
Art: Faculty Publications

Art

1-1-1994

What We See and What We Don't See. Narrative Structure and the Ara Pacis Augustae

Barbara A. Kellum
Smith College, bkellum@smith.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.smith.edu/art_facpubs



Part of the [Arts and Humanities Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Kellum, Barbara A., "What We See and What We Don't See. Narrative Structure and the Ara Pacis Augustae" (1994). Art: Faculty Publications, Smith College, Northampton, MA.
https://scholarworks.smith.edu/art_facpubs/28

This Article has been accepted for inclusion in Art: Faculty Publications by an authorized administrator of Smith ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@smith.edu

What we see and what we don't see. Narrative structure and the Ara Pacis Augustae

Barbara A. Kellum

As Heinrich Wölfflin once said, 'It is true, we only see what we look for, but we only look for what we can see.'¹ It is in the light of these words that I would like to consider the narrative structure of the Ara Pacis Augustae. Although we all know that perspective need not be one-point, nor a narrative necessarily linear, these conditions are often presumed to be the norm, especially for a monument from a period categorized as classicizing. This is quintessentially the case for the Ara Pacis Augustae, which has long been considered one of the masterpieces of Augustan classicism (plate 13).² Thus, in examining narrative and event on the Ara Pacis, it has quite *naturally*,³ been the large and small processional friezes, as well as the Aeneas sacrificing and Mars with Romulus and Remus panels that have been the points of focus (plates 13–14).

The large processional friezes on the north and south sides of the exterior of the altar enclosure, seemingly so clearly related in compositional terms to the Panathenaic processional frieze on the Parthenon,⁴ represent a contemporary event, a simulacrum of the *constitutio*⁵ of the altar on 4 July 13 BC: Augustus, near the head of the procession on the south side, is surrounded by members of each of the four major priestly colleges, who appear on both the north and south sides of the monument (plates 14 and 15).⁶ Following them, again on both the north and south sides, are Augustan family members: tall, gaunt Agrippa (d. 12 BC), *capite velato*, marking a point of emphasis after Augustus on the south side (plate 14); serious young Gaius Caesar, dressed as a camillus, serving much the same function, despite his child-like size, on the north side (plate 15).⁷ The west front entry to the altar enclosure, toward which the contemporary figures all seem to process, has at a corresponding level, hung as if pendant panel pictures, two reliefs depicting events from the legendary past: on the right, a toga-clad, bearded Aeneas sacrificing the white sow to the Penates at the site of Lavinium,⁸ and, on the left, Mars *pater* watching over the she-wolf suckling his sons Romulus and Remus at the Lupercal (plate 13).⁹ The counterparts to these panel reliefs appear on the east front entry (plate 16): on the right a very fragmentary Roma, seated on a pile of weapons,¹⁰ and, on the left, the ever-controversial personification of peace and plenty, Tellus/Italia.¹¹ Finally, within the enclosure, on the altar itself, is a small frieze representing a procession of sacrificial animals, attended by six Vestal Virgins and other functionaries; in all likelihood this is a depiction of the *anniversarium*



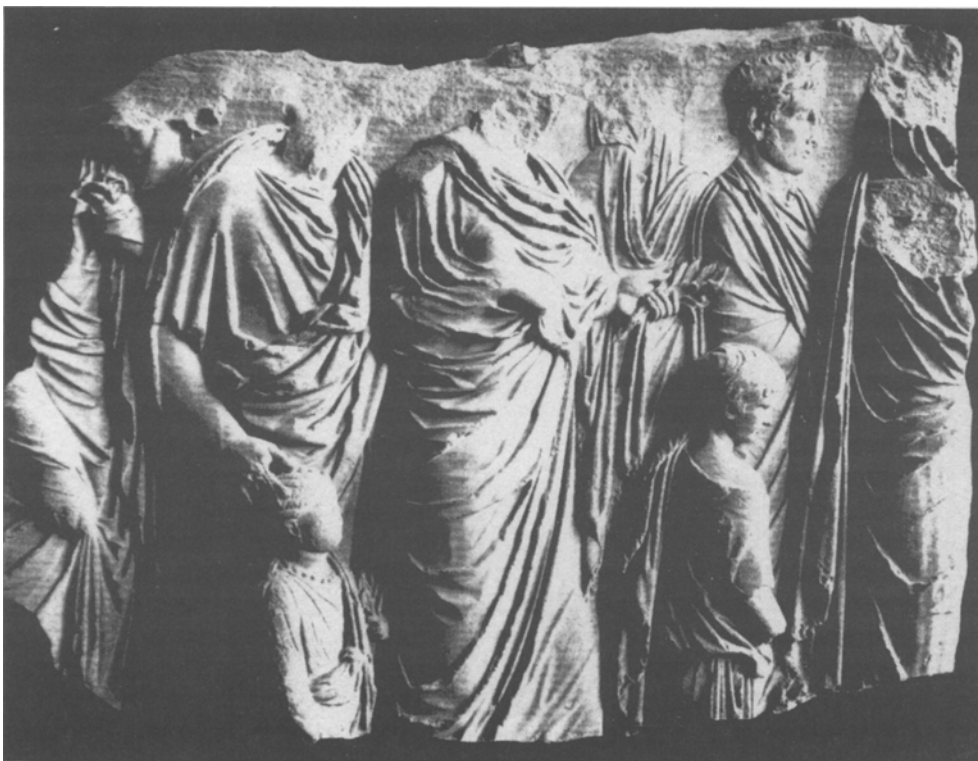
13 Ara Pacis Augustae, general view from the southwest. (Photo: Dick Fish).



14 Ara Pacis Augustae, detail, south side, exterior of altar enclosure. (Musei Capitolini Archivio Fotografico no. 9451).

sacrificium,¹² which was to take place annually at the Ara Pacis.¹³ From a classical perspective, the chronological connection between these reliefs appears to be clearly linear: within the sphere of Roma and Tellus/Italia, the heroic past (Aeneas, Romulus) is linked to the Augustan present (large processional frieze), which is, in turn, tied to the future commemoration of both (the small altar frieze).

What interests me here, however, is precisely what we do not *see* in considering narrative and meaning on the Ara Pacis Augustae. I refer, of course, to the magnificent acanthus friezes that unite all four exterior sides of the altar enclosure. Nearly two metres high, the acanthus friezes are larger than the figured panels, and because they constitute the lower section of the enclosure wall, they visually dominate the whole (plates 13, 14 and 16). In its original location, whether a viewer approached the steps of the west entry of the Ara Pacis from the Campus Martius, and followed one of the long sides of the enclosure along the ground sloping upward toward the Via Flaminia, or stood at the street-side east entry, what he or she would have seen at eye-level was the acanthus frieze. We, however, have placed this frieze in a different category. It has been described by some



15 Ara Pacis Augustae, detail, north side, Gaius Caesar dressed as a camillus. (After E. Simon *Ara Pacis Augustae* pl. 16).

as ‘purely decorative’ with its Pergamene, Attic and Neo-Attic sources duly noted, or, at best, it has been analysed as separate and symbolic.¹⁴ Seldom has an attempt been made to relate the acanthus frieze to the figured panels¹⁵ and never have we come to terms with the host of small animal forms that are everywhere in the acanthus (plates 14, 18, 20–22).¹⁶ Perhaps this is because, save the swans of Apollo,¹⁷ the animals that appear here — frogs, lizards, grasshoppers, a scorpion and the like¹⁸ — seem to be out of keeping with our understanding of the purity and classical simplicity of the Ara Pacis Augustae. These are not incidental details; rather the small animals, like the acanthus frieze itself, are of integral importance to a full reading of the narrative of the Ara Pacis in Augustan context.

During the course of the research for my monograph *The City Adorned. The Play of Meaning in Augustan Rome*, I discovered that sculpture and paintings were not the only units of meaning within the representational system of early imperial Rome. Objects of natural wonder functioned equally as potent signifiers in the Augustan city. For example, the Porticus of Livia, in addition to its famed collection of Old Master Greek paintings,¹⁹ contained a natural wonder that is likely to have had a political import similar to that of the shrine to Concord that Livia dedicated at the centre of her complex, so akin in plan and dimension,



16 Ara Pacis Augustae, general view from the southeast. (DAI neg. no. 66.104).

as Coarelli has pointed out, to the Ara Pacis itself.²⁰ The natural wonder was a giant grapevine which grew from a single stem, yet shaded the whole of the Porticus of Livia and produced twelve amphorae of new wine a year.²¹ The grapevine itself may well have been a leftover from the grand house of vainglorious Vedius Pollio, intentionally razed to make way for the Porticus of Livia, a political act in itself that Ovid lauds.²² In Augustan context, the grapevine must have visually connected all four sides of the Porticus of Livia, whilst functioning simultaneously as a living symbol of the unity and fruitful concord of the state and all its citizens. In its yearly cycle, the grapevine would have been a perpetual reminder of the literal rebirth of Rome in the Augustan age.

Animals, too, were put on special exhibition. A snake of fifty cubits, a tiger and a rhinoceros were put on display by Augustus, each at a site that was carefully calculated in distinctively Roman terms.²³ Paintings and sculptures of animal subjects also constituted an important part of Augustan display and each functioned as an integral unit of meaning in a programmatic design.

In the context of the Curia Iulia, the painting by the fourth-century BC artist Philochares of a father and son looking up toward the sky at a soaring eagle with a snake in its claws²⁴ joined other monuments celebrating Augustus's victory at Actium.²⁵ The struggle between the eagle and the serpent was a motif that had appeared frequently on the coins of Greek cities between the sixth and the third centuries BC often in direct relation to a political or athletic victory.²⁶

As the eagle was both Jupiter's bird and the crowning element on the legionary standards of the Roman army, it continued to be united with victory, as did the motif of the eagle's victory over the snake, especially in the Augustan period.²⁷ It is of key importance that earlier associations were not disallowed, but rather incorporated and played upon in Augustan context.²⁸ Thus, the eagle and serpent motif which served as a key portent of the Trojans' doom in the *Iliad*²⁹ was transformed in the era of Octavian/Augustus, who through his *iustitia* could remove the curse of Laomedon's perjury from the descendants of Troy, as Romulus had at the founding of Rome.³⁰ What had once been an evil omen is reclaimed as a positive one.

For its senatorial audience, Philocharēs's painting of the eagle, carrying the snake and soaring over the heads of the father and son, may well have been intended to betoken the perpetual victory and perpetual peace that was to be Rome's if the Augustan *status quo* was maintained. It seems, indeed, to have functioned in this manner for a far wider spectrum of the population. Like many Augustan devices, the eagle carrying the serpent enjoyed a widespread popularity in the early imperial period. It served as a common embellishment on funerary altars and cinerary urns, seemingly assuring the triumph of good over evil and the continuation of the benefits of the Augustan world in the world hereafter.³¹

Analogously rich in meaning in Augustan context were the four obsidian elephants that constituted the emperor's sole dedication in the last great building completed during his reign, the Aedes Concordiae Augustae.³² To us, the relation of these creatures to Concordia who, like the Greek Harmonia, was a daughter of Venus and Mars, of Love and Strife, or to Apollo, the god around whom the temple's programme revolved, may seem obscure, but this would not have been the case for an Augustan Roman. Elephants were popularly known to be devout worshippers of the Sun and to be beloved by Apollo.³³ Moreover, like Apollo himself, possessor of both the bow and the lyre, and by extension, like all righteous men, especially Apollo's son Augustus, elephants had a dual nature. Though they could be fierce fighters when necessary, they were also inherently gentle and peace-loving. Modest and monogamous, they were thought to live to be two to three hundred years old, forever venerating their ancestors and adoring their offspring.³⁴ In short, elephants, so often compared to human beings, prospered in a time of peace, just like the good, responsible married men and fathers whom Augustus praised in his speech in the Forum in AD 9.³⁵

Like Concordia and Pax, elephants underwent a metamorphosis in the Augustan era. They became imperial possessions and were transformed from agents of Discord, as Lucretius described elephant war machines in the late Republic,³⁶ into exempla of Concord, whilst at the same time embodying that peace-loving morality that would ensure the *aeternitas* of the whole. It was no coincidence that it was to be four living members of the breed that were to power the chariot of *divus Augustus* in the *pompa circensis* for ever more: 'The wild beast knows the delight of peace; discarding the accoutrement of war, he conducts the father of good order.'³⁷

It is in relation to these examples that the flora and fauna of the Ara Pacis Augustae must be understood as units of meaning. Much as the grapevine may have resonated with the colonnades of the Porticus of Livia, the spiralling



17 Ara Pacis Augustae, detail, north side, acanthus with grapes and laurel. (Photo: author).

acanthus, vine and laurel of the Ara Pacis, so energetically rendered that they seem to pulse with life, are ultimately held in check by the repeated pattern of strong vertical acanthus *stemmae* (plate 14).³⁸ The fertility and prosperity of the Augustan state, but also the underlying order that was integrally a part of it, are made visually manifest here and, on an almost subliminal level, serve as a reaffirmation of the entire system.

No detail here, I contend, was without potential meaning for an Augustan viewer. Certainly, the combination of foliage would have been seen in relation to the actual acanthus, laurel and ivy growing around the nearby Mausoleum of Augustus.³⁹ The juxtaposition would only have augmented the effect of the powerful interweaving of the three on the monument. On the Ara Pacis acanthus becomes laurel, becomes grapevine, and turns back into acanthus in an ever-shifting pattern before our eyes (plate 17). Moreover, for Augustan viewers, each of the three plant forms would have been redolent with the presence of Augustus's god Apollo. The god's laurel is still instantly recognizable to us, and, though it plays a relatively minor role in the acanthus frieze,⁴⁰ its importance is underscored by the laurel that is worn and carried in the figured friezes (see plates 14 and 15).⁴¹ The grapes and ivy, however, are more likely to prompt for us a post-Nietzschean reading, in terms of Dionysos and the inherently antithetical relationship of the Dionysian and the Apollonian.⁴² Not so in Augustan Rome, where Dionysos, in the form of Liber Pater, took full part in the Augustan dispensation. Celebrated as a god of wine, fertility and abundance in Augustan



18 Ara Pacis Augustae, detail, south side, swan. (Photo: Barbara Malter).

poetry, Liber Pater was compared to Augustus, and as a god who 'had care for the earth and human kind' was identified with Apollo.⁴³ Laurel joins ivy in a concord as complete as that of Apollo and Dionysos shown co-existing in divine harmony at Delphi on a fourth-century BC krater, which may reflect a composition on display in Rome in the Aedes Concordiae Augustae.⁴⁴ Finally, the burgeoning acanthus which visually dominates the composition once again has deep-rooted associations with Apollo. Just as his tripod is to be seen supported on top of a column of acanthus on a fourth-century BC pelike,⁴⁵ so too the acanthus scroll motif made its earliest known appearance in Augustan Rome, growing forth from a griffin-flanked tripod on the marble door frame of the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine (28 BC).⁴⁶

Many of the animal forms that appear everywhere in the acanthus frieze panels were also associated with Apollo. Salient among them are the repeated swans, birds of Apollo (plate 18; compare plate 14);⁴⁷ often noted, but never granted a contextual significance beyond the level of a univocal identification with Apollo (and/or Venus).⁴⁸ Their role here is a pivotal one. Perched, phoenix-like, on top of the acanthus with wings outspread, the elegant swans both visually punctuate the acanthus frieze and continue its curvilinear energy in the sinuous arcs of their necks, and, at the same time, appear effortlessly to support the figured frieze above on their out-stretched wings. Thematically their role is equally



19 Cinerary urn of C. Falerius Nymphodotus, mid 1st cent. AD (Rome, Museo Nuovo Capitolino). (DAI neg. no. 59.1784).

important. Like the elephants in the *Aedes Concordiae Augustae*, swans too were generally thought to partake of the dual nature of Apollo. Peace-loving and monogamous, they cherished their offspring, yet could also be belligerent when necessary.⁴⁹ As birds of Apollo, they had the gifts of prophecy and song. They had sung at Apollo's birth and were known to alight in the god's Hyperborean sanctuary to join with humans in their songs to the god.⁵⁰ Like the phoenix, the swan had the ability to sing its own death song.⁵¹ This is the more poignant and the more meaningful, for *Cynus* had once been a human being, a poet and the king of the Ligurians, who, mourning the death of Apollo's son *Phaethon*, had been changed into a swan. The metamorphosis was a favourite among Augustan poets,⁵² so much so that Horace prophesied his own immortality in the form of a swan.⁵³ That the swans of the *Ara Pacis* were specifically read in terms of transformation and rebirth is, I think, made apparent by the repetition of the same swan, with its unmistakably stylized curving neck, on funerary urns in the first century AD (plate 19).⁵⁴ In terms of the *Ara Pacis*, the swans serve as the perfect mediators between the reliefs with human figures and the acanthus friezes. They also hint at a framework within which the small animal forms ranged on the acanthus below them can be understood.

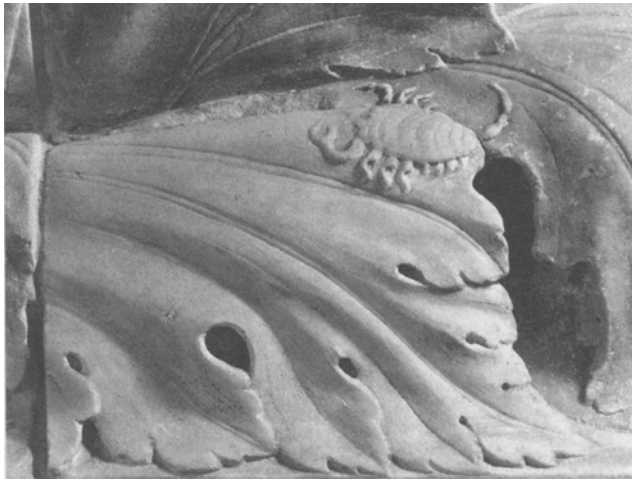
The small animals that appear on the lower ranges of the acanthus friezes — frogs, lizards, snails, snakes, sparrows, grasshoppers/cicadas, and at least one butterfly and one scorpion (plates 20, 21 and 22)⁵⁵ — are hardly out of



20 Ara Pacis Augustae, detail, south side, acanthus with lizard and frog. (Musei Capitolini Archivio Fotografico no. 8830).

keeping with the garden setting of the Campus Martius, yet like the laurel, ivy and acanthus, their very presence on the Ara Pacis Augustae suggests other possible connections.⁵⁶ Several of the small animals are, in fact, associated with Apollo. Frogs (plate 20), as gifted prophets of the weather, had long been linked to Apollo,⁵⁷ and Apollo himself, who took the form of a snake to engender his son Augustus,⁵⁸ was said to keep pet snakes, as did many Romans,⁵⁹ and to toy with lizards (plates 20 and 22).⁶⁰ Ultimately in control of all animals quickened by the sun, Apollo was also the god to whom to appeal in order to avert myriad numbers of scorpions or grasshoppers swarming as locusts.⁶¹ Even frogs in large numbers could be obnoxious, as anyone who has travelled through the Pontine marshes with Horace knows,⁶² and more than one Augustan Roman may well have looked at a sculpted frog on the Ara Pacis Augustae and remembered a tale told of the emperor's early childhood: 'As soon as [little Octavian] began to talk, it chanced that the frogs were making a great noise at his grandfather's country place; he bade them be silent, and they say that since then no frog has ever croaked there.'⁶³ Like father, like son.

But the level of popular appeal was potentially far broader than this. It was Phaedrus, a freedman of Augustus, who first elevated the animal fable to the status of an independent genre and it was not just the emperor who was fond



21 Ara Pacis Augustae, detail, east front, acanthus with scorpion. (Musei Capitolini Archivio Fotografico no. 6175).

of these tales.⁶⁴ Orators made use of them, especially when trying to woo an audience with ‘rude and uneducated minds’, and the content of the stories was, of course, all about those who ruled and those who were ruled.⁶⁵ Indeed, many people may have read the small animals on the Ara Pacis as personal as well as political. It is instructive to look at how frequently the same small animals appear on gems and amulets.⁶⁶ Some of the most famous gems were on display in Augustan Rome, but the large number of gemstones excavated throughout the Roman world affirm their importance on a daily basis for people from all walks of life.⁶⁷ Maecenas used a signet engraved with a frog,⁶⁸ and ‘an iron ring with a bezel of lignite engraved with the figure of a lizard’ was good for the eyes.⁶⁹ Images of snails, scorpions and sparrows may have served as guarantors of sexual potency.⁷⁰

Whether as apotropaic devices or as insurers of fertility, and whether in public context or in private, these small animal forms may have had a powerful magic about them that is now largely lost on us. One aspect of it, however, is not lost, and it is that one facet that ties these disparate animals together. Like swans, each of the small animals on the Ara Pacis is the product of a metamorphosis. For the most part, these are transformations with which we are still familiar: snakes and lizards shed their skins, frogs grow from tadpoles, grasshoppers from nymphs, birds are born from eggs, and caterpillars become butterflies. All these phenomena were equally observed in the ancient world,⁷¹ together with such marvels as snails that could leave their shells and return to them again⁷² and scorpions that were thought to be born from dead crocodiles.⁷³ In Italy, scorpions (plate 21) underwent yet another transformation; though their horrible poison made them the scourge of Africa and other places, within the Italian peninsula scorpions were harmless.⁷⁴ The importance of the transformative aspect of these animals is reflected in the use of related motifs in the funerary art of the first century AD. Lizards, for example, which were supposed to be



22 Ara Pacis Augustae, detail, south side, beneath central acanthus plant, snake and bird's nest. (Photo: Dick Fish).

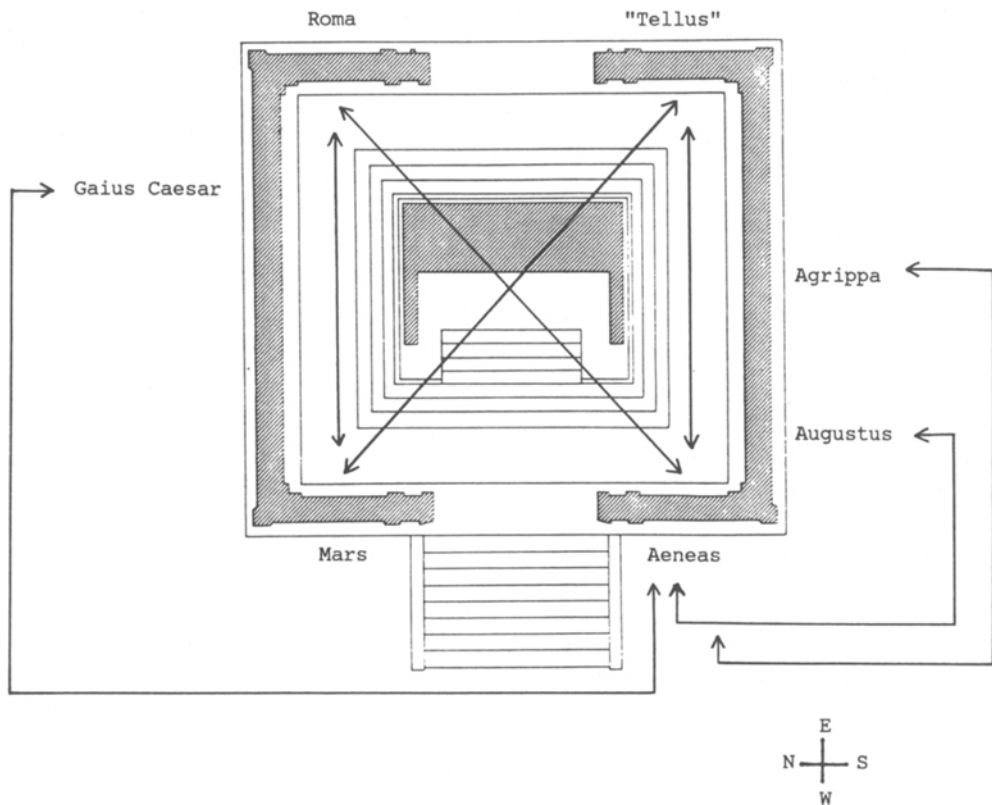
able to regenerate themselves even when torn apart or blinded and entombed,⁷⁵ were in vogue.⁷⁶

In the context of the Ara Pacis, the presence of these animals creates an environment of transformation which at the same time serves as a demonstration of Pax in action. Hers is a fragile but balanced ecology of potential opposites: birds, frogs and lizards eat insects and snails.⁷⁷ This is vividly demonstrated by the animal grouping to which even those who might doubt the significance of the small animals on the Ara Pacis must give consideration, once it is noticed. The grouping is located directly beneath the leaves of the central acanthus plant on both the north and south acanthus friezes;⁷⁸ it is therefore literally at the base of all that transpires above it. The grouping consists of a snake slithering toward a nest of baby sparrows, one of which opens its beak, presumably to sound the alarm (plate 22; compare plate 14). What will be the outcome of this confrontation? The viewer is left to complete the narrative. The well-educated Augustan viewer would likely have recognized in this yet another of those transformations of one of Homer's key omens presaging the fall of Troy, like the eagle and the snake in Philochares's painting in the Curia Iulia. Here Homer's huge snake, 'his back blood-mottled, a thing of horror', that had in one gulp swallowed the sparrow and her nestful of young⁷⁹ is transmuted into a garden snake that licks the nest with his forked tongue and looks thoroughly incapable of swallowing the nestling which utters the lusty cry. But even for the many who did not recognize the literary reference, the appearance of the snake and the birds

held in stasis would have inspired reflection on the nature of Pax.⁸⁰ Like her symbol the caduceus, which was formed when Mercury threw his once plain staff between two warring snakes,⁸¹ and like her Augustan counterpart Concordia, the daughter of Mars and Venus — of Love and Strife — Pax represented a new balance. Synonymous with it was Augustus himself, who had indicated as much when, in 11 BC, he ordered that the money contributed by the Senate and people for statues of him be used instead to set up statues of *Salus Publica*, *Concordia* and *Pax*.⁸² In this environment of transformation — the acanthus frieze — in which even erstwhile natural enemies could coexist, it was the ultimate master of transformation, Augustus himself, of course, who would have to come to mind. Through him, the two gates of the shrine of Janus Geminus in the Forum Romanum were closed an unprecedented three times during periods of peace, imprisoning within the raging and bound *Furor impius*,⁸³ while, at the same time, the Ara Pacis, its structural corollary, with its two analogous entrances, became ‘peace with her open gates’.⁸⁴

Just as any Augustan reader of the *Georgics* would realize that the activities of bees were not without meaning in relation to the activities of men, and just as animal fables had their uses for orators,⁸⁵ so too, I would maintain, any Augustan viewer would have read the acanthus frieze as an active part of the narrative of the Ara Pacis Augustae.⁸⁶ Responding to the multiple metamorphoses of the acanthus/ivy/laurel and of all the animal forms at eye-level, an Augustan Roman would not necessarily have perceived the relationship between the reliefs involving human figures as static and linear. It is much more likely that the relationship would have been read as dynamic and polymorphous. To the Augustan viewer, Aeneas and Augustus could be simultaneously present, and the one could be transformed into the other as the viewer proceeded around the exterior of the altar. This allows for a multiplicity of possible readings, varying according to the direction from which the monument is approached and the details perceived on any given day. Coming from the city and catching sight of the tall figures of Agrippa and Augustus, *capite velato*, on the south side of the monument, one might turn the corner and see them in metamorphosed form as Aeneas, *capite velato*, and *fidus Achates* (plates 23, 14 and 13).⁸⁷ Or, approaching the north side and fixing on the figure of Gaius Caesar dressed as a camillus, one might notice the remarkable resemblance between the emperor’s young son and the figure of Iulus, who serves his father Aeneas, as camillus (plates 23, 15 and 13).⁸⁸ Pausing in front of the west entry to the altar enclosure, and noting the carefully modulated comparison set up between the bearded city-founder Aeneas, dressed in a toga, on one panel, and the bearded Mars pater in a cuirass on the other, one might well be convinced that a balance is being struck here between war and peace (plates 23 and 13),⁸⁹ an impression that would be reaffirmed by a visit to the eastern entry where the sparsely clad *Tellus/Italia* sits across from *Roma* with her armaments, maintaining the same axes (plates 23 and 16). On one’s next trip around the altar, however, it might be the cross-references that were noticed, such as the way *Lavinium*, with the hillside temple of the *Penates*, is transmuted into her ‘granddaughter’ *Roma*⁹⁰ (plates 23, 13 and 16),⁹¹ or how *Romulus* and the ill-fated *Remus*, nursed by the she-wolf and watched over by their father *Mars*, are transformed into the

NARRATIVE STRUCTURE AND THE ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE



23 Plan, Ara Pacis Augustae.

two thriving infants at the breasts of Tellus/Italia in this the age when 'wars shall cease and the rough ages soften; hoary Fides and Vesta, Quirinus and Remus shall give laws' (plates 23, 13 and 16).⁹² In a sense, there were as many narratives here as there were readers, and, with certainty, the Ara Pacis Augustae was a composition designed to please on some level which 'not just once, but ten times called for, will always please'.⁹³

The narrative complexity of the Ara Pacis, the multiplicity of reference contained within all its panels and the cross-references between them find analogies on the level of deep structure, I believe, with the multiple-point perspective system of Roman wall painting, and with the pluralistic structure of Augustan literature. What recent literary analysts have discovered about the canonical classical texts of the period — Virgil, Horace and Ovid — is of vital importance here.⁹⁴ In the complexity of their allusions to earlier texts, in their use of multiple points of view, and in the etymological wordplays that constitute the very structure of their writings, all three Augustan authors produce works in which, as Frederick Ahl has suggested, we should 'relish the multiplicity and complexity of what we have so long taken to be, at heart, simple, sincere and classical'.⁹⁵ The same shift in perspective allows us to see the protean qualities

even of monuments long familiar to us in isolation, like the Ara Pacis. Understood in Augustan context, the Ara Pacis Augustae, like the Augustan city as a whole, was a *carmen perpetuum*.⁹⁶ It is Pax Augusta manifest.

Barbara A. Kellum
Smith College

Notes

I would like to thank Diana E.E. Kleiner for her useful reader's comments. Special thanks as well to Brian Rose and Eve D'Ambra for many discussions of things Roman, to my colleagues and Methods students at Smith for keeping me focused on the enframing questions, and to Mimi Hellman for our daily discourse on all things great and small which is my chief source of inspiration.

- 1 H. Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History*, trans. M.D. Hottinger, New York, 1932, p. 230. This is a concept that is fundamental to his 'history of vision': cf. p. 237 and his *Classical Art*, trans. P. & L. Murray, London, 1952 (orig. ed. 1899), pp. 245 ff.
- 2 Most recently, P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. A. Shapiro, 1988, pp. 122, 173f., but this is a commonplace. For the basic bibliography on the Ara Pacis, see G.M. Koepfel, 'Die historischen Reliefs der römischen Kaiserheit v, Ara Pacis Augustae I', *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 187 (1987), pp. 152–7; S. Settis, 'Die Ara Pacis', in *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik*, exhib. cat., Berlin 1988, Mainz am Rhein, 1988, pp. 424–5 and D.E.E. Kleiner, 'The Ara Pacis Augustae' in *Roman Sculpture*, New Haven, 1992, pp. 90–9, 119.
- 3 The privileging of the anthropocentric is fundamental to 'classical art' as a category. See J.J. Pollitt, *Art and Experience in Classical Greece*, Cambridge, 1972, pp. 1–2, 68ff.
- 4 See, for example, J. Charbonneaux, *L'Art au siècle d'Auguste*, Lausanne, 1948, p. 69. For a judicious reassessment of this comparison, see D.E.E. Kleiner, 'The Great Friezes of the Ara Pacis Augustae. Greek Sources, Roman Derivatives, and Augustan Social Policy', *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome, Antiquité*, 90.2 (1978), pp. 753–7.
- 5 *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 12. The presence of Agrippa (d. 12 BC) here makes it likely that this is the event indicated, although the reliefs do not depict 'documentary reality' in our sense; see J. Pollini, 'Studies in Augustan "Historical" Reliefs', Diss. Berkeley, 1978, pp. 124–6. Another possibility is presented by G.M. Koepfel 'Die historischen Reliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit V. Ara Pacis Augustae 2', op. cit., p. 99, who suggests that the event is a *supplicatio* upon Augustus's return in 13 BC. See also M. Torelli, *Typology & Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs*, Jerome Lectures 14th Series, Ann Arbor, 1982, pp. 43, 54–5, although his proposal that the event depicted is 'the *apantesis* of the returning *princeps*' (p. 43) is not viable (R.R.R. Smith, review of M. Torelli, *Typology & Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs* in *Journal of Roman Studies*, 73 (1983), p. 226).
- 6 J. Pollini, op. cit., pp. 81–7, 90–3; Torelli, op. cit., pp. 44–7. G.M. Koepfel, 'Maximus Videtur Rex: The Collegium Pontificum on the Ara Pacis Augustae', *Archaeological News*, 14 (1985), pp. 17–22.
- 7 C.B. Rose, "'Princes" and Barbarians on the Ara Pacis', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 94 (July 1990), pp. 463–7.
- 8 Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.*, 1.57.1. G.M. Koepfel, 'Die historischen Reliefs der römischen Kaiserheit v, Ara Pacis Augustae I', op. cit., pp. 110–11.
- 9 *ibid.*, pp. 108–10.
- 10 *ibid.*, pp. 113–15.
- 11 See, for example, E. Petersen, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, Vienna, 1902, pp. 49–54; E. Strong 'Terra Mater or Italia?', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 27 (1937), pp. 114–126; K. Galinsky, 'Venus in a relief on the Ara Pacis Augustae', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 70 (1966), pp. 223–43; E. Simon, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, New York, 1968, pp. 26–7; H. Kenner, 'Das Tellusrelief der Ara Pacis', *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien*, 53 (1981–82), pp. 31–42; B. Spaeth, 'Demeter/Ceres in the Ara Pacis and the Carthage Relief', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 90 (1986), p. 210; L. Berczelly, 'Ilia and the Divine Twins. A Reconsideration of two Relief Panels from the Ara Pacis Augustae', *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*, 5 (1985), pp. 89–149; N. de Grummond, 'Pax Augusta and the Horae on the Ara Pacis Augustae', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 94 (1990), pp. 663–77. For a recent analysis of the debate,

- see K. Galinsky, 'Venus, Polysemy, and the Ara Pacis Augustae', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 96 (1992), pp. 457–75; although I question how much of Venus is to be seen here, Galinsky's thoughts on 'the intentionally multiple iconography' are well founded. I prefer to use 'Tellus/Italia' as a shorthand identification for this broad frame of reference (A. Momigliano, 'The Peace of the Ara Pacis', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 (1942), pp. 228–31), including Gaea, etc. (cf. S. Adamo Muscettola, 'Un nuovo Alessandro da Pompei e gli aspetti della imitatio Alexandri Augustae', *Rendiconti della Accademia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti*, Napoli, n.s 58 (1983), esp. pp. 287 ff.); see also S. Settis, op. cit., pp. 413–414.
- 12 E. Simon, op. cit., p. 15; P.J. Holliday, 'Time, History and Ritual on the Ara Pacis Augustae', *Art Bulletin*, 72 (1990), pp. 553–4. For the altar frieze as a continuation of the large processional friezes see F. Scott Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art (Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 22 (1955)), p. 43. For additional sculptural fragments and placement on the altar see H. Kähler, 'Die Ara Pacis und die augusteische Friedensidee', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 69 (1954), pp. 67–100; H. Kähler, 'Die Front der Ara Pacis' in R. Lullies (ed.), *Neue Beiträge zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft. Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Bernard Schweitzer*, Stuttgart, 1954, pp. 322–30; R. de Angelis Bertolotti, 'Materiali dell' Ara Pacis presso il Museo Nazionale Romano', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, 92 (1985), pp. 221–34. For an interpretive essay on sacrifice and the Ara Pacis, see J. Elsner, 'Cult and Sculpture: Sacrifice in the Ara Pacis Augustae', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 81 (1991), pp. 50–61. Although I share Elsner's reservations about Zanker's model of Augustan art and ideology, the 'ambivalences and contradictions' (p. 61) perceived by Elsner in the Ara Pacis stem more, I believe, from our presuppositions about the oppressiveness of the imperial system than from any ancient reading of the monument in context. For the methodological problems here see K. Galinsky's 'Addendum' on Elsner's article *AJA*, 96 (1992), pp. 474–5.
- 13 Ovid, *Fast.* 1.709f.
- 14 T. Kraus, *Die Ranken der Ara Pacis. Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der augusteischen Ornamentik*, Berlin, 1953; C. Börker, 'Neuattisches und Pergamenisches an den Ara Pacis Ranken', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 88 (1973), pp. 283–317; G. Sauron, 'Les modèles funéraires classiques de l'art décoratif néo-attique', *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome*, 91 (1979), pp. 183–236. 'Purely decorative' is the standard textbook description: B. Andreae, *The Art of Rome*, R.E. Wolf, trans., New York, 1977, p. 116. For symbolic readings see H.P. L'Orange, 'Ara Pacis Augustae. La zone floreale', *Acta ad archeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*, 1 (1962), pp. 7–16 (Virgil's *Ecl.* 4 and the *aurea aetas*); G. Sauron, 'Le message symbolique des rinceaux de Ara Pacis Augustae', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 1982, pp. 81–101 (a complex and questionable reading involving family trees, laurel and ivy [Apollo vs. Dionysos], the battle of Actium, etc.) further elaborated in his 'Le message esthétique des rinceaux de l'Ara Pacis Augustae', *Revue archéologique*, 1988, pp. 3–40.
- 15 H. Büsing, 'Ranke und Figur an der Ara Pacis Augustae', *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 92 (1977), pp. 247–57 does trace the relation between figures and acanthus frieze in compositional terms. G. Sauron, op. cit., in developing his family tree theory, also interrelates the two. The absolute separation that is almost invariably maintained between the figured friezes and the acanthus is apparent in the way the monument is usually illustrated, with the panels containing human figures shown in isolation: see, for example, B. Andreae, op. cit., pp. 374–5; S. Settis, op. cit., pp. 408ff.; etc.
- 16 Even the fundamental monograph on the monument, G. Moretti, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, Rome, 1948, barely mentions them (p. 274). K. Galinsky, op. cit., *American Journal of Archaeology*, 96 (1992), pp. 464–5, does draw attention to the presence of 'snakes attacking a bird's nest' and 'scorpions' in discounting L'Orange's *aurea aetas* reading and in supporting his own reading of the floral frieze in relation to Virgil G. 1.121–159. However, for Galinsky, the floral frieze (pp. 463–8) is primarily a part of the polysemous iconography of Venus on the monument. There are earlier related motifs: J.M.C. Toynbee and J.B. Ward Perkins 'Peopled Scrolls: A Hellenistic Motif in Imperial Art', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 18 (1950), pp. 1–8, although they quickly dismiss the Ara Pacis acanthus friezes (p.8).
- 17 E. Simon, op. cit., p. 13. They are also the swans of Venus: H. Büsing, op. cit., p. 248, n. 7; K. Galinsky, op. cit., *American Journal of Archaeology*, 96 (1992), p. 468.
- 18 In addition to the swans, the extant small animal forms are distributed in the acanthus panels as follows. On the west (beneath the Aeneas panel): top of the acanthus calyx left: *snake*; top of the acanthus calyx, right: *lizard*; high amid the acanthus foliage, right: *bird*. On

- the east (beneath the Roma panel): on the base of the calyx, left: *lizard*; centre: *bird & grasshopper*; right: *snake*; top of calyx, to left of central stalk: *bird & grasshopper*; top of calyx, to the right of the central stalk: *two birds nibbling foliage*. On the east (beneath the Tellus/Italia panel): beneath the calyx, left: *frog*; beneath the calyx, right: *grasshopper*; on the base of the calyx, left: *lizard*; centre: *scorpion*; right: *snake*; top of the calyx, to left of the central stalk: *snake*; higher in the foliage, to left of central stalk: *bird*; top of the calyx, to right of the central stalk: *snail*; higher in the foliage, to right of the central stalk: *bird & grasshopper*. On the north (beneath processional frieze): preserved central section: beneath central calyx, left: *snake*, *bird's nest*, *birds*; beneath central calyx, right: *frog*; above, on the base of the central calyx, left: *lizard*; above, on the base of the central calyx, right: *lizard*. On the south (beneath processional frieze): preserved left end: beneath lowest row of acanthus tendrils: *lizard*; above, left, perched on acanthus tendril: *bird nibbling grapes*; above and to the left: *bird*; above, higher still and to the right: *butterfly* (note: central section on south side restored following the preserved central section on the north side).
- 19 Ovid, *AA* 1.71.
- 20 F. Coarelli, *Roma*, 3rd ed., Rome, 1983, p. 205. The Ara Pacis was dedicated on Livia's birthday, 30 January, so a connection is all the more likely; see L.R. Taylor 'Tebula Suffenas and the Plautii Silvani', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, p. 28, n. 59 & A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae*, 13.2, Rome, 1963, pp. 404–405.
- 21 Pliny, *NH* 14.11.
- 22 Ovid, *Fast.*, 6.639; Dio, 54.23.
- 23 Suet., *Aug.*, 43.4; Pliny, *NH*, 8.65. For a detailed discussion see B.A. Kellum, *The City Adorned. The Play of Meaning in Augustan Rome* (forthcoming).
- 24 Pliny, *NH*, 35.28.
- 25 The most famous of which was the statue of Victory from Tarentum, Dio, 51.22.1; Suet., *Aug.*, 100; cf. T. Hölscher, *Victoria Romana*, Mainz am Rhein, 1967, pp. 6ff.
- 26 R. Wittkower, 'Eagle and Serpent. A Study in the Migration of Symbols', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 2 (1938–39), p. 310; Wittkower also notes other earlier examples, pp. 293–310.
- 27 Verg., *Aen.*, 11.751–756; Hor., *Carm.*, 4.4.11. An auspice once for Marius as well, see Cic., *de Div.*, 1.106. For the importance of the eagle as military standard, etc, see J.M.C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art*, Ithaca, 1973, pp. 240–3.
- 28 This is analogous to the mechanisms of change in the ritual calendar which are analysed in Mary Beard, 'A Complex of Times: No More Sheep on Romulus's Birthday', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, 33 (1987), pp. 1–15.
- 29 Hom., *Il.*, 12.201ff.
- 30 Hor., *Carm.*, 3.3; Verg., *Geor.*, 1.498f. Troy's curse began when its legendary king Laomedon cheated Apollo and Poseidon out of their pay after they had built the city walls (cf. Ovid, *Met.*, 11.194).
- 31 See, for example, the funerary altar of Prepo (CIL VL 37546): A. Giuliano (ed.), *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le Sculture*, 1.17.1, Rome, 1984, IV, 3, pp. 80–2, with many comparisons noted. It may be significant that Prepo was in the *familia Caesaris* of one of the emperors. The motif also occurs as the central relief in the vault of the bay of the arch built by Salvia Postuma Sergi to honour deceased members of her family: the Arch of the Sergii, in Augustan Pola: see G. Traversari, *L'arco dei Sergi*, Padua, 1971; F.S. Kleiner, *The Arch of Nero in Rome*, Rome, 1985, pp. 36–7. Ever since Cumont, it has been the associations of the eagle as the bird of the sun and as the vehicle of apotheosis that have been emphasized (F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des romains*, Paris, 1942, p. 97, n. 2; p. 154; p. 240, n. 5; p. 337; p. 437, n. 2; p. 458). However, numerous roof tiles stamped with the eagle carrying a serpent device have been found recently at a villa site at Campo della Chiesa, Tuscany, in excavated context with a quadrans of Lamia, Silius and Annius (9 BC) (M. Del Chiaro, 'A New Late Republican–Early Imperial Villa at Campo della Chiesa, Tuscany', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 2 (1989), p. 115 & fig. 8; for the dating of the quadrans, C.H.V. Sutherland and R.A.G. Carson (eds), *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. 1 (revised ed.), London, 1984, p. 74). The roof tiles suggest that, in the Augustan period at least, the motif, although its function may be apotropaic, was far more wide-ranging in its potential meaning and very much a part of this world as well as the next.
- 32 Pliny, *NH*, 36.196. See also B. Kellum, 'The City Adorned: Programmatic Display at the Aedes Concordiae Augustae', in K.A. Raaflaub and M. Toher (eds.), *Between Republic and Empire. Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate*, Berkeley, 1990, pp. 276–307 (hereafter Kellum 1990).
- 33 Pliny, *NH*, 8.1–2; Ael., *NA*, 7.44.
- 34 Pliny, *NH*, 8.1–2, 11, 13; Ael., *NH*, 5.49; 6.61; 7.2; 7.15; 9.8; 11.15.
- 35 Dio, 56. 2.4–5.
- 36 Lucr., 5.1302–1305.
- 37 *Anth. Pal.*, 9.285.
- 38 For interpretations of this as a more iron-clad system of order: G. Sauron, op. cit., 1979, p.

- 209, G. Sauron, op. cit., 1988, pp. 35ff. and P. Zanker, op. cit., pp. 180–181.
- 39 Cf. Verg., *Cul.*, 398, 405, 407. The authorship of the *Culex* has long been debated (see, for example, A.A. Barrett 'The Authorship of the *Culex*: An Evaluation of the Evidence', *Latomus*, 29 (1970), pp. 348–62 and the same author's 'The Poet's Intentions in the *Culex*', *Latomus*, 35 (1976), pp. 567–74); however, whatever the date, this *ludus* addressed to the *puer* Octavius in its description of the circular funerary mound constructed for the Gnat, complete with its plantings (1. 390ff.), seems to play irresistibly on a comparison with the Mausoleum of Augustus and its gardens (Suet., *Aug.*, 100; Strabo 5.3.8).
- 40 The only sprig of laurel preserved in the acanthus frieze is to the right on the north frieze (plate 20).
- 41 A. Alföldi, *Die Zwei Lorbeerbäume des Augustus*, (Antiquitas ser. 3, v. 14), Bonn, 1973, pp. 50ff. See, most recently, C.B. Rose, op. cit., p. 455, n. 8 on laurel carried by participants, possibly including Augustus.
- 42 See especially G. Sauron, op. cit., 1982, pp. 83f.; G. Sauron, op. cit., 1988, pp. 35f.
- 43 Hor., *Ep.*, 2.1.5–6, 7; Serv. in Verg., *Aen.*, 3.93; in Verg., *Georg.*, 1.5; in Verg., *Ecl.*, 5.66; Plut., *De Is. et Os.*, 35; *De E apud Delphos* 9.
- 44 Kellum 1990, op. cit., pp. 282–3. For Apollo and Dionysos and the fourth-century BC context, see A. Stewart, 'Dionysos at Delphi: The Pediments of the Sixth Temple of Apollo and Religious Reform in the Age of Alexander', in *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times*, National Gallery Studies in the History of Art, vol. 10 (1981), esp. pp. 208–209.
- 45 H. Bulle, 'Weihebild eines tragischen Dichters', in *Corolla Ludwigi Curtius*, Stuttgart, 1937, p. 157 & taf. 57 (pelike, Barcelona) (after Frickenhaus, *Annuari di l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* 1908, 233 (in SD 40) Abb. 56).
- 46 G. Carettoni, 'I problemi della zona Augustea del Palatino alle luce dei recenti scavi', *Rendiconti, Atti della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia*, ser. 3, 59 (1966–7), pp. 71–3, figs. 10–12.
- 47 Cic., *Tusc.*, 1.30.73.
- 48 See *supra* n. 17.
- 49 Athn., 9.393C.
- 50 Callim., *Ap.*, 4.249–255; Ael., *NA*, 11.1. See also n. 52.
- 51 Philostr., *VA*, 3.49. See also n. 52.
- 52 Verg., *Aen.*, 10.189f.; Ovid, *Met.*, 2.367f., 377; 12.581; compare Hor., *Carm.*, 4.1. For the myth of Cygnus and swan symbolism in literature see F.M. Ahl, 'Amber, Avallon, and Apollo's Singing Swan', *American Journal of Philology*, 103 (1982), pp. 373–411, esp. p. 389.
- 53 Hor., *Carm.*, 2.20. See also *Carm.* 4.1 and M.C.J. Putnam, *Artifices of Eternity. Horace's Fourth Book of Odes*, Ithaca, 1986, pp. 43–7.
- 54 CIL VI. 17702. F. Sinn, *Stadtrömische Marmorurnen*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Beiträge zur Erschließung hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlicher Skulptur und Architektur, vol. 8, Mainz am Rhein, 1987, Nr. 115 (taf. 28 c, d), cf. Nr. 114 (taf. 28 a, b). Sinn notes the swan as a reference to Apollo (pp. 59, 73) and comments on the use of the Ara Pacis in general as a model (pp. 56–7), but does not remark on the specific reference here.
- 55 For the placement of the animals, see n. 18.
- 56 cf. Sen., *Q. Nat.*, 2.32.4–6.
- 57 Ar., *Ran.*, 5.231; Cic., *Div.*, 1.9.15; Pliny, *NH*, 18.361; Plut. or *Pyth.*, 12 (*Mor.* p. 399f). See also M. Fränkel, 'Geweihter Frosch', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 1 (1886), pp. 48–53.
- 58 Suet. *Aug.* 94.4.
- 59 Ael., *NA*, 11.2; Suet., *Tib.*, 72.2; Pliny, *NH*, 29.72.
- 60 Pliny, *NH*, 34.70; cf. Mart., 14.172.
- 61 Ael., *NA*, 10.49; Paus., 1.24.8; Srtab., 13.1.64.
- 62 Hor., *Sat.*, 5.14–15.
- 63 Suet., *Aug.*, 94.7.
- 64 Phaedrus, of course, pays his due to Aesop (I. Prol. 1). Augustus employed storytellers to entertain guests at dinner and summoned them to read to him when his sleep had been disturbed (Suet., *Aug.*, 74; 78).
- 65 Quint., *Inst.*, 5.11.19–20 (cf. Liv., 2.32 and Hor., *Epist.*, 1.1.73). See, for example, Phaedrus 1.2 ('The Frogs asked for a King'); A. Demandt, 'Politik in den Fabeln Aesops', *Gymnasium*, 98 (1991), pp. 397–418.
- 66 For the magico-religious importance of such talismans, especially as signet rings, see G. Wolters, 'Notes on Antique Folklore on the Basis of Pliny's Natural History xxviii. 22–29', *Diss.*, Utrecht, 1935, pp. 61–7; H.S. Versnel, 'Polycrates and His Ring. Two Neglected Aspects', *Studi storico-religiosi*, 1 (1977), pp. 17–46; M. Henig, *A Corpus of Roman Engraved Gemstones from British Sites, Pt. i: Discussion*, British Archaeological Reports 8 (i), Oxford, 1974, pp. 130ff.
- 67 Cabinets of gems were on display at the temple of Venus Genetrix, at the temple of Apollo on the Palatine (Pliny, *NH*, 37.11), and at the Aedes Concordiae Augustae, where Livia had dedicated the most famous gem of all, which had once belonged to Polycrates of Samos (Pliny, *NH*, 37.4) and was now set in a golden horn. For the ring of Polycrates and the popularity of gems in general see n. 66.
- 68 Pliny, *NH*, 37.10. See, for example, E. Brandt

- et al (eds.), *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen*, vol. 1, *Staatliche Münzsammlung München*, pt. 3 *Gemmen und Glaspasten der römischen Kaiserzeit und sowie Nachträge*, Munich, 1971, Nr. 2428 (p. 53) first century BC/AD with comparisons.
- 69 Ael., NA, 5.47. E. Brandt et al (eds.), op. cit., Nr. 2427 first century BC/AD (p. 53; taf. 219) with comparisons.
- 70 Snails: Petron. 130. E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Antiken Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen*, vol. 2, *Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz Antikenabteilung*, Berlin, Munich, 1969, Nr. 408 b first century AD (p. 155–6; taf. 72). Scorpions: Ael. NA, 6.20. E. Brandt et al (eds.), op. cit., Nr. 2173 b first century BC (pp. 13–14; taf. 188). Sparrows: Pliny, NH, 30.141., E. Brandt et al (eds.), op. cit., Nr. 2267 first century BC (p. 28; taf. 199).
- 71 cf. Ovid, *Met.*, 15.369ff.
- 72 Ael., NA, 10.5.
- 73 *ibid.*, 2.33.
- 74 Pliny, NH, 11.89.
- 75 Ael., NA, 2.23; 5.47.
- 76 See for example, the cinerary altar of C. Iulius Proculus: A. Giuliano (ed.), *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le Sculture* 1, 8, part 1, Rome, 1985, Nr. II, 12, pp. 74–8. For an interpretation of this imagery in funerary context see F. Cumont, op. cit., pp. 408–409. It was also to be found in a wide variety of municipal monuments; see especially, E. Ghisellini, 'Modelli ufficiali della prima età imperiale in ambiente privato e municipale', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Römische Abteilung*, 95 (1988), pp. 187–204. Perhaps the most famous quotation of the small animals and acanthus of the Ara Pacis is to be found on the doorframe of the Building of Eumachia, at the Forum in Pompeii. On the self-conscious patterning of the Building of Eumachia on the Porticus of Livia with its shrine to Concord (supra n. 20), see J. D'Arms, 'Pompeii and Rome in the Augustan Age and Beyond: The Eminence of the *Gens Holconia*', in *Studia Pompeiana & Classica in Honour of Wilhelmina F. Jashemski*, vol. 1: *Pompeiana*, New Rochelle, 1988, p. 53 & n. 16.
- 77 Pliny, NH, 8.141; Ael., NA, 10.5.
- 78 The south side is a restoration, but certainly a justifiable one. See n. 18.
- 79 Hom., *Il.*, 2.308–320; cf. Cic., *Div.*, 1.33.72, 2.30.63
- 80 On the nature of Pax see: L. Spitzer, 'Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony. Prolegomena to an Interpretation of the word "Stimmung" Pt. I', *Traditio*, 2 (1944). esp. pp. 415ff; M. Sordi (ed.), *La pace nel mondo antico*, Milan, 1985, esp. pp. 12ff. E.S. Gruen, 'Augustus and the Ideology of War and Peace', in R. Winkes (ed.), *The Age of Augustus*, Providence, 1985, pp. 51–72.
- 81 Hyg., *Astr.*, 2.7. For more on the caduceus see Kellum 1990, op. cit., pp. 289–90.
- 82 Dio, 54.35.1–2; Ovid, *Fast.*, 3.881–882.
- 83 *Res Gestae Divi Augustae* 13; Verg., *Aen.*, 1.294–296. On the significance of Janus and his shrine see L.A. Holland, *Janus and the Bridge*, American Academy in Rome, 1961.
- 84 Hor., *Ars P.*, 199. On the structural resemblance between the shrine of Janus geminus in the Forum Romanum and the Ara Pacis see E. Simon, op. cit., p. 9; M. Torelli, op. cit., p. 32. The placement of the Ara Pacis in relation to the Horologium lent a cosmic dimension to this transformation: see E. Buchner, *Die Sonnenuhr des Augustus*, Mainz am Rhein, 1982 *passim* (but cf. M. Schütz, 'Zur Sonnenuhr des Augustus auf dem Marsfeld', *Gymnasium*, 97 [1990]. pp. 432–57).
- 85 See n. 65. For the *Georgics*, M.C.J. Putnam, *Virgil's Poems of the Earth. Studies in the Georgics*, Princeton, 1979 is of fundamental importance.
- 86 The possibilities for multiple readings are many. In addition to the metamorphosis schema proposed here, the varied distribution and placement of the small animals may well have had significance. For example, although the vagaries of preservation have to be taken into consideration, the largest number of small animals is to be found in the acanthus beneath the Tellus/Italia panel (12 animals; cf. n. 18). The one extant scorpion occurs here and may be a magical guarantor of the bountiful fertility depicted in the figured panel. For the scorpion as a fertility symbol, see W. Deonna, 'Mercure et le scorpion', *Latomus*, 17 (1958), p. 658.
- 87 It is the parallelism in dress here that I would stress. We do not know what Augustus held in his hand, although I would agree with C.B. Rose, op. cit., pp. 454–5, n. 8, that J. Pollini's suggestion that it was a *lituus* (supra n. 5), pp. 87–9 should be abandoned.
- 88 C.B. Rose, op. cit., pp. 465–7.
- 89 See also M. Torelli, op. cit., p. 37. For this juxtaposition of the two legends of the origins of Rome, see T.J. Cornell 'Aeneas and the Twins: the Development of the Roman Foundation Legend', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, 21 (1975), pp. 1–32.
- 90 Cf. Varr., *LL*, 5.144; Livy, 1.1.11; 1.3.1ff. Tradition held that Aeneas had founded Lavinium, the first home of the Penates in Latium; his son Ascanius/Iulus had founded Alba Longa, and Rhea Silvia, the mother of Romulus, the founder of Rome, descended from the line of the Alban kings. The towns formed a familial line (Varr. *LL*. 5.144) and there continued to be ritual connections; see

NARRATIVE STRUCTURE AND THE ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE

- A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins*, Ann Arbor, 1965, *passim*.
- 91 Ael., *NA*, 11.16; cf. Varro, *LL*, 5.144.
- 92 Verg., *Aen.*, 1.291–293.
- 93 Hor., *Ars P.*, 365.
- 94 See G.B. Conte, *The Rhetoric of Imitation. Genre and Poetic Memory in Virgil and Other Latin Poets*, C. Segal (trans.), Ithaca, 1986, *passim*; F. Ahl, *Metaformations. Soundplay and Wordplay in Ovid and Other Classical Poets*, Ithaca, 1985, *passim* (hereafter Ahl 1985); M.C.J. Putnam, *op. cit.*, 1979, and M.C.J. Putnam, *op. cit.*, 1986, esp. pp. 262 ff.. C. Witke, *Horace's Roman Odes: A Critical Examination*, Mnemosyne, Suppl. no. 77, Leiden, 1983, pp. 14–16, 50–2 suggests a parallel between the way we 'read' the Ara Pacis and the Roman odes, although it is only the metamorphic qualities of some of the poetry that live for him (p. 52).
- 95 Ahl 1985, *op. cit.*, p. 323.
- 96 Cf. Ovid, *Met.*, 1.4.