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In Search of the Roman Viewer

In Classical archaeology, little attention has been paid to the ancient viewer until recently. As a rule, scholars have simply put themselves in the place of the ancient observer of any given historical period. Even in scholarly analyses involving a specific type of description, such as that of banquet scenes or of votive offerings in a sanctuary as shown on painted vases, questions of perception have not been considered. In the mind of the modern observer, the viewer is often only an ideal construct and tends to be imbued with the knowledge of all antiquity, frequently acquired from sources such as the Roscher mythological lexicon or the Pauly-Wissowa encyclopedia. Yet literary criticism and art history have long shown that an "aesthetic of perception" can yield fruitful new avenues of study even for the historian. This is particularly true in sculpture and architecture, where the future observer has already played a role in the conception of the work, as, for example, in all sculpture and architecture that involves the representation of Roman emperors.

One reason for the reluctance shown by archaeologists to examine the role of the viewer is the highly fragmentary state of the monuments; another is the almost complete lack of contemporaneous literary sources. Nevertheless, we ought to be able to make at least a few observations of a more general nature about conditions and modes of visual perception.

I would like to limit my rather unsystematic considerations to the sculptural decoration of imperial public buildings in Rome and address two themes. First, how is the sculptural decoration of Roman public buildings reflected on coins, and how does this allow us to draw possible conclusions about contemporaneous modes of perception and its evolution? Second, how do certain "pictorial environments" influence an observer's perception of an individual work of sculpture? As examples of pictorial environments I have chosen the imperial fora.

Sculptural Decoration of Buildings and Imagery on Imperial Coins

The sculptural decoration of imperial public buildings in Rome plays an important role in the images represented on coins.[1] There are roughly two different types of depictions. Either a specific section of the sculptural decoration is rendered large, thereby becoming the principal element; or the pictorial decoration and ornamentation are scaled more proportionately and are seen as an integral or subordinate part of the whole image. Obviously mixed versions exist. It is of interest to note that coins with oversize sculptural decoration originated almost exclusively in the early imperial period, while those with smaller renderings of ornamental detail appeared only in the late first and the second and third centuries A.D.

In comparing triumphal arches on coinage of the city of Rome, the different schemes of representation become especially clear. On a triumphal arch in honor of Drusus, shown on denarii and aurei of Claudius, for example, full attention is drawn to the victor over German tribes, heroically galloping on his horse, the barbarians chained to a *tropaium*, and the legend DE GERM, which is displayed on the attic (fig. 1).[2] The same is true of an entire series of coins that show the monumental arches of Augustus or Claudius.[3] On the other hand, in the celebrated image of the arch of Nero on the famous sestertius of A.D. 64–66, a tendency toward more complete representation is noticeable (fig. 2).[4] The artist sought to suggest the arch in its entirety and its decoration by rendering it at an angle, although the enlarged sculpture on the attic and the statue of Mars on the exterior are obviously emphasized in order to make a specific political statement. By way of contrast, on a triumphal arch of Trajan, shown on a sestertius struck in A.D. 100 (fig. 3),[5] the architecture with projecting frontal columns becomes the center of attention and the size of the triumphal chariot is reduced. Other good examples are a sestertius of Trajan with a richly ornamented arch, erected in honor of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (fig. 4),[6] and a coin of the year 203 showing the Parthian arch of Septimius Severus.[7] In both cases the triumphal chariots on the attic are reproduced to the scale of the arch, and the abundance of architectural and decorative detail is intended to show the wealth of ornamentation with little concern for specific legibility.

Similar observations can be made by comparing coinage showing imperial columns, for example, the Columna Rostrata of Octavian (fig. 5), with reproductions of the columns of Trajan (fig. 6) and Antoninus Pius.[8] The same rule holds for the renderings of pedimental sculpture and acroteria of temple façades, as can be illustrated by contrasting the Temple of Concord shown on the well-known Tiberian sestertius (fig. 7)[9] with many later temples seen on coins, such as the eight-columned temple on *dupondii*[10] or the restored Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus shown on a coin of Domitian (fig. 8).[11]

The following observations emerge: on early imperial coins, as a general rule, there was a tendency to make a specific programmatic statement by accentuating individual sculpture, while on later coins there was an inclination to show the wealth of sculptural ornamentation on a particular monument or building. Coins depicting the great nymphaeum of Alexander Severus[12] or the magnificent bridge of Septimius Severus (fig. 9)[13] provide examples of "architectural images" with ornamental sculptural decoration. There are naturally exceptions to this rule, such as the oversize renderings of the acroteria on the Temple of the Deified Faustina Major and on the Temple of Venus and Roma as seen on coins of Antoninus Pius;[14] these are obviously based on early imperial models, for example, the representations of the Temple of the Deified Augustus.[15] Cult images of temples, however, were not depicted in reduced size; even during the height of the empire, they continued to be shown in enlarged form between the columns of the temple façade. There is probably a specific reason for this, as we shall see.

The political character of statuary decoration within, surrounding, and on the outside of early imperial public buildings, and the reproduction of those buildings on coins, is obvious and has often been described. Contemporaneous observers, at least Roman residents, must have been able to comprehend simple pictorial messages, or even more complex ones such as those of the statuary program of the Temple of Concord (fig. 7) or the acroteria figures of the Temple of the Deified Augustus on coinage of Caligula (fig. 10).[16] In these instances, we are still dealing with the familiar pictorial slogans of Augustan art. The symbolism of the three female figures embracing one another on a Temple of Concord may have needed more explanation than the combination of a chariot of the apotheosis with the images of Aeneas and Romulus from the

1. Denarius of Claudius (46–47 A.D.) depicting the triumphal arch of Drusus
Collection Walter Niggeler

2. Sestertius of Nero depicting the arch of Nero
Photograph: Münzen und Medaillen AG, Basel

3. Sestertius of Trajan depicting the arch of Trajan
From Philip V. Hill, *The Monuments of Ancient Rome as Coin Types* (London, 1989), 50, fig. 76

4. Sestertius of Trajan depicting the monumental entrance to the Area Capitolina
From *Auctiones* 7 (June 1977), no. 679

5. Denarius of Octavian depicting column with ship's ram
Collection Walter Niggeler

6. Denarius of Trajan depicting triumphal arch
List of Bank Leu, fall 1993, no. 84

7. Sestertius of Tiberius depicting the Temple of Concord
Auction Bank Leu 20, 1978, no. 222

8. Denarius of Domitian depicting the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus
Photograph: Münzen und Medaillen AG, Basel

Forum of Augustus, who were easily identified by anyone as ideological figures.

Coins are a medium of imperial propaganda and as such repeat the content of the pictorial decoration on imperial public buildings. The billboardlike emphasis given important sculpture on monuments and buildings of the early empire, as depicted on coins, demonstrates how vital the dissemination of such visual slogans was for the official responsible for the minting of coins. But why did this emphasis subsequently change, as sculpture came to be rendered as mere ornament without an implied political message?

I suppose that the change represented a change in perception on the part of the contemporary viewer—that the public rapidly lost interest in the political and ideological messages of imperial art after the period of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. The changed mode of representation thus reflected the interests of the observer: images on coins that emphasized the splendor of the monuments and their sumptuous ornament free of political statement were preferred to the old representations with their immensely enlarged sculpture. An altered experience for the observer underlay the phenomenon.

There are several plausible explanations: generation after generation, the public had viewed ever greater and more ornate buildings bedecked with sculpture and lavish ornamentation, but public interest in the familiar political and ideological slogans of imperial art had not increased in tandem, a natural reaction to their repetitive nature.

Accordingly, to account for the possible change in the observer's manner of perception, one may state the following: the breadth, expense, and complexity of the decoration in the long run outweighed ideological messages. Over the course of generations, more and more elaborate building ornamentation developed, from sculpture to ornament and the ever more prevalent use of polychrome marbles. The evolution in style, which led, as we know, to increasingly elaborate forms, can also be understood as a reaction to corresponding interests of the observer. I shall return to this point.

9. As of Septimius Severus depicting bridge
Collection Walter Niggeler

10. Sestertius of Caligula depicting the Temple of the Deified Augustus
Photograph: Münzen und Medaillen AG, Basel

11. Aureus of Octavian depicting the Temple of the Deified Julius
Collection Walter Niggeler, part 3, no. 1001

My argument is supported, moreover, by the dissemination of images derived from the pictorial programs of imperial public buildings in Rome. As we know, new images created for the official programs of the Forum of Augustus, the Ara Pacis, the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, and other state monuments were used to embellish local monuments designed to honor the emperor in several cities in Italy and the western provinces.[17] Unless the meager evidence deceives us, this applies to the early imperial period with only few exceptions. Later, outside Rome, there seems to have been scant interest in the reception of a program of imperial images. The same is true for "political" images in the private sphere, which I have discussed elsewhere.[18]

Another peculiarity is coins with images of temple façades, which may lead to conclusions about the perception of the contemporary Roman viewer. It is striking that sanctuaries pictured on coins are often shown with the cult image visible between the columns, and that the deity, therefore, seems to be looking out toward the spectator. The earliest example of this phenomenon is the temple with the cult image of Divus Iulius on coinage of Octavian (fig. 11),[19] and one of the best examples is the sestertius of Tiberius with the Temple of Concord mentioned earlier (fig. 7). In reality the cult image was visible only during festivals of the gods, when all temple doors were left open so that the gods could take part in the festival and the citizens could visit the interior of the cella. These coin images suggest to the viewer a connection between the richly decorated temple façade and the experience of the festival or one's memory of it, a link that necessitated a clear representation of the cult image independent of "correct" proportions and the true appearance of the temple façade.

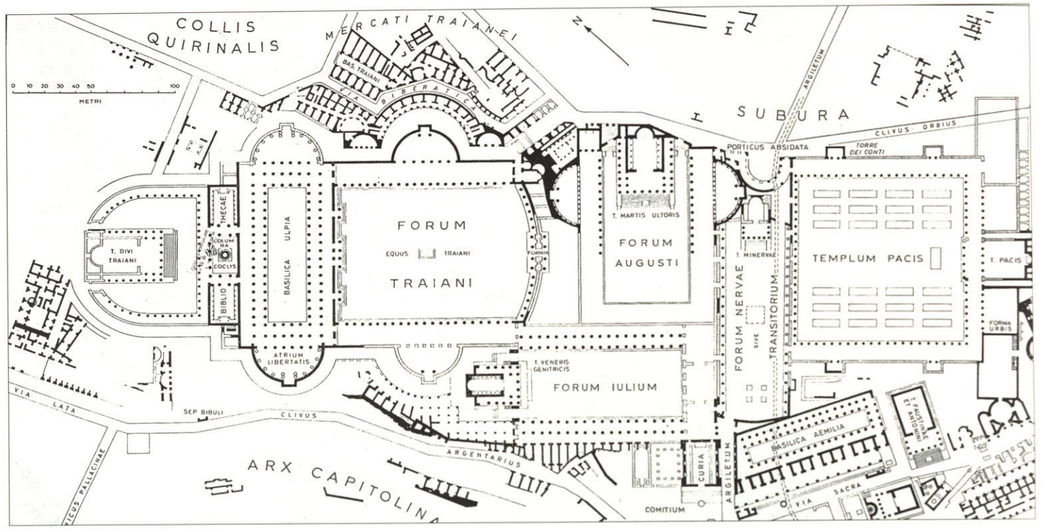
The numerous representations of cult ritual performed in front of the temple façade mostly by the emperor himself, such as the sacrifice of Caligula before the Temple of the Deified Augustus (fig. 10), emphasize the same connection in other ways. Occasionally the cult image is even shown directly as the object of the ritual, for example, the sacrifice of Alexander Severus before the Temple of Roma.[20] Obviously the intention is to evoke the recollection of the festival day and religious ceremony for the spectator. The same is true for the depiction of temples on the famous reliefs of the so-called Ara Pietatis.[21] Because of the "realistic" intention of the representation, the cult image is not visible here. But the architecture, with its scrupulously detailed sculptural decoration, is shown in the context of religious ritual. In this case, however, the splendid marble façade is not obscured by individuals involved in ceremony before the temple. Sacrificial animals and offerings have been deliberately moved to the side so that the façade can be seen in its full size and splendor (fig. 12). As a result, the observer directly faces the temple; the artist has placed the viewer right before the façade.

In these instances, as with the enlargement of sculpture, decisions about perception were probably made not so much by higher authorities as actually by the coin-minting official. The average Roman did not, needless to say, tour the city during a normal work day to admire the beauty of temple façades. Rather one experienced them mainly and most profoundly as background for festive cult celebrations, especially the great festivals of the gods and the rites of the state religion. For the contemporary observer, the architecture and its decor were placed in the context of sacrifice, prayers, and imperial appearances. The reliefs of the so-called Ara Pietatis Augustae also sought to evoke these experiences.

Pictorial Spaces

I turn now to the particular conditions under which visitors to the imperial fora perceived the specific placement of statues in these spaces. The imperial fora were closed, self-contained areas (figs. 12, 13). Each was strictly closed off from the next, even though they were adjacent to one another. The visitor entered individual spaces through splendid gateways that emphasized the transition from one unit to the next.[22]

These separate spatial entities also constituted specific *pictorial spaces*. They were differentiated not only by the subject matter of each visual program but also by an unmistakable *ambience* achieved through particu-



12. Imperial Fora, Rome
Reconstructed plan by Italo Gismondi, from *Enciclopedia di arte antica*, 6:838

lar architecture and decoration. Immediately obvious were the differences between the Forum of Trajan, with its images of war, weapons, and statuary of the military and enslaved barbarians, and the Forum of Vespasian (Temple of Peace), with its gardens, fountains, and promenades. The visitor encountered these monuments with very different expectations in terms of the ambience created by individual spaces, and so one's visual perception resulted in correspondingly different associations.

I would like to explain this by using the examples of the Forum of Augustus and the Forum Iulium; we even have a witness to their individual spatial effects in Ovid, a comparatively loquacious contemporary observer. For this Augustan poet, as we read in his *Ars Amatoria*, the Forum Iulium[23] is similar to the garden porticoes of Pompey and of Octavia in the Campus Martius, filled with the gods of love from whom even the lawyers practicing in the forum are not immune.

et fora conveniunt (quis credere possit?) Amori,
flammaque in arguto saepe reperta foro.
subdita qua Veneris facto de marmore templo
Appia expressis aera pulsat aquis,
illo saepe loco capitur consultus Amori,
quique aliis cavit, non cavet ipse sibi;
illo saepe loco veniunt, causaque agenda suast.
Hunc Venus e templis, qua sunt confinia, ridet:
Qui modo patronus, nunc cupit esse cliens.

Even the law courts (who could believe it) are suitable to love, often has its flame been found in the shrill-tongued court: where set beneath the marble shrine of Venus, the Appian nymph strikes the air with her upspringing waters, there often is the lawyer cheated by love, and he who was careful for others is not careful for himself; often there does the glib speaker fail for words: a new case comes on and his own cause must be pleaded. Venus laughs at him from her neighboring shrine: he who was of late an advocate would fain be a client now.[24]

(*Ars Amatoria* 1.79–88)

The ambience of the forum as experienced by Ovid's visitor was defined by large fountains installed directly in front of the podium of the Temple of Venus,[25] and by the lovestruck sculptures whose erotic character we may compare with that of a well-known group in the Sala degli Animali in the Vatican Museums (fig. 14).[26] The goddess herself is delighted and laughs at the merry bustle in the plaza at her feet. Even the pictorial decoration of the temple with its happy, carefree *erotes* may have contributed to the tone. The corresponding frieze of this new Trajanic building is taken from a Hellenistic model (fig. 15). One must take into consideration, of course, the fact that Ovid himself is here working within a particular literary genre. We know that other monuments existed in the forum, such as the famous equestrian statue of Caesar. But the position of the Fountain of the Appii at the foot of the temple was intended as deliberate staging in the imagery described by Ovid.

13. Model of ancient Rome
Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome; photograph: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome

Altogether different, however, was the ambience of the Forum of Augustus.[27] In his *Fasti* (5.550–568), Ovid has the master of the house, Mars, personally inspect the new construction and praise its size and grandeur. Everything here brings to mind war and triumph. The artistic agenda consists of statues that allude to Augustus, realized in a few verses as a dense network of references to images and ritual. Here even Ovid finds no room for distraction.

The reconstruction of the area confirms that it was dominated by temple and cult. The temple projected into the square with its grand steps, on which the great altar was placed—an excellent setting for the staging of the official rites associated with the temple. In the Forum Iulium, on the other hand, access to the cella was possible only from the sides because of the Fountain of the Appii; the altar probably did not appear as a separate entity at all. The single monument in the Forum of Augustus by necessity ceased to be available for various associations and independent expression and became merely one component in a coherent political program. The observer was likewise restricted in his possible associations; a neutral, open-minded reception is hard to imagine in this context.

It appears to me symptomatic that Claudius ordered that the features of Alexander the Great, in paintings donated to the forum by Augustus, be painted over with those of Augustus, an act reported with open criticism by Pliny the Elder:

quas utrasque tabulas divus Augustus in fori sui celeberrimis partibus dicaverat simplicitate moderata; divus Claudius pluris existimavit utrisque excisa Alexandri facie divi Augusti imagines adere . . .

Both of these pictures the deified Augustus, with restrained good taste, had dedicated in

the most frequented parts of this forum; the emperor Claudius, however, thought it more advisable to cut out the face of Alexander from both works and substitute portraits of Augustus.

(Pliny, *Natural History* 35.94)

The political agenda thus hardly allowed for images with independent statements.

I do not assume that the typical visitor grasped the entire pictorial program of the Forum of Augustus. In view of the abundance of images, one's perception must have been selective and targeted. But the visitor could hardly have escaped the many serious images that recalled the proud past of Rome and its hallowed history. If, for example, one wanted to decide on a place to meet in the great square, it was often, as several ancient sources report, near a sculpture or a pictorial work. A meeting point for one legal settlement, for example, was thus agreed on: "in foro Augusto ante statuam Gracci ad columnam quartam proxume gradus," probably in the east portico where statues of the *summi viri*, who did not belong to the family of the Julii, stood. Another judicial agreement stipulated "ante signum Dianae Luciferae ad columnam X."[28] Almost no area in the forum remained untouched by programmatic imagery. Whoever visited the square to conduct other business must also have noticed the statues and pictures. They were inevitably used for topographical orientation. That does not mean, of course, that the visitor could not also become bored with this forest of images and, jaded, turn to other matters, such as the artist who engraved an erotic *symplegma* on the steps of the Temple of Mars.[29]

Vespasian's Temple of Peace, whose basic ground plan we know through fragments of the Forma Urbis (figs. 16, 17), is classified by type as a portico, a great colonnaded square used as a leisure garden, and is mentioned as a forum only in later sources.[30] But there can be no doubt that it belongs in the category of imperial fora. As in the related porticoes of an earlier date, *otium* awaited the visitor: gardens, fountains, shade trees,[31] a library, and a profusion of works of art in the colonnades and exedrae. The Temple of Peace, incorporated into the east portico of the square, took a subordinate role similar to that of the temple in the other imperial fora. Here it seems that the perception of the visitor was that of an idle stroller.

14. Group of statues from the Sala degli Animali
Sala degli Animali, Vatican; photograph: Alinari

15. Frieze of putti from the reconstructed Temple of Venus in the Forum Iulium
Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome; from Ernest Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary* (London, 1961), 1:425

In contrast to the Forum of Augustus, the monuments displayed in the Temple of Peace were not part of a coherent program. Literary sources report that the various objects displayed side by side must have been unrelated decorative pieces laid out in an arbitrary arrangement. Famous works of art, in part from Nero's Domus Aurea, stood beside *curiosa* and *mirabilia*. We hear of classical paintings by celebrated masters, among them mythological subjects such as a Ialysos and a Skylla, but also one with a historical theme, *The Battle of the Issos*, by the woman painter Helena. Among the numerous sculptures were an archaic Aphrodite; a statue of an athlete, the Olympic victor Cheimon, by the sculptor Naukydes; a Ganymede; a personification of the Nile with sixteen putti, carved, according to Pliny (*Natural History* 36.58), from the largest extant block of basalt, a stone quarried only in Ethiopia; in addition, the famous cow of Myron (to which I will return); the seven-branched candelabrum from the temple in Jerusalem; and much more.[32]

This clearly nonprogrammatic approach permitted a more open response in contrast to the fora of Augustus and of Trajan and even the Forum Iulium. The observer here must have been free to attach associations to the works of art themselves or to the decorative scheme as a whole. Of course, one could conceive of the scheme as existing for the benefit of the new emperor, who, in contrast to his predecessor, made all these beautiful works available to the people and, moreover, having captured Judea, had brought to Rome as booty the renowned sacred objects from the temple in Jerusalem. As the eyewitness Flavius Josephus observed (*Jewish War* 7.5.7 [158]), the opulence and variety of the furnishings stood as a symbol for Rome as the center of the world: "In that sanctuary were gathered together and deposited all those works which, in order to see, a tourist previously had to travel the world and see each in a different place."

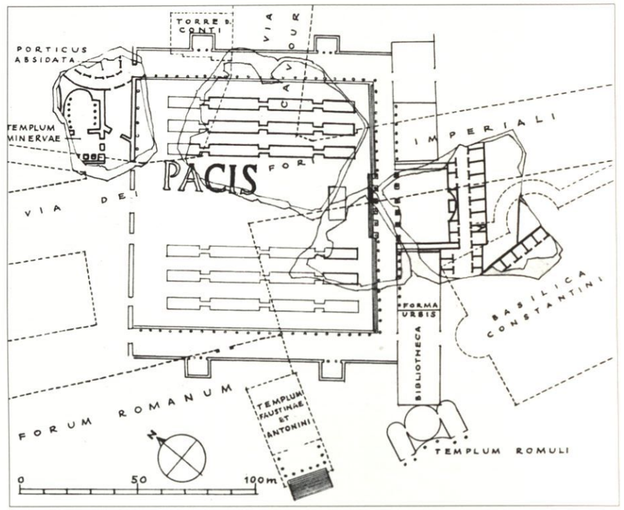
But even this interpretation was only one of several possibilities. At least here in contemplating individual objects, viewers could be

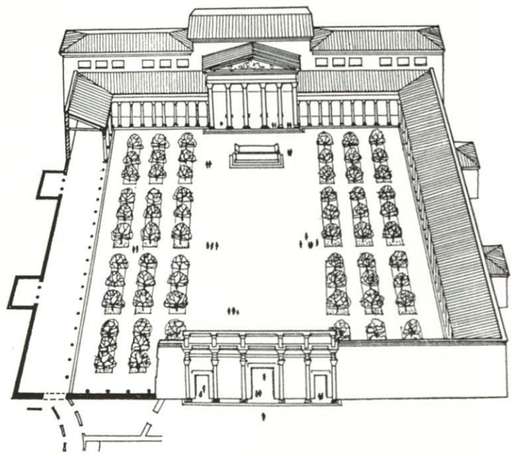
completely free to follow their personal associations without any particular "program." One could be interested in the subject matter of a work, its artistic quality, or the particular material from which it was made; but also in a great historical event such as the battle of Alexander; or one could simply gape at the sights and become as tired as a museum visitor of any period.

That does not mean, however, that connections with the theme of "peace" may not have determined the associations for an appropriate subject. This was perhaps the case with the celebrated cow of Myron—it may be the work of art represented on a burial urn of the Trajanic period, which a freedman had obtained for his wife (fig. 18). If this identification were correct, it would provide for us one of the very few immediate witnesses of a visual response to a well-known work of art in imperial Rome.[33] As shown in relief on the urn, the base for the cow is decorated with garlands; this virtually confirms that it was meant for a statue, but the addition of a small tree also placed the work of art in a bucolic setting. Perhaps the impression of bucolic happiness and peace in the square was suggested by a corresponding setting for the famous cow, as one has supposed on the basis of the well-known description of the ruins of the Temple of Peace by Prokopios (*Gothic War* 4.21).[34] But other interpretations of the cow on the urn are possible: it could be a votive offering or a sacrificial animal, and not after all a masterpiece by the most eminent of animal sculptors.[35]

These were the various perceptual conditions to which the viewer in the imperial fora was exposed. It is clear that, for example, a Greek statue of Aphrodite would have been situated in very different contexts in the Forum of Caesar, the Forum of Augustus, or the Temple of Peace and would have been perceived with correspondingly different associations. The same is true for a second group of works already mentioned, namely, the pictures of Alexander in the Forum of Augustus and in the Temple of Peace. In one case the image of Alexander as a ruler was impressed on the viewer through the decorative program; in the other, the principal attraction of the work may have rested in the fact that the painter was a woman.

The contiguous arrangement of these variously defined pictorial spaces in the succession of imperial fora must have immediately suggested comparisons to the viewer. This was as true for local residents who visited often as it was for foreigners who came to Rome perhaps with a specific itinerary in mind. At the same time, the visitor must have noticed the specific spatial arrangements and visual programs; how the squares became larger in time, and how, in turn, successive rulers surpassed one another in expense and ornament.





16. Vespasian's Temple of Peace, plan
After the fragments of the Forma Urbis; from Nash 1961, 1:536

17. Vespasian's Temple of Peace, reconstruction
From A. Boëthius and John B. Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1970), 220, fig. 92

18. Marble urn
Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome; photograph: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome

In fact, the emperors were under pressure to compete with public buildings. This was especially true for buildings of similar purpose and in neighboring locations, for which the imperial fora are extreme examples. Numerous sculptural and architectural quotations and references prove that the competition regarding the imperial fora was deliberate. Thus, as is well known, the great exedrae of the Forum of Trajan relate to the Forum of Augustus, in such a way that this impressive spatial form by the architect of the Forum of Trajan uses not only the porticoes but also the short sides of the Basilica Ulpia and is thus repeated four times. Likewise the statues of Dacians before the attics of the porticoes refer to the caryatids in the Forum of Augustus. There are also subtle references everywhere in the ornamentation. Alfred Frazer, taking up an idea of Peter H. von Blanckenhagen, recently made a convincing argument about the corresponding dimensions and measurements of the ground plans of the imperial fora, which can hardly be interpreted other than as deliberate references to the architecture of already existing buildings.[36]

The growing size and escalating costs of the imperial public buildings may be understood as a tribute to the astute observer as well. Emperors in their role as master builders were in ceaseless competition with their successful predecessors. In part, this directly influenced the style. One need merely think of the fabulous luxury of Flavian architectural ornament compared to that of the early empire. Through the development toward more expensive decoration and costly materials, the attention of the discriminating viewer was increasingly focused on formal criteria. If these observations prove correct, this could support the interpretation proposed above for the evolving representation of sculpture and decoration on buildings as seen on later coinage.

But is there any indication that architects and sculptors actually worked with the viewer in mind? The imperial columns provide indisputable evidence for a conscious awareness of the viewer's experience. The relief on the column of Marcus Aurelius is clearly more pronounced than that on the column of Trajan; the figures are fewer but larger; the composition obviously attempts to achieve more of a billboard effect. On the column of Arcadius, even more decisive changes are intended. Doubtless these formal changes must be understood as a reaction to the frustration viewers of the column of Trajan must have felt.[37]

NOTES

I am especially grateful to Dietrich Boschung and Valentin Kockel for their review of my text and for their suggestions. Helmut Schubert in Frankfurt and Mrs. Hurter, Bank Leu, Zurich, provided kind assistance in obtaining illustrations. This paper was translated by Andrew Oliver and Ulrike Mills.

1. Easily comprehensible overviews can be found in Philip V. Hill, *The Monuments of Ancient Rome as Coin Types* (London, 1989); Harald Küthmann and Bernhard Overbeck, eds., *Bauten Roms auf Münzen und Medaillen* [exh. cat., Staatliche Münzsammlungen München] (Munich, 1973); Günter Fuchs, *Architekturdarstellungen auf römischen Münzen* (Berlin, 1969).

2. Harold Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, 6 vols. (hereafter *BMC*) (London, 1923), 1:178, no. 95, pl. 33.11–14; Fuchs 1969, 45; Küthmann and Overbeck 1973, 75, no. 145; Hill 1989, 49, fig. 74.

3. Compare Fred S. Kleiner, *The Arch of Nero in Rome: A Study of the Roman Honorary Arch before and under Nero* (Rome, 1985), 51; Hill 1989, 49; Küthmann and Overbeck 1973, nos. 18–21, 143–146.

4. *BMC* 1:234, no. 183, pl. 43.3; Kleiner 1985, with commentary by Dietrich Boschung in *Gnomon* 61 (1989), 186.

5. Paul L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des 2. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1931–1933), 1:92–95, pl. 4, no. 331; Hill 1989, 50, fig. 76.

6. *BMC* 3:177, no. 842, pl. 31.7–9; Strack 1931, 1:106, pl. 6:387; Küthmann and Overbeck 1973, 56, no. 108; John P.C. Kent, Bernhard Overbeck, and Arnim U. von Stylow, *Die römische Münze* (Munich, 1973), pl. 69.260; Hill 1989, 101, fig. 198.

7. *BMC* 5:216, no. 320, pl. 35.5; Ernest Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 2 vols. (London, 1961), 127, fig. 134; Hill 1989, 51, fig. 80.

8. For Octavian's Columna Rostrata, see Jean-Baptiste Giard, *Catalogue des monnaies de l'Empire romain*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1976, 1988), 1:nos. 68–71, pl. 11; Fuchs 1969, pl. 7.84–85; Hill 1989, 60, fig. 95. For the columns of Trajan and Antoninus Pius, see Hill 1989, 57; for the coins, see Giovanni Becatti, *La colonna coclide istoriata* (Rome, 1960), pls. 2–3; compare Strack 1931, 205–206, with suggestions for additional material; Nash 1961, 270.

9. *BMC* 1:137, pls. 24.14 and 25.4,5,7; Kent 1973, pl. 42.164; Hill 1989, 25, fig. 32.

10. *BMC* 3:181, no. 857, pls. 32.5–7; Küthmann and Overbeck 1973, 44, no. 81; Hill 1989, 9, no. 1.

11. *BMC* 2:346, no. 242, pl. 67.8; Hill 1989, 25, fig. 32.

12. Francesco Gnechi, *I medaglioni romani*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1912), 2:83, pl. 101.6; *BMC* 6:143, no. 325; Hill 1989, 98, fig. 188; Küthmann and Overbeck 1973, 73, nos. 141–142; Nash 1961, 2:125.

13. *BMC* 5:351, no. 857, pl. 52.1; Küthmann and Overbeck 1973, 64, no. 122; Hill 1989, 107, fig. 203.

14. For the temples of Venus and Roma, see *BMC* 4:205, no. 1279, pls. 29.10–13; 211, no. 1322, pl. 31.3; Hill 1989, 15, figs. 9, 10. For the Temple of Diva Faustina, see *BMC* 4:234, no. 1454, pl. 35.3–4; compare Küthmann and Overbeck 1973, 24–25.

15. *BMC* 1:153, no. 41, pls. 28.6,9 and 29.14; Küthmann and Overbeck 1973, 23–24; Fuchs 1969, pl. 10.

16. Compare Paul Zanker, *Forum Augustum* (Tübingen, 1968), 17–18, fig. 44; and Zanker, *Forum Romanum* (Tübingen, 1972), 22, figs. 32, 33.

17. Compare Tonio Hölscher, *Staatsdenkmal und Publikum* (Constance, 1984).

18. Paul Zanker, "Bilderzwang: Augustan Political Symbolism in the Private Sphere," in *Image and Mystery in the Roman World: Three Papers Given in Memory of Jocelyn Toynbee* (Gloucester, 1988), 1–22.

19. Michael H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (Cambridge, 1974), 537, no. 540.1, pl. 64; Fuchs 1969, pl. 5.58; Nash 1961, 1:512.

20. *BMC* 6:168, pl. 18.536; Gnechi 2:pl. 100.1–2; Küthmann and Overbeck 1973, 36, no. 62.

21. Nash 1961, 1:74; Mario Torelli, *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Relief* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1982), 63; Eugenio La Rocca, "Ara reditus Claudii: Linguaggio figurativo e simbologia nell'età di Claudio," in *La Storia, la letteratura e l'arte a Roma da Tiberio a Domiziano*, Atti del Convegno Mantova 1990 (Mantua, 1992), 61–120.

22. Since no excavation findings have yet been published, there is still no convincing comprehensive text available on the imperial fora. For James C. Anderson Jr.'s *The Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora*, Collection Latomus 182 (Brussels, 1984), compare the review by Pierre Gros in *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 63.1 (1985), 164–167. A report on more recent literature can be found in John R. Patterson, "The City of Rome: From Republic to Empire," *Journal of Roman Studies* 82 (1992), 207–210. A critical overview of the published plans can be found in Alfred Frazer, "The Imperial Fora: Their Dimensional Link," in *Eius Virtutis Studiosi: Classical and Postclassical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown*, Studies in the History of Art 43 (Washington, 1993), 411–419.

23. See the latest research on the Forum Iulium in Roger B. Ulrich, "Iulius Caesar and the Creation of the Forum Iulium," *American Journal of Archaeology* 97 (1993), 49–80. Compare also the literary sources in Hans Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, vol. 1.2 (Berlin, 1885); Josephus Lugli, *Fontes ad Topographiam Veteris Urbis Romae Pertinentes* (Rome, 1965), 6.16:1–15.

24. Ovid, *The Art of Love and Other Poems*, trans. J. H. Mozley, Loeb ed. (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1939).

25. Roger B. Ulrich, "The Appiades Foundation of the Forum Iulium," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* (hereafter *RM*) 93 (1986), 405–423.

26. Walter-Herwig Schuchhardt, *Die Epochen der griechischen Plastik* (Baden-Baden, 1959), 128, fig. 103; Wolfgang Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen der klassischen Altertümer in Rom I* (Tübingen, 1963), 76, no. 100.

27. See Joachim Ganzert and Valentin Kockel, "Augustusforum und Mars-Ultor-Tempel," in *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik* [exh. cat.] (Berlin, 1988), 149–200. Text sources (although unreliable) compiled by Lugli 1965, 15–37; illustrations, Zanker 1968.

28. G. Camodeca, "Una nuova fonte sulla topografia del foro di Augusto," *Athenaeum Pavia* 64 (1986), 505; and Camodeca, "Archivio puteolano di Sulpicii: I documenti vadimoniali," *Puteoli* 7–8 (1983–1984), 63–66. The meaning of *[prox]ume gradus* on the recently found small wax tablet remains uncertain.

29. Valentin Kockel, "Beobachtungen zum Tempel des Mars Ultor und zum Forum des Augustus," *RM* 90 (1983), 447–448.

30. Samuel B. Platner and Thomas Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Oxford, 1929), 386–388; Nash 1961, 1:439–445; in addition to the more recent works mentioned in Patterson 1992, 209, compare Ferdinando Castagnoli, "Politica urbanistica di Vespasiano in Roma," in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi Vespasiani* (Rieti, 1981), 1:271–275; Rolf A. Stucky, "Rückgriffe in der Kunst der mittleren Kaiserzeit," *Hefte des Archäologischen Seminars der Universität Bern* 11 (1986), 30–33.

31. Compare Robert B. Lloyd, "Three Monumental Gardens on the Marble Plan," *American Journal of Archaeology* 86 (1982), 91–100.

32. Literary sources for the pictorial decorations in the Forum Pacis are in Jordan 1907, 1.3:2–7.

33. Friederike Sinn, *Stadtrömische Marmorurnen* (Mainz, 1987), 194, no. 431, pl. 67a–b. For interpretation see Nikolaus Himmelmann, *Über Hirten-Genre in der antiken Kunst* (Opladen, 1980), 123, pl. 40.

34. Himmelmann 1980, 116. The romantic backdrop designed by Prokopios is, unfortunately, filled with literary *topoi*, so that its actual topographical value is questionable.

35. D. Boschung, "Nobilia Opera: Zur Wirkungsgeschichte griechischer Meisterwerke im kaiserzeitlichen Rom," *Antike Kunst* 32 (1989), 8–16.

36. Frazer 1993.

37. Becatti 1960.