Displaying the Res Gestae of Augustus: A Monument of Imperial Image for All

Suna Güven

Displaying the *Res Gestae* of Augustus

A Monument of Imperial Image for All

SUNA GÜVEN, *Middle East Technical University, Ankara*

Roman inscriptions, and others, are usually studied as textual documents that *record* history. In this traditional approach, specialists in epigraphy literally translate the written text so that it becomes, on its own, the veritable evidence for what it records. Such a reductive function, however, ignores the active aspect of inscriptions as interpretive instruments in *forming* history. As cultural products, inscriptions have continuous and multiple narratives.[1] Context, different forms of literacy, and memory contribute to the formation of these narratives. The narrative of what we call "history" depends, therefore, not only on who first writes it, but also on the reader. Seen in its role in forming history through the creation of an imperial image, the *Res Gestae* inscription constitutes an extraordinary example. It provides the rare instance of the same inscription found in different locations, all copies of a lost original. Although the intended location is known, our information today comes principally from the copies, all found in Galatia.

The texts of the *Res Gestae* inscriptions and the architectural settings in which they were found have usually been treated separately. While philologists, epigraphists, and historians have worked on problems of verification and textual analysis, archaeologists have concentrated on piecing together the archaeological record, with little interaction between the two groups.[2] However, it is precisely through the overlay of the two types of evidence that a narrative text may be formed to understand better Augustan policies and their impact.[3] Despite copious research on the *Res Gestae*, highlighting its architectonic and contextual character remains a desideratum. What regulates the text of the *Res Gestae* as a master narrative, however, is precisely its monumental character interpreted through changing audiences and different settings. Considering all of these helps explain both the wish of Augustus to have the inscription put in place posthumously and the nature of the connection between Galatia and Rome.

A MONUMENTAL TEXT

What is the *Res Gestae*, or more properly, the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*? We learn from Suetonius (*Augustus* 101.4) that in the most literal sense, it is basically a catalogue of the achievements of the Divine Augustus. Looking at it another way, we could say that it starts off as an altruistic record of the first Roman emperor and his performance designed by a "memory entrepreneur," to use a term coined by James Young.[4] Following the last injunction of the emperor, who died on 19 August A.D. 14, the list was to be inscribed on bronze tablets and installed before his mausoleum in Rome. Although the original inscription is lost, the purpose and the intended location are explicitly stated in introduction to a copy in Ankara: "A copy is set out below of 'The Achievements of the Divine Augustus, by which he brought the world under the empire of the Roman people, and of the expenses which he bore for the state and people of Rome'; the original is engraved on two bronze pillars set up at Rome."[5]

Composed entirely in the first person, it presented the life of Augustus the way he wished to be remembered. Neither a perfunctory oratory nor a brazen show of power, the inscription was intended to ensure the continuity of empire spawned and nurtured by Augustus. This purpose explains the design of the *Res Gestae* as a posthumous project by its author. Ironically, today the inscription is known only from the surviving copies of it, not in Rome but all in Galatia, a distant province of the Roman Empire in the highlands of Anatolia. As a result, and partly because of this, the *Res Gestae* inscription serves a function beyond that of the written word with extraordinary power and lucidity. It becomes a textual monument in the service of imperial ideology. The potency of the content stems precisely from monumental context, and the inscription loses much of its meaning when read simply as a written text.[6]

AUGUSTUS AND THE *RES GESTAE*

Closer examination of the *Res Gestae* inscription reveals an appeal to the hearts and minds of the Roman people. It is a representation of contemporary history through the eyes of Augustus. In thirty-five paragraphs, the creation of an empire and a golden age, *saeculum aureum*, under his rule unfolds before our eyes like a historical film.[7] It opens and closes with Augustus's words, beginning, "At the age of nineteen on my own responsibility and at my own expense I raised an army"

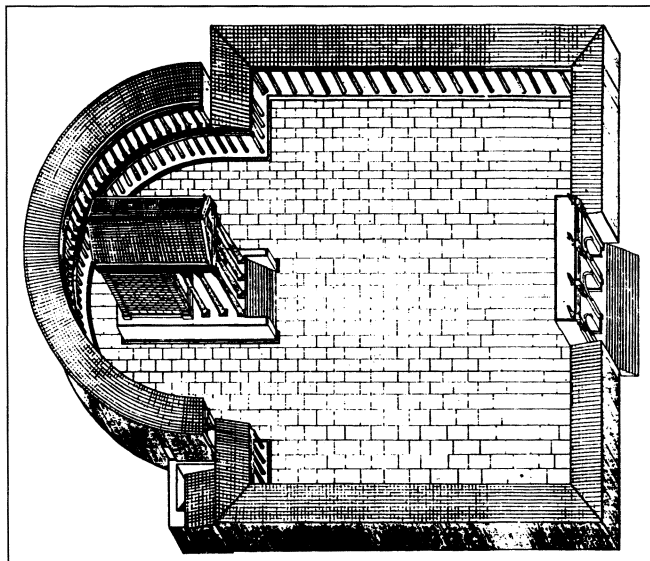FIGURE 1: Temple of Augustus, Antioch in Pisidia, temple precinct today

FIGURE 2: Temple of Augustus, Antioch in Pisidia, reconstruction of temple precinct

and ending, "At the time of writing, I am in my seventy-sixth year."[8] Momentous occasions, such as those when Augustus became Pontifex Maximus in 12 B.C. at the age of fifty and Pater Patriae (Father of the Country) a decade later, blend with a wide spectrum of other accomplishments, including distributions of grain and money, a lengthy list of entertainments for the people of Rome, extensive building programs, army reforms, artistic patronage, campaigns at home and abroad, all forcefully and vividly recounted.[9]

Perhaps the greatest pride of Augustus may be detected in his achievement of universal peace and the honors bestowed on him by the decree of the Roman people. In paragraph 13, he declares:

> It was the will of our ancestors that the gateway of Janus Quirinus should be shut when victories had secured peace by land and sea throughout the whole empire of the Roman people; from the foundation of the city down to my birth, tradition records that it was shut only

twice, but while I was the leading citizen the senate resolved that it should be shut on three occasions.[10]

And in paragraph 34, the tone of well-earned satisfaction is clear:

> For this service of mine I was named Augustus by decree of the senate, and the door-posts of my house were publicly wreathed with bay leaves and a civic crown was fixed over my door and a golden shield was set in the Curia Julia, which as attested by the inscription theron, was given me by the senate and people of Rome on account of my courage, clemency, justice and piety.[11]

All in the *Res Gestae* is made to appear lucid, simple, and beyond question. But is it? For Augustus it really does not matter. Indeed there is no mention of problems with the settlement of restless veterans (Suetonius, *Augustus* 13; Vergil, *Eclogues* 9.28), or some less than glorious incidents involving Augustus (then Octavian) and Antony. Although there seems to be no deliberate falsification of major events, there are calculated omisssions in favor of Augustus. As Heinrich Wölfflin wrote, "We only see what we look for, but what we look for is what can be seen."[12] Hence, without sacrificing historical veracity, careful construction served to highlight the desired picture of the Augustan era.[13] After all, the *Res Gestae* was but an instrument of memory intended for universal presentation. However, it should be conceded that after the tumultuous years of civil strife, Romans enjoyed forty-five years of continuous peace and security under Augustus, enough to establish a general feeling of optimism that was well articulated by contemporary sources (Suetonius, *Augustus* 100).

Evidence for the placement of the inscription before the mausoleum of Augustus in Rome is spotty. All we know from Suetonius (*Augustus* 101) is that it was the wish of the emperor.[14] On the other hand, while Strabo (*Geography* 5.3.8) gives a detailed architectural description of the monument, he does not mention the *Res Gestae* or its placement before the mausoleum.[15] Whether the inscription was there or not, however, is less relevant than knowing where Augustus himself wanted it to be. Interestingly, his choice was not the site of other renowned and patriotically charged buildings of his reign like the monument of the Ara Pacis (Altar of Peace) or the Temple of Mars Ultor (Mars the Avenger). Instead, Augustus deliberately chose an architectural context that had solely personal yet grandiose and dynastic associations. The unprecedented scale of the monument and its name, *Mausoleion* (Strabo, *Geography* 5.3.8), evoked the power and self-aggrandizement of Hellenistic monarchs.[16] Although Augustus eschewed official power of this nature, the connotations of personal glorification with a touch of victory would have been hard to miss, and inappropriate for display elsewhere in Rome.[17] Another century had to pass before Roman imperial power
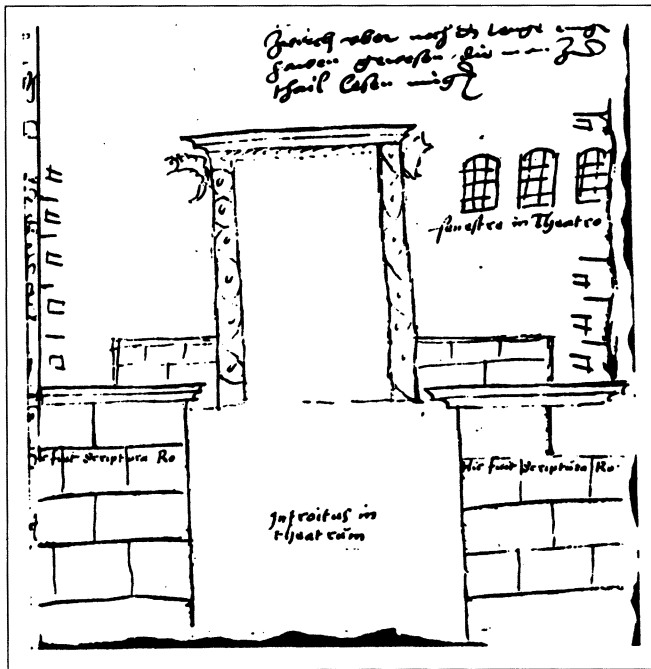
FIGURE 3: Temple of Augustus, Ankara, sketch by Hans Dernschwam, mid-sixteenth century. Note the indication of the inscription. From Daniel Krencker and Martin Schede, *Der Tempel in Ankara* (1936).

was so consolidated that Trajan's ashes and those of his wife, Plotina, would be placed in the grandest of all Roman fora, surmounted with a towering column of victory.[18] Nevertheless, with the display of the *Res Gestae* before the Mausoleum, the distinction between history and personal achievement was obliterated, resulting in a fusion of public and private memory with the kind of reading that Augustus wished to engineer.

ROMAN GALATIA AND THE *RES GESTAE*

Our sources for the content of the *Res Gestae* inscription all come from the Roman province of Galatia in Asia Minor, as said earlier. The Temple of Rome and Augustus (hereafter the Temple of Augustus) in Ankara has a Latin copy together with a Greek version. There is a Latin copy in Antioch in Pisidia (modern Yalvaç) and a Greek one in Apollonia (modern Uluborlu), both near Ankara.[19] Although provincial towns in Italy like Arezzo and Pompeii could and did copy inscriptions from Rome with little change in meaning, the message generated by the *Res Gestae* inscription, regardless of the language used, was very different in the remote highlands of Anatolia destined for Romanization.[20] Far from the bustling western and southern coastlands of Asia Minor, these areas had not even become Hellenized. Thus it hardly comes as a surprise that no *Res Gestae* inscriptions are known to have survived in the more established metropolitan centers such as Ephesus or Pergamum.

After the defeat of Antony at Actium in 31 B.C., the Greek world began to acknowledge the supremacy of Roman rule.[21] In implementing his *Ostpolitik*, Augustus recognized the need for an economically and politically stable Asia Minor.[22] Galatia, however, was a land sharply divided among mountain, plain, marsh, and salt desert, with a demographic profile no less varied.[23] From Strabo (*Geography* 12.4.4) we learn that the heterogeneous population included Paphlagonians, Galatians, Phrygians, Lycaonians, Isaurians, and Pisidians, in addition to Roman colonists, Hellenistic military foundations, and foreign settlers. Securing the loyalty of peoples so diverse culturally, linguistically, and racially was a titanically ambitious undertaking. Brute force alone would not do. Deference to civic temperature had to be maintained to cobble together a peace. One way of obtaining local cooperation was granting requests for honoring the emperor within the framework of an imperial cult.[24] As Romans gained greater and more permanent control, they began to manipulate permission to express loyalty to the emperor as a political reward. Temples to Rome and Augustus and the *Res Gestae* inscriptions associated with them are a result of this ideological premise.[25] All evidence
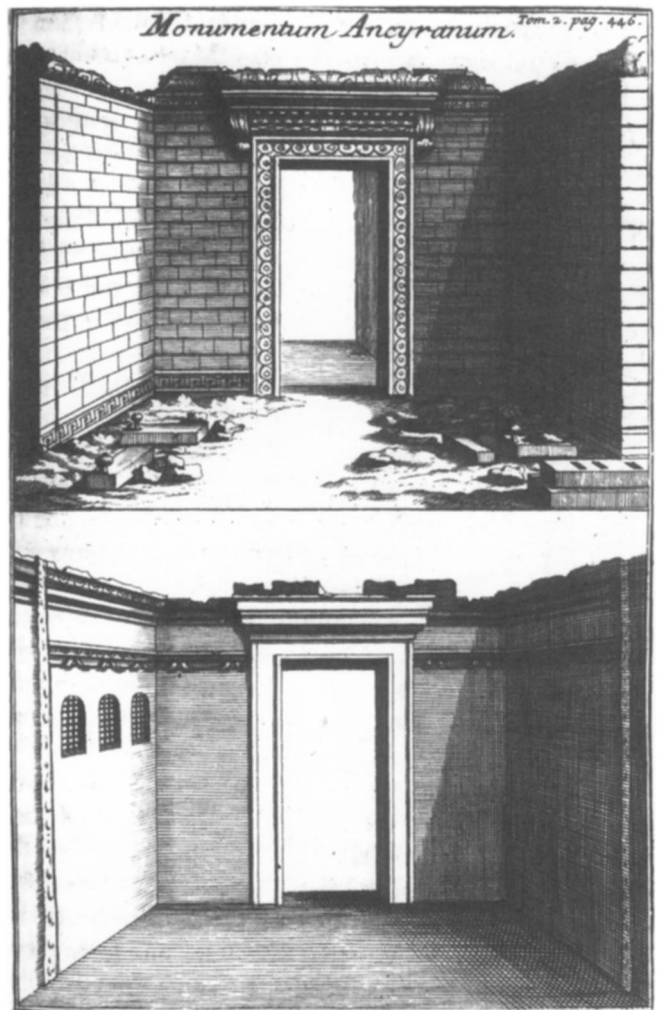

FIGURE 4: Temple of Augustus, Ankara, view of pronaos and interior in the early eighteenth century. Interestingly, the *Res Gestae* is not shown. From M. Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant* (1717).

FIGURE 5: Temple of Augustus, Ankara, location of the *Res Gestae* in the pronaos

concerning emperor worship as an institution indicates that the imperial cult was established in Galatia soon after annexation to the Roman Empire in 25 B.C. Following fashion, the small Galatian cities of Ankara, Antioch in Pisidia, and Apollonia, which had little in common otherwise, became ideologically linked, no matter how tenuously, because each was endowed with a temple of the imperial cult and a copy of the same *Res Gestae* inscription.

About Apollonia we know little; the Greek version of the *Res Gestae* there was carved on a monumental base carrying the statues of Augustus; his wife, Livia; his successor, Tiberius; Germanicus; and Drusus.[26] But Antioch in Pisidia, having

received *ius italicum* and become a *colonia* of Latin residents, was a simulacrum of Rome, likewise boasting seven hills.[27] No effort was made to soften the forceful image of Rome as victor. On the contrary, the new urban image became a bold and striking means of affirming Roman presence in mountainous terrain far from Rome. In the impressive urban ensemble that was created, the centerpiece was the triumphal arch exhibiting vanquished Pisidian prisoners with hands tied at the back and surrounded by military paraphernalia.[28] Unabashedly laudatory, the triple arch was ostentatiously set in a monumental paved plaza—the Platea Augusta—of gleaming marble. It was somewhere in this locality that the Latin copy of the *Res Gestae*

FIGURE 6: Temple of Augustus, south wall of cella with carved lattice windows

was installed.[29] Beyond it rose the Temple of Augustus in full majesty; it was set frontally on a high podium in the Roman manner and framed by a symmetrical curved colonnade of two stories in the Corinthian order, also in the most "modern" architectural vocabulary (Figures 1, 2).[30] No other "text" could proclaim with such force the central position that emperor worship held in city life and the urban landscape. The canonical conception of Rome as *caput mundi* was transmitted through this visual rhetoric both for the present and the future, while the *Res Gestae* inscription became a mouthpiece for history in Antioch.

In Ankara, on the other hand, the ideological function of the *Res Gestae* inscription was multilayered and more sophisticated. The earliest modern description of it was provided by Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I to Süleyman the Magnificent in 1554–1562 and a prolific correspondent. In one of his letters he recounted:

> At Angora we saw a very fine inscription, a copy of the tablets upon which Augustus drew-up a succinct account of his public acts. I had it copied out by my people as far as it was legible. It is graven on the marble walls of a building, which was probably the ancient residence of the governor, now ruined and roofless. One half of it is upon the right as one enters, the other on the left. The upper paragraphs are almost intact; in the middle difficulties begin owing to the gaps; the lowest portion has been so mutilated by blows of clubs and axes as to be illegible. This is a serious loss to literature and much to be deplored by the learned, especially as it is generally agreed that the city was consecrated to Augustus as a common gift from the province of Asia.[31]

Hans Dernschwam, who traveled with Busbecq, provided the earliest graphic, and, more important, contextual record of the temple and its inscription (Figure 3).[32] Although the temple and its interior are mistaken for the theater, the location of the inscription is clearly indicated on the confused sketch with inconsistent perspective, which may have been drawn from memory.

Since its mid-sixteenth-century identification by Busbecq, the *Res Gestae* inscription has remained in situ on the walls of the temple of Augustus in the citadel district of Ulus in modern Ankara.[33] Based on what he could see, and, like Richard Pococke and M. Pitton de Tournefort, who visited Ankara in the early eighteenth century (Figure 4), Busbecq, not surprisingly, did not think that the building carrying the inscription was a temple.[34] By then, the peristyle had all but disappeared; the opisthodomus was extended and built over after the removal of the back wall; and on the southeast the stone wall of the cella had been cut through by three latticed windows when the temple was converted into a three-aisled congregational basilica after Theodosius prohibited pagan worship in the Byzantine era (Figures 5, 6).[35] Abutting the north wall at an angle was the Hacı Bayram mosque (Figures 7, 8) of the fifteenth century, which stands today. The identity of the structure as a temple, and one dedicated to Rome and Augustus, is, however, not in question.[36] During the three hundred years after Busbecq's visit, the temple and its inscription continued to attract attention, resulting in the first small-scale German excavation in 1926.[37] This was followed by excavations of the Turkish Historical Society more than a decade later when the houses obscuring the temple were cleared.[38] Efforts are now under way to protect and preserve the temple as part of a recently renovated urban plaza in the historical Ulus district of Ankara.[39]

The Ankara inscription, also known as the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, was copied in the 1700s and subsequently studied and published by the German historian Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903), who regarded the text as the "Queen of Inscriptions." The inscription consists of a Latin text with a Greek paraphrase of it, both carved on the walls of the same temple (Figure 9). Although the Latin and Greek texts are effaced in some parts, they have been reliably restored from the two other copies, in Greek and Latin respectively, in Apollonia and Antioch in Pisidia.

Less blatant than the scheme at Antioch in Pisidia, perhaps, that at Ankara was no less ambitious. There, past merged with present, in contrast to the overwhelming contemporary emphasis seen in Antioch.[40] The chief city of the *koinon* of Galatia and free of a colonial stigma, Ankara was already a melting pot of Celts, Greeks, and Romans. In the Temple of Augustus, the bilingual version of the *Res Gestae* was presumably used to address the mixed population equally. While the Latin version of the inscription was inscribed on the inner anta walls on both sides of the entrance, the Greek one occupied the full exterior length of the south cella wall for all to see. Today the Ionic peristyle of the temple is not extant, giving a more exposed view of the inscription, whereas the ancient beholder would
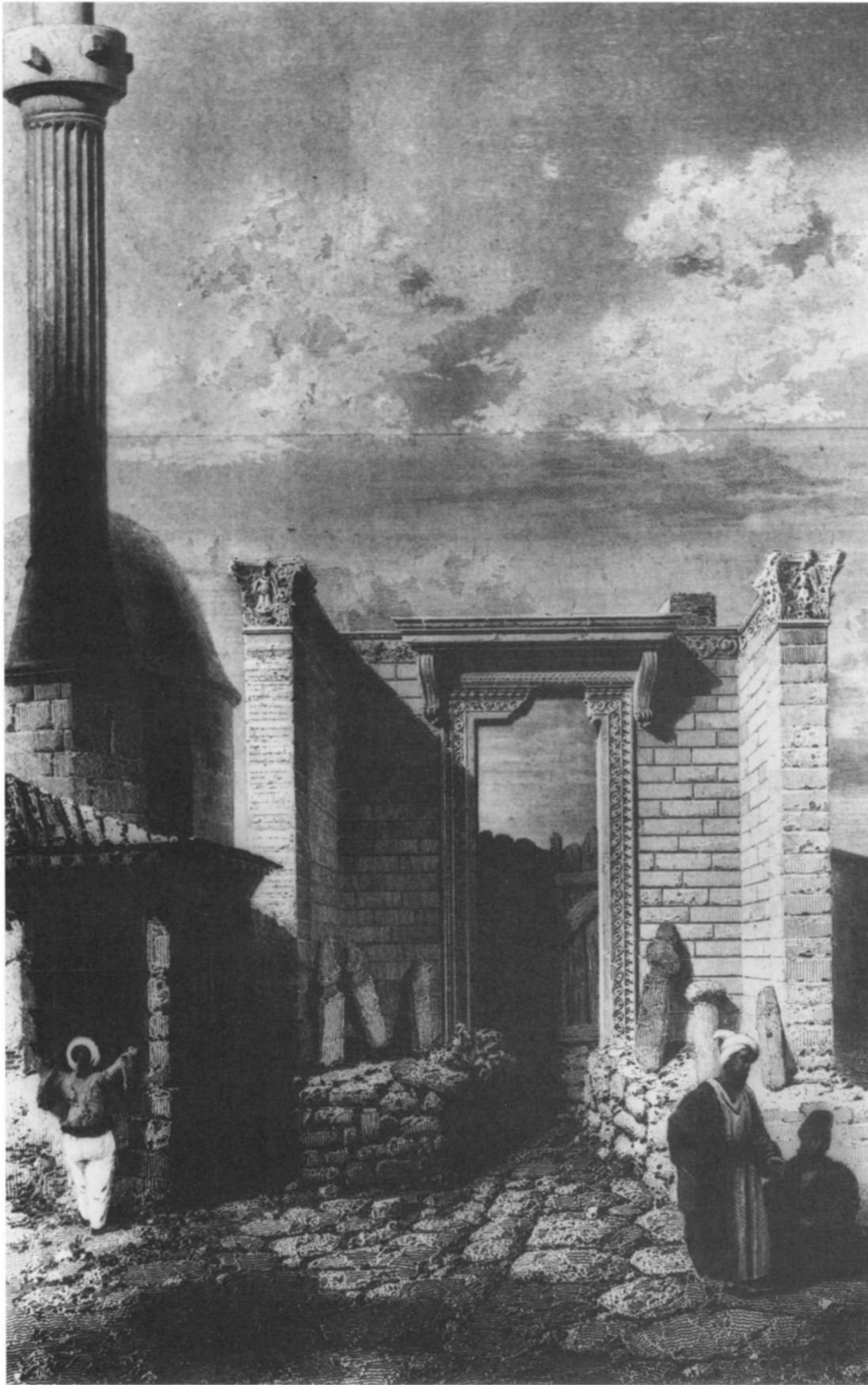
FIGURE 7: Temple of Augustus, Ankara, frontal view with minaret of Hacı Bayram mosque, 1830s. Note dedicatory inscription on left anta wall.

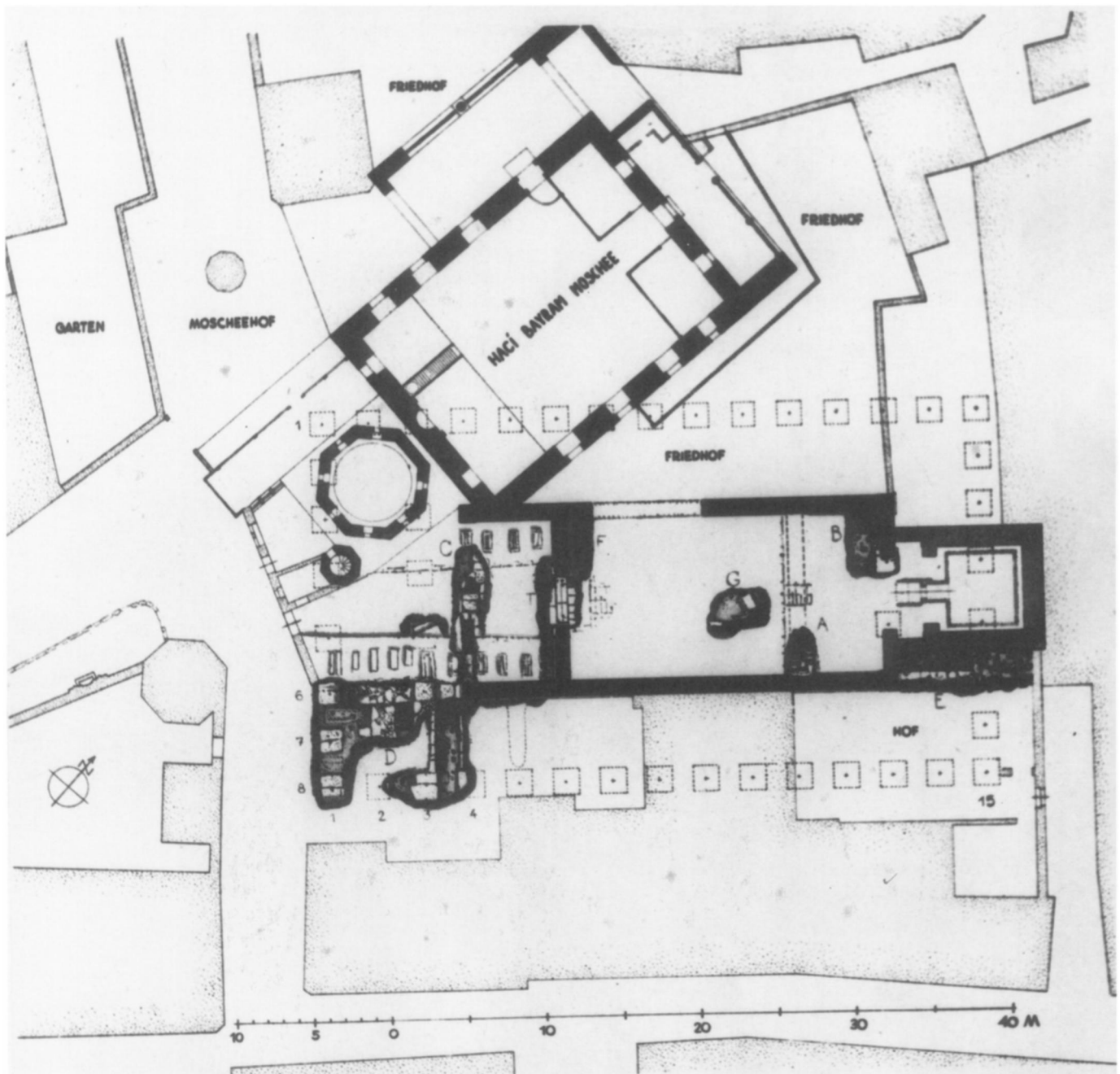From Charles Texier, *Description de L'Asie Mineure I* (1839).

FIGURE 8: Temple of Augustus, Ankara, and Hacı Bayram mosque, plan after the German excavations in 1926. From Krencker and Schede, *Der Tempel in Ankara*.

have had a more intimate and spatially defined experience of it(Figures 10, 11). Nevertheless, in a memory-oriented society, all the "books" necessary to "read" the imperial narrative of the temple as well as its meaning were thus provided. Consciously or unconsciously, it was left for the beholder to comprehend, internalize, and remember it.

But why was an anachronistic design in the tradition of the past two hundred years preferred as the showcase of the imperial cult, rather than the elevated frontal design that was the vogue in Rome? The pseudodipteral design with a deep opisthodomus (Figure 12) is so reminiscent of Hermogenean work that the temple was, in fact, dated to the second century

B.C. at one time. Although it is now more generally accepted that the temple was constructed shortly after Galatia's annexation in 25 B.C., it is certain that originally it was not intended to receive the *Res Gestae* inscription, which was "added" later, as the details in the joints of the masonry blocks show.[41] Then to whom was the temple dedicated? If the interpretation of recently discovered evidence is correct, the temple appears to have been dedicated to Meter Theon, the mother goddess of Anatolia.[42] Then it follows that rather than going ahead with a brand-new construction, the existing temple was deliberately chosen to fuse the Augustan *Ostpolitik* with the authority of the oldest myth in Anatolia. This is all the more significant since it
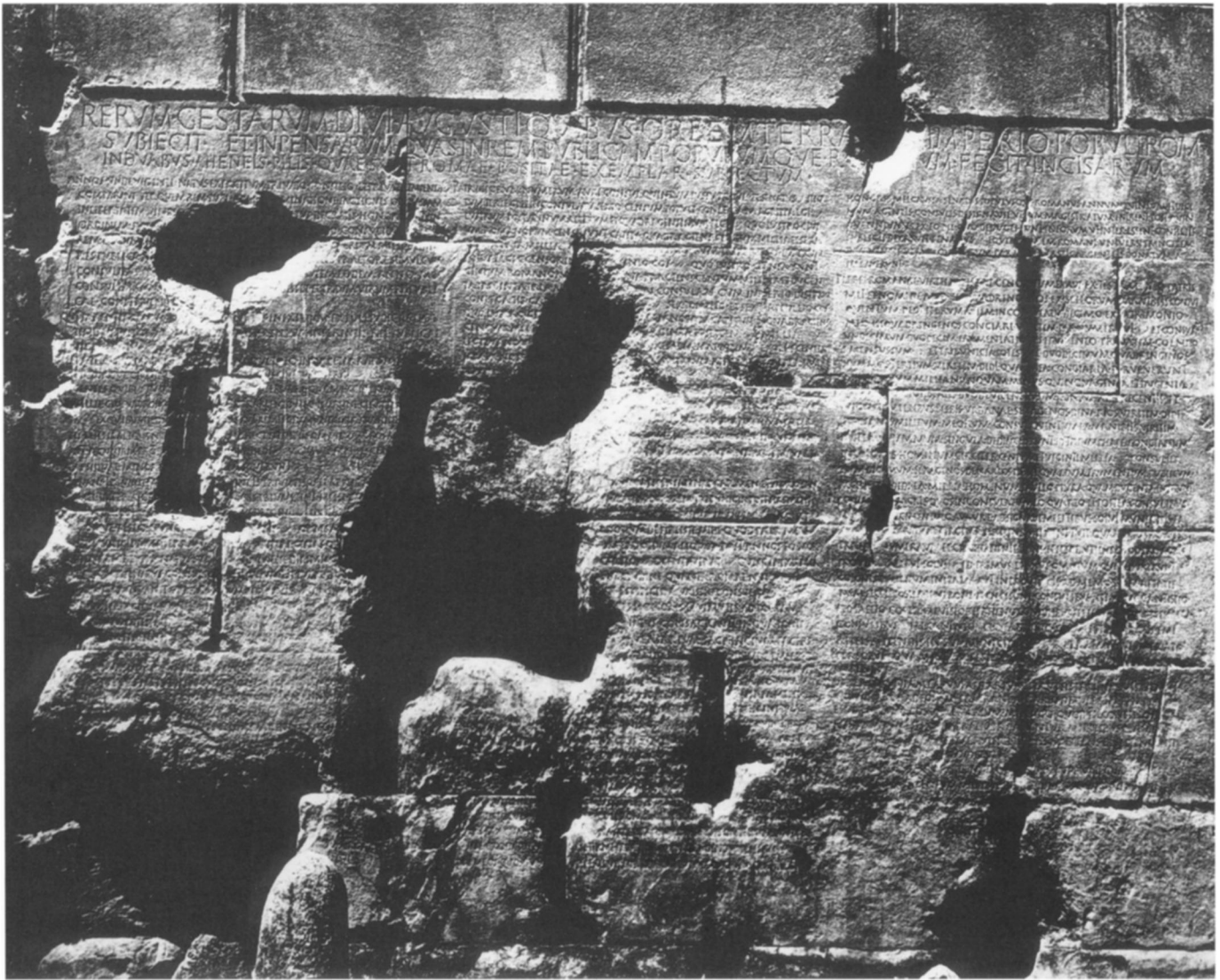
FIGURE 9: *Res Gestae* inscription in Latin, first half, Temple of Augustus, Ankara. From Krencker and Schede, *Der Tempel in Ankara.*

is well known how the earliest Latin authors sought to reconcile the myth of Troy and the foundation myth of Rome by creating a legitimate lineage for Romulus, the eponymous founder of Rome, and Aeneas, the Greek hero who had escaped from Troy. It should also be pointed out that both Caesar and Augustus appropriated the pedigree to propagate the divine ancestry of the Julian family as descending from Aeneas, the so-called progenitor of the Roman race, and his mother, Venus.[43]

Hence by associating the cult of Meter Theon with that of Rome and Augustus a sense of shared patrimony was fostered (Figure 13).[44] Moreover, by bringing the myth into the present and blending it with the worship of Roma and Augustus through the physical setting of the temple and the *Res Gestae* inscription, the plurality of memory, with layers of meaning addressing different audiences, could be manipulated— which was a convenient framework for all.

ARCHITECTURE, LITERACY, AND MEMORY

When he was fourteen, Frank Lloyd Wright was struck by the cogency of a prophecy Victor Hugo made in his novel *The Hunchback of Notre Dame.* The great novelist was convinced that architecture, until then deemed the "great universal writing of humanity," would be superseded by the "new writing of humanity," namely, the printed book. More precisely, printing would, according to Hugo, eventually "kill" architecture.[45] The fatal confrontation Hugo envisaged has to be understood from the viewpoint of an age when "text" had a wider meaning. Today texts are usually contained in books. Before the age of printing, however, the distinction between "book" and "text" still existed.[46] The total number of books in existence was extremely small, which also meant limited circulation for the ones that were available. Rather than being the primary repository for information, books then had the more restricted function of assisting memory. Hence, in contrast to our times, heightened skills of *memoria* acquired through training were
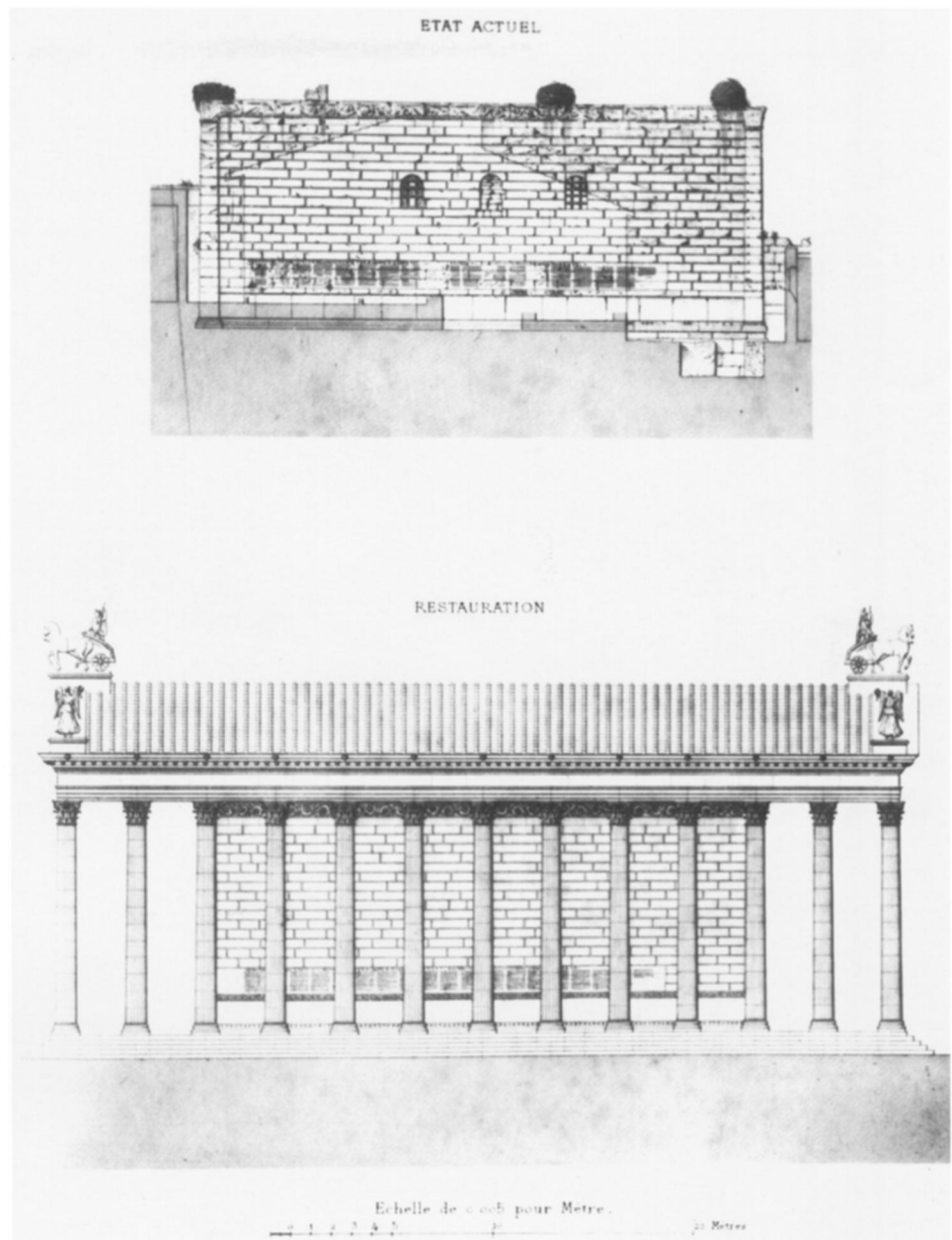
ETAT ACTUEL

RESTAURATION

Echelle de o o5 pour Metre.

highly coveted.[47] In Roman culture as well, memory was one of the basic means of communication from one generation to the next. If we bear in mind that by the first century A.D., approximately fifteen percent of Romans could be considered to be literate in our sense of the term, the importance of this mode of transmission becomes clear.[48]

Recent studies and ancient opinion concur on the primacy of the sense of sight in memorial storage, or put differently, the act of remembering. This is largely due to its spatial rather than temporal character.[49] In fact, in the ancient world the process of remembering words, ideas, or objects was actually a visual one. Latin rhetorical authors underscore how training the memory depended heavily on formulating mnemonic images of art and architecture and imagining these in tandem with what was to be remembered.[50] Accordingly, images of

various kinds, particularly architecture, were widely "read" as "texts" by large segments of the population. Thus, in a society bestowing a high premium as an accomplishment on the art of memory, the placement of the *Res Gestae* inscription in at least two temples connected with the imperial cult in Asia Minor and in a funerary context in Rome, more specifically, a mausoleum, gave its message an extraordinary chance of dissemination both synchronically and diachronically.[51]

When the German architect Paul Bonatz went to work in Turkey after the late 1930s, he visited the temple of Augustus in Ankara, where he found the *Res Gestae* nearly intact. Far from Rome both temporally and spatially and stripped of its funereal setting, the copy possessed an evocative power which led him to remark that it was an exquisite work of propaganda from which even Goebbels could profit.[52] After nearly 2,000
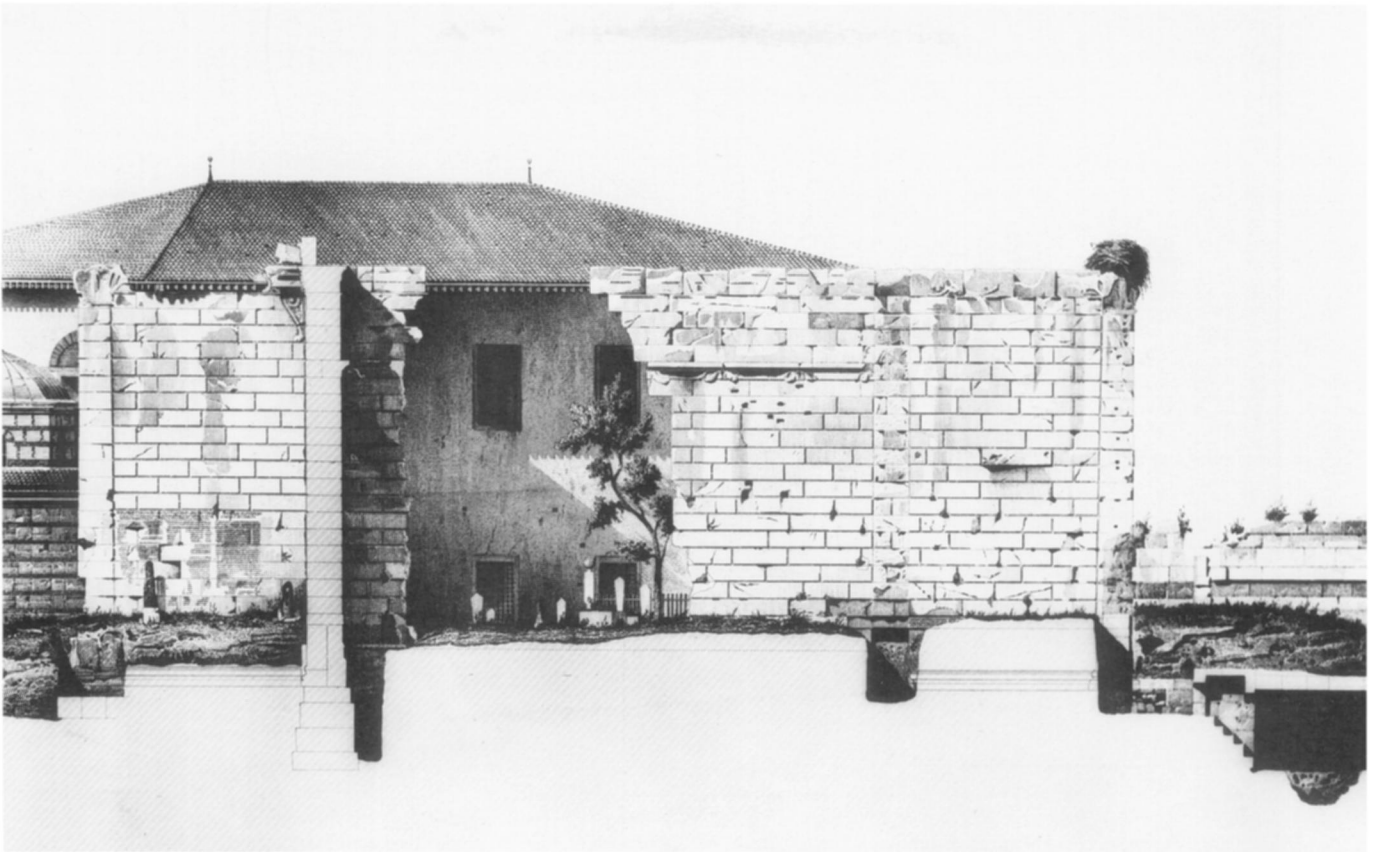
FIGURE 11: Temple of Augustus, Ankara, longitudinal section showing the Latin inscription on the anta left of the entrance. From Perrot and Guillaume, *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et la Bithynie.*

years, the psychological effectiveness and the visual transparency of Augustus's message was such that it could not only still be "read" for what it was, but also had enough relevance to the twentieth century to serve propagandistic ends. In fact, in 1938, Mussolini had a copy of the *Res Gestae* installed in modern Rome, in the restored Ara Pacis, as an instrument for his own imperial vision.[53]
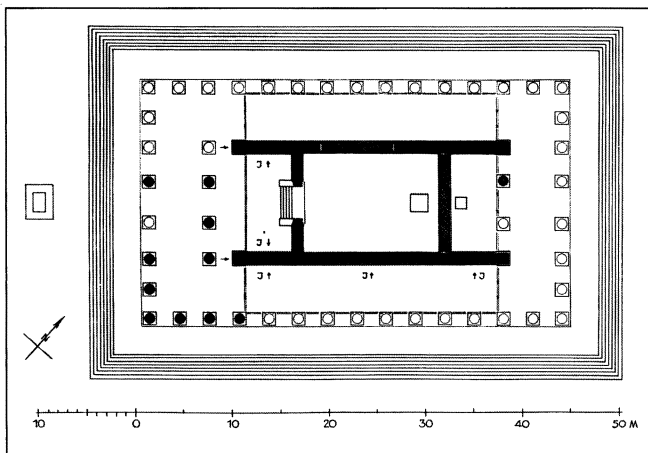
FIGURE 12: Temple of Augustus, Ankara, plan. From Krencker and Schede, *Der Tempel in Ankara.*

The persuasive and timeless aspect of inscriptions in architectural settings is similarly utilized today. The celebrated address, given in 1927, of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of the modern Republic of Turkey, is a call to national duty engraved in the memory of every Turk of a certain age.[54] In spite of the almost unlimited availability of the speech in printed form, parts of it are inscribed in stone in at least two places in Ankara, including the Ministry of Education and the campus of Middle East Technical University (Figures 14, 15). Like the words of Augustus, the words of Atatürk are given a more enduring reading, made richer with layers of meaning, through placement in architectonic settings.

If the inscription on the walls of a ruined, roofless temple can be so instrumentally transmitted in our century, it should be asked how the Roman beholder, whether in Rome or Galatia, for whom the message was presumably intended, would react. With no newspapers, radio, or television, not even electricity, his life was confined to the daylight hours and revolved around the home, the baths, and the public center of town, where the temple dominated physically with its monumentality.[55] Regardless of whether he was literate in our sense or not, he would daily, in Victor Hugo's sense, have "read" the temple and its

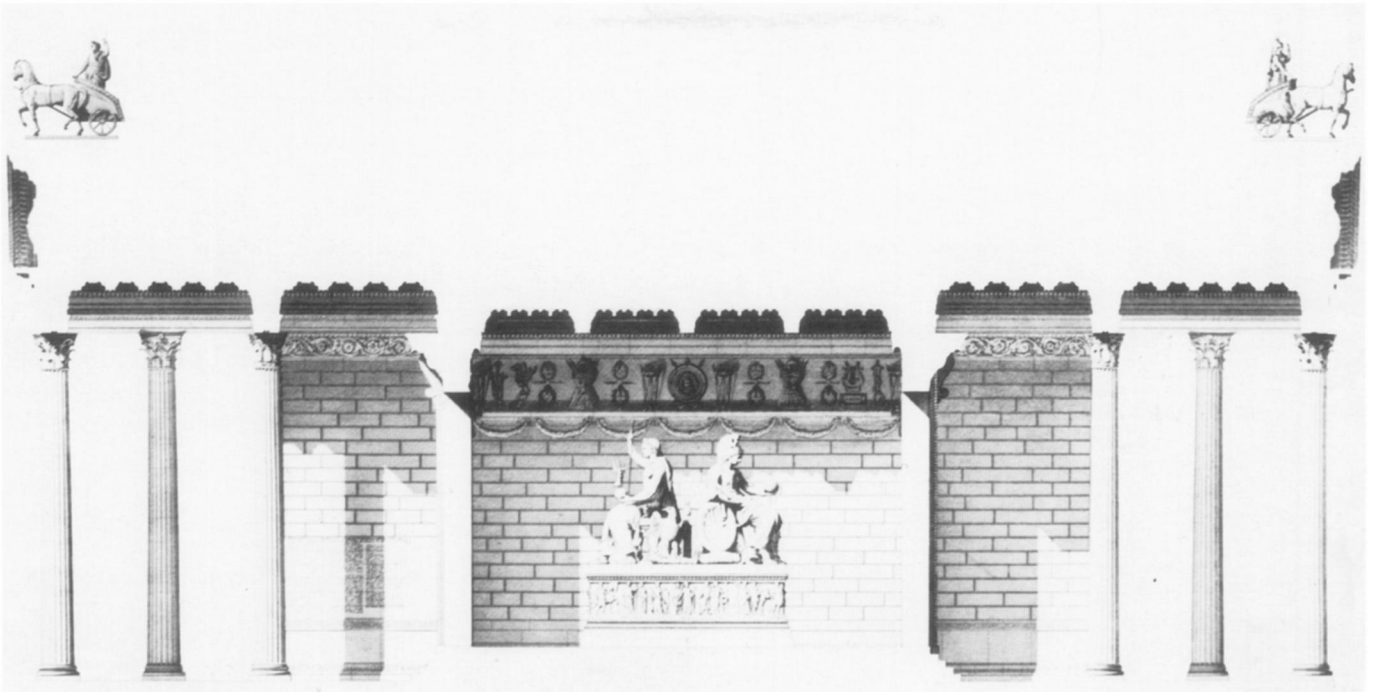FIGURE 13: Temple of Augustus, Ankara, reconstruction of the cella with the statues of Rome and Augustus. From Perrot and Guillaume, *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et la Bithynie*.

FIGURE 14: Ministry of Education, Ankara

message.[56] Whenever he passed by the temple or visited it on special occasions, the quotidian presence of the monumental building with its inscribed walls would be elevated to something larger than itself through the mingling of abstract and concrete reality.[57] In this way, the beholder was every day brought into contact with the larger reality of the empire of which he was a part, and was linked with its founder, whom he had probably never seen and had little prospect of ever seeing.

To conclude, the *Res Gestae* was not a static record chiseled in stone to serve recollection. Regardless of the beholder's degree of verbal literacy, it touched the senses by its architectonic design, which gave the narrative persuasive direction. Inscribed words and the architecture on which they were inscribed operated as one visual code in the generation of the desired narrative. Very different architectural contexts in Rome and Galatia monumentalized the written word through representation and organized the perception of the *Res Gestae* in a visual and spatial manner. As a form of mapping for organizing memory, this was hardly alien to Romans, who valued skills of *memoria* and trained themselves to "remember" ideas by locating them in space. By means of "visually written" narrative, the desired literacy of all subjects of the empire, the elite and the masses, living in Rome and in far-flung Galatia, could be achieved. These culturally heterogeneous and geographically distant audiences were deftly guided to become related through the common bond of an imperial vision personified by the quintessential emperor, Augustus, and his lofty ideals, a vision made universal through the *Res Gestae*.

FIGURE 15: Atatürk Monument, Middle East Technical University, Ankara

Notes

An earlier version of this paper was delivered as "Impact of Different Audiences, Changing Architectural Contexts: Displaying the *Res Gestae* of Augustus" at the Forty-eighth Annual Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians, Seattle, Washington, 5–9 April 1995, in "Open Session: Urbanism and Iconography," John Beldon Scott, chair. I would like to thank Christian F. Otto for encouragement to publish. My thanks are due also to Dr. Yaprak Eran at the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara, Ömür Bakırer, Tuğrul Çakar for photographic support, and İzzet Özkeresteci for technical assistance.

[1] Two inscriptions from Wales have been studied to assess their role in organizing different perceptions: John C. Barrett, "Chronologies of Remembrance: The Interpretation of Some Roman Inscriptions," *World Archaeology* 25 (1993): 236–247. In a similar vein, see Peter J. Holliday, "Roman Triumphal Painting: Its Function, Development, and Reception," *Art Bulletin* 79 (1997): 130–147.

[2] Claude Nicolet, *Space, Geography and Politics in the Early Roman Empire* (*L'inventaire du Monde: Géographie et Politique aux Origines de L'Empire romain*) (Ann Arbor, 1994), 15–27; Edwin S. Ramage, *The Nature and Purpose of Augustus' Res Gestae,* Historia Einzelschriften, vol. 54 (Stuttgart, 1987), 11–12, 111–115. Both authors concentrate on the *Res Gestae* as a textual document. Nicolet explores the geographical context and describes the *Res Gestae* as "a factual exposé of great sobriety" (17) and "didactic, almost pedagogical" (57) while Ramage claims that Augustus formulated his philosophy of government in the *Res Gestae.* Ramage comments on the limitations of the abundant research on the *Res Gestae:* ". . . with few exceptions, however, the rest of the work on the *Res Gestae* has consisted of unproductive discussion of isolated passages and ideas, speculation about form, and theorizing about other superficial matters such as title, date and method of composition. The *Res Gestae* has been abused, then, by

scholars who have their own ideas to impress upon it. Heuss has described it as the rubbish-heap of scholarship . . . Kienast in his good study of Augustus mentions it only incidentally, twice in his text and twice in his footnotes. It would seem to be time, then, for a careful appraisal of the *Res Gestae* to determine how it is put together and to accomplish this a new approach will be necessary. Thesis and theorizing will have to be avoided; the *document* [my emphasis] must be allowed to speak for itself." While Ramage's *textual* argument and conclusion are original and well argued, he falls short of conveying the full significance of the inscription by not emphasizing its architectural aspect as well.

[3] This trend appears to be changing in favor of more contextual approaches. Especially Jaś Elsner's challenging treatment of the *Res Gestae* as a *monument* is a step in this direction: Jaś Elsner, "Inventing Imperium: Texts and the Propaganda of Monuments in Augustan Rome," in *Art and Text in Roman Culture* (Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne, 1996), 32–53. Although Elsner's study came to my attention after the delivery of the paper on which this article is based at the 1995 SAH meeting in Seattle, it helped greatly in clarifying my thoughts.

[4] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven and London, 1993), vii.

[5] "Rerum gestarum divi Augusti, quibus orbem terrarum imperio populi Romani subiecit, et impensarum quas in rem publicam populumque Romanum fecit, incisarum in duabus aheneis pilis, quae sunt Romae positae, exemplar subiectum." *Res Gestae,* Preface. Although this preface was apparently based on the original in Rome, it was intended for a provincial copy: P. A. Brunt and J. M. Moore, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (Oxford, 1967), 38; Suetonius (*Augustus* 101.4); Dio Cassius (56.33.1). All translations from the *Res Gestae* quoted are from Brunt and Moore.

[6] Also noted by Elsner, in *Roman Culture* (see n. 3), 5. Armando Petrucci provides useful insights on the role of public lettering in Rome from the eleventh century through the modern era in "Ephemeral Monumental and Paper Monumental," in *Public Lettering, Script, Power and Culture (La Scrittura: Ideologia e rappresentazione)*, trans. Linda Lappin (Chicago, 1993), 52–61.

[7] The golden age imagery was grounded in genuine faith in the well-being of the empire. Peter J. Holliday, "Time, History and Ritual on the Ara Pacis Augustae," *Art Bulletin* 72 (1990): 544; Karl Galinsky, *Augustan Culture* (Princeton, 1986), 10, 106–121. One of the discussions in the Roman senate after the death of Augustus involved a request to give his period of reign the official name *Saeculum Augustum* (Suetonius, *Augustus* 100.3). For the poetic view see H. C. Baldry, "Who Invented the Golden Age?," *Classical Quarterly*, new series, 2 (1952): 83–92. See also M. L. Clarke, *The Roman Mind: Studies in the History of Thought from Cicero to Marcus Aurelius* (New York, 1968), 89–102. The best overall summary and bibliography of the Augustan *imperium* is Dietmar Kienast, *Augustus: Prinzeps und Monarch* (Darmstadt, 1982), 67–84. For comprehensive coverage of the Augustan age in general, see "The Augustan Empire," in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 10, S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock, and M. P. Charlesworth, eds. (Cambridge, 1934) (see also the new edition, Alan K. Bowman and Edward Champlin, eds.); Kitty Chisholm and John Ferguson, *Rome: The Augustan Age* (Oxford, 1981); Donald Earl, *The Age of Augustus* (London and Toronto, 1968); P. de Francisi, *Augusto e l'Impero* (Quaderni, 1937); V. Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1896); E. S. Shuckburgh, *Augustus: The Life and Times of the Founder of the Roman Empire* (London, 1905); Rolf Winkes, ed., *The Age of Augustus* (Louvain and Providence, 1986).

[8] "Annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi . . ."; "Cum scripsi haec annum agebam septuagensumum sextum." *Res Gestae* 1 and 35.2. The making of a leader unfolds from beginning to end. Ramage, *Augustus' Res Gestae* (see n. 2), 100; E. T. Salmon, "The Evolution of Augustus' Principate," *Historia* 5 (1956): 456–478.

[9] As Pontifex Maximus, Augustus assumed the highest rank of priesthood, which meant that he became the head of state religion. He recounted how "such a concourse poured in from the whole of Italy to my election as has never been recorded at Rome before that time" (*Res Gestae* 10.2). For the legal aspect of Augustus's popular election to this office, see Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae*, 52–53; Lily Ross Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Middletown, Conn., 1931), 183–184. Augustus was careful to indicate that this title was also conferred on him by the senate and the people of Rome: "In my thirteenth consulship the senate, the equestrian order and the whole people of Rome gave me the title of Father of my Country, and resolved that this should be inscribed in the porch of my house and in the Curia Julia and in the Forum Augustum below the chariot which had been set there in my honour by the decree of the senate." *Res Gestae* 35. The title was a culminating point in Augustan ideology: Ramage, *Augustus' Res Gestae* (see n. 2) 104. The year 2 B.C. had astrological importance: see Nicolet, *Politics* (see n. 2), 19. On distributions of grain and money: *Res Gestae*, 15,18; entertainments for the people of Rome: *Res Gestae* 22, 23. These included gladiatorial games, athletic shows, mock naval battles, and twenty-six hunts in which 3,500 animals perished. On building programs: *Res Gestae* 19, 20, 21; besides ambitious new projects like the Temple of Mars the Avenger and the Forum Augustum, Augustus's building program included the completion of works began by Caesar and the restoration of eighty-two temples in the city of Rome. In fact, Augustus claimed to have found Rome a city of brick and left it a city of marble (Suetonius, *Augustus* 28). See also D. R. Stuart, "Imperial Methods of Inscription on Restored Buildings: Augustus and Hadrian," *American Journal of Archaeology* 9 (1905): 427–440; E. Thomas and C. Witschel, "The Claim and Reality of Roman Building Inscriptions," *Papers of the British School in Rome*, new series, 47 (1992): 135–177. For the function of Augustan inscriptions in general: G. Alföldy, "Augustus und die Inschriften: Tradition und Innovation; Die Geburt der imperialen Epigraphik," *Gymnasium* 98 (1991): 289–324. On army reforms: *Res Gestae* 16, 17; artistic patronage: *Res Gestae* 24; recounting campaigns: *Res Gestae* 3, 25, 26 , 27, 28 , 29, 30. This is reminiscent of triumphal inscriptions commissioned by oriental monarchs. See Jean Gagé, *La montée des Sassanides* (Paris, 1964), 281; Riekele Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, König von Assyrien*, Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 9 (1956): 96, where, besides other achievements, the king describes his conquest of Egypt. For the varieties of lengthy inscriptions, see Colin Wells, *The Roman Empire* (London, 1984), 40–41.

[10] "Ianum Quirinum, quem claussum esse maiores nostri voluerunt cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parta victoriis pax, cum, priusquam nascerer, a condita urbe bis omnino clausum fuisse prodatur memoriae, ter me principe senatus claudendum esse censuit." *Res Gestae* 13.

[11] "Quo pro merito meo senatus consulto Augustus appellatus sum et laureis postes aedium mearum vestiti publice coronaque civica super ianuam meam fixa est et clupeus aureus in curia Iulia positus, quem mihi senatum populumque Romanum dare virtutis clementiaeque et iustitiae et pietatis caussa testatum est per eius clupei inscriptionem." *Res Gestae* 34.2

[12] Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art (Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe)*, trans. M. D. Hottinger (New York, 1932), 230.

[13] Not unlike the aphorism of the Salada teabag kindly sent to me by Delbert Highlands: "History is often an agreed upon set of fabrications." In a more extreme view, Janet Abu-Lughod claims that "historical writing is a construction, perhaps as imaginative as any literary creation." Idem, "On the Remaking of History: How to Reinvent the Past," in *Remaking History*, ed. Barbara Kruger and Phil Mariani (Seattle, 1989), 111. The new historical narrative of Augustus had its counterpart in rewritten artistic and urban texts which were given the proper iconography. Richard Brilliant, *Visual Narratives* (Ithaca and London, 1984); Diane Favro, "Reading the Augustan City" in *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art*, ed. Peter Holliday (New York), 235; Barbara Kellum, "Sculptural Programs in Augustan Rome: The Temple of Apollo on the Palatine," in *Age of Augustus* (see n. 7), 169–176; Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus (Augustus und die Macht der Bilder)*, trans. Alan Shapiro (Ann Arbor, 1988), 3–4. Reviews of Zanker: Richard Brilliant, *Art Bulletin* 72 (1990): 327–330; A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Journal of Roman Studies* 79 (1989): 157–164. See also the catalog of the exhibition *Die Bildnisse des Augustus: Herrscherbild und Politik im kaiserlichen Rome*, ed. Paul Zanker and Klaus Vierneisel (Munich, 1979).

[14] Sixteen months before his death, Augustus entrusted several documents to the Vestal Virgins, including his will, instructions for his funeral, records concerning the financial and military affairs of the state, and the *index rerum gestarum*. Suetonius, *Augustus* 101; Cassius Dio 56.33.1); E. Hohl, "Zu den Testamenten des Augustus," *Klio* 30 (1937): 323–342.

[15] The tomb of the Plautii near Tivoli, which may have been influenced by the Mausoleum of Augustus, had marble tablets in front. Luigi Crema, *L'Architettura Romana*, Enciclopedia classica, sezione 3.12.1 (Turin, 1959), 253, quoted by L. Richardson, Jr., *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore and London), 248.

[16] However, the symbolic and physical references of the Mausoleum, the Ara Pacis, and the Temple of Mars Ultor (Forum of Augustus) to each other were meticulously constructed in the urban context. Elsner, in *Roman Culture* (see n. 3), 38–39; Favro, in *Ancient Art*, (see n. 13), 238–244; Nicolet, *Early Roman Empire* (see n. 2), 16–17. The well-known tomb of Mausolus, Hellenistic ruler of Caria, was considered to be one of the seven wonders of the world (Vitruvius 2.8.10–11). J. C. Richard, "Mausoleum: d'Halicarnasse à Rome, puis à Alexandrie," *Latomus* 29 (1970): 370–388; Dietmar Kienast, "Augustus und Alexander," *Gymnasium* 76 (1969): 430–456. Another view is that Augustus's mausoleum was a political statement against Marc Antony: K. Kraft, "Der Sinn des Mausoleums des Augustus," *Historia* 16 (1967): 189–206. For reconstructions of the monument, see Michael Eisner, "Zur Typologie der Mausoleen des Augustus und des Hadrian," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 86 (1979): 319–324; Henner von Hesberg and Silvio Panciera, *Mausoleum des Augustus: Der Bau und seine Inschriften*, Bayerische Akademie des Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Heft 108 (1994).

[17] After Octavian became Augustus by decree of the senate, he was careful to point out (*Res Gestae* 34.3), he "excelled all in influence [*auctoritas*], although [he] possessed no more official power [*potestas*] than others who were [his] colleagues in the several magistracies." Similarly, in the restoration of the Capitol and the Theater of Pompey, Augustus advertised his choice of keeping a low profile by not inscribing his name on them (*Res Gestae* 20).

[18] For a sophisticated comparative reading of Trajan's *res gestae* with the *Res Gestae* of Augustus, see Valerie Huet, "Stories One Might Tell of Roman Art: Reading Trajan's Column and the Tiberius Cup," in *Roman Culture*, ed. Jaś Elsner (see n. 3), 23–24.

The most readily available edition of the *Res Gestae* in English is that of P. A.

Brunt and J. M. Moore, eds., *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: The Achievements of the Divine Augustus*, reprint (London, 1979). The Latin text printed in Brunt and Moore is that of Victor Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, reprint (Oxford, 1967), 1–31, where both the Latin and Greek texts are printed. See also Jean Gagé, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 3d ed. (Paris, 1975); Frederick W. Shipley, *Velleius Paterculus, Compendium of Roman History, Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (London and New York, 1924); Theodor Mommsen, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 2d ed. (Berlin, 1883); H. Volkmann, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 3d ed. (Berlin, 1969). Turkish translation by Hamit Dereli, *Augustus Ankara Anıtı*, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları Latin Klasikleri Dizisi, no. 26 (Istanbul, 1949). Full bibliography of texts and commentaries in Ramage, *Augustus' Res Gestae* (see n. 2), 121.

[19] Ankara: E. G. Hardy, *Monumentum Ancyranum* (Oxford, 1923); E. Kornemann, "Monumentum Ancyranum," *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 16 (1935): 211–231; E. Skard, "Zum Monumentum Ancyranum," *Symbolae Osloenses* 31 (1955): 119–221. Apollonia: Mommsen, *Res Gestae*, xxxiv–xxxviii; Gagé, *Res Gestae*, 6. Antioch in Pisidia: A. von Premerstein, "Monumentum Antiochenum," *Klio*, Beiheft 19 (Leipzig, 1927); David M. Robinson, "The Res Gestae Divi Augusti as Recorded on the Monumentum Antiochenum," *American Journal of Philology* 47 (1926): 1–54. That these are the only copies of the *Res Gestae* of Augustus known from the Roman world is difficult to explain by coincidence alone. Modern scholars have drawn attention to this fact but without convincing explanation. Z. Yavetz, "The *Res Gesta* and Augustus' Public Image," in *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects*, ed. F. Millar and E. Segal (Oxford, 1984), 29.

[20] Henry Thompson Rowell, *Rome in the Augustan Age* (Norman, Okla., and London, 1962), 224.

[21] G. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (Oxford, 1965); David Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1950), 468–490 (text), 1330–1348 (notes). A. H. M. Jones, "The Greeks under the Roman Empire," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963): 3–19; idem, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford, 1971); Theodor Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire from Caesar to Diocletian I*, reprint (London, 1909), 320–366; R. K. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East* (Baltimore, 1969).

[22] A major step in this policy was to secure the support of local cities. Anthony D. Macro, "The Cities of Asia Minor under the Roman Imperium," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung, Politische Geschichte (Provinzen und Randvölker): Griechischer Balkanraum; Kleinasien II, Principat*, 7.2 (Berlin and New York, 1980), 658–697; T. Pekary, "Kleinasien unter Römischer Herrschaft," ibid., 595–657; A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy in the East* (London, 1983).

[23] R. K. Sherk, "Roman Galatia: The Governors from 25 B.C. to A.D. 14," in *Aufstieg* (see n. 22), 954–1052; Stephen Mitchell, "Population and Land in Roman Galatia," ibid., 1053–1081; Barbara Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* (Oxford, 1967), 29–41; Stephen Mitchell, "The History and Archaeology of Galatia" (Ph.D. diss., Oxford University), 1974.

[24] Far beyond administrative expediency for the Romans, the imperial cult was a major factor in the civic development of provincial cities in Asia Minor. Stephen Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Man and Greeks in Asia Minor I: The Celts and the Impact of Roman Rule* (Oxford, 1993), 117. For the political implications of the *Res Gestae* in Ankara and the imperial cult, see Suna Güven, "*Res Gestae Divi Augusti* Yazıtı ve Ankara'nın Roma Dünyasındaki Yeri," in *Ankara, Ankara* (Ankara, 1994), ed. Enis Batur, 51–61.

[25] John E. Stambaugh, "The Functions of Roman Temples," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung: Religion (Heidentum: Römische Religion, Allgemeines) II, Principat*, 16.1 (Berlin and New York), 585. At least thirty-four cities in Asia Minor had priests of Augustus. Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor*, 100. For a catalogue of imperial temples and shrines in Asia Minor, see S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge and London, 1986), 249–274. See also R. Mellor, *Thea Roma: The Worship of the Goddesss Roma in the Greek World* (Göttingen, 1975); Barbara Burrell, "Neokoroi: Greek Cities of the Roman East," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 85 (1981): 301–302.

[26] W. H. Buckler, W. M. Calder, and W. K. C. Guthrie, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, vol. 4 (Manchester, 1933), 48–56; Elsner, in *Roman Culture* (see n. 3), 50–51.

[27] On Antioch in Pisidia, see F. V. J. Arundell, *Discoveries in Asia Minor, including a Description of the Ruins of Several Ancient Sites, and, especially Antioche of Pisidia I* (London, 1834); Tuchelt in *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens* (see n. 42), 501–522; W. M. Ramsay, "Colonia Caesareia (Pisidian Antioch) in the Augustan Age," *Journal of Roman Studies* 6 (1916): 83–134; David M. Robinson, "A Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Antioch and at Sizma," *American Journal of Archaeology* 28 (1924): 435–444; Stephen Mitchell, "Pisidia Antioch'u 1982 Çalışmaları," *I. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, İstanbul 23–26 Mayıs 1983 (Ankara, 1984), 79–81; idem, "Pisidian Antioch 1982," *Anatolian Studies* 33 (1983): 7–9. Antioch was made into a Roman *colonia* by Augustus following the precedent of colonies established by Julius Caesar at Apamea, Heraclea Pontica, Lampsacus, and Sinope and in the tradition of the former's other Pisidian colonies at Comama, Cremna, Germa, Lystra, Ninica, Olbasa, and Parlais. F. Vittinghoff, "Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus," *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Abhandlungen der Geistes und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, 14 (1951), 1364, 1366. Levick, *Roman Colonies* (see n. 23), 59; Magie, *Roman Rule* (see n. 21), 1319 n. 30.

[28] David M. Robinson, "Roman Sculpture from Colonia Caesareia /Pisidian Antioch," *Art Bulletin* 9 (1926): 5–69; Mehmet Taşlıalan, "Pisidia Antiocheia'sı Mimari ve Heykeltraşlık Eserleri," M.A. thesis, Konya Selçuk Üniversitesi, 1988, 24–29, plates 11–21.

[29] The location of the *Res Gestae* inscription has been variously suggested as the front of the arch, its inner face, and the surrounding portico. Mitchell, "Pisidia Antioch'u" (see n. 27), 80. The most recent research indicates that the propylon was the location of the *Res Gestae* inscription. Mehmet Taşlıalan, *Yalvaç Pisidia Antiocheia* (Ankara, 1997), 21.

[30] Roman military *coloniae* had good reason for using an architectural vocabulary emanating directly from Rome. J. B. Ward-Perkins, "The Architecture of Roman Anatolia: The Roman Contribution," *Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology II*, Ankara 1973 (Ankara, 1978), 883; idem, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture* (Harmondsworth and Baltimore, 1970), 390; Margaret Lyttelton, "The Design and Planning of Temples and Sanctuaries in Asia Minor in the Roman Imperial Period," in *Roman Architecture in the Greek World*, ed. Sarah Macready and F. Homer Thompson (London, 1987), 41.

[31] Edward Seymour Forster, *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople 1554–1562, Newly Translated from the Latin of the Elzevir Edition of 1653* (Oxford, 1927), 50. For the career of Busbecq, ibid., introduction, viii–xvi. Turkish translation by Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, *Busbecq Türkiye Mektupları* (Istanbul, 1936); Semavi Eyice, *İslam Ansiklopedisi* 6 (1992): 446–467; Stefanos Yerasimos, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 2 (1994): 342; Oktay Aslanapa, *Türkiye'de Avusturya'lı Sanat Tarihçileri ve Sanatkarlar (Österreiche Kunsthistoriker und Künstler in der Türkei)* (Istanbul, 1963), 21–22, 79.

[32] Franz Babinger, *Hans Dernschwam's Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553–1565)* (Berlin and Munich, 1986), 190. Turkish translation by Yaşar Önen, *İstanbul ve Anadolu'ya Seyahat Günlüğü* (Ankara, 1987). For Hans Dernschwam's career, see Stefanos Yerasimos, "Dernschwam, Hans," *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 3 (1994): 36–37.

[33] It has recently been argued that the credit for discovery belongs to two Hungarians. L. Tardy and E. Moskovsky, "Zur Entdeckung des *Monumentum Ancyranum* (1555)," *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 21 (1973): 375–401.

[34] Because of the windows it was assumed that the building was a senate house (*prytanée*) rather than a temple. Charles Texier, *Description de L'Asie Mineure I* (Paris, 1839), 173.

[35] Clive Foss, "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 31 (1977): 65–66.

[36] Questions pertaining to the temple concern date and dedication. K. Fittschen, "Zur Datierung des Augustus-Roma-Tempels in Ankara," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2 (1985): 309–315; Klaus Tuchelt and F. Preisshofen, "Zur identitätsfrage des Augustus-Tempels in Ankara," ibid., 318–322; Helmut Halfmann, "Zur Datierung und Deutung der Priesterliste am Augustus-Roma-Tempel in Ankara," *Chiron* 16 (1986): 35–42; Heidi Hänlein, "Zur Datierung des Augustustempels in Ankara," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1981): 511–513. Stephen Mitchell, "Galatia under Tiberius," *Chiron* 16 (1986): 17–33, especially 27–30.

[37] For a chronological account and bibliography of descriptions by travelers and savants including Dernschwam, Laisné, Tournefort, Lucas, Pococke, Kin-

nair, Texier, Hamilton, and others, see Daniel Krencker and Martin Schede (with assistance from Oskar Heck), *Der Tempel in Ankara, Denkmäler Antiker Architektur*, Band 3 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1936), 1–8. See also the review by E. Wiegand, *Gnomon* 13 (1937): 414–422. For a general list of early travelers to Ankara, see Semavi Eyice, "Ankara'nın Eski Bir Resmi," in *Atatürk Konferansları IV*, Türk Tarih Kurumu (Ankara, 1972), 61–124. Korkmaz Alemdar, "Seyahat-namelerde Ankara," in *Ankara, Ankara* (see n. 24), 245–252, is largely based on Eyice. Especially useful is Georges Perrot and Edmund Guillaume, *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et la Bithynie*, 2 vols. (Paris,1872), I (text); 243–272; 2 (plates): 13–31. See also Edmund Guillaume, "Le Temple Rome et d'Auguste à Ancyre," *Revue Archéologique*, nouvelle série, 11 (1870): 347–360; Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 171–206, plates 64–69.

[38] Although outdated in some respects, the most complete archaeological study is still that of Krencker and Schede, *Der Tempel.* For the Turkish excavations, see Hamit Koşay, "Ankara Augustus Mabedi Kazısı/Augustustempel in Ankara," *Anatolia* 2 (1957): 133–138.

[39] Technical and bureaucratic problems concerning the preservation of the monument and inscription are summarized by Ekrem Akurgal, "Augustus Tapınağı ve Yazıtlar Kıraliçesi," *Ankara Dergisi* 1 (1990): 16–27. Diagnostic laboratory analysis for the conservation of the monument was carried out by Middle East Technical University in Ankara. Emine Caner et al., "Effects of Air Pollution on the Monuments in Ankara—Case-Study: Temple of Augustus," *Durability of Building Materials* 5 (1988): 463–473. See also E. Caner, Pamela French and Toni Cross, "Project for the Conservation of the Temple of Rome and Augustus," Abstract, *American Journal of Archaeology* 92 (1988): 231–232. The historical plaza of Ulus was designed after a national competition. For the implemented entry, see Raci Bademli and Zeki Ülkenli, "Hacı Bayram Çevre Düzenleme Projesi," *Ankara Dergisi* 1 (1992): 57–62.

[40] For Augustus's building program in Rome as an ideological statement linking past and present, see *Res Gestae*, 19–21; R. Sablayrolles, "Espace urbain et propagande politique: l'organisation du centre de Rome par Auguste (*Res Gestae* 19 à 21)," *Pallas* 21 (1981): 59–77.

[41] Krencker and Schede, *Der Tempel* (see n. 37) 51; Fittschen (see n. 36), 313–315.

[42] Ender Varinlioğlu, "Meter Theon," *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi Yıllığı* (Ankara, 1992), 39–43; Klaus Tuchelt, "Bemerkungen zum Tempelbezirk von Antiocheia ad Pisidiam," in *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens, Festschrift für Kurt Bittel I*, ed. R. Boehmer and H. Hauptmann (Mainz am Rhein, 1983), 515.

[43] In the *Aeneid*, Virgil consolidated the notion of Aeneas as the progenitor of the Roman race. Erich S. Gruen, *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992), 6–51. Significantly, the Palatine residence of Augustus was beside the hut of Romulus. For the connection of the tomb of Augustus with Troy, see Ross Holloway, "The Tomb of Augustus and the Princes of Troy," *American Journal of Archaeology* 70 (1966): 171–173. Establishing a connection with Anatolian Troy was a device also used by Constantine to promote his new capital of Constantinople as a city more ancient than Rome. A. Alföldi, "On the Foundation of Constantinople: A Few Notes," *Journal of Roman Studies* 37 (1947): 10–16.

[44] Although the temple was dedicated to Rome and Augustus, the cella does not appear to have been divided. Perrot and Guillaume, *Exploration archéologique* (see n. 37), plate 22, shows the statues of Rome and Augustus back to back sharing the same cella. For temples with double cellae in western Anatolia, see Mükerrem Usman Anabolu, "Batı Anadolu'da 1'den Fazla Naos'lu Tapınaklar," *Belleten* 56 (1992): 7–21.

[45] Victor Hugo, *Notre Dame of Paris* (London, 1978). The idea is summed up in Book V, Section 1 (Abbas Beati Martini), 188: ". . . a tooth triumphs over the body. The Nile rat kills the crocodile, the swordfish kills the whale, the book will kill the building ," and continues with the diatribe in Section 2 (This Will Kill That), 188–201; Frank Lloyd Wright, "The Architect," talk to the University of Chicago Committee on Social Thought, 1946, in *The Works of the Mind*, Robert B. Heywood, ed., 4th. ed. (Chicago and London, 1966), 53. Compare Petrucci, *Public Lettering* (see n. 6), 52–61.

[46] Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1992), 8. In her excellent study Carruthers shows that "a book is not necessarily a text" and that "the book was only one way to remember a text" in medieval society.

[47] Training in memorative processes and devices was basic to learning and creative activity until the advent of printing. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 6–9. Sources for the classical art of memory: Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago, 1966), 1–26.

[48] W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 267; on the problem of what is meant by literacy, 3–10. On its uneven distribution, see idem,"Literacy and Epigraphy," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 52 (1983): 97.

[49] Belief in the supremacy of sight over the other senses for memory has Greek origins (Aristotle, *De Anima* 429a.1–4; 431b.2; *De Sensu e Sensibili* 437a.5); Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 28, 32; Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 27–28. The effects of literacy could sometimes be detrimental to memory and remembering, according to the ancients: Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 30–33. One of the reasons for images in medieval churches, besides teaching and veneration, was recollection: L. G. Duggan, "Was Art Really the Book of the Illiterate?" *Word and Image* 5 (1989): 227–251. See also Michael Camille, "Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Literacy," *Art History* 8 (1985): 26–49.

[50] Roman rhetorical authors follow Aristotle on memory. The anonymous author of *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (3.16–24), Cicero (*De Oratore* 2.353–60), and Quintilian (*Institutio Oratoria* 9.2.17–26) explain mnemonic techniques and theory. An important application involved the place system: Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 1–41; L. A. Post, "Ancient Memory Systems," *Classical Weekly* 25 (1932): 105–109; Richard Sorabji, *Aristotle on Memory* (Providence, 1972), 22–31. The application of the architectural mnemonic to the Roman house is demonstrated by Bettina Bergmann, "The Roman House as Memory Theater: The House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii," *Art Bulletin* 76 (1994): 225–255. Diane Favro draws connections between visual literacy and the mnemonic system at the urban level: Diane Favro, *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome* (Cambridge, 1996), 4–11; idem, in *Ancient Art* (see n. 13), 230–257. See also review by Ruth Webb, *Art Bulletin* 78 (1996): 163.

[51] Regardless of the level of literacy, visual propaganda and recitation, i.e., the practice of reading aloud to those who were unable to read, were important vehicles of dissemination and should not be overlooked. W. V. Harris, "Literacy and Epigraphy," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 52 (1983): 87–111; Jane DeRose Evans, *The Art of Persuasion: Political Propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus*, (Ann Arbor, 1992, 1995), 7; Favro, in *Ancient Art* (see n. 13), 247, also claims that lengthy epigraphic texts were for literate citizens.

[52] Paul Bonatz, *Leben und Bauen* (Stuttgart, 1950), 208.

[53] Spiro Kostof, "The Emperor and the Duce: The Planning of Piazzale Augusto Imperatore at Rome," in *Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics*, ed. Henry Millon and Linda Nochlin (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), 304. For Mussolini's imperial vision and his propagandistic use of the Roman image to this end, see Peter Bondanella, *The Eternal City: Roman Images in the Modern World* (Chapel Hill and London, 1987), 172–206; Alex Scobie, *Hitler's State Architecture: The Impact of Classical Antiquity* (University Park and London, 1990), 9–36; Luisa Quartermaine, "Slouching Towards Rome: Mussolini's Imperial Vision," in *Urban Society in Roman Italy*, ed. T. J. Cornell and Kathryn Lomas (London, 1995), 203–215.

[54] The long speech of Atatürk (*Nutuk*) was delivered in Ankara 15–20 October 1927 and originally published in three volumes. Dedicated to Turkish youth, it is an account of the National War of Independence and the foundation of the Turkish Republic. Full text in Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *Nutuk*, 3 vols., Türk Devrim Tarihi Ensitüsü (Istanbul, 1940); for an abridged version, Atatürk, *Nutuk*, ed. Ahmet Köklüdiller (Istanbul, 1987).

[55] The Roman daily routine is well studied. See particularly, J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome* (London, 1969); Jérôme Carcopino, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome*, trans. Emily O. Lorimer, ed. Henry T. Rowell (New Haven, 1940); Lionel Casson, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* (New York, 1975); Hilary J. Deighton, *A Day in the Life of Ancient Rome* (London, 1992); F. Dupont, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* (Oxford, 1989). L. Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, trans. L. A. Magnus and J. H. Freese, 4 vols. (London, 1908, 1913); U. E. Paoli, *La Vita Romana: Vie quotidienne dans la Rome antique* (Paris, 1955).

[56] Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (see n. 50), 157; while Roman senators were certainly literate, citizens in Latin-speaking cities may be assumed to have been fairly literate. This would have been less true for developing provinces as in remote central Anatolia. See also Stanley F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome: From the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny* (London, 1977). On the other hand, the

ubiquity of ancient public inscriptions has been ascribed to the fact that "a rather large portion" of the population was literate. Petrucci, *Public Lettering* (see n. 6), 1. For the opposing view, see Favro, in *Ancient Art* (see n. 13), 231, 234, where she states that "in a society in which few could read, visual imagery functioned as a literal text legible to all" and stresses the importance of visual literacy for locational orientation simply to get about in the absence of street signs, names, and numbers. Idem, *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome*, 4–6.

[57] Texts may become transcendent in different ways. For example, Armenians regarded their sacred books in the same manner as Greeks did their icons and displayed them in processions before battle. John Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, integrated ed. (Harmondsworth, 1979), 289. For the uses of writing in art, see Oleg Grabar, *Intermediary of Ornament* (Princeton, 1992), 47–118.

Illustration Credits

Figures 1, 5, 6, 14, 15. Photos: author

Figure 2. From Mehmet Taşhalan, *Yalvaç Pisidia Antiocheia* (Ankara, 1997), 17

Figures 3, 8, 9, 12. From Daniel Krencker and Martin Schede, *Der Tempel in Ankara* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1936): figure 2, plate 2, plate 39, figure 10

Figure 4. From M. Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant* (Paris, 1717), letter 21, plate 446

Figure 7. From Charles Texier, *Description de L'Asie Mineure I* (Paris, 1839), plate 64

Figures 10, 11, 13. From Georges Perrot and Edmund Guillaume, *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et la Bithynie* (Paris,1872): plate 23, plate 18, plate 22