



1) The Acropolis of Athens. The southern slope of the hill and the ruins of the Stoa of Eumenes II are located in front of a long straight row of arches on the right in this picture. / photo: Markku Mattila 2012

ROMAN ARCHITECTS IN ATHENS (200 - 10 BC)

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What did an ancient Roman architect look at while visiting Athens during the first century BC? I rambled through tourist streets and tried to see the city through the eyes of Vitruvius, the author of the only surviving architectural treatise from Classical antiquity. He wrote *De architectura* at the beginning of the Imperial era, during the 20s BC. I had arrived late in the evening in Athens and had neither a map nor guidebook with me. Instead I had several passages describing Athenian monuments by Vitruvius in my mind. I was familiar with *De architectura* due to my dissertation on ancient Roman wall paintings and their architectural context.¹ In Athens I became curious to study Vitruvius's passages on Attica in more detail. Vitruvius refers abundantly to Attic monuments, including their surroundings and building materials.² In addition, he names Athenian artists, architects and philosophers and compares the Greek and Roman lifestyles. By focusing on these numerous fragments scattered throughout *De architectura*, it is possible to form an idea of Vitruvius's relationship to Athens.

Vitruvius presents only a few details of his own life. His education and career, as well as his travels, all remain relatively obscure. This is not surprising, since we know hardly anything about the social standing, education, and career path of Roman architects in general. Architects did not belong to the highest elite of Roman society, while ancient texts concentrate on the life of

the upper class. For example Cicero's passage gives the impression that during the Late Republic the profession of an architect was regarded as being suitable for those of non-aristocratic standing.³ In contrast, men of the Senatorial class were expected to concentrate on their military accomplishments and political careers only.

A passage on a stoa, theatre and odeion

I walked haphazardly in the gentle evening, arriving at the crowded entrance of the Acropolis (see Fig. 1). On the southern slope of the Acropolis hill I saw the ruins of the Stoa of Eumenes (built in c. 180-160 BC by King Eumenes II of Pergamum) leading to the Theatre of Dionysos Eleuthereus (built in c. 330 BC) (see Figs. 2 and 3). Both the Stoa of Eumenes and the Theatre of Dionysos are mentioned in *De architectura*. Vitruvius claims that in every city that has conscientious architects there are porticoes around the theatres. He gives as examples the Theatre and Porticoes of Pompey (dedi-

¹ Koponen, 2009.

² For the monuments of Athens, Piraeus, Eleusis, and Sounion in *De architectura* see Corso 1997.

³ Cic. *Off.* 1.151: "But the professions in which either a higher degree of intelligence is required or from which no small benefit to society is derived—medicine and architecture, for example, and teaching—these are proper for those whose social position they become." (English translation by Walter Miller, Cambridge: Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1913).



2) *The Theatre of Dionysos Eleuthereus.* / photo: Markku Mattila 2012



3) *The seats of honour the Theatre of Dionysos.* / photo: Markku Mattila 2012

cated in the 50s BC) in the Field of Mars in Rome and the Stoa of Eumenes, which he explains is attached to the Shrine and the Theatre of Dionysos. Then Vitruvius continues his description, adding that when you exit from the left-hand side of the theatre you will arrive at the odeion.⁴ Indeed, remains of the Odeion of Athens have been excavated next to the theatre. Vitruvius's precise description of the arrangements of these three buildings – the stoa, theatre and odeion (see Fig. 6.) – is provided with the practical instruction to turn at the left-hand side. Based on this passage I agree with Antonio Corso and Herbert Abramson, who are both convinced that Vitruvius had visited Athens.⁵

Vitruvius tells us that the Odeion of Athens was built by Themistocles on stone columns and covered over with the mast and yardarms of ships from the Persian war booty. Then he adds that the odeion was restored after the Mithridatic war by Ariobarzanes (the king of Cappadocia Ariobarzanes II in 65-52 BC).⁶ This odeion was a large square building, reminiscent of a festival tent. Pausanias explains that it was destroyed in Sulla's siege of Athens in 87-86 BC.⁷ Based on inscriptions, we know that the king Ariobarzanes commissioned three architects to reconstruct this odeion: the Roman brothers Gaius and Marcus Stallius, as well as a Greek named Melanippos.⁸ It is likely that Vitruvius saw this recently finished reconstruction.⁹ However, *De architectura* mentions neither that Sulla's attack destroyed the odeion, nor that two Roman architects were responsible for the reconstruction.

The Tower of the Winds

On my way back to the hotel I took a silent street and suddenly the Tower of the Winds was in front of me (see Fig. 4.). It was designed by Andronikos of Kyr-

rhos who furnished it with the devices both for measuring time (a sundial on the exterior and water clock in the interior) and to show the direction of the wind (a wind vane on the rooftop). This Late Hellenistic hybrid tower fascinated ancient Romans including M. Terentius Varro and Vitruvius, who both describe its curiosities and explain that its architect was from Kyrros (the city either in Macedonia or Syrian Kyrros named after the Macedonian city).¹⁰ Varro proudly explains that he built his own luxurious aviary pavilion at Casinum, inspired by the Tower of Winds.¹¹ Such an enigmatic mixture of art, architecture, and measuring devices reflects the Hellenistic interest in wonders and surprises. While Varro calls this building a sundial (*horologium*), Vitruvius, in turn, defines it as an octagonal tower (*turris*). Vitruvius's focus is on the exterior: he describes the wind vane decorated with a bronze Triton and the upper frieze depicting personifications of the winds.¹² The octagonal form of the Tower of the Winds is un-

⁴ VITR. *De arch.* 5.9.1.

⁵ Corso 1997, 393 and Abramson 1975, 17 and 22.

⁶ VITR. 5.9.1. In contrast Plutarch says that the Odeion was built by Pericles (PLUT. *Per.* 13. 5-6).

⁷ According to Pausanias it imitated the festival tent of the Persian king Xerxes and was burnt when Sulla took Athens (PAUS 1.20.4).

⁸ IG. II². 3426 and 3427

⁹ Corso 1997, 393

¹⁰ Syrian Kyrros was named after the Macedonian city and included Macedonians in its founding population (Cohen 2006, 181-182). Syrian Kyrros belonged to the Seleucid Kingdom but became part of Armenia during the reign of King Tigranes II the Great (c. 95-55 BC), who was defeated by the Romans in 60 BC. The Seleucid Empire was briefly restored, until the Roman general Pompey took it over as a part of the Roman Empire.

¹¹ VARR. *Rust.* 3.5.17.

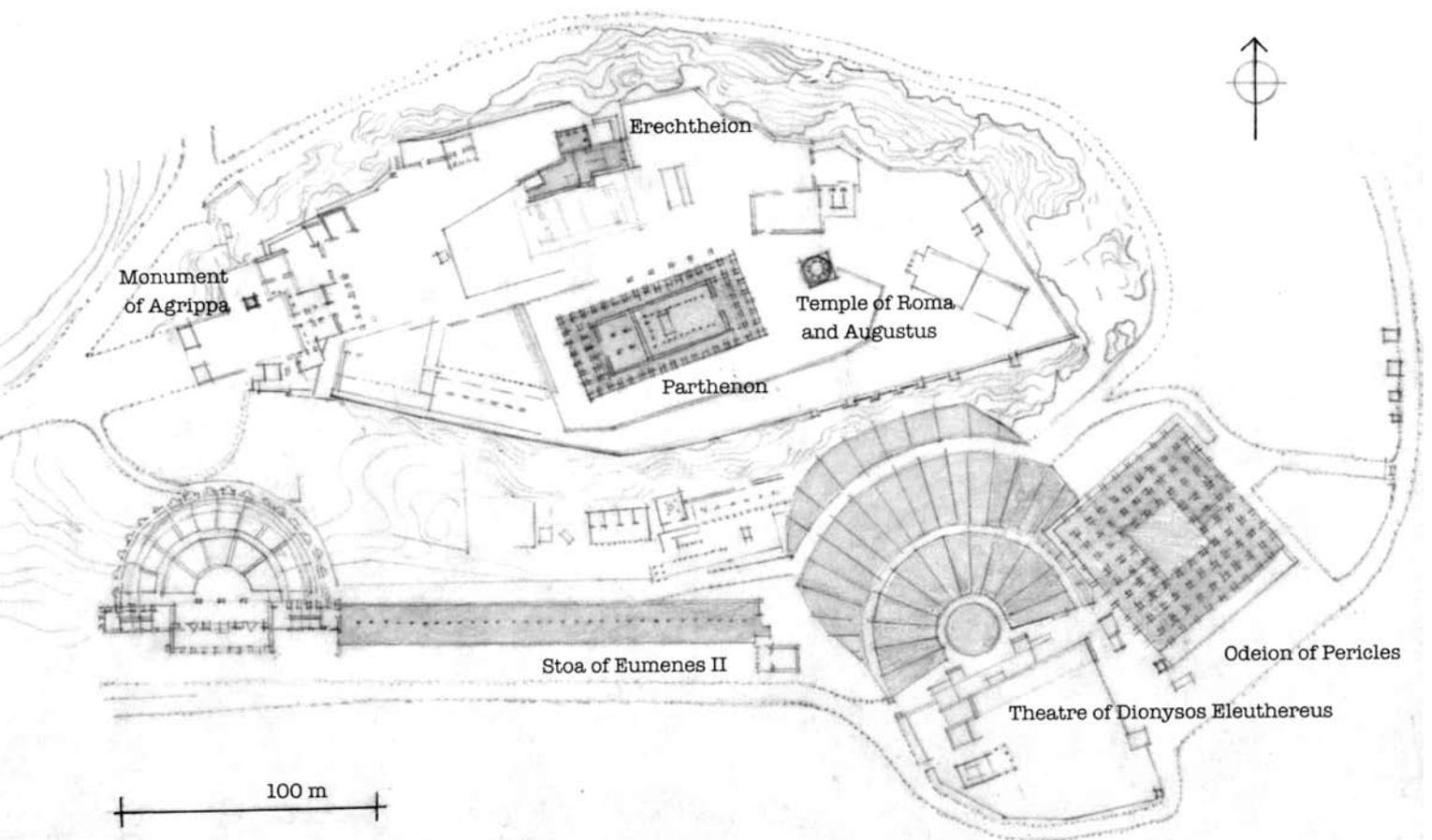
¹² VITR. *De arch.* 1.6.4.



4) The Tower of the Winds in the moonlight and the Acropolis hill on the background. / photo: Anu Koponen 2013



5) The personifications of the winds in the frieze of the Tower of the Winds. / photo: Anu Koponen 2013



6) Acropolis hill and its southern slope. Plan of the ancient monuments, with buildings in this article indicated. / drawing: Anu Koponen



7) *The Temple of Olympian Zeus seen from the Acropolis. / photo: Anu Koponen 2013*



8) *The Temple of Olympian Zeus. / photo: Markku Mattila 2012*

derlined by its eight personifications and eight sundials carved on its eight sides (see Fig. 5). Since the Tower of the Winds is unique of its kind, the execution date is difficult to determine; estimates vary between the years 150-50 BC.¹³ In addition, the name Andronikos of Kyrros appears in a four-faced marble sundial found on the Greek island of Tenos.¹⁴

All I had read of the Tower of the Winds could not fully prepare me for my first encounter with its shadowy silhouette in the moonlight. The Parthenon and Erechtheion were shimmering in the background. My accidental confrontation with the Tower of the Winds was an overwhelming experience, in which all that I had previously learned about it was called into question. Only this visit to the site made it possible for me to understand how the Tower of the Winds was related to its surroundings, especially to the Acropolis and the Agora of Athens. I was able to see and feel the deepness of the reliefs carved in Pentelic marble. Similarly, after studying Greek architecture in Italy, ancient Roman architects must have been anxious to see Athens. We know that many Roman youngsters went to Athens in the final phase of their liberal arts education. Probably some of them stayed in Athens as a part of their architectural education.

The liberal arts education of the Roman architect

The Hellenistic liberal arts education meant general studies including grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, music theory, and astronomy.¹⁵ According to Vitruvius, an architect's knowledge was based on such a liberal arts education, augmented with studies in history, drawing, philosophy, medicine, and law. Unfortunately Vitruvius does not reveal practical details of how Roman architects were educated.

At the beginning of the first century BC the youngsters of the Roman elite travelled increasingly to Athens in order to finish their studies with Greek philosophers and orators after their liberal arts education in Italy. After Sulla's conquest of Athens in 86 BC, Romans increasingly stayed in Athens, studying with Greek philosophers and orators. For example, during the 70s BC, M. Tullius Cicero studied in Athens with rhetoricians, formulating a foundation for his oratorical skills by focusing on both the decorative Asiatic and simple Attic styles of speech. Some established Romans, such as Cicero's friend T. Pomponius Atticus, stayed permanently in Athens and acted as art dealers, among other things, whereas some Roman officials simply robbed the city of many of its treasures.¹⁶ In the middle of the first century BC, not only members of the elite but also some sons of social climbers were sent to study in Athens. We can only speculate as to whether Vitruvius had a possibility to see Greece during his studies, but we know that a son of a prosperous freedman, Horace, studied in Athens in the middle of the 40s BC.¹⁷ From c. 50 to 31 BC the Athenians were involved in the violent political struggles of the Roman world and on three occasions found themselves on the losing side of a civil war, in their allegiances with Pompey, M. Junius

¹³ According to Varro, both the Tower of the Winds and his own aviary pavilion existed in the 50s BC (VARR. *Rust.* 3.5.17). For the scholarly debate on the earliest possible date, see Habicht 1997, 336-337 and the note 95.

¹⁴ *JG* XII.5. 891

¹⁵ Rowland 1999, 7-8.

¹⁶ Cicero accuses G. Verres and L. Calpurnius Piso of the robbery in Athens (Cic. *Verr.* 2,1,17.45 and Cic. *Pis.* 40.96).

¹⁷ HOR. *S.* 1.4.105.



9) The base of the Monument of Agrippa. This monument was originally built in 178 BC to commemorate the victory of the king Eumenes II of Pergamon in the chariot race of Panathenaic games. Its inscription confirms that it was rededicated to Agrippa around 27 BC. / photo: Anu Koponen 2013



10) The Propylaea. On the left is the Monument of the Agrippa. / photo: Anu Koponen 2013

Brutus and M. Antonius.¹⁸ It was not easy for them to choose the right side. When Caesar defeated Pompey in the Battle of Pharsalus in 48 BC, the Athenians erected statues to honor Julius Caesar. But after Caesar's assassination in 44 BC they erected bronze statues for Brutus and Cassius in the Classical Agora.

When Horace was studying in Athens, Vitruvius was probably at service during the unstable period of civil wars. We can estimate that if Vitruvius was born around the year 80 BC, he would have served in the troops of Julius Caesar in his thirties, in the middle of the first century BC.¹⁹ Then he wrote *De architectura* during the 20s BC, in his sixties. Vitruvius possibly participated in the military campaign of Caesar in Asia Minor, since Vitruvius reveals that he was responsible for constructing catapults and other war machines.²⁰ After the victory over Pharnaces II of Pontus in Zela in 47 BC, Vitruvius could have visited Athens on his way back from Asia Minor to Rome, for example.²¹ Herbert Abramson assures us that: "As a high-ranking officer in Caesar's army, probably the *praefectus fabrum*, there is every likelihood that in this capacity he visited Athens".²²

After his return to Rome from Asia Minor, Julius Caesar encouraged the Roman liberal arts education when he appointed M. Terentius Varro as the head of the first state library in Rome and granted teachers of liberal arts Roman citizenship in 46 BC.²³ It is possible that he put Vitruvius in charge either to write or design public architecture since Vitruvius recounts that he was recognized for his expertise of public buildings by Julius Caesar.²⁴ In *De architectura* only one architectural design by Vitruvius is mentioned, the Basilica of Fano in the Colonia Julia Fanestrus. It is possible that he designed it as a Caesarian staff architect,²⁵ or perhaps he

got the commission later thanks to the Imperial family. The death of Julius Caesar in 44 BC prompted Vitruvius to transfer his allegiance to the future emperor Augustus, who put him in charge of the construction and repair of war machines together with three other Roman men.²⁶ Trajan's chief hydraulic engineer (*curator aquarum*) Frontinus recounts in his book on Roman water-supply (AD 97) that the water pipes of Rome were standardized according to instructions from the *architectus* Vitruvius.²⁷ Thus, Vitruvius might have worked for the city water system under M. Vipsanius Agrippa, who became *curator aquarum* in 33 BC.²⁸ In the 20s, when Augustus had secured power, Vitruvius wrote *De architectura* with the financial support of the Emperor and his sister Octavia.²⁹

¹⁸ Hoff 1989, 271-272.

¹⁹ Vitruvius describes participating in Caesar's siege of Larignum in the Alps (VITR. *De arch* 2.9.15-16) and in Numidia in 46 BC (VITR. *De arch* 8.3.24-25).

²⁰ VITR. *De arch*. 1. praef. 2.

²¹ The troops of Caesar won against Pompey's army in the Battle of Pharsalus in Greece in 48 BC. Caesar and Cleopatra spent two months on a honeymoon cruise on the Nile. Then Caesar hurried off to Asia Minor, where Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, had challenged Roman authority. Pharnaces was defeated in a rapid campaign at Zela in 47 BC, after which Caesar returned to Rome

²² Abramson 1975, 17 and 22.

²³ Suet. *Iul.* 42.1-2

²⁴ VITR. *De arch*. 1. praef. 2. This passage does not clarify whether Caesar recognized Vitruvius for his writings on public architecture or for his public architectural designs.

²⁵ VITR. *De arch* 5.1.6-10. According to Rowland (1999, 5) it is likely that Vitruvius spent many years as a Caesarian staff architect.

²⁶ VITR. *De arch*. 1. praef. 2.

²⁷ FRONT. *Aq* 1.25. and VITR. *De arch*. 8.6.2.

²⁸ Rowland 1999, 6.

²⁹ VITR. *De arch*. 1. praef. 2.



11) The Erechtheion. / photo: Anu Koponen 2013



12) Surviving architectural fragments of the Temple of Roma and Augustus, which was axially aligned with the eastern entrance of the Parthenon. / photo: Anu Koponen 2013

During specific periods of immense building activity, Roman rulers were forced to give certain advantages not only to those who studied architecture but also to their parents. This is documented in the Theodosian Code (the legal code of the Roman Empire promulgated in the year AD 438), in which the order of Emperor Constantine I (AD 306-337) supported architectural education in African provinces through numerous privileges:

“There is need of as many architects as possible, but since there are none of them, Your Excellency shall encourage to this study those men in the African provinces who are about eighteen years age and who have had a taste of the liberal arts. In order to make this attractive to them, it is Our will that they themselves as well as their parents shall be immune from those services that are wont to be imposed on individuals, and that a suitable salary shall be appointed for the students themselves.” (the Theodosian Code, 13.4.1, translated by C. Pharr, Princeton 1952).

Similarly, the liberal arts education and parental support are presented in *De architectura* as a fundamental foundation for the education of an architect. Indeed, Vitruvius thanks his parents especially for his liberal arts education (*encycliōs disciplina*).³⁰

At the beginning of the Roman Imperial era, Augustus and Agrippa were determined to change the cityscape of Rome and needed numerous architects. As a result, architectural education became an urgent challenge. It is not accidental that exactly in this period Vitruvius’s treatise made it possible to distribute architectural knowledge to a wider public.

Greek architects working in Rome had passed on Greek architectural knowledge to Roman builders and architects including Vitruvius. The periods of intense building activity in Rome had already attracted Greek

architects in the second century BC. Vitruvius mentions that the Greek architect Hermodoros of Salamis designed the Temple of Jupiter Stator in the courtyard of the *Porticus Metellii* in Rome in the 140s BC. According to Vitruvius, it was a Greek style peripteral temple (having column rows on all four sides), in contrast to the Roman tradition.³¹ Hermodoros continued to work in Rome and designed the Temple of Mars in the Circus Flaminius and the navalia.³² Emperor Trajan’s letter to Pliny the Younger (written in c. AD 110) testifies that Greek architects arrived in Rome much more often than Roman architects worked in the East.³³ However, some Roman architects worked in Athens as well.

Roman architect Cossutius in Athens

During my second day in Athens I saw the remaining fifteen Corinthian columns of the temple of Olympian Zeus standing in a field located around 500 meters from the Acropolis (see Figs. 7 and 8). Ancient Roman historian Livy (c. 60 BC - AD 17) writes that the modest look of the city of Rome was ridiculed in the Macedonian court during the 180s BC, since both Roman public and private buildings were without adornments.³⁴ However, King Antiochus IV Euphrosyne (Seleucid ruler 175-164 BC) appointed the Roman architect Decimus Cossutius

³⁰ VITR. 6 praef. 4. For the concept of *artes liberales* see Rowland 1999, 7.

³¹ VITR. *De arch.* 3.2.5.

³² CIC. *De orat.* 1.62 and PRISC. *Inst.* 8.4.17.

³³ PLIN. *Ep. Tra.* 10.40: “You cannot lack architects: every province has skilled men trained for this work. It is a mistake to think they can be sent out more quickly from Rome when they usually come to us from Greece” (Translated by Betty Radice, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1969).

³⁴ LIV. 40.5.7.



13) The Roman Agora and the Tower of the Winds. / photo: Anu Koponen 2013

as an architect of the temple of Olympian Zeus. Vitruvius proclaims that not only the Greeks but also the Romans were excellent architects by underlining that this appreciated architect of the colossal temple in Athens was a Roman citizen.³⁵

The construction of the temple of Olympian Zeus had already been started under the rule of the tyrants in the sixth century BC and it was left uncompleted when the tyrants were overthrown. Three hundred years later King Antiochus represented himself as the god Zeus in order to claim absolute power. The building of the colossal temple of Olympian Zeus was restarted in the year 174 BC, as a sign of his supremacy. Cosutius designed the temple in Hellenistic fashion: in contrast to the Classical peripteros temple its colonnades were in three and two rows around the *cella* so that there were 104 Corinthian columns in total, all made of precious Pentelic marble. Vitruvius describes this giant temple as having an open roofless part in the centre.³⁶ After the death of Antiochus in 164 BC the ambitious building project of the Temple of Olympian Zeus remained half-finished until Emperor Hadrian completed it.

The unfinished temple of Olympian Zeus by Cosutius was damaged during the sack of Athens by the Roman general L. Cornelius Sulla in 86 BC. Sulla stole the city's treasures and artefacts.³⁷ Pliny the Elder writes that Sulla removed several columns from the unfinished Olympieion and transferred them to Rome to be used in the temples of the Capitoline. Possibly some columns were used in the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus after this temple had burned in 83 BC.³⁸ But Vitruvius neither mentions Sulla's theft of these columns nor that Sulla's siege destroyed the Odeion of Athens.³⁹

Why did Hellenistic rulers choose Roman architects?

Both the Seleucid and Attalid rulers negotiated their relationship with Athenians and the whole of the Mediterranean by financing impressive construction projects in the Hellenistic style at the centre of the Greek world. The Stoa of Eumenes and the Stoa of Attalos in the Agora of Athens were donated by the Attalid Kings of Pergamon. The Temple of Olympian Zeus was constructed by the Seleucid King Antiochus. The Cappadocian King Ariobarzanes II, in turn, restored the Odeion of Athens. The case of the Hellenistic Tower of the Winds is different

³⁵ VITR. *De arch.* 7. praef. 17-18.

³⁶ VITR. *De arch.* 3.3.5 and 7. praef. 15-17

³⁷ Hoff 1989, 270.

³⁸ On the coin of Petillius Capitolinus (43 BC) the temple facade does not show Corinthian columns, but the style is very rough. On the coin of Vespasian (76 AD) Corinthian columns are clearly depicted. *De architectura* (VITR. *De arch.* 3.3.5.), written in the 20s BC, describes the Capitoline Temple as an aerostyle temple (widely spaced columns as in Etruscan temples) with wooden beams. Dionysius (D.H. 4.61) says that the new temple differs from the old only in the costliness of its materials. Tacitus and Suetonius (TAC. *Hist.* 4.4. and SUET. *Vesp.* 8.5.) write that the Capitol was restored during the rule of Vespasian. Tacitus notes that Sulla started the restoration of the temple, but it was dedicated by Lutatius Catulus (TAC. *Hist.* 3.72 and SUET. *Vesp.* 8.5.) Plutarch saw the temple after the restoration by Domitian following the fire of AD 80. Plutarch says that the columns of the temple were made of Pentelic marble and notes that after these columns were polished in Rome they were not as beautiful in their proportions as the original columns, which he had seen in Athens with his own eyes (PLUT. *Publ.* 15.1-4). This strongly suggests that these columns originated in the temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens. However, Abramson (1975, 19) proposes that the columns were of the interior order of the Olympieion and reused in some smaller temple of the Capitoline.

³⁹ PLIN. *Nat. hist.* 36.45.



14) The Temple of Mars Ultor and the Forum of Augustus. / photo: Anu Koponen 2015

since it became famous for its designer - who funded its construction remains unknown.

Why did Kings Antiochus and Ariobarzanes II choose Roman architects when the Romans themselves were inclined to appreciate Greek achievements both in art and architecture? After the Syrian war Antiochus had been sent to Rome where he was kept as a hostage during the 180s BC. King Ariobarzanes II employed the Roman brothers Gaius and Marcus Stallius for the restoration of the Odeion of Athens in the middle of the first century BC, and by doing so repaired what Sulla's army had destroyed. Either some architects of the Roman Republic had a surprisingly good reputation in the Eastern Mediterranean or there were political motivations. Perhaps Hellenistic rulers alluded to their alliance with the Romans when they employed Decimus Cossutius and the brothers Gaius and Marcus Stallius in their projects.

Roman euergetism in Athens

Like the Hellenistic rulers, the Romans too established their relationship with the Greek world through their building activity in Athens. Julius Caesar and later Augustus funded the construction of the Roman Agora attached to the Tower of the Winds⁴⁰ (see Fig. 13). Augustus's general M. Vipsanius Agrippa built the Odeion of Agrippa (c. 15 BC) in the very centre of the Agora of Athens. The Odeion blocked the open agora space, changing dramatically the architectural layout of this Classical Agora. The Odeion of Agrippa was intended for Atticising performances and declamations, and literary production more broadly, for an audience made up of Romans and educated Greeks with links to the cultural scene of the capital and larger Mediterranean networks.⁴¹ It proclaimed that Athens was the cultural

and educational centre of the Mediterranean world. The Athenians participated in the public display of power relations by dedicating in the Acropolis a small round Temple of Roma and Augustus (c. 20/19 BC) (see Figs. 6 and 12) for the Imperial cult, and an honorary monument for Agrippa in front of the Propylaea (see Figs. 9 and 10).

Attic ornaments in Rome

After the Battle of Actium, Augustus visited Athens on many occasions: in 31 BC, c. 21 BC, 19 BC, and 12 BC. Immediately after Actium, Augustus participated in the Eleusian Mysteries and reconciled with all the Greek states.⁴² An inscription states that statues of Livia and Octavian, who had not yet been given the honorific title of Augustus, stood in the sanctuary of Eleusis before the year 27 BC.

Roman architects, who were responsible for the design of the Forum of Augustus (see Fig. 14), might have travelled with Augustus in Attica. The Kore-figures of the Erechtheion were copied in the upper-storey of the portico in the Forum of Augustus in Rome (see Figs. 11, 21 and 22). In the beginning of the reign of Augustus the Erechtheion was restored after it was severely damaged by fire. The statues of maidens (*korai*) supporting the architrave were repaired and put in their original places. Immediately to the east of the Parthenon the round Temple of Roma and Augustus was constructed around 20 BC using Ionic columns identical to those of the Erechtheion⁴³ (see Figs. 15 and 16). Pliny the Elder

⁴⁰ Cic *Att.* 6.1.25 and the dedicatory inscription of the Roman Agora *IG II²*. 3175.

⁴¹ Spawforth 2012, 100.

⁴² Hoff 1989, 268.

⁴³ Jenkins 2007, 124.



15) The Ionic capital of the Erechtheion. / photo: Markku Mattila 2012



16) The Ionic capital of the Temple of Roma and Augustus. / photo: Anu Koponen 2013

mentions that the sculptor Diogenes of Athens decorated the Pantheon of Agrippa with Caryatides.⁴⁴ Unknown Augustan architects thus alluded to the Classical era and connected Augustus to the democratic leader Pericles, while Augustus proclaimed that he was restoring the Republic. Vitruvius, in contrast, shows little interest in the Classical monuments of the Acropolis.

In *De architectura* the only reference to the Erechtheion is in a list of unconventional hybrid temples, and to the Parthenon in a list of Doric temples.⁴⁵ In his comments on Athenian buildings, Vitruvius concentrates on Hellenistic architecture donated by the rulers of Asia Minor. This is consistent with other parts of *De architectura*. Of all the temple types, Vitruvius prefers the eustyle temple originating in Asia Minor and designed by the Hellenistic architect Hermogenes (at the end of the third century BC), and his ideal design of the Corinthian capital is similar to the capitals of the Temple of the Olympian Zeus in Athens⁴⁶ (see Fig. 17).

The Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus was designed in traditional Roman fashion, with a high podium and the rear side of the temple without columns. Its Corinthian capitals abandoned the earlier Italian Corinthian capital types and were like those of the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens⁴⁷ (see Fig. 18). The *cella* of the temple was decorated with peculiar Corinthian capitals representing the upper-body of Pegasus (see Fig. 20). This kind of column design showing hybrid figures is reminiscent of the capitals that are now displayed in the Museum of Eleusis (see Fig. 19). These capitals of the Lesser Propylaea of the Sanctuary of Eleusis represent the upper bodies of a winged horse, ram, lion, and bull. The Lesser Propylaea was built by Appius Claudius Pulcher (the Roman governor of Cilicia) and his heirs around the year 50

BC. Not only Vitruvius, during the 20s BC, but also the Augustan poet Horace, during the 10s BC, ridiculed such fanciful hybrid figures common in Hellenistic art and architecture.⁴⁸ Even though their works were part of the ongoing Augustan Cultural Revolution, it was impossible for them to foresee even the nearest future and forthcoming architectural and decorative trends of their own political circles.⁴⁹ Vitruvius and Horace wrote during the period of enormous political and cultural transformations. Augustan visual vocabulary referred frequently to the Classical Greek era. But Augustan revolution was not based on homogenous ideology or a clearly defined cultural program. It was composed of ideas and visual forms that were sometimes contradictory. Paul Zanker reminds us that there was no propaganda machine at work, and the supporters of Augustus acted more or less spontaneously.⁵⁰

Augustan architects and *De architectura*

The Imperial era started with numerous cultural innovations varying from literature and art to architecture.

⁴⁴ PLIN. *Nat. hist.* 36.38. Pliny the Elder calls these figures “Caryatides”.

⁴⁵ VITR. *De arch.* 4.8.4. Vitruvius’s description of Caryatides (VITR. *De arch.* 1.1.5) differs remarkably from the maiden figures of the Erechtheion, which more correctly should be called *korai*.

⁴⁶ VITR. *De arch.* 3.2.6 and 3.3.6-9: Hermogenes of Priene designed the Temple of Dionysos at Teos and the Temple of Artemis Leukophryne at Magnesia. For the Corinthian capital see VITR. *De arch.* 4.1.11-12 and Abramson 1975, 15-17.

⁴⁷ Abramson 1975, 16-17. See also note 38

⁴⁸ VITR. *De arch.* 7.5.3; HOR. *Ars.* 1-5.

⁴⁹ McEven (2003) demonstrates how *De architectura* took part in contemporary Augustan politics.

⁵⁰ Zanker 1990, 3.



17) The Corinthian capital of the Temple of Olympian Zeus. / photo: Markku Mattila 2012



18) The Corinthian capital of the Temple of Mars Ultor. / photo: Anu Koponen 2015

Andrew Wallace-Hadrill points out that there was a revolution in the knowledge building of Romans, as the sources of authority in disciplines of knowledge shifted from the aristocrats who had controlled knowledge in the Republic to specialists publishing their knowledge under the aegis of the emperor.⁵¹ Vitruvius's writing work, funded by the Imperial family, is a good example of this new cultural policy.

Augustan architects and artists created a new visual language by mixing architectural elements of Classical and Hellenistic eras with the Roman tradition. Such a strategy was nothing new in Roman communication. After studying in Athens, Cicero created his successful rhetorical style in Latin by mixing Greek Asiatic and Attic styles. The manipulation of both literary and artistic styles of the earlier eras was typical for Hellenistic Alexandria, famous for its library, in which manuscripts from different eras were collected systematically. By using visual elements of earlier eras and combining them differently in new contexts, Augustan

circles communicated their messages effectively throughout the whole Mediterranean.⁵² Classical decorative elements, such as the Kore-figures, were only one part of the design of the Forum of Augustus. Its temple design was typically Roman, whereas the peculiar Corinthian capitals representing winged horses in the cella of the Temple of Mars Ultor were made in fanciful Hellenistic fashion.

Vitruvius had a compelling task: he was put in charge of expressing Augustan ideology in the middle of its development. In practice, Augustan visual strategies were a complex mixture of diverse styles. It was impossible for Vitruvius to grasp their essence in one architectural treatise. After listening to a reading of *De architectura*, Augustan architects and patrons were, however, better prepared to observe both the Classical and Hellenistic architecture of Athens during their travels.⁵³ Simultaneously, when Rome was turned from a city of bricks to a city of marble, the monuments of the *Urbs* alluded increasingly to Athens.

⁵¹ Wallace-Hadrill 1997, 14-15.

⁵² For the theory of Roman art as a semantic system see Hölscher (2004).

⁵³ In addition to Vitruvius we know another Augustan architect by name: L. Cocceius Auctus, an architect of Agrippa, who is mentioned in an inscription of the Temple in Puteoli (CIL 10.1614) and in the architrave fragment in Cumae (CIL 10.3707). Strabo (STR. 5.4.5) attributes to him a tunnel that linked the Lake Avernus to Cumae, as well as a tunnel connecting Naples to the Phlegraen Fields. According to Anderson (2014, 127-140), L. Cocceius Auctus was a freedman of L. Cocceius and C. Postumius Pollio, an architect originally from Greece and who was a Roman citizen. It is now widely agreed that this freedman architect, probably an immigrant from Greece, rose to a position of trust and influence in the military construction service of Octavia, at least in Campania.

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19) Winged horses in the capital of the Lesser Propylaea of the Sanctuary of Eleusis. / drawing: Anu Koponen 2015



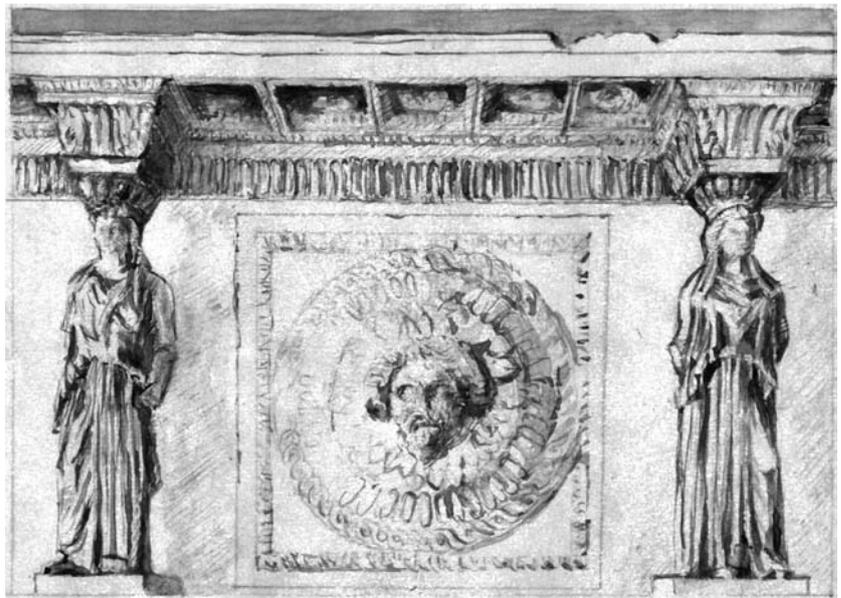
20) Pegasus figures in the capital of the cella in the Temple of Mars Ultor in Rome. / drawing: Anu Koponen 2015

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21) The Kore-figures of the Erechtheion. / photo: Anu Koponen 2013



22) The Kore-figures in the upper-storey of the portico of the Forum of Augustus. / drawing: Anu Koponen 2015

ANCIENT SOURCES

Latin

CIC. *Att.* M. Tullius Cicero (106–43 BC)

CIC. *De orat.*

CIC. *Off.*

CIC. *Pis.*

CIC. *Ver.*

FRON. *Aq.* Sex. Iulius Frontinus (c. AD 30–104)

HOR. *Ars.* Q. Horatius Flaccus (c. 65–8 BC)

HOR. *S.*

LIV. T. Livius (c. 59 BC – c. AD. 17)

PLIN. *Ep Tra.* C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus (c. AD 61–114)

PLIN. *Nat. hist.* C. Plinius Secundus (c. AD 23–70)

PRISC. *Inst.* Priscianus (6th cent. AD)

SUET. *Aug.* C. Suetonius Tranquillus (c. AD 70– c. 140)

SUET. *Vesp.*

TAC. *Hist.* Cornelius Tacitus (b. c. AD 55)

VARR. *Rust.* M. Terentius Varro (116–27 BC)

VITR. *De arch.* Vitruvius (1st century BC)

Epistulea ad Atticum

De oratore

De officiis

In Pisonem

In Verrem

De Aquis Vrbs Romae

Ars Poetica

Sermones

Ab Vrbe Condita

Epistulae ad Traianum

Naturalis historiae

Institutio

Augustus

Vespasianus

Historiae

De re rustica

De architectura

Greek

D.H. Dionysius Halicarnassensis (1st century BC)

PAUS. Pausanias (2nd cent. AD)

PLUT. *Publ.* Plutarchus (c. 46 – after 119 AD)

PLUT. *Per.*

STR. Strabo (c. 64 BC – c. AD 24)

Antiquitates Romanae

Periegeta

Publicola

Pericles

Geographica