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Augustanization of Sacred Space: The Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii

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An abstract of
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Abstract

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This thesis argues for an Augustanization of the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii during the Augustan Age (27 BCE-14 CE), in which epigraphic, literary, and archaeological evidence suggest this transformation. By surveying spatial theory in the academic study of religion and specifically in Roman religion, the Sanctuary and Temple of Apollo in Pompeii are placed within a socio-political context of the Augustan Age when the *auctoritas* of art and architecture reflected Augustan values and divine associations. Through a comprehensive study of the site, local Apollo types, and a mapping of depictions of Apollo in the urban landscape of Pompeii, the refashioning of the sanctuary during the Augustan Age is argued via the *comparanda* (Augustanisms) of the Augustan Age building program in Pompeii.

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Contents

Introduction

Is a space sacred? Why is it sacred? What maintains its sacrality? What types of behaviors are enacted in a sacred space? These questions are ones that any human might pose in an interaction with a sacred space. As I will discuss, a sacred space in its simplest terms is any geographical location where humans can interact with divine beings, although this is not a strict definition of sacred space. Where understanding sacred space becomes more difficult is understanding what (or who) signals a space as sacred and under what authority a space is continuously fashioned and recognized as sacred. Answering these questions in the context of ancient Roman religion in the Augustan Age is the goal of this thesis. My attempt at completing this goal rests in my abilities to use scholarship of religious studies and classics to build a foundation upon which I can place my own theory and attempt to argue for an Augustanization of sacred space in Pompeii. By providing an analysis of theory of sacred space in the study of religion and the classical study of Roman religion, I hope to provide a sufficient starting point for my discussion of the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii and its data.

Provided here is a comprehensive study of the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii including its epigraphic and archaeological histories, a complete study which has not been done before. To better understand the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii, we must also familiarize ourselves with the Apollo types in the Mediterranean, more specifically the regions of Rome and Campania. Included in this analysis is the mapping of Apollo in the landscape of Pompeii. We will look at a map for the depictions of Apollo in wall paintings and sculpture from the urban and suburban landscape of the city of Pompeii. Such a survey of Apollo in the landscape of Pompeii has not been included in previous scholarship and appears in this thesis in its initial form. After these goals have been accomplished, we will ultimately focus on the Augustanization of the Sanctuary of Apollo during the Augustan Age (27 BCE-14CE) in Pompeii. To fulfill this attempt, we will look at the Augustanization of Apollo in Virgil's *Aeneid*, the Augustan building programs in Rome, and the Augustanisms present in Pompeii during the Augustan Age. In this attempt I present the following chapters.

Methodology and Method

In this introductory chapter on methodology and method, I will present three sections of theory which will appropriate a later discussion of Roman sacred space, cult, and Augustan Age concepts of religion, politics, and propaganda (*auctoritas*). First, I will trace the theory of a 'sacred space' in comparative world religions and the formulation of spatial theory, with a focus on the scholarship of Mircea Eliade and the spatial theory of Kim Knott (**The 'Sacred' and Spatial Theory**). The second section discusses theories of space and ritual in the field of archaeology and religion, with focus on the work of Kit Wesler and Colin Renfrew (**Archaeology, Religion, and Ritual**). The third section traces the theory of sacred space in the ancient Roman world, including a discussion of religion and the divine in ancient Roman literary sources, the work of Georges Dumézil, and recent scholarship on sacred space and architecture in Roman religion (**Space and the Sacred in Ancient Roman Religion**). The final section includes the methodology and method with which I approach the study of sacred space in the ancient Roman world and the case study of the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii to be presented in a subsequent chapter. Within each section I apply the methodology of these scholars to the archaeological evidence of the Sanctuary of Apollo in order to provide a preliminary discussion of the site before compiling its comprehensive data in Chapter 3.

I. The 'Sacred' and Spatial Theory

Eliadean

To begin the discussion of the 'sacred' and sacred spaces, we must note Eliade's approach to religious traditions in which he argues religion has undergone a 'long historical evolution,' one in which the objects of religion have a 'modality' of the sacred, representing some point in that 'historical evolution.'[1] Eliade describes the importance of these objects by emphasizing that they not only represent the 'sacred,' but also signify humanity's 'attitude' toward the 'sacred.'[2] Therefore, when looking at an object or implement which represents the 'sacred,' one must remember the 'historical situation' from whence it came, and also that it represents some form of time related to its history.[3] Eliade explains his method of approaching these objects (*hierophanies*), or manifestations of the sacred:

> The religious historian must trace not only the *history* of a given hierophany, but must first of all understand and explain the modality of the sacred that that hierophany discloses...neither the variety of sources for the evidence (coming partly from the religious elite, partly from the uneducated masses, some being the product of cultured civilizations, some of primitive societies, etc.), nor the variety of forms it takes (myths, rites, divine forms, superstitions and so on), forms any obstacle to the understanding of any hierophany.[4]

Eliade's framework for studying the hierophanies of the world religions is based on an assumption that religion is moving from a primitive form to a more evolutionized, advanced form. The physical 'forms' which the sacred takes in sacred spaces is Eliade's lasting theory within the scholarship of sacred space. While much of his theory is critiqued and set aside, his idea of the manifestation of the sacred in a physical, once profane object has proven to be useful still to scholars of sacred space.[5] Where Eliade's theory fits into the discussion of the Sanctuary

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[1] Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religions*, trans. by Rosemary Sheed (London: Sheed and Ward, 1958), 1-

[2] Ibid., 2.

[3] Ibid., 3.

[4] Ibid., 5-9.

[5] Daniel L. Pals offers three main critical points of Eliade's work and I have adopted them here for our purpose of understanding sacred space and it elements: prior assumptions, unclear concepts, and generalizations. I give these

of Apollo in Pompeii is through his idea of the physicality of the sacred through manifestation (*hierophany*)—these tangible, physical forms of the sacred. And, just as Eliade describes religion as growing from primitive to modern, sacred space, including the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii, is similar in its evolution.

Eliade's dialectic[6] of the 'sacred' and the 'profane,' defining the 'sacred' as predicated upon the *numinous* of Rudolf Otto.[7] A quotation from a later chapter in Otto's book, *Das Heilige*, reveals the ideology by which Eliade was influenced and proceeded to discuss in his later work on the 'sacred' and the 'profane':

> Religious language gives the name of 'sign' to such demonstrative actions and manifestations, in which holiness stands palpably self-revealed. From the time of the most primitive religions everything has counted as a sign that was able to arouse in man the sense of the holy, to excite the feeling of apprehended sanctity, and stimulate it into open activity.[8]

Eliade's focus is not on the definition of the 'sacred' itself, because according to Otto the 'sacred' is ineffable; however, as a phenomenologist[9], Eliade identifies the 'sacred' as a concept

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critiques of Eliade's work because in continuing our discussion of Eliade's theory, we can note his prior assumptions, elusivity of concept, and generalizations.

[6] The relationship between the 'sacred' and the 'profane' is sometimes referred to by scholars as a 'dichotomy' or a 'dialectic.' Here, I choose to use the term 'dialectic' in order to signal the conversation between the two modalities, instead of creating a barren middle space between them by using the term 'dichotomy.'

[7] Otto describes this nature of *numinous* using three other terms: *mysterium tremendum*, 'wholly other,' and *mysterium fascinans*. These further describe the nature of the 'sacred,' or *numinous*, as inspiring feelings of fear/awe and fascination. See Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 6-7; 12; 25; 35.

[8] Ibid., 143.

[9] The phenomenology of religion is an approach which aims to understand the 'sacred' from the viewpoint of an adherent of a certain religion, and places the 'sacred' outside the metaphysical questions of the existence of a 'sacred' or divine. See Sumner B. Twiss and Walter H. Conser Jr., Introduction to *Experience of the Sacred: Readings in the Phenomenology of Religion* (Providence: Brown U Press, 1992), 1-74, for four 'voices' of phenomenology of religion, specifically Rudolf Otto in the first voice ('Essential'), pp. 7-24, and van der Leeuw and Eliade in the second voice ('Historical-Typological'), pp. 24-44.

that is ‘supernatural’ and ‘eternal.’[10] His idea of the ‘profane’ in its simplest terms is that which is opposite of the ‘sacred.’[11] Eliade argues that something ‘profane’ can become ‘sacred’ if the ‘sacred’ manifests itself in a ‘profane’ object. If this occurs, the ‘profane’ object becomes ‘sacred’ and is no longer recognizable as a ‘profane’ object, or as an object itself, but as a manifestation of the ‘sacred,’ a *hierophany*.[12]

What is more important to Eliade’s theory are the manifestations of the sacred and how they are revealed across religions. The physical forms of the sacred, which simultaneously represent the visual appearance and the sacrality of the sacred, ignite the cognitive process of realization during human encounters. A human who encounters a *hierophany* at once sees a physicality given to the sacred through its manifestation, but is also engaged in a transcendent moment with the awe, fear, and power of the divine.

Applied to the Sanctuary of Apollo, the theory of a *hierophany* is exemplified through a bronze statue of Apollo in the courtyard (to the right of letter ‘B’ in **Fig. 1**) Eliade would notice this bronze statue of Apollo as an archer from the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii as a powerful, divine symbol. A bow for hunting is simply a tool for that activity; however, when placed in the context of sacred space and with the deity holding a bow in his hands, the viewer is drawn in to think of the power of the bow and Apollo’s wielding of that power. This use of symbol in a

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[10] Daniel L. Pals, *Eight Theories of Religion*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford U Press, 2006), 199.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Presenting this dialectic of sacred-profane before Eliade, Durkheim describes the idea that the ‘sacred’ expresses, forms, and controls the needs of a community, a social group, and the ‘profane’ is the needs of the individual differs from the phenomenological methodology of Eliade, in which Eliade argues the inherent sacredness of the ‘sacred,’ ignoring any relationship with society. See Pals, *Eight Theories of Religion*, 95-96; 199, for the differences in Durkheim and Eliade’s theory of this dialectic.

sacred context denotes power, a *hierophany* placed before the Temple of Apollo, the altar, and in the midst of his sanctuary.

By adding a socio-political lens, we can see a power wielding symbol of Augustus as well. Across from the bronze Apollo in the courtyard is a bronze Diana also as an archer. The placement of these two statues across the courtyard suggests a reference to the mythical story of the killing of the Niobids by Apollo and Diana, and since Augustus identifies with Apollo, the bronze statue represents a religious message of *pietas*, enacted through imperial authority (*auctoritas*). A similar situation occurs on the frieze of the Forum Transitorium in Rome, begun by Domitian and dedicated in 97/98 CE by Nerva. The frieze depicts the punishment of Arachne by Minerva, another representation of the message of *pietas*, and because the message is given in an imperial sacred space, the *auctoritas* of the imagery is directly related to the emperor.[13] The frieze is located along the side wall (the so-called 'Le Colonnacce') of the Forum Transitorium just before the Temple of Minerva at the end of the forum. A visitor to the forum would walk past this and other possible scenes denoting *pietas* before reaching the Temple of Minerva at the end of the forum, possibly igniting a feeling of fear of the gods' wrath when humans are impious towards them. This is similar to the function of the bronzes of Apollo and Diana in the courtyard of the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii, walking between the physical manifestations of Apollo and Diana in bronze before reaching the altar and Temple of Apollo.

In discussing sacred space further, Eliade claims that *all* sacred spaces are, "...clearly marked space[s] which makes it possible to communicate with the sacred."[14] This generalization

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[13] Eve D'Ambra, *Private Lives, Imperial Virtues: The Frieze of the Forum Transitorium in Rome* (Princeton: Princeton U Press, 1993), 51.

[14] Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, 368.

that all sacred spaces are demarcated and are places of communication might be agreeable to a theory of sacred space in its simplest terms, and because of Eliade's definition of a sacred space, this generalization is mandatory for his theory. Authors such as Wendy Doniger have suggested that these similarities of spaces are better defined as cross-cultural patterns, meaning they occur in more than one culture but are not universal to all cultures. As a pro-Eliadean and a comparativist, Doniger gives a great summation of the study of religion without some form of comparativism:

> Otherwise, no conversation can take place at all, and we find ourselves trapped in the self-reflexive garden of a deconstructed Wonderland, forever meeting ourselves walking back through the cultural door we were trying to escape from.[15]

In the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii, the inclusion of the Apollo within a clearly defined space beside the forum denotes the appropriation of space to allow for communication with the deity. Eliade's theory of a clear demarcation of these spaces is supported by the early precinct *temenos* walls excavated by Maiuri and the later high precinct walls from the 2nd century BCE and the Augustan Age. A clear demarcation by these walled structures allows a visitor to the sanctuary to see the included space as sacred, and denotes a movement from the outlying profane space into a space of sacrality. The marble basins near the southern entrance to the sanctuary allowed for purification of the visitor upon entrance into the sacred space and the colonnade surrounding the inner sanctuary provided an inner liminal space, still sacred, but outside the central sacred structures of the altar and temple.

Eliade's focus in the discussion of sacred space and sacred time is the representation of the cosmogony in a sacred space. Eliade notes that the layout and structure of temples and cities

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[15] Wendy Doniger, "Minimyths and Maximyths and Political Points of View," in *Myth and Method*, eds. Wendy Doniger and Laurie Patton (Charlottesville: U Press of Virginia, 1996), 111.

are based upon celestial archetypes.[16] This cosmological approach to the structure and founding of temples is interesting in theory. Placed within Roman religion, Barbara Kellum briefly discusses the idea of temples and astrology, cosmological signs/symbols, in her article on the Temple of Concordia in Rome.[17] She suggests a purposeful placement of sculpture within the Temple of Concordia to signal or symbolize the order of the cosmos, represented by Roman gods and goddesses. Eliade's use of a cosmological approach for sacred space is applied directly to the construction of a space in a sacred context, with the construction of the space and its evolution representing a repetition of a cosmogony. For the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii, Eliade might suggest that the form of the sanctuary itself, with an outlying precinct wall, inner colonnade, central altar and temple, is based upon a celestial archetype—the ordering of the cosmos in physical, sacred form. The inclusion of the divine within this ordered, physical cosmos would simultaneously allow for the veneration of Apollo in his sanctuary in Pompeii, while also bringing to mind the celestial nature of the deity in his divine form.

Similar to the structural representation of cosmological time, ritual processes in Rome signified Rome's cosmological time of existence, putting emphasis on ages (*saecula*). The importance of ages is exemplified in Rome's *ludi Saeculares*, which were games celebrated during the end/beginning of *saecula*. Lucan notes that the *saecula* before the reign of Augustus, during the time of civil war and unrest, was the age of the sun (later connected with the age of Apollo, with the victorious Augustus bringing peace and coming forth as the Roman Apollo of

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[16] Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return* (Princeton: Princeton U Press, 2005), 6-8. See Babylonian cities and constellations discussion, 7-8.

[17] Barbara A. Kellum, "The City Adorned: Programmatic Display at the Aedes Concordiae Augustae," in *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate* (Berkeley: U of California Press, 1990): 276-307.

the new, golden age).[18] Augustus placed a special value on the representation of a new age with the institution of the *ludi Saeculares*, a celebration of *saecula* through ritual processes of games, sacrifices, and performances; the *ludi Apollinares*, which were of high importance during the Augustan Age in Rome and Pompeii further display the ritual processes set within the context of a specific time of year (6-13 July). The celebration of Apollo during the games would have given heightened importance to Apollo's sanctuary in Pompeii during this time of year and the rituals enacted during the *ludi Apollinares* would have further emphasized the symbols of power in the Sanctuary of Apollo as well.

Knottean

Knott approaches spatial theory as a cross-disciplinary action in which religion scholars, "...[are] offered a potentially useful analytical approach to material, ideological, and social forms of religion and their embeddedness in a broader network of social and cultural relations."[19] And so, by presenting Knott's recent methodology of spatial theory, we can complete this first section on spatial theory with a clearly developed methodology with which to approach sacred spaces. Proceeding with Knott's spatial theory, I must include that her inspiration and structure of a spatial theory comes from the work of Henri Lefebvre in *The Production of Space* (1974). Knott borrows Lefebvre's 'spatial triad,' as she terms it, to lay the foundation for understanding a space, what it encompasses, its purposes, and its interactions with other spaces, humanity, and objects. Lefebvre's 'spatial triad' is as follows:

1) *representations of space*

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[18] Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return,* 133-137.

[19] Kim Knott, *The Location of Religion: A Spatial Analysis* (London: Equinox, 2005), 13.

2) *spaces of representations*
3) *spatial practice*

These are distinguished by Lefebvre individually, and Knott's analysis of this 'spatial triad' is succinct and appropriate here. The *first* point of the triad represents "...those dominant, theoretical, often technical, representations of lived space."[20] These types of spaces are 'constructed' by 'planners, architects, engineers.' These spaces include 'monuments' and 'office blocks.' The important function of these 'representations of space' is their role as symbols of 'ideology, knowledge, and power.' The *second* point of the 'spatial triad' represents, "Space as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'...This is the dominated---and hence passively experienced---space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects."[21] This point of the 'spatial triad' is less straightforward than the other two points presented. These 'spaces of representation' are not 'conceived' space like the first point above, but are 'lived' because of the 'intervention of culture.' These spaces are 'lived' and real because they transform spaces into spaces of symbolic function. Knott gives Lefebvre's example of a medieval 'village church, graveyard, and belfry' as 'spaces of representation' because they are 'lived' spaces, yet they carry a symbolic function as representative of 'cosmological' entities. The *third* and final point of the 'spatial triad' represents, "...the ways people generate, use, and *perceive* space."[22] This 'spatial practice' is described as everyday life, or the 'commonsense'

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[20] Ibid., 36.

[21] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (New York: Wiley, 1991), 39, quoted in Knott, *The Location of Religion: A Spatial Analysis*, 37.

[22] Knott, *The Location of Religion: A Spatial Analysis*, 39.

activities and tasks people complete on a daily basis. Knott suggests that these tasks are not necessarily religious, unless placed in the context of a 'religiously meaningful space,' or enacted within or as a ritual process.

Here we can ask ourselves a preliminary question: *Does sacred space enable ritual activity or do ritual practices enable space as sacred?* For the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii, the space can act as a 'space of representation' because the symbols and structures of the space are representative of a divine force, the god Apollo. The Temple of Apollo acts as a functional space to house the cult statue, but it also represents Apollo's sacrality on earth, his earthly dwelling; and, through ritual activity, the Sanctuary and Temple of Apollo become spaces of 'spatial practice,' the third point of Lefebvre's spatial triad.

Knott includes Belden C. Lane's idea, which she notes is influenced by J. Z. Smith, that "...seeing the process of sacralisation as one in which people form significant places through narratives of association, relationship, and memory," is a movement away from how Eliade approached sacred space in his earlier works. For Smith and Lane, Eiade included only the spaces of 'exotic' and 'unreal' origin, while both scholars argue that ordinary spaces are capable of 'holy.'[23] This is an important post-Eliadean idea that moves Eliade's original theory of sacred space into more modern theory and critique.

Knott summarizes the concepts used to formulate a methodology of spatial theory in six statements:

> 1) 'foundational nature of the body for the perception, conception, and production of space (including sacred space)[24]

[23] Ibid., 96.

[24] Ibid., 127. Here, Knott refers to the Kantian notion that the body is the way in which we orient ourselves [Ch. 1, pp.. 15-20].

2) 'space is multi-dimensional, being physical, mental, and social, and that there is an intrinsic connection between social relations and space'[25]
3) 'the properties of relational space, of configuration, simultaneity, extension, and power'[26]
4) 'space was seen to be practised, thought, and sensed, but not in a merely passive way'[27]
5) 'dimensions, properties, and activities, 'space' was recognized also to be socially constructed'[28]
6) 'active potential of space and place'[29]

These six concepts can be applied to our case study, the Sanctuary and Temple of Apollo in Pompeii. The Kantian notion of the body as a compass-like tool to orient ourselves in a space is relevant in the Sanctuary of Apollo through the consciousness of physicality when walking into the Sanctuary of Apollo. The physical body enters the space in an outlying sacred area, the colonnade, before entering into a more sacred area of the altar and Temple of Apollo. While the physical structures of the space denote this hierarchy of sacrality, the human mind is also arranging these spaces into a hierarchical structure based on symbolic representation through art and architecture. In correlation with the first point, the second concept of spatial theory notes the relationships within a space through the hierarchical structure of the space itself. The third and fourth points are enacted in the Sanctuary of Apollo through the 'sensing' of the space and its properties. The sensing of the hierarchy of space and the simultaneous nature of a divine, celestial archetype and a physical, earthly representation are felt in the sacred space of the

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[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., 128.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid., 129. For a compact chart of these issues, see Table 1, The Terms of a Spatial Analysis, 128.

Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii. The fifth and sixth points of spatial theory relate to the social relations of the space and its position and placement in the city. Since the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii was one of the first sites in Pompeii, the outlying profane space began to encompass the sanctuary as the city developed. Two later dates of mediation of sacred and profane space occurred when the forum was formalized in the second century BCE, desacralizing space of the eastern side of the Sanctuary of Apollo for the construction of the forum colonnade, and in the late first century BCE when profane space was made sacred through the building of the western precinct wall of the Sanctuary of Apollo. These six concepts applied to the sacred space of the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii allow us to view the space in a wider lens, noting psychological, social, and anthropological relationships within the sacred space and with the surrounding profane areas of the city of Pompeii.

Knott defines ‘spatial methods’ as:

> “...those methods, tools and analytical strategies that can be used to approach data on religion (and other comparable ideological and practical systems) from the perspective of space, place or geography, and that foreground spatial location, positioning, relationships, distribution, diffusion, scale, movement, or the properties, characteristics and types of space. As a secondary feature, spatial methods may be designed to be attentive to or enable the study of contestation and struggles in and for space, the production and reproduction of space (including sacred space), and the use and representation of space.”[30]

These spatial methods give a scholarly approach at studying sacred space, and several aspects of these spatial methods will be applied in my own study of sacred space in ancient Roman religion. Knott’s identification within this definition of spatial methods of non-physical entities, i. e., relationships and contestation of spaces as noted above, to be analyzed is a post-Eliadean

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[30] Kim Knott, “Spatial Methods,” in *The Routledge Handbook of Research Methods in the Study of Religion*, eds. Michael Stausberg and Steven Engler (New York: Routledge, 2011), 492.

approach at sacred space and allows for a socio-historical context of meaning to be placed within a sacred space.

One important approach to spatial theory that Knott discusses is the method of 'mapping religion.' Knott says that this is a broad topic, but includes "the study and representation of religion(s) in a bounded space, such as a locality, region, nation or continent, or in movements across space."[31] 'Mapping' can mean physically mapping a religion in a specific location or it can serve as a metaphorical 'mapping' for understanding the relationships between people, place, religion, and other factors such as economy and politics as J. Z. Smith uses 'mapping.'[32] Smith's states his approach at understanding religion through mapping as, "...the variety of attempts to map, construct and inhabit such positions of power through the use of myths, rituals and experiences of transformation."[33] Smith presents three cosmological maps of religion: locative[34], utopian[35], and 'another.'[36] He identifies the locative map of the cosmos as including the Eliadean concepts of the temple as 'Center,' 'repetition in ritual,' and 'ritual as reenactment of divine activities.' Knott also notes that a scholar of 'mapping,' Tuomas Martikainen, has suggested that 'mapping religion' is a 'horizontal' approach, using quantitative data to place a religion within a

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[31] Ibid., 493.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Jonathan Z. Smith, *Map is Not Territory* (Chicago: U Chicago Press, 1978), 291.

[34] "...the organizer of such a world, an imperial figure. It is a map of the world which guarantees meaning and value through structures of congruity and conformity." (Smith, *Map is Not Territory*, 292).

[35] "...which perceives terror and confinement in interconnection, correspondence and repetition," in which, "...man turns in rebellion and flight to a new world and a new mode of creation." (Smith, *Map is Not Territory*, 309).

[36] "...that they neither deny nor flee from disjunction, but allow the incongruous elements to stand. They suggest that symbolism, myth, ritual, repetition, transcendence are all incapable of overcoming disjunction. They seek, rather, to play between incongruities and to provide an occasion for thought." (Smith, *Map is Not Territory*, 309).

specific geographical context, while 'spatial analysis' is a 'vertical' approach, providing an opportunity to use analytical methods to interpret the relationships of a space and its surroundings.[37]

However, while 'mapping' religion can be a useful method by which to collect data, we cannot rely exclusively on this quantitative method for analysis of sacred space alone. For example, scholars such as Roger Stump have attempted to use the geography of religion to identify 'categories' of sacred space, into which certain spaces are placed bases on their type of 'religious significance.'[38] Although he presents seven categories[39] and allows for overlapping among them, this pushing of sacred spaces into categories can narrow our view of the function of sacred space within its social, cultural, and political context. But, for the case study of the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii, mapping is helpful in placing the sanctuary within the city and allowing for a survey of the landscape in which Apollo is already firmly planted even before the Augustan Age. Through the mapping of depictions of Apollo from across the city of Pompeii, we can analyze the relationship of Apollo with Pompeii and hypothesize the type of Apollo depicted and venerated at Pompeii.

II. Archaeology, Religion, and Ritual

Archaeology of Religion

[37] Knott, "Spatial Methods," 498.

[38] Roger Stump, *The Geography of Religion: Faith, Place, and Space* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008), 302-304.

[39] Stump's seven categories of sacred space: cosmological, theocentric, hierophanic, historical, hierenergetic, authoritative, and ritual. A concise chart explaining these seven categories can be found in Stump, *The Geography of Religion*, 302, Table 5.1.

In *An Archaeology of Religion*, Wesler gives several definitions of religion from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, I choose here to provide definition 3a from the *OED*:

> "Action or conduct indicating a belief in, reverence for, and desire to please, a divine ruling power; the exercise or practice of rites or observances implying this."[40]

This is the same definition of religion that Renfrew discusses in his chapter in *The Archaeology of Ritual*, although Wesler points out that Renfrew omits the last part of the definition concerning 'the exercise or practice of rites or observances observing this.'[41] The importance of this definition will be apparent when discussing Renfrew's application of a definition of 'religion.' But first, breaking down the above definition of 'religion' will give us a clear understanding of the approach this definition takes.

The first part of the definition implies that 'religion' is defined by 'action or conduct.' If 'religion' is an 'action,' then we are not talking about a stagnant substance. 'Action' implies that something is *done*, that humans partake in physical, mental, emotional actions. So, this 'action' of doing something is paired with the idea that the 'action or conduct' is *done* with a purpose in mind. This purpose is a *feeling* or *emotion*. This is the inexplicable aspect of 'religion,' but it is also revealed. While we cannot compile a list of emotional responses from the ancient Romans, we can see these emotional responses as revealed in ritual, space, and archaeological evidence. The *feelings* or *emotions* with which someone completes an 'action' is in identifying with a supernatural force. This definition hints at a monotheistic approach to 'religion,' stating that a 'divine ruling power' is the receiver of these *feelings* or *emotions*. While this 'divine ruling

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[40] Kit W. Wesler *An Archaeology of Religion* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2012), 2.

[41] Ibid., 11.

power' could be more than a singular entity, we must be careful not to make a definition of 'religion' monotheistic in nature.

The second part of this definition is important for the archeology of religion and ritual. The first part of the definition is 'known' or predicated upon the evidence of these 'actions' being *done*. This is where the importance of archaeological evidence comes into play. From this evidence, we can interpret the 'exercise or practice of rites or observances.' From this wording, we can also infer things being *done*, through 'exercise or practice.' This is the ritual of 'rites and observances.' Through archaeological evidence, we can interpret and analyze ritual having been *done* by a 'religious' observer. This definition, although short, reveals a great deal about how scholars have interpreted 'religion' and its definition. Wesler also brings up three important details in his discussion of theory and method. He notes Eliade's contributions to the study of religion, along with others, on Eliade's theory of humans' religious experience as 'a genuinely experienced phenomenon.'[42] This is an important acknowledgement because it reveals that Eliade's theory of the 'sacred' and sacred space, although outdated, are foundational and important to the study of sacred space in religion.

Wesler also points out that Edmund Leach's idea of ritual dimensions is important to the study of ritual. Leach's idea that, "any ritual activity has visual, verbal, spatial, and temporal dimensions; in addition to noise, smell, taste, and touch may all be relevant," will be important in our discussion of ancient Roman sacred space and the elements of ritual taken place within these spaces.[43] In the Sanctuary of Apollo, we can think of the sounds of the bustling forum, the sight

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[42] Ibid., 5.

[43] Ibid., 12.

of sculptures in the courtyard, and the purifying of oneself with water upon entering the sacred space as examples of the dimensions stated by Leach above.

Archaeology of Ritual

Colin Renfrew notes a religious space as “location of high devotional expression.” He also states that because of a lack of evidence for specific beliefs, we can better explain the happenings within a space of ritual as *behavior* rather than belief.[44] He gives the definitions of religion by Durkheim and Geertz, but notes their inability to address or to sidestep the role of the supernatural within religion, while he does notes that Otto addresses the supernatural in *Das Heilige*. He presents Melford Spiro’s definition of religion as, “an institution consisting of culturally patterned interaction with culturally postulated superhuman beings,” stating that “religion is a matter of feeling as well as reason.”[45] Renfrew presents four main points of religious ritual in sacred ritual:

1. Attention focusing (range of ritual, including secular)
2. special aspects of the liminal zone (sacred/transcendent)
3. presence of the transcendent and its symbolic focus (sacred/transcendent)
4. participation and offering (range of ritual, including secular)[46]

Renfrew’s first point here about the ‘attention focusing’ aspect of ritual is similar to Jonathan Z. Smith’s definition of ritual:

> Ritual is, first and foremost, a mode of paying attention. It is a process for marking interest. It is the recognition of this fundamental characteristic of ritual that most sharply distinguishes our understanding from that of the Reformers,

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[44] Colin Renfrew, “The Archaeology of Ritual, of Cult, and of Religion,” in *The Archaeology of Ritual* (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, UCLA, 2007), 112.

[45] Ibid., 113-114.

[46] Ibid., 115.

> with their all too easy equation of ritual with blind and thoughtless habits. It is this characteristic, as well, that explains the role of place as a fundamental component of ritual: place directs attention.[47]

The 'attention focusing' aspect of ritual goes hand in hand with the form, function, and layout of the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii. Performing a ritual, such as a sacrifice, in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii relates back to the consciousness of mind in the sacred space, the association of a physicality to a divine form. If sacrificing at the altar of Apollo in the midst of the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii, one would be surrounded by images of the gods, including Venus, Apollo, Diana, and Mercury, but would also be surrounded by onlookers in the courtyard and colonnade of the sanctuary; but, most importantly, with the *cella* doors of the temple open and the cult statue of Apollo looking on as one sacrifices at the altar is an 'attention focusing' of two means, one from the earthly realm to the divine and vice versa. The function of ritual as a means of 'attention focusing' encompasses the entire structure, function, and meaning of the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii as a sacred space.

Archaeology of Ritual and Religion: Rome

Richard Hingley notes that the 'dichotomy' of 'religious' and 'non-religious' was not an idea that the Romans used because the religion of the Romans was deeply intertwined into everyday activities.[48] He states that the evidence of cult activity from Roman religion gives researchers the ability to understand religion from all classes of society, noting that many of the

[47] Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: U of Chicago Press), 103.

[48] Richard Hingley, "Rome: Imperial and Local Religions," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion* (Oxford: Oxford U Press, 2011), 747.

early writings on Roman religion were of the elite.[49] Archaeological evidence of cult activity transgresses the various classes of society, allowing small, terracotta votives given by someone of a lower class to be analyzed in the same manner as a life-size bronze statue dedicated by a member of the equestrian class.

Hingley acknowledges the complexities of Roman religion by quoting Denis Feeney, who said Roman religion was "...a range of cultural practices, interacting, competing, and defining each other in the process."[50] These practices are seen by Letizia Ceccarelli as making Roman religion a 'ritualistic religion, where rituals and sacrifices aimed to maintain order between state and its gods..."[51] Already we can see how Roman religion is different from many of the religions that the scholars above have used in their theories. It is for this reason that the next section will discuss ancient Roman sacred space from the point of view of classicists, archaeologists, and ancient Roman authors so that we might better understand Roman religion and how space functions within this complex system.

III. Space and the Sacred in Ancient Roman Religion

Ancient Sources

The following ancient sources trace ancient author's thoughts about Roman religion from the mid-second century BCE to the second half of the first century CE (150 BCE-65 CE). The

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[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Letizia Ceccarelli, "The Role of Votive Objects in Roman Religious Practices Between the Fourth and Second Centuries BC," in *Cult in Context: Reconsidering Ritual in Archaeology*, eds. David A. Barrowclough and Caroline Malone (Oxford: Oxbow, 2007), 322.

earliest writing discussed here is the work of Polybius, who was a Greek historian who lived in Rome during the last half of his lifetime (200-118? BCE). Polybius addresses the political aspect of Roman religion and its affect on the 'masses' of common people:

> Religious matters are dramatized and introduced into their [Romans] public and private life to such an extent that nothing could exceed them in importance...My own opinion is that they have adopted these practices for the sake of the common people...since every mass of people is fickle, and full of lawless desires, irrational passion, and violent anger, it is essential that they be controlled by invisible terrors and suchlike pageantry.[52]

This is an early statement on the political nature of religion in Rome. Writing around two thousand years later, the sociologist Karl Marx would describe religion along these same lines: "Religion is the opium of the people [masses]."[53] Therefore, although Roman religion dates to thousands of years ago, we can interpret some of its features in the same manner that we do so today.

Marcus Tullius Cicero, the author and orator, describes many facets of Roman religion, tracing ritual and reverence back to the founding of Rome. In his major work on religion, *On the Nature of the Gods* [*De Natura Deorum*], he gives a bold statement in the opening chapter of the work: "We Romans are far superior in *religio*, by which I mean, the worship (*cultus*) of the gods."[54] Already, Cicero shows his bias as a Roman author, but it is through Cicero that we know much of the practices and rites of Roman religion and earlier Etruscan religion. Cicero

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[52] Polybius, 6.56.6-12.

[53] Karl Marx, introduction to *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* (Cambridge: Cambridge U Press, 1970). Introduction originally published as *Zur Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie in Deutsch–Französische Jahrbücher* (Paris: 7 February 1844).

[54] Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods*, 2.8. All translations are those of the Loeb Classical Library and Oxford Classical Texts, edited by Valerie M. Warrior in *Roman Religion: A Sourcebook* (Newburyport, Ma: Focus, 2002).

describes the tripartite division of religious practices that exists in Roman religion, but also explains their historical meaning and importance in Rome, having been *done* since the beginning of Rome:

> The whole religious practice (*religio*) of the Roman people is divided into ritual (*sacra*) and auspices (*auspica*). A third category is added, consisting of whatever prophetic warnings the interpreters of the Sibylline books or the *haruspices* have derived from portents and prodigies. I have always thought that none of these areas of religion was to be despised, since I am convinced that Romulus by his auspices and Numa by his establishment of ritual laid the foundations of our state which assuredly could never have been as great as it is had we not maintained the fullest measure of divine favor.[55]

Cicero even places the origin of success of the Romans in the hands of the gods:

> We owe the creation, increase and retention of our empire to the will of the gods...We have excelled every race and nation in (*pietas*), devotion to religion (*religio*), and in that singular wisdom which recognizes that everything is ruled and controlled by the will of the gods.[56]

In this quotation, Cicero identifies one of the most important Roman values, *pietas*.[57] As seen previously, *pietas* in Roman religion is an important concept for religious sacrality and is often represented figuratively or physically within sacred spaces.

Writing after the Augustan Age, Seneca the Younger (4 BCE-65 CE), discusses the ‘religious awe’ of Roman religion when describing the natural spaces which are sacred to the gods:

> ...in the midst of open space will create in you a feeling of the divine (*numen*)...then your mind will be aroused by a feeling of religious awe (*religio*).[58]

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[55] Ibid., 3.5.

[56] Cicero, *On the Reply of the Haruspices*, 19.

[57] Along with mens (mind), virtus (virtue), and fides (faith) as noted by Cicero as “...those qualities through which men [sic] may gain access to heaven,” in *On the Laws*, 2.19.

In this quotation, we find the term, *numen*, the term from which Rudolf Otto based his term, *numinous*, which we discussed in the first section above. This idea of the 'divine' or *numen* is an important term in the discussion of sacred space in the ancient Roman world. Sometimes, this word is used as an identifier in literature to note a space or figure having qualities of a *numen*.

The Nature of Roman Religion: *Georges Dumézil*

Dumézil denotes a dichotomy of spaces in Roman religion as *sacer* and *profanum*.[59] *Sacer* is "that which is reserved and kept apart for the gods, whether by nature or human agency."[60] *Profanum* is therefore the opposite of *sacer*, meaning that which is not reserved for the gods, and is thus reserved for humans. These spaces, according to Dumézil are open, shared, closed, demarcated, domesticated, and wild:

> If there is no clearly marked boundary on the earth's surface between the wild world and the domesticated world, with the latter constantly encroaching on the former; if there is likewise no clear demarcation between the earth's surface and the sky, between men and the *di superi* to whom the smoke of the altars constantly bears the offerings of men, the situation is otherwise between the earth's surface and the nether world.[61]

Dumézil notes that the divine protection of places was important to the Romans, along with the sacrality of time. Dumézil gives a two-part structure to sacred places in Roman religion.

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58 Seneca the Younger, *Letters* 41.3.

59 In the Foreword, Mircea Eliade notes that Dumézil does not use Max Muller's philological (etymological) method, but a historical method. Dumézil compares historically related socio-religious phenomena, and eventually proves that the similarities point to an original system and not to a casual survival of heterogeneous elements (Dumézil, Foreward, xii).

60 Georges Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, vol. 1 (Chicago: U of Chicago Press, 1970), 130.

61 Ibid., 350-351.

He separates sacred spaces into two categories: one in which humans 'feel themselves', protected by the Lares; one in which humans 'do not feel at home', protected by various gods.[62] Although these places are separated simply into two categories, Dumézil notes that the Lares are worshipped not only in a domestic context, although that is their most popular place; they are also revered at crossroads, in fields, districts of the city, and other lands. It can be said that for the Romans, all space was sacred in one manner or another. The battlefields sacred to Mars, the sea to Neptune, groves to Diana or Bacchus, cities to Minerva, and all places in between were protected by a type of Lares. Dumézil even points out that Rome itself was protected by a group of Lares known as the *Lares Praestites*. This group of Lares protected the "ground of the city as it is occupied and utilized by the inhabitants."[63]

Sacred Groves

Next, I wish to discuss the places of the divine (*numen*) in the Roman world: sacred groves, sanctuaries, and temples. Sacred groves (*luci*) in their original state were not always bounded by some sort of boundary markers. Many Greek myths describe groves sacred to deities without mentioning any form of boundary markers of signs of demarcation. One such grove is described in Virgil's *Aeneid*, Book 7:

> The king, troubled by the portents, goes to visit the oracle of Faunus, his prophet father, and consults the groves beneath lofty Albunea - greatest of forests, resounding, with its holy cascade and exhaling its deadly vapour from the darkness.[64]

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[62] Ibid., 341.

[63] Ibid., 344.

[64] Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.81-90. Loeb Classical Library.

This grove (*lucus*) is described by Virgil as 'holy,' one that resembles the groves described by Seneca the Younger, the last part of which was used above to describe the *numen*:

> If you have ever come upon a grove that is thick with ancient trees which rise far above their usual height and block off the view of the sky with their cover of intertwining branches, then the loftiness of the forest and the seclusion of the spot and your wonder at the unbroken shade in the midst of open space will create in you a feeling of the divine (*numen*).[65]

These groves were the earliest forms of sacred space, the natural expansive spaces sacred to a specific deity.[66] In Pompeii, a sacred grove (*lucus*) was located in Region VII, Insula 5, to the north of the Sanctuary of Apollo, in the city's early history. Stefano De Caro suggests this location for a sacred grove because of the Etruscan style column found within a wall of the House of the Etruscan Column (VI, 5, 17), citing its importance by its survival within the walls of the later house.[67] It is even possible that the early form of the Sanctuary of Apollo resembled an urban sacred grove rather than a formalized sanctuary because of the evidence of numerous plantings found from the pre-2nd century form of the sanctuary before the major precinct walls were constructed.[68]

Sanctuaries and Temples

The sacred grove then began to incorporate architectural structures to house early cult statues and for other functional purposes, such as storage and sacrificial purposes. Here we see

[65] Seneca the Younger, *Letters* 41.3.

[66] G. J. Wightman, *Sacred Spaces: Religious Architecture in the Ancient World* (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 326-338.

[67] Stefano De Caro, "The first sanctuaries," in *The World of Pompeii*, trans. Maureen B. Fant, eds. John J. Dobbins and Pedar W. Foss (London: Routledge, 2007), 74-75.

[68] Alastair M. Small, "Urban, Suburban, and Rural Religion in the Roman Period," in *The World of Pompeii*, eds. John J. Dobbins and Pedar W. Foss (London: Routledge, 2007), 184.

the beginning of formal sanctuaries. Sanctuaries are different from sacred groves in that they are usually bounded with some sort of *temenos*, or sacred boundary. In the earliest forms, these *temenos* boundaries were marked with stones and later formed into low-lying stone walls. By the Roman Imperial Period, *temenos* structures could be high walls with elaborately constructed and decorated colonnades and porticos, as we shall see in Rome and at Pompeii. The Roman *templum*, which is the space marked out by a *temenos*, is consecrated by the words of an augur, described by Varro (116-27 BCE):

> Let the boundaries of my temples (*templa*) and wild lands (*tesca*) be as I shall declare them with my words. That tree of whatever kind it is which I deem myself to have named, let it be the boundary of my temple and wild land to the right...In creating this *templum* it appears that trees are established as the boundaries, and within those boundaries the areas established where the eyes may take their view, that is where we may gaze (*tueamur*).[69]

This passage from Varro tells us that some sort of boundary is associated with the word, *templum*. Varro continues this passage by distinguishing a sanctuary space (*templum*) with a temple building (*aedes*):

> But the notion that a temple (*templum*) is a consecrated building (*aedes sacra*) seems to have stemmed from the fact that in the city of Rome most consecrated buildings are temple (*templa*) and at the same time sacrosanct and from the fact that some places in the countryside which are the possession of a particular god are called *tesca*.[70]

Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price note here that Varro distinguishes between *templum*, which is an 'inaugurated space,' and *aedes*, which is a 'sacred building.'[71]

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[69] Varro, *On the Latin Language* 7.8.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price, *Religions of Rome: Vol. 2, A Sourcebook* (Cambridge: Cambridge U Press, 1998), 87, footnote 7.

John Scheid describes a *templum* as “neither a building nor a sacred place,” and that it had to be ‘consecrated’ in order to become sacred.[72] Scheid also lengthens this discussion by defining sacred spaces in Roman religion.[73] He gives two different ways in which spaces become sacred, adding another two-part definition of sacred spaces along with Dumézil:

1) ‘those that men had dedicated to the gods and constructed for them’
2) ‘those that the gods had somehow chosen and arranged for themselves, which men simply recognised rather than created’[74]

Scheid describes the type of sacred spaces that men dedicated to the gods as being sacred only if acknowledged by Roman law. For these spaces to be recognized as sacred and not profane, they must have been ‘legally consecrated.’[75] This brings up the issue of the politics of sacred space and religion. Already noted by the earlier quotation from Polybius and the later Karl Marx, Roman religion was intensely woven into the fabric of the Roman political scene. Separation of religion and the Roman state was something that the Romans themselves might not have understood if one asked them such a loaded question. The spaces deemed sacred under Roman legal jurisdiction received the distinction of *sacer* or *religiosus*, whereas public sacred structures outside of Rome were distinguished as *pro sacro* or *pro religiosus* (‘as if sacred/religious’).[76] This not only shows the importance of the Roman political aspect of

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[72] John Scheid, *Introduction to Roman Religion*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Bloomington: Indiana U Press, 2003), 61. Originally published as *Les religion des Romans* (Paris: 1998).

[73] Ibid., 66. Other terms of importance are *delubrum*, which was the ‘paved area’ around and/or connected to the temple or a precinct, *sacellum*, which was a ‘roofless consecrated place,’ and *sacrarium*, which was a structure for housing sacred objects.

[74] Ibid., 63.

[75] Ibid., 64.

[76] Ibid.

religious dedication, but also reveals the sanctity with which Rome appropriated to the city of Rome itself. Rome was the sacred head of an expansive and powerful empire, into which Rome spread its culture, religion, and politics.

Scheid explains the process of consecrating a Roman sacred space. He focuses on Tacitus' description of the dedication of the Capitoline temple in 69 BCE. Here I outline the steps of consecration:

1) space located in Roman territory having been 'liberated and pronounced to be designated'
2) decision to proceed to consecration (*constitutio*)
3) space is purified
4) construction 'limits' are marked
5) laying of the first stone
6) dedication or consecration of the temple
    6.1) 'dedicant' touches the door-jamb or altar and speaks the 'dedicatory formula' (*lex dedicationis*), which "transferred both the building and the space from public property to the property of the gods"[77]

This process of dedicating or consecrating a temple shows the detailed rules to which Roman religion adhered, with many of the accompanying rituals existing since before the founding of Rome on the Italian peninsula.

In "The Functions of Roman Temples," John Stambaugh describes the space in which a sanctuary or temple was to be built was not simply chosen by the Romans because of available space. Spaces were chosen that commemorated events, both historical and mythical. The location of the Temple of Divus Iulius in the Roman forum at the spot where Julius Caesar was cremated is an example of a historical site of commemoration, while the Temple of Apollo Palatinus and Augustus' house on the Palatine Hill in Rome were located adjacent to the 'hut' of Romulus and

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[77] Ibid., 64-65.

the spot of the mythical founding of Rome.[78] The Temple of Apollo Palatinus also denotes the divine choosing of sacred space. According to the ancient Roman author Suetonius, lightning had struck the site on the Palatine Hill where Augustus placed the Temple of Apollo Palatinus.[79]

Patterns of placement for sanctuaries and temples came into existence by the time of Augustus. Placement of these sacred spaces could be because of the 'nature of the deity' for which the sanctuary or temple was being dedicated, such as temples to Minerva in the city and sacred groves to Diana in the countryside.[80] By the time of Augustus, Vitruvius (80 BCE - 15 BCE?), writing on architecture, noted the specific spaces associated with deities: Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva as 'protectors of the city,' and thus on a precipice within the city; Mercury and Egyptian deities, such as Isis, as 'businessmen [*sic*],' and thus in or near the marketplace; Apollo as 'patron of the arts,' and thus near the theatre; Hercules as an 'athlete,' and thus near spaces of athletic performance; and Venus, Mars, Vulcan, and Ceres outside the city walls because each has qualities not associated with the city proper.[81] However, as Stambaugh notes, during the Augustan Age, the placement of sanctuaries and temples was due more to propaganda rather than the nature of the deities, such as the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus and the Temple of Apollo Palatinus.[82] Whatever the message of the *area sacra* (sacred area/space), the placement, whether divine or by human hands, of this sacred space emitted a message

78 John Stambaugh, "The Functions of Roman Temples," *ANRW* 2, no. 16.1 (1978): 560.

79 Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, "Augustus," 29.3.

80 Stambaugh, "The Functions of Roman Temples," 560.

81 Ibid., 561.

82 Ibid., 562.

nonetheless and this concept is critical in our discussion of the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii in a later chapter.

Sacred Architecture

Now, as to the types of *aedes* the Romans constructed for the gods, the rules of architecture are not as straightforward. Vitruvius presented Augustus with ten books on architecture, and many of these Vitruvian principles were used as rules in temple and sanctuary construction[83]; but, over the various time periods of Roman history and over the vast territory of the Roman world, these rules became more like guidelines, eventually giving way to the first temple structure in Rome as models or 'paradigms' for temple architecture.[84] These early buildings commemorated the foundation of the state through architecture. Construction of temples following the dedication of these original temples, such as the Temple of Jupiter *Optimus Maximus Capitolinus*, were based on architectural precedent.[85] As more temples were constructed, styles changed and the architecture was many times based on the available space and the function of the space; however, as we saw above, the placement of a temple preceded what was already on the space in importance.

But, what temple architecture does not lose over Roman history is the authority of the temple (*auctoritas*). This *auctoritas* symbolized the use of the building and for whom/what the

[83] See Mark Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture* (New Haven: Yale U Press, 2000), 40-44, for a discussion of Vitruvius' 'six principles of design,' including the 'tripartite scheme' of architectural design: symmetria, eurythmia, and decor; firmitas, utilitas, and venustas; and the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders.

[84] John Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples* (Cambridge: Cambridge U Press, 2005), 1.

[85] Ibid., 1-2.

structure was built.[86] John Stamper uses this idea of architecture as *auctoritas* in describing the Forum of Augustus. He notes that the Forum of Augustus was a conglomerate of imagery of imperial authority. He quotes J. H. Liebeschuetz, stating that the imagery of the Forum of Augustus included, "...everything of peace and war, of politics and traditional society, of religion and patriotism, and to link them directly with his name and deeds and with those of his family..."[87] The Forum of Augustus 'commanded respect' from the Romans who entered into this sacro-political space, presented with imagery or *auctoritas* and *dignitas*.[88] Stamper notes, "The architectural symbol of authority connected directly to the position of authority, making it easier for those who were in subordinate positions to accept the emperor's rule."[89] Stamper also notes the relationship between the 'plebeians' and the 'aristocracy' within these types of public space, allowing each class of society to understand their place and power in society from the social dynamic presented by the imagery and space of the forum.[90]

The social dynamic which Stamper discusses as evident in the Forum of Augustus in Rome is expanded by the theory of 'sacral hierarchies' of space by G. J. Wightman. Wightman's theory applies almost directly to temple architecture and is thus helpful in our discussion of temple architecture here. He separates a sacred space, a sanctuary for example, into four distinguished orders of space as follows:

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[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid., 140.

[88] Ibid.,141.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Ibid.

1) primary space: cult object and supporting base/bench
2) secondary space: *cella*
3) tertiary space
    3.1) transitional
        3.1.1) mediate: porches, atriums, vestibules, halls
        3.1.2) conductive: ambulatories, corridors, terraces, stairwells, galleries
    3.2) locular: chapels, shrines, vestries, treasuries, archives/libraries, storerooms, crypts
4) quaternary space: courts, gateways, porticoes, processional paths[91]

Wightman notes that primary and secondary spaces are reserved for the 'divine' and 'high clerical' and tertiary and quaternary spaces are reserved for the 'low clerical' and the 'public.'[92] This separation of sacred space into hierarchical categories is an interesting distinction within sacred spaces.[93] This theory will be helpful in our analysis of the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii as we can think of which citizens are interacting with the different zones of the sanctuary and the temple.

IV. Methodology and Method

Here I shall outline the methodology and method with which I approach the study of sacred space in the ancient Roman world, specifically the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii. Michael Stausberg and Steven Engler define methodology as, "Discussion and theory of methods

[91] Wightman, *Sacred Spaces: Religious Architecture in the Ancient World*, Fig. 20.1, 932-952.

[92] Ibid., 932.

[93] Note Catherine Bell's theory of the relationship between ritual and power in which she states that individuals can emerge from 'forms of ritualization' feeling empowered, "able to deploy schemes of authority." Catherine Bell, "Response: defining the need for a definition," in *The Archaeology of Ritual* (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, UCLA, 2007), 287.

and their philosophical implications," and as a 'conceptualization of methods.'[94] We can think of methodology as a framework in which we place the methods. The methods are the tools we use to research and study a specific phenomenon, in this instance sacred space. The methodology or framework with which I approach this study is a complicated one. Using the theory of sacred space in religious studies as a foundation, upon which I placed the theory of sacred space in the fields of classics, archaeology, anthropology, and sociology, by no means limits the use of these theories in my study; however, the synthesis of these theories into a methodological framework presents a difficult situation.

The methodology I use for this study is that of socio-religious phenomena in a historical framework, similar to the approach of Georges Dumézil in *Archaic Roman Religions*. Looking at the socio-religious implications of sacred space within historical periods of Roman history, specifically the Augustan Age, provides a broad enough framework within which I may apply interdisciplinary methods. The major methods or tools I will use include spatial method, literary and epigraphic analysis, artifact analysis, site analysis (field research), and mapping. While the mapping of religions has been applied to many religious traditions and areas, the mapping of depictions of Apollo in Pompeii has not been done before in any scholarly work, and appears here in a succinct table and map format for the first time.

Before proceeding with this study, I must provide a definition of Roman religion and sacred space. For the purpose of this study, we can define Roman religion as the practice of rites and rituals (sacrifice, procession, votive offering, prayer and supplication) in observance of a pantheon of divine beings. Here, ritual is defined as an action being *done* (public and private) to

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[94] Michael Stausberg and Steven Engler, "Introduction: Research Methods in the Study of Religion," in *The Routledge Handbook of Research Methods in the Study of Religion*, eds. Stausberg and Engler (New York: Routledge, 2011), 20.

honor a divine being. Sacred space in the Roman world is an *area sacra*, bounded physically or metaphorically, within which are structures used in ritual activity for the purpose of honoring one or multiple divine beings.

Finally, I wish to present any bias I may have in producing this study. My background is as follows: caucasian, male, Christian background, middle class, raised in the southeastern United States, attended both public and private schools, and currently attend a private university and study in the humanities, specifically religion, classical civilizations, and art history. In putting these facts here, I hope to allow the reader a chance to pinpoint any bias that might be apparent in the process of study from the above background.

A Survey of Scholarship: Sanctuary of Apollo, Pompeii

So probably it [Temple of Apollo at Pompeii] was always more or less as we see it today and as the Greek temples of Paestum are related to its agora and forum, accessible but set apart, visible but architecturally a separate complex, religiously discrete.[95]

Introduction

The following chapter is an attempt to trace the scholarship on the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii. Of the numerous and important studies, excavations, and scholarship on Pompeii, the following scholarship includes those which are foundational in providing a synthesized overview of the existing information and evidence from the Sanctuary of Apollo. The chapter is separated into four sections as follows: **Finding**, the earliest scholarship with the purpose of excavating and finding the 'hard surfaces'; **Interpreting**, scholarship of the latter half of the 20th century which aims to interpret the materials of the 'finders'; **Reinterpreting**, the most recent scholarship which aims to reevaluate and reinterpret the materials and hypotheses of the first two sections of scholarship; **Synthesizing**, my own scholarship in which I attempt to combine the known evidence and information from the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii and in the greater urban fabric in order to prove an Augustanization of the Sanctuary and Temple of Apollo in Pompeii.

I. Finding

Giuseppe Fiorelli (1863-1875)

Giuseppe Fiorelli's work in Pompeii was foundational for the scientific excavation of the city. Before Fiorelli implemented a scientific system of cataloguing and dividing the city into

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[95] L. Richardson, Jr., *Pompei: An Architectural History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U Press, 1988), 89.

regions and insulae, excavations and looting of Pompeii were practically one in the same. Find spots for artifacts were not recorded and many artifacts and architectural structures were destroyed during the pre-Fiorellian era in Pompeii. Fiorelli's work in Pompeii included excavations across the city itself, but his work in the Sanctuary of Apollo is important because his recording of the Trojan War wall painting scenes in the sanctuary porticos in the 1870s is one of the earliest and thorough descriptions of the scenes which exist now in sketches (Helbig[96], Steinbuchel[97], and Mazois[98]).[99]

August Mau (1880s-1900s)

August Mau's work in Pompeii is not only one of the most important scholarly studies of the city, but also for Roman wall painting. Mau is the scholar who invented the four styles of wall painting in *Geschichte der decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji* (1882), the four styles which are used extensively across the art historical and classical studies of Roman wall painting. The importance of Mau's work on Pompeii is exemplified by his writing being translated into English in 1902 (*Pompeii: Its Life and Art*), which was one of the first extensive studies of the entire city of Pompeii in its early excavated condition. Mau was also a detailed excavator, who we can thank for identifying the previously known Temple of Venus as the Temple of Apollo because of his finding of an Oscan inscription on the corner of the *cella* floor in the Temple of

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[96] Wolfgang Helbig, *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Kampaniens* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1868); *Untersuchungen über die Campanische Wandmalerei* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1873).

[97] Anton von Steinbüchel, *Atlas* (Vienna: K. K. Münz, 1833).

[98] François Mazois, *Les Ruines de Pompei* (Paris: Didot, 1824).

[99] Giuseppe Fiorelli, "Aedes Veneris Pompei," *Descrizione di Pompei* (Napoli: Tipografia Italiana, 1875), 237-241; Giuseppe Fiorelli and Antonio Sogliano, "Tempio di Apollo," *Guida di Pompei*, 2nd edition (Napoli: Tipografia della Regia Universitá nel gia collegio del Salvatore, 1897), 5-7. First edition published 1877.

Apollo which identifies the god as a benefactor of construction. Mau's scholarship is also important to this study because he clearly identifies the sculptures in the courtyard of the Sanctuary of Apollo, their placement, and even begins to discuss the meaning of these sculptures in their context within the Sanctuary of Apollo. The placement of these sculptures and their meanings is important for our work in studying the Augustanization of this sacred space in Pompeii and its politically charged symbols.[100]

Antonio Sogliano (1890s-1930s)

Antonio Sogliano's work in Pompeii was contemporary with and after the work of August Mau. Sogliano's major contribution to the study of the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii was his treatment of the Temple of Apollo. He is one of the first authors to give *comparanda* for the style of architecture used in the Temple of Apollo at Pompeii, including the Etruscan Temple C at Marzabotto and the Greek Temple of Apollo at Cumae. It is Sogliano who also hypothesizes why Apollo is venerated in Pompeii as one of the earliest deities in the city, if not the founding deity himself. He brings into focus the comparison of the Temple of Apollo in Pompeii with the founding of Cumae and the sources for the existence of a Temple of Apollo at Cumae, including Virgil's *Aeneid*.[101]

Amedeo Maiuri (1930s-1940s)

As Superintendent of the Antiquities of Campania from 1924 to 1961, Amedeo Maiuri's work in Pompeii and on the Bay of Naples revealed much about the history of the region of

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[100] August Mau, *Geschichte der decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1882); August Mau, "The Temple of Apollo," *Pompeii: Its Life and Art* (New York: MacMillan, 1902), 80-90.

[101] Antonio Sogliano, "Tempio di Apollo," *Pompei nel suo sviluppo storico: Pompei preromana* (Rome: Athenaeum, 1937), 89-92; 191-192.

Campania. In Pompeii, Maiuri completed major excavations from 1931-1932 and again from 1942-1943. As a part of these excavations, he uncovered many artifacts and substructural elements from within the Sanctuary of Apollo; however, John J. Dobbins notes, "Maiuri's method was not equal to the stratigraphic complexities presented by the sanctuary. Quotations from his own *giornali degli scavi* indicate that he was more capable of uncovering architecture and finding artifacts than detailing relationships among soil deposits or ephemeral features, such as robber trenches."[102] Regardless of the evidence and information that Dobbins suggests Maiuri 'lost,' Maiuri's finds in the Sanctuary of Apollo have given us a chronological look at the function of this sacred space. Maiuri's excavations in the sanctuary were not compiled until 1986, when Stefano De Caro compiled Maiuri's findings along with photographs of the artifacts and explanations of the dating of each artifact. Maiuri's writing on the Sanctuary of Apollo is basic, but he notes several of the important features within the sanctuary such as the wall paintings and the tufa omphalos found in the *cella* of the temple.[103]

II. Interpreting

Paul Arthur (1980-1981)

From 1980-1981, Arthur completed excavations along a line beginning north of the forum, turning behind the Temple of Jupiter, following the western portico of the forum, turning down the Via Marina, and ending at the Sanctuary of Venus just before the Porta Marina. This line of excavations followed the entire eastern precinct wall of the Sanctuary of Apollo and much of the southern precinct wall and the southwest corner of the precinct; therefore, Arthur was able

[102] John J. Dobbins et al., "Excavations in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii, 1997," *AJA* 102, 4 (1998), 743.

[103] Amedeo Maiuri, *L'ultima fase edilizia di Pompei* (Rome: Istituto di studi romani, 1942), 63; 181; Amedeo Maiuri, *Pompeii* (Novara: Istituto geografico De Agostini, 1951), 15-23.

to discover several notable facts pertaining to the early precinct area of the Sanctuary of Apollo before the formation of the forum in the second century BCE. Under the western portico of the forum, Arthur discovered a ditch and several *favissae* and cisterns filled with votive material. Arthur claims that because of the position of this ditch in proximity to the Sanctuary of Apollo, this was the earlier eastern precinct wall (*temenos*) of the Sanctuary of Apollo. The *favissae* and cisterns filled with votive material, Arthur suggests, is the 'de-consecrating' of 'temple property.' This is an important analysis and find for our discussion of sacred space, as we have discussed the consecrating of sacred space in the introductory chapter, but the desacralization of space is another topic for discussion.

Furthermore, Arthur found evidence of an *olla perforata*, an amphora pierced with holes used for plantings, which could suggest the planting of trees or shrubbery in this earlier precinct of the Sanctuary of Apollo. Arthur's excavations also uncovered a similar, earlier precinct wall to the south of the Sanctuary of Apollo, under the Via Marina, which further suggest that the precinct of the Sanctuary of Apollo was larger before the second century BCE. Near this southern precinct wall, Arthur also found a drain that would have been used to drain water from the earlier precinct of the Sanctuary of Apollo. In all, Arthur's excavations provide a 'wider' look at the earlier form of the Sanctuary of Apollo before the Romanization of Pompeii when the forum was formalized in the second century BCE.[104]

Stefano De Caro (1986)

The work of Stefano De Caro has been numerous over the past three decades. He served as the director of the Pompeii office for excavations from 1977-1984, and in 1986 he published

[104] Paul Arthur, "Problems of the Urbanization of Pompeii: Excavations 1980-1981," *AntJ* 66 (1986): 29-44.

the work that is important for our study. Mentioned above, De Caro compiled and published the findings of Amedeo Maiuri's excavations of 1931-1932 and 1942-1943. This work is invaluable to the study of the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii, not only because it presents many of the major finds of Maiuri within the sanctuary in an organized catalogue, but also because De Caro interprets these artifacts and is able to date them to specific periods. The most important datable artifacts that De Caro presents from Maiuri's excavations are Greek and Italic pottery and terracotta pieces of the Temple of Apollo's architectural structure, such as tiles and antefixes. This cataloguing of data by De Caro is beneficial for our study because it allows us to view the sanctuary across its history because of the datable artifacts found; and, we can infer from this data that this space was in use from one period to the next.[105]

L. Richardson, Jr. (1988)

L. Richardson, Jr.'s revolutionary work, *Pompeii: An Architectural History* (1988), is an invaluable source in the study of any space in Pompeii. Compiled over numerous decades, Richardson's work gives detailed information for the various spaces in Pompeii and relates these spaces to time specific periods as well. Richardson's section on the Sanctuary of Apollo in the section titled ,"The Tufa Period: 200 - 80 BC," gives a detailed view of the sanctuary as it is seen today, using specific architectural language, measurements, and a scientific approach at a visual reconstruction of the layout of the sanctuary. Richardson's research for this work was compiled from original sources and excavations of previous scholars working at Pompeii and from his own

[105] Stefano De Caro, *Saggi nell'area del tempio di Apollo a Pompei. Scavi stratigrafici di A. Maiuri nel 1931-32 e 1942-43* (Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1986).

research and examination of the sanctuary. His words are precise, his explanations are clear, and his data is seemingly irrevocable.[106]

III. Reinterpreting

John J. Dobbins, et al. (1997)

John Dobbins and his team's work in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii is crucial for this thesis. Dobbins' team proved several important points about the layout and structure of the sanctuary, which had only been hypotheses until his team's excavations in 1997. Their 1997 excavations revealed that the western precinct wall is of an Augustan era date, corresponding to an inscription that allowed for the wall to be built (*CIL* X.787). By looking at the urban fabric of the city streets around the Sanctuary of Apollo, Dobbins and his team found that, originally, a road connected the Via Marina with a road north of the Sanctuary of Apollo, until the Augustan era, sometime between 10 BCE and 3/2 BCE. At this time, the western precinct wall was moved outward and the colonnade of the sanctuary was constructed, closing off the sanctuary entirely from the west. Dobbins' team also dug a trench on the eastern portico of the sanctuary near one of the sills in the eastern precinct wall. From this trench, they found evidence of a root cavity from a tree planted here at some point in the sanctuary's history (Dobbins suggests that the tree was probably forty to fifty years old at the time of the Vesuvian eruption in 79 CE). Dobbins' team also discovered that the ground level was altered at the time of the building of the colonnade and precinct wall to provide an even surface across the sanctuary.

Dobbins also utilizes the earlier work of Amedeo Maiuri in his analyzation of the sanctuary's form by noting that a small section of wall found by Maiuri during his excavations

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[106] L. Richardson, Jr., *Pompeii: An Architectural History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U Press, 1988).

corresponds to a possible early *temenos* wall of the western side of the sanctuary, which blocked off the sanctuary from the street before the new western precinct wall was constructed between 10 BCE and 3/2 BCE. These major finds by Dobbins' team provide us with a framework of analyzing the alteration of sacred space. Through the excavations of Paul Arthur, we have already seen that the Sanctuary of Apollo was made smaller in acreage; but, through the excavations of Dobbins' team, we see that the sanctuary was also enlarged on the western side and closed off from the profane world. On the prevailing nature of sacred space over domestic and profane space in this instance in Pompeii, Dobbins states, "The sacred takes precedence over the public street and causes its deflection."[107]

Maureen Carroll and David Godden (1998)

The excavations of Maureen Carroll and David Godden occurred one year after (1998) the excavations of Dobbins' team in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii. Besides finding more examples of artifacts which Maiuri found fifty years prior, the new finds of Carroll and Godden worth noting are votive cups dating between the fourth and second centuries BCE, sets of cisterns in the central courtyard of the sanctuary, and possible planting pits. The votive cups suggest that the sanctuary's was used as ritual center as early as the fourth century BCE. The first set of cisterns found are probably Hellenistic in date (323 BCE - 31 BCE) and were possibly filled in around 80 BCE when Pompeii became a colony of Rome. The second set is from the first century BCE, possibly in the Augustan era. Carroll and Godden suggest that the new cisterns and the plantings from the possible plantings pits found in the courtyard could both be from the Augustan period and even hypothesize that the Temple of Apollo, which is usually

[107] Dobbins, John J., et al. "Excavations in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii." *AJA* 102, 4 (1998): 741.

given a date of the second century BCE, could also be from the Augustan period as well; this would suggest that the entire sanctuary complex underwent renovations and reshaping during the Augustan era. However, the cisterns found by Carroll and Godden must be contemporary with the temple because of their position in the courtyard and the date of the cisterns seems to be earlier than the Augustan era in the late first century BCE.[108]

Eric M. Moormann (2012)

The recent work by Eric Moormann focuses on the wall paintings within sacred spaces, including the porticos of the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii. While several earlier authors recorded the theme of the scenes or sketched the scenes of the Trojan War in the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii, Moormann analyzes the scenes in the context of the sanctuary's visitor and through a larger lens of depictions of Trojan War scenes in wall painting in the Mediterranean. These fourth style depictions of Trojan War themed scenes are relevant to our study because they are the only semi-surviving depictions of painted scenes from the sanctuary, although they are post-62 CE in date and therefore after the Augustan era.[109]

William Van Andringa (2012)

William Van Andringa's work on the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii is a historical-literary approach to the sculpture found within the sanctuary. In his scholarship, he goes back to the early excavation journals from the 19th century, detailing which sculptures were found, where they were found, and how they were recorded in later literary sources, some of which we

[108] Maureen Carroll and David Godden, "The sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii: reconsidering chronologies and excavation history," *AJA* 104, 4 (2000): 743-754.

[109] Eric M. Moormann, *Divine Interiors: Mural Paintings in Greek and Roman Sanctuaries. Amsterdam Archaeological Studies, 16* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam U Press, 2012).

have discussed above. Van Andringa's work is important for this study because he brings to light all the written sources that mention the sculptures found within the Sanctuary of Apollo across its history of excavation and relates the sculptures found here with the sculptures found in the precinct of Isis in the Triangular Forum; but, most importantly, he attempts to give meaning to the placement of the sculptures around the periphery of the courtyard in the Sanctuary of Apollo. Van Andringa's analysis of the sculptures found will serve as a recent foundation for our analysis of the sculptures in relation to the Augustanization of Pompeii, particularly the Sanctuary of Apollo.[110]

IV. Synthesizing

My own scholarship attempts to take the 'hard surfaces,' artifacts, and proposed dating and hypotheses of the above scholars, and others, to argue that the Sanctuary and Temple of Apollo in Pompeii underwent an Augustanization during and after the reign of Augustus as Emperor of the Roman Empire (27 BCE-14 CE). By Augustanization, I mean the purposeful placement, construction, and display of visual/inscribed efforts to promote the Roman state, under the head of Emperor Augustus, in architectural, literary, historical, public, private, and religious spaces. My purpose here is to prove the Augustanization of a religious space, or a Roman sacred space. As a Roman sacred space, the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii is a space in which specific sculpture, inscriptions, artifacts, construction, and renovations are dateable to the era of Augustus, revealing an effort to honor Apollo and Augustus himself. Although Apollo is strongly identified as Augustus' patron deity, the placement and structuring of elements within

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[110] William Van Andringa, "Statues in the Temples of Pompeii: Combinations of Gods, Local Definition of Cults and the Memory of the City," in *Historical and Religious Memory in the Ancient World*, eds. B. Dignas and R.R.R. Smith (Oxford: Oxford U Press, 2012).

the Sanctuary of Apollo can claim an Augustan *auctoritas*, not just the *auctoritas* of an Augustan Apollo. Moving forward under the umbrella of spatial theory and method, the signals, symbols, and elements of a sacred space, specifically one that is Roman Pompeiian, will present themselves within the argument of an Augustanization of the Sanctuary and Temple of Apollo in Pompeii. The sanctuary as a sacred space itself, its sacralization/consecration and desacralization/deconsecration, will be discussed so that the Sanctuary of Apollo as a *space* allows for the analysis and examining of meaning, symbolism, and *auctoritas* in an Augustan socio-historical context.

The Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii: A Comprehensive Study

I. A Brief History

To better understand the urban landscape of Pompeii and the influences introduced into the city, I will provide a brief history of Pompeii. From excavations in Pompeii, archaeologists have found Bronze Age material within the city walls, although it is not until the 8th century BCE when the Oscans set up a semi-permanent settlement around the original heart of the city, where the forum was built during a later occupation. In the 6th century, the Etruscans made their way into Pompeii, taking control of the city from the Oscans and most likely founding the patron cult of the city, to Apollo, on the precipice of the original site of habitation, where the Temple of Apollo is today.

In the 5th century, after the Greeks defeated the Etruscans in the Bay of Naples, Pompeii was inhabited by Greek settlers, most likely coming from Pithekoussai, from Cumae, or from Paestum (or other parts of Magna Graecia to the south). Between the 6th and 5th centuries BCE, the Samnite people took over Pompeii and settled there. The Samnites were a people who did not like to build many structures; therefore, most of the structures in Pompeii are not of Samnite origin. It is even suggested that Pompeii was more of a merchant settlement until the 3rd century BCE, not having a systemized urban fabric until the 2nd century (probably owing to the influence of Republican Rome).[111]

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[111] L. Richardson, Jr., introduction to *Pompeii: An Architectural History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U Press, 1988), xviii.

During this time of the ‘mercantile population,’ the layout of the city probably did not look as uniform as it does today.[112] Evidence of an early settlement around the current forum (8th-6th centuries BCE), a Doric age temple in the Triangular forum (6th century BCE), and evidence of a tract wall near the Porta Nocera and the amphitheatre (6th century BCE), would suggest that the city’s area of occupation was near the size that is seen today within the 2nd century BCE walls; however, it is probable that these were separate sites within the area of Pompeii and the systematized urban fabric, connecting the various sections of the city, was produced around the 3rd or 2nd century BCE (ex. the building of an official forum at the ancient heart of the city).[113] This ancient heart of the city, the center for mercantile interaction, public festivities, and the location of important temple sites, was made into a systematized section of the urban fabric, although it kept its original purpose throughout Pompeii’s history.

Keeping control of the city until Pompeii became an official Roman colony, the Samnites inhabited Pompeii while the Etruscans left, the Greeks arrived, and when Sulla took Pompeii for Rome. The Samnites inhabited Pompeii for the longest continuous period even though other peoples were impacting Pompeiian society. It is likely that the Pompeii continued its relationship with Greek traders, was heavily influenced by the culture of the Roman Republic, and was eventually Romanized by Sulla and Imperial Rome.

Because of the various inhabitations of the city of Pompeii, it is difficult to give specific dates to each culture’s occupation; however, these periods of time in which different cultures inhabited the city are personified in the public and domestic art and architecture of the city. It is

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[112] P. Arthur, “Problems of the Urbanization of Pompeii: Excavations 1980-1981,” *Antiquaries Journal* 66, (1986): 40.
[113] Ibid., 38.

also important to remember that although Pompeii changed allegiances of control, many of the inhabitants would have stayed in the city even after the political power of the city changed hands. Pompeii's unique collection and representation of various cultures in its art and architecture is owed to its important position as a port on the Bay of Naples, and most likely, as a trading post between Southern Italy and the north arc of the Bay of Naples.[114] This changing of political control in Pompeii is just another way in which Pompeii's art and architecture became inclusive of many Mediterranean cultures and artistic techniques.[115]

II. Chronology of Data

Early Form, 9th-2nd century BCE

From the excavations and research of the sanctuary and temple of Apollo at Pompeii, we can construct a timeline of the supposed dates of the sanctuary and temple complex (**Figs. 1-3**). The first evidence of a structure on this site is from the 6th/5th century, probably during the time of the Etruscan occupation of the area. The evidence suggesting this date is the remains of a yellow tufa base, or capital, for a wooden column (wooden columns being used by the Etruscans for temple architecture before the use of stone).[116] This evidence places a temple-like structure within the site around the 6th/5th centuries BCE. Amadeo Maiuri's excavations at Pompeii in 1931-1932 and 1942-1943 have given us much of the datable pre-Roman material within the

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[114] Ibid., 39.

[115] Daniel Ledford, "An Amalgamation of Mediterranean Culture: House of the Faun," (Final Paper, Mediterranean City, Syracuse University in Florence, 2012), 1-3.

[116] Found during the excavations of Amadeo Maiuri in 1931-1932, this yellow tufa stone capital [as it is referenced in Antonio Sogliano, *Pompei nel suo sviluppo storico: Pompei Preromana* (Roma: Societá Editrice "Athenaeum", 1937), 92], is more likely the base for a wooden column. Stefano De Caro (*Saggi nell'area del tempio di Apollo a Pompei*, Napoli, 1986) and L. Richardson, Jr. (*Pompeii: An Architectural History*, Baltimore, 1988) claim that this stone artifact is indeed a column base. See the base of the 'Etruscan' column in the House of the Etruscan Column (VI.5.17) for a comparandus.

Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii. As hypothesized by Antonio Sogliano, using Maiuri's archeological finds, the precinct of the Sanctuary of Apollo was set up in stone form in the 6th century BCE or earlier. Sogliano suggests that the earliest form of the Sanctuary of Apollo was a 'sacred enclosure' with a central altar.[117]

In the 6th century BCE, wall-like stone formations were set up to make a podium and cella temple structure. These stone formations were excavated by Maiuri under the current temple podium and in the courtyard and portico of the sanctuary as well. From the measurements of these stone formations, Sogliano states that the size of the earliest temple structure in 6th century BCE, Etruscan Pompeii, is comparable to the size of Temple C at Marzabotto, another Etruscan settlement south of modern day Bologna.[118][119]

Further evidence for early cult activity within the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii is the hoard of pottery remains, dated to 7th/6th centuries BCE. Maiuri's excavations in 1931-1932 and 1942-1943 uncovered numerable bucchero bowls, cups, and pitchers including, but not limited to, the following: krater, oinochoe, askos, kantharos, and kylix.[120] Also found within the sanctuary were several bronze pieces, including a serpentine-type fibula[121] (9th/8th century BCE)

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[117] For an extant Etruscan altar within the parameters of a sacred space, see the Etruscan altar from the excavations of the Etruscan and Roman temples at Fiesole (FI, Toscana, Italia).

[118] Antonio Sogliano, *Pompei nel suo sviluppo storico: Pompei Preromana* (Roma: Societá Editrice "Athenaeum," 1937), 89.

[119] See temple complex at Gravisca, Temple B at Pyrgi, the Belvedere Temple at Orvieto, and the Capitolium at Cosa for comparanda.

[120] See nos. 232-360 in De Caro, *Saggi nell'area del tempio di Apollo a Pompei*, 1986.

[121] For a brief synopsis of Etruscan fibulae (sanguisuga and serpentine), see 'The Villanovan and Geometric Arts: Metallic Arts' in Otto J. Brendel, *Etruscan Art* (New Haven: Yale U Press, 1978), 31.

and a small horse (5th/4th century BCE).[122] This evidence suggests that the current site of the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii held cult activities as early as the 9th-7th centuries BCE, as suggested by Sogliano's hypothesis of an early 'sacred enclosure' at the site. The bronze serpentine-style fibula, one of the earliest datable artifacts from the history of Pompeiian settlement, reveals the site of the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii to be the earliest settled area of Pompeii and a possible explanation for the dedication of a sanctuary of Apollo on the port of Pompeii in the Bay of Naples. Although the origins of Apollo at Pompeii are unclear, the pattern of Apolline sanctuaries at Greek colonies in the western Mediterranean suggests that the god Apollo was a safe passage and founder[123] deity.

The next datable evidence we have is a terracotta antefix and frieze panels from the original temple structure from the 6th-4th centuries. These artifacts are similar in style to Etruscan temple architecture and it can be suggested that these were a part of the original temple structure, although an exact date (because of possible replacements) cannot be given, except from between the 6th-4th centuries. These terracotta remains feature painted patterns commonly found on Etruscan temple entablature. The antefixes show colored petals in a semicircular sun pattern, placed atop the gables of the pediment. The colors of the antefixes are red, black, and ivory.[124][125] Similar patterns and geometric shapes are found on the frieze/architrave remains of the temple, with red, black, ivory, and brown color schemes.[126][127]

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[122] See Tav. L, a, in De Caro, *Saggi nell'area del tempio di Apollo a Pompei,* 1986.

[123] Sogliano, *Pompei nel suo sviluppo storico: Pompei Preromana*, 92.

[124] See nos. 14-17, 21-27, and 45-46 in De Caro, *Saggi nell'area del tempio di Apollo a Pompei,* 1986.

[125] Maureen Carroll and David Godden, "The Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii: Reconsidering Chronologies and Excavation History," *AJA* 104, 4 (2000): 748.

Other remains from this period in the history of the sanctuary include pottery remains from Maiuri's excavations in the 1930s and 1940s. Remains of Corinthian[128], Laconian[129], Chalcidian[130], and Ionic[131] style pottery were found in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii. These pottery sherds all date from the 6th century BCE and reveal further the pan-Mediterranean identity of Pompeiian society, filtered and presented through art and architecture. These pottery types were also found throughout Campania, including nearby settlements of Cumae and Stabiae. Among the pottery types found include kylix, krater, hydria, skyphos, and aryballos.[132] Among the Corinthian kraters found in the excavations, one krater depicting a scene of Achilles is one of the few sherds with recognizable iconography.[133] The presence of Achilles within the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii requires further analysis and will be addressed in a later chapter (Apollo in the Mediterranean).

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[126] Ibid., nos. 47-48, 59, 98-109, 112, 119, 123, 125-127, 131, and 133-217.

[127] For seemingly matching decoration schemes, see illustrations of temple decoration in Rabun Taylor, "Temples and Terracottas at Cosa," *AJA* 106, 1 (2002): 59-83.

[128] See nos. 364-385 in De Caro, *Saggi nell'area del tempio di Apollo a Pompei*, 1986.

[129] Ibid., nos. 386-388.

[130] Ibid., nos. 389-392.

[131] Ibid., nos. 393-408.

[132] Ibid., nos. 364-408.

[133] Ibid., no. 364.

The remaining pottery sherds found within the sanctuary are Attic black[134] and red[135] figure pottery remains from the 6th-5th centuries BCE. Produced at the same time is the Italo-Geometric[136] pottery style and in the subsequent 4th/3rd centuries is found the *Italiota*[137] style of pottery. During the 5th/4th centuries BCE, small bronze pieces, probably votive, appeared within the Sanctuary of Apollo such as a small bronze horse[138] (*cavallino*) found during Maiuri's excavations along with the aforementioned bronze serpentine-style fibula.

Tufa Period, 200 BCE-80 BCE

Votive cups were found in the courtyard of the sanctuary complex adjacent to the temple, dated to the 4th-2nd centuries.[139] Also found in the courtyard were six cisterns to the east of the altar in the central courtyard.[140] These cisterns date to before the first half of the 1st century BCE. These evidences of datable artifacts from the sanctuary of Apollo are speculative in date, although most certainly from before the 2nd century BCE. This is because the sanctuary and temple complex of Apollo were completely renovated and altered during the 2nd century BCE

[134] Ibid., nos. 409-668.

[135] Ibid., nos. 669-703.

[136] Ibid., nos. 361-363.
[137] Ibid., nos. 771-787.

[138] Ibid., Tav. L, a.

[139] Carroll and Godden, "The Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii: Reconsidering Chronologies and Excavation History," 748.

[140] Ibid., 744.

when the Temple of Jupiter and Basilica were constructed while the forum[141] was systematized into the format that is evident today.[142]

During excavations in 1980-1981, Paul Arthur completed excavations on a line trench from north of the forum, down the western edge of the forum, and down a minor stretch of the Via Marina to the north wall of the Basilica. Within the trench that was dug underneath the western portico of the forum, Arthur found a ditch, signaling the receptor of the earlier eastern precinct wall of the Sanctuary of Apollo. Not only did Arthur note that this ditch was parallel with the current precinct of Apollo, he also excavated *favissae* and cisterns of votive objects.[143] This evidence for a desacralization of sacred space is an interesting find in the development of the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii. While Apollo was the patron deity of Pompeii and probably revered in the earliest architectural forms in the settlement, his sacred precinct was truncated during the 2nd century BCE to make way for the Romanizing of the city's forum space and the expansion of the Temple of Jupiter. Therefore, in the 2nd century BCE when the forum was constructed, the *temenos* of the sanctuary of Apollo was moved inward towards the temple structure in order to construct the western colonnade of the forum.[144] It is also during this time that the *temenos* on the southern end of the sanctuary was most likely moved inward toward the temple structure because of the construction of the Basilica and the Via Marina which connects

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141 Amadeo Maiuri, *Pompeii* (Rome: La Libreria dello Stato, 1951), 15. The new forum measured 157 m. x 33 m. and traveled through three phases: late Samnitic, Roman colonisation, and Roman Empire.

142 Arthur, "Problems of the Urbanization of Pompeii," 33.

143 Ibid., 35.

144 See the following inscription [*CIL* X 794, *ILS* 5538] regarding the building of the forum colonnades: *V POPIDIVS | EP F Q | PORTICVS | FACIENDAS | COERAVIT* [Vibius Popidius, Quaestor, son of Eppius, superintended the making of the colonnades].

the Porta Marina with the forum (bisecting this area into the Sanctuary and Temple of Apollo to the north and the Basilica, and later the Temple of Venus, to the south).[145]

Also found near these votive pits was an inverted amphora with a perforated surface, and a missing neck and handles.[146] Within the courtyard of the precinct itself were found pits of broken amphora pieces during Carroll and Godden's excavations in 1998, much like the ones found on the edge of the earlier precinct by Arthur in 1980-1981.[147] The amphora found by Arthur is probably a planting pot for a small tree or shrub, known as an *olla perforata*.[148] The pieces of broken amphora found within the courtyard could also be for planting purposes. John Dobbins and his team of archaeologists also found evidence for plantings within a sacred context during his excavations in 1997. On the edge of the eastern wall of the Sanctuary of Apollo, near one of the sills of the pavement, Dobbins uncovered root cavities in the layers underneath the ground level of 79 CE. The largest cavity was from a large tree whose age was determined as 40-50 years old when Vesuvius erupted in 79 CE.[149] Other smaller cavities were from the root

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145 Arthur, "Problems of the Urbanization of Pompeii," 35.

146 Ibid.

147 Carroll and Godden, "The Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii: Reconsidering Chronologies and Excavation History," 748-749.

148 Elizabeth Macaulay Lewis, "The role of *ollae perforatae* in understanding horticulture, planting techniques, garden design, and plant trade in the Roman World," *The Archaeology of Crops, Fields, and Gardens* (Bari: Edipuglia, 2006): 207-219. Macaulay Lewis includes an excellent chart of all pertinent *ollae perforatae* in Pompeii and the remainder of the Mediterranean in Table 1, p. 209.

149 John J. Dobbins et al., "Excavations in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii, 1997," *AJA* 102, 4 (1998): 752.

system of the tree and nearby pits were noted as possible planting pits for shrubs or small trees.[150]

Within the sanctuary, the temple structure underwent major renovations and alterations concomitant with the 2nd century alterations to the forum. If the original temple structure of the Etruscans (maybe Oscans) was intact up to this point in time, the new temple structure was probably placed on the stone foundations of the Etruscan age temple structure. Although the temple architecture of the Etruscans included a podium, the original podium was not as high as the new podium for the temple. Therefore, the podium was constructed at a higher level during the second century BCE, with a cella at the central area of the back of the podium, giving a wide space for the pronaos or portico. The podium of the temple measures 2.30 meters in height, with a mixed construction of tufa, masonry, and stucco.[151] The temple was made into a Corinthian order, peripteral hexastyle temple structure with 28 columns.[152] [153] This same number of columns appears in the second peristyle of the House of the Faun (VI, 12) in the Doric order.

A possible connection between the House of the Faun and the Sanctuary of Apollo has been made by Sogliano.[154] Although the owner of the House of the Faun is unknown, it is possible that the owner was a patron of the Sanctuary of Apollo since the second peristyle of 28

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[150] Ibid., 753.

[151] Richardson, *Pompeii: An Architectural History*, 91-92. Richardson states that the height of the podium (2.30 meters = 7.54 feet) allowed the temple to be viewed from outside the sanctuary precinct, most notably from within the colonnades of the forum proper.

[152] Maiuri, *Pompei*, 21.

[153] Unlike the Temple of Jupiter, which is a pseudoperipteral hexastyle structure; this could suggest that the original Etruscan temple structure to Apollo was a true peripteros.

[154] Sogliano, *Pompei nel suo sviluppo storico: Pompei Preromana*, 191.

columns in the House of the Faun and the new Temple of Apollo with 28 columns were being constructed around the same time in the 2nd century BCE.[155] A further connection can be made through the Tuscan-type temple facade in the upper register of the *fauces* in the House of the Faun.[156] This could have acted as an understood signal in Pompeiian society that the owner of the House of the Faun was also a temple patron, perhaps even to the Temple of Apollo. Similar to the column shafts of the colonnade (**Fig. 4**), the temple column shafts each have twenty flutes.

The central intercolumniation of the front six columns of the Temple of Apollo is wider than the other two intercolumniations for the purpose of viewing the cult statue in the cella at the rear of the temple.[157] Excavations of the site have not yielded any finds of the entablature and pediment from the new temple structure, so it cannot be known if the images in the entablature and pediment remained from the Etruscan temple structure to the 2nd century BCE temple structure. The cella is set deeply at the back of the podium. The front wall of the cella basically stands at the fifth column from the front of the temple, giving a large pronaos area.[158] A central staircase of fourteen steps was added in the front of the temple structure to allow access from the courtyard to the pronaos and cella, although these steps do not span the entire width of the podium, nor do they have railings or stone supports on either side.

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155 For an inquisitive discussion on the dating of the expansion of the House of the Faun, see Eugene Dwyer, "The Unified Plan of the House of the Faun," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 60, no. 3 (Sept. 2001): 328-343.

156 Richardson, *Pompeii: An Architectural History*, 116.

157 Ibid., 92.

158 Ibid.

Inside the cella, the walls were decorated in the first style of wall painting, which would have given an ornate, yet simplistic, look to the interior, allowing the central focus to be placed on the cult statue of Apollo. The floor of the cella contained mosaics. The central section of the cella contained an *opus sectile* mosaic of black, white, and green stone materials. This second style of mosaic in Pompeii is consistent with the second style mosaics found in the House of the Faun, making yet another connection to this palatial residence just north of the forum.[159] This central pattern was bordered with a meander pattern of colored mosaic, and the central section was surrounded by black and white mosaic.[160] Between the meander pattern and the central pattern, and framing the outside border of the section were slate and red marble pieces. On the outside border of slate was found an Oscan inscription. This inscription, found by Mau in the late 1800s finally identified the temple as a temple of Apollo.[161] Before this discovery, archaeologists believed this temple to have been dedicated to Venus.

At the rear of the cella stands the base for the cult statue of Apollo, although the cult statue itself was pillaged before extensive excavations occurred.[162] The base is 1.44 meters by

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[159] Richardson, *Pompeii: An Architectural History*, 93.

[160] Ibid., 92.

[161] *O • KAMP [annis...kva] ISSTUR • KOMBENNI [eis tanginud] • APELLUNEIS EITIU [vad…ops] ANNU • AAMAN [aff] ED.* The quaestor, Oppius Campanius, by order of the council and with money from Apollo, caused something to be built (most likely the floor itself). Mau sees the inscription while the floor is in situ, around 1882, and the linguist, Conway, sees it, in 1894, once it had been moved to the Archaeological Museum in Naples. See Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*, 80-81; and, R. S. Conway, *The Italic Dialects* (Cambridge: Cambridge U Press, 1897), 65. Conway measures the inscription: letters are two inches in height and the inscription runs linear for 2.55 meters (8.5 feet) beginning at the top left corner of the central opus sectile section in the cella of the temple.

[162] Sogliano, *Pompei nel suo sviluppo storica: Pompei Preromana*, 192; Mau, *Pompeii*, 86.

1.15 meters (4.72 feet by 3.77 feet), with a height of 1.55 meters (5.08 feet).[163] Excavations of the cella recovered an omphalos of volcanic tufa located along the western wall.[164] This was also an indicator to archaeologists that this temple was dedicated to Apollo because of the Delphic omphalos imagery found within Apolline sanctuaries and sacred contexts. Other clear Apolline imagery is found to the right of the entrance into the sanctuary, on the first pilaster.[165] Painted on this pilaster is a large tripod, which Mau states is "...too large for mere decoration, and explicable only as a symbol of the god [Apollo]."[166]

It was hypothesized by early scholars that the colonnade around the court of the temple was of two-storeys and was constructed during the 2nd century BCE, although in the later excavations by John Dobbins and his team, the colonnade is given a date of the late first century BCE. This colonnade of 48 columns is similar to the colonnades constructed in the forum.[167] The columns on the first level were of the Doric order, while the columns of the second storey[168] were probably of the Ionic or Corinthian order. The entablature between the two levels was a Doric entablature with triglyphs. Evidence of the entablature of the quadriporticus was excavated

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[163] Richardson, *Pompeii: An Architectural History*, 93.

[164] Richardson, *Pompeii: An Architectural History*, 93; Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*, 81; Sogliano, *Pompei nel suo svulippo storico: Pompei Preromana,* 192; Maiuri, *Pompeii*, 21.

[165] Maiuri, *L'ultima fase edilizia di Pompei*, 63.

[166] Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*, 81.

[167] Maiuri, *Pompei*, 21.

[168] See below for a brief discussion of the two-storey colonnade theory for the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii.

in the courtyard.[169] These stuccos remains depicted red backgrounds with blue and cream griffins, garlands, and other vegetal images.[170] This stucco decoration is attributed to the latter period of the sanctuary during the Augustanization of Pompeii in the late 1st century when the tufa columns and entablature would have been covered in stucco.[171]

This is an example of the Romanization or Augustanization of the earlier architecture structure in the city.[172] The Pompeians, already welcoming a pan-Mediterranean environment into the urban fabric of the city, consciously Romanized the town in the 2nd century, most notably the forum, even before becoming a Roman colony in 80 BCE under Sulla. Therefore, the 2nd century period in Pompeii is one of the most important earlier phases in its architectural history because of the changes from Oscan, Samnite, Greek, and Etruscan architecture to a Roman style architecture that still flavored each of the previous architectural phases in its new presentation.[173] At the stylobate of the colonnade was a tufa step, 0.62 meters wide, on which votive offerings could have been placed.[174]

Coloniae Pompeiana, 80 BCE-79 CE

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[169] Carroll and Godden, "The Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii: Reconsidering Chronologies and Excavation History," 745-746.

[170] Ibid., 745-746.

[171] Maiuri, *Pompei*, 16.

[172] Paul Zanker, *Pompeii: Public and Private Life*, trans. by Deborah Lucas Schneider (Cambridge: Harvard U Press, 1998), 59.

[173] Worth mentioning here is the Cult and Temple of Isis in Pompeii. This includes the Aegyptiaca style within the architecture and cultural styles that the older Pompeii claimed and continued to make available to the human eye within the city's urban fabric during the Roman period. See Zanker, *Pompeii: Public and Private Life*, 52-53.

[174] Richardson, *Pompeii: An Architectural History*, 91.

As previously mentioned, remains of cisterns have been found intact within the courtyard of the sanctuary. These have been dated to around the 1st century BCE, although they may have been a part of the sanctuary's renovation during the 2nd century BCE. The most specific of datable materials comes from the 1st century BCE. The large travertine altar in the courtyard of the sanctuary, just in front of the steps, was dedicated by four political officials (*quattuorviri*) around 80 BCE, after the formation of Pompeii into a Roman colony.[175] The altar is 1.46 meters (4.79 feet) in height, which Richardson supposes would be far too high for most people to make sacrifices.[176] It is possible that some form of block step or steps were originally placed at the edges of the altar to allow for a smoother sacrificial ceremony. It was at this time that the stairs to the cella were also covered in travertine revetment.[177] It is possible that other projects were undertaken within the sanctuary during this transformation of Pompeii into a Roman colony, but these two additions to the sanctuary are almost steadfast in date.

In the last decade of the 1st century BCE (10 BCE-3/2 BCE), the western side of the sanctuary underwent a complete renovation. It was during this time that a road or thoroughfare that once went through the western colonnade of the sanctuary, or just beside it, was closed and a wall was built to close off this thoroughfare and to separate the sanctuary on the western side

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175 August Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*, trans. by Francis W. Kelsey (New York: Macmillan, 1899), 86. Altar inscription on both sides: *M. Porcius M.f., L. Sextilius L. f., Ca. Cornelius Cn. f., | A. Cornelius A. f. IIIIvir. d. d. s. f. locar.* Marcus Porcius, son of Marcus; Lucius Sextilius, son of Lucius; Gnaeus Cornelius, son of Gnaeus; Aulus Cornelius, son of Aulus, *quattuorvirs*, awarded the contract for its construction, in accordance with a decree of the town councillors. [*CIL* X 800, *ILS* 6354].

176 Richardson, *Pompeii: An Architectural History*, 92.

177 Sogliano, *Pompei nel suo sviluppo storica: Pompei Preromana*, 191.

from the neighboring houses.[178] The inscription alluding to this renovation is important to the social scene of Pompeii during the Augustan Age because of one of the officials who authorizes the renovation and building of the western portico to take place.[179] This important Pompeiian is Marcus Holconius Rufus, a *duumvir* at the time of the inscription, whose contributions to the Augustan Pompeii develop Pompeii into a fully Romanized city.[180] It is also possible that during this project on the western side of the sanctuary, the northern side of the sanctuary underwent renovation as well. Originally a doric colonnade or portico on the north side of the sanctuary, this area was walled up into an enclosed space where it is suggested the sacristan was located for the priests of Apollo. At the end of this space was already a walled area behind which the stairs leading to the second storey[181] of the colonnade around the forum were located.[182] Excavations

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178 The date and location of this Augustan Age renovation to the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii was proven by John J. Dobbins and his team's excavations on the western wall of the sanctuary precinct in 1997. See Dobbins et al., "Excavations in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii, 1997."

179 *M. Holconius Rufus d[uum] v[ir] i[uri] d[icundo] tert[ium], C. Egnatius Postumus d. v. i. d. iter[um] ex d[ecurionum] d[ecreto] ius luminum opstruendorum HS...redemerunt, parictemque privatum Col[oniae] Ven[eriae] Cor[neliae] usque ad tegulas faciundum coerarunt.*

179 Marcus Holconius Rufus, duumvir with judiciary authority for the third time and Gaius Egnatius Postumus, duumvir with judiciary authority for the second time, in accordance with a decree of the decuriones (city council), purchased for 3,000 sestertii the right to block the light [from the adjacent house VII 7.2] and had a private wall constructed on behalf of the colony of Pompeii all the way to the roof tiles. [*CIL* X 787, *ILS* 5915].

180 See section, "Augustanisms in Pompeii."

181 Richardson makes the argument that this staircase was for the second storey of the forum colonnade, not the second storey of the Apolline colonnade. He also states that the Doric-Ionic order of the colonnade entablature was not for two-storey colonnades (*Pompeii: An Architectural History*, 91). Mau states that the colonnade was two-storeys although he admits that no evidence of a second-storey has been discovered, and he cites that the staircase to the north of the sanctuary was for this second-storey of the Apolline colonnade (*Pompeii: Its Life and Art*, 83). Dobbins claims that the Apolline colonnade was not of two-storeys ("Excavations in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii, 1997").

182 Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*, 82; Richardson, *Pompeii: An Architectural History*, 91.

from this western side of the sanctuary have revealed deposits of terracotta statuettes and miniature vases of the type found ubiquitously in Hellenistic sanctuaries. Also within these deposits was found remnants of a First style wall decoration, including *episemata* ('shield devices'), a crow, and a Delphic tripod.[183]

Probably the latest datable artifact in the sanctuary of Apollo is the column and sundial located to the left of the temple staircase in the courtyard.[184] From early sketches of the column, it is shown that the top of the column contained a sundial, although the original sundial is no longer there. This column and sundial were erected by political officials, who also dedicated a similar column and sundial in the Triangular Forum. The column is an Ionic column of blue and gray Phrygian marble with a white marble capital and sundial.[185] The exact year of the dedication of the column and sundial are not recorded, but these objects could predate the renovations of the western side of the sanctuary or date to later years within the Augustan Age.

Also worth mentioning is the decoration of the colonnade walls. Originally in the first style of wall painting, after the earthquake of 62 CE, the walls were repainted in the fourth style

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183 Stefano De Caro, "The first sanctuaries," in *The World of Pompeii*, trans. Maureen B. Fant, eds. John J. Dobbins and Pedar W. Foss (London: Routledge, 2007), 78.

184 *L[ucius] Sepunius L[uci] f[ilius]*

Sandilianus

M[arcus] Herennius A[uli] f[ilius]

Epidianus

duovir[i] i[ure] d[icundo]

d[e] s[ua] p[ecunia] f[aciendum] c[uraverunt].
Lucius Sepunius Sandilianus, son of Lucius, and Marcus Herennius Epidianus, son of Aulus, duumvirs with judicial power, saw to this being made at their own expense. [*CIL* 802].

185 Maiuri, *Pompeii*, 21; Richardson, *Pompeii: An Architectural History*, 91.

of wall painting (the most current of wall painting styles at the time of decoration).[186] Although the frescoes no longer exist, early sketches of the scenes show the portrayal of Iliadic stories and figures, Nilotic landscapes and figures, as well as *naumachia* scenes.[187] It is also important to understand that when the earthquake destroyed much of Pompeii in 62 CE, many of the structure had to be completely rebuilt; therefore, although the original dating of the structures we see today is from the 2nd century BCE - 1st century BCE, these structures were replaced by the same fallen structures or new, similar structures after the earthquake, until the complete destruction of Pompeii in 79 CE by Mount Vesuvius. And, even before this, the Augustan Age brought many renovations in Pompeii, as it did in all the Roman Empire, so some details within the sanctuary could be of Augustan Age application.

The last set of objects from the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii to be discussed here is the surviving statuary within the courtyard of the sanctuary. Mau records one of the first lists of the statuary found within the sanctuary during his studies at Pompeii in the late 1800s, with subsequent scholars recording seemingly similar data.[188] He lists six statues among the Sanctuary of Apollo statuary and gives their placement within the sanctuary. All six statues were located within the courtyard, on the outside of the columns of the colonnade.

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[186] Ibid., 94.

[187] For an in depth analysis of these 4th style wall paintings in the quadriporticus of the Sanctuary of Apollo, see the section "Virgilian Apollo in the Mediterranean." It is possible that the surviving sketches of the two *naumachia* scenes from the western colonnade wall were also a part of this 4th style redecoration of the sanctuary's colonnade after 62 CE. The depiction of ships and castle-like structures could represent scenes from the Trojan War and the arrival of the Greeks. See Filippo Avilia and Luciana Jacobelli, "Le naumachie nelle pitture pompeiane," in *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani*, Vol. III (PompeiI: Associazione Internazionale Amici di Pompei, 1989), 138, Fig. 6 and 7.

[188] Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*, 87-89; Maiuri, *Pompeii*, 22; William Van Andringa, "Statues in the Temples of Pompeii," in *Historical and Religious Memory in the Ancient World*, edited by Beate Dignas and R. R. R. Smith (Oxford: Oxford U Press, 2012), 83-115.

On the outside of the southern portico, the portico parallel to the Via Marina, was located a marble statue of Venus in front of the third column on the left. In front of this statue of Venus was located a small altar.[189] The supposed base for the marble statue of Venus has an Oscan inscription located on the front of the base facing into the courtyard.[190] This inscription is in the Oscan language although it is dated to around 145 BCE. The inscription claims that Lucius Mummius was consul in Rome, most likely between 145 BCE - 140 BCE after he was a censor, upon his return from war in Greece.[191] Inscriptions with Lucius Mummius' name appear all over the Italic peninsula, including Parma, Nursia, Trebula Mutuesca, Cures, and Fregellae.[192] Some scholars claim that this inscription gives a date to the 2nd century BCE reconstruction and alterations of the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii. If this is a valid hypothesis, we can date the previously mentioned 2nd century BCE transformation of the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii to 150-140 BCE.

A marble statue of Hermaphrodite was located in front of the third column to the right.[193] In front of the third column of the western portico is a bronze statue of Artemis. In front of Artemis, further into the courtyard, is an altar about ¼-⅓ the size of the Apolline altar at the center of the courtyard.[194] Across from Artemis in front of the third column of the eastern portico

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[189] Ibid., 87.

[190] *l.mummis.l.kúsúl*. L. Mummius, son of Lucius, consul. See Mark Pobjoy, "Epigraphy and Numismatics," in *A Companion to the Roman Republic* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 54-55.

[191] Pobjoy, "Epigraphy and Numismatics," 55.

[192] Ibid., 54.

[193] Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*, 87.

[194] Ibid., 88.

is a bronze statue of Apollo[195]. In front of the fifth column of the eastern portico is a marble herm of Mercury[196], and in front of the fifth column of the western portico is a marble herm of Maia.[197]

In William Van Andringa's recent article on the statues in temples and sanctuaries in Pompeii, he revives the detailed notebooks of Giuseppe Fiorelli, which allow Van Andringa to give a full list of statuary found within or belonging within the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii.[198] This full listing includes the following: unidentified marble statue with base and two bronze arms of a female archer[199] found in the Temple of Apollo; marble base with *putti*[200], bronze bust of Diana/Artemis, marble statue of Venus, and marble statue of Hermaphroditus found in the southern portico; marble herm of Mercury and marble herm of Maia found in the eastern portico; the bronze statue of Apollo, which Mau places within the sanctuary, was found outside of the sanctuary and temple complex.[201] Van Andringa places the six main statues (pairs:

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195 Ibid.

196 Ibid.

197 Ibid., 89.

198 Van Andringa, "Statues in the Temples of Pompeii," 94.

199 Van Andringa states that these arms are probably pieces of the bronze statue of Diana located in the courtyard.

200 On this base was included the following inscription: *T[...] D[...] ? / v[otum] s[olvit] / M[arcus] Fabius Secundus / permissu aedil[ium] / A[uli] Hordioni Proculi / Ti[beri] Iuli Rufi.* Vow paid, by Marcus Fabius Secundus, with permission of the aediles, Aulus Hordioni Proculus and Tiberius Iulius Rufus. [*CIL* X 801].

201 For an interactive and complete discussion of the excavation of the pieces of the Apollo bronze statue from Pompeii and its conservation in 2009 at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, California, USA, see http://www.getty.edu/art/exhibitions/apollo_pompeii/.

Venus/Hermaphrodite, Apollo/Diana, Mercury/Maia) in the same places within the sanctuary that Mau described in his late 1800s publication.[202]

III. Topographical Analysis: Sanctuary of Apollo Pompeianos in the Augustan Age

Now, let us look at the Sanctuary of Apollo in its full form during a specific period, the Augustan Age (27 BCE-14 CE). Here, I act as a citizen of Pompeii, returning from business in Rome, coming to ask Apollo for guidance:

> Walking into the sanctuary from the Via Marina (south), I walk into the southern portico of the sanctuary to one of the marble water basins to cleanse my hands and face before walking further into this sacred area From here, I have a direct line of sight across the courtyard to the north, laying eyes on the Temple of Apollo. This Corinthian hexastyle (**Fig. 5**) temple on a high podium has a wide intercolumniation between the middle columns, allowing me to see the cult statue of Apollo Citharoedus through the wide, open doors of the *cella*.
>
> In front of temple steps, I see a large travertine altar, where a priest of Apollo is preparing for sacrifice. My eye then moves to the immediate left of the temple steps, to a large Phrygian marble Ionic column with a sundial on top (**Fig. 6**). This marble column and sundial reminds me of the obelisk in the *horologium* in Rome, set up by Augustus near the Ara Pacis Augustae.
>
> As I turn left upon entering the southern portico, I see a statue of Venus just outside the portico columns in the courtyard. Venus, who is the second patron deity of our colony of Pompeii after Apollo, is the patron deity of the Julian family and the mother of Rome's origins on the Italic peninsula, Aeneas (who Virgil says landed at Cumae first).
>
> To the left of Venus, in front of the western portico I see a bronze statue of Diana as an archer, and across from her, in front of the eastern portico, I see a similar bronze statue of Apollo as a archer (**Fig. 7**). How I cannot help but think of their merciless killing of the Niobids, a reminder to me not to cross or test the gods.
>
> Further up the western portico I see a marble herm of Maia, across from which rests a marble herm of her winged son, Mercury. I remember giving offering with my father to the cult of Mercury and Maia when I was younger, as my father was also a traveling businessman. After Augustus became our emperor, I also gave offering to Augustus along with Mercury and Maia in the Sanctuary of

[202] Van Andringa, "Statues in the Temples of Pompeii," 108-109.

> Mercury and Maia in the northeast section of the city. Now, I pay homage to Augustus, and Mercury and Maia too, in the Sanctuary of the Genius of Augustus across the forum from the Sanctuary of Apollo, or when I come here to the Sanctuary of Apollo since these figures are represented here as well. But, are not Augustus and Mercury one in the same according to Horace?
>
> Continuing my processional around the portico, I notice the simple style of wall painting in the portico, which reminds me of grandiose ashlar masonry. From this side of the sanctuary I can see the frieze of the colonnade across the courtyard, filled with griffins, acanthus leaf scroll work like I saw on the Ara Pacis Augustae in Rome, and solar images.
>
> Walking around the northern portico behind the temple, I deposit a small bronze statuette of Apollo on the small tufa ledge in front of the northeast corner of the sanctuary colonnade in the courtyard. After asking Apollo for his guidance in my business ventures, I exit the sanctuary by the northeastern door which brings me to the western colonnade of our city's great forum.

While the above situation is a hypothetical, yet possible, visit by a Pompeiian citizen to the Sanctuary of Apollo in Rome, the data presented in the description of the visit is based upon surviving archaeological evidence, related to the a context of Augustan cultural devices, such as the references to Virgil and Horace. The goal of this hypothetical situation was to show the function of the Sanctuary of Apollo as a sacred space in a socio-historical context of the Augustan Age, because although I have presented the archaeological evidence from the sanctuary, placing these finds together to give a full picture of the function of the sanctuary is a crucial part of understanding ancient Roman sacred space.

IV. Local Apollo Types

Campanian Apollo

The foundations for a Campanian Apollo are found in the Apollo of Cumae. As the earliest Greek colony on the Italic Peninsula, Cumae dominated the Campanian region in early history, founding later colonies at Naples, Puteoli, and possible Nola in the 7th/6th centuries

BCE. Similar to Pompeii, Cumae, along with the Syracusans, was instrumental in the defeat the Etruscans in 474 BCE, but was captured by the Oscans in 421 BCE.[203] In 180 BCE, Cumae sent an application to Rome to have Latin designated as the official language of the city be, not Oscan or Greek, although these two were spoken well into the 1st century CE.[204] Pompeii undergoes a similar transition and Romanization in the 2nd century BCE, with the formalization of the forum, major building projects, and possibly an unofficial selection of Latin as the official language of the city as suggested by Latin inscription appearing in the city around this time.[205]

The discussion of a type of Apollo found at a specific site is arguable via the literary sources and archaeological information from these sites. Some of these sites valued Apollo as a medical power, an oracular deity, as the great archer, or as a patron of the arts. The Cumaean Apollo, at least in its earliest forms, was an oracular Apollo because of the oracular center of the Sibyl at Cumae. For Pompeii, our best hypothesis about the origins of Apollo in the city is that Apollo was venerated as a founder deity in the area, possibly coming from Cumae or other neighboring areas. The type of Apollo present at Cumae is known from literary, epigraphic, and archaeological sources. As seen above, the Cumaean Apollo was an oracular deity, with a major focus on the Sibyl in the earlier days of the temple complex at Cumae. Once the Sibyl no longer resided at Cumae, the Cumaean temple complex became a cult center for Apollo, with a possible, lingering worship of Apollo as an oracular deity. From archaeological excavations, the Temple

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203 H. K. Lomas, "Aspects of the Relationship between Rome and the Greek Cities of Southern Italy and Campania under the Republic and Early Empire" (Dissertation, April 1989, Newcastle University): 141.

204 Ibid., 142.

205 See the Latin 'HAVE' mosaic on the pavement outside of the House of the Faun (VI, 12) in Pompeii.

of Apollo Cumanus is thought to have been built in the 5th century BCE and rebuilt at least once during the Augustan building projects in the Cumaean area.

A Greek inscription from a statue to Apollo *Kumaios*, dated as early as 4th c. BCE (but probably around 2nd/1st c. BCE), was found at Cumae, revealing a worship of a specific Apollo *Kumaios*. A Latin inscription to Apollo Cumanus mentioning Q. Tineius Rufus was also found, although this inscription dates from around Hadrian era.[206] Another inscription[207] from a bronze lekythos identifies Pomponius Zoticus as a member of the college of Apollo.[208] These inscriptions tell us two important details about the worship of Apollo at Cumae. First, we can see that a specific Apollo (*Kumaios*/*Cumanus*) was venerated at this site, and second, we can see that a cult of Apollo was instituted at Cumae across time (5th century BCE-2nd century CE).

From the Augustan period in Cumae, evidence of a college of *Apollinares* is identified in a literary text, and is connected with the worship of Apollo and possibly connected with the *Augustales*.[209] Epigraphic evidence references a Temple of Augustus in Cumae, and several other inscriptions refer to Augustus or Augustan era officials at Cumae.[210] The *Augustales* were usually freedmen who had accumulated wealth and 'tended' to the Imperial cult.[211] Evidence for the *Augustales* has been found across Campania, including Pompeii, and it has been suggested

[206] *CIL* X 3683, *ILS* 4038.

[207] *CIL* X 3684.

[208] Lomas, "Aspects of the Relationship between Rome and the Greek Cities of Southern Italy and Campania under the Republic and Early Empire," 143-144.

[209] Ibid., 149.

[210] Ibid., 150. *CIL* X 3698, *ILS* 175; *CIL* X 3682, *ILS* 108; *CIL* X 3694; *CIL* X 3691.

[211] Steven E. Ostrow, "'Augustales' along the Bay of Naples: a case study for their early growth," *Historia* 34, 1 (1985): 66-67.

that the *Augustales* of Campania were the most 'grounded' of all the regions of the Italic peninsula.[212] The Augustan context within which we approach the Temple of Apollo at Cumae reveals the manipulation or Augustanization of historical events or sites to better fit the Augustan political propaganda of the empire.

Both Raymond Clark and Karl Galinsky, in their discussions about Virgil's treatment of Cumae in the *Aeneid*, suggest that Virgil 'innovates' several details of the Cumaean Apollo. Clark notes that the archaeological evidence at Cumae suggests that the Temple of Apollo did not rest on the highest precipice of the acropolis, but the Temple of Zeus instead, although Virgil gives the Temple of Apollo the highest point on the Cumaean acropolis in Book Six of the *Aeneid*.[213] Galinsky notes that the landing of Aeneas on the Italic peninsula at Cumae is also an invention by Virgil in the *Aeneid*.[214] Within the archaeological evidence of the Augustan era at Cumae, Galinsky suggests that the Temple of Apollo at Cumae was being rebuilt during the mid-20s BCE of the Augustan era and concurrent with Virgil's writing of the *Aeneid*.[215] This relationship between Rome and Cumae was heightened when Augustus transferred the Sibylline books from the Capitoline Hill to the Temple of Apollo Palatinus.[216] A similar Augustan refashioning of the landscape is apparent in the urban fabric and archaeological evidence of Pompeii as well; and, this Augustanization of the Apolline temple at Cumae is influential in our discussion of the Augustanization of the Sanctuary and Temple of Apollo in Pompeii.

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[212] Ibid., 72.

[213] Raymond J. Clark, "Vergil's Poetic Treatment of Cumaean Geography," *Vergilius* 37 (1991), 62.

[214] Karl Galinsky, "Aeneas at Cumae," *Vergilius* 55 (2009), 71.

[215] Ibid., 75.

[216] Ibid., 78.

Apollo Pompeianos

The Apollo of Pompeii is thought to have been the founder Apollo type, similar to the Apollo represented in Virgil's *Aeneid*. The 'guide' Apollo in Virgil's *Aeneid* led Aeneas to Italy to found a new Troy, just as the founders of Cumae were led to Italy by Apollo; however, Apollo as a founder deity does not reveal a certain Apollo type, such as an oracular or medical Apollo. Therefore, the Pompeian Apollo as a founder Apollo does not fit within any of the Apollo types discussed above and can be seen as a local attempt to venerate the god, focusing on any or all of the gods attributes.

From archaeological evidence, we can hypothesize about the type of Apollo represented by Apollo Pompeianos (depictions noted in **Plate II**). The terracotta panels found in the House of the Golden Bracelet in the Insula Occidentalis northeast of the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii suggest an Apollo of the arts. The panels represent Apollo and Olympos, Marsyas and the Muses, and Stefano De Caro suggests that these panels are from the 2nd century Temple of Apollo in Pompeii.[217] The tufa omphalos found in front of the western wall of the *cella* in the Temple of Apollo in Pompeii suggests an oracular Apollo, or one that is reminiscent of the Apollo of Delphi, and possibly Cumae. The bronze statue of Apollo as archer in the courtyard of the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii suggests a destructive Apollo, possibly referencing Apollo and Diana's role in the killing of the Niobids since a similar statue of Diana as archer is found across from Apollo in the sanctuary.

The lack of an Apollo Citharoedus in the Sanctuary of Apollo suggests that the cult statue of Apollo Pompeianos in the Temple of Apollo in Pompeii was probably a depiction of Apollo

[217] Stefano De Caro, "The first sanctuaries," in *The World of Pompeii*, trans. Maureen B. Fant, eds. John J. Dobbins and Pedar W. Foss (London: Routledge, 2007), 74-75.

Citharoedus.The later addition of an Ionic column, on top of which a marble sundial sat, in the sanctuary during the Augustan era could be a reference to Apollo Agyieus, who protected public places, such as streets. Wall paintings from across the city show Apollo with Daphne; Apollo as Sol or Helios; Apollo as a judge of Venus and Hesperus; Apollo in a Trojan War cycle; Apollo with Muses or Marsyas as a patron of the arts; or Apollo identified by his attributes, such as a golden tripod, bow and quiver, griffins, and a lyre/cithara. The variety and distribution of depictions of Apollo across the city of Pompeii do not give us a clear Apollo type venerated in Pompeii; however, during the Augustan era, Apollo Pompeianos would become the Augustan Apollo, identifiable with Apollo Palatinus in Rome.

V. Apollo in the Landscape

Placing Apollo in the urban and suburban landscape of Pompeii has not been accomplished in previous scholarship. For this study, I surveyed the landscape of Pompeii, citing any depictions of Apollo or his attributes in wall paintings and sculpture. The depictions of Apollo in the urban landscape of the city of Pompeii are presented in **Plate I**. This table shows the location of these depictions in the city, a description of the type of Apollo represented, and the style of wall painting or sculpture in some cases. The importance of placing Apollo in the landscape of Pompeii is to show how an Augustanization of Apollo and the Apolline sacred space in Pompeii was fashioned after an already established Apollo type in Pompeii, as noted above in *Apollo Pompeianos.* Here I will note three[218] important depictions of Apollo, which give insight into the proposed cult statue type of Apollo in the Temple of Apollo in Pompeii.

[218] These three depictions are noted with stars in Table 1.

The earliest of the three depictions is a 2nd Style wall painting of Apollo standing on a base, which suggests that this is a depiction of a contemporary statue of Apollo.[219] He is shown leaning on a large cithara with an omphalos at the base of the cithara. He wears a laurel crown and holds a laurel branch in his right, outstretched hand. The second depiction of a possible cult statue of Apollo is in the 3rd Style of wall painting with the god standing again on a statue base in front of a colonnaded structure, holding a bow in his left hand.[220] The third depiction is of a kouros-style Apollo, in the 4th style of wall painting, standing on a four-stepped base.[221]

These three depictions of Apollo in wall paintings are three possible representations of the cult statue of Apollo from the Temple of Apollo in Pompeii. I will also note here the evidence of a copy of the cult statue of Apollo from the surviving statues and statuettes of Apollo found in Pompeii. Three fine examples of Apollo Citharoedus statues/statuettes have been found in Pompeii and suggest that the cult statue of Apollo Pompeianos could have been a depiction of Apollo Citharoedus as well.[222] For a full list and description of the depictions of Apollo in the Pompeiian landscape, see **Plate II**.

[219] Insula Occidentalis (VI, x, 10).

[220] House of the Boar II (VIII, 2, 26).

[221] House of the Centaur (VI, 9, 3).

[222] These three Apollo Citharoedus statues/statuettes are noted with stars in Table 1.

The Augustanization of Apolline Sacred Spaces

I. Augustanization of Apollo

Introduction

With Apollo originating in the pantheon of the Greek gods, his significance was as an oracular deity, a god of poetry, medicine (later vouchsafed in his son, Asclepius), the archer, and related to Helios, god of the sun. When Apollo is taken into the Etruscan pantheon, although he was not a central deity, some of his characteristics remain, such as the archer and certain elements of his relationship with the sun, however, he is given new characteristics, such as his friendly relationship with Ercle (Herakles) and association with Uni (Hera). When Apollo is introduced into the Roman pantheon, he is first admitted as Apollo Medicus when a temple is dedicated to him to counter a plague that has struck Rome in the fifth century BCE. This temple would go through several renovations over the next four centuries, including an Augustan age remodel.

It was Augustus himself who brought Apollo fame in the Roman context. After Octavian's defeat of Sextus Pompey at Naulochus in 36 BCE, he would vow a temple to Apollo on the Palatine hill. It was not until after the Battle of Actium in 31 BCE that Augustus would return to Rome and begin constructing the Temple of Apollo Palatinus (Actiacus) in 28 BCE, adjoined to his own residence on the Palatine Hill. Between the earliest arrival of Apollo in Rome to the fame and glory Augustus would give Apollo later in Rome's history, the cult of Apollo had roots in parts of the Italic peninsula outside of Rome. The history of the legendary Sibyl at Cumae where a temple of Apollo would have been located dates back to the time of Aeneas, as suggested in Virgil's *Aeneid*. Also in this area is named a Cimmerian Sibyl, which could be the same sibyl at Cumae or could be an associated sibyl in this region near Lake Avernus. Later, a sibyl would be named at Tibur, the Tiburtine Sibyl, so-called by Lactantius.[223]

The history of Apollo in the Mediterranean, in a Roman context, is traced by Virgil in the *Aeneid*. John Miller notes the existence of various models of Apolline depiction in literature, including that of Virgil.[224] In this study, Virgil's model of Apolline depiction will be the focus. Beginning with Aeneas' abandoning of a burning Troy, his travels take him through the Mediterranean, stopping at many important Apollonian sites before making landfall on the Italic peninsula. For the purpose of this study, Apollo and his dedicatory sites in the Mediterranean will be approached from a Roman context (from which the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii owes its last allegiance). The history and chronology of the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii can be compared to Aeneas' interactions with Apollonian sites in the *Aeneid*. The Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii began as an Oscan/Etruscan site, was influenced by the Greeks and Samnites, renovated by the Samnite/Roman Republic population in the second century BCE, and ultimately made into an imperial Roman site in the age of Augustus. The same mixture of cultural influences is revealed through Aeneas' interactions with Apollo in the Mediterranean.

Leaving Troy, where a strong cult of Apollo was located, Aeneas makes his way to Delos (the home of Apollo and Artemis), makes a stop at the site of Actium (where Augustus would secure his power as the sole ruler of the Roman Empire), and to the Cumaean Sibyl on the shores of the Tyrrhenian Sea. In addition to this, the reader of the *Aeneid* sees premonitions of the Augustan Temple of Apollo Palatinus on the shield of Aeneas and witnesses an interaction with an Etruscan soldier (Arruns), who mentions the cult of Apollo on Mount Soracte

[223] Lactantius, *Divinarum Institutionum* 1.6.

[224] John F. Miller, *Apollo, Augustus, and the Poets* (Cambridge: Cambridge U Press, 2009), 98.

(Sabine/Etruscan site north of Rome). By tracing these Apollonian sites through the travels of Aeneas, the Apollo type we are confronted with in Pompeii will be less of an obstacle in understanding his origins and purpose within the city of Pompeii.

Trojan Apollo

Beginning at Troy, the cult of Apollo is addressed in the second book of the *Aeneid*:

> "Now, see, Panthus escaping the Greek spears,
> Panthus, son of Othrys, Apollo's priest on the citadel,
> dragging along with his own hands the sacred relics,
> the conquered gods..."
> (Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.18-21)

Apollo played an important role in the Trojan war as a benefactor and protector of the Trojans, although their fight was in vain for a burning citadel after the entrance of the Trojan Horse.[225] Apollo's role on the battlefield in the *Aeneid* are some of the most popular and alluded to scenes in the classical world. Apollo's protection of Hector on the battlefield[226] and Apollo's deathly blow to the heel of Achilles with his namesake weapon, the bow, show the god as a powerful protector of the Trojans. Apollo the archer becomes one of the significant epithets for the Greek god: *Apollo Hekatebolos*.[227] However, the protection that Apollo gives to Hector and the Trojans shows his dual role as a destructive *and* aiding deity. Probably one of Apollo's most famous epithets is *Apollo Epikourios*, or Apollo the Helper.[228] These two roles of Apollo are his usual

[225] Jamie C. Fumo, *The Legacy of Apollo: Antiquity, Authority, and Chaucerian Poetics* (Toronto: U of Toronto Press, 2010), 128.

[226] Miller, *Apollo, Augustus, and the Poets*, 44.

[227] Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge: Harvard U Press, 1985), 146.

[228] Ibid., 147.

portrayals in epic, including the *Aeneid*. In Book VIII of the *Aeneid*, Apollo is depicted as *desuper* [from above], aiding Octavian's navy to destroy Mark Antony's forces at Actium. Apollo simply brandishes his bow, and the battle is won.[229] [230]

As Aeneas moves from his home at Troy, to Delos, Cumae, and Latium, Apollo seemingly becomes Latinized, owing to the transfer of Apollo to the western Mediterranean by early Greek settlers (Euboeans/Chalcidians at Cumae, and Greek *emporia* along the western and southern coasts, including the island of Sicily). With the Greeks founding *emporia* in the western Mediterranean, the Greek religion and pantheon of gods were transferred to the western Mediterranean as well. Building cities and temples along the south and west coast of the Italic peninsula and around the coast of Sicily, the Greeks gained a stronghold in this area, not only in trade, but also for the cultural identity of these areas. It was during this same period in history that the Etruscans began trading widely with the Greeks and other Mediterranean cultures, from the Orientalizing Period through the Archaic Period (800-500 BCE). The ports of Pyrgi and Gravisca on the central, western coast of the Italic peninsula are examples of initial Greek *emporia* that were altered into Etruscan trading ports during the late Orientalizing Period in Etruria (650/600 BCE). With these interactions amongst Mediterranean cultures, Apollo made his way from Greek religion into Etruscan religion, his first non-Greek stop on the Italic peninsula before the Roman period.

Actian Apollo

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[229] *Aeneid* 8.704-705.

[230] Miller, *Apollo, Augustus, and the Poets*, 64.

On Aeneas' way to the western Mediterranean, he sails near the site of Actium in western Greece:

> "Soon the cloudy heights of Mount Leucata were revealed,
> as well, and Apollo's headland, feared by sailors.
> We headed wearily for it, and approached the little town:
> the anchor was thrown from the prow, the stern rested on the beach.
> So, beyond hope, achieving land at last, we purify
> ourselves for Jove, and light offerings on the altars,
> and celebrate Trojan games on the shore of Actium."
> (Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.274-280)

The site of Actium is also a politically charged nucleus in western Greece, beginning with the Greeks themselves, and ultimately used as a stage by Octavian in his battles against Antony and Cleopatra. However, most notable at Actium is the presence of Apollo. The Temple of Apollo Actius was located on the promontory of Actium, overlooking the waters below.[231] Antony's camp was located on the Actium side of the gulf while Octavian's camp was located at the city he would found after the battle, Nicopolis.[232] The entire landscape of the Ambracian Gulf was originally a site of Apollo, but it was Octavian/Augustus who transformed it into a Roman shrine to Apollo, much like the Augustanization of the Campanian/Pompeiian Apollo.[233] Referring back to Actium in Book VIII of the *Aeneid* although Aeneas is already on the Italic peninsula, Aeneas is shown the future history of Rome, including Augustus' triumph at Actium and the dedication of the Temple of Apollo Palatinus:

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231 "Here too, near the mouth [of the Ambracian Gulf], is the sacred precinct of the Actian Apollo — a hill on which the temple stands; and at the foot of the hill is a plain which contains a sacred grove..." Strabo, Geographica, 7.7.6.

232 "On the spot where he had had his tent, he laid a foundation of square stones, adorned it with the captured beaks, and erected on it, open to the sky, a shrine of Apollo." Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana* 51.1.

233 See Suetonius, "Divus Augustus," *De Vita Caesarum* 18.2.

> "Apollo of Actium sees from above and bends his bow: at this
> all Egypt, and India, all the Arabs and Sabaeans turn and flee..."
> (Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.704-705)

> "[Augustus] He himself sits at the snow-white threshold of shining Apollo,
> examines the gifts of nations, and hangs them on the proud gates."
> (Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.720-721)

The "snow-white threshold of shining Apollo" is the Temple of Apollo Palatinus, vowed to be built by Augustus in 36 BCE, and dedicated after its construction in 28 BCE.[234] During the time of Augustus, Apollo becomes the principal deity in Rome, sometimes even 'outshining' Jupiter. Augustus latched on to Apollonian imagery at the Battle of Naulochus against Pompey in 36 BCE, and rapidly Apollinized the Roman Empire after this date, with the 'headquarters' of Apollonian propaganda on the Palatine Hill adjoined to Augustus' own *domus*. It is simple to see that the heightened reverence for Apollo in the Roman world after Augustus is portrayed even at Pompeii. While the sanctuary of Apollo was one of the first (if not the first) sanctuaries/temples in Pompeii, making Apollo the patron deity of the city, it was this Apollonized Roman Empire that ensured Apollo's continual importance in Pompeii and other Roman towns.

Cumaean Apollo

After a long habitation with Dido in Carthage, Aeneas makes his way to the Italic peninsula, landing at Cumae, the site of the Sibyl:

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[234] "You ask why I came so late? Phoebus's gold colonnade was opened today by mighty Caesar; such a great sight, adorned with columns from Carthage, and between them the crowd of old Danaus's daughters. There in the midst, the temple reared in bright marble, dearer to Phoebus than his Ortygian land. Right on the top were two chariots of the Sun, and the doors of Libyan ivory, beautifully done. One mourned the Gauls thrown from Parnassus's peak, and the other the death, of Niobe, Tantalus's daughter. Next the Pythian god himself was singing, in flowing robes, between his mother and sister. He seemed to me more beautiful than the true Phoebus, lips parted in marble song to a silent lyre. And, about the altar, stood four of Myron's cattle, carved statues of oxen, true to life. " Propertius, *Elegiae* 2.31.1-16.

> "So Aeneas spoke, weeping, gave his fleet full rein, and glided
> at last to the shores of Euboean Cumae..."
> (Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.1-2)
>
> "But pious Aeneas sought the summits, where Apollo
> rules on high, and the vast cavern nearby, the secret place
> of the terrifying Sibyl, in whom the Delian prophet
> inspires greatness of mind and spirit, and reveals the future."
> (Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.9-12)

As previously mentioned, Cumae was one of the Greek *emporium* on the western coast of the Italic peninsula, at which was also an oracular center of Apollo. According to Velleius Paterculus (*Roman History* 1.4.1) and Strabo (*Geography* 5.4.4), Cumae was founded by Hippocles and Megasthenes of Chalcis as the earliest Greek colony on the mainland of Italy.[235]

In Cumae, the oracle would be known as the Sibyl, rather than the Pythia, like at Delphi. Cumae functioned not only as an *emporium* and an oracular center, but also as a temple site and possible sanctuary to Apollo. Like Delphi, Cumae was an oracular site specifically tied to Apollo; but, at Cumae, the Sibyl's place of prophecy was in a cave, rather than in the *adyton* of the Temple of Apollo, like at Delphi. Cumae contained a temple complex on the hill and the oracular cave below the temple complex. The function of the complex as an oracular center existed until, as H. W. Parke suggests, the late fifth century/early fourth century BCE, during which the Campanians took Cumae around 421 BCE.[236] Although Cumae might have ceased to be an oracular center at

[235] H. W. Parke, *Sibyls and Sibylline Prophecy in Classical Antiquity*, ed. B. C. McGing (London: Routledge, 1988), 71.

[236] Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica* 12.76.4

this time or even later, its function as a cult center of Apollo remained long after the fourth century BCE.[237]

The founding of the Temple of Apollo at Cumae is accredited to Daedalus in the *Aeneid*:

> "...[Daedalus] hovered lightly at last above the Chalcidian hill.
> First returning to earth here, he dedicated his oar-like wings
> to you Phoebus, and built a gigantic temple."
> (Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.17-19)

Even during the time of the Romans, the Sibyl at Cumae was written about, gaining fame as the first stop of Aeneas on the Italic peninsula.[238] The sacredness of the space at the temple complex in Cumae in the *Aeneid* is discussed by Karl Kerényi. He states that the element of wind in the *Aeneid* during Aeneas' interaction with the Cumaean Sibyl creates the 'spirit' of the god Apollo in his Cumaean sanctuary.[239]

Apollo of the Empire

Having written the *Aeneid* during the early reign of Augustus, Virgil was able to include many Apolline sanctuaries and temples within Aeneas' travels to Latium since the structures were already built. In other lines, Virgil exaggerates or enhances affiliations with Apollo for Augustus' sake. During the Augustan age (27 BCE-14 CE), Augustus' public and private building programs increased the use of Apolline imagery within the Roman Empire. As we have seen, Virgil leads us through the Mediterranean and introduces us to Apolline structures; but,

[237] Parke, *Sibyls and Sibylline Prophecy in Classical Antiquity*, 81.

[238] "But what woman is this with snow-white hair and / fillet whom I see at the new road's extremest end, / where Apollo's temple shows Cumae's ancient site..." Statius, *Silvae* 4.3.114-116.

[239] Karl Kerényi, *Apollo: the wind, the spirit, and the God*, trans. Jon Solomon (Dallas: Spring Publications, 1983), 16-18.

where does the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii fit into the *Aeneid*? The closest Aeneas comes to Pompeii is the site of Cumae, a Greek *emporium* center and the site of the Cumaean Sibyl. Inside the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii, on the walls of the portico surrounding the Temple of Apollo, are scenes of the Trojan War depicted in the Fourth Style of fresco. Although only six scenes survive (out of a possible forty scenes around the portico) and their later date of post-62 CE, the six scenes reveal the topic of depiction among the scenes in the sanctuary.[240] The six surviving scenes are taken from Moormann's section on the Temple of Apollo at Pompeii and are as follows[241]:

1) Achilles quarrels with Agamemnon
2) Achilles drags Hector's corpse behind his chariot around the walls of Troy
3) Achilles receives Hector's father Priam
4) Duel between two warriors in the presence of Athena
5) Embassy of the Greeks to Achilles sitting in his tent or another scene
6) Unknown action on fragmented scene

Among these six scenes, four of the scenes are depictions of Achilles. Compared to the scenes in the Temple of Juno at Carthage which depict Achilles (2-3), the cycle of scenes is very similar. According to Moormann, the reason for Achilles' leading portrayal in these scenes is not only because of his role as protagonist in the *Iliad*, for which Pompeian wall paintings readily portrayed[242], but because of the 'hidden presence of Apollo' within the scenes.[243] As previously mentioned, Apollo's role in the Trojan War was immensely important to the Trojans and was

[240] Eric Moormann, *Divine Interiors: Mural Paintings in Greek and Roman Sanctuaries* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam U Press, 2011), 78.

[241] Ibid., 77.

[242] See frescoes in the House of the Dioscuri (VI,9) and House of Apollo (VI,7) in Pompeii for similar scenes depicting the Trojan War.

[243] Moormann, *Divine Interiors*, 82.

directly associated with Achilles, Hector, and Aeneas.[244] However, a more complex relationship between these scenes and Apollo can be made by referring to earlier Greek structures in Apolline sanctuaries, notably the one at Delphi. Ancient literary sources give Delphi as the site of death and burial of Achilles son, Neoptolemus (Pyrrhus).[245] Also, depicted on the frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi is the pillaging of Troy by the Greek camp, of which Achilles was a part. This extended relationship with Achilles, Apollo, and the Trojan War is much like the relationship of Daedalus and Apollo featured in Aeneas' description of the Temple of Apollo at Cumae in the *Aeneid*.

For this reason, Virgil's association of Apollo and Aeneas throughout the *Aeneid* had substantial proof in early literature and history, making it easier for Virgil to make the Augustan addition into the 'A' triad of the *Aeneid* (Apollo, Aeneas, Augustus). It can even be said that Virgil's exaggerated attempt in portraying Aeneas as under Apollo's protection was to make Aeneas a connecting figure in the Apollo-Augustus relationship, or to equate Aeneas and Octavian/Augustus in the Mediterranean world of the *Aeneid*.

Virgil's depictions of sacred landscapes and architecture in the *Aeneid* reveal the literary-historical depictions of several Roman locations across the Mediterranean, including Actium and the Temple of Apollo Palatinus. With the Sanctuary of Apollo at the foreground, what we gain from Virgil's depictions of sacred space in the *Aeneid* is a historical and cultural framework within the Augustan period of the Roman Empire. Not only is this important as a datable text, but the continuous associations of Apollo, Aeneas, and Augustus, give us a greater insight into how the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii and its temple within were used during the Augustan

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[244] Ibid., 80. See Moormann's list of Apolline interventions within the *Iliad* in footnote 115.

[245] Hyginus, *Fabulae* 123.

Age in Pompeii (within which time the sanctuary underwent several major renovation and construction projects).

Virgil's aggrandizement of these possible historical structures at Cumae and other sacred spaces can be placed within the Augustan context as Virgil's attempt in connecting the grandiose elements of Aeneas' encounters with the future Roman Empire and Augustus through contemporary structures[246] in Rome which Virgil could have used as structural models for the literary depictions of these *Aeneid* structures. John Miller suggests that "...Augustus' association with Apollo with Apollo helped to shape Virgil's epic vision of the god.[247] Miller even suggests that the idea of an Apolline guidance of Aeneas was invented by Virgil in the *Aeneid*.[248] This proposition reveals the importance of an Augustan Apollo type. If Virgil is basing the *Aeneid's* Apollo on the Augustan Apollo, then Virgil becomes an invaluable source for us in understanding how important Apollo was to Rome, Augustus, and the Empire.

II. Augustanization of Rome

Augustan Apollo and Rome

Above we have traced the existence and representation of Apollo in varying parts of the Mediterranean through the voice of an Augustan age author, Virgil; therefore, we have already interacted with an Augustanized Apollo. Now, we can focus on the Roman depictions of the Augustan Apollo and the transformation of a Campanian Apollo at Pompeii into an

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[246] See Temple of Apollo Palatinus in Paul Zanker, *Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan Press, 1988).

[247] Miller, *Apollo, Augustus, and the Poets*, 97.

[248] Ibid., 100.

Augustanized Apollo. During the time of Augustus, Apollo in Rome was essentially the Augustan Apollo; therefore, the Roman Apollo is hereafter referred to as the Augustan Apollo.

Apollo's presence in Rome has an early founding in the Temple of Apollo Medicus (also referred to as Apollo Sosianus and Apollo *in Circo*). First built by the Julian ancestors of Augustus in 431 BCE after a plague struck the city of Rome in 433 BCE, the Temple of Apollo Medicus was rebuilt by Gaius Sosianus circa 30-25 BCE, during a time in which the Temple of Apollo Palatinus was constructed by Augustus.[249] According to Livy, this site was already called the *Apollinar* (*Apollinare*) before the temple was built, suggesting that a grove or early cult site was here before the temple was built.[250] It has been suggested that Apollo was introduced into Roman religion at this site via the Sibylline Books (*Libri Sibyllini*) because Apollo was a Greek god and any non-Roman deity could not be brought into the city unless the Sibylline Books were consulted.[251] Pliny the Elder records the works of art within the temple in the *Natural Histories*. Included in the temple's artworks are the following according to Pliny:

1) paintings by Aristides of Thebes[252]
2) statues by Philiscus of Rhodes[253]
3) a statue depicting Apollo Citharoedus by Timarchides[254]
4) a cedar wood statue of Apollo from Seleucia[255]

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[249] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 66.

[250] Georges Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 442.

[251] Eric M. Orlin, *Temples, Religion, and Politics in the Roman Republic* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 97.

[252] Pliny, *Natural Histories* 35.99.

[253] Ibid., 36.34.

[254] Ibid., 36.35.

[255] Ibid., 13.53.

5) a statue group of Niobids[256]

Also important to point out from this temple is the pedimental sculpture. The pediment of the Temple of Apollo Sosianus is believed to be the pediment of the Temple of Apollo at Eretria, brought back to Rome from a campaign in Greece. The pediment depicts the Amazonomachy, parts of which can be seen in the Montemartini Museum in Rome. This temple of Apollo was the only temple to Apollo in the city of Rome until Augustus dedicated the Temple of Apollo Palatinus in 28 BCE, and by this time, the Temple of Apollo Palatinus surpassed the Temple of Apollo Sosianus in importance and grandeur.

The Temple of Apollo Palatinus (or Actius/Actiacus) was vowed by Augustus in 36 BCE after his defeat of Sextus Pompey at Naulochus but was not dedicated until 28 BCE. This length of time is short in comparison to the vowing (42 BCE) and dedication (2 BCE) of the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus. The Temple of Apollo Palatinus was placed at the site of a lightning strike, giving the space a divine placement for the construction of the temple. This site also happened to be adjacent to the house of Augustus on the Palatine, which places a political and familial importance on the relationship between Apollo and Augustus. The artwork at the Temple of Apollo Palatinus surpassed that of the Temple of Apollo Sosianus:

1) chariot of the sun on the roof[257]
2) roof statues by Bupalos and Athenis[258]
3) ivory doors depicting the rescue of Delphi and the Niobids[259]
4) marble statue of Apollo at the entrance[260]

[256] Ibid., 36.28.

[257] Propertius, *Elegies* 2.31.11.

[258] Pliny, *Natural Histories* 36.13.

[259] Propertius, *Elegies* 2.31.12-16.

5) altar surrounded by four oxen by Myron[261]
6) cult statue of Apollo by Scopas[262]
7) cult statue of Diana by Timotheus[263]
8) cult statue of Latona by Cephisodotus[264]
9) marble quadriga of Apollo and Diana by Lysias[265]
10) portico of Danaids[266]
11) golden gifts (tripods) dedicated by Augustus[267]
12) collection of sealing rings and jewels dedicated by Marcellus[268]
13) statue of Apollo Comaeus[269]

The cult statue of Apollo by Scopas was a depiction of Apollo Citharoedus. The suggested representation and form of the cult statue are found on a recycled Hadrian-era panel on the Arch of Constantine in Rome; a base from Sorrento depicting Apollo, Diana, Latona, and the Sibyl[270]; and the statue of Apollo Barberini (Munich, Glyptothek, Inv. 211). The suggested form of the

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260 Ibid., 5-8.

261 Ibid.

262 Pliny, *Natural Histories* 36.25.

263 Ibid., 36.32.

264 Ibid., 36.24.

265 Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 85.

266 Ibid., 86.

267 Augustus, *Res Gestae* 25; Suetonius, Augustus 52; Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 87. Zanker suggests a wall painting of a tripod from the House of the Dioscuri (VI, 9, 6) as an example of the large golden tripods dedicated by Augustus in the Temple of Apollo Palatinus.

268 Pliny, *Natural Histories* 37.11.

269 Ammianus Marcellinus, Roman History 23.6.24.

270 Katja Moede, "The dedication of cult statues as the altar. A Roman pictorial formula for the introduction of new cults," in *Divine Images and Human Imaginations in Ancient Greece and Rome*, ed. Joannis Mylonopoulos (Leiden, Brill, 2010), 279.

cult statue from the Temple of Apollo Palatinus is helpful in our case study of the Temple of Apollo at Pompeii because neither statue is extant.

The final aspect of Augustan Apollo which is important for our study are the *Ludi Apollinares*. These 'Games of Apollo' were begun in Rome in 212 BCE after consulting the Marcian oracle, who claimed that games to Apollo were to be instituted for the 'pestilential terms of the enemy to be averted.'[271] Livy claims that the *Ludi Apollinares* were instituted in 212 BCE as a sign for victory and not of health, as the previous source suggests.[272] Although the *ludi Romani* were the most important of the games, the *ludi Apollinares* would have received a greater fruition during the Augustan Age The religious function of the games was the processional (*pompa circensis*) of officials (the city *praetor* curated the *ludi Apollinares*) of the games and the Roman gods and goddesses from the Capitoline temple, through the forum, ending at the circus where the games would be performed.[273] From the following passage in Ovid's *Amores*, written during the Augustan Age, one might think that the statues of the gods were made to appear lifelike and overly-realistic by Ovid' descriptions of them and his acknowledgement by Venus in the procession:

> But now the procession comes – silence minds and tongues!
> Time for applause – the golden procession comes.
> Victory's in the lead, with outstretched wings –
> approach Goddess, and make my love conquer!
> Cheer for Neptune, you who trust the waves too much!
> No sea for me: my country captivates me.
> Soldiers, cheer for Mars! I hate all warfare:
> I delight in peace, and to find love in its midst.

[271] Miller, *Apollo, Augustus, and the Poets*, 29.

[272] Ibid.; Livy, 25.12.15.

[273] Georges Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 572-574.

> Phoebus for the augurs, Phoebe the huntsmen!
> Let craftsmen turn their hands to you, Minerva!
> Let farmers honour Ceres and tender Bacchus!
> Boxers please Pollux: horsemen please Castor!
> I cheer for you, charming Venus, and the boy
> with the powerful bow: Goddess help this venture
> and change my new girl's mind! Let her agree to be loved!
> She nodded, and gave me a favourable sign.
> (Ovid, *Amores* 3.2.43-57)

According to Dumézil, the *Ludi Apollinares* included the *pompa circensis* and games in the Circus Maximus. The *pompa circensis* is important for the games, not only because it denotes a religious function of procession, but it also featured at least the effigies of imperial family members during the reign of Augustus.[274] This is but one example of the narrowing of the gap between the imperial family and state religion, and in the Augustan Age, Augustus would be but one step from divinity until his death in 14 CE, after which he was deified.

Augustan Political Propaganda in Roman Sacred Spaces

Sacred spaces in Rome and throughout the empire were the 'billboards' for Augustan political propaganda. Not only did Augustus build a new temple to Apollo in Rome, he built one atop the hill *sacra Palatia Phoebo*[275] ("sacred to Phoebus/Apollo"), as it would be called in the latter part of the Augustan Age. He also had the temple built directly adjacent to his own residence on the Palatine Hill, where a ramp connected the two structures; and, Augustus had the Sibylline Books moved to the Temple of Apollo Palatinus in 28 BCE, from their original home

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[274] Patrizia Arena, "The pompa circensis and the domus Augusta (1st–2nd c. A.D.)," in *Ritual Dynamics and Religious Change in the Roman Empire. Proceedings of the Eighth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Heidelberg, July 5–7, 2007)* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 78.

[275] Propertius, *Elegies* 4.1.3.

on the Capitoline Hill.[276] The vantage point with which to see Rome standing at the Temple of Apollo Palatinus would be one that the previous temple to Apollo did not have. The Temple of Apollo Palatinus also exceeded this previous temple in luxury. All these topographical and visual elements play to the propaganda of Augustus and a new age in the Roman Empire. Furthermore, the Augustan Apollo was not the fierce archer god of Actium as Virgil describes, but the peaceful, lyre-playing god of the new golden age during the reign of Augustus, as proven by the lyre-wielding cult statue of Apollo in the Temple of Apollo Palatinus.

At every turn, Augustan propaganda of peace and a new golden age in Rome was built into sacred spaces in the city. The Forum of Augustus is another example of Augustan political propaganda comes into play. While sacred spaced to the war-god Mars were not to be consecrated within the *pomerium*, a temple to Mars Ultor ('Avenger") was allowed because Mars acted as the force behind Augustus avenging his father's, Julius Caesar, death and saving the Roman state. This type of Augustan propaganda and political motive can be described as manipulating rules, regulations, and traditions, which were already in place before the Augustan Age, to gain the support and love of the Roman people. As we discussed previously in Chapter One, Roman religion was said to have been a system with which to control and appease the masses. Augustus attempted to do this in Rome and elsewhere in the empire, succeeding with almost every attempt.

These sacred spaces across the city of Rome were functional for the masses too. Referring to these public sacred spaces in Rome, Paul Zanker states, "As such, they formed a massive system of sumptuously decorated, covered spaces that ran through all the central areas

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[276] Orlin, *Temples, Religion and Politics in the Roman Republic*, 98.

of public life in the city and were universally accessible."[277] Built by emperors and previous political figures in Rome, the public sacred spaces of Rome acted as passageways, places of business and conversation, while also embodying the political propaganda, or "staged applause," of the emperor.[278] These public spaces were even spaces of legal enterprise. Richard Neudecker notes, "The combined heroic and sacred space of the Forum of Augustus was equipped with the special fixtures and fittings of the legal practice..."[279] These statements show that the location, function, and meaning of public sacred spaces in Rome were in conversation with each other and the use of these spaces by the emperor allowed for functional, metaphorical, and political messages to be disseminated to the Roman masses.

III. Augustanisms in Pompeii

The Temple of Fortuna Augusta and the Eumachia Building

Marcus Tullius was a prominent citizen in Pompeii during the Augustan era, donating his own private land and private funds to build the Temple of Fortuna Augusta just north of the forum in Pompeii at the crossroads of the Via del Foro and the Via della Fortuna. I choose to include this building here as an example of the relationship between public and private space and sacred and profane space. Not only did Marcus Tullius build this temple on his own private land

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[277] Paul Zanker, "By the emperor, for the people: 'Popular' architecture in Rome," in *The Emperor and Rome: Space, Representation, and Ritual, Yale Classical Studies vol. 35*, eds. Bjorn C. Ewald and Carlos F. Norena (Cambridge: Cambridge U Press, 2010), 48-49.

[278] Emanuel Mayer, "Propaganda, staged applause, or local politics: Public monuments from Augustus to Septimius Severus," in *The Emperor and Rome: Space, Representation, and Ritual, Yale Classical Studies vol. 35*, eds. Bjorn C. Ewald and Carlos F. Norena (Cambridge: Cambridge U Press, 2010), 111.

[279] Richard Neudecker, "The Forum of Augustus in Rome: Law and Order in Sacred Spaces," in *Spaces of Justice in the Roman World*, ed. Francesco de Angelis (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 170.

(just as the priestesses, Mamia and Eumachia, do for the Sanctuary of the Genius of Augustus[280] and the 'Eumachia'[281] buildings on the forum), he even marked the liminal space between the temple precinct and his private residence with a tufa stone marker, which states, "Private land of Marcus Tullius, son of Marcus."[282] Much like the precinct walls of the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii, which separated the profane space of the forum, the Via Marina, and a neighboring house, this stone marker set up my Marcus Tullius expresses the movement from sacred space to a profane, private, residential space. The prevailing of public, sacred space over private, domestic space is mentioned again below in relation to the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii through the building of the western precinct wall by Marcus Holconius Rufus in the Augustan era.

The Eumachia Building across the forum from the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii also presents an Augustanized religious action in the city. Most notable in this area are the dedications of two statues in the forum colonnade in niches of the outer wall of the Eumachia building. The two statues depicted Romulus and Aeneas, both of whom were important figures during the Augustan Age, with Augustus identifying himself with both of these mytho-historical figures on various occasions. In Rome, Augustus placed his private residence and the Temple of Apollo Palatinus on the Palatine Hill next to the 'Hut of Romulus,' and a prominent statue of Aeneas was displayed in the Forum of Augustus in one of the back apsidal spaces of the forum. The placement of these two statues together in Pompeii would denote a specific reference to

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[280] *CIL* X 816.

[281] *CIL* X 810, *ILS* 3785.

[282] Alison E. Cooley and M. G. L. Cooley, *Pompeii: A Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 2004), 93. *CIL* X 821, *ILS* 5398a.

Augustus and Rome during the Augustan Age, and it is probably not a coincidence that both these statues faced the Sanctuary of Apollo as well.

Aulus Clodius Flaccus and ludi Apollinares

Aulus Clodius Flaccus was yet another prominent citizen in Pompeii during the Augustan era, serving in public offices at the same time as Marcus Holconius Rufus.[283] Aulus Clodius Flaccus' contribution to our argument for an Augustanization of the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii comes from an inscription on his tomb noting his presentation of the *ludi Apollinares* in the forum of Pompeii in each of his three tenures as duumvir. We can date the third duumvirate of Aulus Clodius Flaccus to 2/1 BCE because of other inscriptions giving the consulships of Augustus Caesar which also mention Aulus Clodius Flaccus or his co-duumvir, Marcus Holconius Rufus. Therefore, if we take into account that three to five years had to be between a citizen's repeated election as a duumvir, the second duumvirate of Aulus Clodius Flaccus could be no later than 7-5 BCE, and his first duumvirate no later than 12-10 BCE.[284]

In his first term as duumvir, Aulus Clodius Flaccus gave the following presentations for the *ludi Apollinares*: a procession, bulls and bullfighters, three pairs of stage-fighters, boxers, Greek style pugilists (boxers), games with musical entertainment, pantomime, and the actor Pylades.[285] For his second duumvirate, Aulus Clodius Flaccus presented the following: a procession, bulls and bullfighters, boxers, thirty pairs of athletes, five pairs of gladiators, and

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[283] *CIL* X 890, *ILS* 6391. 2 BCE. "...by command of Marcus Holconius Rufus, for the fourth time, and Aulus Clodius Flaccus, for the third time, duumvirs with judicial power..." Cooley and Cooley, *Pompeii: A Sourcebook*, 92.

[284] Cooley and Cooley, *Pompeii: A Sourcebook*, 111.

[285] Ibid., 48. *CIL* X 1074d, *ILS* 5053.4.

presented 35 pairs of gladiators, a hunt with bulls, bullfighters, boars, and bears with a colleague.[286] For his third and final duumvirate, he presented, with a colleague, 'games by a foremost troupe, with extra musical entertainment.'[287] One interesting note here is that during his presentation of the *ludi Apollinares* during his first term as duumvir, he presented the famous Augustan era actor, Pylades, who performed many famous shows in Rome during the Augustan period. To include such a famous actor in the games, the prestige and importance of the *ludi Apollinares* in this year must have been coeval with an important year in the city as well. The same can be said for the games presented in the second duumvirate of Aulus Clodius Flaccus because of the extended presentation of gladiators and athletes in the amphitheatre. It is possible that the refashioning and renovation of the Sanctuary of Apollo was completed in one of these years, and the processional mentioned in the inscription might have passed through the newly constructed colonnade around the Sanctuary of Apollo, which had been built between 10 BCE and 3/2 BCE, into the forum of Pompeii.

Column and sundial

The Phrygian marble Ionic column, adorned with a sun dial on top, in the courtyard of the Sanctuary of Apollo just in front of the podium of the Temple of Apollo was placed in the sanctuary at some point in the Augustan era due to the accompanying inscription of the dedication.[288] This column and sundial exemplify the Apollo type of a solar deity (Apollo-Sol), but it is also another direct reference to the Augustan obelisks brought to Rome by the emperor after his defeat of Antony and Cleopatra at the Battle of Actium and the subsequent annexation

[286] Ibid.

[287] Ibid.

[288] *CIL* X 802.

of Egypt. Augustus set these obelisks up in the *horologium* and *circus maximus* in Rome, and the column and sundial at Pompeii would probably be a direct reference to the obelisk in the *horologium* in Rome because of its celestial use in revealing the equinox.[289]

But, what is most important to draw from this installation of the column and sundial is its placement within the sanctuary. Ideally, obelisks were placed in the middle of a space, as a version of an *axis mundi* as Eliade phrases it; however, in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii, the column is directly in front of the podium of the Temple of Apollo, to the left of the central staircase leading to the *cella*. The column was not placed in the middle of the sanctuary because the altar takes precedence over a votive-type offering like the column and sundial; therefore, the column was placed just in front of the temple podium so that anyone entering the sanctuary from the Via Marina, looking at the front of Temple of Apollo, would see the column and sundial in close proximity to the temple and altar.

The importance of this columns placement in a non-central location in the Sanctuary of Apollo also reveals its function in the space. If the duumvirs who erected this column wanted to simply erect a column and sundial in the city, they could have found a more central space at which to place the column (this is also supported by a similar dedication of a sundial in the Triangular Forum in Pompeii by the same two duumvirs). But, by placing this column and sundial within a sacred space, it becomes the property of Apollo as a votive offering and dedication and also reminds a visitor of the Augustan obelisks in Rome and the relationship of the emperor with Apollo .

Venus

[289] Also notable are the two obelisks placed in front of the mausoleum of Augustus, although these were made in Egypt during the Augustan Age unlike the refashioned obelisks mentioned above.

During the excavations in the Sanctuary of Apollo, two marble statues, one of Venus and one of Hermaphrodite, were found in the southern portico. Several scholars have placed these two sculptures outside the columns of the southern portico of the sanctuary in the space between the portico and the courtyard. If these statues were in the courtyard during the Augustan era, this would be another symbol of Augustan propaganda in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii. Venus was the patron deity of the Julian clan and a temple to Venus Genetrix was built in the recently constructed Forum of Julius Caesar, just before the Augustan era. Venus was also the mother of Aeneas[290], with whom we have already made Augustan connections with above. And, most importantly, Venus was the second patron deity in Pompeii after Apollo, so the inclusion of her statue in the Sanctuary of Apollo displays the importance of Apollo, the first patron deity of the city, over Venus, the second patron deity of the city.

magistri, ministri, and Augustales

In Pompeii, three types of religious figures are important for our discussion of the Augustanization of Pompeii and the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii and are analyzed through epigraphic evidence from Pompeii. The first type of figures are the *magistri*[291], who were the 'presidents' of cults, denoting a higher status than the second type of figures, the *ministri*.[292] The *ministri* were the servants of the cult, similar to the third type of figures, the *Augustales*[293], who

[290] A statue of Aeneas was erected in a niche of the 'Eumachia' building in the eastern portico across the forum from the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii. The base survives with an inscription identifying Aeneas and his deeds. *CIL* X 808, 8348; *ILS* 63.

[291] For magistri of the lares compitales in Pompeii, see *CIL* IV 60, *ILS* 6375.

[292] For ministri of the cult of Fortuna Augusta in Pompeii, see *CIL* X 824, *ILS* 6382; *CIL* X 825, *ILS* 6385.

[293] For the presentation of games by an Augustalis in Pompeii, see *CIL* IV 9962.

were the servants[294] of the Imperial cult. Also represented in epigraphic evidence is the position of 'priest of Augustus.' The Augustan era patron of the colony of Pompeii, Marcus Holconius Rufus, who we will discuss in detail below, was a priest of Augustus (*Augusti sacerdoti*; *flamini Aug.*; *Augusti Caesaris sacerd.*).[295] While these religious positions in Pompeii are important in understanding the religious landscape of the city, the most important inscriptions for the purpose of arguing for an Augustanization of the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii are the inscriptions which reference the cult of Mercury and Maia.

The cult of Mercury and Maia was one of the religious cults in Pompeii, although a sanctuary or sacred space specifically for the cult of Mercury and Maia has not been discovered; however, a point to be made here in favor of the Augustanization of the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii is the placement of two herms of Mercury and Maia in the courtyard of the Sanctuary of Apollo. The Augustanization of the cult itself occurs chronologically in three inscriptions: the first inscription from 14 BCE mentions Mercury and Maia only (*Merc. Maiae sacrum*)[296]; the second inscription mentions Augustus along with Mercury and Maia (*min. Aug. Merc. Mai.*)[297]; the third inscription from 2 BCE mentions Augustus only (*min. Aug.*).[298] The evolution of the cult of Mercury and Maia was discussed in the 1930s by Gertrude Gerther in relation to the Augustan era cult activity on the island of Delos. Gerther notes that an evolution of *ministri*

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[294] By servants, I mean religious figures who tended to and and continued the functioning of the cult.

[295] For honorific inscriptions to Marcus Holconius Rufus, including his position as a priest of Augustus, see *CIL* X 837, *ILS* 6321 (2/1 BCE); *CIL* X 838, *ILS* 6361a (1 BCE-14 CE); *CIL* X 830, *ILS* 6361b (1 BCE-14 CE).

[296] *CIL* X 886, *ILS* 6389. 14 BCE.

[297] *CIL* X 888, *ILS* 6390.

[298] *CIL* X 890, *ILS* 6391. 2 BCE.

Merc. Mai. to *ministri Aug. Mer. Mai.* to *ministri Aug.* is the product of the inclusion of the *genius* of Augustus in the Roman *lares* and Augustus' reorganization of the *lares compitales*.[299] This theory suggests a manipulation of religious tradition by Augustus, examples of which are ubiquitous in Roman religion.

What makes this theory for the manipulation of the cult of Mercury and Maia even more appealing is the acknowledgement of Augustus as Mercury in Horace's *Odes*. In *Ode* 1.2, Horace poses a question of 'who will save the Roman state,' asking if it will be Apollo, Venus, Mars, or Mercury ('the winged son of Maia'). Horace ends with Mercury, stating that Augustus is Mercury in 'human form' and is ready to be 'Caesar's avenger.'[300] The presentation of Augustus as an earthly Mercury, or 'in the guise of Mercury,'[301] is perhaps an invention of Horace in response to the inclusion of Augustus in an already established cult of Mercury and Maia in Roman religion. Whatever the case, epigraphic evidence shows that Augustus did, in fact, become a part of the cult of Mercury and Maia, soon replacing these two figures as the titular head of the cult.

Coming back to the placement of herms of Mercury and Maia in the courtyard of the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii, if Augustus did become the main focus of this cult, or at least an identifiable member, the placement of these two herms in the courtyard of the sanctuary would suggest a physical, symbolic reference to Augustus. This is the first of the many structural images in the Sanctuary of Apollo to be discussed which indirectly reference Augustus in the

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299 Gertrude Gerther, "Pompeian Ministri," *Classical Philology* 27, 1 (1932), 59-65.

300 Robert A. Gurval, *Actium and Augustus: The Politics and Emotions of Civil War* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan Press, 1995), 161-162.

301 Paul Allen Miller, "Horace, Mercury, and Augustus or the Poetic Ego of Odes 1-3," *American Journal of Philology* 112, 3 (1991), 369.

sacred space of Apollo, and we can argue that this Augustan refashioning of sacred space indirectly presents Augustus in the Sanctuary of Apollo without a direct reference or image of Augustus on display.

M. Holconius Rufus

Marcus Holconius Rufus was the one of the most affluent and the most politically and socially successful citizen of Pompeii during the Augustan era. Having been duumvir five times, quinquennalis two times, military tribune, priest of Augustus, and patron of the colony, Marcus Holconius Rufus served the city of Pompeii in social, political, military (in ideal only), censorial, religious, and honorific roles throughout his long career (20s BCE-early 1st century CE).[302] Among his Augustan era efforts at Augustanizing the city of Pompeii, including a refurbishment and construction in the large theatre,[303] M. Holconius Rufus's greatest Augustanizing effort was the restructuring of the Sanctuary of Apollo.

Between 10 BCE and 2 BCE, M. Holconius Rufus, in his third duumvirate (along with the other duumvir, Gnaeus Egnatius Postumus) paid 3,000 sesterces in order to build the western precinct wall of Sanctuary of Apollo.[304] The western precinct wall of the Sanctuary of Apollo and this accompanying inscription was the focus of John J. Dobbins' and his team's excavations in the sanctuary in 1997. Through stratigraphic data between the precinct wall and the wall of the neighboring house, his team proved that this wall was indeed the wall mentioned in the

[302] *CIL* X 838, *ILS* 6361a; *CIL* X 830, *ILS* 6361b. 1 BCE-14 CE.

[303] *CIL* X 833, 834; *ILS* 5638. Honorific inscriptions to Marcus Holconius Rufus and to Augustus were also discovered in the large theatre. See *CIL* X 838, *ILS* 6361a for the honorific inscription to M. Holconius Rufus, and *CIL* X 842 (2/1 BCE) for the honorific inscription to Augustus. The inscription to Augustus mentions Augustus as *pater patriae*, which was not given to Augustus until February of 2 BCE, so this inscription notes the up to date honorific titles of Augustus as presented through Italic epigraphy.

[304] *CIL* X 787, *ILS* 5915.

inscription of 10 BCE-2 BCE, noting the payment by M. Holconius Rufus. Dobbins' team also suggested that since the western precinct wall was constructed during the Augustan era, the sanctuary colonnade must also be from this same period, not from the 2nd century sanctuary restructuring as previous scholarship noted.[305] Dobbins' team gave further evidence for this when they found that the ground level of the sanctuary had been altered to match the level of the new colonnade around the same time as the construction of the sanctuary colonnade in the Augustan era.[306] Therefore, I would argue that M. Holconius Rufus and related political officials and *aediles* in Pompeii were responsible for this Augustanization of the Sanctuary of Apollo during the Augustan era, before the close of the 1st century BCE.

Roger Ling notes, referring to M. Holconius Rufus' construction of the western precinct wall and the sanctuary colonnade: "In either case their concern for the cult of Apollo acquires added significance when one remembers that Apollo was Augustus' patron deity. It was natural to demonstrate allegiance to the new regime by promoting the interests of its leader's favourite god."[307] This example of indirect Augustanization, or 'Romanisation,' exemplifies the authority with which the local politicians in Roman colonies could transform their local city into a 'new

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305 Recently, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill has argued strongly that Dobbins' teams' dating of the construction of the western precinct wall of the Sanctuary of Apollo, and the sanctuary colonnade accordingly, from the last decade of the 1st century BCE does not agree with the stylistic form of the Doric colonnade and the implanted base with the Mummius inscription from the mid 2nd-century BCE. Wallace-Hadrill thus suggests that the sanctuary colonnade was built in the mid-2nd century BCE and was only refashioned or restructured in the mid Augustan era. See his discussion in Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge U Press, 2008), 131-133.

306 John J. Dobbins, et al., "Excavations in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii" *AJA* 102, 4 (1998): 739-756.

307 Roger Ling, "Pompeii's public landscape in the Roman period," in *The World of Pompeii*, eds. John J. Dobbins and Pedar W. Foss (London: Routledge, 2007), 119-128.

Rome.'[308] John D'Arms suggests that these building programs in Roman cities outside of Rome were in order to mirror the architecture of the buildings in Rome.[309]

If M. Holconius Rufus has not already been described as an Augustan Renaissance man, the statue of himself from the corner of the Via dell'Abbondanza and Via Stabiana solidifies this argument. The statue of M. Holconius Rufus has the physiognomy of the politician himself, but the body and garments of the cult statue of Mars Ultor from the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus in Rome. Paul Zanker has argued that this statue is of metropolitan Roman style, meaning that it was manufactured in Rome and then transported to Pompeii where an accompanying honorific inscription[310] to M. Holconius Rufus was put on its base.[311] I would like to end the discussion here with a quote by Zanker, noting the implementation of Augustan ideals in cities outside of Rome: "The case of the Holconii offers us unusually good insight into the process by which the prominent families in Roman cities functioned as intermediaries. It was these leading families who led the campaign for Augustus' program of cultural renewal and created corresponding symbols with their donations."[312]

A Complete Augustanization

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[308] Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, 78-81. Here, Wallace-Hadrill offers a section titled, 'Direct' and indirect romanisation,' in which he distinguished between a forced romanisation by Rome, or more of a self-romanisation as we have seen in the transformation (Augustanization) of Pompeii.

[309] John D'Arms, "Pompeii and Rome in the Augustan Age and Beyond: The Eminence of the *Gens Holconia*," in S*tudia Pompeiana and Classica in honor of Wilhelmina F. Jashemski*, ed. Robert I. Curtis (New Rochelle, NY: A.D. Caratzas, 1988), 52.

[310] *CIL* X 830, *ILS* 6361b. 1 BCE-14 CE.

[311] D'Arms, "Pompeii and Rome in the Augustan Age and Beyond: The Eminence of the *Gens Holconia*," 59.

[312] Paul Zanker, *Pompeii: Public and Private Life*, trans. Deborah Lucas Schneider (Cambridge: Harvard U Press, 1999), 112.

As we have seen above, the Augustanization and Augustanisms of the Augustan Age reached into all realms of society: art and architecture, politics, literature, history, and cultural programs. Through Virgil, Augustus' association with Apollo and a thorough documentation of the Augustanization of Apollo was completed in the *Aeneid*. Through Augustus' building program in Rome, the emperor himself completed the Augustanization of public spaces into propagandist representations of *auctoritas* and divine associations. Through the subsequent building programs in Pompeii (and other cities outside of Rome), the Augustanization of the city, and notably the Sanctuary of Apollo, was carried out by Augustan Age officials with both public and private funds. The complete Augustanization of the Roman Empire during the Augustan Age is represented in these three examples, with a comprehensive and detailed example in the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii.

Conclusion

The discussion of sacred space in this thesis was not an attempt to prove or reveal an unknown phenomenon. Sacred spaces were widespread in Roman religious society and we understand that these spaces existed through epigraphical, archaeological, and literary evidence. Augustanization as a theoretical concept is not a new invention either. A reshaping of 'romanisation,' Augustanization is simply adding a label to an already historically grounded vein of scholarship. The goal of this thesis was to apply spatial methods found in the study of religion to a specific site in Pompeii (Sanctuary of Apollo) in order to understand a refashioning of the space during the Augustan Age. In this thesis, I introduced scholarship of the study of sacred space and spatial theory, applying it both to Roman religion and the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii. I provided a comprehensive study of the Sanctuary and Temple of Apollo, beginning with its origins and ending with its destruction, which is a study that has not been completed in its entirety before. I provided a system of mapping Apollo in the urban and suburban landscape of Pompeii, which includes a table of the depictions of Apollo and a map of the depictions in the city of Pompeii. Lastly, I focused on the Augustanization of sacred spaces, including Apolline sacred spaces, in order to develop a theory of what Augustanization meant to Roman religion and its sacred spaces in the socio-political context of the Augustan Age. I hope that this goal was reached and that we can look at the Sanctuary of Apollo in a new light or from a different angle than previous scholarship has allowed.

Plate I (Map outline by MIT, The House of the Vettii)

TABLE 1			
Building Name	**Location**	**Description/Type**	**Style**
Intramural			
House of the Bronzehandler	I, 3, 25	Apollo sitting in judgment	
House of the Citharist	I, 4, 25	1) Apollo and Poseidon at the court of Laomedon	
		2) Apollo in a landscape with tripod, raven, sacred tree, lyre, and pedestal	3rd
House of the Cryptoporticus	I, 6, 2	Apollo with bow, named in Greek letters	
House of Ephebus	I, 7, 11	Apollo and Daphne	
House of D. Octavius Quartio	II, 2, 2	Apollo firing arrows at the Greek army at Troy	
House of Venus in Shell	II, 3, 3	Apollo and Daphne	
House of Julia Felix	II, 4, 3	Apollo and the Muses, with Apollo enthroned and crowned, holding a lyre	
House of Paccia	V, 2, 10	Apollo, Muses, and Marsyas	
House of Marcus Lucretius Fronto	V, 4, a	Orestes killing Neoptolemus at the altar of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi	
House of the Silverware	VI, 7, 20	Apollo with halo and crown, holding a globe and whip	
House of Apollo	VI, 7, 23	1) Apollo holding globe	
		2) Apollo enthroned in palace of the sun	
		3) Apollo-Phoebus	
		4) Apollo with cithara	
		5) Apollo and Olympus reclining on a couch	
House of the Tragic Poet	VI, 8, 5	1) Apollo and Daphne	
		2) Apollo with bow, quiver, and a Muse	
Fullonica of L. Veranius Hypsaeus	VI, 8, 20	Apollo and Bacchus	
House of Meleager	VI, 9, 2	Apollo is seated on a stone, bow and quiver, cupid playing his lyre	
House of the Centaur	VI, 9, 3	*Apollo in a kouros style on a 4-stepped base	4th
House of the Dioscuri	VI, 9, 6	1) Apollo and Daphne	
		2) Apollo Citharoedus	
		3) Golden tripod with Niobids	
Insula Occidentalis	VI, x, 10	*1) Apollo standing on a base, leaning on a cithara resting on top of an omphalos, laurel crown, laurel branch in right hand	2nd
		2) Apollo, Jupiter, and Chiron at a tripod	
Unnamed House	VI, 14, 40	Apollo with quiver, crown, lyre, and plectrum	
House of the Vetii	VI, 15, 1	Apollo and Diana, omphalos and python	
House of Siricus	VII, 1, 46	Apollo and Neptune preside over building of Troy	
House of Gaius Rufus	VII, 2, 16	Apollo judging Venus and Hesperus	
House of the Wild Boar	VII, 4, 48	1) Apollo with lyre	
		2) Apollo seated	
House of the Colored Capitals	VII, 4, 31	Apollo and Daphne	
House of Niobe	VII, 15, 2	Apollo and Diana shoot arrows at Niobids	
House of M. Fabius Rufus	VII, 16, 22	Apollo enthroned with a torch and a griffin behind, Venus and Cupid with dove, Hesperus with halo	
House of the Boar II	VIII, 2, 26	*Apollo on a statue base in front of colonnade with quiver and bow	3rd
Street Shrine	VIII, 3, 11	12 gods, Apollo stands between Diana and Vesta, leans on a lyre	

TABLE 1			
Building Name	**Location**	**Description/Type**	**Style**
House of Queen Caroline	VIII, 3, 14	Apollo, Chiron, and Asclepius	
House of M. Holconius Rufus	VIII, 4, 4	Apollo and Daphne	
House of the Red Walls	VIII, 5, 37	Apollo Citharoedus and Muse	
House of the Diadumeni	IX, 1, 20	Apollo in stride with cithara	
House of Bellerephon	IX, 2, 16	Apollo with lyre and tripod, and Marsyas	
Unnamed House	IX, 5, 6	Apollo-Sol and Orion	
House of Venus and the Four Gods	IX, 7, 1	Apollo-Sol with cosmic crown and whip	
House of the Centenary	IX, 8, 6	Attributes of Apollo: bow and quiver, laurel tree, griffin, and lyre	
Street Shrine	IX, 11, 1	12 gods, Apollo stands between Ceres and Diana, has hair knot, quiver, and cithara	
House of C. Julius Polybius	IX, 13, 3	Apollo and Daphne	
Extramural			
Villa of Diomedes	HGW24, outside Porta Ercolano	chariot drawn by griffins with symbols of Apollo: cithara and tripod	
Inn at Murecine	outside Porta Stabiana	1) triclinium with Apollo Citharoedus	
		2) triclinium with winged Victory carrying large golden tripod	
Villa of Poppaea at Oplontis	north of Pompeii on the Bay of Naples	1) triclinium with colonnades and scenery of Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi	2nd
		2) oecus with large golden tripod on a column	2nd
Sculpture			
Intramural			
House of the Citharist	I, 4, 25	*lyre-player statue of Apollo	bronze
House of Menander	I, 10, 14	statue of Apollo and griffin	marble
House of Apollo	VI, 7, 23	*lyre-player statue of Apollo	bronze
House of the Golden Bracelet	VI, 17, 42	panel of Apollo and Olympos	terracotta
House of the Red Walls	VIII, 5, 37	*lyre-player statuette of Apollo	bronze
Sanctuary of Apollo	VII, 7, 32	1) archer-type statue of Apollo	bronze
		2) lost cult statue of Apollo from Temple of Apollo	
House of C. Julius Polybius	IX, 13, 3	kouros-style statue of Apollo	bronze
Extramural			
Suburban Baths	outside Porta Marina	water spout bust of Apollo	marble

Plate II

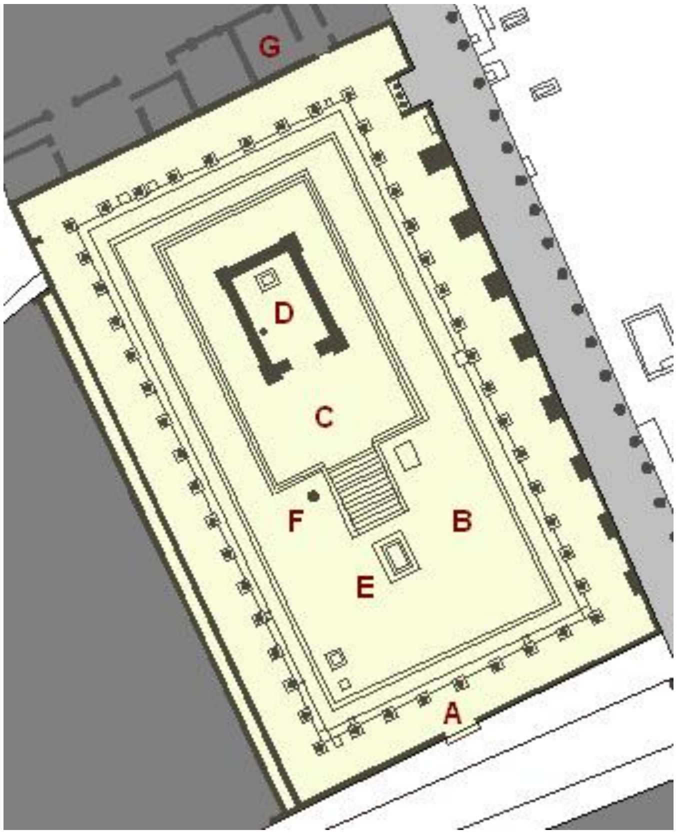

Fig. 1

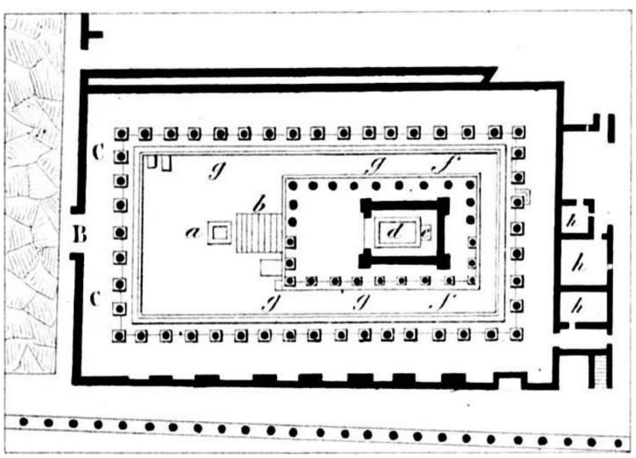

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

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