Report from Rome: The Imperial Fora, a Retrospective

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Abstract

Abandoned along the sides of the Via dei Fori Imperiali for more than 30 years after the end of the Second World War, the imperial fora have now, at the end of the 20th century, once again become a major focus of scholarly activity in Rome. In the last several years new books and articles on the Markets of Trajan and the Fora of Caesar, Nerva (the Forum Transitorium), and Trajan have been published; others are about to appear. Much work has been done on the previously cleared structures in the Forum of Augustus, and Edoardo Tortorici has directed major excavations at the west end of the Forum of Nerva (a report on his 1995 season appears in this newsletter). The following account summarizes these recent studies and looks forward to a new series of large-scale excavations in the imperial fora (announced in connection with the Jubilee Year of 2000). Reviewing also “The Places of Imperial Consent,” a 1995–1996 exhibition in the Markets of Trajan of antiquities from the Fora of Augustus and Trajan (the harbinger of a projected Museum of the Imperial Fora), this report concludes with a brief characterization of recent scholarly interpretations of the interrelationships and significance of the several imperial fora.*

* I would like to thank Roberto Meneghini and Lucrezia Ungaro, the current municipal administrators of the Fora of Augustus and Trajan, for their assistance in assembling this newsletter. They kindly gave me unlimited access to the exhibition of material from these sites currently mounted in the Markets of Trajan and generously provided the original materials reproduced here as figs. 6 and 8–10. I am also extremely grateful to Edoardo Tortorici of the Istituto Archeologico, Università di Catania, for providing his account of the 1995 excavations in the Forum Transitorium, for guiding me around the site in 1995, and for giving me permission to photograph the work in progress in 1995 and 1996.

To simplify cardinal directions in the following text, I assume that the northwest–southeast axis of the imperial fora (through the Column of Trajan and the site of the Temple/forum of Peace) runs directly north–south. In my text north = northwest, south = southeast, east = northeast, and west = southwest.

The following abbreviations are used:
Kaiser Augustus M. Hofter et al. eds., Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik (Mainz 1988).

1 The Temple of Peace and other parts of its enclosure were partially excavated at this time, but only a few architectural elements found in those investigations are still visible at the intersection of the Via dei Fori Imperiali and the Via Cavour. The rest of these extraordinary finds were reinterred: A.M. Colini, “Forum Pacis,” BullCom 65 (1937).

During the construction of the Via dell’Impero (now the Via dei Fori Imperiali) in the late 1920s and early 1930s, large-scale excavations conducted by the Fascist regime revealed significant parts of the imperial fora: the west half of the Forum of Caesar, the east section of the Forum of Augustus, some miscellaneous parts of the Forum of Peace,1 the center and east section of the Forum Transitorium,2 and parts of the Forum and Markets of Trajan.3

Unfortunately, these same excavations also destroyed the later strata that overlay the imperial monuments and consigned their important historical evidence to oblivion. Subordinating archaeological investigation to politics and urban planning, the excavators roughly handled the physical remains. Fragments of sculpture and architecture were only provisionally catalogued (and the resulting records were sometimes lost in the disorders of the Second World War), their findspots and stratigraphical relationships were inadequately recorded, and much was simply thrown away.4 Brief notices, general plans, photo-

21–29.


3 For example, under the “esedra arborea,” the small park next to the Via dei Fori Imperiali. For aerial views and a plan, Packer 1997 (supra n. 3) I, 6–7; fig. 1; 9, fig. 2; III, fol. 21. The south wall of the West Library (completely rebuilt after the excavation of the building between 1928 and 1934) is constructed of small, white marble fragments of the architecture and sculpture of the Forum itself. The location of this wall appears in Packer 1997, III, fol. 5, 15.
graphs, and restored scale models of the several sites offered evidence of the volume and variety of the materials recovered, but these inadequate testimonies only hinted broadly at the true character of the architecture and decoration of the imperial fora. Partially restored, the excavated monuments were temporarily abandoned during the Second World War.

The first post-war studies of the imperial fora appeared from the late 1940s to mid-1950s, and between 1961 and 1987 a number of generalized descriptions of each site followed. For ancient sources, recent research, and virtually complete bibliographies (current until the early 1990s), the new standard reference for all the imperial fora (except the Temple/Forum of Peace) is LTUR II, but increased interest in the imperial fora has resulted in the publication of various studies so new that they do not appear even in the ample bibliographies of the LTUR.

Publications are, however, only one aspect of the recent renewed interest in the imperial fora that has been fueled by increased financial support for excavation, maintenance, and study of the sites by both the Comune di Roma and the Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma (which represents the Italian government). An exhibition, which opened in 1995 in the Markets of Trajan, has introduced the interested public to newly cleaned architectural and sculptural elements from the Fora of Augustus and Trajan. This exhibition and, during the summers of 1995 and 1996, guided tours of the imperial fora, which have been dramatically lighted at night, have made the imperial fora more attractive and accessible.

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9 R. Ulrich has argued, “If there were ever a good candidate for the revolutionary field of electronic publishing, it is a basic, indispensable reference text like LTUR,” in “Archaeological Reference Texts and the Information Age,” AJA 99 (1995) 148–49. Additional bibliographies for the imperial fora appear in E. La Rocca, The Imperial Fora (Rome 1995) 292–96.

10 Overseen by Gianni Borgna, Assessore alla Cultura del Comune di Roma, and supervised by Eugenio La Rocca, Sovrintendente dei musei, gallerie, monumenti e scavi di Roma, and Anna Mura Sommella of the Direzione, musei comunali, ripartizione X, antichità e belle arti, the Fora of Trajan and Augustus are administered from offices in a medieval wing of the Markets of Trajan by Lucrezia Ungaro and Roberto Meneghini (who are also the authors of many of the new studies of the Forum and Markets of Trajan).


Headed by Adriano La Regina, Soprintendente alle antichità, the Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma supported several archaeological studies and projects in the imperial fora in the early and mid-1980s: LSA 6 (1985) 241–98. The Soprintendenza currently sponsors the large-scale excavation in the Forum of Nerva (see below, n. 46): Ungaro and Milella 1; and LTUR II, 307–11.

11 The catalogue for the exhibition is in two parts: the first, La Rocca et al. (supra n. 10); the second, L. Ungaro and M. Milella eds., I luoghi del consenso imperiale. Il Foro di Augusto. Il Foro di Traiano II. Catalogo (Rome 1995). The city of Rome and ENEL, one of Rome’s electric companies, sponsored the evening lighting. The magnificent nocturnal
nally, Edoardo Tortorici has reopened his large-scale excavations at the west end and center of the Forum Transitorium.

The following report has three parts. The first summarizes the most recent research on the Fora of Caesar, Augustus, Nerva, and Trajan, and includes Tortorici’s account of his current excavations in the Forum of Nerva/Transitorium. The second reviews the current exhibition in the Markets of Trajan. The third briefly examines recent interpretations of the imperial fora.

THE IMPERIAL FORA: RECENT RESEARCH

Forum Iulium (Forum of Caesar)

As Roger Ulrich has recently suggested, the Forum Iulium12 was perhaps in origin a project undertaken by Caesar after 54 B.C. to enlarge the northeast side of the Republican Forum Romanum, possibly with shops along the Capitoline Hill and a monument to his victories in Gaul. An altered later design resulted in an entirely new forum, Caesar’s monument to his own achievements.13 Its plan, a rectangular plaza framed on three sides by colonnades and dominated to the north by the Temple of Venus Genetrix, was based on I talic (and perhaps eastern) precedents, and in Ulrich’s view, the temple may have reproduced “the Metellan phase of the Temple of Castor in the Forum Romanum.”14 Carla Amici has dated and characterized later modifications.15 Dedicated initially in 46 B.C., the Caesarian monument was extensively modified between 46 and 44 B.C. and was again reworked in the age of Augustus. In the late first or the early second century, after the assassination of Domitian, the Temple of Venus Genetrix was substantially reconstructed, and Trajan later added the “Basilica Argentaria,” a two-story, groin-vaulted arcade with a semicircular latrine in an upper story entered from the Clivus Argentaria.16 A final ancient phase after Diocletian followed a serious fire in the time of Carinus (282–283).

C. Morselli has summarized the later history of the zone.17 In the Early Middle Ages, the Forum rapidly disappeared. At its south end, surrounded by orchards and gardens, rose the Churches of S. Adriano and S. Martina (built in the late seventh/early eighth centuries). To the north, a disorderly mass of later habitations obscured the ancient monuments. Discovered from time to time, architectural fragments of the temple (the origins of which were unknown) were drawn by 16th-century artists. After its rebuilding under Pius V (1566–1572), the neighborhood assumed the appearance it retained until the beginning of the present century.

Forum of Augustus

The recent publication of Italo Gismondi’s drawings of 1930–1931 has greatly aided the study of the Forum of Augustus. These both record the existing state of the site after the excavations of 1926–1929 and offer a restored elevation of a bay from the lateral colonnades.18 The post-Antique history of the zone has also been investigated, and several new studies of the architecture, briefly summarized below, have supplemented and partially revised Gismondi’s reconstructions.

The east fire wall. Built of an opus quadratum of peperino and gabine stone with courses of travertine, this structure rises to a height of over 33 m.19


12 G. Sartorio, S. Rizzo, and A. Gallito are studying the architectural and sculptural fragments: La Rocca et al. (supra n. 10) 11.
15 Following her work in the Forum of Trajan, Amici turned to the Forum of Caesar and after a little less than a decade, produced what is now the standard work on its architecture and history, post-Antique and modern: C. Amici, Il Foro di Cesare I–II (Università degli Studi di Roma
Wooden swallow-tail clamps originally used in its construction have been found behind the apse of the Temple of Mars Ultor.20

The north and south colonnades and hemicycles. These buildings stood on low podia.21 Centered over the columns below, the caryatids in the attic facades, copied from the Erechtheion in Athens, framed bays with *imagines elipeateae.*22 The richly decorated interiors had marble pavements laid in geometric designs, walls veneered with marble, and false vaults of wood and stucco.23 In the two-story hemicycles behind the colonnades, half-columns framed statue niches, and colossal statues occupied the central recesses.24

The “Hall of the Colossus.” Situated at the east end of the north portico and separated from it by a columnar screen,25 this chamber was originally lighted by a clerestory above the roof of the colonnade.26 Its well-preserved rectangular pavement is laid in a checkerboard pattern of rectangular giallo antico and pavonazzetto slabs with a cipollino border.27 On the north and south sides of the room, fluted Corinthian pilasters with pavonazzetto shafts frame bays.28 In the north bays, there were two tiers of famous Greek figurative paintings (two attributed to Apelles).29 At the back of the room is the core of the originally pavonazzetto-clad base that supported a colossus. Although only the right hand with the first phalanx of the index finger and a part of a forearm has survived, this statue is estimated to have been between 6.5 and 10 times life-size.30

The Temple of Mars Ultor. Valentin Kockel has recently reconstructed the entablature and pediment of this shrine; J. Ganzert has studied the structure of the fire wall that enclosed the apse; and Ganzert and Kockel have investigated the polychrome marble interior.31

The Roman Building of the House of the Knights of Rhodes. This small annex to the forum consists of a travertine opus quadratum arcade built with vaulted corridors around a rectangular court.32 Originally an independent residence,33 it later became a (public?) vestibule between the Subura and the Forum of Augustus and was partially closed off by the construction of the Hall of the Colossus. After the ninth century, the structure became part of the monastery.

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21 The restoration of the facades of the colonnades is essentially that of Italo Gismondi: Gismondi (supra n. 18) 342, fig. 49a; 344, fig. 49c; 360–61, figs. 75–78. For views of the interior of Gismondi’s reconstructed model of the north colonnade, cf. P. Zanker, *Forum Augustum. Das Bildprogramm* (Tübingen n.d.) 6–8, figs. 4–5; Bauer (supra n. 19) 232–34. For the interiors of the colonnades and hemicycles, Bauer has revised Gismondi’s design: H. Bauer, “Nuovi ricerche sul Foro di Augusto,” in L’Urbs: *Espace urbain et histoire* (CEFR 98, Rome 1987) 763–70; Bauer, “Augustus-forum, Hallen und Exedren,” in *Kaiser Augustus* 185–86.
22 *LTUR* II 290, fig. 119, sv. Forum Augustum (V. Kockel); Bauer, in *Kaiser Augustus* (supra n. 21) 191, fig. 85; V. Kockel, in *Kaiser Augustus* 192–94, fig. 186. For the patterns and the types of marble used in the floors see *Kaiser Augustus,* color pl. 3, for Bauer’s reconstruction of the revetments of the interior walls and the false vault of the south colonnade and exedra, Bauer 1987 (supra n. 21) 763–70; Bauer, in *Kaiser Augustus* (supra n. 21) 187–88, figs. 78–80.
23 Zanker (supra n. 21) folded pl. A (reproduced in *Kaiser Augustus,* fig. 87).
24 A. Ripari, “L’Aula del Colosso,” in La Rocca et al. (supra n. 10) 63–73.
25 Gismondi assumes three windows (clearly visible in his famous reconstruction of the Forum): La Rocca et al. (supra n. 10), 34 (here fig. 7). Bauer postulates instead a colonnade partially hidden by the gable of the north colonnade roof: Bauer, in *Kaiser Augustus* (supra n. 21) 188, fig. 79, 189.
26 *Kaiser Augustus,* color pl. 3; La Rocca et al. (supra n. 10) 62–65.
27 La Rocca et al. (supra n. 10) 64–73; Kockel, in *LTUR* II (supra n. 22) 292 suggests two superimposed orders of pilasters.
28 Pliny *HN* 35.10.27. G. Lugli, *Fontes ad topographiam vet-eris urbis Romae pertinentes* 6.1 (Rome 1965) 19, no. 114; La Rocca (supra n. 9) 156–169; Ripari (supra n. 25) 66–67, 73; and see below, n. 120.
29 Six and a half times life-size equals 11–12 m: Ripari (supra n. 25) 72; 10 times is about 18 m: V. Kockel, “Beobachtungen zum Tempel des Mars Ultor und zum Forum des Augustus,” *RM* 90 (1983) 446, n. 91.
30 Ganzert (supra n. 30) 23–33; V. Kockel, “Ricerche al tempio di Marte Ultore,” in *Roma: Archeologia nel centro* (LSA 6, 1985) 244. On reliefs in the pediment: Zanker (supra n. 21) 14, 18, 22, pl. 46, folded pl. A; P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor 1988) 196, fig. 150, 200-201; Ganzert (supra n. 19) 208–16 (apse). On the interior, see Ganzert (supra n. 19) 216–19; Ganzert and Kockel (supra n. 20) 151–53; S. Storz, “Fragmente der Innenvorderung des Mars-Ultor-Tempels und ihrer Renaissance-Darstellungen,” in *Kaiser Augustus* 172–84. For photographs of the best preserved of the surviving pilaster capitals (here fig. 8; inv. no. 2514), cf. La Rocca et al. (supra n. 10) 134–35 (color); Zanker (supra n. 21) pls. 16–17; Ganzert and Kockel (supra n. 20) 183–84; Ungaro and Milella (supra n. 11) 20–23. For the sculpture and trophies in the apse: H. Martin, “Die Tempelkultbilder,” in *Kaiser Augustus* 255–57; Zanker (supra n. 21) 18, 19, 22, fig. 47; Zanker 1988 196–97.
32 *LTUR* I 125–26, sv. Argiletum (E. Tortorici) suggests this was originally the home of Sextus Pompey.
of the Baslian order. It remained in almost continuous use for a variety of purposes until 1945 when the Military Order of Malta rented the building and further restored the arcade, reopened the original arches, and transformed the space into a small, elegantly appointed chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist.

Post-Antique history. Several recent investigations have traced the post-Antique fortunes of the site. In the Early Middle Ages, the Forum rapidly disappeared. The Temple of Mars Ultor lost its north and west (front) columns, probably as the result of deliberate spoliation, prompted perhaps by the newly marshy character of the area that resulted from blockage of the Cloaca Maxima (hence the medieval name for the neighborhood, *i pantani*, “the marshes”). The surviving columns of the temple were attributed to the Forum of Nerva; the fire wall behind them to the Forum of Trajan. Finally, in the ninth century, after the Baslian monks built their oratory and cloister in the ruins of the temple, the site became known as the “Foro di S. Basilio.” The oratory occupied the back of the temple. The monks cut a still extant crypt into its podium and erected a Romanesque belfry (gradually removed after 1838) on the architrave of the three still upright exterior columns on the south lateral facade.

This new establishment eventually included the block of structures on the podium of the temple (the “palazzo vecchio”) and one (the “palazzo nuovo”) raised over the Roman Building of the House of the Knights of Rhodes. This second structure occupied the space between the Augustan retaining wall against the Quirinal Hill (part of the original Forum), the Hall of the Colossus, and the north hemisphere. There was a cloister between the two medieval blocks either at the entrance of the Forum or in the Hall of the Colossus. In 1566, Pope Pius V gave these buildings to the Dominican Nuns of the Annunci-
of the plaza. Their dimensions and structural characteristics, which also strongly resemble those of the Temple of Minerva, led Bauer to identify them as the remains of the Temple of Janus mentioned in several ancient and medieval sources. Excavations in 1985–1986 and in 1988 showed, however, that these foundations underlie strata of the late Flavian period, a second-century (?) drain, and a marble pavement of the fifth century. Thus, since the Temple of Janus is attested in the Roman Forum until at least the sixth century, these could not have been its foundations. Instead they may belong to a second Domitianic temple apparently abandoned after its northwest corner had settled and badly cracked.

Excavations. Edoardo Tortorici (Istituto Archeologico, Università di Catania) has kindly furnished the following report on his 1995 season in the Forum Transitorium/Nerva:

Background. The area behind the Curia and the Basilica Aemilia is of particular interest due to the conjunction of several monumental complexes, including the Forum Iulium, the Forum Transitorium, and (in part) the Temple of Peace. We should recall that ancient literary and epigraphic sources name numerous other monuments in this same zone: the Chalcidicum (constructed by Augustus with the Curia Julia), the Atrium Minervae, the Temple of Janus, and the Secretarium Senatus. The question of the exact location and interpretation of the last monument was posed immediately after R. Lanciani's identification of the Curia Senatus with the Church of S. Adriano. In order to attempt clarification of these problems, an extensive program of excavation was undertaken in 1985, 1986, and 1988. This project was carried out with the generous collaboration of the Ancient Topography Section of the Department of the Sciences of Antiquity of the Università di Roma and the Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma.

The remains of a pavement of peperino slabs came to light at various points in the areas of the Curia and the Forum Iulium. This pavement is broken by the foundations of the Forum Iulium already identified in part by N. Lamboglia. These foundations should be connected with the reconstruction of the Curia Hostilia in 80 B.C.

The main result of the excavation in this area is the recognition of two distinct phases in the construction of the Forum Iulium. The first (represented by the double colonnade and a part of the pavement of the plaza) is related to the inauguration of the Forum by Caesar in 46 B.C. The second may be attributed to Augustus's project (29 B.C.) and includes the construction of the Curia Julia, the foundations of which have been found as well as those of another colonnade connected with the entrance to the Forum. Of particular importance is the fact that both the east wall of the Curia and the front portico rest on a single continuous concrete foundation, constituting a unified facade with a stair on the axis of the Argiletum (the curbs and some of the paving slabs of which have been found). This new evidence permits us to address the problem of the identification of the Chalcidicum. Since one reads in Augustus's Res Gestae "Curia et continens ei Chalcidicum . . . feci" (Mon. Anc. 4.19) and since it is now established that the Augustan phase in the Forum Iulium consists of the Curia and the colonnade on the Argiletum, one might identify this front colonnade as the Chalcidicum.

In excavations behind the Basilica Aemilia and on the south side of the Forum Transitorium, numerous features have been found: a pavement of peperino slabs with foundations and column bases, concrete foundations, and brick structures. They belong to various periods of construction from the third century B.C. to the Julio-Claudian period and were subsequently destroyed by the Domitianic foundations for the Forum Transitorium. These remains should probably be connected with the Macellum (the general market located in the area behind the Basilica Aemilia) and with its internal divisions (the Forum Piscatorium and the Forum Cuppedinis).

The entire Macellum sector was completely leveled.

45 Morselli and Tortorici (supra n. 35) 50–51, 62, 244, 246–48; Bauer and Morselli (supra n. 35) 310; Meneghini (supra n. 35) 20–23.

50 Cf., e.g., Livy 27.11.16.
and modified for the construction of the south side of the Forum Transitorium, of which two massive, curved concrete foundations survive. The southern foundations bear traces of blocks later carried off and indicate the existence of a Domitianic structure (later modified after an earthquake) that preceded the construction of a temple (Templum Iani?) placed at the center of the short (west) side of the Forum. The marble slabs of the Forum pavement have also been found in many spots.

A rather complex situation is documented in the sector bounded by the Forum of Caesar, the Curia, and the Forum Transitorium. As previously mentioned, the east side of the Curia and the entrance portico of the Forum of Caesar overlook the course of the Argiletum, the ancient street connecting the Forum Romanum and the Subura. In this case also the construction of the Forum Transitorium led to the complete obliteration of the earlier structures. Corresponding with the course of the Argiletum, a new branch of the Cloaca Maxima was constructed, in place of the channel of the Republican period. It was linked to the foundations of the Forum Transitorium by a relieving arch with peperino voussoirs that constitutes the foundation of the principal entrance to the Forum Transitorium from the side of the Forum Romanum.

By identifying the structure preserved in the church of the Military Order of Malta as the house of the consul Sextus Pompeius and the remains of the Macellum, these excavations have both clarified the Republican topography of the zone later occupied by imperial fora and emphasized the residential and commercial aspects of the Argiletum Quarter.

The 1995 season. The area investigated during 1995 is bounded by the Via dei Fori Imperiali, the Largo Romolo e Remo, and the Via della Curia. This zone was selected because it lies on one of the most interesting intersections of the imperial fora: the junction of the Forum Transitorium and the Fora of Caesar and Augustus with the Forum Romanum. Work began with preliminary test trenches in 1983 and a first season of excavation in 1989-1990. The project was formulated in 1982 by the Ancient Topography Section of the Department of the Sciences of Antiquity of the University of Rome and is a part of a larger program of restructuring and reordering the imperial fora organized by the Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma in collaboration with the Comune di Roma. The excavations are being executed under the direction of Department 10 of the City of Rome (represented by Eugenio La Rocca) and with the collaboration of the Ancient Topography Section of the Roman Athenaeum (Paolo Sommella). The project aims at documenting a key point in the topography of the Forum Transitorium with particular focus on the paths of communication between the Forum Transitorium and the other fora. In fact, the very position of the Domitianic plaza compressed between the Fora of Caesar, Augustus, and the Temple of Peace, determines its narrow elongated form. The only part of the complex visible today, in addition to the sector already excavated in 1985–1988 behind the Basilica Aemilia, is the north part with the remains of the Temple of Minerva and the southern enclosure wall (the “Colonnaccio”). In addition to elucidating the organization of the Domitianic plan, the excavations aim to provide new information for the study of the pre- and post-Imperial phases.

For the Middle Ages in particular, information has until now been limited to what could be derived from source materials or from studies of city maps or archival material. It is well known, in fact, that the 1928–1932 demolition and excavation for the opening of the Via dell’Impero (today the Via dei Fori Imperiali) radically changed the aspect of the zone, erasing entire blocks created by centuries of building projects. The opening of the large boulevard caused both the complete demolition of the area between Via Alessandrina and Via Cremona, from Piazza Venezia to the intersection of Via Cavour, and the removal of the ridge of the Velia from that point to the Colosseum. The appearance of this quarter has been reconstructed from archival cadastral plans made before the demolition. The work of the 1930s, conducted in a hasty and chaotic fashion, resulted in the disappearance of numerous monuments and of an entire neighborhood laid out in the 16th century, including churches, monasteries, and more ancient sites of worship.

After the removal of the asphalt and the superficial strata, the new excavations have brought to light ample evidence of the neighborhood demolished in the 1930s (figs. 1–2). The buildings in question are those found in the zone bounded by the Via Bonella, the Via della Salaria Vecchia, and the Via della Croce Bianca. The ground floors and especially the cellars of these buildings (which have been found practically intact and filled with detritus) are preserved. This area is part of the quarter to the north of the Forum Romanum that dates to the pontificate of Pius V (end of the 16th century). The major effort undertaken at that time to sanitize and urbanize the zone gave it a lasting form that remained unchanged until the projects of the 1930s.

The excavations under the street level of the Via
della Croce Bianca, which in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance corresponded to the route of the ancient Argiletum, have likewise brought to light a series of medieval and Renaissance levels of use. Of particular interest is a large trench, in part already explored by A.M. Colini between 1926 and 1928, that, at a depth of about 6 m, reaches the level of the pavement of the open area in the Forum Transitorium.\textsuperscript{51}

This pavement is composed of large rectangular white marble slabs (each 2.20 × 1.15 m or 7.5 × 4 Roman ft) on which stand some medieval structures.

Among these is a large square building with walls made of chunks of marble (figs. 1, 3–4). This is one of the few pieces of evidence for the appearance of the zone in the Middle Ages, when buildings constructed of reused material were built directly on top of ancient monuments no longer in use (fig. 5). At the points where the paving slabs of the plaza were lacking, it was possible to dig deeper and to uncover the remains of large concrete foundations that predate the construction of the Forum Transitorium (the quarter of the Argiletum, perhaps the Macellum). Also of interest is the excavation of a cell of a building on Via Salaria Vecchia. There the foundations of the north enclosure wall of the Forum Transitorium were found to border on the foundations of the east colonnade of the Forum of Caesar.

In the near future we aim to excavate the entire sector in order to connect the new excavations with the area previously excavated between 1985 and 1988 behind the Curia and the Basilica Aemilia. It should then be possible to bring to light at least two-thirds

\textsuperscript{51} Morselli and Tortorici (supra n. 35) 104–10, figs. 76–81, 110–22, 127.
Fig. 2. Excavations in the Forum Transitorium (1995). Architectural fragments. (Photo J.E. Packer)

Fig. 3. Excavations in the Forum Transitorium (1996), looking northwest toward the Curia Julia. On the right, the east wall of the Carolingian house is fully exposed. (Photo J.E. Packer)
of the Forum Transitorium, the whole front portico of the Forum of Caesar, and a great part of the front enclosure wall of the Temple of Peace.\textsuperscript{52}

\textit{The Porticus Apsidata}

Heinrich Bauer’s detailed study of the surviving remains has produced a new reconstruction of this previously virtually unknown building.\textsuperscript{53} An irregular structure built into the semicircular space behind the Forum Transitorium and between the Forum of Peace and the Forum of Augustus, the Porticus Apsidata, according to Bauer, consisted of a horseshoe-shaped central hall 17 m wide and 14.5 m deep. Behind the hall ran a semicircular corridor with one-story extensions on the north and south. This corridor provided access to the three adjacent imperial fora: on the north, to the south lateral colonnade in the Forum of Augustus; on the south, to the Temple of Peace; and on the west, to the Forum Transitorium. On the east, the roofed central hall was open to the Argileteum. The north and south wings had, respectively, three and one bays, and in terms of its width and height, the central hall was designed as a square. The piers that delimited this space were decorated with two superimposed orders of fluted Corinthian pilasters separated by a low attic.

Conceived as a scenic termination to the Argileteum and a monumental entrance to the imperial fora from the Subura and the Quirinal Hill, the Porticus Apsidata was a unique and original monument. Its axially asymmetrical plan owed more to the traditions of Hellenistic stoa and Late Republican monuments such as the Tablularium, the Regia, and the Basilica Aemilia than to the other imperial fora. While providing a suitably grand entrance to the imperial fora from the east, the porticus carefully

\textsuperscript{52} By July 1996 (figs. 3–4), Tortorici’s crew had completely disinterred his “large square building” (which proved to be an aristocratic, arcaded Carolingian dwelling of a type previously unknown in Rome), the foundation of the west section of the “Colonnace” wall, and part of the abutting brick-faced wall from the Temple/Forum of Peace revealed earlier by A.M. Colini: Colini (supra n. 1) 22–23, figs. 10–11. With funding granted the Comune di Roma by the Italian State for the “anno del giubileo” (2000) the excavators hope to excavate nearly the entire west side of the Via dei Fori Imperiali, from the Forum of Caesar to the southwest corner of the Temple/Forum of Peace.

\textsuperscript{53} Bauer (supra n. 35) 119–23; H. Bauer, “Porticus Apsidata,” \textit{RM} 90 (1983) 111–84; Bauer and Morselli (supra n. 35) 308.
masked the character of its neighbors from visitors coming from the Argiletum. Clad entirely in white marble, its sober Corinthian arcades gave no hint of the vast, axially symmetrical spaces, polychrome marbles, and gilded bronze ornaments of the fora beyond. Thus, in some ways the Porticus Apsidata was the architectural antithesis of its imperial neighbors, yet like them, it manipulated the sensibilities of its visitors, concealing, then revealing, the architectural wonders for which it was the engagingly sober vestibule.

**Forum of Trajan**

The Forum of Trajan probably began as a Domitianic project. To prepare for it, Domitian’s engineers terraced the Quirinal Hill, and cutting the Aqua Marcia, which had originally served the Capitoline, installed the existing “Terrace of Domitian,” originally a huge nymphaeum that marked the new terminus of the Aqua Marcia. Since the Terrace is not aligned with the later Forum of Trajan and since the Markets of Trajan have recently been securely dated to the principate of Trajan, Domitian’s original project must have been drastically redesigned by Trajan and his architect, Apollodorus of Damascus, after the former’s accession, with the Great Hall of the Markets (fig. 6: level IV, room 19) being located near what may have been the site of the Porta Sanquasilis in the Servian Walls. Since the early 1980s, the pace of research on the monument has steadily quickened, concentrating on four principal objectives.

**Documentation.** Under the direction of Lucrezia Ungaro and the late Luigi Messa, Studio Tau of Rome has produced new plans, sections, and elevations of the Markets of Trajan. For the Forum of Trajan, Ungaro and Roberto Meneghini have supervised the cleaning and publication of many surviving archi-
Fig. 6. The Markets of Trajan, levels IV and V, plan. (L. Messa, Comune di Roma)
Architectural reconstructions. Gismondi's reconstruction of the Forum of Trajan for the model of Constantinian Rome in the Museum of Roman Civilization has long been on display—if little discussed—but his reconstructions of the east colonnade and hemicycle and the West Library, executed in 1940, have only recently been published.60

The two most recent studies of the buildings of the Forum differ significantly. Carla Amici concentrates on the Basilica Ulpia and the West Library.61 For her, the Basilica Ulpia has a closed south facade with a high attic decorated with statues of Dacian prisoners. Second-story windows and a third-floor clerestory illuminate the nave, and the double colonnades that frame the nave support shallow barrel vaults with wide terraces above. Timber trusses roof the nave and the east and west apses, and in the apses, the columns of the first-story frame niches. In Amici's reconstruction of the West Library, the front colonnade supports a flat terrace, and a timber-truss roof shelters a colonnaded interior lit by second-story windows in the north and south walls.

In my study with Sarrning, the Basilica Ulpia has an open colonnaded facade.62 The pavonazzoeto shafts of its Corinthian columns would have contrasted with the giallo antico shafts of the columns on the three projecting porches. Square in north–south section, the two-story interior was lighted through the south colonnade and through the columns of a second-story Ionic colonnade that was supported by barrel vaults over the double Corinthian colonnade around the nave.63 In each of the apses, two superimposed Corinthian orders flanked first-floor niches and second-floor windows. In the Packer/Sarrning reconstruction of the West Library, windows set into the groin-vaulted ceiling provided light from all four sides. G. Piazzesi, Sarrning, and I follow Gismondi in reconstructing the east colonnade (not considered by Amici) as a long portico set on a low podium.64 Piazzesi assumes that the entablature of the Corinthian order had a frieze of griffins and candelabra; Sarrning and I suggest a frieze of lotus, acanthus plants, and palmettes.65 In both reconstructions, Dacian atlantes, positioned above the first-


L. Ungaro and D. Silenzi, "Nota tecnica sulla pianta ar- cheologica del Foro di Traiano," BullCom 95:2 (1993) 174–81, figs. 96–105, where sheet nos. 2–3, 6–9, 11, 13–14 of the Getty Plan of the Forum are reproduced. Published without the permission of the Getty Research Institute, joint owner with the Comune di Roma of the plan, and without consultation with me, these sheets are printed at a size so small that the all-important architectural and archaeological details cannot be read clearly, and the connection of the individual sheets to the whole plan is not indicated. For the relationship of the topography of the site to the Getty Plan, see Packer 1997 (supra n. 3) III, fol. 0. With instructions for use, reproductions of the revised originals of the sheets published by Ungaro and Silenzi—and of the Getty Plan as whole—appear in Packer 1997 (supra n. 3) I, 83, 288–91; III, fols. 0–21, fols. 1–15 at the (original) scale of 1:50.

59 I am extremely grateful to R. Meneghini for furnish-
floor columns, line the attic. For Sarring and me an elaborately decorated wood and stucco vault conceals the structure of the timber-truss roof from the interior. Like Gismondi, we restore the interior of the east hemicycle as a two-story hall with two superimposed orders of pilasters. Those below frame niches with statues; those above, windows. I also discuss the evidence for the unexcavated monuments of the Forum: the south enclosure wall and its three arches and the temenos and temple of the Divine Trajan.

The Column of Trajan. The origins of this unique monument have been frequently reviewed. Its form has been linked to funeral columns and the spiral friezes have been connected with the paintings on wooden panels displayed during triumphs or the embroidered fabric used to drape pilasters or columns on festive occasions. Despite a recent attempt to attribute the reliefs on the shaft to Trajan's successor, Hadrian, who would thus have remodeled the originally undecorated Column and been totally responsible for the design and construction of the Temple of the Divine Trajan, many scholars have preferred to integrate the Column conceptually with the rest of the Forum and to interpret its design on several different levels. For the ancients, it was a shrine, height marker, and tomb. Located in a position analogous to the site of a shrine for military standards in a Roman camp, its location between the East and West Libraries emphasized Trajan's sapientia while its reliefs memorialized his extraordinary military achievements—the justification for the exceptional honor of a burial inside the pomerium. In style and content these reliefs were closely linked with those of the other buildings in the Forum, and like them the Column was part of a unified "master plan" that included the eventual completion of a temple to the deified Trajan.

The Markets of Trajan after Antiquity. Originally, what Corrado Ricchi christened the "Markets of Trajan" were, administratively speaking, part of the Forum of Trajan. Its most impressive space, the Great Hall (fig. 6; level IV, room 19) has survived virtually intact, although the separations between the bays of its otherwise well preserved groin vault disappeared as a result of 16th-century alterations for the nunnery of St. Catherine. In the Early Middle Ages, a contingent of Byzantine soldiers, militiae Tiberianae, named for the Byzantine emperor Tiberius I

dated to the last years of the second century, the inscription (Unità stratigrafica 69) reads: SVCCVRA HORATII ROGATI PROC(uratoris) [AVG(vsti) N(ostris) FOR(i) DIVI TR(iani) EX IG(ris) [:: - ::] [:: - ::]. This inscription probably belongs to a restoration of the Markets by Septimius Severus: La Rocca 1995 (supra n. 9) 227; La Rocca et al. (supra n. 10) 140. Recent studies of brick stamps from the Markets also confirms that the Markets were contemporary with the Forum: Lancaster (supra n. 55) 25–44; La Rocca et al. (supra n. 10) 139–40 (see above, n. 55). Despite Bianchini's recent argument to the contrary, the façade of the hemicycle of the Markets was probably designed to be seen only from the street behind the east hemicycle of the Forum: Bianchini (supra n. 55) 117.

Former frieze for the entablature of the east colonnade, cf. Packer 1992 (supra n. 61) 155, n. 18; Packer 1997 (supra n. 3) I, 43–47 n. 42, 345–46 cat. no. 125, n. 1.

Packer and Sarring (supra n. 62) 86–87; Packer 1997 (supra n. 3) I, 106–107, fig. 62; 266–67, fig. 150; 427; III, fol. 26. Cf. Bauer's reconstruction of the interiors of the colonnades in the Forum of Augustus (see above, n. 23).

This reconstruction is based on that of Gismondi: Pensabene et al. (supra n. 3) 208, figs. 108, 110; Packer 1997 (supra n. 3) I, 99–108, 110, fig. 66; 266–67, fig. 150; 424–25; II, pls. 53–53.3; III, cols. 26, 32.


The two most complete recent bibliographies of the Column are J.C.N. Coulston, "Three New Books on Trajan's Column," JRA 3 (1990) 308–309 and LTUR II, 359. The first includes works peripherally related to the study of the Column, the second focuses more narrowly on the Column itself.


J. Packer, "Trajan's Forum Again: The Column and Temple of Trajan in the Master Plan Attributed to Apollodorus of Damascus?" JRA 7 (1994) 163–82. The discovery by Meneghini that the temenos wall of the Temple of Trajan is bonded to (and therefore contemporary with) the north wall of the East Library proves definitively that the temple and the rest of the Forum were parts of the same project (even if Hadrian finally completed and dedicated the temple): Meneghini (supra n. 59) 16, "linsieme (the east wall of the temenos and the north wall of the East Library) appare omogeneo a un'unica fase costruttiva."

For the Column, see now P. Davies, "The Politics of Perpetuation: Trajan's Column and the Art of Commemora-

Constantine (578–582), occupied the Markets, giving the upper section the appellation de militis, a term subsequently applied to the church and the tower ("Torre delle Milizie") on this site. The medieval name "Magnapoli" later used for the zone also commemorated the militiae of the sixth century. At the end of the 12th century, a palace occupied the "Giardino delle Milizie." Constructed over what was probably an upper section of the Markets of Trajan, it overlooked a square with travertine pavement of Early Imperial date.

The extant Torre delle Milizie (fig. 6: level V, no. 41) was originally a long loggia connected with this palace. One side of the tower was an arcade. On two other sides were sets of triple windows framed by brick arcades supported by reused Roman capitals and columns. Between the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century, the loggia was converted into a high rectangular tower with relatively thin walls broken by windows and buttressed at the corners. In the last phase of construction, completed before 1280 by Pandolfo della Subura, the adjacent palace was finally demolished, and a new exterior shell enclosed the original tower creating a structure with massive walls externally articulated into three stories, each set back from the one below. The Annibaldi later incorporated this tower into a castle. Its remains are still visible in the foundations of the 15th-century structure built on the ruins of the Markets, in the foundations east of and adjacent to the wall of the Great Hall (fig. 6: level IV, room 19) and under the choir behind the west facade of the church of St. Catherine of Siena.

Throughout the 14th century, the Annibaldi and the Caetani alternately controlled this fortress, and in 1392, it passed to the Conti. In 1349, the upper stories of the Torre delle Milizie collapsed in an earthquake. They were not restored: methods of warfare had changed and the property was no longer useful as a fortress, although its chief features, the Torre, the Great Hall of the Markets, and its large hemicycle were still neighborhood landmarks. In the 16th century, the Dominicans transformed the old fortress into a convent dedicated to St. Catherine of Siena at Magnapoli. The military school that later displaced that order was removed between 1911 and 1914, and, while the Torre delle Milizie was isolated and restored, a large part of the monastery was demolished. Another section of the monastery was taken down between 1927 and 1932 when the Fascist regime cleared and consolidated the Markets, and only a wing behind the modern Church of St. Catherine of Siena at Magnapoli still survives along the Salita del Grillo (fig. 6).

THE EXHIBITION "THE PLACES OF IMPERIAL CONSENT: THE FORUM OF AUGUSTUS, THE FORUM OF TRAJAN"

First opened to the public in the Markets of Trajan in the second half of 1995, this exhibition marks the beginning of a new phase in the modern history of the imperial fora. For over 30 years after the Second World War, their grandiose monuments languished unstudied and undermaintained—indeed, all but abandoned on either side of the Via dei Fori Imperiali. But now on the eve of a jubilee planned for the year 2000, a projected new Museum of the Imperial Fora is at last taking shape. To be opened for the jubilee, this museum will, in the words of Francesco Rutelli, the present mayor of Rome, "present to Rome—and the whole world" a fully explored archaeological area that will involve "regularization of access, organization of activities involving citizens and tourists, . . . the welding of the area to other relevant surrounding areas, . . . the development of research, and archaeological excavation," and the ability to harmonize and satisfy better the demands of both tourists and scholars.

According to E. La Rocca, Sovraintendente dei musei, gallerie, monumenti e scavi di Roma, this new museum will be "one of the most extraordinary in the world." New subterranean galleries, in part already existing, will link the fora on both sides of a still intact Via dei Fori Imperiali. Excavations in the gardens ("esedra arborea") designed on either side of this boulevard in the 1930s by Antonio Muñoz, will reveal famous monuments that are at present still interred: the triumphal arch at the entrance to the Forum of Trajan, the west end of the Forum of Augustus with (perhaps) additional evidence for the

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74 Ungaro and Messa (supra n. 73) 28, give the evolution of the term as follows: bannum (proclamation) and nepol (new military citadel): hence de balsae Nepo, balae Nepo (whence the Renaissance name for the Markets of Trajan, Balsae Pauli) and the 15th-century Montis Manzianopolis.

75 La Rocca et al. (supra n. 10) 138–41.

76 Ungaro and Messa (supra n. 73) 27–28, fig. 7.

77 La Rocca et al. (supra n. 10) 140–41, 162–65; Meneghini (supra n. 56) 62, fig. 67.


79 La Rocca et al. (supra n. 10) 7.
positions of the statues of the “summi viri,” and at the respective centers of the Fora of Augustus and Trajan, the foundations for the famous equestrian statue of Trajan and the pedestal for the quadriga of Augustus. Walks in the open through old and new excavated areas will alternate with routes through enclosed halls. In the Markets and in what are now storerooms under Muñoz’s gardens, galleries will shelter precious marble fragments of architecture and sculpture that can on no account be left to the mercies of a still heavily polluted external environment. Modern computer systems will help the visitor interpret the monuments and understand their sculptural decoration and architecture.80

The present exhibition is a laudable first attempt to make the antiquities of the Fora of Augustus and Trajan more accessible to a curious and interested public. The visitor enters the exhibition from the Via Quattro Novembre through the Great Hall of the Markets (fig. 6: level IV, room 19). In its center, fragments from the two fora lie scattered in picturesque profusion: parts of cipollino columns and a capital from the upper order of the Basilica Ulpia; a two-piece cornice from the Forum of Augustus; a fragment of a clipeus frame from the attic of the east colonnade of the Forum of Trajan; and a giallo antico shaft from the interior of his temple. The shops on either side of the hall serve as separate display spaces. In the first room on the west side (fig. 6: level IV, room 17) is a pictorial history of the imperial fora and the Markets of Trajan from antiquity to the present. Plans and photographs detail the modern project that will unite these remains into a single grandiose museum financed with state funds of 4.5 billion lire.

Displays in the next room (fig. 6: level IV, room 16) feature the Forum of Augustus, its archaeology, pre-imperial and imperial, and its decorative program. Photographs and drawings document the excavations that have produced burials from the Iron Age (900–830 B.C.), cleared major parts of the forum, and investigated the medieval buildings that occupied parts of the site. Some illustrations reconstruct the colonnades that flanked the plaza and show fragments of the statues of the “summi viri” once displayed in the hemicycles. Other exhibits document the Hall of the Colossus. Plans, old photographs, and a beaux-arts watercolor show the state of the Forum in the “post-classical” age. For the excavations of the 1950s, which cleared and consolidated a large part of the monument, and the subsequent modern history of the zone, there are photographs of the excavations, Gismondi’s north–south section through the existing ruins,81 and plans, sections, and reconstructions of the Roman Building of the Knights of Rhodes.

The third room (fig. 6: level IV, room 15) introduces the Forum of Trajan. Color views from the air and ground level show its present state, and graphic reconstructions, based on the post-1932 restoration by Gismondi for the model of Constantinian Rome, give an idea of the original appearance.82 A photograph of the famous frieze of cupids and lion-griffins now in the Museo Pio Gregoriano of the Vatican (inv. nos. 9648, 9700) represents an element no longer at the site. Photographs of fragments that are — and that illustrate the decorative program of the Forum — include statues of Dacian prisoners, a frieze of weapons, probably from the attic of the south (Forum) facade of the Basilica Ulpia, and the over life-size heads from the attic of the east colonnade. Additional photographs and texts review Meneghini’s 1991 excavation along the south perimeter wall.83

In the fourth room (fig. 6: level IV, room 14) are illustrations of the present state of the Torre delle Milizie and views of both the 1989–1990 excavations in the Markets of Trajan and the recent work of consolidating the facade of the large hemicycle (1991). A drawing shows the Forum of Trajan in the early Middle Ages, and there are several views of the post-Antique sections of the Markets. An additional series of photographs illustrate the marble-working techniques used on various architectural fragments on the site. The fifth room (fig. 6: level IV, room 13) houses a restored, elaborately decorated Asiatic base from the interior of the lower order in the Temple of Mars Ultor and Gismondi’s well-known reconstruction model (scale 1:50) of the east section of the Forum of Augustus (fig. 7).84 This model can now be compared with the two models of the Forum in its present state that are displayed in the opposite room (fig. 6: level IV, room 7). Made in 1987, these models are based on the research of Joachim Ganzert and were executed by Bernt Grimm and Jan Cristophe

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80 La Rocca et al. (supra n. 10) 10–11.
81 Dated 1950: Gismondi (supra n. 18) 345–47, figs. 50a–c.
82 Ungaro and Milella (supra n. 11) 16–17.
84 J. Ganzert, in Kaiser Augustus 163–64.
Fig. 7. Italo Gismondi’s model of the Forum of Augustus. (Photo J.E. Packer)

Krag. They were originally displayed in the 1988 “Kaiser Augustus” exhibition in Berlin and, like Gismondi’s model, are also at scales of 1:50.85

Room 7 completes the introduction to the two fora, and the following rooms on the first and second floors of the Great Hall display fragments from the Fora of Augustus and Trajan. In the suite behind the wide shop door at the southeast corner of the Great Hall (fig. 6: level IV, rooms 8–12) is a selection of choice sculptural and architectural fragments from the Forum of Augustus (fig. 8),86 and in the other rooms on the first floor (level IV, rooms 3–5) and in the ancient official apartment on the floor above the Great Hall (fig. 6: level V, rooms 14–27) the exhibition concludes with sculpture and architectural elements from the Forum of Trajan (figs. 9–10).87

85 J. Ganzert and V. Kockel (supra n. 20) 158–66.

86 The following citations refer to Ungaro and Milella (supra n. 11).

Room 8. Lion’s head spouts from the exterior cornice of the Temple of Mars Ultor: 28–31, cat. no. 4, inv. no. 2543; cat. no. 5, inv. no. 2574; Corinthianizing capital (here fig. 8), Pegasus figures in place of the canonical volutes, from the interior of the Temple of Mars Ultor: 20–23, cat. no. 1, inv. no. 2514; undecorated white marble asiatic pilaster base from the same order as the Pegasus capital: 24–25, cat. no. 2, inv. no. 2515.

Room 9. Fragments of caryatids from the lateral porticoes in the plaza. Plinth with part of the dress and feet: 34–35, cat. no. 6, inv. no. 3204; hand with patera: 36–37, cat. no. 7, inv. no. 2508; forearm with bracelet: 38–39, cat. no. 8, inv. no. 2502; wrist with pearl bracelet: 38–39, cat. no. 9, inv. no. 2501; forearm with serpentiform bracelet in three coils: 40–41, cat. no. 10, inv. no. 2503; forearm with serpentiform bracelet: 40–41, cat. no. 11, inv. no. 2505. Ammon heads from the imagines clipeatae on the attic bays of the lateral colonnades. Head of Jupiter Ammon: 44–45, cat. no. 12, inv. no. 2513; upper section of a similar head: 46–47, cat. no. 13, inv. no. 3201.

Room 10. Parian marble fragments of a group of Mars and Venus: 48–49, cat. no. 14, inv. no. 2563; over life-size gilded bronze foot of Venus from the pediment of the Temple of Mars Ultor or the chariot group of Augustus in front of the temple: 50–51, cat. no. 15, inv. no.

Room 11 (circular chamber). Fragments of the statues of the summi viri from the lateral hemicycles: 52–81, cat. nos. 16–28, inv. nos. 2559, 2564, 2507, 2560, 2562, 3202, 2558, 2571, 2565–66, 2570, 3203, 2578; fragments of frieze of draped female figures with festoons: 82–90, cat. nos. 29–38, inv. nos. 2546, 2550, 2552, 2547, 2553, 2551, 2544, 2554, 2555, 2545.

Room 12. Seated female statue (no catalogue entry).

87 Unless otherwise indicated, the following citations refer to Ungaro and Milella (supra n. 11).

Level IV, room 3. Griffin and candelabra frieze from the peristyle around the Column of Trajan (here fig. 10): 220–21, cat. no. 103, inv. no. 4000.

Room 4. Large, circular frame from an imago clipeata with an inset cuirassed bust from the attic of the east colonnade (here fig. 9): 130–33, cat. no. 61, inv. no. 6118 (bust); 236–37, cat. no. 110, inv. no. 4037 (frame).

Room 5. Fragment of the architravefrieze with lotus and palmette from the upper interior level of the West Library: 228–31, cat. no. 107, inv. nos. 3087–88.

Level V, room 15. Seated draped male figure in Parian marble: 122–23, cat. no. 58, inv. no. 6102.
The exhibition is not without its problems. As its designers admit, it provides only a partial view of the rich remains of the Fora of Augustus and Trajan. Of the thousands of fragments of sculpture and architecture that still survive from each forum, only 110 objects appear in this exhibition, and of these, nearly a third are illustrated in the catalogue but are not displayed. After the didactic exhibits in the rooms on either side of the Great Hall of the Markets (fig. 6: level IV, rooms 7, 13–17), the actual fragments are arranged apparently at random, beginning with the assortment of architectural elements from both fora that serve as miscellaneous scenery at the center of the Great Hall. On the east side of the Hall (fig. 6: level IV, rooms 3–5), the architectural fragments from the Forum of Trajan, one in each room, are positioned without any logical connection either to their place in the catalogue or to their original architectural setting. Material from the Forum of Trajan is inexplicably divided between the lower

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**Room 16.** Two over life-size figures from the niches in the interior of the east hemicycle: Togatus: 134–35, cat. no. 62, inv. no. 6120; and an imperial figure in a cuirass (Trajan?): 136–37, cat. no. 63, inv. 6121. Two over life-size heads from the imagines clipeatae on the attic of the east colonnade. Agrippina the Younger: 124–25, cat. no. 59, inv. no. 6116; and a Divus Pater Traianus or Nerva: 126–29, cat. no. 60, inv. no. 6117. On these heads, cf. also Packer 1997 (supra n. 3) I, 102, figs. 57, 58, 380–82, cat. nos. 190–91; II, microfiches nos. 286–87.

**Room 17.** Fragments of panels with representations of weapons, probably from the facade of the Basilica Ulpia: 138–93, cat. nos. 64–91. On these reliefs, cf. also L. Ungaro and L. Messa, "Paneli con rilievi d'armi del Foro di Traiano: Nota preliminare," in Pensabene et al. (supra n. 3) 215–36; Ungaro et al. (supra n. 57) 154–56; and Packer 1997 (supra n. 3) I, 235, fig. 144; 275, fig. 152; 330, cat. no. 94 = inv. no. 397; II, pl. 86.1, microfiches 115–16; III, fol. 33.

**Rooms 20–22.** Statues of Dacian prisoners from the attics of the lateral colonnades and the Basilica Ulpia: The smaller ones in white marble belong to the colonnades: 110–18, cat. nos. 52–56, inv. nos. 6103, 6105, 6106, 6108, 6109 (cat. nos. 52–54, 56, inv. nos. 6103, 6105, 6106, 6109 are shown only in the catalogue). On inv. no. 6108, cf. also Ungaro et al. (supra n. 57) 152–54. The larger pavonazzetto torsos (the heads and hands were originally in white marble) come from the Basilica Ulpia: 104–105, cat. no. 48, inv. no. 6107; 106–107, cat. no. 49, inv. no. 6110; 108–109, inv. nos. 6104, 6113. Cat. nos. 46 (inv. no. 6101) and 47 and 50 (both cited as inv. no. 6104) appear only in the catalogue.

**Room 24.** Fragments of a frieze with alternating sphinxes and candelabra, probably from the peristyle around the Column of Trajan: 222–23, cat. no. 104, inv. nos. 3666, 3674, 5954, and inv. nos. 3684, 5456, 5957 (not in the catalogue).

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and upper floors of the Great Hall. In an exhibition in which half the objects are architectural, only one of these elements, a part of the architrave/frieze from the upper order of the West Library, is exhibited with a graphic reconstruction of its original architectural setting—and even that drawing, which illustrates the two superimposed interior orders of the West Library, does not indicate how the fragment fits into the upper order or what part the two orders played in the design of the Library.

While the two-volume catalogue describes the original setting of some of the fragments (and provides sumptuous close-up photographs of many of the fragments), its organization frequently bewilders the
reader. The inclusion in the catalogue of architectural and decorative elements not displayed increases the sense of disorientation, and some of the items treated in the catalogue are so fragmentary that it is difficult to understand why they merit such large-scale photographs and lengthy entries. Finally, while a number of new archaeological drawings appear in the catalogue, the most interesting omit the all-important scales, which appear elsewhere in other reproductions of the same drawings.

These are mere quibbles, however, in comparison with the extraordinary cooperative effort that lies behind this exhibition. All the objects on display or included in the catalogue (and thousands of the others that have been omitted) were, for the first time, inventoried, cleaned, and conserved. Many have been measured and drawn, and some of the largest have been moved to the Markets of Trajan and the store-rooms of the Basilica Ulpia under the park (“esedra arborea”) beside the Via dei Fori Imperiali where they will be safe from the elements. This work began in 1985 and it continues still. It will culminate in the grand Museum of the Imperial Fora. That achievement is some years in the future, but art historians, classicists, archaeologists, indeed all who enjoy viewing and learning about some of the most impressive monuments of Roman Imperial civilization owe a very great debt to La Rocca, and to Ungaro and Meneghini, the resident scholars in charge of the imperial fora, for preparing and mounting this splendid preview of the magnificent museum to come.

For example, a visitor interested in the clipeus frame and cuirassed bust in room 4 (here fig. 9, Ungaro and Milella [supra n. 11] cat. nos. 61, 110) finds them discussed and illustrated in three different locations (without cross-references): La Rocca et al. (supra n. 10) L. 107; Ungaro and Milella (supra n. 11) 130–33, and 236–39.

Drawings without scales: La Rocca et al. (supra n. 10) 60–61 (elevation of the House of the Knights of Rhodes); 65 (plan of the Hall of the Colossus); 67 (elevation of the north wall of the Hall of the Colossus); 71 (elevation of a Corinthian capital from the pilasters of the north wall of the Hall of the Colossus); 73 (reconstructions of the north and east walls of the Hall of the Colossus); 107 (here fig. 9, imago clipeata from the attic of the east colonnade of the Forum of Trajan); 121 (excavation plans of the southern perimeter wall of the Forum of Trajan); Ungaro and Milella (supra n. 11) 28 (reconstruction of the entablature and a Corinthian capital from the porch of the Temple of Mars Ultor); 82 (partial reconstruction of frieze with female figures and festoons from the Forum of Augustus); 100 (pavonazzetto Dacian atlas from the attic of the forum facade of the Basilica Ulpia); 106 (pavonazzetto Dacian atlases from the attic of the forum facade of the Basilica Ulpia); 110 (white marble Dacian atlas from the attic facade of the east colonnade); 138 (panel relief with frieze of arms from the attic facade of the Basilica Ulpia); 172 (fragment of the frieze of arms, cat. no. 81, inv. no. 436); 196 (slabs from a cupid and lion-griffin frieze, Vatican Museums nos. 9648, 9700); 198 (fragments of cornices from the entablature of the east colonnade, cat. no. 93, inv. nos. 5419, 5421); 200 (architrave/frieze block from the entablature of the east colonnade, cat. no. 94, inv. no. 2582); 222 (partial reconstruction of frieze with sphinxes and candelabra).

The Imperial Fora: Recent Interpretations

More than 60 years after the conclusion of the excavations in the imperial fora during the Fascist regime, the studies briefly outlined here have begun to supply us with the first accurate and detailed accounts of these important sites. For the Forum Iulium, Carla Amici has elucidated the various structural phases and offered convincing architectural reconstructions of the monuments. For the Forum of Augustus, Italo Gismondi’s drawings of the existing remains after the excavations of 1926–1929 are now available, and Joachim Ganzert and Valentin Kockel have clarified the structure, plan, and elevations of the Temple of Mars Ultor; the late Heinrich Bauer significantly revised Gismondi’s reconstructions of the lateral colonnades and hemicycles; and some of the most famous architectural sculptures are now on display to the public. For the Forum Transitorium, Chiara Morcelli and Edoardo Tortorici have published an account of the excavations of the mid-1980s. Bauer shed new light on an earlier phase of the Temple of Minerva and investigated the enigmatic foundations at the west end; Eve D’Ambra has studied the surviving reliefs on the frieze and attic of the south enclosure wall, the wall of the “Colonnacce”; and most recently, Tortorici has reopened and extended Antonio Colini’s test trenches of the 1930s. For the Porticus Apsidata, Bauer measured and studied the surviving fragments and published a reconstruction. For the Forum of Trajan, Gismondi’s reconstructions of the east colonnade and hemicycle...
have been published, an accurate archaeological map has been made, the fragments of sculpture and architecture have been (and are continuing to be) cleaned, photographed, drawn, studied, and displayed. There are several new reconstructions of the excavated buildings, and the medieval history of the Markets has been investigated.

These studies have sharply focused our attention on the interrelationships among the several imperial fora. Since they were built individually by successive dynasts over more than a century, they have been interpreted by some scholars as independent projects transformed into a closely integrated whole only later by the construction of the Forum of Trajan.\textsuperscript{93} In fact, however, each new forum was meticulously integrated with its predecessors from the time of Caesar. The Curia Julia demarcated both the east side of the Forum Romanum and the west side of the Forum of Caesar and established the overall orientation of the latter.\textsuperscript{94} Later imperial fora used the length of the Forum of Caesar as a module to establish major dimensions, and the north–south axis of the Forum of Peace determined that of the Forum of Trajan.\textsuperscript{95} The hemicycles in the Forum of Trajan were clearly related to those in the Forum of Augustus;\textsuperscript{96} and the Forum of Trajan was a reverse image of the Forum of Peace.\textsuperscript{97} Separating the constituent architectural elements of this model, Trajan's architect, Apollodorus of Damascus, used them as inspirations for larger and more complex buildings. The portico in front of the Temple of Peace thus became the Basilica Ulpia; the Temple of Peace, the Temple (and temenos) of the Divine Trajan. In terms of religion, also, the cults of the new fora related both to one another and to the earlier cults of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Juno Regina on the Capitoline Hill.\textsuperscript{98}

The architecture of each forum reinforced the general impression of unity. The ubiquitous Corinthian order linked all the new buildings visually. The dominant temples were raised on podia. Frontally oriented, axially symmetrical shrines with nearly identical plans, almost all the temples (except for the shafts on the porch of the Temple of the Divine Trajan) were of or faced with white marble.\textsuperscript{99} In the temples of Venus Genetrix, Mars Ultor, and the Divine Trajan, prostyle hexastyle or prostyle octastyle colonnades were terminated on the flanks by an extension of the rear wall of the cella.\textsuperscript{100} In all these shrines, a shallow apse framed the interior cult statue, and in the temples of Mars Ultor and Trajan, a large altar stood on axis with the front stairway.\textsuperscript{102} The similarly sized colonnades around the plazas all stood on podia,\textsuperscript{103} and some had high at-

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\textsuperscript{93} Gros and Torelli (supra n. 7) 186–87.
\textsuperscript{94} Blanckenhagen (supra n. 6) 25.
\textsuperscript{96} Blanckenhagen (supra n. 6) 24–25, echoed by Frazer (supra n. 95) 416.
\textsuperscript{97} Packer 1997 (supra n. 3) I, 261, 282.
\textsuperscript{99} The remains of the white marble shafts of the Temples of Venus Genetrix in the Forum of Caesar and of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus are still clearly visible. The columns of the porch of the Temple of Peace were probably of white marble. Fragments were discovered in 1875 under the courtyard of Via del Tempio della Pace, no. 7: Colini (supra n. 1) 14. The superstructure of the Temple of Minerva was of white marble, cf. Bauer 1988 (supra n. 40) 42, fig. 1, and the walls were of peperino veneered with (white) marble, cf. A. Palladio, \textit{The Four Books of Architecture} (New York 1965) 89. The fluted columns of the pronao may have been of white marble, although they are said to have been of pavonazzetto or (less probably) of africano, cf. J.B. Ward-Perkins, \textit{Roman Imperial Architecture} (Harmondsworth 1981) 77; and J.C. Anderson, \textit{The Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora} (CollLATomus 182, Brussels 1984) 132, n. 34. On the granite shafts of the Temple of Trajan, cf. Ward-Perkins, “Columna divi Antonini,” \textit{Mélanges d’histoire ancienne et d’archéologie offerts à Paul Collart} (Lausanne 1976) 351–52; J.T. Peña, "New Evidence for the Date of the Temple of the Divine Trajan in Rome," AFA 89 (1985) 346; and Peña, "P. Giss. 69: Evidence for the Supplying of Stone Transport Operations in Roman Egypt and the Production of Fifty-foot Monolithic Column Shafts," \textit{JRA} 2 (1989) 126–32, quoted in Packer 1997 (supra n. 3) I, 458–59.
\textsuperscript{100} Vitr. \textit{De Arch.} 3.2.5.
\textsuperscript{101} Apses are known in the Temples of Venus Genetrix and Mars Ultor. The Forum Urbis shows apses in the Temples of Peace and Minerva: G. Carettoni, A.M. Colini, L. Cozza, and G. Gatti, \textit{La pianta marmorea di Roma antica} I–II (Rome 1960) I, 73–74 (fragments 15a, 16); II, pl. 20. Bauer, however, reports that excavation has established that the "apse" of the Temple of Minerva was actually a rectangular recess, cf. Bauer (supra n. 53) 115, n. 11.
\textsuperscript{102} On the Temple of Mars Ultor, the altar was built into the stairs; the remains are clearly visible today. Photographs: Nash I, 401, fig. 490; La Rocca et al. (supra n. 10) 42–43; plans and elevation: Zanker (supra n. 21) folded pl. 1; Gismondi (supra n. 18) 343, fig. 49b (plan); 346, fig. 50b (elevation). The only evidence for the elevation of the Temple of Trajan is numismatic, if the reverses of sestertii issued during Trajan's fifth consulship (A.D. 105–107) actually show projected elevations of the as yet unfinished temple, cf. Packer 1997 (supra n. 3) I, 467–68. The altar appears in front of the stairs on one of the variants that may show the facade of the temple: Packer 1997 (supra n. 3) I, 470; II, pl. 701.
\textsuperscript{103} For the Forum of Caesar, Amici (supra n. 15) I, 39, gives the diameter of a column of the Caesarian west colonnade, buried under the existing podium of the later struc-
tics, which at least in the Forum of Augustus and Trajan, masked false vaults. On these attic facades, reliefs or statues on projections above the columns and gilded bronze roof ornaments had iconographical roles. Where space permitted in the later fora, hemicycles or rectangular recesses augmented the flanking colonnades. The resulting architectural ensembles resembled simplified basilicas. Paved with slabs of white marble or travertine, nearly all the plazas had axially positioned central monuments dedicated—except apparently in the Temple/Forum of Peace—to the builder. Most also had additional commemorative monuments, and at least two were enlivened with landscaping that must have softened the crisp lines of the architecture and introduced needed color and shade.

Size and materials emphasized the expensive character of the buildings. The chief material was stone, laid in drafted rectangular blocks (opus quadratum). The walls that enclosed the fora were of externally rusticated blocks of tufa, peperino, and travertine (materials prized for their strength and fireproof qualities). Architectural sculpture was of marble. 

White marble came from the quarries at Luni (Ca-rarra) or from Greece and the Greek islands. The colored marbles that gave the new architecture its lively polychrome character originated in the eastern Mediterranean: gray and red granites and whitespeckled, purple porphyry from Egypt; purple- and rust-veined, golden giallo antico from Numidia (Tunisia); gray-green, white-veined cipollino from Euboia; and white, purple-veined pavonazzetto, black, red, and rose africano from Asia Minor. Establishing the opulent character of the buildings they adorned, these colored marbles had additional uses. Their distant provenances underscored imperial wealth and power. Their colors either emphasized or distinguished otherwise identical components. The marble of one set of shafts might contrast with that of an otherwise similar row of adjacent columns or marbles could be used to pick out pilasters from the shafts of the corresponding columns. Colored marbles also established moods. In the libraries of the Forum of Trajan the gray granite slabs of the pavements, although framed with brilliant giallo antico borders, nonetheless set an appropriately

ture as 0.90 m and estimates the height of the complete order at 10.40 m. Gismondi restores the height of the columns of the porticoes on the north and south sides of the Forum of Augustus as 8.33 m; the height of the order as 10.16 m (Gismondi [supra n. 18] 360, fig. 77). The Severan colonnades in the Forum of Peace had columns 890 m high, cf. Castagnoli and Cozza (supra n. 6) 129. This was a little higher than the 8.72-m height of the columns of the east colonnade in the Forum of Trajan (diameter = 0.966 m), cf. Packer 1997 (supra n. 3) I, 896 Order 3. According to an unpublished drawing by Amadeo D’Ammasso, ca. 1935, cited in Morselli and Tortorici (supra n. 35) I, 121 as IV/21 in the Archivio comunale at Portico d’Ottavia, the “Colonnace” in the Forum Transitorium are larger: lower diameter = 1.15 m; height = 10.30 m or 10.18 m according to Anderson (supra n. 99) 135.

104 Forum of Augustus: Bauer (supra n. 53) 183, n. 82; Bauer (supra n. 19) 233; Bauer, in Kaiser Augustus (supra n. 21) 186–87, fig. 78 (reconstruction drawing); and see above, n. 23. Forum of Trajan: see above, ns. 62 and 68.

105 The Forum of Caesar was paved with travertine slabs: Amici (supra n. 15) I, 35. The Forum of Peace was paved with both travertine and marble (although the two materials may not belong to the same period): Colini (supra n. 1) 14, 17–18, n. 38, 21. The Forum Transitorium had white marble pavement (clearly visible in figs. 3 and 4 here): Morselli and Tortorici (supra n. 2) 110. The pavement in the Forum of Trajan is of the same material: Packer 1997 (supra n. 3) I, 418.

106 Equestrian statues of Caesar and Trajan occupied the centers of their respective fora: Lugli (supra n. 6) 255; Lugli (supra n. 29) 10–11, nos. 55–57; Anderson (supra n. 99) 48; and Packer 1997 (supra n. 3) I, 95–96. A quadriga dedicated by the Senate to Augustus as pater patriae stood in a similar position in the Forum of Augustus: Lugli (supra n. 29) 17, no. 109; Zanker (supra n. 21) 12. In the Forum of Peace, a fountain with a bronze statue of an ox occupied a central position: Colini (supra n. 1) 11 (see below, n. 108). For the middle of the Forum Transitorium, Bauer has postulated a projected but never completed marble column like that of Trajan: Bauer (supra n. 35) 324–25.

107 On these, see Lugli (supra n. 29) 4–6, nos. 21–33; 14, nos. 75, 77; 18–24, nos. 111–43; 24, nos. 147, 149; 25, nos. 151–52; 26, nos. 156; 27, nos. 158–59; 31, nos. 180–81; 32, nos. 182, 185–86; 35, no. 201; 39, nos. 230–34; 32, no. 315; 57–58, nos. 352–407; H. Kyrieleis, “Bemerkungen zur Vorgeschichte der Kaiserfora,” P. Zanker ed., Hellenismus in Mit-teitalien (Göttingen 1976) 434; Anderson (supra n. 99) 62, 80–88; 161–63; and Packer 1997 (supra n. 3) I, 5–8, n. 33.

108 On plantings in the Templum/Forum of Peace and the Forum of Trajan, see R.B. Lloyd, “Three Monumental Gardens on the Marble Plan,” AIA 86 (1982) 91–93; Anderson (supra n. 99) 108; and Packer 1997 (supra n. 3) I, 95, 418–19. F. Coarelli, in a forthcoming volume of LTUR, sv. Pax, Templum, identifies, however, the enigmatic geometric designs in the plaza of the Forum/Tempulum Pacis (as shown on the Forma Urbis; see above, n. 101) as “bacini collegati a fontane” (see above, n. 104). I am indebted to M. Steinby and S. Tognon of Edizioni Quasar for providing me with a copy of this text in advance of its publication.


110 In the Forum of Trajan, for example, the columns of the porches on the south (forum) facade of the Basilica Ulpia were of the same dimensions as the colonnade on the facade, but while the latter had pavonazzetto shafts, the porch columns had shafts of giallo antico, cf. Packer 1997 (supra n. 3) I, frontispiece, 219, 265–66, fig. 150, 275, fig. 152, 433; III, figs. 26, 33. In the West Library, the shafts of the west central tabernacle were of giallo antico, the other columns of the two superimposed orders, of pavonazzetto, cf. Packer 1997 (supra n. 3) I, 125 n. 28, 126, fig. 75, 129, fig. 77, 130, fig. 78. In the Basilica Ulpia, the columns that divided the nave from the aisles had gray granite
ately somber and studious tone. The pavonazzetto borders in the pavement of the cells of the Temple of Mars Ultor gave an impression of restrained luxury.\textsuperscript{111} Appearing in pavements, revetments, and columns, the same marble unified elements in the overall design. Thus, in both the cella of the Temple of Mars Ultor and in the Hall of the Colossus at the east end of the north colonnade in the Forum of Augustus, there were pavonazzetto pavements and column shafts.\textsuperscript{112} In the Basilica Ulpia, the shafts of the columns that framed the nave echoed the gray granite slabs in the pavement between the columns.\textsuperscript{113} The pavonazzetto, giallo antico, africano, and cipollino that typified all the fora also emphasized their close architectural ties.

Scholars have also begun to reevaluate the cultural context of the imperial fora. At the end of the Republic, the government had outgrown the capacities of the old Forum Romanum, but by a series of deftly inserted annexes (such as Caesar had apparently originally planned), that revered civic center could have remained at the heart of Roman public life. Except for reconstruction of existing buildings and the requisite restoration and maintenance, however, the Empire largely turned away from the political center of old Rome. The constitutional system embodied in the Forum Romanum had collapsed, and the new autocrats required fresh stages on which to display their aims, power, and achievements. For viable models they looked to the provincial fora dominated by the Capitoline that had come to symbolize loyalty to Rome.\textsuperscript{114} A distant descendant of the market squares and temple precincts of the Hellenistic East,\textsuperscript{115} the provincial forum, shaped by Italo-Etruscan notions of axiality and symmetry,\textsuperscript{116} had become an open, rectangular space framed by colonnades. Influenced by the plans of fora in citizen colonies, many provincial fora by the end of the Republic were dominated by a Capitolium at one of the short ends.\textsuperscript{117} In Rome, imperial architects could model their new fora on local Late Republican monuments like the Porticus Metelli (rebuilt in Augustan times and renamed the "Porticus of Octavia" after Augustus's sister) or the elaborate peristyle and gardens behind the Theater of Pompey. These buildings celebrated military success—they were financed by the spoils of conquest—and they were adorned with works of art seized from or purchased in the East.\textsuperscript{118}

The architects of the imperial fora adapted such precedents both to local topography and to the changed political scene.\textsuperscript{119} As the venerable temples and famous basilicas of the Forum Romanum had reflected the political evolution of the Republic, so the monuments of the imperial fora announced and glorified the claims of Rome's new rulers. The Temple of Venus Genetrix in the Forum of Caesar honored the divine ancestress of the Julio-Claudians. The shrine to Mars Ultor in Augustus's forum reminded citizens that these were dynasts who could avenge their wrongs with the powers of an empire, aided by the god of war himself. Its flanking colonnades and hemicycles, while recalling the royal architecture of the Greek East,\textsuperscript{120} instilled a sense of Rome's historic mission, patriotically celebrating both its ancient regal origins and the more recent achievements of the new imperial dynasty.\textsuperscript{121}

After the end of the Julio-Claudians, the Flavians...
solemnized the return of imperial accord with a new sanctuary of Peace. Following the fashions of its day, this monument reduced the size of the temple itself, integrating it with the colonnades of its precinct and emphasizing an open central square with gardens and works of art. Although at Vespasian's death the Argiletum, the trunk road that linked the Forum Romanum with the crowded Subura on the slopes of the Quirinal Hill, still separated the Temple of Peace from the Forum of Augustus, Vespasian’s architect probably intended to connect the new plaza with its imperial predecessors. Domitian completed his father's project by monumentalizing the Argiletum between the Forum of Augustus and the Forum of Peace as the Forum Transitorium. A narrow, rectangular plaza with the Temple of Minerva at its east end, the new Forum recalled the plans of the earlier imperial fora, but its unique lateral walls and their Corinthian columns en ressaut crowned by high attics echoed the elevation both of the north wall of the Forum of Peace and of the lateral colonnades in the Forum of Augustus. In both location and design, the Forum Transitorium thus bridged the spatial and temporal gap between the Julio-Claudian epoch and the age of the Flavians.

Already in the Flavian period, however, provincial cities were beginning to separate fora and Capitolia. Frequently basilicas with internal consecrated spaces replaced the temples that subsequently were sited in separate—if highly visible—precincts. The design of the Forum of Trajan not only brought the plan of a legionary camp to the center of the capital, it also summarized recent developments in provincial urban design and constantly referred back to its imperial predecessors—just as the earlier fora had done in their day. If by common consent the Forum of Trajan summed up recent architectural developments in both the provinces and the capital, it also signaled the end of the forum as the heart of the Roman city. Prevented by imperial rule from freely exercising their political rights, citizens had begun to turn away from traditional public centers to apolitical urban structures: theaters, amphitheaters, baths, and club houses. Decorated in the second and third centuries with splendid new colonnades, latrines, fountains, and nymphaeae, even public streets had begun to usurp the earlier role of fora as places of assembly.

Nonetheless, as the most famous monuments of imperial aspirations and glory in the Roman world, the imperial fora were scrupulously maintained until the end of the Empire in the West—and even beyond. Separated by their lofty stone fire walls from the rest of the city, they were increasingly removed from the rhythms of contemporary life. Only after the Gothic Wars had emptied Rome in the mid-sixth century, decisively ending the last remnants of Late Antique life, were the fora finally abandoned to slow decay, to quarrying, to adaptive reuse—and to the excavations and studies of the 19th and 20th centuries.

May have been inspired by the Sacred Way and the Portico of the Kings of Argos at Delphi in connection with the portraits of the summi viri, it also emphasized the subordination of the individual to the destiny of the empire. Facing one another across the forum, the two colossal figures in the recesses of the hemicycles, portrayed in the classicizing Polykleitan style popular among the nobility of the Late Republic, celebrated a pair of cultural heroes, Aeneas and Augustus: the legendary ancestor of the Romans and the new restorer of Rome.

123 See above, n. 108; Colini (supra n. 1) 35.
124 Morrelli and Tortorici (supra n. 2) 44–45; Tortorici (supra n. 32) 52–37, 85–89 (sources), pl. 2 (restored course of the Argiletum through the Forum Transitorium); Tortorici (supra n. 33) 125–26.
125 On rather slender evidence, J. Anderson suggests, however, that on the north side of the Temple Forum of Peace, there had originally been a colonnade identical to the ones on the other three sides. To accommodate the space it required, the enclosure wall of the Forum had originally stood further to the north. In order to obtain enough space for the Forum Transitorium, Domitian would have demolished this colonnade and built the present wall of the Colonnace: J. Anderson, “Domitian, the Argiletum and the Temple of Peace,” AJA 82 (1982) 104, ill. 3, 108–10; Anderson (supra n. 99) 128–30.
126 Schalles (supra n. 122) 194, 210–11.
128 Packer 1997 (supra n. 3) I, xxiii i, 2, 244.
130 The Forum of Trajan may have been largely intact in the eighth century when Paul the Deacon wrote his biography of Gregory the Great: A. Nibby, Roma nell’anno 1838 I: Antica (Rome 1839) 211; quoted in Packer 1997 (supra n. 3) I, 10, n. 30.