# The Imagery of Roman Identity in Augustan Rome

by

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## Abstract

The understanding of Roman identity in Augustan Rome derived from the images that Augustus used to authenticate his own identity. By controlling the images that epitomized Roman cultural identity, Augustus not only strengthened the weakening Roman ideals rampant among the Roman elite, but also placed the *gens Iulia* at its core. Using these images, the following paper will expose the ways in which ordinary Romans at varying levels on the social strata manipulated these images to display their own identity within art and text. By exploring the different *memoriae* within epic poetry, frescoes, graffiti, statues, and monuments, this thesis demonstrates how Augustan Rome was a *lieu de mémoire* for the *gens Iulia*.



**Keywords**: memory, *ekphrasis, lieu de mémoire,* Roman identity

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# CHAPTER 1. Introduction

The cultural identity of the Romans during the early Principate was defined by Augustus in his attempt to remodel the disillusioned Roman society.[1] "Following the long dark years of civil war, the Romans had enjoyed forty-five years of peace and security. […] Yet when Augustus had first consolidated his power, an atmosphere of pessimism pervaded the Roman state, and there were many who, in their own moral decadence, considered Rome on the edge of destruction."[2] The people of Rome were not only divided politically and socio-economically, but the expansion of the empire also made the moral division between the social strata more apparent.

Defining what constitutes the 'Roman' identity proves difficult when one considers the abundant number of cultures that co-existed in the empire after expansion. The citizens of the conquered cities sometimes gained restricted citizenship, *civitas sine suffragio,* while others were "left autonomous, bound to Rome by an allegiance."[3] Rome had a social hierarchy, backed by law, that distinguished the population by urban and rural peoples, and by the elite and non-elite (Figure 1). In demonstrating a person's membership to a culture, a "common language, religion, name, dress and diet are some of the media that spring to mind, but there are others which are fundamental and perhaps less obvious, such as ways

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[1] All translations, except as otherwise specified, are my own.

[2] Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* trans. Alan Shapiro (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press: 1990), 1.

[3] Peter Jones and Keith Sidwell, *The World of Rome* (Cambridge University Press: 1997), 22-23.

of thinking about the world, and codes of morality and social behaviour."[4] The elite members of the allied communities "aped Roman aristocrats in their dress, habits, buildings,"[5] while they, along with the non-elite members of the community, continued practicing their local religious traditions and customs. The Romans adopted these cults into their divine worship, thus becoming the sacred capital of the world.

> Local elites in the west tended to refashion themselves as Romans, so that by identifying with the dominant culture, they could use its prestige to reinforce their own social positions. Since Roman cults were so intrinsic a part of Roman identity, it was only natural that the elites adopted them. […] Although Roman cults did spread, they did not wipe out the worship of local deities [since] local cults were an important part of local ethnic or political identity. At the same time, these cults did not simply continue unchanged alongside the newly adopted Roman cults, but instead became more Roman themselves.[6]

Given that their city was thus the sacred centre of the world, it is unsurprising that the Romans ascribed their imperial success to their *pietas.* Religion was bound to politics and thus was a key aspect of Roman identity. Public festivals celebrated religious and political events, and *memoriae* (Figure 2) were erected to commemorate the prominent mythological and political figures. In this way, "history is far from being a literary pursuit confined to an educated elite,"[7] and all present at the festivals could be cognizant of the Roman past. As to its social function, as Karl-Joachim Holkeskamp states, "[c]ollective memory helps a group or a society as a whole to articulate an awareness of its defining

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[4] Janet Huskinson, "Looking for Culture, identity and power" in *Experiencing Rome: Culture, Identity and Power in the Roman Empire* (Routledge: 2000), 7.

[5] Jones and Sidwell, *The World of Rome*, 32.

[6] James Rives, "Religion in the Roman Empire" in *Experiencing Rome: Culture, Identity and Power in the Roman Empire* (Routledge: 2000), 269.

[7] Jones and Sidwell, *The World of Rome*, 178.

characteristics and its unity, and therefore forms an essential basis for its self-image and identity."[8] Both the participation in the festivals and the *memoriae* erected in Rome served to unify the population in a collective understanding of their identity.

However, "the impact of the Greek world on Rome was just as profound and long-lasting as Rome's was on the East."[9] During the Roman Republic, the Roman elites experienced the wealth of the Hellenistic world firsthand and returned to Rome with all the pomp and circumstance of Hellenistic kings. "By the time of the early empire, Roman culture owed much to Greece."[10] The Greek acculturation during the Roman Republic predominantly affected the Roman elite, who willingly accepted the luxurious wealth of the Greek culture, at times over the customs and laws set before them by their Roman ancestors. This acceptance of many aspects of the Hellenistic culture, especially within the realms of literature, art, and architecture, resulted in a weakening of Roman ideals of

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[8] Karl-Joachim Holkeskamp, "History and Collective Memory in the Middle Republic" in *A Companion to the Roman Republic,* ed. N. Rosenstein and R. Morstein-Marx (Malden, MA 2006a) 481. Any discussion on collective memory would be incomplete without mentioning the contributions of French philosopher and sociologist, Maurice Halbwachs, in *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (1925). Halbwachs developed the concept of collective memory in response to Sigmund Freud's theory of the unconscious with his own social frameworks of memory, within which he argues that the images of the past remain alive by ritual practices, traditions, and repetitions.

[9] Jones and Sidwell, *The World of Rome*, 22.

[10] Janet Huskinson, "Elite Culture and the Identity of Empire" in *Experiencing Rome: Culture, Identity and Power in the Roman Empire* (Routledge: 2000), 99.

cultural identity among the elite. Thus, *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artis / intulit agresti Latio.*[11]

The production of Roman literature in the second century BCE was deliberately modelled after Greek writing as exhibited in the poetry and dramatic comedies produced for festivals and games.[12] "The story of Roman literature is at one level the vast enterprise of naturalising, or 'Romanising', this impressive Greek heritage. […] The Greeks, powerful and unconquerable as a cultural force, were accepted for what they were and made to work for Rome."[13] The Roman elite were educated in "the main genres of literature: epic, history, comedy, philosophy, tragedy, pastoral, lyric, oratory, didactic,"[14] which they acknowledge were invented by the Greeks. In contrast, the literary genre, hexameter verse satire, remains the Romans' only 'claim to fame'.

The Greek influence on the Romans was also evident within the acquisition and distribution of art pieces that were plundered from captured Greek cities. As these pieces continued to enter Rome, Greek art became fashionable among the elite, and those who were not in the military or governmental positions had to obtain them for their private collection on the art-market. "Villas quickly became centers of Hellenistic-style luxury,"[15]

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[11] Horace, *Epistulae*, 2.156-157. Jones and Sidwell, *The World of Rome,* 273: "Conquered Greece took her uncultivated conqueror captive and invaded rustic Latium with the arts." Peter Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 12.

[12] Some of the literature were translations of the Greek original, others were modelled after the Greek precedent.

[13] Jones and Sidwell, *The World of Rome,* 274.

[14] *Ibid.,* 276.

[15] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 25.

and "in this world of *otium*, there was no place for the Romans' own national traditions."[16] (See Figure 3) But for the Roman elite, statuary and paintings were not enough; this fascination with the Hellenistic-style extended to architecture (Figure 4), privately:

> The ambitious but naïve Roman treated Greek culture as if it were some sort of package deal. He outfitted his villa with Greek colonnades, rooms for entertainment or relaxation, libraries and picture galleries, gardens and other areas nostalgically called by Greek names, such as gymnasium or palaestra, or named for famous places in the Greek world. And of course, he pursued here a Greek cultural life, in the company of real-life Greek artists and philosophers, turning his private world into a complete universe of things Greek.[17]

and in public architecture:

> What Greek artists had to offer was a mastery of working in fine materials. Some of the same features characterised their architecture, and it is not surprising to find that the importation of Greek materials and workmanship under the patronage of Roman grandees led to an increasing 'Hellenization' of Roman buildings.[18]

As a result, there was a distinct rift between those who followed the *mores maiorum* and "reacted to these new images with distaste,"[19] and those who collected Greek *luxuriae* and grew corrupt with diminished morals. As such, the dissolution of the Roman Republic and the disillusionment of the Roman people were blamed on the rejection of the gods and the transformation of Rome into a *lieu de mémoire* for Greece.

The term *lieu de mémoire* was coined by French historian Pierre Nora in 1984 and is defined as "any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by

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[16] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 28.

[17] *Ibid.,* 26.

[18] Jones and Sidwell, *The World of Rome*, 290.

[19] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 2.

dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community."[20] Nora's research emphasises the differences between memory and history, contending that

> La mémoire est la vie, toujours portée par des groupes vivants et à ce titre, elle est en évolution permanente, ouverte à la dialectique de souvenir et de l'amnésie […] [Elle peut être] vulnérable à toutes les utilisations et manipulations, susceptible de longues latences et de soudaines revitalisations. L'histoire est la reconstruction toujours problématique et incomplète de ce qui n'est plus.[21]

The collective memory of Greek culture, memorialized in the images of Greek figures found in public and private art and architecture in Rome, re-established Greek culture in Rome, even as the political subordination of the Greek world to Rome was completed. It was partly for this reason that when Augustus was *princeps*, "he systematically sought to redress the situation;"[22] he wanted to regulate the prevalent images found in Rome.

To begin, we must keep in mind that Augustus sought to restore Rome to its former glory, and to do this, he focused his attention on altering the images that people saw in public. "Augustus understood the power of images. The mythology of the new regime and its related iconography, heavy with religious symbolism and austere moral overtones, was

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[20] Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: Conflicts and Divisions* trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York, Columbia University Press: 1996), xvii.

[21] Pierre Nora, *Les Lieux de Mémoire, Tome 1 : La République* (Gallimard, 1984), xix. Memory is life, always held by living societies in its name. It is forever changing and is susceptible to the dialectic between remembering and forgetting [...] [Memory] can be used, misused, and manipulated, and is prone to long periods of inactivity and sudden recovery. History is the ever-problematic and incomplete reconstruction of that which is no longer.

[22] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 2.

an integral part of his programme of cultural renewal."[23] (Figure 5) Augustus reinstituted the traditions of state religion by creating more priestly offices and "push[ed] a program of piety and re-describe[d] the Romans as a people who longed for the return of the golden age when true Romans knew their duty to the gods."[24] Additionally, Augustus aimed to bring forth the memory of Rome's founders, Romulus and Aeneas, who were essential in the regeneration of the Roman cultural identity and reviving the importance of family in Roman society. (Figures 6 and 7)

> The viewer was confronted with something he had never experienced. Never before had he encountered such an extensive, fully integrated set of images. Through didactic arrangements and constant repetition and combination of the limited number of new symbols, along with the dramatic highlighting of facades, statues, and paintings, even the uneducated viewer was indoctrinated in the new visual program. The key messages were quite simple, and they were reiterated on every possible occasion, from festivals of the gods to the theatre, in both words and pictures.[25]

In keeping with this description, it ought to be possible to sketch the character of Roman identity during the Augustan age by means of its extant *memoriae* and its *lieux de mémoire.* "Les *lieux de mémoire* appartiennent aux deux règnes, c'est ce qui fait leur intérêt, mais aussi leur complexité : simples et ambigus, naturels et artificiels, immédiatement offerts à l'expérience la plus sensible et, en même temps, relevant de l'élaboration la plus abstraite. Ils sont lieux, en effet, dans les trois sens du mot, matériel, symbolique et fonctionnel, mais

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[23] Colin Michael Wells, *The Roman Empire Second Edition* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2004), 93.

[24] Gail E. Armstrong, "Sacrificial Iconography: Creating History, Making Myth, and Negotiating Ideology on the *Ara Pacis Augustae*" in *Religion & Theology 15* (Brill: 2008), 344.

[25] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 112-113.

simultanément, à des degrés seulement divers."[26] We must consider the question of how *memoriae* and *lieux de mémoire* were interpreted by ancient viewers in their physical presentation. The position and order of reliefs on a monument, or the linear presentation of a written narrative, may presume the recollection of a specific event or scene, but these *memoriae* cannot anticipate the viewer's reception of them, nor control the effect the *memoriae* would have on the viewer. The permanence of the *memoriae* thus contrasts with the way they can be understood at different moments in time by different groups of people: the interpretation of the scenes changes in keeping with the individual beliefs of the viewer, while the story behind the scene remains a creation of, and property of, a shared cultural memory.

In the following chapters, I analyse examples of the construction of Roman identity through art and text. The relationship between art and text, as *lieux de mémoire*, was in fact symbiotic, assisting in the communication of Roman identity down the generations. This symbiosis of art and text is evident in many ways, from the descriptive inscriptions mounted on monumental architecture to the incorporation of *ekphrasis* in Latin literature and is particularly evident when Roman identity is being defined by the relationship between Roman divinities and human figures of the glorious Roman past.

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[26] Nora, *Les Lieux de Mémoire,* xxxiv. *Lieux de mémoire* belong to two realms, which are what makes them both interesting and complex: they are simple and ambiguous, natural and artificial, and immediately provide the most sensual experiences, while at the same time, the most abstract. In effect, they are places in the three senses of the word, material, symbolic, and functional, but all at once and only at varying degrees.

In Chapter 2, I will analyze the use of memory within Virgil's *Aeneid 1* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses 6*, in which the respective authors connect their readers to an aspect of Roman identity by using *ekphrasis.* For the pious Aeneas, the reaction to the ekphrastic device of the first book reveals the hero's inability to let go of the Trojan past to accept the Roman future. For irreverent Arachne, the tapestry displays the maiden's disdain of the divine due to the gods' past misdeeds. Chapter 3 analyzes the art and text Fabius Ululitremulus uses to reveal the narrative of his own identity. Two Pompeian frescoes adorn the façade of the *fullonica* of Fabius in Pompeii:  one depicting Aeneas and the other depicting Romulus, with graffiti placed around them. By portraying these two historical Roman figures similarly, it is evident Fabius intended for these pieces to be viewed as one composition, with each image alluding to the other and to Fabius' occupation as a fuller through with its iconography. Chapter 4 analyzes the friezes on the *Ara Pacis Augustae,* which depicts Augustus' connections both to the founders of Rome and to the divine pantheon, arguing that the identity of the *princeps* as ultimate Roman, and by extension the identity of ordinary Romans, was determined not merely by a genealogical connection to the past but equally by an ability to preserve and transmit cultural traditions.

The various *memoriae* chosen for this thesis reveals the similar ways in which Romans at different levels of the social hierarchy preserved the cultural traditions of Augustan Rome. Furthermore, as I aim to demonstrate in each chapter, the interrelation between art and text influences the definition of the identity portrayed by each individual case study. In analysing such *memoriae,* it is possible to interpret what was deemed important for Roman identity by the narratives that were presented in public spaces and what the Roman citizens presented for themselves in private. In short, the reliance on

collective cultural memory was deeply engrained in the social behaviour of all Romans, both elite and non-elite alike.

# CHAPTER 2. Uncovering Roman Identity

Augustus' primary goal after his accession to *princeps* was to reconnect the Romans with the gods, both in reverence and in adherence to divine will.[27] To express the importance of obeying the gods' command, both Virgil and Ovid present mortal and divine pairs in opposition with each other in *Aeneid 1* and M*etamorphoses 6,* respectively. Juno and Aeneas' conflicts are caused by Juno's interference with Aeneas' obedience to divine will while, in contrast, Minerva and Arachne's dispute stems from Arachne's lack of deference to the gods. Both authors incorporate *ekphrasis* to develop the events of the larger narrative or to reveal the character's mindset, namely that they are unable to let go of the past. Virgil and Ovid employ *ekphrasis* at critical points to connect their narratives to a specific theme, which, in turn, exposes their own conception of the role of art in the definition of identity.

## 2.1 Journey to Romanization

In the *Aeneid,* Virgil places importance on the themes of memory and vision by using extensive Homeric and mythic *exempla*. In many ways the *Aeneid* echoes the literary conventions of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey:* it calls upon the wisdom and truth of the Muses to guide the author, it identifies anger as the source of the story's origin, and it shifts the gaze of the readers at various points within the epic. Virgil creates a fascinating interchange between periods of time by shifting the audience's gaze from scenes of past events to descriptions of future conquests. This is particularly evident in his use of

[27] Armstrong, "Sacrificial Iconography", 344.

*ekphrasis*, the description of works of art, within the poem.[28] By examining the way in which Aeneas reacts to the *ekphrasis* in Book 1 as a counterbalance to Juno's speeches, we can see that the hero and the goddess share the same fears about the future.

In the initial book of the *Aeneid,* both Juno and Aeneas express their greatest fears: losing a home, being forgotten, and not having an identity. Who is Juno if she is not worshipped as a goddess in Greece? Who is Aeneas if there is no Troy or Trojan identity? Virgil communicates their fears in different but equally effective ways. In the case of Juno, Virgil exposes her fears in an internally spoken speech that provides insight into Juno's interpretation of past events and her focus on the poetic present. In the case of Aeneas, Virgil uses *ekphrasis* to convey the physical toll the memory of the past has had on him and his inability to focus on the future of the Trojans. Juno's focus is on her own personal well-being, while Aeneas is concerned for the well-being of the Trojans, but in both cases, Virgil's argument remains that in order for a Roman identity to be achieved, it is necessary that memory of the past be balanced by acceptance of the future.

Virgil begins the *Aeneid* by describing Juno's anger towards the surviving Trojans. As her anger seems exceedingly disproportionate to what the Trojans have done to her, it is therefore the task of the Muse to bring forth all the true causes of Juno's anger.

> Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso,
> quidve dolens regina deum tot volvere casus
> insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores
> impulerit. Tantaene animis caelestibus irae?[29]

[28] Michael C. J. Putnam, *Virgil's Epic Designs* (Yale University Press, 1998), viii. As enumerated by Putnam, the six *ekphrases* are Dido's Murals, The Cloak of Cloanthus, Daedalus' Sculptures, Silvia's Stag, The Shield of Aeneas and The Baldric of Pallas.

[29] Virg. *Aen.*1.8-11. Recall to my mind, O Muse, the causes [of Juno's anger], on account of which offense to her divinity or suffering what did the queen of the gods drive such a

In response to these questions, the Muse presents the causes in this order: [30] the destruction of Carthage by the descendants of Troy, the unjust slight on her beauty by Paris, and the welcoming of Ganymede onto Olympus by Jupiter. The combination of these reasons affects Juno's self-confidence as a deity and, although she has full, rational knowledge that the Fates decide the outcome of the future,[31] Juno allows herself to be driven by her irrational emotions. Juno's mind is so clouded that all events of the past and future are recalled to her within the poetic present.[32] This disarrayed gaze at all events in the epic delays the advancement of her Romanization, the ultimate incorporation of her godhead into the Roman pantheon that concludes her role in the poem.[33] At the outset, however, she is anything but Romanized: as Banks J. Wildman argues, this first appearance of Juno demonstrates her "Homeric mood."[34] Virgil analogizes Juno's selfish behaviour with that of Achilles, and by doing so, summons the memory of the detrimental outcome of Achilles' hubristic behaviour during the Trojan war: the death of loyal Patroclus. By bringing forth this comparison, Virgil signifies the injurious outcome of only concerning oneself with

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remarkable man with loyalty to endure such a misfortune, to undertake such labours. Can such anger be in celestial minds?

[30] Virg. *Aen.*1.12-28.

[31] Virg. *Aen.*1.39.

[32] Virg. *Aen.*1.29-33.

[33] Virg. *Aen.*12.838-842.

[34] Banks J. Wildman, "Juno in the *Aeneid*" in *The Classical Weekly,* Vol. 2, No. 4 (October 24, 1908), 26.

one's own honour, while also foreshadowing one of the dire consequences of Juno's selfishness: Dido's death.

Companion to her anger is Juno's jealousy, which is demonstrated in her use of the myth of Pallas Athena and Ajax within her first speech:

> Pallasne exurere classem
> Argivum atque ipsos potuit submergere ponto,
> unius ob noxam et furias Aiacis Oilei?[35]

Juno is jealous of Pallas specifically because it was within the sanctity of this deity's temple that Cassandra was captured.[36] A temple is the architectural representation of reverence to the gods and a demonstration that they are honored, respected, and remembered by mortals. One of Juno's fears is that there will be no place for her to be worshipped in the impending Roman civilization: she asks herself, quisquam numen Iunonis adoret / praeterea, aut supplex aris imponet honorem?[37] Because of her fear, Juno disregards the fact that Ajax dishonoured Pallas and focuses exclusively on her own self-promotion.

In addition to her jealousy of Pallas Athena's popularity, Juno is also jealous of Pallas' power. Pallas is able to inflict damage onto Ajax by herself: *Ipsa, Iovis rapidum iaculata e nubibus ignem*.[38] In stating this, Juno expresses her powerlessness in comparison to Pallas, which results in Juno's enlisting the assistance of Aeolus: *Aeole, namque tibi*

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[35] Virg. *Aen.*1.39-41. Has Pallas Athena been able to burn the ships of the Argives and sink them into the sea on account of the crime and furies of a single person, Ajax son of Oileus?

[36] Virg. *Aen.*2.403-406.

[37] Virg. *Aen.*1.48-49. Meanwhile, is there anyone who may worship the divinity of Juno or will a suppliant lay an offering upon my altar?

[38] Virg. *Aen.*1.42. Herself, she threw the fierce fire of Jove from the clouds.

*divom pater atque hominum rex / et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere vento*.[39] Aeolus obliges but, because neither Juno nor Aeolus has the authority of the sea, Neptune supersedes Juno and releases the Trojans from their plight. Neptune's interference is significant in two ways: first, it reinforces the powerlessness of Juno; second, it further demonstrates the irrationality of Juno's actions through her disrespect of Neptune's realm.

Juno's self-centeredness causes her to behave irrationally, as she is focussing on avenging a source of her rage that has yet to occur, but which she has no ability to stop. Although Neptune's interference temporarily derails her plans, Juno is able to conjure up another plan to delay Aeneas, scheming, with the assistance of Venus, to get Aeneas and Dido married to stop the Trojans from reaching Latium: *liceat Phrygio servire marito / dotalisque tuae Tyrios permittere dextrae*.[40] At this point, there is desperation in Juno's behaviour. By the time of this final attempt to impede the survivors' progress towards Latium, Juno is willing to use one of her own worshippers as a pawn to achieve her selfish ends. Dido had suffered through the death of her beloved husband and changed her identity from wife to queen, from a follower to a leader. Dido had worshipped Juno and provided all that the goddess required, deserved, and feared losing: *Hic templum Iunoni ingens Sidonia Dido / condebat, donis opulentum et numine divae*.[41] Despite all this, Juno did not appreciate what she already had and greedily attempted to achieve more. Juno removed the

[39] Virg. *Aen.*1.65-66. [I come to you] O Aeolus, for Father of the gods and the king of men gave to you both [the power] to soothe the waves of the sea and to raise them by your winds.

[40] Virg. *Aen*.4.103-104. Let her be allowed to serve a Phrygian husband and to give leave to the Tyrians to your will as her dowry.

[41] Virg. *Aen*.1.446-447. In this place, Dido of Sidonia was building a huge temple for Juno, opulent with gifts and with the divine will of the goddess.

power that Dido created for herself, which resulted in Dido going into a frenzy and breaking her vow to Sychaeus, lamenting, "I have not kept myself faithful to my promise to the ashes of Sychaeus,"[42] before killing herself. Juno is as much to blame for Dido's death as Achilles was for Patroclus'.

While Virgil indicates that anger is Juno's primary emotion, it is evident that fear also motivates Juno's behaviour. The eventual demise of Carthage at the hands of the Trojans suggests Juno's conflation of Troy and Rome in her mind. Juno is haunted by her continued victimization by the house of Dardanus, and her painful memories are becoming her reality since the Trojan bloodline persists. Furthermore, as with the Trojans, Juno sets herself as Rome's enemy. She is unable to push aside her emotions governed by her painful memories to rationally achieve her goal: the attainment of a respected identity in the new Roman world. Therefore, the only way for Juno's anger to subside is if she undergoes a transformation that will serve to appease her three main problems.

The first change must affect her irrationality. As mentioned, Juno, who is unconcerned about distinguishing the past and future, is engaged in punishing Aeneas for a destiny that is yet to come to pass. This paradox is resolved only in Book 12 when Jupiter finally agrees to discontinue the Trojan line, in name, language, and dress, forcing them to be relegated to memory. With the problem of Trojan continuity no longer clouding her judgement, Juno can focus on another issue: finding a place for herself in the Roman world.

As D. C. Feeney argues, "Homer's gods reach a momentary accommodation without their grievances being abnegated; Juno does the same with Jupiter, winning a point,

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[42] Virg. *Aen*.4.552: *Non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo*!

losing a point and deferring a third."[43] Juno presents her second problem to Jupiter who confirms her placement in the Roman pantheon, thus ending Juno's wrath. Juno's evolution from her Book 1 form makes her able to compromise, so as to acquire what she needs to maintain her identity as a goddess. Juno's resolution occurs after she puts the past behind her so that she can refocus her gaze towards the future. But the plot continues because Juno's transformation was only half of the story arc; Aeneas needs to reach his full transformation, too.

Virgil's introduction of Aeneas encapsulates Aeneas' outlook throughout the epic; that he and the Trojans are a unit. After Juno and her motivations for anger are described, any reference to Aeneas is encompassed within the description of the Trojans as a whole.[44] No distinction is made between the men because, just as their pasts followed the same trajectory, their futures are also alike. Aeneas' actions also demonstrate that he places himself in unison with the Trojans. In his speech in response to the disguised Venus, Aeneas continuously refers to 'we' and 'us', instead of 'I' and 'me.'[45] As such, Aeneas presents his story as the story of all the Trojans as a collective. Therefore, the emotions Virgil describes in Book 1 are the shared emotions of them all, albeit focalised through Aeneas as the personification of 'Trojanness'.

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[43] D. C. Feeney, "The Reconciliations of Juno" in *The Classical Quarterly,* Vol. 34, No. 1 (1984), 185. The third point that Juno never gets revenge for is the ascension of Ganymede.

[44] Virg. *Aen.*1.34-35: *Vix e conspectu Siculae telluris in altum vela dabant laeti.* // Hardly out of the sight of the Sicilian lands, the delighted Trojans sailed into the deep.

[45] Virg. *Aen.*1.332-333: *Ignari hominumque locorumque / erramus, vento huc vastis et fluctibus acti.* // We are wandering, ignorant of the people and of the place, driven to this place by the wind and huge waves. (It is possible that he is referring to himself and Achates only; however, in the context of what Aeneas is saying, it makes more sense that he is referring to the survivors as a whole.)

In contrast to Juno's static position at the beginning of Book 1, Aeneas and the Trojans are depicted as perpetually moving. Their constant motion is symbolic of their incapability of remaining rooted to a place, as they were in Troy, all due to the anger of Juno. Amid enduring the deadly storms of Aeolus, Aeneas laments: *O terque quaterque beati, / quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis / contigit oppetere*.[46] There was honour in fighting and dying in Troy because it is the site of their Trojan identity. Upon Troy's destruction, the survivors no longer have a place to call home, nor do they have a place to worship their household gods.[47] For this reason, the Trojans are afraid; they fear that they, and their dead friends, will be forgotten, and they have a fear of no longer holding an identity in the future. The Trojans remember the past in sadness and face the future with trepidation. Despite this fear, the Trojans continue their journey, as fate prescribes. In this way, Virgil continuously counterbalances the actions of Juno and Aeneas, with Juno remaining inactive and delegating tasks to others, while having Aeneas actively searching for a home and an identity. By being truthful and avoiding tricks, Aeneas allows the Trojans to be guided toward Carthage, while Juno uses others to keep things as they are. Upon Aeneas' entrance into Carthage, Juno has been brought back into the epic in the form of her temple. Like Juno herself, the temple contains the memory of the Trojans' past and, as

[46] Virg. *Aen.*1.94-96. O both three and four times blessed, you to whom it was allotted to perish before the eyes of their fathers beneath the high walls of Troy.

[47] Virg. *Aen*.1.378-379: *Sum pius Aeneas, raptos qui ex hoste Penates / classe veho mecum.* // I am pious Aeneas, who bear with me on my fleet the *Penates* snatched from the enemy.

Aeneas' gaze moves across the façade toward the frieze bordering the rooftop, Aeneas realizes that part of the Trojans' fears can be dismissed; they are in fact remembered.[48]

Gazing upon the Temple of Juno inspires Aeneas to have confidence in the Trojans' futures. The stone metopes are corroborating evidence of the plight that they endured, therefore, the Temple of Juno ironically stands as the Trojans' *lieu de memoire* of Troy. There is strength in memory, even in the memory of defeat, and, as Virgil demonstrates from his introduction of the Trojans up until this section, one's identity is only as strong as the memory that is left behind. After seeing the artistic representation of Priam, Aeneas says, "Even here they have their rewards of fame."[49] Priam's legacy grants him the gift of preservation, which inspires Aeneas, who longs to have the same identity for himself. Aeneas' motivation, fearful of the future though he may be, is to re-establish the Trojan line in a new land. Priam is his prime example of a great leader, and, due to the death of all of Priam's heirs, Aeneas is determined to keep the legacy alive by fulfilling role of Priam's heir and becoming the new Hector.

Aeneas and Hector's qualities are quite similar, as they both unselfishly fulfill their destinies for the sake of their people. As such, this final moment before the ekphrastic description of the metopes foreshadows Aeneas' position as the enemy of Juno: Aeneas (Hector) will cause the death of Dido (Patroclus), who is dear to Juno (Achilles). Aeneas is clinging to the past and to past forms of identity because, unlike Juno, he cannot see into the future. For this reason, Aeneas requires guidance in order to achieve this new Roman

[48] Virg. *Aen.*1.463: *Solve metus*.

[49] Virg. *Aen.*1.461: *Sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi.*

identity. But, before this can occur, Virgil chooses to show the emotional impact of the Trojan war and its repercussions from Aeneas' perspective. The juxtaposition of the frieze's depiction with Aeneas' reactions to them allows Virgil's audience to perceive the war through the eyes of a Trojan, and this perception in turn makes the audience a part of the collective memory and collective emotional response of the Trojans: "Since the [seven] episodes all deal with events associated with the downfall of Troy, Aeneas notes how universally [famous] such incidents were and, presumably, how worthy they and their protagonists were of immortality."[50] From the time the Trojans left Troy to the poetic present, Aeneas and his men were in constant flight, thus, the cessation of activity upon viewing the metopes acts as a signpost for the end of one journey and the beginning of another.

The first depiction shows the chiastic sequence of the combat in Troy: the Greeks are fleeing from the Trojans, while the Trojans are fleeing from Achilles.[51] This single metope summarizes the key events in the Iliadic narrative until Book 20, when Achilles finally decides to turn the tides of the war and fight to avenge Patroclus.[52] Achilles' appearance on the first metope encapsulates his role within the *Iliad* as a *saevum* figure, and Virgil's language in describing Achilles' depiction "help[s] lead our eye as it follows from chariot to the terrifying crest of the warrior's helmet," focusing our gaze on a specific

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[50] Putnam, *Virgil's Epic Designs*, 24. The number of metopes that encompass this *ekphrasis* varies between six and eight, depending on the sources.

[51] Virg. *Aen.*1.466-468: *Namque videbat, uti bellantes Pergama circum / hac fugerent Graii, premeret Troiana iuventus, / hac Phryges, instaret curru cristatus Achilles.*

[52] Hom. *Il.* 20.75.

moment and location.[53] This focus "is insisted upon by the repetition of the word *hac,*"[54] and explains Aeneas' reaction to the subsequent metope.

> Nec procul hinc Rhesi niveis tentoria velis
> adgnoscit lacrimans, primo quae prodita somno
> Tydides multa vastabat caede cruentus,
> ardentisque avertit equos in castra, prius quam
> pabula gustassent Troiae Xanthumque bibissent.[55]

While temporally the episode occurs earlier in the story, namely the tenth book,[56] "its narration draws attention to Aeneas' empathetic reaction, both recognizing and weeping."[57] Gazing at the images reminds Aeneas that the Trojans were not the only ones to suffer during the war; their Thracian allies were attacked by Diomedes in the dead of night and robbed of their lives and horses. The apposition of the two scenes reinforces the parallels between the Trojans and Thracians, who were both victims of the savage Greeks, specifically Achilles and Diomedes. The warriors' greatness in combat eclipses the collective actions of the Trojans who are yet to be depicted in a heroic fashion or shown to have a hero among their ranks. The third metope follows this sequence:

> Parte alia fugiens amissis Troilus armis,
> infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli,
> fertur equis, curruque haeret resupinus inani,
> lora tenens tamen; huic cervixque comaeque trahuntur

[53] Putnam, *Virgil's Epic Designs*, 28.

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] Virg. *Aen.*1.469-473. "Not far from here he recognizes, in tears, the snow-white canvas of the tents of Rhesus which, betrayed in their first sleep, Diomedes was laying waste with much slaughter, and turned the eager horses away into the camp before they could taste the fodder of Troy or drink of the Xanthus." Translation by Putnam, *Virgil's Epic Designs*, 28.

[56] Hom. *Il.* 10.474-501.

[57] Putnam, *Virgil's Epic Designs*, 29.

per terram, et versa pulvis inscribitur hasta.[58]

By depicting a Trojan youth, Priam's son Troilus, being dragged behind his chariot by his horses, Virgil perpetuates the narrative that the Trojans and their allies are victims; they are unable to remain secured to one spot, but like hunted animals, are constantly moving for fear of being pursued or slaughtered. As such, "our seeing-reading eye follows the line of motion forward with the march of hexameter lines mimicking the onrushing speed of chariot and horses. […] More than the two previous episodes, the description of Troilus illustrates the tension in *ekphrasis* between dynamic and static."[59] Again, temporally, this event took place before the events of the *Iliad*, as implied when Priam mentions the deaths of three sons: Nestor, Hector, and Τρωΐλον ἱππιοχάρμην.[60] With the sequences of the first three metopes moving backwards in time, the implication that the past foreshadows future events is made clearer when viewing these three metopes alongside the fifth, which portrays Priam pleading with Achilles to ransom Hector's corpse for gold.[61]

This fifth image calls to mind the common themes of the metopes: the chariot and horse imagery. Chariots and horses are significant symbols of the climax of the *Iliad* and

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[58] Virg. *Aen.*1.474-478. "Elsewhere Troilus, in flight, his weapons lost, unfortunate youth and ill-matched to clash with Achilles, is carried along by his horses and, fallen backward, clings to his empty chariot, yet clutching the reigns. His neck and hair are dragged over the ground, and the dust is inscribed by his reversed spear." Translation by Putnam, *Virgil's Epic Designs*, 30.

[59] Putnam, *Virgil's Epic Designs*, 30.

[60] Hom. *Il.* 24.257. Ioannis L. Lambrou further elaborates, "The killing of Troilus receives no specific mention in this passage, yet the contextual components invite us to imagine that the Trojan prince fought and died as a warrior on the battlefield." Ioannis L. Lambrou, "Homer and Achilles' Ambush of Troilus: Confronting the Elephant in the Room" in *Greece and Rome*, Volume 65, Issue 1 (The Classical Association, 2018), 76.

[61] Virg. *Aen.*1.483-487.

the siege of Troy, respectively. The most heartbreaking of the horrors that befell Hector besides his death was Achilles' dragging Hector's body behind his chariot after being slain, much like Troilus in the third metope.[62] Diomedes' releasing of the horses during the night in the second metope foreshadows the escape of the Achaeans from the depths of the wooden horse, as depicted by Menelaus in the *Odyssey.*[63] These events are implicitly portrayed in memory, thus forcing both Aeneas and the viewer-reader to recollect the Homeric events and their consequences.

The grief implied by viewing the four previously mentioned metopes is depicted in the illustration that is positioned between the third and fifth metopes: the depiction of the suppliant women of Troy praying to an unresponsive Minerva.[64] The Trojan women are doing all they can to assist in the efforts to save Troy, but the *diva solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat.*[65] Virgil's inclusion of the actions of the women gives credence to the desperation of the Trojans to survive the war and the fear among all people, man and woman alike. These five metopes represent the Homeric past and link the poetic present through the grief that Aeneas and his Trojans felt at the beginning of the *Aeneid*. The metopes offer no new information on the Trojans and are solely a means for Virgil to connect the Homeric past with the poetic present. However, as with the stories of the heroes of the Homeric epics, the narrative does not end there; out of the ashes of the burned city of Troy emerges the story of Aeneas.

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[62] Hom. *Il.* 22.395-404.

[63] Hom. *Od.* 4.271-273.

[64] Virg. *Aen.*1.479-482.

[65] Virg. *Aen.*1.482.

> Se quoque principibus permixtum agnovit Achivis,
> Eoasque acies et nigri Memnonis arma.
> Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
> Penthesilea furens, mediisque in milibus ardet,
> aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae,
> bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo.[66]

While Aeneas recognizes himself amid the depicted scene, he "now become[s] an object of aesthetic interest"[67] and his self in the poetic present does not empathize with his depicted self. Instead, the 'visuals' of Aeneas on the temple are left to 'speak' for itself. Further, the depiction of Penthesilea foreshadows the presence of Dido; both women exhibiting characteristically masculine behaviours. With the last metopes no longer depicting past events, the line drawn between "*ekphrasis* and narrative begin finally to merge, and with good purpose. […] we, understanding spectators of the whole scenario, need no additional ekphrastic representations of time and space."[68] Though static, the *ekphrasis* of the metopes has dynamic powers and pushes the narrative forward. It forgoes the need for the reader to recall the Homeric past and forces Aeneas to take a more active role in the narrative. Thus, in Book 2, Aeneas proceeds to reveal the rest of the unknown story at the behest of Dido in Book 1.[69]

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[66] Virg. *Aen.*1.488-493. "Himself also he recognized mingled among the chiefs of the Achaeans, and the Eastern ranks and the weapons of dark Memnon. Penthesilea in fury leads the forces of the Amazons with their crescent shields and flames in the middle of the thousands, a warrior, binding a golden belt beneath her naked breast, and she dares, a virgin, to clash with men." Translation by Putnam, *Virgil's Epic Designs*, 34-35.

[67] Putnam, *Virgil's Epic Designs*, 34.

[68] *Ibid.*, 36.

[69] Virg. *Aen.*1.753-756.

The depictions of his comrades as frail do not cause him more pain since Aeneas has experienced the full extent of pain and remorse since leaving Troy behind: *Hic primum Aeneas sperare salutem / ausus, et adflictis melius confidere rebus.*[70] The first glimmer of hope appears to Aeneas amid these dishonourable depictions by the preserved form of Priam.[71] This inclusion of the dead leader demonstrates that there is a strength in memory, since it not only causes one to remember but also causes a remembrance of the emotions associated with the depiction. Aeneas' journey towards Romanization requires him to liberate himself from his Trojan past. As Brigitte B. Libby contends, "The hero [will] struggle to redefine how he will use memory and [what he chooses] to remember and to forget as he evolves from Trojan to Roman."[72] The vision of Troy's memory in Carthage has ignited the spark of hope in Aeneas, appeasing his initial fear of being forgotten. Therefore, the journey that follows Aeneas' sojourn in Carthage is Virgil's way of identifying the difficulty there is to transcend the source of one's identity to acclimate to another. Although several people on his quest reiterate that Aeneas' fate lies in Italy, the hero continues to refer to himself as a Trojan, with his mission being to recreate Priam's palace.

> Me si fata meis paterentur ducere vitam
> auspiciis [...]
> Priami tecta alta manerent,

[70] Virg. *Aen.*1.451-452. Here, Aeneas dared to hope for his health, and to believe in better things [in the future] after having been afflicted [in the past].

[71] Virg. *Aen.*1.461.

[72] Brigitte B. Libby, "Forgetful Theseus and Mindful Aeneas in *Catullus* 64 and *Aeneid* 4" in *Memory in Ancient Rome and Early Christianity* ed. Karl Galinsky (Oxford University Press, 2016), 67.

et recidiva manu posuissem Pergama victis.[73]

Although Libby argues that Aeneas' forward-thinking begins in Book 4 as he is preparing to leave Dido,[74] Aeneas continues to refer to himself and his men as Trojans until Book 12, where he finally declares: *non ego nec Teucris Italos parere iubebo / nec mihi regna peto. […] mihi moenia Teucri / constituent urbique dabit Lavinia nomen.*[75] It is at this moment that Aeneas completes his transformation into a Roman, with his final task being to kill Turnus. Bearing in mind both Aeneas' past and his foreshadowed future, therefore, we may approach Virgil's *ekphrases* on the metopes on the Temple of Juno (the first in the poem) as a declaration that memory of the past and the figures who shaped it are intertwined with the need to evolve with the times and shape a new identity, in the manner of Aeneas.

The argument that identity is created through memory is illustrated in the parallelism of Juno and Aeneas' perspectives in Book 1. As Libby argues, "Forgetfulness is a necessary corollary to memory […] the ability to forget most of our experiences ensures our ability to remember the most important ones."[76] Both Juno and Aeneas have to let go of the emotions that are tying them to the past because, as Virgil shows with Aeneas and the frieze in Book 1, emotions associated with a memory can be recalled once that past

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[73] Virg. *Aen.*4.340-341, 343–344. Should the Fates have allowed me to guide my life by my own charges [...] the high walls of Priam would remain, and I would have laid, by my own hand, a restored Troy for the conquered.

[74] Libby, "Forgetful Theseus and Mindful Aeneas in *Catullus* 64 and *Aeneid* 4", 79.

[75] Virg. *Aen.*12.189-190, 193-194. I will neither order the Italians to obey the Teucrians, nor will I seek the kingdom for myself. […] The Teucrians will build the walls for me and Lavinia will be the name for the city.

[76] Libby, "Forgetful Theseus and Mindful Aeneas in *Catullus* 64 and *Aeneid* 4", 72.

scene is viewed or alluded to: "since memory is not an infallible and complete recording of the past, each act of remembering is based on the reconstitution of an impression of the past."[77] Similarly, in terms of the thematic arc of his poem, Virgil ensures that his readers will remember the fall of Troy throughout the *Aeneid* thanks to his own presentation and preservation of it on the façade of the Temple of Juno, poetically anchoring the *Aeneid* to the *Iliad* just as Rome, in the story, will be anchored to Troy.

Virgil's shift in temporal descriptions articulates the "bidirectionality of poetic memory."[78] In Book 1, Virgil is setting up his demonstration that "future developments revise the past as much as the past itself influences the future."[79] Juno's knowledge of the future affects her vision of past events by making her believe the Trojans are constantly destined to be her enemies. Juno's belief is just as strong as Aeneas' belief that his main goal is to re-establish the Trojan line in Italy with the support of Jupiter. Both characters' beliefs are wrong, but their limited scope of understanding gives them false confidence. Therefore, through the progression of the epic, Virgil reveals the importance of sifting through which memories ought to be remembered or voluntarily forgotten to have a clear gaze into the future. One core theme of the poem is that Rome's destiny was not easily achieved: *Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem*; by extension, in remembering that lesson through exposure to the epic past, his Roman reader learns to "commemorate events of public importance, and . . . transmit the lessons as well as the history of the passing

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[77] Libby, "Forgetful Theseus and Mindful Aeneas in *Catullus* 64 and *Aeneid* 4", 72.

[78] *Ibid.*, 76.

[79] *Ibid.*, 67.

time."[80] In this regard we must remember that the *Aeneid*, besides being a work of art, is also a work of Augustan propaganda; even so, however, the flattery of Augustus' world-historical role –specifically the declaration of Book 6: "Behold, here is a man, whom you frequently hear is to be sent forth from you, Augustus Caesar, of divine origin, he will establish the Golden Age"[81] –merely caps a list of several Roman leaders throughout history.[82] The sequence, the flow of history, whether anticipated (in Book 6) or remembered (by the Augustan reader) is the vital component.

The *Aeneid* remains an important piece of literary and artistic source material that encapsulates the difficulty in transitioning from the Trojan past to the Roman future. The narrative of Aeneas' transition from Trojan to Roman is synonymous with the behavioural changes necessary to live within Augustan Rome, namely the necessity for Roman citizens to adhere to the laws and morals of the gods, while understanding the importance of memory through myth, history, and tradition.[83] By learning to compromise and by adjusting their behaviour to suit the needs of the new Roman society, Juno and Aeneas secure a place in the pantheon and in world history, respectively.

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[80] W. Y. Sellar, *The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age: Virgil* (Oxford University Press, 1897), 306.

[81] Virg. *Aen.*6.791-793: *hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis, / Augustus Caesar, Divi genus, aurea condet / saecula.*

[82] Virg. *Aen.*6.762-790. Virgil lists several Roman leaders, namely Silvius, Procas, Capus, Numitor, Aeneas Silvius, and Romulus, as well as their deeds in building upon Rome.

[83] Armstrong, "Sacrificial Iconography", 341.

## 2.2 Negotiating Identity in the *Metamorphoses*

Ovid's presentation of the contest between Minerva and Arachne in *Metamorphoses 6* parallels Virgil's pairing of memory and vision, but Virgil's positive outcome becomes, in Ovid, a presentation of the animosity between Minerva and Arachne as a cautionary tale.[84] While it is possible to read the *Metamorphoses* as a mere anthology of divine and mortal interactions, it is, first and foremost, one coherent epic poem, that alludes frequently to Hesiod's *Theogony.* Abandoning the elegiac couplet and selecting dactylic hexameter, the metre of epic, Ovid pursues the various transformations of the mythic past, leading up to Augustan Roman history, thus linking contemporary history with myth and tradition. Ovid's deployment of *ekphrasis* within the Minerva and Arachne narrative of Book 6 serves to expand upon the events of the larger narrative, to reveal the characters' mindsets behind their behaviour, and to corroborate that which is spoken by either character.

Like the *Theogony*, the *Metamorphoses* begins with an invocation. However, Ovid chooses not to invoke the Muses, but the gods themselves, whose influence fashioned the changes that he writes about.

> In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas
> corpora; Di, coeptis (nam vos mutastis et illa)
> aspirate meis primaque ab origine mundi
> ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen.[85]

[84] Katharina Volk, *Ovid* (United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 74.

[85] Ov. *Met*. 1.1-4. My soul is inclined to speak [about] shapes having been modified into new bodies; O gods, inspire my undertakings (for you have changed them yourselves), and weave in an everlasting song from the first origins of the world to my times.

Ovid links the gods' influence from this invocation to the events of the 1st century CE in one continuous poem, connecting the formation of the cosmos to the transformation of the Roman world. Ovid's invocation does not openly ask for the memory of the gods, but the gods' memory is implied within Ovid's request to speak openly about the bodies that had been modified by the power of the divinities. Virgil places divine will in the background, with memory initially motivating both Juno and Aeneas' actions, whereas Ovid flips these subjects, bringing the gods and their actions to the forefront. Ovid presents the prevalent importance of the gods' deeds and the necessity of divine worship from mortals. But what happens when mortals stray from this behaviour?

Ovid illustrates the drawbacks of mortals' rebellious nature several times throughout his poem, but perhaps most notably in Book 6, with the depiction of Minerva and Arachne's contest. The contest between the goddess and the maiden stems from Arachne's dismissal of Minerva's influence on her skill. Ovid begins Book 6 by having Minerva say, "It is insufficient to praise [people]; let us be praised ourselves and, not to be scorned, let us not allow our divine power to be spurned without penalty."[86] Here, Minerva's true desire is revealed: to achieve the respect of worship. Furthermore, Ovid uses these verbs (*laudemur, sinamus)* in the plural, suggesting that the sought-after praise is the necessity for all the gods alike, not just Minerva herself. With this information established, the readers are immediately presented with the character that is causing the conflict, Arachne, *quam sibi lanificae non cedere laudibus artis.*[87] After Arachne proposes

[86] Ov. *Met*. 6.3-4: *laudare parum est; laudemur et ipsae / numina nec sperni sine poena nostra sinamus.*

[87] Ov. *Met*. 6.6. who would not yield [to Pallas] in the praise of the art of weaving.

a contest, Minerva sets out to encounter Arachne directly. In the guise of an old woman, Minerva says to her:

> Non omnia grandior aetas,
> quae fugiamus, habet: seris venit usus ab annis.
> Consilium ne sperne meum. …
> cede deae veniamque tuis, temeraria, dictis
> supplice voce roga: veniam dabit illa roganti.[88]

Within these words, Minerva reveals three important things to Arachne. The first, from lines 28 and 29, is that the life experiences of the older generation over time serve as considerable compensation for the losses they experience through aging. This point recalls Book 1 of the *Metamorphoses,* where Jupiter is depicted as having divided and structured the Earth with laws and divine order, all of which was absent during the reigns of the older divinities, Caelum and Saturn.[89] What is notable in Ovid's version of the cosmogony is that Jupiter's changes were not implemented instantaneously: rather, his order developed over time. Secondly, with line 30, Minerva is commanding Arachne to do two things, since *sperne* has several senses. On the one hand, Minerva is imposing the idea onto Arachne that she should not scorn the advice that Minerva is providing in her speech, while she has taken the form of an old woman. On the other hand, Minerva is warning Arachne not to reject Minerva's assistance in the art of weaving which she has given to Arachne in her capacity as a goddess. Lastly, with lines 32 and 33, Minerva advises Arachne to supplicate herself to the goddess and ask for forgiveness, since Minerva is an equitable deity. The

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[88] Ov. *Met*. 6. 28-30, 32-33. Old age does not possess everything: experience comes from the later years. Do not scorn my wisdom. […] Surrender to the goddess, O reckless one, and ask with suppliant voice for pardon for your words. She will give you pardon if you ask.

[89] Ov. *Met*. 1.113-150.

framework of Minerva's speech demonstrates her willingness to forgive Arachne, while at the same time aiming at the fact that Arachne should benefit from Minerva's experience. Minerva, after "having heard that Arachne excels at weaving, [… is] trying to persuade [Arachne] to desist from her hubris."[90] Unexpectedly, however, Arachne does not react the way Minerva anticipates, responding:

> "Mentis inops longaque venis confecta senecta.
> Et nimium vixisse diu nocet. …
> Consilii satis est in me mihi. Neve monendo
> profecisse putes, eadem est sententia nobis.
> Cur non ipsa venit? cur haec certamina vitat?"[91]

Arachne's words rebut those of Minerva in succession, refuting each point like an impudent child:

> MINERVA: Old age does not possess everything: experience comes from the later years. (28-29)
>
> ARACHNE: O helpless one, you come worn out with long-suffering mind, and to have been alive for so long damages you. (37-38)
>
> MINERVA: Do not scorn my assistance. (30)
>
> ARACHNE: My wisdom is enough for me. (40)
>
> MINERVA: Surrender to the goddess, O reckless one, and ask with suppliant voice for pardon for your words. She will give you pardon if you ask. (32-33)
>
> ARACHNE: And you should not think that what is being brought to mind has been helpful; my opinion is the same. Why does she not come? Why does she shun this contest? (40-42)

[90] Volk, *Ovid*, 73.

[91] Ov. *Met*. 6.37-38, 40-42. Helpless of mind, you come worn out with long old age, and to have been alive for so long damages you. […] I have enough wisdom for myself. And you should not think that your advice has been helpful; my opinion is the same. Why does she not come? Why does she shun this contest?

Arachne is dismissive of Minerva's attempt at didactic instruction; she stubbornly refuses to alter her perspective on her weaving abilities or apologize for her bad behaviour. First, she equates Minerva's old age (in persona) with frailty of both body and mind. Next, Arachne disobeys Minerva's command of obedience and suggests that her own mind is superior to that of Minerva, while simultaneously positioning her mortal self as Minerva's superior. Finally, Arachne mocks Minerva and, instead of asking for pardon, she asks why the goddess has not come to compete in the contest. In this way, it becomes clear that Arachne's behaviour is intentional; she is not the uninformed maiden that Minerva originally thought her to be, explaining Arachne's willingness to compete on equal terms with Minerva.

From the beginning, Ovid presents Arachne as the mortal equivalent to Minerva: both characters do not have any mother figures,[92] both are stubborn in their needs for praise and obedience, and both are very skilled at weaving. By placing them on equal footing, Ovid demonstrates that a contest between the two of them would be fair. Eventually, due to Arachne's incessant disrespect, Minerva reveals her true self, to whom all the Lydian maidens supplicate; and *sola est non territa virgo*.[93] At this point, the contest begins.

The image of Minerva and Arachne as equals is further reinforced in the manner in which Ovid describes them at the loom. "Both hastened to work, and having girded their robes to the chests, they moved their learned arms with an eagerness that made it not seem

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[92] Ov. *Met*. 6.7-11.

[93] Ov. *Met*. 6.45. Only the maiden [Arachne] was not afraid.

like work."[94] Ovid depicts the goddess and the maiden as a pair, *utra* working on their own masterpieces concurrently. As Ellen Oliensis states, "Minerva and Arachne may produce antithetical images of power, but they look the same when they are producing them, and produce them using the same deceptive, artful means."[95] Thus, Ovid uses the *ekphrases* of their tapestries to reveal the differences in their mentalities through the subjects of their tapestries.

Although the *ekphrasis* of Minerva's tapestry is provided first, it can be understood that both tapestries are revealed at the same time. Perhaps Ovid chooses to show Minerva's tapestry first because he is acknowledging her divine superiority – thus making "the description of Arachne's tapestry come second and […] rhetorically position[ing it] as a polemical response to Minerva's."[96] While it is agreed that the description of Arachne's tapestry is a response to Minerva's, it is only because Minerva's tapestry is an artistic reiteration of her speech. What had begun as a status contest in rhetoric is thus continued in art.

The topic of Minerva's tapestry "is 'classical,' with a single main topic, described in such a way that it might be visually replicated, with a neat border around it."[97] Ovid's

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[94] Ov. *Met*. 6.58-59: *Utraque festinant cinctaeque ad pectora vestes / bracchia docta movent, studio fallente laborem.*

[95] Ellen Oliensis, "The Power of Image-Makers: Representation and Revenge in Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6 and *Tristia* 4" in *Classical Antiquity, Vol*. 23, No. 2 (University of California Press, October 2004), 287. Within the article, Oliensis describes other such instances of the similarity between the women.

[96] *Ibid.,* 287.

[97] Laurel Fulkerson, *Ovid: A Poet on the Margins* (Oxford: Bloomsbury, 2016), 70-71.

intention in this *ekphrasis* is to embody the order and ease of understanding that Minerva provides in both her actions and her speech. The images on Minerva's tapestry reiterate the points she made within her speech to Arachne and show the consequence of the contests of rebellious mortals against divinities. First, by depicting the twelve Olympians, Minerva pictorializes the outcome of the cosmogony mentioned in *Metamorphoses* Book 1, thus restating that wisdom springs from experience.[98] Effectively, she is depicting the origins of her own birth; experience being Jupiter and wisdom being herself. Having sprung from Jupiter's head herself, the self-referential statement Minerva makes is very easily understood. The second image Minerva represents is her dispute with Neptune over the dominion of Athens and her subsequent victory.[99] This depiction establishes Minerva's position as the impartial judge of law and order. Therefore, Minerva's command for Arachne to obey ought to have been heeded since Minerva could be trusted to propose whatever followed Jupiter's order. Because she did not listen, and since Minerva was inclined to compete with Arachne, Minerva added the last four images to her tapestry. The four images that completed her tapestry are four representations of contests that proud mortals lost against various deities.[100] These images replace the warnings that Minerva gave to Arachne; these are now the consequences. In all but one of the images, the hubristic mortals are transformed as consequences to their self-flattery in comparison to the gods, predominantly to Juno.[101] Minerva's tapestry emphasises the necessity of mortal gratitude

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[98] Ov. *Met*. 6.72-74.

[99] Ov. *Met*. 6.75-82.

[100] Ov. *Met*. 6.83-100.

[101] Ov. *Met*. 6.87-100. Rhodope and Haemus were transformed into mountains for comparing themselves to Jupiter and Juno (87-89); A Pygmy woman (90-92) and Antigone

toward the gods, and the folly of opposing the divine order. Should mortals rebel against the divine order, they will be punished. Before Minerva was compelled to punish Arachne, she was willing to teach her in case Arachne was ignorant, or had forgotten about, the benevolence and justice of the gods. Or, as Oliensis remarks, if Arachne "forgot that Minerva had access, off-tapestry, to her father's thunderbolt."[102] But, due to Arachne's refusal to accept Minerva's assistance, despite all the warnings, it was obligatory that Arachne face the consequences of her actions.

In comparison, Arachne's tapestry provides more insight as to why she had refused to respect divine order and supplicate Minerva. As she boldly asserts to Minerva, *consilii satis est in me mihi*,[103] and her wisdom consists of knowledge concerning the misdeeds of the male gods who deceived maidens while they were disguised.[104] Five deities are depicted upon Arachne's tapestry, namely Jupiter, Neptune, Apollo, Bacchus, and Saturn, raping mortal women and female deities while they were in the shapes of animals or plants; the first three deities being Olympian gods, the latter two chthonic. While the depicted male gods all perform the same repulsive acts, Ovid makes a point to clearly indicate the difference in the impact of their misdeeds. Both chthonic deities are provided with brief

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(93-97) were turned into birds by Juno, the former for deeming herself equal, the latter for saying she had better hair. Lastly, for unknown reasons and by unknown gods, Myrrha was turned into temple steps.

[102] Oliensis, "The Power of Image-Makers", 296.

[103] Ov. *Met*. 6.40. I have enough wisdom for myself.

[104] Ov. *Met*. 6.103-128.

examples of their transgressions,[105] while the Olympians, as a collective, are given several examples.[106] Arachne's tapestry demonstrates why she has been persistent in opposing Minerva; she has no respect for Jupiter's order as he, and other male gods like him, have no respect for maidens like herself. The Olympians are thought to be the progenitors of order and they preach, like Minerva did, about the importance of obedience to them, yet their misdeeds and betrayals are self-evident, sometimes even worse. In short, Arachne's tapestry is an "exposé of Olympian misconduct."[107] Indeed, it is because of Arachne's contempt for Olympian morality that she has refused to provide even the most basic of proper modes of conduct, such as hospitality to the old woman or obedience to the advice of an elder. Thanks to her knowledge the gods' pasts, Arachne feels confident in declaring that she is clever enough to advise herself and to determine the type of order that she wishes to respect. Through her tapestry, Arachne makes it known that she is not forgetful of the past; she remembers the gods' transgressions. Thus, this remembrance of the gods' past misdeeds affects Arachne's behaviour and causes her to proudly dismiss the usual rules which, as evidenced in Minerva's tapestry, are liable to enforcement by the gods. Her pride does not end within the confines of her tapestry, however, but continues into her subsequent confrontation with Minerva.

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[105] Ov. *Met*. 6.125-128. Bacchus is depicted in the form of a cluster of grapes (125) and Saturn as a horse (126-128).

[106] Ov. *Met*. 6.103-124. Jupiter's transgressions are depicted within lines 103 and 114, Neptune's transgressions are within lines 115 and 122, and Apollo's transgression at lines 122 to 124.

[107] Oliensis, "The Power of Image-Makers," 287.

Upon viewing the images, Minerva *rupit pictas, caelestia crimina, vestes . . . / [et] ter quater Idmoniae frontem percussit Arachnes*,[108] as she cannot bear the disrespect the maiden has publicized within her tapestry. In keeping with her earlier behaviour, Arachne is too proud to endure the punishment from Minerva any longer and hangs herself as a way of asserting her own form of control.[109] In retaliation, Minerva declares:

> Vive quidem, pende tamen, improba …
> lexque eadem poenae, ne sis secura futuri,
> dicta tuo generi serisque nepotibus esto.[110]

This said, Minerva gradually transforms Arachne into a spider, forcing her to endure the agony of having each part of herself altered to an unrecognizable form.[111] With this transformation, Ovid makes the connection between Jupiter and Arachne more prominent. Due to Arachne following her own wisdom and scorning the law and order of Jupiter in his capacity as the king of the Olympians and originator of the current cosmic order, Arachne's descendants will have to suffer the consequences of her hubristic behaviour as well. Minerva's punishment makes Arachne aware that her actions against order casts her as Jupiter's opposite. Just as Jupiter's alteration of the ordered world was done gradually, so too does Arachne regress into a subhuman form at a measured pace. Where Jupiter

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[108] Ov. *Met*. 6.131-133. tears the embellished garments the divine crimes . . . [and] beats the forehead of Idmonian Arachne three and four times.

[109] Ov. *Met*. 6.134-135: *Non tulit infelix laqueoque animosa ligavit / guttura.* // She would not suffer this, poor girl, and spiritedly tied her neck with a noose.

[110] Ov. *Met*. 6.136-138. Indeed, live, O wicked girl, but hang … and lest in the future you may be negligent, may the same condition be asserted to your grandchildren and later descendants.

[111] Ov. *Met*. 6.140-145.

possesses the wisdom of learning from the misdeeds of the past and having the authority of changing the future, Arachne's wisdom does not extend far enough to reveal her lack of agency. If Arachne's own wisdom had been enough, since she had woven the veiled divine transgressions into her tapestry, then she would have remembered that the gods, themselves masters of artifice, often disguise themselves as other things. If Arachne had truly been as clever as she claimed to be, she would have known "the importance of paying attention … lest you lose your head,"[112] or, in Arachne's case, her entire body. But Arachne's biggest folly was to ignore the lessons presented in past actions; whether they were past actions on the part of hubristic mortals in Minerva's tapestry who resembled Arachne herself, or the past actions of the gods that she herself depicted on a tapestry. Regardless of which lesson she ought to have drawn, it can be argued that Arachne deserved a harsher punishment than the transformation Minerva bestows onto her, since "Arachne still has her art [although] the work of spiders is repetitive and without creativity."[113]

Overall, Ovid's dactylic hexameter poem links the mythic past to Roman history through the continuous sweep of epic poetry, while at the same time he uses text to connect the narratives of speech and art. The intermingling of multiple themes using various forms of communication makes the reader's experience of the *Metamorphoses* as "wild, undisciplined, [and] as full of detail" as Arachne's own tapestry.[114] Arachne's knowledge of the divinities' pasts affects her behaviour, making it difficult for Minerva to relate to the obstinate maiden. Ovid uses art to mend the channels of communication, appealing to the

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[112] Fulkerson, *Ovid*, 56.

[113] *Ibid,* 72.

[114] *Ibid*., 71.

sense of sight and 'physically showing' Arachne the importance of selective forgetfulness. By having Arachne lose not only the contest, but also her identity, Ovid's implicit narrative, embedded within the spaces of the words, the threads, and the webs, demonstrates the importance of self-restraint. In short, Ovid's use of *ekphrasis* in the Arachne episode suggests that because the past is influential in shaping people's behaviour and, in effect, their identity, the important events of the past find their natural place in art, where they may serve as touchstones of wisdom.

### 2.3 *Ekphrasis* and Roman identity

The ekphrastic devices that Virgil and Ovid deploy in the *Aeneid* and the *Metamorphoses* respectively illustrate the process of attaining Roman identity in Augustan Rome: it is gradual, and it requires the ability to differentiate between important and unnecessary memories. Both authors depict the importance of forgetting as well as the necessity to remember solely that which is important. The frieze on the Temple of Juno, with its isolated scenes of the Trojan war, affects Aeneas as much as it would have done if every detail of the Trojan war had been shown: Aeneas sees himself in the frieze, and, at that moment of recollection, the depiction is his legacy; he is unable to separate himself from his image of the past, which plagues him and delays his Romanization. The limited number of scenes on Minerva's tapestry reveals her ability to distinguish between which memories ought to be remembered (hers, of the divine order) and which ought to be forgotten (Arachne's, of the gods' misdeeds). Because she can distinguish between these memories, the scenes that are represented become part of her self-image, and her artistic output becomes her legacy.

Both authors emphasize the interconnection between Roman identity and the reverence to the gods. While the three characters of Juno, Aeneas, and Arachne are all unable to let go of the past, it is only Arachne who is unable to attain, so to speak, the Roman identity. The pair from the *Aeneid* understand that the events of the future are dictated by the divine and that they are owed the respect of piety. The past misdeeds of the divine are known by both –Juno, herself a divinity, knows all divine conduct, while Aeneas witnessed the actions of the divine during the Trojan war –nevertheless, by the end of the story, both concede to the will of Jupiter. Arachne, on the other hand, knowing the misconduct of the gods, refuses to give due reverence to any divine figure. Instead, she creates a tapestry that "dizzyingly lists rapes committed by the gods in various guises, twenty-one of them in twenty-four lines,"[115] thus unmasking her inability to discern between important memories and revealing her clouded judgment. Furthermore, she is unwilling comply with Minerva's help and in consequence, gets transformed into a spider; Arachne's mind was so clouded by her memories of the gods, that she was unable to recognize the foreshadowing in Minerva's tapestries.

Through their use of *ekphrases,* both authors establish the ways in which the past foreshadows future events. The four small panels on Minerva's tapestry reveal the outcome of hubristic mortals contending with divinities, while the first three metopes on the Temple of Juno's frieze predict Hector's end. Each author reveals the importance of remembering the past and the figures who shaped it and understanding the need to evolve with the times to shape a new identity.

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[115] Fulkerson, *Ovid*, 55-56.

## CHAPTER 3. Building Roman Identity

Augustus' restoration of Rome relied on easily recognized iconography that symbolized the Roman religious and moral past. Symbols like "laurel trees, the *corona civica,* and the *clipeus virtutis* were modest and simple honours in the old Roman tradition"[116] (Figures 8 and 9). Additional images of the new Augustan cultural renewal programme were depictions of the founding fathers of Rome, Aeneas and Romulus (Figures 6 and 10). For Augustus, the goal was to activate the past as a tool for legitimizing his regime the past: "the past had to be incorporated into the myth of the present new age, for the sake of Rome's future."[117] As such, the images of the founders recalled to their viewers the two key concepts of the Roman identity, *pietas* and *virtus,* and were the mythical *exempla* linking religious tradition to Augustan politics.[118] The repetition of the Aeneas-Romulus leitmotifs over the course of Augustus' supremacy eventually lost its political connotation and evolved into an anthropomorphic representation of both divine and filial *pietas.*[119] Patrons who commissioned art of the sacrosanct mythological figures, whether in statuary or paintings, often altered the images to authenticate their own Roman identity (Figure 11). The same is true for Fabius Ululitremulus, a non-elite Pompeian man, who used the iconography of the founding fathers, in conjunction with that of his occupation, to validate his own *Romanitas*.

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[116] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 92.

[117] *Ibid.,* 193.

[118] *Ibid.,* 207.

[119] *Ibid.,* 210.

### 3.1 Non-Elite Self-Representation

As seen in the previous chapter, the ekphrastic narratives in the *Aeneid 1* and the *Metamorphoses 6* are literary depictions of the journey to Romanization and the fact that one's identity is visible in the narratives that one presents of oneself. In Pompeii, these narratives are presented in frescoes and graffiti that adorn homes and public buildings.[120] In the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 CE, volcanic ash preserved the city's riches for many centuries. Upon rediscovery in the early 1900s during excavations done by Italian archaeologist Vittorio Spinazzola,[121] the *Via dell'Abbondanza,* or the 'Street of Abundance'*,* was found to have been a long, commercial street that extended across the entirety of Pompeii, bisecting the city obliquely from the *Porta Marina* to the *Porta di Sarno* (Figure 12).

Facing the *Via dell'Abbondanza,* the *Fullonica di Fabius Ululitremulus* was positioned among a row of attached buildings at the centre of Pompeii between Regions IX.13.4 and IX.13.6. The many fragmentary archaeological remains found on or around the entrance doorway not only assisted in identifying what type of building Regio IX.13.5 was, but also aided in providing information on the building's owner (Figures 13 to 16). The election notice, poetic graffito, and frescoes discovered on the *Fullonica di Fabius*

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[120] While these paintings were not necessarily produced in Augustan Rome, since the paintings and graffiti that will be discussed were in Pompeii, it would follow that they were made in the time following the influence of Augustus.

[121] Matteo della Corte, *Pompeii: The New Excavations (Houses and Inhabitants)* Trans. By Francesco Sicignano (Valle di Pompei, 1925), 3. / Vittorio Spinazzola, *Pompei all luce degli scavi nuovi di Via dell'Abbondanza (Anni 1910-1923)* (Libreria della Stata, 1953).

*Ululitremulus* have since been taken as indications of the identity that Fabius wished to display using symbols of his occupation within both art and text.

### 3.1.1 Election Notice

Election notices are one of the most common forms of wall text found in Pompeii and were painted on the walls of both private and public buildings. Due to these election notices' special formulae, it is possible to ascertain the period in which the election notice on Fabius' *fullonica* was painted, since it can be "distinguished both by the style of writing and by the manner of expression –earlier, from the time of the Republic, and later, belonging to the Imperial period."[122] The earlier notices were much shorter and did not provide indication of the person who recommended the commission of the inscription, while the notices of the later period were often longer, written with a skilled hand, and indicated the name of those commissioning the inscription.[123] With these distinctions in mind, one can ascertain that the election notice on Fabius' *fullonica* was painted during the Imperial period.

The election notice on the façade of the *fullonica* was located below a fresco of Romulus[124] and read:

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[122] August Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art* Trans. By Francis W. Kelsey (London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd, 1904), 486.

[123] *Ibid.,* 487.

[124] Kristina Milnor, "Literary Literacy in Roman Pompeii: The Case of Vergil's *Aeneid*" in *Ancient Literacies: The Culture of Reading in Greece and Rome*, edited by William A. Johnson and Holt N. Parker (Oxford University Press, 2011), 300.

> C(aium) Cuspium Pansam et
> L(ucium) Popidium L(uci) f(ilium) Secundum aed(iles) o(ro) v(os) f(aciatis)
> Fabius Ululitremulus cum Sul(l)a rog(at).[125]

In reading this text on its own, it is possible to ascertain some significant details about the building's occupant.

First, the election notice reveals the names of two occupants of the building, Fabius Ululitremulus and Sula (Sulla).[126] These two individuals could be members of the same family, or the members of the same guild "in which the members […] unite, or are exhorted to unite, in recommending a certain candidate for a municipal office."[127] Therefore, this notice could serve to reveal the two individuals' similar political thought; however, the election notice on its own does not reveal more significant information about the nature of their relationship. The building on which the election notice is placed does not aid in confirming the identity of the two named parties as it is often argued that Fabius' building is not only a *fullonica* but also a private residence.[128] Since most *fullonicae* are located at the back of a *fullo*'s home, it is possible for this to be true at this location. The presence of a water discharge channel (Figure 16) that leads to the street almost certainly confirms the

[125] *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 7963; James L. Franklin Jr., *Pompeis Difficile Est: Studies in the Political Life of imperial Pompeii* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 172: "Fabius Ululitremulus, along with Sulla, asks that you elect Gaius Cuspius Pansa and Lucius Popidius Secundus, son of Lucius, aediles."

[126] Helen H. Tanzer, *The Common People of Pompeii* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1939), 83.

[127] August Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art* Trans. By Francis W. Kelsey (London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd, 1904), 384.

[128] Walter O. Moeller, *The Wool Trade of Ancient Pompeii* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 51.

building as a *fullonica.*[129] In addition, the façade in the inner area of the entrance way was covered with graffiti: the word *fullones* in several places, and the names, Calamus, Leno, and Pegte,[130] and Ephebus, Ricinus, and Gerulus (or Glerus)[131] in other areas. The presence of these men's names among the *fullones* graffiti suggest that they were under the employ of *Fabius* in his *fullonica,* while conceivably the previously mentioned Sul(l)a could be a romantic partner who lives in the domestic part of the building. Regardless, since it has only been the entrance that has been excavated, the full extent of the building's occupancy remains speculation.

Secondly, the rarity of Fabius' *cognomen* suggests its derivation stems from a description of his personality or is a pun on his profession.[132] The prefix *ululi* seems to derive from the verb *ululare,* to howl, or the noun referring to an *ulula,* a screech-owl.[133] The latter portion, *tremulus,* shaking with fear, can be read as either an adjective or a noun. It is more sensible to take the *cognomen* to refer to a profession, since "ordinary [non-elite] people left records of what they did for a living."[134] Therefore, in keeping with the profession-oriented nature of ordinary people's records, the combined form of the

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[129] Flohr, *The World of the Fullo*, 223.

[130] *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* IV 9132.

[131] *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* IV 9116.

[132] James Jeffers, *The Greco-Roman World of the New Testament Era: Exploring the Background of Early Christianity* (InterVarsity Press, 1999), 203.

[133] Although *ululit* is not in a proper verb form in any mood, nor is *ululi* the proper pluralized form of *ulula*.

[134] John R. Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-Elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C. – A.D. 315* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 96.

*cognomen* potentially meaning "the owl-fearer," [135] and, the screech-owl being the symbol of the fuller, the presence of Fabius Ululitremulus' name within the election notice indicates the occupant of the building is Fabius Ululitremulus, the fuller.

Lastly, the length of the election notice suggests the possible literacy of Fabius, a fact that on its own does not add more information about his identity, as most of Pompeii's citizens were partially literate.[136] However, the presence of the election notice on the same surface as the following graffito found on entrance of the building gives clue to how proficient Fabius possibly was.

### 3.1.2. Poetic Graffito

Below the fresco of Romulus and the preceding election notice was the following inscription: *fullones ululamque cano, non arma virumque*[137] (Figure 17). This graffito is an allusion to the first line of the *Aeneid,* which demonstrates the popularity and influence that the *Aeneid* had among the Romans, even in Pompeii. Most of the Virgilian graffiti in

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[135] Miko Flohr, "*Ulula, Quinquatrus* and the Occupational Identity of *Fullones* in Early Imperial Italy" in *Making Textiles in Pre-Roman and Roman Times: People, Places, Identities* Eds. Judit Pásztókai-Szeoke and Margarita Gleba, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), 200.

[136] *Ibid.*; William V. Harris, "Literacy and Epigraphy, I" in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bd. 52* (1983), 110-111.

[137] *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* IV 9131; Milnor, "Literary Literacy in Roman Pompeii", 299; Alison E. Cooley and M. G. L. Cooley *Pompeii: A Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 2004), 71-72: "I sing the fullers and the screech-owl, not arms and the man."

Pompeii are crude duplicates of the first line of the *Aeneid*,[138] thus the presence of such an inscription in proper dactylic hexameter is of particular importance.

This inscription confirms the level of literacy Fabius possessed, if it was in fact he who had written it upon his wall. The anonymity of this graffito means that it could "have been made by anyone who knew the inhabitants of the [*fullonica*], recognized their identity as *fullones,* and was able to write."[139] However, the size of said graffito was very small – less than 2cm in height, therefore, "the target audience of the scratched text was not the crowd of citizens passing by, but mainly consisted of those who had the best chance of noticing and reading the verse again and again: the people working in the shop and living in the house."[140] Considering the context of the frescoes and the location of the inscription below the election notice, it makes most sense to assign authorship of this graffito to Fabius.

Furthermore, like the election notice, this graffito indicates the value Fabius placed on his occupation as a *fullo* and on the occupation's patron goddess, Minerva, whose symbol was an owl. The profession was sufficiently represented in Pompeii; only the bakers outnumbered the *fullones* as professionals,[141] and their numerous *fullonicae* featured

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[138] Tanzer, *The Common People of Pompeii,* 84-85.

[139] Miko Flohr, *The World of the Fullo*: *Work, Economy, and Society in Roman Italy* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 339.

[140] *Ibid.*

[141] Tanzer, *The Common People of Pompeii,* 9.

owl iconography in statues, paintings, or inscriptions, serving an apotropaic function (Figure 18). Perhaps Fabius' graffito served the same purpose on a literary level.

Milnor views the *Aeneid* graffito as a poetic competition between Fabius and Virgil: despite the fact "the nonelites had no choice but to embrace the same fiction that the elites did,"[142] nevertheless, "the 'witty' hexameter […] expresses a preference for [Fabius' colleagues] and his profession over Aeneas and his story."[143] Some scholars view this hexameter and the associated frescoes as a group, with the conclusion that Fabius harboured anti-Augustan sentiment,[144] however, I would argue that this conclusion does not take into account the full context of Fabius' identity as a fuller.

Fabius was involved in one of the most important guilds in the city, "as is proved by the existence of the magnificent Exchange for the use of the [wool] trade."[145] The Exchange is called the *Building of Eumachia,* in honor of the city priestess who erected it and who was the only Pompeian woman to obtain such a prominent public structure.[146] In honor of Eumachia, the Pompeian *fullones* dedicated a statue (Figure 19) that stood in her building in the Forum of Pompeii with the inscription that read: *Eumachiae L. f.,*

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[142] John R. Clarke, *Looking at Laughter: Humor, Power, and Transgression in Roman Visual Culture, 100 B.C. – A.D. 250* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 146.

[143] Milnor, "Literary Literacy in Roman Pompeii," 300-301.

[144] Clarke, *Looking at Laughter,* 153.

[145] Tanzer, *The Common People of Pompeii,* 8.

[146] Colin Amery and Brian Curran, *The Lost World of Pompeii* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2002), 77.

*sacerd[oti] publ[icae], fullones.*[147]As will be examined in a later section of this chapter, the *gens Iulia* were held in high regard by Eumachia*,* who modelled her building after many temples and monuments erected in dedication to Augustus. Similarly, Fabius modelled the façade of his *fullonica* in allusion to the *Building of Eumachia.*[148] Therefore, it is my contention that the *Aeneid* graffito, in conjunction with the Aeneas-Romulus frescoes, is Fabius' attempt at forging a Roman identity for himself (and perhaps the other *fullones*) in the manner of Augustus.

### 3.1.3. Aeneas-Romulus Frescoes

Upon the façade of his *fullonica*, Fabius commissioned two frescoes: one of Aeneas, Anchises, and Ascanius fleeing Troy and the other of Romulus holding the s*polia opima*.[149] Each image is painted on one side of the entrance amid a checkerboard pattern, surrounded by graffiti that mention *fullones* (Figure 13).[150] The subjects of the frescoes were commonly representative of a political image, but here, Fabius alters the meaning to coincide with the suggested narrative that is displayed in the *Aeneid* graffito: the image of a *fullo*.

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[147] Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art,* 112.

[148] Barbara Kellum, "Concealing/revealing: Gender and the play of meaning in the monuments of Augustan Rome" in *The Roman Cultural Revolution* Edited by, Thomas Habinek and Alessandro Schiesaro (Cambridge University Press, 1997), 173.

[149] Kristina Milnor, *Graffiti and the Literary Landscape in Roman Pompeii* (Oxford University Press, 2014), 248.

[150] *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* IV 9125.

The original image of the *Aeneid* trio presented "Aeneas carry[ing] his father, [with] Anchises on his shoulder. Anchises, in turn, carries the *Penates*. Little Ascanius hurries along on foot."[151] (See Figure 20) The moment that is represented is in *Aeneid 2:*

> Haec fatus latos umeros subiectaque colla
> Veste super fulvique insternor pelle leonis
> Succedoque oneri. Dextrae se parvus Iulus
> Implicuit sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis,
> Pone subit coniunx.[152]

This is a pivotal moment in the *Aeneid* as it forms a "three-generational tableau about *pietas,"*[153] a key component in the Roman identity that Augustus reinforced. This motif was recreated multitudinous times in the empire: in coinage, in statuary, in paintings, "finger rings, lamps, and in terra-cotta statuettes."[154] Sometimes the image was slightly altered to embody aspects that the piece's patron deemed important (Figures 21 and 22).[155] For the image that Augustus wished to portray to the empire, the tableau with Aeneas as the central figure with Anchises on his left shoulder, grasping the hand of Ascanius in his right hand (Figure 23), was the most important: "Founding Rome was also founding the

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[151] Clarke, *Looking at Laughter,*153.

[152] Virgil, *The Aeneid* trans. Robert Fitzgerald (London: Harvill Press, 1984), 58: "When I had said this, over my breadth of shoulder / And bent neck, I spread out a lion skin / For tawny cloak and stooped to take his weight. / Then little Iulus put his hand in mine / And came with shorter steps beside his father. / My wife fell behind."

[153] Clarke, *Looking at Laughter,*153.

[154] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 210.

[155] For instance, the difference in the coin minted in the 42 BCE and the later relief is that Anchises is not holding the *Penates* and Ascanius is not present. For more see Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 201-203.

*gens,* or clan, of the goddess, so that Ascanius is both Aeneas's son and the next in a line of divine succession that will lead to Augustus and his male heirs."[156]

Similarly, Fabius' image of Romulus displays a pivotal moment in the identity of the Romans: "Romulus hold[s] the trophy of Akron […] over his left shoulder [;] the *spolia opima* that he will dedicate to Jupiter Feretrius, in his right hand is his lance"[157] (Figure 24). The moment is detailed in this passage of Livy:

> Inde exercitu victore reducto, ipse cum factis vir magnificus tum factorum ostentator haud minor, spolia ducis hostium caesi suspensa fabricato ad id apte ferculo gerens in Capitolium escendit; ibique ea cum ad quercum pastoribus sacram deposuisset, simul cum dono designavit templo Iovis fines cognomenque addidit deo: "Iuppiter Feretri" inquit, "haec tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero, templumque his regionibus quas modo animo metatus sum dedico, sedem opimis spoliis quae regibus ducibusque hostium caesis me auctorem sequentes posteri ferent."[158]

This significant passage details "the one deed of valour for which Romulus gained famed [and his] only exploit singled out on the *elogium* which was inscribed on a plaque attached to the base of Romulus' statue in the central niche of the exedra [in] the forum of

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[156] Clarke, *Looking at Laughter,*146.

[157] *Ibid.*, 149.

[158] Livy 1.10: "He then led his victorious army back, and being not more splendid in his deeds than willing to display them, he arranged the spoils of the enemy's dead commander upon a frame, suitably fashioned for the purpose, and carrying itself, mounted the Capitol. Having there deposited his burden, by an oak which the shepherds held sacred, at the same time as he made his offering he marked out the limits of a temple to Jupiter, and bestowed a title upon him. 'Jupiter Feretrius,' he said, 'to thee I, victorious Romulus, myself a king, bring the panoply of a king, and dedicate a sacred precinct within the bounds of which I have even now marked off in my mind, to be a seat for the spoils of honour which men shall bear hither in time to come, following my example, when they have slain kings and commanders of the enemy.'" Translated by B.O. Foster, Loeb Classical Library (New York: Putnam's, 1919), 39.

Augustus."[159] For both Aeneas and Romulus, these moments "summed up the virtues of each hero, instantly telegraphing Augustus' political messages to the viewer."[160] The figures of Aeneas and Romulus become a paired personification of Roman virtues: "this image of Romulus trumpets both *virtus* — manly courage — and *pietas.*"[161]

On Fabius' frescoes, the pair were the most ornate aspects of the wall, focusing the gaze onto the images of the Roman founders amid the colourful checkerboard pattern of the surrounding wall (Figures 14 and 15). The frescoes were painted in a manner that merged the First and Second Pompeian art styles, with the standing human figures — Aeneas, Ascanius, and Romulus — communicating movement within the visual space. Both founding fathers are dressed similarly, in the guise of a Roman general, while Ascanius is dressed "like a Phrygian shepherd, in long-sleeved garment and pointed cap, [and Anchises as] the pious old man, [with] his head veiled like that of Augustus and many other priests in Rome at this time."[162] These two frescoes clearly indicate that there is a conflation of the myth and history of the Roman past with the Augustan ideals of the present. Fabius must have had considerable political and literary knowledge to have commissioned such a presentation of these central figures of Rome's legendary past; nonetheless, he did not take these motifs straight off the shelf, so to speak, and analysis of

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[159] Michael C. J. Putnam, "Romulus Tropaeophorus (*Aeneid* 6.779-80)" in *The Classical Quarterly, Vol. 35, No. 1* (1985), 238.

[160] Clarke, *Looking at Laughter,* 147.

[161] *Ibid.,* 149.

[162] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 202.

each image allows us to discover which aspects of his own identity he incorporated within the images.

The prevalent symbol of the *fullo* is the owl. While there is no direct representation of an owl in either painting, it is still possible to see a shape resembling an owl when viewing these images from afar. Both images feature oddly-shaped objects on the left shoulder of the founders: for Aeneas, it is a diminutive Anchises; for Romulus, it is the abnormally small *spolia opima*. Despite being an old man, why is Anchises significantly smaller than Ascanius? How could the armour within the *spolia opima* have fit a grown man, Acron of Caenina? Considering the similar depictions of the scenes, it is apparent that Fabius commissioned the images in this manner to have the important icons of the stories — Anchises and the *Penates*, the *spolia opima* — bear the shape of owls. This is visible when comparing these shapes to the image of an owl in a fresco in the *fullonica* of Veranius Hypsaeus in Regio IV.8.20.[163]

The fresco in its entirety depicts figures going through the fulling process (Figure 18). In one image there is a depiction of a "workman carry[ing] on his shoulders a bleaching frame […] An owl […] sits upon the frame; and the man underneath has on his head a wreath of leaves from the olive tree, which was sacred to the same goddess."[164] For the frescoes on Fabius' shopfront, it is difficult to determine if, amid the curly hair, Aeneas and Romulus are wearing a wreath made of olive branches, but there is a clear similarity

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[163] For more discourse on the use of owl imagery in the occupational identity of the *fullones,* see Flohr, "*Ulula, Quinquatrus* and the Occupational Identity of *Fullones* in Early Imperial Italy", 200-204.

[164] Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art,* 395.

between the shape of the carried objects. The covered head of Anchises and the roundness of the golden helmet mimic the shape of the wise animal, while the bottom of Anchises' cloak and bottom of the frame holding Acron's armour extends out like the owl's tail (Figures 25 and 26).

Further similarities are seen within the movement of the portrayed worker. The process of fulling was very demanding, "the fulling of new cloth involved seven or eight distinct processes."[165] The constant actions of the workers until they provide the clean garments to the clients recalls the constant movement of Aeneas within the *Aeneid* until he reaches Carthage, and Romulus until he reached the sacred tree: they all bear the weight of a long journey (process) that results in a just reward; *pietas, virtus,* and money. "If Aeneas was the *exemplum pietatis,* the image of protection from suffering and want, Romulus is the *exemplum virtutis.*"[166] Both Aeneas and Romulus are walking forward, both men are gazing behind him, indicative of his fixation on the events that have come to pass.

Romulus' backward gaze, I suggest, is a positive reflection of the past. His gaze is a retrospective look on his accomplishments — the defeat of Acron — like the depictions of the past on Minerva's tapestry in the *Metamorphoses.* Alternatively, Aeneas's backwards gaze is one of anguish and fear; he is in the process of fleeing Troy. Similarly, Ascanius is looking back in imitation of his father and perhaps mourning the loss of his mother. The only figure looking forward is Anchises, perched on the shoulder of Aeneas, unfettered by the city he must leave behind. In his hands are the *Penates* of Troy and this,

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[165] Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art,* 393.

[166] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 203.

in conjunction with his forward gaze, symbolizes Anchises' connection to Minerva. Anchises is carrying with him the only memories that are important, the knowledge of the gods. With this, he will be able to endure the new identity that he is fated to have. Furthermore, Anchises' diminutive stature and position likens him to an owl and Minerva through her iconography. Therefore, Anchises represents the wisdom and experience of Minerva herself. This point is further proven by the way in which Anchises obstructs Aeneas' backward glance.

Finally, the image of the caged workman is also gazing forward, because he too is supported by Minerva's protection. Though not directly linked to the frescoes on Fabius' *fullonica,* it is clear that the *fullones* share a common *pietas* in regard to Minerva; a trait needed to be part of such a powerful guild.

### 3.2 Elite Self-Representation

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the façade of Fabius' *fullonica* was designed in allusion to the *Building of Eumachia,* which had similar decorations to the *Forum of Augustus*. Eumachia dedicated this building to herself and her son on marble tablets that were located on two sides of the building:

> Eumachia L. f., sacerd[os] publ[ica], nomine suo et M. Numistri Frontonis fili chalcidicum, cryptam, porticus Concordiae Augustae Pietati sua pequnia fecit eademque dedicavit.[167]

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[167] Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art,* 111. "Eumachia, daughter of Lucius Eumachius, a city priestess, in her own name and that of her son, Marcus Numistrius Fronto, built at her own expense the portico, the covered passage, and the colonnade, dedicating them to Concordia Augusta and Pietas." Translation by August Mau.

These tablets signify how "the mother and son united in dedicating the building to personifications, or deifications, of the perfect harmony and the regard for elders that prevailed in the imperial family."[168] Eumachia used the symbols of the *princeps* and his family to define herself and likened herself to female members of the *gens Iulia.* By doing so, Eumachia bridges the gap between Fabius and Augustus, uniting the non-elite man to the imperial family by common iconography.

The Forum of Pompeii (Figure 27) grew to include the imperial cult during the early empire and supplemented its archaic temples with "two new sanctuaries reserved exclusively for the cult of the emperor."[169] The *Building of Eumachia* was located among these new edifices and "was an expression both of worship of the emperor and of *publica magnificentia.*"[170] As a priestess of Venus, the rich widow Eumachia commissioned her commercial building to show Roman influence within a pretentious marble structure.[171] Upon viewing the building, visitors would note clear similarities between Eumachia's building and the *Porticus Liviae*, predominantly the dedication of the structure to Concordia Augusta by a mother and son pair, in this case, Livia and Tiberius.[172]

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[168] Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art,* 111.

[169] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 308.

[170] *Ibid.,* 321.

[171] Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans,* 93.; Clarke, *Looking at Laughter,*153.

[172] Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art,* 111.; Marleen Boudreau Flory, "*Sic Exempla Parantur*: Livia's Shrine to Concordia and the Porticus Liviae" in *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte, Bd. 33, H. 3* (3rd Qtr., 1984), 311.

The function of the building is still questioned as several parts were destroyed during the earthquake of 63 CE, and several walls were still in the process of being rebuilt by the time of the eruption of 79 CE[173]:

> From the parts that remain both of the old building and of the restorations, we can determine the architectural character with certainty. […] The material—whitish limestone—was the same as that used in the new colonnade of the Forum. Nevertheless, by the skilful handling of details, a certain individuality was given to the columns [of the *Building of Eumachia*]; while in general appearance they harmonized with those about the Forum, the portico, as a whole, stood out by itself as something distinct and characteristic.[174]

The portico at the front of the building tied together the imagery found within the rest of the Forum. There, several statues relating to the imperial family were placed; among them the statues of Aeneas and Romulus. Though the statues themselves were never found, the two *elogia* honouring the deeds of the two founders—Romulus:

> Romulus Martis / filius urbem Romam
> condidit et regnavit annos / duodequadraginta isque
> primus dux duce hostium / Acrone rege Caeninensium
> interfecto spolia opima / Iovi Feretrio consecravit
> receptusque in deorum / numerum Quirinus / appellatus est.[175]

and Aeneas:

> Aeneas Veneris / et Anchisae f. Troianos
> qui capta Troia bello super / fuerant in Italiam adduxit
> bellum suscepit / ... en ... / ... lbv ...

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[173] Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art,* 113.

[174] *Ibid.*

[175] *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* X, 809 ; Putnam, "Romulus Tropaeophorus (*Aeneid* 6.779-80)," 238. Romulus, son of Mars founded the city of Rome and ruled for 38 years. He also was the first leader, after having killed the leader of the enemy king Acron of Caenina, to consecrate the spolia opima to Jupiter Feretrius and, in the company of the gods, received the name, Quirinus.

> oppidum Lavinium condidit et / ibi regnavit annos tris in
> bello Laurenti subito non con / paruit appellatusq est indigens
> pater et in deorum numero relatus.[176]

were located and found to be replicas of the *elogia* found on the Forum of Augustus in Rome.[177] The similarities between the ornate portico of the *Building of Eumachia,* the *Porticus Liviae,* and the Forum of Augustus (Figure 28) confirms the idea that the front of the *Building of Eumachia* was to please the elite citizens of Pompeii. But what of the non-elite citizens, like the *fullones*, who paid their respects to Eumachia?

The *Building of Eumachia* itself was a large rectangular building located on the *Via dell'Abbondanza* and the Temple of Vespasian (Figure 12).[178] There were several small entrances, one of which found down a long corridor opening onto the *Via dell'Abbondanza*. It is assumed that this rear area of the building was set up for "a clothier's exchange, a bazaar for the sale of cloth and articles of clothing."[179] Since very little evidence remains, it is difficult to ascertain to what extent the building was used as an exchange, nevertheless, the evidence that does remain shows the appreciation that the *fullones* of Pompeii had for Eumachia and her building.

The buildings surrounding that of Eumachia all referred to the *princeps* and the imperial divinities, therefore it was imperative that all statuary within the newer buildings

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176 *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* X, 808. Aeneas, the son of Venus and Anchises, led the Trojans, who existed beyond the war that captured Troy, into Italy […] He founded the town of Lavinium and ruled there for 3 years. In the Laurentian war, he was suddenly not present and was called Pater Indigens and was returned to the rank of the gods.

177 Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art,* 115.

178 *Ibid.,* 110.

179 *Ibid.,* 112.

of the Forum in Pompeii recognize the high honours that ought to be extended to the imperial family.[180] Thus, the statue that the *fullones* commissioned for Eumachia, located in the rear niche of the building, bore a striking resemblance to both Venus and Livia (Figure 19).[181] The statue bore similarities to the oft-replicated statues of Venus in her pose: "the position of her hips and legs, and particularly in the position of her right hand and left arm"[182] (See Figure 29). The nudity common in Venus-portrait statues is replaced the clingy garments of the veiled priestess. As Jennifer Trimble notes, "the contours of the clinging tunic or mantle frequently draw attention to the form of the breasts [and the exposure of] the feet by open sandals. This conspicuous modesty […] may have suggested individual qualities such as beauty, health, and fertility."[183] Thus the representation of Eumachia in this manner connects her to the imperial imagery of the rest of the Forum. Furthermore, the curly hairstyle (Figure 30) slightly visible under the veil links her to Livia,[184] merging the image of the imperial family and the imperial divinities to Eumachia. This honorific statue *in celeberrimo loco*—in the busiest spot—of the clothier's market, dedicated to an elite woman by a group of non-elite individuals, makes apparent the respect and gratitude Eumachia earned in her dual role as a priestess of Venus and generous

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[180] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 322.

[181] Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art*, 98.; Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 320.

[182] Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art*, 100.

[183] Jennifer Trimble, "Replicating the Body Politic: The Herculaneum Women Statue Types in Early Imperial Italy" in *Journal of Roman Archaeology* Vol. 13 (2000), 65-66.

[184] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 251.

benefactress of the *fullones.* Through her, the *fullones,* like Fabius, were able to authenticate their identity as Romans in Pompeii.

### 3.3 Roman Identity in Pompeii

By analyzing the images used in the definition of a non-elite and an elite Pompeian's identity, it is clear the Augustan iconography extended past Rome proper. The legitimacy of one's Roman identity was directly related to the connection one can make to the *gens Iulia*, whether to the divine or the living members.

> Art above all served to provide a common language of empire, not only for those large sections of the population who made or purchased sculptures, paintings, mosaics, and other art-forms, but also for those who used and viewed them. No part of the empire altogether lacked decorated villas. No part of its population was unfamiliar with the image of the emperor on coins or in statuary. [185]

Through the slight alterations made to the images of Aeneas and Romulus, I suggest that Fabius attempted to align himself with Eumachia, who in turn, aligned herself with the Augustan line. The only difference between the two Pompeiians was in their ability, or lack of it, to spend as much as needed to establish the legitimacy of their Roman identity.

For Fabius, the non-elite *fullo*, using the images of Aeneas and Romulus served a purpose "more complex than that dictated by the State"[186]: to depict his own occupational identity. The sparse evidence we have regarding the *fullonica* of Fabius limits our understanding of his identity and it is possible that his life as a fuller was only a very small

[185] Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art*, 162.

[186] Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans,* 67.

portion of his identity. Nevertheless, this portrayal—Fabius the *fullo*—is the lasting impression one gets as this is the main aspect of his life that was represented on the façade of his building. An occupational identity "can be constructed and maintained by peers sharing their daily lives doing the same business in the same social group, from time to time discussing their work and, perhaps, their lives as fullers."[187] It was perhaps for this reason Fabius felt that it was necessary to represent himself and his colleagues in terms of the mythology of Rome.

The fullers' guild "was one of the respectable profession[s] in Pompeii,"[188] and through the epigraphical evidence of their participation in local elections, it is clear they held a reputable social identity, despite their lower status. Further evidence of their high social standing is their association with Eumachia. Through the priestess, the fullers were able to close the gap between themselves and the *princeps*; the Forum of Pompeii becomes the *lieu de mémoire* for the Forum of Augustus, with the statuary of the *gens Iulia,* including that of Eumachia resembling Venus-Livia, recalling the imperial family. Thus, by the usage of the Augustan imagery within the frescoes representing Fabius, it is clear that knowledge of the components of Roman identity was far-reaching in the Empire—and that its iconography could be adapted as a tool for negotiating identity at multiple rungs of the social ladder.

[187] Flohr, *The World of the Fullo*, 322.

[188] *Ibid.,* 346.

## CHAPTER 4. Reinforcing Roman Identity

In an earlier chapter, I discussed how Augustus' intent was not only to reinvent the social behaviour of Roman citizens but also to redefine and re-establish the way in which Rome was perceived by other people. Augustus wanted Rome to be the gold standard of morality and himself, standing at Rome's centre, to be its propagator. As Kathleen Lamp argues, Augustus lacked oratorical prowess;[189] still, as Kennedy writes, he did have "a profound understanding of the rhetoric of empire. A variety of titles and religious forms were used to mask the reality of his power; art, architecture, inscription, and urban planning conveyed the aura of a new golden age."[190] Thus, Augustus spent much of his time as *princeps* in rebuilding the Roman city and readjusting the disenchanted attitude that was rampant among the citizens after the civil wars; his overall aim was to bring peace and tranquility to the Empire.[191]

Along with religious renewal, Augustus emphasized the importance of family and genealogical connections. After the assassination of Caesar and the civil wars, Augustus, as Octavian, knew he had to approach the leadership of Rome in a different manner. Therefore:

> [Augustus] invented for himself a mythic history almost as grand as the foundation story of Rome herself. Indeed, in order to legitimize the history he created for himself and his family, Octavian began with the

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[189] Kathleen Lamp, "The *Ara Pacis Augustae*: Visual Rhetoric in Augustus' Principate" in *Rhetoric Society Quarterly, Vol. 39, No. 1* (Winter, 2009), 1.

[190] George Kennedy, A New History of Classical Rhetoric (Princeton University Press, 1994), 159.

[191] Armstrong, "Sacrificial Iconography", 340.

> very myth of the foundation of Rome, embedding his own (invented) history in the (invented) history of the city.[192]

This was necessary as Augustus needed to legitimize his relationship to Caesar and the founders of Rome, thus proving that he was legitimately the predestined "restorer of Rome's golden age."[193]

Despite this re-invented history, Augustus remained modest: he "offered himself as the greatest *exemplum* and tried in his private life and public appearance to be a constant advertisement for the *mores maiorum.* […] His public style had a winning simplicity and dignity, from his gait to his manner of speech."[194] As a result, any monument dedicated to him after 20 BCE retained a "votive or religious character,"[195] mimicking the persona of the *princeps.* One major such monument was the *Ara Pacis Augustae* dedicated to Augustan Peace, gifted to Augustus by the *senatus populusque Romanus.* The altar "pictured the union of [Augustus'] family with the official priesthoods at the moment of the altar's first use."[196] It depicted attributes that coincided with the values that Augustus himself believed that he possessed, as written in his *Res Gestae*—albeit 20 years later. Nevertheless, in examining the portrayal of Augustan attributes on the *Ara Pacis* in relation to their depiction in the *Res Gestae,* it is possible to assess the degree of power that

[192] Armstrong, "Sacrificial Iconography", 341.

[193] *Ibid.,* 342.; Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 36.

[194] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 159.

[195] *Ibid.,* 160.

[196] Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans,* 24.

Augustus was able to obtain through the narratives and iconography of his invented identity.

### 4.1 Contextualizing the *Ara Pacis Augustae*

The *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Figure 31), inaugurated in 9 BCE in honour of Augustus, is a monument that encapsulates the myth, history, and traditions of Rome. The *Ara Pacis:*

> […] would have originally been situated in the *Campus Martius* near the *Via Flaminia* and Augustus' mausoleum in a park-like setting, which featured a large sundial with an obelisk at the center. The *Ara Pacis*, constructed of white Luna marble from northern Italy, consists of the altar proper and an enclosure wall, which is carved inside and out.[197]

The altar was "one of three highly original monuments that transformed the area into an Augustan theme-park [and like the persona of Augustus,] the *Ara Pacis* was quite modest compared with the two monuments that took up the greatest space: the mausoleum and the sundial"[198] (See Figures 32 and 33).

The monumentality of the mausoleum and solarium dwarfed the *Ara Pacis* in size, but not in importance, as each monument held equal importance to each other. The mausoleum was in the northern part of the *Campus Martius* next to the *ustrinum,* which was significant as "its isolation in a magnificent garden, and the very ashes it contained constituted a reminder of the glory of Augustus and the extent of his family."[199] The solarium was in the southeastern quadrant of the *Campus Martius* with a large Egyptian

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[197] Lamp, "The *Ara Pacis Augustae*," 6.

[198] Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans,* 24.

[199] *Ibid.,* 22.

obelisk acting as its pointer,[200] which "[stood] as a symbol of Egypt's subordination to Rome."[201] The *Campus Martius* itself "had once been owned by the last king of Rome, Tarquinius, and was later dedicated to Mars. The placement of the *Ara Pacis* on the field thereby linked Augustus not only with the founders and the first king of Rome, but also with the last king of Rome and one of Augustus's favorite gods."[202] Thus, "the same themes of succession and world domination, which arise out of the narrative[s on the *Ara Pacis*], are reinforced by [its] setting."[203]

The monument itself, which operated as a sacrificial altar and displayed much Greek influence, "tends to be singled out as an exceptional example of the Romans' willingness and ability to have Greek art adapted to their own purposes."[204] While the design and portrayals of figures emulate the Greek style, for instance, with its "scrolls of vegetation" and "depiction of processional movement,"[205] the subjects of these depictions are resolutely Roman and hence remain significant to Roman identity. As the altar was erected by the Roman Senate in commemoration of the pacification efforts of Augustus in Spain and Gaul,[206] it has often been mistaken for a set-piece of Augustan propaganda.[207]

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[200] Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans,* 23.

[201] Armstrong, "Sacrificial Iconography", 347.

[202] *Ibid.*

[203] Lamp, "The *Ara Pacis Augustae*," 17.

[204] Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art*, 14.

[205] *Ibid.*, 13.

[206] Armstrong, "Sacrificial Iconography", 346.

[207] Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art*, 114.

Nevertheless, the *Ara Pacis Augustae* showcased the emphasis Augustus placed on myth, history, and tradition; the scenes chosen by the Senate were associated with sacrifice, since the altar was made to be used annually by the magistrates, priests, and Vestal Virgins to make sacrifices in honor of Augustus.[208] Four scenes of the mythic and historical past embellished the west and east façades, while the longer north and south façades represented the *gens Iulia* in long processions. With these images, the *Ara Pacis Augustae* told the genealogical story of Rome's first emperor, Augustus.

## 4.2 Visualizing the *Ara Pacis Augustae*

The *Ara Pacis Augustae* depicts the few figures that were associated with the Augustan program; "the essential element [of the altar's narrative] was the combination of two myth cycles: the legend of Troy and the story of Romulus."[209] The exterior of the rectangular, marble building was divided into three registers along the entirety of its façades; the upper portion depicted the scenes of the mythic and historical past (Figures 34-39), the bottom region on all four sides consisted of a continuous profusion of carved flora and fauna (Figure 40), while the center register of meanders separated the upper and lower regions (Figure 41). The interior of the altar was decorated with the symbols of festivals and rituals, such as carvings of bucrania, priestly tokens, and garlands (Figure 42).

[208] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 121.

[209] *Ibid*., 195.

The decoration on the monument symbolically linked the divine, mortal, and natural realms while simultaneously narrating the history of Rome.

### 4.2.1 West façade of *Ara Pacis Augustae*

The *Ara Pacis Augustae* had two "panels flanking the western entrance to the precinct [that] allude[d] to the *origo urbis* of Rome and the *origo gentis* of the Julian line"[210]; the Lupercal scene (Figure 35) to the left of the entrance, and the Aeneas sacrificial scene (Figure 34) on the right. Like the frescoes on the façade of Fabius Ululitremulus' *fullonica* and the statues in the niches of the *Building of Eumachia*, the two representations of the founders, unlike their usual depiction showing their "exemplary deeds, express[ed] the divine providence that governed Roman history from the beginning."[211]

> In addition, to introducing the mythic history of the city of Rome, the Aeneas and Mars scenes also introduce the mythic lineage of the Julian line from which Augustus was descended. In utilizing these myths, Augustus uses the past to legitimate the present, depicting himself as the fulfillment of a divine plan, but Augustus also shows that he is ultimately constrained by the Republic, the custom of his ancestors and collective beliefs of the Roman people.[212]

The first scene depicted Romulus and Remus being suckled by the she-wolf at the Lupercal while being observed by both their divine father, Mars, and their adopted father, Faustulus

[210] Peter J. Holliday, "Time, History, and Ritual on the *Ara Pacis Augustae*" in *The Art Bulletin, Vol. 72, No. 4* (December 1990), 549.

[211] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 203.

[212] Lamp, "The *Ara Pacis Augustae*," 9.

(Figure 35).[213] The second scene pictures an aged Aeneas sacrificing at the Temple of the *Penates* beside his son, Ascanius*,* while being observed by two unnamed Trojan youth (Figure 34).[214] "Both scenes represent foundations, actions from Rome's legendary history, which had been foretold in the even more distant past, but which only reached their fulfillment with the contemporary principate of Augustus."[215] Both scenes on the western façade identify Rome as a *locus sacer* through the iconography of the fig tree and *penates*, "as symbols of salvation directed at the present: from the very beginning, *fata* and the gods were watching over Augustus,"[216] since it was he who restored the ideals of peace, prosperity, and piety to Rome.

The importance of family was emphasized by way of the presentation of the masculine figures upon the entrance of the *Ara Pacis*: Mars and Faustulus peacefully observe the feeding of the two plump babies, while the pious Aeneas pours libations out to the *penates* with his son Ascanius assisting. "Just as Aeneas and Ascanius are fathers of the Julian family and fathers of the new founder of Rome, so too are Mars and Romulus fathers of the Roman people."[217] The depiction of these men reinforced the power of the

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[213] Paul Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos: Augustus and the Northern Campus Martius* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 113.

[214] The identity of the sacrificing figure is often argued to be the second ruler of Rome, Numa, since iconography of Aeneas usually depicts him young and beardless.

[215] Holliday, "Time, History, and Ritual on the *Ara Pacis Augustae*", 549.

[216] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 205.

[217] Armstrong, "Sacrificial Iconography", 350.

Roman family, more specifically, "Augustus' role as its *pater*."[218] Both scenes were connected to Augustus through the dual nature of its imagery, first by its relation to the themes of his empire, and second, by way of family connection.

As Lamp argues, "The Mars scene suggests the heritage of the Roman people in the form of the myth of Romulus and Remus. […] The image also serves to illustrate the military strength necessary for Augustan peace."[219] The parallelism between Romulus and Augustus was not lost on the Roman observer of the altar: "just as violence was required in the founding of the city by Romulus, Augustus has acted in a violent and bloodthirsty manner in the past."[220] Augustus' military past was described in his *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 3, where he writes, *Bella terra et mari civilia externaque toto in / orbe terrarum suscepi victorque omnibus veniam / petentibus civibus peperci.*[221] Augustus acknowledged the civil and foreign violence that was inflicted by him, but made it clear that, once he was victorious, he opted for pacific resolution. Similarly, the original founding of Rome necessitated violence on the part of Romulus and resulted in the death of Remus, before peace and prosperity was achieved throughout Rome. The battle success and prosperity of Rome during both golden ages suggests that "Augustus has regained the gods' favor"

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[218] Beth Severy, Augustus and the Family at the Birth of the Roman Empire (New York: Routledge, 2003), 110.

[219] Lamp, "The *Ara Pacis Augustae*," 12.

[220] J. N. Bremmer and N. M. Horsfall, *Roman Myth and Mythography (*London: University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, 1987), 37.

[221] C. Octavius Caesar Augustus*, Res Gestae Divi Augusti,* translated by Frederick W. Shipley (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1961), 349. "Wars, both civil and foreign, I undertook throughout the world, on sea and land, and when victorious I spared all citizens who sued for pardon." Translation by Frederick W. Shipley.

namely that of Mars, who also appears in the scene.[222] Additionally, the appearance of both the god of war, Mars, and the mortal shepherd, Faustulus, in the frieze highlights the importance of succession. The fathers peacefully observe the young boys being nourished by the she-wolf, a symbol of fertility, abundance, and nature. As such, the depiction of all three figures in the frieze naturally suggests the interpretation that one's heirs can only succeed when there is a unity between all three—divine, mortal, and natural—realms. This interpretation is also reinforced within the Aeneas scene.

As previously described, the second frieze shows Aeneas, the surviving hero of the Trojan War, now older, sacrificing to the *penates* with his son Ascanius, "founder of the Julian line, as well as two attendants, one with fruit, the other with a sow."[223] Aeneas' piety permeates the frieze and his deeds are amplified "to heighten Augustus's accomplishment of similar feats."[224] Like the Romulus frieze, the connection to the themes of Augustus' program is not directly stated in the narrative on the altar, but is once again observed in the *Res Gestae.* "By the passage of new laws, I restored many traditions of our ancestors which were then falling into disuse, and I myself set precedents in many things for posterity to imitate."[225] For Augustus to have restored the old traditions and set precedents for others to imitate, it was necessary for him to be cognizant of the power of images.

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[222] Lamp, "The *Ara Pacis Augustae*," 12.

[223] *Ibid.,* 10.

[224] *Ibid.*, 11.

[225] *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 8: *Legibus novis latis complura exempla maiorum / exolescentia iam ex nostro usu revocavi et ipse / multarum rerum exempla imitanda posteris/ tradidi.* Translation by Shipley, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 359.

> Mythological symbols and parallels offered contemporary Romans the chance to express their affinity with one side and its lifestyle or the other. It is becoming increasingly clear that the political affiliations that can be detected in poetry are intimately related to those expressed in the visual arts.[226]

As discussed in the preceding chapters, Augustus' images were prevalent in the empire; the association between himself and Aeneas was often imitated, just as Augustus had intended. Therefore, in the design of the *Ara Pacis*, the connection between Aeneas and Augustus emphasised the concept of fate and the unity of the three realms. Here, the abundance of nature is depicted in the fruit and pig the attendants present during the rites that the mortal Aeneas performs in front of his son to appease the gods, which the temple symbolises. This scene characterizes the fated destiny of the deserving Aeneas as his *pietas* brings about peace and prosperity to the future Rome. Due to the abundant associations between Aeneas and Augustus throughout the empire, this image of Aeneas and his fated destiny alludes to Augustus and the political myth that his rule was also divinely fated.[227]

With the scenes depicted on the front façade of the *Ara Pacis,* the founding myths were intentionally brought forth into the minds of the viewing public. "The scenes permit Augustus to invite comparison between himself and Aeneas and Romulus [while, through the introduction of] the themes of fate, piety, and violence legitimized the mythic and collective history of the Roman people."[228] The historical distance between Aeneas,

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[226] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 62.

[227] Lamp, "The *Ara Pacis Augustae*," 12.

[228] *Ibid.,* 13.

Romulus, and Augustus is inconsequential as the intent of the imagery was to create a narrative in support of Augustus' ideologies. As Armstrong eloquently writes:

> When one takes all of the scenes together it is possible to build a narrative of Augustan ideology and history: The early republic, founded by Romulus, was a golden age of peace, prosperity, and piety. The era of the late republic, the era that Augustus has ushered out, was one of war and of impiety in which sacrifices were no longer sacred but mundane. In contrast to this, the new Rome founded by Augustus, son of a god and descendant of Aeneas, is again a time of peace and prosperity in which piety is the ultimate virtue. The sacrifices are once again sacred and serve to bring all Romans into the extended family of the emperor.[229]

### 4.2.2 East façade of *Ara Pacis Augustae*

The east façade of the *Ara Pacis Augustae* faced the Via Flaminia and depicts two seated personifications of goddesses: the image of a fertility goddess (Figure 36) to the left of the east entrance, and Roma (Figure 37) on the right. The manifestations of these goddesses were considered highly influential as they represented what the founding fathers fought for and what was received when they won. Like the friezes on the west façade, the images on the east façade portrayed the central figures in similar positions, alluding to a connection between the depictions of each goddess and indirectly to the deeds of Augustus.

The left frieze (Figure 36) is a source of great debate, as the identity of the seated goddess remains unknown. The goddess is the central figure in the frieze, sitting among representations of plants and animals, while balancing fruit on her lap and bearing two young babies in her arms, flanked by two breezes. The iconography surrounding the figure

[229] Armstrong, "Sacrificial Iconography", 351.

often relates her to Tellus, Pax, Italia, Venus, Ceres, or Ilia,[230] but it is plausible that this goddess is a conflated version of several of these goddesses. Regardless of her identity, this figure represents a mother-goddess, as the "two babies [in her arms] reach for her breast, while her lap is filled with fruit and her hair is adorned with a wreath of grain and poppies."[231] The figures flanking her are representations of the twin breezes of land and sea:[232]

> The former rides upon a goose over as stream, represented by and upended water jar, its banks thick with reeds. The sea breeze, however, sits on a submissive sea monster, a symbol that even such wild creatures have become more tame and peace-loving in the new age. […] This artistic landscape is not mere scenery, but rather a symbolic setting, whose various elements could be read one by one.[233]

In observing several aspects of the frieze in isolation, the connection between the power of the scene and the images of Augustus' rule can be realized.

The motif of the frieze has a pastoral overtone that evokes the blessings of the gods, the abundance of nature, and the promise of peace in a dual form. First, this theme of abundance, blessings, and peace is represented by the plants and animals decorating the frieze, specifically those that are given as sacrifice in reverence to the gods. "The happily grazing sheep and the prominently raised stalks of grain had already appeared on coins [and served as] symbols of the promised peace."[234] These symbols refer to the blessings

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[230] Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos,* 109.

[231] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 172.

[232] Lamp, "The *Ara Pacis Augustae*," 19.

[233] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 174.

[234] *Ibid*., 176.

obtained by Augustus upon his re-establishment of the golden age. By virtue of his victory in Spain and Gaul, Augustus was able to achieve peace throughout the whole domain of the Roman people on land and sea and close the *Janus Quirinus*.[235]

Secondly, the presence of the babies in the arms of the mother-goddess suggests the blessings of children, indicative of marital peace. "In the case of the children, the altar targets the upper classes, specifically equestrian men, particularly those who subscribed to stoicism or Epicureanism, systems of belief that discouraged marriage and procreation and were in direct conflict with Augustan moral reforms."[236] It was necessary for the upper classes to procreate because heirs were necessary to guarantee succession. While Augustus' "campaign to encourage the procreation of children failed, the visual imagery was maintained at a subliminal level."[237] Commissioned by the Senate, the representations of children on the *Ara Pacis* were placed in the foreground since Augustus emphasized the importance of succession and genealogy within the imagery of his reform, namely with his associations with Aeneas and Romulus. As such, it is possible to liken the mother-goddess to Venus, the divine female ancestor of Augustus, which would fit into the imagery of the whole altar. On the west, the divine father figure of the *gens Iulia* is represented, Mars, while the east façade features the divine mother figure, Venus. "Together Mars and Venus

[235] *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 13.

[236] Lamp, "The *Ara Pacis Augustae*," 16-17.

[237] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 172.

would watch over and protect their own. Mars guaranteed the Romans *virtus,* while Venus granted fertility and prosperity."[238]

Further emphasising the duality of divine protection to the imperial family is the second frieze on the east façade. The central figure is supposed to be Roma; however, like the Lupercal scene, this frieze of Roma exists in a fragmentary state. The clothed figure was "seated on a pile of arms, the spoils of Augustus' campaigns."[239] This image of Roma "represents the only clear reference to war on the altar and conjures the concept of 'manifest destiny.' […] Rome was founded and populated by Aeneas and Romulus with the favor of the gods Mars and Venus, but also Jupiter. Through Aeneas the Julian line was founded and Augustus was fated not only to rule Rome, but to create a vast empire bringing Rome to glory."[240] Originally flanked by personifications of *Honos* and *Virtus*, this frieze countered the scene representing Venus' influence (fertility and prosperity) by bringing forth the influence of Mars (*virtus*). "The viewer was meant to read the two images together and understand the message, that the blessings of peace had been won and made secure by the newly fortified *virtus* of Roman arms."[241]

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[238] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 195.

[239] Lamp, "The *Ara Pacis Augustae*," 18.

[240] *Ibid.,* 18.

[241] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 175.

### 4.2.3 North and South façades of *Ara Pacis Augustae*

Like the west and east sides of the altar, the friezes on the north and south façades incorporate the iconography of peace, prosperity, and piety prominent in Augustan Rome (Figures 38 and 39). These symbols were interspersed between the processional representations of the *gens Iulia* and were used to allude to the divine ancestors of the imperial family. The two long friezes can be viewed in conjunction with each other and it depicts over one hundred figures in a solemn procession. Within the imagery of these friezes, it is possible to discern the elements of tradition and history, but the most predominant purpose of the processional scenes was to emphasise succession.

Most of the figures on the north and south friezes were adult men connected to the Senate and the principal priesthoods, and their families. "The sacrificial procession on the *Ara Pacis* [was] a carefully planned, idealized reflection of the renewed Republic, designed by order of [...] the Senate, to honor itself and the state."[242] The incorporation of the Senate on equal footing among the figures in the procession symbolizes the Senate's connection to and their acceptance of the imperial family, including the succession myths that legitimize Augustus' rule.[243] Further indication of the Senate's acceptance of the imperial family is the representation of the imperial children with their parents.

In Figure 38, the young Gaius Caesar is depicted holding tightly to the toga of his father Agrippa. Being one of the many portrayals of children in this manner, it is "clear the theme on the altar is that sustained prosperity depends on the continued rule of the 'male

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[242] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 123.

[243] Lamp, "The *Ara Pacis Augustae*," 16.

progeny' of the Julian line. Thus, the successor of Augustus is depicted on the *Ara Pacis* [which] would have been Agrippa, [who] died later that year."[244] Additionally, the child is wearing Trojan clothing, an obvious allusion to Ascanius, both when he fled Troy grasping his father's hand (Figure 23) and when he watched over his father sacrificing to the *penates* (Figure 34). "The narrative of the *Ara Pacis* potentially eases the transition for Augustus' successor: [the altar] makes the possible heirs visible and [legitimizes them to the] people of Rome. […] The *Ara Pacis* claims not only that Augustus was fated by the gods to bring peace, but that only succession by a member of the Julian line could maintain the prosperity depicted by [the mother goddess]."[245]

### 4.2.4 Symbolic depictions on the *Ara Pacis Augustae*

The decorative registers on the altar symbolize the iconography of the mythic and historical friezes seen on the upper registers: the exterior friezes pictorialize fertility and abundance (Figure 40), while the interior friezes depict *pietas* (Figure 42). As Clarke argues, for the non-elite viewer, "the decorative frieze would have been a magnet with much greater power than the processional or mythological panels; these are people who would have spent many an hour discussing the natural world."[246] In view of the care and precision the artists of the *Ara Pacis* employed in creating these scenes, it is evident that the goal of these decorative panels, in conjunction with the mythic and historical reliefs,

[244] Lamp, "The *Ara Pacis Augustae*," 17.

[245] *Ibid*., 18-20.

[246] Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans,* 28.

was to incorporate all aspects of Roman identity: connection to the divine, the mortal, and the natural.

The signs of fertility are abundant in the bottom register as the relief, on all four sides, integrates the images of plants and animals. Acanthus plants weave across the panels, while swans are perched with their wings spread out upon the acanthus calyxes. Hidden among the acanthus plants are miniature creatures, such as lizards, frogs, snakes, insects, birds, and butterflies, seen only when the panels are examined closely. The pastoral imagery of the natural world is flanked by ornamental Corinthian columns that unexpectedly bring order to the unrestrained growth of nature.[247] The combining of these two motifs on the bottom register symbolically links the law and order of the upper registers to the irrational and chthonic existence of the natural world. But it is clear in the design of the exterior façade that these two sections ought to be seen separately. Between the upper and lower registers on the exterior is the middle register consisting of a continuous pattern called a meander (Figure 41). Often seen on textiles to border garments, or in pottery as simple ornamentation, the meander serves the decorative purpose to define a separation between styles. The meander motif on the *Ara Pacis* serves this precise function, separating the natural imagery from the mythic and historical scenes.

The interior decoration of the altar (Figure 42) tied together the significant imagery of the exterior decoration, making it the most important area of the altar. The interior of the monument contained a functional altar where the annual sacrifices were performed and portrayed a minimal number of images that tied together the symbols of *pietas* and

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[247] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 180.

prosperity. Upon the walls were bucrania, emblematic of Roman *pietas* through the act of sacrificing. The arrangement of garlands and fruit expresses "thanks to the gods and at the same time conveys the notion of blessings and abundance."[248] The natural symbols of *pietas* are reinforced so as to bring to mind "Augustus [who] is the natural descendent of Aeneas and [though] he himself is not divine, he is naturally associated with a god and a goddess. [Therefore,] Augustus is the ultimate descendant of the Julian family and he is the only one who can return Rome to her former glory."[249]

### 4.3 Conclusion: The Monument of Legitimacy

The narrative expressed on the *Ara Pacis* indicates that the Roman Senate believed and accepted the invented genealogy that Augustus created in his bid to restore the city of Rome. The images that Augustus repeatedly emphasized throughout the empire were so powerful that even the Senate utilized them in commissioning a monument in Augustus' honour.

> The collective past that begins the altar's narrative was likely a highly effective starting point with most Roman people. These scenes establish that Aeneas and Romulus founded Rome with the favor of the gods and at their command [and] serve to establish the idea of Augustus as fated ruler of Rome. […] Augustus has fulfilled his fate and through piety has restored Rome to its rightful place in the world and regained the gods' favor.[250]

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[248] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 180.

[249] Armstrong, "Sacrificial Iconography", 352.

[250] Lamp, "The *Ara Pacis Augustae*," 20.

As well, it was necessary to highlight the importance of succession, not only for the legitimacy of Augustus as a ruler, but also to legitimize any male offspring of the *gens Iulia.* This concept can be clearly seen when viewing the *Ara Pacis* in plan (Figure 43).

By dividing the altar longitudinally, the narratives on both halves of the altar support the concept of succession within the Julian line. When place side by side, the narrative of the Lupercal and the personified goddess Roma reinforces the image of Rome's supremacy through military might and paternal approval. Similarly, the Aeneas scene and the personification of the mother-goddess frieze emphasise the establishment of *pietas* and prosperity. Regardless of the order in which the friezes are viewed, the success of Rome is depicted to have been obtained only by members of the *gens Iulia,* with the support of the gods; thus the *Ara Pacis Augustae* delivers a clear message about the importance of recognizing the succession of Augustan heirs.[251]

Finally, the narrative visualized upon the *Ara Pacis Augustae* "evokes the memory of the Roman people rhetorically to construct a narrative and recall the events of Augustus's reign."[252] Although a large amount of Roman history is disregarded, the narrative reinforces the important aspects of Augustus' rule: that his successful principate "was rooted in military strength and the prosperity and stability of the people of Rome."[253]

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[251] Lamp, "The *Ara Pacis Augustae*," 20.

[252] *Ibid*., 21.

[253] *Ibid*., 22.

# CHAPTER 5. Conclusion

Art and text are influential in defining the narrative of one's identity, which is itself derived by one's recollection of significant details of the past. The communication of memory is affected using many channels, just as its understanding is achieved through various senses, such as sight and touch. Visual representations offer the viewer the opportunity to recreate a memory and re-experience its significance. In the context of cultural identity, these visual representations predominantly take the form of art and architecture since their depictions "mirror […] society [and] reflect the state of its values."[254] In Augustan Rome, the images reflected the values that Augustus deemed important, thus manipulating the identity of the Romans under his rule and readjusting public memory to suit his needs.

The interrelationship of art and text used by Virgil and Ovid uncovers the necessary behavioural changes needed to exist in Augustan Rome. Virgil uses both Juno and Aeneas to navigate through the long process of adhering to the laws and morals of a new society. Although it is a written text, the *Aeneid* incorporates the effects of art by using *ekphrasis* to guide the readers visually to the understanding of Augustan Roman values. Similarly, Ovid uses *ekphrasis* to substantiate the necessity of adhering to divine will by relating his text to the art on the tapestries, which in turn, reaffirm what is spoken by both Pallas and Arachne. Ovid presents the essential obedience further by demonstrating the consequences of not deciphering what information ought to be forgotten.

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[254] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, v.

The examination of the frescoes and graffiti found on the doorway of Fabius Ululitremulus proves that the perception of identity and its relation to myth, history, and tradition presented by Augustus was observed and accepted by the Roman people in order to build their own identity. The remnants of art and text adorning the building presents an identity of a Roman man linked to Roman tradition by his occupation as a fuller and the symbolic *ulula.* The portrayals of Romulus and Aeneas, the parodied line of poetry, and the election notice associate the Pompeian with the ideals of Augustus through the legacy of the memory he represented of himself.

Finally, in Chapter 4, the creation of the *Ara Pacis Augustae* validates the perception that Augustus projected onto Rome. Under the guise of restoring Rome, Augustus focused on images that legitimized himself while at the same time reinforcing the memory of Rome's virtuous past. By connecting himself to the founding fathers, Augustus successfully altered the memory of history by repeating the iconography of his invented narrative throughout the growing empire. The regeneration of Roman history and identity affected the methods in which the non-imperial Roman citizens identified themselves. In keeping with the practice of Augustus, even ordinary Romans constructed their identity using images that linked them to the *gens Iulia*.

The cultural uniformity of Rome during this time strengthened the peace, piety, and prosperity Augustus sought to achieve during his reign. The power of the repeated images legitimized the identity of Augustus and his family, but at the same time, the lack of artistic innovation resulted in a creative standstill.[255] This was of no concern to Augustus, who was

[255] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 339.

sure that his program returned Rome to the golden age, therefore, there was no need to change from this level of perfection. The cultural identity in this new golden age was recognised through the direct association with the imperial family, who were "symbolic element[s] of the memorial heritage" [256] of Rome. In all facets of material culture – literature, frescoes, graffiti, monuments—it was a part of cultural tradition to link oneself to the imperial family. Thus, the Roman empire itself became the imperial family's *lieu de mémoire.*

[256] Nora, *Realms of Memory*, xvii.

## Appendix

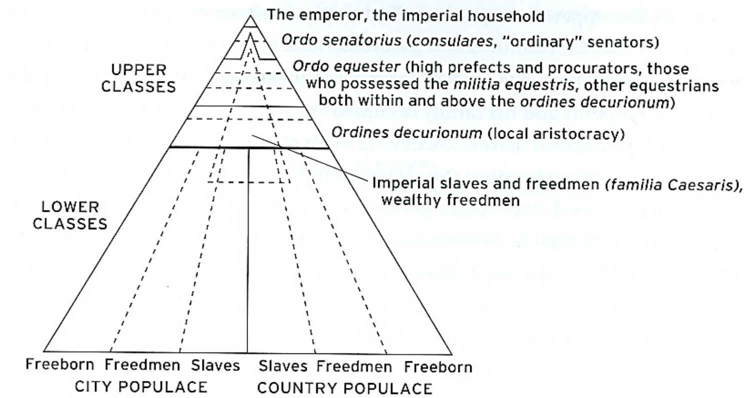



Figure 1. The orders-strata structure diagram developed by Geza Alfoldy. 1984. Image taken from Clarke, "Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans," 6.

Figure 2. So-called Domitius Ahenobarbus Relief. From the base of a monument erected by, or for, a Roman censor, ca. Late 2nd century or Early 1st century BCE. Paris: Louvre inv. Ma 975. Photo by Ilya Shurygin, 2013.

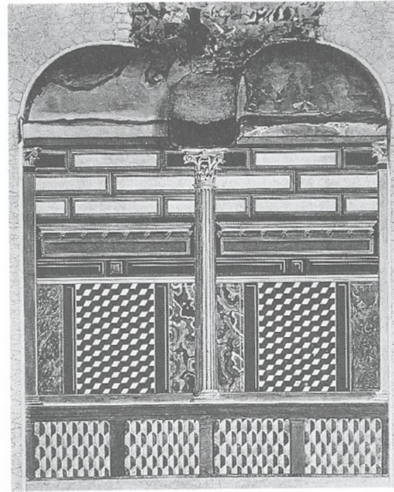


Figure 3. Greek artistic influence included wall paintings that depicted luxury. Ca. Late 2nd century or Early 1st century BCE. Rome, Palatine: Casa dei Grifi, Monumenti della pittura antica Scoperti in Italia (Rome, 1935-), vol. 3, fascicle 1, pl. C. Image taken from Zanker, The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus, 27.

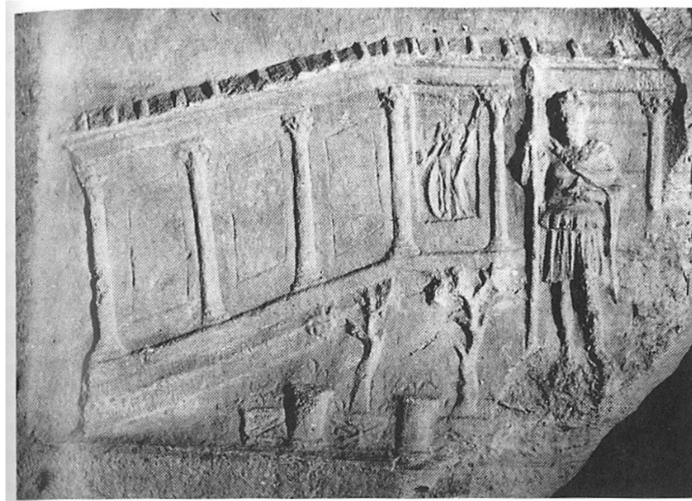


Figure 4. Greek architectural influence included monumental statues of victorious generals in the center of the sacred precinct which was deemed problematic. Capua, 1st century BCE. Naples, Museo Nazionale inv. 6759. Photo Deutsches Archaologisches Institut Rom, 37.949. Image taken from Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 23.

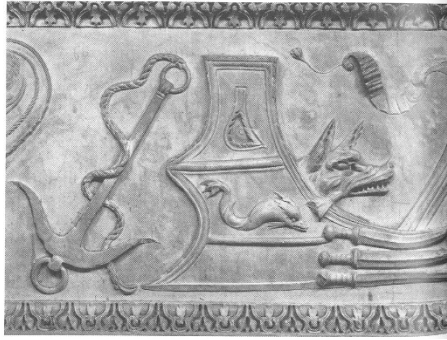


Figure 5. Detail of a frieze depicting bucrania, sacrificial implements, and arms. The assortment of images indicates the close relationship between religion and politics. Rome, Museo Capitolino, Stanza dei Filosofi. W. Helbig, *Fuhrer durch die offentlichen Sammlungen klassicher Altertumer in Rom,* vol. 2, no. 1382 (1966). Photo B. Malter. Image taken from Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 127.

Figure 6. Denarius of Caesar, 46 BCE. Depiction of Aeneas carrying Anchises from Troy while holding the Palladium. Munzen und Medaillen AG (Basel) Auction 39 (1968) no. 257. *Roman Republican Coinage* (London, 1974) no. 458.1. Image taken from Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 35.

Figure 7. Denarius of L. L. Regulus, 42 BCE. Depiction of Aeneas carrying Anchises from Troy. Anchises looks back frightened. British Museum inv. RR 4258. Museum Photo. Image taken from Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 35.

Figure 8. Aureus of Caninius Gallus, Rome, 12 BCE. House of Augustus flanked by two young laurel trees with the *corona civica.* A. Alfoldi, *Die zwei Lorbeerbaume des Augustus* (Bonn, 1973) pl. II.8. Image taken from Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 92.

Figure 9. Aureus of Spain and Gaul, 19-18 BCE. The *clipeus virtutis* flanked by two young laurel trees. A. Alfoldi, *Die zwei Lorbeerbaume des Augustus* (Bonn, 1973) pl. III.3. Image taken from Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 92.

Figure 10. Terracotta revêtement plaque of Faustulus finding Romulus and Remus with the she-wolf. H. von Rohden and H. Winnefeld, *Architektonische Tonreliefs,* pl. 127.1. Image taken from Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 205.

Figure 11. Tombstone of Petronia Grata. The image of Ascanius is replaced with her daughter to signify their close relationship. Luni, Museo Archeologico. Dutschke 4, 35f. no. 48. Photo Deutsches Archaologisches Institut Rom, 30.232. Image taken from Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 209.

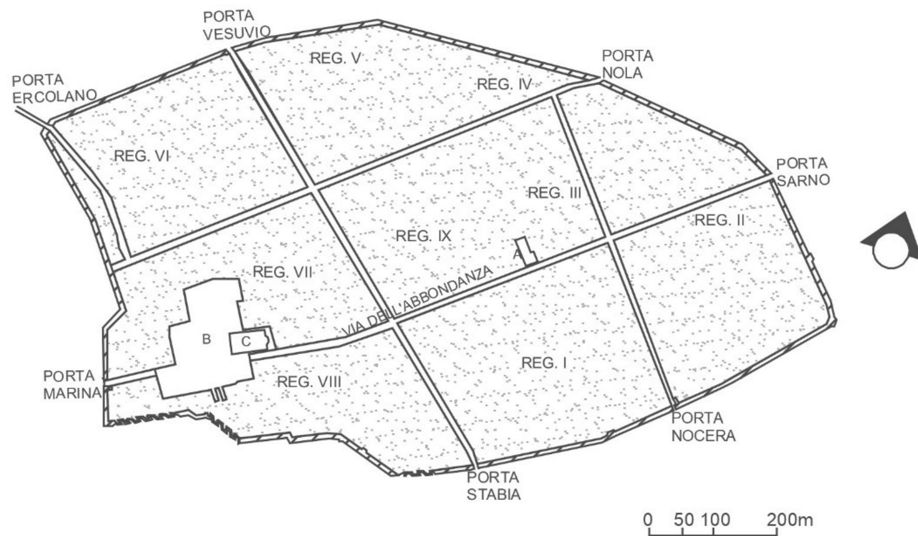



Figure 12. Map of Pompeii showing the Via dell'Abbondanza, the location of the *fullonica* of Fabius Ululitremulus (a), and the Forum of Pompeii (b) with the *Building of Eumachia* (c). Drawing by Jennifer Selman.

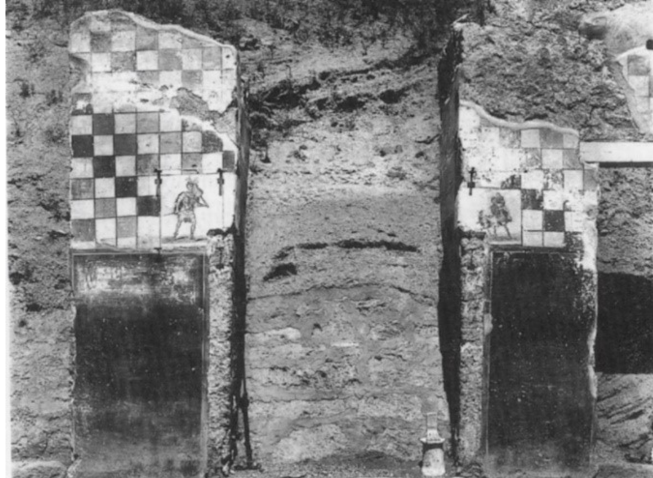


Figure 13. Picture of the entrance to the *fullonica* of Fabius Ululitremulus in 1915. Pompeii, *Fullonica di Fabius Ululitremulus*. Photo Archivio Fotografico della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attivita Culturali – Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei). Image taken from Clarke, *Looking at Laughter,*148.

Figure 14. Watercolor reconstruction of the *fullonica* of Fabius Ululitremulus. Photo by Alberto Sanarica in Spinazzola, *Pompei all luce degli scavi nuovi di Via dell'Abbondanza (Anni 1910-1923)* (Libreria della Stata, 1953). Image taken from Jeremy Hartnett, *The Roman Street: Urban Life and Society in Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Rome* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), xxi.

Figure 15. Rendered façade of the *fullonica* of Fabius Ululitremulus. Drawing by Ryan Cairns, based on watercolor by Alberto Sanarica in Spinazzola, *Pompei all luce degli scavi nuovi di Via dell'Abbondanza (Anni 1910-1923)* (Libreria della Stata, 1953, Tav. VII, LXXI). Image taken from Hartnett, *The Roman Street: Urban Life and Society in Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Rome*, xxiii.

Figure 16. The water discharge channel leading from the *fullonica* of Fabius Ululitremulus to the *Via dell'Abbondanza*. Image taken from Flohr, *The World of the Fullo*, 223.

Figure 17. Drawing of the hexameter found on the *fullonica* of Fabius Ululitremulus. Based on *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* IV 9131.

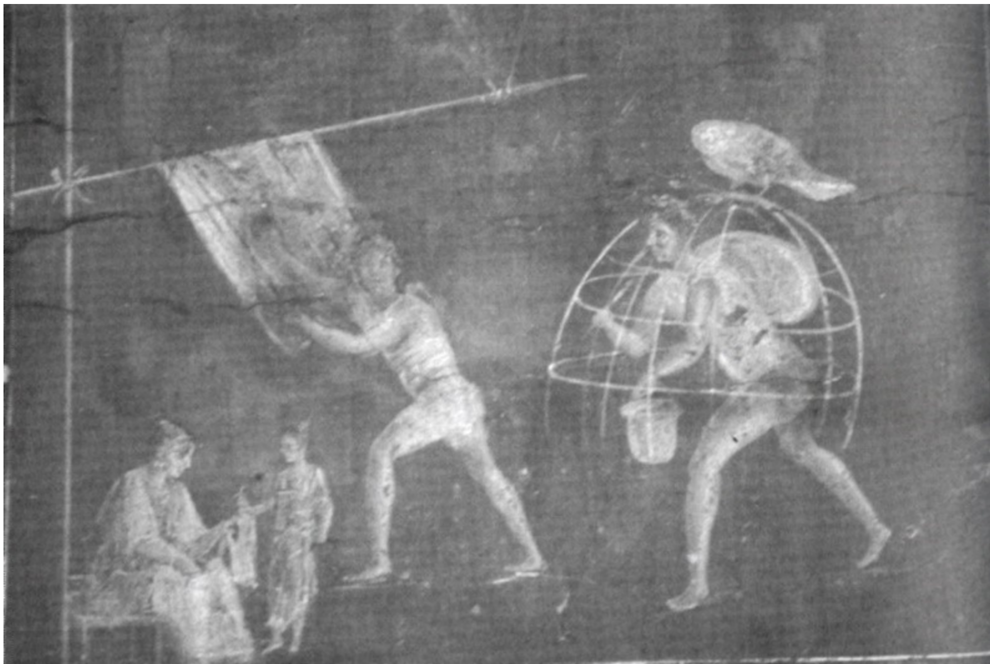


Figure 18. Painting of *fullones* working. An owl is featured on the bleaching frame. Pompeii, *fullonica di Veranius Hypsaeus*. Image taken from Flohr, *The World of the Fullo*, 114.

Figure 19. Copy of the statue of Eumachia. Pompeii, *Building of Eumachia*. Image taken from Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*, 446.

Figure 20. Terracotta statue of Aeneas fleeing Troy. Pompeii, *House of Gavius Rufus*. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, inv. 110338. Photo by Michael Larvey. Image taken from Clarke, *Looking at Laughter,*150.

Figure 21. Frieze of Aeneas, Anchises, and Ascanius as *cynocephali*. Pompeii, *Masseria di Cuomo*. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, inv. 9089. Photo by Michael Larvey. Image taken from Clarke, *Looking at Laughter,* Plate 16.

Figure 22. Frieze of Romulus as a *cynocephalus*. Pompeii, *Masseria di Cuomo*. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, inv. 8588. Photo by Michael Larvey. Image taken from Clarke, *Looking at Laughter,* Plate 17.

Figure 23. Exterior wall painting of Aeneas group fleeing Troy. Pompeii, *Fullonica di Fabius Ululitremulus.* Photo Archivio Fotografico della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attivita Culturali –Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei). Image taken from Clarke, *Looking at Laughter,*148.

Figure 24. Exterior wall painting of Romulus after conquering Akron. Pompeii, *Fullonica di Fabius Ululitremulus.* Photo Archivio Fotografico della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attivita Culturali –Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei). Image taken from Clarke, *Looking at Laughter,*150.

Figure 25. Detail of exterior wall painting of Aeneas group. Anchises is depicted in diminutive stature. Pompeii, *Fullonica di Fabius Ululitremulus.* Photo Archivio Fotografico della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attivita Culturali –Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei). Image taken from Clarke, *Looking at Laughter,* 148.

Figure 26. Detail of exterior wall painting of Romulus. Pompeii, *Fullonica di Fabius Ululitremulus.* Photo Archivio Fotografico della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attivita Culturali –Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei). Image taken from Clarke, *Looking at Laughter,* 150.

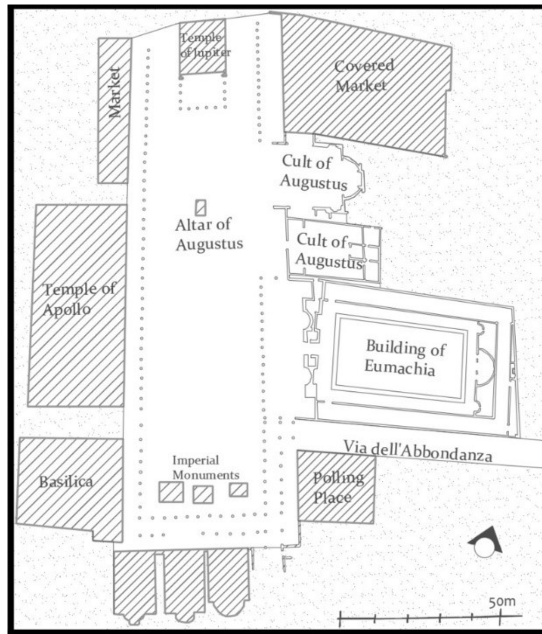
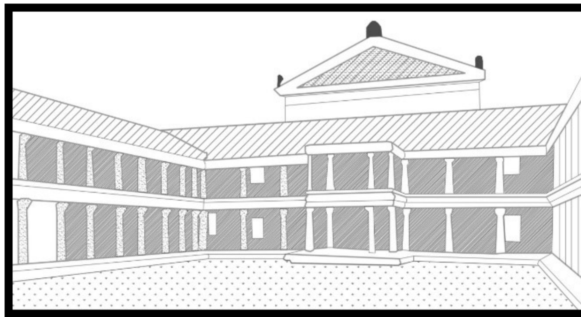



Figure 27. Map of the Forum of Pompeii. Drawing by Jennifer Selman. Based on Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 309.



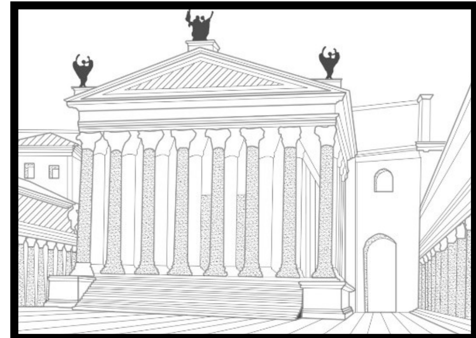


Figure 28. Comparison of Building of Eumachia and Forum of Augustus. Drawing by Jennifer Selman. Based on Mau, *Pompeii,* 116 and Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 113.

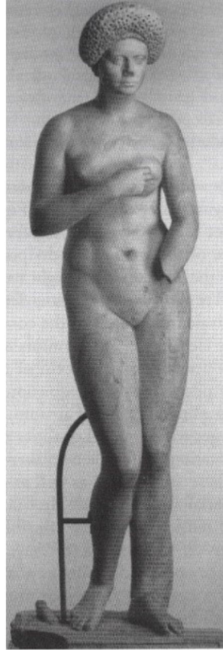


Figure 29. Statue of an unknown woman posing like Venus. Lago Albano, ca. 90 CE. Photo by Ole Haupt, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. Image taken from Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art,* 99.

Figure 30. Detail of Ceres-Augusta statue. Shows the features and hairstyle of Livia. Theater at Leptis Magna. Tripoli, Museum. Photo Deutsches Archaologisches Institut Rom, 61.1723. Image taken from Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 236.

Figure 31. View of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, west façade. Lupercal frieze on the left of entrance, Aeneas frieze on the right. Photo by American Academy in Rome, Fototeca Unione, 1051. Image taken from Clarke, *Art in the Live of Ordinary Romans,* 20.

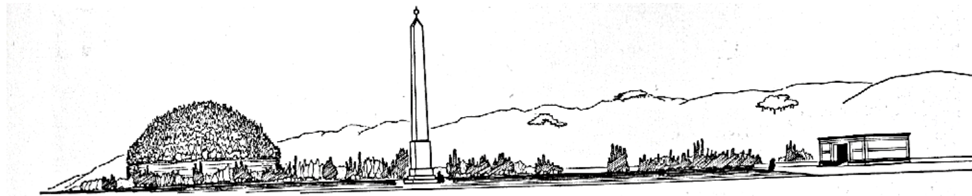


Figure 32. Drawing of the *Ara Pacis Augustae* with *Horologium* and mausoleum. Drawing by Edmund Buchner, "Solarium Augusti und Ara Pacis" in *Romische Mitteilungen* 83 (1976): 353, fig. 14. Image taken from Clarke, *Art in the Live of Ordinary Romans,* 22.

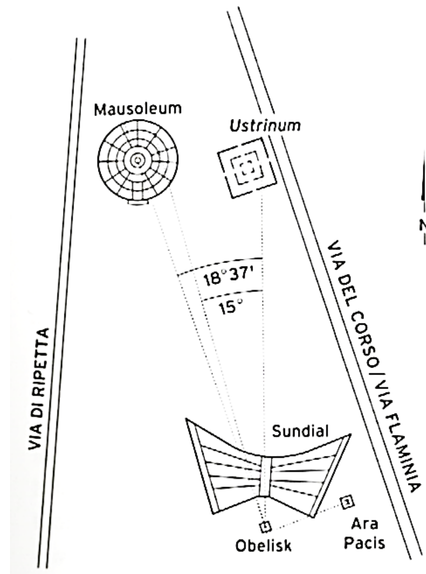



Figure 33. Augustan monuments in the *Campus Martius*. Drawing by Bill Nelson after Edmund Buchner, "Solarium Augusti und Ara Pacis" in *Romische Mitteilungen* 83 (1976): 364, fig. 19. Image taken from Clarke, *Art in the Live of Ordinary Romans, 23*.

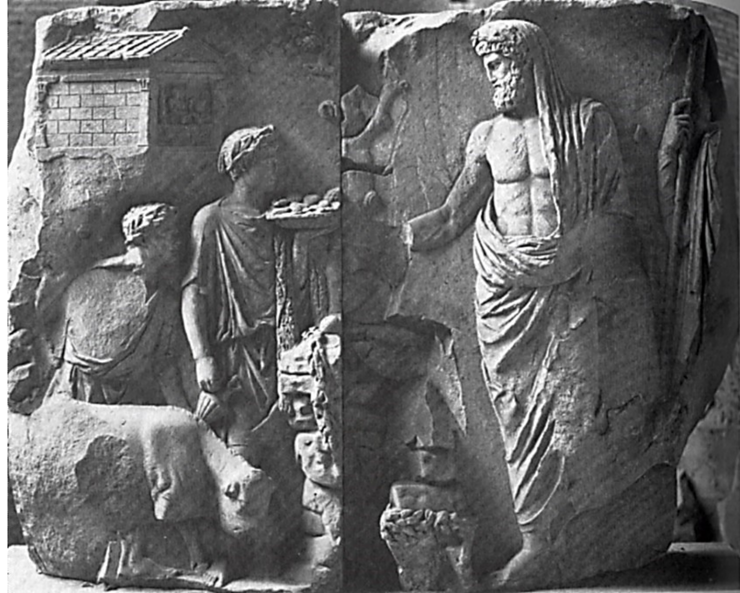


Figure 34. Aeneas scene from west façade of *Ara Pacis*. Photo Institut fur Klassiche Archaologie, Munich. Image taken from Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 204.

Figure 35. Fragmentary Lupercal scene from west façade of *Ara Pacis*. Rome, Lazio, Italy. Photo by Stephen J. Danko, August 2011.

Figure 36. Seated goddess from the east façade of *Ara Pacis*. Capitoline Museum. Photo by B. Malter. Image taken from Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 174.

Figure 37. Fragmentary seated Roma from east façade of *Ara Pacis*. Rome, Lazio, Italy. Photo by Stephen J. Danko, August 2011.

Figure 38. Part of procession from south façade of *Ara Pacis*. Photo by G. Fittschen-Badura. Image taken from Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 124.

Figure 39. Part of procession from north façade of *Ara Pacis*. Photo by G. Fittschen-Badura. Image taken from Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 159.

Figure 40. Part of decorative bottom register from exterior façade of *Ara Pacis*. Photo by G. Fittschen-Badura. Image taken from Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 181.

Figure 41. Detail of register of meanders on the exterior of *Ara Pacis*. Rome, Lazio, Italy. Photo by Stephen J. Danko, August 2011.

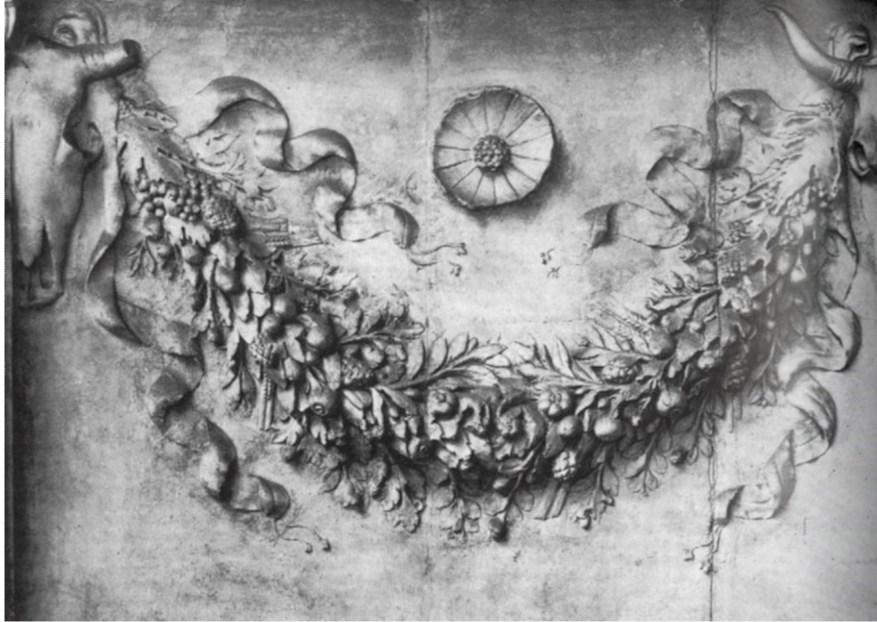


Figure 42. Interior façade of the *Ara Pacis*. Photo by G. Fittschen-Badura. Image taken from Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 118.

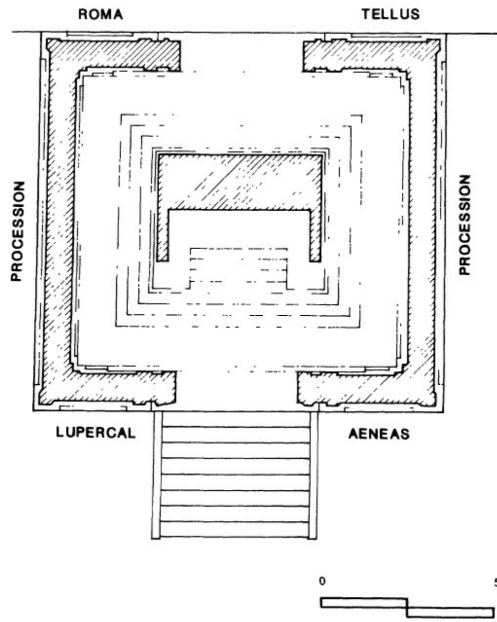



Figure 43. Schematic plan of the *Ara Pacis*. Drawing by J. Schlinke. Image taken from Holliday, "Time, History, and Ritual on the *Ara Pacis Augustae*", 548.

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