Trinidad Nogales-Basarrate

Aeneas and Romulus in the Forum of Augusta Emerita (Hispania)

Roman Colony *ex novo* in the Image of Rome

Augusta Emerita is a direct result of Augustus' imperial policy in Hispania.[1] The conquest and pacification of the Iberian Peninsula prompted the reorganization of its territory. Augustus founded this new colony *ex novo* around 25–23 BCE,[2] and this was soon followed by the creation of a new Spanish province, Lusitania, when Hispania Ulterior was divided into the new provinces of Baetica and Lusitania.[3] Augusta Emerita would become, just a few years after its foundation, the provincial capital of a vast territory. The province of Lusitania faced towards the Atlantic, *ignotus oceanus*, a new route in Roman geopolitics.

Thus, soon after the foundation of Augusta Emerita, Hispania was organized into three provinces: Tarraconensis, Baetica and Lusitania. Augusta Emerita became the political and administrative center of western *Hispania,* and in the fourth century CE, after the administrative reforms of Diocletian, it became the capital of the *dioecesis Hispaniarum.*[4]

The new colony was located in a privileged and rich geographical zone. It lay at the center of a communications network and was protected by two rivers, the Ana and the Barraeca, today the Guadiana and Albarregas.

Its first settlers were Italic veterans from the Fifth and Tenth legions of the Roman army.[5] The colony's patron may have been Augustus' son-in-law, M. Vipsanius Agrippa. He had commanded the legions in the campaigns in the north of the peninsula and was very popular among the veterans.[6] Several monumental inscriptions dedicated to Agrippa, dating to 16–15 BCE, are preserved in Emerita's first large theater, which were set up shortly before his death in 12 BCE.[7]

Fig. 1: 3D reconstruction of the colony Augusta Emerita. Photo: Josep Casals 2020, based on Golvin/Álvarez/Nogales 1995.

From the start, the urban models of the new provincial capital were closely linked to the city of Rome.[8] The first construction systems of granite and local stones covered with stucco may be classified in the Italic tradition of the so-called military architecture, which specialized in public and utilitarian works.[9] It is an architecture with little knowledge of the use of marble, a material that was already widespread in Rome in the great monumentalization projects of the *princeps*, such as the *Forum Augustum*.[10]

In this new provincial administration a very powerful political class emerged, with characters closely linked to the emperor such as L. Cornelius Bocchus,[11] L. Fulcinius Trio[12] or M. Salvius Otho, the future emperor.[13] This close political contact with Rome from the moment of the colony's foundation could be the basis for Augusta Emerita's evident relationship with metropolitan models, which arrived in Lusitania

---

8 Nogales-Basarrate/Álvarez 2006.

9 Nogales-Basarrate/Álvarez 2018, *passim*.

10 Ungaro 2007; La Rocca 2011; Ungaro 2021.

11 Saquete 2011; Almagro 2011; Fishwick 2011; González Herrero 2013; Álvarez/Nogales-Basarrate in press.

12 Saquete 2005.

13 Fernández Uriel 2001.

thanks to the important *officinae* charged with working on large projects such as the theater, amphitheater or the two *fora* (colonial and provincial) (Fig. 1).[14]

Forum coloniae: A Monumental Public Space and the Start of Imperial Cult

In the early years of the colony, in its topographic center at the intersection of the *decumanus* and the *cardo*, a great square with a temple was erected, the *forum coloniae* (Figs. 2A–C). Since the seventeenth century it has been called the "Temple of Diana" in the humanist tradition. This imposing religious building was related to the start of the imperial cult under Augustus (Fig. 2C); it was possibly dedicated to Rome and Augustus, as with other provincial examples. The temple was integrated as a *celeberrimus locus* within the large square of the colonial forum.[15]
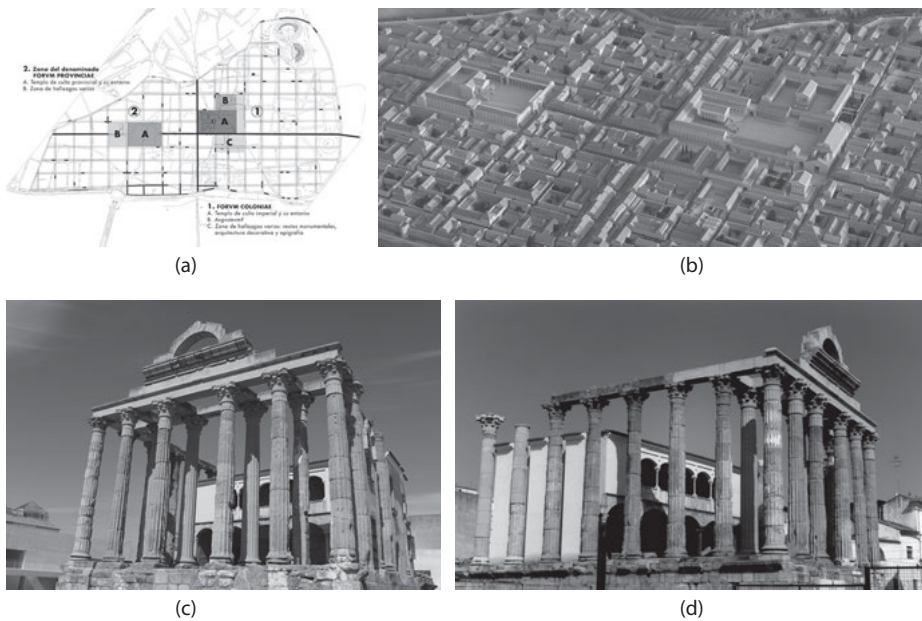

(a)   (b)

(c)   (d)

Fig. 2: (A) Plan with locations of both fora. After Alvarez/Nogales-Basarrate 2003. (B) 3D reconstruction of the *fora* at Emerita. Drawing by Josep Casals 2020. (C) and (D) "Temple of Diana"—Imperial Cult Temple. Photo: MNAR archive, C. López.

---

14 Nogales-Basarrate 2009.

15 Álvarez/Nogales-Basarrate 2003: *passim.*

As usual with Roman fora, the initial monumental space was enlarged and transformed over several centuries (Figs. 2A–B). This process evolved throughout the entire Julio-Claudian period and continued in the second and third centuries CE. Excavations, with sculptural, architectural and epigraphic material discovered in the area, allow us to document this evolution.[16]

The area has been known since the first documentary sources of the Renaissance because, over time, the remains of the Roman temple were reused and integrated into the so-called Palace of the Conde de los Corbos, which remained in use until the twentieth century.

In the nineteenth century the first discoveries were made in the area near the so-called Temple of Diana. The important sculptural pieces found were taken to the museum, created in 1838. The architectural remains were not recovered and were hardly documented by the researchers of that period.

In the twentieth century, the serious project of excavation and recovery of the forums of Augusta Emerita began. Under the direction of the MNAR, Dr. Alvarez Martinez identified the two urban complexes, which he called *forum coloniae* and *forum provinciae* (Fig. 2A).[17] The denomination was questioned at first,[18] since there is no epigraphic evidence, but today this nomenclature is fully accepted.

First, the Temple of Diana (imperial cult temple) was excavated. The archaeological work allowed the recovery of its important dynastic statuary programs linked to the imperial cult.[19] It was also possible to free the temple, in part, from the remains of the palace and modern constructions.

The *forum coloniae* complex had a second space adjacent to the temple, known from nineteenth century finds. The first large square surrounding the temple was joined by a second square, which was successively labeled the "portico of the forum," the "marble forum," the "*forum adiectum*" and the "*Augusteum*." These designations referred to its monumental porticoed architectural structure, annexed laterally to the temple square, and to the important decorative marble programs recovered from there, which could be the key to the interpretation of this new space.[20] In the middle of this second square a monumental altar may have been located,[21] but other authors think that this was a temple.[22]

16 Ayerbe, Barrientos/Palma 2009.

17 Álvarez 1982.

18 Trillmich 1993.

19 Álvarez/Nogales-Basarrate 2003; Nogales-Basarrate 2007b, 479–490.

20 Nogales-Basarrate 2007b, 490–497; Nogales-Basarrate 2021, 45–47.

21 Nogales-Basarrate 1998, 2000a, 2000b.

22 Ayerbe, Barrientos/Palma 2009, 763–766.

The Decorative Program of the Colonial Forum: *Imitatio Romae*

The discoveries of the nineteenth century were followed by further finds in the twentieth century. In the years prior to the Spanish Civil War, numerous fragments of sculptural pieces that had been decontextualized and reused were recovered on the outskirts of the city; some of the most significant were *clipei* and caryatids, which were related to the decoration of the *forum Augustum* in Rome.[23] These provided the first evidence that the model of the *Urbs Romae* was used for designing this provincial capital of *Hispania.*

In the excavations of the colonial forum during the 1980s, new fragments of *clipei* (with heads of Jupiter Ammon and Medusa) and caryatids appeared, as well as new togate statues in their original context.[24] All these sculptures together allowed for a reconstruction of the colonial forum: an exterior decoration of the building with *clipei* and caryatids, completed with the sculptural cycles of *togati* displayed inside the porticoes. The nature and quantity of these togate statues recovered in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, unfortunately lacking any epigraphic documentation to identify them, made it obvious that the *forum coloniae* at Emerita followed quite faithfully the model of the *forum Augustum* in Rome (Fig. 3A).[25] All this material allowed us to propose an initial reconstruction of the enclosure, which we called the "Forum Portico" (Fig. 3B).

This large monumental portico incorporated semi-colossal togate statues of illustrious individuals (*summi viri*) signed by the metropolitan workshop of *Caius Aulus.*[26] The images were arranged along a back wall with niches, a solution very similar to that found in the Augustan forum. The *clipei* and caryatids belonged to the architectural decoration of the attic of the portico[27] (Fig. 3D), following the emblematic scheme of the *forum Augustum.*[28]

The model seems to have gained popularity in the western provinces and was repeated in numerous buildings,[29] especially in Hispania.[30] The different versions of the iconographic model of the *forum Augustum* found in the provinces give an idea of its popularity and its durability.

---

23 Floriani 1976; Floriani 1982.

24 Álvarez 1982.

25 Álvarez/Nogales-Basarrate 1990; Trillmich 1996; Trillmich 1997.

26 Trillmich 1994; Trillmich 1995.

27 De la Barrera 2000.

28 Zanker 1968; Ungaro 2021.

29 Spannagel 1999; Valeri 2010; La Rocca 2011; Goldbeck 2015.

30 Peña 2007; León in press.
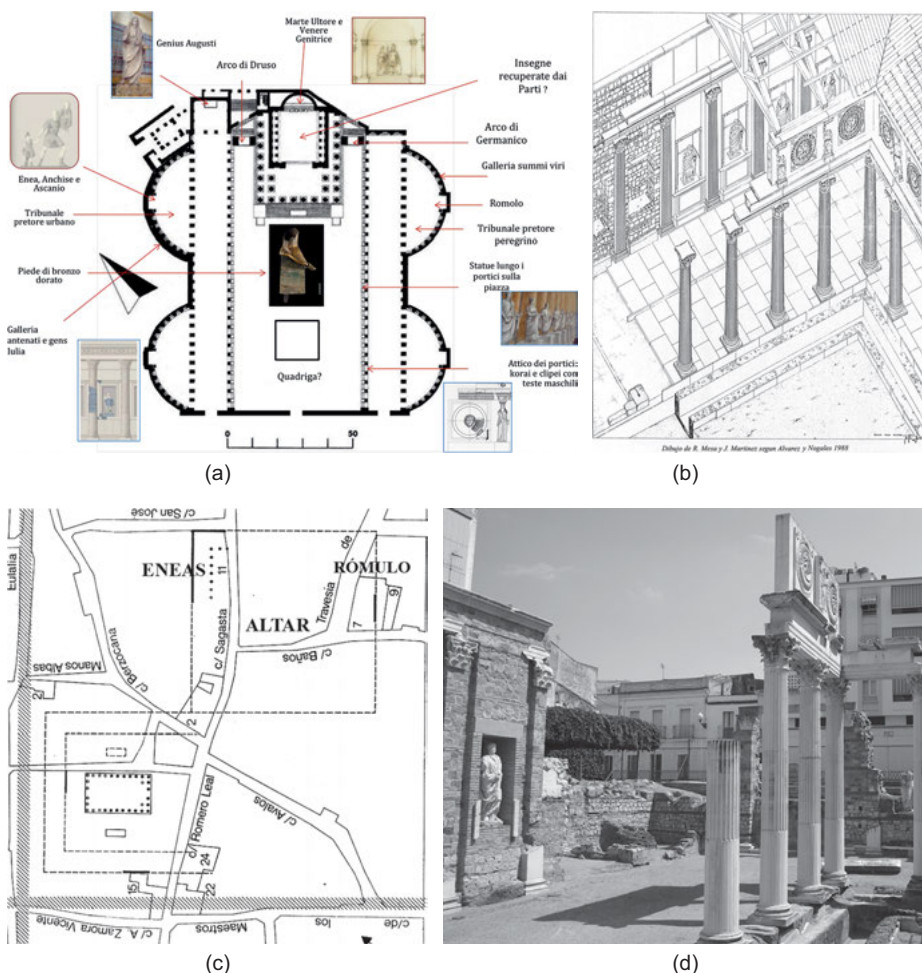
(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

Fig. 3: (A) Decorative Programme of the Forum Augustum (according to Ungaro 2021). (B) Drawing reconstructing the Forum of Augusta Emerita. Image from Mesa and Martínez after Álvarez/Nogales-Basarrate 1990. (C) Hypothetical reconstruction of the decorative programme of the Augusta Emerita forum (according to Nogales-Basarrate). (D) Portico of the forum. Current situation. Photo: J. Edmondson.

Group of Aeneas: Metropolitan Models

Among the pieces located in the area of the colonial forum in the nineteenth century was a medium-sized statue known as the "Monsalud Diana," since it was initially identified iconographically as the goddess Diana and then owned by the Marquis of Mon-

salud.[31] The piece was acquired by the National Archaeological Museum of Madrid in the 1950s and became part of this museum's sculpture collection.

After the excavations of the 1980s, which revealed new findings from Emerita, Trillmich proposed a new identification of the Monsalud Diana as a statue of *Ascanius-Iulus*.[32] The presence of Ascanius, son of Aeneas, suggested the existence of an Aeneas statue group, possibly following in a provincial context the pattern of the existing statue group from the Forum of Augustus.

The materials recovered in our excavations of the forum included several epigraphic fragments belonging to the *elogium* of Aeneas, the short text outlining the main details of his life which was originally placed with the Aeneas statue group in the Forum of Augustus in Rome.[33] These fragments allowed us to hypothesize about its location and confirmed the existence of the statue group. The document, which has interesting novelties, continues to be analyzed for its epigraphic interest.[34]

The discoveries of our excavations at the end of the 1980s revealed numerous new sculptural fragments of the group, which we gradually analyzed and integrated into an improved reconstruction (Fig. 4A).[35] As a result, a good part of Anchises's right arm and shoulder, as well as the toe-end of his footwear, could be incorporated into original fragments. As for the statue of Ascanius, we were able to identify a small fold that belonged to the lower end of his tunic, which confirmed the provenance of the statue found in the nineteenth century as being from the same area excavated in the 1980s.

(a) (b) (c)
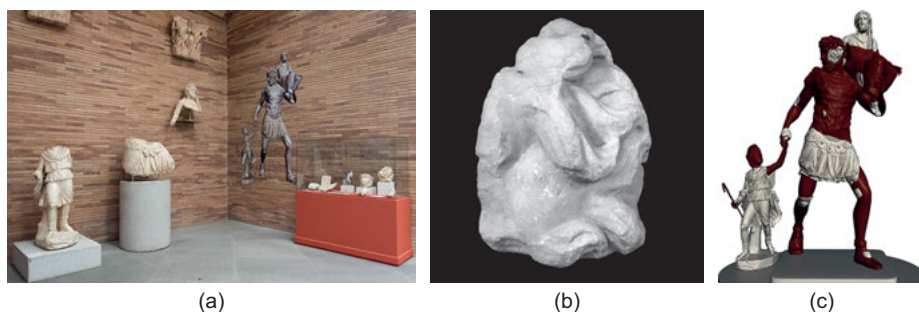
Fig. 4: (A) Original fragments of the Aeneas group in the National Museum of Art of Romania (MNAR). Photo: MNAR archive. (B) Fragment of the head of Aeneas. Photo: MNAR archive. B. Grunewald-DAI. (C) 3D reconstruction of the Aeneas group by Merchán et al. Reconstruction made by Nogales-Basarrate.

---

31 About the discovery of, and research on, the Aeneas group, see Nogales-Basarrate/Álvarez 2021.

32 Trillmich 1992.

33 De la Barrera/Trillmich 1996.

34 Edmondson in press.

35 Nogales-Basarrate 2020.

Among further fragments we were able to identify a part of the head of Aeneas, corresponding to the left area of his cheek, mustache, and beard (Fig. 4B). The face corresponds to other known iconographic patterns associated with the image of the Trojan hero.[36] The most obvious parallels for this historical portrait are: the relief of the Ara Pacis where Aeneas makes a sacrifice to the Penates;[37] a relief from the south side of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, where three panels with the Trojan cycle were reproduced, one of them being the escape of Aeneas,[38] and a head from Rome that forms part of the collection of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen.[39]

The face of Aeneas in all three of these examples—the Ara Pacis, the Sebasteion and the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek—shows many similarities with the fragment from Mérida. This suggests that they all come from a similar iconographic pattern, although their chronology ranges from the Augustan period (Ara Pacis) to the Neronian era (Sebasteion in Aphrodisias) to a later high-imperial period (Glyptotek portrait head); the latter must belong to another sculptural group in the round like the one from Emerita. All these images provide further evidence of the survival of the Aeneas group for several decades, and the similarities among them suggest that the original pattern was the one followed in the *officinae* of Rome and the provinces.

The fragment from Emerita that we attribute to the head of Aeneas is the one with the greatest movement of the hair, which is organized in thick curls of abundant locks (Fig. 4B). The style of its execution, which hardly shows any drill marks, suggests a date in the late Julio-Claudian period, when elements of the baroque style that was to predominate in the second century CE began to appear in Roman art.

In the excavations we also recovered various fragments of Aeneas' extremities: both of his arms, a hand, and a knee. All of the fragments are colossal and of the same scale as the largest fragment preserved with the cuirass, corresponding to the lower part of the trunk, from the waist to the start of the legs, of the prototypical image of Aeneas. All these elements were analyzed in detail to begin the process of recreating the group, which we will discuss below.

The group from Emerita is the first group of Aeneas in large sculptural format preserved almost in its entirety, since no fragments of the one that must have existed in the Forum of Augustus are preserved. If the head of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek is an Aeneas and was integrated into a group sculpture, it could be another metropolitan model, since it comes from Rome.

We know the physiognomy of the group from examples preserved in other media: paintings, reliefs, gems and carvings, ceramic representations.[40] The pattern is very similar in all the iconography. Aeneas, as a mythical character, is an adult male

---

36 Nogales-Basarrate 2020.

37 Bianchi Bandinelli 1970, 188–189, fig. 202–203; Riis 1976, fig. 41 d; Rossini 2006.

38 Smith 2013, 204–206, fig. 164, pl. 194–205.

39 Riis 1976.

40 Spannagel 1999, 90–132, 365–396.

who dresses in Roman military style with armor and has a powerful anatomy and abundant hair and beard. Anchises, his father, is a bearded old man, with a lighter and more fragile body, who wears a toga that covers his head and is carried on the shoulders of Aeneas as a symbol of *pietas*; in size, he is usually smaller than Aeneas. Ascanius-Iulus is shown as a boy wearing a light tunic and a cloak or *chlamys* flying out behind, symbolizing the fact that he is running and fleeing; he also wears a Phrygian cap, alluding to his origins in the East. These various iconographic models repeat the same patterns when showing Aeneas in his flight from Troy, and it is these models that we have used to reconstruct the group from Emerita. It has always been assumed that models in the minor arts follow the original more closely because they repeat in small scale the most recognizable elements of the latter; in the large format versions the artists could introduce some personal variations to the original scheme.

Reconstruction of the Aeneas Group

A challenge for us was to restore the Aeneas group in such a way as to display it in the room dedicated to the colonial forum in the National Museum of Roman Art (MNAR). The fragmentary situation of the pieces of the group made the physical to-scale reconstruction very complicated, as it was impossible to fill the gaps between the parts using traditional methods.

Given their experience with high quality 3D models for sculpture,[41] we developed a strong collaboration with the Department of Electronic Engineering of the University of Extremadura, to whose team we proposed the idea of conducting 3D-scanning of all the fragments that made up the group.

A digitization project began between the MNAR and this university team of engineers, which culminated in 2011 with the creation of the 3D model of the group (Fig. 4C).[42]

The result of this laborious work was the creation of a total 3D model in which the different fragments were integrated into the areas where they most likely would have been in the original group. To produce this model of the group, we used the various known iconographic parallels of the group,[43] trying to make the image as close as possible to its original form based on the most commonly found composition, possibly the one most similar to the original model from the *Forum Augustum* at Rome.

The project on the iconographic programs of the colonial forum of Augusta Emerita, in addition to its scientific value, has a real-world application. Its development has allowed us to offer viewers in the MNAR a new reading of the Aeneas group, inte-

---

41 Merchán et al. 2014; Frischer 2015.

42 Merchán et al. 2011; Merchán et al. 2020.

43 Spannagel 1999, 365–396.

grated into its original space and context: the colonial forum of Augusta Emerita. Since it was impossible to set up the restored statue group in its original context, in 2018 we incorporated it into the permanent exhibition of the MNAR thanks to a collaboration with the institution's staff.

Today, in room VIII on the first floor of the MNAR, the Aeneas statue group is presented together with the computer graphics resulting from the work undertaken by the aforementioned professional teams.[44] In this way, without altering any of the fragments, which would prevent them from being studied in the future, viewers can understand the magnitude of the Aeneas group from Augusta Emerita.

Romulus as Pendant of Aeneas

A fragment of a high-quality statue has formed part of the long-standing collections of the MNAR since 1926/1927. The piece corresponds to part of the upper right side of a decorated breastplate of an over life-size figure. It had been classified in the early collections of the MNAR as an example of the *Panzerstatue* type[45] in the series of imperial statuary from Hispania.[46]

Our own study of the piece has led us to suggest that it could be from a statue of Romulus that would have formed a pendant to the Aeneas statue in the forum at Emerita.[47] Many aspects of this fragment support its identification as Romulus: the place of its discovery, on the eastern edge of the colonial forum; its size, which is much larger than natural, almost colossal and of the same scale as Aeneas; and the similar quality of this and the Aeneas statue, as well as its iconographic type.

The sculptural work is carefully decorated, with a rampant winged griffin standing on the remains of a scroll: i.e., part of three stems that form vegetal and floral circles. At the left edge of the fragment, two folds are preserved of the fabric of a *paludamentum*, which falls transversally from the figure's right shoulder. On the basis of this small element, it is possible to restore a good part of the statue, following the form of the usual type of Romulus *tropaiophoros*.[48]

If we compare the stylistic and technical details of the vegetal elements of the scrolls on the breastplates of Aeneas and Romulus in terms of style and manufacture, we find that they are absolutely similar. This supports the idea that a single workshop created both works according to patterns deriving from the city of Rome.[49]

---

44 Nogales-Basarrate/Álvarez 2021, fig. 5.
45 Acuña 1975, 89, n. XIX; Stemmer 1978, 99–100.
46 Garriguet 2001, 10–12, V 2–4.
47 Nogales-Basarrate 2008.
48 Nogales-Basarrate 2008, 306–309, fig. 6 a.
49 Nogales-Basarrate 2008, 306–308, figs. 5–7.

The direction in which the two statues move, Aeneas striding to his left and Romulus to his right, would correspond to their placements in the two corner niches of the forum at Emerita (Fig. 3C). This compositional scheme is the one observed in the so-called *tensa* relief in the Museum of Budapest, where the two groups of Aeneas and Romulus are observed as having similar compositional characteristics to those found in Augusta Emerita.[50]

Thus, it seems that Aeneas and Romulus were present in the colonial forum of Emerita; they formed part of two sculptural groups in the round, of semi-colossal scale, which were located in each of the corners of the forum precinct, judging by the places where the remains of both groups were found (Fig. 3C).

It is logical to suppose that if the Aeneas statue group had its *elogium* fixed on the base of the monument, the same probably applied to the Romulus group, but we have no evidence for this.

Undoubtedly the closest parallel in the Iberian Peninsula to the Romulus statue from Emerita is the colossal statue from the forum at Corduba, identified by some as Romulus and by others as Aeneas[51] and known as "Cuirass statue from the Tienda collection," today in the Museum of Córdoba. The fragment from Emerita and the colossal statue from Corduba show a very similar typology: the treatment of the decoration of the cuirass is similar in its overall layout, although the scale of the Emerita example is smaller than the one from Corduba (Fig. 5A–B).

Another statue of *Romulus* has been documented at Italica,[52] where *clipei* and caryatids have also been found, associated with a monumental building that imitated the model of Rome. With the identification of this fragment as belonging to a statue of Romulus, a further step has been taken in the configuration of the decorative program of the colonial forum of Augusta Emerita, in particular in the *forum adiectum*, which displayed such a remarkable array of works in the image and likeness of Rome.

The Two Founding Myths in a Provincial Political Discourse

The sculptural groups of Aeneas and Romulus in the colonial forum of Emerita, erected some years later than those set up in Rome in the Forum of Augustus, had a clear political message in this provincial capital in Hispania.

---

50 Nogales-Basarrate 2008, 311–312, fig. 10.

51 Trillmich 1996, 175–195; Nogales-Basarrate 2008, 309–310, fig. 8.
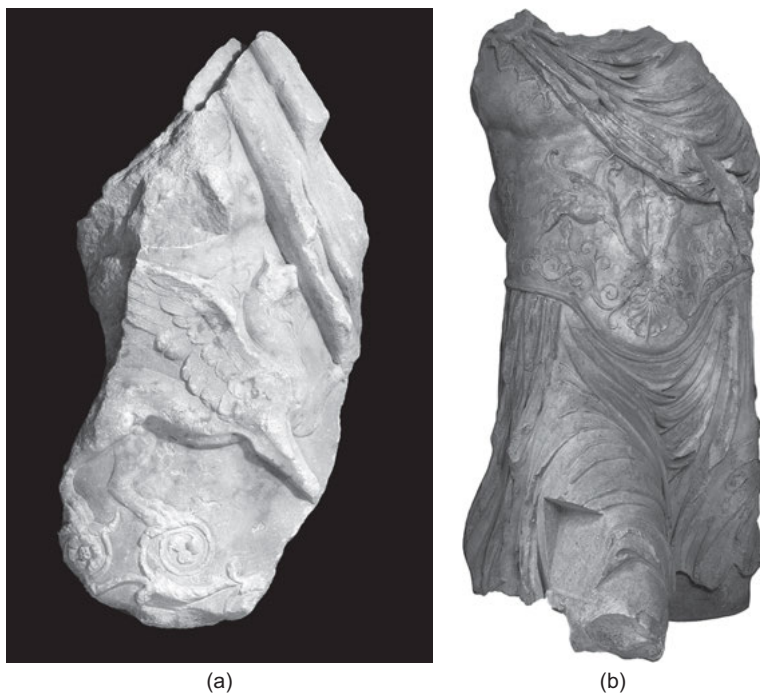
52 Peña 2007.

(a)   (b)

Fig. 5: (A) Statuary fragment of the possible Romulus from the colonial forum of Augusta Emerita. Photo: MNAR, archive / C. López. (B) Statue of Romulus from Corduba. Photo: MNAR-DAI, archive.

Aeneas and Romulus refer to the origins of Rome, a frequent theme throughout the first century CE.[53] The founding myths were associated with the origins of the new colony. As we have analyzed extensively in other studies, the program of the Emeritan forum was not a 'faithful' copy of the Forum of Augustus; it was an adaptation of the model of Rome with a clear political message for the new Spanish colony and the provincial capital of Lusitania.[54]

The large togate statues of the forum of Augusta Emerita signed by the workshop of *Caius Aulus* would correspond to the series of protagonists of the genealogy of Rome.[55] Persons who were emblematic of the local history of Emerita had to be brought together with the founding mythological figures of Aeneas and Romulus and illustrious individuals from Roman history. Perhaps the legacy of the provincial governor P. Carisius and his successors in the political-administrative development of the new colony were present.

---

53 Dardenay 2007.

54 Nogales-Basarrate 2007, 496–497.

55 Trillmich 1994; Trillmich 1995.

This genealogical and historical significance would explain Agrippa's presence in the narrative relief, possibly from an altar located in the center of the square,[56] in which a sacrifice scene has M. Vipsanius Agrippa playing a central role.[57] Surely this is a *patronus coloniae*, as can be deduced from the presence of Augustus' son-in-law in the monumental epigraphy of the emblematic theater.[58] The Agrippa scene makes reference to the foundation of the colony, which has a marked significance in local historical narratives.

In our judgment, the altar would have been located in the center of this porticoed space, which we would define as an *Augusteum*, forming part of an imperial cult complex. The narrative discourse of the altar was fully integrated into the general iconography of the monument: Starting from the Aeneas and Romulus groups and passing through the illustrious Roman heroes, one reached the center of the square, the sacred place. The external narrative reliefs of this cult enclosure recalled the foundation of the colony and, undoubtedly, would exalt the reigning dynasty during Nero's period in power, highlighting the *gens Iulia* with its ancestors portrayed there, who recalled the fact that Augustus himself was the initiator of this powerful dynasty (Fig. 3C).[59]

Local Materials for a Metropolitan Workshop

The sculptures of the colonial forum of Augusta Emerita in this singular space of the *Augusteum* testify to a large-scale public monumentalization project, closely linked to imperial power and its representatives in the provinces. Let us not forget that M. Salvius Otho[60] was governor of the province of Lusitania at the very time when, in our opinion, the decision was made to carry out this significant urban transformation, with the aim of creating a new space for dynastic exaltation.

The nature of the programs, the quality of the works, and the important political message of the new project in the forum of the colony of Augusta Emerita imply a political commitment at the highest level. For this endeavor, workshops of recognized prestige, possibly knowledgeable and trained in the models of Rome, must have participated.

The type of marble used in these programs was of local origin, from the quarries of the *pagus marmorarius Emeritensis*, in the area of the Estremoz anticline (Portugal). The exclusive use of these materials implies that the Emerita workshops were

---

56 Nogales-Basarrate 2007, 495–497, fig. 12.

57 Trillmich 1986.

58 Stylow/Ventura 2018, 157–163.

59 Nogales-Basarrt/Álvarez 2006, 432–435; Álvarez/Nogales-Basarrate, in press.

60 Fernández Uriel 2001.

familiar with this type of marble, which was of great quality and widespread across the Iberian Peninsula.[61]

In our judgment, it was the same workshops that worked on the monumentalization of the colony in its most significant public spaces: both forums and the theater. There are innumerable stylistic details that demonstrate the connection between the sculptural pieces of both spaces.[62]

Bibliography

Acuña, Paloma (1975). *Esculturas militares romanas de España y Portugal*. Rome.

Almagro, Martín (2011). "*L. Cornelius Bocchus*, político y literato recuperado del olvido," in: J.L. Cardoso and M. Almagro (eds.), *Lucius Cornelius Bocchus. Escritor Lusitano da Idade de Prata da Literatura Latina*. Madrid, 25–56.

Álvarez, José María (1982). "El foro de *Augusta Emerita*," in: *Homenaje a Sáenz de Buruaga*. Madrid, 53–83.

Álvarez, José María / Carvalho, Antonio / Fabião, Carlos (2015). *Lusitania Romana: Origen de dos pueblos/ Lusitânia Romana. Origem de dois povos*. Studia Lusitana 9. Mérida.

Álvarez, José María / Nogales-Basarrate, Trinidad (1990). "Schéma urbain d´Augusta Emerita: le portique du forum," *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie. (Berlín*, *1988)*. Mainz, 336–338.

Álvarez, José María / Nogales-Basarrate, Trinidad (2011). "*Augusta Emerita* en tiempos de Cornelius Bocchus," in: M. Almagro-Gorbea (ed.), *Lucius Cornelius Bocchus: escritor lusitano da Idade de Prata da literatura Latina*. Madrid, 203–229.

Álvarez, José María / Nogales-Basarrate, Trinidad (2015). "La ideología del Principado en la fundación de Augusta Emerita," in: J. García, I. Mañas, and F. Salcedo (eds.), *Navigare necesse est: Estudios en homenaje a José María Luzón Nogué*. Madrid, 54–67.

Álvarez, José María / Nogales-Basarrate, Trinidad (in press). *Colonia Augusta Emerita. Una ciudad en los confines del occidente del Imperio*. Monografías emeritenses 14. Merida.

Arce, Javier (2002). *Mérida tardorromana (300–580 d.C.)*. Cuadernos emeritenses 22. Merida.

Ayerbe, Rocío / Barrientos, Teresa / Palma, Félix, eds. (2009). *El Foro de Augusta Emerita. Génesis y evolución de sus recintos monumentales*. Anejos de AespA LII. Merida.

Bianchi Bandinelli, Ranuccio (1970). *Roma: Centro del Poder*. Madrid.

Dardenay, Alexandra (2007). "Le rôle de l´image des primordia Urbis dans l'expression du culte imperial," in: T. Nogales-Basarrate & J. González (eds.), *Culto Imperial: política y poder*. Merida, 153–172.

De La Barrera, José Luis (2000). *La decoración arquitectónica de los foros de Augusta Emerita*. Rome.

De La Barrera, José Luis / Trillmich, Walter (1996). "Ein Wiederholung der Aeneas-Gruppe vom Forum Augustum samt ihrer Inschrift in Mérida (Spanien)," *RM* 103, 119–138, pls. 28–39.

Edmondson, Jonathan (2018). "La formación de una sociedad colonial en Augusta Emerita," in: T. Nogales and N. Barrero (eds.), *La fundación de Augusta Emerita y los orígenes de Lusitania*, Monografías emeritenses 11. Merida, 53–84.5.

Edmondson, Jonathan (in press). "Towards a Reconstruction of the *elogium* of Aeneas from the Forum of Augustus in Rome: New Light from *Augusta Emerita* and Pompeii."

Fernández Uriel, Pilar (2001). "Otón, gobernador de Lusitania," *ANAS* 14/2001, 53–76.

---

61 Nogales-Basarrate et al. 2008.

62 Nogales-Basarrate 2009.

Fishwick, Duncan (2011). "L. Cornelius L.f. Bocchus and the Office of [curator templi Divi] Augusti," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 178, 252–254.

Floriani Squarciapino, Maria (1982). "Cultura artistica di Mérida romana," *Homenaje a Sáenz de Buruaga*. Madrid, 33–52.

Frischer, Bernard (2015). "Three-Dimensional Scanning and Modeling," in: E.A. Friedland, M.G. Sobocinski, and E.K. Gazda (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Sculpture*, Oxford, 74–89.

Garriguet, José Antonio (2001). *La imagen del poder imperial en Hispania: Tipos estatuarios. España. CSIR II, 1*. Murcia.

Goldbeck, Vibecke (2015). *Fora augusta: das Augustusforum und seine Rezeption im Westen des Imperium Romanum*. Regensburg.

González Herrero, Marta (2013). "L. Cornelius L. F. Gal. Bocchus y L. Fulcinus Trio: nuevas reflexiones," *Revue des Études Anciennes* 115.2, 403–415.

Iglesias, José Manuel (2014). "La presencia de Augusto en Hispania. Las Guerras cántabras y sus consecuencias," in: J.M. Álvarez Martínez (ed.), *Augusto y Emerita: Catálogo de la exposición*, Museo Nacional de Arte Romano. Merida, 33–43.

La Rocca, Eugenio (2011). "I foro di Augusto e le province dell'Impero," in: T. Nogales-Basarrate and I. Rodà (eds.), *Roma y las provincias: modelo y difusión* (Actas del XI Coloquio Internacional de Arte Romano Provincial, Mérida, mayo 2009), vol. 2, Hispania Antigua. Serie Arqueológica 3. Merida, 991–1010.

León, Pilar (in press). "Riproduzioni ispaniche dei gruppi mitologici del Foro di Augusto," in: C. Capaldi (ed.), *Augusto e la Campania. Da Ottaviano a Augusto*. Rome.

Le Roux, Patrick (1982). *L´armée romaine et l´organisation des provinces ibériques*. Paris.

Martínez-Pinna Nieto, Jorge (2010). *Las leyendas de fundación de Roma: de Eneas a Rómulo*. Instrumenta 39. Barcelona.

Merchán, Pilar / Salamanca, Santiago / Adán, Antonio / Nogales, Trinidad (2011). "3D digitalization of large sculptural pieces. Restitution of Aeneas Group," in: T. Nogales-Basarrate and I. Rodà (eds.), *Roma y las provincias: modelo y difusión* (Actas del XI Coloquio Internacional de Arte Romano Provincial, Mérida, mayo 2009), vol. 2, Hispania Antigua: Serie Arqueológica 3. Merida, 1061–1066.

Merchán, María José / Nogales-Basarrate, Trinidad / Merchán, Pilar / Pérez, Eduardo (2020). "La digitalización tridimensional y su aplicación en el estudio de la escultura romana," in: J.M. Noguera and L. Ruiz (eds.), *Escultura romana en Hispania IX, Yakka: Revista de Estudios yeclanos XXVII*. Murcia, 425–437.

Nogales-Basarrate, Trinidad (1998). "Relieves del *Ara Providentiae*," in: J.M. Álvarez and M. Almagro (eds.), *Hispania, el legado de Roma*. Madrid, 532.

Nogales-Basarrate, Trinidad (2000a). "Un altar en el foro de Augusta Emerita," in: P. León and T. Nogales-Basarrate (eds.), *Actas de la III Reunión sobre escultura romana en Hispania* (Córdoba 1997). Madrid, 25–46.

Nogales-Basarrate, Trinidad (2000b). "El relieve histórico de M. Agrippa, los relieves de Pan Caliente y el altar del foro emeritense," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma serie II*, U.N.E.D. Madrid, 391–423.

Nogales-Basarrate, Trinidad (2007). "Culto imperial en Augusta Emerita: imágenes y programas urbanos," in: T. Nogales-Basarrate and J. González (eds.), *Culto Imperial: política y poder*. Merida, 447–540.

Nogales-Basarrate, Trinidad (2007a). "Teatro romano de *Augusta Emerita*. Evolución y programas decorativos," *Mainaké* 29, 103–138.

Nogales-Basarrate, Trinidad (2008). "Rómulo en el Augusteum del foro colonial emeritense," in: E. La Rocca, P. León, and C. Parisi Presicce (eds.), *Le due patrie acquisite: Studi di Archeologia dedicati a Walter Trillmich*, Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma Suppl. 18. Rome, 301–312.

Nogales-Basarrate, Trinidad (2009). "Talleres de escultura de Augusta Emerita y su papel en Lusitania romana," in: V. Gaggadis-Robin, A. Hermary, M. Reddé and C. Sintes (eds.), *Les ateliers de sculpture*

régionaux: techniques, styles et iconographie, Actes du Xe Colloque International sur l'art provincial romain (Arles et Aix-en-Provence 2007). Arles, 467–483.

Nogales-Basarrate, Trinidad (2013). "*Augusta Emerita.* Centro de interacción de los modelos metropolitanos en las esferas públicas y privadas de *Lusitania*," in: A. Dardenay and E. Rosso (eds.), *Dialogues entre sphère publique et sphère privée dans l'espace de la cité romaine. Vecteurs, acteurs, significations* (*Ausonius Scripta Antiqua* 56). Bordeaux, 185–206.

Nogales-Basarrate, Trinidad (2020). "El rostro de Eneas en Augusta Emerita," in: J.M. Noguera, I. López, and L. Baena (eds.), *Satyrica signa: Estudios de Arqueología clásica en Homenaje al profesor Pedro Rodríguez Oliva*. Granada, 285–300.

Nogales-Basarrate, Trinidad (2021). "*Colonia Augusta Emerita*," in: T. Nogales-Basarrate (ed.), *Ciudades Romanas de Hispania/Cities of Roman Hispania*, Hispania Antigua: Serie Arqueológica 13. Rome, 33–61.

Nogales-Basarrate, Trinidad / Álvarez, José María (2006). "*Fora Augustae Emeritae*. La *interpretatio* provincial de los patrones metropolitanos," in: D. Vaquerizo and J. Francisco Murillo (eds.), *El concepto de lo provincial en el mundo antiguo. Homenaje a la Profesora Pilar León Alonso*. Cordoba, 419–450.

Nogales-Basarrate, Trinidad / Álvarez, José María (2010). "Foros de *Augusta Emerita*. Modelos en *Lusitania*," in: T. Nogales-Basarrate (ed.), *Ciudad y foro en Lusitania romana/Cidade e foro na Lusitânia romana. Studia Lusitana 4*. Merida, 231–260.

Nogales-Basarrate, Trinidad / Álvarez, José María (2018). "Urbanismo de Augusta Emerita en su fundación y origen," in: T. Nogales and N. Barrero (eds.), *La fundación de Augusta Emerita y los orígenes de Lusitania*, Monografías emeritenses 11. Merida, 13–51.

Nogales-Basarrate, Trinidad / Álvarez, José María (2021). "El grupo de Eneas del foro colonial de Augusta Emerita: iconografía y origen," in: *Abantos. Homenaje a Paloma Cabrera Bonet*. Madrid, 415–426.

Nogales-Basarrate, Trinidad / Gonçalves, Luis Jorge (2004). "*Imagines Lusitaniae*: la plástica oficial de *Augusta Emerita* y su reflejo en algunas ciudades lusitanas," in: T. Nogales-Basarrate (ed.), *Augusta Emerita: Territorios, Espacios Imágenes y Gentes en Lusitania Romana*, Monografías Emeritenses 8. Merida, 285–337.

Nogales-Basarrate, Trinidad / Gonçalves, Luis Jorge (2008). "Programas decorativos públicos de *Lusitania*: *Augusta Emerita* como paradigma en algunos ejemplos provinciales", in: J.M. Noguera and E. Conde (eds.), *Escultura romana en Hispania V (Murcia 2005)*. Madrid, 279–310.

Nogales-Basarrate, Trinidad / Gonçalves, Luis Jorge / Lapuente, Pilar (2008). "Materiales lapídeos, mármoles y talleres en Lusitania," in: T. Nogales and J. Beltrán (eds.), *Marmora Hispana: explotación y uso de los materiales pétreos en la Hispania Romana*, Hispania Antigua, Serie Arqueológica. Merida, 407–466.

Peña, Antonio (2007). "Reflejos del *Forum Augustum* en Itálica," in: T. Nogales-Basarrate and J. González (eds.), *Culto Imperial: política y poder*, Merida, 323–345.

Riis, P. J. (1976). "An Aeneas in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek?," in: L. Bonfante and H. Von Heintze (eds.), *Essays in archaeology and the humanities: In memoriam Otto J. Brendel*, Mainz, 165–171.

Roddaz, Jean Michel (1995). "Agrippa y la Península Ibérica," *ANAS* 6 1993, 111–126.

Rossini, Orietta (2006). *Ara Pacis*. Rome.

Saquete, José Carlos (1997). *Las élites sociales de Augusta Emerita*. Cuadernos emeritenses 13. Merida.

Saquete, José Carlos (2005). "*L. Fulcinius Trio*, Tiberio y el gran templo de culto imperial de Augusta Emerita," *Epigraphica* 67, 279–308.

Saquete, José Carlos (2011). "*L. Fvlcinivs Trio, L. Cornelivs Bocchvs* y el templo del *Divus Augustus* en Mérida," *Habis* 42, 163–172.

Spannagel, Martin (1999). *Exemplaria principis. Untersuchungen zu Entstellung und Ausstattung des Augustusforum*. Archäologie und Geschichte 9. Heidelberg.

Stemmer, Klaus (1978). *Untersuchungen zur Typologie, Chronologie und Ikonographie der Panzerstatuen*. Berlin.

Stylow, Armin / Ventura, Ángel (2009). "Los hallazgos epigráficos," in: R. Ayerbe, T. Barrientos, and F. Palma (eds.), *El Foro de Augusta Emerita: Génesis y evolución de sus recintos monumentales*, Anejos de AEspA, LIII. Madrid, 453–523.

Stylow, Armin / Ventura, Ángel (2018). "Inscripciones asociadas a la *Scaena* del Teatro," in: P. Mateos (ed.), *La scaenae frons del Teatro romano de Mérida*, Anejos de AEspA. Merida, 155–192.

Trillmich, Walter (1986). "Ein historisches Relief in Mérida mit Darstellung des M. Agrippa beim Opfer," *MM* 27, 279–304.

Trillmich, Walter (1990). "Colonia Augusta Emerita: Die Haupstadt von Lusitanien," in: W. Trillmich and P. Zanker (eds.), *Stadtbild und Ideologie. Die Monumentalisierung hispanischer Städte zwischen Republik und Kaiserzeit*, Munich, 299–318. (Updated English version in J. Edmondson, ed., Augustus. Edinburgh, 2009, 427–467).

Trillmich, Walter (1992). "El niño Ascanio (Diana calzadora) de Mérida en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional," *Boletín del Museo Arqueológico Nacional* 10, 25–38.

Trillmich, Walter (1993). "<Foro provincial> und <Foro municipal> in den Hauptstädten der drei hispanischen Provinzen: eine Fiktion," in: J. Arce and P. Le Roux (eds.), *Ciudad y comunidad cívica en Hispania en los siglos II-III d.C.* (Casa de Velázquez, 1990). Madrid, 117–127.

Trillmich, Walter (1994). "Aspekte der 'Augustus-Nachfolge' des Kaisers Claudius," in: V. Strocka (ed.), *Die Regierungszeit des Kaisers Claudius (41–54 n. Chr.): Umbruch oder Episode?*. Mainz, 69–89.

Trillmich, Walter (1995). "Gestalt und Ausstattung des „Marmorforums" in Mérida. Kenntnisstand und Perspektiven," *MM* 36, 269–291.

Trillmich, Walter (1996). "Reflejos del programa estatuario del Forum Augustum en Mérida," *II Reunió sobre escultura romana a Hispània / II Reunión sobre escultura romana en Hispania*. Tarragona, 95–108.

Trillmich, Walter (1997). "El modelo de la metrópoli," in: J. Arce, S. Ensoli, and E. La Rocca (eds.), *Hispania romana: desde tierra de conquista a provincia del imperio*. Madrid, 131–141.

Trillmich, Walter (2007). "Espacios públicos de culto imperial en Augusta Emerita: entre hipótesis y dudas," in: T. Nogales-Basarrate and J. González (eds.), *Culto Imperial: política y poder*. Merida, 415–445.

Ungaro, Lucrezia (2007). "Il Foro di Augusto," in: L. Ungaro (ed.), *Il Museo dei Fori Imperiali nei Mercati di Traiano*. Milan, 118–169.

Ungaro, Lucrezia (2021). "Roma e Augusta Emerita: la presenza dello Stato romano nei complessi forensic," in: T. Nogales-Basarrate (ed.), *Ciudades Romanas de Hispania/Cities of Roman Hispania*, Hispania Antigua, Serie Arqueológica 13. Rome, 17–30.

Valeri, Claudia (2010). "Il 'Rione Terra' di Pozzuoli: cicli e programmi decorativi," in: *Escultura Romana en Hispania VI: Homenaje a Eva Koppel*. Murcia, 419–442.

Zanker, Paul (1968). *Forum Augustum: Das Bildprogramm*. Monumenta Artis Antiquae 2. Tübingen.

Why Ancient Objects Matter
Greek and Roman Art and Materiality from Antiquity to the Present
Edited by Nicholas Cipolla, Anne F. LaGatta, Candace Weddle
Livingston, Peter J.M. Schertz, Ambra Spinelli and Sarah K. Yeomans
Walter de Gruyter GmbH – Berlin / Boston 2025