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Negotiating Julio-Claudian Memory: The Vespasianic Building Program and the Representation of Imperial Power in Ancient Rome

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INTRODUCTION

In 68 C.E., the Roman Emperor Nero died, marking the end of the Julio-Claudian imperial dynasty established by Augustus in 27 B.C.E (Suetonius, *Nero* 57.1). A year-long civil war ensued, concluding with the general Titus Flavius Vespasianus seizing power. Upon his succession, Vespasian faced several challenges to his legitimacy as emperor. Most importantly, Vespasian was not a member of the Julio-Claudian family, nor any noble Roman *gens* (Suetonius, *Vespasian* 1.1). Augustus had established Rome's empire under a hereditary principle by creating an imperial dynasty. This dynasty included five emperors and lasted nearly one hundred years–making the Julio-Claudians synonymous with the institution of the principate. Vespasian had claimed office by exerting his control of the Roman military, not by the traditional mode of inheritance.[1] Furthermore, Julio-Claudian political, social, and cultural institutions were ubiquitous at Vespasian's ascendancy. Therefore, in 70 C.E., when Vespasian arrived in Rome after his victory in the civil war, securing his position as emperor was imperative.[2] Vespasian's interaction with Julio-Claudian memory over the course of his reign is well discussed among scholars–a central theme for serious investigations of Vespasianic and Flavian Rome.[3] The current work will further examine the ways in which Vespasian considered and interacted with Julio-Claudian Rome. This study, however, will analyze Vespasian's manipulation of structures within the city of Rome as evidence for this historical relationship.

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[1] A.J. Boyle, "Introduction: Reading Flavian Rome," in *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text,* ed. A.J. Boyle and W.J. Dominik (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 4.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., 1-67. Boyle's introduction to the most recent volume studying Flavian Rome lays out the historical context of Vespasian's succession. Boyle asserts the importance of Flavian responses to the Julio-Claudian for scholarly explorations of Flavian Rome.

Rome's structures offer a unique perspective for illustrating Vespasian's interaction with previous rulers. From the city's beginning, Roman buildings were constructed with symbolic associations; a building's location, purpose, aesthetic, and design were embedded with meaning that served as associative stimuli for historical events, people, and places.[4] This is evident in the Roman orator Cicero's philosophical text *De Finibus*. Cicero's character, Piso, states, "Whether it is a natural instinct or a mere illusion, I can't say; but one's emotions are more strongly aroused by seeing the places that tradition records to have been the favorite resort of men of note in former days, than by hearing about their deeds or reading their writings." (Cicero, *De Finibus* 5.2).[5] As Cicero illustrates, Romans viewed buildings as vessels of memory.

Competing noble families in the Roman republic exploited this principle erecting structures within the city to obtain glory.[6] In the principate, however, Roman elites could not contend with the financial resources and political influence of the emperor.[7] Thus, when an emperor erected a building in Rome, its construction was proof of his identity as the sovereign ruler of the city. This was evident in the reign of Augustus. He was the first individual to gain absolute control over the Roman cityscape. He sculpted Rome into a city wrought with images

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[4] Robert Haydon Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture: A Study of Flavian Rome,* Collection Latomus. Vol 231 (Brussels: Journal of Latin Studies, 1996), 18.
[5] Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De finibus bonorum et malorum,* Trans. by H. Rackham (London: W. Heinemann, 1931). Translations of *De finibus bonorum et malorum* are by H. Rackham.
[6] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architectur*e, 24.
[7] Ibid.

and structures complicit with his own agendas.[8] Augustus' building activity may be the first "program" as it developed a distinct language of images to realize his particular vision of Rome.[9]

Like Augustus, Vespasian erected public buildings in Rome. The act of construction declared Vespasian's position as *princeps* within the Roman political sphere. The question remains, though, how else did Vespasian's buildings support this claim? This study will investigate five buildings fundamental to Vespasian's program. Three of these structures were completed during Vespasian's life: the Temple of Jupiter *Optimus Maximus*, the *Templum Pacis*, and the Temple of *Divus* Claudius. The Flavian Amphitheater (Colosseum) and the Baths of Titus were completed shortly after Vespasian's death in 79 C.E. These buildings will be analyzed focusing on location, design, purpose, symbolism, and topographic context. Vespasian's structures exhibited intentional similarities and differences to pre-existing Roman monuments. Thus, created "architectural conversations" in which Vespasian was both compared and contrasted to the past.

These architectural conversations created four modes by which Vespasian's buildings asserted the emperor's authority: comparing him to pre-Julio-Claudian leaders and traditions, comparing him to some Julio-Claudian rulers, declaring the ingenuity of Flavian imperial rule with no historical comparisons, and contrasting him with other Julio-Claudian emperors. Each building formulated a relationship with the past in an intricate manner employing one or more of these methods simultaneously. For example, the rebuilding of the Temple of Jupiter *Optimus*

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[8] Paul Zanker, *Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* trans. by Alan Shapiro (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990). Zanker's revolutionary study of Augustan Rome analyzes art, architecture, and space as methods of imperial control.
[9] Diane Favro, *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 19.

Maximus was designed to resemble its previous constructions dating to Rome's republican period. This celebrated republican generals and reinstated triumphal ceremony that predated imperial rule, but also distanced Vespasian from the Julio-Claudian, Nero. The *Templum Pacis* imitated the fora of Julius Caesar and Augustus. Yet, it included republican military symbolism in its display of imperial authority. The Flavian amphitheater's size, location, and purpose were unprecedented in Rome. It was a unique Flavian monument and conveyed Vespasian's military power with republican triumphal imagery and language. The amphitheater, along with the Bath's of Titus and the Temple of *Divus* Claudius, was part of the conversion of private imperial land to public use that condemned the memory of the emperor Nero. Nevertheless, the Temple of *Divus* Claudius also showed Vespasian to be the heir of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Ultimately, Vespasian's building program situated the emperor within recent and distant precedents. By communicating with the past, these buildings identified the sources of Vespasian's authority and declared the nature of Vespasian's principate.

PART 1: HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The historical context of Vespasian's reign and its preceding events will be examined before the emperor's building program. First, Vespasian's familial origins and public career preceding the principate will be discussed. Then, the document known as the _Lex Imperio De Vespasiani_ will be considered in order to further evaluate Vespasian's relationship with the Julio-Claudians at the time of his accession. Finally, the historical legacy of Nero will be considered. This brief historical outline will provide further background for the analysis of Vespasian's structures.

Vespasian's Family and Career

Vespasian's origins were humble. The second century C.E. Roman historian Suetonius says of Vespasian's family, "This house, was, it is true, obscure and without family portraits" (Suetonius, _Vespasian_ 1.1).[10] The Flavians were an Italian family boasting no political or social distinctions. Vespasian's father and grandfather served in the army, holding lesser ranking positions and never attaining public office in Rome.[11] Vespasian was born in a small village in the Sabine region of Italy and grew up outside Rome's socially and politically competitive environment (Suetonius, _Vespasian_ 2.1). His public career necessarily began in the Roman army. After achieving minor military success, he served as a public official in Rome. He lacked patrician status, but earned the public office of praetor under Caligula in 39 or 40 C.E.[12]

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[10] Suetonius, _The Lives of the Twelve Caesars_. trans. by J. C. Rolfe, (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1913). Translations of _The Lives of the Twelve Caesars_ are by J.C. Rolfe.
[11] Barbra Levick, _Vespasian_ (Routledge, 1999), 4-5. Levick's study of Vespasian remains the most thorough analysis of the emperor's life.
[12] Ibid., 5.

Subsequently, he became a key figure in imperial politics as a commander in Claudius' invasion of Britain[13] and a member of Nero's court (Suetonius, *Vespasian* 4.4). Vespasian achieved success in the hierarchical realm of Roman politics as a *novus homo,* or a politician with no aristocratic ancestors. Flavian heritage made his political career difficult, but did not prevent the acquisition of offices in Rome. When he became emperor, however, his non-Julio-Claudian ancestry would call into question his legitimacy.

<u>Vespasian and the Civil War</u>

Vespasian's bid for the principate began while he was commander in Rome's eastern provinces. In 67 C.E., he was appointed commander of three legions stationed in Judea (Tacitus, *Histories* 10). His official position was Propraetorian Legate of the Army of Judea and he was ordered to suppress the Jewish revolt that had been instigated in 66 C.E.[14] During his command in Judea, Vespasian earned loyalty among his legions that would prove essential in his bid for power.

Nero died on June 9, 68 C.E., disrupting the chain of command within the Roman army and delaying Vespasian's campaign in Judea.[15] Civil war had erupted across the Roman empire and the status of Rome's interests in the east remained uncertain. Over the course of the next year, three Romans contested for the principate. The general Servius Sulpicius Galba, "of noble origin and of an old and powerful family," succeeded Nero as emperor (*Galba*, Suetonius 2.1). Galba was assassinated on January 15, 69 C.E. in the Roman forum at the bidding of his ally

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[13] Ibid., 14-22.
[14] Levick, *Vespasian,* 29.
[15] Ibid., 39.

Marcus Salvius Otho.[16] Otho became emperor, but was challenged by the general Anulus

Vitellius Germanicus. Othonian troops were defeated in April of 69 C.E and Vitellius became the

next emperor of Rome.[17]

       While Vitellius, Otho, and Galba contended for the principate in Rome, Vespasian

remained stationed with his troops in the eastern provinces. On July 1, 69 C.E., Roman legions at

Alexandria declared Vespasian *princeps* (Suetonius, *Vespasian* 6.3). According to ancient

historical sources, the army's support of Vespasian was obvious. First and second century C.E.

Roman historian Tacitus notes:

> Vespasian was a born solider, accustomed to march at the head of his troops, to choose
> the place where they should camp, and to harry the enemy day and night by his
> generalship and, if occasion required, by personal combat, content with whatever rations
> were available and dressed much the same as a private soldier. (Tacitus, *Histories* 2.5)[18]

The historical reality of Vespasian as an "every-man general" is unknown. Nevertheless, it is

likely, judging from Vespasian's long military record, that he held strong rapport with his troops.

His proven military skill, in both Judea and Britain, made him a desirable candidate for

emperor.[19] Still, Tacitus' description reflects Flavian influence on historical sources that, in part,

constructed the image of Vespasian as a solider.[20]

       After the declaration in Alexandria, Vespasian's power grew in the east. Gaius Licinius

Mucianus, the governor of Syria and former rival of Vespasian, swore his allegiance to the

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[16] Kenneth Wellesley, *The Year of the Four Emperors* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 25.

[17] Ibid., 99.

[18] Cornelius Tacitus, *The Histories*, trans. by C. H. Moore, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925). Translations of *The Histories* are by C.H. Moore.

[19] Levick, *Vespasian,* 54.

[20] Historians depict Vespasian in a largely favorable manner. For Flavian influence on historical sources: K.H. Waters, "The Second Dynasty of Rome," *Phoenix* 17.3 (1963): 211. Levick, *Vespasian,* 202-204.

Flavians. Next, various dependent kingdoms of Asia Minor and the east declared their loyalty.[21]

From these same kingdoms, Vespasian received essential financial support (Tacitus, *Histories*

2.81). Not including the contributions of local monarchs, Vespasian's troops represented a third

of the Roman army. Additionally, Vespasian's legions were of high quality, equaling those of

Vitellius.[22] As the numbers of Vespasian's force grew, legions in Pannonia, legions in the

Danube region, and the Roman naval fleets stationed in Misenum and Ravenna enlisted with the

Flavians.[23]

Vespasian remained in the east for the duration of the civil war securing Egypt's strategic

position. He controlled grain provisions for western legions, a strategy for diminishing Vitellian

support (Tacitus, *Histories* 3.48). Mucianus, meanwhile, advanced through Asia Minor and the

Balkans into northern Italy. He led Flavian troops down the Italian peninsula concluding the

campaign with a bloody and chaotic battle in Rome.[24] It was in this skirmish that Roman

soldiers, of disputed allegiance, burned the Temple of Jupiter *Optimus Maximus*–an event that

Tacitus describes as "the most lamentable and appalling disaster in the whole history of the

Roman commonwealth" (Tacitus, *Histories* 3.72). Thus ended Vespasian's military campaign for

the principate.

As this brief history shows, Vespasian won the position of emperor through military

victory. It is difficult to discern how the Roman people and senate accepted their new emperor.

Here, Tacitus is our best source; the historian hints at some resistance among the senators

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[21] Levick, *Vespasian,* 49.
[22] Ibid., 54.
[23] Ronald Mellor, "The New Aristocracy of Power," in *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text,* ed.
A.J. Boyle and W.J. Dominik (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 77.
[24] Levick, *Vespasian* 51-52.

(Tacitus, *Histories* 4.8), but *The Histories* remain influenced by the Flavian regime. Some scholars have proposed that, for senators, the prospect of a *novus homo* earning a position of authority over the senate would have been humiliating.[25] Additionally, there is reasonable evidence that Nero retained some popularity among the people of Rome even after his death.[26] This was a testament to the high regard for the Julio-Claudians among the Roman people. Above all else, a non-Julio-Claudian emperor was unprecedented. No matter how Rome received Vespasian, it was necessary to express his authority within the established framework of the Julio-Claudian principate.

Julio-Claudians and the Principate in 69 C.E.: The *Lex De Imperio Vespasiani*

The document known as the *Lex De Imperio Vespasiani* is the best evidence for determining the circumstances of Vespasian's accession. Discussion of the so-called "*Lex*" will serve two purposes. First, it establishes the nature of the principate in 69 C.E. Second, it illustrates Vespasian's initial negotiation with Julio-Claudian memory and its possible complications. This document will further add to the historical context within which Vespasian's buildings will be analyzed.

The *Lex* is inscribed on a bronze tablet currently displayed at the Capitoline Museum in Rome. The text is divided into eight sections with a final *Sanctio*. Scholars have identified the inscription as a *Senatus Consultum* that conferred powers to Vespasian shortly after Flavian

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[25] Waters, "Second Dynasty of Rome," 208.
[26] C.E. Manning, "Acting and Nero's Conception of the Principate," *Greece and Rome* 22.2 (1975): 170.

forces captured Rome.[27] The *Lex's* identity as the exact decree mentioned in the *Histories* is speculative. Still, it can be assumed the document was created in a Roman legislative body in 69 or 70 C.E. as compelled by the Flavian faction.

The *Lex* remains the only extant physical evidence of formal powers bestowed upon an emperor at succession. Scholar P.A. Burnt argues that the decree was a convention of imperial succession–not unique to Vespasian's reign.[28] If this is true, then Vespasian followed the legal precedents of the Julio-Claudians who were named *princeps* by legislative bodies. Augustus received *imperium* and tribunal power from both the senate and the people.[29] The senate and various *comitia* granted legal power to Caligula, Tiberius, and Nero.[30] Since, however, Vespasian was not a member of the Julio-Claudian family, the nature of the principate had changed; Vespasian was named *imperator* in July of 69 C.E–months before the senate and people of Rome could publish the *Lex*. Despite the reality that Vespasian's principate was founded on military authority, *Lex* demonstrates the necessity to legitimize the principate through the legal powers of Julio-Claudian emperors.

The *Lex* predominately bestows the legal powers of the Julio-Claudian emperors upon Vespasian. The fragmentary section one is representative of the entire document and proclaims the emperor's power to make treaties:

> . . . . foedusue cum quibus uolet facere liceat ita, uti licuit diuo Aug(usto), Ti. Iulio Caesari Aug(usto), Tiberioque Claudio Caesari Aug(usto) Germanico. (*CIL* 6.930)

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[27] Tacitus notes, "*at Romae senatus cuncta principibus solita Vespasiano decernit*" ("but in Rome the senate ordained all the accustomed titles for the princeps to Vespasian") Tacitus, *Histories* 4.3.
[28] P.A. Brunt, "Lex de Imperio Vespasiani," *Journal of Roman Studies* 67 (1977): 107.
[29] Ibid., 97.
[30] Ibid., 97-98.

Let it be lawful to make a treaty with whom he wishes, just as it was lawful for the divine Augustus, Tiberius Julius Caesar, and for Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus.[31]

The text repeats forms of the verb *licet,* "it is lawful," to emphasize the legality of the emperor's actions. This is indicative of the entire document in which *licet* and its cognates are repeated in conjunction with previous emperors. Tiberius, Claudius, and Augustus are noted as individuals who held the same power being granted to Vespasian. This formula (*licet* with imperial predecessors) is repeated in clauses II, V, VI, and VII.[32] It shows that the Julio-Claudians remained the status quo emperors, as Galba, Otho, and Vitellius are not listed as Vespasian's legal predecessors. Therefore, at the inception of Vespasian's rule, the principate was perceived as a Julio-Claudian institution.

The *Lex* also reveals the principate's institutionalized titulature determined by Julio-Claudian example. Vespasian is referred to by name three times: twice in clause VII and once in clause VIII. Clause VII names Vespasian "*imperator Caesar Vespasianus*" and "*imperatori Caesari Vespasiano Augusto*" (*CIL* 6.930). Clause VIII identifies the new emperor as "*imperatori Caesari Vespasiano Augusto*" (*CIL* 6.930). In all three cases, Vespasian's titles are derived from the Julio-Claudian family; to be emperor, Vespasian had to be an "Augustus" and a "Caesar." The position of emperor was recognized by Julio-Claudian family titles, a sign of the family's synonymity with the institution of the principate.

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[31] Translation by author.

[32] The only exception is clause V in which Claudius is solely named as an emperor who extended the boundaries of the *pomerium*. Interestingly, several ancient sources attest to Augustus' extension of the *pomerium*. For this controversy see: M.T. Boatwright, "The Pomerial Extension of Augustus" *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 35.1 (1986): 13-27. Boatwright concludes the extension of the *pomerium* was an "emphatic association" with the extension of Roman boundaries. Thus, Claudius mythified Augustus' extension of the *pomerium* to create an imperial historical tradition.

Still, the document complicates Vespasian's relationship with the Julio-Claudians. It insinuates that certain Julio-Claudians emperors were legitimate rulers, while others were not. Caligula and Nero, the third and fifth Julio-Claudian emperors respectively, are not listed as imperial predecessors. This signifies that Vespasian could gain authority by distancing himself from certain Julio-Claudians. Accordingly, the Julio-Claudian dynasty was not considered a blanket exemplification of imperial leadership. Some Julio-Claudians were successful models of emperors, while others were not.

The *Lex*'s seventh clause adds further complexity to Vespasian's affiliation with the Julio-Claudians. The clause expresses the temporality of Vespasian's rule and is particularly relevant to the historical context of Vespasian's succession. This has lead scholars to argue that it was the only clause written in 69 C.E.[33] It reads:

> utique quae ante hanc legem rogatam acta gesta decreta imperata ab imperatore Caesare Vespasiano Aug(usto) | iussu mandatuue eius a quoque sunt, ea perinde iusta rataq(ue) sint, ac si populi plebisue iussu acta essent. (*CIL* 6.930)

> And whatever things before the law was introduced had been executed, decreed, ordered by the Emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus, or anyone ordered by him or by his mandate, let these be legal and just as if they had been enacted by the order of the people or the plebs.[34]

The text presses the legality of Vespasian's actions before *hanc legem* ('this law") suggesting Vespasian's legal powers began before he was constitutionally recognized. This of course alludes to Vespasian's declaration as emperor by the Roman army. The legal acceptance of the emperor-making capabilities of the Roman army has significant implications. It legally recognizes Vespasian's accession to the principate–one that did not involve familial inheritance.

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[33] Brunt, "Lex," 106.
[34] Translation by Author.

This casts doubt upon the hereditary system of the Julio-Claudians and concedes that a blood tie to the previous dynasty was not required for legitimacy.

Ultimately, the *Lex De Imperio Vespasiani* demonstrates that the Julio-Claudian family defined the institution of the principate upon Vespasian's succession in 70 C.E. Therefore, the emperor was compelled to acknowledge the Julio-Claudians. Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius are all named as Vespasian's legitimate legal predecessors and Vespasian was given Julio-Claudian family names to signal his position as emperor. Still, the document hints at the complications of the new emperor's interaction with his imperial predecessors: some Julio-Claudians are not listed as legitimate predecessors. Moreover, the document suggests that a Julio-Claudian blood tie was not an absolute prerequisite for imperial legitimacy and implies that inheritance was not the sole means of succession. These complications hint that imperial authority was not exclusively obtained by associating with the Julio-Claudians.

The Legacy of Nero

The *Lex De Imperio Vespasiani* demonstrated that Nero was not regarded as a legitimate predecessor of Vespasian's principate. This will prove to be an important theme of Vespasian's building program. To understand Vespasian's negotiation of Nero's memory, a brief sketch of Nero's legacy will be given. Deciphering the historical reality of the fifth Julio-Claudian emperor's reign remains one of the most difficult tasks in Classical scholarship. The complications of Neronian history were evident in ancient times. The Jewish historian Josephus writing under the Flavians explains:

For many historians have written the story of Nero, of whom some, because they were well treated by him, have out of gratitude been careless of the truth, while others from hatred and enmity towards him have so shamelessly and recklessly reveled in falsehood as to merit censure…Nevertheless, we must let those who have no regard for the truth write as they choose, for that is what they seem to delight in. (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 20.154)[35]

The historical accounts that Josephus describes do not survive today. Nevertheless, the three ancient authors, Tacitus, Suetonius, and Cassius Dio, who composed the bulk of the surviving historical record of Nero's life, drew upon these historical sources.[36] We also know that Tacitus, Suetonius, and Cassius Dio each used one source respectively; two of these sources were intensely negative toward Nero and one was neutral.[37] Additionally, these authors write with unique sets of biases and agendas that present an overwhelmingly negative image of the emperor as a monster, rapist, tyrant, artist, and arsonist.[38] Thus, their histories are unreliable and have been met with skepticism by modern scholars.[39] If the present work were attempting to present an accurate history of Nero's life, then these concerns would present an insurmountable obstacle. But for the current study, it is more important to comprehend the constructed memory of Nero that was disseminated under Vespasian. These historical sources, although not written under Vespasian, suggest how Romans during the Flavian-era may have understood the legacy of Nero, as time, historians, and politicians had altered it. Therefore, if Vespasian distanced himself from

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[35]Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War*, trans. by H. St. J. Thackeray (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997). Translations of *The Jewish War* are by H. St. J. Thackeray.
[36] Edward Champlin, *Nero* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 38-52. Champlin's chapter titled "Stories and Histories" provides a thorough analysis of the historiographic tradition surrounding Nero.
[37] Ibid., 52.
[38] Ibid*.,* 39.
[39] Jaś Elsner and Jamie Masters, "Introduction," in *Reflections of Nero*: *Culture, History & Representation*, ed Jaś Elsner and Jamie Masters (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 2.

Nero, then he dissociated himself from the constructed idea of Nero, not just the historical reality.

In the historiographic tradition, Nero is characterized as transgressing the emperor's appropriate relationship with the Roman military. From the founding of the principate, the emperor was considered the symbolic leader of the Roman army.[40] Nero possessed no military credentials and held little popularity among the army upon his succession.[41] He earned further disfavor among the army for consistently relegating his command and distancing himself from soldiers.[42] Tacitus echoes this when describing the aftermath of an assassination attempt against the emperor. A solider turned conspirator says to Nero, "'I hated you,' …'and yet there was not a man in the army truer to you, as long as you deserved to be loved'" (Tacitus, *Annals* 15.67.2).[43] Nero is also said to have, on multiple occasions, conferred military honors to non-combatant civilians–a gross violation of Roman custom (Suetonius, *Nero* 15.2. Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 62.27.4.). Suetonius remarks that toward the end of Nero's reign, he suspended the pay of soldiers and ceased the distribution of rewards to army veterans (Suetonius, *Nero* 32.1). Nero was therefore deemed a "non-soldier" emperor.

Ancient historians also report Nero's affinity for Greek art and culture that contended with Roman traditions. From an early age, Nero undertook sculpture, painting, and poetry and rejected Roman intellectual pursuits such as rhetoric (Tacitus, *Annals* 13.3). As emperor, Nero

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[40] Beth Severy, *Augustus and Family at the Birth of the Roman Empire* (London: Routledge, 2002), 79.
[41] Miriam T. Griffin, *Nero: The End of a Dynasty* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 221.
[42] J.B. Campbell, *The Emperor and the Roman Army* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984), 42.
[43] Cornelius Tacitus, *The Annals*, trans. by J. Jackson (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1925). Translations of *The Annals* are by J. Jackson.

frequently patronized Greek cultural events. Suetonius notes, "He was likewise the first to establish at Rome a quinquennial contest in three parts, after the Greek fashion, that is in music, gymnastics, and riding, which he called the Neronia" (Suetonius, *Nero*, 12.3). Nero often preformed at such events. After playing the lyre to an audience in Naples, he declared, "'The Greeks were the only ones who had an ear for music and they alone were worthy of his efforts'" (Suetonius, *Nero* 22.3). Nero even intended to rename Rome "Neropolis", as homage to Greek city-states (Suetonius, *Nero* 55.1). The historical sources ultimately view this philhellenism with disdain and argue that it alienated the Roman elite.[44]

Finally, the historical record interprets the construction of Nero's palace in Rome as a demonstration of the emperor's personal decadence. The structure was known as the *Domus Aurea* or "golden house." Pliny described the palace as encompassing the entire city and regarded it as a sign of Rome's moral decay during the empire (Pliny the Elder, *The Natural Histories* 36.111). Suetonius provides the most vivid description:

> There was nothing however in which he was more ruinously prodigal than in building. He made a palace extending all the way from the Palatine to the Esquiline, which at first he called the House of Passage, but when it was burned shortly after its completion and rebuilt, the Golden House... Its vestibule was large enough to contain a colossal statue of the emperor a hundred and twenty feet high; and it was so extensive that it had a triple colonnade a mile long. There was a pond too, like a sea, surrounded with buildings to represent cities besides tracts of country, varied by tilled fields, vineyards, pastures and woods, with great numbers of wild and domestic animals. In the rest of the house all parts were overlaid with gold and adorned with gems and mother‑of‑pearl. There were dining-rooms with fretted ceils of ivory, whose panels could turn and shower down flowers and were fitted with pipes for sprinkling the guests with perfumes. The main banquet hall was circular and constantly revolved day and night, like the heavens. (Suetonius, *Nero* 31.1-2)

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[44] Ibid., 108.

The historian describes a palace that was massive, opulent, and replete with personal luxuries. Suetonius presents the *Domus Aurea* in negative terms calling it "ruinously prodigal." For later Romans, the *Domus Aurea* was a symbol of Nero's egomania and personal extravagance. Historians also associated a deadly fire in 64 C.E. with Nero's palace. Tacitus provides a rich account of the fire noting that Nero built his palace on the ruins of Rome (Tacitus, *Annals* 15.38-42). Tacitus also describes Nero's efforts to rebuild parts of the city after this fire, but second and third century Roman historian Cassius Dio is less forgiving; he claims that Nero caused the fire (Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 62.16). Physical evidence for the *Domus Aurea* will be discussed later in addition to the possible complications of the palace's historical depiction.

These represent several salient aspects of Nero's historical representation. Nero was viewed as anti-military, philhellene, and a decadent builder, all of which were understood as qualities of a degenerate and ineffective ruler. When examining Vespasian's buildings, it will be evident that his structures respond to this historical depiction of Nero. For example, the Flavian amphitheater was built upon the grounds of the *Domus Aurea*. Its construction converted Nero's private land into an area for public use.

It must be further noted that although the ancient historical sources are not reliable, their depictions of Nero are not false. Rather, they are exaggerations of the truth. Nero did build a large palace, was a philhellene, and did not link his imperial image with the army. Scholar Edward Champlin adds, "There is no need to whitewash Nero: he was a bad man and a bad ruler."[45] As will be discussed, Vespasian dissociated himself from Nero to gain legitimacy as

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[45] Champlin, *Nero,* 52. Champlin's assessment should be taken seriously considering his work presents Nero in the most favorable of any modern study of the emperor.

princeps. Vespasian's response to the last of the Julio-Claudians was not based on a false

premise. Vespasian drew authority by projecting himself as what Nero was not: a good ruler.

PART 2: VESPASIAN'S BUILDINGS IN ROME

Five structures will be considered when examining Vespasian's building program: the Capitoline Temple to Jupiter *Optimus Maximus*, the *Templum Pacis*, the Colosseum, the Temple of *Divus Claudius*, and the Baths of Titus (Figure 1). The form, function, location, and symbolism of each structure will be analyzed. Each building created a specific relationship with the past by demonstrating similarities and differences to other Roman monuments. Therefore, these buildings employed one or more methods for articulating Vespasian's connection to the past. This declared, for Roman viewers, the character of Vespasian's principate.

The Capitoline Temple

The Julio-Claudian emperors neglected the Temple of Jupiter *Optimus Maximus* pressing the forum of Augustus and the Palatine hill as representations of their power. Vespasian's rebuilding, therefore, was a new realization of imperial power. The reconstruction adhered to the Temple's previous designs dating to the republic, linking him to the Roman general Sulla who reconstructed the Capitoline after a fire in 83 B.C.E. Vespasian's design revived the temple's republican significance and signified Vespasian to be the "restorer" of the Roman state. The same rhetoric of restoration distanced Vespasian from Nero's misrule. Additionally, the Temple revived the republican traditions of the triumph. The Capitoline Temple aligned Vespasian with republican leaders and traditions identifying the republican past as a source of authority.

The Capitoline Temple before Vespasian

As one of the first monumental structures erected in Rome, the Capitoline Temple was a symbol of Roman statehood, more specifically, the *res publica*. The Etruscan King Tarquinius Priscus first vowed a temple to Jupiter, Minerva, and Juno in the early sixth century B.C.E., but it was not fully completed until the beginning of the republic in 507 B.C.E (Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities*, 3.69, 4.61). The first century B.C.E. Roman historian Livy says of the temple's inception, "…those digging the foundations of the temple to Jupiter came upon a human head with its features intact. This was a clear sign that this spot would be the citadel of the empire and the head of the world…" (Livy, *History* 1.55.1).[46] Livy wrote in the late republic and early empire and his history, therefore, reflects contemporary views of the Capitoline. So, at the end of the republic, the Capitoline Temple was the physical head of the Roman state.

The Capitoline Temple was also demonstrated the preservation of the Roman state. At the beginning of the fourth century B.C.E., Gallic forces destroyed several areas of Rome. Afterwards, the Roman people considered moving to the neighboring settlement of Veii. Livy recreates the speech given by the Roman general Camillus persuading the citizens to instead rebuild Rome. He says, "'And although, while the Gauls were victorious and in possession of the entire city, the Capitol nevertheless and the Citadel were held by the gods and men of Rome, shall we now, when the Romans are victorious and the City is regained, desert even Citadel and Capitol?'" (Livy, *History* 5.51.3-4). Livy's reimagination of Camillus's speech emphasizes the Roman state's physical link to the Capitoline Temple and hill. As Rome stood on the brink of

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[46] Livy, *The History of Rome*, Vol. 1. trans. by B.O Foster, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919). All translations from books 1 and 2 of *The History of Rome* are by B.O Foster. Translations of books 26-27 are by F.G. Moore. Translations of books 43-45 and assorted fragments are by A.C. Schesinger.

destruction, the Capitoline was invoked as its physical manifestation. By the late first century B.C.E, the Capitoline was regarded as a symbol of the earliest conceptions of the *res publica*.

The Capitoline's reconstruction, in the late republic, embodied the building's ideal of preserving the Roman state. The Temple's original structure was Etruscan style–contemporary with architectural designs of the sixth century B.C.E.[47] It burned down in 83 B.C.E., but was rebuilt by the Roman general Sulla. Historians note the rebuilding's continuity with the original Temple. The Greek historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, "[The rebuilt Temple] rests on the same foundations and differs from the old temple only in the costliness of its material" (Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities*, 4.61).[48] Similarly, Tacitus remarks, "…The Temple was built again on the same spot …" (Tacitus, *Histories* 3.72). Sulla likely reconstructed the Capitoline with marble, as might be expected during the first century B.C.E., but remained loyal to the original Temple's location and design.[49] Sulla's reconstruction took place after a period of intense political turbulence. His restoration, rendered in a traditional manner, may have paralleled his own reforms to the republic.[50] Even if this is not true, Dionysius and Tacitus make it clear that Sulla's reconstruction observed the Capitoline's original design.

The Capitoline Temple held an important function in the Roman triumph, a significant ritual of the republican state. During the republic, the senate awarded triumphs to Roman generals as the greatest distinction of military honor. The triumph was a procession led by a victorious general drawn in a four-horse carriage known as a *quadriga*. The general paraded

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[47] Filippo Coarelli, *Rome and Environs: An Archaeological Guide*, trans. James J. Clauss and Daniel P. Harmon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007)*,* 33.
[48] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, trans. by Earnest Cary, (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1937). Translations of *Roman Antiquities* are by Earnest Cary.
[49] Ibid., 32.
[50] Arthur Keaveney, *Sulla: The Last Republican* (London: Croom Helm Ltd, 1982), 180.

through Rome exhibiting the spoils of war and Roman military power.[51] From the triumph's

inception, the Capitoline Temple to Jupiter *Optimus Maximus* served as a significant physical

marker for the procession. Dionysius of Halicarnassus records the first triumph given to the

Rome's mythic founder, Romulus. The victorious leader completed his triumph by sacrificing

and the depositing spoils of war on the Capitoline hill (Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* 34.3-4).

Livy articulates this tradition's prominence in the republic. He retells the speech of the Roman

general Marcus Servilius who details the custom of the triumph. Servilius says:

> "When a consul or praetor, accompanied by lictors in military dress, sets out to his
> command and to war, he declares his vows on the Capitoline. When the war is
> successfully completed, the victor returns to the Capitoline in his triumph, bringing well-
> deserved gifts to these same gods." (Livy, *History* 45.39.11-12)

According to Livy, in the middle republic, the Capitoline was the customary beginning and

ending point of the triumph. The temple was further tied to the triumph through its decorations: a

terracotta *quadriga* adorned the temple's summit (Pliny, *The Natural Histories* 35.157).

Vespasian's Reconstruction

The Capitoline Temple was destroyed for a second time when the Flavians captured

Rome in 69 C.E. Flavian-influenced sources blame the Vitellian faction for the temple's

destruction.[52] Tacitus, however, provides a more balanced account saying, "It is a question here

whether it was the besiegers or the besieged who threw fire on the roofs" (Tacitus, *Annals* 3.71).

This statement adds to Tacitus' unfavorable description of the Flavians' capture of Rome

(Tacitus, *The Histories* 3.66-3.86). Regardless of who destroyed the Temple, Vespasian had little

choice in rebuilding the Temple. Its importance in the fabric of Roman life made its restoration a

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[51] Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007) 31-36**.**
Beards' highly regarded work is the most recent significant study on the Roman triumph.
[52] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 45.

moral imperative. Still, Vespasian's reconstruction went beyond religious obligation. The

historical sources illustrate the Temple's importance for establishing the new regime. Cassius

Dio notes the expeditiousness of the Capitoline's rebuilding: when Vespasian returned to Rome

in 70 C.E., "He immediately began to construct the temple on the Capitoline" (Cassius Dio,

Roman History 65.10.2).[53] Within six years, Vespasian completed the temple using imperial

funds, despite inheriting a treasury emptied by Nero and civil war.[54] The temple's previous

rebuilding, in the first century B.C.E., lasted fourteen years–over twice as long.[55] Additionally,

Suetonius tells us, "[Vespasian] began the restoration of the Capitol in person, was the first to

lend a hand in clearing away the debris, and carried some of it off on his own head" (Suetonius,

Vespasian 8.5). Although corroborated by Cassius Dio (Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 65.10.2),

the validity of this story is suspect;[56] however it highlights Vespasian's personal concern for the

temple's restoration and its importance to the Flavian regime. Moreover, the Capitoline Temple

is discussed in more detail in historical sources than any other Vespasianic building.

The design of Vespasian's reconstruction mimicked Sulla's rebuilding. Tacitus recalls the

Temple's restoration saying:

> The haruspices when assembled by him directed that the ruins of the old shrine should be
> carried away to the marshes and that a new temple should be erected on exactly the same
> site as the old: the gods were unwilling to have the old plan changed…The temple was
> given greater height than the old: this was the only change that religious scruples
> allowed, and the only feature that was thought wanting in the magnificence of the old
> structure. (Tacitus, *The Histories* 4.53)

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[53] [53] Dio Cassius. *Roman History,* trans. by Earnest Cary (Cambridge: Harvard University Press,
1914). All translations of *Roman Antiquites* are by Earnest Cary.
[54] Levick, *Vespasian,* 97.
[55] Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 31.
[56] David Wardle, "Vespasian, Helvidius Priscus and the Restoration of the Capitol" *Historia:
Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 45.2 (1996): 217.

This rebuilding had two-fold significance: first, Vespasian rebuilt the temple with the same design and location as Sulla. Thus, Vespasian was identifying himself as a restorer, like Sulla. Second, Vespasian rebuilt the Temple according to tradition, as did Sulla. Vespasian, therefore, was also aligning himself with the Temple's history before Sulla in which the Capitoline was a symbol of the preservation of the republic. Vespasian's Capitoline temple was built on the same location and with the same design as its predecessor. As seen above, the historical sources describe Vespasian and Sulla's rebuilding in very similar terms. Ultimately, the Temple drew a parallel to republican leaders, but also to a longer history of the Temple's embodiment of the republican state.

Determining the Temple's physical design remains difficult. Archaeological evidence is sparse; excavations from the 1860s to the 1930s unearthed several construction layers dating from the fourth century B.C.E. to Domitian's rebuilding in 80 C.E.[57] Numismatic evidence is also inconclusive. Vespasian minted several coins depicting what appears to be the Capitoline Temple. These coins depict a hexastyle temple with three divine figures, but show contradicting proportions and roof types (Figure 2). A definitive reconstruction of the Temple is futile with only weak and conflicting evidence. Nevertheless, several reasonable conclusions concerning the temple's design are possible: it was rendered in the original Etruscan style, hexastyle in plan, contained three cellas, and mounted a *quadriga* sculpture on the apex of its gable.[58] Vespasian

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[57] Ibid., 220-221. These dates remain uncertain. Wardle, however, attributes a top layer of concrete to the Vespasianic restoration, but physical evidence continues to be inclusive.
[58] J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture* (New York: Penguin Books, 1970), 63.

added the Corinthian order[59] and, according to Tacitus, increased the Temple's height (Tacitus,

The Histories 4.53). Surviving archaeological and numismatic evidence indicates Vespasian's

restoration of the Capitoline Temple conforms to historical accounts: its design was republican,

stemming from its previous forms. This associated Vespasian with Sulla as well as the Temple's

longer republican history.

The Palatine Hill and the Forum of Augustus

Vespasian's patronage of the Capitoline Temple was a departure from Julio-Claudian

practice. Under the Julio-Claudians, the Capitoline hill was neglected, as the Palatine hill became

the new power nucleus of Rome. Augustus claimed to have restored the Temple to Jupiter

Optimus Maximus (Augustus, *Res Gestae* 20.1), but temples more directly associated with the

imperial family received more attention from the Augustan renewal program.[60] Augustus also

removed a set of prophecies known as the Sibylline books from their ancient resting place in the

Capitoline Temple and deposited them in the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine (Suetonius,

Augustus 31.1). Furthermore, Augustus' home on the Palatine, the *Domus Augusti*, became

integral for the political functioning of the principate.[61] During the reigns of Tiberius and

Caligula, the Palatine imperial residence was further expanded cementing the hill's connection to

the Julio-Claudian family and imperial power.[62] As the emperor and the Julio-Claudian family

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[59] John Stamper, *Architecture of Roman Temples*: *Republic to Middle Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 154. The majority of Flavian coins depict the temple with Corinthian capitals and columns.

[60] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* 108.

[61] Jennifer Rea, *Legendary Rome: Myth, Monuments, and Memory on the Palatine and Capitoline* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2007), 33.

[62] Karen Acton, "Vespasian and the Social World of the Roman Court" *American Journal of Philology* 132.1 (2011): 107.

became the head of the Roman state, the Palatine hill was transformed into the physical manifestation of their power.

Furthermore, the Julio-Claudians developed a mythic tradition for the Palatine as the most ancient physical symbol of the Roman state. This rivaled the Capitoline's traditional significance. The Palatine was presented as the birthplace of Rome, positioning the Julio-Claudian *gens* as the founders of the city.[63] According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the so-called Hut of Romulus was treated as a shrine during the reign of Augustus. "…The hut of Romulus, remained even in my time on the side of the Palatine hill which looks toward the Circus, and is maintained as a sacred place by those who are the caretakers for such matter" (Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities*, 1.79.11). Augustus emphasized that Romulus lived on the Palatine hill, identifying himself as a new Romulus. This created an alternative narrative for the continuity Rome's statehood: Romulus and the Palatine hill were the beginning of Rome, and Augustus was the latest continuation.

Augustus further diminished the Capitoline's prestige when he built his forum. Augustus had vowed to build a temple to Mars *Ultor* before the battle of Philippi in 42 B.C.E. The Temple and its enclosing forum space were completed forty years later in 2 B.C.E (Figure 3).[64] The forum featured a monumental square with two parallel colonnades and two adjacent exedras.[65] The Temple to Mars *Ultor* stood on a central axis at the forum's northeast end.[66] The temple of Mars *Ultor* also showed structural similarities to the Capitoline Temple. The length and width of

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[63] Rea, *Legendary Rome*, 24.
[64] Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 108.
[65] Ibid., 110.
[66] Ibid., 111.

the Temple of Mars *Ultor*'s podium were roughly the same as the Capitoline's.[67] Likewise, the

its axial symmetry and high podium derive from the same architectural genus as the Capitoline.[68]

Like the Capitoline, the Temple of Mars *Ultor* honored a trio of deities: Mars, Venus, and a

divine Julian prince. According to a relief from a Claudian-era altar, the Temple's pediment

would have depicted three deities who were also represented as cult statues held in the temple's

single cella.[69] This was meant to parallel, if not rival, the Capitoline triad of deities. Augustus'

trio was the progenitors of the Julio-Claudian line.[70] Venus was the mother of Aeneas and Mars

was the father of Romulus–both founding figures of Augustan Rome through which the Julio-

Claudians traced their lineage. Thus, the temple of Mar Ultor was created as a new Capitoline

temple, one that was associated with the Julio-Claudian family.

The forum's rivalry with the Capitoline temple extended to the appropriation of triumphal

traditions. According to ancient sources, Augustus intended the forum to be a new location for

military and triumphal ceremony: here, the senate was to award triumphs and deliberate matters

of war, victorious commanders were to deposit the insignia of their triumph in the temple of

Mars *Ultor*, and commanders departing for campaign were to ceremonially begin their journeys

at the forum (Suetonius, *Augustus* 29.1-2; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 55.10.2-4). The forum of

Augustus and the temple of Mars *Ultor* altered the fundamental position of the Capitoline in the

Roman triumph. Triumphs may still have ended at the Capitoline Temple, but the spoils of war

were now being deposited in the Temple to Mars *Ultor* and generals were beginning their

campaigns at the forum. The forum was also adorned with a bronze sculpture of Augustus riding

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[67] Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples,* 132.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Zanker, *Power of Images*, 197.
[70] Ibid., 196.

in a *quadriga*.[71] During his reign, Augustus had limited the number of triumphs reserving them for members of the imperial family; the triumph was now Julio-Claudian. [72] The forum of Augustus and the Temple to Mars *Ultor* were the physical manifestations of these changes to the triumph. Like the Palatine, the forum of Augustus was a site of Julio-Claudian imperial power. Since the Julio-Claudians were synonymous with the *res publica*, the Capitoline Temple was no longer the primary symbol of Roman statehood.

Revival of the Triumph, Republican Traditions, and Principate

The restoration of the Capitoline was accompanied by general Flavian rhetoric of restoration, imbuing the structure with further symbolic value. The Capitoline appeared on eight different coins types minted during Vespasian and Titus' reign.[73] Other Flavian coins referred to the resurgence and stability of Rome including: *Roma Perpetua, Mars Conservator,* and six varieties of *Pax*.[74] The rhetoric of revitalization was widespread in Rome. Three inscriptions record Vespasian as having "*restituit"* (restored) public structures (*ILS* 218, *ILS* 245, *ILS* 249). Two of these inscriptions date to 71 C.E. and document Vespasian's restoration of Roman roads and aqueducts that had fallen into disrepair before his rule.[75] These inscriptions note damage to Rome that occurred during the Nero's reign. It seems that Vespasian was asserting himself to be the restorer in the context of Neronian misrule. The Capitoline was an extension of this message.

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[71] Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 111.

[72] Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, 296-297.

[73] Philip V. Hill, "Buildings and Monuments of Rome on Flavian Coins" *Numismatica e Antichità* 8 (1979): 222.

[74] Edwin S. Ramage, "Denigration of Predecessor under Claudius, Galba, and Vespasian," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 32.2 (1983): 211-212.

[75] *ILS* 218: *aqua Curtiam et Caeruleam..postea intermissas dilapsasque… ILS* 245 *vias urbis neglegentia superior. tempor. corruptas..*

As Vespasian restored the republican symbol of the Roman state, he declared that he would not be an emperor of destruction, like Nero.

The reconstruction of the Capitoline also reestablished the traditions of the Roman triumph. Augustus' forum and the Temple to Mars *Ultor* had taken a significant role in the triumphal ceremony completing the Julio-Claudian control of the Roman triumph. Like Augustus, Nero is documented to have subverted the Capitoline's traditional function in the triumph. Nero's final triumph in 67 C.E. did not follow the triumphal route, displayed a fusion of Greek and Roman culture, and, according to historians, was a shame to the Roman people (Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 63.20.6). The procession did not end at the Capitoline Temple, but at another location of Julio-Claudian power, the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine Hill.

Vespasian and his son Titus celebrated a triumph in 71 C.E. that reasserted the Capitoline's role as the ending point of the triumph. Josephus was an eyewitness at the triumph and provides the event's definitive historical account. He says, "The procession ended at the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter. Here they halted, in accordance with the ancient custom of waiting until someone brought word that the general of the enemy had been executed" (Josephus, *The Jewish War* 7.153-154). Josephus is explicit in noting the triumph's ending point, the Capitoline Temple. Like the rest of his account, Josephus articulates the Flavians' insistence on triumphal precedent. Scholar Mary Beard even says it was "the first triumph that was more of a 'revival' than living tradition…"[76] In 71 C.E., the Capitoline Temple was only in the first stages of construction. Therefore, Vespasian intentionally ended his triumph at the partially under construction Temple. The triumph's spectacle highlighted the restoration of Rome manifested in

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[76] Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, 328. Beard sees the Flavian triumph as dramatically intentional revival of the customary triumph.

what was once its most important cult site. Furthermore, Vespasian was reinstating a pre-Julio-Claudian triumph that generals had been granted during republic. These same generals had revered the Capitoline as the symbol of the Roman state.

When Vespasian constructed the Capitoline Temple, he was cognizant of the forum of Augustus and the Temple of Mars *Ultor*'s impact on triumphal tradition; Julio-Claudian emperors had adapted the triumph to suit their family's imperial power. When Augustus constructed the Temple of Mars *Ultor*, he mimicked the Capitoline, but modified it to be a Julio-Claudian structure. Therefore, when Vespasian started construction on the restoration of the Capitoline in 70 C.E. he entered into an existing architectural conversation. Vespasian's reconstruction varied slightly from the Capitoline's previous design and increased the Temple's height. It is tempting to suggest that Vespasian's rebuilding of the Capitoline surpassed the size of the Temple of Mars *Ultor*. This argument, however, is only speculative. Nonetheless, it can still be concluded that Vespasian built a Temple that's design stemmed from traditions of the republic.

Vespasian rebuilt the Capitoline temple and revived its traditions and symbolism. It was constructed with the same designs and location as previous versions of the Temple. It, therefore, linked Vespasian's authority with republican leaders like Sulla, as well as the building's republican symbolism as the head of the state. This created an unprecedented locus of imperial power; Julio-Claudian emperors had favored the Palatine hill and the forum of Augustus as symbolic locations of their power. Additionally, Augustus' Temple to Mars *Ultor* had appropriated the triumphal roles indentified with the Capitoline Temple. Vespasian restored the prominence of the Capitoline, emphasizing its place as the last stop of the triumphal procession.

The Capitoline Temple therefore identified Vespasian's authority as continuous with the republican past–independent of Julio-Claudian precedent. Additionally, Vespasian's restoration of the symbol of Roman state asserted his dissimilarity from the emperor Nero. The revival of triumphal tradition also distanced Vespasian from last of the Julio-Claudians. Consequently, the Capitoline expressed multiple methods for articulating Vespasian's legitimacy.

The *Templum Pacis*

The *Templum Pacis*, or the Temple of Peace,[77] was placed in proximity to the imperial

fora of Augustus and Caesar and presented a complementary message of military conquest. Its

structure was also derived from these Julio-Claudian forums. The *Templum's* dissemination of

civil and foreign *Pax* was also similar to Augustus' monument, the *Ara Pacis.* This asserted

Vespasian's authority by associating him with certain Julio-Claudians. The *Templum* also

displayed republican military accomplishments alongside those of Vespasian and Augustus.

Additionally, its promotion of domestic *pax* distanced Vespasian from Nero.

Topography, Form, and Categorization

The *Templum Pacis* was Vespasian's first completed public building in Rome. The

Templum's construction began immediately after Vespasian's triumph in 71 C.E. (Josephus, *The*

Jewish War 7.159) and was finished in his sixth consulship in 75 C.E. (Cassius Dio, *Roman*

History 65.15.1). Josephus notes the *Templum* was completed, "in so short a time" (Josephus,

The Jewish War 7.159). This did not sacrifice the structure's quality as it was considered one of

the most beautiful buildings in the city among contemporary Romans and in subsequent decades

(Pliny the Elder, *Natural Histories* 36.102; Herodian, *Roman History* 1.14.2). The poet Statius,

however, claims that the emperor Domitian who completed the *Templum's* physical structure

during his reign (Statius, *Silvae* 4.1.13). An interpretive reading of Suetonius might question

Statius' assertion (Suetonius, *Domitian* 5.1), but an archaeological study by James. C Anderson

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[77] The temple of Peace will be referred to by its Latin name *Templum Pacis*. This is because the
Latin word *Templum* has different connotations than what English defines as a "temple."

Jr. complicates this picture.[78] Even if it remained unfinished, the *Templum* was opened to the public hastily and during Vespasian's lifetime. Like the Capitoline Temple, the *Templum Pacis* was constructed with a sense of urgency indicating its centrality to Vespasian's principate.

Significant debate still exists pertaining the *Templum's* structural categorization. Some scholars include it in their discussions of the imperial fora[79] while others are more decisive in their designation. Scholar Darwall-Smith states, "[The *Templum Pacis*] is in every respect unrelated to the Fora of Julius Caesar and Augustus."[80] This disagreement in modern scholarship stems from a combination of the structure's design, topographical location, and contradictions within the ancient sources. Cassius Dio and Josephus identify the structure as "τέμενος Εἰρήνης"[81] which can be roughly translated as "official enclosure of Peace" (Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 65.15.1; Josephus, *The Jewish War* 7.159). In contrast, Cassius Dio refers to the Forum of Augustus as "Αὐγούστου ἀγορὰ" or the "the forum of Augustus" indicating a fundamental difference in his conception of the *Templum Pacis* (Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 55.10.1a). Suetonius calls Vespasian's structure a "*Templum*" (Suetonius, *Vespasian* 9.1), as does Pliny (Pliny the Elder, *Natural Histories* 33.84). However, Pliny also refers to the structure as "*operibus Pacis*," roughly translated as "works of Peace," indicating a distinction the temple

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[78] James C. Anderson Jr., "Domitian, the Argiletum and the *Templum Pacis*," *American Journal of Archaeology* 86.1 (1982): 101. Anderson presents evidence that the *Templum Pacis* underwent considerable alterations during the reign of Domitian. Domitianic additions to the structure suggest the possibility of its incompleteness, but this is not a necessary conclusion.

[79] Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 125-128. James C. Anderson Jr., *The Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora*, (Collection Latomus Volume 182: Brussels, 1984), 99-118. Coarelli describes the *Templum Pacis* as forum-like structure including it in his section on the Imperial Fora. Anderson Jr. acknowledges the *Templum's* enigmatic design, but still adds it to his focused study on Imperial fora.

[80] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 56.

[81] Translations in this paragraph by author.

within the structure and its surrounding precinct (Pliny, *Natural Histories*, 36.27). It is clear, however, that the space is not referred to as "forum" until the fourth century C.E, well after Domitian had physically attached the *Templum Pacis* to the other Imperial fora.[82]

The *Templum's* design within its topographical context makes categorization even more difficult. Modern reconstructions place it to the southeast of the forum of Augustus and just to the north of the Basilica Aemilia (Figure 4). Suetonius specifically locates it "near the forum" (Suetonius, *Vespasian* 9.1). To the *Templum's* northeast stood the forum of Caesar and the forum of Augustus. These were the first of the "imperial Fora" that were public spaces, mimicking the forum Romanum, but associated with a singular ruler. The placement of the *Templum Pacis,* near the imperial Fora and the forum Romanum, located it at the heart of Rome's public sphere, proximal to the oldest social, political, and religious institutions of the city. While some scholars disagree, the *Templum Pacis*, as Filippo Coarelli says, is, "…intimately associated with the other Imperial fora…"[83] Vespasian would not have placed a large monumental square in this location if he did not intend it to be viewed within the context of the other fora.

Excavations in the 1930s uncovered the *Templum's* sparse remains, but two fragments of the Severan Marble Plan inform current understanding of its structure.[84] Based on this evidence,

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[82] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture,* 56.

[83] Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 125. For Coarelli, the Templum Pacis "is a monumental square similar to a forum…"

[84] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 57. Known as the *Forma Urbis,* the Marble Plan was in fact housed in a third century C.E. reconstruction of the *Templum Pacis*. Therefore, the *Templum's* appearance on the Marble plan is actually a depiction of its rebuilding by the emperor Septimus Severus. Darwall-Smith says of this "the absence of comment in the sources suggests that Severus kept to Vespasian's plan."

scholars have generated several possible reconstructions (Figure 5).[85] When viewed in its

topographic context, the *Templum* shows obvious similarities to the forum of Caesar and the

forum of Augustus. All three structures shared a basic plan centering upon an open courtyard

with flanking colonnades. While the other imperial fora held two lateral colonnades, the

Templum Pacis included a porticus that extended to four sides.[86] Moreover, the *Templum Pacis*

was nearly square while the forum of Augustus and the forum of Caesar were rectangular in

plan. This divergence should not be exaggerated. The *Templum's* square shape was not a

Vespasianic innovation. Rather, the square design derived from a Macellum that had burned

down on the site in the fire of Nero in 64 C.E.[87] Nevertheless, Vespasian chose to use the

parameters of a previous structure to literally and symbolically rebuild after the destruction of

Nero. Moreover, the *Templum's* design was still akin to nearby fora. Vespasian's *Templum Pacis*

should therefore be viewed as a forum structure drawing inspiration from Augustus and Julius

Caesar.

Furthermore, all three structures included cult temples on central axes. In the forum of

Caesar, the Temple of Venus *Genetrix* stood on a high tufa podium and featured eight columns

on its front and eight columns on its sides.[88] Likewise, the Temple of Mars *Ultor*, in the Forum

of Augustus, rested on a high podium with eight massive columns in front and eight on its side.[89]

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[85]This is the most well accepted artistic rendition of the *Templum Pacis*. It was drawn by Italo
Gismondi and originally printed in one of the first publications of excavations at the *Templum
Pacis*: A.M. Colini, "Forum Pacis" *BullComm* 65 (1937): 7-40. It must be remembered that the
Forum of Trajan and the Forum Transitorium, although depicted on this plan of the Imperial
Fora, post-date the Templum Pacis and therefore are not relevant to the current discussion.
[86] Anderson, *The Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora*, 110.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples*, 93-94.
[89] Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 111.

Differences exist between these two temples, but both were focal points for viewers in their respective fora. The phrase "*Templum Pacis*" refers to Vespasian's entire monumental structure, which included a temple to *Pax* on a central axis resting at the *Templum's* southeast side. This temple was likely hexastyle or tetrastyle *in antis* with a large apsidal hall.[90] Its façade stood slightly in front of the colonnade encroaching onto the inner courtyard.[91] Six columns, distinguished by their larger proportions, formed the temple's front and stood within the porticus.[92] A cult statue of *Pax* stood in the temple's central apse.[93] The Temple's form is unobtrusive and, in comparison to the rest of the precinct, is proportionally smaller than the Temples of Mars *Ultor* and Venus *Genetrix*. The Temple also lacked a podium; this seamlessly integrated the Temple into the surrounding colonnade. Vespasian placed the Temple on a central axis as did Augustus and Caesar. However, the *Templum Pacis* did not visually emphasize its cult Temple like the fora of Augustus and Caesar.

The *Templum's* design diverged from existing fora in several ways, but the architectural elements that comprised these differences were still familiar to Roman viewers. Republican structures, such as the Temple of Hercules at Alba Fucens, also placed their temples in-line with colonnades.[94] J.B. Ward-Perkins adds, "The formal precedents for the *Templum Pacis* are to be found not in Rome, but in Campania, where colonnaded enclosures with a gabled porch in the middle of one side are a common feature of both public and private architecture."[95] Perkins bases this claim on a wide suite of well-preserved evidence, but overlooks two structures in Rome only

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[90] Anderson, *The Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora*, 109.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 125.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Anderson, *The Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora,* 113.
[95] J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Architecture,* (Electra S.p.A.: Milan, 1979), 61.

depicted on fragments of the Marble Plan: the Porticus of Pompey and the Porticus of Liviae. Like the *Templum Pacis*, the Porticus of Liviae included a double colonnade on four sides.[96] Similarly, the Porticus of Pompey had a double colonnade on three sides with a temple on a central axis.[97] Ultimately, the *Templum's* design followed the basic form of the existing imperial fora and demonstrated formal precedents from non-forum structures in Rome.

Messages of War

The *Templum Pacis*, like the forum of Augustus, was a military monument of victory. The forum of Augustus' program was centered upon Augustus' personal military accomplishments: the Temple to Mars *Ultor* alluded to Augustus' identity as "avenger." Augustus had avenged his father's death when he defeated Julius Caesar's assassins at the battle of Philippi in 42 B.C.E. The Temple also housed the lost standards of the Roman general Marcus Crassus. The standards advertised Augustus' successful diplomacy with the Parthians (Augustus, *Res Gestae* 29). Finally, the military rituals, including the deposition of spoils of war in the Temple of Mars *Ultor*, asserted the emperor's control of military ritual.

The *Templum Pacis* was built after Vespasian's triumph in 71 C.E. Josephus' first reference to the *Templum Pacis* appears at the conclusion of his description of the triumph and thus expresses a connection between the procession and the structure. The wealth amassed from the Jewish War also financed the *Templum's* construction (Josephus, *The Jewish War* 7.159-162). Josephus notes that "the vessels of gold from the temple of the Jews" were set up in the *Templum* (Josephus, *The Jewish War* 7.162). These "vessels" are the same "λάφυρα" ("spoils") that were paraded during the Flavian triumph (Josephus *The Jewish War* 7.148-150). Scholars

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[96] Anderson, *The Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora,* 111.
[97] Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples*, 158.

have thus rightly viewed the *Templum Pacis* as a location of constructed memory. Here, the Flavians recreated the memory of the Jewish War and subsequent triumph for Roman audiences to perpetuate their military success and legitimacy.[98] Like the forum of Augustus, the *Templum Pacis* presented imperial triumph and conquest.

Other objects housed within the *Templum Pacis* articulated imperial military power. Pliny the Elder speaks of several well-known pieces of Greek art that were exhibited in the *Templum Pacis* (Pliny the Elder, *The Natural Histories* 35.74, 35.101-102, 35.108-109, 34.84). Pliny also describes an Egyptian statue placed in the *Templum's* precincts depicting the Nile River playing with sixteen of his children (Pliny the Elder, *The Natural Histories* 36.58). The collection of these works of art has led scholars to classify the *Templum Pacis* as a quasi-public museum.[99] The notion of public art has led scholars to categorize the *Templum Pacis* as devoted to *otium*–a place where Romans escaped the bustling of urban life to enjoy the leisure of art.[100] This argument relies on an interpretation that the rectangular structures within the *Templum's* courtyard, as seen on the Marble Plan, were extensive gardens. Excavations, however, indicate these structures were likely market stalls and/or workshops.[101]

The *Templum Pacis* was not exclusively a place of *otium* where Romans enjoyed eastern art. It was also an explicit display of Rome's military conquest. This depiction of conquest was not centered solely upon Vespasian's victory in Judea. It encompassed Roman subjugation of the east that had begun in the middle republic and continued with the Julio-

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[98] Rashna Taraporewalla, "*The Templum Pacis*: Construction of Memory Under Vespasian," *ACTA CLASSICA* 53 (2010): 152.
[99] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 65.
[100] Ibid., 65-68. Taraporewalla, *The Templum Pacis*, 155.
[101] Amanda Claridge, *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2010), 173. Claridge calls the existence of such gardens a "pure fantasy."

Claudians. This is consistent with the ideological connotations of foreign conquest embedded in Roman *Pax.*[102] During the republic, Rome conquered Greece, and Greek art, viewed as spoils of war, became common in Roman homes and public spaces.[103] The display of Egyptian art could also have been construed as homage to Augustus' conquest of Egypt. Finally, Vespasian's spoils from his conquest in Judea were a display of Rome's most recent military victory. The assemblage of Egyptian, Greek, and Jewish objects associated Vespasian with several phases of Roman military power in the eastern Mediterranean.

Vespasian's *Templum Pacis* was built as a display of the *princeps'* military power, like the forum of Augustus. Both structures emphasized the emperor's military power through triumphal images and spoils of war. The *Templum Pacis*, however, linked Vespasian's military power to several generations of Roman military conquest. Therefore, Vespasian drew his military authority not only from his comparison to Augustus, but also from republican conquest and his ongoing contribution to Roman dominance in the east.

Pax and Augustan Pax

The *Templum Pacis* dedication to the deity *Pax* signified a parallel to the Augustan structure known as the *Ara Pacis*. *Pax* was a concept, as well as a deity, that had a domestic and civic aspect in addition to a foreign and military one.[104] These were developed in the early empire as *Pax* signified harmony among Romans as well as the subjugation of non-Roman

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[102] Carlos Noreña, "Medium and Message in Vespasian's Templum Pacis," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 48 (2003): 28. See below for further discussion of the *Templum's* association with *pax.*

[103] Tonio Hölscher, "The Transformation of Victory into Power: From Event to Structure," in *Representations of War in Ancient Rome,* ed. Sheila Dillon and Katherine E. Welch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 41.

[104] Noreña, "Medium and Message in Vespasian's Templum Pacis," 34.

people.[105] Scholars have recognized a dramatic increase in Flavian *Pax* coins in 75 C.E.–the

same year that the *Templum Pacis* was dedicated.[106] This means the Flavians mass-produced *Pax*

coins in conjunction with the inauguration of the *Templum Pacis* as a celebration of foreign

conquest, specifically of Judea.[107] The *Templum Pacis* likely featured a cult statue of *Pax* in its

temple at the southeast end.[108] This is consistent with the imagery and program of conquest

discussed above. In this way, Vespasian recalled Augustus' monument to *Pax* that

commemorated imperial subjugation of Gaul and Spain.[109] Vespasian made this connection

explicit when he minted *Pax Augusta* and *Pax Augusti* coin types.[110] Furthermore, an inscription

dedicated to Titus during the reign of Vespasian even names the emperor's son as

"conser/[v]atori pacis Aug(ustae)" or the "the preserver of the Augustan Peace" (*CIL* 2.3732).

Despite these similarities, it should be noted that Augustus and Vespasian's monuments

to *pax* differed. This is expected because the *Templum Pacis* could not articulate Vespasian's

power exactly as Augustus did. Augustus placed his monument to *Pax*, the *Ara Pacis*, in the

north Campus Martius. Located outside the city walls, the northern Campus Martius lacked

prominent public structures during the republic. Over the course of the Augustan principate, the

area became associated with the emperor. The *Ara Pacis*, consecrated in 9 B.C.E, was part of a

complex of structures associated with Augustus and his accomplishments. Augustus' Mausoleum

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[105] Greg Woolf, "Roman Peace," in *War and Society in the Roman World,* ed. John Rich and Graham Shipley (New York: Routledge: 1993), 177.
[106] Ibid., 31.
[107] Ibid. Noreña observes a similar spike in *Pax* coinage in 69-70 C.E. He sees this as a message of civic *Pax*, as the conquest of Judea had yet to be completed. Therefore, *Pax* coins minted in 75 C.E. would refer to military *Pax.*
[108] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 61.
[109] Anderson Jr., *Imperial Fora,* 34.
[110] Ramage, "Denigration of Predecessor," 212.

was a symbol of the Augustan dynasty, while his *Horologium* celebrated his conquest of Egypt and pointed to the *Ara Pacis* on his birthday.[111] Before the *Ara Pacis*, no monuments to *Pax* existed in Rome. Therefore, the *Ara Pacis* established *Pax* as uniquely associated with Augustus.[112] Vespasian, on the other hand, established *Pax* in the heart of Rome and, therefore, by means of proximity, associated *pax* with the oldest social, religious, and political institutions of the state. This monument to *Pax* was not Julio-Claudian.

The *Templum Pacis* should be recognized as an enclosure that included, within its precinct, a temple to *Pax*. It is evident that the both the temple and enclosure were different than the *Ara Pacis*. The *Ara Pacis* was comprised of a rectangular enclosure on a podium, measuring 11.65 x 10.625 meters.[113] The temple to *Pax* and the enclosure dwarf the *Ara Pacis*. Moreover, the *Templum Pacis* invited the viewer to interact with the space using the courtyard and colonnades for walking. The temple to *Pax* also was also part of a multi-use structure affiliated with military victory. The *Ara Pacis* was associated strictly with ceremony, including only a few individuals in acts of sacrifice. The *Templum Pacis* represented a more substantial, public representation of *Pax*, while the *Ara Pacis* was associated with Augustus and played a limited role for the Roman public. Ultimately, the *Templum Pacis* paralleled the *Ara Pacis*, but was still created as a unique Flavian monument.

Nero, the *Domus Aurea*, and the Sub-text of Civic *Pax*

Vespasian's monument to *Pax* also included the message of civic *Pax*. As scholar Greg Woolf says of the *Templum Pacis*, "the evocation of civil harmony seems an inescapable sub-

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[111] Molly Swetnam-Burland, "Aegyptus Redacta: The Egyptian Obelisk in the Augustan Campus Martius," *Art Bulletin* 92.3 (2010): 146.
[112] Anderson, *Imperial Fora*, 109.
[113] Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 259.

text."[114] It seems inevitable that, after the reign of Nero and a year of civil war, a monument to

Pax would be viewed with its meaning of domestic harmony. Still, the *Templum's* message of

civic *Pax* principally addressed Nero's misrule. This is logical considering the historical

accounts surrounding the Flavian seizure of Rome during the civil war. Tacitus describes the

Capitoline Temple's destruction as the most shameful event in Roman history and does not

absolve the Flavians of guilt (Tacitus, *Histories* 3.72). Additionally, Cassius Dio reports that

50,000 people died in the fighting, describing Rome as "being pillaged, and the inhabitants were

fighting or fleeing or even themselves plundering and murdering, in order that they might be

taken for the invaders and thus preserve their lives" (Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 64.19-20). If

the *Templum Pacis* did assert a sub-text of civic *Pax*, Vespasian was declaring domestic

harmony would follow Nero's rule.

Furthermore, it is evident that the *Templum Pacis* addressed the memory of Nero and the

Domus Aurea. Pliny tells us that various works of Greek art were moved from the *Domus Aurea*

to the *Templum Pacis* (Pliny The Elder, *The Natural Histories* 34.84.). This action was

representative of Vespasian's foreign policy reactions to Nero's philhellenism. During Nero's

notorious 67 C.E. tour of Greece, he enacted the so-called "liberation of Greece." Pliny relates

the event saying, "freedom was given to the whole of Achaia by Domitius Nero" (Pliny the

Elder, *The Natural Histories* 4.6.22).[115] For the first time since the republic, Greece was freed

from Roman rule. Greece's freedom was short-lived; second century C.E. geographer Pausanias

reports, "For in the reign of Vespasian, the next emperor after Nero, [the Greeks] became

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[114] Woolf, "Roman Peace," 177.

[115] Pliny the Elder, *The Natural Histories.* trans. by H. Rackham (Cambridge: Harvard
University Press, 1938). Translations of *The Natural Histories* are by H. Rackham.

embroiled in a civil war; Vespasian ordered that they should again pay tribute and be subject to a governor, saying that the Greek people had forgotten how to be free" (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 7.17.4). In Vespasian's principate, the Greeks were once again placed under Roman control.

These historical accounts epitomize Vespasianic and Neronian attitudes towards Greece and the east. Nero's collection of Greek art was not unusual for Roman elite. From the middle republic onward, Rome's richest citizens adorned domestic and public spaces with Greek materials.[116] But Nero's patronage of Greek culture within the private sphere was construed as moral decay in Vespasianic Rome. This attitude is evident in Pliny's *Natural Histories* when the author praises an oration in which Marcus Agrippa called to make all Greek art publically owned (Pliny the Elder, *The Natural Histories*, 35.27). Vespasian's movement of Greek art exhibits a "Catonian attitude" toward Greek culture in which art should remain in the public sphere of Roman life.[117] As evident in Agrippa's speech, this was also a revival of Augustan policies with which the emperor implemented restrictions against private hoarding of Greek art.[118] Thus, Vespasian's transfer of Greek works served not only to dissociate himself from the corruption of private Greek art, but also presented him as a benefactor for the people. The *Templum's* location as well as Josephus emphasis on the *Templum*'s public accessibility for viewers epitomizes this (Josephus, *Jewish War* 7.161). Furthermore, the objects were viewed in a military context

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[116] Jerome Pollitt, "The Impact of Greek Art on Rome," *American Philological Association* 108 (1978): 155.
[117] Pollitt, "The Impact of Greek Art on Rome," 158. Pollitt places Roman attitude of Greek art into two categories: a "Catonian attitude" and "Connoisseur's attitude." According to Pollitt, Vespasian and Augustus exhibited Catonian attitudes, while Nero demonstrated a Connoisseur's attitude.
[118] Ibid., 158.

imbuing them with a different significance than they had held in the *Domus Aurea*. The *Templum Pacis* and *Domus Aurea* were different and thus contrasted their builders: Nero was morally corrupt and selfish, but Vespasian was a virtuous Roman, devoted to his people.

The *Templum's* conservative design embodied the notion of civic *Pax*. Due to their proximity, viewers contrasted the *Templum Pacis* with the *Domus Aurea*. The two structures showed different embodiments of architectural ambition within the Roman urban context. Tacitus describes the *Domus Aurea's* construction saying, "The architects and engineers were Severus and Celer, who had the ingenuity and the courage to try the force of art even against the veto of nature…" (Tacitus, *Annals* 15.42). Tacitus details the structure's architectural innovation that even defied the laws of nature. Modern excavations have corroborated this evidence and scholars have characterized Neronian architecture, especially the *Domus Aurea*, as innovative, creative, and revolutionary.[119] In contrast, the *Templum Pacis* was absent of Neronian innovation. It was traditional in form and design, lending itself to be named by scholars as one of the last great structures in the conservative Italo-Hellenic tradition.[120] Judging from its plan, the *Templum* did not employ complex uses of concrete–a hallmark of Neronian architecture.[121] The colonnades, temple structure, and linear space were part of a familiar visual language for Roman viewers. These designs conveyed the notion of domestic harmony by placing the *Templum Pacis* within the existing structural precedents of Rome. This plan was reactionary to the innovations of Neronian architecture.

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[119] Larry F. Ball, *The Domus Aurea and the Roman Architectural Revolution*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 262.
[120] Ward-Perkins, *Roman Architecture*, 61-63.
[121] It is impossible to truly know this. The Temple's rectilinear plan, however, suggests this.

Vespasian's *Templum Pacis* revised the way in which the emperor publicly represented his relationship to Greece and the east. Under Nero, the Greeks were released from Roman rule and were celebrated as a superior culture. The *Domus Aurea* was as a display of Greek art and culture, but was also perceived to violate boundaries of public and private. Not only did Vespasian place the Greeks back under Roman rule, he placed Greek art, along with Jewish and Egyptian objects, in the *Templum Pacis* to demonstrate eastern peoples' identity as conquered subjects of Rome. The *Templum Pacis* was an important counterpoint to the memory of Nero and the *Domus Aurea*.

The *Templum Pacis* positioned Vespasian as an appropriate successor to the Julio-Claudians. Its design resembled the imperial fora of Julius Caesar and Augustus and it demonstrated a similar military message as the forum of Augustus. This military message, however, was conveyed to glorify broad Roman conquest in the east. The *Templum Pacis* communicated the notions of civic and foreign *Pax* linking it to the only previous Roman monument to *Pax*, Augustus' *Ara Pacis*. But, the message of civic *Pax* also denigrated Vespasian's Julio-Claudian predecessor, Nero. This was clear in Vespasian's removal of eastern art from Nero's *Domus Aurea* and placement in the *Templum Pacis*. Therefore, the *Templum Pacis* communicated with the past in several ways to assert Vespasian's authority.

<u>**The Flavian Amphitheater**</u>

Vespasian's amphitheater, known today as the Colosseum, was a unique realization of imperial power. The Julio-Claudians never monumentalized this building type in order to exhibit their imperial authority. Still, the Flavian amphitheater's structural design was not innovative. Amphitheaters were of Roman origin and their prototype was developed in the republic to hold spectators of the gladiatorial games in the forum Romanum. The Flavian amphitheater showed similarities to earlier amphitheaters in and outside of Rome, but was revolutionary due to its massive scale and use of stone. The amphitheater's design and implicit associations also displayed military traditions dating to the Roman republic.

History of Amphitheaters in Rome before the Colosseum

The gladiatorial games (*munera*) and the structures that held them were fundamental parts of Roman society. From their beginning, Roman gladiatorial games were situated in public spaces–a testament to their value in Roman culture. The first gladiatorial games were held in the Forum Boarium.[122] According to Livy, in 216 B.C.E public gladiatorial combat was relocated to the forum Romanum. Livy also notes, "After the death of M. Aemilius Lepidus, who had been augur and twice consul, his three sons, Lucius, Marcus, and Quintus, celebrated funeral games in his honor for three days and exhibited twenty-two pairs of gladiators in the Forum" (Livy, *History* 23.30.15). Livy's lack of specification presumably indicates he is referring to the forum Romanum. According to the first century B.C.E. architect Vitruvius, it was the gladiatorial games that dictated the structure of Roman forums. He says, "The Greeks make their forum square… In the cities of Italy, however, this practice is not followed, because the ancient custom

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[122] Welch, *The Roman Amphitheater,* 19.

prevails of exhibiting the shows of gladiators in the forum…" (Vitruvius, *On Architecture*

5.1.1).[123] Vitruvius was writing in the age of Augustus and, therefore, could be misinterpreting

the causality of the game's relationship with Roman fora. It is possible that the rectangular shape

of the Roman forum determined the shape of the structure in which spectators viewed the games.

Either way, the rectangular forum, a Roman institution in its own right, and the gladiatorial

games were viewed as closely associated early in their respective histories.

Structures that held spectators of the gladiatorial games appeared in Rome during the

mid-republic. Archaeological evidence indicates that wooden seating structures, known as

spectacula, were installed in the forum Romanum by at least the second century B.C.E.[124] These

spectacula displayed an elliptical design and held spectators in a bowl shape seating structure

known as the *cavea*.[125] The *spectacula* were nestled between the Basilica Julia and Basilica

Aemelia south east of the Rostra. Scholars estimate that the late-Republican *spectacula* held

about 10,000 spectators–implying that only a small portion of the population could attend the

games.[126] By the end of the republic it is clear that a structure similar to later stone amphitheaters

held gladiatorial games in the forum Romanum (Figure 6). It is unclear what warranted the

verbal transition from *spectacula* to *amphitheatrum*. The word *amphitheatrum* enters extant

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[123] Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, trans. by Frank Stephen Granger (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955). Translations of *On Architecture* are by Frank Stephen Granger.
[124] Katherine E. Welch, *The Roman Amphitheater: From its Origins to the Colosseum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 35. See also Welch's figures 22, 23, 24. These are possible reconstructions of the *spectacula*.
[125] Ibid., 50.
[126] Ibid., 54. Ticket prices for the gladiatorial games in the forum were expensive. Therefore, it is likely only the wealthiest could Romans attend.

Latin in the late first century B.C.E.,[127] but these temporary, wooden seating structures resembled later stone structures.

The first permanent amphitheaters, however, were not built in Rome, but Campania. Scholars debate the identification of the first stone amphitheater. Still, it is generally accepted that amphitheaters at Pompeii, Cumae, Liternum, and Capua were the first stone amphitheaters in Italy.[128] Most stone amphitheaters constructed in the first century B.C.E. were built in Roman *municipia* and colonies. These republican stone amphitheaters adhere to a standard design with little structural variety.[129] Within the archaeological record, these stone amphitheaters emerged suddenly and with no evident prototype in southern Italy.[130] These structures likely drew their design from the wooden *spectacula* of the forum Romanum. This is logical within the historical framework of colonization: Roman colonists would have used amphitheaters to assert their identities within non-Roman contexts.[131] Thus, the amphitheater was, in origin, a Roman structure. Its proliferation in Roman colonies and *municipia* indicates its centrality to Roman society.

Several amphitheaters were constructed in Rome during the imperial period before the Colosseum. The amphitheater of Statilius Taurus was the first permanent amphitheater built in Rome. Statilius Taurus was a distinguished general who served under Augustus in his civil

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[127] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture,* 77. It first appears in Vitruvius.

[128] Ibid., 84. An inscription dates the amphitheater at Pompeii to 70 B.C.E. A late second century B.C.E. date has been argued for the other Campanian amphitheaters. Welch sees no convincing evidence for these structures to be dated before the amphitheater at Pompeii.

[129] Ibid*.,* 101.

[130] Katherine, Welch, "The Roman Arena in Late-Republican Italy: a New Interpretation." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 7 (1994): 59-80. Before this interpretation, the amphitheater was considered strictly as an invention of the Campania.

[131] Kathleen Coleman, "Entertaining Rome," in *The Archaeology of the Eternal City,* ed. Jon Coulston and Hazel Dodge (Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2000), 227.

wars.[132] Statilius' amphitheater was dedicated in 29 B.C.E. (Cassius Dio, *Roman History*,

51.23.1; Suetonius, *Augustus,* 29.5) and burned down in the fire of 64 C.E. (Cassius Dio, *Roman*

History, 62.18.2). Strabo locates the amphitheater in the Campus Martius near three Augustan-

era structures: the theaters of Marcellus, Balbus, and Pompey (Strabo, *Geography* 5.3.8). No

material from the amphitheater has survived and its location within the Campus Martius is a

matter of debate.[133] Nevertheless, it marks an important monumentalization of the gladiatorial

games within Rome. It was the first permanent structure that could hold large games for the

public. While games in the forum Romanum served an elite audience, the amphitheater of

Statilius Taurus marked the realization of the gladiatorial games as mass spectacle.

It is problematic to consider the amphitheater of Statilius Taurus as part of Augustus'

program because it was not a demonstration of imperial power. Suetonius includes the

amphitheater in a list of structures that the emperor did not build. Suetonius says, "[Augustus]

often urged other prominent men to adorn the city with new monuments or to restore and

embellish old ones…for example…an amphitheater by Statilius Taurus" (Suetonius, *Augustus*

29.4-5). Augustus undoubtedly partook in the amphitheater's planning. Regardless, it was not

used to convey imperial authority. Moreover, there is reasonable evidence to suggest the

amphitheater's capacity was limited.[134]

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[132] Welch, *The Roman Amphitheater*, 119.
[133] Ibid*.,* 125. Welch persuasively places it close to the west end of the *Circus Flaminius* near modern Monte de' Cenci. L Richardson places it further west: L. Richardson Jr., *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 11.
[134] Stephen Dyson, *Rome: A Living Portrait of an Ancient City*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 173.

The design of the amphitheater of Statilius Taurus is difficult to reconstruct. If we accept Rome as the model for amphitheater architectural designs, then amphitheaters in Augustan colonies can supply evidence for the amphitheater of Statilius. The amphitheater at Augusta Praetora employs a rusticated façade, a series of arches, and the Tuscan order with engaged columns (Figure 7). It is probable that the amphitheater of Statilius Taurus also used the Tuscan order on its façade to reflect the Italian nature of the amphitheater.[135] The use of arches on the façade is also seen in the first republican amphitheaters and became a conventional design for subsequent amphitheaters.[136] This style of façade, using engaged columns and consecutive arches, predates the Theater of Marcellus (dedicated in 13 B.C.E.)–sometimes cited as an architectural inspiration for later amphitheaters, specifically the Colosseum. Finally, the amphitheater of Statilius Taurus may have been the first amphitheater in Rome to employ stone.[137] Cassius Dio is the only ancient author to refer to the structure's building material (Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 51.23.1). Scholars have also argued that structures interior was predominately wooden.[138] The incorporation of stone added to the structures' monumentality, but its wooden interior did not compare to the Colosseum.

Under Augustus, gladiatorial games became mass spectacles (Augustus, *Res Gestae* 22). Emperors could now sponsor games to exert their control over city. Additionally, gladiatorial combat was likely discontinued in the forum Romanum when it was paved in late first century

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[135] Welch, *Roman Amphitheater*, 109.
[136] Ibid., See 93, 107, 113, 114 for use of arches.
[137] Ibid., 116.
[138] Ibid.

B.C.E.[139] This allowed for the creation of spaces specifically designed to house gladiatorial combat.

Two additional amphitheaters were constructed in Rome during the imperial period. Nero and Caligula each built a wooden amphitheater–neither of which survive today. Cassius Dio notes that Caligula "transferred [the games] to another place, where he had demolished a great many large buildings and erected wooden stands; for he despised the theatre of Taurus" (Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 59.10.9). It is unclear why Caligula would have despised the amphitheater of Statilius Taurus. Suetonius reports that the emperor hosted games both in the amphitheater of Statilius Taurus and the *Saepta Julia* (Suetonius, *Caligula* 18.1). Suetonius also records that the emperor began an amphitheater, but it remained unfinished at his death and was never completed by his successor Claudius (Suetonius, *Caligula* 21.1). These contradictions within the historical sources are difficult to resolve. Nonetheless, it is evident that Caligula's amphitheater was wooden, located in the Campus Martius, and, due to the brevity of Caligula's reign, erected quickly. It lacked monumentality due to its apparent lack of size and wooden construction and it did not serve as a demonstration of imperial power.

Nero also constructed an amphitheater in Rome. According to Suetonius, it was located in the Campus Martius, made of wood, and completed within the year 57 C.E. (Suetonius, *Nero* 12.1). Tacitus implies the amphitheater was not remarkable. He says:

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[139] Coleman, "Entertaining Rome," 228. The pavement is tentatively dated to 12 B.C.E. The wooden *spectacula* could not be erected with this in place.

> In the consulate of Nero, for the second time, and of Lucius Piso, little occurred that deserves remembrance, unless the chronicler is pleased to fill his rolls with panegyrics of the foundations and the beams on which the Caesar reared his vast amphitheater in the Campus Martius; although, in accordance with the dignity of the Roman people, it has been held fitting to consign great events to the page of history and details such as these to the urban gazette. (Tacitus, *The Annals* 13.31)

Tacitus regards the amphitheater as "vast," but appears indignant in regard to the structure's significance. Judging from Tacitus' description, its wooden composition, and the speed of its construction, Nero's amphitheater was not a demonstration of imperial authority.

In conclusion, gladiatorial games in Rome were an ancient tradition associated with Roman identity. The structures that held these games were first located in the forum Romanum and displayed an elliptical design. During the imperial period, games saw a transformation into a form of mass spectacle. Julio-Claudian emperors held these games in several locations across the city. The amphitheaters they constructed for these games lacked monumentality and were not permanent demonstrations of imperial power. This is not to say the Julio-Claudians did not sponsor gladiatorial games to exert their authority within the city. The structures in which these games were held, however, did not demonstrate their power. Augustus, Caligula, and Tiberius sponsored imperial gladiatorial contests in the amphitheater of Statilius Taurus (Suetonius, Tiberius 7.1; Augustus, *Res Gestae* 22; Suetonius, *Caligula* 18), but it was not the exclusive location of such games. According to Suetonius, Augustus also staged games in the Circus Maximus, *Julia Saepta,* and forum Romanum (Suetonius, *Augustus* 43.1-2). Additionally, the amphitheaters of Nero and Caligula lacked permanence and monumentality. The Julio-Claudians used large public games to assert their control, but the structures that housed the games were not part of their demonstration of power.

The Colosseum: A New Demonstration of Imperial Power

Vespasian began construction of a new stone amphitheater in 70 C.E., almost immediately after taking power.[140] Known today as the Colosseum, the Flavian Amphitheater was completed by Vespasian's sons Titus and Domitian after the emperor's death (Suetonius, *Vespasian* 7.1). According to archaeological evidence, the amphitheater's three lowest arcades were in place by the time of Vespasian's death in 79 C.E.[141] In 80 C.E., Titus hosted an extravagant 100-day games for the structure's inauguration.[142] After its completion, the Colosseum was the only amphitheater in Rome that could hold mass spectacles and would remain the city's primary amphitheater for the duration of the empire.

Analyzing the Colosseum's structure, design, location, and purpose poses several difficulties. First, as discussed, Vespasian did not complete the building or host any games in the structure. It is impossible to discern if Titus and Domitian followed their father's designs. Furthermore, the Colosseum has undergone numerous reconstructions and restorations–both ancient and modern. Distinguishing Flavian construction from subsequent work is problematic.[143] Nevertheless, Vespasian's amphitheater can be understood in terms of its fundamental design, purpose, and location as a new representation of imperial power.

Vespasian placed his amphitheater in the city's center. Suetonius says that Vespasian built an amphitheater "in the heart of the city, a plan which he learned that Augustus had cherished" (Suetonius, *Vespasian* 9.1). Augustus' desire to build an amphitheater in Rome is

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[140] Amanda Claridge, *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide*, 312.
[141] James Packer, "Parsing Flavian Rome," in *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text,* ed. A.J. Boyle and W.J. Dominik, (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 169.
[142] Coarelli, *Rome and Environs,* 164.
[143] Mary Beard and Keith Hopkins, *The Colosseum* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 122.

undocumented in other sources.[144] It is possible that Augustus' "desire" was Vespasian's own

invention. During the Julio-Claudian dynasty, gladiatorial games were removed from the forum

Romanum, despite the recognition of the ancient relationship between the games and the forum.

The games were hosted primarily in structures in the Campus Martius in order to accommodate

their transformation into public spectacle. Vespasian returned the amphitheater to Rome's urban

center–a possible gesture toward the game's original location. Even if this is not true, Vespasian

was establishing a structure to hold mass gladiatorial spectacle as a fundamental part of Roman

society by placing it near the oldest buildings in Rome.

The Colosseum was planned to fully meet the Roman public's demands for gladiatorial

combat. The amphitheater was massive: it stood at 52 meters high, 188 meters long, 156 meters

wide, and held approximately 50,000 spectators.[145] This was larger than the amphitheaters built

in the Campus Martius. Its centrality and capacity signaled the creation of Rome's first

standardized imperial games. The Julio-Claudians hosted gladiatorial combat in a number of

locations in structures that were not monumental and not always designed to exclusively hold

gladiatorial combat.

When discussing the Colosseum's design, the structural precedents in both Italy and

Rome must be considered. In general, the Colosseum's design was not innovative. It's elliptical

plan with one long and one short axis is largely the same as the earliest amphitheaters including

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[144] Augustus's name is not directly associated with any amphitheaters in Rome. This begs the
question, if Augustus wished to build an amphitheater, why didn't he? This question has not
adequately been explored in scholarship.

[145] Filippo Coarelli and Ada Gabucci, *The Colosseum* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum,
2001), 99. Scholars have estimated the Colosseum's seating capacity to be anywhere from
40,000 to 87,000.

the amphitheater at Pompeii (Figure 8).[146] In fact, this elliptical shape was evident in the

spectacula of the forum Romanum. The amphitheater's infrastructure included a series of

concrete rings. These rings were connected by sloping vaults and were intersected by tunnels

supporting the *cavea*. This design allowed spectators to access their seats internally walking

though the structure.[147] This infrastructure was also developed in earlier constructions of stone

amphitheaters.[148]

The Colosseum's façade was not innovative in comparison to Italian amphitheaters. The

façade built by the Flavians does not exist today. Therefore, an 80 C.E. coin, depicting the

Colosseum, provides the best evidence for the structure's original façade (Figure 9). The coin

depicts four tiers of continuous arches with engaged columns and is fairly similar to the

Colosseum's existing design. Scholars have considered the Basilica Julia, Theater of Marcellus,

and the Tabularium as the façade's precedents within Rome.[149] More likely, the façade stems

from the antecedents of Italian amphitheaters. The use of consecutive arches is seen in the

earliest stone amphitheaters such as the amphitheater at Pompeii. Furthermore, Augustan-era

amphitheaters, including those at Augusta Emerita, Luca, Lupiae, and Praetoria, elaborated this

plan by adding engaged Tuscan columns to the arch design (Figure 7).[150] This includes the

amphitheater of Statilius Taurus that likely featured a similar design to Augustan-era

amphitheaters in Italy.[151] Although the application of Greek orders to the Colosseum's façade

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[146] Welch, *The Roman Arena*, 75.
[147] Coarelli and Gabucci, *The Colosseum*, 100.
[148] Welch, *The Roman Arena*, 103. Augustan-era amphitheaters show more complex vaulting structures that allowed for spectators to enter internally.
[149] Ward-Perkins, *Roman Architecture*, 45.
[150] Welch, *The Roman Amphitheater*, 102.
[151] Ibid., 108-109.

was unique, in simple structural terms, the façade was not a significant departure from other stone amphitheaters in Italy.

Although the Colosseum followed the structural precedents of previous stone amphitheaters, its scale was revolutionary. Amphitheaters before the Colosseum held many fewer spectators. Its design emphasized this scale: earlier amphitheaters were carved into the ground so that the majority of the structure could not be seen from the exterior.[152] The Colosseum rested almost completely above ground increasing the height to breadth ratio compared to earlier amphitheaters.[153] The Colosseum's scale would flaunt the Flavians' engineering feat. Although not revolutionary in its design, the Colosseum's size was a momentous departure from past amphitheaters.

The amphitheater's size was revolutionary and, for Roman spectators, so was the structure's extensive use of stone. The Colosseum was the first imperial amphitheater in Rome to use stone as its primary building material. The amphitheater of Statilius Taurus was made of both wood and stone; it is likely that much of its interior was wooden. Similarly, both the amphitheaters of Caligula and Nero were wooden. As noted, the ancient sources stress the temporary nature of these amphitheaters. The Colosseum, in contrast, employed stone as its primary building material. The white travertine provided both ideological and literal stability.[154] Most importantly, the Colosseum's outer ring was composed entirely of travertine, giving the impression, for spectators and travelers on the street, of a completely stone structure. The Colosseum's visible interior walls and seats complemented the exterior being faced with white

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[152] Welch, *The Roman Amphitheater*, 94.
[153] Thomas Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 21.
[154] Coarelli and Gabucci, *The Colosseum*, 106.

marble.[155] This stone contrasted with the wooden material of earlier Roman amphitheaters. Furthermore, it projected an image of permanence and strength for the birth of a new dynasty.

The Colosseum's design was not radical. Its structure and façade drew from republican and Augustan-era amphitheaters outside Rome. Still, its size and use of stone made it an entirely Flavian structure. Vespasian constructed a permanent imperial building to house gladiatorial games and demonstrate the power of his principate in a new manner.

The Colosseum as a Military Monument

The Colosseum displayed imperial power in a novel manner, but was also tied to military traditions that had been used by earlier leaders to display power. To begin with, Romans considered gladiatorial combat's relationship with the military to be ancient. Gladiatorial games played a ritualistic function for military campaigns and served to promote militaristic attitudes.[156] Scholar Katherine Welch goes as far as to say, "the beginning of regular gladiatorial combat at Rome (probably mid-to later third century BC) coincides with the beginning of Rome's most active military expansion."[157] She also sees the games as playing a role for the administration of punishment in the military during the republic.[158]

The structures that housed gladiatorial combat were also strongly associated with the military. In the imperial period, most amphitheaters were built just outside legionary fortresses.[159] Rome's first stone amphitheater, the amphitheater of Statilius Taurus, was also associated with the military in that Statilius Taurus's was famous for his role as Augustus'

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[155] Ibid., 107-109.
[156] Welch, *The Roman Amphitheater,* 28.
[157] Ibid., 22.
[158] Ibid., 27-28.
[159] Welch, *The Roman Arena in Late Republican Italy*, 64.

general. Taurus completed his amphitheater in 29 B.C.E., making it the first public structure built after the battle of Actium.[160] Tacitus notes the amphitheater's military connotations saying, "Nor had Augustus debarred a Taurus, a Philippus, or a Balbus from devoting the trophies (*exuvias*) of his arms or the overflow of his wealth to the greater splendor of the capital and the glory of posterity" (Tacitus, *The Annals* 3.72). The Latin word "*exuvias*" indicates the amphitheater was built from the spoils of war as was consistent with Statilius' identity as a general.

Like Statilius Taurus, Vespasian used spoils of war to finance his amphitheater. This is illustrated by a dedicatory inscription reconstructed by scholar Geza Alföldi's.[161] The inscription rested on the Colosseum's main western entrance and likely would have been repeated above other entrances.[162] It is also likely an abbreviation of the amphitheater's primary dedicatory inscription that would have decorated the structure's parapet.[163] The restoration reads:

> I[mp(erator] Caes(ar) Vespasi[anus Aug(ustus)] / amphitheatru[m novum (?)] / [ex] manubi(i)s (vac.) [fieri iussit (?)] (*CIL* 6.8.2 40454)

> Imperator Caesar Vespasian Augustus ordered the New Amphitheater to be built… [paid for] by the proceeds of war spoils.[164]

The inscription asserts that the general Vespasian built the Colosseum with the "*manubiis*" (war booty) from the Jewish War. Moreover, the phrase "*ex manubiis*" was an unmistakable reference

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[160] Welch, *The Roman Amphitheater*, 115.

[161] Geza Alföldi, "Eine Bauinschrift aus dem Colosseum." Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 109 (1995): 195-226. Alföldi's reconstruction has been well accepted by the scholarly community. Using the nail holes that held bronze letters, Alföldi was able to reconstruct the Flavian inscription.

[162] Claridge, *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide*, 314.

[163] Ibid.

[164] Translation by Author.

to republican generals.[165] Like the Capitoline Temple, the amphitheater exhibits Vespasian's

military authority in a similar manner to republican generals. Still, Vespasian was the first

emperor to use the amphitheater's military traditions in conjunction with an imperial monument.

The Colosseum also frames its military connotations using the imagery of the triumph. If

we examine the same coin shown in Figure 9, it shows a sculpture of a *quadriga* atop a triumphal

arch protruding from a second tier of exterior arches. An early second century C.E. funerary

relief also depicts the Colosseum's façade with a triumphal *quadriga* mounted upon a triumphal

arch.[166] These images of the triumph would link the Colosseum with the military authority of

structures such as the Capitoline Temple, the Forum of Augustus, and triumphal arches, in the

forum all of which were adorned with representations of the *quadriga*. The triumphal route that

passed the amphitheater underscored this.[167] Vespasian manipulated the triumph, as did the Julio-

Claudian emperors. Nevertheless, the triumph was a tradition that had its origins in the

republican.

Vespasian's amphitheater was an unprecedented statement of imperial power. The Julio-

Claudians built amphitheaters in Rome, but they lacked monumentality and permanence failing

to promote their principate. Despite this ingenuity, the Colosseum was a traditional Roman

structure stemming from earlier amphitheater designs in Rome and Italy. Additionally, the

Colosseum was a military monument visualizing the ritual of the triumph. The Julio-Claudians

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[165] Welch, *The Roman Amphitheater*, 160. In Alföldi's reconstruction, the nail holes explicitly state this word.

[166] Welch, *The Roman Amphitheater*, 141.

[167] Ena Makin, "The Triumphal Route, with Particular Reference to the Flavian Triumph," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 11 (1921): 35. Vespasian began construction on the amphitheater in 70 C.E. Therefore, the triumphal procession in 71 C.E. would have passed the under-construction building.

had manipulated the triumph to convey authority, but this tradition was rooted in the republic.

Nonetheless, the amphitheater was a firm marker of the inception of a new dynasty.

The Flavian Amphitheater, Baths of Titus, and The Temple of *Divus* Claudius

The Colosseum was affiliated with two other Vespasianic structures, the Baths of Titus and the Temple of *Divus* Claudius. Together these buildings distanced Vespasian from the Julio-Claudian emperor Nero. All three were erected within the grounds of Nero's palace, the *Domus Aurea*. They served an unquestionably public purpose to contrast the perceived private decadence of Nero. The Temple of *Divus Claudius* also presented Vespasian as a legitimate heir to the Julio-Claudian emperor Claudius. .

The Colosseum and the *Domus Aurea*

As briefly discussed, historical sources describe the *Domus Aurea* with negativity. This criticism stems from the perception that Nero appropriated large tracts of land for personal use. Tacitus notes the "fields and lakes and the air of solitude given by wooden ground alternating with clear tracts and open landscapes" (Tacitus, *Annals* 15.42). Critics articulated that structures within the public center of Rome were not to replicate the pleasures of the countryside villa. Suetonius, reporting a contemporary Roman quip, echoes this. He says, "'/Rome is becoming one house; off with you to Veii, Quirites!/ If that house does not soon seize upon Veii as well/'" (Suetonius, *Nero* 39.2). Like Tacitus, Suetonius' remark comments on the immensity of the *Domus Aurea*. As discussed, these negative historical depictions were likely influenced by the Flavian regime.[168]

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[168] Jaś Elsner, "Constructing Decadence: the Representation of Nero as Imperial Builder," in *Reflections of Nero*: *Culture, History & Representation*, ed. Jaś Elsner and Jamie Masters (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 121. Elsner's article illustrates the ways in which the *Domus Aurea*'s, and by association Nero's, reputation were contorted by historical sources.

Vespasian intended the Colosseum to juxtapose Nero's palace the *Domus Aurea* (Figure 10). He built his amphitheater atop the artificial lake located within the grounds of the *Domus Aurea*, effectively destroying the continuity of the previous structure.[169] Contemporary Romans recognized the significance of the amphitheater's location. The Roman poet Martial, writing under Domitian, notes, "Where rises before our eyes the august pile of the Amphitheater, was once Nero's lake" (Martial, *On The Spectacles* 2.5-6).[170] Vespasian intended Romans to view his new amphitheater in conjunction with *Domus Aurea*, to illustrate their differences. The Colosseum was a public structure and was not presented as the personal property of the Flavians.

The preceding discussion is representative of conventional interpretations of the Colosseum's relationship to the *Domus Aurea*. Simply put, this argument states the *Domus Aurea* was private and the Colosseum was public. This understanding is correct, but can be pursued with further nuance. As many scholars have recently acknowledged, the *Domus Aurea* held a semi-public function–just as imperial palaces had since Augustus.[171] Tacitus records that Nero hosted citywide banquets at his pre-*Domus Aurea* residence. Pliny speaks of a similar public event that included an art opening in Nero's theater (Pliny the Elder, *The Natural Histories* 37.18). The "fields" and "clear tracts and open landscapes" described by Tacitus and the large vestibule reported by Suetonius would be well suited to hold large public gatherings or serve as public parks.

Furthermore, the *Domus Aurea* was not destroyed under the Flavians. Its primary residential structure, the "Oppian wing," remained visible until it was buried under the Baths of

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[169] Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 164.
[170] Martial, *On the Spectacles*. Translated by D.R. Shackleton Bailey, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993). Translations of *On the Spectacles* are by D.R. Shackleton Bailey.
[171] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 38.

Trajan years later.[172] This complicates our understanding of the Colosseum's ideological

comparison to the *Domus Aurea*, and, as scholar Penelope J.E. Davies notes, "these acts did not

constitute a systematic *damnatio* through destruction."[173] Then what purpose did the wing serve

during the decades in which it stood unburied? Scholars have often postulated that Titus resided

in the palace.[174] This is speculative, but we do know that Vespasian did not reside in the *Domus*

Aurea, but rather in an imperial residence, the Gardens of Sallust, on the Quirinal Hill (Cassius

Dio, *Roman History*, 65.8.4). Larry Ball, using persuasive archaeological evidence, suggests that

the wing served as a warehouse for supplies or a barracks for slaves, workers, and gladiators.[175]

In any case, we know that this section of the *Domus Aurea* was not demolished. It is possible that

it served a utilitarian purpose, as Ball suggests, or stood unoccupied as a symbol of Nero's

purported personal luxury.

Considering the reality of the *Domus Aurea's* function and its visibility under the

Flavians, a more detailed interpretation can be asserted. The Colosseum was unequivocally

public in design. From their beginning, the games were a Roman public tradition. Moreover, they

remained connected to the military. The *Domus Aurea* maintained a public function, but it

inevitably retained a private use as well. Like most Roman homes, it would retain a hierarchy of

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[172] Ibid., 70.

[173] Penelope J.E. Davies, "'What Worse Than Nero, what Better than his Baths?': '*Damnatio Memoriae*' and Roman Architecture," in *From Caligula to Constantine: Tyranny and Transformation in Roman Portraiture*, ed. Eric Varner and Sheramy Bundrick (Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum, 2000), 40.

[174] Davies, "'*Damnatio Memoriae*' and Roman Architecture," 40. This interpretation uses a passage from Pliny as its central evidence. Pliny locates the Laocoön statue in the "Domus Titi" (Pliny, *Natural Histories*, 36.4.37) that was reportedly excavated in the *Domus Aurea* in the early 16th century C.E.

[175] Larry Ball, "A Reappraisal of Nero's *Domus Aurea*," In *Rome Papers*: *Journal of Roman Architecture Supplement* (1994): 205, 227-29.

privacy designating certain rooms as strictly private.[176] Furthermore, based on the accounts of

Tacitus and Pliny, Nero entertained the public with art showings and banqueting. These events

did not hold the same connotations as Roman public events as did the gladiatorial games.

Finally, the Colosseum's design was conservative, resembling amphitheaters in Italy and Rome.

In this way it contrasted the extravagant and progressive designs of the *Domus Aurea*. The

Colosseum displayed Vespasian as Roman, a soldier, and a leader devoted to public

entertainment, and thus contrasts with the *Domus Aurea's* embodiment of Nero.

Baths of Titus

The Baths were dedicated in 80 C.E. within the first year of Titus's brief rule.[177]

Although named after Titus, the structure was likely part of Vespasian's plan for the area

surrounding the Colosseum. Although Martial says the Baths were "a speedy gift" (Martial, *On

The Spectacles* 2.7), it is difficult to imagine the baths were not planned before Vespasian's

death in 79 C.E. The Bath's physical remains are almost non-existent. Modern scholarship has

based its understanding of the structure on a plan drawn in the 1540s.[178] Darwall-Smith treats the

baths with great skepticism, questioning any conclusion about its structure or design.[179] Scholar

Larry Ball presents an intriguing proposal; he suggests that the structure was the private Baths of

Nero located within the *Domus Aurea*, but were then converted for public use.[180] This is

supported by the Bath's orientation that rested on the same axis as the *Domus Aurea's* Oppian

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[176] Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "The Social Structure of the Roman House," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 56 (1988): 94.
[177] Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 187.
[178] Darwall Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 90.
[179] Ibid., 92. Darwall-Smith points to widespread uncertainty in curtain scholarship concerning the Baths' appearance.
[180] Ball, *The Domus Aruea and the Roman Architectural Revolution*, 249-253.

wing (Figure 11).[181] Still, it seems Martial does not make a note of this in his description of the

Baths. Ultimately, evidence is too sparse to make definitive conclusions.

The proximity of the Baths to the Oppian wing is clear. The baths were public and,

therefore, would have been viewed similarly to the Colosseum as a "gift" to the Roman people.

This would have been underscored by the Baths' proximity to the amphitheater. A monumental

staircase joined the Colosseum's pavement to the Baths of Titus, creating visual and ideological

continuity between the structures.[182] The Baths of Titus were part of a larger mass conversion of

public land once occupied by the *Domus Aurea*.

The Temple of *Divus* Claudius

Located on the Caelian hill, the Temple of *Divus* Claudius was another part of

Vespasian's creation of public land and the denigration of Nero. Remains of the Temple's

platform still exist, but offer an inconclusive history of the building's construction. Nonetheless,

Vespasian's restoration of the Temple of *Divus* Claudius can be viewed as a part of a larger

restoration of the public space in the center of Rome. Claudius was not considered the foremost

of the Julio-Claudian predecessors. But Vespasian's restoration was also a gesture of piety

toward the last legitimate Julio-Claudian.

Vespasian as Claudius's Heir

The historical sources report a connection between Claudius and Vespasian. Vespasian

served as commander in Claudius' invasion of Britain in 43 C.E.[183] Claudius bestowed triumphal

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[181] Coarelli, *Rome and Environs,* 187.
[182] Richardson Jr., *A New Topographic Dictionary of Rome*, 397.
[183] Levick, *Vespasian*, 14-22.

honors on Vespasian and was his co-consul in 51 C.E.[184] This relationship extended to the

respective emperor's sons. Within the historical sources, Vespasian's son Titus and Claudius'

son Britannicus are construed as childhood friends (Suetonius, *Titus*, 2.1-2). The *Lex De Imperio*

Vespasiani further links Vespasian to Claudius. Clause five asserts that it is lawful for Vespasian

to extend the boundaries of the *pomerium* (*CIL* 6.930) and Claudius is the only Julio-Claudian

who is listed as a legal precedent for this power.

Flavian-era elite sources complicate this picture, demonstrating ambivalence toward

Claudius' reputation as emperor. On the one hand, Pliny lauds Claudius' building program. Pliny

says of the engineering achievement of Claudius' aqueduct "there has never been anything more

remarkable in the whole world" (Pliny the Elder, *The Natural Histories* 36.123). He goes on to

praise Claudius' draining of the Fucine Lake, his harbor at Ostia, and more generally his bridges

and roads throughout Italy (Pliny the Elder, *The Natural Histories* 36.124-125). Pliny, however,

also critiques Claudius' policies:

> In the time of the Emperor Claudius there was also another unusual distinction, belonging
> to those whose rights of free access to his presence had given them the privilege of
> wearing gold likeness of the emperor on a ring; but all this was however entirely
> abolished by the opportune rise to power of the Emperor Vespasian (Pliny the Elder, *The
> Natural Histories*, 33.41).

Here, Pliny presents Claudius in a less favorable manner. In fact, Vespasian is placed in direct

contrast to Claudius. Moreover, Cassius Dio's description of Vespasian's court marks even

further contrast than Pliny. Dio notes, "[At his home] he received anybody who desired to see

him, not only senators but also people in general…The doors of the palace stood open all day

long and no guard was stationed at them" (Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 65.8.4-5). The openness

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[184] Barbra Levick, *Claudius* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 190.

of Vespasian's court contrasts to contemporary depictions of Claudius' rule. Pliny illustrates elite attitudes during the Flavian-era that viewed Claudius in a mixed fashion.

Archaeological and Literary Evidence for the Temple

Deciphering the history of the Temple of *Divus* Claudius has proven difficult. Suetonius provides an important starting point saying, "[Vespasian] also undertook new works… a [temple] to Deified Claudius on the Caelian mount, which was begun by Agrippina, but almost utterly destroyed by Nero" (Suetonius, *Vespasian* 9.1). Archaeological evidence presents a convoluted construction history that does not easily correspond to this historical account. Nevertheless, the temple's basic structure and location are not disputed. Based on evidence from the *Forma Urbis,* the Temple of *Divus* Claudius was a temple complex that rested on the Caelian hill directly south of the Colosseum. It consisted of a large rectangular platform measuring around 180 X 200 meters.[185] The platform was formed by massive retaining walls, still partially visible today, and was oriented slightly to the northwest. The temple itself was relatively modest in size and prostyle-hexastyle with three columns on each side–a common Roman temple structure.[186]

The west side is the most notable of the remaining retaining walls. This side consists of a series of interconnected rooms and walls creating a corridor structure.[187] This structure has a façade that employs a supporting arch fashioned in a highly rusticated masonry style with travertine blocks. This highly rusticated style has often been linked to Claudius' preferred construction techniques (as seen on the Porta Maggiore) and has therefore been attributed

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[185] Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 218. For a depiction of the temple on a reconstructed fragment of the *Forma Urbis* see: Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, Plate II Fig 4.
[186] Ibid.
[187] Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 218.

Agrippina's construction immediately following Claudius' death.[188] If this is the case, then Nero did not dismantle the temple's podium. However, there is nothing to suggest that Vespasian did not reconstruct this façade either intentionally imitating the previously existing structure or mimicking Claudius' preferred style. In any case, Vespasian either rebuilt the temple using Claudius's preferred construction design or restored the structure retaining Agrippina's original design.

Remains on the podium's east side consist of a brick wall with rectangular and semi-circular niches. These remains appear to have been added on top of a previous façade suggesting that it was part of Nero's *Domus Aurea*.[189] If Nero did build this section atop the original structure, then it seems Vespasian left this side intact. It is still possible, however, that it was Vespasian who restored and added on to the original wall. Ultimately, evidence remains inconclusive.

The final visible wall, on the platform's north side, is not easily comprehensible. It consists of a row of rooms, built in brick, resting against a back wall.[190] Scholars have argued a Neronian date for this section, but this claim also lacks certainty. Multiple stages of building are certainly visible. We can also conclude that if Nero did "destroy" the temple, as Suetonius tells us, he only destroyed the temple itself not the platform. Based on modern reconstructions of the *Domus Aurea*, the platform was likely integrated into Nero's urban villa.[191]

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[188] Ibid.

[189] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 51. The use of semi-circular niches is consistent with the architecture of the *Domus Aurea*. Some scholars have suggested that this side became part of the *Domus Aurea*'s nymphaeum. However, as Darwall-Smith points out, the remains do not appear be waterproofed.

[190] Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 218.

[191] Ibid. 181.

The question of Vespasian's choice to rebuild the temple of *Divus* Claudius remains. Archaeological evidence points toward the temple's restoration in several areas, but these cannot be conclusively linked to Vespasian. At a minimum, it appears Vespasian wished to be associated with the temple's rebuilding. Vespasian's restoration of the Temple of *Divus* Claudius should be viewed as part of a larger restoration of public space. This is evident in the Roman author Martial's poem *On The Spectacles*. Martial names the temple in conjunction with a group of other buildings that were part of Flavian conversion of private to public space. It was this space, according to Martial, that Flavian emperors gave back to the Roman people. Martial refers to the Temple as the "*Claudia…porticus*" (Martial, *On the Spectacle* 2). This indicates the temple may have served as public place for Romans to stroll and enjoy *otium*. Therefore, the Temple's inclusion in the *Domus Aurea* and proximity to the Colosseum and the Baths of Titus made it an excellent example of Vespasian's commitment to the state of Rome, not his own personal luxury.

It still seems that Vespasian was gesturing to Claudius as a legitimate and worthy predecessor. But, when Vespasian gestured toward Claudius, it was always in the context of Claudius' illegitimate successor, Nero. This is blatantly evident in Suetonius (Suetonius, *Vespasian* 9.1), but also in the obvious absence of Nero within the *Lex Imperio De Vespasiani*. This is also true of Vespasian's restoration of Claudian aqueduct. An inscription from 71 C.E. on the Porta Maggiore reads:

> Imp(erator) Caesar Vespasianus August(us) pontif(ex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) II, imp(erator) VI, co(n)s(ul) desig(natus) IIII, p(ater) p(atriae), | aquas Curtiam et Caeruleam perductas a divo Claudio et postea intermissas dilapsasque | per annos novem sua impensa urbi restituit. (*ILS* 218)

The Emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus, pontifex maximus, in his second year of the tribunician power, imperator six times, consul designate for the fourth time, father of the father land, restored for the city at his own expense the Curtian and Caerulean aqueducts that had been led by the divine Claudius and since had fallen into disrepair and had been interrupted for nine years.[192]

This inscription notes that Vespasian restored the divine Claudius' aqueduct. This aqueduct, however, fell into disrepair nine years earlier–a clear reference to the reign of Nero. Vespasian's repairs to the Aqua Claudia parallel his restoration of the Temple of *Divus* Claudius. He is restoring a Claudian public structure and therefore associating himself with the fourth of the Julio-Claudian emperors. This is clearly done in the context of Nero's neglect.

The Colosseum, the Baths of Titus, and the Temple of *Divus* Claudius served to distance Vespasian from his Julio-Claudian predecessor Nero. In the process of buildings these structures, Nero's palace, the *Domus Aurea*, was partially dismantled. These structures then converted a large area within Rome from "private" to public use. The buildings were an ensemble, as illustrated by the second passage of Martial's *On the Spectacles*. The Roman poet writes:

Where the starry colossus sees the constellations at close range and lofty scaffolding rises in the middle of the road, once gleamed the odious halls of a cruel monarch, and in all Rome there stood a single house. Where rises before our eyes the august pile of the Amphitheater, was once Nero's lake. Where we admire the warm baths, a speedy gift, a haughty tract of land had robbed the people of their dwellings. Where the Claudian colonnade unfolds its wide-spread shade, was the outermost part of the palace's end. Rome has been restored to herself, and under your rule, Caesar, the pleasance that belonged to a master now belong to the people. (Martial, *On the Spectacles* 2)

The Colosseum and the Temple of *Divus* Claudius were built to express their "Romaness" contrasting the philhellenism of Nero's memory. This was not, however, these structures' only methods for addressing the past and identifying the sources of Vespasian's authority. The

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[192] Translation by Author.

Temple of *Divus* Claudius presented Vespasian as a legitimate successor of the Julio-Claudians and by associating with Claudius, Vespasian emphasized Nero's misrule.

The Baths of Titus, the Colosseum, and the Temple of *Divus* Claudius, converted the large estate of the *Domus Aurea* into an unambiguously public area. Many arguments have been made that the *Domus Aurea* served some public functions. Even if this was true, the Flavians did not portray the structure as such within their propaganda. Furthermore, the structures that they erected within the grounds of the *Domus Aurea* all had strict public usage and were types of buildings that had always served the public. Thus, the space was converted into a hyper-public area. These buildings, like the *Templum Pacis* and the Capitoline Temple, formed relationships with other Roman monuments. This allowed Vespasian to disseminate his as the legitimate leader of the Roman world.

CONCLUSION

For Roman emperors, erecting public structures in the capitol city identified them as *princeps*. A structure's design, location, and symbolism characterized the nature and sources of their imperial authority by using the context of previous rulers and institutions. Vespasian was the first of his dynasty and, therefore, was necessarily mindful of his predecessors, the Julio-Claudians. His buildings interacted with the Julio-Claudian and non-Julio-Claudian past situating Vespasian in juxtaposition to their precedents.

Four distinct methods for addressing Vespasian's relationship to Julio-Claudian rulers can be seen in the emperor's building program. First, the Temple of Jupiter *Optimus Maximus* was reconstructed in accord with the Temple's previous designs as a restoration of the Capitoline symbolic value as the head of the Roman state. Thus, Vespasian drew similarities to pre-Julio-Claudian rulers, such as the republican general Sulla, but more broadly to republican triumphators. But, restoring the *res publica* was also a confrontation of the emperor Nero's misrule. The *Templum Pacis* was constructed to resemble the imperial fora of Caesar and Augustus. It accepted the precedents of these Julio-Claudians by emulating their display of military authority. Its messages of civic and domestic *Pax* were also reminiscent of Augustus' *Ara Pacis*. Additionally, it used the republic to frame imperial military rule creating a more generalized message of Roman conquest. Furthermore, the *Templum Pacis* showed Vespasian to be a Roman emperor that was devoted to his people, unlike Nero. The Flavian amphitheater was the first completely stone amphitheater in Rome and was a novel expression of imperial power. The structure proved that Vespasian could present imperial power with no formal precedent. It also used republican and Julio-Claudian visual language to project Vespasian's military power.

Finally, the Flavian amphitheater and its associated structures, the Baths of Titus and the Temple of *Divus* Claudius, distanced Vespasian from the Julio-Claudian ruler Nero. Here, Vespasian drew authority from condemning the memory of a certain Julio-Claudian. Vespasian's structures exhibited complicated interactions with the past simultaneously drawing upon one or more of these methods to formulate meaning.

These structures evoked the precedents of past leaders and institutions in order to proclaim the sources of Vespasian's authority. Several patterns must be noted among these expressions of power. First, these structures emphasized the military. This is not surprising considering the army's role in securing Vespasian's position. Furthermore, the presentation of military conquest within an urban context was important for the realization of political power. In the excellent collection *Representations of War in Ancient Rome* scholar Tonio Hölscher elucidates this connection:

> Single military victories do not, however, guarantee a general conquest; even less do they guarantee political rule. Moreover, within the Roman state, the great many army leaders and all later emperors had to legitimate their extraordinary ambitions and positions against the background of the traditional *res publica* with its firmly rooted republican mentality and ideology.[193]

As seen, Vespasian's structures framed imperial military success and power with established imagery, such as spoils of war, and ceremony, like the triumph. Hölscher continues:

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[193] Hölscher "The Transformation of Victory into Power: From Event to Structure," 28.

> Transmission of information about war campaigns and victories through space and time, as well as transformation of successful achievements into general political power and rule, became necessary in the Roman Empire, where the citizens of Rome itself, of Italy, and of most parts of the provinces had neither experience of war at all not any knowledge of those faraway regions in which the war campaigns were conducted…An enormous effort there was made, by political manifestations, collective actions, as well as public monuments, to transmit the glory of war and victory throughout the empire, above all to the capitol of Rome, and to transform military victory and conquest into political power and lasting rule.[194]

The Colosseum, the *Templum Pacis*, and the Capitoline Temple were "manifestations" of Vespasian's military power. Even though these structures alluded to Vespasian's conquest of Judea, they stated imperial military power using the visual language of their predecessors. The exception is the Flavian Amphitheater–a building type that had never been used as a military symbol of imperial authority. But even the amphitheater's inscription used republican military language and the structure's façade bore the imagery of the triumph. In each case, Vespasian transformed military victory into political power using the imagery and language of past rulers.

Vespasian's building project was also distinctly Roman in character. The Capitoline Temple had been tied to the Roman religious and political institutions since the city's foundation. Its design was, without question, Roman. The *Templum Pacis* was an imperial derivation of a distinctly Roman space, the forum. The Colosseum was the monumentalization of a building type that had been created in the forum Romanum. Finally, the temple of *Divus* Claudius was Roman in design and aesthetics. While emperors did not necessarily need to prove their Romaness, it was imperative for Vespasian to do so in the context of Nero's reign. Whereas Nero had favored Greek culture and the arts, Vespasian literally and symbolically placed Greece again under Roman rule. This was seen in the distinctly Roman spectacle of the amphitheater,

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[194] Ibid., 36-37.

the restoration of the triumph on the Capitoline, and the collection of conquered art in the *Templum Pacis*.

Lastly, Vespasian's building program was a conservative expression of imperial power. Choosing to show imperial power by constructing relationships with previous rulers underscores this. Vespasian created public spaces that were familiar to Roman audiences, both in form and function. This was instrumental in creating the idea of domestic *Pax* with the backdrop of Nero and civil war. The Colosseum would have been the most alien Vespasianic building for Roman viewers. Structures for viewing games, however, had existed in Rome for hundreds of years. Furthermore, the amphitheater form had been established in Italy for decades. As the first of a new dynasty, and to contrast the architecturally and culturally heretical Nero, it was necessary for Vespasian to be conservative.

Ultimately, Vespasian's program interacted with past Roman leaders and traditions in several ways: Vespasian distanced himself from certain members of the Julio-Claudians, aligned himself with other Julio-Claudian leaders, associated himself with pre-Julio Claudian rulers and institutions, and proclaimed a unique Flavian rule. The combination of these methods illustrated that imperial power was not singularly derived from connections to the Julio-Claudian family. Rather, Vespasian's authority stemmed from a diverse group of traditions and precedents.

Twenty-seven years after Vespasian was named *princeps*, his son Domitian died and the Flavian dynasty ended. What was Vespasian's legacy? How were the Flavians remembered? A 19th century Romantic poem speaks of the Flavian amphitheater many years after its construction. It says:

> "While stands the Coliseum, Rome shall stand;
> When falls the Coliseum, Rome shall fall;
> And when Rome falls–the World"[195]

Vespasian's amphitheater became an enduring image of Roman power. Today, the Colosseum is

the symbol of the ancient Roman empire. Vespasian's buildings proved to be an effective

medium for the representation of his power, and the power of all Roman emperors. Even in the

age of modern skyscrapers, Vespasian's structure humbles, leaving viewers awes.

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[195] George Gordon Byron and Samuel Claggett Chew, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage and Other Romantic Poems* (New York: Odyssey Press, 1936), "Canto IV," 73-75.
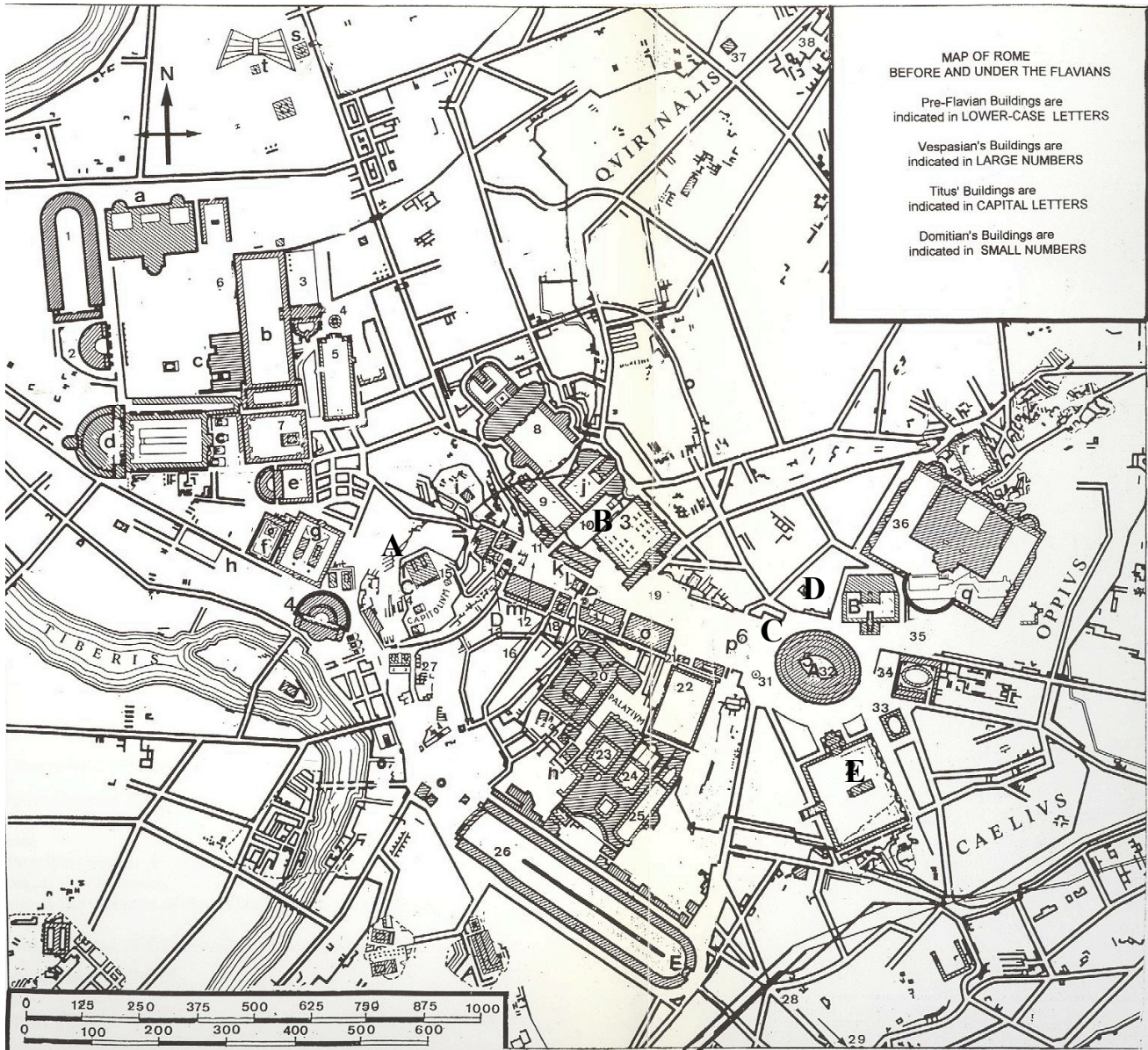
Figure 1: Flavian Rome. Vespasianic structures are labeled in black font. Image Adapted from: Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 341.

(A): Capitoline temple to Jupiter *Optimus Maximus* (B): *Templum Pacis* (C): The Colosseum (D): The Baths of Titus (E): Temple of *Divus* Claudius

Figure 2: Flavian coins depicting the temple of Jupiter *Optimus Maximus.* Images Courtesy of the British Museum.

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS. SEE PRINT COPY.

Figure 3: Plan of the Forum of Augustus. Image From: artstor.org Dura Europos Archive. "y680a." Yale University, 1937: http://library.artstor.org/library/iv2.html?parent=true

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS. SEE PRINT COPY.

Figure 4: *Templum Pacis* and environs. Xs indicates structures built after Vespasian's death. Image from: artstor.org. H.W. Janson, *History of Art*. New York, 1896. Figure 260: http://library.artstor.org/library/iv2.html?parent=true

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS. SEE PRINT COPY.

Figure 5: Reconstruction of the *Templum Pacis*. Image From: artstor.com. *Expedition* 39.2, Bryn Mawr College Archive 1997. Figure 2.

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS. SEE PRINT COPY.

Figure 6: Reconstruction of wooden *spectacula* in the forum Romanum. Image from: Katherine Welch, *The Roman Amphitheater,* 53.

Figure 7: Restored section of the façade of the amphitheater at Augusta Praetoria. Image from: Katherine Welch, *The Roman Amphitheater,* 111.
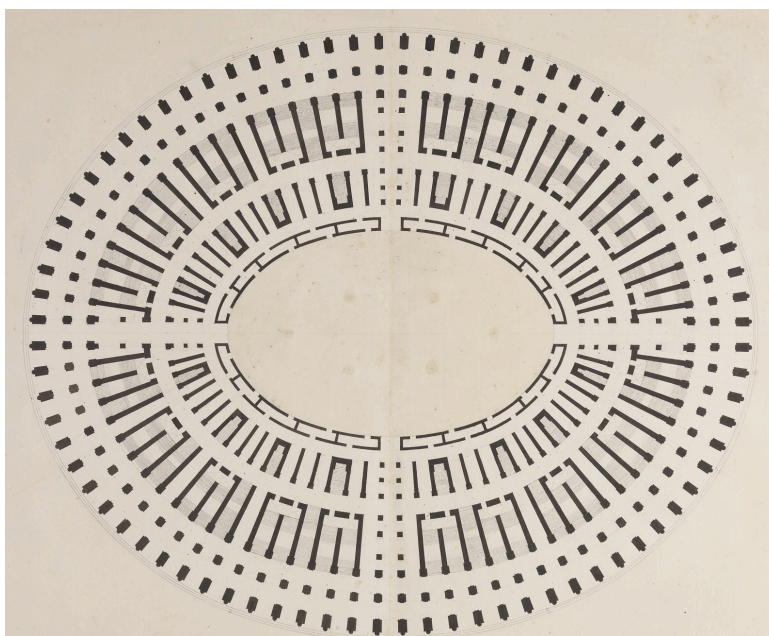

Figure 8: Plan of the Colosseum. Image Courtesy of the British Museum.

Figure 9: Coin minted in 80 C.E. depicting the Colosseum. Image Courtesy of the British Museum.

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS. SEE PRINT COPY.

Figure 10: The grounds of the *Domus Aurea*. Image from: Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 181.

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS. SEE PRINT COPY.

Figure 11: The Oppian wing of the *Domus Aurea* (A) and the Baths of Titus (B). Image from: Artstor.com. Fillipo Coareli. *Guida Archelogica di Roma*. Milan, 1975, 216: http://library.artstor.org/library/iv2.html?parent=true

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