SESSION III C: ROMAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE

The Many Faces of Venus Genetrix: *Roger B. Ulrich,* Dartmouth College

A cult image of Venus Genetrix, created by the celebrated sculptor Arkesilaos, was dedicated in the Forum Iulium by Julius Caesar in 46 B.C. Images of the lost masterpiece may have survived on commemorative coins, sculpture, and painting, but these depictions are far from uniform, and modern scholars have not reached a consensus as to which represent the original of Arkesilaos.

Coins and medallions that depict the goddess along with the legend VENERI GENETRICI would seem to be the key to the solution, but in fact they are deceptive. None dates from before the early second century A.C., the depictions are various, and there is no demonstrable connection with the cult in the Forum Iulium. Such coins were issued to celebrate the virtues of women of the imperial family.

There is also the probability that the principal cult image of Venus Genetrix was destroyed when her temple was consumed by fire during the last quarter of the first century. A Flavian or Trajanic replacement effigy may well have differed from the original.

In terms of both chronology and spirit, the search for the Arkesilaon original should thus be limited to evidence dated to ca. 50 B.C.–A.D. 50. Caesar wished to honor the goddess as a bringer of victory (νικηφόρος; App. *BCiv.* 2.76) and as a progenetrix of the Roman people and the Julian line; we should expect the original image to evoke these qualities. Representations of the goddess standing fully draped, in contrapposto and with scepter and attendant putto, appear to represent the interpretation of Arkesilaos most clearly.

The Statues of Alexander the Great in the Forum Augustum and the Regia: *Paul Rehak,* Loyola University of Chicago

The Forum Augustum in Rome has recently received new attention in studies of Augustus's building program in the capital (e.g., J. Anderson, *The Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora* [*CollLatomus* 182, 1984] 64–100). One element of the decorative program remains obscure, however. Pliny mentions four statues which were said to have supported the tent of Alexander the Great: two of these were placed before the Temple of Mars Ultor, and the other two were set up in the Regia (*HN* 34.18.48). Although the use of Roman temples as depositories for rare and unusual objects with a programmatic significance is well documented, the relevance of this dedication has never been fully explained.

Even the origin of the figures is problematic. In 318 B.C. Eumenes set up a tent for the worship of Alexander which included his regalia and armor (Diod. Sic. 18.61.1), but no statues are mentioned. A better possibility is the four statues of Victories (Nikai) which adorned the ostentatious funerary wagon of Alexander (Diod. Sic. 18.26.6). Although these seem to have been acroteria and not supporting figures, Pliny may have misunderstood their original use. Certainly, the theme of victory and the persona of Alexander played a significant role elsewhere in the ideology and decorative program of the Forum Augustum, for example in the paintings by Apelles showing Alexander and the *imagines clipeatae* with heads of Jupiter-Ammon above the colonnades. Alexander's statues helped underline the temporary use of the temple of Mars for the cult of Augustus after his death and deification, while the *templum novum* was under construction (Cass. Dio 56.46.4).

Finally, Alexander's statues may have been represented on an early Imperial relief, formerly attributed to the "Ara Pietatis Augustae," which shows a sacrifice at the Temple of Mars Ultor. On the relief, parts of two tiny figures, which stood in front of the corner columns of the facade, have been cut away, probably when the relief was installed in the garden facade of the Villa Medici in the 16th century.

The Tabula Siarensis and the Arch of Germanicus in the Circus Flaminius: *C. Brian Rose,* University of Cincinnati

In 1982 a bronze inscription was discovered near Seville in Spain which records a nearly complete version of the senatorial decree of A.D. 19 concerning posthumous honors for Germanicus. In the first section of this decree, which has been named the Tabula Siarensis, there is a full description of a triumphal arch that was to be constructed in honor of Germanicus in the Circus Flaminius in Rome. The decorative program of this arch is unparalleled in the Roman Imperial period, yet it has been omitted from scholarly discussions of triumphal imagery. The military victories of Germanicus were to have been explicitly conveyed here through the inclusion of personifications of Gaul and Germany. In addition, the attic statuary group featured statues of Germanicus in a triumphal chariot flanked by his parents, Drusus I and Antonia II, his siblings, Claudius and Livilla, his wife Agrippina I, and his six sons and daughters. This is the largest known attic statuary group to have been created for a triumphal arch, and the inclusion of the children of Germanicus in particular signals a radical departure from the traditional decoration of arches. Such a presentation is in part related to an old Republican tradition, whereby the sons of the *triumphator* accompanied him in his chariot during the *pompa triumphalis*. This practice was modified to some extent in the triumphal procession of Germanicus in A.D. 16, during which all of his sons and daughters were featured in the chariot. This triumph was unique in that it was the first known instance in which the daughters of the *triumphator* rode in his chariot along with the sons. The statues of Germanicus and his children above the Circus Flaminius arch therefore essentially constituted an extension and translation into permanent form of his *pompa triumphalis* of A.D. 16.

The Statues of Alexander the Great in the *Forum Augustum* and the *Regia*

The *forum Augustum* in Rome has recently received new attention in studies of Augustus' building program in the capital. One element of the decorative program remains obscure, however. Pliny mentions four statues which were said to have supported the tent of Alexander the Great: two of these were placed before the temple of Mars Ultor, and the other two were set up in the Regia (*NH* 34.18.48). Although the use of Roman temples as depositories for rare and unusual objects with a programmatic significance is well documented, the relevance of this dedication has never been fully explained.

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The Statues of Alexander the Great in the *Forum Augustum* and the *Regia* *

The *forum Augustum* in Rome has recently received renewed attention in several important studies of Augustus' building program in the capital. J. Anderson has summarized the current state of knowledge of the forum (1984) from a variety of sources: literary, epigraphic and monumenta, but stresses its utilitarian functionsl.[1] The catalog of the 1988 exhibition of early imperial art in Berlin brings us up to date on the architecture and decoration of the various parts of the complex.[2] The sculptural program of the forum has been investigated as a separate issue by B. Kellum (1982), who concludes that a major decorative theme was the apotheosis of Augustus through his display of *virtus*.[3] One aspect of the sculptural adornment of the area has been insufficiently examined, however. A brief and enigmatic comment of Pliny refers to four statues in Rome , which were said to have supported the tent of Alexander the Great : two of these were placed before the temple of Mars Ultor, and the other two were set before the Regia (*NH* 34.18.48):[4]

> "Alexandri quoque magni tabernaculum sustinere traduntur solitae statuae, ex quibus duae ante Martis Ultorem dicatae sunt, totidem ante Regiam."

The reference is problematic, because Pliny does not identify the nature of the "*tabernaculum*" where the statues stood originally, nor does he name the Roman dedicator or give a reason for the dedication. However, the use of Roman temples as depositories for collections of rare and unusual objects has been well documented,[5] and since these objects often possessed

a programmatic significance, the statues must have been important. It seems worthwhile to reevaluate the meaning of the statues in their Roman context.

Origin of the Figures:

Pliny's use of the term "*tabernaculum*" supports a religious interpretation of the structure in which they were first used. The word "*tabernaculum*" usually refers either to a military tent,[6] or a temporary religious edifice (in Roman terms, generally the augural *tabernaculum*).[7] It hardly seems likely that Pliny attributed the statues to the campaign tent of Alexander, since he was known for his ascetic lifestyle in the field. Nor is it easy to imagine Alexander burdened with a tent which had actual statues as supports, although the figures have occasionally been interpreted thus.[8]

Two other structures associated in some way with Alexander could, however, be described as *tabernacula*. In 318 B. C., several years after the death of Alexander, Eumenes (in fulfillment of a dream) set up an actual tent containing the throne, scepter, crown and equipment of Alexander, in which the generals conferred and in which Alexander was first worshipped as a god (Diodorus Siculus 18.61.1):[9]

> εὐθὺς οὖν κατασκευασθείσης μεγαλοπρεποῦς σκηνῆς ὅ τε θρόνος ἔχων τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον ἐτέθη καὶ τὰ ὅπλα οἷς εἴωθει χρῆσθαι. καὶ κειμένης ἐσχάρας ἐχούσης πῦρ ἐπέθυον ἐκ κυβωτίου χρυσοῦ πάντες οἱ ἡγεμόνες τόν τε λιβανωτὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εὐωδιῶν τὰ πολυτελέστατα καὶ προσεκύνουν ὡς θεὸν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον.

But, little else is known of this tent, and there is no mention of statues or indication that the tent survived down to the time of Augustus.

A far better possibility for the original location of the statues is in the

funerary wagon which was prepared for Alexander after his death, now known only from literary descriptions.[10] In this construction, his body was transported from Babylon to Alexandria and installed in his mausoleum in the *Sema* near the sepulcher and palace of the Ptolemies.[11] Various attempts have been made to reconstruct the original appearance of the wagon from its descriptions (fig. 1).[12] Although all proposed reconstructions differ in detail, they agree that the wagon was a sumptuous - if overpoweringly gaudy - masterpiece. S. Miller has called attention recently to an important feature of the cart: architecturally it combined both eastern and Macedonian elements, and thus had a symbolic message appropriate to Alexander's native world, as well as to the one he had conquered.[13]

The main elements of the cart are clear: a huge wagon carried the gold sarcophagus containing the mummified body of Alexander, while over it a baldachino rested on ionic columns.[14] Four figures of golden Nikai (Victories) carrying trophies stood at each corner (Diodorus Siculus 18.26.6):

> κατὰ δὲ τὰς τῆς καμάρας γωνίας ἐφ' ἑκάστης ἦν πλευρᾶς Νίκη χρυσῆ τροπαιοφόρος.

These victories may have resembled the figures on the coinage of Alexander (fig. 2), though a variety of existing Nikai may have provided inspiration for the statues.[15]

A problem for the possible identification of these figures as the ones reused in Rome is that originally they were acroteria, and not supporting figures. Pliny's reference, however, is rather vague ("traduntur"), and it is possible that he is mistaken about the original use of the statues as supports. An attractive feature of the Victories which decorated the funerary canopy of Alexander is that they were four in number, which would have provided precisely the number of statues dedicated in the *forum Augustum* and in

the Regia.

In addition to the statues of Victories on the roof of the funerary wagon, each of the four sides of the baldachino was decorated with a painting showing one of the exploits of Alexander.[16] The pictorial themes included Alexander enthroned among Macedonians and Persians, a military procession with Indian elephants, cavalry preparing for battle, and ships being outfitted for a naval engagement. Although the author of these paintings is unknown, their martial themes suggest a possible source of inspiration for the paintings by Apelles later dedicated by Augustus in the *forum Augustum* and in the temple of *divus* Julius, discussed below.

The history of the funerary cart after it reached Egypt is obscure.[17] Although no sources specifically mention the carriage or its fate, it seems unlikely that the funerary cart survived intact until the Roman conquest.[18] But it seems reasonable to suppose that any surviving parts would have been placed near the tomb or the temple of Alexander.

Augustus as possible donor of the statues

A good case can be made for Augustus as the donor of the figures. The dedication of the statues in the *forum Augustum* must have been made some time between Augustus' construction of the forum and temple (vowed in 42 B.C.; probably begun in the 20s; dedicated 2 B.C.), and the date of Pliny's composition of the *Naturalis Historia*, ca. 77-79 a. C.[19] Although the date of the dedication of the statues is unknown, Augustus funded the building of the forum complex *ex manubiis* (*Res Gestae* 4.21), including the spoils taken in the conquest of Egypt.[20]

Booty from Egypt was used first to excite public admiration in Augustus' triple triumph of 29 B.C.,[21] and more permanently to embellish

three specific areas of the capital with monuments recalling the victory over Egypt: the *forum romanum*,[22] the Capitoline hill,[23] and the complex in the Campus Martius which included the *horologium/solarium*, *Ara Pacis*, and mausoleum of the imperial family.[24] In his discussion of the *forum Augustum*, Velleius Paterculus explicitly mentions the significant contribution that the wealth of Egypt made to the Roman treasury, although the extent of this "regia gaza" is still debated.[25]

Though it has been argued that direct imperial exploitation of estates in Egypt is probably no earlier than 8 B.C.,[26] various works of pharaonic date were imported to Rome in the two decades after the triumph, including several obelisks.[27] One obelisk brought to Rome from Egypt in 10 B.C. served as the *gnomon* of the giant sundial in the Campus Martius associated both with the *Ara Pacis Augustae* and with the mausoleum of Augustus, and was a reminder to the viewer of Augustus' Egyptian triumph since the inscription on the obelisk actually refers to his victory.[28] The obelisk may have heroizing implications as well, since slightly earlier, in 13 B.C., Augustus had set up two other obelisks in front of the Caesareum at Alexandria.[29]

The emphasis on victory in the decorative program of public areas in Rome following the triple triumph of 29 B.C. is underscored by the dedication of one non-Egyptian symbol, the Hellenistic Victory/Nike from Tarentum installed inside the Curia Iulia. Although the figure was not from Egypt, it was decked with the spoils from the Egyptian triumph (Dio 51.22.1-2).[30] The statue appears on Augustan coins as a central acroterium of the Curia (fig. 3),[31] or as a separate figure standing on a globe (fig. 4).[32] The Tarentine statue held a wreath in one hand and a trophy in the other, recalling both the figure of Victory on coins of Alexander and the "Νίκη προπαιοφόρος" on his funerary cart. A bronze figurine in Cleveland of JC date which holds a wreath and corcucopia may reproduce the Tarentine Nike in essential details (32b).

Since Augustus included a number of other symbols alluding to

Alexander in major areas of the city, as well as in the *forum Augustum*, it is reasonable to suggest that he was also the donor of the statues. He might even have seen them in Alexandria. Ancient sources record that Augustus actually visited the *Sema* in 30 B.C. and viewed the body of Alexander, and also suggest that Augustus spared Alexandria in part because it had been founded by Alexander.[33] For his triumph over Cleopatra, Augustus brought to Rome the treasure which she had collected, including works which the then dedicated in various temples, although allegedly he kept almost nothing for himself.[34]

Among the other Augustan dedications in the *forum Augustum* were two paintings by Apelles, court painter of Alexander the Great, showing the conqueror in different attitudes (*NH* 35.93-94):[35]

> "Romae Castorem et Pollucem cum Victoria et Alexandri Magno, item Belli imaginem restrictis ad terga manibus, Alexandro in curru triumphante, quas utrasque tabulas divus Augustus in foro sui celeberrimis partibus dicaverat simplicitate moderata."

Pollitt has recently suggested that the painting showing Alexander with Victory and the Dioscuri commemorated a naval victory, while the representation of Alexander in a chariot, accompanied by War with bound hands, could allude to his conquest of the Persian Empire.[36] In any case, the allegorical themes recall those of the paintings displayed on Alexander's funeral cart.

The paintings by Apelles in the *forum Augustum* have another parallel in Rome, for Augustus dedicated a painting of Venus Anadyomene by Apelles in the temple of *divus* Julius in the *forum romanum*, and once more the subject of the masterpiece had a programmatic significance since the Julii claimed decent from Venus Genetrix.[37] Although Augustus brought

this particular work to Rome from Kos (rather than from Egypt), Apelles himself had visited Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy I, and the Ptolemies were avid collectors of works by Sicyonian artists.[38] Thus, the paintings in Augustus' forum may have come to Rome from Alexandria.

This suggestion is strengthened by Pliny's specific statement that Augustus brought back from Egypt a painting of Hyacinthus by Nicias (another Sikyonian artist) which Tiberius later dedicated in the *templum novum divi Augusti*: the metamorphosis of the subject of the painting was once more symbolically appropriate since it mirrored Augustus' transformation into a divinity.[39] Later, Claudius replaced the portrait of Alexander in the paintings by Apelles in the *forum Augustum* with one of Augustus, making the comparison of the two rulers explicit.[40]

In making such dedications, Augustus perhaps followed a precedent that Alexander himself had set by donating a painting by Apelles in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. The artist represented Alexander in the guise of Zeus with a thunderbolt, and the Ephesian temple was an appropriate site for such a dedication, since allegedly it had burnt on the night Alexander was born.[41] But works by Apelles would have called Alexander to mind even when the conqueror was not himself the pictorial subject, since Apelles was said to be the sole painter appointed by Alexander as his portraitist.[42]

Symbolic value of objects associated with Alexander

The dedication of visual symbols refering to Alexander probably serves two major purposes: first, to compare the Roman donor to the Greek conqueror, and second, to allude to the process of deification. The *imitatio Alexandri* by various Romans during the last century of the Republic is well known and documented, deriving from Hellenistic Greek practice best

attested under the Ptolemies.[43] In front of the temple of Venus Genetrix in the *forum Iulium* , for example, Caesar also dedicated an equine portrait of Alexander on Bucephalus by Lysippus, with the features of Alexander changed to represent his own.[44] Subsequent Julio-Claudians emphasized a connection with Alexander for more or less valid reasons.[45]

In the case of Augustus, the comparison with Alexander is particularly strong, though he deliberately dissociated himself from the Ptolemies.[46] The birth of Augustus, like that of Alexander, was said to have been heralded by divine portents.[47] Augustus chose later in life to identify himself specifically with Apollo,[48] whereas Alexander had been identified more with Zeus, Herakles or Dionysos.[49] Augustus replaced his original Sphinx seal with an image of Alexander, though the gem-cutter Dioscurides the gem-cutter later carved another seal that was used by Augustus and his successors.[50] In a funeral elegy for Augustus, Tiberius openly compared the career of his adoptive father to that of Alexander.[51]

An allusion to deification can be detected in the *imagines clipeatae* with the horned head of Jupiter-Amon along the colonnades of the *forum Augusti* on the upper story,[52] flanked by copies of the Erechtheum caryatids.[53] Since Alexander claimed Zeus-Amon as his father after a visit to the oracle at Siwah,[54] the iconographic device of the *imagines clipeatae* and the portraits of Alexander also alludes, at least indirectly, to the apotheosis of the Roman emperor after his death.

I would suggest that considerations for the eventual cult of Augustus may have influenced the planning of the forum complex, despite his repeated public refusal of exceptional honors.[55] Already in 31 B.C., the head of Zeus-Amon was paired with an image of Victory on a globe, on coins minted at Cyrenaica.[56] Soon after Augustus' death in A.D. 14, the Tiberian temple to *divus* Augustus erected at Tarragona in Spain seems to have included heads of Jupiter-Amon in ornamental frames, probably under the

influence of the *forum Augustum*.[57] In a recent review article on Roman funerary altars, D. Kleiner has noted the popularity of protomes of Jupiter-Amon monuments of Julio-Claudian date, probably representing a later imitation of an established motif.[58] Later in the first century, the entablature of the temple of *divus* Vespasian in the *forum romanum* was decorated with representations of sacrificial equipment which included *patterae* with central protomes of Jupiter-Amon.[59] At a much later date, heads of Jupiter-Amon occur as decorative devices above the colonnades of the Severan forum-temple complex at Leptis Magna.[60]

The presence of heads of Jupiter-Amon in the colonnades of the *forum Augustum*, flanking the temple of Mars Ultor, would have reminded the educated Roman viewer that both Alexander and Augustus claimed descent from divinities.[61] The numismatic depiction of Hellenistic rulers with the attributes of Zeus-Amon occurs particularly in Ptolemaic art,[62] and already shortly after the battle of Actium the head of Jupiter-Amon appears on a *denarius* issue of Augustus.[63] An early Tiberian cameo in the British Museum (fig. 5) revives the symbolism of the Hellenistic ruler cult, for it shows Augustus wearing the diadem (reworked in Medieval times) as well as the aegis of Athena and a small bust of Jupiter-Amon.[64]

The reference to divine ancestry through architectural projects, although initiated in Rome by Caesar's construction of the *forum Iulium* and temple of Venus Genetrix, may have been influenced by Ptolemaic complexes connected with the ruler cult.[65] After the funeral of Caesar, his body was displayed in a gilded model of the temple of Venus Genetrix, and subsequently he was given a temporary cult in her temple until a permanent temple for the new *divus* could be constructed in the *forum romanum*.[66] Similarly, between Augustus' death in 14 and the dedication of his permanent shrine (the *templum novum divi Augusti*)[67] he was given a temporary cult and a golden statue in the temple of Mars Ultor.[68]

"ἐν ᾧ δ' οὖν τὸ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἡρῷον ἐγίγνετο, εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ χρυσῆν ἐπὶ κλίνης ἐς τὸν τοῦ Ἄρεως ναὸν ἔθεσαν, καὶ ἐκείνῃ πάντα ὅσα τῷ ἀγάλματι αὐτοῦ μετὰ τοῦτο χρήσεσθαι ἔμελλον ἐνόμισαν."

Since the *templum novum* was not dedicated until 37, Augustus' principal cult in Rome was actually housed in the temple of Mars for more than two decades.[69] Once again, a Hellenistic precedent can be adduced for this sharing of temples.[70]

The heads of Jupiter-Amon in the *forum Augustum* combine the Greek symbol with the Roman device of the *imago clipeata*,[71] as well as recalling Hellenistic coin-types.[72] The carved images recall the actual funerary *imagines* employed by the Romans at funerals.[73] The funerary connection of the *imagines* is strengthened by the placement of statues of the entire Julian line beginning with Romulus, as well as other noble Romans (the *summi viri*) in the hemicycles of the *forum Augustum*.[74] Significantly, the wax *imagines* of members of both groups were employed at the funeral of Augustus,[75] and atop the funerary bier of Augustus carried from the Palatine to the Campus Martius was a wax image of the emperor. At the funeral, a second image of the emperor was placed in a triumphal chariot, while a third image (of unspecified type) was carried from the Senate house.[76] (A proposal was also made to include the Victory from Tarentum in the procession).[77] Although the wax *imagines* represent a purely Roman custom, the use of imperial images in procession recalls the display and carrying of royal and divine images in the processions of various Ptolemaic festivals.[78] Significantly, J-C. Richard has noted points in common between funerary and triumphal processions.[79]

Velleius Paterculus also indicates that *tituli* of the various *gentes* of the empire adorned the forum of Augustus,[80] and though it is uncertain

whether the *gentes* were represented in the forum by actual images, both Dio and Tacitus indicate that images of all the *ethne* of the Roman empire were also carried at his funeral.[81] The appearance of these figures may be suggested by the relief representations from the recently discovered Sebasteion at Aphrodisias of Julio-Claudian date.[82]

Supporting role of the Caryatids

The copies of the Erechtheum caryatids may also possess some funerary or heroizing connotation, in addition to their obvious roles as captives, since at Athens these figures carry sacrificial *patterae*, are more than life-size, and serve almost as a baldachino over the tomb of Cecrops.[83] Not only do the copies in Rome illustrate the eclectic sources of inspiration for Augustan building and decorative programs, but in the *forum Augustum* they also stand over the colonnades containing statues of ancestors of Augustus and other noble Romans.[84]

Caryatids likewise served prominently in the decoration of the Pantheon erected by Agrippa in the Campus Martius, a building which included statues of Mars and Venus as ancestral gods of Augustus, and a figure of *divus* Julius as well.[85] Augustus declined the honor of having his own statue within the cella, but his figure and one of Agrippa were placed outside.[86] The exact form of the caryatids in the Pantheon is not recorded, but they were made by one Diogenes of Athens, and it is attractive to suppose that an Athenian might have been inspired by the Erechtheum maidens.[87] Coarelli has stressed the early implication of deification for Augustus in the program of the Pantheon: the building was completed in 25 B.C., while work was in progress on the *forum Augustum*.[88]

Already in the early 4th century B.C., loose adaptations of the Erechtheum caryatids were used in a funerary setting in a mausoleum/

heroon at Limyra.[89] The use of caryatids as supports - though admittedly not copies of the Erechtheum maidens - has now been documented for the Hellenistic period in a tomb at Rhodes.[90] Most recently, caryatids have been discovered as supports for the vividly painted back of a carved throne found in a new royal tomb at Vergina.[91] The Vergina throne caryatids appear in a funerary setting, but may also be intended to recall the tradition of elaborate throne supports for Zeus as king of the gods.[92] In the *forum Augustum*, of course, the caryatids have lost much of their weight-bearing function, and serve primarily as visual punctuation separating the shields. More than a century later, in the Canopus of Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, copies of the Erechtheum caryatids occur as entirely freestanding statues in what is thought to be a funerary context.[93]

Connections between the *forum Augustum* and the Regia

The dedication of a second pair of statues at the Regia establishes a link with the *forum Augustum* and with imperial propaganda in other parts of the city. The Regia underwent a physical transformation early in the Augustan period, and is located in part of the *forum romanum* that Augustus gradually transformed into a Julian "family monument".[94] The Regia also occupied a prominent position in ideological terms as the official residence of the *pontifex maximus*, an office assumed by Augustus in 12 B.C. (following the death of Lepidus), at the same time he instituted a number of religious reforms.[95] He gave the *domus publica*, residence of the *pontifex maximus* next to the Regia, to the Vestal Virgins, and made part of his home on the Palatine hill *domus publica*.[96] Vesta of the *forum romanum* also had a shrine within the house of Augustus.[97] A pair of laurel trees grew in front of both the Regia and Augustus' residence on the Palatine.[98] In addition, a shrine to Mars existed in the Regia, establishing a

link with the temple to that god in the *forum Augustum*.[99] A complex set of interlocking relationships thus linked Augustus with the major state gods and with locations on the Palatine, the *forum romanum*, and the *forum Augustum*.

The Repeated Symbolism of Victory

It has already been suggested that the statues of Alexander before the temple of Mars Ultor and the Regia represented Victories, which would have an appropriate artistic and allegorical function in both locations.[100] Artistically, the figures of Victories at colonnade level at the temple of Mars Ultor would echo the pair of Victories used at a higher level as corner acroteria, one of which is preserved on a Julio-Claudian relief representing the temple of Mars Ultor (fig. 6).[101] Although the surviving relief figure is damaged, the raised wings and chiton billowing at the hem, belted under the breasts and with an overfold at the waist, recalls the iconography of the Victory housed in the Curia Julia.[102] As noted previously, Victory also appeared in one of the paintings by Apelles dedicated in the *forum Augustum*.[103]

Allegorically, Victory was associated with some of the basic uses to which the Mars temple and forum complex were put, according to Suetonius and Dio.[104] Augustus had vowed the temple of Mars Ultor on the battlefield at Philippi, and with his Alexandrian triumph, his victory over his opponents was complete.[105] Among other functions, Augustus intended generals leaving Rome on campaigns to depart from the forum; the Senate was to vote on the awarding of triumphs there, and victors would dedicate their crowns and scepters in the temple. Triumphators were to be given statues in the colonnades of the forum,[106] and military standards recovered from the

enemy were to be returned to the temple of Mars.[107] Finally, the forum and temple were peculiarly a "Julian" monument, reserved to the use of Augustus and his direct male heirs,[108] who continued to embellish the area.[109]

The theme of victory expressed in the *forum Augustum* suggests links with other areas of the city. Venus Victrix had been developed as an important personification under both Caesar and Augustus.[110] Augustus established an altar of Victoria and a statue of the goddess in the Curia Julia, and - as noted previously - after his death a proposal was made to carry this statue in his funerary procession, thus imbuing his last rites with the overtones of a triumphal procession.[111] The gold *clipeus virtutis* voted Augustus in 27 B.C. which stood in the Curia Iulia was supported by the figures of two Victories.[112]

On a *denarius* issue of 12 B.C. minted by L. Lentulus, Augustus is shown with the *clipeus virtutis*, placing the star of apotheosis on a statue of Caesar, which in turn holds a figure of Victory.[113] The frieze of the temple of *divus Iulius* was decorated with archaistic Victories, scrolls and Medusa heads.[114] An altar in the Vatican shows on one side a flying victory holding the *clipeus virtutis*, between two laurel trees which were symbols of the house of Augustus on the Palatine.[115] Victories holding shields over their heads also served as akroteria on the *templum novum* dedicated to Augustus as god.[116] Victory even appears to be connected with the rites of the Vestal Virgins in the *forum romanum*.[117] Finally, the problematic temple of Victory has recently been identified as a construction which stood between the temple of Magna Mater and the house of Augustus on the Palatine.[118] Even outside Rome, a pair of Victories surmounted the altar of Roma and Augustus at Lyons.[119]

Sculptural Representation of the Statues

Finally, it can be suggested that the statues of Alexander were actually represented sculpturally. In 1954, L. Cozza published the important observation that a relief in the Villa Medici showing the sacrifice of a bull (fig. 7) joined the facade of an octostyle temple with pedimental figures (fig. 6) usually identified as representing the temple of Mars Ultor in the *forum Augustum*.[120] At the same time, Cozza noticed that two tiny figures, which had stood originally in front of the corner columns of the building, had been cut away.[121] Since the figures were of approximately the same size as the better preserved figures in the pedimental composition, it is clear that the figures at colonnade level represented statues and not human beings. The removal of the figures from in front of each corner column should probably be dated to the late 16th c., when the reliefs were prepared for insertion into decorative frames in the façade of the villa. The findspot of the reliefs is unknown, though they have been immured separately in the garden façade of the Villa Medici since 1584.[122] The discovery of stylistically related reliefs near the Corso in 1923 and 1933[123] made it clear that at least some of the reliefs had been reused in the *Arcus Novus* of Diocletian in the same location.[124]

Though the identification of the temple and pedimental figures on the relief seems virtually certain,[125] no particular significance has been attached to the two statues which once stood in front of the corner columns. Analogous figures are rare, although numismatic representations of the temple of Concordia Augusta in the *forum romanum* provide an exception (fig. 8),[126] and coins of Domitian showing the *Ara Pacis* represent the structure flanked by two mirror image figures, perhaps statues (fig. 9).[127] Since such figures are relatively unusual, the pair on the Mars Ultor relief probably helped the Roman viewer to identify the building. I suggest that the erased figures on the relief represented the statues from the funerary *tabernaculum* of Alexander.

Such statues on the relief, of the same size as the pedimental figures, complement the purely Roman message of the composition in the gable. The figures there are generally thought to represent (from left to right) the Palatine hill, Romulus, Venus (Genetrix), Mars, Fortuna (Redux), Roma, and the Tiber.[128] These figures, together or in combination, recur elsewhere in Augustan art and propaganda.[129] Recent work has stressed the connection between Augustus and Romulus, since both were "founders" of the city.[130] In particular, Augustus' house on the Palatine has been identified as standing in an area known as "*Roma quadrata*", presumed by the early imperial period to be the site of Romulus' original city and the site of his house.[131] The temple of Victory probably stood nearby.[132]

The relief is important, moreover, because it is one of several early imperial relief fragments in the Villa Medici which have been attributed to an altar resembling the *Ara Pacis Augustae*[133] in form and decoration, generally identified as either the *Ara Pietatis Augustae*[134] or - more probably - the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*.[135] Another relief from the monument, showing the facade of the temple of Magna Mater, indicates that another topographical location shown on the monument is the Palatine hill.[136]

The date of the one recorded sacrifice at the *Ara Gentis Iuliae* is September 23, the birthday of Augustus.[137] Since the sacrifices at early imperial altars were planned to coincide with dates which already possessed a dynastic importance, it is probable that the altar was connected not only with the Julian *gens*, but also with Augustus specifically as emperor or *divus*.[138] Thus, in the dedication of statues from the tent of Alexander in the *forum Augusti*, we see an artistic borrowing with a programmatic significance typical of both the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods, when symbols from the Greek world were integrated with purely Roman elements. The four statues from the *tabernaculum* of Alexander connect Augustus

with the Greek conqueror. If two of these statues have been identified correctly as the ones once carved on the Julio-Claudian relief, they would have served to underline the use of the complex as an early center of the imperial cult in Rome. The statues in front of the temple of Mars Ultor in particular raise the intriguing possibility that we are meant not only to understand that building as the temple of Mars, ancestral god of the Roman race and special patron of Augustus and his family, but also as the first major cult building of *divus* Augustus in Rome.

Notes

* A short version of this paper was delivered at the annual convention of the AIA in Boston in December, 1989; cf. *AJA* 94 (1990) 312. I wish to thank the following individuals who read and commented on drafts of this paper: -----

They are, of course, not responsible for the views of the author.

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Illustrations are from the following sources:

fig. 1. funerary cart of Alexander, after Müller (infra n. 11).

fig. 2. coin with Victoria (infra n. 13).

fig. 3. coin with Victory (infra n. 29).

fig. 4. separate Victory on globe (infra n. 30).

fig. 5. London cameo (infra n. 61).

fig. 6. cast of Mars Ultor temple.

fig. 7. cast of bull sacrifice.

fig. 8. coin with Concordia temple.

fig. 9. Ara Pacis on coin of Domitian.

The following abbreviations have been used in addition to those in *AJA* 90 (1986) 381-384:

Simon, *Augustus* E. Simon, *Augustus*, (Munich, 1986).

Aurea Templa P. Gros, *Aurea Templa, Recherches sur l'architecture religieuse de Rome à l'Epoque d'Auguste*, BEFAR 231, (Rome, 1976).

HIM *Hellenismus im Mittelitalien* -----

HTIF J. Anderson, *The Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora* , Coll. Latomus 182, (Brussels, 1984).

Zanker, *Images* P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* , (Univ. of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1988).

Kaiser Augustus *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik* , (Antikenmuseum, Berlin, 1988).

Ptolemaic Alexandria P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* , (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1972).

Taylor, *Divinity* L. R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* , American Philological Association Monographs I, (Middletown, Connecticut, 1931; repr. Porcupine Press, Philadelphia, 1975).

Weinstock S. Weinstock, *Divus Iulius* , (Oxford University Press, 1971).

1 *HTIF* ch. III, 65-100. For state plans and restored elevations of the forum, see "NotSc", *BullCom* 105.2 (1985) 341-346: Foro di Augusto;" E. Ghisellini, "Modelli ufficiali della prima età imperiale in ambiente privato e municipale," *RömMitt* 95 (1988) 187-204, esp. 190, pl. 27.1.

Cf. E. Simon, "Die Kultstatue des Mars Ultor," *MarbWPr* (1981) 3-19; J. H. Croon, "Die Ideologie des Marskultes unter dem Principat und ihre Vorgeschichte," *ANRW* II.17.1 (1981) 246-275.

On the genesis of the imperial fora, see H. Drerup, "Zur Plangestaltung römischer Fora," *HIM* 398-412; H. Kyrieleis, "Bemerkungen zur Vorgeschichte der Kaiserfora," (ibid.) 431-438.

E.G. Suet., *Aug*. 29.Of the *forum Augustum*, Anderson simply states that "after Augustus' death in A.D. 14, his Forum remained one of the most important buildings in Rome, *HTIF* 97. He acknowledges more directly the use of the temple of Venus Genetrix as a shrine for Caesar, 53-54.

2 *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik* , (Mainz, 1988) esp. 149-

199 (J. Ganzert and V. Kockel). For reviews, see esp. R.R.R. Smith, -----; cf. E. Bartman, *AJA* 94 (1990) 358-359.

3 B. Kellum, *Sculptural Programs and Propaganda in Augustan Rome: The Temple of Apollo on the Palatine and the Forum of Augustus*, (Harvard Univ. diss., 1982).

4 [edit. of Pliny]

5 B. S. Ridgway, *Roman Copies of Greek Sculpture. The Problem of the Originals*, (University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1984) 109-111, for a list of famous works dedicated in Roman temples; cf. J. Stambaugh, "The Functions of Roman Temples," *ANRW* II.16.1 (1978) 554-608, and G. Becatti, "Opere d'arte greca nella Roma di Tiberio," *ArchClass* 25-26 (1973-1974) 18-53.

6 Fest. p 356 Müller; *NH* 2.146; Tac., *Ann*. 2.13.

7 Cic., *Div*. I.17.33; 2.35.75; Livy 4.7.3; V. Max. I.1.3.

8 E.g., J. Stambaugh (supra n. 5) 556.

9 N.G.L. Hammond, "Arms and the King: the Insignia of Alexander the Great," *Phoenix* 43 (1989) 217-222. In 323 B.C., just after the death of Alexander, Perdiccas had set the throne, diadem, robes and ring of Alexander in front of the Macedonian assembly at Babylon, but without offering worship: Curtius 10.6.1-4.

10 Diodorus Siculus 18.26-28.

11 Strabo 17.1.8. Pausanias I.6.3, mentions that in Egypt the body was first buried at Memphis with Macedonian rites (" καὶ τὸν (νεκρὸν) μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τῷ Μακεδόνων ἔθαπτεν ἐν Μέμφει") but that Ptolemy II later brought it to Alexandria (I.7.1).

12 E.g., K. F. Müller, *Der Leichenwagen Alexanders des Grossen* , (Leipzig, 1905) 362; *Weinstock* 363-363. See the recent discussion by J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* , (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986) 19.

13 S. Miller, "Alexander's Funeral Cart Reconsidered," AIA Abstracts, *AJA* 88 (1984) 252. But cf. Pausanias I.6.3.

14 D. Rupp, "The 'Baldachino' in Greek Architecture," AIA Abstrs., AJA 78 (1974) 176.

15 Gold stater of Alexander: ----------. For illustration, see R. Holloway, *Art and Coinage in Magna Graecia* , (Montclair, New Jersey, n.d.) 135 fig. Acroterial Nikai existed, for example, on the prominent temple of Athena Nike on the Akropolis: A. Stewart, "History, Myth and Allegory in the Program of the Temple of Athena Nike, Athens," in *Studies in the History of Art* 16, (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1985) 53-73.

16 Strabo 17.1. .

17 For discussion of the sources, see *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 16-17 and notes, esp. 79.

18 The gold coffin of Alexander was melted down, for example, and

replaced with one of glass: *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 36 and n. 280; 123 and note 257; 16 n. 79. Frazer translates Strabo's term "ὑαλίνη" as "alabaster," but perhaps glass is meant.

19 *HTIF* 68-69; Dio 55.10.2-9. *OCD* 704 sv. Pliny (1) The Elder. In the *NH*, Praef. 2, Titus is described as consul for the sixth time (A.D. 77), though Pliny may have revised the books up to the time of his death in the eruption of Vesuvius in 79.

20 *HTIF* 66. On Egyptian works in Rome, see A. Roullet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome*, (Leiden, 1972); H. Möbius, *Alexandria und Rom*, (Munich, 1964).

21 Dio 51.21.7: ἐπιφανεῖς μὲν δὴ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι πομπαὶ διὰ τὰ ἀπ' αὐτῆς λάφυρα ἐγένοντο (τοσαῦτα γὰρ ἠθροίσθη ὥστε πάσας ἐπωφκέσαι) πολυτελεστάτη δ'οὖν καὶ ἀξιοπρεπεστάτη αὕτη ἡ Αἰγυπτία.

22 *Inter alia*, the prows of ships captured at Actium were attached to the temple of *divus* Julius and spoils were deposited within the temple: Dio 51.19.2. A statue "of Janus" from Egypt by Skopas or Praxiteles was dedicated in the temple of that god in the *forum boarium*: *NH* 36.28.

23 Dio 51.22.2, on spoils dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus, Juno and Minerva.

24 On an Egyptian obelisk in the Campus Martius, see infra n. 27.

25 Velleius Paterculus 2.39.2: "divus Augustus praeter Hispanias aliasque gentis, quarum titulis forum eius praenitet, paene idem facta

Aegypto stipendiaria, quantum pater eius Galliis, in aerarium reditus contulit." Cf. Suet., *Aug*., 41.1: "name et invecta urbi Alexandrino triumpho regia gaza tantam copiam nummariae rei effecit, ut faenore deminuto plurimum agrorum pretiis accesserit..." Dio is emphatic that the Egyptian spoil was sufficient both to pay the troops and to enrich the temples of Rome: 51.17.6-8.

26 G. Parassoglou, *Imperial Estates in Egypt*, (Yale Diss., Univ. Microfilms, 1972) Ch. 2: "The Julio-Claudians in Egypt."

27 *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 25 n. 169; M.C.J. Miller, "Forum Iulium ad Aegyptum," *The Ancient World* 13 (1986) 55-61.

28 Augustus' decision to be buried at Rome, in contrast to Anthony who wished to be buried in Egypt, was an important part of Octavian's propaganda: *Images* 72-76, with additional references, 347.

29 Pliny, *NH* 36.69. Cf. *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 24 and notes. The use of obelisks at the Caesareum, and subsequently at Rome, may have been suggested by hellenistic practices, for the Caesareum was built next to the precinct of Arsinoe Philadelphus which contained an obelisk of Nectanebo from Heliopolis: *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 25 and n. 169.

30 "ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα διετέλεσε [the triumph over Egypt] ...ὠνομασμένον καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ Ἰουλίειον, τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τιμῇ γενόμενον, καθιέρωσεν. ἐνέστησε δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ ὄγαλμα τὸ τῆς Νίκης τὸ καὶ νῦν ὄν, δηλῶν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὅτι παρ' αὐτῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκτήσατο· ἦν δὲ δὴ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην κομισθὲν ἔν τε τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἱδρύθη καὶ Αἰγυπτίους λαφύρους ἐκοσμήθη." See recently G. Hafner, "Die 'Romana Victoria' in der Curia Julia," *Archäol. Anz.* (1989) 553- ---.

31 *Images* 79-80, 81 fig. 62 a: "The Forum as Showplace of the Gens Iulia." *BMCRE* I.103 #631-632, pl. 15 #12-13.

32 *Images* 81 fig. 62 b; *BMCRE* 73 #425-426, pl. 9.19-20.

33 Suet., *Aug*. 18.1. Dio 51.16.5, closely follows Suetonius' account but adds the gruesome detail that Augustus broke off part of Alexander's nose by accident! Cf. R. Bianchi, "Augustus in Egypt, *Archaeology* 31.4 (1978) 4-8; *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 490 and n. 111.

34 Dio 51.17.6-8, emphasizes that the treasure had been hoarded by Cleopatra. Suetonius notes that Augustus kept only a single agate cup (*Aug*. 71.1). Pliny, however, also mentions a painting by Nicias which Augustus also brought back from Alexandria (supra n. 14).

35 Cf. *NH* 35.10.27: "Super omnes divus Augustus in foro suo celeberrima in parte posuit tabulas duas, quae Belli faciem pictam habent et Triumphum, item Castores ac Victoriam." See also Servius, *ad Aen*. I.294. These paintings have been studied recently by R. Dant, "Belli facies et triumphus," *RömMitt* 91 (1984) 115-123.

36 Pollitt (supra n. 12) 22-23. This type of composition has a parallel in the figures of Alexander and various personifications carried in Ptolemaic festivals: Athenaeus 201 C, 202 B.

37 *NH* 35.10.27; 35.36.91. On the temple of Julius Caesar, see infra n. 58.

38 Pollitt (supra n. 12) 280-281. The painting of Venus Anadyomene

was brought by Augustus from Kos, however: Strabo XIV.657. On the visit of Apelles to Egypt, see *NH* 35.36.89.

39 *NH* 35.40.131. Nicias also painted an "Io" and and "Andromeda": *NH* 35.132. It may be worth noting that Io is one of the subjects in the wall paintings from the house of Livia on the Palatine: B. Andreae, *The Art of Rome*, (Abrams Publ., New York, 1977) 71 and pl. 209. For recent discussion of the Andromeda motif, see B. Schmaltz, "Andromeda-Ein campanisches Wandbild," *JdI* 104 (1989) 259-281.

40 *NH* 35.36.94: "divus Claudius pluris existimavit utrisque excisa Alexandri facie divi Augusti imagines addere." Similarly, a bronze statue of Apollo in one portico of the temple of Apollo Palatinus also had its head altered to resemble Augustus: Taylor, *Divinity* 154 and n. 27.

41 *NH* 35.92. Pollitt notes that the painted image of Alexander with thunderbolt may be reflected in a painting from the House of the Vettii at Pompeii, (supra n. 12) 22, 23 fig. 9; P. Mingazzini, "Una copia dell'Alexandros Keraunophoros di Apelle," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 3 (1966) 7-17. Cf. also the bronze statuette found at Reims: C. Rolley, *Greek Bronzes*, (trans. R. Howell) (Friborg, 1986) 226, 227 col. pl. 196. One rare and problematic issue shows Alexander holding the thunderbolt of Zeus: M. Thompson, "The Coinage of Philip II and Alexander III," *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times*, Studies in the History of Art 10, (Washington, D. C., 1982) 113-121, esp. 119 and n. 12. For best illustration, see *Wealth of the Ancient World. The Nelson Bunker Hunt and William Herbert Hunt Collections, Kimbell Art Museum*, (Fort Worth, 1983) 209-210 #101. Cf. 287 #101 for further bibliography. Cf. the gem in Leningrad signed by Neisos which shows Alexander nude, right arm draped in the aegis, and

left holding the thunderbolt, while an eagle looks at him: K. Vierneisel and P. Zanker, *Die Bildnisse des Augustus*, (Munich, 1978-1979) 78 fig.

42 *NH* 35.36.85.

43 P. Treves, *Il mito di Alessandro e la Roma d'Augusto*, (-----, 1953) ---; M. Bieber, *Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art*, (New York, 1964); G. Wirth, "Alexander und Rom," *Entr Hardt* 22 (1975) 181-210; D. Michel, Alexander als Vorbild für Pompeius, Caesar und Marcus Antonius, (Brussels, 1967). See the discussion by Pollitt of the fusion of the worship of the Ptolemies with the cult of Alexander, (supra n. 12) 273: Appendix II: The Ruler Cult and its Imagery. For the connection of Alexander with Egypt, see the review article by G. Pugliese Caratelli, "Alessandro e l'Egitto," *Parola del Passato* 34 (1979) 153-160. Most recently, see M. Menichetti,"La testa colossale della pigna, il colossus divi Augusti e l'"imitatio Alexandri" in età giulio-claudia," *MEFAR* 98 (1986) 564-593.

Among the better-known examples, Pompey the Great was represented with the *anastole* of Alexander: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek. D. Strong, *Roman Art*, (prepared for press by J. Toynbee) (Penguin Books, The Pelican History of Art, 1980) pl. 14; J. Breckenridge, "Imperial Portraiture: Augustus to Gallienus," *ANRW* II.12.2 (1981) 480; V. Poulsen, *Les portraits romains I: République et Dynastie julienne*, (Copenhagen, 1962) 39-41#1, pls. I-II.

Suet., *Jul*. VII, relates that Julius compared himself pejoratively to Alexander, but others did so favorably, e.g., Cic., *Att*. 12.40; 13.28.3; Appian, *BC* 2.149-154; 620-649. See also *Weinstock* 87, 188. In his *Parallel Lives*, Plutarch paired Alexander and Julius Caesar.

44 *Weinstock* 86-87, 86 n. 9, 87 n. 1-3. Cf. the equestrian statuette of

Alexander found at Herculaneum: Pollitt (supra n. 12) 43 and fig. 36.

45 Thus, Caligula took the breastplate of Alexander from his tomb and wore it: Suet., *Calig*. 52. Nero greatly admired another statue of Alexander the Great by Lysippos: *NH* 34.19.63. Pliny records that Nero had the statue gilded, but that the gold was later removed. Lysippan works were generally popular in Rome. Tiberius removed the original Apoxyomenos from the Baths of Agrippa and kept it in his bedroom until public opinion forced him to return it: *NH* 34.62. As early as 148 B.C., Metellus had removed the bronze Granikos monument by Lysippus from Delphi to Rome: *NH* 34.19.64; cf. Vell. Pat. I.11.3. Nero later raised a legion of Italian soldiers which he named the "phalanx of Alexander the Great," Suet., *Nero* 19.2. Germanicus was compared to Alexander because of their military successes, and because both men died prematurely, at about the same age: Tac., *Ann*. II.73: "Et erant qui formam, aetatem, genus mortis ob propinquitatem etiam locorum in quibus interiit, magni Alexandri fatis adaequaerent."

46 Thus he expressed a wish to view the body of Alexander, but not the Ptolemies: Suet., *Aug*. 18.1. On the position of Augustus in Egypt, see V. Strocka, "Augustus als Pharao," *Eikones. Festschrift H. Jucker*, (Bern, 1980) 177-180.

47 According to one story, Alexander's conception was the result of a visit to Olympias by a snake: Plutarch, *Alexander* 2.4; 3.1. Augustus' mother was similarly visited, but he was also called a "son of Apollo": Suet., *Aug*. 94.4-5. See discussion in *Weinstock* 21.

48 Apollo was Augustus' patron divinity at Actium (Suet., *Aug*. 18.2),

and the temple of Apollo on the Palatine was established in part of the house of Augustus (*Aug*. 29.1; 3). An attack on Augustus accused him of dressing as Apollo at a party (*Aug*. 70.1-2). On Augustus' connection with Apolline cult, see esp. T. Sengelin, *Apollo Palatinus. Die apollonische Präsenz auf dem Palatin in augusteischer Zeit*, (Wein, 1983); P. Zanker, "Der Apollontempel auf dem Palatin. Ausstattung und politische Sinnbezüge nach der Schlacht von Actium," *AnalRomInstDan*. Suppl. 10 (1983) 21-40; H. Jucker, "Apollo Palatinus und Apollo Actius auf augusteischer Munzen," *MusHelv* 39 (1982) 82-100.

49 For Alexander, see: O. Palaiga, "Imitation of Herakles in Ruler Portraiture. A Survey, from Alexander to Maximinus Daza," *Boreas* 9 (1986) 137-151.

50 Suet., *Aug*. 50.

51 Dio 56.36.3. The death at Athens of an Indian in the retinue of Augustus was said to have foreshadowed the demise of the emperor, just as the death of Calanus foreshadowed the end of Alexander: Plutarch, *Alexander* 69.

52 Nash 405 fig. 496; P. Zanker, *Forum Augustum*, (Tübingen, 1968) ills. 25, 27, 28; *Augustus* 49 fig. 51. L. Leclant and G. Clerc have identified the heads as part of a hadrianic restoration (*LIMC* I.1.673 s.v. Ammon E.6.#38). Anderson, however, argues that hadrianic repairs to the forum were minimal: *HTIF* 99 and notes 96, 97. For a cameo portrait of Alexander wearing the horns of Zeus-Amon, see E. Brand et al., *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen*, *Band I. Staatliche Münzsammlung München*, (Munich, 1972) 128 #2948, pl. 288 #2948. *Taylor* 15-17; *Weinstock* 19 & n. 1. On Alexander's visit, see Arrian III.3-4; J. Hamilton, *Alexander. A Commentary* (Oxford 1969) 71-73; *Alexander the Great* (London 1973) 75-77; P. Brunt, Loeb *Arrian* I (1976), App. 4 & 5.

53 Nash 405 pl. 496. On the copies of the caryatids, see E. Schmidt, *Die Kopien der Erechtheionkoren*, AntPl XIII (1973; cf. M. Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, (New York Univ. Press, 1977) 30. Those in the *forum Augustum* were signed by the Roman artist Gaius Vibius Rufus. Augustan repairs to the Erechtheum probably provided the opportunity for copying the caryatids: R. Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens*, (Princeton Univ. Press, 1978) 150 and n. 11, 151 (plan).

54 Taylor, *Divinity* 15-17; *Weinstock* 19 and n. 1. On Alexander's visit, see Arrian III.3-4; J. Hamilton, *Plutarch Alexander: A Commentary*, (Oxford, 1969) 71-73; *Alexander the Great* (London, 1973) 75-77; P. Brunt, Loeb *Arrian* I, (1976), Appendices 4 and 5.

55 See, e.g., Drerup and Kyrieleis (supra n. 1). Cf. L. Taylor, "Tiberius' Refusal of Divine Honors," *TAPA* (1929) 87- ---; K. Scott, "Tiberius' refusal of the title "Augustus"," *CP* 27(1932) 43-50 ; M. Charlesworth, "The Refusal of Divine Honours, an Augustan formula," *PBSR* (1939) 1-10.

56 M. Crawford, *The Roman Republican Coinage* I, (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1974) 543 #546/4, pl. XLIV.546/4; *Kaiser Augustus* (supra n.2) 505 #319.

57 For illustration, see S. Keay, *Roman Spain*, (Univ. of California Press, 1988) 146 fig.; cf. 155. Cf. R. Etienne, *Le culte impérial dans la péninsule Ibérique*, BEFAR 191 (1958; repr. 1974) 408 n. 6, 165 n. 9, 413, pl. V.1; D. Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West*, I.1., (Leiden, 1987) 153 and n. 23, pl. 29.b. The placement of the heads is problematic.

58 D. Kleiner, "Roman Funerary Art and Architecture: observations on the

significance of recent studies," *JEA* 1 (1968) 115-119. For other Augustan symbols adapted in Julio-Claudian art, see Zanker, *Images* 274-278: "From Internalization to the Private Message."

59 D. Strong, *Roman Sculpture. An introduction to the commemorative and decorative sculpture of the Roman Empire down to the death of Constantine*, (London, 1961) pl. 63; cf. pl. 40 (Augustus).

60 A, Boëthius and J. B. Ward Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture*, (The Pelican History of Art, Penguin Books, 1970) 476-478. See more recently A. di Vita and J. Ward-Perkins, "Il progetto originario del forum novum Severianum a Leptis Magna," *RömMitt Ergänzungsheft* 25 (1982) 84-106.

61 *Weinstock* 19 and n. 1 (Alexander); 128-130 (Augustus). But see J. Balsdon, "The 'Divinity' of Alexander," *Historia* 1 (1950) 383-

62 See *LIMC* I.1 (1981) 683-684 s.v. Ammon H #170-186: "Souverains en Ammon." On a gold octadrachm issued by Ptolemy II, Arsinoe II wears the horns of Zeus-Amon: Pollitt (supra n. 11) 272 fig. 293 b.

63 For the *denarius* issue of Augustus with the head of Zeus-Amon, see *Kaiser Augustus* 505 #319, w. figs.; *BMCRE*

64 W.-R. Megow, *Kameen von Augustus bis Alexander Severus*, AMUGS 11, (Berlin, 1987) 166 #A 18, pl. 8.6.

65 *HTIF* 39-63: Ch. II: Forum Iulium. On hellenistic ruler cult, see:

Ptolemaic Alexandria Ch. 5: "Religious Life." Cf. K. Tuchelt, "Zum Problem 'Kaisareion-Sebasteion'," *IstMitt* 31 (1981) 167-186.

66 *Weinstock* 90; V. Ehrenberg and A. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius* , (Oxford, Clarendon. Press, 2nd. ed., 1976) 50; Platner-Ashby 286-288: Iulius, Divus, Aedes; Nash 512-514: Iulius, Divus, Templum; *Weinstock* 400; C. Congrossi, "Pietà popolare e divinizzazione nel culto di Caesare del 44 a.C.," *Religione e politica nel mondo antico. Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia antica* , VII, (Milan, 1981) 141-160; M. Montagna Pasquinucci, "La decorazione architettonica del tempio del Divo Giulio nel Foro Romano," *MonAntLincei* 48 (1973) 255-282; and "L'"altare" del tempio di divo Giulio," *Athenaeum* 52 (1974) 144-155. Suet., *Caes* . 84.1; Dio 54.35.4. A curtain was hung over the corpse, which has been discussed in *Weinstock* 351-352, 353; cf. *Taylor* 80. Augustus also set up a bronze statue of Julius Caesar with a star on his forehead in the temple of Venus Genetrix: Dio 45.7.1-2. When Octavia, the sister of Augustus, died in 11 B.C., her body lay in state in the temple of *divus* Iulius. Later, Drusilla - deified sister of Caligula - was given a statue in the temple of Venus Genetrix equal in size to that of the goddess: Dio 54.35.4.Dio 59.11.2. She was also given a gold statue in the Curia Julia.

67 On the *templum novum* , see H. Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti. Eine Studie zu den Tempeln des ersten römischen Kaisers*, Archaeologia 39 (Rome, 1985) 115-118.

68 Dio 56.46.4. S. Weinstock, "The Image and the Chair of Germanicus," *JRS* (1957) 144-154 . Note, too, that as early as 23 B.C., Augustus ordered that a golden image of Marchellus (εἰκόνα χρυσῆν), along with a crown and curule chair, be carried into the theater of Marcellus during the *ludi*

Romani : Dio 53.30.6.

69 Dio 59.7.1. The dedication is commemorated on coins issued in 38 and 40: *RMCRE* I.153 #41-43; 157 #69, pl. 28.6, 9; 29.14.

70 A. Nock, "Suvnnao" qeov"," *HSCP* 41 (1930) 1-62; F. Walbank, "Könige als Götter. Überlegungen zum Herrscherkult von Alexander bis Augustus," *Chiron* 17 (1987) 365-382.

71 G. Lahusen, "Statuae et imagines," in *Praestant Interna. Festschrift für V. Hausmann* , (Tübingen, 1982) 101-109. Cf. T. Kraus, "Ornamentfriese vom Augustusforum," *RömMitt* 6 (1953) 46- --- .

72 For hellenistic coins with heads decorating representations of Macedonian shields, see e.g., J. Toynbee, *Roman Historical Portraits* , (Thames and Hudson, 1978) 106-107 and figs: coins of Perseus and Andriscus (Philip VI).

73 Polybius 6.53.1-10. On actual images, see D. Jackson, "Verism and the Ancestral Portrait," *Greece and Rome* 34.1 (1987) 32-47.

74 *HTIF* 80-88; S. Rinaldi Tufi, "Frammenti delle statue dei summi viri nel foro di Augusto," *DArch* 3 (1981) 69-84. For a comparison of the decorative program of the *forum Augusti* and the temple of Apollo Palatinus, see G. Sauron, "Aspects du neo-atticism à la fin du 1 s. av. J.-C. Formes et symboles," in *L'Art décoratif à Rom à la fin de la république et au début du principat* . (Table ronde Rome, 10-11 mai 1979) (Rome, 1981) 285-307; and the dissertation by B. Kellum (supra n. 3).

75. Dio 56.34.2: καὶ μετὰ ταύτας αἵ τε τῶν προπατόρων αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ τῶν ἄλλων συγγενῶν τῶν τεθνηκότων, πλὴν τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ὅτι ἐς τοὺς ἥρωας ἐσεγέγραπτο, αἵ τε τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων τὸν καὶ καθ' ὁτιοῦν προωτευσάντων, ἀπ' αὐτουῦ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου ἀρξάμεναι, ἐφέροντο.

76. Dio 56.34.1.

77. Suet, *Aug*. 100.2.

78. Cf. *Deipnosophistai* 197A-202B; E.E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus,* (--, 1983); H. von Hesberg, "Temporäre Bilder oder die Grenzen der Kunst. Zur Legitimation frühhellenistischer Königsherrschaft im Fest," *JdI* 104 (1989) 61-82.

79. J.-C. Richard, "Recherches sur certains aspects du culte impérial: les funérailles des empereurs romains aux deux premiers siècles de notre ère," *ANRW* II.16.2 (1978) 1122-1125.I: "Idéologie funéraire et idéologie triomphale." On the possible contribution of Etruscan imagery, see P. Holliday, "Processional Imagery in Late Etruscan Funerary Art," *AJA* 94 (1990) 73-93.

80. Vell. Pat. 2.39.2 (supra n. 24).

81. Dio 56.34.2: mentions specifically the figures of ethne acquired by Pompey the Great: τά τε ἔθνη πάνθ' ὅσα προσεκτήσαντο, ἐπιχωρίως σφίσιν ὡς ἕκαστα ἀπηκασμένα ἐπέμφθη; cf. Tac., *Ann*. 1.8.1.

82. R.R.R. Smith, "The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias," *JRS* 77 (1987) 88-138.

83. On the Erechtheum caryatids, see B. Ridgway, *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1981) 105-108; E. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Karyatide. Funktion und Bedeutung der menschlichen Träger- und Stützfigur in der Baukunst*. Beitrräge zur Archäologie 13 (Würzburg 1982); rev. A. Linfert, *BonnJbb* 185 (1985) 730-33. On the significance of the forum Augustum caryatids, see H. Drerup, "Architektur und Toreutik in der griechischen Frühzeit," *RömMitt* 5 (1952) 26- ; *Capitolium* 4 (1930) 157-89; G. Giglioli, "Le copie romane delle 'Caryatidi' del 'Eretteo nel 'Porticus' del For di Augusto," *RömMitt* 62 (1955) 155-59, pl.s 54-60. Cf. the Comments by D. Rupp (supra n. 14).

84. B. Wesenberg, "Augustusforum und Akropolis," *JdI* 99 (1984) 161-85. On Augustan repairs to the Erechtheum, see Wycherly (supra n. 51) 150 and n. 11.

85. Platner Ashby ---.

86. Dio 53.27.2-3: [Agrippa] τό τε Πάνθειον ὠνομασμένον ἐξετέλεσε· προσαγορεύεται δὲ οὕτω τάχα μὲν ὅτι πολλῶν θεῶν εἰκόνας ἐν τοῖς ἀγάλμασι, τῷ τε τοῦ Ἄρεως καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ἔλαβεν, ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ νομίζω, ὅτι θολοειδὲς ὂν τῷ οὐρανῷ προσέοικεν. ἠβουλήθη μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ τὸν Αὔγουστον ἐταῦθα ἱδρῦσαι, τήν τε τοῦ ἔργου

ἐπίκλησιν αὐτῷ δοῦναι· μὴ δεξαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ μηδέτερον ἐκεῖ μὲν τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαροσ, ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάῳ τοῦ τε Αὐγούστου καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνδριάνταϛ ἔστησε.

87. *NH* 36.38: "Agrippae Pantheum decoravit Diogenes Atheniensis: in columnis templi eius caryatides probantur inter pauca operum, sicut in fastigio posita signa, sed propter altitudinem loci minus celebrata."

88. On the implications of the Pantheon for the deification of Agustus, see F. Coarelli, "Il Pantheon, l'apoteosi di Augusto e l'apoteosi di Romolo," *AnalRomeInstDan Suppl.* 10 (1983) 41-46.

89. J. Borchhardt, *Die Bauskulptur des Heroons von Limyra. Das Grabmal des lykischen Königs Perikles* (Berlin 1976); cf. *IstMitt* 17 (1967) 151-67.

90. H. Lauter, *Die Architektur des Hellenismus* (Darmstadt 1986) 221, 251, fig. 73b: Rhodes, grave at Ayia Triadha.

91. *Ergon* (1987) (Athens 1988) 45-50, col. pls. 45, 48; pls. 46, 47, 49. The throne is 2.01 m tall, and is decorated with lions and griffins, sphinxes, and and has a back supported by caryatids and painted with Hades and Persephone in a chariot.

92. Cf. Pausanis 5.11.1-8 on the Zeus Olympios.

93. Schmid (supra n. 80) ...

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98=old 116. L. Cozza, "Ricomposizione di alcuni rilievi di Villa Medici," *Bolletino d'Arte* 43 (1958) 107-111; G. Koeppel (infr n. 101): 98-101 #12.

99. Sources in Platner-Ashby 441: the *hastae* and *ancilla* of Mars were kept there. Supr n. ... On the connecgion between the two areas, see *Aurea Templa* 86 n. 51. Platner-Ashby 34-35: "Arcus Augusti"; Nash 92-101: "Archus Augusti." See recen discussion by E. Nedergaard, "Zur Problematik der Augustusbögen auf dem Forum Romanum, *Kaiser Augustus* 224-239.

100. J. Fears, "The Theology of Vicotry at Rome: Approqaches and Problems," *ANRW* II.17.2 (1981) 736-826.

101. Koeppel, "Die historischen Reliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit, I. Stadrömische Denkmäler unbekannter Bauzugehörigkeit aus augusteischer under julisch-claudischer Zeit," *BonnJbb* 183

(1983). L. Cordischi, "Sul problema dell'Ara Pietatis Augustai e dei rilievi ad essa attributi," *Archeologia Classica* 37 (1985) 238-65, esp. 248-9, pls. 33.2, 34.1-2. Other teples, of course, had acroteria in the form of Victories. Livy refers to a statue of Victoria on the roof of the temple of Concord in Rome which was struck by lightning: 26.23.4.

102. Supra n. 29.

103. Supra n. 34.

104. Suet. *Aug*. 29.1-3; Dio 55.1.

105. *Weinstock* 131-32. Augustus celebrated a triple triumph on three successive days for his victories in Dalmatia, Actium, and Alexandria: Suet., *Aug.* 22.

106. Dio (55.10) refers to statues of bronze, while Suetonius mentions marble figures (*Aug*. 35.1). See discussion by Anderson, who suggests that both materials were used: *HTIF* 82.

107. J. van der VIn, "The Return of the Roman Ensigns from Parthis," *BABesch* 56 (1981) 117-33. Captured barbarian leaders wer also forced to take oats of peace at the temple of Mars Ultor: Suet., *Aug.* 21.2.

108. Dio 55.10; see discussion in *HTIF* 94-95.

109. E.g., Tiberius, who erected arches to Drusus and Germanicus (*HTIF* 97; Tac., *Ann*. 2.64.1; *CIL* VI.911=*ILS* 31199); W.D. Lebeck, "Die postumen Ehrenbögen under der Triumph des Drusus Caesar," *ZPE* 78 (1989) 83-91. A colossus of Augustus was erected in the northwest hall of the forum by Tiberius or Claudius (*HTIF* 74-75). The base of the colossus survives: F. Coarelli, *Roma*, 1980, 106; Martial, *Epig*. 8.44.6-7; Lugli (...) 263 fig. 72 (base), 264, 265 fig. 74 (base), 265-66. Lugli, however, argues a Tiberian dedication;' Giovenale disputes this. It has been suggested that the original colossus is copied in the Primaporta Augustus. See also the recent article by Menichetti (supra n. 40).

C. Vermeule suggests that the hound accompanying "Tiberius" on the breastplate of the Primporta Augustus is an allusion to the dog which accompanied Alexander on his campaigns: rev. of N. Hannestad, *Roman Art and Imperial Policy*, Jutland Archaeological Society Publications 19 (Aarhus Univ. Press 1986), in *BonnJbb* 187 (1987) 747 ref. to p. 55.

110. Cf. R. Albert, *Das Bild des Augustus auf den frühen Reichsprägungen* (Speyer am Rhein 1981), who underscores the importance of Venus as Victrix.

111. Platner-Ashby 568-569: Victoria, ara. The proposal was made that at the funeral of Augustus, the statue of Victory from the Curia be carried in the funeral procession: Suet., *Aug*. 100.2.

112. Fears (supra n. 95) 808 n. 3888: *CIL* IX.5811.

113. Images 34 fig. 25a.

114. *Kaiser Augustus* 373-374 Cat. #6 (with bibliography).

115. *Kaiser Augustus* 394-396 Cat. #223 (with bibliography).

115b -- JGY does not know what this refers to. See discussion in Fisarek, *The Imperial Cult in the Later West* (1987) 111-18, pls. XI, XIIa, XIII-XVII.

116. Supra n. 64. See *BMCRE* I.153 #41-43, 156, pl. 28.6, 9; 29.14.

117. M. Lauria, "De ara Victoriae virginibus Vestalibus," *StDocHistlur* 50 (1984) 235-280.

119. C. Simpson, "The Birth of Claudius and the Date of the Dedication of the Altar Romae et Augusti at Lyon," *Latomus* 46 (1987) 586-92.

old 118-102 are meant to be moved to n. 63, but JGY doesn't see how they fit there:

118. Suet., *Caes*. 84.1; Dio 54.35.4. A curtain was hung over the corpse, which has been discussed in *Weinstock* 351-53; cf. *Taylor* 80. Augustus also set up a bronze statue of Julius Caesar with a star on his forehead in the temple of Venus Genetrix: Dio 45.7.1-2.

119. Dio 54.35.4: When Octavia, sister of Augustus, died in 11 B.C., her body lay in state in the temple of Divi Iulii. Later, Drusilla, deified sister of Caligula, was given a statue in the temple of Venus Genetrix equal in size to that of the goddess.

120. Dio 59.11.2. She was also given a gold statue in the Curia Julia.

old 121 is meant to be moved to n. 65, but JGY doesn't see how it fits there:

121. S. Weinstock, "The Image and the Chair of Germanicus," *JRS* (1957) 144-54.

120. Cozza (supra n. 16) 109; Koeppel (supra n. 101) 101 #12, figure 18.

121. A horizontal band along the upper edge of fragment with the temple façade has been flattened with a point for insertion of the relief into the façade of the Villa Medici. Similar tool marks are visible where the lower half of the right corner column has been cut away, as well as at the bottom of the temple façade where a section of the steps has been removed. The left corner column of the temple façade, contained on a section of the relief inserted separately into the Villa Medici, has been removed entirely. These areas of reworking are visible on casts of the relief fragments; in the Villa Medici, some stucco additions to the reliefs remain.

122. G. Andres, *The Villa Medici in Rome* (Garland Publishing, Inc., New York and London, 1976) 232-33, 250-53.

123. G. Mancini, "Roma," *NotSc* 1925, 232-34.

124. H. Laubscher, "Arcus Novus und Arcus Claudii: Zwei Triumphbögen an der Via Lata in Rom," *GxuottNachr* 197.3 (1976) 5-44 (69-108); T. Buttrey, "The Daes of the Arches of 'Diocletian' and Constantine," *Historia* 32 (1983) 375-83.

125. Doubts were raised by M. Torelli, *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs* (Univer. of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1982) 77-78. His suggestion, that the temple on the relief instead representsw a temple to *divus* Augustus on the Palatine, has not received wide acceptance. See, e.g., the reviews by T. Hölscher, *Gnomon* 56 (1984) 740-44; J. Pollini, *AJA* 87 (1983) 572-73; R. Smikth, *JAS* 73 (1983) 225-228.

126. Two statues in front of the corner columns occur on coins illustrating the temple of Concordia Augusta, dedicated in the *forum romanum* in A.D. 10 by Tiberius. The *sestertius* issues commemorating the temple were not minted until 37/8: *BMCE* I.137 #116, 139 #132-134, pl. 24.14, 25.407. J. Kent, *Roman Coins* (New York 1978) 281 #163, pl. 46 #163; P. Hill, "The Temple of Concordia on *sestertii* of Tiberius," *NCirc* 86 (1978) 66. On the temple of Concordia and its dynastic associations, see *TDAR* 138-140; L. Richardson, "Concordia and COncordia Augusta: Rome and Pompeii," *Parola del Passato* 33 (1978) 260-72; C. Gasparri, *Aeges Concordiae Augustae* (Rome, 1979); B. Kellum, "*Pro miraculo*: Augustus' Dedication of Four Obsidian Elephants in he Temple of Concord," *AJA* 91 (1987) 280-81; T. Pekáry, "Tiberius und der Tempel der Concordia in Rom," *RömMitt* 1966-67, 105-33; M. Flory, "*Sic exempla parantur*: Livia's Shrine to Concordia and the Porticus Liviae," *Historia* 33 (1984) 309-30; N. Purcell, "Livia and the Womanhood of Rome," *Proc. of the Cambridge Philosophial Society* 212 (1986) 78-105; G. Hafner, "Aedes Concordiae et Basilica Opimia," *ArchAnz* 1984, 591-96; G. Becatti, "Opere d'arte greca nella Roma di Tiberio," *ArchCl* 25-26 (1973-74) 18-57; B. Levick, "Concordia at Rome," in *Scripta nummaria Romana. Essays Presented to H Sutherland* (London 1978) 17-33; *Aurea Templa* 28, 32, 34, 62, 67.

127. *Dupondius*, mint of Rome: *BMCE* II.384 I, pl. 74.6 (rev. only).

128. Koeppel (supra n. 122) 100 #12, figs. 10-16.

129. Examples in the visual arts include the *Ara Pacis* (infra n. 133) and the Sorrento base: G. Rizzo, "Baso di Augusto," *BullCom* 60 (1932) 7-109; La base di Augusto (Naples 1933). For illustrations, see M. Guarducci, "Enea e Vesta," *RömMitt* 78 (1971) 93-118, esp. 90-91, pls. 64, 66-69; *Augustus.*

130. See F. Coarelli (supra n. 81). Cf. Suet., *Aug*. 7.2, on the proposal to call Octavian "Romulus" before he accepted the title of Augustus.

131. T. Wiseman, "Cyele, Virgil and Augustus," in *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus* (Cambridge Univ. Press 1984) 117-28.

132. F. Schippa, "Una dedica all Vittoria dalla casa di Augusto al Palatino," *RendPontAcc* 53-54 (1980/1-1981/2) 283-95; T. Wiseman, "The Temple of Victory on the Palatine," *Antiquaries Journal* 61 (1981) 35-52, repr. in *Roman Studies. Literary and Historica.* (Francis Cairns Publications 1987) 187-204.

133. The immense bibliography on the *Ara Pacis Augustae* has been summarized recently by G. Koeppel, "Official State Reliefs of the City of Rome in the Imnperial Age. A Bibliography,"

ANRW II.12.1 (1982) 483-86; "Die historischen Reliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit, V. Ara Pacis Augustae, Teil I," *BonnJbb* 187 (1987) 101-57; "Teil 2," *BonnJbb* 188 (1988) (forthcoming).

134. The case for an *Ara Pietatis Augustae* was argued by R. Bloch: "L'Ara Pietatis Augustae," *MélRome* 56 (1939) 81-120 (reprinted in M. Cagiano de Azevedo, *Le antichitá di Villa Medici*, Rome 1951, 3-31). G. Picard has suppported the attribution: "L'Ar romain sous le règene de Claude, l'art officiel, l'Ara Pietatis," *REL* 59 (1981) 318-23. G. Koeppel has raised objections to the existence of an altar of this name: "Die 'Ara Pietatis Augustae': Ein Geisterbau," *RömMitt* 89 (1982) 453-55.

135. M. Torelli (supra n. 128) 76, equates the *Ara Pietatis* with the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*. There is no evidence, however, that the Romans called altars of the imperial cult by more than one name.

136. Koeppel (supra n. 98) #13.

137. *CIL* VI.2035.

138. The suggestion that the reliefs celebrate Augustus as *divus* was raised as long ago as 1907 by Sieveking: "Die Valle-Medici Reliefs gehören ... zu einem Denikmal, das den Divus Augustus verherrlichte, wie die Ara Pacis den lebenden Kaiser," "Zur Ara Pacis Augustae," *ÖJh* 10 (1907) 190.