway inhabitants of Rome to support Augustus.[764] While in office, Agrippa sponsored extravagant games, distributed gifts, offered barber services free of charge on holidays, and opened city baths to the public at no charge for an entire year.[765] Just as the renowned Scipio Africanus (236-183 BC) had done while serving as aedile, Agrippa also distributed free salt and oil to the residents of Rome.[766]

Agrippa is perhaps best remembered in his position as aedile for his repair of urban infrastructure and public works, including public buildings, sewers, and streets that had fallen into disrepair following the death of Caesar.[767] He greatly improved the city water supply by building a new aqueduct, the Aqua Julia, and repairing the Aqua Appia,

---

[763] Lott 2004, 70. See also Rheinhold 1933, 46-52; Shipley 1933, 13-14, 19-34; Favro 1996, 110-120.
[764] Lott 2004, 70.
[765] Rheinhold 1933, 50; Lott 2004, 70.
[766] Dio. 49.43.2-3; Liv. 25.2 for Scipio's aedileship; Lott 2004, 70.
[767] Plin. *HN* 36.15.104; Dio 49.43.1; Lott 2004, 70.

Aqua Anio Vetus, and Aqua Marcia.[768] With increased water supply, Agrippa constructed 700 public *lacūs* (basins), 500 *salientes* (ornamental fountains) decorated with statues and columns, and 130 *castella* (aqueduct distribution tanks).[769] Agrippa's extensive hydraulic infrastructure, set in place in the 30s and 20s BC, provided the framework for Augustus' monumental Baetyl Fountain at the base of the southeastern slopes of the Palatine.

Rather than oversee building programs in Rome as a triumphant general, Agrippa chose to build in his role as aedile. Lott argues that such a move was a powerful assertion of Octavian's intentions of improving the lives of the city's residents within their own neighborhoods.[770] Agrippa's actions on behalf of Octavian helped lay the groundwork for the dynastic Principate, an entirely new mode of governance, which was inaugurated in 27 BC.[771] As Lott points out, this transition in rule required the approval of the city's urban masses, and the upgrades in infrastructure, gifts, and games proved critical in this quest.[772]

The so-called Fountain of Orpheus is one example of the hundreds of street fountains constructed during the reign of Augustus.[773] This fountain, known only from the fourth century AD regionary catalogues and the Severan Marble Plan, once stood at a fork in the road facing the Clivus Suburanus, a major thoroughfare near the Esquiline Gate.[774] The monument appears on the Marble Plan as two small circles flanking a larger central circle, with a rear façade wall articulated with statuary niches that connects the

---

[768] Front. *de Aq.* 1.9; Lott 2004, 70.
[769] Plin. *HN*. 36.121; Front. *de Aq.* 1.9; Festus 290L; Lott 2004, 70; Longfellow 2011, 21.
[770] Lott 2004, 72.
[771] Lott 2004, 73.
[772] Lott 2004, 73.
[773] Augustan date is conjectural. For the full argument, see Rodriguez Almeida 1983, 113.
[774] Regionary catalogues place the Fountain of Orpheus as a marker of the beginning of Region V. Rodriguez Almeida 1975-6, 275-278; Rodriguez Almeida 1983, 111-113; Longfellow 2011, 22.

three circular basins.[775] The visual prominence of the fountain at the summit of a steep climb up to the Clivus Suburbanus reminded inhabitants of Rome not only of Augustus' munificence but also the extent of his political authority.[776]

With seven aqueducts supplying Rome, Agrippa and Octavian/Augustus embarked on new hydraulic projects, including the Stagnum Agrippae and accompanying Euripus, an ornamental canal.[777] The Stagnum Agrippae, an artificial basin of monumental proportions, was located in the Campus Martius most likely adjacent to the Baths of Agrippa.[778] The Euripus drained the waters of the Stagnum Agrippae to the Tiber River. H. von Hesberg discusses the discovery of a small fountain or statue aedicula near the Euripus.[779] According to von Hesberg, three marble cornice blocks and two decorated bases, which were beneath the Palazzo della Cancelleria, suggest that the Euripus was a landmark prominent enough in the Campus Martius to warrant the expense of a fountain or statue aedicula.

In addition to new construction, Augustus renovated several monuments that were strongly connected to Rome's past. Augustus reports in his *Res Gestae* that he restored the Lupercal, a grotto in the southwest portion of the Palatine Hill where the shepherd Faustulus discovered Romulus, Remus, and the she-wolf.[780] Longfellow notes that in 2007, Francesco Rutelli, the Italian Culture Minister, announced that Italian archeologists

---

[775] Rodriguez Almeida 1975-6, 275-278; Rodriguez Almeida 1983, 111-113.
[776] Longfellow 2011, 22-23.
[777] For the Stagnum Agrippa, see Lugli 1938, 158-159; Buzzetti 1999. For the Euripus, see Coarelli 1995a
[778] According to Tacitus, the stagnum was large enough to accommodate a banquet raft during the reign of Nero. Tac. *Ann.* 15.37. See also Richardson 1992, 367; Longfellow 2011, 19.
[779] von Hesberg 1992, 139.
[780] *RG* 19. See also Coarelli, LTUR 3, 169; Haselberger et al. 2002, 162; Longfellow 2011, 20.

had discovered a cave with shell and grotto mosaics dating to the Imperial period.[781] This cave, located 16 meters below ground level and near the House of Augustus, may possibly be the monumentalized Lupercal.[782]

Through Agrippa, Augustus established additional connections with the historical lacūs in the Roman Forum. Agrippa dedicated a statue of a hydra to the Lacus Servilius, a pool that was later covered by the Basilica Iulia in AD 12.[783] As discussed in Chapter One, the Lacus Curtius became the site where inhabitants of Rome threw coins on the emperor's birthday as an annual offering to Augustus' health.[784] Under Augustus' supervision, Tiberius renovated the Lacus Iuturnae in AD 6, as discussed in Chapter Two.[785]

Augustus' relationship with his citizens continued to thrive after he received the title *Augustus* from the senate during the settlement of 27 BC.[786] The emperor became personally involved during the years 27-7 BC in the revitalization of at least six neighborhoods in Rome.[787] According to Suetonius, by the year 11 BC, inhabitants from every class fulfilled a vow for Augustus' wellbeing each year by throwing a coin into the Lacus Curtius on his birthday, September 23.[788] The residents of Rome also took gifts to the Capitol on January 1 each year, even in his absence. With the contributions collected at the Lacus Curtius and the Capitol, Augustus dedicated statues in the neighborhoods rather than saving the money for himself. Likewise, when the senate or private

---

[781] Longfellow 2011, 20, note 59. Longfellow does not provide a citation for this announcement.
[782] Longfellow 2011, 20, note 59.
[783] La Regina 1996; Longfellow 2011, 20.
[784] Ov. *Fast.* 6.403-404; Suet. *Aug.* 57. 1; Giuliani 1996b; Longfellow 2011, 20.
[785] Steinby 1996; Longfellow 2011, 20.
[786] Galinsky 1996, 315. For more on the title Augustus and sacred contexts, see *RG* 10.1;Ov. *Fast.* 1.587-616; Dio 51.19.7.
[787] Lott 2004, 73-75. Lott identifies these neighborhoods as 2, 3, 4, 16, and 29.
[788] Suet. *Aug.* 57; Lott 2004, 74.

individuals contributed funds for statues of Augustus, the emperor would instead set up statues of *Salus Publica* (Public Health/Well-Being), *Concordia* (Harmony), and *Pax* (Peace).[789] As Augustus states in his *Res Gestae*, and Suetonius repeats, the emperor even went as far to replaces statues of himself, some made of precious metals, with statues and offerings for the gods.[790]

According to Suetonius and Cassius Dio, Augustus had urged his fellow senators, and especially triumphant generals with manubiae, to undertake building projects, particularly road improvement and construction. Evidence survives indicating participation of only two senators, Calvisius Sabinus and Messalla Corvinus, both of whom repaired roads.[791] Road repair did not offer senators traditional honors and recognition, and therefore provided little incentive. As Galinksy argues, senators resisted new projects that involved tangible concern for the welfare of the *res publica,* even if such a concern was a traditional republican value.[792] As a consequence, urban revitalization and beautification became associated primarily with Augustus, who ultimately served as Rome's benefactor.

Conclusion

The Mars Ultor Fountain and Baetyl Fountain functioned in a similar manner as the Lacus Curtius, Lacus Iuturnae, and Appiades Fountain. Augustus utilized the practice of aemulatio to build each of his fountains in order to reaffirm his legitimate position as princeps with the honorable titles of Augustus and Romulus. As his predecessors had monumentalized revered pools in the Roman Forum or created a simulated lacus in the

[789] Dio 54.35.2; Lott 2004, 74.
[790] *RG* 24.2; Suet. *Aug.* 52; Scott 1931; Lott 2004, 74.
[791] Suet. *Aug.* 30.1; Dio 53.22.2; Galinsky 1996, 366; Lott 2004, 74.
[792] Galinsky 1996, 366.

Forum Iulium, Augustus also created and commemorated significant landmarks within Rome.

The Mars Ultor Fountain stood above a millennium of occupation that surely carried embedded memories. However, Augustus transformed the landscape to promote his political legitimacy. By razing pre-existing structures, Augustus etched away at the visual memory based in the topography and created a new one that suited his needs.

Similarly, Augustus restructured the landscape along the southeastern foothills of the Palatine hill. Also a center for occupation due to the convergence of vibrant creeks that transformed into roadways, the Colosseum Valley was an ideal location to visually imprint Augustus' legacy onto the city. The Baetyl Fountain marked the convergence of four to five new Augustan regions and served as a prominent reminder of Augustus' political influence.

I argue that Augustus chose rather conservative architectural forms for both of his fountains. The Mars Ultor Fountain mimics the Appiades Fountain in design and placement, but the increased size and material upgrade within a more controlled environment allowed the Augustan basins to have a more prominent presence. The Baetyl Fountain likewise employs a rectilinear recessed basin with a depth more comparable to the Appiades and Mars Ultor Fountains.

Longfellow states that the so-called Meta Sudans was unlike any known Greek, Hellenistic, or Republican fountain.[793] I disagree with this assessment. As I have presented, no archaeological evidence remains confirming waterspouts on the cone, and the literary evidence does not provide reliable information due to a lack of specificity.

[793] Longfellow 2011, 24.

Therefore, I argue that the hydraulic system at the Augustan fountain was not particularly revolutionary. The monumental cone was the most apparent addition to the Baetyl Fountain compared to the pre-existing lacūs and fountains, although the presence of a sculpture, albeit aniconic, was not innovative either. Sculptures adorned the Lacus Iuturnae for centuries prior to the construction of the Baetyl Fountain, suggesting once again that the Augustan monument followed the pre-existing models of fountain construction and design.

Augustus' likeness to Romulus and divine favor were also critical components of each fountain. Holding the title Romulus, Augustus made very clear connections between himself and the founder of Rome through locale, iconography, and renovation of the city. Mars and Apollo were pivotal figures in Augustan ideology. Each god played a major role in military victories that demonstrated Octavian/Augustus' supremacy in military affairs. Through defeat of Sextus Pompey and Marc Antony, with the aid of Mars and Apollo, Octavian/Augustus earned the right to pursue political supremacy. Within this context, the Mars Ultor Fountain and Baetyl Fountain publicly expressed Augustus' legitimacy.

CONCLUSION

THE LACUS CURTIUS TO THE BAETYL FOUNTAIN: EXPRESSIONS OF COLLECTIVE AND INDIVIDUAL GLORY THROUGH THE PRACTICE OF *AEMULATIO*

Republican and early Augustan politics, religion, and culture were deeply indebted to Roman origins, history, and traditions. Rather than search for Greek inspirations for early Roman lacūs and fountains, I argue that commemoration and creation of public hydraulic monuments originated in the city of Rome. The prevalent formal qualities of each lacūs or fountain have clear associations with the archaic marshy landscape of Rome. Similarly, the symbolism embedded in each monument pertains directly to a Roman mythical figure and/or Roman divinity. Unlike many of the surviving Greek fountains that were utilitarian, the Roman lacūs and fountains were purely commemorative and symbolic to promote a patron's military victory, relationship with a divinity, or supreme political authority.

This dissertation proposes that the patrons of each monument in this study, including patrons of renovations, intentionally employed the practice of aemulatio to visually recall the memory of his predecessors while highlighting his own superior achievements through refinement of architectural design and enhancement of symbolic value. Through analysis of five republican and Augustan lacūs and fountains, I have identified four recurring principals. Each monument exhibits 1) a recessed and rectilinear basin, 2) is located in a low-lying area susceptible to flooding, 3) demonstrates clear relationships between patron and a divinity and/or mythical figure, and 4) is sited near to and associated with a sacred area. Although the monuments do not form a neat group of

identical designs, these four elements reappear across monuments, indicating inspiration garnered from existing forms.

I identify the Lacus Curtius (c. 184 BC) as the model which future water monuments located in floodplains followed and refined.[794] The polygonal lacus was monumentalized in the center of the Forum Romanum as an open-air recessed basin with a clearly defined border and parapet, a puteal, and three altars. No hydraulic lines exist at the monument, but the layer of cocciopesto suggests that the basin held water that entered from above, such as rain and floodwater.

The Lacus Iuturnae (164 BC) repeats design elements present at the Lacus Curtius, such as the recessed, impermeable basin with no hydraulic lines, and a defined border and fence. However, certain features of the Lacus Iuturnae suggest intentional enhancement of the preceding model. First, the Lacus Iuturnae is quadrilateral rather than polygonal and is aligned with the Temple of the Dioscuri, which visually reinforces the relationship between the two monuments. Secondly, the basin of Iuturna is substantially deeper, measuring c. 2.10 m in depth as opposed to 50 cm at the Lacus Curtius.[795]

Just as the Lacus Curtius celebrates Romulus and his founding of Rome, the Lacus Iuturnae commemorates Roman origins through the Dioscuri and Penates. The conceptual symbolism strengthens at the Lacus Iuturnae by reaching further back in Rome's lineage to Aeneas and ultimately Dardanos. Although commonly considered purely Trojan, both the Penates and Dardanos, originated on Samothrace, where Perseus surrendered to Roman forces. I argue that L. Aemilius Paullus monumentalized the Lacus

[794] Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 104-116; Giuliani 1996b.
[795] Steinby 2012, 52; Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 105.

Iuturnae as a celebration of collective Roman glory following the fall of Macedon, while simultaneously memorializing Trojan origins of Rome.

The renovation of the Lacus Curtius by Sulla in c. 78 B.C. marks the beginning of a shift from commemoration of collective to personal glory. Sulla reconstructed the Lacus Curtius within a larger architectural project in the western end of the Forum Romanum to symbolize his role in the restoration of the republic following the civil war between himself and Gaius Marius. Alterations to the formation of the Lacus Curtius that improved the design and functionality suggest intentional application of aemulatio within the monument itself. In addition, Sulla's choice to update a monument with intimate ties to Romulus and Jupiter parallels his own proclamations of divine support from the heroic founder of the city and supreme deity. Therefore, I propose that the renovated Lacus Curtius signified Sulla's position as the new Romulus, refounding a city that he himself had taken to the brink of chaos.

The Appiades Fountain (c. 46 BC) in the Forum Iulium continues the trajectory of glorification, but with more emphasize on the individual than the collective.[796] The fountain consists of two square recessed basins with carved cyma reversa moldings at the foot of the Temple of Venus Genetrix.[797] I argue that the design of the Appiades Fountain is derived from both the Lacus Curtius and the Lacus Iuturnae in the neighboring Forum Romanum. Both Lacūs are recessed, a feature that designates the monuments' association with naturally occurring water, including rain- and floodwater. However, unlike these two preceding monuments, concealed hydraulic feed lines supplied water to the Appiades

[796] Amici 1991; Ulrich 1986a; Meneghini 2009, 43-53.
[797] Amici 1991.

Fountain.[798] I propose that Caesar's design intentionally disguised the water channels below the paving stones to artificially recreate pools of water similar to those found at the Lacus Curtius and Lacus Iuturnae. By accessing the symbolic history of these two monuments with their associations with the natural marshy landscape at the time of Rome's foundation, Caesar effectively manufactured a sacred context for his forum and Temple of Venus Genetrix.

In addition, the architectural design and position near the Temple of Venus resembles that of the Lacus Iuturnae. Although the basin of the Lacus Iuturnae is much larger (7.80 x 7.50 m), the Appiades Fountain retains the square formation (2.90 x 2.90 m), which visually literate Romans would have recognized.[799] The Lacus Iuturnae, which is aligned with the Temple of the Dioscuri, is located c. 10 m from the temple itself. Caesar also placed his fountain in close proximity to his temple, but enhanced the relationship between the two monuments by positioning the basins flush with the lower moldings of the temple.[800]

The entire design demonstrates Caesar's desire to celebrate monumentally his divine lineage from Venus, mother of the Roman race through Aeneas, and subsequently his legitimization as dictator of Rome.[801] In the history of monumental fountain construction in Rome, Caesar was the first to prioritize his personal glory over that of the state. By doing so, Caesar successfully employed the concept of aemulatio to his fountain. The dictator followed a previously established pattern of proclaiming military

---

[798] Ulrich 1986a, 415-416.
[799] Ulrich reports the East and West Basins measuring c. 10 Roman feet squared. Ulrich 1986a, 412. The Lacus Iuturnae basin measured 7.8 x 7.5 m at the time of Caesar's construction of his forum and fountain.
[800] Ulrich 1986a, 409.
[801] Suet. *Iul.* 1.6.

victories and divine patronage in fountain construction. However, Caesar enhanced the symbolic value by publicly declaring his self-imposed authority as sole ruler over Rome for the first time in history of the Roman Republic.

The Mars Ultor Fountain (2 BC) is yet another example of the use of aemulatio in Roman fountain design.[802] Similar to the Appiades Fountain, the fountain in the Forum Augustum consists of two square recessed basins at the foot of the Temple of Mars Ultor. Additionally, the molding of the cyma reversa on all four sides of each basin is almost identical to those found on the Appiades Fountain basins.

The two basins, however, differ from those in the Forum Iulium in size and context. The Augustan basins are much larger, measuring 3.60 x 3.85 m as opposed to 2.90 x 2.90 m at the Appiades Fountain.[803] Architecturally, the increased size corresponds proportionally to the larger Temple of Mars Ultor. Symbolically, the increased size may also reflect a desired attempt to surpass the grandeur of the Caesarian basins given the formal similarities between the basins.

Set within a carefully planned context that promoted Augustus' affiliation with Mars, Venus, Divus Iulius, Aeneas, Romulus, and the Summi Viri, the Mars Ultor Fountain helped place the emperor symbolically at the center of Roman history. Augustus had emerged as one of the most prominent leaders since the foundation of Rome. He assumed the title Pater Patriae in 2 BC, as had Caesar in 45 BC and Romulus, traditionally, in 753 BC, which set Augustus apart from his historical predecessors and contemporary rivals. The symbolism of the Mars Ultor Fountain expanded beyond that of

[802] Ganzert 1996; Meneghini 2006.
[803] My own measurements of the Mars Ultor basins.

the Appiades Fountain, Lacus Iuturnae, and Lacus Curtius to express not only Augustus' divine lineage but also his legitimate role as the new Romulus and protector of Rome.

The Augustan Baetyl Fountain (7 BC) is yet another hydraulic monument that follows the historical tradition of aemulatio. Similar to the precedents, the basin is rectilinear, recessed, and water proof. Hydraulic feed lines were buried beneath the pavement to obscure evidence of human creation. Built in another valley with geological evidence of natural creeks and annual flooding, I argue that the basin of the Baetyl Fountain monumentalized the natural landscape at the time of Rome's foundation as seen with the pre-existing Lacūs and fountains. The addition of the monumental baetyl, however, enhanced the Augustan fountain aesthetically and symbolically. While statues of the Dioscuri and their horses adorned the Lacus Iuturnae, the cult symbol of Apollo at the Baetyl Fountain was elevated and therefore more prominent than the Dioscuri on their sunken platform. The Baetyl Fountain expanded the experiential component for the inhabitants of Rome, who were able to encounter the monument personally from a distance or in close proximity. Visitors to the Lacus Iuturnae, on the other hand, were required to approach the basin in order to visually access the Dioscuri statue group.

With the Forum of Augustus planned and under construction by 7 BC, the emperor built a monumental fountain to his patron deity Apollo at the center of the new Rome. Having reconfigured the city into 14 new administrative regions, Augustus physically marked the convergence of five of the most central regions with the Baetyl Fountain to visually proclaim his supreme political authority. The monumental baetyl reminded viewers of Octavian's divinely sanctioned victories at Naulochus and Actium

that firmly established the young general as the rightful heir to Caesar in military and stately affairs.

The Baetyl Fountain also reinforced Augustus' ancestral connection to Romulus as well as his role as the new founder of Rome. Located within the pomerium of Romulus, the fountain stood at the entrance to the Romulean Curiae Veteres, the oldest meeting hall for religious and political leaders of Rome. In close proximity to both the Baetyl Fountain and Curiae Veteres, also stood the birthplace of Octavian and the bank on which Faustus discovered Romulus and Remus. Whether the locale of Octavian's birth was historical or mythical, Augustan ideology equated the emperor with Romulus from the infancy of both founders of Rome.

The symbolism embedded in the Baetyl Fountain represents the culmination of the shift from collective to individual glory. The monumentalization of the Lacus Curtius and Lacus Iuturnae, as well as the refurbishments, celebrated the individual victories of Aemilius Paullus and Sulla. However, the enduring legacy of each monument commemorated the collective glory of Rome through overt references to the origins and foundations of the growing empire. The Baetyl Fountain memorialized Augustus' individual glory and achieved authority. Although the efficacy of the fountain relied on the memory of Roman origins and foundations, these mythical/historical factors served to elevate Augustus above all Romans as the one man who was able to claim divine ancestry, protection, and favor in order to secure and retain complete power.

Augustus was following the established tradition of aemulatio. The emperor took pre-existing architectural and symbolic forms, which he improved to create the most significant symbol of self-glorification to date. The Mars Ultor Fountain stylistically

resembles the Appiades Fountain, and the Baetyl Fountain incorporates elements of Caesar's fountain and Paullus' Lacus. However, the basic concept of each Augustan fountain originates with the natural marsh in the forum basin, monumentalized at the Lacus Curtius. Augustus first praised and paid homage to Rome's mythical and historical past in order to underscore the significance of his rule. Upon viewing the Mars Ultor Fountain or Baetyl Fountain, a Roman viewer versed in the constructed Roman topography would have recalled Romulus's foundation of Rome at the Lacus Curtius, the appearance of the Dioscuri at the Lacus Iuturnae and their association with the Penates, and the divine patronage of Venus, mother of Aeneas, at the Appiades Fountain. The protection of Mars, father of Romulus, was evoked at the Mars Ultor Fountain, and the protection of Apollo and Augustus' assimilation with Romulus was apparent at the Baetyl Fountain. Significantly, each of the mythical heroes and divinities celebrated at each lacus and fountain are all intricately associated with the origins of Rome. As the descendant of Venus and Mars, human counterpart of Mars and Romulus, and darling of Apollo, Augustus effectively positioned himself within this distinguished line of ancestors and secured his status as patriarch for the Roman Empire.

ILLUSTRATIONS

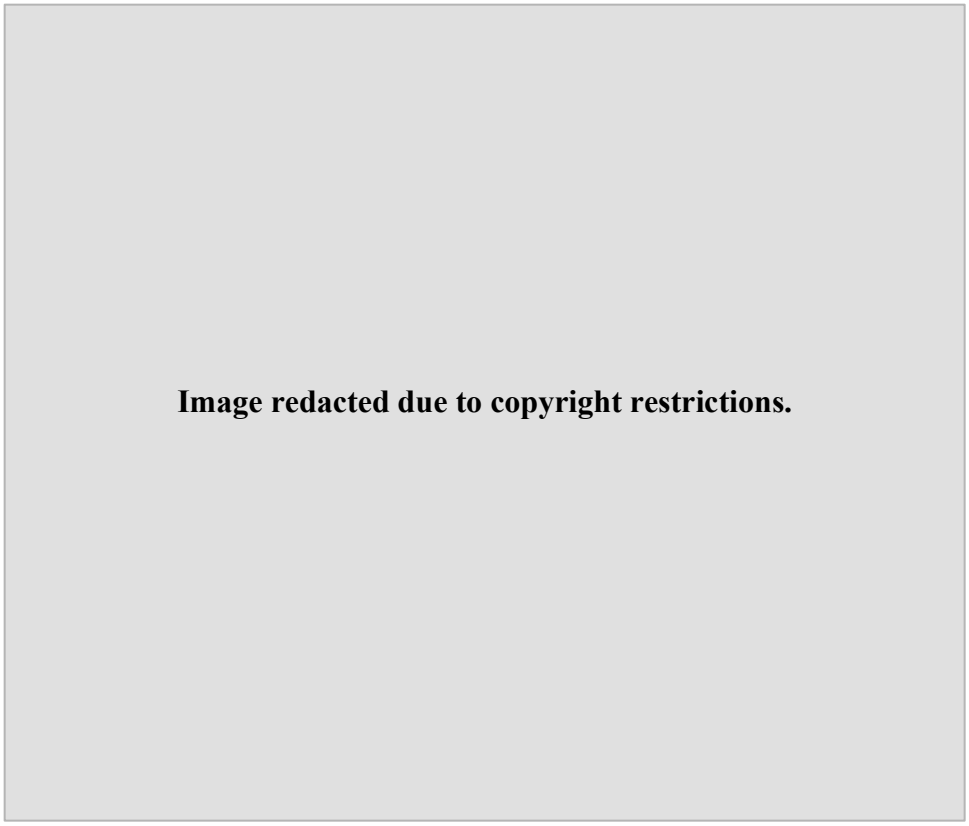

Figure 1. Map of Rome with locations of five public republican and Augustan monumental water basins and fountains. A: Lacus Curtius (c. 184 BC); B: Lacus Iuturnae (c. 164 BC); C: Appiades Fountain (c. 46 BC); D: Mars Ultor Fountain (2 BC); E: Baetyl Fountain (so-called Meta Sudans) (7 BC). Map after Favro 1996, fig. 41.

Figure 2. Reconstruction of Phase II (c. 78-74 BC). After Hülsen 1906, fig. 72.

Figure 3. Plan of Phase I (c. 184 BC) and Phase II (c. 78-74 BC). After Giuliani-Verduchi 1987, fig. 140.

Figure 4. Archaeological remains from Phase I (c. 78-74 BC). After Giuliani-Verduchi 1987, fig. 138.

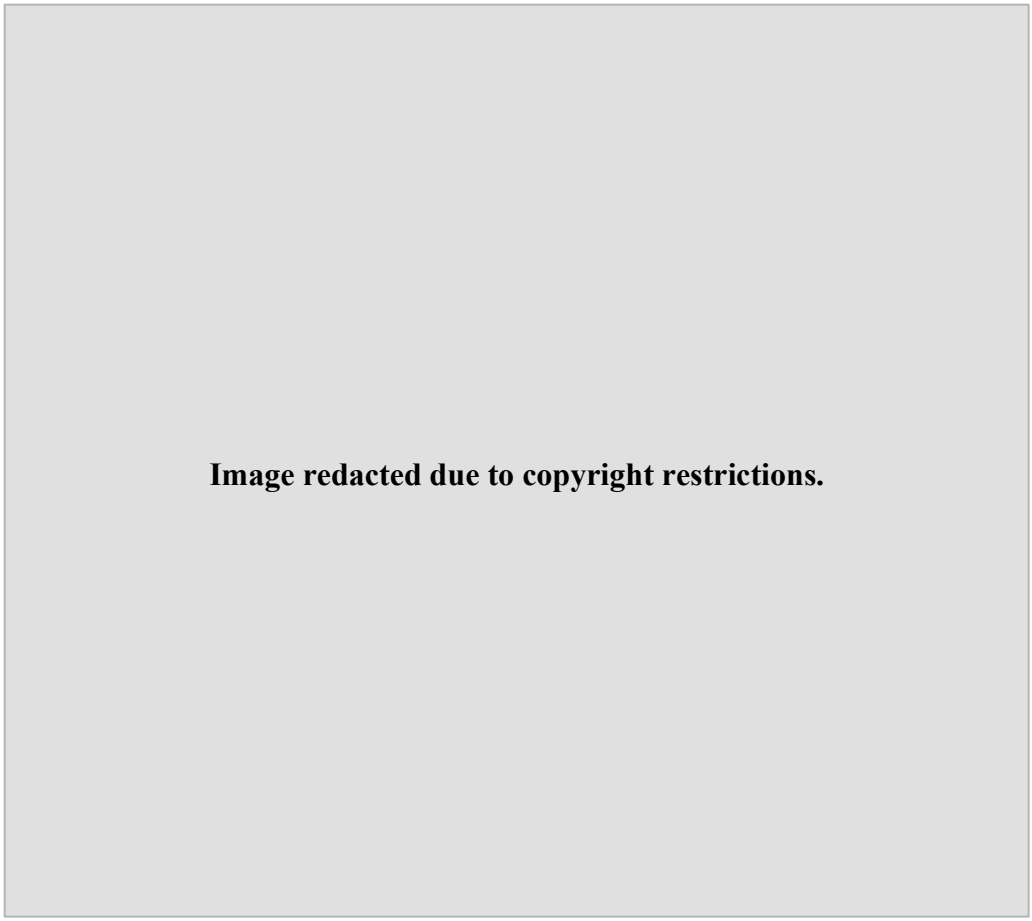

Figure 5. Archaeological remains from Phase II (c. 78-74 BC). After Giuliani-Verduchi 1987, fig. 142.

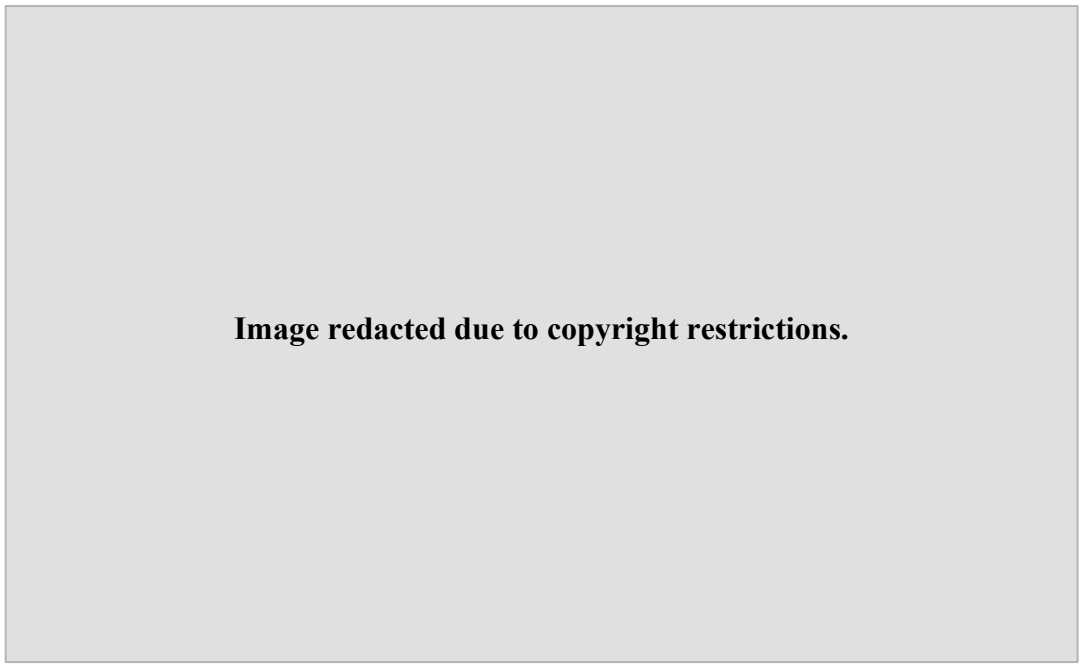

Figure 6. Photo of evidence from Phase I (c. 184 BC) and Phase II (c. 78-74 BC), 1906. After Giuliani-Verduchi 1987, fig. 136.

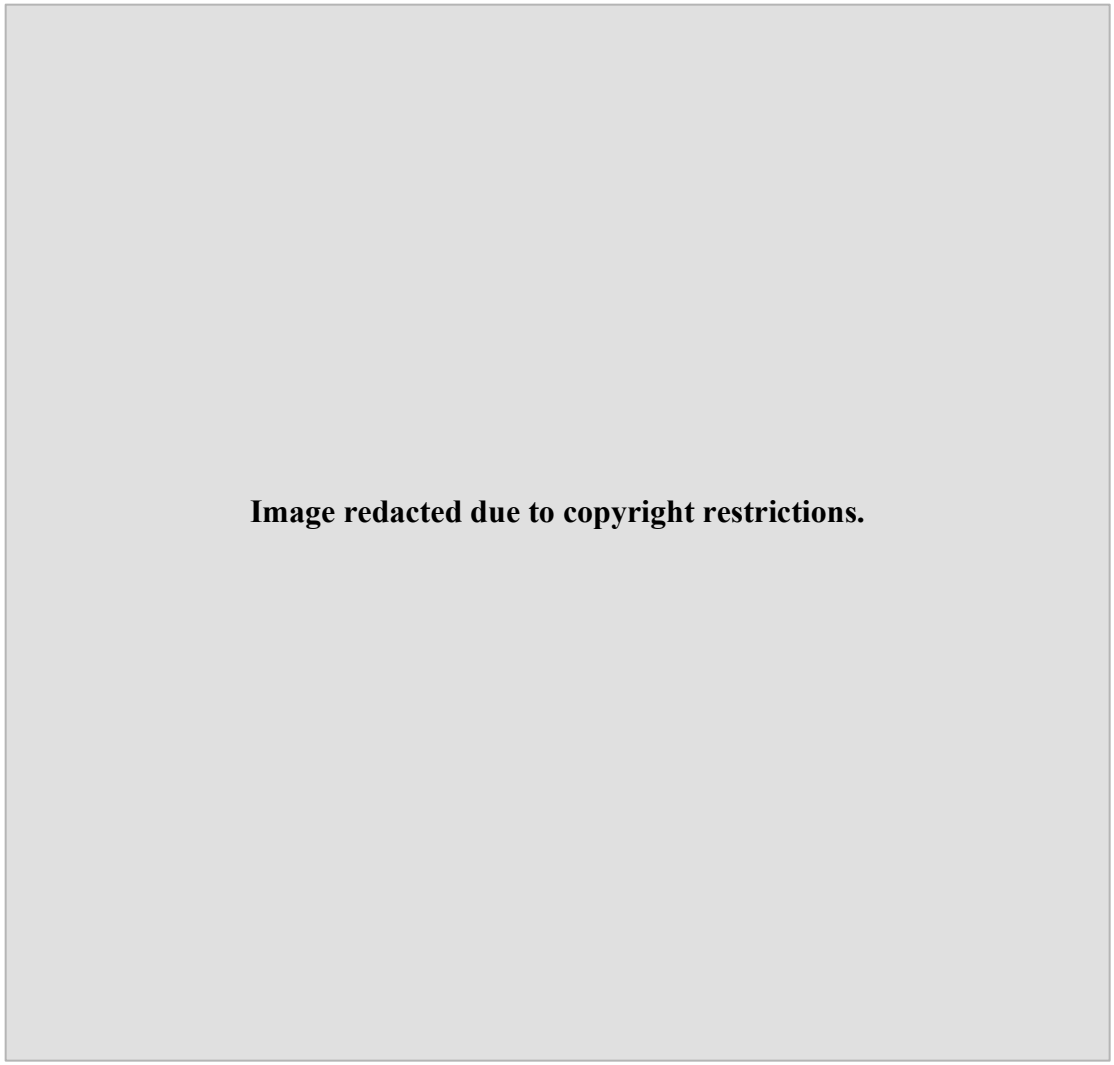

Figure 7. Plan of the Forum Romanum in the late second to early first century B.C. After Berg 1994, fig. 222 (adapted from Coarelli [1983] 38-39, 81).

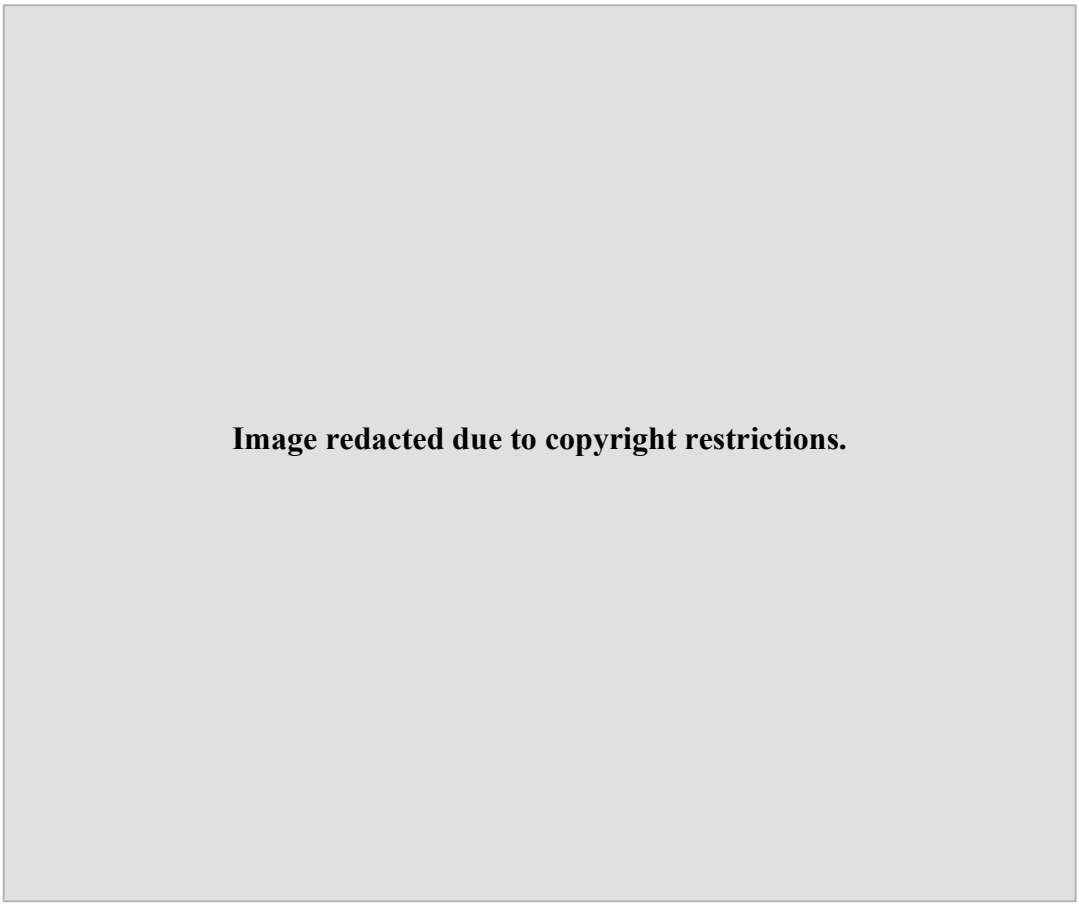

Figure 8. View of the Lacus Iuturnae during 1900 excavation season. After Boni 1901, fig. 1.

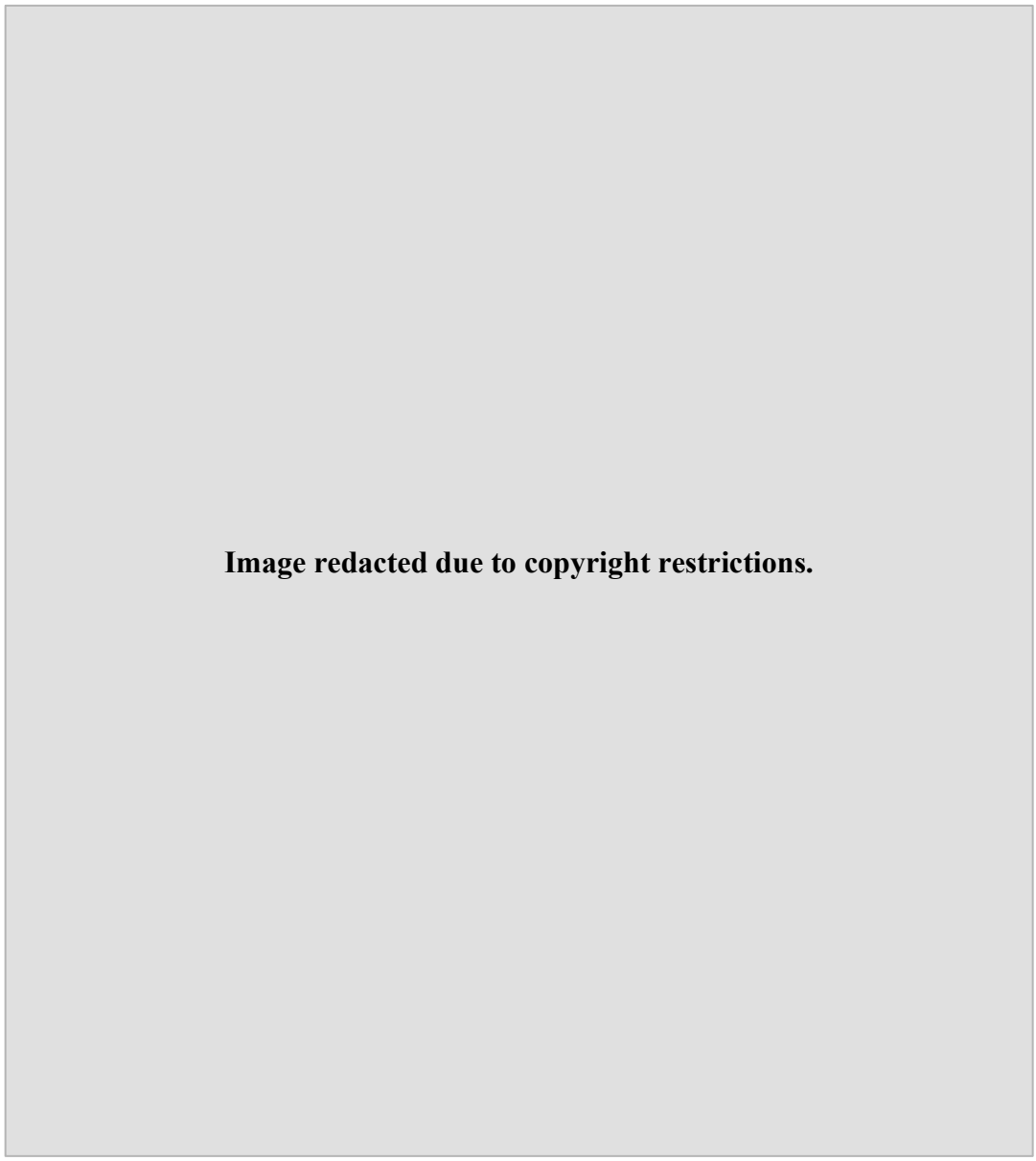

Figure 9. Lacus Iuturnae (E), Phase I (c. 164 BC). After Steinby 2012, fig. 15.

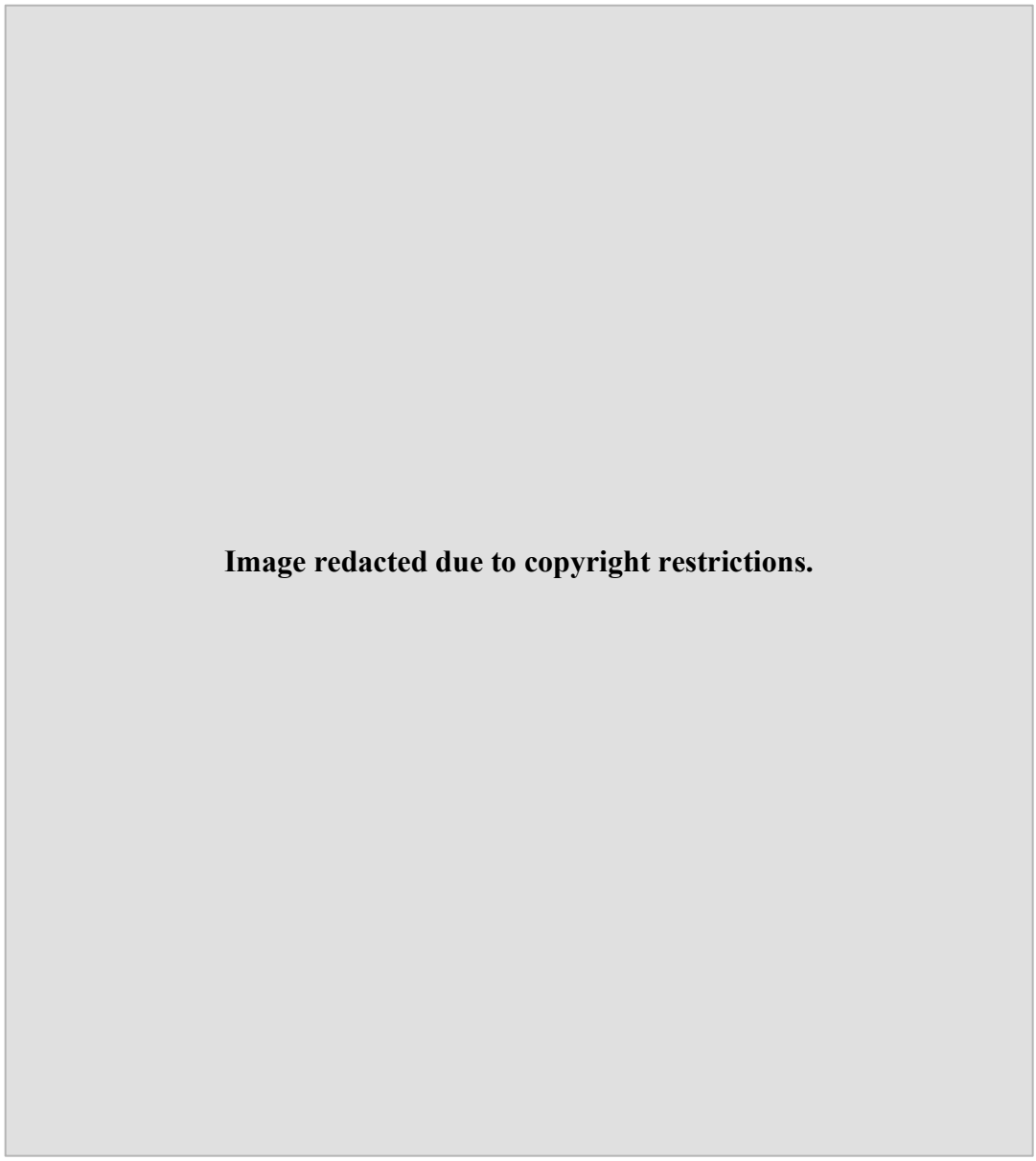

Figure 10. Lacus Iuturnae (E), Phase II (c.117 BC). After Steinby 2012, fig. 18.

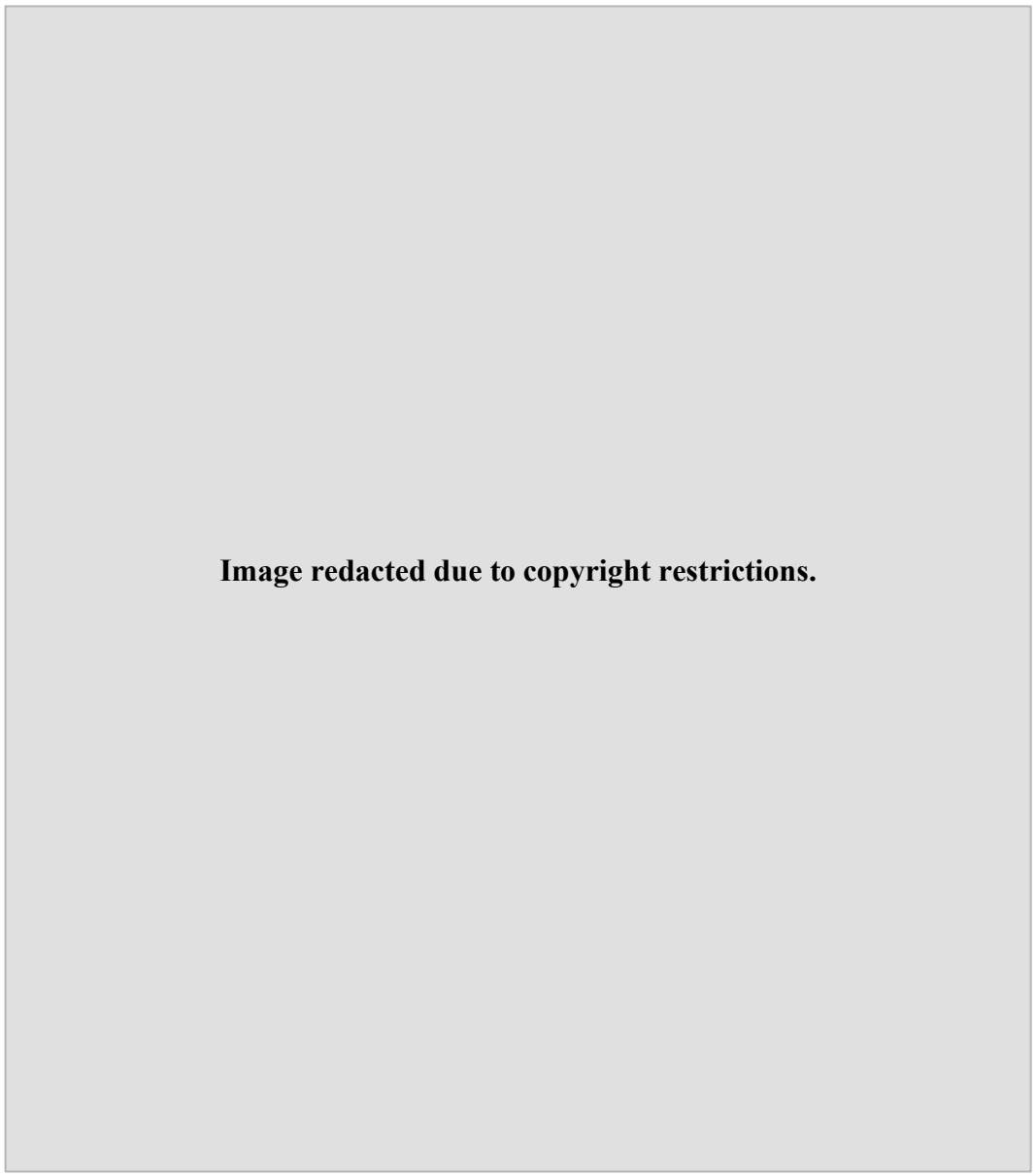

Figure 11. Lacus Iuturnae (E), Phase III (early imperial period). After Steinby 2012, fig.19.

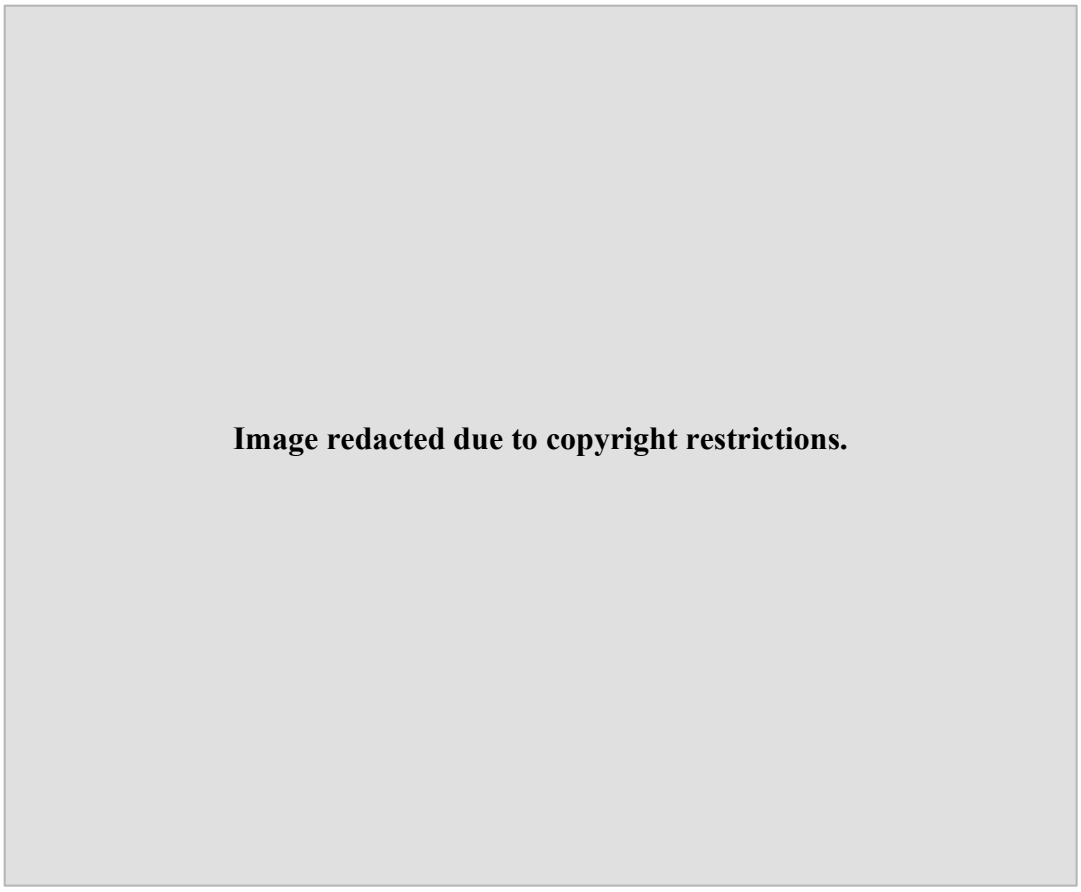

Figure 12. Reconstruction of the Lacus Iuturnae, Phase III (early imperial period). After Berg 1994, fig. 36.

Figure 13. Plan of the Temple of Venus Genetrix, Forum Iulium, Rome. (c. 113 AD). After Ulrich 1986, fig. 1.

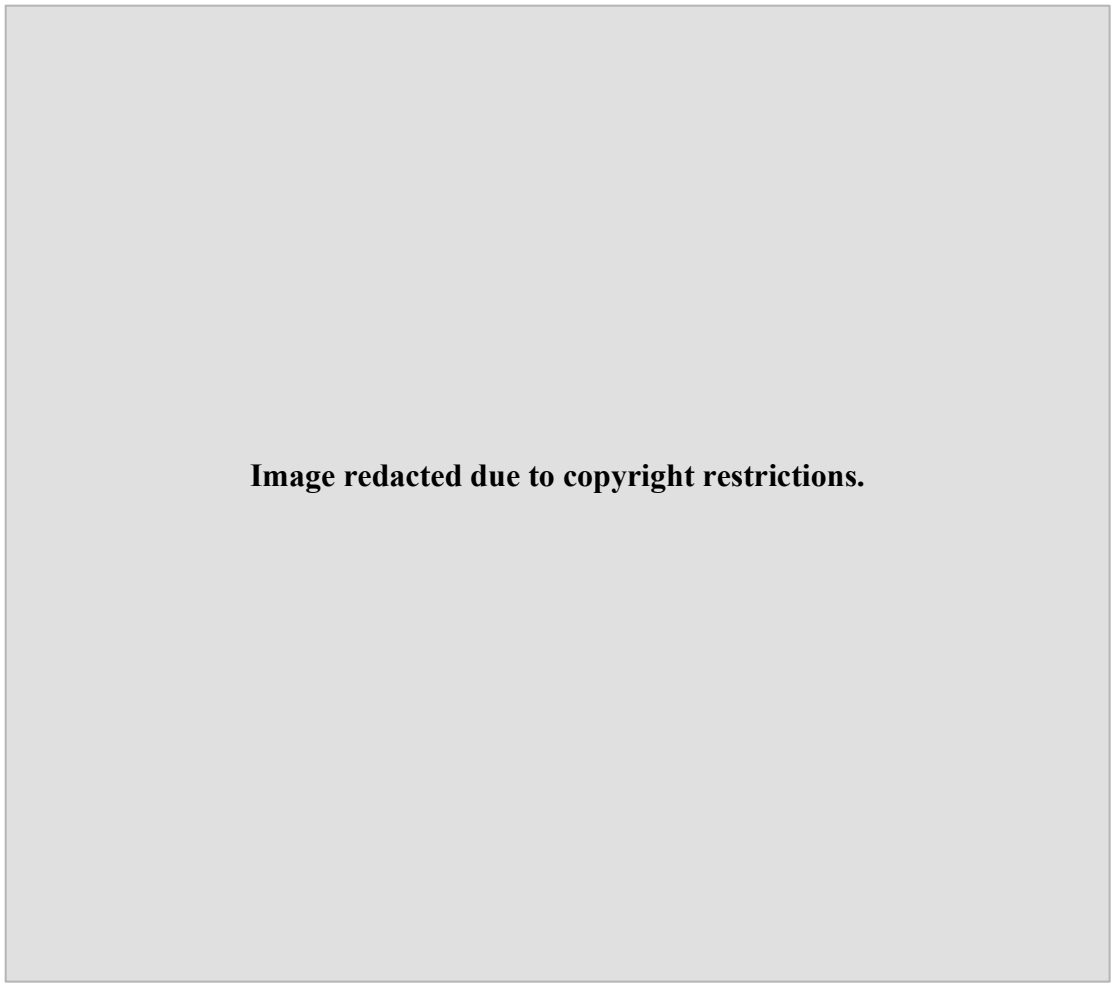

Figure 14. Reconstruction of the Appiades Fountain below the Temple of Venus Genetrix, Forum Iulium, Rome. (Phase II, Trajanic period). The east and west basins alone represent Phase I (Caesarian period). After Ulrich 1986, fig. 2.

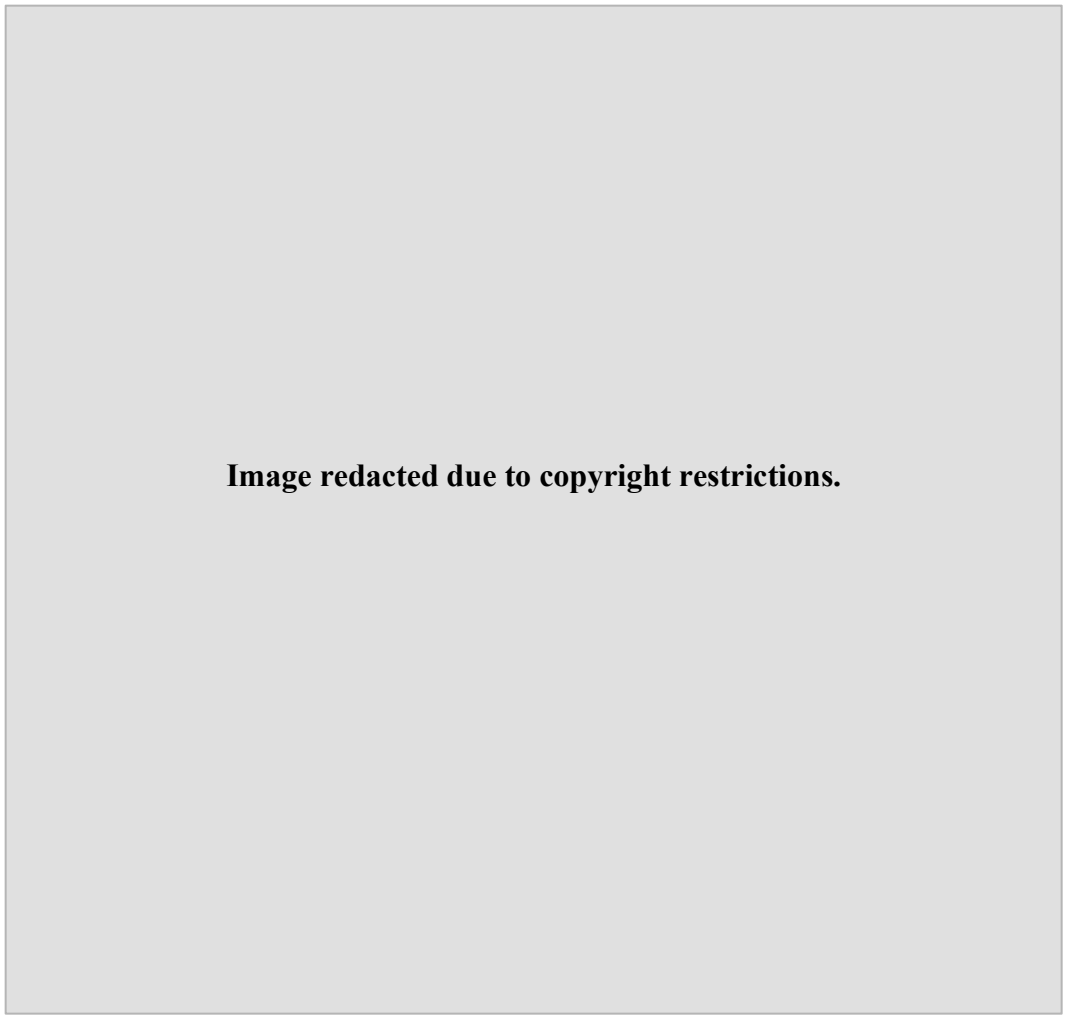

Figure 15. Elevation of remains and reconstruction of the Appiades Fountain (Phase II, Trajanic period). After Ulrich 1986, figs. 2-3.

Figure 16. Appiades Fountain (Phase I, Caesarian period), west basin, detail of cyma reversa. Photo: Beth Gardiner Lytle.

Figure 17. Drainage channel, Appiades Fountain (Phase I, Caesarian period). Photo: Beth Gardiner Lytle.

Figure 18. Appiades Fountain, central basin (Phase II, Trajanic period). Photo: Beth Gardiner Lytle.

Image redacted due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 19. Paving stones with cuttings for a balustrade, Appiades Fountain. After Ulrich 1986, plate 144.

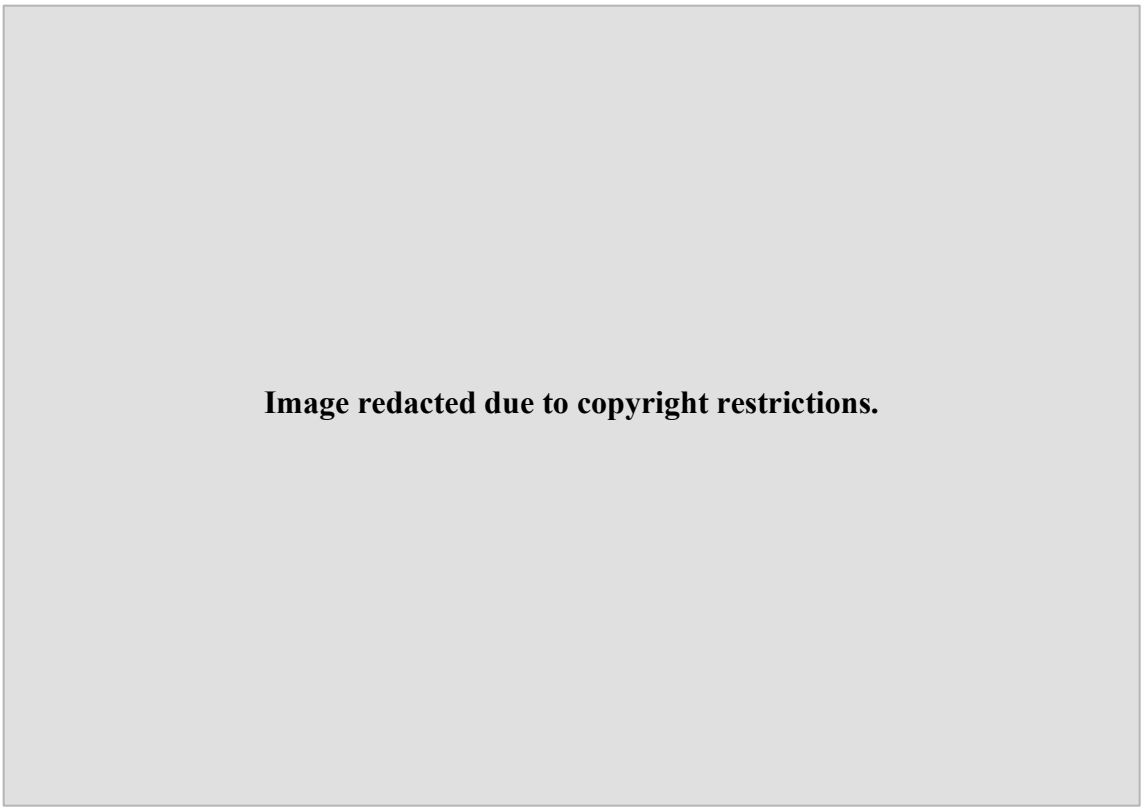

Figure 20. Reconstruction of the Temple of Mars Ultor and fountain basins within the Forum of Augustus. After Meneghini – Santangeli Valenzani 2007, fig. 36. Drawing: Inklink.

Figure 21. Mars Ultor Fountain, north basin. Photo: Beth Gardiner Lytle.

Figure 22. Mars Ultor Fountain, north basin, rectangular cuttings in cyma reversa molding. Photo: Beth Gardiner Lytle.

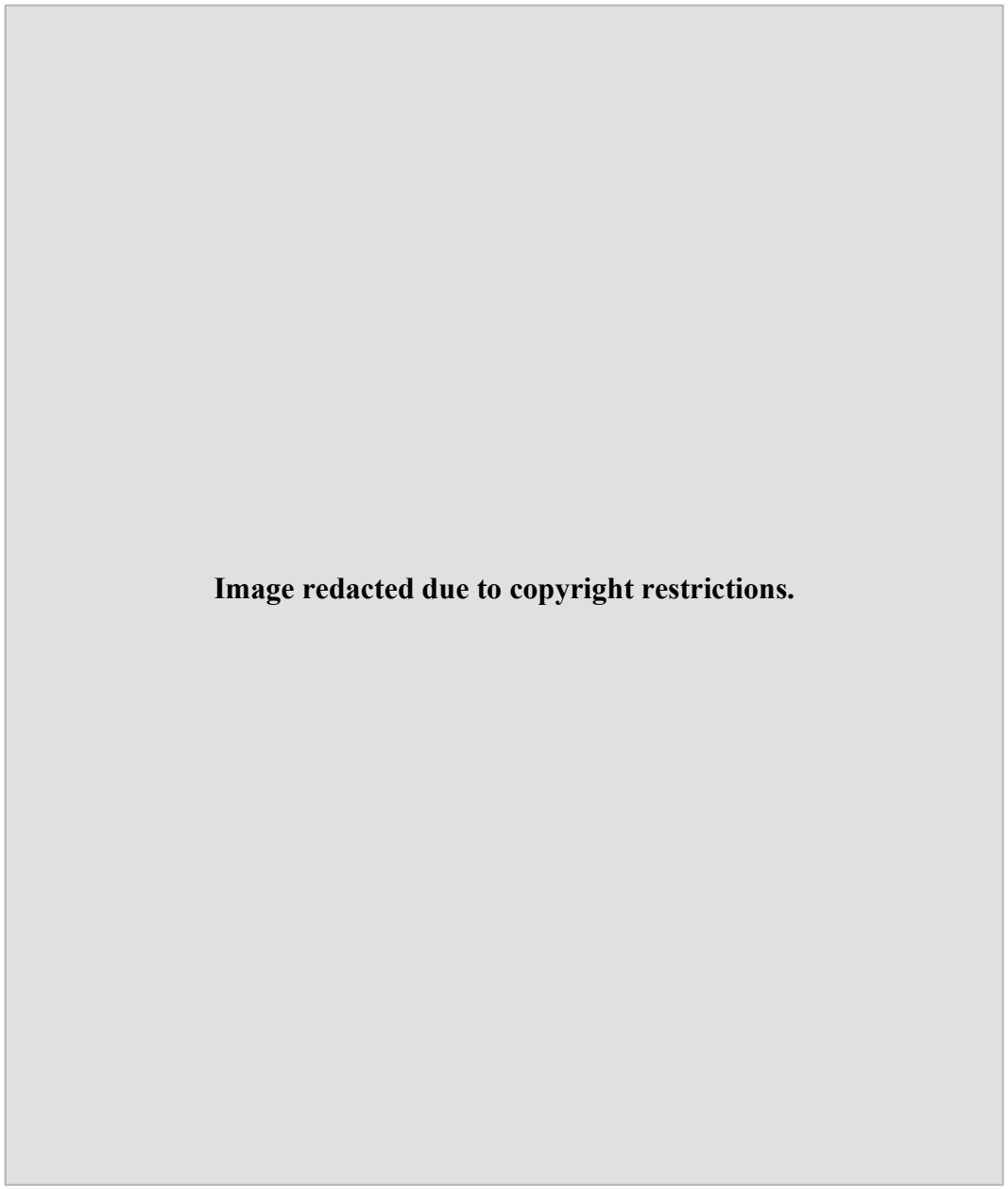

Figure 23. Plan of the Forum of Augustus. After Galinksy 1996, fig. 111.

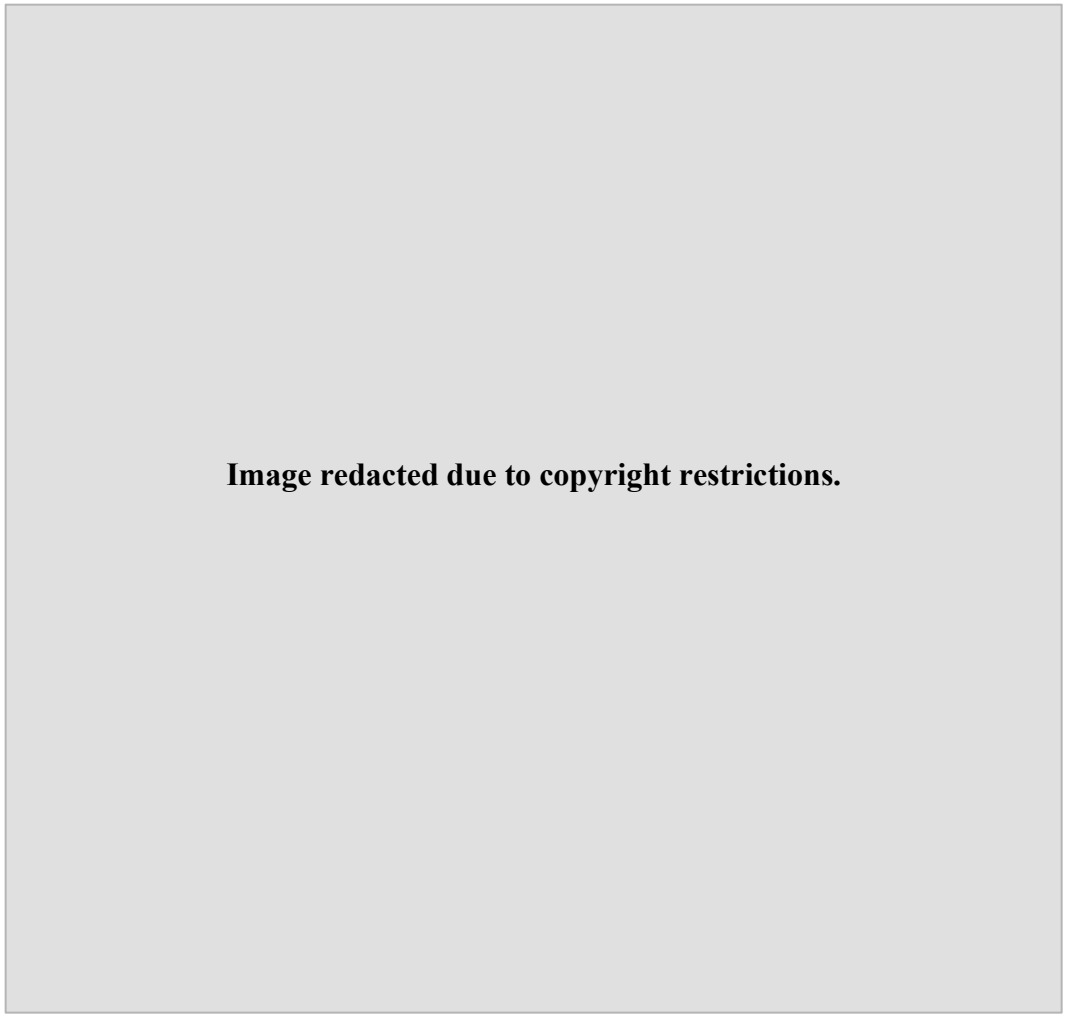

Figure 24. Statue group of Mars, Venus, and Divus Iulius, first century AD, from Carthage. The Archaeological Museum of Algiers. After Galinsky 1996, fig. 120.

Figure 25. Corner of a pre-existing basin buried beneath the south porticus of the Forum of Augustus. Photo: Beth Gardiner Lytle.

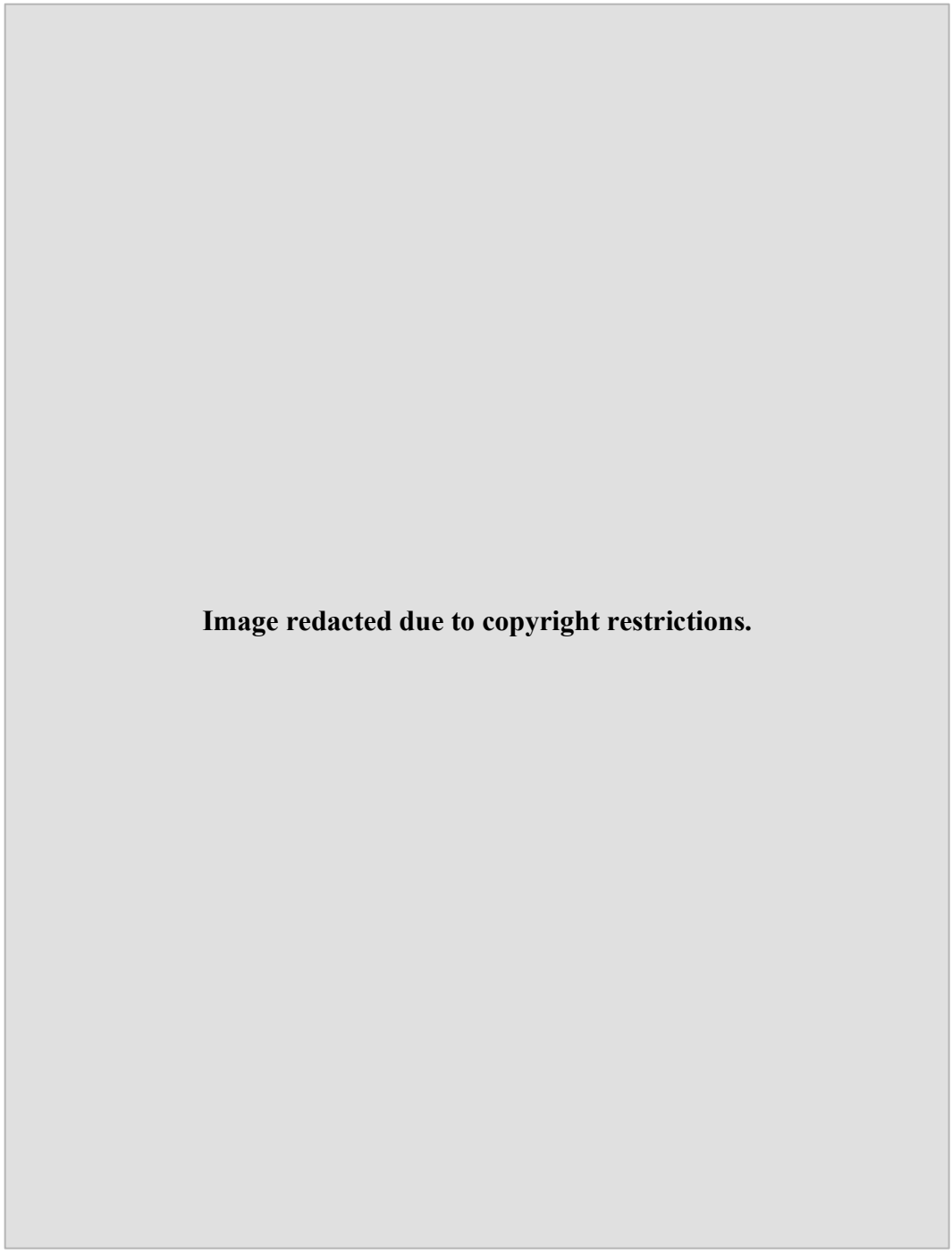

Figure 26. Reconstruction of the Augustan Baetyl Fountain, adjacent *compitum*, and the Sanctuary of the Curiae Veteres. After Panella 2011, fig. 5. Drawing: Maltide Cante.

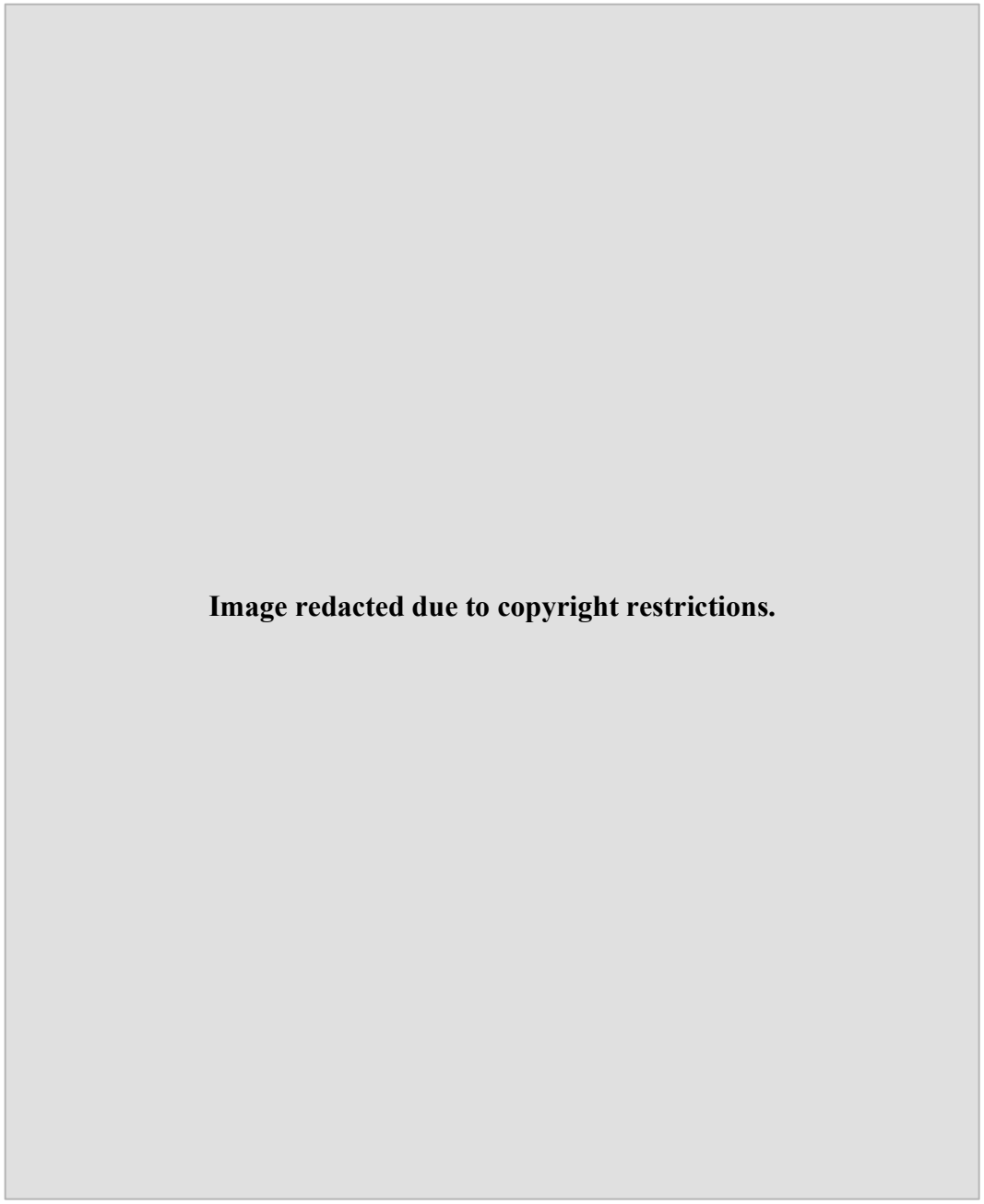

Figure 27. Reconstruction of the Flavian Meta Sudans. After Longfellow 2011, fig. 4 (after Colini 1937, fig. 14). Drawing: I. Gismondi.

Figure 28. Foundations of the Augustan Baetyl Fountain basin and *compitum*. After Panella 2011, fig. 4.

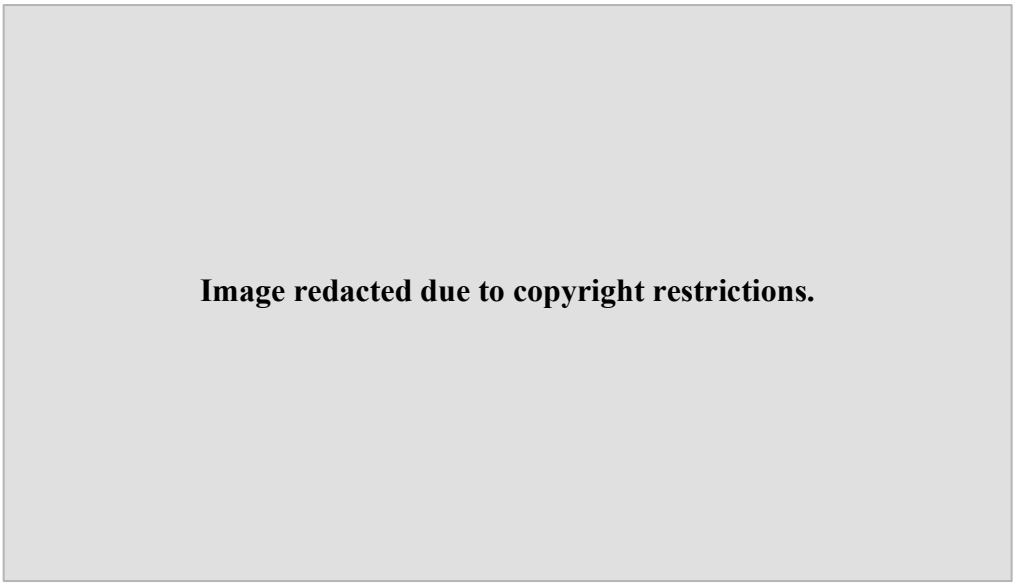

Fig. 29. View of the 1984 area of excavation. The foundations of the Flavian Meta Sudans appears in the foreground, the Arch of Constantine to the left, and the Palatine hill in the background. After Panella 1996b, fig. 9.

Figure 30. Fragment of a terracotta plaque representing a baetyl. Palatine Museum, Rome. Photo: Beth Gardiner Lytle.

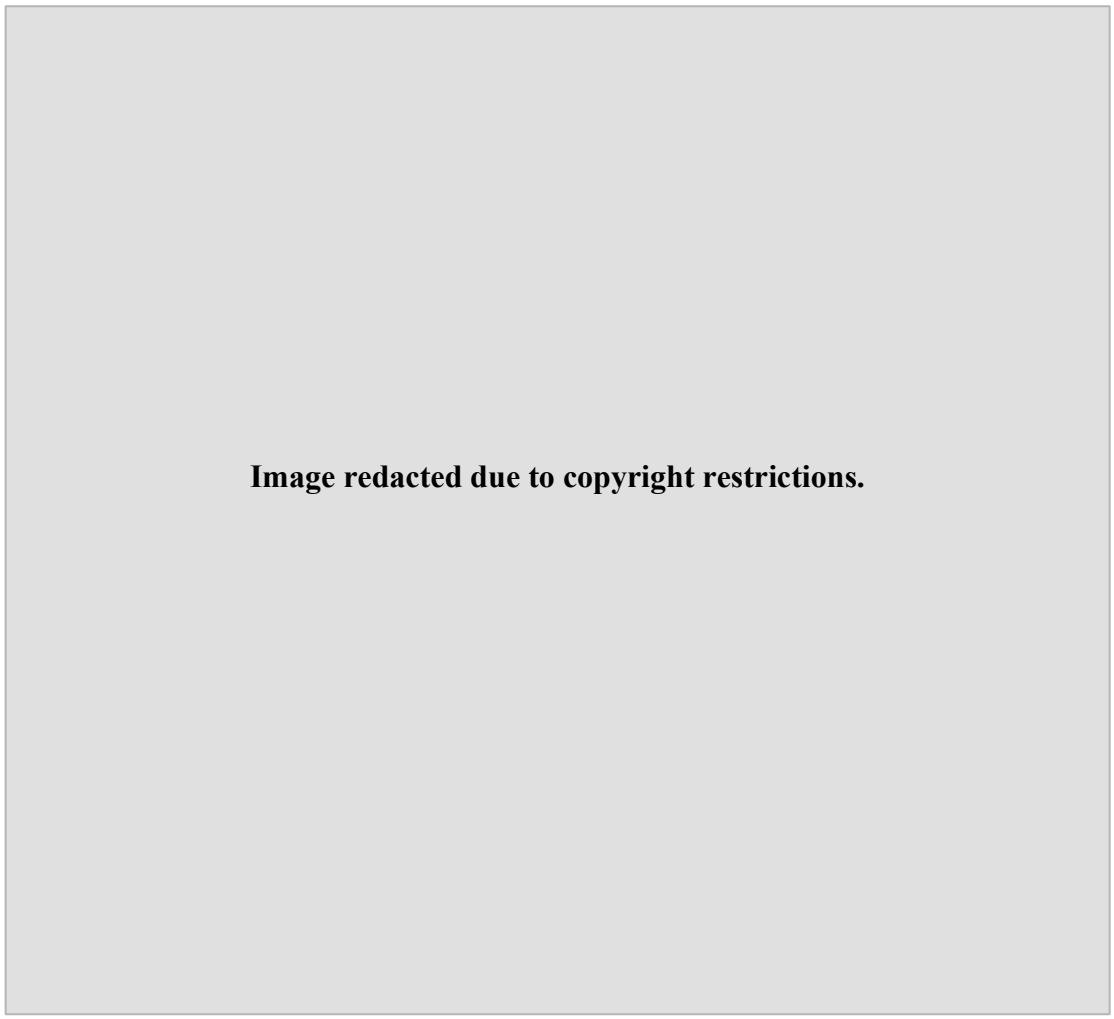

Figure 31. Map of Rome and 14 Augustan Regions. After Lott 2004, fig. 1 (After Stambaugh 1988, fig. 6). Drawing: E. H. Riordan.

CATALOGUE

Public water features were prominent in the ancient Roman landscape. According to Pliny and Frontinus, Agrippa established in the 30s and 20s BC 700 public *lacūs* (basins), 500 *salientes* (ornamental fountains) decorated with statues and columns, and 130 *castella* (aqueduct distribution tanks).[804] Romans took great care in the construction and maintenance of the aqueducts that supplied the numerous water monuments throughout the capital city.[805]

Very few of the many public fountains and pools known from literary sources survive today. Many of the monuments are known today only through inscriptions, which fail to provide substantive evidence required for thorough evaluation. Without archaeological data, the function and symbolism of many of these pools and fountains will remain speculative.

This dissertation has provided in-depth analyses of five public republican and Augustan pools and fountains that survive with documented archaeological remains. The catalogue, which serves as a supplement to the dissertation, demonstrates just how little is known about ancient water features. I present evidence for thirty-nine public water features, a substantially lower number than Pliny and Frontinus provide, ranging in date from the eighth century BC to the fourth century AD. Only eight of the thirty-nine survive with identifiable archaeological remains.

fons, -tis: Spring.

Numerous springs existed in Rome, especially on the Quirinal and Janiculum hills and in the Campus Martius.

---

[804] Plin. *HN*. 36.121; Front. *de Aq.* 1.9; Festus 290L; Lott 2004, 70; Longfellow 2011, 21.
[805] Front. *de Aq.* 1.9; Lott 2004, 70.

lacus, -ūs: Pool, lake, or street fountain with an adjacent watering trough.

Varying in size, *lacūs* were named from the device depicted on the standard holding the feed pipe, or for their builder. Were often used as place designators (i.e. Vicus Laci Fundani and Vicus Laci Tecti).[806]

nymphaeum, -a: Ornamental fountain.

Nymphaea were often in the form of a grotto, especially in the republican period. During the imperial period, nymphaea became more architectural.[807]

The water wall, similar to a scaenae frons, was a favorite form consisting of two or three stories decorated with columns, cornices, and statuary, with water piped into as many openings as possible. The architecture was visible through the veil of falling water (i.e. in the Domus Aurea).

The water theater, usually situated at the end of an enclosed garden or vista, consisted of a cavea-like flight of steps with water pouring down in a cascade from openings and fountain figures arranged above (i.e. Auditorium Maecenatis and Lacus Orphei).

The water pavilion was generally located in a room surrounded mostly by water either inside or outside the room (i.e. banquet hall of Domus Augstiana and the triconch pavilion of Hadrian's Villa).

ARA, -AE

A 1. Ara Fons

Shrine of Fons

[806] Richardson 1992, 152.
[807] Richardson 1992, 152.

Date: Unknown

Location: The Ara Fons was located not far from the tomb of Numa (Cic. *Leg*. 2.56), which was *sub Ianiculo* (Solinus 1.21). The exact location is uncertain, but Richardson suggests the designation Ianiculum probably originally referred only to the ridge leading out to the west from Porta Aurelia (Porta S. Pancrazio) on which the road ran. Richardson thinks Numa's tomb was probably built somewhere along this major road. Perhaps the abundant spring at the intersection of Via Garibaldi and Via di Porta S. Pancrazio is the one honored.

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: Unknown

Sources: None

Cic. *Leg*. 2.56; Solinus 1.21; Richardson 1992, 152.

A 2. **<u>Ara Fons</u>**

Shrine of Fons. The dedicants, P. Pontius Eros and C. Veratius Fortunatus, were *magistri quinquennales* of a school (*collegio*) that is not specified/clarified in the inscription. J. Aronen suggests perhaps they belong to a *collegium aquarum* or *fontanorum*.

Date: AD 70

Location: Reg. XIV. Area of the courtyard of the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione on Viale di Trastevere, discovered during construction.

Type of Construction: Plastered bricks. An aedicula with an epigraph and a niche for a statue (c. 3m h) was built in brick. In the bottom of the aedicula was a canal through which water flowed

Material: A portion of sacellum was built with plastered bricks (2.38m l x 2.25m w).

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: An inscription dedicated to Fons, dated to AD 70, was found during the construction of the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione on Viale di Trastevere in Reg. XIV below the south-eastern slope of the Gianiculum. The inscription mentions the construction of the foundation (*fundamentis*) of an *aedes* for Fons.

Sources: Richardson 1992, 152-153; Aronen 1995d.

FONS, -TIS

F 1. Delubrum Fons

Shrine of Fons dedicated by the consul C. Papirius Maso in 231 BC from the spoils of Corsica (Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.20.52). Aronen states that Papirius won the battles in Corsica in 221 BC, and the shrine was finished not long afterwards (J. Aronen 256-7). The vow to the god Fons was made during a time of great difficulty for the Romans, when many were thirsty for power. The discovery of a spring indicated a god's favor during a time of war (Zonar. 8.18.14) (Aronen, 256). The name Delubrum Fons derived from the Tullianum spring under the Carcer (Festus 482L) and inside the Porta Fontinalis, a gate in the Servian Walls at the Clivus Argentarius built by aediles M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Aemilius Paullus in 193 BC. The Clivus Argentarius is a street that connected the Forum

Romanum and the Campus Martius at the head of the Via Lata (Via Flaminia). According to Richardson, the Tullianum spring flows in the direction of the Cloaca Maxima and joins it (Richardson 303).

Date: 231 BC, Ides of October, the feast of Fontinalia.

Location: Temple located *extra Portam Fontinalem* in the Campus Martius. The building is probably in the vicinity of the Porta Fontinalis, in the area that corresponds to the Piazza Venezia. The exact location is uncertain because of the lack of archaeological evidence.

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: The location is based on two fragments of a calendar relative to the Fontinalia: *fast. Viae Ardeat*. in *Inscr. It*. XIII.2, 154: *[Fo]nti extr(a) port(am) Font(inalem)*, and *fast. Viae dei Serpenti, ibid*, 215: *Fonti ext(r)a p[---*.

Sources: Cicero, *Nat. D.* 3.52; Zonar. 8.18; Festus 482 L; *Inscr. It*. XIII.2, 154, 215; Paulus *ex Fest*. 75L; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 53; Richardson 1992, 153, 303; Ziolkowski 1992, 38; Aronen 1995c.

F 2. **<u>Fons Apollinis</u>**

Fons dedicated to Apollo. Mentioned by Frontinus (*Aq*. 1.4) as an especially salubrious water, with Fons Camenarum and Lacus Iuturnae.

Date: Very ancient. Richardson mentions early Rome: “The name is odd in view of the rarity of temples of Apollo in early Rome” (Richardson 153).

Location: Unknown. Lanciani wants to locate the spring below the slopes of the Caelian Hill where many springs are attested, but no concrete data exists to prove this hypothesis (Aronen, 257).

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: None

Sources: Front. *Aq*. 1.4; Richardson 1992 Aronen 1995a.

F3. <u>Fons Appiades</u>

A fountain constructed at the foot of the Temple of Venus Genetrix in the Forum of Julius Caesar. The monument consisted of two square recessed basins supplied by concealed hydraulic lines buried beneath the forum pavement.

Date: Phase I: c. 46 BC; Phase II: Trajanic.

Location: Forum Iulium.

Type of Construction: Travertine basins, hydraulic supply lines.

Material: Travertine, cocciopesto.

Decoration: Each basin contained a cyma reversa border.

Inscription: None

Sources: Scholars often assign passages by Pliny the Elder and Ovid to the Appiades Fountain. However, these sources are not unequivocally connected to the Appiades Fountain. Plin. *HN* 36.4.33; Ov. *Ars. Am.* 1.81-82, 3.451-2; Ov. *Rem. Am.* 660; Ulrich 1986b; Amici 1991.

F4. <u>Fons Baetylus (so-called Meta Sudans)</u>

A fountain constructed by Augustus in honor of his patron deity Apollo. A baetyl, an aniconic image of Apollo decorated the fountain. A passage by Seneca (Sen. *Ep.* 56.4) has misled scholars into identifying the monument as a Meta Sudans (sweating concial marker). The Baetyl Fountain marked the convergence of four to five of the most central Augustan regions of Rome.

Date: 7 BC

Location: Modern-day Colosseum Valley

Type of Construction: The fountain consisted of a rectilinear recessed basin with curvilinear exedrae that swelled around the base of the baetyl. The baetyl consisted of three architectural zones. The lowest zone resembled a drum of a doric column. The middle zone contained niches, perhaps for sculptural displays. The third and highest zone was conical in form.

Material: Basin: Travertine, marble, and cocciopesto. Baetyl: Concrete core, marble veneer.

Decoration: A colossal baetyl, possibly with sculptures in the niches.

Inscription: None

Sources: A passage by Seneca that most likely does not pertain to the Baetyl Fountain: Sen. *Ep.* 56.4; Panella 1990; Panella 1996b; Panella 1998; Panella and Zeggio 2004; Panella 2011; Panella et al. 2014.

F 5. <u>Fons Camenarum</u>

Spring of the Camenae (Muses), water goddesses who presided over the especially good water. The goddesses became assimilated to the Muses.

Date: Time of Numa

Location: The spring was in a grove on the Caelian near Porta Capena (Serv. *ad Aen.* 7.697), most likely the spring of S. Gregorio Magno, *mirabilis, immo saluberrimus fons*. The entire area around the spring took on the spring's name, including the valley between the Caeilian and the Aventine and a Vicus Camenarum (*CIL* 6.975 = *ILS* 6073). Numa ordered the Spring of the Camenae to be the consecrated use of the Vestal Virgins who fetched the water by hand and sprinkled the Temple of Vesta daily with the water (Plut. *Numa* 13.2; Festus 152L).

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Numa supposedly placed a small bronze aedicule at the spring – was struck by lightening and removed to nearby Temple of Honos et Virtus (Servius *ad Aen*. 1.8). In c. 187 BC, M. Fulvius Nobilior took the shrine and put it in his Temple of Hercules Musarum. The shrine was later replaced by a full-scale temple (Pliny, *HN* 34.19; cf. Juvenal 3.13). The dedication of the temple probably took place on August 13, which became the date of the annual festival of the Camenae. Juvenal comments that the banks of the spring were revetted with marble and the spring itself was converted into an artificial nymphaeum (Juvenal 3.17-3.20), but Richardson thinks Juvenal is exaggerating.

Inscription: None

Sources: Vitr. 8.3.1**;** Front. *Aq*. 1.4**;** Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.8; 7.697**;** Plut. *Numa* 13.2; Festus 152L; Plin. *HN* 34.19; *CIL* 6.975 = *ILS* 6073; Platner and Ashby 1929; Richardson 1992, 63-64; Rodriguez Almeida 1992, 89.

F 6. Fons Cati (Cati Fons)

A spring on the (south-) western slopes of the Quirinal Hill. The source of the Petronia Amnis was traditionally a brook on the west slope of the Quirinal that flowed W to Via Lata and flowed under the southern stretch of the Via Lata. The brook continued under the Piazza Venezia, turned W and flowed under Via di S. Marco and along the N side of the Theatrum Balbi, then turned S and ran to join the Chiavicone dell'Olmo (an ancient sewer similar to the Cloaca Maxima in construction). The brook emptied into the Tiber opposite the northwest end of the island. The Fons Cati was named after the man who owned the land where it originated (Paul. Fest. 39 L).

Date: By time of Festus; the upper stretches of the Petronia Amnis were still open in the time of Festus.

Location: On the western slope of the Qurinial. The Acqua di S. Felice, now in the courtyard of the Palazzo del Quirinale, marks the location of the Fons Cati.

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: None

Sources: Paul. Fest. 39 L; Platner and Ashby 1929, 109; Santangelo 1941; Richardson 1992, 289-290; Coarelli 1995b.

F 7. Fons Lollianus

Information concerning the Fons Lollianus survives from one Inscription *CIL* 6.162.

Date: Inscription *CIL* 6.162 dates to AD 160.

Location: Inscription *CIL* 6.162 found below the (south) western end of the Caelian. **Type of Construction:** Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: *CIL* 6.162. One inscription found with several others dating from AD 69 to AD 166. This inscription dates to AD 160. Inscription(s) mention *magistri* and *ministri fontis*, officials overseeing Piscina Publica (q.v.). Inscription was found c. 1558 below the western end of the Caelian (LA 235). The Piscina Publica is a general area in the valley between the Aventine and Caelian.

Sources: *CIL* 6.162; Richardson 1992, 153; Aronen 1995b.

F 8. **Fons Mars Ultor**

A fountain constructed at the foot of the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus. The monument consists of two square recessed basins, similar in form to the basins at the Appiades Fountain, but larger in size.

Date: 2 BC

Location: Forum Augusti

Type of Construction: Marble basins possibly fed by concealed hydraulic lines.

Material: Marble, cocciopesto

Decoration: Each basin is decorated with a border of cyma reversa.

Inscription: None

Sources: Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007; Meneghini 2009.

F 9. **Fons Muscosus**

Date: Unknown

Location: Next to the Temple of Fortuna Virgo (Plut. *De fort. Rom.* 10), probably on the fringes of the city. Richardson does not think the spring is located next to the Temple of Fortuna Virgo in the Forum Boarium because no spring exists there (Richardson 153).

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: None

Sources: Plut. *De fort. Rom.* 10; Richardson 1992, 153.

F 10. <u>Fons Olei</u>

Date: Unknown

Location: *trans Tiberim*, possibly in the area of the apse of the medieval basilica of S. Maria in Trastevere. A marble monument that resembled classical construction was found at this location.

Archaeological Remains: None

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: None

Sources: Cass. Dio 48.43; Hier. *chron.* (PL 27, 541f); Oros. *h*6.18 and 20 (PL 31, 1047, 1054; De Spirito 1995 for full bibliography.

F 11. <u>Fons Pal…</u>

Known only from inscriptions *CIL* 6.157-60. Richardson does not favor "Palatinus" as the name completion due to the find spot of the inscriptions in the Piscina Publica (Richardson 153).

Date: Unknown

Location: Unknown

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: *CIL* 6.157-60. Only known from these inscriptions found in the area of Piscina Publica. Inscriptions of Fons Lollianus and Fons Scaurianus also found in Piscina Publica.

Sources: *CIL* 6.157-60; Richardson 1992, 153; Aronen 1995b.

F 12. **Fons Scaurianus**

Known from inscriptions found in the area of Piscina Publica (*CIL* 6.164-65; *ILS* 3889).

Date: Unknown

Location: Unknown

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: *CIL* 6.164-65; *ILS* 3889. Inscriptions found in the area of Piscina Publica, along with inscriptions concerning Fons Lollianus and Fons Pal… The most complete of these inscriptions lists four *magistri* (freedmen) and four

ministri (slaves) of a sacred college. According to Ligorio, the inscription was found in the Aventine hill by the temple below S. Prisca, which is on the NE slopes of the hill (Aronen, 258).

Sources: *CIL* 6.164-65**;** *ILS* 3889; Richardson 1992, 153; Aronen 1995b.

LACUS, -ŪS

L 1. Lacus Aretis

Date: Unknown

Location: Richardson suggests the lacus was located under the Temple of Fortuna in the Forum Boarium. The inscription (*CIL* 6.9664 = *ILS* 7536) locates the lacus *sub aede* (below the temple), but the exact temple of Fortuna is unknown with certainty.

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: *CIL* 6.9664 = *ILS* 7536. The Lacus Aretis is mentioned in this sepulchral inscription that associates the fountain with a temple of Fortuna (Fortuna has no epithet in inscription, so location is difficult to discern). The subject of the inscription describes himself as a *negotiator aerarius et ferrarius* (bronze and iron businessman/salesman); from this evidence, Richardson suggests the temple of Fortuna could be the one in the Forum Boarium (Richardson 229).

Sources: *CIL* 6.9664 = *ILS* 7536**;** Richardson 1992, 229.

L 2. Lacus Cunicli

Date: Unknown

Location: Regio IX

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: "Presumably" the standard of the feed pipe of the lacus was carved with the figure of a rabbit (Richardson 229). A similar standard is found in Pompeii.

Inscription: Inscription dated to AD 375 is the only source of information.

Sources: Rossi 1871; Richardson 1992.

L 3. **<u>Lacus Curtius</u>**

A monument in the Forum Romanum that marked the place of a miraculous event, for which three literary versions exist:

1) In 362 B.C. a chasm opened at the location of the lacus, and soothsayers announced the chasm could be closed by offering that *quo plurimum populus Romanus posset* (most capable of the Roman people). M. Curtius, a young patrician, armed and mounted, rode his horse into the chasm, which closed after his jump. Reported by Procillus, possibly the tribunus plebes of 56 BC. This is the most common explanation. (Varro, *Ling.* 5.148; Liv. 7.6.1-6; Dion. Hal. 14.11.3-4; Val. Max. 5.6.2; Plin. *HN* 15.78; Cass. Dio fr. 30.1-2; Paulus *ex Fest*. 42L; Zonaras 7.25; Orosius 3.5).

2) During the war between Romulus and Titus Tatius, the Sabine leader Mettius Curtius rode his horse into a swamp in the location of the Lacus and escaped the Romans pursuing him. Reported by Calpurnius Piso, the annalist and consul of

133 BC. (Varro, *Ling*. 5.149; Liv. 1.12.9-10 and 13.5; Dion. Hal. 2.42.5-6; Plut. *Rom*. 18.4).

3) The Lacus marks the spot where lightning struck in 445 BC. The Lacus was then fenced off and marked with a puteal by the consul C. Curtius. Reported by an unidentified Cornelius and Q. Lutatius Catulus, consul of 102 BC. (Varro, *Ling.* 5.510).

Date: Archaeological: 184 BC; Literary: Time of Romulus (version 2); 445 BC (version 3); 362 BC (version 1).

Location: Forum Romanum

Archaeological Remains: Irregular polygonal area c. 10.15m x 8.95m, which was enclosed in antiquity by a fence or marble balustrade. Three levels of pavement: lowest slabs of cappellaccio, the middle slabs of Monteverde tufa (time of Sulla), and the topmost (and poorest preserved) are travertine (imperial). Cuttings for four rectangular bases are in the western part. A twelve-sided tufa plinth remains that was once the base for a puteal. (Puteals often installed over a place struck by lightening and would make a convenient place for the Romans to deposit their coins).

Type of Construction: Tufa blocks with layers of cocciopesto.

Material: Marble fence or balustrade. Three levels of pavement: lowest cappellaccio, middle Monteverde tufa, topmost travertine.

Decoration: A relief in the Museo Capitolino Nuovo, found in 1553 between the Column of Phocas and the Temple of Caster, commemorates version 2. An inscription of the praetor peregrinus L. Naevius Surdinus of the early is preserved

on the back of the relief (*CIL* 6.1468 = 31662). The relief is probably a copy of a late republican original.

Inscription: *CIL* 6.1468 = 31662 on the back of a relief in the Museo Capitolino Nuovo that commemorates version 2.

Sources:

Version 1: Varro, *Ling.* 5.148; Liv. 7.6.1-6; Dion. Hal. 14.11.3-4; Val. Max. 5.6.2; Pliny, *HN* 15.78; Cass. Dio fr. 30.1-2; Paulus *ex Fest*. 42L; Zonaras 7.25; Orosius 3.5.

Version 2: Varro, *Ling*. 5.149; Liv. 1.12.9-10 and 13.5; Dion. Hal. 2.42.5-6; Plut. *Rom*. 18.4.

Version 3: Varro, *Ling.* 5.510; Ov. *Fast*. 6.403-4; Suet. *Aug*. 57.1; Plin. *HN*15.78.

Pouchet 1967; Nash 1968, 1.542-544; Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 104-116; Richardson 1992, 229-230; La Regina 1995; Giuliani 1996b.

L 4. <u>Lacus Esc[…]</u>

Name is found only on a lead tessera. Varro supports the supplement Esculinum, which suggests that it was a very ancient watering place (Varro. *Ling*. 5.50)

Date: Unknown

Location: Unknown

Archaeological Remains: None

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: On a lead tessera

Sources: Varro, *Ling*. 5.50**;** Richardson 1992, 230.

L 5. Lacus Fabricius

Name of Compitum Fabricium probably from a house given to a Fabricius *ob captives recuperates de hostibus* (as a reward for rescuing prisoners/captives from the enemies) (*CGL* 4.62-63 [Placidus]). Inscription probably refers to C. Fabricius, the ambassador sent to Pyrrhus in 278 BC (Cic. *Brut*. 55).

Date: Unknown

Location: May have been situated at the Compitum (crossroads) Fabricium, at the intersection of the Vicus Fabrici of Regio I (*CIL* 6.975 = *ILS* 6073) and another street. Located next to the Curiae Novae (Festus 180L), therefore most likely on the Caelian.

Archaeological Remains: Unknown

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: *CIL* 6.975 = *ILS* 6073

Sources: *CIL* 6.975 = *ILS* 6073; Festus 180L; Cic. *Brut*. 55; *CGL* 4.62-63 [Placidus] – *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* (= Lindsay, W. M. *Glossaria Latina*, Paris 1930), 4.62-63; Richardson 1992, 98, 230.

L 6. Lacus Fagutalis

Date: Unknown

Location: On the Fagutal on the western tip of the Esquiline,, near the Argei in Regio II Esquiliae. The Fagutal is at the western extremity of the Oppius, near the

modern church of S. Francesco di Paola. The Fagutal was the location a single beech tree where sacrifices were offered in the festival of the Septimontium

Archaeological Remains: Unknown

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: None

Sources: Solinus 1.26; Richardson 1992, 38, 148, 230, fig. 75.

L 7. Lacus Fundani

Date: Unknown

Location: In the saddle between the Quirinal and the Capitoline, perhaps closer to the Quirinal in the section called Collis Latiaris. Given that the street is called a vicus rather than a clivus, it was probably relatively flat, and Richardson locates the lacus more precisely not far from the street discovered at the base of the Column of Trajan (Richarson 230).

Archaeological Remains: Unknown

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: *CIL* 1(2)1.721 = 6.1297 = *ILS* 872 = *ILLRP* 352

Sources: *CIL* 1(2)1.721 = 6.1297 = *ILS* 872 = *ILLRP* 352**;** Tacit. *Hist*. 3.69; Richardson 1992, 230.

L 8. Lacus Gallines

Known only from one inscription of an unknown provenance (*CIL* 6.33835)

Date: Unknown

Location: Unknown

Archaeological Remains: Unknown

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: *CIL* 6.33835

Sources: *CIL* 6.33835; Richardson 1992, 230.

L 9. <u>Lacus Ganymedis</u>

Date: Unknown

Location: Unknown

Archaeological Remains: Ligorio claims to have seen the remains of a ten-sided marble basin, 15 feet in diameter with a rock in the middle that supported the figure of Ganymede. The marble basin was supposedly in the cellars of the monks of SS. Apostoli, toward the piazza Dell'ulmo de Colonnesi (Lanciani 3.202). Richardson questions Ligorio's account because it is unlike any other surviving ancient fountain (Richardson 230).

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Figure of Ganymede supposedly presented to the bishop of Pavia, governatore di Roma.

Inscription: None

Sources: Lanciani 1902-1912, 3.202; Richardson 1992, 230.

L 10. <u>Lacus Iuturnae</u>

A monumentalized pool located near the Temple of Castor and Pollux in the Forum Romanum. Castor and Pollux were seen watering their horses after the Battle of Lake Regillus in 496 BC. The Temple of Castor was built west of the lacus (Ov. *Fast*. 1.705-8; Dion. Hal. 6.13.4). Castor and Pollux believed to have returned to the Lacus after the Battle of Pydna in 168 BC (Florus 1.28.15; Val. Max. 1.8.1). The water was always regarded as fine and healthful (Varro, *Ling.* 5.71; Front. *Aq.* 4)

Date: 164 BC. Evidence exists of late republican construction and early imperial refurbishment, but original construction date may precede late republican date (Richardson 230-1). Pottery finds reveal that the Lacus continued in use as late as the eighth century.

Location: Southern side of the Forum Romanum between the Temple of Castor and the Atrium Vestae.

Archaeological Remains: Early 20th century excavations first revealed a basin 2.12 m deep, measuring at the bottom 5.13 m x 5.04 m. In the middle of the basin is a rectangular base about 3 m long, 2 m wide, and 1.78 m high, which probably held a marble group of the Dioscuri and their horses.

Type of Construction: The basin was entirely lined with marble. The walls behind the revetment are faced with reticulate, and the whole appears to be an early imperial refurbishing of a late republican treatment. Remains of a pavement in tufa blocks laid on a different orientation (that of the precinct of Vesta) have

been found under the floor of the pavement. A ledge, about 1.5 m wide, appears at the top of the basin and is framed in a heavy wall of rubble masonry 1.23 m high, capped by a travertine coping with traces of the setting of a mettle fence. At the top the whole measures c. 19 m square. In the fourth century the east side of the basin was rebuilt in different form, apparently to create a place for the Statio Aquarum.

Material: Marble, opus reticulatum, tufa pavement underneath, travertine.

Decoration: A marble statuary group of the Dioscuri and their horses was found smashed to fragments in the basin and is now partially reassembled. A marble altar was also found in the basin and has been set up on the intermediate ledge; the Dioscuri, Helen (as Selene), Leda, and Jupiter appear on its four faces.

Inscription: None

Numismatics: The twins appear watering their horses on the coins of the Gens Postumia, the family of the victor of Lake Regillus, of about 96-90 BC (*B.M. Coins, Rom. Rep.* 2.3.10 nos. 718-723; Crawford 335 no. 10). The coins depict the Lacus as a low trough or puteal.

Subsidiary Buildings:

Aedicula Iuturnae: Located c. 4 m south diagonally from the Lacus. The shrine sits on a high base without a stair approach, and probably held a statue of the Juturna in the apsidal cella. The shallow porch is framed by two slender Corinthian columns and a triangular pediment. An inscription on the epistyle identifies the structure: IVTVRNA (i) s(sacrum) (Boni 1901a, 144). Inscription on a large marble puteal commemorates a restoration (of the aedicule?) by M.

Barbatius Pollio, believed to be the adherent of Mark Antony (*CIL* 6.36807 = *ILS* 9261). A marble altar of Severan date was placed in front of the puteal in modern times (it was found used as a step in a medieval stair). The altar represents Juturna taking leave of Turnus, but it may also represent Mars and Venus because the gesture is ambiguous. An inscription on the epistyle identifies the structure: IVTVRNA (i) s(sacrum) (Boni 1901a, 74). The apsidal room that the aedicula abuts is considered Hadrianic due to the brickwork.

Sources: Ov. *Fast*. 1.705-8; Dion. Hal. 6.13.4; Florus 1.28.15; Val. Max. 1.8.1; Varro, *Ling.* 5.71; Front. *Aq.* 4; Boni 1901a; Davico 1955; Nash 1961, 395-397; Steinby 1985; Steinby 1989b; Steinby 1996; Steinby 2012; *CIL* 6.36807 = *ILS* 9261, Aedicula Iuturnae; Richardson 1992.

L 11. <u>Lacus Longus</u>

Date: Unknown

Location: Probably in Regio III because listed following the Decennenses and Monetarii (q.v.) in the 4th century edit of Tarracius Bassus.

Archaeological Remains: Unknown

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: *CIL* 6.31893b9 = *ILS* 6072 – 4th century edict of Tarracius Bassus

Sources: *CIL* 6.31893b9 = *ILS* 6072; Richardson 1992, 231.

L 12. <u>Lacus Miliarius</u>

A watering trough located at a milestone along the Vicus Laci Miliari in Regio XIII.

Date: Unknown

Location: The Vicus Laci Miliari was located along the Tiber in the district of warehouses behind the Emporium (between the Tiber and Porticus Aemilia) in Regio XIII.

Archaeological Remains: Unknown

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: *CIL* 6.975 = *ILS* 6073: Vicus Laci Miliari mentioned in the Capitoline Base. The vicus is known only from this inscription. (Vicus laci Restituti [Reg. XIV] and vicus laci Tecti [Reg. XII] also mentioned in the Capitoline Base).

Sources: *CIL* 6.975 = *ILS* 6073 – Capitoline Base, lists the vicus laci Miliari in Regio XIII; Richardson 1992, 425.

L 13. <u>Lacus Orphei</u>

Martial described this lacus as at the head of the Clivus Suburanus, a theater dominated at its summit by Orpheus drenched in water and surrounded by wild animals charmed by his music (Martial 10.19.4-9). The residents of the neighborhood were known as Orfienses (*CIL* 6.31893 d12) in the 4th century; the name was used in the medieval period to designate the churches of S. Lucia in Orfea and S. Martino iuxta Orfeam (HCh 306, 382).

Date: Unknown

Location: on the Esquiline, listed by the regionary catalogues in Regio V.

Archaeological Remains: Unknown

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: None

Sources: *CIL* 6.31893 d12; Mart. 10.19.4-9; Rodriguez Almeida 1983; Richardson 1992, 231.

L 14. <u>Lacus Pastorum</u>

Date: Unknown

Location: Listed by the regionary catalogues in Regio III, east of the Colosseum, between it and the church of S. Clemente (most likely). Mentioned in a citation of passage in the "Acta S. Eusebii Presbyteri": *ad petram sceleratam iuxta amphitheatrum ad lacum pastoris*. (Near the desecrated/profaned rock, amphitheater, and lacus of the shepard).

Archaeological Remains: Unknown

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: None

Sources: Richardson 1992, 232.

L 15. Lacus Philippi

A reservoir that Philppus Arabs built in the Transtiberim (Reg. XIV, Trastevere) to relieve shortage of water there (Aur. Vict., *Caes*. 28.1), often mistaken for a naumachia.

Date: AD 244-249

Location: Transtiberim

Archaeological Remains: Unknown

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: None

Sources: Aur. Vict., *Caes*. 28.1; Richardson 1992

L 16. Lacus Pisonis

The Lacus Pisonis is known only from an excerpt from Cicero, who mentions *ad lucum Pisonis* when locating a house rented for Quintus' temporary use in 56 BC.

Date: Unknown

Location: Unknown

Archaeological Remains: Unknown

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: None

Sources: Cic. *QFr*. 2.3.7; Richardson 1992, 232.

L 17. Lacus Poetelius

A public watering place on the Cispian listed as one of the landmarks in the ceremonies of the Argei (Varro, *Ling*. 5.50). Richardson notes that the reading is often changed to Lucus Poetilius, but disagrees with the correction (Richardson 232).

Date: Unknown

Location: on the Cispian (Reg. IV)

Archaeological Remains: Unknown

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: None

Sources: Varro, *Ling*. 5.50; Richardson 1992, 232.

L 18. Lacus Promethei

A watering place listed by the regionary catalogues in Regio I after the Camenae (see **Fons Camenarum**). Richardson thinks it most likely displayed Prometheus crucified, and the water may have issued from his wound (Richardson 232).

Date: Unknown

Location: Regio I

Archaeological Remains: Unknown

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: None

Sources: Richardson 1992, 232.

L 19. Lacus Restituti

Restitutus is probably the cognomen of the man responsible for establishing this watering place (Richardson 425).

Date: Unknown

Location: Regio XIV

Archaeological Remains: Unknown

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: The Vicus Laci Restituti is known from the Capitoline Base, listed in Regio XIV (*CIL* 6.975 = *ILS* 6073). (Vicus laci Miliari [Reg. XIII] and vicus laci Tecti [Reg. XII] also mentioned in the Capitoline Base).

Sources: *CIL* 6.975 = *ILS* 6073 – Capitoline Base, lists the vicus laci Restituti in Regio XIV; Richardson 1992, 232, 425.

L 20. Lacus Servilius

A watering place in the Forum Romanum at the end of the Vicus Iugarius adjacent to the Basilica Iulia. The heads of senators killed in the proscriptions of Sulla were displayed at this lacus (Cic. *Rosc. Am*. 89; Sen. *Prov*. 3.7.8; Firm. Mat. 1.7.34)

Date: Present by the time of Sulla (88-78 BC). No evidence that it survived past the Augustan period (Festus speaks of it in the past tense, 370-72L). Richardson

suggests it was damaged in the fire that destroyed the Basilica Iulia late in Augustus' life and was probably covered over by the enlargement of the rebuilding of the Basilica Iulia (Richardson 232).

Location: In the Forum Romanum at the end of the Vicus Iugarius adjacent to the Basilica Iulia, probably at the NW corner of the basilica (Festus 370-72L: *continens*).

Archaeological Remains: Unknown

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Agrippa embellished the lacus with a figure of the Hydra, probably a fountain figure similar to that discovered in the natatio of the Palaestra of Herculaneum (Maiuri 193-199) which may be a copy of the original from Rome.

Inscription: None

Sources: Cic. *Rosc. Am*. 89**;** Sen. *Prov*. 3.7.8**;** Firm. Mat. 1.7.34**;** Festus 370-72L; Maiuri 1954; Richardson 1992, 232.

L 21. <u>Lacus Tectus</u>

Vicus Laci Tecti known from the Capitoline Base, listed in Regio XII (CIL 6.975 = ILS 6073). Otherwise unknown.

Date: Unknown

Location: in Regio XII

Archaeological Remains: Unknown

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: The Capitoline Base lists the vicus laci tecti in Regio XII (CIL 6.975 = ILS 6073).

Sources: CIL 6.975 = ILS 6073 - The Capitoline Base lists the vicus laci tecti in Regio XII. (Vicus laci Miliari [Reg. XIII] and Vicus laci Restituti [Reg. XIV] also mentioned in the Capitoline Base); Richardson 1992, 232, 425.

Richardson 232, 425.

NYMPHAEUM, -A

N 1. Nymphaeum

A large brick-faced concrete structure commonly called Tempio di Minerva Medica because of the mistaken belief that the Athena Giustiniani was found here. Believed to be fed by the Aqua Anio Vetus, the line that runs close by, but this is not known with certainty; the use of water in the building is speculative. It may actually have served as a dining pavilion. The complex is often assigned to the Horti Liciniani, but without proof (Richardson 269-270). It acquired the name Le Galluzze in the fifteenth century.

Date: Second half of the 3rd century AD

Location: On the Esquiline on Via Giovanni Giolitti between Via Labicana and the Aurelian Walls

Archaeological Remains: A large circular structure with semicircular niches and two external hemicycles.

Type of Construction:

Phase I: Main hall is decagonal, about 24 m in diameter and 33 m in height, roofed with a dome built on a skeleton of brick ribs, but still stepped at the base on the exterior. The walls of the main room on the ground level open out into apsidal niches with half-domes, one on each side of the decagon, except for the entrance side, four of them, those to either side, open, their domes supported on columns, five closed. Opposite the entrance two large exterior buttresses took some of the thrust of the main dome. In the upper wall in each wall of the decagon is a large arched window. The engineering of the dome is of the greatest interest and has been repeatedly studied. The building was faced with marble outside and inside.

Phase II: A monumental entrance with two large lateral exedras of curved plan was added, as were two huge curved rooms behind the cross axis of the main hall that look like nymphaea in their own right, along with other minor constructions that confuse the reading of the architecture. (Date of Phase II?).

Material: Brick-faced concrete, marble revetment in interior and exterior.

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: None

Sources: Lugli 1938, 480-83; Nash 1968, 2.127-29; Richardson 1992, 269-270, fig. 59.

N 2. **<u>Nymphaeum Alexandri</u>**

Also known as Trofei di Mario, the Nymphaeum Alexandri was a prominent public nymphaeum that served as the terminus of the Aqua Iulia, in the fork of the Via Tiburtina Vetus and the Via Labicana, in present-day Piazza Vittorio

Emanuele. The structure corresponds with the Nymphaeum Alexandri listed by the regionary catalogues in Regio V (cf. *CIL* 6.31893 d5) and is identified from a medallion and coins struck in AD 226. The monument appears to be triumphal in character, especially given the numismatic evidence.

Date: AD 226, if not earlier.

Location: in the fork of the Via Tiburtina Vetus and the Via Labicana, in present-day Piazza Vittorio Emanuele.

Archaeological Remains: Brick-faced concrete in two main stories.

Type of Construction: The upper story is a large apsidal niche flanked by open arches, the whole to be restored with Corinthian columns and entablature, of which fragments exist, and finished above with an attic. Side arches and a central nice once held statuary. Below the upper story, water poured from severely architectural niches in a half-story forming a podium for the upper story into a broad channel invisible to those viewing it from ground level. From this it passed to the lower story. The lower story is ver ruined, but it seems to have consisted of a relatively solid block thrust forward and relieved by the addition of a columnar architecture framing numerous niches from which water poured into a large, probably semicircular basin. The niches were probably furnished with fountain statuary.

Material: Brick-faced concrete

Decoration: Corinthian columns and entablature in upper storey. The side arches in upper story held marble trophies that Pope Sixtus V removed in 1590 and set on the balustrade of Piazza del Campidoglio (these are generally dated to the

Domitianic period and were probably not made for this setting). The group in the central niche is entirely unknown. The lower story is severely damaged, but it seems to have consisted of a relatively solid block thrust forward and relieved by the addition of a columnar architecture framing numerous niches from which water poured into a large, probably semicircular basin. The niches were probably furnished with fountain statuary.

Inscription: *CIL* 6.31893 d5 - Nymphaeum Alexandri listed by the regionary catalogues in Regio V.

Numismatics: A strikingly similar monument appears on a medallion of Alexander Severus struck in AD 226 (Cohen 4.449 no. 479; Gnecchi 2.82.20 and pl. 99 no. 8; Banti 4.2: 138 nos. 137-38). The monument on the medallion consists of two stories, the upper story containing three niches framed by columns, the central niche with a two-figured group, the side niches with trophies. The roof of this story is crowned by a quadriga, possibly flanked by trophies. The lower story is a relatively solid block decorated with columns and niches that continue down the sides, which seem to splay, and in front is a triangular basin. On other coins of the same year (AD 226) showing the same monument, the basin is clearly semicircular, and the half-story is dominated by recumbent water divinity in the center, while other figures, possibly trumpeting Victorias, crown the forward corners. The groups flanking the quadriga on the attic here seem to clearly Victorias with trophies (Mattingly 6: pl. 11, nos. 323-325).

Subsequent History: The nymphaeum was connected with Marius and his victory over the Cimbri in the Middle Ages, as early has 1176. The legend grew

and was embellished, probably because of the story of Caesar's restoration of the trophies of Marius that Sulla had dismantled (Vell. Pat. 2.43.4; Suet. *Iul.* 11). It persists as the popular name of the ruin today: Trofei di Mario (Trophies of Marius).

Sources: *CIL* 6.31893 d5; Vell. Pat. 2.43.4; Suet. *Iul.* 11; Mattingly 1930.6: pl. 11 nos. 323-325; Richardson 1992, 270-271.

N 3. **Nymphaeum Flavi Philippi**

Known from a fifth century inscription recording a restoration by the *praefectus urbi* (urban praefect), Flavius Philippus (*CIL* 6.1728).

Date: Prior to fifth century AD, because inscription records restoration.

Location: Ruins possibly beneath the church of S. Francesco di Paolo along the via Cavour.

Archaeological Remains: Unknown

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: *CIL* 6.1728 – fifth century inscription that records a restoration by the praefectus urbi, Flavius Philippus. There were originally three copies of the inscription known, two of which have been lost, so Richardson suggests it must have been a monument of some importance. The existing inscription was found in Via Cavour near the church of S. Francesco di Paolo, and the ruins beneath the church have been thought to belong to the nymphaeum.

Sources: *CIL* 6.1728; Richardson 1992, 271.

N 4. **Nymphaeum Iovis**

Listed by the regionary catalogues in Regio VII, probably in the southern part of the region and supplied by the Aqua Virgo.

Date: Unknown

Location: Regio VII, probably in the southern part

Archaeological Remains: Unknown

Type of Construction: Unknown

Material: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Inscription: None

Sources: Richardson 1992, 271.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Åkerström A. (1932) Lacus Curtius und seine Lagen. *ActaInstSueciae* 2: 72-83.

Amici CM. (1991) *Il Foro di Cesare,* Florence: Olschki.

Ammerman A. J. (1990) On the Origins of the Forum Romanum. *AJA* 94: 627-645.

Ammerman A. J. and Filipi D. (2004) Dal Tevere al Argelito. *BullCom* 105: 7-28.

Anderson J. C., Jr. (1984) *The Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora,* Brussels: Latomus.

Andrè J. (1949) *La vie et l'oeuvre d'Asinius Pollion* Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck.

Andreae B. (1977) *The Art of Rome,* New York: Macmillan.

Aronen J. (1989a) Giuturna e il suo culto. In: Steinby E. M. (ed) *Lacus Iuturnae I.* Rome: De Luca Edizioni d'Arte, 57-75.

Aronen J. (1989b) Iuturna, Carmenta e Mater Larum. Un rapport arcaico tra mito, calendario e topografia. *OpusculaIRF* 4: 65-88.

Aronen J. (1995a) Fons Apollinaris. *LTUR* 2: 257.

Aronen J. (1995b) Fons Lollianus, Pal(atinus?), Scaurianus. *LTUR* 2: 258-259.

Aronen J. (1995c) Fons, Delubrum. *LTUR* 2: 256-257.

Aronen J. (1995d) Fons/Fontus, ara, aedes. *LTUR* 2: 256.

Ashby T. (1904) Recent Excavations in Rome. *Classical Review* 18: 328-331.

Badian E. (1976) Lucius Sulla: The Deadly Reformer. In: Dunston A. J. (ed) *Essays on Roman Culture: The Todd Memorial Lectures.* Sarasota, FL: A. M. Hakkert Ltd., 35-74.

Bardon A. (1940) *A Venus Genetrix templom Rómában,* Budapest: Szerző.

Barnes T. (1974) The victories of Augustus. *JRS* 64: 21-26.

Bauer H. (1993) Cloaca, Cloaca Maxima. *LTUR* 1: 288-290.

Beard M., North J. and Price S. (1998) *Religions of Rome, Volume I: A History,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Becatti G. (1956) Letture Pliniane: Le opere d'arte nei monumenta Asini Pollionis e negli Horti Serviliani. *Studi in Onore di Calderini e Paribeni.* Milan: Ceschina.

Berg D. (1994) Fountains and Artistic Water Displays in Classical Antiquity: Origins and Development from 700 to 30 B.C. *Classical Studies.* The University of Texas at Austin.

Bergmann B. (1994) The Roman House as Memory Theater: The House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii. *ArtB* 76.2: 225-256.

Blake M. E. (1947) *Ancient Roman construction in Italy from the prehistoric period to Augustus,* Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution.

Boëthius A. and Ward-Perkins J. B. (1970) *Etruscan and Roman Architecture,* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Boni G. (1900) Regione VIII. Esplorazione del sacrario di Juturna. *NSc*: 291-295.

Boni G. (1901a) Il sacrario di Juturna. *NSc*: 41-144.

Boni G. (1901b) Roma, nuove scoperte nella città e nel suburbio: Il sacrario di Juturna. *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*: 41-144.

Boni G. (1903-07) Foro Romano. *Atti Congr. int. Scienze Storiche* 5: 580-582.

Borda M. (1953) *La Scuola di Pasiteles* Bari: Adriatica editrice.

Broughton T. R. S. (1951-1952) *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic,* New York: American Philological Association.

Brunt P. A. (1984) The role of the Senate in the Augustan regime. *Classical Quarterly* 34.2: 423-444.

Buchheit V. (1975) Ciceros kritik an Sulla in der rede für Roscius aus America. *Historia* 24: 587-589.

Burnett A., Amandry M. and Ripolles Alegre P. P. (1998) *Roman Provincial Coinage,* London: British Museum of Art.

Buzzetti C. (1999) Stagnum Agrippae. *LTUR* 4: 344-345.

Capodiffero A. (1993) Arcus Constantini. *LTUR* 1: 86-91.

Carettoni G. (1971-2) Terrecotte 'Campana' dello scavo del tempio di Apollo Palatino. *Rend. Pont. Acc. Arch.* 44: 122-139.

Carettoni G. (1973) Nuova serie di grandi lastri fittili 'Campana'. *Boll. d'Arte* 58: 75-87.

Carnabuci E. (2006) La nuova Forma del Foro di Augusto: considerazioni sulle destinazioni d'uso degli emicicli. In: Meneghini R and Valenzani R. S. (eds) *Forma Urbis Romae: Nuovi Frammenti di Piante Marmoree dallo Scavo dei Fori Imperiali (BComm Supplementi 15).* Rome: Bretschneider, 173-195.

Cary E. (2001) *Dionysius of Halicarnassus: The Roman Antiquities Books I-II,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Cassatella A. (1999) Venus et Roma, Aedes, Templum. *LTUR* 5: 121-123.

Champlin E. (2011) Tiberius and the Heavenly Twins. *JRS* 101: 73-99.

Chioffi L. (1996) Venus Felix, Aedes. *LTUR* 5: 116.

Ciancio Rossetto P. (1993) Consus, Ara. *LTUR* 1: 322.

Claridge A. (1998) *Rome: An Oxford Arcaheological Guide,* Oxford: Oxford University.

Clarke G. W. (1968) The Dioscuri of the Lacus Iuturnae. *Latomus* 27: 147-148.

Clarke J. R. (1991) *The Houses of Roman Italy, 100 BC-AD 250: Ritual, Space, and Decoration,* Berkeley: The University of California Press.

Coarelli F. (1976) Architettura e arti figurative in Roma: 150-50 a.C. In: Zanker P. (ed) *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien: Kolloquium in Göttingen vom 5. bis 9. Juni 1974.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 21-51.

Coarelli F. (1985b) *Il Foro Romano II. Periodo repubblicano e augusteo,* Rome: Quasar.

Coarelli F. (1993a) Appiades. *LTUR* I: 59-60.

Coarelli F. (1993b) Cloacina, Sacrum. *LTUR* I: 290-291.

Coarelli F. (1993c) Curia Hostilia. *LTUR* 1: 131-132.

Coarelli F. (1995a) Euripus. *LTUR* 2: 237-239.

Coarelli F. (1995b) Fons Cati. *LTUR* 2: 257-258.

Coarelli F. (1995c) Forum Boarium. *LTUR* 2: 295-297.

Coarelli F. (1996a) Hercules Invictus, Ara Maxima. *LTUR* 3: 15-17.

Coarelli F. (1996b) Hercules Pompeianus, Aedes. *LTUR* 3: 20-21.

Coarelli F. (1996c) Lares, Aedes. *LTUR* 3: 174-175.

Coarelli F. (1996d) Sepulcrum Romuli. *LTUR* 4: 295-296.

Coarelli F. and Crawford M. H. (1977) Public Building in Rome between the Second Punic War and Sulla. *Papers of the British School at Rome* 45: 1-23.

Cole S. G. (1984) *Theoi Megaloi: The Cult of the Great Gods at Samothrace,* Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Cole S. G. (1989) The Mysteries of Samothrace during the Roman Period. *Aufstieg und Niedergang des römischen Welt* II.18.2: 1564-1598.

Colini A. M. (1933) Notiziario di scavi, scoperte e studi intorno alle antichità di Roma e del Lazio. In: Colini A. M. (ed) *BCom 61*. 235-295.

Colini A. M. (1937a) Forum Pacis. *BCom* 65: 7-40.

Colini A. M. (1937b) Meta Sudans. *RendPontAcc* 13: 15-39.

Colonna G. (1964) Aspetti culturali della Roma primitiva: il periodo orientalizzante recente. *ArchCl* 16: 5-11.

Colonna G. (1988) I Latini e gli altri popoli del Lazio. In: Chieco Bianchi A. M. (ed) *Italia omnium terrarum alumna: La civilità dei Veneti, Reti, Liguri, Celti, Piceni, Umbri, Latini, Campani e lapigi.* Milan: Libri Scheiwiller.

Cornell T. J. (1986) Rome and Latium Vetus, 1980-85. *Archaeological Reports* 32: 123-133.

Crawford M. (1974) *Roman Republican Coinage,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crawford M. H. (1992) *The Roman Republic,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Davico A. (1955) Lavori di Restauro al Foro Romano e Palatino. *BdA* 40: 346-347.

Davies P. J. E. (2000) *Death and the Emperor: Roman Imperial Funerary Monuments from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Davies P. J. E. (2000) What Worse Than Nero, What Better Than His Baths?: 'Damnatio Memoriae' and Roman Architecture. In: Varner E. R. (ed) *From Caligula to Constantine: Tyranny and Transformation in Roman Portraiture.* Atlanta: Michael C. Carlos Museum, 27-44.

De Angeli S. (1993) Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, Aedes (Fasti tardo-Repubblicane e di età Imperiale). *LTUR* 3: 148-153.

De Ruggiero E. (1913) *Il Foro Romano,* Rome: Arpino, Società tipografica arpinate.

De Spirito G. (1995) Fons Olei. *LTUR* 2: 260.

Del Chicca F. (1997) Terminologia delle fontane pubbliche a Roma: lacus salientes, munera. *RCCM* 39.2: 231-253.

Delfino A. (2010) Le Preesistenze del Foro di Augusto. In: Meneghini R. and Santangeli Valenzani R. (eds) *Scavi del Fori Imperiali: Il Foro di Augusto, L'Area Centrale, BullComA, Suppl. 20.* Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 11-31.

Dennison W. (1908) The Roman Forum as Cicero Saw It. *The Classical Journal* 3: 318-326.

Dittenberger W. (1903) *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae,* Leipzig: Lipsiae apud S. Hirzel.

Dusanic S. and Petkovic Z. (2002) The Flamen Quirinalis at the Consualia and the Horsemen of the Lacus Curtius. *Aevum* 76: 63-75.

Edwards C. (2015) Absent Presence in Seneca's Epistles: Philosophy and Friendship. In: Bartsch S. and Schiesaro. A (eds) *The Cambridge Campion to Seneca.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 41-53.

Favro D. (1996) *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fears J. R. (1981) The Cult of Jupiter and Roman Imperial Ideology. *ANRW* 2.17.1: 3-141.

Fehrle R. (1986) *Das Bibliothekswesen im alten Roms. Voraussetzungen, Bedingungen, Anfänge,* Wiesbaden: L. Reichert.

Ficoroni F. (1744) *Le Vestigia e le Rarità di Roma Antica,* Rome: G. Mainardi.

Filipi D. (2005) Il Velabro e le origini del Foro. *Workshop di archeologia classica: Paesaggi, construzioni, reperti* 2: 93-115.

Flower H. I. (2000) The tradition of spolia opima: M. Claudius Marcellus and Augustus. *Classical Antiquity* 19: 34-64.

Frank T. (1924) *Roman Buildings of the Republic: An Attempt to Date Them from Their Materials,* Rome: American Academy in Rome.

Fraser P. (1960) *Samothrace. Excavations Conducted by the Insitute of Fine Arts of New York University. Volume 2.I. The Inscriptions on Stone,* New York: Pantheon Books.

Frazer S. J. G. (1989) *Ovid in Six Volumes: Volume V, Fasti,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Frier B. W. (1971) Sulla's Propaganda: The Collapse of the Cinnan Republic. *The American Journal of Philology* 92: 585-604.

Frisch P. (1975) *Die Inschriften von Ilion,* Bonn: Habelt.

Gabbrielli A. (2000) *La Meta Sudans: La Più Antica Fontana di Roma*. Rome: Librerie Dedalo.

Galinsky K. (1996) *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction,* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Galinsky K. (2005) *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Galinsky K. (2012) *Augustus. Introduction to the Life of an Emperor,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ganzert J. (1996) *Der Mars-Ultor-Tempel auf dem Augustusforum in Rom. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom. Sonderschriften, Band 11* Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

Ganzert J. (2007) Der Mars-Ultor-Tempel in Rom - ein Seismograph? *Antike Erdbeben im alpinen und zirkumalpinen Raum, Befunde und Probleme in archäologisher, historischer und seismologischer Sicht / Earthquakes in Antiquity in the Alpine and Circum-alpine Region. Findings and Problems from an Archaeological, Historical and Seismological Viewpoint, Interdiszplinärer Workshop, Scholoss Hohenkammer 2004, Geographica Historica Bd. 24.* Stuttgart, 23-49.

Gatti G. (1999) Saepta Iulia. *LTUR* 4: 228-229.

Gazda E. K. (2002) The Ancient Art of Emulation: Studies in Artistic Originality and Tradition from the Present to Classical Antiquity. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Geppert S. (1996) *Castor und Pollux. Untersuchungen zu den Darstellungen der Dioskuren in der römischen Kaiserzeit,* Münster: Lit.

Gianfrotta P. A., Mazzucato O. and Polia M. (1968-69) Scavo nell'area del teatro Argentina. *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica del Comune di Roma* 81: 25-36.

Gisborne M. (2005) A curia of kings: Sulla and royal imagery. In: Hekster O. and Fowler R. (eds) *Imaginary Kings: Royal Images in the Ancient Near East, Greece, and Rome.* Munich: Franz Steiner, 105-123.

Giuliani CF. (1996a) Forum Romanum (Lastricati). *LTUR* 3.

Giuliani CF. (1996b) Lacus Curtius. *LTUR* 3: 166-167.

Giuliani C. F and Verduchi P. (1987) *L'area centrale del foro romano,* Florence: Leo S. Olschki.

Gjerstad E. (1953) *Early Rome,* Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup.

Gjerstad E. (1954-1955) La stratigrafia e i più antichi materiali archeologici nella zona dell'Arco di Augusto. *BPI* 64.

Glaser F. (2000) Fountains and Nymphaea. In: Wikander Ö. (ed) *Handbook of Ancient Water Technology.* Leiden: Brill, 413-452.

Goldsworthy A. (2014) *Augustus: First Emperor of Rome,* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Gros P. (1999) Venus, Victrix, Aedes. *LTUR* 5: 120-121.

Grossi O. (1936) The Forum of Julius Caesar and the Temple of Venus Genetrix. *MemAMAc* 13: 215-220.

Gruen E. S. (1992) *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome,* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Gundel H. G. (1964) L. Ae. Paullus (Macedonicus) (22). *Der Kleine Pauly* 1: 92-93.

Haller B. (1967) C. Asinius Pollio als Politiker und zeitgenössicher Historiker, diss. Münster.

Hamiaux M. (2007) *La Victoire de Samothrace,* Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux : Musée du Louvre Éditions.

Harri L. (1989) Statuaria. In: Steinby E. M. (ed) *Lacus Iuturnae I.* Rome: De Luca Edizioni d'Arte, 177-232.

Haselberger L., Romano D. G., Dumser E. A., et al. (2002) *Mapping Augustan Rome,* Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology.

Hastrup T. (1962) Forum Iulium as a Manifestation of Power. *AnalRom* 2: 44-61.

Hekster O. and Rich J. (2006) Octavian and the Thunderbolt: The Temple of Apollo Palatinus and Roman Traditions of Temple Buiding. *CQ* 56: 149-168.

Henderson J. (1917) Seneca IV: Epistles 1-65. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hinard F. (1985) *Sylla*: Fayard.

Holloway R. (1995) The Lady of the Denarius. *NumAntCl* 24: 207-215.

Hölscher T. (2004) *The Language of Images in Roman Art,* Cambridge Cambridge University Press.

Hopkins J. N. N. (2007) The Cloaca Maxima and the Monumental Manipulation of Water in Archaic Rome. *The Waters of Rome* 4: 1-15.

Hulsen C. (1906) *The Roman Forum: Its History and its Monuments,* New York: Loescher.

Isager J. (1991) *Pliny on Art and Society: The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art,* New York: Routledge.

Kähler H. (1965) *Der Fries vom Reiterdenkmal des Aemilius Paullus in Delphi,* Berlin: Mann.

Kajava M. (1989) Le iscrizioni ritrovate nell'area del Lacus Iuturnae. In: Steinby E. M. (ed) *Lacus Iuturnae I.* Rome: De Luca Edizioni d'Arte, 34-56.

Keaveney A. (1982a) Sulla Augur. *AJAH* 7: 150-171.

Keaveney A. (1982b) *Sulla the Last Republican,* London: Croom Helm.

Keaveney A. (1983) Sulla and the Gods. *Latomus: Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 180: 44-79.

Kellum B. (1985) Sculptural programs and propaganda in Augustan Rome: the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine. In: Winkes R. (ed) *The Age of Augustus: interdisciplinary conference held at Brown University, April 30-May 2, 1982.* Providence, RI: Center for old world archaeology and art, Brown University, 169-176.

Kent R. (1993) *Varro: On the Latin Language, Books V-VII,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Klebs E. (1893) L. Aemilius Paullus *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classichen Alterunswissenschaft* 1: 576-580.

Kleiner D. E. E. (1992) New Haven: Yale University Press.

Kleiner F. (1989) Galba and the Sullan Capitolium. *AJN* 1: 71-77.

Kockel V. (1993) Forum Augustum. *LTUR* 2: 289-295.

Kuttner A. (1999) Culture and History at Pompey's Museum. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 129: 343-373.

La Regina A. (1995) Lacus Curtius. *Eutopia* 4: 233-253.

La Regina A. (1996) Lacus Servilius. *LTUR* 3: 172-173.

La Rocca E. (1994) Memorie di Castore: principe come Dioscuri. In: Nista L. (ed) *Castores. L'immagine dei Dioscuri a Roma.* Rome: De Luca, 73-90.

Labacco A. (1552) Libro appartenente a l'Architettura nel qual si figurano alcune notabili anitquità di Roma. *Architettura* 1: pl. 33.

Lanciani R. (1902-1912) *Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità,* Rome.

Lange C. (2011) The Battle of Actium: A reconsideration. *Classical Quarterly* 61.2: 608-623.

Laurence R. (1994) The urban Vicus: The spatial organization of power in the Roman city. In: Herring E., Whitehouse R. and Wilkins J. B. (eds) *Papers of the Fourth Conference of Italian Archaeology.* London: Accordia Research Centre, 145-151.

Leone R. and Margiotta A. (2007) *Fori Imperiali Demolizioni e scavi. Fotografie 1924-1940*. Milan: Mondadori Electa.

Lewis N. (1959) *Samothrace. Excavations Conducted by the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University. Volume 1. The ancient literary sources,* New York: Routledge.

Longfellow B. (2011) *Roman Imperialism and Civic Patronage: Form, Meaning, and Ideology in Monumental Fountain Complexes,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lott B. J. (2004) *The Neighborhoods of Augustan Rome,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lugli G. (1938) *I Monumenti Antichi di Roma e Suburbia. A Traverso le Regioni,* Rome: Bardi.

Lugli G. (1946) *Roman antica: Il centro monumentale,* Rome: G. Bardi.

Lugli G. (1973) *Itinerario di Roma Antica,* Rome: Bardi.

MacDonald W. L. (1986) *The Architecture of the Roman Empire. Volume II: An Urban Appraisal,* New Haven: Yale University Press.

MacDonald W. L. and Pinto J. A. (1995) *Hadrian's Villa and Its Legacy,* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Mackay C. S. (2000) Sulla and the Monuments: Studies in his Public Persona. *Zeitschrift für Alte Geschicte* 49: 161-210.

Mader G. (1993) Architecture, Aemulatio, and Elegaic Self-Definition in Propertius 3.2. *The Classical Journal* 88: 321-340.

Maiuri. (1954) *Bollettino d'Arte*: 193-199.

Mark I. (1998) The Victory of Samothrace. In: Plagia O. and Coulson W. (eds) *Regional Schools in Hellenistic Sculpture.* Oxford: Oxbow Books, 157-165.

Marlowe E. (2004) The Mutability of All Things: The Rise, Fall, and Rise of the Meta Sudans Fountain in Rome. In: Arnold D. and Ballantyne A. (eds) *Architecture as Experience: Radical Change in Spatial Practice.* London: Routledge, 36-56.

Marlowe E. (2006) Framing the Sun: The Arch of Constantine and the Roman Cityscape. *ArtB* 88: 223-242.

Martin H. G. (1987) *Römische Tempelkultbilder: eine archäologische Untersuchung zur späten Republik,* Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.

Mattingly H. (1930) *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*. London: British Museum.

Mattingly H. and Sydenham E. (1936) *Roman Imperial Coinage* Vol 4. London: Spink and Son, Ltd.

McCredie J. R. (1974) A Samothracian enigma. *Hesperia* 43: 454-459.

McCredie J. R. (1979) Samothrace: Supplementary Investigations, 1968-1977. *Hesperia* 48: 1-44.

McDonald A. H. (1970) Paullus (2) Macedonicus. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary.* 2 ed. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 791-792.

Meier C. (1982) *Caesar: A Biography,* New York: BasicBooks.

Meloni P. (1953) *Perseo e la fine della Monarchia Macedone,* Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.

Meneghini R. (2006) La nuova Forma del Foro di Augusto: tratto e imagine. In: Meneghini R. (ed) *Forma Urbis Romae: Nuovi Frammenti di Piante Marmoree dallo Scavo dei Fori Imperiali (BComm Supplementi 15).* Rome: Bretschneider, 175-191.

Meneghini R. (2009) *I Fori Imperiali e i Mercati di Traiano. Storia e descrizione dei monumenti alla luce degli studi e degli scavi recenti,* Rome: Libreria dello Stato Instituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato.

Meneghini R. and Santangeli Valenzani R. (2007) *I Fori Imperiali. Gli scavi del Comune di Roma (1991-2007),* Rome: Viviani Editore.

Meneghini R. and Santangeli Valenzani R. (2010) *Scavi dei Fori Imperiali: Il Foro di Augusto, L'Area Centrale, BullComA, Suppl. 20,* Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.

Millar F. (2002) The Roman Republic and the Augustan Revolution. In: Cotton H. M. and Rogers G. M. (eds). Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Mommsen T. (1965) Bemerkungen zum Decret des L. Aemilius Paullus. *Gesammalte Schriften von Theodor Mommsen. Historiche Schriften von Theodor Mommsen.* Berlin: Verglag Weidmann, 52-62.

Morselli C. and Tortorici E. (1989) Curia-Forum Iulium-Forum Transitorium. *LSA 14, I-II.* Rome.

Mozley J. H. (1985) *Ovid in Six Volumes. II: The Art of Love and Other Poems,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Mura Sommella A. (1993) Tabularium. *LTUR* 5: 17-20.

Murray W. M and Petsas P. M. (1989) *Octavian's Campsite Memorial for the Actian War,* Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

Nash E. (1961) *Pictorial dictionary of ancient Rome,* New York: Praeger.

Nash E. (1968) *Pictorial dictionary of ancient Rome,* New York,: Praeger.

Neudecker R. (1988) *Die Skulpturenausstattung römisher Villen in Italien* Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern.

Neuerburg N. (1965) *L'architettura delle fontane e dei ninfei nell'Italia antica,* Naples: Gaetano Macciaroli.

Nielsen I. (1993) Castor, Aedes, Templem. *LTUR* 1: 242-245.

Nielsen I. and Poulsen B. (1992) *The Temple of Castor and Pollux I. The Pre-Augustan Temple Phases with Related Decorative Elements,* Rome: Lavori e Studi di Archeologia Pubblicati dalla Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma 17.

Nielsen I., Zahle J., Nilson K. A., et al. (1985) The Temple of Castor and Pollux on the Forum Romanum. *ActaArch* 56: 1-29.

Nissen H. (1863) *Untersuchungen über di Quellen der vierten und füften Dekade des Livius,* Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchandlung.

Orlin E. M. (2002) *Temples, Religion, and Politics in the Roman Republic,* Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, Inc. .

Palagia O. (2010) The Victory of Samothrace and the Aftermath of the Battle of Pydna. In: Palagia O. and Wescoat B. (eds) *Samothracian Connections: Essays in Honor of James R. McCredie.* Oxford: Oxbow Books, 154-164.

Palladio A. (1570) Dell'Architettura. *Architettura* 4: 126-131.

Palmer R. E. A. (1975) The Neighborhood of Sullan Bellona at the Colline Gate. *MEFRA* 87: 653-665.

Palombi D. (1996) Minerva, Delubrum. *LTUR* 3: 253-254.

Panella C. (1990) La valle del Colosseo nell'antichità. *Bollettino di Archeologia* 1-2: 34-88.

Panella C. (1996a) Meta Sudans. In: Steinby E. M. (ed) *LTUR.* Rome: Electa, 247-249.

Panella C. (1996b) *Meta Sudans. Un'area sacra in Palatino e la valle del Colosseo prima e dopo Nerone,* Rome: Instituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato.

Panella C. (1998) Valle del Colosseo. Area della Meta Sudans. In: Troccoli L. D. (ed) *Scavi e richerche archeologiche dell'Università di Roma.* Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 43-51.

Panella C. (2011) Nerone e il Grande Incendio del 64 D.D. In: Tomei A. and Rea R. (eds) *Nerone.* Milan: Electa, 76-91.

Panella C. and Zeggio S. (2004) Tra Palatino e valle del Colosseo: Nuovi dati. *Workshop di archeologia classica* 1: 65-87.

Panella C., Zeggio S. and Ferrandes A. F. (2014) Lo scavo delle pendici nord-orientali del Palatino tra dati aquisiti e nuove evidenze. *Scienze dell'Antichità* 20: 159-210.

Pensabene P. (1985) Area Sud Occidentale del Palatino. In: Bietti Sestier A. M., Capodiffero A., Morganti G., et al. (eds) *Roma: Archeologica nel Centro. Vol. 6.* Rome: De Luca, 179-212.

Pensabene P. (1996) Magna Mater, Aedes. *LTUR 3*: 206-208.

Perry E. (2005) *The Aesthetics of Emulation in the Visual Arts of Ancient Rome,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Perry E. (2012) The Same, but Different: The Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Through Time. In: Wescoat B. D. and Ousterhout R. G. (eds) *Architecture of the Sacred: Space, Ritual, and Experience from Classical Greece to Byzantium.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 175-200.

Pietilä-Castrén L. (1987) *Magnificentia Publica: The Victory Monuments of the Roman Generals in the Era of the Punic Wars,* Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica.

Platner S.B. and Ashby T. (1929) *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome,* London: Oxford University Press.

Pollitt J. J. (1986) *Art in the Hellenistic Age,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Polombi D. (1996) Hercule Sullanus. *LTUR* 3: 21-22.

Pouchet J. (1967) *Recherches sur la legende Sabine des origines de Rome,* Kinshasa, Zaire.

Purcell N. (1996) Forum Romanum (The Republican Period). *LTUR* 2: 325-336.

Ramage E. S. (1991) Sulla's Propaganda. *Klio* 73: 93-121.

Raubitschek A. E. (1951) Sylleia. *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Rea R. (1993) Amphitheatrum. *LTUR* 1: 30-35.

Rebeggiani S. (2013) Reading the Republican Forum: Virgil's Aeneid, the Dioscuri, and the Battle of Lake Regillus. *Classical Philology* 108: 53-69.

Reiter W. (1988) *Aemilius Paullus: Conquerer of Greece,* London: Croom Helm.

Rheinhold M. (1933) *Marcus Agrippa,* Geneva, NY: The W. F. Humphrey Press.

Ricci C. (1932a) Il Foro di Cesare. *Capitolium* 4: 157-172.

Ricci C. (1932b) Il Foro di Cesare. *Capitolium* 8: 365-380.

Richard J. (2012) *Water for the city, Fountains for the People: Monumental Fountains in the Roman East: An Archaeological Study of Water Management. Studies in eastern Mediterranean archaeology, 9,* Turnhout: Brepols Publishers.

Richardson L. (1992) *A new topographical dictionary of ancient Rome,* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Ridgway B. S. (2000) *Hellenistic Sculpture II: The Styles of ca. 200-100 B.C.,* Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Rinaldi Tuffi S. (2002) Il Foro di Augusto in Roma: qualche riflessione. *Ostraka* 11: 177-193.

Ritter S. (1995) *Hercules in der Römischen Kunst von den Anfängen bis Augustus* Heidelberg: Verlag Archäologie und Geschichte.

Robinson O. F. (1992) *Ancient Rome: City Planning and Administration,* New York: Routledge.

Rodriguez Almeida E. (1975-6) Aggiornamento topografico dei Colli Oppio, Cispio e Viminale secondo la Forma Urbis Marmo. *RendPontAcc* 48: 263-278.

Rodriguez Almeida E. (1983) I confini interni della 'regio V' Esquiliae nella 'Forma Urbis Marmorea'. *Archeologia in Roma capital tra sterro e scavo.* Venice: Marsilio Editori, 106-115.

Rodriguez Almeida E. (1992) Camenae, Camenarum Fons et Lucus. *LTUR* 1: 216.

Roland K. G. (1993) *Varro: On the Latin Language, Books V-VII,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Rose B. (2003) The Temple of Athena at Ilion. *Studia Troica* 13: 27-88.

Rossi D. (1871) *BullArchCr* 2.2: 75-76.

Rouse W. H. D. (1966) *Lucretius: De Rerum Natura,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Santangelo M. (1941) Il Quirinale nell'antichità classica. *MemPontAcc* 5: 77-215.

Scott K. (1931) The significance of statues in precious metals. *TAPA* 62: 101-123.

Seager R. (2002) *Pompey the Great,* Malden, MA.

Sherk R. K. (1969) *Roman Documents from the Greek East,* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

Shipley F. W. (1924) *Compendium of Roman History. Res Gestae Augusti,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Shipley F. W. (1933) *Agrippa's Building Activities in Rome,* St. Louis, MO: Washington University Press.

Stambaugh J. E. (1978) The Functions of Roman Temples. *ANRW* 16: 554-608.

Stambaugh J. E. (1988) *The Ancient Roman City,* Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.

Stanley A. D. (1954) Lucius Aemilius Paullus, diss. Bryn Mawr College.

Steinby E. M. (1985) Lacus Iuturnae 1982-1983. *Roma. Archeologia nel centro.* Rome: De Luca, 73-92.

Steinby E. M. (1989a) Il frammento 18a dell Forma Urbis Romae. In: Steinby E. M. (ed) *Lacus Iuturnae I.* Rome: De Luca Edizioni d'Arte, 24-33.

Steinby E. M. (1989b) *Lacus Iuturnae I*. Rome: De Luca Edizioni d'Arte.

Steinby E. M. (1996) Lacus Iuturnae. *LTUR* 3: 168-170.

Steinby E. M. (2012) *Lacus Iuturnae II: Saggi degli Anni 1982-1985*. Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae.

Strazzulla M. J. (1990) *Il principato di Apollo. Mito e propaganda nelle lastre 'Campane' dal tempio di Apollo Palatino,* Rome.

Strong E. (1968) The administration of public buildings in Rome during the late Republic and early Empire. *BICS* 15: 97-109.

Sumi G. (2002) Spectacles and Sulla's Public Image. *Historia: Zeitscrift für Alte Geschichte* 51: 414-432.

Tea E. (1932) *Giacomo Boni: Nella Vita del suo Tempo,* Milan: Ceschina.

Tomassetti G. (1906) Il Lago Curzio nel Foro Romano. *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica del Comune di Roma* 32: 181-187.

Tortorici E. (1991) *Argiletum - Commercio, speculazione edilizia e lotta politica dall'analisi topografica di un quartiere di Roma di età repubblicana,* Rome.

Tzouvara-Souli C. (2001) The cults of Apollo in north-western Greece. In: Isager J. (ed) *Foundation and Destruction: Nicopolis and Northwestern Greece.* Athens: Danish Institute at Athens, 233-255.

Ulrich R. B. (1986a) The Appiades Fountain of the Forum Iulium. *RM* 93: 405-523.

Ulrich R. B. (1993) Julius Caesar and the Creation of the Forum Iulium. *AJA* 97: 49-80.

Ungaro L. (2007) The Memory of Antiquity. In: Ungaro L. (ed) *The Museum of the Imperial Forums in Trajan's Market.* Milan: Electa, 130-169.

Ungaro L. and Milella M. (1995) *I luoghi del consenso imperiale. Il Foro di Augusto. Il Foro di Traiano II*. Rome.

van Deman E. B. (1922) The Sullan Forum. *JRS* 12: 1-31.

Vianoli R. (1972) Carattere e tendenza della tradizione su L. Emilio Paolo. *Contributi dell"instituto di storia antica I.* 78-90.

Viscogliosi A. (1996) Hercules Custos, Aedes. *LTUR* 3: 13-14.

von Gerkan A. (1925) Die republikanische Stadtmauer Roms zwischen dem Kapitol und dem Quirinal. *RM* 40.

von Hesberg H. (1992) Publica magnificentia: Eine antiklassizistiche Intention der fruehenaugusteischen Baukunst. *JdI* 107: 125-147.

Walker S. (1979) The Architectural Development of Roman Nymphaea in Greece, diss. University of London.

Walker S. (1987) Roman Nymphaea in the Greek World. In: Macready S. and Thompson F. H. (eds) *Roman Architecture in the Greek World.* London: Thames and Hudson, 60-71.

Weinstock S. (1971) *Divus Julius,* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Wescoat B. (2003) Athens and Macedonian Royalty on Samothrace: the Pentelic Connection. In: Palagia O. and Tracy S. (eds) *Macedonia in Athens, 323-299 B.C.* Oxford: Oxbow, 102-116.

Wescoat B. (2013) Insula Sacra: Samothrace between Troy and Rome. In: Galli M. (ed) *Tripodes Religione Come Sistema di Comunicazione: Networks e Rituali nei Santuari Tradizionali Greci di Età Romana.*

Westall R. (1996) The Forum Iulium as Representation of Imperator Caesar. *RM* 103: 83-118.

Wiseman. (1995) *Remus: A Roman Myth,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zachos K. L. (2003) The tropaeum of the sea-battle of Actium at Nicopolis: interim report. *JRA* 16: 65-92.

Zanker P. (1968) *Forum Augustum. Dal Bildprogramm,* Tuebingen.

Zanker P. (1970) Das Trajansforum in Rom. *AA* 85: 499-523.

Zanker P. (1983) Der Apollotempel auf dem Palatin. *Città e architettura nella imperiale, Anal. Rom. Suppl. 10*: 21-40.

Zanker P. (1988) *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Zeggio S. (1996) L'intervento costantiniano. In: Panella C. (ed) *Meta Sudans. Un'area sacra in Palatino e la valle del Colosseo prima e dopo Nerone.* Rome: Instituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 189-196.

Zevi F. (1997) Il tempio dei Lari Permarini, la Roma degli Emilii e il mondo greco. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abeteilung* 140: 81-115.

Ziolkowski A. (1992) *The Temples of Mid-Republican Rome and their Historical and Topographical Context,* Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.