

Chapter 7

GREEK STYLES AND GREEK ART IN AUGUSTAN ROME:

ISSUES OF THE PRESENT

VERSUS RECORDS OF THE PAST

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QUESTIONS

ROMAN ART, as we have known since Winckelmann, was to a large extent shaped by “classical pasts,” by the inheritance of Greek art of various periods. In this, visual art corresponds to other domains of Roman culture, which in some respects can be described as a specific successor culture. Archaeological research has observed and evaluated this fact from controversial viewpoints.¹ As long as the classical culture of Greece was valued as the highest measure of societal norms and artistic creation, no independent Roman strengths could be recognized in Roman art next to the Greek traditions; this was the basis for the sweeping negative judgment against “the art of the imitators.” Then, from around 1900, beginning with Franz Wickhoff and Alois Riegl,² as the new archaeological art history developed a bold concept of cultural plurality and within this framework discovered and analyzed genuinely Roman forms and structures in visual art, the inherited Greek traditions were often judged to be a cultural burden and an interference in the development of an original Roman art. In neither case was the Greek inheritance seen as a productive element of Roman art. From the negative perspective, Roman art was of inferior importance *because of* its dependence on Greek models. On the positive side, it retained its originality and independence *despite* its occasional Greek overlay. At best, on a broad humanistic horizon, Rome’s world-historical role in the preservation and development of Greek culture and art for the West could be appreciated and celebrated.

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¹ Hölscher 1987, 11–12. Hölscher 1993a.

² Riegl 1893. Wickhoff 1895. Riegl and Zimmermann 1901.

None of these concepts has been refuted, and indeed they hardly allow themselves to be falsified in the strict sense. But to a large extent they have lost their interest: one does encounter them here and there, but more implicitly than explicitly, and hardly anyone would fight for them anymore. In a postmodern context, Roman creativity versus Greek tradition is hardly a real question any longer. Roman independence versus foreign Greek influence raises the political problem of "national" cultures, which today arouses legitimate skepticism.³ Roman transmission and dissemination of Greek values in the spirit of humanism did not stand up well to the test of the threats of the twentieth century. And, in the main, general and abstract concepts about a definitive Roman art and its relationship to a definitive Greek art have been discredited. In its culture of personal experience, today's society is oriented more toward the encounter with individual, tangible artworks rather than the construction of overarching historical phenomena and connections.

However, the question of classical pasts in Roman art has gained new relevance from a different direction: from the perspective of a memory culture, of "cultural memory."⁴ According to this concept, every society has its cultural foundation in a monumental past in which it prefigures its models, representations of values, and behavioral norms as exemplary, thereby legitimizing them. Culture, in this sense, *is* memory: "We are what we remember."

From this starting point—part explicit, part semiconscious or unconscious—the way in which Roman artworks refer back to Greek models has once again become an interesting and attractive subject. Classicism as collective cultural *habitus* and selective intertextual appeals to individual classical masterpieces are receiving increasing attention. In this there are, in principle, two variants. One variant concerns the heavyweight question of cultural identity, the collective anchoring of historical societies in a foundational past, widely sought today as a remedy that can provide a self-referential feeling of "us" against the globalized world community. In this sense, the diagnosis is the foundation of classical identity through the appeal to Greek models. The other concerns a more erudite proof of the cultural interaction of historical elites with the representatives and products of earlier periods; it concerns the relationship of authors and works to precursors or antipodes: citing learnedly or alienating playfully, taking up, carrying forward or responding. In this, Roman culture becomes a more or less entertaining intellectual parlor game.⁵

Two questions of considerable importance arise here. One is for the historian: are these applicable concepts for Roman culture and art? The other is a question for the critic of his or her own time: is this general idea of culture,

³ On this see Brendel 1953, 32–41 = Brendel 1979, 47–68.

⁴ Assmann 1997 is fundamental here.

⁵ I am deliberately exaggerating the positions to an extreme degree and for this reason am abstaining from pointing out examples in the more recent archaeological literature, since given this emphasis all existing studies would certainly be treated unjustly.

an idea largely founded on the relationship to the past, a salutary general concept for human societies?

The second question, to what extent our concepts of the past are useful or should be salutary for our own time, is not usually reckoned to be among the legitimate and professional subjects of the historical disciplines. And yet, already these brief remarks on the way in which research has been formulated in the study of Roman art and its Greek traditions show how closely the positions of scholars are connected to the conditions and changes of their respective contemporary societies. The constructors of the past also contribute to the construction of their own present.

Given these premises, the historian, insofar as he understands himself as a contemporary of his own time, cannot dismiss more general questions about the concept of culture and memory.⁶ Where does it lead if culture—that is, the entire structure of societal experiences and perceptions, actions and forms of behavior, values and norms—is so fundamentally and explicitly positioned in relationship to the past? If culture is founded on and legitimized through this relationship to the past? What kinds of societies are these that say, “We are what we remember,” and not, “We are what we look forward to,” or even, “We are what we desire,” “what we hope”? Does it make sense for us today to fixate so strongly on the question of how much past a society *needs*? Is this not also about how much past a society can *tolerate* and *afford*—for the sake of the present and the future?

Even if, as a historian, one shies away from thoroughly addressing these questions for one’s own time, in investigating historical periods one cannot get around the question of what specific role the past played in the cultural economy of earlier societies. To what extent was the past kept present? In what domains of cultural life? With what function? With what result?

The other question, what meaning classical pasts held for Roman culture and art in particular, can for this reason be thoroughly investigated as a test for *general* conditions. Indeed, Rome as the bearer of a specific successor culture seems particularly suited for a discussion of relevant scholarly categories. How much past did Roman culture itself consider to be present? To what ends? In which domains of life? And with what results, what gains and what losses?

Among all the periods of Roman history, that of Augustus was oriented toward cultural models from Greece to an especially high degree.⁷ Central temples of the state religion were furnished with original cult images, paintings and other visual decoration from the classical period of Greece. The image of

⁶ I hope to develop these questions more precisely in an essay on “Knowledge and Memory in Greek and Roman Antiquity.”

⁷ The most important literature on this: Borbein 1975. Gullini and Zanda 1978. Zanker 1979. Zanker 1987, especially 240–263 = (slightly altered) Zanker 1988b. Neudecker 1988. Galinsky 1996, 332–63. Landwehr 1998. Galinsky 1999. Haug 2001. Koortbojian 2002. See also Hölscher 2000, 268–71.

the emperor himself and of his family was stylized following the model of classical Greek masterpieces. On important state monuments, in architecture as in visual art, the stylistic forms of the Greek classical style were adopted and positioned as state style. In the residences and parks of the imperial family and of the wealthy upper ranks, original artworks from Greece were collected; even more frequently, copies of Greek masterpieces, often of superb quality, were put on display. Comparable phenomena are found, as it is well known, in literature, rhetoric, and other cultural domains. All this is seen by researchers in many ways as a fundamentally retrospective *habitus*, an appeal to the model of a classical *past*.

At the same time, the age of Augustus was a period that held its own *present* in view to an especially high degree, and indeed developed the confidence that the happy conditions of the present would hold for eternity. A presentness is visible in this that seems difficult to reconcile with a fundamentally retrospective orientation toward an all-dominating past.

From this contradiction arises a crucial question: how much past was in fact powerfully active in the culture and art of the Augustan period? Or, more to the point: if the culture and art of the Augustan period were so strongly shaped by classical models from Greece, how much past was there in this classical? And if the retrospective characteristics should prove to be weak, then what is the character and function of the classical elements of this culture?

In view of such questions, the idea of classicism as it is usually employed in classical scholarship proves slippery and lacking in grip. For it makes a big difference if by this one means:

- the specific reference back to a *particular* classical past, for instance, to the world of the Homeric heroes, to the patriotic ethos of the wars against the Persians, or to the spirit of Periclean Athens;
- the general reference back to an *unspecified* “great” past, for instance, to Greek tradition or to the distant Roman past;
- the reception and employment of inherited cultural materials, concepts and models, with *timeless* validity, without intended temporal references back to a past distinguished as exemplary by the present.

Clearly, these distinctions are founded on specific categories of cultural memory.

KNOWLEDGE VERSUS MEMORY

The idea of cultural memory has grown into a key concept for the study of culture in the last two decades. Yet, like many concepts of this kind, cultural memory—as an increasingly successful instrument in the hands of increas-

ingly wide circles of scholars and intellectuals—tends toward strong generalization and leveling. The key risks becoming a *passee partout*.

In fact, the idea of cultural memory includes two very different domains of culture that stand in very different relationships to the past: *knowledge* on one side, *memory* on the other. In order to determine which meaning particular societies give their relationship to exemplary pasts, it seems to me crucial to distinguish as sharply as possible between these two concepts.⁸ On the one hand, every human society rests on a shared basis of collective norms, behavioral patterns and certainties about itself, of cultural recognitions, insights, and capacities from which it draws its self-perception, the awareness of its individuality, unity, and stability over time. As a rule, such guiding ideas and achievements come into being over a long period and are handed down to a given present as traditions; they count as tried and true, and are carried out by the contemporary society in continual form. Nonetheless, no appeal to a specific past is constitutive for these normative forms of culture; they are considered timelessly valid, from time immemorial, now, and forever more. In this sense, one can speak of cultural knowledge, cultural property, whose genesis in earlier times and employment in one's own past does not necessarily establish a historical dimension. We carry out religious and societal rituals without having their origins in mind; we behave according to ethical principles without referring to their establishment by Kant; we live in a culture of books without thinking about the invention of the printing press by Gutenberg; we communicate in our language without paying attention to the origins and history of the words. All this is a fundamentally present knowledge that implicitly carries with it its genesis and proof in the past, but that does not explicitly establish a relationship to the past.

On the other hand, many societies erect for themselves, more or less plainly, a monumental and exemplary past from which they draw their behavioral patterns and counterimages, their collective utopias and nightmares, and by the measure of which they orient the present.⁹ This prehistory of great figures, deeds, and events can have, in our eyes, more of the character of a primeval mythical time or a formative historical period; for their cultural meaning this makes no difference. In this sense, we speak of foundational memories, signposts of the cultural world that point back into the depths of time and describe an ideal foundation for the present in the past: the exodus for the Jews, Troy and Marathon for the Greeks, and so forth. The crucial point is that this past stands over and against the present as a great counterimage, both as example and antipode, and that the contemporary societies intentionally and explicitly place their own achievements, behavioral forms, and ethical norms in a relationship to this past.

⁸ In this direction see Hölscher 1988.

⁹ This is above all the theme of Assmann 1997.

In this sense, cultural knowledge is given shape, continually preserved, handed onward, and inherited down to the present in traditions, to the present that embraces the handed-down representations but *without distance in time*, integrates them into its own life experiences, and positions this amalgam as *present knowledge*. Memories, on the other hand, refer explicitly to a past that is closed off, that stands *against the present*, to which a bridge must consciously be built.

Both phenomena, cultural knowledge standing in a neutral relationship to the past and intentional memory denoting a conscious retrospective, *can* be subsumed under the rubric of cultural memory. This leads easily, though, to a very general and also unspecific concept of memory that embraces all of human culture—simply because everything humans can experience and know has been experienced in the past, stored in human memory, and can only be raised to cultural meaning by human consciousness on this basis.

However, the distinction between knowledge and memory is critical for the question of what meaning the past holds in human societies. Knowledge of traditional norms and behavioral forms is, as a rule, developed through the normal course of life and semiconsciously or even unconsciously plowed back into the continuity of that life. Memory of the founding figures and events of the primeval past, on the other hand, always has the function of emphatic, intentional challenge and argumentation. The past of tradition has the static structure of “always”; the past of myth and history has the character of “in those days.”

CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE: GREEK ART-FORMS, ROMAN GUIDING IDEAS¹⁰

The portrait statue of Augustus from Livia's Villa at Prima Porta (fig. 7.1) is similar in its construction to the Doryphorus (fig. 7.2), the key work of the sculptor Polyclitus during the “classical” flowering of Greek art in the fifth century B.C.E.¹¹ The stride is a little bit wider, but it attests to a comparable harmonic balance between exertion and relaxation; the cuirass shows a similar muscular profile beneath the relief figures; the left arm is similarly bent and also held a rodlike attribute. Only the raised right arm brings a new accent to the composition. The head in particular is comparable to the classical work, with its simple curves and clear edges and flatly layered crescent locks. This new image of Augustus, created at the start of the Principate, had epochal significance. After the realistic portraits of the statesmen of the Roman Republic, here came the expression of a new idealism that largely dominated Roman ruler portraiture for almost a century and in many ways remained in force even after that. Since the Doryphorus of Polyclitus was conceived as an ideal image

¹⁰ On the following, see in general Hölscher 1987. English edition: Hölscher 2004. Settis 1989.

¹¹ Zanker 1973, 44–46. Zanker 1987, 193–96. Kleiner 1992, 63–67. Boschung 1993, 179–81, cat. 171.

of masculine strength and beauty in the time of the classical Greek polis, and possibly even represented the model figure for a classical theory of art grounded in the highest ideal of the physical and ethical qualities of the citizen of the classical polis, it seems reasonable to understand the new concept of the emperor as a reference back to ideals of the classical Greek period.

But questions and contradictions remain. No ordinary viewer of this image of the emperor could have had the original work of Polyclitus so precisely in memory—weight-bearing versus free leg, position of the arm and head—as to recognize a reference to this particular classical masterpiece in the statue of the emperor. In addition, the structural similarity of the body construction of the two figures was overlain by and difficult to recognize through the iconographic differences, *especially* in the equipment of cuirass and paludamentum and the gesture of the right arm, surely the most eye-catching elements for the ordinary viewer. Even less present for the general public was the art theory of Polyclitus, by which the Doryphorus was to be understood as the model figure for an ideal human image. It is therefore hardly plausible that the specific meaning of this masterpiece was meant to be expressed once again in the portrait of the emperor.

As a consequence, it seems to be more conceivable that Roman viewers recognized the *general* stylistic forms of classical Greek art in the portrait statue of the emperor. But even this can at best have been understood by that small part of the public of high culture. Most viewers will have perceived this portrait without reminiscences of a historical period of Greek art history. They will have seen the emperor as a ruler, striding toward them with balanced bearing, with a ruler's gesture, and with ageless, clearly structured, simultaneously strong and calm facial features radiating power and authority.¹²

Indeed, the ancient sources make clear that Polyclitus's stylistic forms were understood in Roman times as an expression of the *virtus* of warriors and athletes, and of qualities like *gravitas* and *sanctitas*.¹³ That is, not as a memory of the historical, classical Greek *arete*, but as elements of a thoroughly *present* and thoroughly *Roman* value system. Accordingly, they were employed in Roman art to represent an actual exemplary model of masculinity, for mythical heroes as well as for praiseworthy mortals.¹⁴ The *classical* Polyclitan forms of the Augustus of Prima Porta must have been seen in this *contemporary* Roman sense.

A crucial point is that such messages could be understood without knowledge of the historical origin of these stylistic forms—and, as a rule, undoubtedly were understood without this kind of historical education. The dimension of the past is at most implicit in this, not explicit. It plays no appreciable role for the meaning of the portrait; indeed, it would be hard to understand the possible meaning of a retrospective reference to the full flowering of democracy in

¹² So too Zanker 1987, 192: "um die Gestalt des Siegers in eine höhere Sphäre zu heben."

¹³ Quint. *Inst.* 5, 12, 20.

¹⁴ Zanker 1974, 3–41. Hölscher 1984, 1987, 34, 38, 55. Maderna-Lauter 1990, 376–85.

the tiny Greek city-states in the programmatic portrait of the first Roman autocrat of a world-encompassing empire.¹⁵ The represented qualities of the emperor signify nothing retrospective but relate purely to the present. The cultural memory of an authoritative past, whose values are to be conjured up and brought back into currency, is not discernible here.

Of course, guiding ideas such as *virtus* and *gravitas* are elements of the value system that the Romans themselves understood as *mos maiorum*. In this way, these concepts received a grounding in the past and a temporal dimension. It is indicative, however, that the stylistic forms of the Augustus of Prima Porta in fact do not relate to this past of the Republican ancestors, but instead originate in the very different cultural context of the classical Greek polis. In other words, the past of the ethical guiding ideas and the origin of the stylistic forms stand in no direct relationship to one another.

This is understandable and makes sense, for neither the ethical models nor the artistic styles were fundamentally and exclusively bound to particular historical periods for their meaning. The moral concepts of the *mos maiorum* were universally valid; they depicted to the Romans the unquestioned ethical yardstick of behavior, independent of historical epochs or geographically localized peoples and cultures: eternal and everywhere, and therefore, above all, here and now. The same was also true for the language of visual art, which, starting in the later Hellenistic period, had at its disposal the various stylistic forms of Greek and Roman art, from the archaic through the classical to the Hellenistic.¹⁶ These forms were employed for specific themes and statements, each time for the expression of different ethical qualities. In this sense, the stylistic forms of (late) archaic art stood for the age-old solemnity and ritual festivity of traditional religion. The classical forms of Phidias stood for the *maiestas* and high dignity of the state gods Jupiter and Minerva; those of Polyclitus stood for the heroic *virtus* of mythological heroes and glorious mortals; those of Praxiteles for the ideals of luxurious living and charm, the *tryphe* of Dionysus and the *charis* of Apollo and Aphrodite; those of Lysippus for the agility of mortal athletes and their ideal protagonists Hermes and Heracles; those of Hellenistic art for the wildness of the giants, the world of the satyrs, bucolic landscape idylls in general, and so on. All this was a present spectrum of the actual, lived world and its ideal projections onto the stage of the gods and myth; the historical origins of the various styles played no essential role in the semantic communication. In this sense, the received formal resources of visual art represented less a return to an ideal past than an available reservoir for the generation of visual forms for themes and statements belonging to the present. Together they construct a system of forms that certainly arose historically but whose theme is not the historical appeal to earlier times but the vivid expression of contemporary concepts.

¹⁵ Gullini and Zanda 1978, 101.

¹⁶ Hölscher 1987. Hölscher 2004. Settis 1989. Koortbojian 2002.

This is a semantic system, analogous to language. The words and syntax of language also have a genesis and a history from the viewpoint of the analyzing historian, but the speakers and hearers, authors and readers using them ordinarily do not take this historical dimension into account—they cut this history out of their conscious intentions. We employ the concept of “religion” without reference to its prehistory and its entirely different meaning among the Romans; that of *Weltanschauung* without appeal to the context of its origins in Kant and the German Romantic. At most, there is the option for scientifically trained reflection to call the historical dimension of linguistic concepts into consciousness and to tap this potential for the meaning of concepts, but as a rule the praxis of linguistic communication takes place without this kind of reference to the past. Correspondingly, the scene types, figural schemata, and styles of Roman art were also undoubtedly employed without explicit historical references back to their Greek predecessors, without appeal to authoritative classical models; they were employed present-mindedly and self-assuredly.

In such examples, the culture of the historical present *implicitly* includes its genesis in the past, but it does not *explicitly* and *intentionally* build a bridge to earlier periods.

How flexibly the elements of this visual language were used can be seen in another portrait statue of Augustus, this one from the Basilica of Otricoli (fig. 7.3).¹⁷ The naked body was served by another famous work of the Greek High Classical period (ca. 430 B.C.E.), probably depicting the hero Diomedes stealing the Palladion, the age-old cult image of Athena, and taking it away from Troy (fig. 7.4). This statue type was exceptionally popular for more than two hundred years for the representation of various Roman emperors, far more so than the Doryphorus of Polyclitus. It remains questionable whether the significance of Diomedes as rescuer of the Palladion, which eventually reached Rome and was there considered to be one of the pledges of the eternity of the Roman empire, was supposed to be transferred to the contemporary ruler in this way, for imperial portraits in this schema do not normally carry a Palladion. The contemporary relevance of this type is surely to be explained otherwise: the statue of Diomedes bound together in a unique way a classical body in the style of Polyclitus with a dynamic turn of the head, which added an impulse of energy to the ideal of general *virtus*. This model of energetic dynamism was created and brought into effect in Greece in an entirely different period: that of Alexander the Great.¹⁸

Alexander's portrait statues created a new image of the heroic conqueror through an impulsive turn of the head and a far-reaching gaze into the distance (fig. 7.5). Diomedes' posture, which in the context of the theft was surely meant to evoke his careful watchfulness, gained a new meaning from Alexan-

¹⁷ Maderna 1988, 199–200, Nr. D4; in general on portrait statues of the Diomedes type pp. 56–80. Doubt is raised concerning the interpretation of the classical original as Diomedes in Landwehr 1992. *Contra*, rightly, Lehmann 1996, 68–69.

¹⁸ Hölscher 1971, 31–35. Stewart 1993b, 161–71.

der onward. Still, this is certainly not about an explicit likening of Augustus to the model of Alexander: the turn of the head is not specific enough to make such a message comprehensible. This is a general visual formula for far-reaching energy which indeed gained acceptance through Alexander as the ideal of a ruler, but which subsequently became widely disseminated in representations of mortals, heroes, and gods. In this general sense, it was also employed for Augustus. In the figural schema of Diomedes, however, the ideal *virtus* of the Polyclitan body could be bound to the Alexander-like dynamism of the conqueror. This masterful reception of semantic elements of diverse provenance shows clearly that historical reference to the original epochs of these visual types and formulas did not belong to the message of this figure of the emperor.

This becomes clear in extreme and almost absurd fashion in the fountain sculpture of a small boy from the region of Vesuvius (fig. 7.6).¹⁹ The childlike naked body, squatting wide-legged on the ground, with plump, soft forms, follows models from Hellenistic genre sculpture. The head, on the other hand, is given a cap of hair with highly stylized crescent locks in the classical manner of the early Polyclitus; the face mediates between these with a softly animated part around the mouth and broadly angular forms at the forehead, brows, and nose. Here it is certain that there is no reference to the ideal of a child from classical Greece. Rather, two contemporary guiding ideas are bound to one another, that of erotic *deliciae* in the body, and the adjoined and awaited *virtus* of the boy in the head.

Phenomena similar to those in the portraits of the emperor, as of private citizens, are found in scenes of state ceremonies. The procession on the great frieze of the Ara Pacis (fig. 7.7) is known to be similar in many respects to the Panathenaic procession on the Parthenon frieze: in the staggering of the figures in several layers, in the stylization of bodies and drapery, in the free-moving solemnity of the participants in the ceremony.²⁰ Nevertheless, it cannot be the intention here that the specific historical model of democratic citizenship in classical Athens was meant to be evoked and made current for the representatives of the *res publica*, the emperor, the priesthoods, and the imperial family, appearing in strict hierarchy. Rather, the stylistic forms of classical Athens from the circle of Phidias represented, in an ideal sense, the public *dignitas* claimed for the representatives of the Roman state and their actions.

The dignity of the public centers of Rome had repeatedly and for centuries been a goal of public measures; a programmatic intensification was attained through Augustus's decree that citizens could only enter the Forum wearing the toga.²¹ Since the toga was also transformed in Augustan times into a grandiose, difficult-to-drape state dress that imposed on its wearer an impressive bearing

¹⁹ Sapelli 1999, 102–3, no. 39. Somewhat older in age but of a similarly “Polyclitan” type is the boy’s head discussed in Hölscher 1987, pl. 12.3.

²⁰ Borbein 1975. Hölscher 1987, 45–47. Hölscher 2004, 49–57.

²¹ Suet *Aug.* 40. On the new form of the toga in the Augustan period see Goette 1990, 29–32.

and measured, controlled movements, men in the Forum must have projected an image of official dignity in their actual appearance. In the same way, the many religious rituals that strongly shaped public life in the capital under Augustus through the renewal and new foundation of many gods' cults must have been performed in forms of dignified ceremony such as these. This same ceremonious dignity is set before the eyes as a model in the friezes of the Ara Pacis, officially performed by men in the toga, whose new lavish draping is modeled here in all its variants. Here again, classical stylistic forms do not serve the retrospective remembering of an ideal of an authoritative past and its making into a measure for the present. Rather, they are deployed for the expression of a decidedly contemporary new state style.

Much that is classical but little that is specific memory of a concrete past: this seems to hold true for other phenomena of Augustan visual culture as well. A striking case of the reception of classical models from Athens is that of the caryatids in the attic of the porticos of the Forum of Augustus, representing one-to-one copies of the maidens from the Erechtheion on the Athenian Acropolis (fig. 7.8).²² Here it would seem especially reasonable to recognize a meaningful link to classical Athens and its central cult buildings. In just this manner, Vitruvius brings into play an appeal to great historical models:²³ he grounds the naming of such support figures as caryatids in the tradition about the city of Karyai, said to have taken the side of the enemy in the Persian wars and for this reason to have been destroyed by the Greeks in revenge. Its women were sold into slavery, forced to retain their matronal clothing as a sign of their shameful history—and in this form were brought by architects into architecture as a load-bearing motif, a prime example of slavery, an *exemplum servitutis*.

Yet, despite this strong indication of historical appeals, it is extraordinarily difficult to recognize clear connections to a historical model in the support figures of the Forum of Augustus. For starters, the two clues to semantic predecessors cannot be brought into agreement: the explanation concerning enslaved women stands in striking contradiction to the meaning of the korai of the Erechtheion. Therefore, for the Augustan figures, an unambiguous reading based on the historical traditions that seem to suggest themselves is problematic at the very least: for of the two references, at best only one can be accurate, which would rule out the other. The interpretation of the Erechtheion maiden is in fact uncertain and disputed, but it must in any case be so deeply rooted in specifically Athenian cult traditions that it cannot represent a key for Augustan state architecture. Evidently Vitruvius here gestures more probably toward the intended meaning: this must be an example of power and might. On the other hand, Vitruvius's specific explanation about the sinful and punished women of Karyai cannot be accepted directly for the figures of the Forum of Augustus—

²² Zanker 1970, 12–13. Schmidt 1973, 7–19. Wesenberg 1984, 172–85. Schneider 1986, 103–8. On the korai of the Erechtheion: Lauter 1976. Ridgway 1981. Scholl 1995.

²³ Vitr. *De arch.*: 1, 1, 5.

not yet known to Vitruvius and not yet implied in his interpretation. Their upright and ceremonial appearance hardly allows one to think of punishment and enslavement; with offering bowls in their hands, they are marked as positive, beneficial elements of Roman power. In this they correspond to the divinities on the shields between the support figures, Ammon from the south and a wild god surely from the north, who draw the divine powers from the frontiers of the empire into the Roman pantheon.²⁴ Analogously, the female support figures have been rightly understood as symbolic representatives of the incorporated parts of the empire: essentially in the sense of the contemporary Vitruvius, but without his reductive historical connection to the women of Karyai. The figures represent the parts of the empire in a concept of pious consensus characteristic of the later Augustan period. Again, then, the reception of historical motifs has broken away from the retrospective and has become a timeless, ideal factor in contemporary “state architecture”—in the concrete as well as the metaphorical sense.

This is decisively confirmed by the reception of historical forms in an entirely different domain, also in the Forum of Augustus: the architectural ornamentation.²⁵ The decorative band with lotus blossoms and palmettes in the display hall next to the temple of Mars Ultor takes up Greek models of the late archaic period; other decorative profiles closely resemble ornamental forms from classical Athens. Certainly these cannot be ideological messages in the sense of a call to return to the *historical* conditions of archaic and classical Greece; no viewer could recognize the ornaments so exactly, no viewer could compare and date the forms so exactly. The decor corresponded much more to general *contemporary* ideals of a rich yet refined adornment, whose dissemination among the *present* public was assumed or was to be promoted.

In a corresponding manner, the so-called neo Attic reliefs take up figural types from various bygone periods of Greek art and compose them as appliqués with precise, fine-lined contours in harmonious array next to each other.²⁶ In these reliefs, too, scholars have shown a desire, again and again, to see a retrospective reception of classical masterpieces or classical stylistic forms. But here, too, this is much more about an appropriate decoration made up of materials belonging to a specific contemporary culture—altars and candelabra, luxury and votive vessels, wall reliefs, bases and fountains, marble tables and thrones—which, following *contemporary* tastes, invested wealthy Roman houses in particular with an aura of distinguished sacrality. In the process, copies of Greek originals were readily mixed with newly designed figures. This is especially striking on one of the earliest marble kraters (fig. 7.9, letter k),²⁷ on which a maenad type from a famous late classical cycle is

²⁴ On the interpretation: Zanker 1970. Spannagel 1999.

²⁵ On this Zanker 1970, 10–11. Ganzert 1983, 178–201. Kockel 1983, 443–46.

²⁶ Fuchs 1959. Cain 1985. Grassinger 1991. Cain and Dräger 1994.

²⁷ Grassinger 1991, 58–59; 215, Nr. 55–56. Grassinger 1994, figs. 9(k) and 30.

employed in a round of other maenads, surely not as a recognizable citation of a work of the classical past, but rather as a schema timelessly usable for impassioned dancing. In their additive composition, these reliefs orient themselves in a general sense toward works of the classical period, in which the display of figures with clear profiles and their isolation in front of the background are frequent stylistic devices. But this too can hardly have been intended as an explicit turn back toward a particular historical epoch, for these compositional forms were not especially specific to Greek classicism. Nor did they express a thoroughgoing Roman taste that could be understood in the sense of an aesthetic or ethical *habitus*, for they were deployed first and foremost for particular functions—for the decoration of splendid marble objects whose material character was emphasized through the plaquelike affixed figures. That is, the figural models and compositional forms of earlier periods were deployed with contemporary semantics and actual functions in mind. As a rule, a historical dimension is not discernible.

Visual art is not alone in this regard. In very similar ways, Roman rhetoric adopted stylistic forms from the Greek classical and Hellenistic periods and employed them next to one another.²⁸ For one, Hellenistic pathos and classical discipline were taught as antithetical stylistic forms and were polemically played off against each other under the rubrics of Asianism and Atticism. In the struggle between Antony and Octavian, they could even be elevated to political styles.²⁹ Contrasting forms of rhetoric were simultaneously contrasts in political *habitus*.³⁰ Then, however, as it is especially clear in Quintilian, the various historically developed stylistic forms appear next to one another as adequate devices for various parts of legal speech. Here, too, theme determines the style. And the various stylistic forms indicate not a reception of specific pasts, not a turning back to particular periods of history, but an application of cultural forms found at some point and thereafter made timelessly available. Even for the literary archaisms in authors of the second century C.E. like Fronto and Gellius, it has been convincingly demonstrated that this is “in no way a matter of a backward gazing *Weltanschauung*,” but is rather “a matter of a rigorous criteria-bound selection of diction based on a detailed, critical reading of literary authors.”³¹ That is, the temporal dimension of the selection of received stylistic forms is relatively weakly marked; in the foreground stand supratemporal semantic functions. Most recently, it has been convincingly demonstrated that literature as a whole from the time of Augustus is a “system in movement,”

²⁸ Hölscher 1987. Hölscher 2004.

²⁹ Bowersock 1979. Gelzer 1979. Dihle 1989, 31–74. Characteristically, in the works of Gelzer and Dihle, a more widely ranging historical reference to the reception through time of the received works and stylistic forms plays a secondary role. In Bowersock, somewhat differently, one can see a noticeable gap between the analysis of the early “Atticizing” authors and the assertion of a retrospective political stance for this period.

³⁰ Giuliani 1986, 49–55 and passim. Zanker 1987, 248–49.

³¹ Schindel 1994; citation on p. 337. (I thank J. Porter for this reference.)

constituted by various literary styles originating in various epochs of Greek culture. Similar conclusions have been drawn for the adoption of architectural forms in Vitruvius as well as in real state architecture under Augustus.³²

In addition to art-forms of the Greek classical period, under Augustus forms from other periods of Greek art were also employed in the great monuments. On the Ara Pacis, the state procession with its official *dignitas* is performed on the great friezes in the forms of the Greek High Classical period. Next to them appears Aeneas at the sacrifice of the Lavinian sow, in scenery that follows the model of Hellenistic landscape reliefs (fig. 7.10).³³ In the same period, in a grandiose victory monument, three kneeling Orientals, evidently supporting a monumental tripod, were fashioned in the high Hellenistic manner.³⁴ Hellenistic forms were also employed for the figures of Muses in the parks of the emperor and his entourage.³⁵ In this, a retrospective option for the world of the Hellenistic monarchies or cities of citizens is certainly not discernible as an alternative to the admiration for the classical Greek polis. Rather, the forms of Hellenistic art, like those of the classical style, were employed in a semantic sense for particular themes and statements, without reference to the historical periods of their creation: for the pathos of battle, victory and defeat, for the happy idyll of primeval times, for the urbane elegance of education in the fine arts, and so forth.

The same goes for the use of forms from archaic Greek art.³⁶ One type of relief, created in the ambit of Augustus and used for the decoration of distinguished residences, shows the triad of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto at a ceremonial offering at which the goddess of victory pours a libation, all with archaistically stylized drapery and hair (fig. 7.11).³⁷ Archaistic forms were also much loved for representations of Dionysus, especially in his aspect as venerable god of nature.³⁸ Here too, it was not the return to a historical style that was sought, but an adequate form for particular contemporary themes and contents.

In sum, Roman art to a great extent took up and developed the artistic forms of various periods of Greek history in a very flexible manner, and this is especially clear in the time of Augustus. But no intentional return to the epochs in question and their guiding ideas were bound up in this. Rather, the received forms were deployed for specific themes, as the expression of particular contemporary values and guiding models. These forms constitute a semantic system in which the historical genesis is largely neutralized and has lost its significance.

³² Literature: see the important essay of Schmidt 2003. Architecture: see the new approach of Haselberger 2003 (forthcoming).

³³ Simon 1967, 23–24. La Rocca 1983, 40–43. Kleiner 1992, 93–96. On this, Hölscher 1987, 48. Hölscher 2004, 81.

³⁴ Schneider 1986, 18–97. Schneider 2002.

³⁵ Häuber 1998, 106–7, fig. 8.

³⁶ Fundamental is Zanker 1987, 244–47. Zagdoun 1989. Fullerton 1990. Hackländer 1996.

³⁷ Zanker 1987, 70–72. Cecamore 2002, 123–26.

³⁸ Hackländer 1996.

These phenomena of Roman visual culture have as their prerequisite a specific conception of culture and history and their relationship to one another that is clearly different from modern concepts of the same. On the one hand, there was no idea in antiquity that the specific forms of cultural life and artistic production were connected to the specific structures of the same period's society and politics as coherently and exclusively as is often assumed in modern conceptions of history. The individual sectors of cultural and societal life lay rather more loosely next to one another; individual elements could more easily be carried over into other epochs and integrated into new contexts, without thereby becoming anachronistic in character. On the other hand, and connected to this, history was not understood as an all-encompassing, temporal, collective movement of the world, in which all earlier times with all their factors occupied their specific places within the space of a distant and fundamentally unrepeatable past.³⁹ Rather, cultural elements developed for earlier times lay ready for use as actualizable knowledge, as potentially present, so to speak, without being tied down to their past. Today, in the era of postmodern pluralism, which of course has entirely different cultural historical preconditions, at least a greater openness to the understanding of the Roman phenomena ought in principle to be possible.

GREEK ARTWORKS, ROMAN USE

Original Greek artworks were seen and valued accordingly in Roman times.⁴⁰ In the wake of the more or less forcible appropriation of Greek visual art by the Romans from the late third century B.C.E. onward, such artworks were partly exhibited in public plazas and central buildings, partly amassed in great private collections. The cultured elite turned toward a generally high estimation of works of art and the development of a considerable, and in part theoretically founded, art connoisseurship.

Here too, modern categories have largely shaped scholarly judgments. The collections of artworks have been seen as museums, where educated viewers could give themselves to the appreciation of art; and even the publicly displayed works of famous Greek artists have been seen above all as objects of aesthetic education. Accordingly, a specific taste for particular periods of Greek art has been attributed to the protagonists of art collecting, to which they are supposed to have oriented themselves in their aesthetic judgments as in their ethical *habitus*.⁴¹

That the situation has been fundamentally misunderstood becomes clear with Augustus himself, who acquired many artworks of classical Greek

³⁹ Koselleck 1979, 38–66.

⁴⁰ On Greek artworks in Rome in general, Jucker 1950, 46–86. Pape 1975. Hölscher 1994. Celani 1998.

⁴¹ Especially clearly recently, Celani 1998. Differently, Hölscher 1989b. Bravi 1998.

masters and exhibited them in public places in the city of Rome. The well-known examples of Greek sculptures in temples of the city of Rome were not first and foremost examples of classical art, but had meaning related to their content. The Apollo by Scopas with the Artemis by Timotheus and the Leto by Cephisodotus in the temple on the Palatine served as cult images.⁴² These statues were not selected because of a general aesthetic partiality to the art of the late Greek classical, but because in this period the most convincing visual conceptions of these divinities had been developed so as to lead from the victory over Antony to the glow of the new golden age—that of Apollo as god of (victorious) ceremony, Artemis as protagonist of virginal grace, and Leto as mother figure of nobly attractive appearance. At the same time, in the other temple of Apollo near the Circus Flaminius, an original Greek pedimental composition of the fifth century B.C.E. was reused. This composition depicted the victory of Theseus and the Athenians over the Amazons,⁴³ not as evidence of a generally retrospective taste for classical art, but as a mythical exemplum of the struggle against the threat from the East, against warlike women—just as Augustus had waged it against Antony and Cleopatra. The artistic forms of the Greek High Classical period were specifically appropriate for this because they represented the high ethos of *arete/virtus*.

The relationship of the content to specific places is especially clear in the paintings that Augustus placed on display in various public buildings of the city.⁴⁴ In the temple of Divus Iulius, which documented the position of the *princeps* as Divi Filius, the famous picture of Aphrodite Anadyomene by Apelles was exhibited. The picture represented Venus Genetrix as the divine ancestress of the *gens Iulia*.⁴⁵ In the Curia of the senate, Augustus had two Greek paintings brought in that, in their pairing, were related to him and had as their theme his most important legitimations as ruler:⁴⁶ An image of the personification of Nemea seated on a lion served as indicator of his victory over Antony, whose emblem was the lion; a second image depicting a father and son who resembled each other gestured toward his connection with the deified Caesar. Later, Augustus equipped his new Forum with two paintings by Apelles, both emphasizing the warlike nature of the complex: Alexander with Nike and the Dioscuri as models for himself and his adopted grandsons Gaius and Lucius Caesar, and Alexander “in triumph” on a chariot, with allegories of Bellum chained and Furor vanquished, sitting on a pile of weapons.⁴⁷ Correspondingly, after Augustus’s death, his temple was adorned with two paintings by Nikias

⁴² Rizzo 1932, 51–77. Zanker 1983, 33–34. Zanker 1987, 241–43. Flashar 1992, 40–49.

⁴³ La Rocca 1985.

⁴⁴ On the following, Hölscher 1989b.

⁴⁵ Plin. *NH* 35, 91. Strabo 14, 2, 19. Celani 1998, 146–48; 241–44 with additional references.

⁴⁶ Plin. *NH* 35, 27–28. Hölscher 1989b.

⁴⁷ Below, note 57.

referring to his divine character.⁴⁸ A picture of Danae, who became pregnant through the golden rain of Zeus, referred to Atia, by whom Apollo, in the shape of a serpent, was said to have fathered the future ruler Augustus. A representation of Hyacinthus, the young beloved of Apollo, who raised him to immortality after his death, again stood for Augustus, who had revered Apollo as his tutelary deity and now in the same way enjoyed immortality.

The purely content-driven conception of the exhibition of Greek artworks is especially clear in the Temple of Concordia, dedicated in 10 C.E., which Tiberius equipped with a large number of original statues and paintings.⁴⁹ Against the widespread view that here was created a kind of museum that represented a classicizing taste in art, recently it was rightly asserted that the visual themes all fit into the ideological framework of the Augustan period. It is even probable that the artworks, without exception representations of divinities, were installed in groups that yield a thought-out, content-rich program: Zeus/Iuppiter by Sthennis, Hera/Iuno by Baton, and Athena/Minerva by Sthennis as the Capitoline triad; Apollon/Apollo by Baton, Leto/Latona with her children by Euphranor and Asclepius/Aesculapius with Hygieia/Hygia by Niceratus as deities of religious order and bodily health; Ares/Mars by Piston and Demeter/Ceres by Sthennis as antitheses of warlike strength on the outside and rich abundance on the inside; Heracles/Hercules and Hermes/Mercury as protagonists of martial and mercantile activity; and finally, a Hestia from Paros as a Greek equivalent for Concordia. To this were added three paintings that completed the program: a bound Marsyas by Zeuxis, punished for his hubris like Antony, was a prominent offering to Apollo, the god of Augustus; Cassandra by Theodorus was a prophetess of the downfall of Troy and therefore of the future of Rome; and the scene of a bull offering by Pausias celebrated *pietas*, elevated by Augustus to an exalted political virtue.

All this is far from the concept of a museum in which an educated public concentrated on the understanding of aesthetic art-forms and their historical development. It is clear that these artworks, created between the later fifth century and the Hellenistic period, do not attest to a uniform taste for an individual period of Greek art. Yet again, they were selected and combined on the strength of their thematic statements. But how is their character as artworks to be understood given these preconditions?

Apparently it mattered to Tiberius to present the gods in famous artworks. Their artistic form and quality were therefore not at all arbitrary. He gave the commission for this not to contemporary artists, among whom outstanding experts were surely to be found, but instead selected older works by well-known

⁴⁸ Plin. *NH* 35, 131. Celani 1998, 122–23.

⁴⁹ Pliny 34, 73, 74, 80, 89–90; 35, 16, 131, 144. Dio Cass. 55.9.7. Bravi 1998. I intend to return to this subject soon.

Greek masters. From these he evidently expected an especially powerful effect. But this effect was not grounded in the forms *per se*, and it also implied no explicit return to the historical period in which the works were created. The artistic forms served the specific statement—and this statement was not at all retrospective, but contemporary and actual.

Confirmation comes from the relatively large number of original Greek reliefs, especially votive and grave reliefs, that have been found in Rome and its surroundings and that must have served essentially to adorn fashionable residences.⁵⁰ Their largely mediocre quality already speaks against the idea that the high estimation of art was a primary factor. Their chronological distribution demonstrates a certain emphasis in the fourth century B.C.E., but this corresponds to the quantitative distribution of these genres in Greece itself, and therefore shows no priority given to any particular period of art in the Romans' selection. The primary factor was the adornment of urban and suburban villas with appropriate subject matter. For this reason, the votive reliefs include above all deities of the private realm: the nymphs with Hermes, Asclepius with Hygieia, Artemis, Aphrodite, and various heroes; they impart a sacral aura of a private character to the surroundings. In addition, the reused grave reliefs also create an atmosphere of personal reflection on life and death; in this they fit into the spiritual landscape of suburbia, in which the commingling of suburban residences and graves placed the enjoyment of life before the backdrop of an ever-present *memento mori*.

Here again, the reception of Greek art is not driven by a retrospective taste in art but by contemporary representations of life. But what meaning did the use of original Greek artworks have under these conditions?

Apparently, these efforts were above all about imparting the authenticity of Greek culture to the environment of one's own home. This accords with the cargo of the Mahdia shipwreck, in which were found several very simple votive reliefs together with inscriptions from Greek sanctuaries and necropoleis, surely likewise intended for reinstallation in Roman villas.⁵¹ Such objects, often modest, had shaped the lived culture of the Greek cities, as the elite Romans had observed it in Greece or had come to know it from reports. Some of them wanted to bring into their own sphere a reflection of this Greece that had arisen historically, true, but which was experienced as contemporary. The historical age of such cultural objects, the dimension of the past, certainly may have been perceived in part, but it remained at least subordinate. In the foreground stood not the value "former times" but the value "Greek." As with the famous masterpieces, this was not about a historical return to a classical past, but about the ennoblement of one's own living world through authentic Greekness.

⁵⁰ On the following, Kuntz 1994. On grave reliefs, see Bell 1998.

⁵¹ Pelzl 1994.

Greek artworks and Greek art-forms in Rome were not retrospective cultural *memories* but present *knowledge*, that is, cultural property. There were assuredly only a few learned and educated people who brought the historical dimension of these Greek works and forms to consciousness. And even this kind of learned and educated exploration of ancient art was still far removed from the totalizing consequences that the modern concept of history has brought with it. At issue in ancient art historical writings were individual works and individual artists, their qualities and statements—not the way in which general art-forms were related to particular political conditions, societal structures, collective mentalities, or forms of thinking in the sense of a generalizing concept such as an epoch. There was still quite some distance to Winckelmann's conception that the art-forms of the Greek classical belong to the liberty of Greek democracy.

It was thus all the more self-evident that the works and forms of Greek visual art could be received into the contemporary praxis of Roman culture largely independent of their historical genesis.

IMAGES AND PLACES OF ROMAN MEMORY

The past, which famously played an important role in Rome, was shown to advantage in a very different way in cultural life, not least in the artworks of the public and private realms—more concretely, and thus more specifically.

Emerging out of Greek culture, the many-sided world of myth stood before the Romans.⁵² It provided a rich repertoire of social and ethical models, counterimages, images of desires and dreams. It would be worth pursuing in some depth the question of how far in this the myths' character as early history played a constitutive role at the time, or how far the dimension of the concrete past merged into a general timelessness.

Later Greek history was evoked in artworks of the Augustan period not in the sense of a universal return to a generally great classical era, but in specific situations and in a limited, focused sense. The victory at Actium against Antony and Cleopatra in 31 B.C.E. as well as the success against the Parthians were positioned as successors to the maritime victory of the Greeks against the Persians at Salamis in 480 B.C.E.⁵³ Thus, at the dedication of the Forum of Augustus in 2 B.C.E., the emperor staged the battle of Salamis in a great *naumachia*. In the same sense, members of the Roman elite employed a relief type with the goddess Victory in the furnishing of their homes (fig. 7.12). She carries a ship trophy and adorns a *tropaeum* with a Persian half-moon shield; in

⁵² There are countless studies of various Greek myths in Roman art. A few of the more recent works of general interest: Koortbojian 1995. Muth 1998. Zanker 1999. De Angelis et al. 1999.

⁵³ On the following, Hölscher 1984. Schneider 1986, 63–67. Schäfer 1998, 57. The staging of the battle of Salamis: Dio Cass. 55, 10, 7. *Ov. Ars am.* 1, 171.

other words, she too celebrates the victory at Salamis. In this, Rome is not seen in a general sense as the historical successor to classical Athens—that could only have been claimed through flagrant contradictions. Rather, a specific achievement of Augustus in a specific situation, highly delimited and focused, is connected to an equally specific achievement of Athens. The fact that this reference by Augustus to Athens's victory over the Persians was made only late and for an individual occasion, and that the relief type was also not widely distributed, confirms the limited, focused character of this historical claim.

Similarly limited and focused was Augustus's reference back to Alexander the Great.⁵⁴ Only in very rare situations, and always in a specific, bounded sense, did Augustus position himself as a successor to Alexander. When he pointedly visited Alexander's grave after the conquest of Alexandria in 30 B.C.E., this homage applied above all to the founder of the city and of Greek rule over Egypt, and therefore to the liberator from despotism and the conqueror of the East.⁵⁵ It was a gesture very precisely aligned to the situation in the capital city of his vanquished opponent. Likewise, in his early days he used Alexander's portrait as an image of victory, apparently only as long as he saw his own political role primarily as warlord and world ruler—no longer than until 27 B.C.E., or until 23 at the latest.⁵⁶ Thereafter he activated the model of Alexander only once more, in 2 B.C.E., as part of the dedication of the Forum of Augustus.⁵⁷ For one, he had two figures installed in the new Forum and two more in front of the Regia that were said to be from Alexander's tent; in this way he foregrounded Alexander's qualities as general, not as warrior but as commander of armies. For another, he brought Apelles' two paintings of Alexander into the most glorious part of his Forum, and these too made clear Augustus's specific role as commander in chief. The one showed Alexander on a triumphal chariot together with the personification of (civil) war in chains—a model for the conclusive victory that both ended the war and brought peace. The other, by contrast, depicted Alexander, crowned by Nike, between the Dioscuri—an exemplum of the victorious *virtus* that leads to admission to the gods. Since Augustus, after gaining sole power, did not base his rule on his quality as a military fighter but rather on his role as paternal ruler of the empire, he could only employ Alexander as an example in very circumscribed aspects that exactly expressed his own ideology of war as the safeguard of peace and his understanding of victory as the foundation for immortality.

⁵⁴ Kienast 1969. Weippert 1972, 214–59.

⁵⁵ Kienast 1969 puts this episode at the center of his study. Weippert 1972, 214–19.

⁵⁶ Weippert 1972, 219–23. The testimonia for a connection between Augustus and Alexander after the Parthian success of 20 B.C.E., interpreted by Schneider 1986, 64–66, all make this connection only indirectly, through Herakles or Dionysus.

⁵⁷ Plin. *NH* 93–94. Schmaltz 1994. Spannagel 1999, 28–29; 203–4.

By contrast, the turn toward Rome's own past was staged very differently. The foundation period of the city and its glorious history in the time of the kings and the Republic were omnipresent. In this there were fundamentally two types of presence.⁵⁸

For one, there were the places in which famous events and occasions had played out: the Lupercal, Romulus's hut on the Palatine, the chasm in the Forum into which the knight Marcus Curtius had fallen, and so forth. These sites were scattered throughout the city, often removed from the central spaces and buildings of political life; there they were perceived and cared for as sites of memory. They were essentially testimonials whose evidence guaranteed the reality of the often legendary traditions about the famous figures of Rome's early history. Together they combined into a topography of early times that citizens could observe and make their own through the regular performance of life, partly through religious rituals, partly also through a reverential passing by.

For another, there were the central places of public life, in which the crucial political business of the citizenry was concentrated.⁵⁹ These places were understood and fashioned as conceptual sites of political identity. The most important elements among these were political monuments, in which the great figures of Roman history and their achievements were set before the eyes as exempla for posterity. In the Forum stood images of the she-wolf with the twins as archetypes of a fortunate beginning, Marsyas as symbol of the citizens' liberty and, with these, portrait statues of famous men of older and more recent history, who embodied the high values of the Roman state ethic like *virtus*, *pietas*, *fides*, and so on. At all the meetings of the senate and the citizenry, they stood before the eyes as a model and a measure. On the Capitoline, in a central space, could be seen statues of the Roman kings together with Brutus, founder of the Republic. There, during the most ceremonial religious state rituals, in front of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, they represented the formation of the city and the Republican *res publica*. A concentration of monuments of martial glory took shape along the path of the triumphal procession, from the Circus Flaminius around the Palatine, across the Forum and up to the Capitoline. Here, with every new triumph, the victorious general could place himself and his soldiers in the series of earlier war deeds and experience himself as fulfilling that tradition. The erection of monuments in these places is not evidence for any topographical reality in early times. Rather, it positions a conceptual presence of history in relationship to the political praxis of the present. This emphatic presence matches the strongly conceptual character of these places and their functions.

⁵⁸ On the following, see Hölscher 2001, esp. 189–204.

⁵⁹ Sehlmeier 1999. Papini 2004, 147–205, 359–420.

Augustus programmatically fostered both forms of presence of the Roman past. On the one hand, he restored sites of memory of early times, like the Lupercal:⁶⁰ a reverential attentiveness was secured through the ritual of the Lupercalia. On the other hand, he built into his new Forum a conceptual staging of Roman history of a complexity and coherence that had never before been expressed.⁶¹ With Aeneas and Romulus, antipodal models of fatherly *pietas* and heroic *virtus* were established, which built up the ideological frame of the entire concept to its apex, Augustus. In this way, Augustus activated two sides of a backward reference to the past, which completed each other in an effective, complementary manner.

The sites of memory documented the reality of early times with concrete evidence: in ritual performance or emotional internalization, they were perceived and adopted essentially as a historically evolved space for life. The places of political business, by contrast, were equipped with the political claims of history: here, history was brought to the fore with ideological emphasis. Both aspects together made up the centuries-long strength of this historical-ideological *Romanitas*.

CONCLUSION

Cultural knowledge and cultural memory—it seems very surprising at first that these two sides of Augustan culture lie so far apart from one another. A system of forms, strongly shaped by their Greek manufacture, that has little concrete relationship to the Greek past—and a strong presence of the Roman past, which hardly allows one to expect connections to a Greek culture of forms. But precisely this fundamental dichotomy of the two phenomena was a precondition for them to complete each other complementarily and thereby be able to gain strength. Insofar as knowledge of Greek forms could be freed from its historical genesis, temporally neutralized, and deployed as a present medium for Roman guiding ideas, it became a universal cultural instrument. The historical past, however, did not become an all-encompassing Greek starting point for a generally retrospective classicism, but rather stood before the eyes as a collection of concrete examples, especially from the history of Rome, in lapidary, clearly outlined images for the present.

Today we have a harder time of it in our dealings with history. On the one hand we increasingly burden our cultural knowledge, our cultural property, with the dimension of the past. In all the elements of our culture, the objects, activities, and ideas, we see their geneses and history, which ruins them by making them into memories—like Midas, for whom everything he touched

⁶⁰ Res Gestae Divi Augusti 19.

⁶¹ Zanker 1970. Spannagel 1999.

turned to gold, and who was threatened with starvation as a result. For this reason, it is difficult today to release the Greek forms in Roman art from the historical context of their creation and to understand them as present (Roman) cultural property. On the other hand, we have developed a concept of historical coherence according to which the various cultural phenomena of historical periods stand in a strict relationship to one another and should constitute a coherent cultural system. For this reason it is difficult for us to see the artistic forms of various periods of Greek history and the themes and representations of values from the Roman present not as a contradiction but as a flexible cultural system. I hope it has become clear that both premises are neither given nor necessary.

TRANSLATED BY JENNIFER TRIMBLE



Figure 7.1. Statue of Augustus from Prima Porta. Ca. 17 B.C.E. Rome, Vatican Museum, Braccio Nuovo. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome.



Figure 7.2. Statue of Doryphorus by Polyclitus. Roman copy of a bronze Greek original of ca. 440 B.C.E. Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome.

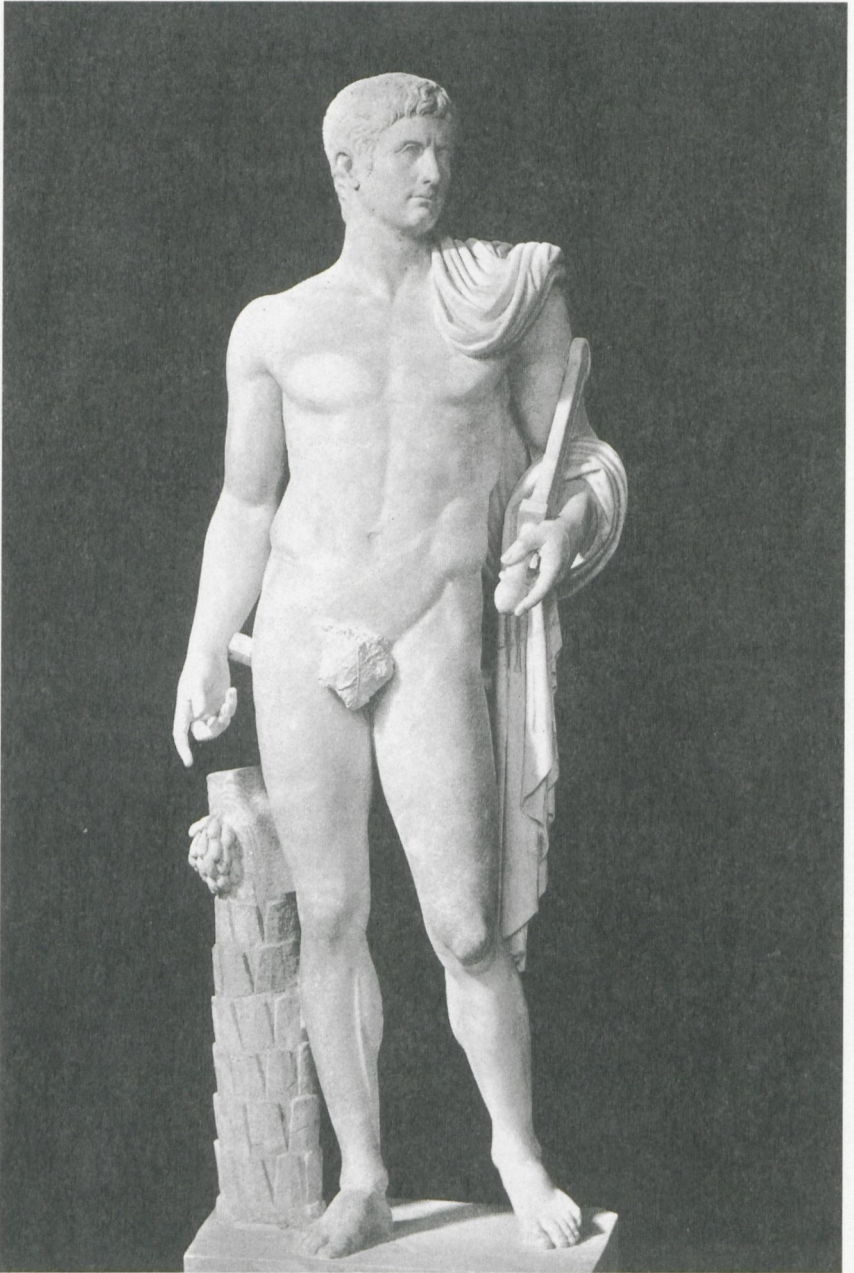


Figure 7.3. Statue of Augustus as Diomedes, from the Basilica of Otricoli. Ca. 40 c.e. Rome, Vatican Museum. Photo: Alinari.

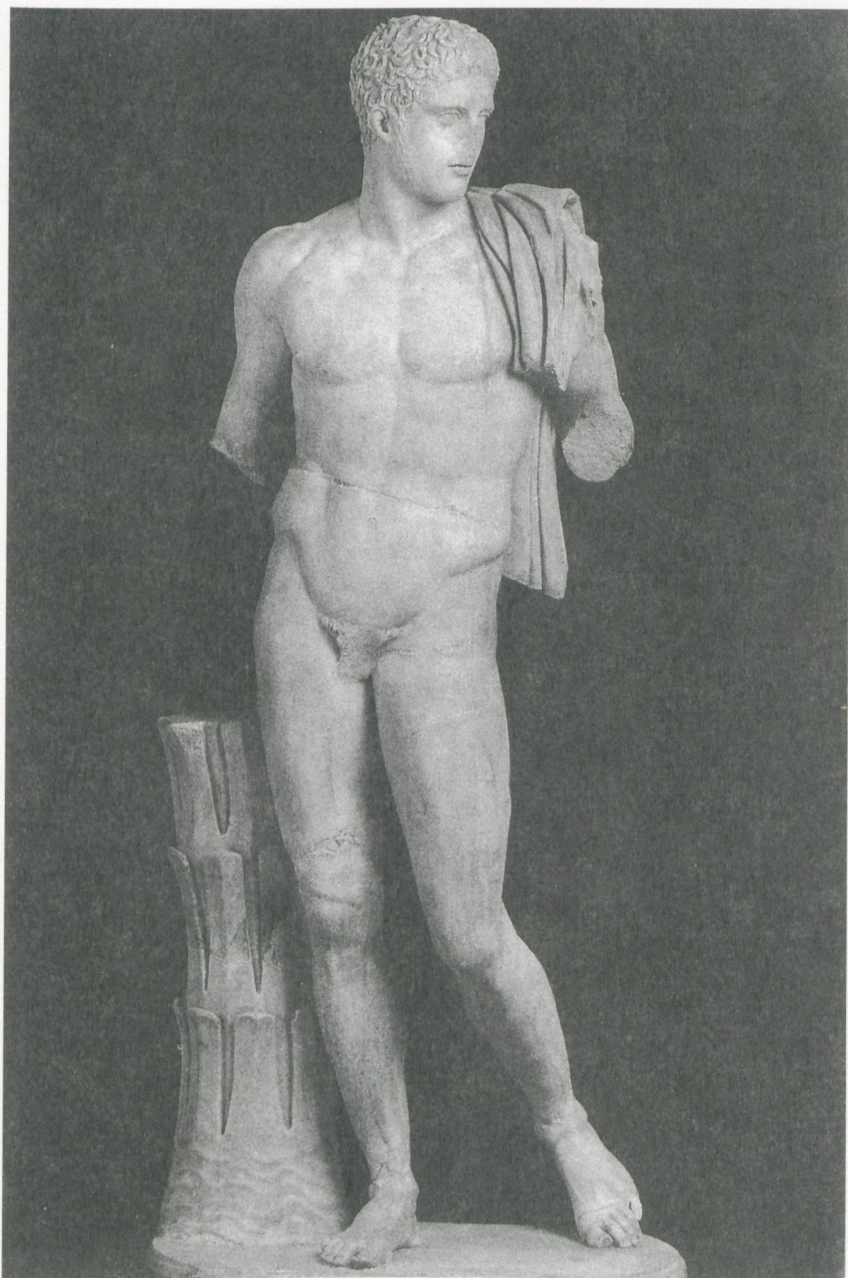


Figure 7.4. Statue of Diomedes. Roman copy of a Greek bronze original of ca. 430 B.C.E. Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico. Photo: Seminar für Klassische Archäologie, Universität Heidelberg.



Figure 7.5. Statuette of Alexander. Roman statuette, perhaps copy of a life-size portrait statue. Hellenistic period. Cambridge (Mass.), Fogg Art Museum. Photo: Seminar für Klassische Archäologie, Universität Heidelberg.



Figure 7.6. Statue of a boy, Augustan. From the illegal market. Photo: Seminar für Klassische Archäologie, Universität Heidelberg.



Figure 7.7. Ara Pacis Augustae, great procession. 13–9 B.C.E. Photo: Fototeca Unione, Rome.

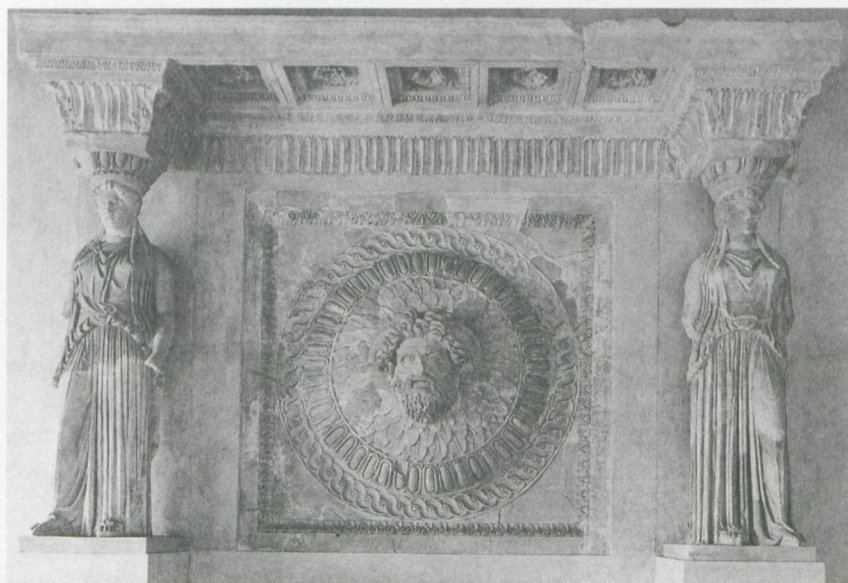


Figure 7.8. Caryatids from Forum of Augustus, dedicated 2 B.C.E. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome.



Figure 7.9. Marble crater. Mahdia shipwreck. Beginning of the first century B.C.E. Tunis, Musée du Bardo. Photo from D. Grassinger, *Römische Marmorkratere* (1991), Abb. 62.



Figure 7.10. Ara Pacis Augustae, southwest panel with Aeneas. 13–9 B.C.E. Photo: Brogi.

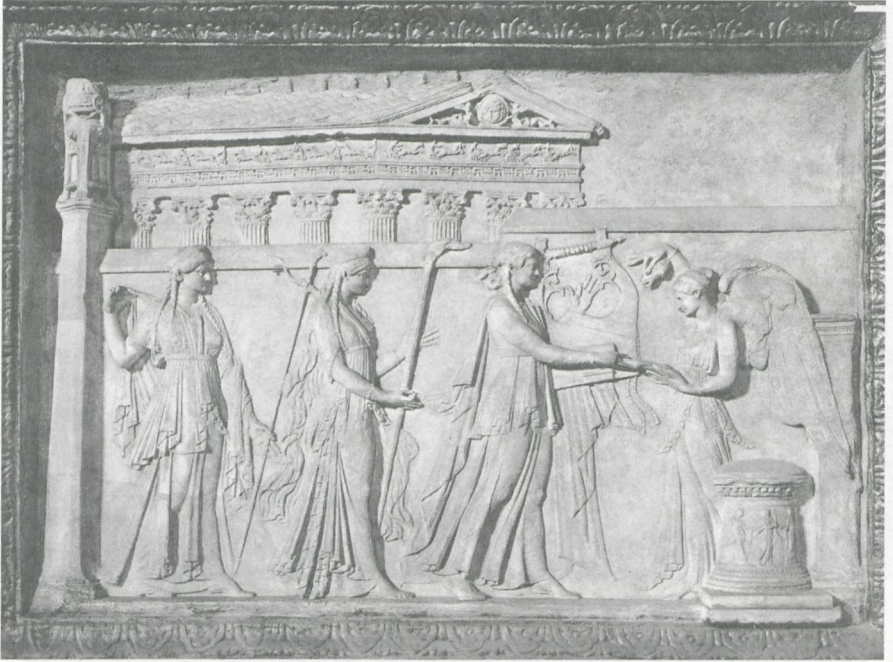


Figure 7.11. Relief with Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Victoria. Augustan. Rome, Villa Albani. Photo: Alinari.



Figure 7.12. Relief with Victoria (of Salamis) and Trophy. Augustan. Rome, Villa Albani. Photo: Museo Nazionale di Roma.