FROM BRICKS TO MARBLE: TO WHAT EXTENT DID CAESAR AUGUSTUS REALLY TRANSFORM ROME?

Flavia Maria Borgognone

Research Scholar, Malvern College, Great Malvern, England

ABSTRACT

The paper focuses on Caesar Augustus' famous statement: "I found at Rome of bricks, and left it of marble" and analyses the extent of which this claim can be considered as being really true. It approaches the question in a thematic way, firstly by providing a background description of the conditions of Rome when Augustus came to power. This analysis is fundamental in order to see how Rome was transformed under the first emperor's empire. The investigation then mainly focuses on the development of the city, according to sources from Augustus' autobiography, "Res Gestae" as well as different author's accounts, such as Suetonius' "De Vita Caesarum, Divi Augustus", excerpts from Horace and Strabo. Augustus concentrated most of his projects in Rome's two central hills, the Capitoline and Palatine and also around the forum. Around this area Augustus built buildings, which recalled his military victories, a mausoleum for himself and his family and many new temples. Not only did he commission new buildings, but also kept in good repair the aqueducts, which supplied water to the city. Finally, the investigation will be reaching the conclusion that it is to a great extent that Augustus transformed Rome.

KEYWORDS: *Emperor's Empire, Built Buildings, Good Repair Aqueducts*

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to analyze whether the founder of the Roman Empire, Caesar Augustus *literally* transformed the eternal city from bricks to marble. As stated by Suetonius, Augustus boasted "*I found at Rome of sun-dried bricks; I leave her clothed in marble*"[1]. Scholars have often analyzed this statement from a political point of view and considered this claim as being a metaphor for his achievement of having changed a republic into an empire. To contrast this previously explored approach to the subject, and to enrich my already existing interest in architecture and urban design, I decided to establish whether the aforementioned statement is valid. This evaluation of the single statement is vital in order to understand whether the phrase really holds some truth or was rather just a hyperbolic perception of the political evolution of the empire. Throughout this research, I have aimed to explain and examine the significance of Augustus' statement by Suetonius, and see if he was telling the truth or just making an empty claim. In order to evaluate Augustus' famous declaration and determine whether Rome was really transformed under his rule or not, this essay will be observing how the city of seven hills changed during his reign. It will first consider the extent to which he really found a "*Rome of bricks*". In order to achieve this, it will briefly describe the conditions of Rome when Augustus came to power. It will then go on to examine a verbatim record of the transformation and foundations of buildings in Rome that

---

[1]Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, *De vita Caesarum* (2.28) translated by R. Graves (Londen 1962) 53.

demonstrate the magnificence of his architectural work. As there is a remarkable list of buildings and restorations completed by the *princeps* only several examples will be mentioned instead of focusing on the making of the city as an entirety.Moreover, although this paper is designed to explain how Rome changed with Augustus, nowadays it is very difficult to know exactly how the different areas of Rome during the Augustus' rule looked like. In the Middle Ages the *abitato* was introduced, which urbanized Rome, including the area between the Vatican and the Capitoline Hill, therefore the vast majority of imperial ruins still lie under the Roman *palazzi* as only a few buildings have been excavated completely,this means that this essay will mostly be dependent on the information given by ancient literary authors. I will often be referring to Augustus' autobiographical work of his accomplishments *"Gestae Divi Augusti"*. However, since Shotter mentions that "The objective of the Res Gestae was to portray Augustus as a wise, modest and firm statesman and general under whose protection Rome, Italy and the Empire prospered"[2], to have an unbiased explanation of what Augustus did for Romeit will also be looking at works of writers contemporary to Augustus, such as Suetonius' account *"De Vita Caesarum, Divi Augustus"* and his arguments related to the building projects of the Roman emperor. Finally, some conclusions will be drawn as to how far it is possible to say that the statement written by Suetonius is significant and Augustus did really transform Rome.

Rome as Augustus Rose to Power

Literary works and movies have always given a positive image of Augustus considering him as being the single most important figure and especially portraying him as being a breakpoint in Roman history, not only politically but also culturally. Augustus rose to power in 21 AD and became the first Roman emperor who, according to David Shotter, " brought the city and the Empire from the chaos of civil war to a system of ordered government"[3]. Also, it is important to recognize that Augustus wanted to be seen as the restorer and rebuilder of Rome. Catherine Edwards argues that "For emperors, the building was one of the most dramatic ways of making one's mark on Rome, of setting out what kind of a ruler one aspired to be." [4] This gives us a vague idea why the building program had such an important role in the Augustus' reign.

The emperor Augustus claimed to have re-founded Rome and inaugurated a new Golden Age of peace and prosperity and most of his monuments reflected his vision of a new Rome. Augustus, just like Caesar had an ambitious vision of the city and wanted to emulate Alexandria and the other imperial capitals of the Hellenistic period.[5]"The residents of Rome passed years living in an extended construction site with the old disfigured and the new still incomplete or raw"[6]. As Rome was slowly being transformed, the Romans began to "envision Rome not as the seat of a city-state, but more formidable as the wellspring of Roman culture and power."[7]

For example, Suetonius claims of Augustus, as he rose to power, whilst generalizing on Rome's state:

Urbem neque pro maiestate imperii ornatam et inundationibus incendiisque obnoxiam excoluit adeo, ut iure sit

---

[2]Shotter, D. *Augustus Ceasar* (Londen 1991) 88
[3] Shotter, D. *Augustus Ceasar* (Londen 1991) 1
[4] Catherine Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome* p164
[5] Thomas Habinek, Alessandro Schiesano, *The Roman Cultural Revolution* p122
[6]Thomas Habinek, Alessandro Schiesano, *The Roman Cultural Revolution* p122
[7]Karl Galinsky, *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus* p 235

gloriatus marmoream se relinquere, quam latericiam accepisset[8]

In the source, Augustus is described as a new founder of Rome, which recalls the same image of Augustus in the Res Gestae, written by Augustus himself. After Julius Caesar's death in 44 BC, Rome was left in chaos with no clear designated successor and this brought about a struggle for power and conflict between Marc Anthony, one of the consuls and Caesar's great-nephew, Octavian (Augustus), which lasted thirteen years. However, during these years architecture played an important role: the vast majority of the projects Augustus was pursuing all aimed at providing a visual legitimization of his rightful role as Caesar's heir. When Octavian returned to Rome after his victories, he confronted himself with a city "demoralized by years of civil conflict, and shabby from neglect." [9]As reported by Augustus:

In consulatu sexto et septimo, postquam bella civilia exstinxeram, per consensum universorum potitus rerum omnium, rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatus populique Romani arbitrium transtuli.[10]

The excerpt makes us aware of the situation that Augustus overtook as he rose to power: the order was replaced by a disorder. The previous century was chaotic, filled with civil wars, and, as Augustus gained power, he brought forty-five years of peace and stability, laying the foundations of the *Pax Romana*. "Rome presented a shabby and exhausted appearance"[11] due to the previous years of abandonment and lack of resources. Caesar had already started a great public works program, which he never finished as it was interrupted by civil wars and his brutal murder, hence Augustus completed most of Caesar's projects for his building program.

Mutas Formas: Augustus' Transformation of Rome

Following Augustus' famous statement, Suetonius remark son the many buildings and restorations that the emperor pursued:

"Aedes sacras vetustate conlapsas aut incendio absumptas refecit easque et ceteras opulentissimis donis adornavit."[12]

Extensive programs of rebuilding and restoration were realized in a classic Augustan manner, to which Diane Favro refers as "enhanced familiarity: traditional forms were maintained, but their dimensions were often quite literally heightened and enriched.."[13]Particular attention was given to the maintenance and construction of infrastructures and aqueducts as stated by Suetonius in his records:

---

[8]Suetonius, *Divus Augustus,* 2.28
"Aware that the City was architecturally unworthy of her position as capital of the Roman Empire, besides being vulnerable to fire and river floods, Augustus so improved her appearance that he could justifiably boast: 'I found a Rome of sun-dried bricks; I leave her clothed in marble.' He also used as much foresight as could have been expected in guarding against future disasters". Karl Galinsky, *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus* p 235

[10] Augustus, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 34.1-3
In my 6th and 7th consulships, after I had extinguished civil war, having gained control of all things through the consent of the whole, I transferred the republic out of my power into the control of the senate and the Roman people.[10] Translated by Tom Harpel
[11] Karl Gallinsky, *Augustus: Introduction to the Life of an Emperor* (Cambridge University Press) p 152
[12]Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, *De vita Caesarum* (2.30) : He restored ruined or burned temples, and enriched them with the most princely gifts*" translated by Andrew Lees, *The City: A World History* (Oxford University Press) 23
[13] Karl Gallinsky, *Augustus: Introduction to the Life of an Emperor* (Cambridge University Press) 152

Publica opera plurima exstruxit […]*Sed et ceteros principes viros saepe hortatus est, ut pro facultate quisque monimentis vel novis vel refectis et excultis urbem adornarent.*[14]

In addition, Augustus in the Res Gestae also boasts this:

"opus impensa grandi refeci sine ulla inscriptione nominis mei. Rivos aquarum compluribus locis vetustate labentes refeci[…]Duo et octoginta templa deum in urbe consul sextum ex auctoritate senatus refeci nullo praetermisso quod eo tempore refici debebat. In privato solo Martis Ultoris templum forumque Augustum ex manibiis feci.[15]

And these are just some examples of the many buildings and restorations, which he mentions.

The first demonstration that supports the Augustus' claim is the role played by tradition in Republican times. It was the tradition that powerful and rich Romans, particularly triumphant generals, erected a great number of monuments. In fact, generals were expected to finance the construction of glorious building works in Rome by investing a quota of their spoils of war. By tradition, the ruler of the empire would have gained the responsibility of Rome's public space. Indeed, as Octavian became the first Roman emperor and reigned with undisputed authority as *primus inter pares,* he was made in charge of its maintenance. Horace describes in his Satires a newly made senator as follows:

sic qui promittit civis, urbem sibi curae,

imperium fore et Italiam, delubra deorum,

quo patre sit natus, num ignota matre inhonestus,

omnis mortalis curare et quaerere cogit.[16]

This source may not apply directly to Octavian however, it can easily be related to him. Augustus was the most important investor in architectural works and simultaneously there were other central patrons who funded the construction of buildings and temples. This created competition in decorative and architectural style, nevertheless Octavian's great monuments "in sheer size and expense overshadowed all other projects"[17] as he was the richest and most powerful, due to his substantial inheritance from Julius Caesar. As Octavian rose to power "They even advised him to renounce the adoption, together with the inheritance. But he thought that to do so, and not to avenge Caesar, would be disgraceful."[18] How Appian indicates in the passage previously cited, Octavian in his rise to power will use the device of the *UltioCaesaris* mostly concentrating on the construction of buildings that would provide a visual legitimization of his entitlement as heir of Julius Caesar[19].

Before the Augustus' reign, several important works, such as republican buildings and temples were already

---

[14]Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, *De vita Caesarum* (2.29) : "He improved the approaches of the City […] at his own expense, and called upon men who had won triumphs to spend their price money on putting the other main roads in good condition"translated by R. Graves (Londen 1962) 54

[15]*"I rebuilt without any inscription of my own name. I restored the channels of the aqueducts […] I rebuilt eighty-two temples of the gods, omitting none which at that time stood in need for repair […] On my own ground I built the temple of Mars Ultor and the Augustan Forum from the spoils of war."Res Gestae Augusti* (20-21)

[16] Horace, *Satires,* I.6.34-37 :Whoever declares that he will take care of the citizens and city, Italy and the empire, the temples of the gods (Translation : Randall L. B. McNeill*Horace: Image, Identity, and Audience* p 44)

[17] Paul Zanke, *"The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus"*, p 65

[18]Appian, *Bellum Civile,* III. 11 ; Translated by : The Civil Wars. Appian. Horace White. London. MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD. 1899

[19]Francesco Ramagli, *La Ultio Caesaris nell'ascesa al potere di Ottaviano Augusto* p2

present in the *urbe*, concentrating on the Capitoline Hill such as the temple of Jupiter Maximus. Among the many patrons that created great buildings before the Augustan era is Pompeius Magnus and among these his own theatre, which was the first made of stone. Equally, Caesar had the ambition to encompass Rome as a world power and started several significant projects, among these the Saepta Julia, designed to transfer the election votes, the Senate House known as the Curia Julia and the Forum Julium. Likewise, he also planned other projects, such as the Temple of Mars Ultor "*quantum nusquam esset[20]*", which Augustus undertook giving to Rome a new forum, impressive buildings and many temples. Also, Caesar was the first who created a temple for his family, the Temple of Venus Genetrix. Thus, it is difficult to fully associate Rome as being as bad as Augustus claimed it to be.

On the other hand, Horace justifies the necessity of Rome's reconstruction celebrating Augustus' reforms in his *Odes* in the following way:

> Delictamaioruminmerituslues,
>
> Romane, donectemplarefeceris
>
> aedisquelabentisdeorumet
>
> foedanigrosimulacrafumo.[21]

During the Hellenistic period, Rome's urban environment was not adequate for its great importance for example as Cicero mentions, Rome showed "*nonoptimisviis, angustissimissemitis*"[22]Livy also commentsonb this and emphasizes it by giving the Macedonian courtiers' point of view "*alii speciem ipsius urbis nondum exornatae neque publicis neque priuatis locis*" [23] Rome deserved greater foreign recognition aiming at a memorable urban design, with majestic monuments and public space just like in the cities of Antioch, Alexandria, and Pergamon. Nonetheless, as mentioned previously, one simplistic justification to Augustus' scale of projects is how the previous century passed over to Octavian an *urbe* whose infrastructures were partially destroyed and also left unmaintained. Augustus was advised by the Greek historian Cassius Dio his model of how the city should be restored and rebuilded in the speech conveyed by Maecenas:

> τὸ μὲν ἄστυ τοῦτο καὶ κατακόσμει πάσῃ πολυτελείᾳ καὶ ἐπιλάμπρυνε παντὶ εἴδει πανηγύρεων· προσήκει τε γὰρ ἡμᾶς πολλῶν ἄρχοντας ἐν πᾶσι πάντων ὑπερέχειν, καὶ φέρει πως καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρός τε τοὺς συμμάχους αἰδῶ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κατάπληξιν.[24]

In the passage discussed above, Cassius Dio has Maecenas advice Augustus an effective means of achieving his goal of fully transforming Rome as a *caput mundi* and certainly in Maecenas' speech, Augustus is recommended to reduce

---

[20] Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 44 : Greater than any in existance

[21] Horace, *Odes,* Book 3 poem 6 :Your fathers' guilt you still must pay, Till, Roman, you restore each shrine,Each temple, 'mouldering in decay,And smoke-grimed statue, scarce divine. (Translation: http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0893.phi001.perseus-eng1:3.6)

[22]Cicero, On the Agrarian Law, 2.35.95 : with not very good roads, and with very narrow streets (translated by C. D. Yonge, B. A. London. Henry G. Bohn, York Street, Covent Garden. 1856)

[23] Livy. *History of Rome*40.5 English Translation by. Rev. Canon Roberts. New York, New York. E. P. Dutton and Co. 1912 : Others scoffed at the appearance of the City, its lack of adornment in both public and private buildings

[24]Cassius Dio 52.30.1, Loeb trans. E. Cary: Adorn this capital with utter disregard of expense and make it magnificent with utter disregard of expense and make it magnificent with festivals of every kind. For it is fitting that we who rule over many people should surpass all men in all things, and brilliance of this sort, also, tends in a way to inspire our allies with respect for us and our enemies with terror.

the excessive expenditure of funds in the provinces.[25]

The first aspect of the order was the urban development of the Campus Martius, which, by the end of the building program became one of Rome's most important regions, as it is where Augustus made a major impact with the greatest number of significant buildings and left perhaps his most profound mark[26]. The Campus Martius was the great area between the Capitol and the important Via Flaminia. Originally, it was a spacious land dedicated to war activities and was gradually transformed into an area mostly dedicated to entertainment.

One of Augustus' first building projects in the Campus Martius was the erection of his Mausoleum which "far foreshadowed all earlier structures in Rome[27]" : it was an enormous tomb intended for himself, his family and his friends ,therefore, being a dynastic monument rather than a personal monument. The Greek geographer, Strabo described the memorable infrastructure after its realization as follows:

"a great mound on a high base of white marble by the river, covered to its top with evergreen trees; on its summit is a bronze statue of Augustus Caesar'."[28]

It was built in the northern part of the Campus Martius, *inter Flaminiam viam ripamque Tiberis sexto suo consulatu extruxerat, circumiectasque silvas et ambulationes in usum populi i am turn publicarat[29]* - over the empty plain between the Tiber and the Via Flaminia. The tomb's proportions were colossal and a Roman emperor built the greatest tomb: eighty-seven meters wide and about forty meters high. "It consisted of two concentric cylinders each sheathed in marble or travertine, between which trees were planted on the sloping terrain."[30]

This also leads us to recall the fact that during the Augustan era, it was the first time in history in which marble became cheap enough to use. This is another possible reason for the Augustus' claim. Professor Dr. Diana Kleiner, argued during her lecture [31] given at Yale University based on the transformation of Rome by the first emperor, that in previous centuries marble was too expensive to be used for large-scale building projects therefore the Romans made buildings following the First Pompeian Style by which walls were covered with white and materials that alluded to marble were used. Marble became easily accessible as excavations were carried out in the Apuan Alps, nowadays just near Carrara. Quarries were discovered in Luna and without difficulty the marble was transported by sea either to Rome or other parts of the empire. As marble gradually became available in greater quantities, it became possible to use it for large scale building projects. A great variety of colored marble was imported from colonies in Asia Minor, Egypt and North Africa and this material were often used to embellish buildings.

For the Romans, huge sizes and rich materials represented glory and supremacy: *Odit populus Romanus privatam luxuriam, publicam magnificentiam diligit[32]*. For example, according to Cassius Dio's accounts the Diribitorium, a public

---

[25] Cass. Dio 57.19.5

[26] Paul W.Jacobs, II, Diane Atnally Conlin, *Campus Martius The field of Mars in the life of Ancient Rome,* (Cambridge University Press) 170

[27]Paul Zanker,*The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus;* University of Michigan Press p73

[28] translated by S.J.HARRISON

[29]Suet. Aug. 100

[30]Paul Zanker,*The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus;* University of Michigan Press p75

[31]http://www.cosmolearning.com/video-lectures/from-brick-to-marble-augustus-assembles-rome-6777/ (November 14, 2009)

[32] Cicero, *Pro Murena,* 76 :the Roman People hate private luxury, but love richness and splendor in their public buildings

voting hall was "the largest building under a single roof ever constructed"[33]. Not many buildings before the Augustan age were made of luxurious marble; on the other hand the *princeps* with the prosperity of his reign transformed the cityscape, physically enlarging it and enhancing it with the use of the rich material. The use of marble not only rendered the buildings, majestic but also had other advantages. Among these its malleability as it is easy to carve and also its property of being a hard stone whose elaboration resulted in the creation of long-lasting ornaments. Moreover, the buildings covered in marble compared to the many buildings made out of bricks, attracted the ancient observer's attention, as it is a colorful and shiny material: [34]

Τῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων περὶ τὰς κτίσεις εὐστοχῆσαι μάλιστα δοξάντων, ὅτι κάλλους ἐστοχάζοντο καὶ ἐρυμνότητος καὶ λιμένων καὶ χώρας εὐφυοῦς, οὗτοι προὐνόησαν μάλιστα ὧν ὠλιγώρησαν ἐκεῖνοι, στρώσεως ὁδῶν καὶ ὑδάτων εἰσαγωγῆς καὶ ὑπονόμων τῶν δυναμένων ἐκκλύζειν τὰ λύματα τῆς πόλεως.

Στράβων, Γεωγραφικά 5.3.8

[35]

Figure 1

In his building project, Augustus tried to emulate his father's works and this is particularly prominent in the Forum Augustus, which was next to the Forum Julium.

"Fori extruendi causa fuit hominum et iudiciorum multitude quae videbatur non sufficientibus duobus etiam tertio indigere" [36]

(Translated by Paul Zanker,*The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus;* University of Michigan Press p 135)
[33] Strabo *Geographica* 55.8.4
[34]*And again if on passing to the old Forum, you saw one forum after another ranged along the old one, and basilicas, and temples and saw also the Capitolium and the works of art there and those of the Palatine Hill and Livia's portico, you would easily become oblivious to everything else outside. Such is Rome. Karl Gallinsky, The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus"* p 242
[35]*And again if on passing to the old Forum, you saw one forum after another ranged along the old one, and basilicas, and temples and saw also the Capitolium and the works of art there and those of the Palatine Hill and Livia's portico, you would easily become oblivious to everything else outside. Such is Rome. Karl Gallinsky, The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus"* p 242

Figure 2

[37]

Effectively, the two forums had similar key elements as these were architecturally and ichnographically similar: "Mars honored in Augustus' forum was Roman's ancestor through Romulus and avenger of Caesar's death, Venus revered in Caesar's forum was both the consort of Mars and the mother of Aeneas, Rome's Trojan ancestor."[38]These symbols in the forums were recognizable by the Romans and they could be referred to in the most varied situations, *pars pro toto.*

Indeed, the forum Augustus included the use of stones from all over the Mediterranean. One of the greatest temples dominating the forum was Temple of Mars Ultor[39] in the Augustan Forum. "*Aedem Martis bello Philippensi pro ultione paterna suscepto voverat[40]*" and only built after Marc Anthony's defeat "*in private solo[41]*". In this area, the general symbols of Venus, Mars and Romulus alluded to Augustus' *virtus, pietas* and *iustitia*. Additionally, as it is also a monument dedicated to his victories it gives us notion of the *aurea aetas.*

---

[36] Cosa, Capitolium, Third to second century B.C. The old-fashioned temples, with their wooden roofs and terracotta scultpure were in striking contrast to the ne marble temples - Paul Zanker,*The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus;* University of Michigan Press p110
 Image from: http://citynews.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/jupiter-300x208.jpg

[37] He built his Forum because the two already in existence could not deal with the recent great increase in population and in court sittings. (Translation By E. A. Judge, James R. Harrison, *The First Christians in the Roman World: Augustan and New Testament Essays*(Mohr Siebeeck) p 172

[38]Karl Gallinsky, *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus"* p 238

[39]Mars the Avenger

[40]Suet. *Aug.* 29.1,2 : Augustus had vowed to build the Temple of Mars during the Philippi campaign of venegence for his father. Translation By E. A. Judge, James R. Harrison, *The First Christians in the Roman World: Augustan and New Testament Essays* (Mohr Siebeeck) p 172
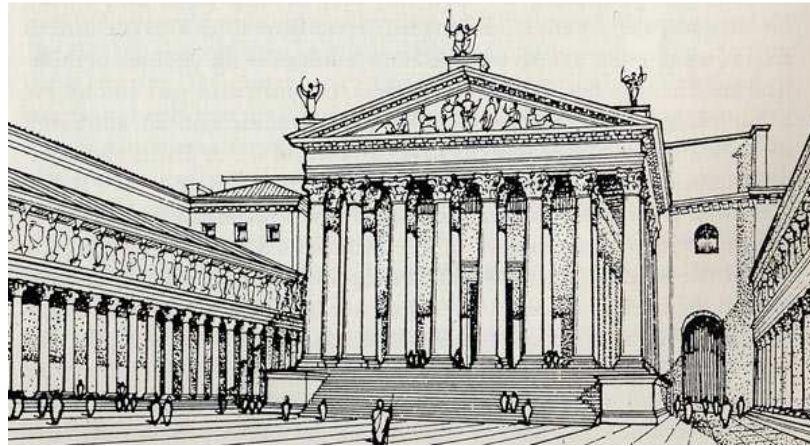
[41] Aug. *Res Gestae 21. 1 : on private property*

Figure 3

42

Certainly, the golden age is proclaimed with Augustus' marble *aurea templa,* the Ara Pacis Augustae. The jewel-like[43] Ara Pacis was built out of the marble of Luna and dedicated in the Campus Martius. The marble walls displayed a combination of Greek and Roman art, presenting sculptures of the Augustan family and its future generations along with Roman's mythological origins. The panels' iconography had specific references to the *saeculum aureum* and Augustus' achievement of peace resulting in a new age of prosperity.
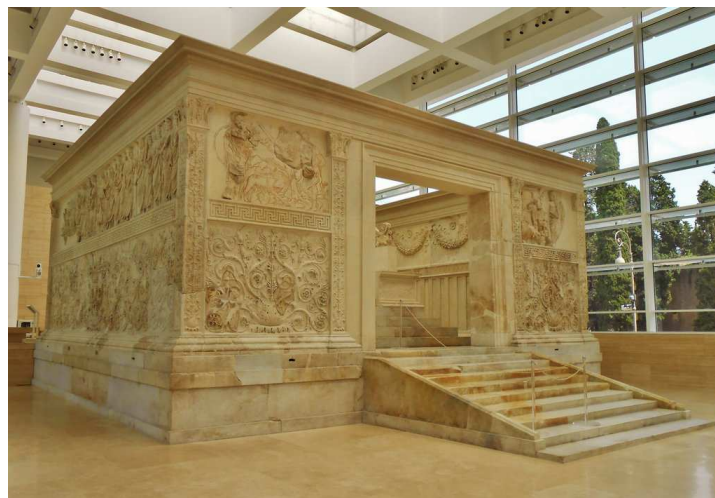
44

Figure 4

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, by polishing the image of the city, Augustus also enhanced his own reputation. As a matter of fact, he is still remembered as the restorer and rebuilder of Rome. He gained all his goals and objectives so that he could justifiably boast that he left Rome *clothed in marble.* As previously examined, it was necessary to rebuild the *urbe* in order

---

[42] Temple of Mars Ultor ; image from : *http://www.uark.edu/ua/metis2/zanker/zanker_fig8.jpg*

[43] Karl Gallinsky, *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus"* p 247

[44] http://rayelity.deviantart.com/art/Ara-Pacis-Augustae-319842941

for Rome to be pictured as *caput mundi.* To determine the extent of the validity of the statement, it is necessary to see it in context. During the Augustus' reign, the citizens were constantly surrounded by constructions taking place, until they found themselves with many public spaces paved with marble. Under these circumstances, the citizens were clearly walking on marble and consequently believed that Rome had been completely transformed. Indeed, Augustus patronized the refurbishing of his city with buildings made of marble, consequently fully transforming Rome, to the extent of creating a leading power partially due to its beauty in urban design. Thus, I personally believe that Caesar Augustus transformed Rome to the great extent.

REFERENCES

1. *Andrew Lees, The City: A World History (Oxford University Press 2015)*

2. *Appian, Bellum Civile*

3. *Augustus, Res Gestae Divi Augusti*

4. *Cassius Dio*

5. *Catherine Edwards, The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome, (Cambridge University Press 1993)*

6. *Cicero, On the Agrarian Law*

7. *Cicero, Pro Murena*

8. *E. A. Judge, James R. Harrison, The First Christians in the Roman World: Augustan and New Testament Essays(Mohr Siebeeck 2008)*

9. *Francesco Ramagli, La Ultio Caesaris nell'ascesa al potere di Ottaviano Augusto*

10. *Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, De vita Caesarum*

11. *Gaius Suetonius, Divus Augustus*

12. *Gaius Suetonius, Divus Iulius*

13. *Horace, Odes*

14. *Horace, Satires*

15. *Karl Galinsky, Augustus: Introduction to the Life of an Emperor (Cambridge University Press 2012)*

16. *Karl Galinsky, The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus (Cambridge University Press 2005)*

17. *Livy. History of Rome*

18. *Paul W.Jacobs, II, Diane Atnally Conlin, Campus Martius The field of Mars in the life of Ancient Rome, (Cambridge University Press 2014)*

19. *Paul Zanker,The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus;(University of Michigan Press 2004)*

20. *Randall L. B. McNeillHorace: Image, Identity, and Audience; (The Johns Hopkins University Press 2001)*

21. *Shotter, D. Augustus Ceasar (Londen 1991)*

22. *Strabo Geographica*

23. *Thomas Habinek, Alessandro Schiesano, The Roman Cultural Revolution; (Cambridge University Press 2004)*

24. *Ara Pacis Augustae by Rayelity on DeviantArt. 2015. Ara Pacis Augustae by Rayelity on DeviantArt. [ONLINE] Available at: http://rayelity.deviantart.com/art/Ara-Pacis-Augustae-319842941. [Accessed 04 November 2015].*

25. *2015. [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.uark.edu/ua/metis2/zanker/zanker_fig8.jpg. [Accessed 04 November 2015].*

26. *Forum of Augustus - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. 2015. Forum of Augustus - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. [ONLINE] Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Forum_of_Augustus. [Accessed 04 November 2015].*

27. *2015.. [ONLINE] Available at: http://citynews.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/jupiter-300x208.jpg. [Accessed 04 November 2015].*

28. *Q. Horatius Flaccus (Horace), Odes, Book 3, Poem 6. 2015. Q. Horatius Flaccus (Horace), Odes, Book 3, Poem 6. [ONLINE] Available at: http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0893.phi001.perseus-eng1:3.6. [Accessed 04 November 2015].*