layered nature of the characters of the *Aeneid*[53] and of the epic itself; the search for the proper equilibrium between the exemplary and the individual is one of the principal creative tensions in the *Aeneid*.

AUCTORITAS IN ART: THE AUGUSTUS STATUE FROM PRIMA PORTA

The Augustus statue from Prima Porta (Fig. 5), which is perhaps the most famous representation of Augustus in art,[54] is closely connected with the Vergilian passage I have just discussed. It shows Augustus in an authoritative pose after the return of the Roman standards by the Parthians in 20 B.C., an event that the pictorial program of the cuirass elaborates. The fact that the statue conveys *auctoritas* is clear from precedents and comparable works. A forerunner of the commanding gesture of laterally projecting the upper right arm, with an upward thrust of the forearm and hand, is the so-called Orator (or Arringatore) from the second century B.C., the first such statue of a public figure in Etruscan art (Fig. 6).[55] It derives from several traditions, including one of statues of deities; we might recall that in the Vergilian simile a god is compared to a man. In addition to conveying his *auctoritas*, the Prima Porta statue envelops Augustus, the "Revered One," in a fitting aura of divinity, alluding to his ancestry from Venus by means of the Cupid at his side and by the presence on the armor of his patron god Apollo along with Diana, Venus, and Mars. The general pose, the spear, and the dress are found on denarii of the *divi filius* that were issued between 31 B.C. and 28 B.C. (Fig. 7); after both Actium and the Parthian settlement Augustus erected a triumphal arch in the Forum—the latter seems to have stood next to the Deified Caesar's temple (cf. Fig. 172). The gesture is that of a rhetorical address, an *adlocutio*. Being devoid of a specific audience and not limited to a specific occasion, it assumes, like the Vergilian simile, a symbolic and exemplary value "demonstrative of the power which makes possible such a gesture and the circumstances of its making."[56]

Even if the fingers of the right hand, except for the ring finger, had to be restored, there are good reasons for their restoration in accordance with the *adlocutio* type. To these can be added the joint resonance that both the Doryphoros (Fig. 8), the classical Greek model for the Prima Porta Augustus, and the Vergilian simile found in Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*. Quintilian's discussion also recognizes the *auctoritas* of the simile and the statue. In contrast to Homeric similes, the Vergilian simile is more than an aesthetic device. It expresses an ethos, and for that reason Quintilian cites it as a paradigm for his tenet that the good orator also is a good man—the ideal of the *vir bonus atque dicendi peritus* (12.1.27–28). In an earlier, but related passage in book 5 (12.20–21), Quintilian contrasts the insipid spectacle of the effete rhetoric of his own day with the rhetoric that serves a purpose—namely, moral rectitude—and is therefore virile. The image that comes to his mind is that of Polykleitos' Doryphoros whom he characterizes as *vir gravis et sanctus*.[57] Similarly, the Vergilian speaker is *vir gravis et pius*. The two come together in the Augustus statue, which was modeled on the Doryphoros. *Pius* in the Vergilian passage is paraphrased by Servius as *venerabilis*, the Latin equivalent of the Greek *sebastos*. That, in turn, was also the Greek translation of the name of Augustus (Dio 53.16.8) whose *sanctitas* is caught up in a statue for which the Doryphoros served as a model.

Some implications emerge. By using this particular characterization, Quintilian indicates that he considers the Doryphoros an exception from the norm of Polykleitos' works. In his famous juxtaposition of orators and sculptors in book 12 he characterizes Polykleitos' statues as surpassing in *diligentia* and *decor*, but not in *pondus* ("weightiness") and *auctoritas* because he made statues of young men only and not of those who had *aetatem graviorem*, a more advanced age that called for a graver representation. The Doryphoros, by contrast, is *gravis* and even *sanctus*, a characterization without precedent for a Polykleitan statue of a Greek athlete. Nor is *sanctus* part of the standard terminology, which was often inspired by rhetoric, for Greek and Roman art.[58]

An explanation for this exception would be Quintilian's acquaintance with copies of the Prima Porta statue and with its aura. As for the Prima Porta statue itself, the Doryphoros was a model it imitated very closely as is evidenced even by such details as the stylization of the hair on both statues (Figs. 9a and b). It is obvious, however, that the Augustus statue elevated and sublimated the spirit of the Greek model. The feet, for instance, are planted on the ground more firmly (Figs. 10a and b), reflecting the statue's greater *pondus*, to use Quintilian's term. Moreover, the iconography of the cuirass, which is another example of the Augustan wealth of allusive references, the limitation of the onlooker to the frontal view, and the projection of the arm of the Augustan statue provide it with more *auctoritas*. This aura reflects back on the Doryphoros, who thereby transcends even his Achillean idealization and becomes *gravis et sanctus*.[59] While Quintilian's characterization involves the entire statue, we do not know how many copies of the Prima Porta statue were in existence at his time, although copies of the head of the Prima Porta type have been estimated to have numbered in the thousands.

The affinity of the Prima Porta statue to the passages in Quintilian and Vergil suggests that an *adlocutio* is by no means inappropriate. More important, this particular representation of Augustus, as is clear from the precedent of the "Orator" (Fig. 6), conveys *auctoritas* while other iconographic details elevate the statue yet further to the level of *sanctitas*. The connection between the two is underscored by the next to the final chapter of the *Res Gestae*, which was the starting point of our discussion: *auctoritas* (34.2) follows upon the mention of the divine aura implied in the title *Augustus* (34.1).

5. Statue of Augustus from Prima Porta. Based on an original dating from after 20 B.C.

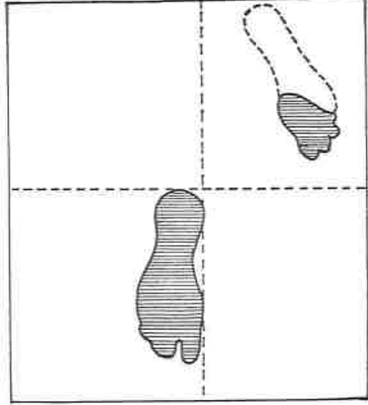
6. Statue of the "Arringatore," second century B.C.

8. Doryphoros by Polykleitos, fifth century B.C. Roman marble copy.

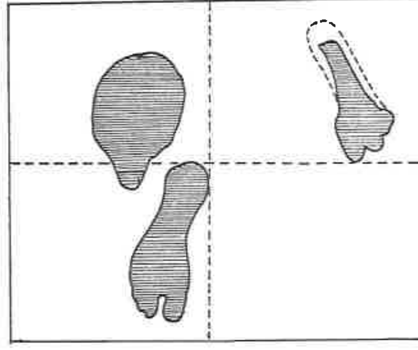
7. Denarius of Octavian, ca. 31–28 B.C. Reverse: Octavian addressing the troops.

9a. Head of the Augustus from Prima Porta.

9b. Head of the Doryphoros. Bronze copy from the Villa dei Papiri, Herculaneum.



10a. Diagram of footprints of Doryphoros.



10b. Diagram of footprints of Augustus from Prima Porta.

AUCTORITAS AND THE COINS: THE MUTUALITY OF LEADER AND FOLLOWERS

We saw earlier that the transforming kind of leadership represented by *auctoritas*, as opposed to a regimented system of obeisance to commands from the top, requires the initiative of people other than the *princeps*; in the end, he, with his *auctoritas*, is only the guarantor and approver, though not in a legalistic sense. Besides, *auctoritas* is not a static or self-contained attribute but

exists for an individual only to the degree that society recognizes it or renews it. Some aspects of Augustus' coinage are a good example of this reciprocity in addition to helping redefine the notion of "propaganda," a label which, as so many others that have gained currency for Augustan phenomena, is convenient rather than precise.[60]

One source of monetary issues at Augustus' time was the mint at Rome which since 23 B.C. was administered, as it had been before the triumviral period, by a board of three moneyers (*tresviri monetales*), usually young men at the beginning of their magisterial careers.[61] In addition there were major imperial mints in the east and west. These issues are faithfully recorded in the standard catalogs. In addition, however, there were over two hundred cities in all areas of the Augustan empire that issued coins independently, usually in bronze.[62] Many of these autonomous local authorities, which, with few exceptions, had no precedent for placing the portraits of living Romans on their coins, chose to represent Augustus' in ever greater numbers; witness the coins of Cnossus with the labyrinth on the reverse (Fig. 11). They were

11. Bronze coin from Cnossus, Crete. Obverse: Augustus. Reverse: labyrinth.

under no legal obligation to do so nor did the head of Augustus signify that the coins bearing his likeness had been issued on his authority or been authorized by him. Another novelty is that the issuing authority, whether cities or individuals, is indicated on the reverse rather than the obverse, contrary to prior convention. The decision to put the head of Augustus on the obverse was the result of two considerations. One evidently was to honor the emperor. He was not only *pater patriae*, but the father of the world, *pater orbis* (Ovid, *Fasti* 2.130). The other, even more important, was to have his *auctoritas* translate into the economic efficiency of the coin—to encourage its circulation and unquestioned acceptance. Such issues, in turn, reinforced the *auctoritas* of the *princeps*.

The intertwining of legal and supralegal aspects in this domain is but a reflection of the larger interconnection between *auctoritas* and *potestas* that we already have noted. "In an atmosphere," as Andrew Wallace-Hadrill

71. Victoria Caesaris. Frieze fragment from Temple of Divus Julius, Rome.

and being surrounded by floral scrolls, recall both Venus Genetrix and Venus Victrix and Venus' vegetal associations (Fig. 71)[27] besides attesting Augustus' lifelong emphasis on Victoria.

Finally, the Ara Pacis is a good example, in several ways, of Augustus' *auctoritas*. It was established at the initiative of the senate, an initiative sanctioned by him as *auctor* and involving some negotiation. No doubt he was involved in the consultations about the design and pictorial program. No doubt he was not simply their sole author: "The leitmotifs of the imagery come from the close circle of Augustus' advisers."[28] They include the poets; numerous passages can be adduced especially from Vergil's and Horace's poetry that read like a commentary on the Ara Pacis.[29] Already in the *Georgics*, for example, Octavian, associated with Venus, is the *auctor frugum* (1.28), a notion on which Horace expands in his last ode:

> tua, Caesar, aetas
> fruges et agros rettulit uberes.
> (*C.* 4.15.4–5)
>
> [Your era, Caesar,
> brought back fruits and fertile fields.]

The representation of the resulting plenitude especially on the floral frieze again illustrates the intended process of interaction between viewer participation and the guiding *auctoritas* of an overall meaning. The two elements of the abundance of vegetation and ordered composition call for a synthesis by the viewer. They take on their full significance with reference to the general theme of the creation of order under Augustus' rule.[30] The same theme recurs with several variations at the beginning of Vergil's *Aeneid*.

It seems likely that the altar's artists were Greeks from the east, in particular from Aphrodisias with whose sculpture several connections can be demonstrated in terms of style and iconography. They obviously thrived on the challenge of both the unparalleled sophistication of the monument and its thorough adaptation to the Roman ethos. That ethos includes the representation of the *auctoritas* of Augustus. Augustus himself is part of the Roman populace and not elevated above them like a Hellenistic potentate. He is *princeps* and *Augustus*, sublimated by the presence of all the priestly colleges to which he belonged and by reference to Aeneas and Romulus, who were founders as he was.

THE CUIRASS OF THE AUGUSTUS STATUE FROM PRIMA PORTA

The pictorial program on the cuirass of the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta precedes that of the Ara Pacis by about a decade. While being similarly associative, it is more directly intelligible not in the least because it is visible almost at once in its totality.[31]

Again, as we noted in chapter 3, its center and starting point is a specific historical occasion, the return by the Parthians of the standards that Rome's army under Crassus had relinquished in 53 B.C. in one of the most shameful Roman defeats ever. The chorus of those urging revenge never stopped.[32] Caesar's departure for a military expedition against the Parthians was cut short by his assassination. Antony fought them only to incur further losses, and the Augustan poets kept announcing ongoing plans to defeat that arch-enemy. Then, in 20 B.C., the matter was settled by diplomacy. Armenia became a client kingdom, "brought back into the power of the Roman people."[33] For all practical purposes, it became part of the Roman empire. Augustus could freely interfere in its internal affairs and impose rulers of his choice (*RG* 27.2). Armenia served as a valuable offensive base which was a constant threat to the Parthians. While no Roman army had beaten them on the battlefield, the Augustan settlement was presented as anything but an agreement between equals. The terminology used by Augustus himself is unequivocal: "I *forced* the Parthians to restore to me the spoils and standards of three Roman armies and to ask as *suppliants* for the friendship of the Roman people" (*RG* 29.2). The Parthians had been brought to their knees:

72a. Denarius of 19 B.C.
Reverse: kneeling Parthian returns Roman standard.

72b. Denarius of 19 B.C.
Reverse: Armenian in robe and tiara, kneeling and supplicating.

their king Phraates is shown on Augustan coins as kneeling (Fig. 72a) just like his Armenian counterpart (Fig. 72b).[34] That is how Horace depicts him, too: "On humbled knees Phraates accepted the law and rule of Caesar" (*Epist.* 1.12.27–28). His children were kept, like those of client kings, as security in Rome. As Augustus himself put it, Phraates did so "not because he had been overcome in war, but because he sought our friendship by pledging his children" (*RG* 32.2).

The whole settlement, then, was portrayed as a tremendous triumph. Augustus duly celebrated it by building a commemorative arch in the Roman Forum. All this was a welcome turnabout from the famine and disease that had plagued Rome and Italy only two years earlier (Dio 54.1). The populace interpreted those afflictions as the gods' retribution for Augustus' not being appointed (little did it matter that it was he who had refused) as consul for the first time in ten years. Riots ensued. The plebs clamored for Augustus to become dictator or at least censor. He refused both, but he assumed some of the censorial functions and took charge of the grain supply. The situation, which, in Dio's words, had bordered on anarchy, forced Augustus to postpone his plans to leave Rome for Sicily, Greece, and the east until Agrippa was put firmly in charge as his viceroy (Dio 54.6.4–6).

It is important to keep these historical circumstances firmly in mind even, or especially, when we consider the more transcending aspects of the images on the cuirass. Some of them were assimilable to themes suggested by the subsequent Secular Games, which is not surprising in view of the nexus between the latter and the Parthian triumph. But it is in terms of the significance of the Parthian settlement that the pictorial program must be understood primarily. Its center (Fig. 73) recalls the specific historical event: a

73. Statue of Augustus from Prima Porta. Cuirass.

representative of Rome receives the standards, topped by Jupiter's eagle, from a Parthian. The Roman most probably is the god Mars: "These standards," wrote Augustus (*RG* 29.2), "I deposited in the innermost shrine of the Temple of Mars the Avenger" which was still being built at the time in the Forum of Augustus.[35] In his long account of the feast day of Mars Ultor (*Fasti* 5.545ff.), Ovid says that the temple came to commemorate two events: the defeat of Caesar's assassins at Philippi (5.569–78) and, at greater length (5.579–96), the return of the Roman standards by the Parthians. He explicitly mentions the legionary eagles:

> signa, decus belli, Parthus Romana tenebat,
> Romanaeque aquilae signifer hostis erat!
>
> (*Fasti* 5.585–86)

[Roman standards, the emblems of martial honor, the Parthian kept,
and an enemy was the standardbearer of the Roman legionary eagle!]

And he uses the same motif again for his finale:

> Parthe, refers aquilas, victos quoque porrigis arcus:
> pignora iam nostri nulla pudoris habes!
>
> (5.593–94)

[Parthian, you return the eagles, and you surrender your bows that have been overcome: now you do not possess any more tokens of our disgrace!]

The most visually oriented of the Augustan poets was well aware of this expressive image in the arts of his day.

On the cuirass, Mars is accompanied by the Roman she-wolf, the *lupa*, whose head we also see peering forth from the prows of Augustus' ships on monuments commemorating his naval victories (cf. Fig. 164).[36] On the two sides of the central scene are the personifications of regions that have experienced, in different ways, the *pax Romana*. The figure on the right (from the perspective of the viewer) is not armed: she holds an empty scabbard, a military standard with a boar, and a dragon trumpet (Fig. 74). These are emblems of Celtic tribes. The figure on the left still has her sword (Fig. 75). She thus stands for nations who are nominally not subjected, like the client states of Armenia and Judea. Or she may be a symbol of the tenacity of others, such as Spain, and the Romans' even greater tenacity in overcoming them: Spain was finally brought under control by Agrippa in 19 B.C. Both Gauls and Spaniards are mentioned by Horace in the same context as the capitulation of the Parthians (*Epist.* 1.12.26–27). Overall, the representations on the armor's central panel proclaim the Roman domination over east and west. It is, of course, an *Augustan* domination, too: he himself fought the principal campaign against the Cantabrians in Spain in the 20s; he was in Syria when Phraates surrendered the standards; and the key provinces in the east and west were under his direct control.

As on the Ara Pacis, mythological figures accompany the historical event and enlarge its dimensions. Now that the long-standing disgrace of Rome in the east has been remedied and inveterate enemies have been brought to heel in both east and west, the sun-god can joyously traverse the sky. Caelus, the sky-god, therefore forms the top of the composition (Fig. 73). His billowing mantle recalls the vault of the firmament.[37] In a syncretism that was well established at the time, the sun-god was also identified with Apollo, with whom Augustus gradually cultivated a special association.[38] Apollo is represented in a different mythological configuration somewhat below the sun-god's chariot and the surrender of the trophies: the two are deliberately associated while their primary identity is kept separate, in contrast to the

74. Augustus statue from Prima Porta. Detail: personification of conquered nation (Gaul).

75. Augustus statue from Prima Porta. Detail: personification of unconquered nation.

more polysemous Venus figure on the Ara Pacis. Preceding Sol's quadriga is Aurora, the winged goddess of Dawn. She sprinkles dew from a vessel in her left hand and is carrying a female deity, again characterized by her billowing mantle, and her torch. While it is true that Horace speaks of Diana, who was identified with the moon-goddess Luna, as *Noctiluca*, Dawn,[39] ushering in the new day of Sol, would in that case be carrying a goddess who illuminates the night. The most likely identification, therefore, is that with Venus, who in turn was identified with the Morning Star. She carries the torch of "light-bearing" Aurora. Again we are dealing with the deliberate Augustan endeavor to establish as many references as possible: Venus is the ancestress of Augustus; her star preceded Aeneas until he reached Italy;[40] and Vergil connected the comet of the deified Caesar with the star of Venus, which heralded the fruitfulness of the earth:

> ecce Dionaei processit Caesaris astrum,
> astrum quo segetes gauderent frugibus et quo
> duceret apricis in collibus uva colorem.
>
> (*Ecl.* 9.47–49)

[Behold, the star of Caesar, offspring of Dione, has gone forth
so that under this star the crops might rejoice and the grape might
absorb its color on the sunny hillsides].

Vergil refers not only to the newly named month of July, when fruits and harvests ripen, but to the specific agricultural prosperity that would hopefully occur under the star of the Julian house. After Augustus had helped the Romans overcome the poor harvests and famines of 22 B.C., such a hopeful evocation was more than fitting.[41]

The representation of Venus is complemented by two others, developing further associations. Cupid, Venus' son, is riding on the dolphin that functions as a support for the statue (Fig. 5). The dolphin is an allusion to the sea victories of Augustus. After his victory over Sextus Pompey 36 B.C. at Naulochus, for instance, the lap markers in the Circus Maximus were changed by Agrippa into dolphins and the motif rapidly found its way into popular art.[42] Cupid reinforces the association of Augustus with divinity by means of his divine ancestress and the deified Julius Caesar. They contribute to the *sanctitas* of the statue.

In view of such special divine relationships and of the confirmation of Roman power in east and west, prosperity cannot be far away: it is expressed, at the bottom of the cuirass, by the reclining figure of the Bountiful Earth, Tellus, with her cornucopia. Her crown of grain ears is the same as that worn by goddesses such as Ceres and Pax; Venus, too, has grain ears as symbols. Within the ensemble of the pictorial program, the earth-goddess also corresponds to the sky-god and thus rounds out the cosmic dimensions of the imagery. And, predictably, there is more: at her feet, there is a tympanon, the emblem of the Trojan Mother Goddess who was brought to Rome in 204 B.C. and had her temple on the Palatine next to Augustus' house. She, too, was the protectress of Aeneas and appears prominently in the *Aeneid*. In the parade of heroes in *Aeneid* 6, she and Augustus are joined together:

qualis Berecynthia mater

. . . .

laeta deum partu, centum complexa nepotes,
omnis caelicolas, omnis super alta tenentis.
huc geminas nunc flecte acies, hanc aspice gentem
Romanosque tuos. hic Caesar et omnis Iuli
progenies magnum caeli ventura sub axem.
hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,
Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet
saecula qui rursus . . .

(*Aen.* 6.784, 786–93)

[Just like the Phrygian Mother . . . joyful in her offspring of gods and embracing a hundred of her children's children, all heaven dwellers, all tenants of the heights above. Turn your eyes here now and behold this people, your own Romans. Here is Caesar and the entire offspring of Julus, destined to pass under the great dome of the sky. This, this is the man whom so often you hear promised to you: Augustus Caesar, son of the deified, who shall once again establish an age of gold . . .]

With this we come to the frequent interpretation of the figural program of the armor in terms of the Golden Age. It is, as we saw earlier, a notion that needs to be used with care. The representations of the cuirass first and foremost come from the context of the Parthian success, especially as contrasted with the dismal domestic crisis of the immediately preceding years. Commensurate with the bearer of the armor, the imagery also stressed clearly the quasi divinity of "Augustus," a title that moved him above the mortal sphere. That aura, however, is not the main reason for the statue's lack of footwear. The statue is a copy, and the footgear of the original may well have been removed to have the posthumous copy represent him more fully as *divus* at Livia's villa in Prima Porta, where the statue was found. It thus enhanced the already quite evident notion of Augustus' sanctity, which may have led Quintilian to characterize the Polykleitan model as *sanctus*.[43] These associations are enhanced by Augustus' dress in addition to the cuirass, in particular the mantle he wears around his hip. By that time, the *Hüftmantel* had become an emblem specifically associated with Caesar, *divus Iulius*. It is another reflection of the fact that there was no attempt on Augustus' part to dissociate himself in all ways from his adoptive father. Instead he used him, as is clear from Augustan poetry, too, as a model for his own divinity.[44]

A more relevant question is to what extent the program of images was also influenced by the Secular Games for which planning was proceeding at the time. The festival, as we saw earlier, was restructured by Augustus to give prominence to Apollo and Diana, as is evident also from Horace's *Secular Hymn*. Both deities appear on the armor: Apollo riding on a swan with his lyre (Fig. 73, lower left), and Diana on her hind (Fig. 73, lower right). The new *saeculum*, as we have seen, was characterized by a return not to a utopian paradise but to specific Roman virtues that Horace highlights in the *Carmen Saeculare* (57–60; see chapter 3). Those conditions, in turn, were made possible by the pacification of the east in particular (*CS* 53–56). All this will result not in a Golden Age—Horace never mentions the term in his hymn—but, as we have seen, in a "better age" (*melius aevum;* 67–68), characterized by upright mores and tranquillity (45–46: *probos mores . . . quietem*).[45] Within this framework, the Caelus figure can also be interpreted as Saturn, the guardian god of the "Saturnian land" (*Saturnia tellus*), Italy, which is another suggestive dimension of the reclining Tellus figure. As has been noted, though not by interpreters of the Prima Porta statue, the "Golden Age of Saturn symbolized the purity and simplicity of early Italian life, which had made Rome great."[46] And, as we saw earlier, part of Vergil's intention in his hymning of Augustus' *aurea aetas* in *Aeneid* 6 by reference to Saturn's was to allude to Augustus' moral and social reforms in the years before the revival of the *ludi saeculares*.

The pictorial program of the Prima Porta Augustus was shaped precisely during those years and reflects these ideas in its own way. It is an even more compressed program than that of the Ara Pacis, which it anticipates with its recourse to multiple meanings. These meanings emerge in full only when the various images are connected with one another. It is, in that sense, another "contemplative image." Its final element, the sphinxes on the shoulder flaps, share in this wealth of suggested meanings. Augustus used the emblem of the sphinx as his seal for some years; they stand for Egypt, a province that was his and the direct source of his wealth, and they allude to the prophesies in the Sibylline Books, which were edited at Augustus' behest and predicted the impending peaceful reign of Apollo. All this solemnity and sophistication is accompanied, as it was to be more extensively on the Ara Pacis, by the presence of a light touch, in this case the visage of the dolphin crumpling under the weight of an oblivious and not altogether lean Cupid (Fig. 5).

One further aspect in which the Ara Pacis and the Prima Porta statue are characteristic of Augustan art is that there are few representations of war and battle. Instead, there is a preference for still lifes and we see a world at peace, which is expressed by various allegories, divinities, and symbols. Again, more is involved than mere aesthetics. *Pax*, for one, is the more inclusive concept, which, as we have already observed, presupposes conquest. *Pax* comes from *pangere*, "to make firm," and *pacisci*, "to make a pact"; it is the "pact" one imposes on a conquered enemy. The *Res Gestae*, with its enumeration of conquests and victories, is an eloquent reflection of this concept. So while Augustus never forswore further conquest, he considered it, unlike Alexander, a greater challenge to rule the resulting *imperium* on the basis of order and laws (Plut., *Mor.* 207D). This attitude, which is traditionally Roman, finds its own artistic expression. One reason for the emphasis on classical art at Augustus' time is simply that representations of battle scenes, which had been a cynosure of Hellenistic art—we need to think only of the Alexander Sarcophagus and Pergamon Altar—now become even less frequent than under the republic.[47] This should not be confused with a rejection of Hellenistic pathos and "excesses" and a return to classical forms because they supposedly implied a claim to higher morality. The primary cause is that the Romans, as we saw earlier, were thinking in terms of normative concepts rather than ephemeral military events; this is clear even from early representations like the Fabian tomb from the third century B.C. (Fig. 25). For representations of abiding concepts and of ceremony and ritual, which were similarly timeless, a quieter, classicizing style suggested itself: form follows function. Yet even on the Ara Pacis, we find examples of the Hellenistic style, which suggests caution in identifying style completely with ethos; the relation between the two is complex and variable.[48] Similarly, the Prima Porta statue itself is a good example of the deliberate synthesis of several traditions, as one further example may illustrate.

76. Hellenistic ruler, second century B.C.

In his left hand, Augustus originally held a spear; the scepter is a modern restoration.[49] The spear derives from three traditions: classical, Hellenistic, and Roman, a derivation that has its counterpart in Augustan poetry, where it has been named the mixing of genres.[50] Classical: it is obviously the spear of the Doryphoros, Polykleitos' fifth-century statue (Fig. 8). Hellenistic: after Alexander, who commenced his conquest of Asia by ritually throwing his spear on that continent's shores, the spear becomes a staple in the statuary of Hellenistic rulers (Fig. 76).[51] The model was the famous Alexander statue of Lysippus, which was itself modeled on the Doryphoros.[52] While statues of Romans in the Augustan age tend to eschew the Hellenistic mode of bulging muscles and nudity, which are still much in evidence on the cameo with Octavian/Neptune (Fig. 2), the spear does not disappear and retains its symbolic value: Augustus is the world conqueror, the heir to Alexander. As such he projected himself especially in his endeavors to subdue the Parthians, the successors of the Persians.[53] Not surprisingly, the representation of Augustus himself and the pictorial programs on the cuirass form a finely balanced entity. While the portrait, for instance, minimizes any association with the portraits of Hellenistic dynasts, the representation of the sun-god on the

armor has the additional dimension of echoing of Alexander's association with Helios. In the Rome of the *res publica*, Augustus would not have himself represented with the crown of solar rays as did Alexander.[54] Typically, he prefers to be allusive and indirect, and the result is a great deal richer. Yet another dimension of Sol, relevant to the context of the Secular Games, was that he was the legendary ancestor of the Latin people.[55]

To return to the spear: its third aspect is Roman. In Roman thinking, the spear represented the essence of arms and power: *hasta summa armorum et imperii est* (Festus, p. 55.3 L.). It means that the most important weapon in early Rome became the expression of the ruling power, as is attested by detailed numismatic and artistic documentation.[56] On the Ara Pacis, too, Aeneas (Fig. 43), juxtaposed as he was with Augustus, held a *hasta* in his left hand, as the extant traces indicate. He is a man of peace, but like the peace of Augustus, Aeneas' will result from victories in war. Such, as we have seen, is Aeneas' mission, according to Vergil's Jupiter:

> bellum ingens geret Italia populosque ferocis
> contundet moresque viris et moenia ponet.
> (*Aen.* 1.263–64)

> [In Italy he will fight a massive war
> Beat down fierce armies, then for people there
> Establish city walls and a way of life.]
> (trans. Fitzgerald)

THE PORTRAITS OF AUGUSTUS

As the Augustan rule often did in retrospect, especially to the Augustans of the eighteenth century, the dominant, "Prima Porta" portrait of Augustus (Figs. 9a, 19) effectively conveys the appearance of calm and composure. It came about, however, only after a great deal of experimentation with different portrait styles and traditions. Typically, the result was due not merely to Octavian's or Augustus' early volition, but to a gradual, autonomous process characterized by a variety of initiatives. Nor was there a monolithic end product, just as there was none in Augustan culture at large. Rather, the portraiture in the Augustan era follows the larger pattern of the times: continuity, change, adaptation, experimentation, and nuance.[57]

The study of the Augustan portraits has been a paradigm of the methodological tendencies to present the age as more one-dimensional than it actually was. There are four primary or distinctive portrait types of Octavian/Augustus.[58] One tendency has been to relate these types closely to political events—hence, for instance, the misnomer "Actium" type for a portrait style whose beginnings can actually be traced to the mid-30s. Similarly, the "main" type was long considered to be a reflection of the title "Augustus,"

awarded in 27 B.C., but a recent study has shown convincingly that its genesis goes back several years before then.[59] Proper self-representation was obviously a matter of the greatest concern to Augustus, as it was for anyone in Rome or, for that matter, today. Shrouded as the exact details are from our sight, we can assume that he took an active part in shaping his representation in portraits. But even in this instance of singular import, art had its own autonomy[60] and in the end was the result of Augustus' *auctoritas* rather than of a simple restyling at the ruler's command after major historical events, which appear as convenient junctures only in retrospect. We can deduce from this that the autonomy of Augustan literature, whose "organization" has been discussed in similarly reductive terms, was even greater.

Along with this tendency toward organizing the portraiture into types goes another: to create tidy taxonomies and impose a linear progression on a dynamic phenomenon. We observed an analogous situation in connection with the attempts to construe the Augustan settlement in purely constitutional and legal terms. Concerning the portraits—and other aspects of Augustan art—much has been made of the antinomy between the Hellenistic and the classical. Not all of Hellenistic art, however, stood for extravagance. Its relationship to classical art was complex and nuanced—it incorporated a classicizing trend, for instance—and so was the Roman reception and assimilation of both classical and Hellenistic art, and of classical and Hellenistic culture in general. These larger topics, therefore, merit special discussion (see chapter 7). Realism, to give but one example, was a component of both Hellenistic and Roman portraiture, and influences went in both directions: members of the philo-Roman ruling classes in the Greek east adopted veristic Roman self-representations while cultivated Italians adopted Hellenistic traditions of realism. If it is not always easy for art historians to differentiate such influences and traditions from one other, it was even less so for the citizens of the ancient world.

Another aspect that tends to be overlooked is that the transition from republic to principate was not marked by the kind of éclat that is posited by such antinomies. Much of Augustus' success was due precisely to his ability to effect transition quite subtly, to avoid sharp breaks, to present his rule as a continuation of the republic, and to draw on inspirations that already existed in republican times. We need to think only of Vergil, Horace, and Livy, who were not born-again Augustans but brought their own experiences, shaped under the republic, to bear on "Augustan" literature.[61] With regard to the Augustan portraits, the uniqueness of Augustus and of his role produced a corresponding subtlety of image. It partook in many different traditions[62] without being a slave to them and, in one of the many paradoxes characteristic of Augustus and his culture, its most "de-individualized" type became the one that was most recognizable and distinctive.

The function of the Roman portrait was more than the mere reflection of