



National Library  
of Canada

Acquisitions and  
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et  
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa (Ontario)  
K1A 0N4

*Your file - Votre référence*

*Our file - Notre référence*

## NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

## AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Canada

The Function of Pompey's Building Complex in the Campus Martius

By

Mark A. Temelini

This thesis has been submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research of the University of Ottawa in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Classical Studies.

Adviser: Professor Robert Develin

July 14, 1993



Mark A. Temelini, Ottawa, Canada, 1993



National Library  
of Canada

Acquisitions and  
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et  
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa (Ontario)  
K1A 0N4

*Your file* *Votre référence*

*Our file* *Notre référence*

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-89715-5

Canada



UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA  
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

*"Monumentum est...quicquid ob memoriam  
alicuius factum est, ut fana, porticus,  
scripta et carmina."*

- Festus, 139.115

## Abstract

On September 29, 55 BC, Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, master of Italy, and conqueror of Spain, Africa, and the East, celebrated the grand opening of his magnificent building complex in the Campus Martius. This extraordinary monument was an architectural achievement hitherto never attempted at Rome. The building complex was designed with Rome's first permanent stone theatre, a temple of Venus Victrix, a quadriporticus, a curia, and housed numerous works of art.

Pompey was a triumphant *imperator*, who used his *manubiae* to build a *monumentum* that would best represent his desire for supreme and everlasting glory, in an age of political turmoil, social upheaval, and religious strife. The attempt to discover what influenced Pompey to build such a structure and the purposes it served will show that the building complex functions as an architectural metaphor toward Pompey's quest for popularity at Rome.

## CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
1. Background: Theatrical Development and the Architecture of Victory before Pompey.....	4
2. Pompey, Politics and the Theatre Complex.....	20
3. A Decorated Building Complex.....	38
4. Pompey and the Cult of Venus Victrix.....	59
Conclusion.....	78
Notes.....	81
Bibliography.....	94
Plates.....	102

## Introduction

In the late Republic the competitive Roman spirit drove men to be *primi, magni, optimi, maximi*. The pursuit of individual honour and glory was urged on by an intense desire for fame. Ambitious men exercised great power and influence. Authority was verging on monarchy. Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar understood that massive building projects were the visible signs of power and wealth. They built or projected glorious and impressive monuments with the enormous spoils from successful military campaigns and profits from confiscations. They desired that Rome rival the cities of the Greek East.

As Pompey the Great was returning from his campaigns against Mithridates in 62 BC he conceived the idea of building a permanent theatre at Rome. Plutarch (*Pomp.* 42) reports that Pompey was inspired by the Greek theatre he saw at Mytilene, on the island of Lesbos. It was completed seven years later, in 55 BC, and the inaugural games were magnificent.

Just as other generals had done before him, Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus also turned to monumental buildings to commemorate his glory. But he did not just build a traditional, small triumphal portico or dedicatory temple as his predecessors had. Pompey's architectural achievement was an undertaking of a scale up to this time never attempted at Rome. His grandiose theatre had a cavea

with a seating capacity of at least 20,000 people, and came complete with a curia, an exceptional quadriporticus behind the stage, and a temple dedicated to Venus Victrix at the top of the cavea. This combination temple-theatre-portico complex was decorated with numerous works of art associated with the theatre, the world of Venus, and the nations he conquered.

Why did Pompey build such a structure? In what year was the decision made? What was the function of this building complex? Practical and/or symbolic? How did the Senate and Roman people react to such an architectural innovation? In an attempt to answer these questions this thesis will study the social attitude, political ideology, religious implications, and architectural dynamism in Pompey's Rome prior to and at the time of the construction of this victorious *monumentum* to greatness.

The objective of this thesis will be to assemble literary, historical, and archaeological data relating to the function of Pompey's building complex. The programme will involve the study of primary source materials and review of secondary sources (recognized works in Roman social, political, religious, and architectural history).

These sources will help to recreate evidence of Rome's theatrical tradition, and the function of triumphal monuments in the Campus Martius. They will provide a firm foundation for the political and social events which influenced Pompey's decision to build an

unprecedented monument of extraordinary dimensions, and illustrate the architectural and decorative material used in its design. Finally, the sources will determine how Pompey used religion in order to consecrate his *magnus situs*.

## 1. Background: Theatrical Development and the Architecture of Victory before Pompey

Since the fourth century BC the permanent, stone theatre structure was an integral part of every major Greek city from Syria to Magna Graecia.<sup>1</sup> In Rome, however, the architectural evolution of the theatre building was a slow and gradual development which combined the increased popularity of theatrical performances, and Roman politicians "competing with clever skills and striving by noble birth/struggling night and day with outstanding effort/to get to the summit of riches and to gain power over things."<sup>2</sup>

According to Livy (7.2.1-3, 3.1-6) the Romans had been first introduced to dramatic performances ("*nova res bellicoso populo*") during the celebration of the *ludi Romani* in 366 BC. This two week festival began on the fourth of September and was held in the Circus Maximus in honour of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, whose temple was high atop the Capitoline hill. But, under the sponsorship of the first elected curule aedile at the time, a terrible pestilence interrupted the circus games. So, in order to appease the gods, Etruscan dancers and musicians were summoned to perform. The innovation was such a success as an act of healing that from that moment onwards dramatic *ludi* were incorporated into the annual games.

Eventually, with the influence of Greek drama, in the late third century, plots developed and performances had become more artistic

and sophisticated. The bilingually educated Romans adopted the Greek word for stage and called their theatrical performances *ludi scaenici*. With the addition of more annual religious festivals, dramatic performances associated with them also increased.<sup>3</sup>

All six annual *ludi* were recognized primarily as circus games devoted to the presentation of athletic events, chariot races, and gladiatorial combats in honour of a specific god, with only a couple of days set aside for dramatic performances. As it is obvious that the competitive events took place in the circus, there were two possible locations or sites for the dramatic portion of the *ludi*: i) in the circus, since it was already equipped with a permanent seating area and wooden platforms could be brought in as stages and easily dismantled; ii) in front of the temple of the honoured deity, where a temporary seating area and stage could easily be built.<sup>4</sup>

Livy (above) tells us that drama originated with the Etruscans as an act of appeasement with a view to healing. Apollo, in fact, was the Etruscan god of healing introduced to Rome primarily for his curative attributes.<sup>5</sup> His shrine, Apollinare, was located outside the Porta Carmentalis in the Campus Martius, and a temple was dedicated to him in 433 BC to safeguard Rome against a plague. Through later Greek influence he also became known as the god of theatre. With this dual role it seems only fitting that early dramatic performances took place at his shrine or temple.

So when the first *ludi Plebeii* were held in November 220 in the newly built Circus Flaminius in the Campus Martius, the *ludi scaenici* of the festival must have been appropriately held near the shrine of Apollo located in the vicinity of the circus. As well, when the *ludi Apollinares* were incorporated into the Roman calendar as a regular feature in 208 the competitive events took place in the circus while the theatrical performances were held in front of the temple of Apollo.<sup>6</sup> During the *ludi Florales*, celebrated as early as 240 BC, licentious plays, similar to those described by Arnobius (*Adv. Nat.* 7.33), were performed in front of the temple of Flora.<sup>7</sup>

In all these cases people essentially watched performances in a *herbosum theatrum* near the temple.<sup>8</sup> The performances would take place on low wooden stages supported by columns, similar to those first introduced to Rome by the Atellana actors of southern Italy. The spectators sat on the ground, brought their own stools, sat on temporary wooden stands such as those portrayed on a wall painting from one of the Etruscan tombs of Tarquinia, or simply stood up.<sup>9</sup> Wooden stands were therefore common, and the Greek ἄκρια had their own Roman equivalent in the "*furcae spectacula alta sustinentes*" (Livy, 1.35) built in the circus.

The *Fabula Atellana*, a popular farce native to Italy, has been linked to the development of the Roman stage. The Oscan actors had adopted the Greek *phylakes* stage which was widely used by the Doric population of southern Italy. Since the action of the comedies portrayed the humor and coarseness of provincial life the

performances were appropriately staged on any open field, such as the Campus Martius.<sup>10</sup>

Other festivals were added throughout the year to honour more gods. The *ludi Cereales* were introduced in 202 in honour of the agricultural deities Ceres, Liber, and Libera.<sup>11</sup> The shrine was located on the Aventine hill. The *ludi circenses* of the festival were held in the Circus Maximus. The *ludi scaenici* might have also been presented in the circus, below the temple. As Dionysius of Halicarnassus points out (*Rom. Ant.* 6.94.3), the temple was "at the highest point of the Circus Maximus, built directly above the starting gates."<sup>12</sup>

When the *ludi Megalenses* were celebrated in 194, in honour of the construction of the Temple of Magna Mater on the Palatine, Cicero (*De Harus. Resp.* 12.24) provides literary evidence that the first *ludi scaenici* were actually performed in front of the temple "*in ipso Matris magnae conspectu.*" This has been supported by the archaeological record. A pediment sculpture shows that the goddess was present at the plays dedicated in her honour.<sup>13</sup>

Since the second century BC, the nature of the plays, increased wealth, and greater population in Rome created the demand for elaborate stages and a permanent seating area for the public. Triumphant generals would erect temporary wooden theatres in any open area as part of the triumphal celebrations. Civil magistrates would do the same for the annual *ludi*. But it is not known for how

long the "temporary" theatres stood; whether they were reused for other *ludi scaenici* or immediately dismantled.

Tacitus (*Ann.* 14.20) provides valuable information regarding temporary theatre structures: "Before, the public plays had usually been performed on a temporarily built stage with hastily built tiers of benches." He continues on this point when he makes reference to the Neronian games being held at Pompey's theatre (*Ann.* 14.21): "It had been a measure of economy, when a permanent place for a theatre had been established rather than [when a theatre] was built and destroyed, throughout each year, at an enormous expense." On the basis of this account, it is possible to examine the chronological development of the construction of the first temporary theatres at Rome and the growth and context of performances.

According to Tacitus (*Ann.* 14.20), at one time during the early Republic the Senate and people of Rome stood together to watch ("*stantem spectavisse*") dramatic performances. By the mid-Republic the Roman playwright Plautus (254-184 BC) clearly reflects that the public did in fact sit down at theatrical performances.<sup>14</sup> Maybe there was not enough room for all the spectators to sit down and enjoy the performances, and, as Luigi Polacco points out, "la tradition romaine, d'inspiration spartiate et hostile aux spectacles, préférait se les imaginer tous debout."<sup>15</sup>

The first evidence that special seats were assigned to senators attending the *ludi* relates to 194 BC, when Livy (34.44.5) says: "They

[the censors] won great favour with that order, since at the Roman Games they ordered the curule aediles to separate the senatorial seats from those of the commons; for up to that time the seats from which they watched the games were taken indiscriminately." Similarly, the importance of the situation is stressed when Livy (34.54.4) repeats the statement: "At the Roman Games given by the aediles, the Senate for the first time looked on segregated from the common people." This innovation was discussed by the people who in Livy's words (34.54.6-8) asked: "For five hundred and fifty-eight years, people had looked on from seats chosen at random; what had suddenly happened to make the Fathers unwilling to have the plebeians mingle with them in the crowd, or the rich man scorn the poor man as his neighbour at the show? This was a novel and arrogant caprice, never desired nor practiced by the Senate of any other people. It is reported that in the end even Africanus had repented that in his consulship [194 BC] he had suggested this innovation."<sup>16</sup> Cicero (*De Harus. Resp.* 12.24) also comments upon this fact: "*Quibus ludis [Megalensibus] primum ante populi consessum senatui locum P. Africanus iterum consul ille maior dedit...*" Thus, just at the same time when the Senate and the Roman people no longer sat together to watch dramatic performances, but were segregated, there was an interest in building theatres at Rome.

In 179, the censor M. Aemilius Lepidus let out a contract for a "*theatrum et proscaenium ad Apollinis.*" The structure was one item on a list of permanent public works initiated by the censors in that year. Nothing else is known, and it must have been a temporary

wooden theatre. But it is interesting that Livy (40.51.3) mentioned the important proximity between the theatre and the temple. Another theatre was built by the censors Q. Fulvius Flaccus and A. Postumius Albinus in 174 BC. It was listed in a construction and restoration program which included permanent structures such as roads, bridges, and porticos. Unfortunately, information regarding its specific location, temporary use, and the *ludi* for which it was set up, is not included by Livy (41.27.5-9).

In 167, L. Anicius celebrated his triumph over the Illyrians on February 17, the festival of Quirinus. For the celebration he constructed a large stage in the circus. He employed famous Greek artists to paint the backdrop. The stage was probably even set up with some of his artistic war booty. Celebrated Greek musicians accompanied the chorus and the dancers on the *proskenion* during this exhibition of wealth.<sup>17</sup>

When C. Cassius Longinus and M. Valerius Messala were elected censors in 154 BC they set out to build a permanent theatre near the Lupercal facing the Palatine, a site which seems to indicate an orientation towards the Temple of Magna Mater and the *ludi Megalenses*. Construction and debate on the structure continued for three years.<sup>18</sup>

The ex-consul and new censor in 151, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum, had opposed the construction from the beginning. He had successfully passed a motion in the Senate to tear down this

theatre. By his authority, seats for plays could only be erected in a theatre that was built one thousand paces from the city. He might have been a steadfast believer that the "famous Roman, virile art of standing," which Valerius Maximus (2.4.2) referred to, should be respected and practiced within the sacred pomerium. It should not be an area of relaxation infected by a Greek-type theatre. This was a time when some thought too much Greek culture was infiltrating Roman lifestyles. The attitude was that the *severitas* of the state should be preserved. As Livy (*Per.* 48) noted, a theatre such as this would be "*inutile et nociturum publicis moribus*," so, for a while ("*aliquamdiu*") people stood to see dramatic performances. Since the location of this controversial building was within the hallowed Roma Quadrata of the pomerium people must have been encouraged to stand on *subsellia* in and around the Palatine and Capitoline area, at least for a few years, since the word *aliquamdiu* is indeterminate.

Several years after this moral dilemma, L. Mummius Achaicus staged an opulent triumphal production. In 145 he celebrated his victory against the Achaeans at Corinth the previous year. Corinth had been a Hellenistic centre of industry and commerce whose plundered goods were transported to Rome. The triumphal parade introduced Rome, for the first time, to magnificent Corinthian paintings, statues of Corinthian bronze and marble and other Greek works of art. Some of this splendid booty embellished the hastily built tiers of seats and stage where the *ludi scaenici* were performed. The Romans had not seen such extravagance before. Similarly, the theatrical performances and stage design of the

triumphal celebrations in honour of the annexation of Asia Minor in 133 were also exhibited in an ambitious style.<sup>19</sup>

In the first century BC stages and caveae became much more elaborate. Paintings, architectural adornments, and luxurious ornaments decorated the temporary wooden theatre. In 99, A. Claudius Pulcher's stage scenes were alive with colourful paintings, so realistic, in fact, that birds tried to land on the painted roof-tiles.<sup>20</sup> The Lucullus brothers built a versatile stage in 74, with many statues and black "Lucullean" marble from Chios.<sup>21</sup> A few years later, M. Petreius used glittering gold to enhance the appearance of his stage, C. Antonius used shimmering silver, and Q. Catulus embellished his theatre with creamy-white ivory. In 63, the aedile P. Lentulus Spinther also adorned his stage with lavish scenery and clothed his actors with silver-coloured costumes.<sup>22</sup>

The artistic exaggeration of such scenery signifies that the stage had become an outlet for the conspicuous wealth which Rome had acquired. This was certainly the case when the aedile Marcus Aemilius Scaurus built an extraordinary, temporary theatre near the Palatine in 58. Pliny's exaggerated description monumentalizes this extravagant artistic and architectural wonder.<sup>23</sup> The cavea held an unbelievable number of eighty thousand people. The stage was the first to have marble walls. It contained 360 columns arranged in three storeys. The thirty-eight-foot high (!) columns on the lowest storey were made of marble. The twelve-foot high wooden columns on the second and top storeys were decorated with glass mosaic

work (*opus vermiculatum*), and gilding respectively. The height of these superimposed columns would be an incredible sixty-two Roman feet. If one were to take into account all the additional material below, between, and above the columns the whole complex would probably be about sixty-five to seventy Roman feet high!

According to Pliny there were three thousand bronze statues, painted scenery, Attalic fabrics (perhaps the costumes and curtains), and other luxurious equipment and props which made this theatre "the greatest of all the works ever made by man." Either Pliny was totally deceived by his sources or it was only through his imaginative exaggeration that he could describe its unknown beauty. Unfortunately, this building was only used for a month and then demolished. The works of art were dispersed to Scaurus' house in Rome, his villa at Tusculum, and perhaps sold to noble families.

The decorative arts played a significant role in the atmosphere of the stage. Topographoi, such as the Alexandrian Demetrios who lived at Rome in 164, were employed in painting landscapes and townscapes for houses, temples, and (probably temporary) scenic backdrops for stages. The first and second "Pompeian" styles became popular mural decorations in houses and villas at Rome and in southern Italy during the last two centuries of the Republic. The scenes ranged from solid, painted walls with little decoration to bucolic landscapes, and architectural wall schemes. All of this provides good evidence for how colourful an elaborate stage

backdrop might have appeared during the festivities of a triumph or *ludi*.<sup>24</sup>

The development of the stage from a modest *herbosum theatrum* to the temporary theatre construction of Scaurus had already been more than matched in the permanent stone theatres of southern Italy and Sicily. Capua, Naples, Syracuse, Segesta, Taormina, and Tyndaris all had Greek theatres built in the late third century. The Oscans built an impressive stone theatre in Pompeii circa 200 to meet their needs for comic plays. When Sulla established a colony there in 80 he let out a contract for a small, covered Roman Odeum; the first of its kind.<sup>25</sup>

Many Greek and southern Italian actors and visitors were probably disappointed and surprised that the great city of Rome did not have a permanent stone theatre equal to, if not better than, the ones in the south. This theatrical tradition definitely influenced Pompey to build a permanent theatre structure. But Pompey's building complex was first and foremost a triumphal monument located in an area which advertised Rome's triumphal tradition.

Since the third century BC, Rome's urban development was influenced by Greek culture and the prevalent role of the nobility in military and political affairs.<sup>26</sup> A strong, fearless, and proud Roman character was reflected in the rapid and significant growth of the city. As the Forum Romanum developed physically and politically so

did the Campus Martius, the arena of triumphal gatherings, and the eventual location of Rome's first permanent, stone theatre.

Roman citizens experienced a growth in national pride manifested in public, triumphal ceremonies. The honour of a triumph was granted to a general victorious in battle (*triumphator*). The *pompa triumphalis* began the glorious day of celebration by proceeding along the *via triumphalis*, in the Campus Martius, toward the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The memory of the victory was also guaranteed to live on after the conclusion of the celebration. Roman generals built *monumenta*, that is, visible reminders of their achievements.<sup>27</sup>

In 296, the consul Appius Claudius Caecus dedicated a temple to the war goddess Bellona, in the southern Campus Martius. The great general Duilius, consul in 260, built a temple to Janus in the same area, for his magnificent victory over the Carthaginians at Mylae. A. Atilius Calatinus celebrated a triumph in 257, and ten years later, as censor, dedicated a temple to Spes beside the above-mentioned temples. The temples were symbols of victory which kept the Roman competitive spirit alive. It is important to keep in mind that the rich Roman nobles began to think of themselves as an important, even special, breed of men.<sup>28</sup>

Funeral orations and inscriptions also helped to promote national pride by honouring worthy Roman generals. The epitaph of Lucius Scipio, consul in 259, stated that he was "the very best man of all

good men at Rome." An inscription honoured C. Duilius for being the first man to fight a successful sea battle against all the greatest Carthaginian forces in Sicily. The funeral oration for L. Caecilius Metellus, who died in 221, was an inspiration to any young, ambitious Roman who heard it: "he was a pontifex, twice consul, dictator, master of the horse, and a quindecemvir. He achieved the ten greatest and best things which wise men spend their whole lives seeking..."<sup>29</sup>

Works of art taken as war booty from cities such as Tarentum, Rhegium, and Syracuse in Magna Graecia embellished Rome. Greek statues and paintings or Roman copies of them adorned temples, private houses, and public buildings. M. Valerius Messala was the first to exhibit triumphal paintings to commemorate his victory over the Carthaginians in 264 BC. The most salient features of his military campaign were painted in a narrative form for all to see and understand.<sup>30</sup>

One of the first men to understand the importance of *monumenta* was C. Flaminius Nepos. In order to remind the Romans who he was and what he had achieved, he built the most important, permanent road leading from Rome to northern Italy. The via Flaminia (220 BC), which began its route in the triumphal area of the Campus Martius, was the symbol of power, glory, and successful military campaign; a road-building program which pleased the Senate in its quest for the Romanization of the northern peninsula. In the same year the Circus Flaminius was built in the southern Campus Martius, as an act of

appreciation for the continued support the Roman plebeians gave its sponsor. The temple dedicated to Hercules Custos protected the arena.<sup>31</sup>

An important event which affected the Roman artistic tradition was the sack of Syracuse in 212 BC by Marcellus. Plutarch (*Marc.* 21.1-3) affirms that the victor brought back to Rome as war booty "the greatest part and the most beautiful works of art, for his triumphal celebration and to decorate the city. Before this time, Rome neither had nor knew about any of these elegant and luxurious objects, nor took pleasure in such graceful and subtle masterpieces...Marcellus won more favour with the common people because he adorned the city with objects that had Hellenic grace, charm, and fidelity."<sup>32</sup> Livy (25.40.1-3) also points out that the pillaging of statues and paintings from Syracuse had been "the earliest beginning of admiration for Greek works of art..." Thus, Marcellus brought to Rome unknown Greek masterpieces which the Romans learned to appreciate and admire. This was a cultural turning point in the artistic tradition at Rome.

By the end of the second century BC Rome ranked with the Hellenistic capitals of Antioch and Alexandria. It had emerged from its Italo-Etruscan, provincial fabric into a cosmopolitan city influenced by Hellenistic traditions. Greek architects, sculptors, painters, along with the vast amounts of plundered artwork, beautified temples and porticos dedicated by triumphant generals.

The successful military campaigns of the second century introduced into Rome an era of wealth, prosperity, and triumph.<sup>33</sup> Roman expansion provided more booty, land, and manpower than in the previous century. Revenue poured into Rome from war reparations, tax payments, and the mines in Spain and Greece.<sup>34</sup> Roman generals held magnificent triumphs and built *monumenta* from their *manubiae* to commemorate their *gloria*.

Every triumphal procession was a show of force. The competitive Roman general had to make it lavish and more memorable than his predecessor's. In an act of triumphal honour the victorious *imperator* dedicated a temple to the specific god to whom he made a vow in battle, or a portico in his own name would be built around a temple. The largest concentration of votive temples and commemorative porticos was located in the southern Campus Martius, in the area of the Circus Flaminius and Forum Holitorium. This area, which resembled an outdoor hall of fame, would be the setting for Pompey's triumphal monument.<sup>35</sup> [plate 1]

In the first century BC the preference was for solid, functional, showy architecture. Marius did not build any notable monuments except for the Temple of Honos and Virtus. Sulla, on the other hand, used his profits from confiscations and spoils of war for the first ambitious building program by a single individual at Rome (during his dictatorship in 81 and consulship in 80). His observations while on campaign in the Greek East motivated him to have Rome rival the Hellenistic cities. He understood that massive, decorative building

projects were the visible signs of power. In Rome he rebuilt and redecorated the temples of Jupiter Capitolinus and Hercules Custos, and restored the Curia Hostilia and Basilica Aemilia. The temple dedicated to Hercules Sullanus on the Esquiline asserted his superhuman power.<sup>36</sup>

His equestrian statue was placed on the Rostra overlooking the newly paved forum, edged by the magnificent, arcaded Tabularium conspicuously situated on the North-east slope of the Capitoline. Sulla was the first to concentrate all of his building efforts around the forum, slowly reshaping Rome's centre into a monumental area.

His greatest achievement was the restoration of the axially symmetrical, grandiose Sanctuary of Fortune at Praeneste. This large architectural style had been seen in Greece at the temple complexes of Cos, Lindos, and Athens. He built theatres and temples all over Italy. Sulla was interested in theatrical performances but for some reason, perhaps basic Roman traditionalist sentiment, he did not try to build a permanent theatre at Rome.<sup>37</sup> This task was left to his heir Pompey.

## 2. Pompey, Politics and the Theatre Complex

After Pompey had conquered the lands in the East, he arrived in southern Italy in 62. By his own choice he dismissed his army and returned to Rome as an ordinary citizen, with private attendants and the title of *imperator*. Upon his arrival in early 61, his first duty was to honour the city of Rome with a temple dedicated to Minerva, to whom he had vowed during his many battles. The inscription on this victory monument described his exceptional achievements in the East:

*Cn. Pompeius Magnus imperator bello XXX annorum  
fuis fugatis occisis in deditionem acceptis  
hominum centiens viciens semel LXXXIII depressis  
aut captis navibus DCCCXLVI oppidis castellis  
MDXXXVIII in fidem receptis terris a Maeotis ad  
Rubrum mare subactis votum merito Minervae.*<sup>38</sup>

At the same time, his request to celebrate a triumph had been approved by the Senate and preparations were under way.

On the 28th of September the *imperator* Pompeius Magnus began the celebration of the most extravagant and exotic triumph Rome had ever witnessed up to this point in its history. The magnificent display lasted for two days, symbolically ending on his birthday, when he turned forty-five.<sup>39</sup>

This third triumph mainly honoured his victorious achievements in the East but also reminded the Roman spectators of his previous two triumphs and extraordinary military campaigns. "But that which most enhanced his glory and had never been the lot of any Roman before," wrote Plutarch (*Pomp.*, 45.5), "was that he celebrated his third triumph over the third continent. For others before him had celebrated three triumphs; but he celebrated his first over Libya [80 BC], his second over Europe [71 BC], and his last over Asia, so that he seemed in a way to have included the whole world in his three triumphs."<sup>40</sup> In the same glorious tone Velleius Paterculus (2.40.4) wrote: "as many divisions there are of the world, he erected just as many monuments of his victory." Again, Manilius (*Astron.* 1.793) offered these words of grateful homage: "*Pompeius orbis domitor per tresque triumphos ante deum princeps.*"

As the triumphal procession wound its way through the Campus Martius toward the Capitoline a *praefatio* led the parade with the following introduction:

*Cum oram maritimam praedonibus liberasset et imperium maris populo Romano restituisset ex Asia, Ponto, Armenia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria, Schythis, Iudaeis, Albanis, Hiberia, Insula Creta, Basternis, et super haec de rege Mithridate atque Tigrane triumphavit.*<sup>41</sup>

Inscribed placards and banners were carried next, listing all the captured nations, strongholds, cities, and ships, along with the numerous cities that were founded. Other inscriptions and heralds

announced the millions of sesterces added to the public treasury, and the amount of money his soldiers were entitled to receive.

Hundreds of captives marched alongside the wagonloads of rich plunder. Pirates, royal families, Scythian women, and hostages were led in defeat. Many lavish trophies were carried in triumph to represent every military victory, no matter how small the battle. Precious gems and minerals, pearl crowns, gold vessels, innumerable statues, and myrrh-coloured pottery (which Romans had never seen before) were displayed in triumphant glory. One huge and lavish *tropaeum* was even decorated in such a way as to present an image of the inhabited world. In addition, an extravagant portrait rendered in pearls of Pompey himself was displayed for the public. Behind all this wealth and victory came Pompey the Great wearing a golden wreath and full dress of a *triumphator* riding in a four horse chariot.

We can imagine the awestruck crowds applauding in disbelief such a triumphal procession. On the social level the triumph and the *ludi* associated with it comprised a public event which catered to the people's desire for entertainment. The Romans loved a good show. This was probably the greatest show since Scipio celebrated a magnificent triumph over the destruction of Carthage. Unfortunately, Cicero did not find reason enough to comment upon such an ostentatious event as he would six years later at the opening of the theatre. Pliny (*N.H.* 37.6.14) criticized it as "austerity defeated and more truthfully extravagance [celebrated] in triumph."

Cassius Dio (37.21) called the triumph "τὰ μείζω ἐπινίκια." In the words of Paterculus (2.40.3) "[Pompey] surpassed the fortune of his fellow man." In fact, Pompey was compared to Hercules and Liber, two famous immortals.

The Roman spectators would not have easily forgotten the powerful image which Pompey staged for himself. Politically, the lavish spectacle increased Pompey's popularity by symbolizing the power and wealth which he had gained for himself and Rome. After all, they had it in their minds that he was greater than the kings whom he had conquered over three continents. This supreme greatness and dignity was displayed in an impressive exhibition of propaganda.

After the great triumphal celebration, Pompey must have at least thought about a plan to build some type of permanent *monumentum* to honour his achievements. The idea to erect a theatre probably germinated from two early noteworthy events. First, he was impressed by the theatre at Mytilene. Second, he received the privilege of wearing a gold wreath and embroidered toga at all theatre games, thus having endorsed the rich tradition in Rome which linked politicians and the theatre.<sup>42</sup> But, the time was not yet right for such an endeavour.

In spite of all this triumph, Pompey returned to Rome under unfavourable conditions. The Senate did not admire or fear the great general. He came from a recent noble family of late distinction, he

did not rise through the ranks of the *cursus honorum* in the venerable Roman tradition, and he was not familiar with the protocol of the Roman Senate. In this respect, Pompey was at a disadvantage in the sense that the Senate learned to envy him and think that he was unworthy of his powerful position.<sup>43</sup> Although he was "*domitor orbis*" he was not yet a master at Rome.

Several events indicate that the Senate did not want Pompey involved in its affairs:

1. In January 62, the Senate refused the proposal that Pompey should deal with Catiline's army.<sup>44</sup>
2. In the same year the Senate refused to transfer a prestigious public works project from Catulus to Pompey.<sup>45</sup>
3. There was senatorial opposition regarding the honour of triumphal garments and a *supplicatio* awarded to Pompey.<sup>46</sup>
4. Q. Metellus Creticus was awarded a triumph by the Senate in 62 for a campaign against the pirates. This credit belonged to Pompey.<sup>47</sup>
5. Pompey's request for a deferment of the consular elections, held in July 62, was refused by the Senate, under the instigation of Cato. This request would have allowed Pompey to support, in person, the candidature of Piso.<sup>48</sup>

6. In February 61, Cicero commented on the general unpopularity of Pompey in the Senate (*Ad Att.*, 1.14): "*Prima contio Pompeii...frigebat.*" Pompey found it difficult to impress the Senate during his disapproval of Clodius' prosecution. Senators distrusted him so much that he withdrew in humiliation and appealed to Cicero's oratorical abilities in order to gain favourable attention.<sup>49</sup>

7. An appeal to the Senate in 60 by Lucullus defeated the ratification of Pompey's concessions (*acta*) in the East.<sup>50</sup> There was also opposition by the Senate to the *rogatio* of T. Flavius and Pompey concerning the distribution of land to the veterans who served in the Eastern campaigns. The leading opponents were the consul Metellus Celer, who was angered with Pompey for having divorced his sister Mucia, and Cato, also piqued by Pompey's nerve in requesting his niece's hand in marriage. The bill was defeated and Pompey was alienated by the Senate.<sup>51</sup>

All this antagonism directed toward the great Pompey forced him into a secret coalition with Caesar and Crassus in the summer of 60. By 59, however, the existence of the so called "first triumvirate" became evident to the people at Rome. Pompey probably gained more confidence as events turned slowly towards his favour.<sup>52</sup>

Caesar used his consular powers to successfully persuade the *comitia tributa* to ratify two laws in favour of Pompey: the *lex agraria* and the *lex de actis Pompeii*.<sup>53</sup> Affairs in Egypt were settled by both men, once and for all.<sup>54</sup> Pompey was flattered that

Caesar chose him to speak first in the Senate.<sup>55</sup> He successfully appealed to the Senate to grant Caesar the command over Transalpine Gaul for the next five years.<sup>56</sup> In return Caesar had appointed him as one of his land commissioners in Italy. Finally, in order to ensure personal and political stability between the two great generals, Pompey gladly accepted Caesar's offer for his daughter's hand in marriage.

These events gave Pompey a renewed feeling of personal and political confidence within the senatorial establishment. Success was once again on his side. There would be one more noteworthy event which would spark his desire to build a permanent theatre. According to Edmond Frézouls, Pompey's decision was in response to a "politisisation" phenomenon in which the Roman public became unsympathetic towards certain political issues. So in order to gain back the favour of the plebs he had to build this monument devoted to entertainment.<sup>57</sup>

Cicero perceived the "popular" politicians as the instigators of a grave political crisis. Pompey's level of unpopularity among the masses was observed at the *ludi*, after which Cicero (*Ad Att.* 2.19) remarked: "The sentiments of the people are very clearly ascertained in the theatre and at public shows; for at the gladiatorial shows both the leader and his advisers were maligned with hisses. At the *ludi Apollinares* [July 6-13] the tragic actor Diphilus made an impertinent attack on our friend Pompey: '*nostra miseria tu es magnus*,' he was forced to say again and again, 'a time

will come when you will deeply lament that same *virtus*,' he declared amid the shouts of the whole theatre audience...For indeed those verses are of this sort, as though they seem to have been written for the occasion by an enemy of Pompey."

Having fulfilled his duty as Caesar's land commissioner in Italy, Pompey returned to Rome sometime in mid-August, 59 BC. When his associates had informed him about all the personal abuse which had been vented at the games in July and rumours of a plot to murder him,<sup>58</sup> Pompey was persuaded to search for some form of additional popularity among the masses. He finally made the decision to build a theatre in reaction to this negative sentiment. Moreover, as Ronald Syme aptly points out:

The domination of Pompeius Magnus was openly revealed in 59. It rested upon his own *auctoritas*, the wealth and influence of Crassus, the consular power of Caesar, and the service of a number of tribunes; further, and less obtrusive and barely to be perceived through the clamour of political life at Rome under Caesar's consulate, several partisans or allies in control of the more important provincial armies. The combination ruled, though modified in various ways, and impaired as time went on, for some ten years.<sup>59</sup>

The origin of the idea to build a permanent theatre is indicated to us by Plutarch (*Pompey*, 42.4): "After arranging and settling affairs in those parts [of the East], Pompey proceeded on his journey, and now with greater pomp and ceremony. For instance, when he came to Mytilene, he gave the city its freedom, for the sake of Theophanes, and witnessed the traditional contest of the poets there, who now

took as their sole theme his own exploits. And being pleased with the theatre, he had sketches and plans of it made, that he might build one like it in Rome, only larger and more splendid."<sup>60</sup>

Cicero criticized the idea when he had allusively incorporated the information in his speech during the trial against Flaccus in August 59. He mentioned how the Greeks used their theatres as meeting places, sitting down in a confused manner, and that the Romans should not use them in the same way. If Cicero can be accepted as the voice of concern for most senators at the time, then there is a genuine tone of uneasiness when he declares (*pro Flacco*, 15): "Oh, if indeed we might keep the splendid tradition and the discipline which we received from our ancestors! But I do not know now by what agreement it is slipping out of our hands."<sup>61</sup>

The monument would be a splendid gift for the people in Rome. Pompey must have thought that he would gain popularity by having the opportunity to provide *ludi victoriae* on a regular basis, in a permanent theatre structure which bore his name. An interesting religious development was also occurring. *Ludi* were being extended by means of the *instauratio* requirement. This would give any magistrate, including Pompey, the opportunity to increase his popularity by prolonging the games for a few extra days.<sup>62</sup>

Thus, after taking as true the rumours of the assassination attempt after the Vettius affair, Pompey kept out of the public eye and tried to enjoy his marriage.<sup>63</sup> He stayed outside the pomerium

for a while, employed Varro as his chief architect ("*praefectus fabrum*")<sup>64</sup> and his freedman Demetrius as his financial adviser,<sup>65</sup> and devoted his time to the theatre for the rest of the year. Since no one worked during the celebration of the *Iudi Romani* (September 4-19), I would say that construction of this triumphal monument actually began sometime in late September, possibly on the 29th itself, in commemoration of the second anniversary of his third triumph and on his forty-seventh birthday. The mild Mediterranean climate would permit adequate building conditions for several more months until the following spring.<sup>66</sup>

In 58, Caesar departed for Gaul on a campaign which would last almost ten years. But Rome still felt his influence with the election of his agent P. Clodius into the tribunate. Clodius immediately enhanced his own popularity with the enactment of two major laws in which corn was distributed free to citizens, and trade-guilds (*collegia*) were legalized. These organized, political clubs formed gangs which disrupted order and security in Rome. In fact, Cicero himself was threatened and fled the city while his house was destroyed. Instigated by M. Porcius Cato's report that Pompey was "a dictator in all but name," Clodius' gangs also began a series of humiliating verbal attacks upon Pompey which spread rumours of another assassination attempt.<sup>67</sup>

Inevitably, in 57 there were riots in Rome. T. Annius Milo, supported by Pompey, and P. Sestius engaged their *operae* and gladiators in faction fights against Clodius and his henchmen. Twice

Milo attempted to prosecute Clodius *de vi* for the laws he promulgated in 58 and to prevent his election to the aedileship, but he failed. Both factions expressed their opinion at public theatrical events.

During the *Iudi Apollinares* in July 57 "a most striking demonstration of the political potential inherent in theatrical occasion was witnessed at Rome" in favour of the exiled Cicero.<sup>68</sup> Roman citizens from all classes demonstrated unequivocal public support for the orator. At the theatrical shows in the Campus Martius unanimous applause was given to the senators and consul, P. Lentulus Spinther, for the decrees passed in favour of Cicero's return to Rome. Clodius had been the only official to oppose the resolutions. In fact, when he arrived at the theatre, the audience shouted, cursed, and made rude gestures at him. During the performance of the comedy *Simulans*, the actors looked straight at Clodius in disapproval and chanted in a mocking tone: "For this, Titus, the end of your vicious life is in front of you."<sup>69</sup>

Similarly, passages from Accius' tragedy *Eurysaces*, read by the great tragic actor Aesopus, expressed the grief of the people toward Cicero: "who will have helped the republic with a firm spirit?....Our most distinguished friend in our most important battle." The audience knew these lines referred to Cicero and applauded wildly. Their longing was great for the man "endowed with greatest genius." Aesopus also interpolated lines from the *Andromache* of Ennius: "You allow him to be banished, you cause him to be driven away, you

suffer now that he has been exiled." He hinted to the Senate, Equites, and Roman people that they had erred by banning Cicero from the city.<sup>70</sup>

In the same year, the longing for Cicero's return from exile was so fierce that he was even mentioned by name in one play. At the gladiatorial games, given by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, the play *Brutus* was performed and the line (an allusion to Cicero) "Tullius, who had established freedom for the citizens," was encored many times over while the audience applauded enthusiastically.<sup>71</sup>

As Cicero reflected upon these events, several months later, while he was defending his dear friend Sestius, he extolled the importance of the *ludi* as an opportunity for the expression and observation of public opinion. He was probably even pointing towards the direction of the permanent theatre under construction when he emphasized that "the opinion and will of the Roman people concerning public affairs can be most effectually shown in three places, at a meeting (*contio*), at an assembly (*comitium*), at a gathering for plays and gladiatorial shows."<sup>72</sup> Pompey certainly noticed the importance of these public demonstrations and their weight in the city's affairs. His objective would be to gain the support of the theatre crowds.<sup>73</sup>

Upon his return in early September 57, Cicero proposed to the Senate that his friend Pompey should be put in charge of the corn supply, since there was a food crisis. As *curator annonae*, Pompey

‡

received proconsular *imperium* for five years and fifteen legates to help him. Essentially, the office gave him the opportunity to remain near Rome for five years. Thus, he could supervise the completion of his theatre complex without any interruption of having to go abroad for military campaigns. The time and power were now at his disposal and in his control to manage however he wished.

This administrative office might have in fact given Pompey the idea to enhance his theatre by adding a portico which would extend toward the Porticus Minucia Frumentaria. Thus, the two porticos would be closely associated with one another in some sort of similar function related to the distribution of corn. In effect, it is possible to take the example from the function of Agrippa's *quadriporticus post scaenam* built behind the theatre at Ostia.

Agrippa's double-colonnaded portico (125m x 80m) enclosed a garden and a small temple, serving as a retreat for the audience.<sup>74</sup> But, located about one hundred metres from the Tiber river, it also served as a centre for commercial activities. This commercial meeting place, called the Piazzale of the Corporations, which reached the height of its activity in the late second century AD, was divided into sixty-one *stationes*. Local merchants, shipwrights, and foreign clients, owned many of these offices. The portico resembled some of the early public, commercial warehouses (*horrea*) which contained storage rooms that opened off into porticoed courtyards, located near the river. In Rome this plan was well established in the

Republican Horrea Galbae and Augustan Horrea Agrippiana near the Forum.<sup>75</sup>

Agrippa's theatre-portico at Ostia must have been inspired by Pompey's construction. The only theatre-portico structure that Pompey would have known about would have been the one at Pompeii. But this was not a uniform architectural structure [plate 2]. The portico was detached and used as gladiators' barracks. Thus, Pompey's plan to take a traditional triumphal monument, that is the portico, and link it to the theatre was truly an original architectural concept. The interior would be decorated with trophies, statues, and gardens, while the exterior would be divided into *stationes* for the local guilds, and commercial store rooms for the local distribution of grain.<sup>76</sup> *Negotiantes* showed their appreciation by honouring Pompey with a statue, placed somewhere near the portico.<sup>77</sup>

Pompey probably felt secure that his popularity was improving. But it seems as though he did take some precautionary measures. A new home was being built for him near the theatre complex. This would suggest that he was planning to abandon his home in the Carinae district within the *pomerium*. Besides, he already had the luxury of spending his time in his villas and gardens just outside the *urbs*; one on the Collis Hortulorum (or Pincian hill) and the other near the Alban hills.<sup>78</sup>

At the beginning of 56 Pompey was ridiculed for the affairs in Egypt.<sup>79</sup> During his speech in the Forum, on February 6, in support of

Milo, Pompey was booed and insulted for his views.<sup>80</sup> He felt the impact of the mob. On February 7, the Senate convened in the curia to discuss Milo's situation. According to Roman law, Pompey was unable to attend a meeting of the Senate within the wall of Rome as grain commissioner holding *imperium*. So he went home. He was definitely relieved not to attend so that he would not have to undergo the taunts of the previous day. But the Senate did not excuse him. On the 8th, it called a meeting in the Temple of Apollo in the Campus Martius, close to the site of the permanent theatre under construction.<sup>81</sup> This would seem to suggest that Pompey was at his new home in the Campus Martius and not the one in the Carinae. In fact, Plutarch (*Pomp.* 40.5) says "when he was building that beautiful and famous theatre for the Romans, he built close by it, just like a small tow boat, a more splendid house than the one he built before."

When the Senate came to him, it is conceivable that Pompey contemplated adding a curia to his complex a year before its grand opening. The room would house six hundred senators plus visitors comfortably. Pompey probably received great recognition for providing Rome with such a magnificent curia. In 54, Cicero (*De Re Pub.* 3.48) made an interesting reference to the theatre at Rhodes as the place of Greek assemblies "*et in theatro et in curia res capitales et reliquas omnis iudicabant idem.*" Could this be a critical allusion to Pompey's *theatrum et curia*? For Pompey did observe that *contiones* and *comitia* could be transferred to his theatre, so why not the curia also? In effect, as early as 54, Caesar reacted to

Pompey's action by having the idea to build Saepta right beside the theatre, and projected another theatre not too far away.<sup>82</sup>

It is interesting that twice in 56, after Milo's trial, Cicero encouraged the Senate not to forget Pompey's great achievements. While he was defending Sestius from February 10 to March 11 Cicero (*Pro Sest.* 61) asked: "Why would I mention...what has happened in the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, when this man, who divided the boundaries of the world into three parts and the regions had been joined to our empire by his three triumphs, having delivered his speech from writing, gave evidence to me alone for the preservation of the fatherland?"

Again, while Cicero was defending Balbus in the late summer, he expressed pride in Pompey's accomplishments. In his moving appeal Cicero had the power to excite deep emotion when he said (*pro Balbo*, 6.16): "For it is a certain blot and blemish of the age, to envy virtue, to want to crush the very crown of dignity. In fact, if Pompeius had lived five hundred years ago, that man, from whom the Senate, when he was quite a young man and a Roman knight, had often sought help for a common safety, whose achievements had spread to all nations by a most glorious victory on land and sea, whose three triumphs were witnesses that the whole world was bound by our *imperium*, whom the Roman people had decorated with incredible and extraordinary honours; if at the present time, it should be said that, what this man had done, was done in violation of a treaty, who among us would listen? Certainly, no one. For when death had

destroyed envy, his achievements would shine by the glory of his imperishable name." Even though Cicero's motive for this speech would be to gain a successful defence for his client, he was, at the same time, building up excitement for the theatre complex which would open soon.

The consulship of Pompey and Crassus in 55 began amid a certain amount of political turmoil. Many senators opposed the bill proposed by the tribune Trebonius which gave extensive provincial commands to both generals. Opposition was so fierce that it spilled into the streets, where statues of Pompey were attacked by the urban mob.<sup>83</sup> As a result, Pompey received a fresh command of the two Spanish provinces and Africa (governed by legates so that he could stay in Rome) for five years, while Crassus received Syria. And, in order to prolong Caesar's command in Gaul for an extra five years, the *lex Licinia Pompeia* was passed. Thus, the triumvirs lived up to the agreements which they had reached in the meeting at Luca the previous year.

However, no matter what difficulties Pompey had encountered with his opponents, whether from the Senate or the urban mobs, his popularity was about to receive a great boost. When the Temple of Venus Victrix was finally completed on August 12, 55, a building complex with magnificent, harmonious proportions, whose total area was approximately the same size as the Roman Forum, had been created. With the addition of his own curia in the quadriportico he had symbolically introduced a functional "Forum Pompeium." As the

finishing touches were being added to this aesthetic architectural masterpiece, unique in size and dimension, Pompey planned the inauguration of his theatre complex for the end of September.<sup>84</sup>

### 3. A Decorated Building Complex

The grand opening of the whole complex was announced by Cicero in his oration against Piso (27.65): "The most elaborate and most magnificent games since the memory of man are approaching; not only have there never been such games, but they could not even occur in this way in the future, I can surmise by any agreement." The speech, which had references to Pompey as an "*invictissimus civis*" and "*victor omnium gentium*," was delivered in late September 55. It was symbolic, even appropriate, for Pompey to dedicate his complex on his birthday, September 29, an event which was held exactly six years after the celebration of his third triumph in the Campus Martius.

The inaugural date of the building is clearly established by Cicero's letter (*Ad. Fam.* 7.1) to his friend M. Marius. It was written in the first half of October, during the festivities. Although critical of the magnificent display, Cicero did provide a vivid account of the days' events. If we combine this with the accounts of Pliny, Plutarch, and Cassius Dio we can see that the inaugural celebrations were an interesting affair.<sup>85</sup>

Sp. Maecius Tarpia had been chosen by Pompey as the organizer of the "*ludi apparatissimi*." Aesopus, the great tragic actor, was brought out of retirement, but failed to achieve a successful performance. The famous entertainer of *emboliaris*, Galeria Copiola,

returned to the stage at the advanced age of 27 (!) to perform at the theatre's dedication.<sup>86</sup> Cicero probably referred to the low level of drama among the actors when he said that performances were less than mediocre. Overall magnificence lay in the showy spectacle of the exaggerated number of props in the Greek and Oscan plays. The tragic *Clytaemnestra* presented six hundred mules. Similarly, the *Trojan Horse* displayed three thousand bowls. Battle scenes used a diverse amount of infantry and horse equipment, all of which excited the crowds. Gymnastic and musical contests were also held.

The athletic events held at the nearby Circus Flaminius were not as successful as Pompey would have hoped. The final five days devoted to wild beast hunts were "*magnificae*" but Cicero found no pleasure in the spectacle. During this period five hundred lions were slain. On the last day twenty elephants were horribly massacred in front of a shocked audience. The spectators expressed such disgust that they rose up and cursed Pompey for slaughtering such compassionate beasts.<sup>87</sup>

The triumphant Magnus *imperator, princeps* of Italy, Spain, Africa, and the East, had been very careful in the construction of his building complex. He did not want to offend the *mos maiorum* or the ruling aristocracy. It seems he had some traditional scruples.

Pompey's first important objective was to find "a site as healthy as possible."<sup>88</sup> The walled *urbs* had too many hills and it was crowded with buildings and people. The Campus Martius had enough

space to meet his needs. This was also the area of all previous decorative triumphal monuments. He combined three traditional structures: temple, theatre, and portico, into one architectural unit. Out of respect for Scipio's "morality" law made one hundred years before, he built the permanent stone complex approximately one thousand paces north-west of the sacred Roman Forum.<sup>89</sup> In accordance with the religious practice of an augural officiant, Pompey faced east and designated the boundaries of the proposed site for his *templum* and the *monumentum* with which it would be associated. With Varro's guidance (*Ling. Lat.* 7.7-9) Pompey read the auspices and construction began as soon as favourable omens had been procured.<sup>90</sup>

The whole complex faced east [plate 3], as did most traditional Greek temples and sanctuaries.<sup>91</sup> In particular, it was directed towards the valley between the Cispan and Esquiline hills, the Subura district. Beyond this point, it was also oriented towards the great theatre-temple complexes of Praeneste, Gabil, and Tibur (modern Palestrina, Osteria dell' Osa, and Tivoli). The Porticus Minucia and its enclosed four temples acted as the monument's sacred façade.<sup>92</sup> A representation of Pompey's *monumentum* is outlined on the Severan marble plan [plate 4]. Although its ancient, physical superstructure has totally disappeared it is one of the few Roman monuments whose form has been preserved in Rome's modern, urban topography.<sup>93</sup>

The theatre was known as the *theatrum lapideum* or *marmoreum* from the local materials of which it was built. A foundation of concrete and durable blocks of travertine stone supported the heavy load of the cavea. Alban stone was also part of the substructure and lower arcade. Pompey set a trend by using *lapis travertinus*, a local building material quarried near Tibur, for the first time. Travertine stone was decorative and weather resistant. It was used on the outer facade in an *opus quadratum* wall style.<sup>94</sup>

On the interior, pyramidal tufa tesseræ from the local quarries of Anio and Monte Verde were used in an *opus reticulatum* facing for the radial walls. The use of medium-sized *caementa* (i.e. small stones, rubble) in the pozzolana mortar, in combination with the reticulate facing, produced durable interior walls. This is the first datable example of *opus reticulatum* used in a public monument at Rome. The nature of the concrete and the strong interior walls made the construction of barrel vaults possible. These were the concealed structural supports of the huge cavea.<sup>95</sup>

The exterior façade was composed of three stories of arcades with twenty-four arches each. An arrangement of three superimposed column orders and entablature adorned the arcades. The first level exhibited the sturdy and simple Doric order. Its red granite columns probably gave the appearance that they were somehow supporting the whole structure. On the second level, columns with spiral volutes of the Ionic order displayed an architectural continuity which culminated on the third level.

Columns were ornamented with the beautiful, Corinthian, bell-shaped capitals with acanthus leaves. An aesthetic columnar progression enhanced the theatre's exterior beauty. This was the first permanent structure at Rome to adopt this pattern of superimposed orders. Inspiration may well have derived from the sanctuary at Praeneste where the three orders are found on successive levels. Pompey's architect was an observant individual who wanted to express a creativity never before seen at Rome.

In fact, it was the discovery of structural concrete in the second century BC that had a bearing on the development of Roman building technology.<sup>96</sup> Concrete enabled architectural innovation and development of the vault, dome, and staircase, all elements of the theatre. But it also allowed for the total fusion of three separate elements characteristic of the Greek theatre: cavea, orchestra, and stage. The theatre section of Pompey's complex was the first Roman example of a solid, unified architectural entity.

The Temple of Venus was raised on a lofty podium above the cavea and facing the stage. It was approximately forty-two metres high. The theatre itself was thirty-five metres in height, and 150 metres in diameter. The cavea had a capacity of about 20,000 people. The *scaena* was 95 metres long and about ten metres deep. According to Vitruvius (*De Arch.* 5.9.1) the section of the portico behind the stage was set up as a *choragium*. Exedrae were used as store-rooms for stage properties and costumes, and as rehearsal halls for the chorus and actors. The theatre and temple were almost

equivalent in height to the Capitoline hill (36.5 metres a.s.l.) and the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (45 metres a.s.l.) respectively.<sup>97</sup> This was the first, independent man-made structure built as high as the sacred Capitoline hill.

Marble was used as the ultimate decorative element to enhance the magnificent theatre complex. Pompey's love for multicoloured gems must have inspired his admiration for coloured marbles also. It is probable that the marble quarries of Carrara were exploited by him.<sup>98</sup> A marble pavement from Chios may have been part of the Augustan restoration program. But the Lucullus brothers had already used it in the seventies.<sup>99</sup> Pompey was certainly familiar with many styles of Greek architecture. His theatre may have been adorned with the soft, golden tone of the Pentelic marble from Attica, as used in the Parthenon. The pure white Parian marble may have been used for its roof ornaments.

Pompey's architects had a definitive plan as to the shape, purpose, and type of structure their master wanted, something that would advertise, without a doubt, his eternal greatness. One solution lay in the construction of an adjoining portico and the area which it enclosed.

The Campus Martius had already been the preferred location for the display of eight previously constructed porticos. They were commemorative structures, dedicated by triumphant generals and civil magistrates in the second century BC, designed to enhance the

beauty of the Roman landscape. All of them were located very close to Pompey's complex and decorated with many Hellenistic works of art. Three surrounded temples, four were in close proximity to temples, and one was near the dockyards.<sup>100</sup>

The grandiose theatre was furnished with an exceptional portico, 180m x 135m, neatly located behind the stage and integrated into the sacred Largo Argentina area. Now it is not known exactly what aspect of Mytilene's theatre inspired Pompey to copy it. The evidence of an architectural link between a temple and cavea is more of an Italian tradition than Greek.<sup>101</sup> So this was not what impressed Pompey.

The possibility that Mytilene had the only theatre in the Greek world with a unique *quadriporticus post scaenam* has been suggested by R. Etienne.<sup>102</sup> Vitruvius (5.9.1ff) tells us that the theatres in many Greek cities such as Athens, Smyrna, and Tralles were attached to colonnades and he wrote, "all the cities which had conscientious architects provided colonnades and *ambulationes* adjoining the theatres." These Greek stoas were certainly seen by Pompey and his architects during the eastern campaigns but they were not in the shape of quadriporticos.

Lack of any archaeological evidence for the whole theatre at Mytilene is unfortunate,<sup>103</sup> but the theatre at Pompeii provides a valuable clue as to how it might have appeared. The portico behind the stage was a Hellenistic feature reminiscent of a γυμνάσιον.<sup>104</sup>

Pompey adopted the theme of a park surrounded by a portico from this architectural genre, just as the Roman atrium villa borrowed the Greek peristyle design with its fountains and garden.

A covered, double colonnade of the quadriporticus outlined the exterior of Rome's first enclosed park. Like many Greek stoas, the exterior portico had a series of rooms opening behind the colonnade. This was a convenient passageway designed to afford the public shelter from the elements during the activities of daily life.

Another interior portico with more exedrae, around the same frame as the exterior portico, surrounded a magnificent peristyle-garden. This central courtyard was arranged as a public park with four rows of parallel columns which may well have supported alternate arches and lintels.<sup>105</sup> The capitals of the colonnade were decorated with shields, helmets, and victory trophies.<sup>106</sup> Plane trees were planted in parallel rows designed to provide shady walkways. Laurel thickets, rose bushes, and vines were scattered among the trees and columns. The pleasant flow of cool fountains together with the sound of chirping birds provided a relaxed atmosphere. A wide variety of artwork, paintings and sculptures, embellished the whole area. This public park of closely defined and concentrated function was deliberately screened from other activities in the Campus Martius.

The decorative programme of the theatre complex has been the subject of much study and imaginative speculation. There are very

few primary sources which mention the artistic decoration. Pliny provides the only important, albeit brief, description regarding wall paintings and sculptures, all located in exedrae and between columns in the portico. Along with his collection of gems and precious stones, Pompey was also a passionate collector of extraordinary works of art by famous Greek painters and sculptors. He displayed most of them in his *monumentum* but also in other temples throughout Rome.<sup>107</sup>

Among the *tabulae* in the portico there was a painted battle scene by the famous Polygnotos of Thasos (5th c. BC); a painting of Cadmos and Europe attributed to Antiphilos (400 BC); a large picture by Pausias (400 BC) of the sacrifice of oxen; and Nicias the Younger (4th c. BC) painted the great Alexander and a seated Calypso.<sup>108</sup> The colourful elements in the wall paintings can be compared to the existing Roman paintings discovered at Pompeii.<sup>109</sup> Narrative triumphal paintings or friezes ("*tabulae triumphales*") of military victories were gazed at and admired by passers-by and young men aspiring to continue the Roman tradition of victory.

A reconstruction of the portico's sculptural decoration recreates an animated and fascinating park. Pompey had been influenced by Hellenistic monumental sculpture. He had been the first Republican general at Rome to exhibit allegorical statues which personified the nations he conquered. Precedent was found in the Hellenistic centres of Pergamon, Alexandria, and Antioch whose statuary commemorated victorious battles. New personifications were

created in the form of Τύχη ("Good Fortune").<sup>110</sup> Subsequently, artistic representation on imperial coinage, and relief sculpture personified cities, provinces, and even specific areas in Rome.<sup>111</sup>

Using information from Varro, Pliny informs us that Coponius was the *auctor* of the sculptural personifications representing the fourteen conquered nations in the East which stood somewhere in Pompey's complex. This would tend to suggest that the Porticus also housed personified statues of Africa and Spain from his two previous triumphs, and possibly even a statue of Neptune as a tribute to his victories over the pirates in the Mediterranean. The sculptural impact of these specific works of art even finds a brief mention in Suetonius. The popular name for this section of the portico was *porticus ad nationes*, an area which glorified Pompey's conquest of the Mediterranean lands and beyond.<sup>112</sup>

Many famous Greek sculptors lived at Rome in the first century BC. Pasiteles and Arkesilaus, contemporaries of Coponius, most likely provided Pompey with marble and bronze works of various types. They were part of the neo-Attic school which expressed itself in eclectic sculpture, a style recognized in work such as the "Orestes and Electra" marble group and the "young maiden" sculpture.<sup>113</sup>

A passage from Martial informed the readers that bronze statues of wild beasts were located near the Hecatostylum in a colonnaded passageway decorated with plane trees. The poet must have been

referring to the outer arcade surrounding the inner park of the portico. The animal statues might be attributed to Pasiteles. For, in fact, the "*diligentissimus artifex*" spent some of his leisure time observing and sketching the caged animals at the *navalia*, in the Campus Martius. Thus, the most important monument of the time was symbolically protected by the *simulacra* of wild beasts.<sup>114</sup>

Pompey also decorated his portico with marvelous statues of women and other famous or heroic sculptural works. Cicero is helpful in informing us that the source of these statues was Atticus. In a letter written to his good friend, on April 27, 55, a few months before the dedication of the theatre complex, Cicero passed on thanks to Atticus for the provision of most, if not all, of the statues in Pompey's glorious structure: "*tibi etiam gratias agebat quod signa componenda suscepisses.*"<sup>115</sup> This rich and cultured Roman *eques*, who studied Epicurean philosophy at Athens, had been directly involved in the theatre's decorative programme. Added to these sculptures were those which Diodorus Siculus mentioned as part of Pompey's war booty. Some were set up in various temples throughout Rome and others were eventually housed in Pompey's complex.<sup>116</sup>

Pliny praises Pompey for deliberately placing statues of famous people, created by excellent sculptors, in his theatre complex. Among the extraordinary sculptural works was Eutychis, mother of thirty children, and Alkippe, who bore a grotesque child which looked like an elephant.<sup>117</sup>

It is interesting that the only other source that mentions such statues is the second century Christian writer Tatianus. In one digression of his apologetic, hortatory *Oratio ad Graecos* he morally criticized the Greek commemorative sculptures as "so many good-for-nothing poetesses, innumerable prostitutes and scoundrels." Although his Christian attitude demonstrated no aesthetic knowledge of art whatsoever, he did provide a lengthy and informative list of the statues which he saw at Rome. More specifically, there is reason to believe that he might have formulated his list of statues while walking in the portico of Pompey.<sup>118</sup>

Tatianus marvelled at "τὸν...γύναιον, ὃπερ ἐκύσε τριάκοντα παῖδας," by Periklymenos (obviously, the Eutycheis noted by Pliny above). He gazed at the sculpture of Glaukippe (probably Alkippe), the mother of a monstrous child, by the sculptor Nikeratos. Other women who begat children in unusual circumstances were also represented: Panteuchis, pregnant by rape; Besantis, queen of the Paeonians, bore a black child;<sup>119</sup> and Evanthe, the woman who gave birth in the Peripatos at Athens. Of course, only the statues of the women themselves would be displayed. The stories corresponding to each sculptural representation would be known to the passers-by.

This theme of childbirth was also evoked in the mythological sculptures of Pompey's structure. The representation of Europe seated on a bull signified the adulterous acts she engaged in with Zeus which resulted in the birth of three children. A statue of Nike

on a calf was another symbol of adultery and immorality, according to Tatianus. Even Harmonia, daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, and wife of Cadmus, whose children and successors suffered great misfortunes, curiously stood in this area.

Scattered among these women there were only six men: the tyrant Phalaris, who sacrificed unweaned babies; two wicked brothers - Polynikes and Eteokles; two people appropriate for the theatre - Sophron, the 5th c. BC Syracusan writer of mimes, and Aesop, the 6th c. fabulist; finally, a lewd man named Hephaestion surrounded by the most prolific category of female statues to be found in this building complex: hetairai.

Elite, Greek prostitutes not only offered sexual favours but also took part in the social and intellectual life of their cities. Some of them honoured in the porticus, such as Phryne, Lais, Neaera, Glykera, and the ἀσελγής Pasiphaë, had been the mistresses of politicians, philosophers, and artists. Others were entertainers, musicians, and lyric poetesses who related to Pompey's theatrical environment. This group included Praxilla, Sappho, Erinna, Myrtis, Myro, Anyte, Telesilla, Mustis (Nossis), and Corinna, women whom Antipater of Thessalonica (late first century BC) named as corresponding to the nine Muses.<sup>120</sup>

Pompey's "Muses" were a significant sculptural addition to other collections of Muses housed in triumphal monuments in the vicinity of the complex. The Temple of Hercules Musarum dedicated by M.

Fulvius Nobilior in 187, and the Temple of Felicitas built by L. Licinius Lucullus in 146, were both decorated with statues of the Muses.<sup>121</sup> This continued sculptural tradition by Pompey emphasizes his admiration of this artistic genre.

Along with the list of these extraordinary statues Tatianus provided a list of their Greek sculptors. Fortunately, a fragment with the Greek inscription Μυστις.../Ἀριστοδοτ... found in the Largo Argentina area substantiates Tatianus' list. Coarelli reconstructed the inscription as having the name and occupation of the woman represented, the name of the sculptor, and his place of origin. Thus, the inscription would have read: Μυστις [ἑταίρα]/Ἀριστόδοτ[ος] Ἀθηναῖος [ἔποιε].<sup>122</sup> Indeed, according to Tatianus, a certain Aristodotos did sculpt the Mustis in the portico.

Pompey had been proud to exhibit magnificent works by Euthykrates, Kephisodotos, Leochares, Lysippos, Lysistratos, Praxiteles, Silanion, and others. Many members of the hetaira profession figured prominently in Roman comedy, so it was appropriate that their *simulacra* had been situated close to Pompey's theatre. Didaskalia fragments found in the area record their performances.<sup>123</sup>

This eclectic collection was all brought together in a typical, Roman art gallery of the late Republic. Added to the evidence of literary sources and inscriptions are large sculptures from the archaeological record. Three large, marble female statues have been

found in the porticus and Campus Martius area. Each human figure, of which one is seated, is three to four metres high and dated to the mid-first century BC, thus confirming Pliny's account that some statues in the portico were actually sculpted for the purpose of display and not all were part of Pompey's war booty. Studying the style of the drapery and comparing them to the Hellenistic sculptures of Muses, Coarelli accentuates the monumental character of the statues which existed in Pompey's theatre complex: "Ne risulta così confermata una datazione delle sculture in esame intorno alla metà del I secolo a.C. in un periodo cioè che coincide con la creazione del complesso pompeiano, al quale esse sembrano appartenere."<sup>124</sup>

These women were chosen deliberately to relate to the world of the theatre and, most important of all, to the cult of Pompey's Venus. One must remember that the cavea of the theatre was dominated by the Temple of Venus Victrix. Her victorious presence towered over Pompey's glorious, architectural wonder. It might even shed some light on Pompey's personal relationships. Considering the fact that he was married five times we may conclude that he loved the presence of women.<sup>125</sup>

Admiring all this rich sculptural, painted, and architectural decoration was the celebrated *simulacrum* of Pompey himself, standing in the Curia Pompeia, though later moved outside by Augustus.<sup>126</sup> D. Faccenna dates the surviving statue of Pompey between the reigns of Vespasian and Trajan (AD 69-117), on the

premise that the globe found in the hand of the statue was not a Republican symbol.<sup>127</sup> Whereas Coarelli is convinced that the statue is without a doubt Pompey. He stresses that the drapery and torso exhibit a late Hellenistic style.<sup>128</sup> [plate 5]

What is most interesting is the κόσμος in his outstretched hand. With it Pompey was symbolized as the new Alexander, master of the world, surrounded by the personifications of his conquered territories. Likewise, Faustus Sulla honoured his father-in-law (i.e. Pompey) with a coin issued in 54 BC showing, on the reverse, a globe surrounded by four wreaths. This denarius commemorated Pompey's triumphal dominance over the οἰκουμένη: the top three wreaths symbolized Pompey's triumphs in 80, 71, and 61, and the fourth represented the golden triumphal wreath which was worn with the venerated *toga picta*. Also represented were an *aplustre* and *spica*, tributes to Pompey's Mediterranean victories and his office as *curator annonae*. The obverse side of the denarius showed the head of Hercules.<sup>129</sup> [plate 6]

The porticus-garden was intended to provide the Roman community with a formal setting for rest, relaxation, and quiet contemplation. Martial (*Epig.* 2.14.10) called it "*Pompei dona nemusque duplex*."<sup>130</sup> The Romans were so impressed by the beauty of this park that it immediately became a popular location for lovers, maidens, prostitutes, historians, philosophers and poets.

Catullus, who died a year after the theatre-complex was built, sets poem 55 in Pompey's portico. He indicates that this was a popular rendezvous point for men and "*femellae pessimae*." The term that the poet uses for the walkway is *ambulatio*, reminiscent of the περίπατος of the Greek philosophical schools.

In fact, it was within the *ambulatio* of the porticus that Cicero (*de Fato* 4.7-8) contemplated the effects of the environment on human character when he said: "We see how much difference there is between the natural qualities of localities: some are healthy, others unhealthy...and there are many other things which are very much different between one place and another...well then, can the nature of a place compel us to walk in Pompey's portico rather than in the Campus Martius?"

Appropriately enough, the elegiac poets answered Cicero's question through their sentimental observations. The nature of Pompey's portico influenced Propertius to ironically tell Cynthia (2.32.11-14): "I suppose all these things appear worthless to you: Pompey's splendid portico with its shady columns, ornamented with gold-embroidered curtains, and the thick row with plane trees growing together, and the fountains which flow from the slumbering statue of Maro, and slowly flow through the whole city with the babbling Nymphs, when suddenly Triton hides the water away in his mouth. " He confesses his love for this garden with boastful praise.

But we learn that Cynthia was not in favour of her lover's admiration for the portico and jealous of the "*femellae pessimae*" whom he probably encountered. In anger, she imposed some harsh terms on Propertius by telling him (4.8.75-77): "You will not walk in a well dressed manner in the shade of Pompey's colonnade...Do not bend your neck sideways toward the top seats of the theatre [i.e. where the women sat]; and do not let a free seat yield itself to your delay."

Ovid (*Ars Am.* 1.55-68) instructed his male reader "only walk slowly under the Pompeian shade, when the sun approaches the back of the Herculean lion" in order to find some of the most beautiful women in Rome. Similarly, to those women who sought the company of men, he urged (*Ars. Am.* 3.387-388): "But it is permitted and it is beneficial for you to walk through the Pompeian shade, when your head burns with the heavenly horses of Virgo." Whenever they went to the theatre he instructed his female readers (*Ars Am.* 3.394) to sit in conspicuous seats so that men could admire their beauty.

It is interesting that although the Temple of Venus Victrix was high above the spectators and stage it was also closer to the women in the audience, who had the disadvantage of sitting in the uppermost (i.e. worst) seats in the theatre. The women therefore sat closest to the female deity and surely felt honoured to be so close to such positive force.

G. Sauron gives an interesting symbolic evocation to the interior design of the quadriporticus which appears almost unbelievable or utterly romantic. It seems that there is some underlying mythological theme taken from the story of Ulysses in Hades when he encounters various women including the wives and daughters of chieftains.<sup>131</sup> Sauron tries to interpret the artistic and sculptural decoration of the quadriporticus as an enclosed sacred or funerary garden which "mettait en scène, en une représentation figée *sub specie aeternitatis* la catabase du Grand Pompée."<sup>132</sup> According to E. La Rocca, Sauron's interpretation of the quadriporticus as the setting for some sort of cosmic symbolism in Pompey's propaganda is a bit too idealistic and he writes: "La complessa esegesi di Sauron, sebbene esatta nell'enunciato di base, mi sembra un po' azzardata nei suoi risultati finali, almeno in base agli scarsi elementi concreti a disposizione."<sup>133</sup>

The quadriporticus was Pompey's sacred precinct (τέμενος) which was open for the public to admire.<sup>134</sup> This enclosed, eremitic garden was protected by Venus, who was already recognized as an ancient Italian goddess of gardens and vegetation. It contained the life-giving trees, fruit, and flowers which were important to the Romans' view of nature.

The plane trees in Pompey's garden represented learning and scholarship and would remind the educated Romans that these were the magnificent trees of the Greek ἡρῶν. Vines provided libations and were the symbol of life and immortality. Roses were sacred to

the Muses and were the symbol of love, beauty, triumph, and victory - all emblems of Venus. -All three of the above-mentioned plants were also sacred to Dionysos, whom Pliny (*NH*, 7.95) compares to Pompey and whose statue was surely in the garden together with Priapus, god of vineyards and gardens.<sup>135</sup>

Pompey's garden could also be compared to the earthly funerary garden which was regarded as the counterpart of the Elysium. Vines and roses were planted in Roman funerary gardens as symbols of immortality and resurrection. Venus also had a role here. Plutarch (*Numa*, 12.1) tells the Romans that according to the ancient laws of Numa they had to "particularly honour the goddess called Libitina, who presides over the solemn services for the dead, whether she is Proserpina, or, as the most learned Romans maintain, Venus; thereby likely connecting man's birth and death with the power of one and the same goddess."<sup>136</sup> If Sauron's hypothesis of Pompey's *κατάβαστος* is correct then it would fit nicely with the concept that the quadriporticus not only acted as a tranquil public park but also as an important sacred precinct in an area that housed three other ancient sacred precincts.<sup>137</sup>

But one question remains. Who conceived this idea? All this extraordinary artistic decoration and interior design of the quadriporticus would seem to suggest that Pompey was not just a great general but also a learned man who had a literary circle of friends similar to the "Scipionic Circle," possibly led by Varro, who

helped him to organize, plan, and envisage the concept of this sacred garden.<sup>138</sup>

As a young student, Pompey was probably encouraged by his wise and learned uncle Sextus Pompeius to accept certain responsibilities in intellectual and artistic matters, since he had been born into a family which was related to the great poet Lucilius, and the Stoic Lucilius Balbus. While his father was teaching the young Pompey moral, social, and military conduct, the *grammaticus* Aristodemus of Nysa taught him grammar, literature, and general subjects, and the rhetor Voltacilius Pilutus shaped Pompey's oratorical skills.

Seeing him as a man who had taken on the role of the Roman Alexander, Pompey's closest personal advisers encouraged him to pursue and develop his intellectual and artistic interests. These men of literature and learning, L. Luceius, L. Scribonius Libo, Theophanes of Mytilene, and M. Terentius Varro, influenced Pompey's decisions concerning public patronage and were the artistic supervisors, consultants, and architects of Pompey's theatre complex. In the quest for dutiful conduct or *pietas* they were also the people who helped Pompey promote his cult of Venus Victrix.

#### 4. Pompey and the Cult of Venus Victrix

During the religious strife and political tensions of the fifties BC when Lucretius (*De Rer. Nat.*, 1.1-40) invoked Venus, his *diva incluta*, to seek *placidam pacem* for the Romans, Pompey presented the cult of Venus Victrix to the Roman people. As consul and augur during this age of religious skepticism he celebrated the *ludi* in 55 BC for the goddess, he performed the sacrifices, and took the auspices in order to determine the will of his goddess Venus Victrix. Venus held a special seat in the theatre from where she could enjoy the performances in her honour above the crowd of spectators and in direct view of the performers. Pompey manipulated the powerful cult by demonstrating to the people that Venus was the epitome of victory and that Rome was safe under her tutelage.<sup>139</sup>

According to Tacitus (*Ann.* 14.20.4-6) not everyone in Pompey's day had accepted the architectural innovation: "For in fact, there were those who said that 'even Pompey had been accused by the elders because he had established a permanent site for the theatre.'" So, Pliny (*NH*, 8.7.20) tells us that Pompey, in response to this conservative attitude, held the inaugural games of his whole structure as the "*dedicatio templi Veneri Victrici*." Furthermore, Pompey was prepared for any criticism, as Tertullian pointed out (*De Spec.*10): "When Pompey the Great had constructed that citadel of all vile practices, and since he was afraid of the censorial punishment of his memory he placed a sanctuary of Venus above it,

and when he invited the people by an edict to the dedication he did not proclaim it a theatre but a Temple of Venus 'underneath which,' he said, 'we built steps of spectator's seats.'"

Many Romans could not accept Pompey's actions because he made the sacred area of the Campus Martius profane by establishing a permanent location for a structure dedicated to entertainment.<sup>140</sup> Moreover, Venus Victrix had never been associated with *ludi scaenici*. But there was not a more appropriate place for a permanent theatre to be located than in the Campus Martius since it was there that other religious cults, such as those of Flora and Apollo, staged theatrical performances during the annual *ludi*.<sup>141</sup>

According to the Severan marble plan, archaeological remains, and imaginative reconstructed drawings the Temple of Venus Victrix was built upon a foundation of heavy walls with three levels of superimposed columns, extending outwards from the central axis of the cavea, and ended in a semicircular recess or apse. The temple was large enough to house a group of smaller sanctuaries which Suetonius (*Claud.* 21.1) collectively called "*superiores aedes*," above the cavea. Pompey dedicated them all on the same day to honour his victories. The actual size of the temple has been disputed by L. Richardson Jr., whose examination has led him to believe that the temple was smaller than scholars suspect.<sup>142</sup>

On August 12 the entry in the Roman calendar indicates that Pompey offered thanks *Veneri Victrici, Honori, Virtuti, V.....,*

*Felicitati, in theatro marmoreo.*<sup>143</sup> Thus, Venus the conqueror was associated with other personal deities who qualified her characteristics and emphasized strength and courage in war for Pompey, and expressed a unique quality of his military achievements. Whether Pompey actually vowed to all of them in battle on the same day (i.e August 12) is uncertain, but he did successfully invoke their help during his many campaigns. Honos and Virtus represented Pompey's military glory and bravery in battle. The fourth goddess, although unknown in the epigraphic evidence, could actually be Victoria, the Roman equivalent of Νίκη, according to Aulus Gellius (10.1.7f). If so, she further emphasized Pompey's military success and achievements, and at the same time was synonymous with Victrix. In fact, she was worshipped by the Roman armies, and past generals including Scipio, Marius, and Sulla had already erected many statues of Victoria all over Rome.<sup>144</sup> The final goddess, Felicitas, honoured Pompey's good fortune as a military commander, and might even be a reflection of Sulla's influence.<sup>145</sup>

Pompey built his theatre with a temple because it was his clever and opportunistic way to link a religious architectural form, that is the theatre-temple (familiar to the people of Rome), into close association with his political ambitions and personal glorification. Architectural evidence of a stage and a cavea combined with a temple is found in the Italian countryside, dated prior to Pompey's structure. Three of these sacred sanctuaries were located less than forty kilometres from Rome.<sup>146</sup>

The first, the Sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste, was the most impressive example of Hellenistic-Italic architecture in the grand style, possibly inspired by the large Greek sanctuaries at Cos and Rhodes [plate 7]. Roman Republican architecture had reached its apex in the Italian countryside with this axially symmetrical, monumental complex. The building expressed an organization of space hitherto unexampled. Epigraphic evidence suggests that it was built around 130 BC and that Sulla restored it when a colony was established in 82.<sup>147</sup>

The main, or upper, sanctuary<sup>148</sup> was built upon a series of eight superimposed and artificial but unified terraces, architecturally blended onto the steep, rocky slope of the hill. The first five terraces were decorated with fountains, Doric and Ionic columns, pilasters, wall paintings in the first "Pompeian" style, and mosaic pavements. Inscriptions found near the arched openings of the fifth terrace indicate that these stalls were owned by various guilds and dedicated to Fortuna .

The three remaining levels are the most interesting. On level six there was a deep, rectangular, U-shaped piazza, framed by a covered portico with three rows of Corinthian columns. At the end of the portico eight decorated barrel vaults supported a small orchestra platform and a cavea which faced down towards the stage-like terrace. The main central staircase ended at this level as the cavea staircase (of seventeen steps or seats) ascended toward another portico, and the tholos shrine of Fortuna at the summit. This whole

temple, cavea, orchestra, and lower stage complex clearly indicated a theatrical environment. The presence of the theatre in the sanctuary was a response to the custom which linked *ludi scaenici* to religious celebrations.<sup>149</sup>

Twenty kilometres north of Praeneste, the city of Tibur housed the striking architecture of the Sanctuary of Hercules Victor (70-60 BC) [plate 8]. Inspired by the sanctuary at Praeneste, this complex was built upon a series of barrel vaults. The temple, raised on a high podium with steps, was centrally located in the back of the large piazza. A two storey, double colonnade framed three sides of the area leaving the front open. Here, on the same axis, a cavea of twelve steps formed the approach to the temple. Remains at the orchestra level of the cavea provide evidence that there had been a stage platform on the site. It is apparent that there was a direct relationship between the theatrical *ludi* and the cult.

At Gabii, several kilometres west of Praeneste, there are the remains of yet another cavea, this time leading up to the Temple of Juno (second century BC) [plate 9]. The orchestra below the cavea was used for theatrical performances and sacred ceremonies. Just as with the two previous examples, the temple and cavea-staircase form an architectural and theatrical unit. After the sacred ceremonies were completed the worshippers would watch performances, in honour of the goddess, on the stage below.

These sanctuaries, and others like them in Italy,<sup>150</sup> were constantly visited by a pilgrimage of Roman worshippers. Pompey was one of the many people who must have been truly impressed by their monumental architecture. Axiality, frontality, and defined space were unique Italic characteristics represented in the sanctuaries. These were the elements that the temple and theatre section of Pompey's building complex had adopted.

There were no Hellenistic equivalents to such Italic theatre-temple architectural forms. The theatrical performances in Greece were religious but a theatre was not physically connected to a temple. The cavea of the theatre of Dionysos at Athens had been placed within the area of the Temple of Dionysos but there was no architectural relationship with it. The cavea faced the old temple, whereas the stage faced the acropolis. Similarly, the theatre at Delphi was part of the sacred sanctuary of Apollo. The cavea faced the temple but was architecturally far removed, forming only a strong sacred link. At Delos, Epidauros, Cyrene, and Syracuse the theatres were all located near sanctuaries but there was no architectural link between the theatres and temples to form one combined architectural unit.<sup>151</sup>

Judging from the above evidence, Pompey's complex followed a tradition of theatre-temples that had a direct architectural precursor more in Italy than in the Greek-speaking world. And compared to the temple complexes at Cos and Rhodes, those in Italy which had the added design of a cavea were superior as impressive

architectural monuments. On the basis of the evidence I am left wondering what aspect of Mytilene's theatre actually inspired Pompey to have a model of it made. While it does not seem that there was an architectural tradition of theatre-temple complexes in the Greek world it is still unlikely that the one in Mytilene was unique.<sup>152</sup>

The importance of religion in the political life of Pompey concentrated on the impact of the goddess Venus Victrix and precisely her relationship with victory. The particular temple vowed by Pompey and dedicated in connection with all his triumphs demonstrated a true religious sense of obligation to the goddess. He rallied her support in 80 when he celebrated his first triumph.<sup>153</sup> And, again in 55 BC, at the moment when his power was at its height, he solemnly dedicated a temple to the goddess.

The ability to harness the power of a principal deity such as Venus was a matter of personal advantage. The knowledge that Lucretius had dedicated his *De Rerum Natura* to the influential goddess was not coincidental.<sup>154</sup> This Italian goddess was not only acknowledged by Varro as charming and beautiful, but also as a victorious deity for Pompey and a conqueror of nations for the Roman people.<sup>155</sup>

According to Robert Schilling, the Romans considered Venus to be their privileged representative, whose intervention always resulted in a triumph. Ever since the first Punic war, when the Romans

defeated the Carthaginians at the battle of Eryx in Sicily in 248 BC and occupied the Temple of Venus, Rome's imperial destiny was determined and Venus was elevated to a national deity. They considered themselves as the true inheritors of the Venus Erycina cult in Sicily because of their victorious resistance at the summit of Mount Eryx. The Romans were under the patronage of the goddess who brought them victory and linked them to their Trojan ancestry.<sup>156</sup>

Venus had been officially honoured in 217 BC as a participating member of the *lectisternium deorum*. Twelve of the most important Roman deities, divided into couples, engaged in a religious feast. Appropriately paired with Venus was Mars, an association which already existed in ancient Greece in the form of Aphrodite and Ares. The national quality of the two partners had been of intrinsic importance for the Romans: Mars was the warrior god and conqueror, whereas Venus was the tutelary power and protector. Mars and Venus were Rome's guardians, inspiring their offspring (i.e. the Roman nation) to strive for victory over all.<sup>157</sup> But it is interesting and curious that none of the handful of temples dedicated to Venus prior to Pompey's in the late Republic was located in the Campus Martius to honour Venus' close association with Mars.<sup>158</sup>

In the second and first centuries BC, the belief that Venus gave victory to the descendants of the Trojans was exploited by Roman noble families such as the *gentes* Julia and Memmia. These families

claimed Venus as their patron goddess of victory and divine ancestor by representing her on their personal coins.<sup>159</sup>

Sulla, the soldier, statesman, and autocrat, driven by a mystical belief in his luck understood the propagandistic worth of divine patronage. He proclaimed himself to be the privileged protégé of Venus, not by genealogical descent but by a self-determined, autocratic worthiness. The choice of the surname *Felix* linked Sulla personally into a special relationship with Venus. Throughout his career Sulla attributed his luck to the special protection of his patron goddess. In appreciation for her favourable kindness he gave himself the title of ἐπαφρόδιτος (favoured by Venus).<sup>160</sup>

When Sulla returned to Rome from the East in victory he made an official consecration to the goddess who aggrandized his power. He placed himself under the auspices of Venus and dedicated a Temple to Venus Felix. The goddess' name was also inscribed beside those of Mars and Victoria, thus emphasizing her victorious capabilities.<sup>161</sup>

Pompey continued this tradition and added his own personal touches. A new boastful modifier (i.e. *Victrix*), or *nomen praedicatum*, had been added to his patron goddess, which expressed his devotion to military success under her protection. According to G. Sauron, Pompey presented himself as "the representative of Venus of Troy, victorious at the judgement of Paris, and by this title protectress of Rome and guarantor of the victories of the

*imperator.*"<sup>162</sup> The invocation of Victrix is justified by the Greek myth that Venus was victorious over Minerva and Juno at the judgement of Paris (Ovid, *Fasti*, 4. 119 -124).<sup>163</sup>

Similarly, Venus was Victrix over Pompey's Minerva, to whom he had vowed during the wars against Mithridates, and Rome's Juno and Minerva, the two great goddesses of the state. Pompey took this exploitation to a symbolic height: as the Temple of Venus Erycina stood on a hilltop both in Sicily and in Rome so now did Pompey's Venus Victrix at a height equal to the Capitoline. Venus dominated the theatre "*in summa cavea*," which served as the staircase to the temple, and sponsored the three triumphs of Pompey. Venus the victorious was appropriately placed high above the realm of her partner Mars, the Campus Martius, surveying the field where battles were proclaimed, generals returned in triumph, and triumphal monuments were dedicated.

Pompey's Temple to Venus Victrix was the product of a "theology of Victory" which had been established by Sulla. In an interesting article, Jean Gagé concludes that Pompey's triumphal career relied on the same victorious principles as Sulla's (principles which would also be adopted by Caesar and Augustus): Pompey, like Sulla, was an ambitious general who enhanced his *auctoritas* by joining the priestly college of augurs and earned victorious favours from Venus.<sup>164</sup> But the one event that Pompey did not possess, which Sulla had to his credit, was to have his own *ludi victoriae* recognized in the Roman calendar.

Sulla had set a precedent by having this obscure Italian goddess suddenly intervene in military affairs. Her victorious mystique inspired generals to conquer their opponents.<sup>165</sup> It is in the cult of Venus that Pompey appears to be more clearly the heir of Sulla. Although Pompey was one of the first generals to undermine Sulla's constitutional policies after his death, he still admired the ex-dictator and thought of him as his role model. Certain allusions by Cicero show that Pompey constantly thought about Sulla's achievements and tried to compare himself to him.<sup>166</sup>

When Sulla established his *ludi Victoriae Sullanae* from October 26 to November 1 in 81 BC as a permanent event in the religious calendar of Rome he enacted his own religious holiday in honour of the goddess Victoria and Venus Felix and in honour of his successful military campaigns. Under his rule Rome was free from its enemies.<sup>167</sup> He held Victoria and Venus, and the qualities of victory they represented, in his exclusive possession. His own *ludi* guaranteed that his exploits would be remembered by the Roman people. It was the first time that a Roman general had connected his name to the sacred *ludi*, thus displaying a strong desire to be associated with the deities of victory.<sup>168</sup>

Pompey observed the triumphal monopoly Sulla held over the goddess and his ambition drove him to be greater than his predecessor. Throughout his whole military career Pompey held extraordinary commands which were hitherto unprecedented and facilitated his acceptance into consular office. But it was his

membership in the augurate through which Pompey was able to project his power. As Sulla did before him, Pompey placed the augural priesthood at the foundation of his *auctoritas*.<sup>169</sup>

Cicero explained Pompey's *auctoritas* in a speech on the Manilian Law concerning his *imperium* to command in Asia in 66 BC. He conveyed that Pompey had all the necessary qualities of an exceptional general (*De Imp. Cn. Pomp.*, 10.28): "For I consider that these four attributes should belong to an excellent general: *scientia rei militaris, virtus, auctoritas, felicitas*." Along with his military know-how and personal merit Pompey exhibited extraordinary *felicitas*. As Cicero said (*De Imp. Cn. Pomp.*, 16.47-49): "It remains for me to speak, though guardedly and briefly - as is fitting when men discuss the power of the gods - on the subject of *felicitas*, which no man may claim as his own, but which we may remember and record in the case of another... For some great men have undoubtedly been helped to the attainment of honour, glory, and success by divine *fortuna*. And as for the *felicitas* of the man whom we are now discussing, I shall speak of it with such reserve as to convey the impression that, without claiming good fortune as his prerogative, I am both mindful of the past and hopeful for the future... I will briefly assert that no one has ever been so presumptuous that he dared hope in his heart for such great and such constant favours from the immortal gods as those which the immortal gods have bestowed upon Gnaeus Pompey. That this *felicitas* may always and especially be his should be your earnest hope, gentlemen, both for his own sake and equally for the sake of

our commonwealth and our empire."<sup>170</sup> According to Cicero, Pompey was favoured by the gods and inspired by the victorious aspect of Sulla's *felicitas* which corresponded to the luck of the general.<sup>171</sup>

Pompey's *imperium* had been directed by a sense of public duty and inspired by the theological belief that his power was justified under the worship of Venus, her association with victory, *felicitas*, and the augural priesthood. Cicero (*de Leg.* 2.12.31ff) pointed out the great powers of the augurs: "But the most highly esteemed and most distinguished duty in the republic is that of the augurs, since it is a position linked to *auctoritas*..."<sup>172</sup> A similar passage in the *de Re Publica* praises the obedience that must be shown toward the importance of the auspices.<sup>173</sup>

The functions which Pompey's temple fulfilled are revealed by the qualities of the name *Victrix*. It served as a reminder of the extraordinary overseas victories achieved by the *imperator*. As the architectural focus of the building complex, the temple dominated the first stone theatre and the enclosed colonnaded space which expressed the ambitious interests of the general.

By placing the whole construction under the protection of Venus *Victrix* Pompey recognized the role religion played in the *ludi* celebrations. And if he intended to continue to celebrate his own *ludi victoriae* he needed a powerful cult under which to dedicate the games. Pompey might have wanted to follow Sulla's lead since the

latter had celebrated the *ludi victoriae Sullanae* in the Circus Flaminius region.

Did Pompey the Great want his theatre to be primarily a setting for the celebration of his own *ludi victoriae* in connection with Venus Victrix? Unlike contemporary Roman noble families, Pompey was not concerned with claiming Venus as a divine ancestor. When he married Caesar's daughter, he chose not to take the opportunity to exploit the divine lineage of the *gens Julia*. Pompey did not follow the trend of depicting Venus on the coinage he issued under his own name, which would have been a sure sign of interest in divine ancestry.<sup>174</sup> Pompey was only concerned with Venus' victorious aspect.

Thus, in commemoration of the foundation of the new Venus cult, another denarius was issued in 54 by Faustus Sulla, Pompey's son-in-law [plate 10]. On the obverse side of the coin, Venus Victrix is adorned with the appropriate symbols of military victory: a diadem, laurels, and a sceptre. On the reverse, three trophies represent Pompey's three triumphs over Africa, Europe, and Asia. According to Cassius Dio (42.18.3) these were the same three trophies displayed on Pompey's signet ring. In addition, the sacred ewer and *lituus* represented on the coin symbolize Pompey's dignity as an augur.<sup>175</sup> After all, in 52, following two years of intense civil strife in Rome, Pompey held his third consulship and as augur made an offering to the goddess Victoria in the Temple of Venus Victrix on August 12.<sup>176</sup> Pompey was so preoccupied with the power of Venus Victrix that

during the night, on the eve of the battle of Pharsalus (48 BC), for example, he "dreamed that the people applauded when he walked into his theatre, and that he adorned the Temple of Venus Victrix with many spoils of war" (Plutarch, *Pomp.* 68.2). Since it was always the custom to observe the birthday of any important temple each year with a festival, is there any evidence that Pompey might have attempted to establish *ludi victoriae Pompeianae* in honour of Venus Victrix?

We must not forget that the temple was the site of annual religious ceremonies. Pompey, as augur, presided at the sacrifices, made dedications, and took the auspices from this site. The victorious general proudly displayed his triumphal sceptres and wreaths in the temple, alongside some of the military standards obtained from the enemy. Thus, the temple acted as a triumphal armory.

The temple as well as the whole complex functioned as a museum and a kind of billboard advertising Pompey's connection with Venus and the other divinities representing the qualities he needed for his victories. Among other dedications were trophies, statues, and paintings. The nature of the deity made the location in the Campus Martius appropriate. She was in the same area as the other war gods such as Bellona, Mars, Jupiter Stator, and Juno Sospita. The temple represented Rome's contact with the outside world. Pompey placed the temple high above the complex for its visual impact and powerful propaganda. The Temple of Venus Victrix, in a dominant

axial position at the west end of the complex, joined divine victory with a new and useful public space just outside the pomerium.

These functions reflect Venus' role as goddess of victory, and with every victory came triumph and entertainment. The solemn day of dedication of this great temple would have been observed each year on the day when the temple was completed. A day of celebration would have been proclaimed. Since the celebrations would be in honour of Venus, then, in effect, the festival would theoretically be considered as *ludi victoriae*. In fact, the Circus Flaminius region would have been appropriate since this was already the area where the *ludi victoriae Sullanae* were celebrated. But in order to have his own *ludi* incorporated into the Roman calendar Pompey would have had to gain the Senate's approval.

One particular way he might have attempted to do this was by honouring the senators with the construction of another curia attached to his complex, outside the pomerium. Although the senators up to this time had to meet within the pomerium he gave them a new option; a new senate house had been added or a room was modified in Pompey's complex which became known as the Curia Pompeia. When the curia in the forum had been burned to the ground by the rioters in January 52, following the assassination of Clodius, Pompey's gained new recognition. Pompey's senate house became so important that it was the only structure outside the pomerium to actually be called a curia.

But the *ludi victoriae* of both Sulla in 81 and Caesar in 46 were dedicated in honour of the end of civil strife and symbolized the restoration of Roman order. Similarly by 52, Pompey became sole consul and de facto dictator in everything but name. He held a wide ranging *imperium* and helped to put a temporary cessation to the civil disorder by passing legislation *de vi, de ambitu, and de iure magistratuum*, and by having Milo prosecuted for Clodius' murder.<sup>177</sup> In appreciation for having secured the support of the Senate and reestablishing a state of order, as I have already noted above, he made a sacrifice in the Temple of Venus.

If Pompey had been concerned with pre-eminence, then this would have been his opportunity to take Sulla's "theology of victory" to its final step by trying to institute his own *ludi victoriae*. The festival would have been appropriately celebrated each year on the date of the temple's dedication (i.e. August 12) - except that the tense political situation in Rome between the *optimates* and dynasts did not yet warrant adequate justification for *ludi victoriae Pompeianae*.<sup>178</sup>

When Caesar dismissed the Senate's ultimatum to relinquish his commands in Gaul and, in defiance, crossed the Rubicon in early January 49, Pompey was invited by the Senate to defend the Republic. At the battle of Pharsalus on August 8, 48, Venus Victrix betrayed Pompey, and brought victory and protection to his rival. Caesar used Venus Victrix as his watchword and intended to erect a temple in her honour once he arrived in Rome. Instead, he

incorporated Venus' victorious aspect in the temple he dedicated to Venus Genetrix - divine mother and protector of the Julian family.<sup>179</sup> One month later Pompey the Great was murdered in Egypt.

The innovative aspects of the building complex still had not been accepted by some traditional Romans. A few years after the death of Pompey, Cicero warily commented (*De Off.* 2.17.60): "Out of respect for Pompey's memory I am rather reluctant about censuring theatres, colonnades, and new temples..." Obviously this statement is very relevant to Pompey's theatre complex. Cicero probably remembered that in an earlier speech he once stressed that great virtues had to be displayed to the public in greater theatres. Anyone who sought immortality had to perform great achievements which ultimately would be governed by the people's ability to recollect them effectively.<sup>180</sup> The physical structure of the building complex helped Pompey gain immortality because it reminded the people of his great achievements. Perhaps the construction of a permanent theatre in Rome was considered too much of a philhellene gesture. But any learned Roman of the time would have observed that Pompey's theatre complex was an original Roman design worthy of much praise. Pierre Gros gives this extraordinary monument a town-like quality where all classes of people could gather: "Nous sommes en fait en présence d'une sorte de ville dans la Ville, pourvue de tous les éléments de définition et de fonctionnement du pouvoir (lieux de rassemblement du peuple avec le théâtre, du sénat avec la curie, temples des divinités protectrices)."<sup>181</sup>

This unprecedented architectural achievement could be seen from any hilltop in Rome: from the Collis Quirinalis in the east to the Mons Ianiculus in the west, and from the Collis Hortulorum in the north to the Mons Capitolinus in the south [plate 11]. It truly must have been a spectacular site. The building complex was the symbol of Pompey's quest to "always be the best and excel over others."<sup>182</sup> The power of the goddess Venus Victrix in her own temple situated on the summit of the cavea indicated Pompey's triumph "on the whole world."<sup>183</sup> The monument was a channel for self-glorification which reminded everyone in Rome of Pompey's extraordinary military achievements. The Roman Alexander exerted his powers as a Republican *princeps* and allowed no one to be equal to him.<sup>184</sup>

## Conclusion

On his first visit to Rome in 44 BC the Greek geographer Strabo must have been truly impressed with the monumental καλόν ἀνάθημα of Pompey "who had outdone all others in his zeal for buildings and expense incurred." Pompey's *monumentum* added a new aspect to the urban topography of Rome. It was to become the central focus of entertainment during the *ludi Saeculares* held by Augustus in 17 BC.<sup>185</sup> The theatre building itself would remain unrivalled for forty-two years, until the completion of the theatres of Marcellus and Balbus in 13 BC. The theatre complex in the Campus Martius also foreshadowed the magnificent buildings of Augustus and his *virii triumphales*.

When Strabo returned to Rome in 7 BC he had seen the architectural precedent set by Pompey and described the Campus Martius (5.3.8) as having "colonnades round about it in very great numbers, and sacred precincts, and three theatres, and an amphitheatre, and very costly temples, in close succession to one another, giving you the impression that they are trying, as it were, to declare the rest of the city as a mere accessory."<sup>186</sup> This building complex set the standard for the monumental architecture of the imperial age. Gradually, the Campus Martius became the setting for more monuments devoted to public entertainment, religion, and military triumph.<sup>187</sup> The emperors were proud to use Pompey's building to glorify themselves and enhance their public image, while

they unselfishly declared that it continue to bear Pompey's name in recognition of his importance in Roman history.<sup>187</sup>

Pompey's *theatrum* combined with a *cavea*-shrine inspired many imperial architects throughout the Roman world to adopt this architectural plan. Roman theatre-temples were built in the cities of North Africa, Gaul, Spain, Epirus, and Syria. In Italy, theatre-temples were erected at Hadrian's villa near Tivoli, Herculaneum, Cassino, Sepino, Fiesole, and Faleria. None of the shrines was dedicated to Venus Victrix, and each structure had a portico behind the stage, not a quadriporticus.<sup>188</sup> Agrippa's theatre-quadriporticus, and the theatre-cryptoporticus of Balbus were inspired by Pompey's design but neither had a *cavea*-shrine nor matched the size of Pompey's quadriporticus. The building complex was so unique that 250 years after its construction Dio Cassius (39.38.1) tells us that the Romans still took pride in it.

In the course of this discussion I have determined that Pompey's building complex was an extraordinary architectural fusion of four traditional Roman Republican structures: temple, temporary theatre, portico, and curia. Thus, there was an organized array of unique architectural entities functioning as a unit and forming a cohesive design with harmonious proportions. The complex served as a political, social, and religious meeting place, decorated with the artistic and architectural material found in Italy and throughout the Greek world. This architectural innovation, located in the area of Rome devoted to the celebration of triumphs, represented and

advertised the remarkable achievements of Pompey the Great. In conclusion, the words inscribed on Pompey's epitaph, quoted by Lucan (8.793), can appropriately be used in reference to Pompey's building complex and all it represented: "*Hic situs est magnus.*"

---

## Notes

### Chapter 1

<sup>1</sup> See Margarete Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), pp. 108-128.

<sup>2</sup> Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, 2.11-13. All translations in this text are mine unless otherwise noted.

<sup>3</sup> John E. Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), pp. 225-228.

<sup>4</sup> Attilio Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae*. Vol. 13: *Fasti et Elogia* (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1963), p. 372 for the list of *Iudi antiquissimi*; J.P.V.D. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome* (London: The Bodley Head Ltd., 1969), pp. 245-246; John Arthur Hanson, *Roman Theater-Temples* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959), pp. 9-26.

<sup>5</sup> Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1.17.15.

<sup>6</sup> Livy, 25.12.14; A. Degrassi, p. 372.

<sup>7</sup> The *Iudi Florales* were firmly fixed in the Roman calendar in 173 BC. A. Degrassi, p. 372.

<sup>8</sup> Juvenal, *Sat.*, 3.173.

<sup>9</sup> M. Bieber, pp. 129-160.

<sup>10</sup> W. Beare, *The Roman Stage* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1968), pp. 137-142.

<sup>11</sup> Cicero, *In Verr.*, 5.14.36.

<sup>12</sup> J. A. Hanson, pp. 16,17.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 14, 15, 82-85; J.P.V.D. Balsdon, p. 246.

<sup>14</sup> Plautus, *Aul.*, 718-719; *Curc.*, 643-647; *Miles Glor.*, 81; *Poen.*, 1224; cf. W. Beare, pp. 161ff, 231ff.

<sup>15</sup> Luigi Polacco, "Théâtre, société, organisation de l'état," in *Théâtres et spectacles dans l'antiquité* (Leiden: 1983), p. 14.

<sup>16</sup> Livy passages translated by Evan T. Sage, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953).

<sup>17</sup> Polybius, 30.22 (from Athenaeus xiv 615 a-d); Livy 45.43.1.

- 
- 18 Livy, *Per.* 48; Valerius Maximus 2.4.2; Velleius Paterculus 1.15.3; Appian, *Civil Wars*, 1.28.125.
- 19 Livy, *Per.* 51, 52, 59; Velleius Paterculus 1.13.4-5; Pliny, *NH*, 33.52.148-149, 34.16.36; 35.8.24; 37.6.12; Tacitus, *Ann.*, 14.21.
- 20 Valerius Maximus, 2.4.6; Pliny, *NH*, 35.7.23.
- 21 Pliny, *NH*, 34.17.36, 36.17.49.
- 22 Valerius Maximus 2.4.6.
- 23 Pliny, *NH*, 34.16.36; 36.2.5-6, 36.3.7, 36.8.50, 36.24.113-115, 36.64.189; see also Valerius Maximus, 2.4.6; Donald Strong, *Roman Art* (Markham: Penguin Books, 1988), pp. 71-73; Marion Elizabeth Blake, *Ancient Roman Construction in Italy from the Prehistoric Period to Augustus* (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1947), pp. 51, 62, 66, 69.
- 24 D. Strong, pp. 54-74.
- 25 M. Bieber, pp. 174, 180; Frank Sear, *Roman Architecture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), pp. 112-114.
- 26 John E. Stambaugh, p. 24.
- 27 Since wars were proclaimed at the Columna Bellica, built circa 280 BC, so it was only appropriate that the victory celebration began in this area. The honoured general and his entourage of soldiers, magistrates, musicians, prisoners, spoils of war, and sacrificial animals proceeded to the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus to offer thanks. For information on the triumph see H.S. Versnel, *Triumphus* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970).
- 28 For App. Claudius Caecus see Livy 10.19.17; Ovid, *Fasti*, 6.201-205; Pliny, *NH*, 35.3.12. For Duilius see Tacitus, *Annales*, 2.49; For Calatinus see Cicero, *De Leg.*, 2.28, *De Nat. Deor.*, 2.61.
- 29 E.H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin IV* (Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940]), pp. 4-5, 128-131; Pliny, *NH*, 7.45.139-140.
- 30 Pliny, *NH*, 35.7.22; Appian, *Punic Wars*, 8.66. An idea of what these paintings represented can be derived from by Flavius Josephus' description of Vespasian's and Titus' triumphal paintings, in *Bell. Iud.*, 7.143.
- 31 Michael H. Crawford, *The Roman Republic* (Glasgow: Fontana Press, 1981), pp. 59-60; John E. Stambaugh, pp. 25-26.
- 32 Translation by Bernadotte Perrin, Loeb Classical Library (New York: G.B. Putnam's Sons, 1917).

33 In northern Italy the Insubres were defeated by 191, the Ligurians crushed in 154, the Istrians in 178 and Dalmatian coast pacified by 129. Roman authority extended from Massilia to the coast of the Balkans. Overseas, the Romans were reluctantly drawn into a second Macedonian War against Philip V (200-196), by answering the appeal of Rhodes and Pergamum. The king was defeated and surrendered all his territories. In 189, the Romans were victorious at Thermopylae in Greece, and Magnesia in Asia Minor, against Antiochus. Perseus of Macedon provoked Rome into a third Macedonian War (172-167) and was defeated. Macedonia was divided into governable sections and annexed as a province in 147. In 146, Corinth was destroyed in the Achaean war and Carthage was razed to the ground in the third and final Punic war. The whole Iberian peninsula was under Roman rule with the destruction of Numantia in 133. And in 121 the new province of *Gallia Transalpina* was created in southern Gaul.

34 The aristocracy was becoming so rich that laws were passed i) against bribery, ii) limiting the expenditure on entertainments, and individual dress (*sumptuaria*). See Michael H. Crawford, pp. 77-79.

35 For complete information regarding the generals, their triumphs, votive temples, commemorative porticos, and plundered artwork in the southern Campus Martius refer to: T.P. Wiseman, "The Circus Flaminius," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 42 (1974), pp. 3-26; Filippo Coarelli, "Public Building in Rome Between the Second Punic War and Sulla," translated by Michael H. Crawford, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 45 (1977), pp. 1-23.

36 Regarding the building projects in Greek cities, such as Perikles' Akropolis and Alexander the Great's cities, see William R. Biers, *The Archaeology of Greece* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), pp. 240-256, 277-289. For Sulla's building program see Cicero, *De Fin.*, 5.2; Ovid, *Fasti*, 6.209; Valerius Maximus, 9.3.8; Pliny, *NH*, 34.12.26; Tacitus, *Hist.*, 6.209.

37 Charles Garton, *Personal Aspects of the Roman Theatre* (Toronto: A.M. Hakkert Ltd., 1972).

## Chapter 2

38 Pliny, *NH*, 7.26.97.

39 For a commentary on Pompey's Eastern triumph see: Diodorus Siculus, 40.4; Valerius Maximus, 8.15.8; Pliny, *NH*, 7.26.97-99, 37.5.11-7.18, 41; Appian, *Mith.*, 116-117. See Attilio Degrossi, *Fasti Capitolini* (Torino: G.B. Paravia SpA, 1954), p. 108, which records the event of September 29, 61 BC in this way: [*Cn. Pompeius Cn. f. Sex. n. Magnus III*] *pro co(n)s(ule) a. DCXCII* [*ex Asia, Ponto, Armenia, Paphla]gonia, Cappadoc(ia), [Cilicia, Syria, Scytheis, Iudaeis, Alb]ania, pirateis, [per biduum pridie k. O]cto(ber)*].

40 Translation by Bernadotte Perrin, Loeb Classical Library (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1917).

41 Pliny, *NH*, 7.26.98.

- 
- <sup>42</sup> See ch.1, pp. 4-14.
- <sup>43</sup> Varro wrote a manual (*commentarium*) for Pompey on senatorial procedure; see Aulus Gellius, *NA*, 14.17.2. Regarding the harsh judgements on Pompey see Cicero, *Ad Att.* 1.13.4.
- <sup>44</sup> Cicero, *Pro Sulla*, 31; *Ad Brutum*, 1.17.1; Sallust, *Cat.*, 17.43; Suetonius, *Iul.*, 16; Plutarch, *Cicero*, 23, *Cato Minor*, 26; Cassius Dio. 37.43.1.
- <sup>45</sup> Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, 5.7.
- <sup>46</sup> Cicero, *De Prov. Consul.*, 11.26-27; Velleius Paterculus, 2.40.5; Cassius Dio, 37.21.4.
- <sup>47</sup> Velleius Paterculus, 2.34.2, 2.40.5; Cassius Dio, 36.17a.
- <sup>48</sup> Plutarch, *Cato Minor*, 30.1-2.
- <sup>49</sup> Cicero, *Ad Att.*, 1.18: "Pompey wraps that triumphal cloak of his in silence."
- <sup>50</sup> Appian, *Civil Wars*, 2.9.
- <sup>51</sup> Cicero, *Ad Att.*, 1.18.6, 1.19.4; Plutarch, *Cato Minor*, 30.2-3; Cassius Dio, 37.49.2, .50.1-4.
- <sup>52</sup> Cassius Dio, 37.57.1-58.4, for an account of the secret coalition.
- <sup>53</sup> Suetonius, *Iul.*, 19; Appian, *Civil Wars*, 2.2.13; Plutarch, *Pompey*, 48.3; Cassius Dio, 38.7.5. See also H.H.Sculard, *From the Gracchi to Nero*, p. 115.
- <sup>54</sup> Cicero, *Ad Att.*, 2.5.1, 2.16.2; Suetonius, *Iul.*, 54.3; Appian, *Mith.*, 114.
- <sup>55</sup> Suetonius, *Iul.*, 21.
- <sup>56</sup> Cicero, *Ad Att.*, 8.3.3.
- <sup>57</sup> Edmond Frézouls, "La construction du *theatrum lapideum* et son contexte politique," *Théâtres et spectacles dans l'antiquité* (Leiden, 1983), p. 204.
- <sup>58</sup> Cicero, *Ad Att.*, 2.24.
- <sup>59</sup> Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1939) p. 35.
- <sup>60</sup> Translation by Bernadotte Perrin, Loeb Classical Library (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1917).
- <sup>61</sup> See also Lily Ross Taylor, *Roman Voting Assemblies: From the Hannibalic War to the Dictatorship of Caesar* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1966), pp. 29-33.

- 
- 62 Richard C. Beacham. *The Roman Theatre and Its Audience* (London: Routledge Publishing, 1991), p. 158.
- 63 Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 63.132; *In Vat.*, 10.24-11.26; Beryl Rawson. *The Politics of Friendship: Pompey and Cicero* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1978), pp. 110-111.
- 64 Gilles Sauron, "Le complexe Pompéien du Champ de Mars: nouveauté urbanistique à finalité idéologique," *L'Urbs: espace urbain et histoire* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1987), pp. 467-473.
- 65 Cassius Dio, 39.38.6.
- 66 Since we already know that the building complex was completed in 55 BC, and also taking into account that the Flavian amphitheatre took five years to build (AD 75-80), then the building complex probably took no more than four years to build; thus I think Pompey started construction in 59 BC.
- 67 For Pompey harassed by Clodius: Cicero, *De Domo Sua*, 129; *Pro Sestio*, 69; *De Har. Resp.*, 49; *In Pisonem*, 28-29. *Post Red. In Sen.* 4 and *De Domo Sua* 67; for Cato's remark see Cicero, *Ad Q. Frat.* 1.2.15.
- 68 R.C. Beacham, p.159. The events of 57 were explained by Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 50.106-59.127, delivered in March 56.
- 69 Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 55.118.
- 70 Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 56.121-57.122.
- 71 Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 58.123. The name Tullius actually refers to Servius Tullius, the sixth king of Rome.
- 72 Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 50.106.
- 73 Ed. Frézouls, pp. 203-204.
- 74 Vitruvius, *De Arch.*, 5.9.
- 75 Carlo Pavolini, *Ostia*. Vol. 8 of *Guide Archeologiche Laterza* (Bari: Laterza & Figli SpA, 1983), pp. 64-69; J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture* (Markham, Ont: Penguin Books, 1985), p.143; Frank Sear, *Roman Architecture*, p.130. The *horrea* at Ostia stored commodities such as grain, vines, and olives, before they were reshipped to Rome.
- 76 Eugenio La Rocca, "Pompeo Magno <<novus Neptunus>>," *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*, 92.2 (1987-88), p. 287. In contrast, the commodities stored in the Emporium and Porticus Aemilia, further down the river, would be reshipped to the towns situated along the Tiber in central Italy. Modern street names honour the ancient and medieval workshops that were in the area, see chapter 3, note 93.

---

<sup>77</sup> Only the base of the statue has been found, see Attilio Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae-Imagines* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1965), pp. 114, 115, and figure 163.

<sup>78</sup> J.B. Ward-Perkins, pp. 202-203; Beryl Rawson, p. 42.

<sup>79</sup> Cicero, *Pro Rab. Post.*, 3.6; *Ad Fam.*, 1.1.2; Cassius Dio, 39.16.

<sup>80</sup> Cicero, *Ad Q. Frat.*, 2.3.2; Plutarch, *Pompey*, 48.8ff; Cassius Dio, 39.19.

<sup>81</sup> Cicero, *Ad Q. Frat.*, 2.3.1-4; see Beryl Rawson, pp.122-123.

<sup>82</sup> L. R. Taylor, *Roman Voting Assemblies...*, p.31; J.B. Ward-Perkins, pp. 22, 23, 25.

<sup>83</sup> Plutarch, *Cato Minor*, 43; Cassius Dio, 39.33.6.

<sup>84</sup> For the date of the Temple of Venus Victrix see A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae*, p. 493. I have calculated the area of the Roman Forum in the following way: the length from the Aedes Concordiae to the Atrium Vestae, about 350 metres, multiplied by the width from the the Basilica Aemilia to the Temple of Castor and Pollux, about 150 metres, equals an area of 52500 square metres. In comparison, Pompey's monument was 320m x 150m, which equalled a total area of 48000 square metres. For the plan and scale of: i) the Roman Forum see Giuseppe Lugli, *Roma Antica: Il Centro Monumentale* (Roma: G. Bardi Editore, 1968), table III, p. 80; ii) the theatre see R. Etienne, "La curie de Pompée et la mort de César," *Hommage à la mémoire de Jérôme Carcopino* (Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1977), p. 73.

### Chapter 3

<sup>85</sup> Pliny, *NH*, 8.20.53, 8.24.64, 8.28.70, 8.30.72, 8.34.84; Plutarch, *Pompey*, 52; Cassius Dio, 39.38.

<sup>86</sup> Pliny, *NH*, 7.49.158

<sup>87</sup> Pliny, *NH*, 8.7.20-21.

<sup>88</sup> Vitruvius, *De Arch.*, 5.3.1.

<sup>89</sup> For information regarding the Scipio incident refer to ch. 1, pp. 10-11.

<sup>90</sup> For a description on the construction and dedication of temples see: Pierre Grimal, *Roman Cities: Les villes romaines*, translated and edited by G. Michael Woloch (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), pp. 330-331 "auspices," and p. 348 "templum." John E. Stambaugh, "The Functions of Roman Temples," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der antiken Welt*, II.16.1, 1978, pp. 562-564.

<sup>91</sup> Examples of some remarkable Greek temples which faced east include: the Hephaisteion overlooking the Athenian Agora, the magnificent Parthenon and the monumental entranceway of the Propylaia on the Acropolis at Athens, the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and the large temple of Zeus at Olympia.

---

92 From north to south, the four temples were dedicated to: Iuturna (241 BC), Fortuna Huiusce Diei (102 BC), Feronia (290 BC), Lares Permarini (179 BC).

93 Emilio Rodriguez Almeida, *Forma Urbis Marmorea: Aggiornamento Generale, 1980* (Roma: Edizioni Quasar, 1981), p.148 and table 32; Anna Maria Reggiani, "Ipotesi di recupero del teatro di Pompeo," *Roma-Archeologia nel Centro-II* (Roma: DeLuca Editore, 1985), pp. 369-375. Exact location of the theatre in modern Rome: between Piazza Campo dei Fiori, via dei Giubbonari, via dei Chiaviri, Piazza Grotta Pinta, via Sant'Anna, via delle Botteghe Oscure; via Sudario, via dei Falegnami, Largo di Torre Argentina.

94 Archaeological evidence from the theatre of Marcellus has helped in the reconstruction of Pompey's theatre. M.E. Blake, pp. 46,149; Vitruvius, 2.7.2.

95 M.E. Blake, pp. 254, 336. F. Sear, pp. 73, 76.

96 F. Sear, pp. 74-75.

97 42m, 35m, 10m are my approximate calculations based on the dimensions in F. Coarelli, *Guida Archeologica di Roma* (Verona: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1974), p. 256. Pliny said that the theatre held 40,000 people but this is wrong (in comparison the Flavian amphitheatre held about 50,000). For height equivalents see G. Lugli, *Roma antica, il centro monumentale* (Roma: G. Bardi Editore, 1968), pp. 3, 6.

98 Although the earliest recorded date is 48 BC, see F. Sear, p. 84.

99 M.E. Blake, p. 60.

100 193 BC: the first portico in the Campus Martius was "*a porta Fontinali ad Martis aram*," see Livy 35.10.12.

179 BC: M. Fulvius Nobilior, as censor, commissioned four porticos: i) behind the docks (*post navalia*), ii) near the temple of Hercules (*ad fanum Herculis*), iii) behind the temple of Hope (*post Spei*), iv) near the temple of Apollo (*ad aedem Apollonis*), see Livy 40.51.6.

168 BC: C. Octavius built his Porticus Octavia on the northeastern edge of the Circus Flaminius, see Velleius Paterculus, 2.1; Pliny, *NH*, 34.7.13; Augustus, *R.G.*, 19.

146 BC: Q. Metellus Macedonicus also dedicated his Porticus Metelli near the Circus Flaminius, see Vitruvius, 3.2.5; Velleius Paterculus, 1.2 and 2.1; Pliny, *NH*, 34.1, 36.4.35, 36.4.42.

107 BC: M. Minucius Rufus enclosed the temples of the Largo Argentina area with his Porticus Minucia, see Velleius Paterculus, 3.8.3.

For archaeological evidence of locations and descriptions see: F. Coarelli, *Roma*, pp. 271-272, 284; Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929); T.P. Wiseman, "The Circus Flaminius," pp. 3-26.

101 This will be examined in the next chapter.

102 R. Etienna, p. 76.

---

103 It is puzzling that no archaeologist has attempted to locate this mysterious theatre: see Ed. Frézouls, p. 197; J.A. Hanson, p. 53; L. Richardson Jr., "A Note on the Architecture of the *Theatrum Pompei* in Rome," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 91 (1987), p. 126.

104 G. Sauron, p. 459.

105 Alternating arches and straight lintels are depicted in the cityscapes of Pompeian (or architectural) 'second style' wall paintings in the first century BC. D. Strong, pp. 63-69.

106 Gilbert Charles-Picard, *Les trophées romains* (Paris: E. De Boccard Editeur, 1957), pp. 181-190. Propertius, 2.32.11-12.

107 Temple of Hercules, Temple of Minerva.

108 Pliny, *NH*, 35.35.59, 35.37.114, 35.40.126, 35.40.132.

109 John Boardman, *Greek Art* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1985), p. 224.

110 *ibid.*, p. 108.

111 Filippo Coarelli, "Il complesso Pompeiano del Campo Marzio e la sua decorazione scultorea," *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana d'Archeologia*, 44 (1971-72), p. 115. D. Strong, pp. 113, 182.

112 Pliny, *NH*, 36.4.41: "*Idem et a Coponio quattuordecim nationes, quae sunt circa Pompeium, factas auctor est.*" Suetonius, *Nero*, 46: "*simulacris gentium ad Pompei theatrum dedicatarum.*" During the reign of Diocletian and Maximian (AD 284-305) sections of the porticus were renamed *Iovia et Herculia*; see E. La Rocca, p. 287, and F. Coarelli, *Roma* (Bari: Laterza & Figli SpA, 1985), p. 290.

113 Pliny, *NH*, 36.4.40-41; Martin Henig, *A Handbook of Roman Art* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), p.70; F. Coarelli, "Il complesso Pompeiano..." p.116.

114 Martial, 3.19.1: "*Proxima centenis ostenditur ursa columnis/exornant fictae qua platanona ferae/...vipera sed caeco scelerata latebat in aere...*" Pliny, 36.40: "*cum in navalibus, ubi ferae Africanae erant, per caveam intuens leonem caelerat...*" The hecatostylum (i.e the portico of one hundred columns) was otherwise known as the Porticus Lentulorum built by Lentulus in the late fifties BC.

115 Cicero, *Ad Att.*, 4.9.9: "To you (Atticus) he (Pompey) expressed his thanks for undertaking the arrangement of his statues."

116 Diodorus Siculus, 40.4: "τοὺς δὲ ἀνδριάντας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀφιέρύματα τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν κόσμον τῶν πολεμίων ἀφελόμενος..."

117 Pliny, *NH*, 7.3.34-35: "*Pompeius Magnus in ornamentis theatri mirabiles fama posuit effigies ob id diligentius magnorum artificium ingeniis elaboratas inter quas*

*legitur Euthychis a viginti liberis rogo inlata Trallibus enixa xxx partus. Alcippe elephantum."*

118 Molly Whittaker, *Tatian: Oratio ad Graecos and Fragments* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 61-65 (ch. 33, 34): "...ποσάυτας μὲν...ποιητρίας οὐκ ἐπὶ τι χρήσιμον, πόρναις δὲ ἀπείρους καὶ μοχθηροῦς ἄνδρας..." F. Coarelli. "Il complesso Pompeiano..." p.103.

119 Compare with Pliny, *NH*, 7.10.51.

120 Antipater of Thessalonica, in *Antologia Palatina vol. III*, ix.26 (p. 18), compiled by Filippo Maria Pontani, (Torino: 1980):

Τάσθε θεογλώσσους Ἑλικῶν ἔθρειψε γυναῖκας  
 ὕμνοις καὶ Μακεδῶ Πιερίας σκόπελος,  
 Πρῆξιλλαν, Μοιρῶ, Ἀνύτης στόμα, θῆλυν Ὀμηρον  
 Λεσβιάδων Σαπφῶ κόσμῳ ἔνπλακτων,  
 Ἥρινναν, Τελέσπιδαν ὀγακλέα καὶ σέ, Κόρινθα,  
 βοῶριν Ἀθηναίης ἀσπίδα μελψαμένην,  
 Νοσσίδα θηλύγλωσσον ἰδὲ γλυκναχέα Μύρτιν,  
 πάσας ἀεγῶν ἐργάτιδας σελίδων.  
 Ἐννέα μὲν Μούσας μέγας Οὐρανός, ἐννέα δ' αὐτὰ  
 Γαῖα τέκεν θνατοῖς ἄφθιτον εὐφροσύναν.

Regarding the Muses in the theatre complex see Michaela Fuchs, "Eine Musengruppe aus dem Pompeius-Theater," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts Roemische Abteilung*, 89 (1982), pp. 69-80; and Michaela Fuchs, *Untersuchungen zur Ausstattung Römischer Theater* (Mainz am Rhein: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1987), pp. 5-11.

121 For M. Fulvius Nobilior see: Livy, 40.51.6; Ovid, *Fasti*, 6.813, *Ars. Am.*, 3.168; Pliny, *NH*, 35.36.66. For Lucullus see: Cicero, *In Verr.*, 4.4.26; Strabo, 8.6.23; Pliny, *NH*, 34.69, 36.39; Cassius Dio, 76.2.

122 F. Coarelli, "Il complesso Pompeiano..." p. 102.

123 F. Coarelli, "Il complesso Pompeiano..." p. 105. L. Moretti, "Sulle didascalie del teatro attico rinvenute a Roma," *Athenaeum*, vol. 38 (1960), pp. 263-285.

124 F. Coarelli, "Il complesso Pompeiano..." p. 114.

125 Beryl Rawson, p. 50 note 27. p. 111 note 63.

126 Plutarch, *Brutus*, 14; *Caesar*, 66.

127 Domenico Faccenna, "Il Pompeo di Palazzo Spada," *Archeologia Classica*, 8 (1956), pp. 176-181.

128 F. Coarelli, "Il complesso Pompeiano..." pp. 120-121.

129 H.A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), volume 1, p. 489, and plate 48, #23.

---

130 In a later passage of his Epigrams (5.10.5), Martial added: "*sic veterem ingrati Pompei quaerimus umbram.*"

131 Homer, *Odyssey*, XI.225-230.

132 G. Sauron, p. 467.

133 E. La Rocca, p. 286.

134 P. Grimal, *Les jardins romains* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969), pp. 67, 75, 78, 80, 174.

135 For the ancient significance of these various plants refer to J.C. Cooper, *An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Traditional Symbols* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1978).

136 Translation by Bernadotte Perrin, Loeb Classical Library (New York: G.P. Putnam's sons, 1914).

137 The Campus Martius already contained three sacred precincts: i) the cult centre of the Ara Martis located in the central area near the theatre complex, ii) the cult centre of Dis Pater and Proserpina located in a subterranean hideaway in the north-west corner of the Campus Martius called the Tarentum, iii) the cult centre of Apollinare just outside the Porta Carmentalis.

138 William S. Anderson, *Pompey, his Friends, and the Literature of the First Century B.C.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963); Elizabeth Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), pp. 104-109.

## Chapter 4

139 Lily Ross Taylor, *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar*, chapter 4 - "Manipulating the State Religion," (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), pp. 76 -97.

140 cf. Cicero, *De Har. Resp.* 5.8-9.

141 J. A. Hanson, *Roman Theater-Temples*, p. 47; Giuseppe Marchetti-Longhi, "Religione e teatro, l'influenza religiosa nella costruzione e nella topografia dei teatri nell'antica Roma," *Archivo Español de Arqueología*, 27 (1953), pp. 9-11.

142 L. Richardson Jr., pp. 123-126.

143 A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae*. Vol. 13: *Fasti et Elogia*, p. 493.

144 Stefan Weinstock, "Victor and Invictus," *Harvard Theological Review*, 50 (1957), pp. 215-224.

---

145 Robert Schilling. *La religion romaine de Vénus* (Paris: E. De Boccard Editeur, 1954), p. 298.

146 For information regarding these sanctuaries see Axel Boëthius, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture* (New York: Penguin Books, 1979); Paul MacKendrick, *The Mute Stones Speak* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1981), pp. 141-163; Guido A. Mansuelli, *Roma e il mondo romano* (Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1981), pp. 20-23; Filippo Coarelli and Fausto Zevi, *Lazio*. Vol. 5 of *Guide Archeologiche Laterza* (Bari: Laterza & Figli SpA, 1982), pp. 77-85, 137-149; Filippo Coarelli, *Dintorni di Roma*. Vol. 7 of *Guide Archeologiche Laterza* (Bari: Laterza & Figli SpA, 1981), pp. 166-172; J. A. Hanson, *Roman Theater-Temples*, pp. 29-39; Dorothy Kent Hill, "The Temple Above Pompey's Theater," *Classical Journal*, 39 (1944), pp. 360-365.

147 Guido A. Mansuelli, p. 20.

148 There was a lower sanctuary located at the foot of the hill.

149 F. Coarelli, *Dintorni di Roma*, pp. 143-146; J. A. Hanson, p. 35.

150 Pietrabbondante, Terracina, Cagliari (Sardinia).

151 J. A. Hanson, p. 29.

152 See above ch. 3, p. 44, and note 103.

153 R. Schilling, pp. 285-286.

154 P. Boyancé, "Lucrèce et son Disciple," *Revue des études anciennes*, 52 (1950), pp. 219-221.

155 Varro, *Ling. Lat.*, 6.33; R. Schilling, pp. 93-117.

156 R. Schilling, p. 241; see also Polybios 1.55; 1.58.7-8; 2.7.9-10; Diodorus Siculus 4.83.4; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.52.3-4, 53.1ff.

157 R. Schilling, pp. 207-208. The couples were: Jupiter-Juno, Neptune-Minerva, Mars-Venus, Apollo-Diana, Vulcan-Vesta, Mercury-Ceres.

158 On the other hand temples were dedicated to Mars in the Campus Martius with colossal statues of Venus as the one Hermodoros constructed in 138 (Pliny, *NH*, 36.26). For temples and shrines dedicated to Venus see S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, pp. 551-555; R. Schilling, p.210-219; John E. Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City*, pp.110, 214.

159 For families adopting Venus see: Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.85; R. Schilling, p. 272; Jane DeRose Evans, *The Art of Persuasion: Political Propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), pp. 28, 31, 39, 152, 153.

160 R. Schilling, pp. 272-275, 284-289. see also Plutarch, *Sulla*, 3; 6.1-3, 5-6, 9-10; 34.3-5; 35.2; Appian, *Civil Wars*, 1.97; Aulus Gellius, *NA*, 10.15.

- 
- 161 Plutarch, *Sulla*, 19.9.
- 162 G. Sauron, p. 463.
- 163 *ibid.*, p. 462.
- 164 Jean Gag , "La th ologie de la victoire imp riale," *Revue Historique*, 171 (1933), pp. 1-43.
- 165 R. Schilling, p. 296; Plutarch, *Lucullus*, 12.2-4.
- 166 *Ad Att.*, 9.7 lines 36-38: "*Mirandum enim in modum Gnaeus noster Sullani regni similitudinem concupivit. Εἰδὼς οὐδέποτε Nihil ille umquam minus obscure tulit.*" 9.10 lines 30-31: "*Quam crebro illud [Pompeius]: 'Sulla potuit, ego non potero?'*" 9.10 lines 99-100: "*Ita Sullaturit animus eius [Pompeii] et proscripturit iam diu.*"
- 167 Sulla was victorious in the First Mithridatic War (88-84 BC), and when he returned to Rome in 82 he defeated Marcellus at the battle of the Colline gate thus ending the Civil war. He celebrated a triumph for his eastern campaigns on January 27 and 28, 81 BC.
- 168 Sulla's festival was the first addition in 92 years (since 173 BC) to the group of six traditional *ludi* which the Roman Republic had decreed in honour of the gods. The fact that his *ludi* lasted well into the Empire is proof that the Roman people never forgot Sulla's name.
- 169 J. Gag , pp. 40-41.
- 170 Translation by H. Grose Hodge, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1959).
- 171 J. Gag , p. 41.
- 172 "*Maximum autem et praestantissimum in re publica ius est augurum, cum auctoritate coniunctum...*"
- 173 Cicero, *De Re Pub.*, 2.9.16: "*Tum id quod retinemus hodie magna cum salute rei publica, auspiciis plurimum obsecutus est Romulus.*"
- 174 See note 159 for references.
- 175 H.A. Grueber, p. 489 and plate 48, #22.
- 176 Aulus Gellius, *NA*, 10.1.7.
- 177 B. Rawson, pp. 140-141; L. R. Taylor, *Party Politics...*, pp. 148-152.
- 178 L. R. Taylor, pp. 152-161.

---

179 R. Schilling, pp. 304-307.

180 In part of the speech *pro Rab. Post.* (42) delivered in 54 BC, one year after the completion of Pompey's complex, Cicero referred to great virtues, great theatres, and great achievements.

181 Pierre Gros, "La fonction symbolique des édifices théâtraux dans le paysage urbain de la Rome Augustéenne," *L'Urbs: espace urbain et histoire* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1987), pp. 325, and 347: "nous dirons que rien n'évoque mieux le déplacement effectif des centres de la convergence populaire, et les nouvelles modalités de l'exercice du pouvoir, que ces edifices (i.e. théâtres) où le Princeps se donne à lui-même et au peuple rassemblé le spectacle d'une puissance sacralisée."

182 This advice was given to him by the Greek philosopher Poseidonius; see Strabo, *Geography*, 11.1.6: "ἀλὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ἐπιείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων." The quotation is attributed to Homer, *Iliad*, 6.208 and 11.784.

183 See p. 21: Plutarch, *Pomp.*, 45.5; Velleius Paterculus, 2.40.4; Manilius, *Astron.*, 1.793. See also *Anthologia Latina* #402: "*Pompeius totum victor lustraverat orbem...*"

184 Lucan 1.103-126.

## Conclusion

185 I.L.S., 5050 (*Judi Saeculares*, 17 BC): LVDOS COMMITTIMVS...NONIS IVN. GRAECOS THYMELICOS IN THEATRO POMPEII H. III.

("June 5. Performances of Greek plays in the Theatre of Pompey for three hours"); see Donald R. Dudley, *Urbs Roma* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1967), p. 181.

186 Strabo was referring to: the temple of Neptune by Domitius Ahenobarbus (32 BC); Statilius Taurus' amphitheatre (29 BC); Augustus' Mausoleum, gardens, crematorium (28 BC), Porticus Octaviae (27 BC), and Saepta Iulia (26 BC); Agrippa's baths (*thermae*), water-garden (*stagnum*), aqueduct, Pantheon, and Porticus Argonautarum (25 BC); the theatre and *crypta* of Balbus (13 BC); Augustus' theatre of Marcellus (13 BC), monumental sun-dial (10 BC), and Ara Pacis (9 BC).

187 Gaius 'Caligula' (AD 37-41) projected an amphitheatre, and built the temple of Isis and Serapis. Nero (54-68) built *thermae*. Domitian (81-96) erected the Templum Divorum Vespasiani et Titi, a Stadium, and Odeum. Hadrian (117-138) built the basilica and temple of Matidia and basilica of Marciana, and he rebuilt the Pantheon. Antoninus Pius (138-161) honoured Hadrian with a Templum Divi Hadriani, and was commemorated by an Ustrinum and Columna Divi Pii. Marcus Aurelius (161-180) was also commemorated by a temple, Ustrinum, and column.

188 Augustus, *RG*, 20.1; Velleius Paterculus, 2.130; Pliny, *NH*, 33.54; Tacitus, *Ann.*, 3.72, 6.45; Suetonius, *Tib.*, 47; *Cal.*, 21; *Claud.*, 11, 21; *Nero*, 13; Cassius Dio, 60.6.8, 62.6.1-2.

189 J. A. Hanson, pp. 59-77.

## Bibliography

### 1. Primary Sources

The references to ancient literary sources are all available in the Loeb Classical Library series (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press), unless otherwise noted:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <i>Anthologia Latina</i><br>(Bibliotheca Teubneriana)                                   | <i>De Provinciis Consularibus</i>              |
| Antipater of Thessalonica<br>(in <i>Antologia Palatina</i> by<br>Filippo Maria Pontani) | <i>De Re Publica</i>                           |
| Arnobius  | <i>In Pisonem</i>                              |
| <i>Adversus Nationes</i>  | <i>In Verrem</i>                               |
| Appian  | <i>In Vatinium</i>                             |
| <i>Civil Wars</i>   | <i>Post Reditum in Senatu</i>                  |
| <i>Mithridatic Wars</i>   | <i>Pro Balbo</i>                               |
| <i>Punic Wars</i>   | <i>Pro Flacco</i>                              |
| Augustus  | <i>Pro Rabirio Postumo</i>                     |
| <i>Res Gestae</i>   | <i>Pro Sestio</i>                              |
| Aulus Gellius   | <i>Pro Sulla</i>                               |
| <i>Noctes Atticae</i>   | Diodorus Siculus                               |
| Cassius Dio   | Dionysius of Halicarnassus                     |
| Catullus  | <i>Roman Antiquities</i>                       |
| Cicero  | Flavius Josephus                               |
| <i>Ad Atticum</i>   | <i>Bellum Judaicum</i>                         |
| <i>Ad Brutum</i>  | Homer  |
| <i>Ad Familiares</i>  | <i>Odyssey</i>                                 |
| <i>Ad Quintum Fratrem</i>   | Juvenal  |
| <i>De Domo Sua</i>  | <i>Satires</i>                                 |
| <i>De Haruspicum Responso</i>   | Livy   |
| <i>De Fato</i>  | <i>Ab Urbe Condita</i>                         |
| <i>De Finibus</i>   | <i>Periochae</i>                               |
| <i>De Imperio Gnaei Pompei</i><br>(or <i>Pro Lege Manilia</i> )                         | Lucan  |
| <i>De Legibus</i>   | <i>Bellum Civile</i>                           |
| <i>De Natura Deorum</i>   | Lucretius                                      |
| <i>De Officiis</i>  | <i>De Rerum Natura</i>                         |
|   | Macrobius                                      |
|   | <i>Saturnalia</i><br>(Bibliotheca Teubneriana) |

Manilius	
	<i>Astronomica</i>
Martial	
	<i>Epigrams</i>
Ovid	
	<i>Ars Amatoria</i>
	<i>Fasti</i>
Plautus	
	<i>Aulularia</i>
	<i>Curculio</i>
	<i>Miles Gloriosus</i>
	<i>Poenulus</i>
Pliny	
	<i>Naturalis Historia</i>
Plutarch	
	<i>Brutus</i>
	<i>Cato Minor</i>
	<i>Cicero</i>
	<i>Lucullus</i>
	<i>Marcellus</i>
	<i>Numa</i>
	<i>Pompey</i>
Polybius	
	<i>Histories</i>
Propertius	
Sallust	
	<i>Catilina</i>
Strabo	
	<i>Geography</i>
Suetonius	
	<i>Iulius</i>
	<i>Tiberius</i>
	<i>Caligula</i>
	<i>Claudius</i>
	<i>Nero</i>
Tacitus	
	<i>Annales</i>
	<i>Histories</i>
Tatian	
	<i>Oratio ad Graecos</i>
	(edited by Molly Whittaker)
Tertullian	
	<i>De Spectaculis</i>
Valerius Maximus	
	<i>Factorum ac Dictorum</i>
	<i>memorabilium libri IX</i>
	(Bibliotheca Teubneriana)
Varro	
	<i>Lingua Latina</i>
Velleius Paterculus	
Vitruvius	
	<i>De Architectura</i>

## 2. Secondary Sources

- Almeida, Emilio Rodriguez. *Forma urbis marmorea: aggiornamento generale*. Roma: Edizioni Quasar, 1981.
- Anderson, William S. *Pompey, his Friends, and the Literature of the First Century B.C.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963.
- Balsdon, J.P.V.D. *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome*. London: The Bodley Head Ltd., 1969.
- Beacham, Richard C. *The Roman Theatre and Its Audience*. London: Routledge Publishing, 1991.
- Beare, W. *The Roman Stage*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1968.
- Bieber, Margarete. *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961.
- Biers, William R. *The Archaeology of Greece*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980.
- Blake, Marion Elizabeth. *Ancient Roman Construction in Italy from the Prehistoric Period to Augustus*. Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1947.
- Boardman, John. *Greek Art*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1985.
- Boëthius, Axel. *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture*. New York: Penguin Books, 1979.
- Boyancé, P. "Lucrece et son disciple." *Revue des études anciennes*, 52 (1950), 212-233.
- Charles-Picard, Gilbert. *Les trophées romains*. Paris: E. De Boccard Editeur, 1957.
- Coarelli, Filippo. "Il complesso Pompeiano del Campo Marzio e la sua decorazione scultorea." *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana d'Archeologia*, 44 (1971-72), 99-122.

- . *Guida Archeologica di Roma*. Verona: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1974.
- . "Public Building in Rome Between the Second Punic War and Sulla." Translated by Michael H. Crawford, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 45 (1977), 1-23.
- and Fausto Zevi. *Lazio*. Vol. 5 of *Guide Archeologiche Laterza*. Bari: Laterza & Figli SpA, 1982.
- . *Roma*. Vol. 6 of *Guide Archeologiche Laterza*. Bari: Laterza & Figli SpA, 1985.
- . *Dintorni di Roma*. Vol. 7 of *Guide Archeologiche Laterza*. Bari: Laterza & Figli SpA, 1981.
- Cooper, J.C. *An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Traditional Symbols*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1978.
- Crawford, Michael. *The Roman Republic*. Glasgow: Fontana Press, 1981.
- Degrassi, Attilio. *Fasti Capitolini*. Torino: G.B. Paravia SpA, 1954.
- . *Inscriptiones Italiae*. Vol. 13: *Fasti et Elogia*. Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1963.
- . *Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae - Imagines*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1965.
- Deschamps, Lucienne. "Victrix Venus: Varron et la cosmologie empédocléenne." *Beiträge zur Altitalischen Geistesgeschichte*. Münster: Festschrift Gerhard Radke, 1986, pp. 51-72.
- Dudley, Donald R. *Urbs Roma*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1967.
- Étienne, Robert. "La curie de Pompée et la mort de César." *Hommage à la mémoire de Jérôme Carcopino*. Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1977, pp. 71-79.

- Evans, Jane DeRose. *The Art of Persuasion: Political Propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992.
- Faccenna, Domenico. "Il Pompeo di Palazzo Spada." *Archeologia Classica*, 8 (1956), 173-201.
- Frézouls, Edmond. "La construction du *theatrum lapideum* et son contexte politique." *Théâtres et spectacles dans l'antiquité*. Leiden: 1983, pp. 193-214.
- , "Aspects de l'histoire architecturale du théâtre romain." *Aufstieg und Niedergang der antiken Welt*, II.12.1 (1982), 343-441.
- , "Le théâtre romain et la culture urbaine." *La città antica come fatto di cultura*. Como: 1983, pp. 105-130.
- Fuchs, Michaela. "Eine Musengruppe aus dem Pompeius-Theater." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts Roemische Abteilung*, 89 (1982), 69-80.
- , *Untersuchungen zur Ausstattung Römischer Theater*. Mainz am Rhein: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1987.
- Gagé, Jean. "La théologie de la victoire impériale." *Revue Historique*, 171 (1933), 1-43.
- Garton, Charles. *Personal Aspects of the Roman Theatre*. Toronto: A.M. Hakkert Ltd., 1972.
- Greenhalgh, Peter. *Pompey: The Roman Alexander*. London: Wiedenfeld and Nicholson Ltd., 1980.
- , *Pompey: The Republican Prince*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd., 1981.
- Grimal, Pierre. *Les jardins romains*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969.
- , *Roman Cities: Les villes romaines*. Translated and edited by G. Michael Woloch. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983.

- Gros, Pierre. "La fonction symbolique des édifices théâtraux dans le paysage urbain de la Rome Augustéenne." *L'Urbs: espace urbain et histoire*. Rome: École Française de Rome, 1987, pp. 319-343.
- Grueber, H.A. *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Hanson, John Arthur. *Roman Theater-Temples*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959.
- Henig, Martin. *A Handbook of Roman Art*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983.
- Hill, Dorothy Kent. "The Temple above Pompey's Theater." *Classical Journal*, 39 (1944), 360-365.
- Knight, Donald W. "Pompey's Concern with Pre-eminence after 60 B.C." *Latomus*, 27 (1968), 878-883.
- La Regina, Adriano. *Abruzzo Molise*. Vol. 9 of *Guide Archeologiche Laterza*. Bari: Laterza & Figli SpA, 1984.
- La Rocca, Eugenio. "Pompeo Magno «novus Neptunus»." *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*, 92.2 (1987-88), 265-292.
- Leach, John. *Pompey the Great*. Beckenham: Croom Helm Ltd., 1978.
- Lugli, Giuseppe. *Roma antica: il centro monumentale*. Roma: G. Bardi Editore, 1968.
- , "L'origine dei teatri stabili in Roma antica." *Dioniso*, 9 (1942), 55-64.
- MacKendrick, Paul. *The Mute Stones Speak*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1983.
- Mansuelli, Guido A. *Roma e il mondo romano*. Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1981.
- Marchetti-Longhi, Giuseppe. "Religione e teatro, l'influenza religiosa nella costruzione e nella topografia dei teatri nell'antica Roma." *Archivo Español de Arqueología*, 26 (1953), 3-37.

- Moretti, L. "Sulle didascalie del teatro attico rinvenute a Roma." *Athenaeum*, 38 (1960), 263-282.
- Nash, E. *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. London: 1968.
- Pavolini, Carlo. *Ostia*. Vol. 8 of *Guide Archeologiche Laterza*. Bari: Laterza & Figli SpA, 1983.
- Platner, S.B., and T. Ashby. *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929.
- Polacco, Luigi. "Théâtre, société, organisation de l'État." *Théâtres et spectacles dans l'antiquité*. Leiden: 1983, pp. 5-16.
- Pontani, Filippo Maria. *Antologia Palatina*. Vol. 3. Torino: 1980.
- Rawson, Beryl. *The Politics of Friendship: Pompey and Cicero*. Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1978.
- Rawson, Elizabeth. *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.
- Reggiani, Anna Maria. "Ipotesi di recupero del teatro di Pompeo." *Roma, Archeologia nel Centro: II, La Città Murata*. Roma: De Luca Editore, 1985, pp. 369-375.
- Richardson, Jr., L. "A Note on the Architecture of the *Theatrum Pompei* in Rome." *American Journal of Archaeology*, 91 (1987), 123-126.
- Sauron, Gilles. "Le complexe Pompéien du Champ du Mars: nouveauté urbanistique à finalité idéologique." *L'Urbs: espace urbain et histoire*. Rome: École Française de Rome, 1987, pp. 457-473.
- Schilling, Robert. *La religion romaine de Vénus*. Paris: E. de Boccard Éditeur, 1954.
- Scullard, H.H. *From the Gracchi to Nero*. 5th ed. New York: Methuen & Co., 1982.
- Sear, Frank. *Roman Architecture*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987.

Stambaugh, John E. "The Functions of Roman Temples." *Aufstieg und Niedergang der antiken Welt*, II.16.1 (1978), 554-608.

------. *The Ancient Roman City*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.

Strong, Donald. *Roman Art*. Markham: Penguin Books, 1988.

Syme, Ronald. *The Roman Revolution*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1939.

Talbert, Richard J.A. *Atlas of Classical History*. Beckenham: Croom Helm Ltd., 1985.

Taylor, Lily Ross. *Roman Voting Assemblies: from the Hannibalic War to the Dictatorship of Caesar*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1966.

------. *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949.

Versnel, H.S. *Triumphus*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970.

Ward-Perkins, J.B. *Roman Imperial Architecture*. Markham: Penguin Books, 1985.

Weinstock, Stefan. "Victor and Invictus." *Harvard Theological Review*, 50 (1957), 211-248.

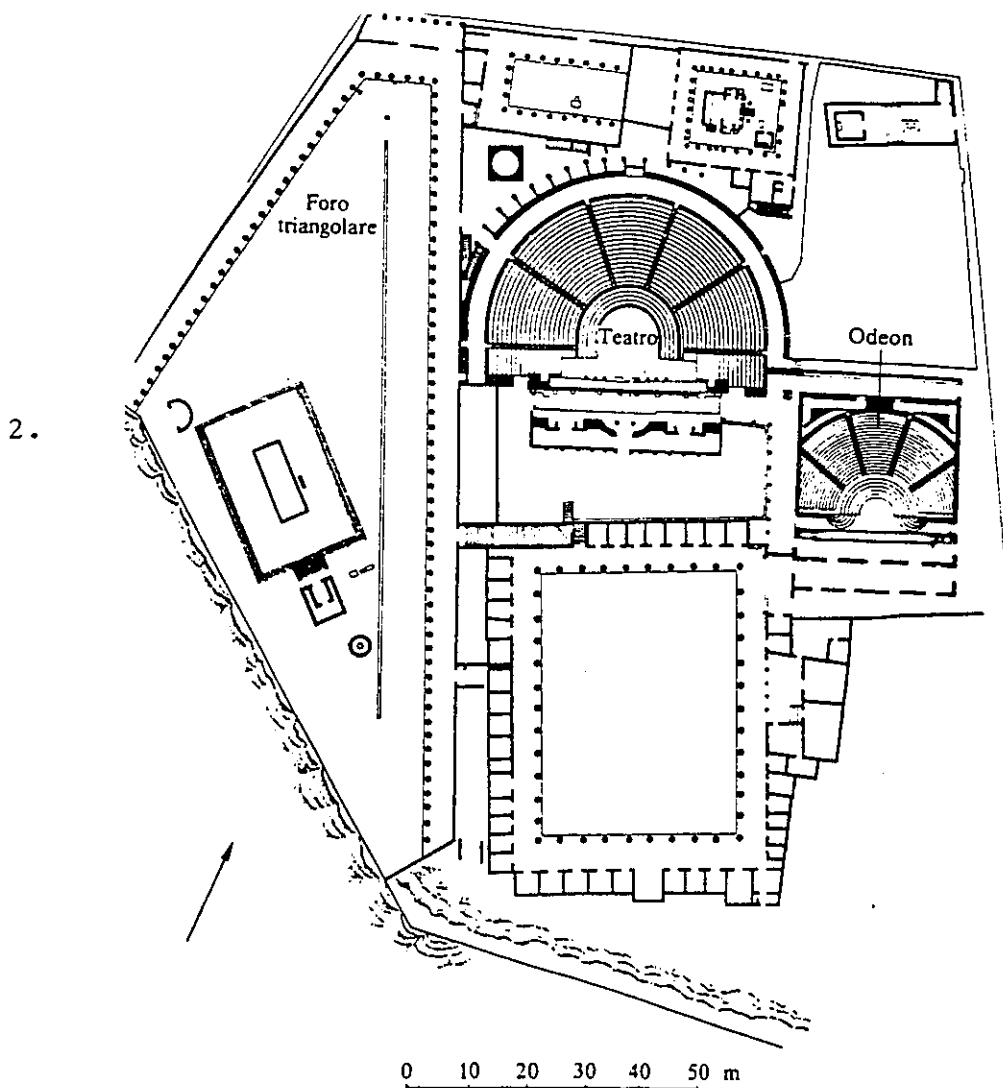
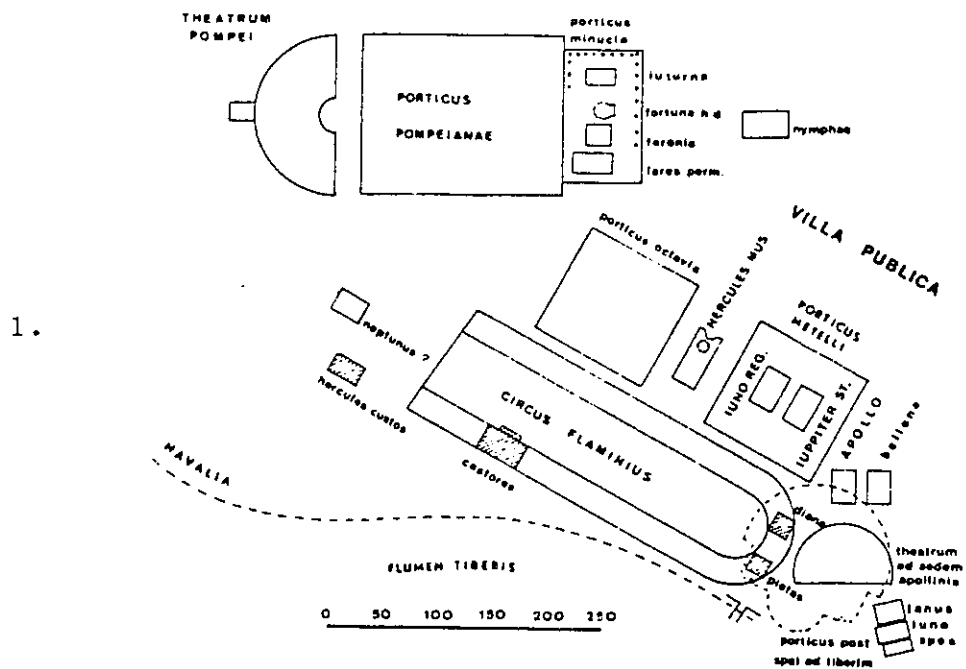
Whittaker, Molly. *Tatian: Oratio ad Graecos and Fragments*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.

Wiseman, T.P. "The Circus Flaminius." *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 42 (1974), 3-26.

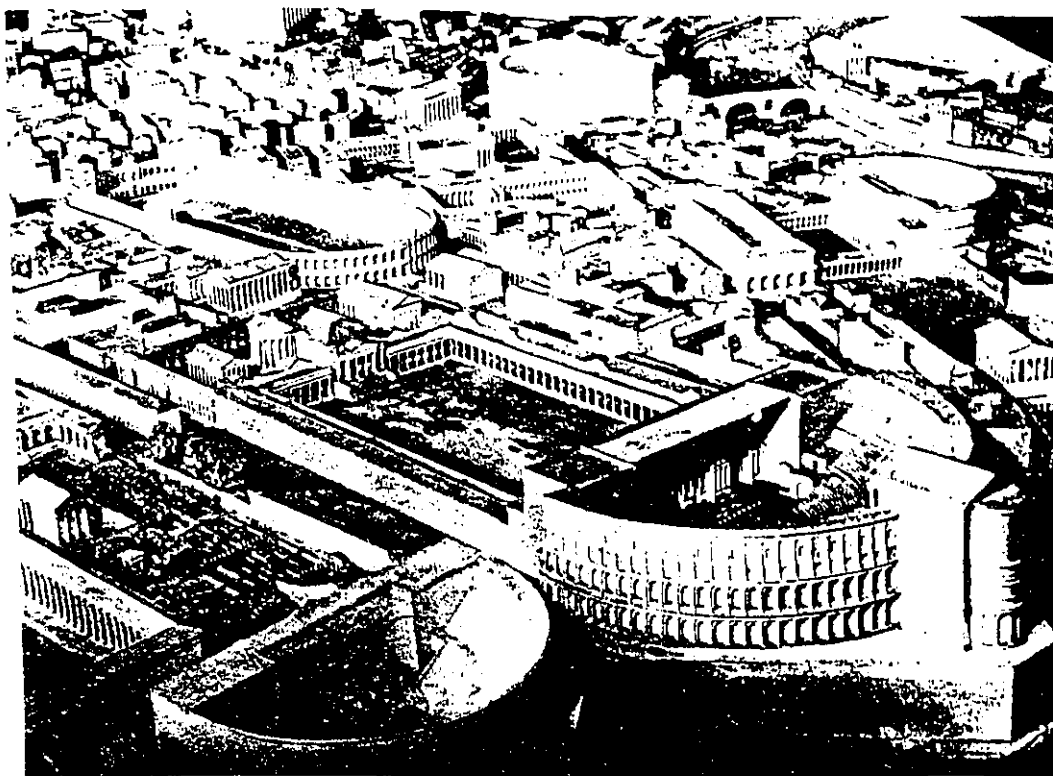
------. *Roman Political Life, 90 B.C.-A.D. 69*. Exeter: University of Exeter, 1985.

## Plates

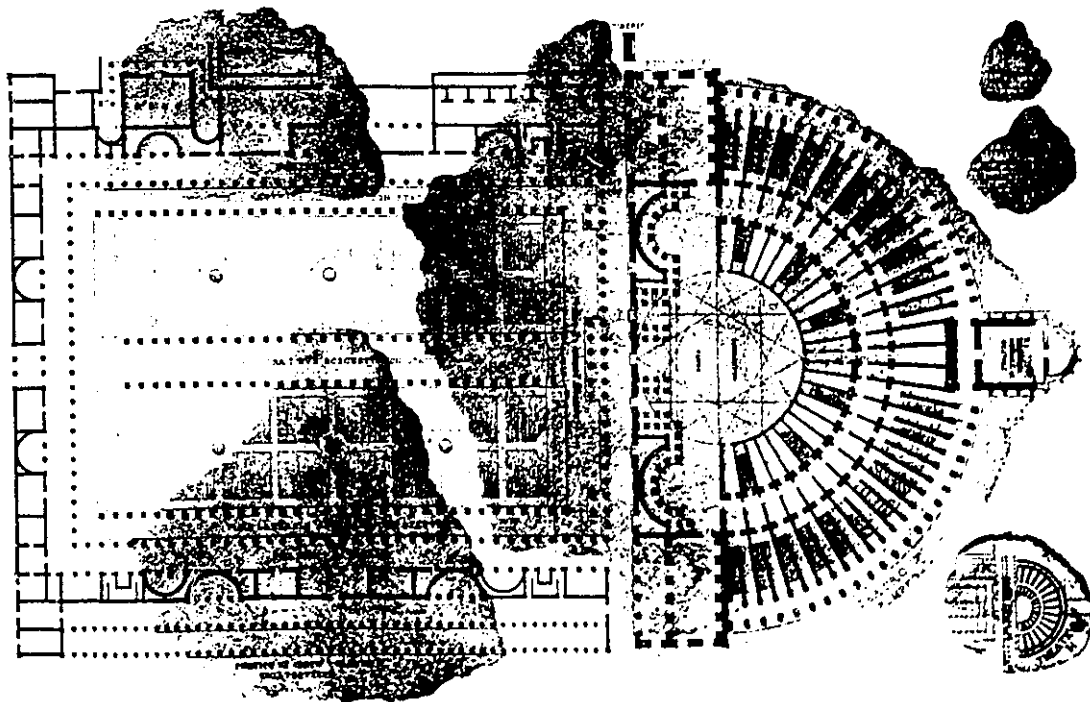
1. The southern Campus Martius in the time of Pompey (F. Coarelli, *Guida Archeologica Romana*, p. 271).
2. The theatre at Pompeii (Guido A. Mansuelli, *Roma e il mondo Romano*, p. 34).
3. Model of Pompey's Building Complex (John Leach, *Pompey the Great*).
4. The representation of Pompey's Building Complex on the Severan Marble Plan combined with a reconstructed drawing (J.A. Hanson, *Roman Theater-Temples*, ill. 19).
5. An illustrated representation of the statue of Pompey (Domenico Faccenna, "Il Pompeo di Palazzo Spada," *Archeologia Classica*, 8, p. 175).
6. Coin in honour of Pompey depicting Hercules and globe surrounded by four wreaths (H.A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, pl. 48, no. 23).
7. Axonometric reconstruction of the Sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste (F. Coarelli, *Lazio*, p. 142).
8. Axonometric reconstruction of the Sanctuary of Hercules Victor at Tibur (J.A. Hanson, ill. 7).
9. Plan of the Sanctuary of Juno at Gabii (J.A. Hanson, ill. 5).
10. Coin in honour of Pompey depicting Venus Victrix and three victory trophies (H.A. Grueber, pl. 48, no. 22).
11. Rome: physical, and Pompey's Building Complex (B. Rawson, *The Politics of Friendship: Pompey and Cicero*, p. 42).

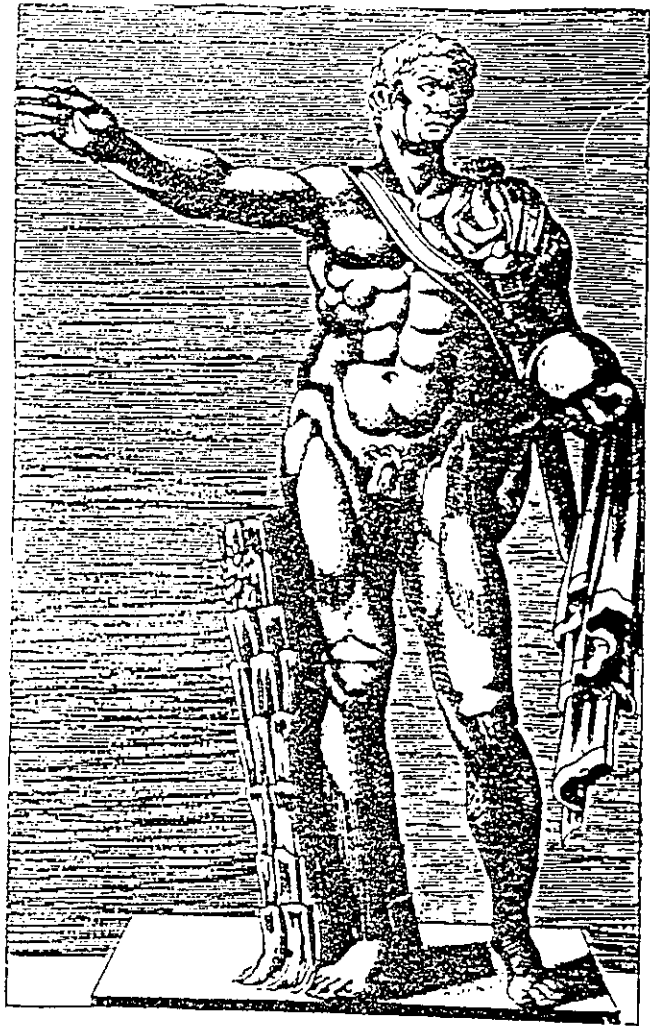


3.



4.



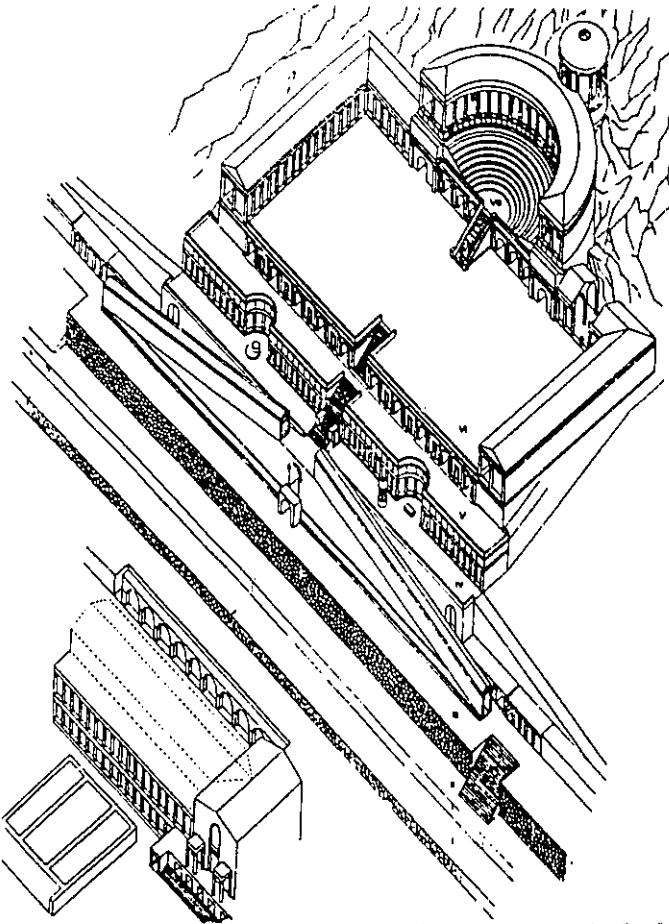


5.

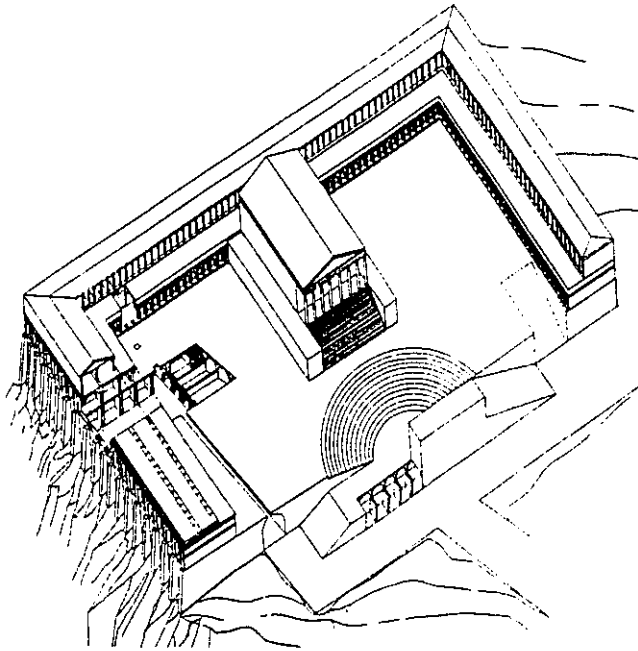


6.

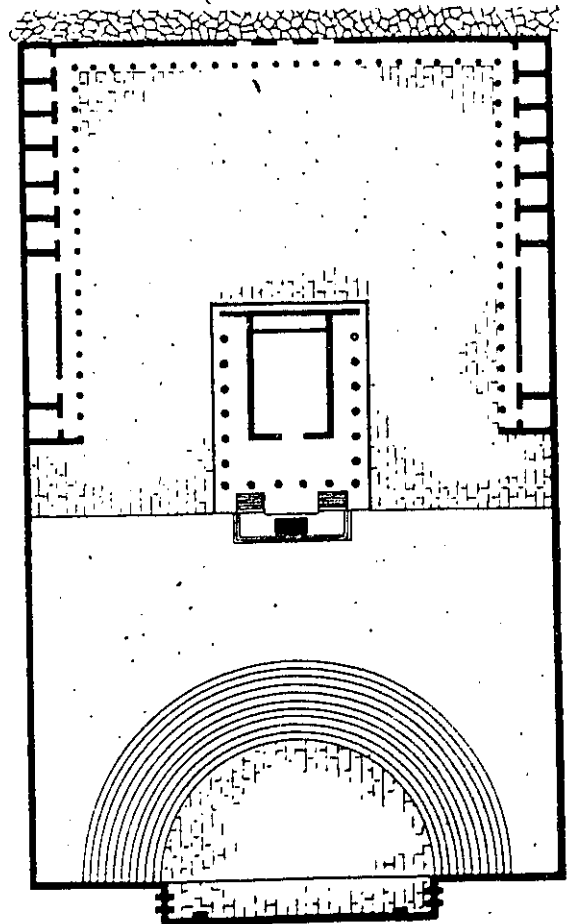
7.



8.



9.



10.



11.

