

THE AUGUSTAN RECONSTRUCTION (31 BCE–14 CE)

PROLOGUE: THE REPUBLICAN FORUM (508–31)

Established as a meeting place for the inhabitants of the adjacent, previously independent villages, the Republican Forum occupied an irregularly shaped, marshy valley below the Palatine and Capitoline Hills. Reclaiming the central marsh by massive earth fills in the late sixth century, its builders initiated the continuous evolutionary changes that, in the next five centuries (c. 525–44), transformed the site into the Forum of the

late Republic. Literary tradition credited the Temple of Vesta at the southeast end of the valley to Rome's second king, Numa Pompilius (715–673), who had erected it next to the Regia, his own residence. At the northwest end, Pompilius' successor, Tullius Hostilius (672–641), built the Curia Hostilia, the Senate House named after him, and, in front of it, the Comitium, the outdoor meeting place for Rome's popular assemblies. At the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth centuries, the early republican Temples of Saturn and Castor went up to the south, and, by the fourth century, a line of aristocratic dwellings connected these temples and defined the edges of the piazza (Fig. 1.1).

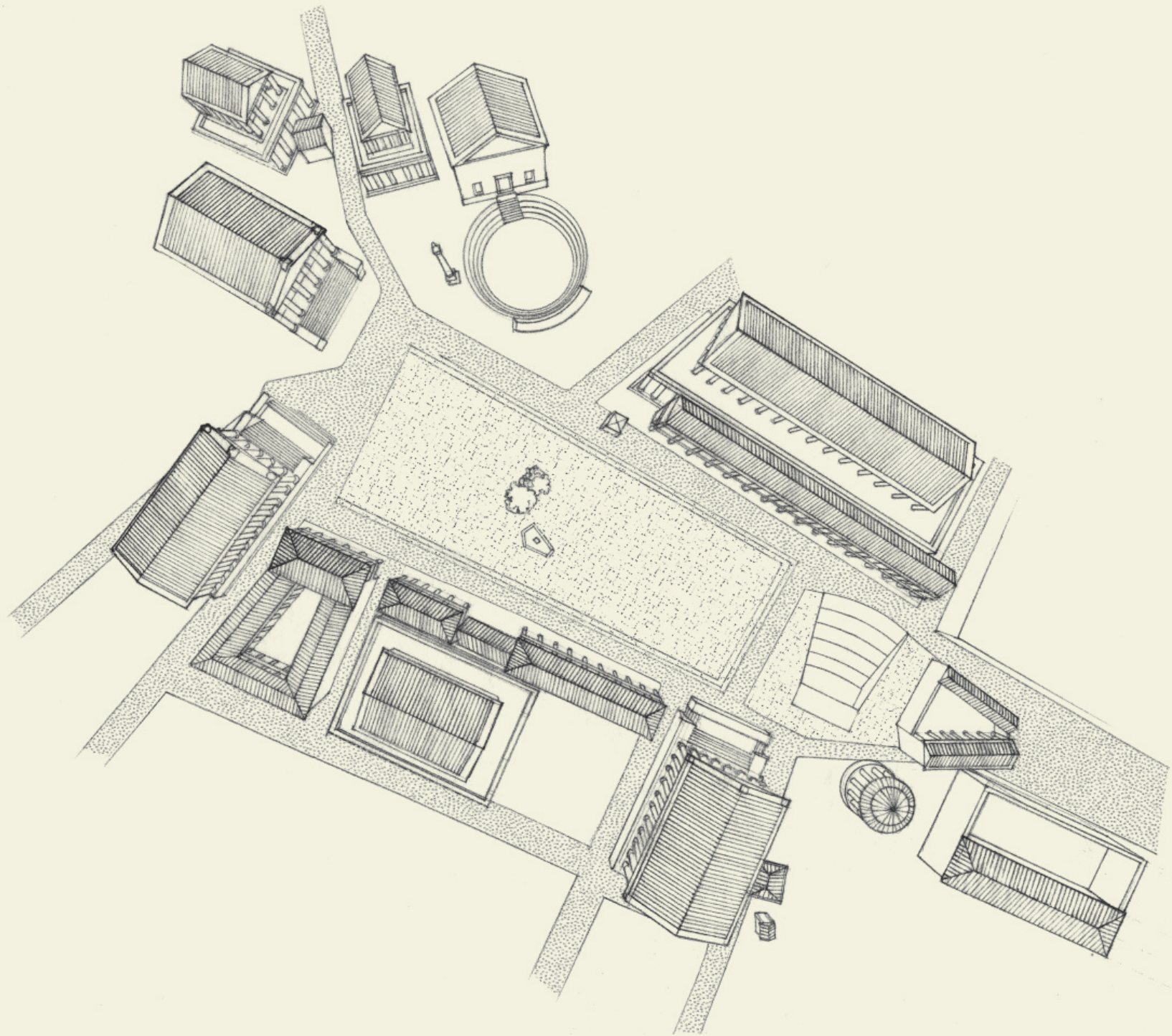


Fig. 1.1. The Republican Forum from above. (G. Gorski)

During the course of the second century, two rectangular basilicas replaced many of these houses. On the north side of the Forum stood the Basilica Fulvia (later called Aemilia), and to the south, the Basilica Sempronia. In the late second century, a temple to Concord on the northwest side of the Forum commemorated an aristocratic victory over the people, and by early in the next century (after 78), the monumental facade of the Tabularium, with its impressive second-story arcade and engaged Doric Order (Figs. 11.1, 2, 6, 9, 10, 21.21), hid the slope of the Capitoline Hill.

By midcentury, the republican government could no longer control the state effectively, and Caesar began the imperial age with the destruction of the ancient Comitium (Fig. 1.1). He replaced it with a new Rostra that faced east into the Forum along a line parallel to the front of the Tabularium (Fig. 8.4). He also aligned the south lateral colonnade of his own new Forum to the northwest with the site of the Curia and in 45 or 44 began the reconstruction of the latter.¹ This “Curia Julia,” named after Caesar’s clan, was still unfinished when Caesar was assassinated, and in the political reaction against Caesar after his death, the Senate briefly (and unsuccessfully) tried to call the new structure by its ancient name, the “Curia Hostilia” (infra, p. 12). Overlooking the south side of the Forum, the front arcade of Caesar’s Basilica Julia, a redesigned version of the old Sempronia, had engaged Doric columns and interior aisles with innovative concrete vaults. Facing it stood Lucius Aemilius Paullus’ new splendidly rebuilt Basilica Aemilia (finished in 55).

PROBLEMS AND RESOURCES

The Forum at the Beginning of Augustus’ Reign

When Augustus celebrated his victory in 31 over his last famous rivals, Antony and Cleopatra, the political disturbances of the recent past had interrupted construction of three of the Forum’s major new sites. Owing to the recent civil wars, the temple to the deified Caesar at the east end of the piazza, the site where Caesar’s body had been cremated, was still unfinished (Figs. 0.3, 4.7–10). Caesar’s new Basilica Julia, his replacement for the old Basilica Sempronia, and the promised new Curia were only partly finished (Fig. 1.4). Of the Forum’s three great temples, Saturn had been under construction since 42 (Figs. 1.3–5, 21.21–23). The other three, dedicated to Concord (Figs. 0.4, 1.3), Castor and Pollux, and Vesta (Figs. 1.5, 19), also probably needed serious maintenance. The former two were politically significant. In the last years of the Republic, the Senate met often in the Temple of Concord (and sometimes in the Temple of Castor), while speakers frequently addressed the people from the rostrum in front of the Temple of Castor. Concord was, unfortunately, too small for an increasingly sizeable Senate, and both buildings, of tufa and travertine masonry finished in stucco, must have seemed to Rome’s new “first citizen” (*princeps*) Octavian – called Augustus after



Fig. 1.2. Forum, elevation/section looking east. (G. Gorski)



Fig. 1.3. Forum, elevation/section looking west. (G. Gorski)

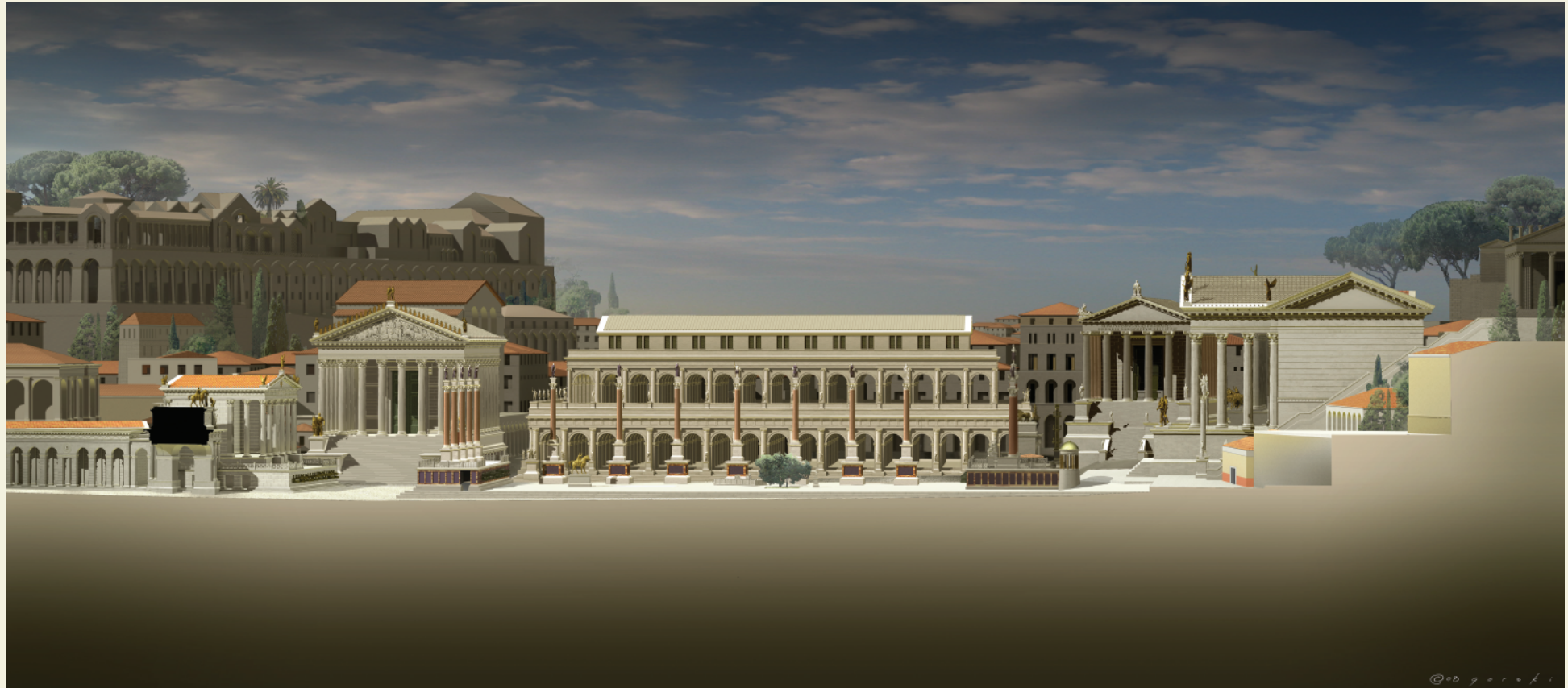


Fig. 1.4. Forum, elevation/section 1 looking south. (G. Gorski)

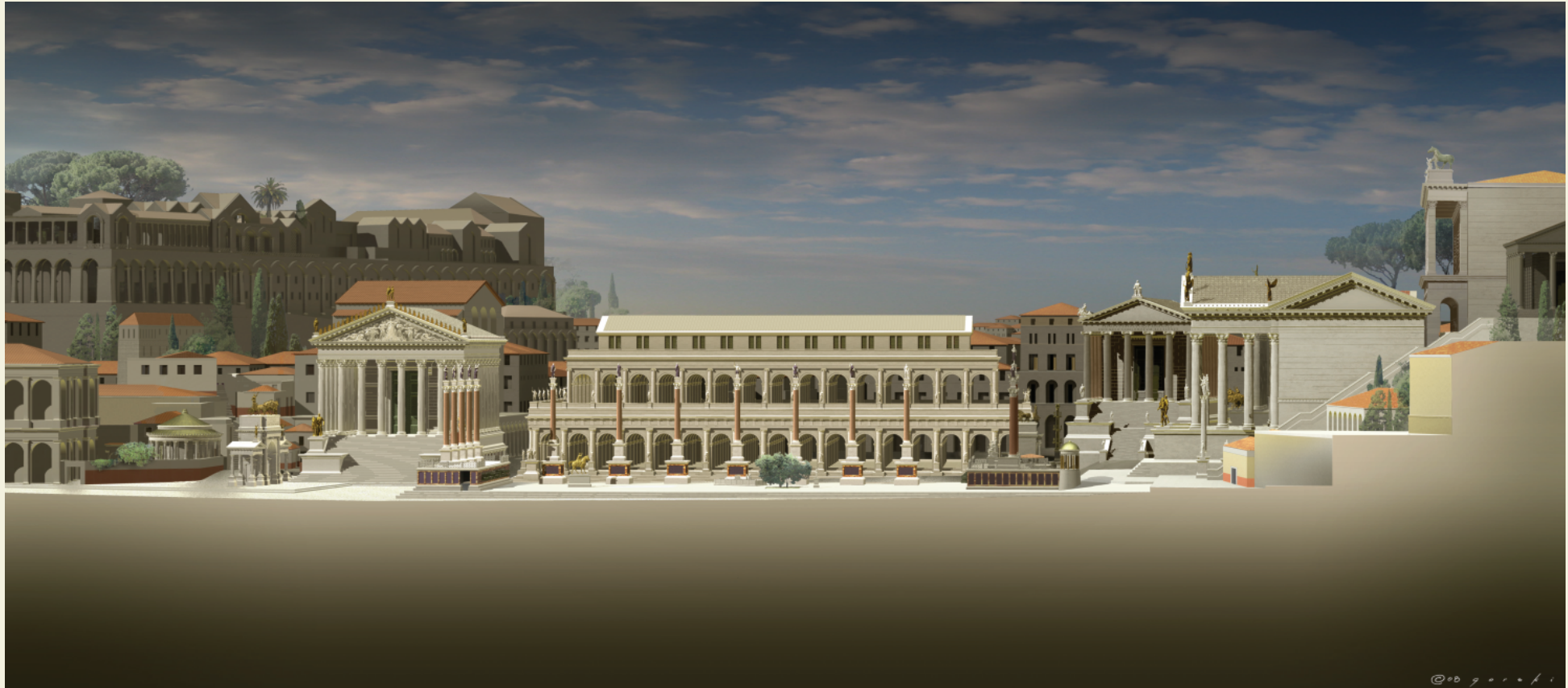


Fig. 1.5. Forum, elevation/section 2 looking south. (G. Gorski)



Fig. 1.6. Forum, elevation/section looking north. (G. Gorski)

27 – too simple, too old fashioned for the political center of an expanding Mediterranean empire.

Clearly he needed to restore the Forum, but other sites also demanded his attention. After Caesar's assassination in 44, Octavian's *pietas*, personal and imperial, required that he complete the new Forum of Caesar, the principal architectural project of his adopted father. And, with Octavian's vow of a new temple to Mars Ultor (Mars the Avenger) in 42, he had committed himself to a major new project that ultimately resulted in the construction of a second new forum just northeast of the old one. Designed to meet the needs and government business of Rome's increasing population, the new monument was to be even more splendid than Caesar's Forum. Of course, the new first citizen also undertook other novel projects throughout Rome and the empire. All, however, had similar problems. How were they to be financed? How would they be designed? From what materials would they be constructed?

Financing

The answers to these questions affected all of Augustus' buildings, but they were particularly important for his vast expenditures on the old Forum, the traditional political center of the Roman world.² While Augustus provided some funds for utilitarian monuments, roads, bridges, and harbors, he also required local communities and private benefactors to copay the costs, and, although the imperial government subsequently maintained

these monuments, it also had considerable help from taxes paid by local landowners.³ The costs of government buildings like basilicas came from the treasury of the state or from private grants.⁴ Under the Republic, *manubiae*, military spoils, had paid most of the expenses for grandiose public monuments,⁵ and Augustus continued that tradition.⁶ The enormous booty from his conquest of Egypt in 31 must have underwritten most of his early buildings on the site,⁷ and these expenditures demonstrated to the citizens of Rome the *liberalitas* of their new ruler.⁸

Building Types

Temples. Long established, the older temples – Vesta, Castor and Pollux, Saturn, and Concord – were traditionally laid out. Only the Temple of Vesta, derived from a primitive round hut, was uniquely circular. On a high podium, the outer colonnade encircled the facade, but the stair to the podium was confined to the northeast side and aligned with the entrance to the cella (20.14, 15, 17). All the other temples were rectangular, frontally oriented buildings on high podia reached by formal stairways (Figs. 0.1, 4, 1.2–6).⁹

In some, like the imperial Temple of Castor (Fig. 18.8), the porch columns continued around the sides and back of the building. Usually they ended at the facade of the cella with its handsomely decorated front door (Antoninus and Faustina Figs. 3.15–17; Caesar Figs. 4.7–9; Concord Figs. 9.8–10; Vespasian Figs. 6–10; Saturn Figs. 13.8–10), and pilasters either divided

the lateral walls into bays (Vespasian 10.7, 9) and/or served as vertical points of emphasis at the backs of the porches and at or near the rear corners of the buildings (Antoninus and Faustina Figs. 3.15, 17; Caesar Fig. 4.9). On other temples (Saturn Figs. 13.8, 10; Vesta Figs. 20.6, 14), columns attached to or embedded in cella walls replaced the pilasters: the fronts of the columns divided the sides and back facades into bays.

Basilicas. The Republican Forum originally had three or four basilicas (Fig. 1.1), although by the beginning of Augustus' reign or shortly thereafter, two no longer stood. Built by the elder Cato in 184, the oldest of these, the Basilica Porcia located near the Curia Hostilia, had burned along with the Curia during the disorders of 52.¹⁰ The Basilica Opimia may have adjoined the old Temple of Concord, but while it could have been intact in 31, it disappeared shortly afterward, leaving only the Aemilia and the incomplete Julia.

Initially both probably had very similar plans. Rectangular structures, they turned one long side toward the Forum.¹¹ Streets framed the other sides, and external colonnades gave access to the interiors. The Forum facades also had colonnades in front of shop rows, and stairways took visitors to second-floor terraces from which they could view the Forum. Short halls led through the shops into interiors divided by colonnades into wide naves flanked by narrow aisles. Walls and columns were of tufa. Travertine blocks reinforced weak areas, and travertine was used for column bases and capitals. As in the temples, stucco probably

hid (and embellished) the masonry. Roofs were identical to those of temples (if larger) and consisted of wooden trusses and beams protected externally by tiles. To lessen their weight and decorate the spaces below, the wooden ceilings were coffered and would also have been finished with stucco.

In the late Republic, architects introduced significant innovations. The first probably appeared when the consul Lucius Aemilius Paulus rebuilt the Basilica Aemilia in 55.¹² Influenced no doubt by the designs of the Tabularium and the just-completed Theater of Pompey (dedicated in the same year), Paulus' architect roofed the shops by a series of parallel barrel vaults and the arcade in front of them by a line of groin vaults. These vaults supported the wide terrace above the shops and arcade. The vaults also radically altered the character of the facade. To provide adequate support for them, an arcade replaced the old front colonnade, its piers (as in the Tabularium and the Theater of Pompey) ornamented with engaged columns. The walls were still of tufa and travertine, but the new vaults would have been of concrete. While more sumptuously executed, the interior of the basilica behind the arcade probably changed very little.

These innovations were under way or had just been completed when Caesar began to rebuild the old Basilica Sempronia as the Basilica Julia. Like Paulus' architect(s), Caesar's builders devised an entirely new plan (Fig. 14.12).¹³ It included piers and vaults like the portico in the Aemilia – but on a much grander scale. Used throughout the building, they produced a larger, stronger, multistoried structure of unprecedented design. The old

front shops, the *tabernae veteres*, were transferred to the back of the building. Still accessible to the patrons of the basilica, henceforth they could be independently reached from a back street. Thus much of the structure's commercial activity could be carried on independently without disturbing legal proceedings in the nave. On the back facade, shop doors facing a street replaced the arcade.¹⁴ Caesar dedicated this still incomplete new building in 46, and when it burned in 14, Augustus rebuilt it larger and more splendidly finished (*infra*, p. 29).¹⁵

Shops (Tabernae).¹⁶ According to Livy,¹⁷ Tarquinius Priscus (616–579), the first of Rome's two Etruscan kings, divided the area around the Forum into private lots and built porticoes and shops (*tabernae*). Butchers originally occupied many of the latter (*tabernae lanienae*), but in the late fourth century, silversmiths or money changers (*Argentariae*) took over those on the north side of the piazza. By the late third century, rows of shops determined the character and appearance of both the north and south sides of the Forum. Offering protection against the weather, colonnades along their facades linked the shops together into larger commercial structures, and terraces on the upper floors overlooked the piazza. During the Second Punic War, arsonists burned the two rows of shops (March 23, 210 BCE), but, as important parts of the Forum's civic furniture, both were quickly replaced. The south group, the "Seven shops," was rebuilt first in 209 after fires as the "Five."¹⁸ By 169, they had become known as the "Veteres," the "old shops."¹⁹ Enlivening their facades, a famous work by the

scene painter Serapio was protected by projecting, second-story "maenian balconies," named after the owner of the first balcony that overlooked the Forum, and the other art in the shops seems to have been either satiric or popular in character.²⁰ Rebuilt in the same year as the "old shops,"²¹ the commercial row on the north side of the Forum came to be known as the "Argentariae Novae" ("new money changers' row") or simply as the "Novae" (the "new shops").²²

The days of these separate shop rows in the Forum were coming to a close, however. The last five shops built near the Forum during the Republic were integrated into the second story of the Tabularium in 78.²³ Offering modern tourists extended vistas of the Forum's ruins, this arcaded gallery is today accessible from the basement of the Capitoline Museum. In antiquity, however, as a paved, covered street accessed through high arches to the north and south,²⁴ it connected the Capitolium and the Arx. The gabled roof of the old Temple of Concord closed off the first two or three arches at the north end of this street, but most of its arcades were open, flooding the interior with light and giving customers of the shops sweeping views of the Forum (Figs. 0.2–3). For nearly the first century of its existence, the shops in this fine arcade, profiting from their handsome views, probably sold the luxurious products that attracted an upper-class clientele. After the new temples of Concord and Vespasian went up in the first century CE, however, their massive roofs blocked out most of the arcade's light and hid the wonderful views of the Forum (Figs. 0.4, 1.3). If the shops survived thereafter, they must have sold only poorer

merchandise, but their proprietors may have abandoned them altogether, using the empty spaces only for storage.

All the new shops must have reproduced the plans of earlier Forum shops. Nonetheless, following the design of the Tabularium arcade, one significant design change took place: shop rows were no longer completely independent. To construct an enlarged basilica on the site of the Sempronia, Caesar had demolished the “old shops,” the *tabernae veteres*, and, to compensate for their loss, had included a row of new ones in his basilica – but to emphasize the open, public character of its Forum side, he banished the seventeen shops to a back wing. While accessible from the basilica, these stores – although some may have been offices – also opened into the street behind the building. Indeed, since most of their supplies must have come from that street, these shops were rather more separate from the life of the basilica and the Forum than those attached to the Basilica Aemilia. The heavy vaulting that survives in the southwest corner of the Basilica Julia indicates that, closed off from the Basilica, the windows of the shop mezzanines must have opened into the back street. And from there, stairways could have led to offices and apartments on a third floor, giving the basilica’s south facade the character of an “*insula*,” an apartment house with a commercial ground floor and halls that led to the interior of the basilica. When Augustus rebuilt the structure after a disastrous fire in 12 (*infra*, p. 27), he kept this arrangement.

The position and architectural treatment of the *Argentariae* was very different. Long attached to the Basilica Fulvia-Aemilia (or vice versa), when rebuilt along with the basilica, they were the

most important architectural part of the new complex. Their plan (Fig. 5.18) repeated that of the earlier shop block: generously proportioned stores, close access to the Forum, a broad internal corridor, and, for the proprietors of the shops, living space in mezzanines lighted (as in the Tabularium) from the access corridor.²⁵ Their size and adroitly finished marble fittings completely outclassed those of their predecessor (Fig. 5.12). Both the covered arcade and the eleven new shops were decorated with marble. Between the shops the three discreetly integrated marble halls that led into the basilica were the same size as the adjacent stores. Only their wide openings into the arcade and their richer internal decorations distinguished these vestibules from their commercial neighbors.

The locations of other shops in the imperial Forum were associated with one or perhaps two religious structures, the Temple of Castor and Pollux and the Portico of the *Dei Consentes*. Owing to the design of its podium, Castor’s *tabernae* (Figs. 18.3, 10) were narrow, restricted spaces without mezzanine windows. Some, in fact, seem to have been used only as bank vaults. Still, if the physical limitations of the premises did not attract the same high-class business that distinguished the basilica stores, the customers may still have come from a slightly better class than many of the neighborhood habitués: “those [in the nameless street behind the Temple of Castor] whom you would do ill to trust too quickly” or the gay hustlers who hung out in the *Vicus Tuscus* on the east side of the temple.²⁶ Yet, like the two cobblers who occupied adjacent shops and came to blows over the death of a pet crow in the early first century CE (*infra*, p. 289), these tiny stores probably

housed only lower-class tradesmen like the barber/dentist who conducted his business in the north shop on the west side of the podium, the largest of the temple's shops. Accessible through a trap door, a channel in its floor, originally covered with wooden boards, served as a drain for hair, nail cuttings, and teeth. Water poured into the channel expedited after-hours cleanups, but the existence of the channel also assured superstitious customers that parts of their bodies could not fall into the hands of practitioners of black magic.²⁷ Some of the shops had metal grills in front of their doors; some attached fixtures to the pilaster bases that flanked the doors. "When one adds to this the different interiors, functions and customers of the tabernae, a bazaar-like picture is conjured up."²⁸

The first- and second-story rooms in the Portico of the Dei Consentes look like shops (Figs. 12.1–2, 4, 12): on the main floor, smallish rooms with wide doors behind an L-shaped portico; on the ground floor, six similar rooms that flank the little street that runs between the portico and the Temple of Vespasian. The surviving architectural details are too fine for a commercial building, however. On the upper floor, the portico columns have shafts of expensive Greek cipollino with elaborately decorated flutes (see p. 217; Figs 12.1, 12–13); and the white marble Corinthianizing capitals include trophies, some with the sagging pectorals and pot bellies of satirical cartoons (Figs. 12.8–9, 13). That the rooms behind the colonnade did not have mezzanine windows suggests uninhabited spaces. The rooms on the street below also lacked mezzanine windows, and, in place of the travertine thresholds

that appear in virtually all Roman shops, they had thresholds of marble and internal marble decorations (p. 217). In short, while one of the rooms on the main floor may have been used as a small shrine to the Dei Consentes, most of this structure seems to have been divided into rows of small government offices, and the building may in fact have been a Flavian replacement for the republican annex to the Tabularium demolished for the Temple of Vespasian (infra, pp. 40, 212).

Materials

Wood and Metals. The wooden boats and carts that transported building materials to Rome and all kinds of woods, oak, willow, chestnut, elm, ash, cypress, and pine played an important part at every stage of building projects. Scaffolds were of oak (for the sturdy support posts) and willow, alder, beech, and poplar (for the planks) – the same woods used in the forms needed for pouring concrete.²⁹ Internally of wood, the roofs of the Forum's buildings had external tiles.³⁰ For buildings that required light roofs (like the Temple of Vesta), these were probably made of thin sheets of bronze protected and enhanced by gold facing. The commonest metals in the Forum's buildings – iron, lead, and bronze – came from widely scattered sources: iron mines from Elba, Gaul, and Britain; copper and lead from Spain; tin for bronze, from southwest Britain.³¹

Travertine, Tufa, Concrete, Pozzolana, Selce. Local quarries provided less expensive stone. The tufa blocks that

characterized foundations (Saturn) and wall cores (Antoninus and Faustina, Vespasian) came from sites in and around Rome. The travertine in areas that required a stronger material, corners, and foundation facings (the Temple of Vespasian) was quarried near Tibur (modern Tivoli) a few miles outside Rome. The materials for the concrete that provided the bulk of the material inside foundations (the Temples of Caesar, Vespasian, Castor, Concord, Vesta) and formed wall cores and vaults (the podia of the Temples of Antoninus and Faustina, Caesar, Saturn, the Basilicas Julia and Aemilia) also had local sources. Its reddish-brown volcanic sand (*pozzolana*) originated near Rome or came from the Bay of Naples. The *selce*, a hard gray to black volcanic stone used for fill in the concrete and for street pavers, also had local quarries.

The larger second- and early first-century republican shrines had travertine Corinthian capitals and bases with tufa shafts assembled from sections or drums, all expertly finished in stucco. Surviving examples include the temple on the Via delle Botteghe Oscure near Piazza Venezia,³² the Sullan phases of temples A and B in Largo Argentina, and, in the Forum, the Temples of Concord and (probably) of Castor. However finely worked, the capitals and bases needed regular maintenance, and subsequent repairs might not accurately reproduce the original designs.

Marble. By the later second century, Roman aristocrats, while traveling widely in the marble-clad cities of the Greek East, had been impressed by their monuments and thus had introduced marble architecture into Rome (Fig. G6). Thereafter, builders for

whom expense was unimportant chose marble. Dense and easily carved, it supported details more finely worked than those in stucco and was far more durable. Indeed, for designers of expensive, lavishly executed luxury projects, like the mid-second-century round temple in the Forum Boarium,³³ Pentelic marble was a favored if prohibitively expensive material.

By 40, however, after the Roman conquest of Liguria in the second century, new quarries at Luna (modern Luni) on the northwestern Italian coast had begun to produce a less expensive substitute.³⁴ Consequently, for costly temples, most exterior fittings, revetments, and tiles were of white Luna marble. For particularly fine work like statues or delicately carved reliefs, Augustus still imported Pentelic marble from Athens, Proconnesian marble from the island of Proconnesus in the Sea of Marmara off the northwest coast of modern Turkey, or marble from the Aegean Island of Thasos. For interiors, white marble fittings contrasted with column shafts, pavements, and revetments of colored stone, red and gray granite, alabaster, porphyry, and colored marbles from all parts of the Mediterranean (Fig. G6). The most popular of the latter included white, purple-veined pavonazzetto; reddish-purple, black-veined africano from Asia (modern Turkey); gray-green cipollino from the Aegean island of Carystos; and golden, purple-veined giallo antico from Numidia (modern Tunisia).

Techniques of Construction

Foundations. While Augustus' buildings in the Forum had major political and artistic significance, the manner of their

construction was typical of the late Republic/early empire. Their deep foundations of unfaced concrete (where visible) supported massive concrete podia that raised the buildings above the Forum pavement and leveled their interiors.³⁵ The basilica podia were comparatively low;³⁶ those of the temples ranged from just under 4 m to 10 m.³⁷ “Spread footings,”³⁸ slightly wider foundations, supported these platforms. Courses of stone, tufa, or travertine, held in place by swallow-tail clamps, framed them,³⁹ and layers of concrete, either solid, filled with earth,⁴⁰ or configured with hollow spaces or rooms, occupied their interiors.⁴¹ The walls above, also of tufa or travertine blocks, had the same dimensions as those of the podia.⁴² Like them, the sides of the blocks would have been shaped in the quarry, leaving a protective surface a few centimeters thick.⁴³ When a block arrived on the site, masons used a crane operated by two or more men to lift it and then smooth-finished its surface.⁴⁴ Since both the podia and wall cores of imperial monuments had marble veneers and moldings, their blocks were not polished with sandstone or pumice.⁴⁵

Columns. Travertine blocks or piers supported the columns.⁴⁶ Cut from single marble blocks, the composite bases included double scotias on square plinths (Glossary, Figs. G2, 5). The shafts had three drums of varying heights. When these arrived from the quarry, thin, outer layers of marble protected the final surfaces. At the ends of each drum, narrow borders, cut to the final diameter, guided masons in assembling the shafts. As additional aids, they inserted three bronze pins into the bottom of

each upper drum. By sliding these into correspondingly located sockets on the drum below, they accurately fitted together both drums. To allow for slight shifts as the drums were put in place, the positions of these pins varied. After they had raised the shafts, the stonecutters removed the protective outer layers on the drums and cut each shaft into an identical final profile: the lower part of the shaft rose straight for the first third of its height, then narrowed to a lesser upper diameter (entasis and diminution). Finally, masons on scaffolds fluted the shafts.⁴⁷

Corinthian Capitals. Corinthian capitals were variously manufactured. Masons either completely finished them in their shops⁴⁸ or, partly roughing them out, raised them into position on site and finished them from scaffolds. Sometimes they combined the two methods. The volutes of the capitals of the Temple of Vespasian are separated from their bells, and, to prevent the volutes from breaking, the workmen may have positioned the capital before cutting away the infills that attached the upper sections of the volutes to the bell.⁴⁹ However the capital was made, occasionally the projecting tip of an acanthus leaf broke. To avoid abandoning the piece (and all the work it represented), the sculptor bored a hole in the position of the broken tip and, inserting a smaller piece of marble, cut it to the proper shape. With the capital in position, the substitution would have been scarcely noticeable, but an application of stucco may have hidden the division between the insertion and the original leaf. And finally, on the top of the abacus was a raised, square pad. With

sides equal to the width of the architrave above, this pad, invisible from the ground, cushioned the weight of the architrave and prevented it from breaking off the fleurons and the projecting corners of the abacus.⁵⁰

Architrave/Friezes and Cornices. The manufacture of architrave/friezes – architrave and frieze combined in a single stone – and cornices was very similar to that of capitals. Architrave/frieze blocks were the length of an intercolumniation (from column center to column center). Corner blocks either were L-shaped or had an L-shaped corner.⁵¹ In the latter case, the similarly configured end of the adjacent block was reversed, and swallow-tail clamps helped steady the joint. At corners, cornice blocks might be L-shaped or square like that at the northeast corner of the Temple of Vespasian. There, facing the facade, the front and right sides are profiled; the back and left sides, smoothly finished.⁵² Adjacent cornice blocks were usually considerably shorter than the architrave/frieze blocks below, and bronze and swallow-tail clamps stabilized the joints.

Both architrave/frieze and cornice blocks were sometimes nearly finished in the shop and, when set in position, had only a few incomplete areas.⁵³ Alternatively, artisans worked them on the site. In either case, less skilled stonecutters roughed out the different levels with a point chisel.⁵⁴ The front and the back architrave of architrave/frieze blocks were usually profiled; the backs of cornice blocks were unfinished.⁵⁵ Masons more experienced than the initial stonecutters established models of the final

profiles as guidelines by cutting a series of vertical strips 4 cm wide separated initially by unfinished zones.⁵⁶ Then they positioned the block and, standing on scaffolds, extended the final profile along its whole length starting from the vertical strips.⁵⁷ After similarly finishing the adjacent blocks, they carved the decorations of the moldings or completed the unfinished sections of a block worked on the ground.⁵⁸ In either case, the sculptors who cut the decorations, probably far more experienced than those who had previously worked on the block, specialized in carving one or more types of ornament (egg-and-dart, bead-and-reel, etc.). Those responsible for a floral frieze must have been even more senior, and only the best sculptors would have executed figured reliefs.

Roofs. The temples of the Forum were sizeable structures,⁵⁹ and while there is little evidence for the structure of their roofs,⁶⁰ later examples suggest that those in the Forum consisted of rows of triangular wooden trusses aligned with the columns or pilasters at the sides of the building and set into sockets in the lateral cornice blocks and the front and back pediments.⁶¹ Each truss had four principal parts: a flat tie beam across the cella, two raking principal rafters, and a central, vertical king post. Since all four were in tension, they formed a rigid structure that transferred the weight of the roof to the walls. At right angles to the principal rafters, the purlins above connected the trusses, and over these, common rafters paralleled the principal ones. Contiguous boards on the common rafters supported the tiles that completed the roof.⁶² The latter were of marble or terracotta

and consisted of pan tiles of variable sizes with flanges concealed on the completed roof by semicircular or triangular cover tiles hidden on the sides of the buildings by decorated acroteria (Figs. 20.15–19).⁶³

The roofs of the naves in the basilicas were almost certainly identical to those of the temples (Figs. 0.3–4), but since the naves were narrower than the temple cellas,⁶⁴ they were less technically demanding. The roofs over the third-story side aisles of the Basilica Aemilia were probably supported by shed roofs (Fig. 5.17), but the arcade on the Forum and the lateral aisles and shops in the Basilica Julia had vaulted roofs (Fig. 5.17). In both buildings, these were probably groin vaults over the aisles,⁶⁵ but in the Basilica Aemilia, each of the front shops had its own one-and-a-half-story barrel vault over the shop and its mezzanine (Fig. 5.12). In both basilicas, stone piers or walls supported these vaults, and their construction required the scaffolds and wooden forms that modern scholars have extensively discussed.⁶⁶

Interiors. As first-class imperial buildings, the temples and basilicas in the Forum had elaborate internal decorations: floors, the lower sections of walls, and columns were embellished with colored marbles.⁶⁷ Upper walls (as in the enormously high Curia)⁶⁸ would have had paintings (Fig. 6.15)⁶⁹ and were probably also fitted with the kinds of stucco moldings found around the Bay of Naples and used in earlier periods for the exteriors of temples and other public buildings.⁷⁰ Wooden ceilings and the

intrados of vaults will also have been enlivened with geometric and human figures, plant motifs, and moldings in painted and gilded stucco. Larger architectural elements (base moldings, column bases and capitals, small architrave/friezes and cornices) were either of white marble or, in the richest interiors, of colored marbles. In the Temple of Concord, the surviving threshold of the entrance is of africano. The lower, vertical section of the interior base molding is revetted with cipollino; the upper, molded section, with giallo antico; the orthostat above, with pavonazzetto (Figs. 9.3, 4), and the columns of the tabernacles were of giallo antico. Surviving fragments of portasanta and pavonazzetto provided additional contrasts. A list of randomly preserved marble fragments from the interior of the Temple of Castor and Pollux indicates an equally ambitious marble decor;⁷¹ and the presence of so many varicolored marbles in both temples suggests that for all the grandiose interiors of the Forum, striking visual contrasts were important elements of design.⁷²

Style: The Corinthian Order

After the reign of Augustus (d. 14 CE), virtually all the temples in the Forum had Corinthian orders (Figs. 1.7–10).⁷³ On its origins, Vitruvius, the famous Augustan architect, relates this charming anecdote (4.1.9–10):⁷⁴

A young Corinthian girl ... was struck down by disease and passed away. After her burial, her nurse collected the few little things which the girl had delighted in during her life, and



Fig. 1.7. Capital from the Temple of the Sybil at Tivoli. (G. Gorski)



Fig. 1.8. Capital from the Temple of Apollo Sosianus. (G. Gorski)



Fig. 1.9. Capital from the Round Temple by the Tiber. (G. Gorski)



Fig. 1.10. Capital from the Temple of Mars Ultor. (G. Gorski)

gathering them all in a basket, placed this basket on top of the grave. So the offering might last there a little longer, she covered the basket with a roof tile.

This basket, supposedly, happened to have been put down on top of an acanthus root. By springtime, therefore, the acanthus root, which had been pressed down in the middle all the while by the weight of the basket, began to send out leaves and tendrils, and its tendrils, as they grew along the side of the basket, turned outward; when they met the obstacle of the corners of the roof tile, they first began to curl over at the ends and finally they were induced to create coils at the edges.

Callimachus, who was called “Katatexitechnos” [“thoroughly skilled”] by the Athenians for the elegance and refinement of his work in marble, passed by this monument and noticed the basket and the fresh delicacy of the leaves enveloping it. Delighted by the nature and form of this novelty, he began to fashion columns for the Corinthians on this model, and he set up symmetries and thus he drew up the principles for completing works of the Corinthian type.

However accurate this tale,⁷⁵ after the Corinthian capital first appeared in late fifth-century Greece,⁷⁶ it evolved gradually during the next centuries.⁷⁷ By the first century BCE, the Italians had devised a popular variant with exaggerated features and fleshy, scalloped leaves, a type preserved today in the ruins of the so-called Temple of Vesta or the Sibyl at Tivoli (Fig. 1.7). By the next

century, the order had become so popular that it was the obvious choice for new temples in the Roman Forum and elsewhere. But *which* Corinthian style would their architects adopt? Was it to be the Italic capital or the elaborately ornamented Corinthianizing capitals Gaius Sosius had used in 32 for the external order of his Temple of Apollo “in circo” (Fig. 1.8)? Neither completely satisfied Augustan designers. They viewed the Italic style as cheap and provincial,⁷⁸ while to Augustus’ own austere, classicizing tastes, Sosius’ profusely decorated capitals held little appeal. Instead, the artisans who modeled the capitals for his temple to Mars Ultor (Fig. 1.10) copied a Hellenistic order of the previous century, that of the Round Temple by the Tiber (Fig. 1.9).⁷⁹ With minor revisions derived in part from the Temple of Apollo in Circo (Fig. 1.8),⁸⁰ the capitals from the Round Temple became the precursors of the later ones of the Temples of Castor (Fig. 18.11) and probably of Concord (Fig. 9.11) in the imperial Roman Forum.⁸¹

Design: The Augustan Forum

For his own Forum, Caesar had used a plan derived from the fora of provincial Italian towns: a rectangular space flanked on three sides by columnar porticos with a temple at one of the short ends. Augustus adopted a variant of the same plan for his own new Forum, but the ancient traditions of the Republic, which Augustus claimed to have restored, determined the layout of the old Forum: a lively mix of temples, basilicas, and commercial zones.

BUILDINGS

The Temple of Caesar

Replacing the Gradus Aurelii, an area with seats and a rostrum in wood (Fig. 1.1), the site of the urban praetor's court,⁸² the Temple of Caesar was an Augustan addition to the Forum (Figs. 0.1, 3, 1.2, 4.1–10). Yet, Caesar's cremation had consecrated the site, and the decision of Augustus (then called Octavian) and the other triumvirs to build a temple to the slain dictator celebrated their fidelity to his memory and advanced their political ambitions. During Octavian's struggle for power, the construction of the temple languished, and it was not finished and consecrated until 29, after the celebrations for his victory over Antony and Cleopatra at Actium in 31. For these, Octavian canceled all debts owed by the people and held a magnificent triumphal procession that lasted for three days. As described by Dio Cassius, "[A] vast amount of money circulated through all parts of the city alike," and "the Romans forgot all their unpleasant experiences and viewed his triumph with pleasure, quite as if the vanquished had all been foreigners." The first day of the triumph celebrated Octavian's victories along the Adriatic coast; the second, his victory at Actium; the third, his conquest of Egypt.

But the Egyptian celebration surpassed them all in costliness and magnificence. Among other features, an effigy of the dead Cleopatra upon a couch was carried by, so that ... she too,



Fig. 1.11. Caesarian denarius (l.), 44 BCE: obverse, head of Caesar, veiled and wreathed; reverse, statue of Victory with a staff or spear and shield. (Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG)

together with the other captives and with her children, Alexander, also called Helios [the sun], and Cleopatra, also called Selene [the moon], were a part of the spectacle and a trophy in the procession.⁸³

Against all earlier traditions, the Senate emphasized Octavian's unprecedented power by following his triumphal chariot into the city.⁸⁴ After these festivities came the consecration of Caesar's new temple and of the Curia. Each celebrated the extraordinary positions Augustus and his family now held. Symbolizing both, the statue of Venus Genetrix that may have crowned the pediment of the temple appears on a series of denarii issued by P. Sepullius Macer (Fig. 1.11).



Fig. 1.12. Augustan denarius (r.), 29–27 BCE: obverse, head of Augustus; reverse, the Augustan Curia. (Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger)

The Curia Julia

After Caesar's assassination, Octavian continued the construction of Caesar's new "Curia Julia" (p. 119). Nothing of the Augustan Curia survives, but its portrait on Augustan coins (Figs. 1.12, 6.2) suggests that the surviving Diocletianic building (Figs. 1.6, 6.1, 4–19) copied it very closely. It was aligned with the south colonnade of Caesar's new Forum and opened to the south onto the old Forum. Since it was formally a temple, a pediment crowned the high rectangular facade. As in its Diocletianic successor, a side stair led to the portico – on the Augustan coins, Ionic, and in the Diocletianic building, Corinthian – that shaded the high, paneled front door. Above were the three lofty rectangular windows that were reproduced in the Diocletianic building, and the inscription on the entablature read "IMP CAESAR" (Figs. 1.12, 6.2). The

pediment had sculpture, and the statues above (and probably the reliefs in the pediment) were three-dimensional representations of Augustan propaganda. At the peak of the gable, a winged victory stood on an orb that represented the world. In her left hand, she held a crown of victory; in her right, a palm leaf, trophy, or military banner.⁸⁵ With their right hands, the draped, probably female, lateral figures raised lances; with their left, naval implements that recalled the battle at Actium. The right figure held an anchor; the left, a rudder.⁸⁶

While the new Curia Julia (Fig. 6.2) was probably very similar to the Sullan building it replaced, it accommodated Augustus' new, much larger Senate. The dedicatory inscription and statuary on the facade reminded each senator, at every visit, of Augustus' high military position, of his extraordinary naval victory, and of the exalted religious, social, and political status of Octavian's family, the Julian clan. Dedicated in 29, the Temple of Caesar (Figs. 0.3, 1.2, 4.1–10) conveyed the same kinds of visual messages. Closing the east side of the Forum, it hid the old Regia, and a later cryptoporticus (Figs. 4.7, 9) attached the two buildings, visually connecting Caesar's temple and the regime it symbolized with the hall that represented Rome's ancient monarchy (infra, p. 86). Of the shrine itself, a colossal cult statue of Caesar was the chief feature. Clad in a toga with covered head, he was shown as Pontifex Maximus in the act of sacrifice (Fig. 4.3). As coins indicate, the doors of the temple may have been left open on special occasions, and, clearly visible in a shallow cella that was little more than its

shelter, the gigantic cult statue would have been the central feature of the building's design. Apelles' famous painting of Venus, the ancestress of the Julian clan, may also have been visible through the open door, and the star on the pediment above recalled the famous "comet of Caesar" that had appeared in the year of his assassination (44).⁸⁷ A Caesarian coin that depicts a statue of Venus Genetrix holding a victory (Fig. 1.11) – another reference to the grandeur and antiquity of Augustus' family and his own achievements – may show the statue that crowned the pediment. The bronze prows from Antony and Cleopatra's ships on the front of the temple's Rostra (Figs. 4.1, 8) were further reminders of Augustus' victory at Actium. Mirroring the prows on the Augustan Rostra at the west end of the Forum, commemorations of Rome's fourth-century victory over a Latin fleet from Antium (modern Anzio; Figs. 1.3, 8.2, 10), the Caesarian bronzes implied that the victory at Actium had equalled that earlier victory, one traditionally recognized as a major event in the annals of the early Republic.⁸⁸

The East Arches

The completed Temple of Caesar was initially isolated from the two flanking basilicas, but Augustus' designers later connected them conceptually and visually. They installed a new south branch of the Via Sacra that, beginning at the Fornix Fabianus (the Arch of Fabius) on the south side of the Regia (Figs. 1.13, Gatefold 1), ran along the facade of the Basilica Julia and ended at

the Clivus Capitolinus. An arch spanned each branch connecting the temple visually with its neighbors.

The earlier of the two, the Parthian Arch of Augustus (Figs. 0.3, 1.2, 19.1), was aligned with but slightly behind the facade of the temple, and on the south it almost touched the temple of Castor. The first – and for some centuries the only – triple arch in the Forum, it celebrated Augustus' recovery of the standards Crassus had lost to the Parthians in 53. The high central wing was its dominant feature. Framing the middle of the Via Sacra, it had finely finished reliefs and architectural elements in imported Proconnesian marble. In a fashionably modern Corinthian style, the engaged columns that flanked the central opening echoed the adjacent temples of Caesar and Castor while the monumental inscription on the attic (Figs. 19.1, 8) listed the offices Augustus had held during his negotiations for the standards with the Parthians and specifically mentioned the recovery of these sacred trophies. Very probably of gilded bronze, the statuary above portrayed the event as a military victory. Dressed as a soldier, Augustus drove a quadriga led by soldiers, a visual reference that implied a military victory. Fluted, elaborately decorated Doric columns supported airy lateral wings of Luna marble crowned with pediments. On the apex of each, the statue of a Parthian saluted the emperor in the quadriga above with raised spear. Elaborately decorated, these wings subtly connected the facade of the arch with those of the flanking basilicas. Handsome tabernacles inside the three passages through the arch framed official lists of consuls and those who had triumphed (Fig. 19.9).⁸⁹

Fig. 1.13. The east side of the Forum looking west toward the Capitoline Hill. In the foreground are (from the l.) the Arch of Fabius (Fornix Fabianus), the Regia, the Arch of Gaius and Lucius, and the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina. (G. Gorski)



S.P.Q.R.
IMP. CAES. AVGVSTI P. SEPT. IVLII CAESARIS
CVIVS AVGVSTVS P. SEPT. IVLII CAESARIS

IMP. CAESARI AVGVSTO P. SEPT. IVLII CAESARIS
CVIVS AVGVSTVS P. SEPT. IVLII CAESARIS
CVIVS AVGVSTVS P. SEPT. IVLII CAESARIS



L · CAESARI · AVGVSTI · F · DIVI · N
PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS COS · DESIG
CVM ESSET ANN · NAT · XIII · AVG
SENATVS

Fig. 1.14. View of the facade of the Arch of Gaius and Lucius looking west on the Via Sacra between the Regia (l.) and the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina (r.). (G. Gorski)

Not only did Augustus' power confirm the ancient traditions of the Republic, but it also protected its historical records.

For some years, the north branch of the Via Sacra lacked a pendant to the Arch of Augustus. Augustus, however, matched it with a new monument built over the north branch of the Via Sacra and connected with both the Basilica Aemilia and the Temple of Caesar (Figs. 0.3, 1.2, 13–14, 5.1, 18, 20). The remains of this “Portico of Gaius and Lucius” (Augustus' grandsons)⁹⁰ were partly cleared in two separate excavations, and a dedicatory inscription that may come from the monument (Figs. 1.13–14, 5.20) suggests a construction date late in the first century.⁹¹ The portico was apparently connected with a continuation of the south arcade of the Basilica Aemilia, and, by the use of an elaborate Doric order, its west facade at least may have repeated the designs of the facades of the Basilica and the Arch of Augustus (Figs. 0.3, 1.2, 5.1, 18, 20). To match the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, the east facade may, however, have been remodeled in the late second century CE with a Corinthian Order (Figs. 1.13–14).⁹²

The Basilicas

The Basilica Aemilia. While Augustus was finishing the east side of the Forum, he also had the opportunity to redo its central section by rebuilding both the Basilica Aemilia in 14 and the Basilica Julia in 12. We know little about the elevation of the Basilica Aemilia in 34, but its facade may have had some of the features of the building erected twenty years later by M. Aemilius Lepidus, “Augustus and the friends of

Paullus.” Like its predecessors, the earlier structure probably had shields above the entablature of the arcade on the facade.⁹³ The Augustan basilica, partly redecorated some years later (22 CE) by M. Aemilius, was constructed of white marble with finely carved architectural elements (Figs. 1.6, 5.1, 18–21). The Doric columns of the arcade were richly decorated (infra, p. 104) in a heavily Hellenistic style. The shields and bucrania of the entablature, the statue pedestals, the pavonazetto figures of Parthian prisoners, and the *imagines clipeatae* of the attic display an elegance and precision that suggest skilled sculptors. The anthemias that ornament the rectangular piers from the second-story porch are among the finest of Augustan decorative reliefs (Fig. 5.13). Like all the Forum's Augustan buildings, the roof had marble tiles.⁹⁴

The interior was even more lavish. The lower and upper colonnades (Ionic below, Corinthian above) had african shafts; the nave was paved with slabs of colored marbles: africano, giallo antico, and cipollino (infra, pp. 110–115).⁹⁵ Dating from 55 to 34, the figured frieze of the lower order displays scenes from the history of Rome (Fig. 5.16). Tarpeia is punished, and the Sabine women are raped amid energetically rearing horses, charging combatants, and women with flowing hair and swirling garments. Here the heroes of the early Republic save the state; there the fate of traitorous Tarpeia contrasts with the seemly behavior of properly married couples. While entertaining their viewers, such morally uplifting scenes also delivered significant social messages: the value of heroic deeds, the importance of marriage, the proper behavior for respectable Roman matrons.⁹⁶



Fig. 1.15. The west facade of the Basilica Julia showing a half column with an Attic base. (G. Gorski su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma)

On the south and west facades, the classically detailed Doric Order of the arcade provided a suitable backdrop for the north side of the Forum and the Argiletum (Figs. 1.6, 5.1, 19, 6.1). The busts in the *imagines clipeatae* of the attic on the facade probably mixed the faces of historical notables with those of Augustus' family and supporters. And, with their lovely Hellenistic faces – clearly the work of a master⁹⁷ – the Parthians that framed these shields (infra, p. 107) recalled the theme of the nearby Arch of Augustus. Worked with superb skill in a restrained, knowledgeably eastern idiom, the rich materials and classicizing details of the order of the arcade and its attic enhanced the artistic and political status of the Forum and linked Rome with the best and most recent architectural trends of the Greek world.

The Basilica Julia. Since the Augustan Basilica Julia perished in the great fire of 283 CE, we can make only an educated guess about the character of its internal and external details. The Diocletianic basilica preserves the Augustan plan (Fig. 14.12) and even some of the original exterior walls (those of the possibly Caesarian shops in the southwest corner, Fig. 14.5) and parts of the original travertine piers. Like the Basilica Aemilia, there was an exterior arcade decorated with engaged Doric columns (Figs. 14.10–17). Although two columns on the west facade preserve attic bases and parts of unfluted shafts (Fig. 1.15), they may not have reproduced their Augustan predecessors precisely. On the *Anaglypha Traiani*,⁹⁸ the keystones on the arches of the arcade are decorated with lions' heads framed laterally by acanthus leaves,

and below, by architectural moldings.⁹⁹ That detail suggests an elaborately finished Augustan facade.¹⁰⁰ The upper sections of the exterior could have displayed statuary and reliefs related to Augustan propaganda.¹⁰¹ On Augustus' interior, we have no exact information, but, like its Diocletianic successor (Figs. 14.8, 12), it must have had a fine floor of colored marbles.¹⁰² There may have been one or more colossal statues (at the short ends of the nave?),¹⁰³ and nave and aisles might have displayed statues by famous sculptors.¹⁰⁴ There would also have been painted stucco decorations on the piers and vaults around the nave,¹⁰⁵ and, for both decoration and propaganda, there were probably figured reliefs like those in the Aemilia. Since Augustus named the reconstructed monument after his deceased grandchildren, the Basilica of Gaius and Lucius, the building was apparently of great personal importance to him, and he probably decorated it lavishly.¹⁰⁶

The Temples

Saturn. The other major Augustan projects in the Forum were all temples. With the exception of the Temple of Caesar (supra, p. 22), the earliest was Munatius Plancus' Temple of Saturn (Figs. 21.21–23). Begun in 42, it was completed twenty years later, long after Augustus' victory at Actium, when Plancus had become one of his supporters. Consequently, although he retained control of the project, he must surely have consulted with Augustus and his architectural and artistic advisers, and the finished building would almost certainly have reflected their views. Its cornice of white Luna marble (Figs. 13.4, 7, 9–11) with its S-shaped

modillions (pp. 229–231) resembled that of the Temple of Caesar (under construction in the same period, Figs 4.2, 5–6, 10). The walls and the elements of the Ionic order would also have been Luna marble, and the fluted columns, their shafts assembled with drums,¹⁰⁷ would have had Attic bases.¹⁰⁸ The necking bands that the Anaglypha Traiani show on the shafts of the columns may symbolize their rich decorations, and the frieze above was probably equally elaborate.¹⁰⁹ Pilasters or half columns will have continued the order around the sides and back of the building.¹¹⁰

Castor (Figs. 1.4–5, 18.1, 8–11). Tiberius supervised the reconstruction of Augustus' last two temples in the Forum, those of Castor and Concord. Largest and most elegant of the Forum's shrines, they both ultimately symbolized Tiberius' extraordinary position as Augustus' heir. Yet, in the last years of the first century BCE, troubles at court had complicated his role in these projects. The fire that destroyed Caesar's Basilica Julia before 12 also damaged the Temple of Castor, and Tiberius may have begun work on the building during the reconstruction of the Basilica. The size and complexity of the temple meant, however, that its rebuilding proceeded slowly; and, before it was complete, family problems (Augustus' preference for his grandsons, Gaius and Lucius Caesar; the serial infidelities of Tiberius' wife, Augustus' daughter Julia) forced Tiberius to retire to Rhodes in 6. Eight years later (2 CE), he returned to Rome, and with the deaths of Lucius that same year and of Gaius two years later, Augustus finally recognized him as his official heir. Once back in Rome, along with his more important duties, he could again supervise the construction of both temples.

Reconstruction of the ruined Temple of Castor involved a number of important decisions. How would Tiberius pay for the work? How big would the temple be? What style would be employed for the new orders, the entablature, and the other decorations? What materials would be used? Tiberius may have debated these questions with the sophisticated group of artisans and architects by whom Augustus must have been surrounded during his numerous construction projects. Indeed, many of these undertakings (like the Forum of Augustus) were still in progress as work began on the Temple of Castor, and Tiberius' designers must have been able to discuss their problems, conceptual and practical, with a large number of skilled fellow craftsmen.

Tiberius and his advisers decided the important design questions immediately. The spoils from Tiberius' campaigns in Germany paid for the new temple.¹¹¹ Successor to a structure that had been at the center of the political world of Rome for centuries, it was to be larger and more sumptuously finished than its predecessor.¹¹² Like the still incomplete Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus, it was to have a Corinthian order, and, while foundations and walls were to be of tufa, travertine, and concrete, all the visible elements of the exterior would be of Luna marble.¹¹³ As in the Temple of Mars Ultor, the fluted shafts of the columns had drums of different heights;¹¹⁴ the bases were Attic with double scotias (Figs. 18.11, G2).¹¹⁵ While the Corinthian capitals were similar to those of Mars Ultor (Figs. 1.10, 18.11),¹¹⁶ they also had much in common with the external capitals of the earlier Temple of Apollo in Circo (Fig. 1.8) and the lavishly ornamented capitals of the Hellenistic East.¹¹⁷ In

profile, the architrave followed that of Mars Ultor, but an atypical lotus and palmette relief on the center fascia enlivened the design.¹¹⁸ The crown moldings of the two architraves were different,¹¹⁹ and both temples had undecorated friezes, although, while assembled from many of the same moldings and ornaments, each cornice was unique.¹²⁰

Little remains of the interior,¹²¹ but random fragments show that it was finely finished (infra, p. 296). The inscription on the architrave of the Forum facade has long vanished, but on the upper fascia of the architrave is recorded the dedication of the “Temple of Castor” by Tiberius (called Tiberius Claudianus) and his brother Drusus.¹²² The position of the inscription probably explains the atypical decoration on the middle fascia: it emphasized and drew attention to the inscription above. The mention of Drusus, dead in the recent military campaigns in Germany in 9, both comforted the inhabitants of the capital (with whom he had been popular) and expressed Tiberius’ brotherly love. The brothers’ bond recalled also the affection between the now deceased princes, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, who had been *Principes Iuventutis*, the heads of the state’s Young Equestrian Order. With this honor, they had connected the Julian family both with the equestrians and with the Temple of Castor, their traditional urban center. In public and lasting fashion, the dedication of the magnificent new temple by a second pair of (adopted) Julian princes renewed and strengthened these earlier associations.¹²³

Concord. The architectural style of the Temple of Concord was very close to that of Castor, and the same workshops probably

turned their attention to Concord as work on the Castor project wound down (Figs. 0.4, 1.3, 9.1–11).¹²⁴ Booty from Germany again defrayed the building expenses (infra, p. 168), and the materials of construction were identical to those used for Castor, but site and size made the new temple more important. Alone on the location of its predecessor below the massive walls of the Tabularium, its cella was greatly enlarged, extending north (partly incorporating the possible site of the older Basilica Opimia) and south well beyond the position of the lateral colonnades of the old rectangular Opimian temple.¹²⁵ The new cella was thus more than two and a half times as long as, and much wider than, that of Castor.¹²⁶ Even if it had been conventionally positioned just behind the temple’s pronaos, it would have been unusually large. These proportions, of course, resulted from Tiberius’ intention to use the interior as art museum and meeting place for the Senate, and the narrow width of the traditional site necessitated locating the cella at right angles to the pronaos. Nonetheless, the cella’s great length and impressive height (28.75 m = 97 Roman feet, roughly the size of a modern ten-story building) together made the structure a commanding visual presence on the west side of the Augustan Forum (Figs. 0.4, 1.3, 21.21–22).¹²⁷

Although the cella of Concord was larger than that of Castor, the exterior orders of both were approximately the same size (Figs. 9.11, 18.11),¹²⁸ and their architraves and cornices had similar profiles, although the cornice of Concord was more elaborately decorated.¹²⁹ Even with a simpler cornice, Castor’s Corinthian capitals are lavishly configured, and their rich embellishments suggest that, with a more ornate cornice, those of Concord were



Fig. 1.16. Decorated base from the interior order of the Temple of Concord. (J. Packer su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma)

at least as complex – if not even more so. The decorated bases and Corinthianizing capitals of Concord’s inner orders (Figs. 1.16–17) also point toward an exterior order with elaborately styled capitals.¹³⁰

Size, rich decorations, and unusual plan set the Temple of Concord apart from the other buildings in the Forum. Yet, more importantly, these visual devices emphasized the structure’s symbolic meaning. The old temple had commemorated L. Opimius’ infamous victory over a popular reformer (infra, pp. 167–168). To replace this well-known monument, Augustus himself, long a devotee of Concord, the guardian of domestic peace and harmony, ordered the construction of the new temple. Drawing on the spoils of a defeated Germany,¹³¹ Tiberius assigned himself the project to celebrate his own victories and those of Drusus.¹³² Impressive and beautiful in their own right, the building’s great size, fine marbles, and profuse ornamentation were thus the three-dimensional expressions of a far-reaching military success that had brought together access to wealth and the best artists in the Mediterranean. The fine architectural decorations testified to their skill. The famous Hellenistic statues and artistic oddities in Tiberius’ museum inside symbolized the cultivated tastes and powerful reach of the new regime.

The exterior sculpture emphasized these themes (Figs. 1.18, 9.7, 9). On the left side of the entry stair, the statue of Mercury symbolizing wealth and commerce recalled Augustus, who had been compared to a new Mercury. A bronze image of the god’s caduceus inset into the portasanta threshold of the cella



Fig. 1.17. Corinthianizing capital from the interior order of the Temple of Concord. (J. Packer su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma)



Fig. 1.18. Sestertius, reverse, facade of the Temple of Concord. (The Trustees of the British Museum)

connected him even more intimately with the cella and its contents.¹³³ The opposite statue of Hercules with his club symbolized the end of strife in a Roman world now safe for Mercury's commerce. Indeed, as Tiberius himself is reported to have said in his funeral oration for Augustus,

With Hercules alone and his exploits, I might compare him [Augustus] and should be thought justified in so doing ... but even so I should fall short of my purpose, in so far as Hercules in childhood only dealt with serpents, and when a man, with a stag or two and a boar which he killed, – oh, yes, and a lion ... whereas Augustus, not among beasts, but among men, of his own free will, by waging war and enacting laws, literally saved the commonwealth and gained splendid renown for himself.¹³⁴

In the pediment relief, opposed reclining figures perhaps may have raised a victory wreath.¹³⁵ The statues above celebrated Tiberius and Drusus, their loving fraternal association, their victories, and their close association with Concord herself.¹³⁶

The Rostra and Its Neighbors

The Forum's lesser monuments received the same careful attention. To provide a suitably ample setting for public speakers, Augustus had, by 12 BCE, enlarged Caesar's West Rostra (Figs. 8.4–5), but its colors and decorations and the features of the monuments with which he surrounded the new Rostra (Figs. 0.3–4, 1.3, 8.1–12) made it the visual center of the Forum's west side. The Rostra's rich marble revetments – portasanta panels framed by africano borders (Figs. 8.2, 11–12) – contrasted with the surrounding, largely monochromatic architectural landscape, and the bronze prows attached to its front panels provided further lively accents. Two contiguous monuments added notes of architectural whimsy to the back of the Rostra. At its northwest corner

stood the “Umbilicus urbis Romae,” the “belly button of Rome,” a small, round tholos with miniature columns and a gilded dome or conical roof; at its southwest corner, the “*Miliarium Aureum*,” a pedestal that supported a gilded column with attached brackets and statuettes indicating distances to points outside the city (Figs. 8.11–12). When viewed from the back of the Rostra (Fig. 8.1), both lateral monuments framed the curved staircase that led to the speaker's platform, enlivening and extending its rectilinear facade. The small “office of the scribes and heralds,” the “*Schola Xanthi*” next to the south side of the Rostra (Figs. 0.4, 1.3, 8.10, 16.1–5), had a simple exterior (although the interior was richly decorated with bronze seats and tablets and silver statues of the gods), but its white marble decoration – presumably, a dado, door, and window frames and simple cornices – could have provided a pleasingly restrained contrast to the colored marbles of the Rostra.¹³⁷

MEANING

With the final work on the West Rostra and the dedication of the Temple of Concord, Augustus' work in the Forum was complete; with the help of a sophisticated (and probably ever-changing) staff of architects and artists, he and members of his faction had completely “restored” the Forum. In addition to the Temple of Caesar and the flanking arches, he had given the central space a new east end, but all the other structures were simply modernized versions of their predecessors. These changes occurred gradually

over a period of nearly fifty years, and during these five decades, the Forum must have been a constantly evolving construction site. Yet, the projects were not random. Each must have been carried out in strict accordance with a single general plan that probably also developed as time passed. All the new construction used the same material: marble. Expensive imported colored marbles lavishly decorated the interiors, but behind blocks and slabs of decorous white Luna marble or occasional white marble imports from the Greek East, the exteriors – with the exception of the West Rostra (p. 152) – retained a proper republican *gravitas*.

The chief initial anchors for the new Augustan design were, to the west, the preexisting Doric arcade of the Tabularium (Figs. 1.3, 21.21); to the east, the Temple of the Deified Caesar (Figs. 1.2, 4.1); and to the north and south, the facades of the Basilicas Aemilia and Julia (Figs. 1.5–6). Indeed, substituting for the lateral colonnades of the new imperial fora and their republican predecessors, the basilicas' elegant Doric arcades (Figs. 5.1, 21, 14.1–2, 17) echoed one another across the Forum and offered richly updated versions of a design traditional on the site since the construction of the Tabularium. Echoing the Tabularium and the basilicas, the sophisticated Doric orders on the arches that framed the Temple of Caesar (Figs. 0.3, 1.2, 5.21, 14.17) visually linked the temple to the two basilicas. On their upper floors, terraces provided convenient platforms from which to watch everyday business and special events in the Forum below.

Two shrines, both early, were Ionic: Plancus' Temple of Saturn (Figs. 21.21–22), which had an elegantly updated version, and the Temple of Vesta, perhaps its contemporary, which featured an Ionic-Corinthianizing style (Fig. 1.19). All the other Forum

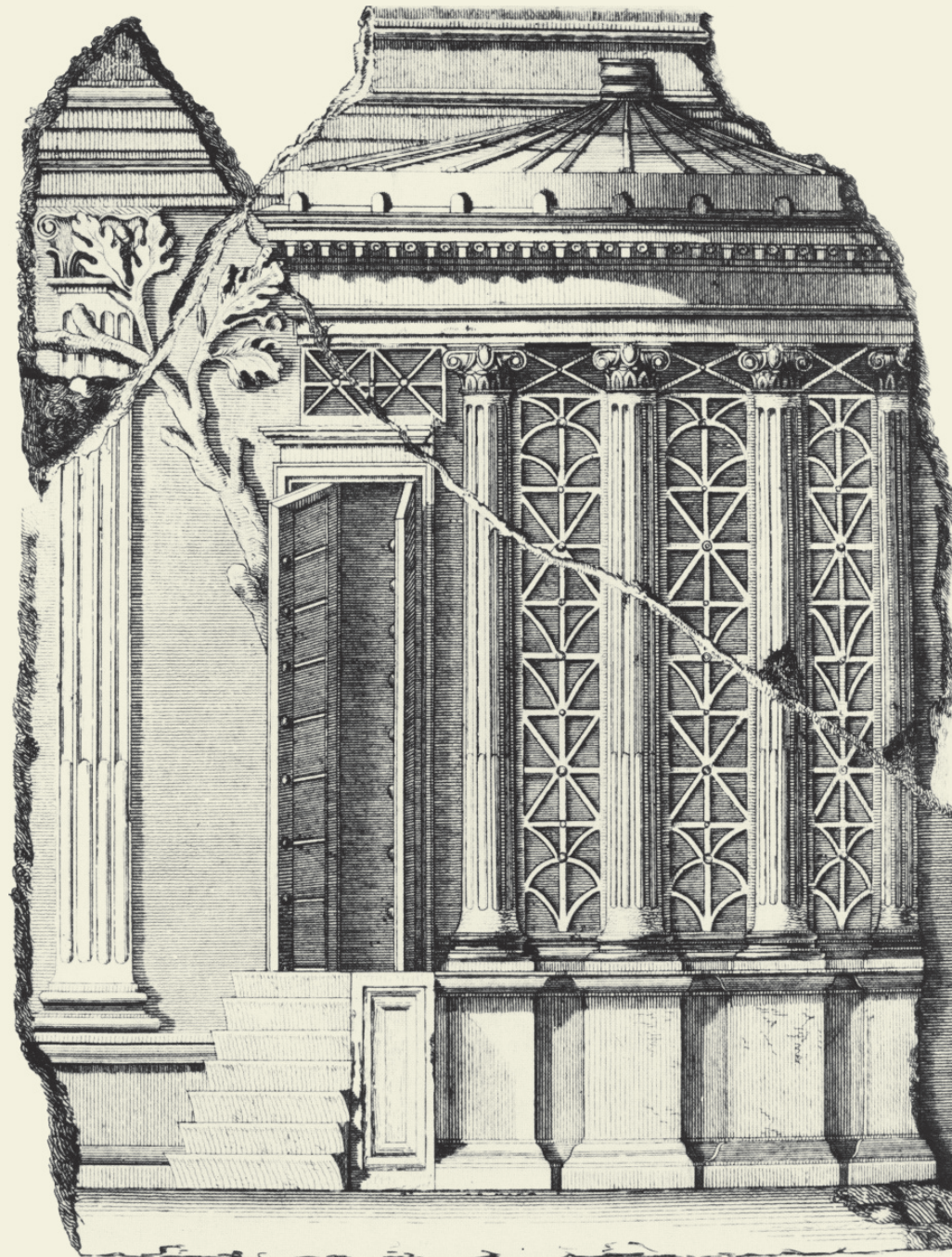


Fig. 1.19. The Augustan (?) Temple of Vesta: ancient relief now in the Uffizi Museum in Florence. Drawing showing the relief before restoration in 1783. (Fototeca Unione, FU 1954)

temples were Corinthian, a style that evolved rapidly. With some additional decoration, the capitals of the Temple of Caesar (Figs. 4.1, 8–10) carefully quoted the “normal capitals” of the round temple on the Tiber (Fig. 1.9),¹³⁸ and the profile of its simple cornice was very close to that of the Temple of Saturn (Figs. 4.10, 13.7, 11).¹³⁹ By the later part of Augustus’ reign, the Forum’s two other temples, those of Concord and Castor, displayed developed Corinthian orders (Figs. 9.11, 18.11), and both their patrons and sculptors seem to have acquired a taste for novel and elaborate decoration.

The interlocking helices and complex vegetal motifs on the abacuses and helices of Castor’s exterior capitals conspicuously announce the new style (Figs. 18.3, 11), but the decorations of the cornice from the facade of Concord are even more extreme. Clearly visible from below, the undersides of its wide exterior modillions display moldings normally confined to the horizontal zones of architraves and cornices (Figs. 9.5–6, 11). On the exterior order of Castor (Fig. 18.6), the slightly lower sima is plain. That of Concord (Figs. 9.5, 11) is enriched with acanthus and laurel leaves. Since the exterior columns at Concord have not survived, we can only guess at their character, but

the elaborate ornamentation of the bases from the lower interior order (Figs. 1.16–17) suggests that the exterior bases, unlike those of Castor, would have been similarly finished. Like the exterior capitals of Castor (Figs. 18.5, 11), those of Concord probably mixed ornaments from the building’s interior orders with features from the capitals of Castor, and the final complex design would have both emphasized the major importance of Concord as a religious, political, and cultural monument and conspicuously displayed the wealth produced by the military successes of its patron.

And finally, possibly in connection with his last work on the West Rostra in 12 BCE, Augustus paved the Forum with rectangular slabs of travertine, an amenity commemorated by a large-scale inscription in bronze letters that records the name of the praetor who supervised the work, L. Naevius Surdinus.¹⁴⁰ Through his own projects and those of his friends, Augustus had thus, until the end of the empire in the West, permanently established the general character of the Forum and its principal monuments (Fig. 21.21). In the five centuries that followed, neither necessary reconstructions nor the few major additions significantly altered the site.