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Action, alienation and Bacchus

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ACTION, ALIENATION AND BACCHUS

by

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ABSTRACT

ACTION, ALIENATION AND BACCHUS

by

Ariel Fernando Brain

In order to counter the alienated condition of man it is necessary to promote the reconciliation of the Dionysian and Apollonian. These are the forces that characterize the eternal swing from nature to artifice. While evidence of the Apollonian will to construct an ordered reality abounds in the contemporary city, the ability to access the Dionysian realm of truth is not provided for. The ancient urban form of the stoa -- by giving shape to the space of the agora -- allowed for an immersion into the sensuous world of Dionysos. The stoa defined the space and established an experience where a Dionysian immersion was mediated by Apollonian determination and order. By reviving the function of the stoa in the contemporary city, much can be done to ameliorate the alienated condition of man.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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This city must learn, though it may not wish...
To acknowledge me as a god.

voice of Dionysos, from Euripides' *The Bacchae* (39-42)
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION
Stoicism, Romanticism and the Synthesis of Reason and Nature

Apollo's deception: the eternity of beautiful form; the aristocratic legislation, "thus shall it be forever!"
Dionysos: sensuality and cruelty. Transitoriness could be interpreted as enjoyment of productive and destructive force, as continual creation.
NIETZSCHE, The Will To Power 1049,IV

The contrast between this truth of nature and the pretentious lie of civilization is quite similar to that between the eternal core of things and the entire phenomenal world.
NIETZSCHE, The Birth of Tragedy

Man does not exist in the complete sense until he defines and relates his existence against the nothingness of space from which he was extracted. Emerging from the liquid medium of the womb, man strives to formulate an identity and a presence on solid ground. This transition from interiority to exteriority, nothingness to being, liquid to solid, is the primordial basis of the fundamental dualisms that characterize human psychological development. This dualism represents man's constant oscillation between constructing a reality apart from nature and the subsequent return of the natural forces that created him. The murky and mysterious ocean of man's biological origins provides the unseen Dionysian foundations upon which the greatness of Apollonian personality and civilization rest. Civilization expels much energy spiraling into the harmful extremes of either
direction. It is through the development and creation of art that these Apollonian and Dionysian forces can be harnessed to traverse into all realms of life -- from education to politics.

Arising in the turbulent and tumultuous Hellenistic age, it was Stoic philosophy which first proposed that man's fundamental dualisms were inextricably linked. The two forces were considered as two halves of a single psyche. Thus, the Dionysian and Apollonian forces that characterize our eternal swing from nature to artifice, were in fact inseparable parts of a larger continuum. While the Dionysian reflects our roots in the earth and the Apollonian represents the aspirations aimed at the heavens, both entities serve to define and embrace the other. Zeno of Citium, the founder of Stoicism, proposed a philosophy that opposed the divergent dualisms of matter and spirit expounded by Aristotelianism and Platonism. In Stoic philosophy, the dualism is always discernible but indivisible in man. It was this unification of matter and spirit that served to define the basis of existence in the world. This quality therefore, could be found in everything from man to the most humble object.

On a larger scale, the integration of mind and matter for the Stoics established the essence that the totality of the universe consists of. This unified reality encompassing the whole of the universe, was seen as rational. Comprised of an inseparable mixture of active reason (logos) and passive matter (hyle), the universe existed as a living entity. It was the active reason or logos which was identified as divine, employing the ability to create. This divine logos is not only present in the universe as a whole, but was also found in every object within. An entity established its existence through exhibiting the passive matter that constituted the physical attributes and the will to exist that defined its form. It is this will to exist that was based on reason (logos) and retained a spark of the divine.

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While the totality of these entities existed as the universe, it was in the form of a unitary reality that its existence as god was maintained -- which included the unique power to create. Within this orderly construction, however, the Stoics defined man as a microcosm of the universe. As such, in man as with the universe as a whole, the full employment and possession of reason was combined with the faculty of creation. It was through following the process of nature (containing the divine power to create), with its inherent unification of the reason - matter dualism, that man could be led to his true creative capacities. In Platonism, or even in Judeo - Christianity, an entity or individual defines its existence as an imperfect copy or inferior image of the divine. In Stoic thought, however, an entity always retains a sliver of the divine. In Stoicism, the individual is able to become god -- with the will to exist and to do springing from within.

Within the active and passive forces which form the essence of the universe, the active principle, or logos, is imbued with a creative capacity. As the basis for this creative capacity, lay the concept of artistic fire or pyr technikon. Thus, the artistic fire became the fundamental function of nature. Nature, in a sense, was thought to exist as a “craftsman” or artist. Nevertheless, nature (physis) for the Stoics existed as a dynamic term. Zeno of Citium defined nature as “a fire that is an artificer, proceeding methodically to generation.”

By defining the forces of creative fire and reason within the universe as a single entity, the Stoics have united the principal functions of nature/god -- forces which Aristotle had

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3While the pyr technikon existed as the creative principle within the properties of nature, this creative endeavor was also associated with the term pneuma. The pneuma became the active property of the creative function since it consisted of the artistic fire mixed with air which gave it mobility and material substance. The pneuma is literally defined as “breath”. While consisting of a mixture of fire and air, the pneuma served as a vehicle of the logos. See A.A. Long, Hellenistic Philosophy, London, 1986. p. 152, 155 and 156.
maintained were separate. Holding the structure of the universe together -- the active and passive principles -- was a vital tension or tonos.7

While tension held the forces of the universe together, nature as an active entity maintained its volition of purpose. Since Stoicism contends that the individual exists as a microcosm of the universe, man as such possesses a similar disposition. The relation between the part and the whole in this case bears a considerable amount of attention on the possibilities of human action. Thus, the freedom and will of man are contained within the intentions and will of a larger body of nature. With the parts dependent on the attributes of the whole, the importance of exteriority in relation to the capabilities of the subjective self becomes evident.

According to Plutarch, the Stoic concept of natural determinism is phrased in Chrysippus' words, "no particular event, however small, takes place which is not in accordance with universal nature and its principle."8 Nature, therefore, is seen as the originator and conductor of everything. The Stoic laws of causality established that all existents, events and occurrences are determined by antecedent causes. This principle, often misinterpreted, does not promulgate a tedious and simplistic predetermined system of cause and effect. Rather, the concept of natural determinism stresses the principle of growth. The precept of the logoi spermatikoi -- the seminal reasons or seeds of the logos -- provide the seed of everything that is to become in the antecedent cause.9 The crucial aspect of this theory in relation to human action and agency is the importance attributed to the conditions provided by environment and the inextricable nature of the causal nexus affecting all existents.

6Long, p. 152.
7Colish, p. 24.
8Problems in Stoicism, p. 177.
9Colish, p. 32.
Man within this all-encompassing determinism is hardly a passive and mechanical component. The possibilities of human action, in the Stoic universe, become contingent on understanding the connection to the external environment and establishing the relation to the surrounding causal system. Action then is never disconnected and completely free from the external determinism that forms the field in which it takes place. It can be concluded then that for an action to be realized, a position is required to be taken in relation to the context. A.A. Long expounds on the Stoic concept of human action:

Any internal power of action requires an external cause for its actualisation. These ‘proximate’ or ‘antecedent’ causes are outside the individual’s control. But the consequence which they promote, or can promote, requires the cooperation of the thing acted upon, just as this requires the external stimulus. A man cannot act without taking up an attitude towards his environment (my italics).\(^\text{10}\)

Human action therefore becomes dependent on external conditions. Consequently, action is dependent on perception and understanding, however subconscious or subliminal those conditions may be. The cause and effect, in turn, become reciprocal. In terms of man’s relation to exteriority he “makes history as well as being history’s product.”\(^\text{11}\)

Inextricably linked to the possibilities of human action is the realization of man’s creative function. The capacity to create, equaled with the capacity to act, is thus also determined by understanding. Enveloped by the principles of Stoic determinism, the creative capacity becomes contingent on the awareness and evaluation of exteriority. Defining the context in which the act occurs, awareness is thus dependent on truth.\(^\text{12}\)

Man’s creative function, as expressed and realized through a system of art, is determined

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\(^\text{10}\)Problems in Stoicism, p. 183.


\(^\text{12}\)The Stoics maintained that knowledge is dependent on the senses. The individual is born with an awareness of self and employs the faculties of self-interest. The Stoics describe the process as beginning at birth when “our souls are like sheets of paper which are suitable for writing.” The suitable nature is reflected by the custody of the power of reason -- within which lies a latent state man’s creative capability. See J.M. Rist, Stoic Philosophy, Cambridge, England, 1969, p. 134.
by what the Stoics termed *katalepsis*. The word *katalepsis* defines the process and act of "coming to be sure of something." The term is translated as 'recognition' -- which more specifically implies a 'recognition by the intelligence' -- or is also more commonly interpreted as 'grasping'.

*Katalepsis* as a term possesses dynamic properties. Removed from philosophical discourse, the term is defined as the act of seizing and holding; it was often used in a military sense, such as the act of seizing and occupying a city or town. The grasping or *katalepsis* for the Stoics, while dependent on an assured perception, served as the criterion of truth. F.E. Sparshott reinforces the dynamic definition of *katalepsis* as "...what is secured by and for the mind, rather than formally: it means the fact of grasping rather than what is grasped." The term then, in an active sense involves the process of comprehension. The understanding implicit in the grasping involves, as Sparshott continues, "the taking of the item into our system of beliefs, and lastly its incorporation into a thoroughly confirmed and indubitable body of truth."

The act of *katalepsis*, nonetheless, retains a central position in relation to art. Art ultimately exists as a *systema ek katalepsion*, or, a system of grasping. By establishing the attainment of understanding and truth through the process of grasping, it is evident that without access to the creative faculties the paths to action are virtually non-existent. Art,

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15 Sparshott, p. 284 and Rist, *Stoic Philosophy*, p. 133. F.H. Sandbach translates *kataleptike* as 'cognitive', or more literally 'capable of grasping' or 'capable of being grasped'. Due to the faculty of perception, both the presentation and the external object are 'grasped'. Sandbach also describes how Cicero mentions Zeno as finding the criterion of truth in cognition. Sandbach, p. 89.
16 Sparshott, p. 285.
17 Sparshott, p. 285.
18 Sparshott, p. 285.
19 Sparshott, p. 285.
20 *Katalepsis* among the Roman Stoics found its counterpart in the Latin term *comprehensio*. Sparshott, p. 285.
22 Sparshott, p. 286.
through its creative principle, ultimately serves as a vehicle for insight into the truth of life. Art, thus, hardly exists for its own sake; by enacting the divine process of creation, it offers insight and access into the essential purpose and function of not only the universe itself -- but also of man. Zeno was careful to articulate that: "An art is a system of insights in a condition they have reached by being exercised together in the interests of some objective -- *ton euchreston.*" The term Zeno employs to describe the essential property of art -- *euchrestos* -- can be defined as "serviceable" or "useful." The important aspect of "usefulness" is that it implies a reference to a larger set of circumstances. To the Stoics therefor, the existence of a *context* becomes paramount. The context allows the art to take form, and in turn, the art serves to define the context. The context therefor, as defined by Zeno, refers to the continuum of nature within which men establish their own existence. It can be concluded then that while art is dependent on ‘comprehension’, it in turn promotes ‘comprehension’.

While art exists as the consequence of man’s creative function, beauty establishes itself as independent -- at least from considerations of usefulness. The Stoics concurred with Plato and Aristotle that beauty contained an intrinsic value that could be appreciated for its own sake. While beauty on its own account is transitory, it therefor occupies a marginal position within the scope of values. On the other hand the notion of imagination was considerably valued. For the first time, it was the Stoics who rated the imagination as an essential part of the creative process. Joseph J. Kockelmanns discloses a quote from

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23Sparshott, p. 288.
24While the term is considered difficult to translate, Sparshott points out that the prefix for ‘good’ is *eu* and is included in the term. *Euchrestos* then would be accurately defined as “of good use.” See Sparshott, p. 289.
25Sparshott, p. 289.
26Sparshott, p. 289.
Philostratos: “the imagination is wiser an artist than imitation.”29 In establishing the function of the imagination and the creative process, the Stoics maintained that man possessed the ability to intuit what is beautiful. The sense of beauty and the function of the imagination are essentially innate to man in the Stoic world.30 Thus, the ability to recognize beauty becomes an inherent characteristic of the human mind. While the more faithful Socratics will ascertain that man only knows that he does not know, the Stoics would claim that man only knows that which is beautiful. This innate ability to recognize beauty exists as a gift of the cosmos. With man existing as a microcosm of the creating cosmos, the proclivity to create remains an essential feature of man’s true disposition. Hence, what characterises man as man, is his function as creator. Affording access to art -- through the process of recognizing beauty while creating -- divulges the possibility for human action. True action therefor, is motivated, induced and made possible through art.

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Due to the birth of alienation during the Hellenistic age, the Stoics sought to supply the foundations which would allow man to establish a place within the order of things. The artistic process served to provide the framework in which action could be effectively realized. Emerging in an age of truly “Romantic” temper, the Stoics ventured to harmonize and unify the conflicting tendencies which by now existed in the human psyche. Later, in the Romantic period of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, philosophers and artists grappled with the same issues.31 The Stoic notion of countering the estranged condition of

30Kockelmanns, p. 15.
31Although the Stoics were influential in the development of thought in early Christianity, the collapse of the great philosophical schools followed the demise of paganism. It was not until the renewal of humanist thought in the Renaissance, that Stoic ideas began to gain influence again. Stoic philosophy continued to have an effect throughout the Renaissance and also appear in the rationalist thought of the Enlightenment. Although more of a strict determinist, the philosophy of Spinoza contains similarities to certain facets of Stoicism which are hardly accidental. The god of Spinoza’s Ethics, remains as a counterpart of the creative reason or logos of nature in Stoicism. See Ludwig Edelstein, The Meaning of Stoicism, Cambridge, Ma,
man by reaffirming his creative function and his association with the universe, resurfaced in the works of many of the German Romantics.

It is possible to establish a parallel between the Stoic creative function and the aesthetic purpose in the works of Friedrich Schiller. It was through an aesthetic education that, Schiller maintained, man's opposing drives could be reconciled. The artistic process was what could unify the dualism and establish man as a whole being with the capacity to create. Through the artistic experience, Schiller "believed that a true understanding of the arts was the only reliable route to political wholeness -- if achieved, it would lead on to the adoption of constitutions capable of reconciling interests that were now seemingly in a personal state of strain, if not open war."33

These opposing forces found within alienated man, existed in a fragmented or estranged state. Thus the lack of harmony within the soul led to a counterproductive state or one of inaction. In the Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man, Schiller details the ability of the artistic experience to establish wholeness in the life of man by reaffirming his creative capacity. The opposing drives causing estrangement in man are identified by Schiller as the sensuous (Strofftrieb) and the formal (Formtrieb).34 The first of these, labeled as the 'sensuous' drive, "proceeds from the physical existence of man, or his sensuous nature." Schiller continues, "this State, which is nothing but time occupied by content, is called sensation, and it is through this alone that physical existence makes itself known."35 The sensuous drive thus represents the Dionysian or chthonic forces which form the earthly realm from which man is extracted. The opposing drive, the formal, arises from "the absolute existence of man, or from his rational nature, and is intent on giving him

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33Craig, p. 145.
35Schiller, p. 79.
the freedom to bring harmony into the diversity of his manifestations, and to affirm his
Person among all his changes of Condition." In addition, the formal drive "annuls time
and annuls change. It wants the real to be necessary and eternal, and the eternal and the
necessary to be real. In other words it insists on truth and on the right." Thus, the
formal corresponds with the Apollonian quest for eternal and timeless objectivity. The
affirmation of the Person is also rightly included by Schiller as an intrinsic 'formal'
attribute. The definition of personality can be seen as an inherent characteristic of the
Apollonian will -- seeking to construct an identity apart from the murky and formless realm
of nature.

For Schiller, therefore, it is through the artistic experience or aesthetic education that
the sensuous and formal can be reconciled. The two drives appear as diametrically
opposed to one another: "the one pressing for change, the other for changelessness." The
two forces, however, are not opposed or in conflict due to the essence of their own
nature, though. According to Schiller, the two drives "...become opposed through a
wanton transgression of Nature." The acutely Stoic flavor of this statement is evident.

Then in the Stoic sense, with man aware of the truth about nature and exercising his artistic
ability, the two drives strike at a balance. Schiller determines the balance as able to
"preserve the life of Sense against the encroachments of Freedom; and second, to secure
the Personality against the forces of Sensation. The former it achieves by developing our
capacity for feeling, the latter by developing our capacity for reason."40

The process of art in Schiller's *Aesthetic Education* consisted in allowing man to
define his own existence through the act of creating. The role of art, according to Schiller,

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36Schiller, p. 81.
37Schiller, p. 81.
38Schiller, p. 85.
39Schiller, p. 85.
40Schiller, p. 87.
is to extract form out of the formlessness of nature. The 'sensuous' then, as formless matter, remains formless until imbued with spirit (form) by the 'formal' drive. The process of this extraction from nature, thereby, becomes the essence of the creative act and the basis for all art. As with the Stoics, Schiller maintains that through art (the creative process), the possibility for human action and freedom is opened. In the general sense, freedom arises with the reconciliation of the two primary drives. Directly, however, "man gives evidence of his freedom precisely by giving form to that which is formless."

Within the aesthetic system itself, beauty was seen by Schiller as a condition which led to freedom. Beauty, as the result of an art, could exist as a synthesis of nature and reason. Here beauty exists as a product of the reconciliation of the dualisms. As the synthesis of nature and reason, beauty is the product of unifying the drives of the Dionysian and the Apollonian, or the Sensuous and the Formal. In addition, beauty as a property serves as a vehicle. In the eighteenth letter, Schiller discloses: "By means of beauty sensuous man is led to form and thought; by means of beauty spiritual man is brought back to matter and restored to the world of sense."

The nature-reason synthesis -- which produced beauty -- also served as the political model of Schiller's Aesthetic Education. Philip J. Kain describes the synthesis model in Schiller's work: "There was equality between inclination (individuals) and reason (state). The first does not play a subordinate role, and the synthesis of the two is higher than either,

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42 For Schiller both form and matter ultimately exist in their reciprocal ability to define the other. In a footnote in the Thirteenth Letter, Schiller affirms that "...without form no matter, and without matter no form." Schiller, p. 86.
43 Schiller, p. 135.
44 Schiller, p. 185.
45 Beauty existed as a prerequisite in any means to freedom. Schiller boldly states: "if man is ever to solve that problem of politics in practice he will have to approach it through the problem of the aesthetic, because it is only through Beauty that man makes his way to Freedom." Sharpe, p. 147.
47 Schiller, p. 123.
48 Kain, p. 31.
thus overcoming the opposition between state and society.\textsuperscript{49} Ultimately, balance and harmony are brought into society through the individual -- emanating directly from the synthesis model. In the twenty-seventh letter Schiller affirms that only the synthesis leading to the aesthetic process is capable of countering alienation in both the individual and society:

All other forms of perception divide man, because they are founded exclusively either upon the sensuous or the spiritual part of his being; only the aesthetic mode of perception makes of him a whole, because both his natures must be in harmony if he is to achieve it. All other forms of communication divide society, because they relate exclusively either to the private receptivity or to the private proficiency of its individual members, hence to that which distinguishes man from man; only the aesthetic mode of communication unites society, because it relates to that which is common to all.\textsuperscript{50}

This last sentence echoes the Stoic notion of the inherent capacity in man to recognize and relate to the beautiful. Alienation within the individual causes alienation in society and vice-versa.\textsuperscript{51} Similarly, the imagination becomes emaciated through inaction and the atrophy of the creative capacity leads to passivity.

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For Nietzsche, a parallel to Schiller’s nature-reason synthesis is found in the reconciliation of the Dionysian and Apollonian. The use of these terms, embodying two contrasting forces, was first expounded in Nietzsche’s \textit{The Birth of Tragedy}.\textsuperscript{52} While the

\textsuperscript{49}Kain, p. 31.
\textsuperscript{50}Schiller, p. 215.
\textsuperscript{52}\textit{The Birth of Tragedy} was Nietzsche’s first book, appearing in 1872. The opposing Dionysian and Apollonian forces are defined through the development of Greek tragedy. While Nietzsche’s references to the Apollonian subsided in his later works, the Dionysian came to represent his world view. He
Apollonian and Dionysian forces always remain separate for Nietzsche, it is through their convergence that art develops and evolves. Aeschylean tragedy, for Nietzsche, represents an art form that involved and reconciled both forces. Tragedy then, consisted of a Dionysian immersion that was mediated by Apollonian determination and order. Greek tragedy had a significant bearing on the life of the common man in antiquity. As a form of art, tragic drama was live and directly accessible to the public. As a result of the aesthetic process, the public became part of the Apollonian-Dionysian reconciliation. Tragedy, as Nietzsche explains, is an example of "...an Apollonian embodiment of Dionysiac insights and powers."\textsuperscript{53} The Apollonian desire to construct would be empty without Dionysian knowledge.

In the beginning of \textit{The Birth of Tragedy}, Nietzsche identifies the split in these "two art - sponsoring deities." The solid and plastic arts of Apollo contrast the non-visual Dionysian art of music.\textsuperscript{54} Through Apollo, the personality of man soars to the sun, witnessing the beauty of illusion. Dionysos, through music, abrogates the singularity of personality through an intoxicating immersion into the melting depths of the earth. In a larger scale, therefore, the Apollonian defines the singularity of intention, the objectivity of form, the shaping of the individual and the necessity of self - sufficiency.\textsuperscript{55} The Dionysian, on the other hand, refers to "the end of individuation", the desire of nature to subsume, and the merge to oneness and unity.\textsuperscript{56} Dionysos, ultimately, possesses the urge to liquefy the ephemeral essence of individuality and feed it to the eternal will of natural desire. Pertaining to man, Nietzsche reveals that even the most Apollonian Greek would

\textsuperscript{54}\textit{Birth of Tragedy}, p. 19.
\textsuperscript{55}\textit{Will to Power}, p. 539.
\textsuperscript{56}\textit{Birth of Tragedy}, p. 67 and 27, and \textit{Will to Power}, p. 539.
realize that "...his Apollonian consciousness was but a thin veil hiding from him the whole Dionysiac realm."\(^{57}\)

It is this immersion into the sensuous or Dionysian world which allows man the ability to access the world of truth. In the process, the illusionistic nature of the singular 'formal' realm is exposed. Truth becomes irrelevant in the artificial Apollonian sphere of illusion. As the Stoics maintained that knowledge was derived from the senses, truth becomes all-pervasive within the 'sensuous' or Dionysian condition. Truth or understanding, accessible through the Dionysian realm, becomes by itself overwhelming, dismaying and almost unfathomable. What results is discouragement and ultimately inaction. It is here that art -- the illusions of Apollo -- can serve as a vehicle to action. In the end, this process in which action is made possible becomes paradoxical. Action becomes dependent on both truth \textit{and} illusion.\(^{58}\) Thus, the Dionysian immersion needs to be arbitrated by Apollonian insight. Greek tragedy, for Nietzsche, serves as an example of an art where the reconciliation occurs. In \textit{The Birth of Tragedy} the relationship between art and the propensity to inaction is explained:

In this sense the Dionysiac man might be said to resemble Hamlet: both have looked deeply into the true nature of things, they have \textit{understood} and are now loath to act. They realize that no action of theirs can work any change in the eternal condition of things, and they regard the imputation as ludicrous or debasing that they should set right the time which is out of joint. Understanding kills action, for in order to act we require the veil of illusion... what, both in the case of Hamlet and of Dionysiac man, overbalances any motive leading to action, is not reflection but understanding, the apprehension of truth and its terror... the truth once seen, man is aware everywhere of the ghastly absurdity of existence... nausea invades him... then, in this supreme jeopardy of the will, art, that sorcerer expert in

\(^{57}\)\textit{Birth of Tragedy}, p. 28.
\(^{58}\)The paradoxical nature of art was affirmed by Picasso who maintained that 'art was a lie that revealed the truth.'
healing, approaches him; only she can turn his fits of nausea into imaginations with which it is possible to live.\textsuperscript{59}

While art can be identified with the illusions of Apollo at almost any level, it is only through the context of its reconciliation with Dionysos that it can be part of this existentialist mission to empower man. It is the illusion built over understanding that is able to ameliorate the alienated condition. Illusion by itself remains as an eternal illusion -- appealing to and growing within the subjective chambers of the imagination. In isolation, illusion does little to inform and provide insight into the disposition of existence. The 'nausea', nonetheless, becomes a necessary step within the process of obstructing estrangement. The construction of illusion and intention over the terror of truth, provides a foundation grounded in authenticity. The result is a process that creates and informs about the nature of existence. Truth and illusion become an inseparable couple, intertwined in a bewildering dance that constitutes the paradoxical nature of art and existence. By constructing life to exist as a work of art, Dionysian man is able to give form to the unearthed truths of existence. In order to endure the terror of life, Nietzsche establishes the essence of existence to become "justified as an aesthetic phenomenon."\textsuperscript{60}

Tragic drama, presenting itself as an aesthetic phenomenon, provided the setting in which the art 'form' is extracted from sensuous truths. As Nietzsche affirms it was through the spiritual medium of music that tragedy was born.\textsuperscript{61} For Nietzsche, music induces and recreates the process of entering the "original Oneness."\textsuperscript{62} By submerging oneself into the original Oneness of nature, with all its pain and contradiction, the tragedy of existence is revealed. Music dissolves the construct of personality and melts the greed of the individual into the sea of the collective union. As Nietzsche maintains: "Music alone

\textsuperscript{59}Birth of Tragedy, p. 51 and 52.
\textsuperscript{61}Thiele, p. 124.
\textsuperscript{62}Birth of Tragedy, p. 38.
allows us to understand the delight felt at the annihilation of the individual."63 It is through this annihilation that the individual is transported to the original Oneness. Nietzsche continues: "Each single instance of such annihilation will clarify for us the abiding phenomenon of Dionysiac art, which expresses the omnipotent will behind individuation, eternal life continuing beyond all appearance and in spite of destruction."64 The hero of the tragic drama embodies the will of individuation. The tragic destruction of that will reveals its true property as a mere phenomenon.65 The very impermanence of the construct of the Person and its will, reveals the eternal existence and continuity of a larger will -- one that embraces the totality of nature and life. As the will of the tragic hero is destroyed and subsumed by the larger forces of nature, music annihilates the individuality of the spectator in the audience. The original Oneness subsumes both hero and audience.

While music induces the immersion into the Oneness of nature, the figure of the satyr symbolizes this transition. The satyr represents the evolution from beast to man and from man back to beast. Part man and part beast, this Dionysian creature represents the loss of individuation and the melting and merging of human form into nature. The satyr, then, represents the process of returning to nature. Nietzsche saw the transition from individual into satyr as a necessary step to arrive at the original Oneness.66 It is after the transformation into satyr that the god Dionysos is seen. The satyr provides the link and ultimately serves as the vehicle between man and Dionysos. Nietzsche maintains that "the Dionysian Greek, desiring truth and nature at their highest power, sees himself metamorphosed into the satyr."67 While transported to the state of the satyr, the Stoic insistence to be informed about the truth of nature is accomplished. It is in this state that

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63 Birth of Tragedy, p. 101.
64 Birth of Tragedy, p. 101.
65 Birth of Tragedy, p. 102.
66 Birth of Tragedy, p. 56.
67 Birth of Tragedy, p. 53.
“the traumatically wounded vision of Dionysiac man” is allowed to gaze at the truth of nature.\textsuperscript{68} Nietzsche is careful to establish that it is here that “archetypal man was cleansed of the illusion of culture and what revealed itself was authentic man, the bearded satyr jubilantly greeting his god.”\textsuperscript{69}

Tragic drama, mediated by a chorus of satyrs, allowed the spectators in the audience to witness the destruction of the individual and experience his absorption into the Oneness of nature. In \textit{The Birth of Tragedy} Nietzsche supports Schiller’s view that the chorus of satyrs of primitive tragedy performed on a raised ideal ground. It is on this ideal ground that a “fictive chthonic realm” came to life.\textsuperscript{70} Thus, according to Nietzsche, the satyrs serve as the vehicle for transporting the individual to the realm of Dionysos:

...the cultured Greek felt himself absorbed into the satyr chorus, and in the next development of Greek tragedy state and society, in fact all that separated man from man, gave way before an overwhelming sense of unity which led back into the heart of nature. The metaphysical solace (with which, I wish to say at once, all true tragedy sends us away) that, despite every phenomenal change, life is at bottom indestructibly joyful and powerful, was expressed most concretely in the chorus of satyrs, nature beings who dwell behind all civilization and preserve their identity through every change of generations and historical movement.\textsuperscript{71}

During the performance of a tragic play, the limits that defined both chorus and audience began to subside. The chorus of dancing and singing satyrs subsumed the environment around them and the audience “discovered itself in the chorus of the orchestra.”\textsuperscript{72} Eventually, the theater in its entirety became an orchestra and satyr chorus.

\textsuperscript{68} \textit{Birth of Tragedy}, p. 52 and 53.
\textsuperscript{69} \textit{Birth of Tragedy}, p. 53.
\textsuperscript{70} \textit{Birth of Tragedy}, p. 50.
\textsuperscript{71} \textit{Birth of Tragedy}, p. 50.
\textsuperscript{72} \textit{Birth of Tragedy}, p. 54.
The audience and chorus were never placed in opposition to each other. Nietzsche points to the physical characteristics and space of the theater as one of the factors which allow for this fusion of satyr chorus and audience: "Given the terraced structure of the Greek theater, rising in concentric arcs, each spectator could quite literally survey the entire cultural world about him and imagine himself, in the fulness of seeing, as a chorist."
CHAPTER 2
THE POLITICS OF WEALTH
Antiochus IV and the Temple of Olympian Zeus

"We ought to adorn cities with the virtues of their inhabitants, not with monuments."
Zeno of Citium (333-262 BC), founder of Stoicism

Caught under the distant gaze of the Acropolis, the remains of the temple of Olympian Zeus bear evidence of a strenuous and vacillating history. Boldly rising from a plateau overlooking the Ilissos, the ruins disclose the intentions of one of the great Seleucid kings: Antiochus IV. The forms of the Olympieion reflect the inherent contradictions and enormous wealth that characterized the Hellenistic age. Employed for the first time in an exterior setting, massive Corinthian columns served to support what was the largest temple in Athens. It was in this temple that the Corinthian order was used to express a new set of intentions, quite different from its previous associations. Temples such as the Olympieion, reflected the complex conditions of a society immersed in a tense and alienating existence. The confidence and exuberance experienced and expressed by the collective during the period of High Classicism had by this point long disappeared. The small, man-centered universe of Plato and Aristotle was no longer in existence. Profound changes in art and philosophy had occurred. The realities of the Hellenistic age demanded a new set of ideas
to address this tumultuous and quickly changing world. It was within this estranged and contradictory setting that Stoicism was born.

Following the death of Alexander in 323 B.C., the seemingly limitless territories secured under his harness descended into a series of kingdoms which were previously unparalleled in size and wealth. The Hellenistic age saw the birth of a new political entity that afforded the appearance of immutability and omnipotence: the nation-state. Far removed from the civic-minded political realities of the classical poleis, these new Hellenistic superpowers were intent on consolidating political power and maximizing wealth. Eulogizing the illimitable strength and brazen exploits of one of these Hellenistic kings, the poet Alkaios of Messene wrote of the Macedonian Philip V (IX, 518):

"Heighten, Zeus, your Olympian walls. Philip can climb everywhere. Shut the brazen gates of the blessed. Earth and sea are tamed beneath Philip's scepter. The road to Olympus remains." Eager to secure the wealth of their empires, the Hellenistic kings were consigned the difficult task of insuring the territorial integrity of their new nation-states. Often multi-ethnic and enormous in scale, physical force was often required to guarantee the subservience and loyalty among subjects. Facing a multitude of crises that threatened the largest of these empires, the Seleucid king Antiochos IV shrewdly resorted to the unifying capacity of religious - cult symbolism and its implementation through architecture.

By establishing the identity of a nation-state around the image of a specific cult-figure, an ingenious attempt was made to unify a diverse nation through an abstract concept. In the event of consolidating and identifying the empire around the cult-figure of Olympian Zeus, Antiochos IV intended to solidify and promote the Greek nature of his

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multi-ethnic empire. By providing a specific, acceptable, and easily understood symbol to represent and embody the concept of nationhood, Antiochus hoped to weld the loosely connected parts of an artificial political entity. The end result would be an affirmation of Greekness while developing a national identity to guarantee the perseverance of the Seleucid nation-state.

In addition to trying to embrace a multitude of different cities and cultural groups, Hellenistic kings such as Antiochus were intent on consolidating a political entity that was hardly beneficial or necessary to the inhabitants. While the democratic polis functioned in accordance to the needs of the citizen, Hellenistic man was now expected to operate in service of the governing body. Since the nation-state existed as a fairly recent creation, it undoubtedly appeared as a highly artificial entity to the Hellenistic philosophers. The Stoic insistence that the universe was the only true city, existed as a direct refutation to the legitimacy of the nation-state. Hellenistic autocrats were given the task to consolidate an artificial construct and redefine reality through abstract means, usually through religious, architectural and iconographic vehicles. It was against these complex manipulations that Stoic cosmology annulled the validity of nationalism in their endeavor to create a universe-as-city. Avoiding the profit-oriented governing systems and their contrivances, the Stoics maintained the necessity to follow nature in pursuit of reason and knowledge. Philo of Alexandria, articulating a characteristic principle of Stoic cosmology, observes that “the law-abiding man is on that account a citizen of the universe (kosmopolitis), regulating his actions in line with the will of nature, in accordance with which the universe as a whole is administered.”

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7Schofield, p. 77.
It was against the universal properties of nature that Antiochus ultimately stood in his development of nationhood, consolidation of political power and accumulation of wealth. To achieve these ends it was imperative to foster the conditions that would agglutinate the disparate and otherwise opposed elements within the political entity of the empire. The physical manifestation of this unification-oriented policy was primarily engaged through a magnificent building program. Antiochus IV proceeded to build and dedicate numerous temples around the empire devoted to promulgating the cult of Olympian Zeus. The most grandiose and awe-inspiring of these temples, however, was reserved for Athens.

Antiochus' selection for a site in Athens was located in an area already sacred to the cult of Olympian Zeus. This setting, located in the southeastern edge of the city, contained the remains of a previous temple constructed in the times of the tyrant Peisistratos. While the Peisistratid scheme is the earliest temple that abundant evidence is able to confirm, there is a myth that the site held a place of worship to the supreme god in the times of Deukalion. Travlos maintains that archaeological evidence does confirm the existence of an earlier temple, weather or not this refers to the temple of Deukalion is impossible to ascertain. Regardless of what ever existed on the site previous to the Peisistratid scheme, the traditions and myths attest to the hallow nature of this area and its symbolic associations with the supreme deity.

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8Fraser, p. 11.
9F.C. Penrose calls attention to a rough wall among the foundation ruins which may have formed part of the temple attributed to Deukalion. F.C. Penrose, An Investigation of the Principles of Athenian Architecture, (Washington, DC: 1888), p. 82. Pausanias mentions Deukalion in relation to the site, but does not specify if a temple existed (1.18.7). The myth maintains that Deukalion worshipped the supreme god on this site, it is nevertheless possible that a temple did not exist at the time. C.M. Havelock, Hellenistic Art (NY: 1968), p. 83.
The sons of Peisistratos must have commenced construction on the temple sometime between 535 and when the expulsion of Hippias occurred in 510 B.C.\textsuperscript{11} The plan of this sixth-century temple was approximately the same size as the construct that Antiochus embarked on over three centuries later.\textsuperscript{12} At the time, the excessive size was unprecedented in the city of Athens. The Peisistratids were evidently inspired by similar monuments to tyranny which were undertaken by Polycrates on the island of Samos, where temples at a similar scale to that of the Olympiaion had been dedicated.\textsuperscript{13} While it is possible to determine the size of the Peisistratid plan, it is difficult to resolve anything else. Vitruvius discloses the names of four architects contracted for the job, but does not provide any clues as to how much was accomplished before the fall of the Peisistratids.\textsuperscript{14} Aristotle in the \textit{Politics} (V.11, 4) mentions the Olympiaion in comparison with similar showcases of tyranny such as the pyramids of Egypt. In light of this passage from Aristotle himself, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that a substantial portion of the building had been completed. If, however, such an enormous structure did indeed exist in the sixth century, then it is curious that so few references exist concerning a temple that would have certainly attracted considerable attention. In the beginning of Plato’s \textit{Phaedrus} (227 B), the protagonist mentions the Olympiaion by name as an identifying landmark while describing the location of a person’s house to Socrates. The temple makes another hasty appearance in a passage by Thucydides. In the history of the Peloponnesian war (II. 16), the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[12] Travlos, p. 402.
\item[14] Vitruvius mentions Antistates, Callaesclus, Antimachides and Porinus as the four architects who laid the foundations for Peisistratus. They stopped work however, immediately after the death of the tyrant (VII.15).
\end{footnotes}
Olympieion is briefly acknowledged in a list of noteworthy temples that existed in fifth-century Athens.\(^\text{15}\)

Considering the exiguous evidence that remains it is difficult to imagine how much of the Olympieion the sons of Peisistratos were able to build. Since excavations have unearthed column drums which date to the Peisistratid era and the literary references imply more than simple foundations -- a plausible assumption could be made that a colonnade or a portion of a colonnade stood. The columns would have undoubtedly been of the Doric order, since anything else would have been unthinkable for a sixth-century temple dedicated to Zeus.\(^\text{16}\) While the use of the Doric order was customary, the size and scale of the building was hardly conventional.

According to Aristotle, an unusually large building project could bring specific benefits to a tyrant of a city-state. Interestingly enough, Aristotle was careful to distinguish between a king and a tyrant. While a king preserved his power through moderation, it would be in the interests of a tyrant to keep his subjects poor. Through exhaustive taxation, frequent wars, and enervating building programs -- as Aristotle points out -- the tyrant will create a situation where “... the people are so occupied with their daily tasks that they have no time for plotting.”\(^\text{17}\) While the Peisistratids certainly qualified as tyrants in Aristotle’s eyes, their power came to an end with the expulsion of Hippias in 510 B.C.\(^\text{18}\) It is no mystery that with the termination of tyranny, all the construction on the Olympieion should cease. Over three centuries had to pass before the Olympieion could serve the

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\(^{15}\) A reference to the temple also appears in a description of Athens by Herakleides. The Olympieion is mentioned together with the Parthenon, the theater and the gymnasia. The Olympieion is described as “...half-finished, but astonishing in its architectural design -- it would have been an excellent building if it had been completed.” It was thought that the author was writing after the time of Antiochus, but R.E.Wycherley cites evidence which places the author back into the third century B.C. See R.E.Wycherley, "The Olympieion at Athens", *GRBS* 5(1964)168.

\(^{16}\) Bevier, p. 195.

\(^{17}\) Aristotle, *The Politics* (V.11,4).

\(^{18}\) Bevier, p. 193.
manipulative needs of another autocrat: the Seleucid monarch Antiochus IV Epiphanes.  

This time, however, the needs were ideological. 

While considering Aristotle’s differentiation between tyrant and king, it is difficult to determine under which definition someone like Antiochus would fall. It is evident that Antiochus was the consequence of a long and distinguished line of Seleucid monarchs. Antiochus’ ancestor and founder of the Seleucid kingdom -- Seleucus I Nicator -- was one of Alexander the Great’s most trusted officers. As a child, Seleucus was one of the few chosen to sit in on Aristotle’s classes with Alexander. Neither Antiochus nor his antecedents based their governance on the precepts of moderation and consent -- which were established by Aristotle as characteristic of kingship. On the other hand, however, the Seleucid monarchs would neither qualify as adhering to Aristotle’s definition of tyranny. While certain monarchs will occasionally approximate a particular aspect of either category depending on the circumstances, if viewed in a larger context it is evident that Aristotle’s definitions are no longer applicable. Aristotle died just a year following Alexander the Great’s death in 323 B.C., and therefore was unable to witness the formation of the successor kingdoms. While these large kingdoms were forged out of Alexander’s empire, they crystallized into independent nation-states. As Michael Grant relates to the political entities of our own century “... it is from the Antigons, Ptolemies and Seleucids that our own highly developed form of this international community of nation-states directly derives.” In addition, regarding the enormous wealth and vast populations of these Hellenistic kingdoms, Grant continues “... they were not just nation-

\[19\] As the Peisistratids were unable to complete their temple, Antiochus also ultimately failed to finish the Olympian due to his premature death in 164 B.C. the temple had to wait for Hadrian to finally complete it in 130 A.D. The unfinished quality of the temple which persisted for over six centuries became to be associated with the cult of Zeus. In an amusing passage from Lucian’s satirical Icaromenippus (24) a sad and neglected Zeus hurtfully asks if the Athenians had any ideas of ever finishing his temple.  


\[21\] Davis and Kraay, p. 181.
states, but the super-states of which our twentieth century world is the heir." Within the context of these Hellenistic superpowers, Aristotle’s interpretation and analysis of kingship and tyranny is no longer relevant. These new states induced the need for a type of monarch that was quite unlike Aristotle’s moderate king or rash tyrant.

These Hellenistic super-kings, such as Antiochus IV, were living in a romantic age of tension and change. Long past was the tranquil reality of the relatively stable poleis. Caught within this new framework was an alienated populace fluctuating between extreme wealth and dismal poverty. Previously unheard of slums and urban proletariats were forming due to poverty-stricken peasants swarming to the cities. Within this fast-paced society enormous fortunes were made and lost due to the quickly changing and precarious nature of the economic and social conditions. Peasant eruptions, strikes and class conflicts occurred in several towns and cities. By the later Hellenistic age, the abhorrent social conditions burst into a succession of terrible slave revolts. The extensive contradictions of Hellenistic society were visible at all levels. It was within this perilous context that a Hellenistic king had to operate. A shrewd balance had to be struck between maximizing the wealth at the empire’s disposal, incrementing economic productivity and extracting at least a semblance of loyalty from the diverse population within the empire. Severe competition between the different Hellenistic kingdoms -- often erupting into warfare -- only exacerbated the chancy conditions within which kings had to rule.

It was within this uncertain and insecure reality that Antiochus IV found himself when his reign commenced in 175 B.C. To make matters worse, his father Antiochus III the Great, ended up overextending the empire’s military capabilities late in his reign and suffered a crushing defeat in the hands of a combined Pergamene-Roman force at Magnesia.

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in 190 B.C. The implications of this defeat grew in seriousness over time and threatened the prosperity, welfare and even the territorial integrity of the rest of the empire. Rome's conditions for defeat were exceptionally harsh. Apart from demanding costly reparations, hostages and war materiel -- Rome ended the Seleucid presence in European territory and imparted all lands north of the Taurus mountains in Asia Minor to Pergamum. In addition, the Romans did not heed the Greek tradition of sparing the lives of the defeated on the battlefield and annihilated large numbers of the valued and practically irreplaceable Seleucid Greco-Macedonians. While these events seriously and understandably undermined Seleucid morale and self-esteem, they also severed the empire's close link to Greece. Many of the Hellenistic kingdoms were encouraging and eager for large scale immigration from Greece and Macedonia. It can be imagined that the prestige and well-being of these different empires must have provided an important incentive for the many who were leaving Greece and deciding where to go in search of fortune and a prosperous life.

It was through immigration and aggressive Hellenization that a counterweight could be provided to the ever increasing Orientalizing influence that was infiltrating all levels of culture and religion. Now that the Seleucid kingdom had lost its foothold in Europe and in most of Asia Minor -- the increased distance from Greece and the loss of prestige must have taken their toll. As Antiochus was one of the first to realize the dependence of nationalism on abstract emblems and religious symbolism, the cult of

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26 Davis and Kraay, p. 203.
27 Rome maintained an active policy of insuring that none of the Hellenistic kingdoms ever became too large. The Romans would frequently side with the weaker or smaller of two warring kingdoms and thereby tip the scale against the more powerful opponent. Antiochus III advanced through all of Asia Minor and established a foothold in Europe. With seemingly endless victories at hand, the Seleucid king dreamt of reuniting the empire of Alexander. See E. Fahl, "Antiochus Epiphanes and Roman Politics." Latomus 41 (1982) 229; and Davis and Kraay, p. 203.
28 Davis and Kraay, p. 203.
29 Davis and Kraay, p. 203.
30 Davis and Kraay, p. 203.
Olympian Zeus was employed to achieve several objectives simultaneously. Antiochus’
diverse and fractured empire needed a common set of symbols with which to establish a
sense of unity. Through this official policy of endorsing the cult of Zeus and displaying
the new association in as many contexts as possible, a new life could be breathed into the
empire. The figure of Olympian Zeus served as the embodiment and epitome of
Greekness. Much of the evidence of this zealous policy today remains in the form of the
temples dedicated to Olympian Zeus and the coins struck at the imperial mints.

The abundant and well preserved numismatic evidence further illustrates Antiochus’
adoption and widespread appropriation of the cult of Olympian Zeus.\textsuperscript{32} The considerable
quantity and beautiful nature of these bronze, silver and gold coins attests to their
importance within society. In addition, the exquisite images and forms struck on the coins
brings to mind the immense wealth that circulated through these Hellenistic economies.
Producing large quantities of coins were numerous mints located in various parts of the
extensive empire. The largest mints in the eastern part of the empire were located in
Seleucia on the Tigris, Susa and Ecbatana.\textsuperscript{33} In the western end of the Seleucid kingdom
numerous series of coins were issued from the mints located in the cities of Antioch on the
Orontes and Ace-Ptolemais.\textsuperscript{34}

Antiochus IV presumably began to issue coins immediately after his ascendancy to
the throne.\textsuperscript{35} Coining money played an integral role in the development and dissemination
of a king’s image. Especially for a new king, it was imperative that his claim to power be
reinforced by circulating currency bearing his name and image.\textsuperscript{36} For his earliest silver
coins, Antiochus simply followed tradition and adopted the usual Seleucid type. With the
king’s youthful profile adorning one side, the opposite side was reserved for the image of a

\textsuperscript{34} Morkholm, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{35} Morkholm, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{36} Morkholm, p. 10.
seated Apollo (fig. 1). Apollo was the patron deity and divine ancestor of the Seleucid royal family. The god's image appeared on most of the Seleucid coins since the reign of Antiochus I dating from 280 B.C. The figure of Apollo as it appears in Antiochus' coinage showed little change over the successive generations. The beardless Apollo is shown seated with his right hand holding an arrow while the left hand rests on a bow. The god is portrayed with his face in profile and looking slightly downward while his body is in three-quarters view. The simple inscription reads in large letters and runs vertically from top to bottom on either side of Apollo. The words Basileos Antiochou confirm the identity of the new king in a straightforward manner. The next series of coins issued by Antiochus, however, display a most interesting innovation.

In the following group of coins (fig. 2), the image of Apollo no longer appears on the reverse side. Replacing him is an imposing figure of Zeus. Seated on a throne-like structure, Zeus is fully bearded, exposes a muscular torso and looks straight ahead. Again, as in the previous rendition of Apollo, Zeus is portrayed with his face in profile and the remainder of the body in three-quarters view. While the composition of the image is rather busy, a sense of extreme balance and stability is conveyed. Within the stabilizing verticals of the shaft and throne supports, a zig-zagging compositional element moves diagonally from the lower left foot to the hand which grips the top of the staff. This diagonal movement imbues the composition with a dynamic force which is not present in any of the previous types. Gone is the silent and contemplative Apollo of the preceding coins. Looking down at the ground and remaining quietly appeased in a placid world, the previous Apollo seems to hark back to a different age. Antiochus has infused his new Zeus with an existentialist agenda -- one that is intent on achieving results. Zeus looks forcefully into the future while stretching his arm out to hold a Nike -- who in turn reaches out to crown him. While Zeus appears conscious of the world around him and is ready to act, his

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37 Morkholm, p. 10.
staff placed firmly on the ground seems to allude to a new sense of stability and determination. A closer look at the image of Antiochus also reveals an interesting change in this new coin type. As Hellenistic portraits in coins and sculptures are famous for providing realistic likenesses, it can be assumed that Antiochus' image in the group I coins are fairly true to life.\(^{38}\) In the second group of coins, the features of the Seleucid monarch have gone through a rather subtle transformation. Here, Antiochus bears a striking resemblance to Alexander the Great. A further comparison with Antiochus' basalt portrait (fig. 3) will also demonstrate how his features have been altered in the group II coins. Antiochus' desire to be associated with Alexander is but another reflection of his confidence and intention to revive the fortunes and unity of the empire. Images of Alexander were extremely popular throughout the Hellenistic age, and the resemblance to Antiochus' coin image would have been immediately recognized. In Art in the Hellenistic Age, J.J. Pollitt relates the persevering popularity of Alexander and his association with ability and good fortune.\(^{39}\)

The attraction which Alexander's image had in later times clearly sprang from something more than simply a nostalgic sense of history. Alexander had always seemed to be favored by good fortune, and there was a belief, best expressed in Plutarch's essay *On the Fortune versus the Virtue of Alexander the Great*, that when ill fortune menaced him, he was able to master it and turn adversity into success. Almost everyone aspired to have a fortune like Alexander's.

In a later series of coins Antiochus proceeds with another innovation. He substitutes his own image with the authoritative profile of Zeus on the face of the coin (fig. 4). As the Seleucid monarch's commitment to the cult of Zeus grew more serious and widespread, this latest variation indicates the importance and far-reaching nature of the


\(^{39}\) J.J. Pollitt, Art in the Hellenistic Age (Cambridge: 1986), p. 3.
policy. This carefully envisaged symbolism present in Antiochus’ different coin types was not just intended for internal consumption. It was common for coins to freely circulate in other kingdoms due to constant trade. While foreign money formed a substantial percentage of the currency used within the Seleucid empire, likewise Antiochus’ coins would have circulated throughout the rest of the Greek world. It would not be unreasonable to suppose that a few pericipient foreigners would have been observant of the Seleucid king’s innovations.

As Antiochus proved to be ceaselessly innovative with his treatment of the imperial coinage for ideological purposes, his utilization of architecture became subjected to similar intentions. The Seleucid monarch must have been acutely aware of architecture’s ability to convey and express intentions. Architecture, therefore, in the form of grandiose and ambitious temples, would be able to embody the very spirit of his policies. Many rulers, especially ones as artful as Antiochus, are aware of the captivating and suggestive effects monuments are capable of inducing in the minds of a people.

Antiochus wasted little time in pursuing an aggressive building program that initiated the construction of numerous temples all committed to the cult of Olympian Zeus. It was in Athens that the most lavish of these projects was undertaken. By establishing a presence in the cultural center of the Greek world and contributing what would be the

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40 Morkholm, p. 11.
41 Morkholm, p. 11.
42 Appian describes Antiochus as showing himself "...to be a true king" by being able to secure his throne from usurpers. Antiochus is also mentioned as always ruling with a firm hand and was known for his "spirited nature" (VIII, 45 and 46). Polybius' account of Antiochus is not so flattering (Histories, XXVI). Polybius describes the Seleucid king as frequently dressing as a commoner to be able to mix unnoticed among his subjects in the market place and lawcourts. While Polybius sees this as unkingly behavior, it is certainly indicative of Antiochus' shrewd and inquisitive nature. His fondness for eschewing convention is here evident in his role as king.
43 Livy speaks of the Olympeion in Athens as "... the only one in the world which, though unfinished, was designed to conform to the greatness of the god" (XX, 20, 8). Referring to Antiochus' buildings, a temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Antioch is also mentioned. Antiochus also built temples to Zeus in such places as Olba and Lebadeia. A shrine of Zeus was installed in a temple in Jerusalem and Antiochus is also credited for rebuilding the temple of Zeus at Olympia when it was destroyed by an earthquake in ca 175 B.C. Pollitt, p. 284.
largest architectural monument in the city -- the Seleucids would be seen and even see themselves in a different light.

While the temples constructed by this Seleucid monarch certainly made significant impressions on the many who saw them, it was the Stoic philosophers who reacted vehemently against these indoctrinating and pretentious displays.\(^{44}\) Zeno of Citium, the founder of Stoicism, demanded that “we ought not to build temples to the gods, but to possess divinity in the mind alone; or rather to consider the mind as god, for it is immortal.”\(^{45}\) Responding to the confusing existence within these Hellenistic kingdoms, Stoic utopianism first emerged in Zeno’s influential Republic.\(^{46}\) Obsessed with the notion of human freedom, the founder of Stoicism proposed an ideal city where man could follow nature and exist in a context purely directed by reason.\(^{47}\) Freedom was to be an inherent feature of the city as a whole, not conceptually restricted to individuals.\(^{48}\) It was within this ideal city that temples, lawcourts and gymnasia were abolished.\(^{49}\) Seen as representing the contradictory conventions of society, money and private property were also to be done away with.\(^{50}\) Within the Stoic utopia, the necessity to abolish temples is clearly expounded: Zeno proposes that worship to the cults of the gods is to be replaced by the worship of universal reason.\(^{51}\) Antiochus’ building program thus was hardly concerned with adhering to universal concepts of reason or amplyfying the margins of

\(^{44}\)Since the beginning of the Hellenistic age in the late fourth century B.C., ostentatious and opulent temples appeared throughout the Greek world. Hellenistic kings were keen to express their wealth and power. Large architectural projects were guaranteed to draw attention and bestow prestige upon these pompous plutocrats. Dawson, p. 179.

\(^{45}\)Zeno’s Republic or Politeia was certainly intended to bring to mind and challenge Plato’s seminal work with the same title. Plutarch maintains that Zeno “wrote in reply to Plato’s Republic” (De Stoic. Repug. 1034e). See H.C. Baldry, “Zeno’s Ideal State” JHS 79 (1959) 6. Zeno’s Republic only consisted of one book, it was shorter and simpler than Plato’s ten books. Schofield, p. 56.

\(^{47}\)Schofield, p. 70.

\(^{48}\)Schofield, p. 50.

\(^{49}\)Schofield, p. 13.

\(^{50}\)Schofield, p. 13.

\(^{51}\)Dawson, p. 179.
human freedom. Antiochus' temples served to endorse a political entity based on the consolidation of power, the accumulation of wealth and the preservation of privilege -- all antithetical to the Stoic concepts of reason and virtue.

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The Peisistratid remains of the temple of Olympian Zeus must have been a conspicuous site in Athens. For Antiochus, the idea of giving form to a temple that lay incomplete on the sacred grounds of Zeus must have been seen as opportune. While it is impossible to ascertain how much other than the foundations remained of the Peisistratid attempt, it is not unlikely that a number of the Doric columns were left standing.\textsuperscript{52} Whatever was in place, we can be sure that Antiochus would have had no qualms about removing it completely so that he could begin with a clean slate. Any remaining Doric pieces would have looked shamefully old-fashioned in the eyes of the enterprising monarch and his architect Cossutius. Antiochus was hardly one for tediously following tradition, especially when there were new ideas and issues to address. Parts of the Peisistratid foundation were used, since the layout of the temple was large enough for their needs.\textsuperscript{53} The architecture that rose off the ground, however, was unlike any the city of Athens had ever seen before. The revolutionary aspect of the new design was the most visible parts of the temple: the columns and capitals.

Carved out of pentelic marble, the columns were overwhelming in height and displayed unusually thick proportions.\textsuperscript{54} Presently there are only sixteen out of the 104 columns which would have constituted the porticoes and peristyles of the finished

\textsuperscript{52}Bevier, p. 195.
\textsuperscript{53}R.E.Wycherly, "The Olympeion at Athens," p. 169.
temple. Antiochus' plan (fig. 5) was dipteral and octostyle. This seemingly impenetrable grove of columns must have formed an impressive sight in contrast to the flat and open plateau on which they stood.

Crowning these surprisingly stout columns are a series of massive capitals carved in the Corinthian order. It was in these column capitals that Antiochus and the architect Cossutius revealed their true innovative intentions. Previously restricted to temple interiors, the Corinthian order appears for the first time in an exterior setting. As an interior order, the Corinthian capital had delicate and sacred associations. Antiochus and Cossutius in a bold move, sought to displace the conventional use of the order by employing it in a radically different way. The results were extraordinary and proved to forever alter the significance and meaning of the Corinthian order.

The almost perverse juxtaposition between the delicate and graceful forms of the Corinthian order and their use in a massive and aggressive context must have been extremely appealing to Hellenistic tastes. The Corinthian order -- relieved of its passive and decorative duties -- was now presented in a provocative and forceful context. The imposing forms of the Olympian ultimately reveal the restless and confusing attributes of the Hellenistic sensibility. As the ordered and calm complexion of the Athenian Parthenon reflects the complete confidence of High Classicism, the Olympian conveys the insecurity and anxiousness of its own age.

Born out of a democratic and civic-minded political reality, the columns of the Parthenon appear assured and solemn. Containing the boldness of a barefoot worker, the Doric columns stand firmly on the ground with no base. Like the ideal proletarian, the

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55 Penrose, p. 74.
56 Freaser, p. 9.
57 The monument of Lysicrates (334 BC) displays the use of the Corinthian order, but cannot really be considered a building. Pollitt, p. 248.
Doric columns do the job efficiently and without waste. In comparison, it is evident that the Corinthian order on the Olympieion expresses a very different set of circumstances. While the Doric order of the classical temple proclaims a balanced and straightforward agenda, the Corinthian forms on the Olympieion are deceptive and wilfully contradictory. As opposed to the humble simplicity of the Doric, the Corinthian capitals in their new vociferous garb appear pretentious and effete. By stretching and twisting the proportions, Antiochus and his architect produced a form that is mannered and theatrical. Here the Corinthian order -- strangely symbolic of the aristocrats that produced her -- tries to convey the appearance of delicacy and flamboyance yet when seen as a whole, forms part of a forceful and oppressive system.

This new application of the Corinthian order was warmly welcomed throughout the Hellenistic world and later in Roman architecture. Pretentious monarchs were eager to employ these forms in order to display and express their power and wealth. The newly acquired meaning of the Corinthian order perfectly suited the needs of aristocrats constantly striving to consolidate and represent their power within a contradictory social order.

While the scale and context of the Corinthian orders of the Olympieion was radically altered, the actual design of the forms was directly derived from the previous interior uses. Stylistically it is possible to trace the evolution of the Corinthian order up to its use in the Olympieion. The Corinthian order had developed into a mature form by the mid fourth century. In a half column from the temple of Athena at Tegea (fig. 6) and a column from the tholos of Epidaurus (fig. 7), the corinthian orders appear quite advanced. The capital from Tegea, presumably earlier, still slightly resembles the ionic order. In the tholos of Epidaurus, however, the proportion of the volutes in relation to the acanthus leaves is now very similar to the capital of the Olympieion (fig.8 and 9). A further

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59 Martin, p. 160.  
60 Martin, p. 164.
development of the Corinthian capital appears in the spectacular temple of Apollo at Didyma, in Asia Minor. The columns in this structure are the tallest ever achieved in a Greek temple. While they reach up to a height of over sixty-four feet, the proportions are much slimmer to those of the Olympian. While these large Corinthian columns are still located in the interior, they are seen in a large open air courtyard. In the capitals at Didyma (fig. 10), the acanthus leaves now rise to meet the underside of the corner volutes as in the Olympian. The three distinct tiers of acanthus leaves that appear on the capital of the Olympian are not as clearly defined in the Didyma examples. It is with the capitals on the temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens that the Corinthian order reached full maturity.

The Corinthian order appears in another one of Antiochus' numerous temples dedicated to Zeus. In the northwestern portion of the empire -- in Olba, Cilicia -- exist the remains of the temple of Zeus Olbius (fig. 11). Located in what is presently Uzuncaburç, Turkey, the temple would have stood not too far from the boarder with Pergamum. As a hexastyle temple it is significantly smaller in comparison with the Olympieion in Athens. The capital from Olba lacks the refinement of its Athenian counterpart, possibly due to its provincial location. As in the Athenian capital, the corner acanthus leaves reach up to support the slightly oversized volutes. Also similar to the capital of the Olympieion, a well defined center stem rises to a flower blossom which is placed on the abacus. A strange central motif resembling celery stalks rises from behind the acanthus leaves; two of which overlap over the center stem while the others rise to meet the abacus. This type of improvisation was most likely invented by this remote craftsman. This is possibly an indication of the newness of the Corinthian temple at this time. The temple at Olba, as part of Antiochus' extensive building program, would have undoubtedly been following a path

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62 Lawrence, p. 264.
63 Williams, p. 406.
64 Williams, p. 410.
65 Williams, p. 409.
set by the Olympieion. Precisely because the type was so new, this allowed for plenty of room for improvisation.

Soon after its appearance in Antiochus' temple exteriors, the Corinthian order began to emerge in numerous locations and also in a variety of building types. In a large mausoleum at Belevi, near Ephesus in Asia Minor, an early development of the Corinthian capital appears (fig. 12). While the proportions are slightly slimmer, it is quite similar to the capital from the Olympieion. It is probable also that the capitals at Belevi were influenced by the examples from the temple at Olba, which was not as far as Athens. Upon close examination of the Belevi capital it is possible to see a small floral motif placed directly under the abacus between the inner and outer volutes. These are also found in the same position in the Olba capital. Since this motif did not appear in mainland Greece, it can be assumed that it was another of the Olba craftsman's small innovations.

Not too far from Belevi, the bouleuterion in Miletus contained a propylon with Corinthian columns (fig. 13). Although Miletus did not form part of Seleucid territory, the propylon to the bouleuterion was built in honor of Antiochus. The construction was sponsored by two wealthy Milesians, Timarchos and Herakleides. At such an early date in the development of Corinthian exterior columns, it is assuredly not a coincidence that a Corinthian exterior was used in a structure dedicated to Antiochus. It is evident, therefore, that the Seleucid monarch's extensive building program and the innovations that it brought, were certainly influencing people both within and outside the empire.

While Antiochus' extensive building program was intended to embody and promote an ideological agenda, its effects were far-reaching in the history and development of

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67 Williams, p. 409.
68 Havelock, p. 72.
69 Pollitt, p. 284. An interesting passage appears in Appian's *Roman History* (Syr. Wars VIII.45) concerning Timarchos and Herakleides. Appian describes the two brothers as "favorites" of Antiochus IV. It is likely that they were friends, Appian maintains that both brothers received appointments to imperial posts during their careers.
architectural form. The use of the Corinthian order in his most important work -- the
Temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens -- was his most revolutionary innovation. By
displacing the Corinthian order from its previous use and arranging it in a new context,
Antiochus and his architect were expressing a new set of values. The forms of the
Olympian ultimately reveal the contradiction, alienation and tension that were characteristic
of life in the Hellenistic age.
FIGURE 1  Seleucid Coin, Group I: seated Apollo

FIGURE 2  Seleucid Coin, Group II: seated Zeus
FIGURE 3  Basalt portrait bust of Antiochus IV

FIGURE 4  Seleucid Coin, Group III: Zeus
FIGURE 5  Olympieion, plan and elevation
FIGURE 6  Column capital, temple of Athena at Tegea

FIGURE 7  Column capital, tholos of Epidaurus
FIGURE 8  Column capital, Olympieion
FIGURE 9  Column capital, Olympieion

FIGURE 10  Column capital, temple of Apollo at Didyma
FIGURE 11  Column capital, temple of Zeus Olibius at Uzuncaburç
FIGURE 12  Column capital, Belevi mausoleum
FIGURE 13
Bouleuterion, Miletus
CHAPTER 3
THE POLITICS OF ILLUSION
Nero Bacchus and the Creation of the Domus Aurea

...Unreason drives me to evil.
I walk upon the brink with open eyes;
Wise counsel calls, but I cannot turn back
To hear it: when a sailor tries to drive
His laden vessel counter to the tides,
His toil is all in vain, his helpless ship
Swims at the mercy of the current. Reason?...
What good can reason do?
voice of Phaedra, from Seneca's Phaedra (1.209-16)

From the perspective of the Apollonian ideal, the adulteration of the Classical spirit
which began in the Hellenistic period -- continued in the hands of the Romans. Associating
the demise of the collective consonance of democratic Athens with the appearance of a new
sense of alienation, Hegel observed that in the Roman world "this Subjectivity -- this
retreating into one's self which we observed as the corruption of the Greek Spirit --
becomes here the ground on which a new side of the World's History arises."1 Within the
ever increasing bounds of empire, Stoicism during the Roman age continued to provide a
means for the individual to define a place within the order of things. Embraced by
aristocrats and slaves alike, Stoic thought was quickly absorbed and certainly contributed to
the cultivation of the Roman character. As a student of Seneca, the young Nero was
exposed to the ideas of Stoicism through one of the greatest and most renown of the

Roman Stoics. While the emperor Nero failed to become the intellectual philosopher - king that Seneca had envisioned, it was into the domain of art that the monarch attempted to lead his subjects. Nevertheless, it was within the framework of the Stoic ideas that he had been schooled in that Nero both conceived the Domus Aurea ultimately reacted against it.

Although in time his mental illness began to take its toll, Nero’s adherence to the pursuit of art and aesthetics led to one of the most fruitful and innovative periods of Roman art, poetry, literature and architecture. Nero’s attempts to free his subjects from what he saw as the dreariness of daily life, formed an integral part of his artistic agenda. From the dark and rancid streets of the city would emerge a dream world from which art would rule and the emperor would live by setting example. Nero’s unusual artistic endeavors combined with his association and fervid interest in the revolutionary cult of Bacchus, led the way for a unique period in history which reflected the theatrical, contradictory and surreal nature of the monarch himself.

When Vulcan began to unleash his fury upon the hapless city of Rome in 64 AD, Tacitus describes how Nero was away at Antium. When word of the catastrophe reached the emperor, he rushed back to Rome to witness the devastation.\(^2\) The fire quickly reached perilous proportions and the flames did not hesitate to engulf the emperor’s own palace on the Palatine.\(^3\) Nero must have been enthralled by the tragic sight. The emperor’s appetite for the unusual and the dramatic would certainly have been satisfied by such a wondrous scene. The flames were devouring and devastating the city of Rome. For Nero it must have appeared as a terrific performance. The burning city became a stage and the emperor was captivated by its incandescent beauty. It was Vulcan, in his deadly attire, that was laying waste to the city. To accompany this magnificent performance, Suetonius relates

\(^2\)Tacitus, *Annals* 15.38  
\(^3\)Suetonius, *Nero* 31
how Nero "put on his tragedian's costume and sang *The Fall of Ilium* from beginning to end".4

Nero was not to be outdone by such an imposing performance. If Vulcan could wreak such ruthless destruction, then he as emperor would answer by creating a new urban order of immeasurable beauty. In the midst of the ravaged city, the emperor set plans for the reconstruction of Rome.5 The rebuilding included the establishment of wide and straight avenues complete with porticoes. A strict building code limiting structures to specific types of stone and regulating their height, would insure the safety of the city in the future.6 At the heart of Nero's new vision for Rome however, lay the creation of his new residence: the Domus Aurea.

The focus of Nero's new urban plan -- the Domus Aurea complex -- was located in the center of the city. The grounds covered the inward facing slopes of the Palatine, Caelian and Esquiline hills, and the valley between them. According to Miriam Griffin, the extent of the complex's area reached 200 acres. The most conservative estimate places the area of the Domus Aurea at 125 acres, which is still larger than the Vatican City today.7 The remains of the Domus Aurea as they exist in the present are found nestled in the southern slopes of the Esquiline (fig. 14). The front of the palace is directed to the south which faces the central space of the valley below. The Palatine rises to the west of the valley and the Caelian to the south.

Nero and his architects developed a master plan which included a variety of features to be included within the realm of the complex. To the south of the palace, placed at the bottom of the marshy valley and consequently located in the center of the master plan, was

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4Suet., 38
5Nero was very disturbed by the rumors that implicated him as the author of the fire. Every conceivable effort was made by the emperor to quell these accusations. Paul Keresztes, "Nero the Christians and the Jews in Tacitus and Clement of Rome", *Latomus* 43, 1984, 404.
a large artificial lake. To the west of the lake an entrance portico connected with the end of the Sacra Via, and from there access with the rest of the city was gained. Inside the vestibule area in the entrance portico was the location of an enormous statue of Nero. The infamous colossus rose 120 feet and looked out toward the Forum Romanum. The architectural elements within the complex however, were subordinate to the landscape design. The several buildings and structures were placed in various locations in what would have appeared to have been an enormous park.

The lake, which Suetonius describes as looking "...more like a sea...", was "...surrounded by buildings made to resemble cities, and by a landscape garden consisting of ploughed fields, vineyards, pastures, and woodlands -- where every variety of domestic and wild animal roamed about." The grounds therefore, were carefully designed to imitate a larger scale landscape. The edge of the complex in all directions lay in the crests of the hills; therefore once inside it would have been impossible to see the rest of the city lying just outside. The purpose of the design was to achieve a very specific set of results, one of which was to create an environment which would shockingly contrast the urban fabric outside. P. Gregory Warden correctly maintains that the slopes of the surrounding hills were used "...as a backdrop for buildings which were hardly more than theatrical facades for elaborate landscape effects."

Nero however, was intent on producing far more than simple effects. The emperor was venturing to create a world of illusion, complete with cities, oceans, animals and forests -- all captured and condensed to exist in the center of Rome. Like the theater, this environment offered a psychological release from the strain of everyday life within the

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9Suet., 31
10Allison, p. 13.
dense city of Rome. For the emperor it offered an enormous and eternal stage in which he was always the center of attention. With his palace perched up on one of the slopes facing the entire grounds, Nero would now live and work within the bounds of this gigantic theater.\textsuperscript{12} With this capacious complex open to the people of Rome, Nero's constant desire for an audience would be satisfied. Faced with the need to rebuild a devastated city, the emperor's boundless imagination commanded the creation of an artificial world of illusion, in which -- as his giant colossus informed the visitor upon entering -- he, Nero, was the principal attraction.

After years of enduring the overbearing gaze of an obsessive stepmother and the moralizing exhortations of stifling ministers, it was the altered reality upon the stage where Nero gained satisfaction. The emperor developed a devotion for just about any kind of performance. Whether it was singing, acting, or riding chariots -- Nero craved excitement and attention. The enthusiastic applause of an audience and the admiration of the people was what the emperor became obsessed with.

It was in the world of art where Nero was anxious to excel. As an artist Nero was able to stimulate his fondness for the new and provocative. As William MacDonald maintains, Nero "...allied himself with progressive artistic ideas. Unstable and insecure, he craved the life he thought artists lived and the kind of recognition they received, and rejected as stuffy conventions the traditional, dignified attitudes of the past."\textsuperscript{13} Intolerant of the banal routine involved in the compliance of imperial duties, Nero immersed himself in the world of art to satisfy his lust for popularity, novelty and the excitement of performing.

\textsuperscript{12}Although Nero dedicated the palace it is probable that the original design was not completed in its entirety. Warden, p. 277 and MacDonald, p. 32.
\textsuperscript{13}MacDonald, p. 42.
With the creation of the Domus Aurea, Nero the artist had established an entity that synthesized his interests, needs and obsessions. Thus, it is essential to examine the Domus Aurea in direct relation to the reconstruction of the rest of the city in order to understand how the entire master plan was a direct reflection of Nero's own condition and personality. With the Domus Aurea in the center of Rome, it was to exist as a clear representation and focus of Nero's artistic inclinations. The reconstruction of the rest of the city, outside the Domus Aurea, became a symbolic function of Nero's need to comply with his official duties as emperor. Nero, nevertheless, went to great lengths to insure that the rest of the city was rebuilt in a thorough and efficient manner. Thus both entities, the Domus Aurea and the city, were resolved with extremely different goals in mind. One was necessary and straightforward, while the other was illusory and theatrical. Both, however, in the emperor's mind, were integral components of a larger whole -- and they reflected the contradictions of his own personality.

Since the Domus Aurea complex was envisioned to exist as a component of the rest of the city, it was designed to bring the people into the emperor's world of fantasy. The result would be exactly what occurred in all his previous performances; the people would love him and the aristocracy would be justly horrified. Again the emperor was making a spectacle of himself. He delighted in becoming the focus of all attention -- positive and negative.

The desire to win the applause of his people was compounded by the emperor's wariness of the aristocracy around him. That Nero was circumspect regarding the majority of his fellow aristocrats was clearly evident. Whether it was opening his palace to the people or performing on stage for them, the emperor took pleasure in horrifying the very members of the class that wished to stifle his artistic pursuits. By opening the grounds of the Domus Aurea to the citizens of Rome, the emperor would be yet again gaining the applause and admiration of the people that loved him -- or so he thought. It is evident that
there was a significant amount of delusion involved in Nero's ability to evaluate his condition in relation to the circumstances around him.\textsuperscript{14} "Insulated from facts by flatterers..." as Griffin suggests, Nero was not only convinced of his own talents but truly believed that the constant applause was a result of his artistic gifts and abilities.\textsuperscript{15}

Always eager to please the people, Nero never intended to isolate himself within the grounds of the Domus Aurea.\textsuperscript{16} By examining the plan of the entire complex it is evident that it had been intended to function as a public space. An enormous and ceremonious entrance was provided through the reconstruction of the Sacra Via.\textsuperscript{17} This porticoed avenue led to the entrance vestibule where the monumental colossus stood. With one end of the vestibule open to the grounds of the entire complex, the side walls served to frame what must have been a dramatic view. As one emerged past the colossus, the theatrical image and effect of the entire complex must have been overwhelming.\textsuperscript{18}

The emperor's fondness for providing entertainment and showing generosity toward the citizens of Rome is well known. Griffin mentions how Nero prior to the fire "...held a public banquet in which he extended to the people pleasures normally confined to the few." This caused Tacitus to remark in a sarcastic tone of how the emperor "...used the whole city as his house."\textsuperscript{19} There is no question Nero loved to entertain and certainly cherished the attention. The more dramatic and theatrical an event, the more he was satisfied. Even after the calamitous fire, Nero is encountered "...offering public

\textsuperscript{15} Griffin, p. 164.
\textsuperscript{16} Griffin, p. 140.
\textsuperscript{17} Axel Boethius, \textit{The Golden House of Nero}, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1960, p. 110.
\textsuperscript{18} It is difficult to ascertain what the long lasting effects of such an enormous park-like space would have had on the nature of the city's condition as a whole. The emperor's premature death and the subsequent suppression of the undertaking make it impossible to determine what the ultimate consequences would have been. An interesting comparison can be made with Frederick Law Olmstead's visionary design for Central Park in New York from 1858. In many ways Nero's plan was thousands of years ahead of its time.
\textsuperscript{19} Griffin, p. 140.
entertainment in his Vatican circus and adjacent gardens, dressed as a charioteer and mixing with the plebs.\textsuperscript{20}

Combined with the demand for constant attention and theatrical excitement, was the emperor's insatiable thirst for the unusual. Nero's desire to shun tradition was partly a result of his love for innovation. This, in consideration with Nero's artistic self-image and his own limitless imagination, encouraged an artistic environment to flourish. It was in this progressive and enterprising atmosphere that the architects Severus and Celer designed Nero's imperial residence.\textsuperscript{21} The creation of the emperor's palace was a unique and revolutionary undertaking. The recent widespread use of concrete had had a liberating effect. It now allowed architects greater freedom in the manipulation of architectural form and space. For the first time, a building was conceived in abstract and spatial terms, from the inside out.\textsuperscript{22} In this case, as J. Ward Perkins describes, "...the architect came square up against the problem of interior space, in a context that demanded a solution from the inside outwards rather than from the outside inwards." Considering the revolutionary implications of this phenomenon, Perkins maintains that "it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the whole subsequent history of European architectural thought hangs upon this historic event."\textsuperscript{23}

In the process of creating this innovative piece of architecture, the architects must have delighted in satisfying Nero's love for unusual and unconventional spaces. In addition, the emperor's fascination for theatrical settings was satisfied with the invention of a series of mechanical devices to accompany the outlandish spaces inside the palace. The effects of these eccentric and extraordinary settings were far-reaching. In the central octagonal dining room (fig. 15), Suetonius describes how "...its roof revolved slowly,

\textsuperscript{20}Griffin, p. 140.
\textsuperscript{21}MacDonald, p. 42.
\textsuperscript{22}MacDonald, p. 38.
day and night, in time with sky."24 To further astonish and bewilder the guests were ivory ceiling panels "...which could slide back and let a rain of flowers, or of perfume from hidden sprinklers, shower upon his guests."25 Although these extravagant mechanisms must have surely enchanted Nero's companions, they nevertheless exasperated those who were already troubled by the emperor's exploits. Seneca -- previously aware that the emperor's excesses were unredeemable -- must have found the extravagances of the Domus Aurea staggering. Nero's previous stoic mentor and advisor, in Letter xc, uses him as an example of one who lacks the wisdom to follow nature. Although the emperor is not mentioned by name, it is clear that he is:

the one who discovers a means of spraying saffron perfumes to a tremendous height from hidden pipes... who constructs a set of interchangeable ceilings for a dining room in such a way as to produce a constant succession of different patterns, with a change of ceiling at each course...26

Even Petronius, a courtier and Nero's Arbiter of Elegance alludes to the many mechanical marvels of the Domus Aurea in The Satyricon. During dinner with Trimalchio, Encolpius is shocked when "...the coffered ceiling began rumbling and the whole dining room shook. I leapt to my feet in panic, as I was afraid some acrobat was coming down through the roof." 27 As all the guests looked up to the ceiling, the panels opened and a series of contraptions and curiosities were let down. Shortly afterwards another mechanism allowed "...for a cloud of saffron to start pouring out and the irritating vapour to come right in our faces."28

24Suet., 31
25Suet., 31
26Seneca, Letters xc,14.
27Petronius, The Satyricon, 60.
28Petronius, 60.
While it can be argued that Nero’s original intent was to provide a context from which to reintroduce the concept of nature in the sprawling city, the result was the creation of the illusion of nature. Stoic notions of adhering to nature, reason and virtue were certainly absorbed by the emperor in his formative years. Although traits revealing a Stoic education mark the character of the young emperor, it is evident that Nero began to slowly distance himself from his mentor. The notions of removing barriers to absorb “...the whole city as his house” as to mix with the people together with the attempt to introduce the realm of nature within the urbs, all retain an undeniably Stoic tone. The implementation and result of these concepts however, proved to be acutely un-Stoic. In an attempt to interpose a segment of nature, Nero ultimately reveals a fear of nature. It is this intense insecurity and fear of the reality of the external world that propels Nero to create a world of illusion. The emperor’s vision of nature is not of one directed by universal reason, but one led by deception and fantasy.

Both the theatrical nature of the palace’s interior spaces and the landscape around it made indelible impressions on the imaginations of those associated with the court. With the establishment of the Domus Aurea, the emperor was essentially creating an immense stage set within the heart of the city; one in which he was the constant center of attention. While the rebuilding of the city reflected Nero’s needs to abide by his "official" duties as emperor, the creation of the Domus Aurea was the manifestation of his artistic inclinations. By opening the grounds of the complex to the people of Rome, Nero succeeded in horrifying the narrow-minded aristocracy that loathed him. More importantly however, the emperor was providing the people, as well as himself, with a means of relief from the stifling atmosphere and conventions of the traditional urban order.

29Nero’s early involvement in politics such as his speech to the senate preserved in the form of De Clemencia, written by Seneca, clearly espouses the most noble traits of Stoic thought. As to the degree that the young emperor truly assimilated these ideas is difficult to ascertain. It is evident however, that he accepted the content of the material.
FIGURE 15       Domus Aurea, octagonal room
CHAPTER 4

THE POLITICS OF DESTRUCTION
Futurism, action and the return of Bacchus

“In so far as one thing is able to destroy another are they of contrary natures, that is to say, they cannot exist in the same subject.”

Spinoza, Prop.5,III Ethics

“Whirlwinds of aggressive dust; a blinding mixture of sulfur, potash and silicates through the windows of the Ideal! ... Fusion of a new solar orb that soon we shall see shine forth!”

Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, from “Let’s Murder the Moonshine,” April 1909

As the sleek new motorcar sped through the streets of Rome, the aged Colosseum defiantly threw down a crumbling brick and cracked the racing machine’s radiator. As the iron beast uttered its last gasps of air and came to an abrupt standstill, one can easily envision the young driver’s rage as he must have leaped out of the car door to face and curse his ancient assailant. It is this same man, Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, who would not only scorn the mighty Colosseum but also demand the destruction of anything representative of the past: “Take up your pickaxes, your axes and hammers, and wreck, wreck the venerable cities, pitilessly!” And thus, by declaring war on Italy’s glorious past and proclaiming love for the new presence of the machine, Futurism was born.

It was through the destruction of the past that the Futurists aspired to encounter the

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necessary freedom to be able to embrace and experience the essence of movement and action. Through the process of creation through destruction, the potential for human agency could thus be maximized. The advent of the machine age provided the impetus as well as the symbols that became the defining essence of the artistic movement. By embracing the machine age, a future could be assured where all restraints and obstacles would melt before the blazing will of man. Nature would finally fall victim to the irrepressible Apollonian will to construct. The Futurists devoted their energies to what their virulent propagator Marinetti strove to establish as "...the reign of man whose roots are cut, of the multiplied man who mixes himself with iron, who is fed by electricity and no longer understands anything except for the lust for danger and daily heroism."  

Eager to empower themselves with the spirit of the machine age, artists were quick to respond to the call of Futurism. Energetic and resourceful young talents such as Umberto Boccioni, Giacomo Balla, Carlo Carrà, Luigi Russolo and Gino Severini quickly rushed to enlist in Marinetti's ranks after reading the tumultuous "Founding Manifesto of Futurism." The Manifesto was provocatively placed on the first page of the Parisian newspaper *Le Figaro* on February 20, 1909. In the following days Marinetti claimed to have received over 10,000 letters, mostly from outraged and insulted citizens. Fueled by the negative attention he had hoped for, Marinetti thus successfully set Futurism in motion. Soon, the Futurists became one of the most discussed and influential movements to take hold of Europe.

Within the realm of Futurist activity, the different means of artistic expression became increasingly dependent on each other. The artists became aware of the creative potential of integrating painting, sculpture and architecture and to allow methods of

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3Flint, p. 67.
expressing ideas in one medium to spread to another. This condition established a degree of unity between the different forms of expression. In addition, it allows one to follow the fast-paced evolution of forms and ideas within Futurism and to see how they reveal themselves in literature, painting, sculpture and architecture.

Although the many ideas and themes concurrent in the movement were able to circulate and interrelate quite comfortably between literature, painting and sculpture, it was at first only Boccioni who was adamant about establishing close links with architectural issues. Since the beginning, architectural themes and architectonic spaces abound in Boccioni’s canvases and he ceaselessly maintained that his creations “… are alive in virtue of architectural laws that are dictated by harmonic laws.”

In addition to the architectural themes and issues that permeated much of the Futurist’s paintings and written works, Marinetti’s “Founding Manifesto” of 1909 in particular must have inspired the young architect Antonio Sant’ Elia. While living and working in Milan, the center of Futurist activity, it is inconceivable that Sant’ Elia would not have been exposed to the radical ideas of the movement. It can be said with certainty that it was no accident that Sant’ Elia was prompted to design the very first of his “Futurist” innovations the same year that Marinetti’s Founding Manifesto seized Europe by the throat. It is precisely this year, 1909, when one of the first of his “futurist” creations, Building with a Stairway (fig. 16) is conceived. This machine-like building rises majestically into the darkness to create an ominous structure which towers over the viewer. The dark and

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8 Although Sant’Elia did not establish regular contact with the Futurists until 1912, his innovative architectural designs evolved rapidly after they began in 1909. As a result of living in the same city as the rest of the Futurists, Sant’ Elia soon established close friendships with Carrà and Boccioni. Although Sant’ Elia was not inducted into the group until 1914, his work nevertheless closely paralleled the directions taken by the Futurist painters and sculptors. While Sant’ Elia’s architectural drawings and designs were inextricably bound to Futurism, he hesitated to join the movement until July of 1914. At that point Sant’ Elia had participated independently in two exhibitions, where his revolutionary designs were favorably received by the shrewed critic Giulio Arita. Caramel and Longatti, p. 22, and Banham, “Futurism and Modern Architecture,” p. 131.
defiant blue of the night sky creates a haunting atmosphere which envelops the electric yellow of the forceful building. This alarming creation instantly brings to mind a passage in the Founding Manifesto: "... we will sing of the vibrant fervor by night of arsenals and shipyards ablaze with violent electric moons..."9

One of the most prolific and tireless members of the group, Umberto Boccioni, repeatedly expounded the inevitability and importance of permitting painting, sculpture and architecture to integrate themselves under the same precepts and intentions concurring within the movement. In his "Technical Manifesto for Futurist Sculpture" from 1912, Boccioni reveals movement as one of the most important principles underlying Futurism: "In sculpture as in painting, renewal is impossible without looking for the STYLE OF MOVEMENT...And this systematization of the vibrations of lights and the interpenetrations of planes will produce a Futurist sculpture, whose basis will be architectural..." 10 The emphasis of movement was one of the earliest issues to take hold of Futurism. Due to their proclaimed love of machine-age forms, speed, violence and physical impact, the necessity to express movement within the creative framework was essential to the Futurist aesthetic.

Considering their obsession with the machine-age form and with speed, the concept of expressing and infusing movement into their art was of vital importance. In painting and sculpture the tendency to portray movement is often represented as a spiraling motion of intense energy circulating around a central core. Carried by movement and energy, form emerges from the violence and destruction to consolidate itself as a centralized and excluding force. In their quest to destroy anything representative of the past, the Futurists were intent on obliterating the multiple-layered reality that comprised the totality of existence. Existence in the Futurist

world was to be bound within the confines of a unitary experience. Tied to the immediacy of the present, the Futurist environment was determined to be dependent on the edification of human will and personality. In this complete redefinition of space, existence as a whole would be governed by the unitary condition emanating from a singular source. Within this system, the participant circulated around the monumental force of an artificial Apollonian construct. It was within the severity of the singular nature of this dependency on the Apollonian form that any space for Dionysian revelling was destroyed.

In Futurist painting and sculpture, form is always perceived through the condition of movement. Form remains obedient to a singular direction and serves to reinforce and strengthen the momentum of this monumentalizing disposition. This convergence and spiraling of energy around a single entity is visible in many images of religious martyrdom throughout history. Two salient and befitting examples are the images of St. Sebastian by Pollaiuolo from 1475 (fig. 17) and Andrea Mantegna from 1455-60 (fig. 18). The revolving energy circulating through the painting converge upon a central axis which materializes into the form of the martyr. Similarly, in Boccioni’s Development of a Bottle in Space from 1912 (fig. 19), the movement is expressed as a turbulent force revolving around a towering shaft which protrudes through space. Reyner Banham describes how movement remains active in Boccioni’s sculpture through “... the systematic way in which every solid and void is developed as a form of rotation from the central axis of the bottle, spiraling out to intercept the surfaces generated from the plate on which it stands.”¹¹

Luigi Russolo’s painting Houses + Light + Sky from 1912-13 (fig. 20) utilizes the same concept of expressing movement as was evident in Boccioni’s sculpture. The electric pinks and energetic blue tones in the lower half of the painting move in a circular motion around the triangular base of the streaking white forms. Rising from the triangular base, a central thrust of energy is directed upward to the end of the horizon and then continues to

cut through the azure sky. Here, as in Boccioni's sculpture, the viewer is presented with the idea of high speed circulation at the base or ground level. This, in turn, revolves around a central core which spirals up into space. In several of Sant' Elia's studies for the Citta Nuova from 1914 (figs. 21 and 22) these same ideas are visible.\(^{12}\) In both of these designs there is a considerable amount of attention and concern for circulation at the base. In figure 21 the ground plane is both imposing and terrifying. The towering structure is placed above the high speed circulation that would race in and out the building's cavernous opening. In figure 22 the element of movement is further articulated by showing the different levels of circulation for automobile, pedestrian and train. Sant' Elia, in the "Manifesto of Futurist Architecture" from 1914, specifies the nature of the rapid circulation and movement existing at the base of these structures: "the street will no longer lie like a doormat at ground level, but will plunge many storeys down into the earth, embracing the metropolitan traffic, and will be linked up for necessary interconnections by metal catwalks and high speed conveyor belts."\(^{13}\)

Sigfried Giedion in his *Space, Time and Architecture* maintains that Sant' Elia tried to "...introduce the futuristic love of movement as an artistic element in the contemporary city".\(^{14}\) Movement for Sant' Elia, however, was much more than a mere "artistic element". Movement, as in Boccioni's and Russolo's paintings, plays a central role in the city, where it circulates within and around the towering structures. In most cases energy then spirals upward around a vertical axis which penetrates the space above it. Reyner Banham correctly labels Sigfried Giedion's interpretation as an underestimation and a misunderstanding of Sant' Elia's intentions. Banham asserts that "... far from trying to "introduce" movement, Sant' Elia is basing his whole design on a recognition of the fact

\(^{12}\)Peter Wolf, "The Structure of Motion in the City," *Art in America* 57 (1969), 71.
\(^{13}\)Tisdall and Bozzolla, p. 133, and Banham, "Futurism and Modern Architecture," p. 138.
that in the mechanized city one must circulate or perish."  

The expression and infusion of movement in Futurist works as the primary objective continued to be expressed in a variety of ways. In Boccioni’s painting *Simultaneous Visions* from 1911 (fig. 23), movement is portrayed in the same manner as seen in the previous works, only that now the perspective has changed. Instead of standing on the ground and looking up, the viewer is now presented with a birds-eye view of the drama. In *Simultaneous Visions* the movement not only flows through the buildings at the bottom but seems to carry them with it. Once the momentum starts it begins to rotate quite violently around the center and spirals its way up to the viewer. The point around which the movement circulates, or the eye of the hurricane, is placed around the electric green eye of the woman. In Boccioni’s manuscript on architectural theory he explains that "... in painting, we place the spectator in the center of the painting, thus making him the center of the emotion", and continues, "the architectural environment of a city also creates this sense of involvement. We live in a spiral of architectural forces."  

In Carlo Carrà’s *Interventionist Demonstration* from 1914 (fig. 24) a similar process is occurring. Movement and energy, now in the form of words, flags, newspaper clippings and cut-out’s are revolving around a small central area. The eye of this storm consists of a partial white halo in the center of which appears the word “Italia”. This collage reflects the fervent militarism and nationalism of several of the members, since the work was a call for Italy to enter the war and recapture its last territories under Austrian control.  

Devoid of militarism and nationalism as Boccioni’s works usually were, his *Unique Forms of Continuity In Space* (fig. 25) presents an additional adaptation of the issue of a

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16 Caramélant and Longatti, p. 42.
17 Perloff, p. 61.
central core that projects into space. In this forceful sculpture, motion and energy are
concentrated in the central axis of the body. This fierce mobilization of forces which gather
momentum in the left leg and push their way through the torso are buttressed by the right
leg. Bent at an angle to support energy rising above it, the use of the leg as a buttress
heightens the powerful nature of the projection and gives the man the image of a machine-
like structure.

Similar constructions are visible in several of Sant'Elia’s drawings. In the Station
for Trains and Airplanes from 1914 (fig. 26), the same buttressing effect is produced as he
positions a triangular appendage against the vertically oriented structure which penetrates
the sky above. Similarly, in a study for a building from 1913 (fig. 27), the towering
projections into space are supported at the base by several buttress-like structures. These
not only help to express the magnitude
of the vertical forces present in the soaring building but also serve to exaggerate them as
well.

Sant’Elia also employed the use of unconventional and exaggerated perspective in
many drawings to further intensify his radical propositions. This was an effect he picked
up from the drawings of the Wagnerschule that the young architect so admired.\(^{18}\) Yet
Sant’Elia’s use of perspective and other visual tools such as color and texture are much
more daring and dynamic than anything seen before. The designs were intended to be
visual images that would provoke and challenge any previous notion of the nature and
function of the city. Thus, there was no need for Sant’Elia to work out floor plans or
construction details to accompany his propositions. To do so would have been redundant
and possibly distracting from the important issues. Although Sant’Elia is often criticized
for not having worked out any plans for the buildings of the Città Nuova, it is essential to
realize that Sant’Elia’s designs were intended to function and exist as two-dimensional

\(^{18}\)Caramel and Longatti, p. 12.
images. Enrico Crispolti correctly maintains that with Sant' Elia it is not a question of "... ideas that remain as such because they did not lend themselves to implementation, but rather ideas that were intended precisely and exclusively as such, that is to say projects with an ideological function in the utopian challenge ..."\footnote{Carmelo and Longatti, p. 34.}

Sant' Elia's 	extit{Station for Trains and Airplanes} \cite{28} presents an unusual glimpse of the organizational layout of most of the structure due to the unusually high perspective. As was similarly seen in many previous works, here the energy moves up a much more loosely defined central axis. As the vertical forces converge at the midpoint of the drawing, an intense amount of activity erupts in all directions. This is an interesting visual device which is also discernible in Giacomo Balla's 	extit{Line of Velocity} \cite{29}. In this sculpture the supporting shaft emerges out of the base.

It then reaches a point where it blooms into an intense display of turbulent shapes. In the 	extit{Armored Train} by Gino Severini \cite{30} the same condition is present. The opening in the train where the soldiers are standing forms the vertical component that slices through the composition until it arrives at the midpoint and explodes into the roaring cannons. The perspective offered to the viewer is the same given by Sant' Elia in his 	extit{Station for Trains and Airplanes} \cite{28}. The compositions are tilted up at an unnatural angle to enhance the massive nature of the forms. Again, a similar process occurs in Boccioni's 	extit{Materioria} from 1912 \cite{31}. Within this astonishing array of radiant colors and chaotic forms emerges a black void from the bottom of the painting. This vortex of darkness rises slowly until it reaches the middle of the composition. It is at this point where this ascending mass explodes into blinding splinters of light and fractured forms.

Umberto Boccioni's sculpture 	extit{Muscles in Velocity} from 1913 \cite{32} still concerns itself with movement in terms of subject matter. In terms of composition, Boccioni has infused stability into the piece by sculpting the figure in a form that is
triangular and solid. The object sits firmly on the base, and the shapes are carefully layered on top of each other as the object cautiously rises through space. It is possible to sense a slight spiraling of the forces but it seems to dissipate as it reaches the figure's waist. As seen in the earlier works, a central core rises through and above the commotion at the base and pushes its way to the top. As this vertical motion arrives at the uppermost part of the sculpture however, it appears to lose momentum and starts to collapse under its own weight.

A remarkably similar effect is produced within Gino Severini's *Self-Portrait* painted in 1913 (fig. 33). As in Boccioni's sculpture, the triangular element evoking stability dominates the composition. The shapes giving form to the body are layered and carefully built up until they reach the top of the hat. As in Boccioni's *Muscles in Velocity* the energy dissolves before reaching the apex and the uppermost forms seem as if they are about to fall. As in Severini's *Self-Portrait* (fig. 33) and Boccioni's *Muscles in Velocity* (fig. 32), the compositional device of achieving stability through a triangular shape has been employed in a design for a building from 1914 (fig. 34). The stepping-up of the structural forms gradually leads the eye to the top of the building. Internally, the vertical forces are carefully allowed to ascend in a zig-zag fashion beginning at the walkway in the lower part of the composition.

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In their destruction of the past through action and violence, the Futurists were intent on annihilating the multi-layered condition that constituted the result of urban historical development. This redefinition of space on their own terms, allowed form -- through movement -- to converge upon a singular source. The result was a complete dependency of existence on the monumentalizing energy of a singular set of values. Thus, the subsequent drift towards fascism by many members of the group is hardly surprising. From the
Futurist realm of illusion, Dionysos had been expelled.

Interestingly enough, movement and destruction are also seen as inherent characteristics of a Dionysian process. Dionysos, however, was about movement away from the unitary construct of personality into the multiplicity of existence and nature. This divergence from the essence of individuation into the labyrinthian bog of the collective, constitutes the eternal endeavor of Dionysos.

While the Futurists celebrated war and the machine aesthetic, the second generation German expressionists were critical of it. Class control and segregation begins to affect the development of urban morphology after the defeat of the Spartacist uprising in Germany in 1919. The paintings of Georg Grosz, Conrad Felixmuller, etc., depict the saturation and eventual explosion of the traditional urban form (fig. 35 - 38). During the Spartacist revolution, the image and form of the urban construct maintains distinct proletarian --and by association -- democratic associations (fig. 39). The image of the city begins to exist as a symbol of class struggle. The eventual defeat of the uprising and the consolidation of capitalist control has fatal effects on the nature of urban development.

The Spartacist rebellion was one of the last attempts for reconciliation. With the victory of plutocracy, the alteration of urban morphology to suit the needs of class control begins. After World War I, with the completion and consolidation of plutocratic dominance, society is left with the remains of mutilated humans and mutilated cities; neither of which have since recovered (fig. 40). Class segregation and the ever increasing disparity of wealth have lead to the development of the blind enclaves.

These hermetically sealed environments represent the accumulated politics of wealth, illusion and destruction. The most dangerous factor however, is the absence of reason and the complete removal of Nature from these blind enclaves. Nature cannot be indefinitely restrained or complete cultural suffocation will ultimately ensue. When Bacchus is suppressed, he eventually tends to reappear on his own terms, often with
Vulcan and Mars at his side. If Bacchus is accommodated for, much can be done to address the suffering of humanity and the quality of life in society.

The political and economic realities of our time render it necessary to revive a lost urban form: the stoa. The stoa is capable of defining and giving form to a politically charged space where Dionysos is able to reign. The rigidity and order of the Apollonian pursuit to consolidate energy upon a singular intention is ubiquitous within the morphology of the city. The skyscrapers soaring to the heavens or the regimented taxis of a city grid both serve as examples of this implementation of order and internalization of energy.

Diverging from the rigidity of the Apollonian urban structure, the stoa and the space it defines serve as an interlude within the order of the city. The stoa appears to 'float' in relation to the rigid and ordered forms within which it is immersed. Thus, the stoa and the agora it defines exist independently from the ordering principles of the urban fabric. Ultimately, the stoa exists as a defining and mediating force. As a building, the stoa is neither monument nor fabric. The rigid edge of the stoa in combination with its ordered and continuous colonnade, define a distinctly Apollonian singularity of intention and objectivity of form. The space it defines, however, provides the space for Dionysos. Thus, the Dionysian immersion in the open space is mediated by the determination and order of the Apollonian form. It is through Dionysos that the collective asserts its intentions. The common man as an individual remains politically powerless and insignificant. By fueling the will of the collective, the individual empowers himself and political alienation ceases. The complete elimination of democratic space is now a disturbing reality in late twentieth century society. The modern individual has now been entirely submerged into realms of illusion. The destruction of the city has been consummated. If democracy is to exist as more than an illusion in any society, the physical space for its constant rebirth must be provided.
FIGURE 18
Andrea Mantegna, *St. Sebastian*  1455-60
FIGURE 19  Umberto Boccioni, Development of a Bottle in Space  1912
FIGURE 20  Luigi Russolo, House+Light+Sky  1912-13
FIGURE 21  Sant' Elia, *study for Città Nuova* 1914
FIGURE 22  Sant' Elia, *study for Città Nuova*  1914
FIGURE 23  Boccioni, *Simultaneous Visions* 1911
FIGURE 25  Boccioni, *Unique Forms of Continuity in Space*
FIGURE 26  Sant' Elia, Station for Trains and Airplanes  1914
FIGURE 27  Sant' Elia, Study for a Building  1913
FIGURE 28  Sant' Elia, Station for Trains and Airplanes
FIGURE 29  Giacomo Balla, *Line of Velocity*
FIGURE 30  Gino Severini, *Armoured Train*
FIGURE 31 Boccioni, *Materia* 1912
FIGURE 32  Boccioni, Muscles in Velocity  1913
FIGURE 33  Severini, Self-portrait 1913
FIGURE 35 Georg Grosz, Metropolis 1916-17
FIGURE 36  Georg Grosz, Explosion  1917
FIGURE 37  Georg Grosz, *Street scene* 1917
FIGURE 39  Georg Grosz, *Olympia-kino, Berlin* 1917
APPENDIX A

As Antiochus IV abducted the corinthian order from an interior setting (where its role was passive and decorative), and placed it into a new exterior context (where it became imbued with political meaning); the contemporary shopping mall has inversely appropriated the forms of the city (where it retained political meaning), and placed it into a new interior context (where it has become passive and decorative).

Program for Design Thesis

Bacchus Shopping Center

Houston, Texas

This construct will accommodate all the typical functions of a contemporary shopping mall (stores, movie theaters, parking, etc.). The urban implications of this structure will involve its role as a mediating force in the city. While faithfully assuming its function as a shopping center, it will essentially exist as a modern stoa -- defining a realm where democratic space can be reborn.
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