

Rome Becoming Athens, Athens Becoming Rome: Building Cultural Reciprocity in the Augustan Period

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Inscribed on Augustus' mausoleum after his death in AD 14, the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, the *Achievements of the Divine Augustus*, includes an extensive description of Augustus' monumental building in the city of Rome.¹ Monumental building provided a means of converting economic capital into a symbolic reminder of one's success. Augustus fully understood this correlation between building and self-promotion and this conversion of capital was not limited to building in the city of Rome. Diana Kleiner argues that Augustus built "smaller Romes" throughout the empire (92). Yet the story of cultural influence in the Augustan period is more complex than Kleiner suggests. In some provincial towns, Roman buildings were simply replicated,² while in other provinces, particularly those with a long history, local traditions continued to influence the design and configuration of new buildings and monuments. Athens, as a provincial city with its own distinguished history, falls into the latter category. Through an examination of new buildings and reconstructions in Athens during the Augustan period (31 BC – AD 14) I will demonstrate the influence of Rome on the provincial urban landscape.

It is also true that, in the Augustan period, Greece continued to influence art and architecture in Rome. Greek art had long been used in Rome as a means of glorifying the individual. After the fall of

Chrestomathy: Annual Review of Undergraduate Research, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, School of Languages, Cultures, and World Affairs, College of Charleston
Volume 10 (2011): 204-19

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Carthage and Pergamum in the second century BC to the Romans, luxury goods flowed into Rome and elites began to collect notable works of Greek art to display in their homes.³ At the outset, this accumulation of Greek goods expressed an individual's ability to afford such works of art with which to adorn his home. By the time of the rule of Fulvius Nobilior and Aemilius Lepidus in the second century BC, however, members of the Roman elite began using Greek art and architecture for the purpose of advancing culture in Rome (Galinski 334). During the Augustan period, Greek elements of design moved into the public sphere.

Karl Galinski persuasively argues that the cultural interchange between Greek and Roman architecture reflected an interactive and creative process (335). The Augustan period can be characterized by an eclectic mix of style and a synthesis of different forms. When the Romans gained control of Athens in the second century BC, life in Athens did not drastically change, since the Athenians remained relatively autonomous. This moment in history did not mark an immediate shift but instead facilitated a reciprocal relationship between the established cultural center, Athens, and the aspirant cultural center, Rome. Examining some of the important works built in Rome during the Augustan period, namely the Temple of Mars Ultor and Forum of Augustus, Temple of Apollo Palatinus and *Ara Pacis*, shows the influence of the city of Athens. Similarly, analyzing important buildings and restorations in Athens from the same period, shows a corresponding influence of Rome. The combination of Greek and Roman styles is the product of a complex relationship between Rome, the capital, and Athens, a prominent provincial city. Augustus made use of decorative style from Athens to emulate a city with a long history as the cultural capital of the Mediterranean. This allowed Augustus to formulate a connection between Rome and the impressive highlights of Athenian history, like Athens' triumph over the Persians, the "Golden Age" of the fifth century BC and its role as a Hellenistic kingdom. The Athenians, on the other hand, incorporated elements of Roman architectural style to symbolically represent their affiliation to the imperial power of the present and future.

Athenian Influences on Rome during the Augustan Period

Suetonius wrote that Augustus "so beautified the city that he could

justly boast that he had found it built in brick and left it in marble” (Suet. *Aug.* 28).⁴ Though perhaps an exaggeration, Suetonius’ statement is grounded in reality. Just prior to the Augustan period, a new marble quarry opened at Luna in modern Carrara. With a source of marble so close to the city of Rome, Augustus and other builders could incorporate more marble into monumental architecture. Significantly, the preference for marble reflects the influence of Athens, which had long used the material in the construction of public monuments. Before the quarry had been discovered at Luna, in fact, most of the marble used in Rome was imported from Greece (Kleiner 99).

Augustus’ buildings and restorations took full advantage of the marble quarry at Luna. A closer look at these building projects reveals that Augustus incorporated elements indicative of Athenian architecture as a means of illuminating his achievements. Two of Augustus’ newly constructed buildings in particular, the Temple of Apollo Palatinus and Temple of Mars Ultor highlight the influence of Athens as the city of Rome becomes both the political and cultural capital of the Mediterranean.

One of Augustus’ first additions to the city of Rome, the Temple of Apollo Palatinus was dedicated in 28 BC. Scholars have argued that the Temple of Apollo Palatinus was a votive temple for Augustus’ victory in 36 BC over Sextus Pompey at the Battle of Naulochus.⁵ However, in the *Res Gestae*, Augustus did not include the Temple of Apollo Palatinus with his building from spoils of war, but instead listed it alongside the Temple of Divus Iulius in the section of the inscription devoted to things which he “built” (Aug. RG 19). Olivier Hekster and John Rich have recently argued against the interpretation of the Temple of Apollo Palatinus as a votive temple (149-50). They point out that the supporting deity in the Battle of Naulochus was Diana, not Apollo. Since the victory did not belong to Apollo, a more logical interpretation of the building’s origin connects to the thunderbolt which struck the spot on the Palatine Hill where the temple was eventually constructed.⁶ Following this view, the Temple of Apollo Palatinus was not originally conceived as a celebration of his victory over Sextus Pompey at Naulocous or over Mark Antony at the Battle of Actium. Thus, we should not read all the imagery as a set of allusions to a single victory, but rather as a broader testament to

Augustus' appreciation of culture and tradition.

Very little remains in the archaeological record for the Temple of Apollo Palatinus, except for a few well preserved terracotta relief plaques. One such relief shows Apollo and Hercules fighting for the Delphic tripod. Kleiner argues that the figures in these reliefs are depicted in an archaizing style to connect Augustus to the "mythological exploits" of Apollo (83). The simple and rigid depiction of Hercules and Apollo hearkens back to the early years of Greek history, where the line between myth and history is decidedly blurred. From the Roman perspective, the use of terracotta for these plaques is archaic, since terracotta was a building material used by the Etruscans, the indigenous peoples of Italy, and it dominated temple decoration in Rome during the Republic, before the marble quarry opened at Luna. These reliefs from the Temple of Apollo Palatinus integrate the Greek and Roman past.

In 13 BC, the Senate decreed to honor Augustus with an altar commemorating his return from campaigns in Hispania and Gaul. The design of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, the Altar of Augustan Peace, emulates that of the Altar of Pity or Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Athenian Agora, since both are altars surrounded by roofless marble walls with openings to the East and West (Kleiner 91). In addition to form, monumental decoration in Athens seems to have influenced the processional frieze of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, since the altar's processional frieze is similar to the frieze which wraps around the Parthenon on the Acropolis in Athens.⁷ Both depict religious processions that move toward one end of the monument. Again, the Romans were not outright copying from Athens, since the Parthenon frieze shows a generic procession as part of the annual Panathenaic festival. The frieze on the *Ara Pacis* is believed to depict the procession leading to the consecration of the space where the altar was to be built. The figures are not simply generic: Augustus and members of his family can be distinctly identified. The construction of the *Ara Pacis Augustae* blended Greek precedents with aspects of Roman style. As a result, the *Ara Pacis* captures the integrative essence of building in the Augustan period.

Together, the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Forum of Augustus re-creates the historical narrative of victory captured by the structures

on the Athenian Acropolis.⁸ Triumphant imagery was prominent in both buildings and Frances Hickson considers these images as Augustus' visual creation of his role as a *triumphator*, a victorious general (133-34). First, the temple was intended to house the standards recovered from the Parthians, which had been lost upon Crassus' defeat at the Battle of Carrhae in 53 BC. This important image for avenging Roman defeat, made possible by Augustus' diplomatic victory over the Parthians, became permanently associated with Augustus' building from spoils of war. As people walked along the porticoes of the new forum, they came upon statues of the *summi viri*, great men of Rome's past (Richardson 160-63). Dio tells us that over time statues were added to this collection of triumphant generals and generals awarded ovations for victories won under the auspices of the Princes (Dio 55.10.3). Connections between Augustus' building from spoils and Rome's great military victories would have been conspicuous to the Roman viewer. Such a display of military success draws attention to the influence Rome had in conquered provinces, suggesting an understanding of culture in which all the influence travels one way. The reality, however, is that the cultures of the provinces, especially the city of Athens, had direct influences on Rome as well.

The manner by which the Temple of Mars Ultor celebrated the great victories of Rome combined a variety of Roman and Greek elements into a single structure. Stylistically, the temple was an Etruscan-Roman type with a high podium, frontal-staircase, and eight columns across the front façade (Kleiner 100).⁹ These columns were topped with capitals of two distinct types: one was a regular design of the Corinthian order with a triple row of acanthus leaves and the other was a decorated form of the Corinthian order with winged horse protomes. Use of the Corinthian order gained popularity in Rome when Sulla brought back two columns from the then unfinished Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens and incorporated them into the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline Hill in Rome (Darling 201). Construction of the Temple of Olympian Zeus began in the sixth century BC, by Hippias and Hiparchos, the sons of the Athenian Tyrant Pisistratus. Work on this massive temple was ceased either because of a lack of money or because Hippias, as tyrant, was overthrown in 510 BC. The temple was not finished until Hadrian completed it in AD 131, almost

seven hundred years later. The Athenians of the fifth century believed the proposed temple was too large, embodying the hubris of people who viewed themselves as equal to the gods. In the third century BC, work on the temple was renewed by the Hellenistic King Antiochus IV of Syria, who hired the Roman architect Cossotius to complete the job, in part by shifting the style of the temple from Doric to Corinthian. Then, in 86 BC, Sulla brought two columns from the still unfinished temple to Rome, which influenced the development of the Corinthian order in Rome. The growing use of the Corinthian order in Roman architecture reflects not a simple replication of fifth century Athens, but an emulation of the eclectic mix of styles present in Athens due to its long history as the cultural capital of the Mediterranean.

The upper-level colonnade on the Temple of Mars Ultor provides further proof of Athenian influence on the city of Rome. On the first story, the column capitals were of the Corinthian order. On the second story, Caryatids, figures of robed women, were used in place of columns. In his work *On Architecture*, Vitruvius provides a description of Caryatids and their history as an architectural form.¹⁰ To highlight his assertion that an architect should be well versed in history, Vitruvius wrote:

Architects ought to be familiar with history because in their works they often design many ornaments about which they ought to render an account to inquirers. For example, if anyone in his work sets up, instead of columns, marble statues of long-robed women which are called Caryatids, and places mutules and cornices above them, he will thus render an account to inquirers. Caria, a Peloponesian state, conspired with the Persian enemy against Greece. Afterwards the Greeks, gloriously freed from war by their victory, with common purpose went on to declare war on the inhabitants of Caria. The town was captured; the men were killed; the state was humiliated. Their matrons were led away into slavery and were not allowed to lay aside their draperies and ornaments. In this way, and not at one time alone, were they led in triumph. Their slavery was an eternal warning. Insult crushed them. They seemed to pay a penalty for their fellow-citizens. And so the architects of that time designed for public buildings figures of matrons placed to carry burdens; in

order that the punishment of the sin of the Cariatid women might be known to posterity and historically recorded. (Vit. *De Arch.* 1.1.5)

Some scholars think that this anecdote provided by Vitruvius is completely fabricated, while others have argued for its value as a source.¹¹ Regardless of whether this great story of the captive Caryan women is entirely true, Vitruvius' account points to the Greek precedent for using Caryatids as an architectural form and its connection to fighting the Persians.¹²

The Caryatids along the portico of the Forum of Augustus were smaller scale replicas of those on the south porch of the Erechtheion on the Athenian Acropolis, constructed in the fifth century BC. The fact that Augustus had recently funded a restoration of the Erechtheion does not seem coincidental. Kleiner argues that Augustus' use of the Caryatids in his forum was a deliberate political statement, meant to associate Augustan Rome with the "Golden Age" of Athens (100). While Augustus was certainly making a statement by integrating Caryatids into his new forum, his reason was likely more complex. Centered between the Caryatids along the portico were shields bearing the head of Jupiter Ammon, a deity of particular importance to Alexander the Great. During his campaigns against Egypt, Alexander visited the oracle of Jupiter Ammon and from that point on viewed himself as the physical embodiment of the god on Earth. Alexander the Great also hung shields on the Parthenon after his significant military victory at Granikos in 334 BC. Fixed on the Forum of Augustus porticoes the Jupiter Ammon shields reflected the Hellenistic kingdoms, while the Caryatids reflected fifth century Athens. Viewing the Temple of Mars Ultor and Forum of Augustus as a whole forms the *exemplum* of Athens' influence on the city of Rome—in form, this new forum complex emulated the Athenian Acropolis.

Roman Influences on Athens during the Augustan Period

Augustus' building activity in the city of Rome received much attention in his funerary inscription. Augustus also built and restored structures in the provinces. As noted above, in the 20s BC, Augustus funded a restoration of the Erechtheion, the design of which would in turn influence his new forum in Rome. The influence traveled the

other way as well. Galinski argues that the Athenian Agora with its new constructions was reconfigured to look more like the Porticus Octavia in Rome (361). The integration of Roman elements into public building in the city of Athens was the result of both new constructions and restorations by the Roman central authority and by local Athenians.

In addition to Augustus' restoration of the Erechtheion, Agrippa built a large Odeion or concert hall in the middle of the Athenian Agora. This two-storied building could seat about 1,000 people for musical performances.¹³ As an architectural form, the Odeion was familiar to the Athenians as an Odeion of Pericles, built in the fifth century BC, was situated next to the Theater of Dionysus at the foot of the Acropolis (Plut. *Per.* 13). Stylistically, Agrippa decorated his Odeion with pilasters of the Corinthian order, which became increasingly popular in Roman building as noted above. This building and gift to the Athenian people blended a fifth century architectural form with both Hellenistic and Roman style. Out of gratitude for Agrippa's exploits, the Athenians dedicated a statue of Agrippa at the Propylaea, the monumental gateway to the Acropolis (D'Ooge 315). New buildings and monuments illustrated the complex process of cultural reciprocity.

New buildings and restorations in the city of Athens were not only commissioned by Augustus and members of the Roman central administration, but also by local Athenians. The first temple I will consider is the Temple of Roma and Augustus which was built in 20-19 BC. Just before this temple was constructed, relations between Augustus and the Athenians were strained because Augustus had reduced the income of Athens by freeing Eretria and Aegina from their tribute obligations and forbidding them from selling citizenship (Dio 54.7.2). Dio suggests that Augustus did this because the Athenians had supported Mark Antony, Augustus' enemy at the Battle of Actium in 31 BC. With this in mind, many scholars have argued that the Temple of Roma and Augustus was intended to flatter the Princeps and obtain his favor.¹⁴ The intention of the Athenians who built the temple is difficult to ascertain, but an investigation of the form and function of this new building reveals that the Athenians' intent was certainly more complex than mere flattery.

The Athenians selected a significant spot on the Acropolis to build the Temple of Roma and Augustus. In fact, the temple was situated on an axis with the Parthenon and was the only new addition to the Acropolis in the entire Roman period (Hurwit 279). C. Brian Rose argues that the temple served as a victory monument for Augustus' Parthian campaigns, since the Temple to Roma and Augustus was surrounded by monuments in commemoration of victories over the East (50). The Parthenon itself was originally conceived in the fifth century BC as a victory monument for the Athenians' triumph over the Persians. Alexander the Great later added golden bronze shields to the architrave of the Parthenon after his victory against the Persians at Granikos.¹⁵ Adjacent to the Parthenon were several free-standing statues of defeated Persians, often referred to as the "Smaller Attalid Group." The Temple of Roma and Augustus and its association with Augustus' diplomatic victory over the Parthians added another chapter to this visual narrative of triumphs over the East.

It is also significant that the form of Temple of Roma and Augustus in Athens combined both Athenian and Roman connotations of circular structures. Before the construction of the Temple of Roma and Augustus, there were few circular buildings in Athens. One monument was located near the Theater of Dionysus, which was erected by Lysykrates to commemorate a first-place award for a play he sponsored in 334 BC (Darling 48-51). This Choragic Monument of Lysykrates had a square base, topped with a cylindrical section surrounded by engaged Corinthian columns and a frieze depicting myths about Dionysus. Despite the iconography associated with Dionysus, the Choragic monument is not characterized as a religious building, but rather as "victory" monument. Connecting the monument to Dionysus also associated it with the City Dionysia, the site of the annual festival where playwrights competed against one another for the glory of winning first place.¹⁶ The other example of a circular building in the city of Athens is the Tholos in the Agora, which housed the seat of the *prytaneis*, the counselors of Athens (Darling 34). This building served as the sleeping quarters of seventeen members of the *boule*, the Athenian governing body, so that they could deal with emergencies at any hour. John Camp argues that the Tholos represented the "heart of Athenian democracy" (13). Overall, the few round buildings in Athens

were not religious in function as the Temple of Roma and Augustus was.

In Rome, on the other hand, circular buildings were a similarly uncommon architectural form, but buildings of this type tended to be temples. The Temple of Vesta, was a circular building located at the southeast corner of the Roman Forum.¹⁷ It is believed that the original temple was built either by Romulus or Numa (*Ov. Fast.* 6.257-60; *Dion. Hal.* 2.66.1; *Festus* 320L; *Plut. Numa* 11.1).¹⁸ The archaeological remains of the temple date to a restoration by Julia Domina in 191 BC (*Herodian* 1.14.4; *Dio* 72 [73].24). Although the temple went through several later restorations, representations of the temple on coins show that the shape of the Temple of Vesta was circular during the Augustan period (*B. M. Coins, Rom. Rep.* 1.482 nos. 3871).¹⁹ In the late second century BC, another round temple, the Temple of Hercules Victor was built in the Forum Boarium area of Rome. Though scholars debate the origins of this temple, it was probably erected by L. Mummius Achaicus, who conquered the Achaeans and destroyed Corinth in 146 BC.²⁰ In this case, a circular building served as both a victory monument and a religious sanctuary.

The Athenians may have been inspired by a decree of the Roman Senate which outlined the honors voted to Augustus for his reacquisition of the Parthian standards (Rose 51). Among the honors, Dio noted that a round temple of Mars Ultor was to be constructed on the Capitoline Hill to house the standards (*Dio* 54.7.2). Taking this evidence together with the clear signs of haste in the temple's construction, Rose argues that the Athenians were influenced by Rome and were attempting to complete the Temple of Roma and Augustus before the Princeps arrived in Athens on his return from the East (51). In this way, the Temple of Roma and Augustus sheds light on the process by which elements of Athenian building culture were blended with elements of Roman building culture in the Augustan period.

In addition to the Temple of Roma and Augustus, the Athenians also built new temples in the Athenian Agora, namely the Temple of Ares and the Temple of Aphrodite. Galinski argues that these new constructions in the Agora led this Athenian civic center to take on the character of the Porticus Octavia in Rome (361). As attested in the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, Augustus had funded a restoration of the Porticus

Octavia (Aug. RG 20).²¹ Placing a Temple of Ares to the Athenian Agora echoed the building of the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus, while the Temple of Aphrodite emulated the Temple of Venus Genetrix in the Forum of Julius Caesar. Neither Ares nor Aphrodite had been prominent deities in the city of Athens, but both held significance for Augustus and the Julian family.

The Temple of Ares was built in the Agora adjacent to Agrippa's Odeion. Completed sometime after 12 BC, the temple's construction seems to coincide with campaigns in the East led by Gaius Caesar, a named heir of Augustus who met an untimely death. Rose points out that although the Temple of Ares was likely not erected with Gaius in mind, it would have been dedicated by the time Gaius visited on his way back to Rome from the East (Rose 53). The temple was completed before his visit and, notably, an inscription was placed on the Athenian Theater of Dionysus Pausanias proclaiming Gaius Caesar to be the "new Ares" (*IG* 2.2.3250). These facts suggest that, regardless of intent, the Temple of Ares developed a clear association with Augustus' heir.

While the Temple of Ares was new to the Agora, it was not a wholly new construction. Archaeological evidence dates the building material to the fifth century BC with added masonry marks from the Augustan period. Scholars have associated the transplanted building material with a sanctuary of Athena Pallenis at modern Stavro, where large foundations for a temple have been found but with no trace of its superstructure (Rose 53). This phenomenon of "wandering temples" results from the shrinking population of Athens in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Darling 33). Several magnificent public buildings and monuments in the outlying demes were abandoned and left unused. Not only did the design of the Temple of Ares draw from fifth century Athens, but also the building blocks themselves.

Pausanias, a writer of travel literature living in the first century AD, describes several important images located in the Temple of Ares:

Near the statue of Demosthenes is a sanctuary of Ares, where are placed two images of Aphrodite, one of Ares made by Alcámenes, and one of Athena made by a Parian by the name of Locrus. There is also an image of Enyo, made by the sons of Praxiteles. About the temple stand images of Heracles, Theseus,

Apollo binding his hair with a fillet, and status of Calades, who it is said framed laws for the Athenians, and of Pindar, the statue being one of the rewards the Athenians gave him for praising them in an ode. (Paus. 1.8.4)

Although Pausanias was describing Athens as he saw it during the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, 117-138 AD, the noteworthy statues of both deities and mortals highlight the integration of this temple into the city. The combination of Greek style, including building material recycled from fifth century Athens, with Roman connotations, such as the strong tie between Ares and Augustus' family, represents the reciprocity established between Rome and Athens in the Augustan period.

The Temple of Aphrodite, constructed in the northwest corner of the Agora facing the Temple of Ares, provides another example of the influence of Rome on building culture in the city of Athens. The temple's identification is based on the discovery of a marble altar inscribed with a dedication to Aphrodite located just in front of the remains of a temple (Travlos 79-81). The Temple of Aphrodite was the first temple to be erected in Athens with a high podium and frontal orientation, a distinctly Roman design (Rose 53). Although little evidence remains for the Temple of Aphrodite in the Agora, its Roman design and placement in the civic center highlights the addition of Roman style to Athens.

Both through the work of Augustus and Agrippa and through the work of local Athenians themselves, Roman style and connotations were woven into the fabric of Athens' urban landscape. Under Augustus, Rome influenced building culture in one of the long-established cultural capitals of the ancient world.

Conclusion

As this study has shown, styles of urban architecture of the city of Rome and the city of Athens converged during the Augustan period. Athens had long had an impact on the city of Rome, but it was during the Augustan period that elements of Greek style became prominent in the public sphere. Augustus and other Romans, including the Senate, clearly drew from buildings and monuments in the city of Athens. At the same time, Rome influenced building in Athens during

the Augustan period. Over Athens' long history, the urban landscape developed with a combination of Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic elements. Integrating these elements with Roman-style temples and sanctuaries to deities of particular importance to the Roman pantheon, and to Augustus in particular, added characteristics of the Augustan period to the city's visual history.

While an appreciation of this visual connection between Rome and Athens may have been limited to members of the elite who could travel, Augustus certainly took notice. As the cities of Rome and Athens became increasingly similar during the Augustan period, this hybrid Augustan style provided the visual link. Augustus and other Roman builders were not directly copying buildings from the city of Athens, just as the Athenian builders were not replicating Roman buildings in their civic center. The reciprocity in building culture between these two cities was more nuanced. Augustus was inspired not only by specific Athenian architectural features, but also by the visual narrative of victory captured by the careful collection of monuments on the Acropolis. As Horace succinctly put it: "captive Greece captured Rome" (Hor. Ep. 2.1.157-58). But, as we see in Athenian buildings, Rome also captured Greece.

Notes

1. Aug. RG 19-21.
2. See Rose.
3. Zanker (25-31) highlights the presence of Greek decoration in the private sphere, particularly in the late Republic.
4. When citing classical texts, I will use the conventional abbreviations of classical scholarship.
5. Prior to battle, Roman generals would often vow to dedicate a temple to a specific god, so that the god may help them achieve victory. Once generals attained victory, commanders could use their manubial funds, spoils of war, to fulfill the vow. See Cooley (183), Zanker (66-7) and Galinski (213n.3), for arguments supporting this view.
6. Suet (Aug. 90-92) describes Augustus' almost superstitious fear of thunder and lightning and thus a dedication to omens and prodigies.
7. For detailed analyses of the Ara Pacis see Zanker (158-59),

Richardson, Kleiner (90-98), and Galinski (141-55).

8. The Acropolis as a visual narrative of Athens triumph over the East will be further explored below. See especially Rose (50-1) and Hurwitt (279-80) for the addition of the Temple of Roma and Augustus to this narrative.

9. See Richardson (160-63) for more on the history and topographical details of the Temple of Mars Ultor and Forum of Augustus.

10. Corso argues that Vitruvius' writings about Attic monuments or architectural design reflects a bias toward the Hellenistic.

11. See Plommer for an argument supporting the historicity of Vitruvius' anecdote about the Caryatids. Lesk argues that this passage in Vitruvius established the link between the term "Caryatid" and the Erechtheion maidens, which the fifth century BC Greeks did not consider Caryatids.

12. Wallace-Hadrill 144-210 uses Vitruvius' *On Architecture* to highlight the nuances of Rome's cultural transformation in the first century BC.

13. For more information on the Odeion of Agrippa, see Camp (35).

14. See Rose (51) and Hurwit (279-81), for example.

15. The shields that Alexander the Great placed in the architrave of the Parthenon are discussed above with reference to the Forum of Augustus. This shows how Augustus used Athens as a template for creating a monument in Rome which encapsulated a visual narrative of Roman history.

16. For more on the City Dionysia in Athens, see especially Goldhill.

17. See Richardson (412-13) for more on the history and topographical details of the Temple of Vesta.

18. As Richardson (412) notes, most of our ancient sources attribute the original Temple of Vesta to Numa.

19. See Stambaugh for more on the religious and secular functions of Roman temples.

20. See Richardson (188-89) for more on the history and topographical details of the Temple of Hercules Victor.

21. See Richardson (317) for more on the history and topographical details of the Porticus Octavia.

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