

110. Wall from Room III in the "House of Livia."
The Yellow Frieze is above the white panels
while fantasy creatures occupy the upper register.

sumptuary legislation, there is a lack of ostentatiousness in both subject and treatment. This does not result in absence of sophistication or refinement: the Yellow Frieze, for instance, is the effective highlight of Room III where it contrasts with the large white orthostates and the largely nonfigural decoration (Fig. 110). But, as noted before, people are shown here engaged in ordinary activities and not in actions of great moment or drama. An obvious literary counterpart, which shares the same qualities and the same gentle humor, is Ovid's tale of Philemon and Baucis (*Met.* 8.616–724).¹²⁰

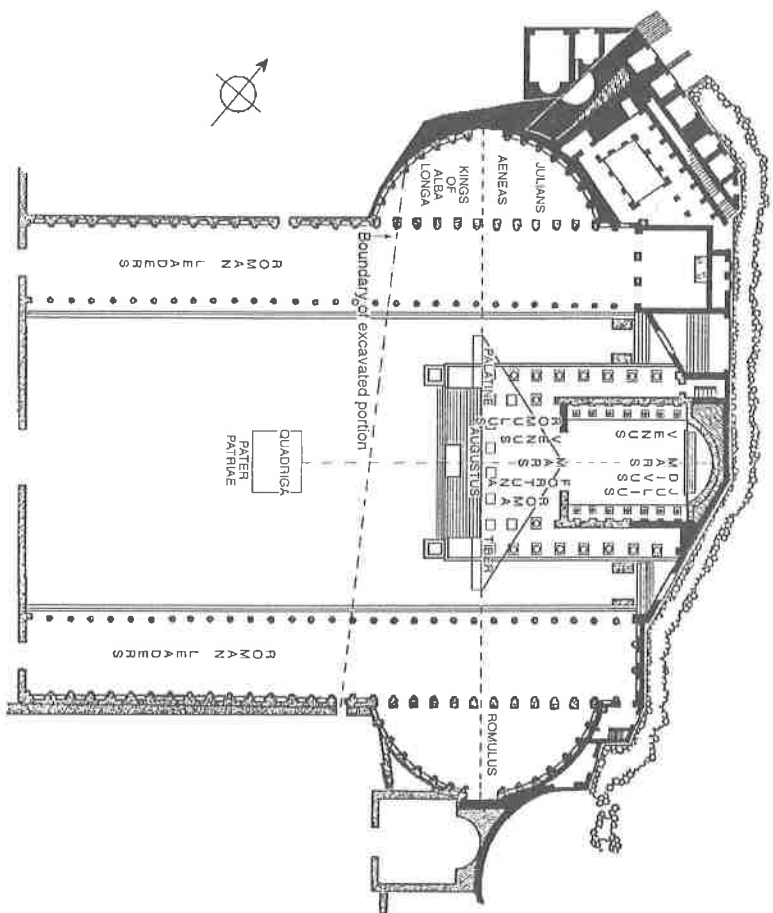
One of the most appealing aspects of the age of Augustus is precisely its emphasis on humanity amid the power of empire and the might of the ruler and the governmental machinery. The emperor, while not "setting the tone" in all things, found this humane atmosphere congenial. Suetonius' *Life of Augustus* is impressive for its numerous references to Augustus' sense of

humor—"there was no form of good humor in which he did not indulge" (98.3)—and to his jesting. Literary humor, and the irony he directed at himself.¹²¹ Fragmentary as it is, the correspondence between Vergil and Augustus and, especially, between Horace and Augustus suggests a relaxed intimacy and familiarity that transcends the formal requirements of *amicitia*. He made fun of the contrast between Horace's slim books of verse and his somewhat globular physique, called him *purissimum penem* and "a most charming manikin" (*lepidissimum hominonem*) and demanded, in mock-threatening tones, that Vergil should send him a first draft of the *Aeneid* or at least a *kolon* of it. It prompted a recent scholar to remark "that Augustus could be informal, even charming—but only in private. We perhaps spare a sigh for the informal and human poems which his poets might, had his public persona been less rigorously exigent, have composed for him."¹²² Most of Horace's poems, however, are occasional rather than manifestos, nor was the boundary between public and private art inflexible.

In fact, the existence of humaneness amid great power and complexity is natural, although it is not often realized. As Wolfgang Schadewaldt outlined many years ago,¹²³ the need for the expression of humanity becomes especially acute when our daily lives, the economy, the government, and domestic and foreign affairs become overstructured, unwieldy and bewildering in their complexity, and unresponsive to our simple instincts. Western history has been full of such reactions—from the *Bachae* to *Walden*, and from the Saint Vitus' dance to the Hare Krishnas—whenever life tends to become overstructured and dehumanized. The Augustan reaction stands out among the others by being quintessentially humane: the relaxed humor, the light touch, the bantering, the easy communication (devoid of its modern buzzword overtones), and, most of all, by incorporating this humaneness both informally and formally into the literary and artistic milieu of the time.

THE FORUM OF AUGUSTUS

While providing meaningful civic spaces, public architecture did not admit of such informality. In the prefatory dedication of his work to Augustus, Vitruvius succinctly defined the purpose of public buildings as enhancing, through their *authoritas*, the grandeur of the empire (*maiestas imperii*). The Augustan culmination of this idea was his forum (Fig. 111).¹²⁴ It was dedicated in 2 B.C. and was truly stupendous; Pliny counted it both among the architectural miracles and the most beautiful edifices of the world he knew (*HN* 36.101–2). The reason lies in its combination of material splendor with a wealth of inspirations—architectural, spiritual, and historical. We again find tremendous multiplicity operating within the *authoritas* of guiding ideas.



111. Plan of Forum Augustum.

Most of the latter are clear from Augustus' own statements and from the topographical and visual aspects of the forum itself. Consonant with the nature of his rule, it was to be a monument where his personal intentions and the public purpose coalesced. Returning to the concept of the *privatus* with which he began the *Res Gestae*, Augustus emphatically states that he built the Forum Augustum and its Temple of Mars Ultor "on private ground" and "from the proceeds of booty" (RG 21.1). And he meant it: the land needed for the complex was in one of the most heavily built-up areas of Rome, but Augustus did not invoke public domain and expropriate any of the owners. The protection of private property was, after all, one of the main rationales for the *res publica* whose restabilizing marked the Augustan reign. The process of land acquisition must have been an extended one and some owners apparently never sold. The asymmetry at the east corner of the precinct (Fig. 111), emphasized by the irregular course of the massive enclosure wall, most prob-

ably was due to such reasons: Suetonius remarks, in the context of his description of the behavior of this *civilis princeps* (Aug. 56.2), that Augustus made the forum smaller because "he did not dare to take away by force some nearby houses from the owners." Another personal imprint on the forum was Octavian's original vow, in 42 B.C., to build the Temple of Mars Ultor to commemorate his act of revenge on Caesar's assassins at Philippi. First, however, he completed the Forum of Julius Caesar, and there are several intentional connections, as we shall see, between the two.

Another aspect, again reminiscent of that singularly multireferential opening of the *Res Gestae*, is the evocation of Alexander, the world conqueror. Two large canvases by the painter Apelles occupied a highly frequented spot in the Augustan forum (Pliny, *HN* 35.27 and 93-94). One depicted him with the goddess Victoria and the Dioscuri while the other showed him riding triumphantly in his chariot, accompanied by the deity of war whose hands had been tied behind his back. The less subtle Claudius had the face of Alexander cut out from both works and replaced with Augustus'. One of the chief purposes of the forum was to convey the idea of the *imperium Romanum*, if not *Augustum*, its conquests, and might. After the "victory" over the Parthians, therefore, the building of the Temple of Mars Ultor acquired a second intention (Ovid, *Fasts* 5.579ff.), the commemoration of the revenge on the Parthians for the earlier Roman defeats. The standards that were returned to the Romans in 20 B.C. (cf. the cuirass of the Prima Porta statue [Fig. 73]) were displayed, along with Julius Caesar's sword, in the inner shrine of the temple after its long-awaited completion. In addition, the stated functions (Dio 55.10.1-5; Suet., *Aug.* 29.1-2) of the forum signified its relation to foreign policy and conquest: (1) victorious generals were to make dedications to Mars Ultor after their return from war; (2) governors, who were setting out for a military command in their provinces, were to take their leave publicly from the forum; (3) senate meetings concerning wars were to be held in the Temple of Mars Ultor. A further purpose was the accommodation of the ever increasing legal business. The salient point is that the forum was meant to be more than a museum. Instead, it was a constituent setting of Roman public life, being large enough to be used, on at least one occasion (Dio 56.27.4), even for games normally held in the Circus, such as horse races and beast hunts.

Peace and war, as we have observed on several occasions, were intrinsically linked in Augustan thinking: *pax victoris pax* (RG 13). Both also needed to have a moral foundation. The two aspects were brought together in the forum in what we might call the Hall of Fame of distinguished Roman ancestors and statesmen, beginning with Aeneas and Romulus. The criteria for selection were their contributions to "making the Roman *imperium* the greatest from the smallest beginnings," and their civic and moral qualities. As we saw earlier, the same nexus of ideas¹²⁵ informed the moral legislation and

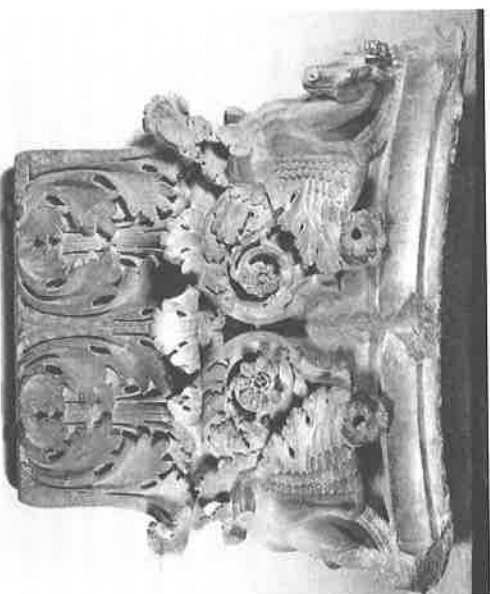
is reflected on the reliefs of the Ara Pacis. The culminating example, fittingly placed in the center of his forum, was the statue of the victorious Augustus in his quadriga. It paralleled the painting with the triumphant Alexander and was accompanied by an inscription of both Augustus' military conquests and his new title, bestowed on him by the senate in the year of the forum's dedication, of *pater patriae*. This culminating appellation (RG 35.1), given to him a quarter century after he had received the name Augustus, was inclusive of all his civic virtues and of his transcendent status; the latter, too, was reflected by the forum.

It is instructive to survey how these themes and others interrelated to shape the architectural and sculptural components of the forum. The forum was, as Augustan culture in general, an innovative synthesis of Greek and Roman elements. Strict axially and striving for symmetry were traditional characteristics of Roman architecture, but late Hellenistic temple squares that were organized along similar lines furnish an even more complete precedent for the forum's layout.¹²⁶ The same combination is reflected by the architecture of the Mars Ultor temple. It was a massive Italic podium temple, but the lower pitch of the pediment, for instance, is closer to that of Greek temples, and the bases of the outer columns are modeled on those of the Propylaea, the entrance gate to the Acropolis in Athens. The same pervasive synthesis applies to architectural details. The Corinthian capitals (Fig. 112), for example, recall late classical and fourth-century models, but achieve an even more balanced relation between tectonic and ornamental elements.¹²⁷ The vegetal ornamentation is both abundant and ordered, though not on the basis of strict symmetry. The result is an organic whole. Acanthus leaves were indigenous to the Corinthian capital (Vitruvius tells a charming story about its genesis [4.9–10]), but assume a further dimension here in view of their use on dynastic monuments such as the Ara Pacis and the Temple of Divus Julius (cf. Figs. 65 and 71). Nor, as could be expected, was experimentation absent from the overall design of the forum or its small details. A typical example of the latter is the shaping of the corners of the Corinthian capitals inside the temple in the form of Pegasus heads (Fig. 113). Their wings go on to end in floral scrolls. This distinctive element of the "fantasy style" of contemporary wall paintings here is used as an organic transition to the traditional vegetal elements of the capital.

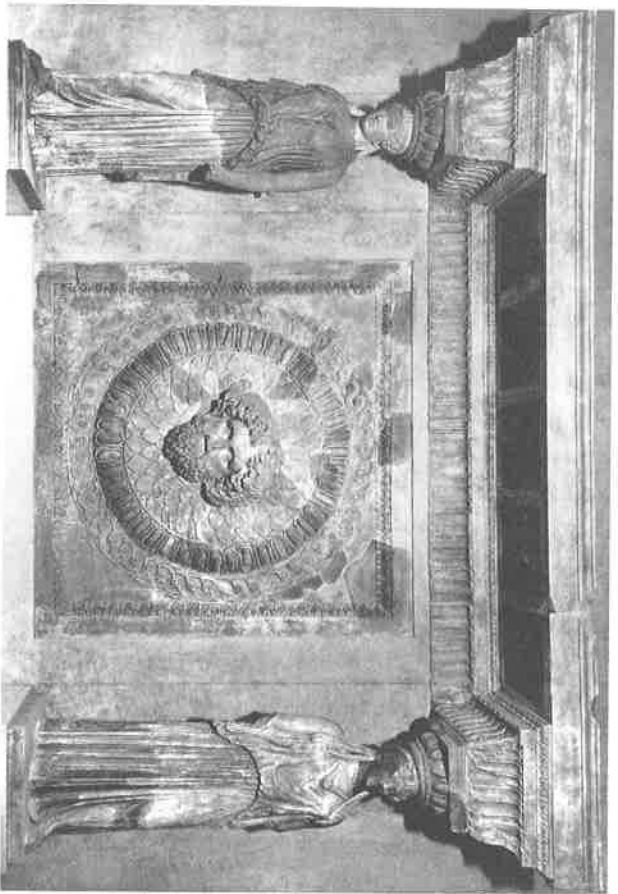
As is clear from these examples and others, the forum was not a static, classicist structure. Rather, its aim was to be a comprehensive and creative citation of Greek architectural and artistic styles from all periods—archaic, high classical, late classical, and Hellenistic—in combination with Roman, Etruscan, and Italic traditions. It was meant to illustrate the entire sweep of the *imperium Augustum*, the more perfect heir to Alexander's *oikumenē*. The most stunning means of visual communication used to that end was the



112. Corinthian capital from the Temple of Mars Ultor.



113. Column capital from the Temple of Mars Ultor.



114. Forum Augustum, upper portico: caryatids framing a shield with the head of Jupiter Ammon.

multicolored variety of marbles for pavements, columns, and statues and for the interiors and exteriors of the various buildings.¹²⁸

The visual impact on the observers must have been extraordinary. The forum was not a traditional forum or agora that could be entered from anywhere. A huge precinct wall cordoned it off at the back of the temple from one of Rome's most densely populated quarters, the Subura. Users were channeled into the forum through a limited number of carefully chosen entrance points, especially the main entrance in the southwest. They would find themselves looking immediately at the dominating facade of the Mars Ulor temple, gleaming with white Carrara marble. The open plaza of the forum, with Augustus' quadriga in the center, also was paved with white marble to contrast all the more effectively with the yellow and reddish colonnades on the right and left that were made of *giallo antico*, marble quarried in Numidia. The second story of the colonnades, with its architectural decoration of caryatids and shields (Fig. 114), again was kept in white marble. The marbles used for the pavement of the temple itself were, besides *giallo africano* (reddish purple from Ionia) and *pavonazzetto* (purplish white from Phrygia) in a variety of patterns (Pl. 3b). The columns of the interior shrine were also made of *pavonazzetto*, thus continuing vertically the predominant material of the pavement of the anteroom. The pavements of the other buildings were

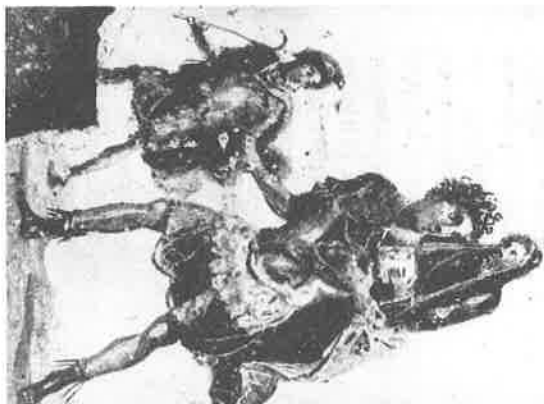
equally as colorful and differentiated from one another by their composition. The marble floors of the porticoes were laid out in large cross-hatched designs of bluish gray *basiglio* (from Carrara), enclosing a square center of *gri-cano* with a rectangular border of *giallo* (Pl. 3b). Where the porticoes curved out into two semicircular exedrae (see Fig. 111), the pavement changed to a checkerboard pattern of *gri-cano* and *giallo* (Pl. 3b). At the rear of the north exedra was the almost square "Room of the Colossus," housing a monumental statue possibly of Alexander and, after Augustus' death, of Augustus himself. Its checkerboard pavement was made of *pavonazzetto* and *giallo* (Pl. 3b), materials that were also used for its pilasters and columns. Some other building elements in the forum were made of *cipollino*, a marble with a greenish hue from Euboea in Greece.

In so many words: the visitor to the forum walked on and was surrounded by a colorful array of materials from all parts of the Roman empire. Native stone figured predominantly, too: the imposing precinct wall was made of tufa from nearby Gabii, with harder materials, such as peperino and travertine, being used at points of stress. Italy literally enclosed and held together its own empire; the names of the Roman provinces, too, were prominently displayed in the forum (Vell. 2.39.2). The ensemble was lavish and so were the games on the occasion of its dedication, including a mock sea-battle recreating the battle of Salamis (Dio 55.10.7). We observed earlier that it would be quite wrong to equate Augustus' reign, despite all its emphasis on values, with the end of luxury. There was plenty of latitude, however, between austerity and extravagance. In the Forum Augustum, this is exemplified by the use of marble sheathing, not solid marble blocks, for buildings such as the temple. Rational planning and utilization of progressive technology were eminently compatible with expressing the majesty of empire.¹²⁹

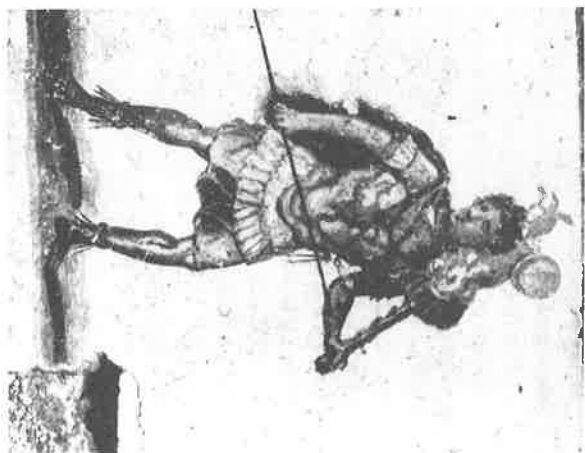
So were the "citations" from the considered acme of Greek culture, fifth-century Athens. Some basic similarities could be easily accommodated. Both the Athenian and the Augustan high points had come after a threat from the east was decisively turned back. Actium thus could be viewed as another Salamis. The sumptuous staging of the sea battle in 2 B.C. was a public suggestion of this equation and there are references to it in Augustan private art.¹³⁰ The Augustan forum was the equivalent of the Acropolis to express, through architecture and its decoration, the grandeur and the meaning of empire. The most palpable allusion to the Acropolis was the long row of caryatids in the upper stories of the porticoes (Fig. 114). They were virtual replicas of those of the Erechtheum, except that they were not freestanding. The Erechtheum had been associated with a number of ancestral cults, and the tomb of Cecrops, Athens' legendary first king, was at one of its corners. Similarly, the caryatids of the Augustan forum accompanied, in the upper story, the statues of the Roman ancestors, beginning with Rome's mythical first king, who were displayed at the ground level of the colonnades and the

exedrae. Augustus could unproblematically invoke the Periclean tradition; as Thucydides had well observed, Athens under Pericles was a democracy in name, but in reality was ruled by one man (2.65.9). More was involved, however, than mere power politics. In his funeral oration on the Athenians who died in the war against Sparta, Pericles stressed the spiritual and moral values of Athenian culture (Thuc. 2.34ff.). As we have seen time and again, this emphasis also was an integral aspect of Augustan culture and found its principal expression in the forum in the gallery of exemplary Roman leaders and statesmen.

They were, as Augustus himself put it, to be viewed by the citizens as exemplars both for himself and for the *principes* of future generations (Suet., *Aug.* 31.5). Hence they were chosen in order to personify both civic and military virtues. This complementary duality originated with the representation of the two founders, Aeneas and Romulus, whose statue groups occupied the center niches of the two exedrae. Their juxtaposition has been well preserved from the paintings on the outside of a shop on one of the main streets of Pompeii (Figs. 115, 116).¹³¹ Aeneas, ever the incarnation of *pietas* especially since Vergil's *Aeneid*, here was shaped into the abiding icon that was widely copied for the fora of many Italian and provincial towns and for private artifacts ranging from lamps to tombstones. Modernized as he is—he wears the boots of a Roman patrician—he leads his son Iulus, distinguished by his Phrygian cap, by the hand while carrying his lame father Anchises, who is holding the box with the Penates, the household gods, “until he could found a city and bring his gods to Latium” (Vergil, *Aen.* 1.5–6). He is also the traditional and Vergilian man of arms and wears a Roman cuirass, but the emphasis is on his exemplary virtue of social responsibility. This is all the clearer from the deliberate contrast with Romulus. Romulus, also cuirassed, carries the *spolia opima*, the trophy taken from the slain leader of early Rome’s enemies, and a spear. We can see the corresponding schema of the two representations: where Romulus bears the military trophy, Aeneas carries his father who, compared with the other human figures, appears somewhat diminutive because he is adapted to the dimensions of the trophy, while the line of Romulus’ spear finds its pendant in that of the arms and hands of Aeneas and Iulus. Both *virtus* and *pietas* had been written on Augustus’ golden shield. The inscription with his name, therefore, on the front of the Mars Ultor temple was directly in the middle of the axis between the statues of the two ancestors. The same constellation appeared once more in the form of the three sculptural ornaments on the roof above the temple pediment, as we know from coins (Fig. 117) and other sources: Romulus on the left, the Trojan group on the right, and Augustus in his quadriga in the center. Here, as in their representations in the exedrae, Romulus and the Trojans—and this is yet another element of correspondence between their representations—are shown as moving toward Augustus. He was their



115. Aeneas, Anchises, and Ascanius/Iulus. Pompeian mural, first century A.D.



116. Romulus with *spolia opima*. Pompeian mural, first century A.D.

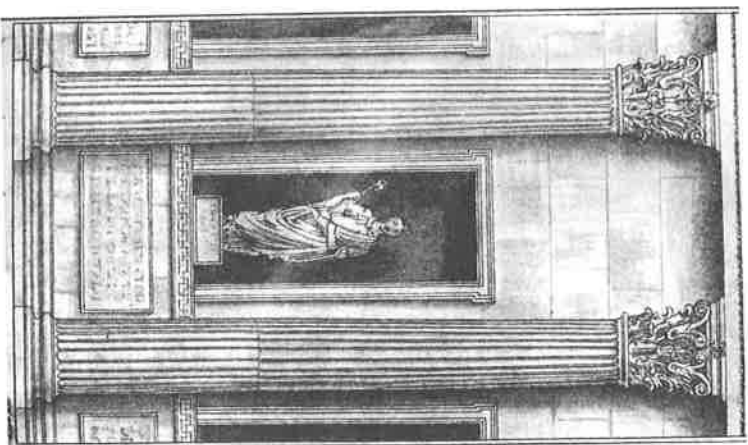


117. Sestertius of Antoninus Pius. Reverse: Temple of Mars Ultor with sculptural decoration.

worthy descendant who brought to fruition what they had begun. At the same time, living up to such exemplars was an ongoing effort and obligation.

It is not surprising, therefore, that even after the completion of the forum, statues of worthy statesmen were added by both Augustus and later emperors.¹³² Besides Aeneas and Romulus, we have evidence for twenty-seven of the original honorees. This amounts to perhaps one-quarter of the total number and gives us a good idea about the variety of these honored men and the reasons they were chosen. They comprised plebeians and patricians, friends and foes. Pompey was included, which is not surprising in view of the allusion to him in the first sentence of the *Res Gestae*. Some men were chosen on the basis of the military accomplishments while others were extolled for their virtues in civilian life, including the holding of priesthoods. Their representation seems to have followed these respective merits as the extant marble fragments come from statues in both military dress and togas, corresponding to Augustus' own representation and to a line he is known to have quoted from the *Aeneid*: "The Romans, the lords of the world, the togated people" (*Romanos, rerum dominos gentemque togatam*; 1.282).¹³³ Nor is it accidental that the majority of the known republican honorees "had held positions of extraordinary and exceptional powers during their careers, positions that could be cited by Augustus as precedents when he claimed to have held only magistracies consonant with Republican custom (*RG* 6.1)."¹³⁴ The style of the surviving heads, few as they are, suggests the usual Augustan variety of inspirations from Hellenistic art, Roman realism, and idealizing classicism.

The *titulus* of the person, consisting of his names and offices held, was inscribed on the statue base. The larger and more descriptive *elogium* was written on a larger plaque underneath (Fig. 118).¹³⁵ These *elogia* are, as we might expect, original creations, written for this specific purpose, rather than updated copies of earlier honorific inscriptions or adaptations of the accounts of their lives and deeds in Livy, for instance. Pliny's notice (*HN* 32.13) that Augustus wrote them is exaggerated, but it is more than probable that he had some say about their composition just as he was involved in the selection of these exemplars. As usual, it is not that the inspiration came only from him. The relation of this architectural and sculptural "Hall of Fame" to Augustan poetry, especially the catalogs of distinguished Romans in books 6 and 8 of the *Aeneid*, has often been pointed out,¹³⁶ and is another example of the prevailing reciprocity of ideas and impulses. Vergil is likely to have been one of the inspirations behind the Augustan idea for an equivalent in his forum; since we are dealing with independent and original minds, and with different media, there are differences as well as commonalities. As the instructions for his funeral cortege show, Augustus had made the idea thoroughly his own by the end of his life (*Dio* 56.34.2-3). As in his forum, his image was shown riding on a triumphal chariot. "Behind these," Dio continues, "came the



118. Forum Augustum, honorific statue.
Reconstruction by A. Degrassi.

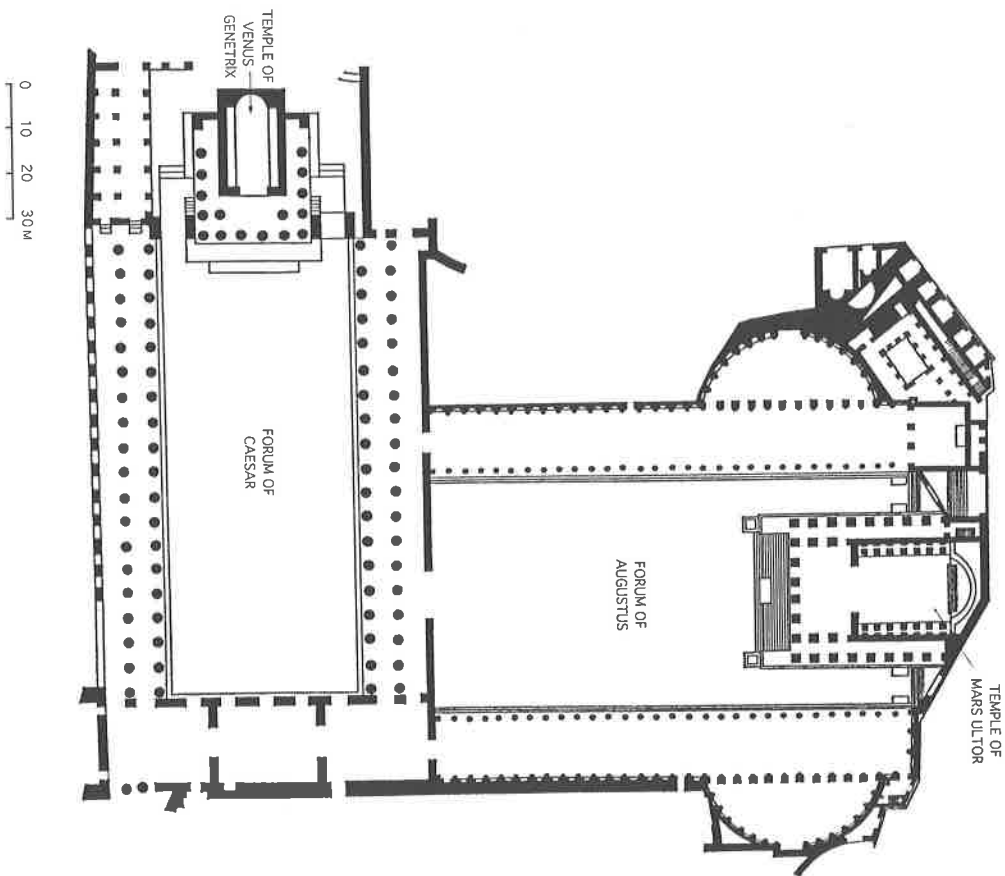
images of his ancestors and of his deceased relatives (except that of Caesar, because he had been deified) and those of other Romans who had been prominent in any way, beginning with Romulus himself. An image of Pompey the Great was also seen, and all the nations that Augustus had acquired appeared in the procession, each represented by a likeness that bore some local characteristic."

In the forum itself, the complementary martial and civic virtues of the Roman exemplars and ancestors were enhanced by the contrapuntal sculptural decoration in the story above them. There caryatids framed squares in the centers of which were shields with the heads of Jupiter Ammon (Fig. 114) and other male heads. The caryatids, as we have seen, signify the devotion to ancestral customs and cults. The shields comprise several references. They recall the Roman tradition of ancestral heads on shields (*imagines clipeatae*). This tradition also played a role in presentation of the *clipeus virtutis* to Augustus; the virtues inscribed on it also were commemorated by the virtuous exemplars in the lower level of the porticoes. While the unidentified male

heads probably allude to various conquered lands, the heads of Ammon serve as another association with Alexander and also point to Augustus' transcendent state: it was at the shrine of Jupiter Ammon that Alexander was told of his divinity. For good reason, therefore, the head of the colossal statue of Alexander in the forum was replaced with that of the deified Augustus at the time of Claudius.¹³⁷ In addition to that colossus and the paintings by Apelles, two statues from Alexander's tent in Alexandria had also been placed in the forum (Pliny, *HN* 34.48). According to Dio (60.5.3), the day of the dedication of the Forum Augustum was August 1.¹³⁸ That was the anniversary of Augustus' conquest of Alexandria, fittingly beginning the month that was named after him in 8 B.C. Here, then, was the new Alexander, but an Alexander who, as Augustus himself defined the difference between himself and his model (Plut., *Mor.* 207D), was good not only at conquering lands but also at holding them stably together.

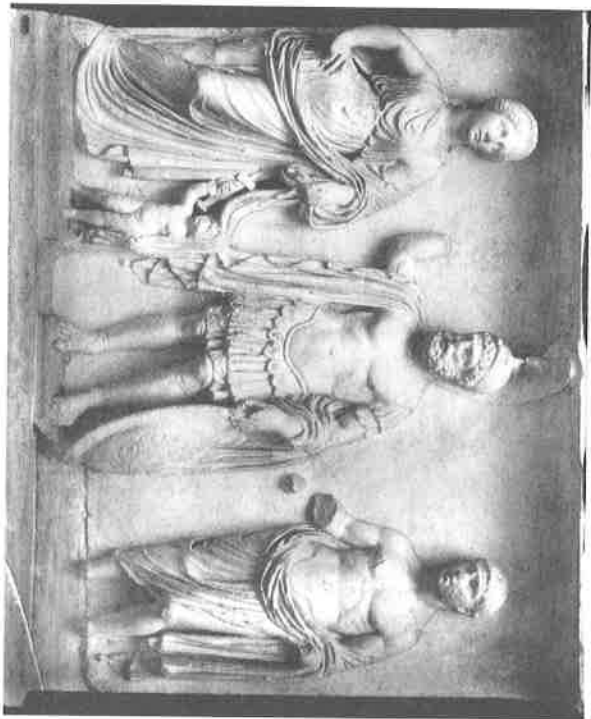
Just as deliberately, the association with Julius Caesar was pursued in both the architecture and the sculptural decoration of the forum. The Forum Augustum was closely linked with the Forum of Caesar (Fig. 119), which Augustus finished building before serious work began on his own. The details of the two forum temples complemented one another: Venus Genetrix was the ancestress of the Romans and Julians whose illustrious scions populated the "Hall of Fame," while Mars was the Roman ancestor. The temple in Caesar's forum was the first Roman temple with an apse, an innovation that was used for the Temple of Mars Ultor also. For good reason: in that apse stood the cult images of Mars, Venus, and the Divine Julius as we know from a derivative statue group in Algiers (Fig. 120). Caesar wears his typical *Hifmantel*, emblematic of his deification. So does the Mars figure in the center of the pediment (Fig. 47) and Augustus was to follow; we have already observed that he wears the same kind of cloak on the Prima Porta statue, even if in combination with the cuirass (Fig. 5).¹³⁹ The Mars statue in the temple was cuirassed also, but its distinctive mark, which strengthened the connection of the entire group with Augustus once more, was the representation of the crown of oak leaves, the *corona civica*, on his shield. Since 27 B.C., when it was presented to him along with the *clupeus virilitatis* and when he affixed it to the doors of his house (*RG* 34.2), it had been the emblem of Augustus, the savior of the people (Fig. 17).

We are looking at another example, then, of a network of associations that relate in various ways to Augustus himself. Julius Caesar once more appears as a model for the deification of Augustus, who began his career as *divi filius* and took Caesar's name. The remaining pedimental figures (Fig. 47) comprise various icons with similarly wide resonances. To the right and left of Mars are Fortuna, holding a cornucopia and a rudder and Venus with a Cupid and a scepter. They are followed, respectively, by the seated figures of Roma (on a pile of arms, as on the Ara Pacis) and Romulus, in the short



119. Fora of Caesar and Augustus. Reconstruction of ground plan by G. Gatti.

garment of a shepherd. He is holding the staff, or *linus*, of an augur and taking the auguries that led to the foundation of Rome. Since Ennius (fr. 155 Skutsch), that *augurium* had been hailed as *augurium augustum*, providing for an easy connection between the first and the second founder of Rome. The customarily reclining figures in the corners of the pediments are representations of the Palatine (where Romulus performed his *augurium* and where Augustus had his house) and the Tiber: Mars, Romulus, Roma, and Venus also were represented on the Ara Pacis, where the multivalent Venus image subsumed the aspect of bounteousness that is expressed here by Fortuna.



120. Sarc group of Mars, Venus, and the Deified Caesar, first century A.D. From Algiers.

Given this sophisticated richness of allusions, it is not surprising that many connections have been noted between the design of the forum and the poetry especially of Horace and Vergil. Michael Putnam has given an excellent demonstration of such a nexus between Horace's concluding ode, 4.15, and many major aspects of the Forum Augustum; other Horatian passages from book 4 can be adduced also.¹⁴⁰ Similar relationships, as we have noted, have been discerned between the catalogs of Roman exemplars in the *Aeneid* and in the forum. The connections can be extended: at the beginning, the center, and the end of the *Aeneid* we find significant themes that recur in the program of the forum. The extended proem, which is a brilliant anticipation of the major themes of the epic, concludes (1.263–96) with Jupiter's prophecy of the arrival of Aeneas and Iulus in Latium; Mars' fatherhood of Romulus; the *imperium* without end of the Romans, "the togged people"; the coming of both Julius Caesar and Augustus who are deliberately identified with one another; the return of the old values under Augustus' reign; and the depiction, which according to Servius (*ad Aen.* 1.294), was traditionally linked to Apelles' painting in the Forum Augustum, of the war fury with his hands tied behind his back. At the end of book 6, at the *Aeneid's* center, is the review of future Roman leaders by Anchises (6.756–846). It begins, as on the forum, with the offspring of Aeneas and the Alban kings (they were in the left

exedra, flanking their ancestor Aeneas), and with Romulus in his martial attire (in the right exedra) whose augury was the starting point for the Roman *imperium* (6.777–82). From there we proceed immediately to the mention of Augustus, the world conqueror (6.795) and bringer of *pax*, followed by a throng of Roman exemplars who, as on the forum, include friends and foes, such as Caesar and Pompey. The intent is the same as on the forum: all these are part of Roman history and any discord now is overcome. This leads, fittingly, into the famous definition of the Roman national character that concludes:

tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
(haec tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem,
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.
(6.851–53)

[Remember, Roman, to rule the earth's people with your *imperium*. Your arts are to be these: to mark peace with civilized custom, to spare the conquered, and war down the proud.]

This is a fitting motto for the Augustan forum, too. Vergil follows this up with an extended, sorrowful description of Augustus' nephew Marcellus and his premature death (6.860–86). Marcellus, too, was honored with a statue in the forum.

The *Aeneid* ends with Aeneas' killing of Turnus, a justified act of vengeance that has both a personal and a public dimension. As for the latter, it suffices to quote Servius again, who clearly saw (*ad Aen.* 12.949) that it was *ultra foederis nupti*—revenge for the breaking of the treaty, a violation of divine and human law for which there was no clemency in Rome. This public aspect is complemented by Aeneas' private obligation (an act of *pietas*, as Servius noted) to avenge the death of Evander's son Pallas who had been entrusted to him. "Pallas," Aeneas cries out, "Pallas sacrifices you with this wound and exacts due punishment from the criminal blood of his murderer!" (*Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas / innolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sinisti*; 12.948–49). Similarly, the Temple of Mars Ultor was a monument to both Augustus' private and public revenge, respectively, on the murderers of his adoptive father and on the Parthians. As for the avenging of Julius Caesar, it is no accident that Ovid, Vergil's most astute reader ever, writes in his account of Octavian's vow to build the Temple of Mars Ultor that he did so with "pious arms" (*pia . . . arma*; *Fasti* 5.569), "with soldiers of a just cause" (*militie iusto*; 5.571), and called on Mars to help him satiate his sword "with the criminal blood" of Caesar's assassins (*scelerato sanguine*; 5.575)—precisely the same phrase as in the *Aeneid*. That Ovid had the *Aeneid* in mind is further suggested by his characterization, immediately preceding the passages we have quoted, of the temple as Augustus' "grand work" (*maius opus*; 5.568).

It is the famous phrase that Vergil had used to characterize the second half of the *Aeneid* (7.45).¹⁴¹

These parallels are another good illustration of the dynamic of mutual inspirations and participatory processes that shaped Augustan culture so profoundly. We cannot simply say that Augustus got the principal ideas for his forum from Vergil. Rather, we can assume that these were ideas and themes that, like so many others, were discussed over time by many thoughtful and creative individuals who went on to give them their own expression. As W. Eder has observed, "his striving to have as many citizens as possible participate in the life of the state represents a common characteristic of Augustus' religious policy, his building program, and his support of the arts. None of these areas can be neatly separated from the others."¹⁴² Certainly, Augustus was keenly interested in the *Aeneid* and in Vergil's formulation of some of the guiding ideas of the age. While the forum goes beyond being a mere reflection of the *Aeneid* in stone and marble, one of its undeniable dimensions, illustrating one side of the relations between poets and holders of political power at the time, is that in many ways it is a monument to Vergil as well as Augustus.

Two final characteristics relate to the forum being an exemplar of the Augustan spirit. One is that the forum at large took its cue from the Italic podium temple, which, in contrast to Greek temples, was not open on all sides and instead, and because of its elevated position, immediately exerted its authority in defining its relationship, both spatial and spiritual, with any human observers and participants. Unlike the old Roman Forum or the Athenian Agora, the Forum of Augustus was not, as we have seen, open on all sides. This Augustan *aietorias*, however, had another aspect, as always: the width of the porticoes is considerably larger than that of any Greek counterparts, allowing for more latitude and open circulation. A second and related characteristic is the remarkable convergence between overall meanings of the forum and small architectural details. Donald Strong's and John Ward Perkins' summary is quite apropos:

It is true that from one point of view Augustan architecture in general, and architectural ornament in particular, may seem to be remarkably conservative harking back as it so often did to earlier classical models. But such a view is apt to disregard another hardly less important aspect, namely its very great variety and the extraordinary amount of detailed experiment that took place within the broad framework of conventional classical practice. Some of the new ideas never really caught on; others, such as the composite capital, had to wait half a century or more before passing into general use. But the seeds of so much of the later development are to be found already present in the architecture of the Augustan age that it may without exaggeration be claimed as the great-

est moment of original experiment in the field of Roman architectural ornament.¹⁴³

Or, to cite the conclusion by another scholar of his study of the Temple of Mars Ultor: "What is typical of the Augustan age seems to be that it was not the end of a fixed line of development, but that it comprises several of these and produces appropriate new formulations."¹⁴⁴

THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO ON THE PALATINE

In a conventional historical survey, chronology would dictate that our discussion of the Temple of Apollo, dedicated in 28 B. C., precede that of the Forum of Augustus. By turning to it as the final example in this chapter, however, we can see it in its own right as an incipient paradigm rather than as a teleologically complete example of "the Augustan program," which is all too easily supposed to have been marvelously finished, exactly defined, and almost preordained even at that early time. In its magnificence, which ancient writers duly emphasized,¹⁴⁵ the Palatine complex was a worthy companion to the Augustan forum. Furthermore, it exhibits many of the same Augustan aspects, such as complexity, evolution, and the mingling of dynastic and public objectives. The Apolline area on the Palatine did not turn into a static museum after its dedication, but was given several additional functions over time. It is doubtful that these were preplanned at the time of its construction. The Palatine complex, therefore, exemplifies the spirit not of the pinnacle of Augustus' reign, as his forum does, but of its beginning: it provided, as do his definitions in the *Res Gestae*, an elastic framework that could accommodate various modifications and additions. We are looking, again, at the deliberate evocation of many associations within a clear overall meaning, though the Palatine complex does not exhibit the same conceptual unity, completeness of thought, and fullness of details that characterize the Forum Augustum.

The very genesis of the Temple of Apollo illustrates these perspectives. Octavian vowed the temple after defeating his most stubborn opponent in the western Mediterranean, Sextus Pompey, in the sea battle of Naulochus in September of 36 B. C. (Well. 2.81.3). The victory was as welcome as it was significant. It had come only after considerable reverses for Octavian and marked the beginning of his ascendancy in the triumvirate.¹⁴⁶ The occasion called for a prominent architectural association with Victory, and the Palatine Hill was a good choice for that reason alone.

The Palatine was Rome's most venerable hill. It was here that the Archaean exile Evander had founded the first settlement at the site of Rome, naming it Pallantium after his son Pallas. The Lupercal, the grotto in which the legendary wolf-nurse had nourished Romulus and Remus, was at the