CHAPTER TWO

BUILDING MEMORIES: THE ERA OF THE PUNIC WARS (264–146 B.C.)

INTRODUCTION

The era of the Punic Wars marked Rome's emergence as a truly Mediterranean-wide empire. For the first time, Rome had to define itself in relation to cultures beyond the shores of Italy. This explosive geographic expansion led to a boom in triumphal processions and, concomitantly, construction of triumphal monuments in Rome. Many of these monuments were temples vowed during battle and paid for from *manubiae* – the proceeds of the spoils of war – by victorious generals.[1] This chapter examines these manubial temples and other victory monuments built during this period, including porticoes, arches, and columns, which architecturally defined the length of the route for the first time in the triumph's history. This period was, at a fundamental level, when the triumphal route was built into existence as a codified and long-lasting processional urban space.

I argue here that Rome's Mediterranean conquests and the resulting triumphs spurred extraordinary innovation in metropolitan Roman architecture. The resulting visual characteristics of monuments along the triumphal route made them potent reminders of triumphal processions, shaping how Romans conceived of the triumph and, consequently, of themselves as Romans. The monuments of the triumphal route commemorated past triumphs. They nurtured historical memory of the Roman triumph, providing concrete reminders not only of the ritual institution of the triumph but of historical triumphal processions and the illustrious men who had celebrated them. Beyond encouraging people to remember past triumphs, however, they shaped how people remembered those triumphs and the institution more generally. By foregrounding aspects of foreign conquest and incorporating foreign architectural vocabularies, the monuments linked remembering the triumph with grappling with questions of self-definition as Romans in a rapidly widening Mediterranean context. Thus, the monuments of the triumphal route also, and just as importantly, generated conceptions of urban identity in the city of Rome. They did not merely reflect Rome's conquest of foreign cultures but actively participated in incorporating those cultures into changing conceptions of what it meant to "be Roman." Finally, a major but unappreciated role of these monuments was to help Romans remember what future triumphs should be like – in essence, to create a template for how to perform triumphal processions. The permanent architecture of the route provided a backdrop against which the triumph could appear traditional even as it underwent often radical transformations. The monuments' ability to generate a prospective memory of the triumph provided a sense of continuity that mitigated the flexible nature of the ritual and enabled the triumph to last as one of the most enduring and important rituals of Roman society.

In order to demonstrate the complex roles of the monuments of the triumphal route in generating memories and identities in the era of the Punic Wars, this chapter explores the architectural elaboration of key sections of the triumphal route during this formative period of Roman history. Particular attention is paid to manubial temples and other monuments that commemorated military victories or triumphs, or, often, both. Romans linked these monuments with individual, victorious generals and their military glory. When Livy, for example, describes the vowing and dedication of manubial temples, he hones in on the individual general in whose name the temple was founded. He focuses on the individual's actions that led to the temple's erection, not on any senatorial guidance that might have existed. Implicit in his account is the belief that the generals were responsible for the monuments. That Livy, writing under Augustus, still associated these monuments with specific generals over a century or two after their foundations only strengthens the conclusion that such associations existed, perhaps even more potently, in the third and second centuries B.C. Romans, it seems, perceived manubial constructions as monuments resulting from military victories and the pursuant spoils of war, mentally linked with individual generals and their triumphs.[2] Manubial monuments consciously and effectively recalled Roman triumphs, and they are thus intimately linked to the triumphal route and to subsequent memories of triumphal processions.

This chapter first briefly considers Rome's rise in the Mediterranean during the period in question and then turns to the monuments built along the triumphal route at this time, focusing on their topography, visual innovations, and triumphal references. The number of triumphal monuments built during the era of the Punic Wars is so large and the amount of information about them so vast, that it necessitates a somewhat abbreviated description of the monuments. The indicated tables and appendix supply further information about the topography and history of various monuments, while the chapter focuses on noteworthy visual aspects and on the buildings' impacts on experience and remembering. The goal here is not to discuss every monument built on the triumphal route during the Punic Wars but to focus on those that are most striking and that best illustrate how monuments uniquely contributed to how Romans remembered the triumph.

ROME'S RISE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

Roman imperialism in terms of geographic expansion and cultural conquest began centuries before Augustus ascended as the first *princeps* of the Roman Empire. Imperialism had been a feature of Roman society since at least the Samnite Wars, but it intensified dramatically with the First Punic War (264–241 B.C.), which expanded Rome's holdings beyond mainland Italy to Sicily, Sardinia, and North Africa. The Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.) saw action even farther afield, in Spain and parts of Gaul. During the same periods, Rome was also successfully fighting the Illyrian and Macedonian Wars, expanding its control into the Greek mainland and Asia Minor. Hellenistic kings the likes of Antiochus III and Perseus were pivotal figures in Rome's creation of empire in the east; the former's defeat gave Rome control of Syria, while the latter's defeat brought Macedon under Roman dominion. By the time the Third Punic War (149–146 B.C.) ended, Carthage lay destroyed, Corinth was sacked, Macedonia was a Roman province, and the political geography of the Mediterranean stood irrevocably changed. If it is commonplace to write that Rome transformed over the course of the third and second centuries B.C. from a somewhat provincial affair into a booming metropolis in control of a vast swath of territory and peoples, it is because the statement is, in so many ways, true.[3]

Indeed, by the end of the Third Punic War in 146 B.C., Rome had amassed much of the territory around the Mediterranean basin that would form its empire for centuries to come. The era of the Punic Wars was, in a manner as literal as metaphorical, formative for ancient Rome. Rome established its primary dominion over the Mediterranean and had to assert itself in a Mediterranean-wide context. Given the almost constant military endeavors required for Rome's staggering geographic expansion, the third and second centuries B.C. saw a large number of triumphal processions and an equally impressive number of building projects related to generals' military victories and triumphs. From the start of the First Punic War to the sacks of Carthage and Corinth, Rome witnessed nearly ninety triumphs and *ovationes*. People living in Rome would have seen multiple triumphs during their lifetimes; triumphs were so frequent at this time that Plautus, writing in the early second century B.C., could have a character joke that he had no desire for a triumph: they had become too "common" for his taste.[4] This period, therefore, offers some of the most compelling evidence for the triumphal route's focal nodes. For the first time, the Roman triumph acquired a significant architectural frame – an almost constantly multiplying and evolving set of monuments that shaped the performance of triumphal processions and stood as concrete evidence of triumphs long after the ephemeral performances of the ritual passed.

MANUBIAL MONUMENTS BEFORE THE PUNIC WARS

Before turning to these monuments, let us briefly consider the presence of manubial temples in Rome before 264 B.C. to gauge the degree to which triumphal building burgeoned during the Punic Wars. Manubial temples arose in the cityscape well before Rome launched its first war against Carthage, although the same is not true for triumph-related monuments such as columns, *fornices* (arches), and porticoes. During the fourth century and first decades of the third century, generals vowed a number of temples on the battlefield and built them upon their victorious returns to Rome (Plate 4; Table 2.1). Given the paucity of archaeological remains of these early manubial temples, scholars rely almost exclusively on ancient literary references to reconstruct them.

It is likely no coincidence that Rome's first manubial temple, dedicated to Juno Regina, celebrated M. Furius Camillus's victory over the Etruscans, a non-Latin people.[5] Camillus's capture of Veii in 396 B.C. marked Rome's first conquest of a distinctly foreign people. From the beginning, manubial construction was linked closely to Rome's relationship to foreign cultures, a phenomenon exemplified not only by Camillus's temple to Juno Regina but perhaps also by the so-called Servian Wall, the massive city wall that was monumentalized after Camillus's victory with tufa quarried from Veii, now under Roman dominion.[6] The link between manubial monuments and Rome's relationship to foreign peoples becomes a defining characteristic of the architecture of the triumphal route in the era of the Punic Wars.

THE MONUMENTS OF THE TRIUMPHAL ROUTE DURING THE PUNIC WARS: TOPOGRAPHY, VISUAL INNOVATIONS, AND TRIUMPHAL REFERENCES

Topography

On the eve of the Punic Wars, a number of manubial temples already stood in various areas of Rome, but they were widely dispersed rather than

TABLE 2.1 *Manubial temples built in Rome prior to the Punic Wars*

Location	Deity	Vower/Dedicator	Date (V = vowed, D = dedicated) (all dates B.C.)	Circumstances (battle)	Selected ancient sources	Selected bibliography
Aventine	Juno Regina	M. Furius Camillus	V. 396	Siege of Veii	Liv. 5.21.1–3, 5.22.4–7, 5.23.7, 5.31.3; *CIL* 6.364–5.	Ziolkowski 1992, 76–7; *LTUR* 3, 125–6.
Forum Boarium	Mater Matuta	M. Furius Camillus	V. 396	Siege of Veii	Liv. 5.19.6, 5.23.7; Plut. *Cam.* 5.1.	Ziolkowski 1992, 104–9; Coarelli 1988, 213–19; *LTUR* 2, 281–5.
Arx	Juno Moneta	L. Furius Camillus	V. 345	Battle against the Aurunci	Liv. 7.28.4–6; Ov. *Fast.* 6.183–5.	Ziolkowski 1992, 71–3; *LTUR* 3, 123–5.
Quirinal	Quirinus	L. Papirius Cursor (vowed; temple dedicated by his son of the same name)	V. 325; D. 293	Battle against the Samnites?	Liv. 10.46.7; Plin. *HN* 7.213.	Ziolkowski 1992, 139–44, 240–1; *LTUR* 4, 185–7.
Quirinal	Salus	C. Iunius Bubulcus Brutus	V. 310s (likely 311); D. 302	Battle against the Samnites	Liv. 9.43.25, 10.1.9.	Ziolkowski 1992, 144–8; *LTUR* 4, 229–30.
Palatine	Victoria	L. Postumius Megellus	V. 305(?); D. 294	Battle against the Samnites	Liv. 10.33.9.	Ziolkowski 1992, 172–9; Cecamore 2002, 114–28; *LTUR* 5, 149–50.
Circus Flaminius	Bellona	Ap. Claudius Caecus	V. 296; D. 293	Battle against the Etruscans and Samnites	Liv. 10.19.17–18; Ov. *Fast.* 6.201–8; *CIL* 11.1827.	Ziolkowski 1992, 18-9; Coarelli 1965–1967; Coarelli 1997, 391–7; *LTUR* 1, 190–2.
Quirinal or Palatine	Jupiter Victor	Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus	V. 295; D. after 293	Battle of Sentinum (against the Samnites)	Liv. 10.29.14; Ov. *Fast.* 4.621.	Grenier and Coarelli 1986, 237; Ziolkowski 1992, 91–3; Cecamore 2002, 103–5, 110–14; *LTUR* 3, 161.
Sacra Via	Jupiter Stator	M. Atilius Regulus	V. 294	Battle of Luceria (against the Samnites)	Liv. 10.36.11, 10.37.15–16; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.50.3; Ov. *Tr.* 3.1.31-2; Plin. *HN* 34.29; Plut. *Cic.* 16.3; Pseudo-Cicero *Oratio priusquam in exsilium iret* 24.	Coarelli 1981a; Ziolkowski 1989; Ziolkowski 1992, 87–90; Arce, Mar, and Sanchez-Palencia 1990; Arce 1994; Cecamore 2002, 138–9, 142–3; *LTUR* 3, 155–7; *LTUR* 5, 271.
Circus Maximus	Venus Obsequens	Q. Fabius Gurges	V. 292; D. 291	Battle against the Samnites?	Liv. 10.31.9, 29.37.2; Servius *Aen.* 1.720.	Ziolkowski 1992, 167–70; *LTUR* 5, 118.
Area Sacra di Largo Argentina	Feronia	M'. Curius Dentatus (?)	V. 290 (?)	Battle against the Sabines	*II* 13.2, 530.	Castagnoli 1948, 173–5; Coarelli 1981b, 40–2; Ziolkowski 1992, 25–8; Mancioli and Santangeli Valenzani 1997, 22; Zevi 1995, 135; *LTUR* 2, 247–8.
Aventine	Consus	L. Papirius Cursor	D. 272	Battle against the Tarantines	*II* 13.2, 499ff; Festus 209L.	Ziolkowski 1992, 24–5; *LTUR* 1, 321-2.
Palatine (?)	Pales	M. Atilius Regulus	V. 267	Battle against the Sallentini	Flor. 1.15.20; *Scholia Veronensia* Verg. *G.* 3.1; *Schol. Bern.* 3.1.	Ziolkowski 1992, 126–7; *LTUR* 4, 50–1.
Aventine	Vortumnus	M. Fulvius Flaccus	V. 264	Battle against the Volsinii	*II* 13.2, 149, 181, 191; Festus 228L.	Ziolkowski 1992, 183–5; *LTUR* 5, 213–14.

concentrated in the city center. The nodes of the triumphal route boasted only a few such temples, such as the Temple of Bellona in the Circus Flaminius, the Temple of Jupiter Stator on the Sacra Via, and the Temple of Venus Obsequens in the area of the Circus Maximus's Aventine side. After the beginning of the First Punic War, however, construction of manubial temples and other triumphal monuments flourished. Of the more than eighty known temples dedicated in Rome during the republican period, over a quarter are manubial temples built after the start of the Punic Wars.[7] Of these manubial temples, the majority were located on or near the triumphal route's network of nodes (Plate 4).

Other areas of the city also received manubial temples, including Q. Fabius Maximus's temple to Honos outside the Porta Capena, later transformed into M. Claudius Marcellus's temple to Honos and Virtus, and M. Porcius Cato's temple to Victoria Virgo on the Palatine. Several temples were built in the Campus Martius, such as C. Purpurius Maso's temple to Fons outside the Porta Fontinalis and Q. Fulvius Flaccus's temple of Fortuna Equestris, probably located near the later Theater of Pompey (Plate 1, no. 1; Table 2.2). Generals' might have been motivated in part to build manubial temples off the triumphal route because of the nature of the divinity; the Greek rites of Honos, for example, necessitated a location outside the *pomerium*, while the Palatine was a traditional spot of veneration of Victoria because Evander had supposedly erected a cult to the goddess there in mythical times.[8]

Most manubial temples and other triumphal monuments, though, were sited conspicuously at the major nodes of the triumphal route. During the span of the three Punic Wars, at least thirty such monuments – temples, arches, columns, and porticoes – were built in Rome, and of these, almost eighty-five percent were built along or at major nodes of the triumphal route (Plate 4; Tables 2.3, 2.4). In the mid-third century, C. Lutatius Catulus vowed and built a temple to Juturna, identified as Temple A in the Area Sacra di Largo Argentina (Plate 1, no. 3). Catulus was an ancestor of the Q. Lutatius Catulus who later built Temple B (Plate 1, no. 4), on which see later in this chapter. Temple A and the earlier Temple C (Plate 1, no. 5) were joined in the second century by Temple D (Plate 1, no. 6). Temple D is sometimes identified as the manubial temple to the Lares Permarini vowed by L. Aemilius Regillus at the naval battle of Myonnesos in 190 B.C. and dedicated in 179 B.C., a decade after Regillus's triumph, by M. Aemilius Lepidus. Regillus's temple, however, should more likely be identified with the strikingly Hellenistic temple remains visible today in the Via delle Botteghe Oscure, just east of the Area Sacra di Largo Argentina and north of the Circus Flaminius (Plate 1, no. 7; Plate 5; Table 2.3). In the area of the Circus Maximus, probably on the slope of the Aventine, M. Livius Salinator built a temple to Juventas, vowed during battle in 207 B.C.

TABLE 2.2 *Manubial temples built in Rome during the era of the Punic Wars (not on the triumphal route)*

Location	Deity	Vower/Dedicator	Date (V = vowed, D = dedicated) (all dates B.C.)	Circumstances (battle)	Selected ancient sources	Selected bibliography
Porta Capena	Honos	Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus (Cunctator)	V. 233	Battle against the Ligurians	Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.61	Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 48–51; Ziolkowski 1992, 57–8; *LTUR* 3, 30–1.
Porta Capena	Honos and Virtus	M. Claudius Marcellus	V. 222; D. after 211	Battle of Clastidium (against the Insubrii)	Liv. 25.40.3, 27.25.7, 29.11.13; Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.61, *Verr.* 2.4.123; Val. Max. 1.1.8 Plut. *Marc.* 28.1.	Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 55–8; Ziolkowski 1992, 58–60; *LTUR* 3, 31–3.
Porta Collina	Venus Erycina	L. Porcius Licinus	V. 184; D. 181	Battle against the Ligurians	Liv. 30.38.10, 40.34.4; Strabo 6.2.6; App. *B Civ.* 1.93.	Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 107–10; *LTUR* 5, 114–16.
Quirinal	Fortuna Primigenia	P. Sempronius Tuditanus (dedicated by Q. Marcius Ralla)	V. 204; D. 194	Battle of Croton (against the Carthaginians)	Liv. 29.36.8, 34.53.5.	Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 63–7; *LTUR* 2, 273–5.
Palatine	Victoria Virgo	M. Porcius Cato	V. 195; D. 193	Battle in Spain?	Liv. 35.9.6.	Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 81–3; *LTUR* 5, 150–1.
Porta Fontinalis (Campus Martius)	Fons	C. Papirius Maso	V. 231; D. 231 or later	Campaign in Corsica	Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.52.	Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 51–5; Ziolkowski 1992, 38–9; *LTUR* 2, 256–7.
Campus Martius (near Theater of Pompey)	Fortuna Equestris	Q. Fulvius Flaccus	V. 180; D. 173	Battle against the Celtiberi	Liv. 40.40.10, 40.44.9–10, 42.3.1, 42.10.5; Vitr. *De arch.* 3.3.2; Val. Max. 1.1.20.	Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 111–16; Coarelli 1997, 268–75; *LTUR* 2, 268–9.

TABLE 2.3 *Manubial temples built in Rome during the era of the Punic Wars (on the triumphal route)*

Location	Deity	Vower/ Dedicator	Date (V = vowed, D = dedicated) (all dates B.C.)	Circumstances (battle)	Selected ancient sources	Selected bibliography
Area Sacra di Largo Argentina	Juturna	C. Lutatius Catulus	V. 241	Naval battle of Aegusa (against the Carthaginians)	Ov. *Fast.* 1.463–4; Servius *Aen.* 12.139.	Castagnoli 1948, 173–4; Coarelli 1981b, 43–5; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 44–8; Mancioli and Santangeli Valenzani 1997, 23; *LTUR* 3, 162–3.
Campus Martius (Area Sacra di Largo Argentina or Via delle Botteghe Oscure)	Lares Permarini	L. Aemilius Regillus (V); M. Aemilius Lepidus (D)	V. 190; D. 179	Battle of Myonnesus (against Antiochus III)	Liv. 40.52.4-7; Macrob. *Sat.* 1.10.10; *II* 13.2, 543.	Castagnoli 1948, 169–70; Cozza 1968; Coarelli 1981b, 16–17, 37–46; Ziolkowski 1986, 623; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 91–4; Ziolkowski 1992, 94–7; Zevi 1993, 1994, 1995, 1997, 2007; Popkin 2015b; *LTUR* 3, 174–5.
Circus Maximus (Aventine side)	Juventas	M. Livius Salinator (V); C. Licinius Lucullus (D)	V. 207; D. 191	Battle of Metaurus	Liv. 36.36.5-6; Plin. *HN* 29.57.	Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 59–63; *LTUR* 3, 163.
Velabrum	Felicitas	L. Licinius Lucullus	V. 151; D. after 146 or 142	Campaign in Spain	Strabo; 8.6.23; Suet. *Iul.* 37.2; Cass. Dio 43.21.1.	Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 124–8; Häuber 2005, 9, 35–8; *LTUR* 2, 244–5.
Capitoline	Fides	A. Atilius Caiatinus	V. 258 or 254	Battle in Sicily	Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.61, *Off.* 3.104; Plin. *HN* 35.100; *CIL* 9.4192, 16.1–2, 26, 32.	Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 38–41; Ziolkowski 1992, 28–31; Reusser 1993; Häuber 2005, 9, 23–35; *LTUR* 2, 249–52.
Capitoline	Veiovis	L. Furius Purpureo (V); Q. Marcius Ralla (D)	V. 200 or 196; D. 192 (?)	Battle in Cisalpine Gaul	Liv. 35.41.8; Gell. *NA* 5.12.2–3; Vitr. *De arch.* 4.8.4; Ov. *Fast.* 3.429–30; *II* 13.2, 421.	Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 74–80; *LTUR* 5, 99–100.
Forum Holitorium	Janus	C. Duilius	V. 260	Naval battle of Mylae (against the Carthaginians)	Tac. *Ann.* 2.49; Festus 358L; Servius *Aen.* 7.607; *CIL* 9.4192.	Crozzoli Aite 1981; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 28–34; Richardson 1992, 206–7; Ziolkowski 1992, 61–2; Palombi 2006, 31–53; *LTUR* 3, 90–1.
Forum Holitorium	Spes	A. Atilius Caiatinus	V. 258, 254, or 249	Campaign in Sicily	Cic. *Leg.* 2.28; Tac. *Ann.* 2.49; Liv. 21.62.4, 25.7.5–6; *II* 13.2, 489.	Crozzoli Aite 1981; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 39, 41–3, 156–60; Coarelli 1988, 18n. 27; Ziolkowski 1992, 152–3; Richardson 1992, 365; Palombi 2006, 31–53; *LTUR* 4, 336–7.
Forum Holitorium	Juno Sospita	C. Cornelius Cethegus	V. 197; D. 194	Battle in Cisalpine Gaul	Liv. 32.30.10, 34.53.3; *II* 13.2, 405.	Crozzoli Aite 1981; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 68–70; Richardson 1992, 217–18; Palombi 2006, 31–53; *LTUR* 3, 128–9.
Forum Holitorium/Circus Flaminius	Pietas	M'. Acilius Glabrio (dedicated by his son of the same name)	V. 191; D. 181	Battle of Thermopylae (against Antiochus III)	Liv. 40.34.4–6; Val. Max. 2.5.1; Cic. *Leg.* 2.28; Obsequens 54; Plin. *HN* 7.121; CIL 9.4192.	Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 85–90; Richardson 1992, 290; Coarelli 1997, 447–52; Ciancio Rossetto 1994–1995, 199–200; Tucci 2005, 27; *LTUR* 4, 86.
Circus Flaminius	Neptune	A member of the *gens Domitia*?	257–228 (?)		Liv. 28.11.4; *II* 13.2, 93, 99, 198, 199, 533; *CIL* 6.8423, 9.4192; Plin. *HN* 36.26. Cass. Dio 57.60.	Coarelli 1997, 397–447; Ziolkowski 1992, 117-19; Tucci 1997; Tucci 1999; Bernard 2010, 38–46; *LTUR* 3, 341–2; *LTUR* 5, 279–80.
Circus Flaminius	Hercules Magnus Custos	Unknown	220s?	Battle in Gaul? Response to Sibylline Books?	Ov. *Fast.* 6.209–212; *II* 13.2, 58.	Ziolkowski 1992, 50–5; Coarelli 1997, 498–504; *LTUR* 3, 13–14.
Circus Flaminius	Hercules Musarum	M. Fulvius Nobilior	V. 189; D. after 187	Campaign in Ambracia	Cic. *Arch.* 27; Eumenius *Pro instaurandis scholis* 7.2–3; Servius *Aen.* 1.8.	Castagnoli 1961, 608; Cancik 1969; Olinder 1974, 60–2; Richardson 1977; Martina 1981, 62; Castagnoli 1983; Iezzi 1984; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 95–103; Aberson 1994, 205–13; Kolb 1995, 226; Coarelli 1997, 452–85; Fabrizi 2008; *LTUR* 3, 17–19.

TABLE 2.3 (*continued*)

Location	Deity	Vower/ Dedicator	Date (V = vowed, D = dedicated) (all dates B.C.)	Circumstances (battle)	Selected ancient sources	Selected bibliography
Circus Flaminius	Diana	M. Aemilius Lepidus	V. 187; D. 179	Battle against the Ligurians	Liv. 39.2.8, 40.52.1–4.	Coarelli 1968b; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 103–6; Coarelli 1997, 485–8; *LTUR* 2, 14.
Circus Flaminius	Juno Regina	M. Aemilius Lepidus	V. 187; D. 179	Battle against the Ligurians	Liv. 39.2.11, 40.52.1–4.	Palchetti and Quilici 1968; Morgan 1971; Lauter 1980–1981; Weigel 1982–1983; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 103–6; Coarelli 1997, 485–8; *LTUR* 3, 126–8.
Circus Flaminius	Jupiter Stator	Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus	V. 148, D. after 146 (maybe 143)	Campaign in Macedonia	Plin. *HN* 36.40; Macrob. *Sat.* 3.4.2; Vitr. *De arch.* 3.2.5; Vell. Pat. 1.11.5.	Gros 1973; Hiltbrunner 1982; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 128–34; Coarelli 1997, 488–92; *LTUR* 3, 157–9.
Forum Boarium	Hercules (so-called *aedes Aemiliana*)	P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus	D. after 147 (142?)	Sack of Carthage?	Festus 282L; Plin. *HN* 35.19; Plut. *Prae. ger. reip.* 816C; Liv. 10.23.3.	Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 134–8; Coarelli 1988, 84–91, 166; Ziolkowski 1988, 314; Fridh 1991; *LTUR* 3, 11–12.
Forum Boarium/ Porta Trigemina	Hercules Victor	L. Mummius	V. 146; D. after 143	Battle against the Achaeans and sack of Corinth	Servius *Aen.* 8.363. *CIL* 1.626 = *CIL* 6.331.	Strong and Ward-Perkins 1960; Rakob and Heilmeyer 1973; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 139–44; Coarelli 1988, 95–8, 180–204; Ziolkowski 1988; Chini 2005; *LTUR* 3, 22–5.

TABLE 2.4 *Victory monuments other than temples built along the triumphal route during the era of the Punic Wars*

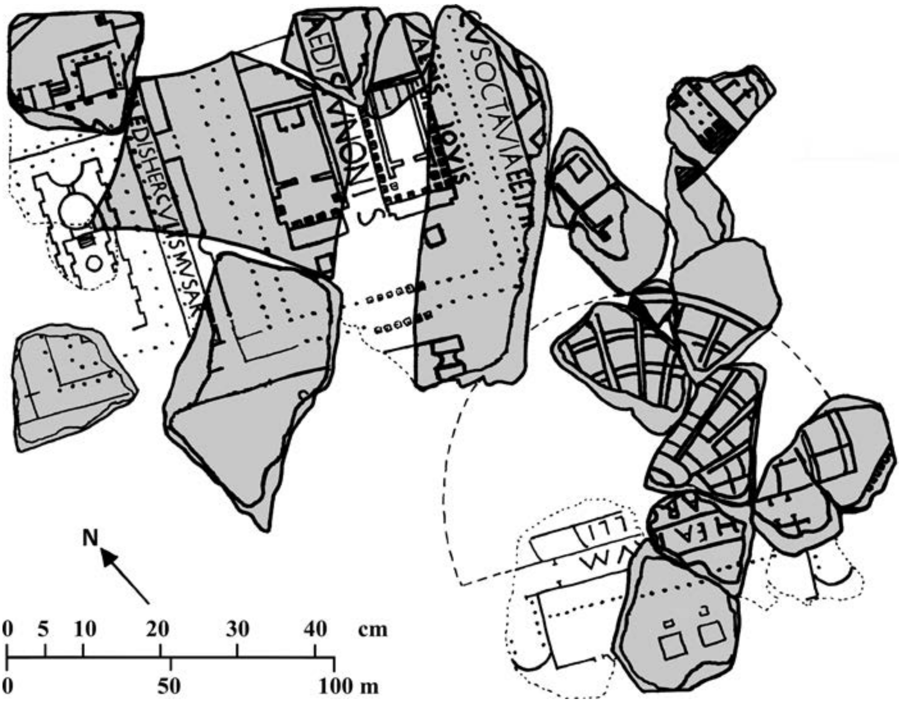
Location	Monument type	Vower/ Dedicator	Date (V = vowed, D = dedicated) (all dates B.C.)	Circumstances (battle)	Selected ancient sources	Selected bibliography
Capitoline	*Columna rostrata*	M. Aemilius Paullus	255		Liv. 42.20.1.	*LTUR* 1, 307–8
Capitoline	*Fornix*	C. Calpurnius Piso or L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi	Before 133		Oros. 5.9.2.	Biliński 1961; De Maria 1988, 51–2, 263–4; Rodríguez Almeida 1991b; Hrychuk 2010, 138–49; *LTUR* 2, 263.
Capitoline	*Fornix*	Scipio Africanus	Before 190		Liv. 37.3.7.	Spano 1950; Calabi Limentani 1982, 130; Kleiner 1985, 15; De Maria 1988, 51, 263; Hrychuk 2010, 126–38; Hrychuk Kontokosta 2013; *LTUR* 2, 266–7.
Forum Romanum	*Columna rostrata*	C. Duilius	V. 260	Naval battle of Mylae (against the Carthaginians)	Plin. *HN* 34.20; Quint. *Inst.* 1.7.12; Servius *Georgics* 3.29.	Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 30; *LTUR* 1, 309.
Forum Boarium	*Columna rostrata*	C. Duilius	V. 260	Naval battle of Mylae (against the Carthaginians)	Servius *Georgics* 3.29.	Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 30; *LTUR* 1, 309.
Circus Flaminius	*Porticus*	Cn. Octavius	D. after 166, before 163	Naval victory over Perseus of Macedon	*RG* 19; Plin. *HN* 34.13; Vell. Pat. 2.1.2; Festus 188L.	Olinder 1974; Zevi 1976; Richardson 1976; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 118–23; Coarelli 1997, 518–20; Senseney 2011a; *LTUR* 4, 139–41.
Circus Flaminius	*Porticus*	Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus	D. after 146 (maybe 143)	Campaign in Macedonia	Vell. Pat. 1.11.3–4, 2.1.2; Vitr. *De arch.* 3.2.5.	Richardson 1976; Lauter 1980–1981; Hiltbrunner 1982; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 130–1, 133–4; Giustini 1990; Coarelli 1997, 515–37; *LTUR* 4, 130–2.
Forum Boarium	*Fornix* (two *fornices*)	L. Stertinius	D. 196	Campaign in Hispania Ulterior	Liv. 33.27.3–4.	Kleiner 1985, 14; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 71–4; Aberson 1994, 153; Hrychuk 2010, 80–119; Hrychuk Kontokosta 2013; *LTUR* 2, 267.
Circus Maximus	*Fornix*	L. Stertinius	D. 196	Campaign in Hispania Ulterior	Liv. 33.27.3–4.	Kleiner 1985, 14; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 71–4; Aberson 1994, 153; Hrychuk 2010, 80–119; Hrychuk Kontokosta 2013; LTUR 2, 267.

and inaugurated only in 191 B.C. And in the Velabrum, which triumphs might well have circumambulated, L. Licinius Lucullus dedicated a temple to Felicitas right after the end of the Third Punic War, sometime after 146 B.C. or 142 B.C., to celebrate his victorious Spanish campaign of 151 B.C.

The greatest loci of the boom in triumphal building activity were the areas of the Circus Flaminius (Plate 1, no. 8), the Forum Holitorium (Plate 1, no. 15), the Forum Boarium (Plate 1, no. 20), and the culminating site of triumphal processions, the area of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline (Plate 1, nos. 28–29) (see Tables 2.3, 2.4). On the Capitoline, M. Aemilius Paullus (consul in 255 B.C.) erected a rostrated column to commemorate his triumph, while A. Atilius Caiatinus and L. Furius Purpureo dedicated temples to Fides and Veiovis, respectively. In the Circus Flaminius, prominent generals including M. Fulvius Nobilior, M. Aemilius Lepidus, and Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus erected numerous manubial temples – to Hercules Musarum (Plate 1, no. 10), Diana (Plate 1, no. 13), Pietas (Plate 1, no. 16), Juno Regina (Plate 1, no. 11), and Jupiter Stator (Plate 1, no. 11). Together with the triumphal porticoes built by Cn. Octavius and Metellus Macedonicus (Plate 1, nos. 9, 11), they defined this key section of the triumphal route. In the Forum Holitorium, C. Duilius, A. Atilius Caiatinus, and C. Cornelius Cethegus erected a row of manubial temples to Janus, Spes, and Juno Sospita, respectively; these temples are partially preserved today in the church of San Nicola in Carcere (Plate 1, nos. 17–19). In or near the Forum Boarium, Scipio Aemilianus and L. Mummius erected two innovative round temples to Hercules to celebrate their spectacular victories over Carthage and Corinth (Plate 1, nos. 22, 24). The Forum Boarium also boasted a rostrated column monument of C. Duilius from the First Punic War (Duilius dedicated a second *columna rostrata* for his naval victory over the Carthaginians in the Forum Romanum) and not one but two triumphal *fornices* erected by L. Stertinius, who also built a third in the Circus Maximus. These were areas of the city with significant daily commercial, religious, and social activity. Romans would have visited these locations regularly, and the monuments constructed there would have thus exerted an impact on Roman viewers beyond the ritual performance of the triumph. The following section focuses on the outstanding visual aspects of those monuments for which the evidence enables us to envision their appearance and expressive effect.

Visual Innovations and Aesthetic Impact

Manubial temples and triumphal monuments were designed to stand out, and not just because of their location at prominent points in the cityscape. They were the sites of great architectural innovation and experimentation in Rome in the third and second centuries B.C., and their forms and decorations were



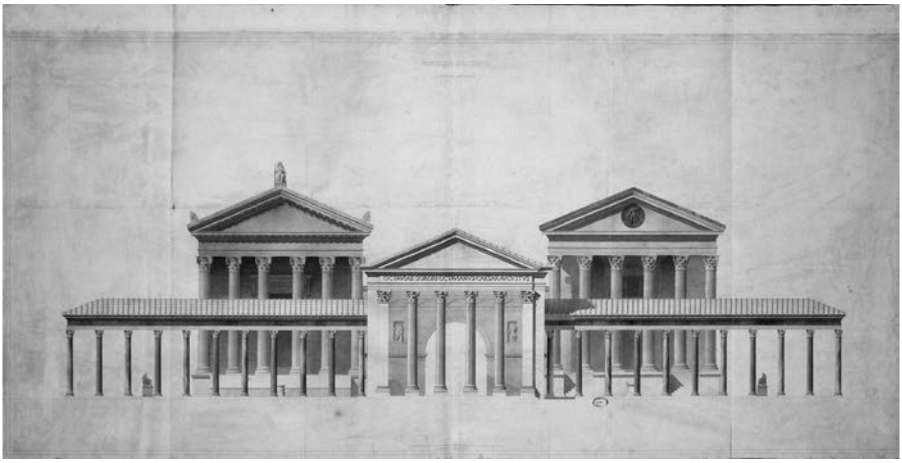
2.1 Severan Marble Plan, fragments showing the Circus Flaminius and Forum Holitorium. Author's drawing.

often visually distinct from surrounding structures. In the Forum Holitorium and Forum Boarium, commercial buildings such as warehouses and shops surrounded the monuments of triumphant generals.[9] These structures, built with less expensive materials and less ornate decoration, provided a comparatively plain backdrop against which temples, arches, and porticoes could appear as something truly special. Even the least educated observer could distinguish between "old" and "new" or "plain" and "costly"[10] – between, for example, warehouses and the rich new temples of Scipio Aemilianus and L. Mummius.

In a number of ways, triumphal monuments distinguished themselves architecturally from the rest of the urban landscape. When Cn. Octavius built his eponymous Porticus Octavia on the west part of the north side of the Circus Flaminius after his naval triumph over king Perseus of Macedon in 166 B.C., he created a monument unlike any Romans had seen before (Plate 1, no. 9). His portico, likely Rome's first quadriporticus and first portico funded from *manubiae*, was shortly followed by the Porticus Metelli. Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus erected this portico on the north side of the Circus Flaminius to surround his manubial temple to Jupiter Stator and the earlier Temple of Juno Regina in celebration of his own Macedonian triumph of 146 B.C. (Figure 2.1; Plate 1, no. 11). These two triumphal porticoes would have been visually striking in a number of ways. Both sported Greek columnar orders, for example. The Porticus Octavia, renowned in antiquity for its *luxuria* and *publica magnificentia*, boasted finely worked bronze capitals, which Octavius probably acquired during his Greek campaign. It is unclear exactly what order these capitals would have been. Pliny's description of them as "Corinthian" refers to their material (bronze), but given their Greek pedigree, they would have been of a Greek order. It is most plausible to envision them as Corinthian, given that metalworking was closely linked with the development of the Corinthian order and that Corinthian capitals revetted with bronze ornament are known in the Greek East. If indeed Corinthian, Octavius's capitals would have counted among the earliest example of Corinthian capitals at Rome, and their material, bronze, would have reflected light and flashed in comparison to the surrounding stone and stucco, making them particularly eye-catching. The Porticus Metelli also had an impressive colonnade in a Greek order: Ionic.[11]

In addition to their Greek capitals, the Porticus Octavia and Porticus Metelli would have stood out in Rome by their very architectural form: a portico surrounding a temple, an idea also on display at Lucullus's temple to Felicitas in the Velabrum, which, according to Strabo, was enclosed within a portico. This architectural concept was derived from the Greek world; examples include the sanctuaries at Cos and Dion. This Hellenistic architectural idea filtered into the Italian peninsula as well; well-known examples include the sanctuaries at Gabii and Tivoli. Many of the Italian examples, however, either are contemporary with the porticoes at Rome or postdate them. The Sanctuary of Juno at Gabii, for example, is generally dated to the 150s B.C. – earlier than the Porticus Metelli but later than the Porticus Octavia – and the Sanctuary of Hercules Victor at Tivoli to the first quarter of the first century B.C. No example exists in Italian architecture of two temples axially aligned within a portico, as we see in the Porticus Metelli.[12]

Greek models had been influencing Roman architecture to varying degrees for centuries, but many of the forms introduced in the era of the Punic Wars still would have been novel. Roman monuments might have looked to models from the Greek world as early as the sixth century B.C., but this would not have lessened the impact of newly introduced Greek forms such as *porticus*–temple complexes.[13] Roman viewers would not have been accustomed to seeing a temple, let alone two temples, inside a portico. The Porticus Octavia and Porticus Metelli would have been the first examples in Rome of this dramatic building type. The combination of *porticus* and temple(s) created the impression of a much more monumental complex than a temple on its own. Félix Duban's reconstruction of the Porticus Metelli rebuilt as the Augustan Porticus Octaviae is not chronologically accurate for the republican period, but it evokes the impressive appearance of the two temples soaring above the long, colonnaded portico (Figure 2.2). The porticoes, of course, were



2.2 Félix Duban, *The Portico of Octavia*, watercolor, 1827. Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, inv. no. Env21-06. © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.

impressive monuments in their own right (the Porticus Metelli measured a full 105 by 92 meters), dwarfing many nearby buildings. That so few examples existed in Rome during the era of the Punic Wars would have made them stand out even more in the cityscape. Porticoes created elaborate stage sets for the temples within them and enhanced the grandeur of the temples and works of art displayed within. The impact of these scenographic, carefully orchestrated monumental ensembles must have been visually and affectively overwhelming, creating a vivid impression on visitors to the Circus Flaminius.

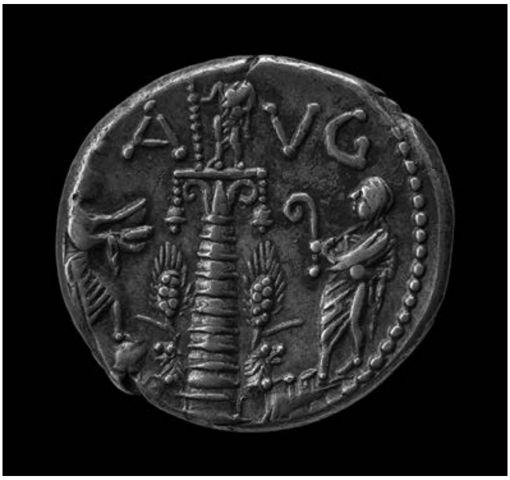
The same visual novelty would also have pertained to the *fornix*, or arch, a building type represented by only several examples during the era of the Punic Wars. The earliest republican *fornices* attested to in the annalistic tradition are those of L. Stertinius, *privatus* with proconsular imperium in 199 B.C. He erected three arches in 196 B.C. *de manubiis*, two in the Forum Boarium and one at the curved end of the Circus Maximus.[14] Stertinius did not celebrate a triumph for his Spanish victories, but Livy makes clear that the general viewed his arches as a substitute for a triumph. Several years later, Scipio Africanus erected an impressive arch over or along the Clivus Capitolinus, the road leading from the Forum to the Area Capitolina, before departing for Asia in 190 B.C. with his brother, Scipio Asiagenus, to fight Antiochus III. Although not erected in conjunction with a particular triumph, the *fornix* might have served as the monumental entrance to the Area Capitolina, in which case it would have marked triumphal processions' entrances into this precinct as they approached the Temple of Jupiter. Despite its chronological remove from Scipio's triumph, Anne Hrychuk Kontokosta has argued persuasively that the Fornix Scipionis was in many ways a victory monument, celebrating Scipio's victories in Spain and Carthage and even adumbrating his victory against Antiochus. These early republican arches might not have commemorated specific triumphal processions, but they established the arch as a potent form of victory commemoration and linked these victories with the triumph by virtue of their locations along the route. To call these arches simply honorific risks missing this point and downplaying their military connotations.[15]

The early republican *fornices* of Stertinius and Scipio defy easy description. They were likely single-bay arches, though their decoration remains enigmatic. According to ancient sources, the *fornices Stertinii* supported gilded statues on the attic; they were, in a sense, gigantic statue bases. We are left to imagine their appearance from surviving imperial arches such as the Arch of Titus on the Sacra Via and from numismatic representations of imperial arches. We do know, however, that *fornices* were extremely rare in republican Rome, and the form of a free-standing arch would have been a unique building type. While voussoir arches existed prior to Rome, they were built into city walls or other structures.[16] Free-standing arches that stood at prominent junctures of the city as monuments unto themselves, replete with statuary and inscriptions, would have stood out visually from their surrounds, given a greater sense of movement to the streets along and over which they stood, and dazzled with gilded bronze statues.

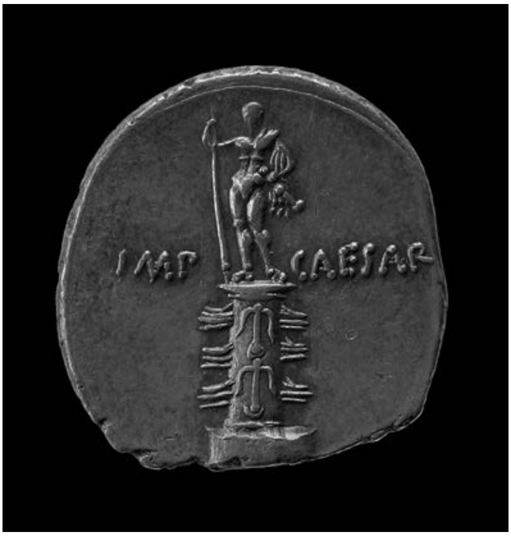
Column monuments erected by triumphant generals would likewise have stood out by virtue of their prominent locations and their relative rarity. The earliest honorific column recorded in Rome is the *columna honoraria* dedicated by the Roman people to L. Minucius Esquilinus Augurinus in 439 B.C. Some ancient sources link the erection of a *columna Maenia* in the Forum with the plebian C. Maenius's censorship in 318 B.C. A *columna bellica* was erected in front of the Temple of Bellona in the Circus Flaminius during the Pyrrhic War.[17] The specific appearances of these early column monuments are not known, and nothing survives of the triumphal *columnae rostratae* dedicated during the First Punic War by C. Duilius, one in the Forum Romanum and one in the Forum Boarium overlooking the Circus Maximus, and by M. Aemilius Paullus on the Capitoline (see Table 2.4).

Ancient authors, admittedly none republican, describe the column of Duilius in the Forum Romanum as decorated with rostra, surmounted by a statue. Silius Italicus's description is often translated as "a tall column of white marble, adorned with the beaks of ships, a naval trophy for a victory at sea." A marble column in 260 B.C., over a century before Rome's first marble temples, would have been an extraordinary sight. Silius in fact states that the column was white (*nivea*), not white marble, and it is perhaps more reasonable to suggest the column was of another material covered in white stucco. It is also possible that Silius based his description on later rostrated columns, such as those of Octavian. The rostrated column of M. Aemilius Paullus likely looked similar.[18]

Second-century-B.C. coins depict the *columna Minucia* erected in 439 B.C. with an Ionic or Aeolic capital and shaft composed of rounded blocks (Figure 2.3). It is unclear whether the column as depicted in the second century preserved its original fifth-century appearance. Although the column was not rostrated, coins of the *columna Minucia* give a sense of the grandeur of republican column monuments. Coins showing Octavian's rostrated column might give a better idea of the appearance of republican *columnae rostratae* (Figure 2.4).[19] The triumphal columns of C. Duilius and M. Aemilius Paullus would have been among a very small number of column monuments in the city of Rome, which alone made them remarkable. Their rostra distinguished them further; the metal ships' prows from enemy fleets extended the three-dimensional space of the column, making the already tall monuments appear wider and heftier (Figure 2.5). The bronze prows may even have been gilded and, in either case, would have gleamed in daylight. These columnar triumphal monuments had a lasting impact in western architecture; modern *columnae rostratae* include the column of Christopher Columbus in the center of Columbus Circle in Manhattan.

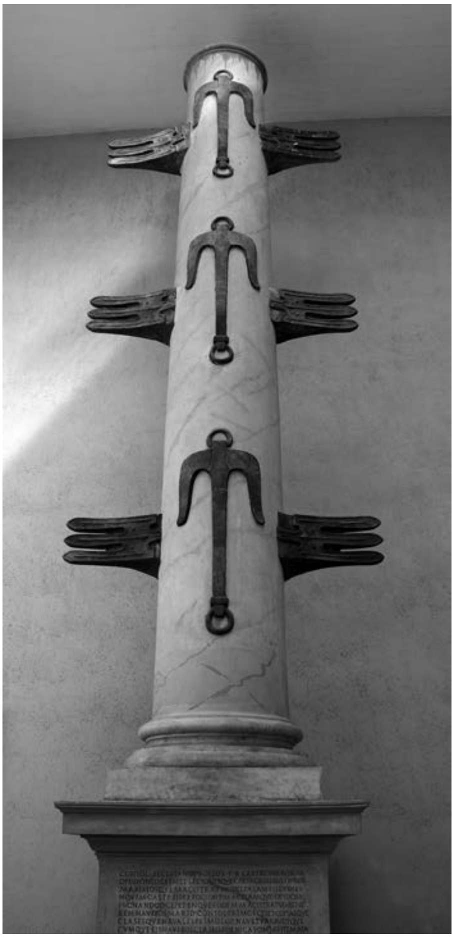


2.3 *Denarius* of C. Minucius Augurinus, reverse showing the *columna Minucia*, 135 B.C. British Museum, London, inv. no. 1867,0101.1310. © The Trustees of the British Museum.



2.4 *Denarius* of Octavian, reverse showing the rostrated column of Octavian, 29–27 B.C. British Museum, London, inv. no. R.6169. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

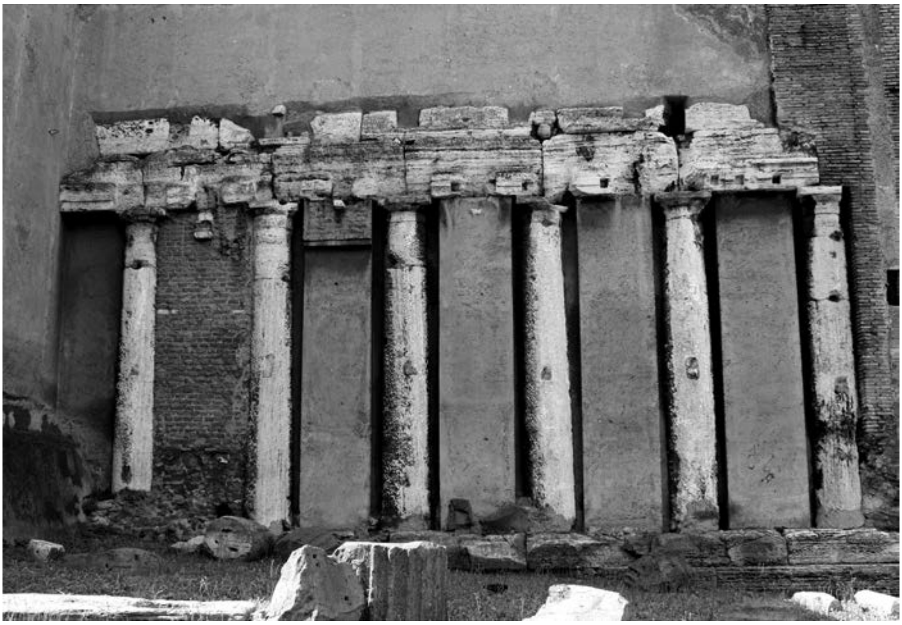
Temples, in contrast to porticoes, arches, and rostrated columns, were a building form long established at Rome, but manubial temples still managed to transform this building type visually. John Hopkins has argued recently that the Archaic Capitoline temple was the original locus of innovation in Roman architecture, fusing elements from central Italian and Greek sacred architecture into something new and distinctively Roman.[20] In this case, manubial temples would have been part of a paradoxically traditional history in Rome of temples as sites of



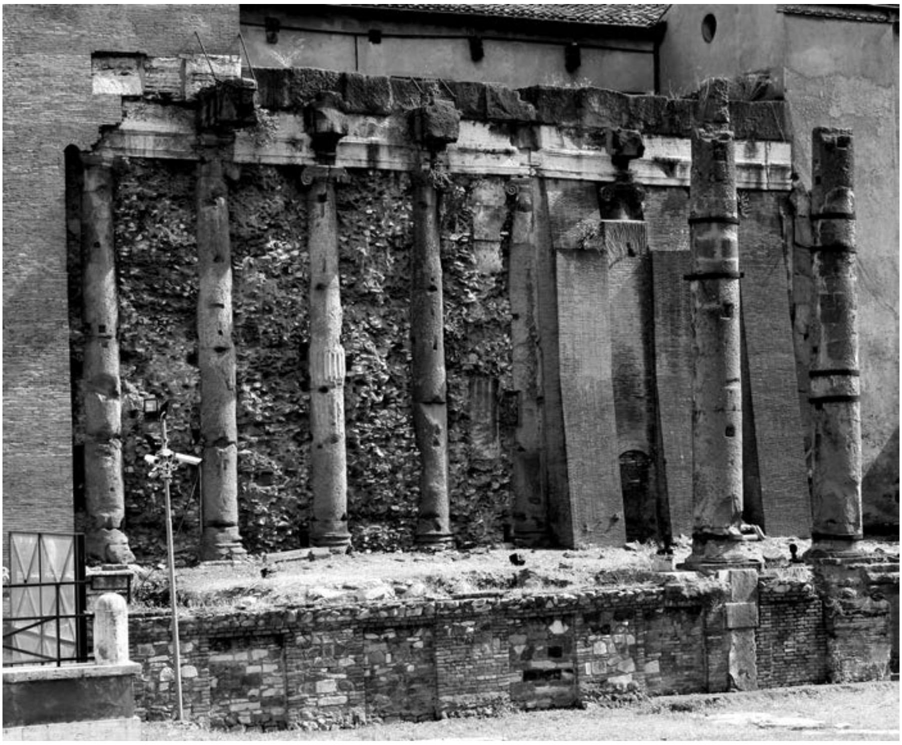
2.5 Model of the *columna rostrata* of C. Duilius. Rome, Museo della Civiltà Romana. Author's photo.

extraordinary innovation. This does not, however, lessen the impact of their novel elements. Just as the Capitoline temple had been the site of incorporating various Greek elements, such as side colonnades and the triple colonnaded porch, into Roman temple design in the sixth century B.C., manubial temples were sites of experimentation in the use of other Hellenistic architectural elements in Roman architecture. Many manubial temples, in addition to the porticoes described earlier, incorporated types of columns previously uncommon, or even non-existent, at Rome: Doric in the temple of Spes in the Forum Holitorium (Figure 2.6); Ionic in the Temple of Janus in the Forum Holitorium (Figure 2.7) and temples of Juno Regina and Jupiter Stator in the Circus Flaminius; and Corinthian in Mummius's Temple of Hercules Victor on the Tiber and, it seems, Regillus's Temple to the Lares Permarini (Plates 5, 6).[21] Ionic and Corinthian columns, in particular, look plainly different from the Tuscan columns that would have been prevalent in Rome at the time; even a person uneducated in architecture could easily notice the difference between a smooth shaft and a fluted one, between a Tuscan echinus and the elaborate volutes and foliage of Ionic and Corinthian capitals. Such architectural motifs would have been unusual in Rome at the time, and they would have caught people's eyes and incited their curiosity.

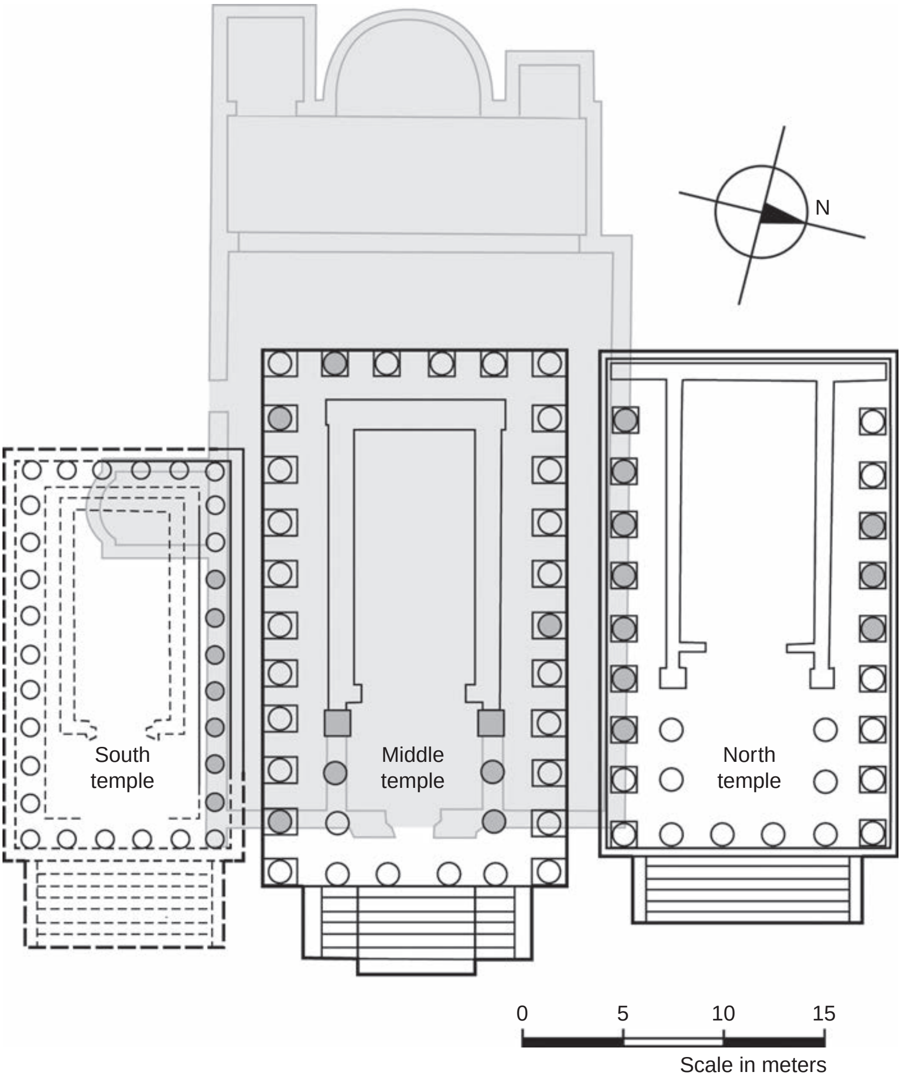
Many manubial temples also adopted fully peripteral plans, with columns extending around all four sides, in the tradition of Greek temples. These temples include the temples of Spes and Juno Sospita in the Forum Holitorium (Figure 2.8), the temple of Jupiter Stator in the Circus Flaminius (Figure 2.9), and the temple of the Lares Permarini in the Via delle Botteghe Oscure (Figure 2.10).[22] This innovation was not new to Italy; Magna Graecia abounds with examples, and a few peripteral temples are known much earlier elsewhere in Latium, for example Temple II at Satricum and Temple B at Pyrgi (both Archaic).[23] Peripteral temples *were* new to Rome, however. They would have stood out from the city's older



2.6 Forum Holitorium, the Temple of Spes. Author's photo.

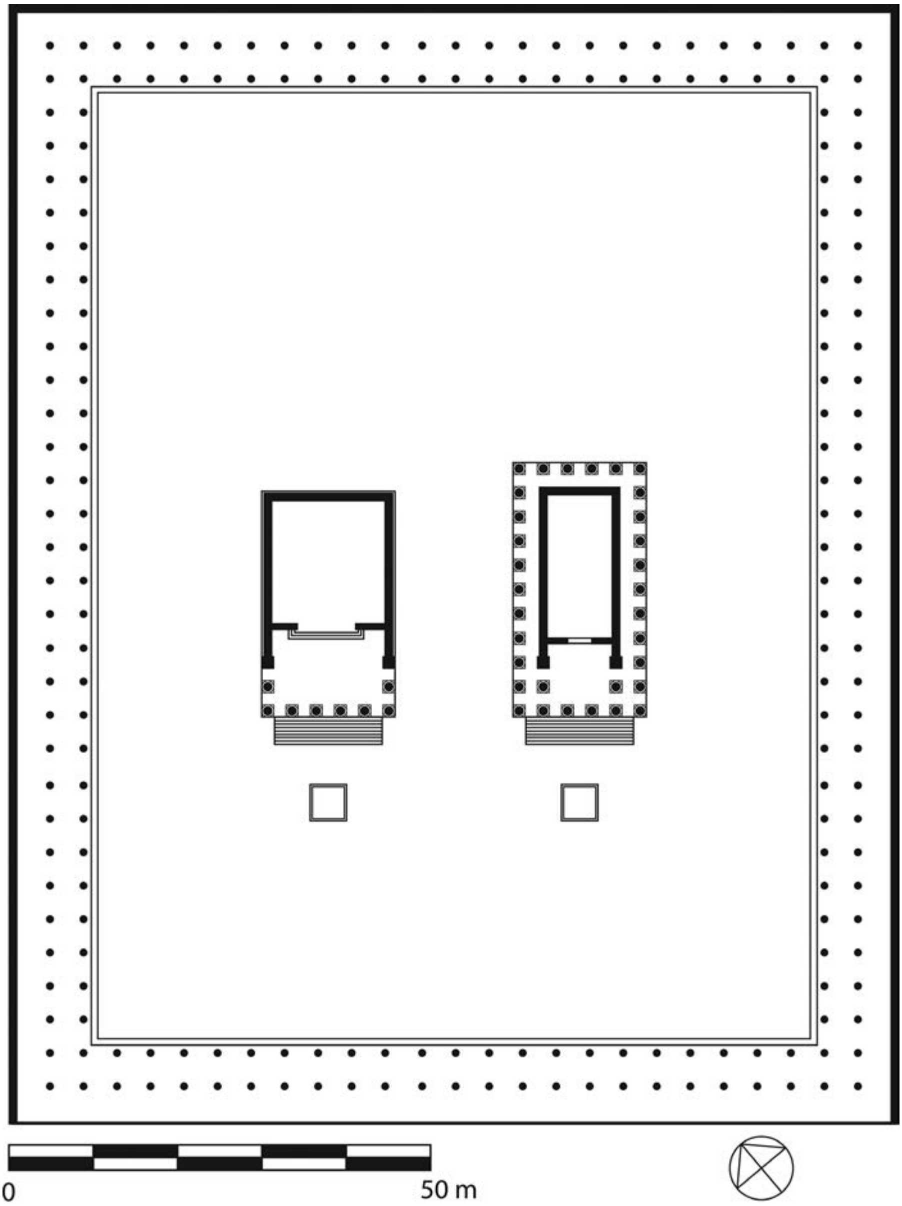


2.7 Forum Holitorium, the Temple of Janus. Author's photo.



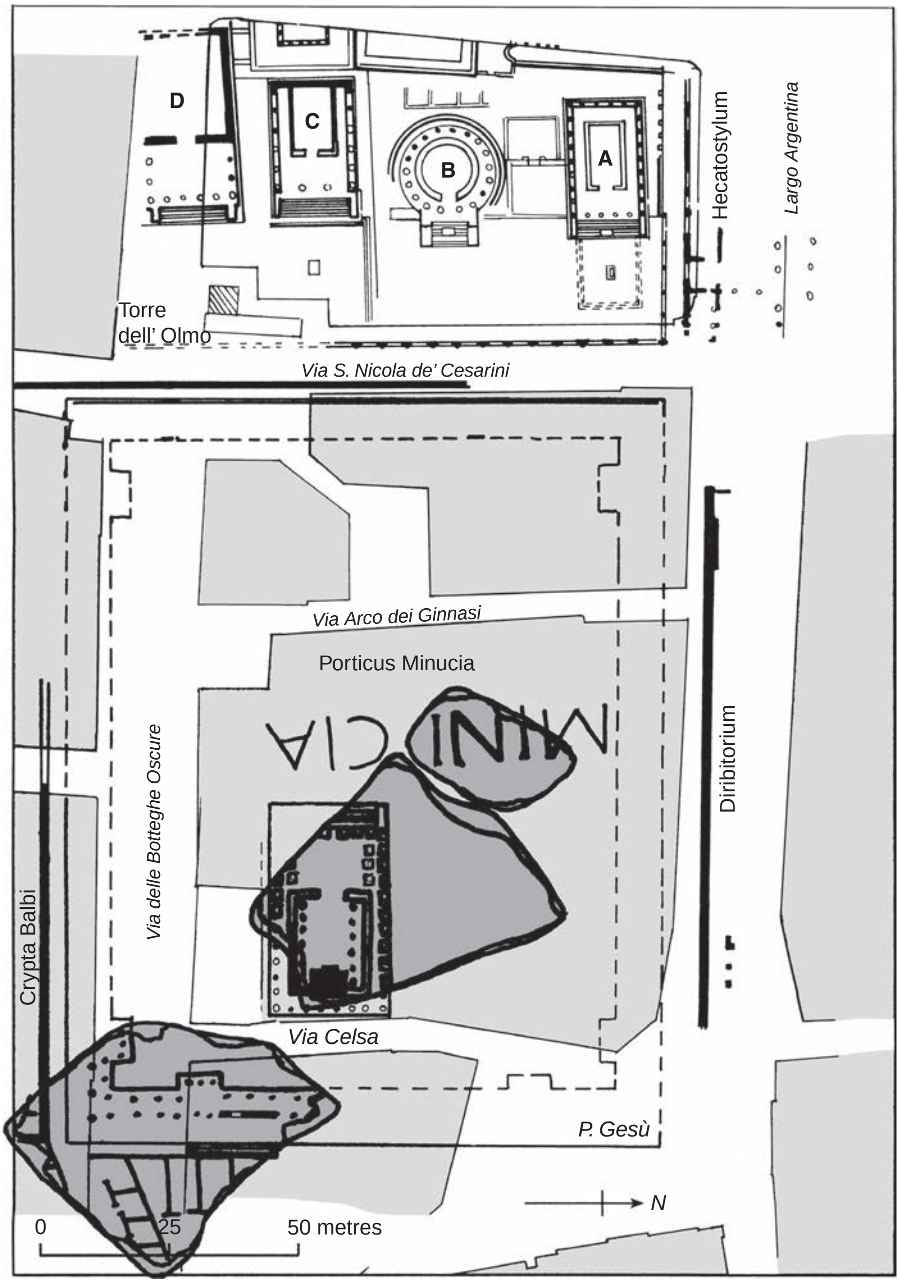
2.8 Forum Holitorium, plan of the republican temples in San Nicola in Carcere. Drawing by Samantha Reveley after Claridge 2010, 280, figure 119.

temples, such as the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, which presented an extremely different aspect with no columns along the back and very deep porches and heavy eaves. The architectural openness of a peripteral design would have contrasted visually with older temples such as the Capitoline temple and the temples to Saturn and Castor in the Forum Romanum, which were accessible only via staircases at the front of the podia. The new peripteral temples also would have contrasted experientially. The very movement of individuals around a temple – a person's spatial relationship to the architecture – had the potential to be fundamentally different.



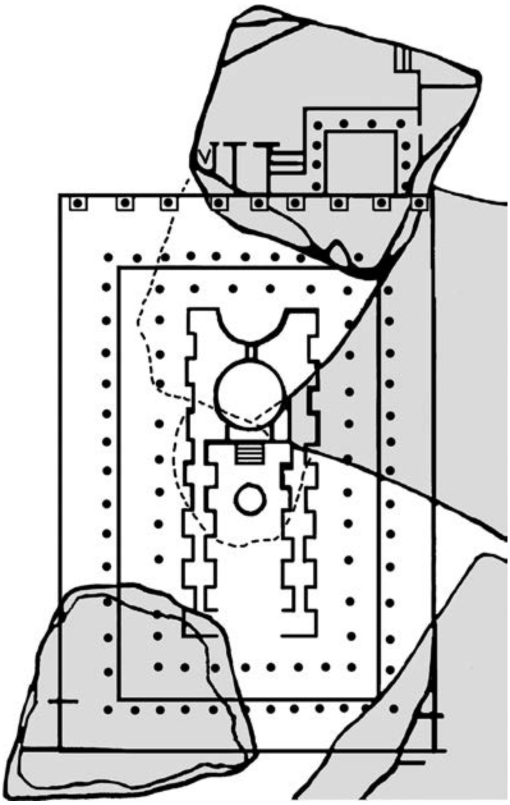
2.9 The Porticus Metelli and temples of Juno Regina and Jupiter Stator, restored plan. Drawing courtesy of John R. Senseney.

Perhaps even more striking than rectangular peripteral temples would have been round temples such as Fulvius Nobilior's temple to Hercules Musarum and Scipio Aemilianus and Mummius's round temples to Hercules. The form of the Temple of Hercules Musarum is exceptional, particularly compared to the rectangular plans of neighboring temples in the Circus Flaminius. The Marble Plan shows it as a rotunda atop a high podium, preceded by a


D
C
B
A
Hecatostylum
Largo Argentina
Torre dell' Olmo
Via S. Nicola de' Cesarini
Via Arco dei Ginnasi
Porticus Minucia
MINI
CIA
Via delle Botteghe Oscure
Diribitorium
Crypta Balbi
Via Celsa
P. Gesù
N
0
25
50 metres

2.10 Restored plan of the Porticus Minucia and the temple in the Via delle Botteghe Oscure, showing fragments of the Severan Marble Plan. Author's drawing modified from Zevi 1993, 670, figure 2 and Claridge 2010, 242, figure 102.

rectangular porch (Figure 2.1). An elongated rectangular structure extends before the rotunda, with four niches along the interior sides and six niches on each flank. Excavations have confirmed that the form of the temple shown on the Marble Plan reflects the plan of the republican temple. The temple,

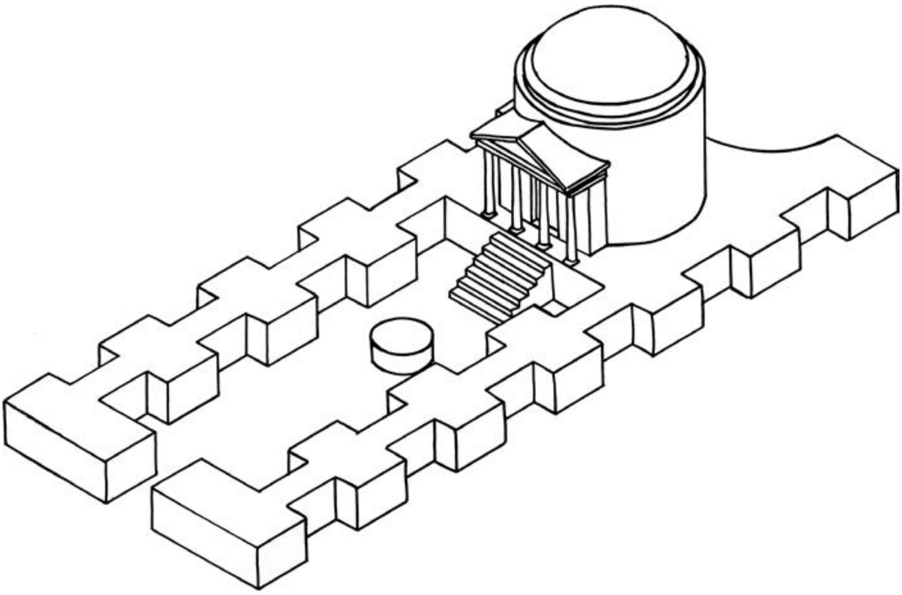


2.11 The Temple of Hercules Musarum, restored plan after the Severan Marble Plan (extant fragments shaded in gray, lost fragments outlined in dotted lines). Author's drawing.

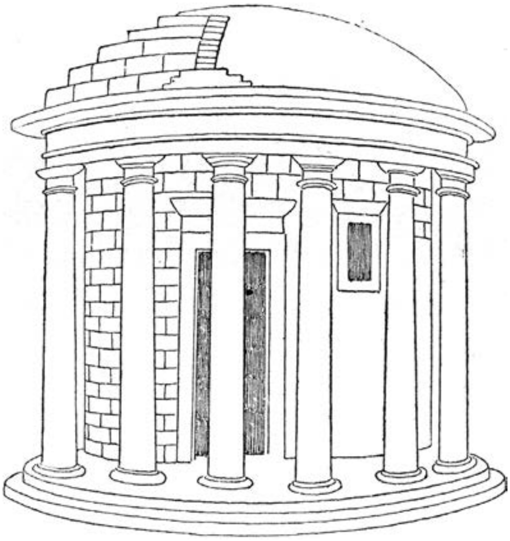
later enclosed in the Augustan Porticus Philippi, would have been an unusual combination of a Greek rotunda with a porch on a high podium more common in central Italian temple architecture (Figures 2.11, 2.12). The reference to Greek culture was driven home by the nine statues of the Muses taken as booty from Ambracia and displayed in the temple precinct. Because Nobilior earned his triumph in Aetolia, he would have been personally familiar with Greek architecture and might have had his architect intentionally imitate circular Greek monuments.[24]

Such a round temple would have been a great novelty, but the two subsequent round temples in the Forum Boarium and *ad portam Trigeminam* upped the ante by being fully peripteral tholoi. Although nothing remains of Scipio Aemilianus's temple to Hercules, scholars reconstruct it as a tholos, possibly with Tuscan columns, based on Livy's testimony and on Renaissance drawings that record the structure (Figure 2.13).[25] In this case, the *aedes Aemiliana Herculis* would have synthesized a Hellenistic tholos with Tuscan columns of central Italian origin. Although Corinthian, the concrete and travertine of the so-called Temple of Vesta on the acropolis at Tivoli might evoke the appearance of the *aedes Aemiliana* (Figure 2.14).

Mummius's temple to Hercules Victor, in contrast, is one of the best preserved temples of republican Rome, and its architecture is indisputably Greek (Figure 2.15; Plate 6). The round cella is surrounded by a peristyle of twenty Corinthian columns in Pentelic marble atop a continuous crepidoma. Mummius's crowning military victory was the defeat of Corinth, a rich and renowned Greek city. It is perhaps no coincidence that Mummius's temple is one of the earliest known examples in Rome of the Corinthian order. A Hellenistic-style manubial monument would have broadcast his glorious subjugation of the Greeks, and the Corinthian columns could have served as eternal reminders of the source of his singular victory. It is also worth noting that Mummius's temple, built on the embankment raised along the Tiber in



2.12 The Temple of Hercules Musarum, axonometric reconstruction. Author's drawing after Coarelli 1997, 479, figure 113.



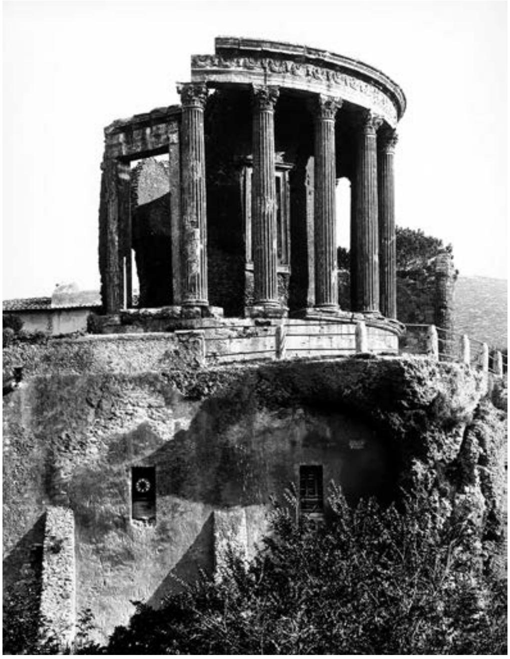
2.13 Baldassarre Peruzzi, drawing of the *aedes Aemiliana*. Image: Lanciani 1893, 69.

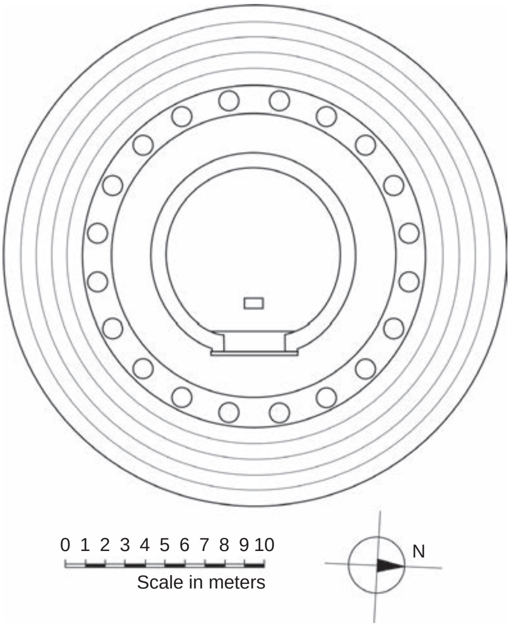
conjunction with the construction of the Pons Aemilia and Portus Tiberinus, would literally have stood above Aemilianus's temple. It rose on higher ground than the structures in the plaza of the Forum Boarium and would therefore have appeared much taller than these nearby buildings and been highly visible from the Forum Boarium.[26]

The circular forms of these three temples to Hercules would have differed unmistakably from earlier Roman temples. As peripteroi, the round temples of Mummius and Scipio Aemilianus are reminiscent of the well-known Greek tholoi at Delphi, Epidaurus, and Olympia. The rotunda of the Temple of Hercules Musarum might also have recalled non-peripteral Hellenistic monuments such as the Rotunda of Arsinoe at Samothrace. Romans traveled to these Greek sanctuaries in the time period under discussion.[27] It seems likely that the patrons of the Roman round temples could have had Greek models in mind and, moreover, that many inhabitants of the city could have recognized the

Greek aspects of their circular architecture. Certainly Greek architecture, generally speaking, was on display much closer to Rome in southern Italy and Sicily, but round, peripteral temples and heroa are absent from Magna Graecia. The colonnaded round temples of Rome thus do not seem to allude to Greek architecture generically, filtered through the lens of Etruria and Magna Graecia, but rather to imitate particular models from Greece proper. Hellenization at Rome was not always a generic process; in some cases, Roman patrons and architects chose to model their monuments on specific buildings, for a variety of reasons. In the case of the manubial temples in question, which were meant to advertise Roman foreign victory, models from Greece, as opposed to Magna Graecia, might have been more attractive because Greece was a land newly conquered or still being conquered, while southern Italy and Sicily were well incorporated into Rome's dominion by the end of the third century B.C.[28]

Another element of Greek temple architecture that some manubial temples adopted was a low crepis instead of a high podium, used in combination with a peripteral plan. Temples such as Metellus's Temple of Jupiter Stator and Mummius's Temple of Hercules Victor would have visually stood out from the sea of traditional podia. The tall podia of Italic temples derive from ancient central Italian augural practices; the height of the podia facilitated a primary means of augury: observation of the sky – either flights of birds or thunder and lightning. Along with their frontality, Italian


2.14 The so-called Temple of Vesta, Tivoli. Photo Credit: Alinari/Art Resource, NY.



2.15 The Round Temple on the Tiber, plan. Drawing by Samantha Reveley.

temples' tall podia underscored their augural functions. To remove this tall podium, seemingly steeped in traditional Roman religious practices, and replace it with the low, continually stepped crepis of Greek temples was a profound change. The impact of these architectural choices was thus not only visual and experiential but also touched on deeper questions of the extent to which these new manubial temples would accommodate traditional Roman religion.[29]

One of the most visually dazzling aspects of some of the second-century triumphal monuments described here was their use of marble as a building material. Excavations suggest that the Temple of Hercules Musarum, though built of tufa *opus quadratum*, might have been faced at least partly in white Greek marble. Given that the temple was likely dedicated within a decade of Nobilior's Ambracian triumph of 187 B.C., this might represent the earliest use of white marble in a Roman temple.[30] The Temple of Fortuna Equestris near the later Theater of Pompey, dedicated in 173 B.C., boasted marble roof tiles stripped by Fulvius Flaccus from the Temple of Hera Lacinia in Croton in an attempt to make his the most splendid temple in Rome. (Flaccus's marble decoration was not long-lasting, however, as the Senate forced him to remove the sacrilegiously obtained tiles.) Several decades later, Metellus's temple to Jupiter Stator became famous as Rome's first all-marble temple. Metellus's extravagant exploitation of the traditionally Greek resource of marble would have been appropriate, and practically more feasible, after the fall of Greece to Rome. This flamboyant use of marble in some ways signals the apex of the progressive cultural Hellenization of the city of Rome that had been initiated decades or even centuries earlier.[31]

It was perhaps in competition with Metellus's marble temple that Mummius built his round temple to Hercules Victor out of Pentelic marble. The exterior cella wall is cased in marble bands of alternating width, a masonry technique that corresponds to late Hellenistic architecture; it appears, for example, in the outer walls of the Altar Precinct at Pergamon. Channeled drafting was considered a luxury in the Hellenistic world, from which the Round Temple's decorative socle also derives. This has led some scholars to suggest plausibly that the Round Temple's architect was Greek.[32] In any event, by building a beautiful, round Corinthian temple in Greek marble, Mummius would have attempted to surpass in novelty Metellus's Temple of Jupiter Stator and may well have succeeded.

It can be difficult to imagine the impact of white marble in second-century Rome. The Temple of Jupiter Stator in the Circus Flaminius no longer survives, and the Round Temple by the Tiber, though well preserved, exhibits two millennia's worth of weathering and pollution rather than its original fine finish and reflective whiteness. In the second century, however, white marble would have virtually glittered in comparison to the stuccoed tufa of surrounding buildings. Tufa and peperino, even covered in white stucco, would have paled in comparison to the brilliance of white marble. The Vittoriano in Rome today gives some idea of just how gleaming and visually outstanding white marble can be; its looming mass sparkles in comparison to the other structures on Piazza Venezia. Unfortunately, little is known about the use of polychromy on Roman temples, although it is possible that the gleaming marble could have been highlighted with carefully placed painted decoration.[33]

In the manubial temples discussed here, white Greek marble would have been as visually and symbolically striking as the later use of colored marbles, which scholars have recognized as markers of Roman geographic conquest. That the appearance of marble was prized is suggested by the coating of stucco the Porticus Metellus received, possibly to imitate the appearance of white marble. Although the Porticus Metelli was covered in stucco perhaps to approximate the appearance of white marble, stucco cannot achieve the brilliant reflectivity of polished marble. The difference in material between Metellus's portico and his temple to Jupiter Stator would have been striking and, in fact, might have been intentional as opposed to purely economical. People approaching the Porticus Metelli from the Circus Flaminius would have seen the more familiar sight of stuccoed peperino, which would have made their ultimate sighting of the marble temple all the more visually exciting. This was stage setting on a grand scale by Metellus: a carefully designed complex that heightened the architectural affect of his monuments.[34]

Generals might have used Greek marble for the prestige of the expensive material and for its connotations of conquest over the Greek world, but their monuments also marked a significant aesthetic change in Roman architecture. Though Augustus may have exaggerated when he claimed to have found Rome a city of bricks and left it a city of marble – and though he may have intended this statement partly as a metaphor for the foundations he laid for a new Roman state – his famous boast evokes just how rare and thus how visually outstanding marble temples would have been in second-century Rome.[35]

In short, triumphal building spurred innovation in Rome. As a group, the monuments built along the triumphal route during the era of the Punic Wars brought tremendous inventiveness to Roman architecture. As generals and their architects attempted to commemorate Roman military victory on an unprecedented scale, they introduced new forms, styles, and materials into Roman buildings. Their monuments are not the only examples of Greek architecture and Greek values playing a decisive role in the development of a Roman building type in the mid-republican period. Katherine Welch has argued, for example, that Rome's earliest basilica, built sometime between 273 and 210 B.C., derived from Ptolemaic royal halls and was designed to entertain and impress embassies from the Hellenistic kingdoms.[36] The monuments of the triumphal route are not isolated from broader trends of Hellenistic influence at Rome, in which monuments such as basilicas also play a role. But given their great number and topographical spread throughout the central city along the triumphal route, they arguably played a more visibly transformative role in the cityscape. Triumphal monuments count among the most intriguing experiments in Rome of mixing longstanding Roman traditions and Greek architectural vocabularies to create a new Roman architecture. It is hardly coincidence that as Roman generals extended the boundaries of Rome's dominion abroad, they and their architects pushed the envelope of traditional Roman architecture at home; the former venture both stimulated and found apt visual expression in the latter experiment.

The innovative aspects just described were designed to catch people's eyes and invite visual contemplation and affective responses (i.e., responses caused by or expressing emotions). Ancient authors make clear that Roman viewers could have strong sensorial reactions to architecture. Ammianus Marcellinus describes in vivid terms the amazement one feels when confronted with the "marvelous sights" of Rome:

> So then he [Constantius] entered Rome, the home of empire and of every virtue, and when he had come to the Rostra, the most renowned forum of ancient dominion, he stood amazed; and on every side on which his eyes rested he was dazzled by the array of marvelous sights . . . Then, as he surveyed the sections of the city and its suburbs, lying within the summits of the seven hills, along their slopes, or on level ground, he thought that whatever first met his gaze towered above all the rest: the sanctuaries of Tarpeian Jove so far surpassing as things divine excel those of earth; the baths built up to the measure of provinces; the huge bulk of the amphitheater, strengthened by its framework of Tiburtine stone, to whose top human eyesight barely ascends; the Pantheon like a rounded city-district, vaulted over in lofty beauty; and the exalted heights which rise with platforms to which one may mount, and bear the likenesses of former emperors; the Temple of the City, the Forum of Peace, the Theater of Pompey, the Odeum, the Stadium, and amongst these the other adornments of the Eternal City. But when he came to the Forum of Trajan, a construction unique under the heavens, as we believe, and admirable even in the unanimous opinion of the gods, he stood fast in amazement. . . .[37]

Roman architecture dazzles, it exalts, it amazes. Ammianus was writing in the late imperial period, but his visceral reaction is compelling. The Roman experience of monumental architecture was, in real and significant ways, an aesthetic one, a sensory reaction to monuments that incited emotional response and visual contemplation.[38]

Of course Romans did not interact with manubial and triumphal monuments only by staring at them for hours on end. Most of the monuments described here stood in some of the busiest political and commercial sites in Rome. Feasting, political events, and religious ceremonies could occur around monuments. These buildings had many other valences (religious, political, economic, etc.), and people surely often experienced them as a backdrop to everyday activities. Nonetheless, regardless of whether they always received it, these monuments invited aesthetic contemplation to a much greater degree than buildings such as warehouses, *insulae*, or perhaps even those temples that at the time might have seemed old-fashioned. Romans did not always gaze at monuments, but nor did they always ignore them. And when people did stop to look at buildings, it was these innovative triumphal monuments to which their eyes most likely turned. Not every passer-by at the corner of Fifth Avenue and East Thirty-Fourth Street in Manhattan pauses to look up at the surrounding architecture. But those who do tend to look at the Empire State Building, not the caddy-corner building housing the Duane Reade pharmacy. The striking visual appearance of generals' monuments along the triumphal route suggests strongly that they would have received a greater share of Romans' visual attention than neighboring buildings.[39]

Triumphal References

Once the formal and material qualities of a monument caught a person's eye and that person began to contemplate the building, the visual appearances of the monuments of the triumphal route were designed to bring to mind the occasion of their birth: Roman victories and triumphs. The incorporation of foreign architectural elements – particularly Greek elements such as columnar orders, plans, and materials – evoked the conquest of foreign peoples that had led to so many triumphal processions and victory monuments. It is difficult to determine whether all members of Roman society would have recognized Hellenizing architectural elements as Greek per se, but at the very least peripteral colonnades, Greek architectural orders, and white marble would have been strikingly different from much of the existing architecture surrounding them.[40] It is helpful here to think in terms of "memory communities," a concept Susan Alcock has fruitfully applied to Hellenistic and Roman Greece. Just as individuals could have multiple self-identities, so too could they belong to multiple groups each sharing various common memories.[41] Groups might be delineated by gender, age, religious belief, social status, level of education, and so on. The multiple facets of any individual's identity, in other words, would have affected the memory communities to which he or she belonged, with the result that although any given individual shared common memories with various groups, the exact configuration of shared memories would differ from person to person.

Members of the aristocracy, for example, many of whom would have received education in Greek language and culture and traveled abroad, would likely have recognized the cultural origin of monuments' Greek elements. Soldiers who, as part of their military service, traveled to regions boasting Greek architecture probably also had at least a basic knowledge of the Greek architectural vocabulary, as they did of the Greek language; the same was likely true for many traders. The content, language, and popularity of Plautine comedy suggest a basic familiarity with Greek culture across a wide swath of Rome's population. Moreover, Greek artists and architects would have been present in Rome from at least the early second century B.C. It is possible, even likely, that they lived at Rome and elsewhere in Italy earlier, given various Greek finds from the region, such as the Aristonothos krater, but it is difficult to prove whether these objects were made by Greek artists in Italy, imported, or made by Etruscan or other local artists in imitation of foreign styles. Livy, on the other hand, informs us of influxes of Greek artists in the first several decades of the second century B.C.[42] Thus, not only did Greek architectural elements dominate among foreign influences in triumphal architecture, but many Romans also probably could have recognized these elements as "looking Greek" and thus attached to them the significance of Rome's conquest of foreign lands such as Greece. Some particularly educated or well-traveled Romans might even have connected these elements with particular sites or monuments in Greece, perhaps associating Mummius's round temple, for example, with the celebrated tholoi of Olympia, Delphi, and Epidaurus.

In addition to foreign architectural elements, many triumphal monuments likely boasted inscriptions explicitly linking them to Roman victory over foreign peoples and to the glory of the triumphant generals who dedicated them. Livy testifies that L. Aemilius Regillus placed an inscribed tablet detailing his naval victory over Antiochus above the doors of his temple to the Lares Permarini. The inscription for Mummius's temple to Hercules Victor found on the Caelian might have been a similar tablet, perhaps a lower-quality copy of the inscription from Mummius's temple on the Tiber. Velleius states specifically that the two temples within the Porticus Metelli were set up without inscriptions; that he deemed this an identifying feature suggests that normally temples *did* bear inscriptions.[43] Metellus might have felt that the elegance of his all-marble temple to Jupiter Stator spoke for itself, not requiring an inscription. No dedicatory inscription of a republican manubial temple survives to us, so we cannot know their size. Given generals' desire to show off, however, it is tempting to think that they might have been as big and impressive as imperial dedicatory inscriptions such as that of the Pantheon.

Such triumphal inscriptions were not limited to temples. Duilius's rostrated column in the Forum Romanum bore a *titulus* celebrating his naval triumph. Dedicatory inscriptions ensured that nobody would forget whom Romans had to thank for the monument in question – and they reminded people of the military victories that had occasioned the construction of the monuments and of the triumphs the monuments commemorated. That many, or even most, Romans were probably illiterate to some degree need not have lessened the impact of such inscriptions. Reading ability tends to be more widespread then writing ability, and many inscriptions required only partial literacy to understand because of their repetition and use of formulaic abbreviations. The monumental context of inscriptions – the architecture, statues, and paintings that surrounded them – also helped illiterate or semi-literate people interpret the significance of the written words, as, perhaps, did literate intermediaries who could have read monumental inscriptions out loud. Inscriptions on monuments were an important part of the physical, public space accessible to all.[44]

Many monuments along the triumphal route also displayed booty – spoils of war that made their triumphal nature explicit to observers. The type of spoils could vary. The columns of C. Duilius and M. Aemilius Paullus bore bronze rostra affixed to their shafts. M. Aemilius Lepidus displayed Ligurian arms, such as shields, in his temple to Juno Regina. A number of manubial temples and their surrounding porticoes and precincts housed works of art taken from captured Greek cities, such as the nine statues of the Muses from Ambracia on display in Nobilior's temple to Hercules Musarum, the Granikos monument of Alexander on display in the Porticus Metelli, and statues from the sack of Corinth displayed around the Temple of Felicitas.[45] These monuments' display of arms and statues that had been carried in triumphs linked the structures to triumphal processions as much as inscriptions did. Paintings and other ephemeral showpieces carried in triumphs also found their way to permanent display in public places and manubial temples. One did not have to be especially educated or literate to appreciate this connection. During the era of the Punic Wars, when triumphs were frequent events in the city, most inhabitants of Rome would have seen triumphal processions with their own eyes and would have known that the booty they saw in the city's porticoes and temples had originally come to the city as spoils brought home by triumphant generals.

THE MEMORY FUNCTIONS OF MONUMENTS OF THE TRIUMPHAL ROUTE

Human remembering is an extremely malleable process, as this book's introduction explained. Memory is not set in stone, but stones can affect how we remember. Through their architectural projects, Roman generals transformed the city of Rome – both its monumental topography (where monuments were distributed) and the aesthetics of its public monuments (how monuments looked). The monuments created a space in which Romans could remember the triumph both as historical event and ritual institution. This section explores the different ways in which the monuments of the triumphal route constructed during the era of the Punic Wars shaped how Romans thought of and remembered triumphs. Specifically, it examines how the monuments commemorated bygone triumphal processions, shaped how Romans conceived of the institution of the triumph and their urban identities in the present, and enabled Romans to envision future triumphs through prospective memory.

Commemoration and Historical Memory

That manubial and triumphal monuments along the triumphal route commemorated or served as symbols of past victories and triumphs is hardly controversial. When a triumphing general such as Fulvius Nobilior or Metellus Macedonicus built a temple or a portico, or both, along the triumphal route in celebration of his military victory and triumph, he was counting on the monument's ability to remind future generations not just of the triumph as a generic ritual, but of his victory and triumphal procession specifically. If the triumph was the highest honor a Roman man could receive, it was nonetheless ephemeral, lasting usually one day. A permanent monument allowed a general to concretize the honor, to make the fleeting *gloria* of a triumph and the victory it celebrated eternal.

In this sense, the monuments of the triumphal route served historical memory: they intentionally and explicitly referred to particular historical events in a bygone time. Tonio Hölscher has argued that societies, Rome included, institutionalize memory by anchoring it to significant places that preserve memories through their very permanence. Monuments play a special role in the development of historical memory in the public sphere. *Denkmal*, the German word for monument, literally means "thinking time"; a monument invites the viewer to think about the historical past commemorated therein. At the nodes of the triumphal route, generals' buildings served as monumental highlights of the glorious past of the Roman triumph; they formed part of a network of "memory monuments" (*Gedächtnis-Monumenten*), to borrow Hölscher's phrase, that commemorated in the present significant events of the past. Hölscher's concept is, as he realizes, particularly apropos for the triumphal route, with its assembly of memory monuments that commemorated the historical events of past triumphs.[46]

Hölscher argues, however, that the memory monuments of the triumphal route did not offer a coherent narrative of Rome's rise to world power.

Each monument formed an individual point from the past, referring not to some grand narrative but to the individual general who had distinguished himself through his military victory and triumph. Yet, as we have seen, new monuments were added almost constantly to the triumphal route during the era of the Punic Wars. Thus, as Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp has argued, the history of Rome's conquests came to be inscribed into the cityscape, even if each monument commemorated an individual triumph. In Hölkeskamp's view, the accumulation of monuments along the triumphal route and the mixing of newer ones with older ones created a landscape that marked Rome's rise to dominion over the known world. Construction of monuments along the route resulted in a continual process of updating the "track record" of the Republic on its path to empire; each new monument commemorated another triumph that brought Rome closer to its pan-Mediterranean dominion.[47] Hölscher's and Hölkeskamp's views are not mutually exclusive. An individual monument could be erected primarily to commemorate the accomplishment of an individual general while subsequently participating in a cityscape that charted the accomplishments of Rome as a whole. The monuments could commemorate both specific triumphs and victories and the Roman triumph and Roman victory generally.

During the third and second centuries B.C., Romans living in the capital city would have witnessed numerous triumphal processions during their lifetimes. They would have sat or stood at various points along the triumphal route, particularly the nodes that were more hospitable to the gathering of crowds, and watched the processions passing before them. As monuments accumulated at the triumphal route's nodes, they became the backdrop for each successive triumphal procession. Temple steps could serve as seating for crowds, and temple facades, decorated with garlands for the occasion, added to the ritual's festivity. Triumphal processions activated the meaning of the monuments in front of which they passed, and for some time after the performance of the ritual, this activation surely lingered on – not forever, but triumphs during the Republic were frequent enough that their aura, as it were, might cling for much of the time to the buildings that formed their backdrop. These structures incited people in their daily lives to remember the victories and triumphs that had led to their physical construction and to think of the institution of the triumph generally. In the era of the Punic Wars, generals built up the triumphal route as an urban palimpsest of the Roman triumph. The monuments made the past present in a tangible way, and the ongoing performance of triumphs before them continually reactivated and recharged this aspect of their meaning, generating constant remembering – and reconstruction– of triumphs.[48] Yet the commemorative function of the monuments of the triumphal route is only one aspect of their complex memory function in Roman society.

Memory and Identity Formation

The monuments of the triumphal route certainly contributed to a historical memory centering on specific people and events, as Hölscher suggests. He argues additionally that there is a dichotomy between this historical knowledge and "traditional knowledge," which deals with ideas and mentalities rather than particular historical events.[49] Yet the triumph itself belies this dichotomy, because it was simultaneously a traditional ritual and a particular historical event not performed on a regular basis. The monuments of the triumphal route repudiate any strict distinction between historical and traditional knowledge, because they fused the phenomena of historical memory of individual triumphal processions and traditional knowledge of the ritual generally. Hölscher and Hölkeskamp are correct that the monuments of the triumphal route made the past alive, through exempla of individual accomplishments or a track record of Rome's communal achievements, or both. But they did not simply bring the past into the present, innocently recalling historical military victories and triumphal processions. They could also guide and manipulate how Romans remembered the past and thus shape Romans' mentalities about the triumph as an institution and about Romans as a group. As Rome was conquering the western Mediterranean, Africa, and Asia Minor, Romans found themselves increasingly surrounded by an architecture whose physical appearance shaped their recall of Roman conquests and triumphs and their definitions of themselves as Roman.

The triumph as a ritual and the monuments that reminded people of it were formative. They helped Romans answer the question "Who are we?" The triumph was unquestionably where Rome came face to face with the world, the context in which many Romans saw specific spoils, including works of art and even people, from certain foreign lands. Triumphal processions thus raised questions of what distinguished Romans from the foreign cultures whose representatives were led in triumphal processions: what it meant to be Roman. Through their conscious incorporation into the Roman cityscape of foreign architectural elements, inscriptions detailing conquest of foreign peoples, and display of foreign statues and arms, triumphal monuments were designed to evoke the aspect of triumphs that juxtaposed Romans against the foreign conquered. Their power to do so may be suggested by the concern many Romans of the republican period seem to have exhibited with defining their identity in opposition to the cultures Rome was in the process of conquering, particularly, though not only, Greece.[50] The monuments of the triumphal route were not merely reflections of identities and self-definitions with which Romans wrestled at this time period. They were also agents in their formation.

The question of Roman "identity" is thorny and complex, entangled with debates about the relationship between center and periphery in the Roman world. While a largely obsolete model of Romanization long saw the spread of a monolithic Roman culture and identity as something flowing out from the center to the provinces, recent studies have stressed how regional, even micro-regional, cultural interaction was in the Roman Empire. Categories of "Roman" and "native" can obscure the complicated negotiations and hybridizations that occurred in different locations while also implying that "Roman" meant the same thing in every corner of the empire. Scholars now often focus on regional diversity and individuals' participation in discourses of ideology and power.[51] They also attempt to give greater agency to indigenous peoples in terms of adopting, adapting, subverting, or rejecting aspects of changing political and social environments. As suggested in the introduction, "Roman" could even mean something unique in the city of Rome, namely, belonging to the metropolis as much as or perhaps even more than the totality of lands under Roman control. Just as we must recognize local identities in Gaul or Britain or Syria that do not conform to a monolithic definition of Romanness, so too must we recognize that the city of Rome was its own locality, its own "region," with its own possible definitions of what it meant to be Roman at various times.

Tacitus's famous passage from the *Agricola* about provincial people's naïve embrace of Roman "civilization" cannot tell us how indigenous populations perceived Roman power in provincial locations. But elite authors writing in the center of the empire *are* arguably useful for understanding how Romans in the city of Rome conceived of their relationship to the broader empire and defined themselves in relation to conquered peoples and cultures. Virgil gives the following speech to Jupiter in the *Aeneid*: "Remember Roman, these are your skills: to rule over peoples, to impose morality, to spare your subjects and to conquer the proud." Pliny the Elder describes Italy as

> a land nourished by all, and yet parent of all lands, chosen by the power of the gods to make even heaven more splendid, to gather together the scattered realms and to soften their customs and unite the discordant wild tongues of so many peoples into a common speech so they might understand each other, and to give civilization to mankind, in short to become the homeland of every people in the entire world.

As Mattingly has argued, Virgil is of limited use for understanding attitudes in the provinces. He also notes, however, that Virgil may genuinely have believed that it was Rome's destiny to rule over the world (though he may also have been flattering Augustus). Pliny may truly have thought that Rome and Italy were meant to be the "homeland of every people in the entire world." Literary accounts such as these suggest how perceptions at Rome could ultimately be "real" for certain groups inhabiting the city, even if they do not match up with reality on the ground in the Roman provinces.[52] The ideal of Rome and its beneficent power might be a construct, but it is a construct that would arguably have held meaning in the city of Rome itself, which gave birth to it in the first place.

J. C. Barrett has written of the Roman provinces, "Whenever we hear the term 'Roman', we can now ask: how was it possible to recognize and to embody that ideal, what did it mean at this time and in this place to make oneself Roman?"[53] We can ask these questions of the city of Rome as well, and we might answer that the triumph and its monuments played an active role in constructing conceptions of "Romanness" – that is, urban identities – in the city of Rome. It was possible to recognize and embody the ideal of "Roman" in the monuments of the triumphal route. In their diverse architecture and decoration, these structures expressed the idea of Rome's gathering different people under its aegis. In the route's monuments, Romans could recognize that being Roman involved a complicated balancing act between incorporating foreign cultures and maintaining distinction from them. Mummius's round temple to Hercules Victor, built in impeccable Greek style, probably suggested to many Roman viewers that Rome was superior to Greece (it commemorated the sack of Corinth, after all). But it might also not have been lost on some viewers that to display Roman military superiority over Greece, Mummius relied on Greek cultural forms. The temple thus had the potential both to position Romans as distinct from and superior to conquered Greeks and to highlight the ways in which Romans' evolving self-definitions might simultaneously include Greek culture.

Louise Revell, in her study of Roman Hispania and Britannia, argues that people's interactions with buildings form "part of the process of how they make sense of the world: their own identities, their relationship to each other, and their environment." Buildings are key in perpetuating "communal identities.. . ."[54] The monuments of the triumphal route constructed for Rome a local identity of the triumphant conqueror bringing foreign cultures into its fold, which many twentieth-century scholars unfortunately came to construe as indicative of perceptions across the entire Roman world. Not all memory communities in Rome would necessarily have bought into this urban identity of Romans as conquerors and assimilators of foreign cultures, but the monuments built along the triumphal route in the era of the Punic Wars presented this identity as an option and encouraged people to consider it. It is possible, therefore, that the triumph and its monuments actively contributed to Romans' perceptions of their city and its culture as a dominant, civilizing force – the attitude notoriously conveyed by later authors such as Virgil and Pliny.

A colonial power's sense of self-identity is often strengthened through the process of colonialization, precisely because of the perceived contrast to the colonialized society.[55] One could replace colonialization with the process of military conquest and annexation and arrive at a similar conclusion for Rome in the third and especially second centuries B.C. The ritual of the triumph set up a contrast to conquered societies such as Greece, and the monuments that commemorated victories and triumphs broadcast this contrast so that it could continue to be perceived after the ephemeral procession. The monuments visualized and emphasized this aspect of triumphal processions. Rome conquered many cultures in this time period, seeing spoils and prisoners from these cultures in triumphs and wrestling to varying degrees with how they were distinguished from these cultures. Romans' relationship with foreign cultures was an indisputably important issue for defining an urban identity, at least for the city's elite, who constructed the monuments in question and, if the literary record is any indication, actively debated the impact of Greek culture, for example, on what they perceived as Roman values.[56]

Romans' attitudes toward Greece and other foreign cultures were, of course, hardly as straightforward as military domination and cultural subjugation and appropriation, nor would those attitudes have been homogenous across Rome's population.[57] The monuments of the triumphal route contributed to this complexity, as did other building types such as the basilica, which might have initially courted a Greek audience rather than appropriating a Hellenistic architectural model to demonstrate Roman superiority. Triumphal temples, porticoes, columns, and arches evoked memories of military victories over Greece and other cultures and of triumphal processions over these foreign peoples. They accomplished this through their architectural forms, inscriptions, decoration, and location, as described earlier. They reminded Romans that they were building their empire by overcoming foreign cultures militarily, but they also invited Romans to contemplate the ways in which Roman culture drew on and was invigorated by foreign cultures. The monuments of the triumphal route thus presented a range of options for how Romans might remember foreign conquests and triumphs, but they nonetheless encouraged everybody who looked at them to consider Romans' relationships to foreign cultures, whatever conclusions a given individual might draw.

We cannot say how each memory community, let alone any individual, in Rome would have responded. These buildings invited Romans to remember Roman military victories and the triumphal processions that often followed them, but their visual aspects also guided Romans to remember the ways in which Roman culture was bound up with, and in some ways dependent upon, conquered cultures such as that of the Greek world. Greek culture had never been confined to the private sphere in

Rome, as the archaic terracotta statues of Hercules and Athena from the Area Sacra di Sant'Omobono attest.[58] But during the era of the Punic Wars, it came to be more widely, more pointedly, and more flamboyantly displayed along the triumphal route, for example in Greek-style marble temples. Because the monuments of the triumphal route were built into the physical context of the triumph, with its explicit connotations of Roman victory and conquest, they, perhaps more than any other building projects in Rome at this time, helped Romans navigate their relationship with and self-definitions in contrast to conquered cultures. The monuments helped Romans remember specific military victories and triumphal processions, but they also shaped these memories, and, in turn, these memories shaped Romans' mentalities about their urban identity and place in the pan-Mediterranean world. They could strengthen urban identities for Rome in perceived contrast to conquered cultures but could also integrate conquered cultures into those identities.

Prospective Memory: A Blueprint for Future Triumphs

The monuments built along the triumphal route in the era of the Punic Wars built a space in which to remember past triumphs, and they consequently played a critical role in shaping how Romans conceived of the ritual and of their own identities as Romans. Yet one of the most crucial memory effects of the monuments of the triumphal route had to do not with remembering bygone triumphs but with performing future triumphs. No written instruction manual for how to put on a triumph, or even a reference to such a manual, survives, and it is likely that none existed. So how did a Roman general and his planners know how to choose a route for a triumphal procession? The answer is memory – and monuments.

A republican general could have relied on people's memories, related orally, to help him decide where to lead his triumph. Given the frequency of triumphs under the Republic, eyewitnesses would have abounded who could recount, via communicative memory (living memory that spans only several generations), where glorious triumphs of the past had paraded. But individual memories can be fleeting, contradictory, and changeable. In this sense, the communicative memory of the triumphal route would hardly have been trustworthy. Monuments, on the other hand, are permanent, or at least are intended to be so. They could provide an unchanging, un-ephemeral, and indisputable record of where triumphs had processed – and where they should process in the future. This is a major, though unappreciated, reason why the architectural evidence is so important when studying the triumphal route.

Generals sought to have their triumphal procession pass before important locations. A triumphing general would have worked with urban magistrates and event organizers to devise a route that suited his particular desires.[59] Presumably, the locations that would most effectively insert the general into the long, historical memory of Rome's glorious past, present, and future – while, of course, allowing the triumphant general to compete with and even surpass the precedents of *triumphatores* past – were those that had been built up with triumphal monuments.

Indeed, what was arguably so important about the triumphal building boom during the era of the Punic Wars was not that it commemorated past victories and triumphs but that it helped Romans remember what future triumphs should be like. The spate of monuments that generals built along the route during the Punic Wars set up a sort of template for where triumphs should pass that persisted for centuries. This template could be tweaked, as some monuments disappeared and new ones arose – that is, as the cityscape of Rome changed, as any city does, over the centuries (on various imperial additions and changes to the route, see Chapters 3 and 4). Yet, despite the vicissitudes of Rome's urban fabric, the triumphal route that developed during the era of the Punic Wars remained remarkably stable for the remainder of the Republic and throughout the imperial period, and the route's stability is due largely to the monuments that lined and defined it.

We tend to think of memory as referring only to the past, but it relates just as much, and just as decisively, to the future. Cognitive researchers use the term "prospective memory" to describe how people remember to perform actions in the future. Neurologically, there is great similarity between how people remember the past and imagine the future. On an individual level, functioning as a member of society requires a person to remember. On a collective level, the ability to remember to do things in the future is fundamental to individuals' functioning *together* in society – for example, to individual and social responsibility, such as the fulfillment of promises.[60]

When it comes to memory, the monuments of the triumphal route played an important prospective role. The reciprocal process among the buildings, the triumphal processions, and memories of triumphs resulted in a physical cityscape that shaped how Romans remembered triumphs *and thus how they continued to perform them*. The power of monuments derives partially from "the combination of their apparent permanence with their ongoing ability to shape and direct cultural memory."[61] The interplay between memory and monuments in Rome, as elsewhere, was a continual process that shifted over time, as new viewers and memory communities entered the picture. While the monuments along the triumphal route commemorated historical victories and triumphs and continued to do so long after they were built, they accrued other meanings and functions over time as well. For example, as Rome's situation within the Mediterranean world transformed over the centuries, Romans' conceptions of their self-identity understandably shifted. And as the triumphal route became more and more heavily built up, the monuments that lined it took on a prospective as well as commemorative function for future generations.

In this sense, the monuments of the triumphal route mediated between the flexibility and continuity inherent in the triumph as a ritual performance. Rituals by their nature demand a certain continuity while at the same time transforming along with the societies they serve. One of the paradoxes of ritual, however, is that a ritual's flexible aspect – that is, its constant evolution and change – must usually be obscured by its seeming continuity and tradition. The power of ritual stems in part from its ability to appear to be "as it always was," even when the ritual may have developed into something quite different from earlier iterations.[62] For the triumph – which as a ritual certainly changed over the centuries, for example under influences of the Hellenistic world and again when it was restricted to the imperial family – the monuments along the triumphal route presented that critical sense of continuity. Because they aided prospective as well as commemorative remembering, they provided a physical framework in which the ritual of a triumph could exist as a continuum in Rome's past, present, and future. The concreteness of the triumphal route, lined with monuments that purported to be eternal, ensured that the changes the triumph underwent would not bend the ritual beyond the breaking points of its flexibility. They fostered a sense of continuity and tradition that allowed the triumph to grow with the ever-changing social realities of ancient Rome.

No two triumphs were identical. Many factors in a triumphal procession would have differed at each performance of the ritual: the identity of the general himself, whether captives and spoils were on display and in what quantity, the number of people spectating, the duration of the parade, even the weather. Aemilius Paullus's multi-day triumph in 167 B.C. would have diverged from the norms of the ritual, but he would have passed in front of the same monuments as generals whose triumphs lasted only one day. When triumphs fraught with implications of civil war victory, such as those of Caesar and Octavian, threatened to upend the tenet that triumphs only be celebrated for foreign victories, their passage in front of the same monuments as a Paullus or a Metellus Macedonicus tethered them to Roman triumphal tradition. And when imperial triumphs occurred in Rome, a far cry from the competitive triumphs of multiple generals under the Republic, the emperors passed through the same parts of the city and in front of many of the same monuments as republican generals had. A general parading before the manubial temples in the Forum Holitorium and the spectators who saw him do so could feel as though they were seeing the ritual performed as it had always been performed, even if the general was an emperor and not a republican magistrate.

In short, throughout Rome's history, at specific triumphs, which were unique and at times radically different from previous performances of the ritual, participants and spectators alike could look at the monuments lining the triumphal route and get the sense that they were performing the same ritual as their forebears who had built these monuments.

Whether the appearance of the monuments of the triumphal route actually *was* old was probably beside the point. When Augustus restored manubial temples, he did not necessarily maintain their original appearance, just as subsequent iterations of the Capitoline temple were built more lavishly. Yet, though Romans did not always attempt to copy older buildings when rebuilding or renovating them, they still perceived antiquity in their buildings; the Capitoline temple was still the ancient Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus whether in its early republican, Sullan, or Domitianic phase. Just as the monuments of the triumphal route enabled the triumph to maintain its sense of continuity and tradition, the continued performance of triumphal processions might have endowed renovated buildings with a sense of antiquity even if their new appearance did not match the old. That the same ritual was performed in front of the current iteration of a monument as had been performed in front of the original version contributed to the current version's seeming *vetustas*. As is so often the case with the triumph and the cityscape, the relationship between the ritual and its monuments in terms of continuity and transformation appears deeply reciprocal.[63]

Cultural anthropology has long examined continuity and change in ritual practice and how ritual structures transform even as they are reproduced.[64] There has, however, been relatively little attempt to theorize broadly the impact of monuments and architectural space on these issues of practice. The monuments of the triumphal route indicate the power of architecture to foster a sense of ritual continuity even when transformation, sometimes rapid transformation, is occurring in the context of a ritual. If the monuments built during the era of the Punic Wars helped people remember only triumphs that had already occurred, they would have been of limited value for perpetuating the ritual of the triumph. That they could also help people envision present and future triumphs as part of a ritual continuum and remember how to do future triumphs enabled the triumph to last as one of the most enduring and important rituals of Roman society, with the continuing power to shape Romans' conceptions of their self-identities. It is, therefore, no exaggeration that the monuments of the triumphal route built the triumph into the ritual that Romans knew and that we continue to study today.

CONCLUSION

Monuments built along the triumphal route had an extraordinary impact on Rome's cityscape and on how Romans experienced and remembered triumphs during the time of the Punic Wars. According to Larissa Bonfante, Livy evokes the material city of Rome "as a physical embodiment and visual record of its traditions, both present and past."[65] It was during the era of the Punic Wars that the triumphal route was first truly lined with monuments that enabled it to embody and record the tradition of Roman triumphs. If commemorating an event invests it with significance and gives it a distinct place in a group's conception of its past, then the monuments built along the triumphal route concretized the triumph as an important part of Romans' conception of their past.[66]

This era thus emerges as a time of constructing the triumph as a major part of Romans' cultural imagination and memory. The temples, porticoes, columns, and arches built along the triumphal route not only changed the way Rome looked; they also changed the way Romans looked at and remembered their city and the triumphs that passed through it. Whereas previously the triumph was remembered primarily in Rome through a gradual building up of communicative memory, the triumph could now be remembered with the aid of external symbolic forms, namely the monuments, which generated collective memory capable of surviving past just a few generations.[67]

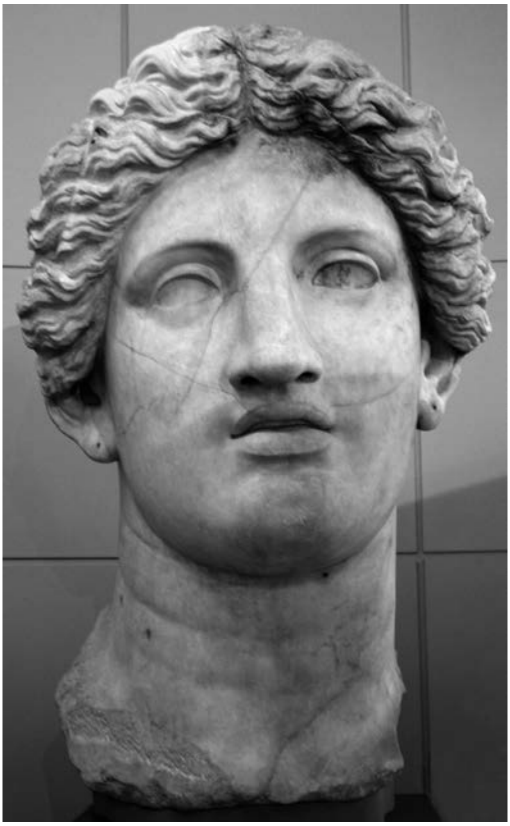
The monuments of the triumphal route did not only commemorate past triumphs, however. They provided architectural definition to the ritual performance of the triumph. They lined public spaces and ways, directing processions' movements. Temple steps and portico colonnades provided viewing spots, thus changing Romans' practical experience of triumphs. These monuments also provided external stimuli that simultaneously invited and transformed recollections of Roman military victories and triumphal processions and raised challenging questions about what an urban Roman identity might mean in an expanding Mediterranean context. Finally, the monuments of the triumphal route also shaped the triumph as a living Roman tradition, helping generals visualize and perform future triumphs and thus sustaining the triumph in the present and the future. This prospective function of the triumphal route's monuments is critical to understanding how the triumph was perpetuated as a ritual over centuries and just how important architecture was to the ritual institution. The triumph would likely not have continued as such a relatively stable ritual in Roman society had the generals of the era of the Punic Wars not built so many monuments alongside its route. They created the architectural frame that permitted the triumph to appear ancient and unchanging as it underwent sometimes drastic transformations – to retain its aura of tradition even as it evolved.

That expressions of victory and constructions of identity along the triumphal route were continually evolving, not static, is evidenced by several temples built along the route after the end of the Punic Wars. Some patrons continued the trend of highly Hellenizing manubial temples that stretched

2.16 Area Sacra di Largo Argentina, Temple B. Author's photo.

back to generals such as Fulvius Nobilior, Metellus Macedonicus, and Mummius. Sometime after 133 B.C., after celebrating a triumph over the Lusitani and Callaeci, D. Iunius Brutus Callaicus employed Hermodorus of Salamis, the architect of Metellus's famed temple to Jupiter Stator, to design a manubial temple to Mars in the Circus Flaminius. The temple, usually identified with the remains under San Salvatore in Campo, was a Pentelic marble peripteros in the Ionic order, on a stepped crepis, very much in Greek style.[68]

Other patrons, however, constructed temples that moved away from such overtly Hellenizing elements. The Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, a



2.17 Area Sacra di Largo Argentina, cult statue of Fortuna Huiusce Diei from Temple B. Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. no. 2279–2782. Author's photo.

manubial temple built ca. 100 B.C. by Q. Lutatius Catulus in the Area Sacra di Largo Argentina (identified as Temple B there), abandons the Greek plan of Mummius's tholos on a crepis for a colonnaded rotunda on a high podium with a strictly frontal approach. It also replaces white marble with indigenous tufa and travertine as the primary building materials (Figures 1.5, 2.16). The marble cult statue that Catulus placed inside his temple is remarkably classicizing (Figure 2.17), but the public face of the temple marked a shift away from the Hellenizing materials and plans of previous manubial temple architecture, perhaps an attempt by Catulus to link himself to ancestral precedent (Temple A, likely a temple to Juturna, had been built by his ancestor around 240 B.C.). It is difficult to determine whether this traditional or archaizing trend represents a cultural backlash, a change in fashion, or a mixture of the two.[69]

The relationship between ritual, architecture, memory, and identity was complex but close in ancient Rome, and monuments served as concrete reminders and generators of cultural memory and identity. Triumphal monuments certainly shaped experiences of actual triumphal processions, but their more significant and formative contribution to Roman culture may well have been their role in shaping how Romans remembered past triumphs, defined their urban identities, and envisioned how to perform future triumphs.

We cannot know what any given Roman would have thought when confronted with the monuments along the triumphal route. We can, however, analyze how monuments encouraged Romans to think; how they invited questions about cultural exchange and identity; and how they might have acted through their visual appearance to shape answers to those questions and to shape memories individual and collective, retrospective and prospective. How Romans responded to these monuments would have depended on the various, overlapping memory communities to which they belonged. Was one a general who had himself triumphed? A child only beginning to learn

Roman history? Somebody who frankly did not care all that much about politics? Whatever the answer to each question, that person would have nonetheless shared some commonalities with other inhabitants of Rome and would have been surrounded by a material cityscape that prompted shared remembering. Individual memories may be beyond our grasp to recover, but we can still consider the "*spectrum* of memories," to borrow Alcock's phrase, that the monuments of the triumphal route could have elicited from viewers.[70] The evidence suggests that the monuments of the triumphal route did in fact play a considerable role in how inhabitants of Rome remembered their victories, and themselves. As we move in the next chapter to the imperial period, we shall see how the relationship between the triumph, monuments, and memory changed profoundly when Rome became, officially, an empire – and, of course, unofficially, a military monarchy.