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THE ISEUM CAMPENSE
FROM THE ROMAN EMPIRE TO THE MODERN AGE

TEMPLE – MONUMENT – *LIEU DE MÉMOIRE*

Proceedings of the international conference held in Rome
at the *Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome (KNIR)*, the *Accademia di Danimarca*,
and the *Accademia d'Egitto*, May 25-27 2016

Edited by
Miguel John Versluys, Kristine Bülow Clausen,
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Eva Mol

Acknowledgements

Initiated at Leiden within the framework of the NWO VIDI project *Cultural innovation in a globalising society: Egypt in the Roman world* (2010-2015) and “prepared” by means of two successful master classes on *Egypt in Rome* as well as an expert meeting entitled *Beyond Egyptomania* in Rome itself, all organised together with the *Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome* (KNIR) in 2012 and 2013, the Iseum Campense conference and its proceedings are the result of a fruitful cooperation between many different persons, institutions, and research traditions over a longer period of time.

First of all, we would like to thank the three academies along the *Via Omero* that welcomed us so generously: the *Accademia d’Egitto* and its director Dr. Gihane Zaki (May 25); the *Accademia di Danimarca* and its director Prof., dr. phil. Marianne Pade (May 26); and the *Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome* (KNIR) and its director Prof. dr. Harald Hendrix (May 27).

The *Royal Netherlands Institute’s* support with the organisation of the conference itself, the hosting of the conference dinners, and this publication has been crucial. We are most grateful to the KNIR staff and secretary for their help and enthusiasm; especially to dr. Jeremia Pelgrom and to Prof. dr. Harald Hendrix.

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We are grateful to the KNIR and the editors of the *Papers of the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome* for accepting this volume as part of their distinguished series. This is indeed where our book belongs. All essays that were selected for publication have benefitted from a process of external peer review. Many thanks to our anonymous colleagues who have taken on this task so enthusiastically and seriously. Many thanks to our authors for their willingness to rethink and rewrite their papers while respecting our tight deadlines.

For their help with the editing of the papers, we are much indebted to dr. Marike van Aerde, dr. Sander Müskens and, most in particular, PhD candidate Suzan van de Velde, all at the Leiden Faculty of Archaeology.

We are grateful to the artist Menno Balm for sharing with us his particular impression of the Iseum Campense in a remarkable fine drawing and to dr. Eva Mol for instigating him to do so.

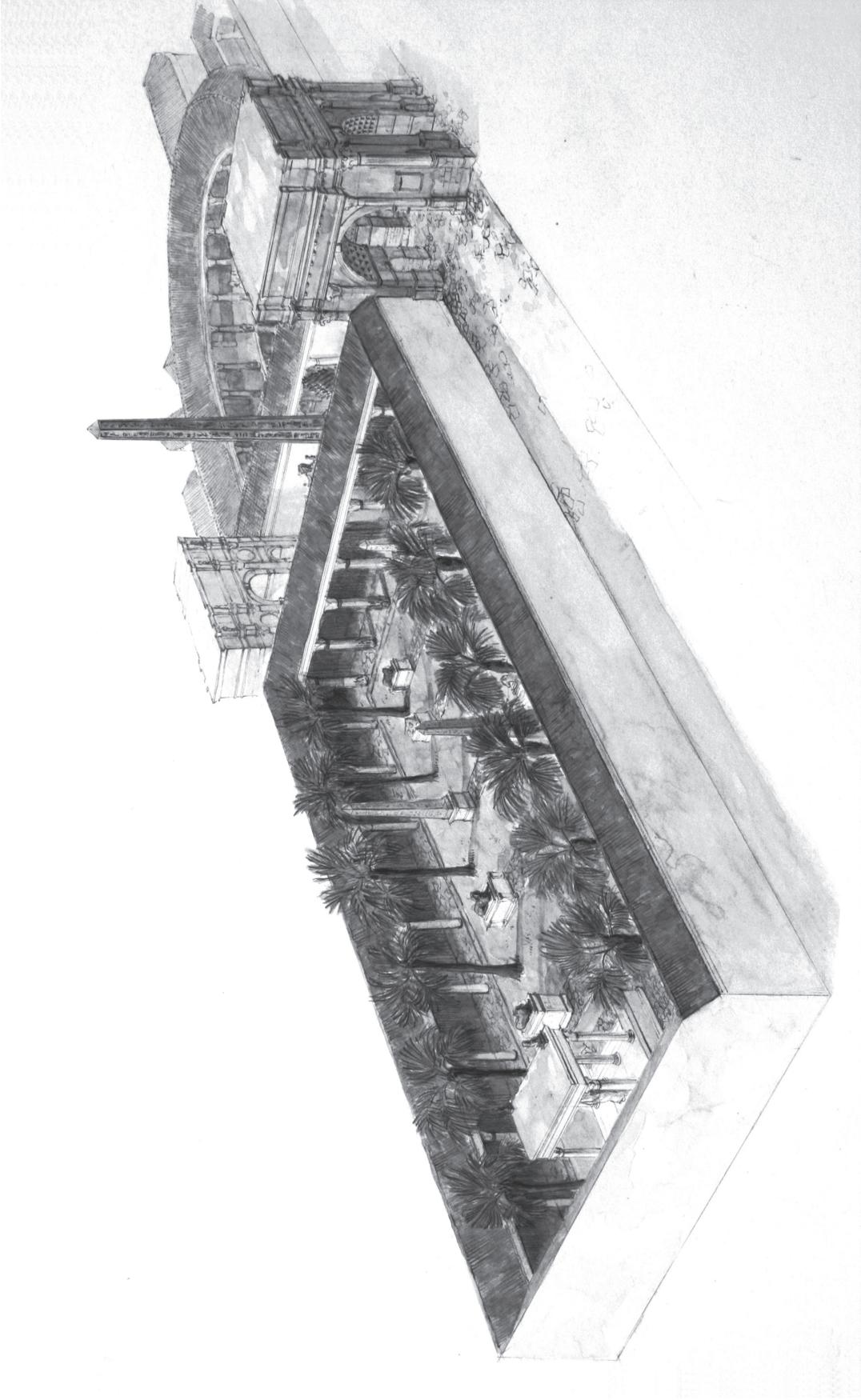
As the collection of papers in this book makes clear, the Iseum Campense has been attracting our attention for two millennia already – and it will probably continue to do so for a long time to come. We hope that this volume succeeds in presenting a state of the art overview of our current knowledge as well as in providing food for thought for further investigations concerning this key monument in the history of the *Urbs*.

Lugdunum Batavorum, March 2018

Miguel John Versluys (Leiden)

Kristine Bülow Clausen (Copenhagen)

Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi (Rome and Cairo)



Artist impression of the Iseum Campense by Menno Balm, pencil on paper, 2017. © mennobalm.nl

List of participants

At the international conference ‘Temple - monument – *lieu de mémoire*. The Iseum Campense from the Roman Empire to the Modern Age: historical, archaeological, and historiographical perspectives’ held in Rome at the *Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome* (KNIR), the *Accademia di Danimarca*, and the *Accademia d’Egitto* between May 25 and 27 2016 communications were presented by:

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Domitian's remake of Augustan Rome and the Iseum Campense

Eric M. Moormann

Abstract: Domitian (A.D. 81-96) was the most fervid builder of Rome after Augustus. The fire of A.D. 80 made necessary many restoration interventions, but the emperor took the opportunity to add personal touches to the Roman cityscape. In this contribution a brief tour d'horizon is made: the area of the ex-Domus Aurea, the imperial forums, the old Forum Romanum as well as the Quirinal and Campus Martius got a new look, sometimes inspired by Augustus' building policy. The Iseum Campense forms a fascinating, but altogether not strange tessera in this mosaic, since it evidenced the bounty given to Rome from Egypt and the emperor's wish to warrant good luck for the citizens of the urbs.

“A visitor to Rome today cannot avoid the Flavians.”¹

“To the modern visitor the centre of Rome presents itself as essentially a Flavian city.”²

Walking through Rome, the stroller will come across a great number of projects that can be connected with Domitian. In A.D. 80, a great fire devastated large areas of the *urbs* in a way similar to what had happened under Nero's rule in A.D. 64. The walking level on the Largo Argentina, for instance, shows various strata, of which the upper layer consists of travertine slabs paved after the fire of A.D. 80.³ The repairs made in various temples, e.g. the two northern ones, dedicated to *Iuturna* (commonly called Temple A; fig. 1) and the *Fortuna huiusce diei* (labeled Temple B) are also attributable to the age of Domitian. We see a re-leveling of the podiums of these shrines and a partial reconstruction of the columns. These temples are not listed among the many building projects drawn up by Brian Jones in his 1992 Domitian biography.⁴ Yet, Late Antique sources mention restoration projects in the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*, which was located here.⁵ We should also take the architectural ornaments of these and other buildings into account, which were heavier and more detailed than in previous eras and therefore often recognizable.⁶

Domitian has indeed been recollected in Suetonius' biography for his many building enterprises. After Augustus, he was the greatest builder in the city, if we may believe the long list

¹ Darwall-Smith 1996, 17. I would like to thank John R. Clarke, Paolo Liverani and Stephan T.A.M. Mols as well as the editors of this volume for their critical reading of this paper.

² Boyle 2003, 29. On Domitian, see the biographies and historical analyses of his reign by i.a. Jones 1992; Pailler and Sablayrolles 1994; Southern 1997; Susplugas 1999 (*non vidi*); Gering 2012; Salles 2002; Morelli 2014. On his building politics and activities i.a. Darwall-Smith 1996, 101-252; Scheithauer 2000, 136-53; Coarelli 2009, 68-97; P. Gros in Coarelli 2009, 98-109; Gering 2012, 206-13; Ruff 2012; Leithoff 2014.

³ Cassius Dio 66.24.1-3. See i.a. Arnhold 2008, 54-55 and 57; Albers 2013, 145 with bibliography. Manacorda 2016 described the traces found in his excavations in

the Crypta Balbi Area, not far from the Largo Argentina.

⁴ Jones 1992, 82-84.

⁵ See F. Coarelli, *LTUR IV* (1999) 137-38; Scheithauer 2000, 139 n. 80 for references; Torelli 2004, 92-93. Cf. Coarelli 2009, 75. Domitian restorations were also observed in its expansion, the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria Noua*: D. Manacorda, *LTUR IV* (1999) 132-37.

⁶ On these ornaments in Flavian architecture – fuller and heavier than those before and after – Strocka 2010, 103 observes “eine bisher nicht gesehene Dichte von Schmuckformen, die mit ihrer Unruhe und den Hell-Dunkel-Kontrasten die tektonischen Glieder überziehen, ja verunklären.” See also P. Pensabene in Coarelli 2009, 110-15.



Fig. 1. Largo Argentina, Temple A preserved as part of the medieval church of S. Nicola dei Cesarini. The travertine columns, the changed bases of the tuff columns, the brick walls and the stairs belong to Domitian's restoration works (https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/0a/Largo_Argentina_%E2%80%94_Temple_A_%2814691862869%29.jpg)

of works executed by him, and some scholars argue that these building activities were among his greatest achievements (see fig. 2 highlighting the monuments discussed in this paper).⁷ Truly, Suetonius wrote (*Domitianus* 12.1) that the emperor was exhausted by the costs of the public works and spectacles: *exhaustus operum ac munerum impensis stipendioque*. According to Jens Gering, we can observe three fields of interest in Domitian's building policy: personal grandeur, family memory and legitimization, and functional (re-)organization of the city. In these respects, he slightly differed from his father and brother.⁸ It was, so Gering argues, "ein gutes Beispiel für die Verbindung von realpolitischer und ideologischer Motivation kaiserlichen Handelns."⁹ Without doubt, in this respect, Domitian acts as a *princeps bonus* with his public restoration projects, which is also true for Nero's public works.¹⁰

This brief presentation sets out to provide a sketch of Domitian's building policy, taking into account the Iseum Campense as one of its constituents, but not focusing too much on the monument itself, since that is the topic of other, more specialized papers in this book. As such, this essay aims to provide a certain degree of contextualization for the Iseum Campense in terms of Domitian's building policy, which in itself, I would argue, constituted a remaking of Augustan Rome. Within this policy, the Iseum Campense was rather an expression of 'doing Augustan' than of 'doing Egyptian'. Domitian's building policy also illustrated the emperor's *liberalitas*. I will here exclude the Capitol area, although it also includes major interventions, like the restoration of the Temple of Jupiter Maximus, but limit myself to the *ex-Domus Aurea*, the forums, the Quirinal, and the Campus Martius; in my opinion, these are the foci of Domitian's building activities.

⁷ Lastly Gering 2012, 213.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 210-11.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 206.

¹⁰ Cf. Leithoff 2014, 146-147: under Domitian Nero was

deemed less as a negative emperor, but the break with the bad esteem ventured by Vespasian and Titus did not change in public. Cf. Ruff 2012.

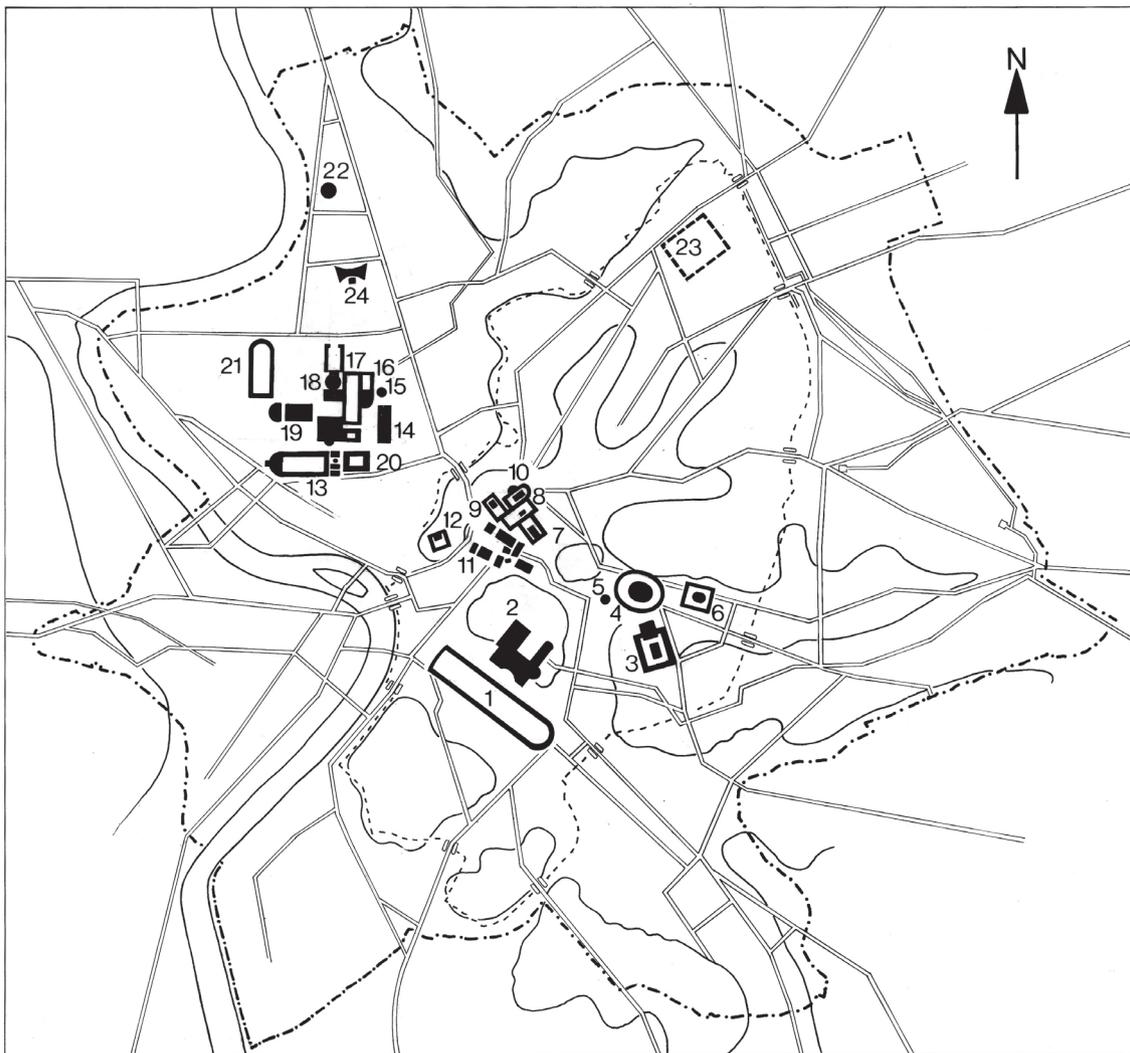


Fig. 2. Plan of Rome with the principal monuments mentioned in the text. 1: Circus Maximus; 2: Domitian's Palaces; 3: Temple of Claudius; 4: Colosseum; 5: Meta Sudans; 6: Ludus Magnus; 7: Templum Pacis; 8: Forum Transitorium; 9: Forum Iulium; 10: Forum Augustum; 11: Forum Romanum; 12: Porticus Minucia Frumentaria and temples on Largo Argentina; 13: Theater and Porticus of Pompey; 14: Diuorum; 15: Minerva Chalcidica; 16: Iseum Campense; 17: Saepta Iulia; 18: Pantheon and Basilica Neptuni; 19: Odeum and Stagnum Agrippae; 20: Stadium; 21: Horologium of Augustus; 22: Mausoleum of Augustus; 23: Templum gentis Flaviae. Drawing R. Reijnen, Radboud Universiteit.

From Golden House to Public Space

Nero's memory¹¹ was not entirely obliterated in the *Domus Flavia* and *Domus Augustana*, although a great difference can be detected: the new imperial complex contained official reception halls and offices, so that it would never be a purely personal play-thing.¹² Yet, Domitian copied various innovative building elements, like cupola rooms and interior courtyards, and adopted

¹¹ See Flower 2006, 209 and 228-32; Daguet-Gagey 2007, 120-23; Rosso 2008, 61-64.

¹² See on the new character i.a. Klodt 2001, 44: "Der Palast ist zugleich Regierungssitz und Kultstätte der Kai-

serverehrung." In her chapter on the palace (p. 37-62) she applies the description Statius gives in *Silvae* 4.2 on the remains and the ideology. However, the Neronian premises on the Palatine also included public sections.

the use of marble revetment as adornment of important rooms at a very large scale in the same way as had been used for the first time in Nero's Golden House. While his father and his brother had not lived and worked on the Palatine, Domitian's *domus* can be considered as a reappraisal of Nero's buildings.¹³

There are several parallels between Nero and Domitian when we look at their building policy in Rome. Both had to rebuild Rome after a great and devastating fire. Nero was praised for his measures to prevent new calamities, but to no avail. Many people, especially the elite that had been evicted, so to speak, from their *horti*, would keep in mind his gigantic – in their eyes megalomaniac – project of the Golden House. Titus died just before he could launch great works. According to Suetonius' biography of Titus, the A.D. 80 fire lasted three full days and nights, but while he provides some more details about the area afflicted in A.D. 64 in his biography of Nero (reconstructed by Clementina Panella), in this case it is only placed next to the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79.¹⁴ Domitian envisaged the expansion of monuments in shape and dimensions as a form of emulation in respect to his predecessors. Nero's rebuilding of Rome after the great fire of A.D. 64, the construction of a lavish residence, and the organisation of games were mirrored in Domitian's deeds. In his evocative program, Domitian used western and eastern formulae, which were both traditional and innovative. For instance, to establish his two predecessors as *diui* and himself as son and brother of gods, he erected a temple *cum* mausoleum for them, which is similar to Hellenistic customs, but also to Roman practices. The same is true for the representation of his sacred self and his palace on the Palatine, in which we observe similarities with Ptolemaic palace buildings, but also with Nero's concept of imperial representation.¹⁵ His veneration of Minerva has antecedents as well, especially in the emblematic figure of the great man of Early Hellenistic Athens, Demetrios Poliorketes.¹⁶

In this context, it is important to dedicate a few words to the complex of the Golden House of Nero, which had occupied the areas of the Palatine and the Esquiline, as well as the valleys in between and towards the Caelius. This villa-like monument was not fully obliterated despite suggestions in Vespasian's public propaganda and measurements taken during his building interventions. According to Martial's *Spectacula* 2, a new world was created in the realm of Nero's *Domus Aurea*.¹⁷ The *Colossus* became a prominent Flavian object at the exit of the Forum, not far from the Arch of Titus, and its continuing existence can be explained thanks to its iconography that portrayed him as Sol, and hence was neutrally perceived.¹⁸ Quite sensibly, Harriet Flower has observed that the statue was either not ready in A.D. 68, or did not bear the portrait features of Nero, since otherwise it would not have remained a landmark in Flavian (and later) Rome.¹⁹

¹³ One of my PhD students, Aurora Raimondi Cominesi, recently presented a paper on this matter in Amsterdam, which will come out in the proceedings of the Amsterdam colloquium on the Flavian era organized by Mark Heering. Cf. Gering 2012, 172-76, who argues that, considering the silence of criticism we may assume that Domitian had probably found a good balance between public colossality and private display of luxury. In that case, with Rabirius, Domitian got an architect who could cope with the demand for original architectural forms and the public system. See also Darwall-Smith 1996, 179-215 and various contributions in Coarelli 2009, 240-301.

¹⁴ Suet., *Titus* 8.7. For the reconstruction of the 64 fire that lasted nine days, see Panella 2013, 78-81 and 84-92.

¹⁵ Müller 2014, 306-7.

¹⁶ This example is given by Müller 2014, 308. On Domitian and Minerva, see also Darwall-Smith 1996, 127-29 and Tatarkiewicz 2014, 120-21.

¹⁷ Daguët-Gagey 2007, 119-20; Rosso 2008 and Leithoff 2014, 134-40 on Flavian responses to Nero's Golden House. See on this poem Mülke 2010, 508-17 (with bibliography); Rodríguez Almeida 2014, 166-70. On Martial and Rome in general see Roman 2010 and Rodríguez Almeida 2014.

¹⁸ C. Lega, *LTUR* II (1993) 295-98; Leithoff 2014, 140; Rodríguez Almeida 2014, 193-99. On the Sol imagery Hijmans 2009, esp. 536-38 (Colossus finished by Vespasian and 'inaugurated' in A.D. 75).

¹⁹ Flower 2006, 229.

The first option is unlikely, for an unfinished Neronian project of such a scope would not have come to completion in the turmoil of the late 60s and early 70s, either. The second option sounds reasonable: the figure did not represent a portrait and could easily remain a marker between the Forum Romanum and the Colosseum area.

Martial recalls the *Claudia porticus*, which refers to the *Aedes diui Claudii* on the Caelian hill. This temple would become one of the splendours of the Flavians. It was begun by Agrippina, who both wanted to memorialize her deceased husband as a god and present her son Nero as the son of the *diuus* Claudius.²⁰ This monument is connected to a huge *nymphaeum* built against the Caelian on the spot of what would become the temple's podium. Located on the present-day Via Claudia, it remained in use for a long time. Jean-Pierre Guilhembet has suggested that this *nymphaeum* might be the *Septizonium* mentioned in Suetonius' *vita* of Titus as an indication of his place of birth.²¹ That would imply that this emperor was born on the Caelian, in the area of the *Caput Africae*.

When the Temple of *diuus* Claudius was constructed remains a much-discussed question. While I have argued, fifteen years ago, that the construction of the temple probably never advanced beyond its initial stages or was perhaps never built under Nero because of the tension with his mother Agrippina, the initiator of the project, others have argued that work was carried out during those years. In all cases, it is clear that the Flavians 'rehabilitated' Claudius by finishing or (re)constructing the monument on top of the Caelian.²²

The principal object in this area was the *Amphitheatrum Flauium*, located in the centre of the old Golden House premises (fig. 3). Like other projects connected to Domitian, it was initiated during the rule of his father Vespasian and his brother Titus and inaugurated with huge games and spectacles in A.D. 80. Under Domitian, *carceres* would be constructed²³ and four *ludi* were added in the neighborhood in order to provide training accommodations for the gladiators.²⁴ The *Meta Sudans* was an important Domitianic addition that enhanced the bonds of the



Fig. 3. Colosseum and Meta sudans before the latter's demolition in the 1930s (<http://www.museicapitolini.net/images/viewpoint/medium/010540.jpg>).

²⁰ Martial, *Spect.* 2.7-10, on which see Rodríguez Almeida 2014, 142-44. On one of the reliefs of the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias, Nero is featured with his mother (see Smith 2013, 74-78, pl. 20-21). On the temple C. Buzzetti, *LTUR I* (1993) 277-78 and references in following notes.

²¹ Suet., *Titus* 1: ... *natus est III. Kal. Ian. insigni anno Gaiiana nece, prope Septizonium, sordidis aedibus, cubiculo vero perparvo et obscuro (nam manet adhuc et ostenditur)*. Guilhembet 2011. See on this *nymphaeum* also Longfellow 2011, 29-30, 31; Zarmakoupi 2014, 142. Domingo, Mar and Pensabene 2013, 321-23, fig. 21, attribute the *nymphaeum* to a second Neronian phase, after 59. Torelli 1987, 573 suggests that Titus was born on the Palatine. Idem in Coarelli 2009, 93, who points at the place of the Severan *Septizonium*.

²² Darwall-Smith 1996, 48-55. Leithoff 2014, 147-75 has a long section on 'Die Rehabilitierung des Claudius'; on the temple p. 149-52, in which she also doubts the construction of the temple under Nero (p. 150). Cf. Rosso 2008, 66-68; Beste and von Hesberg 2013; Moormann 2003.

²³ R. Rea, *LTUR I* (1993) 30-35; Darwall-Smith 1996, 215-16; Scheithauer 2000, 145; no response in sources. See on these devices Beste 2014. On the Colosseum and the Flavians, see also Darwall-Smith 1996, 76-90; Welch 2007, 128-62; various contributions in Coarelli 2009, 116-57.

²⁴ *Ludus Dacicus, Ludus Gallicus, Ludus Magnus*, and *Ludus Matutinus*. See C. Pavolini, *LTUR III* (1996) 195-198 (only the *Ludus Magnus* is visible); Scheithauer 2000, 146.

Flavians with the past. It is situated on top of an Augustan fountain, destroyed after the A.D. 64 fire under Nero to make place for some buildings surrounding the artificial pond in the centre of his Golden House complex; it can be seen as a recreation of this old fountain.²⁵ The 16m-high, round fountain had a marble facing and consisted of a 3.57 m cylinder topped by a cone of approximately 12 m. Its size had to proportionally correspond with the amphitheater. Niches in the lower part contained statues. The water might have come from the north via a pressurized pipe, which was an inverted siphon. The fountain was supplied by its own siphon, the water rising, in a large vertical conduit made of lead, to the top of the conus. The water spilled evenly from the top to all sides to make the conus glisten, probably just like its Augustan predecessor.²⁶ By installing this new *Meta Sudans*, Domitian connected himself to the founder of the Empire. Despite its name, which refers to the turning point of races, its shape rather reflected an Augustan *baetyl*, the object connected with Augustus' divine patron Apollo and frequently represented in Augustan art.²⁷ Brenda Longfellow rightly defines its goal as "to showcase the engineering skills of their architects, emphasize the legitimacy of their administration by linking it to that of Augustus, and advertise to the Roman populace the manifold benefits of their dynasty."²⁸ As a matter of fact, this meant a further elimination of Nero's presence in the area. The limits were also marked by the Arch of Titus, which has been characterized by Penelope Davies as an entrance from the *Forum Romanum* area into the 'new' Golden House, that is, the re-managed Flavian public space.²⁹ Therefore, the Arch might also have constituted a sort of appropriation of these buildings in the new sense, since it also led to the *Domus Flauia*.³⁰ This was not far from the real 'problem', so to speak, of Nero's presence: the *Vestibulum* and the *Colossus Neronis*. However, as we have seen, the Flavians were apparently less disturbed by these monuments than one might suspect and kept them as tesserae in the new Flavian urban mosaic. It was Hadrian who would solve this problem by constructing the Temple of Venus and Roma on this crucial spot and by placing the Colossus between the new temple and the amphitheater, next to the turning point of the triumphal and other processions from the *Via Triumphalis* into the *Sacra Via*. All these interventions demonstrate that the two zones were connected to each other as public spaces.

Domitian's Agoromania

Domitian was instrumental in the development of new fora. His father installed the *Templum Pacis*, a vast garden complex surrounded by porticoes, in which works of arts from Nero's palaces and other places were exhibited.³¹ Its shape and constituent elements are variations on older architectural complexes, such as the museum-like *porticus* on the Campus Martius and the Esquiline and the gardens within similar *porticus*, like those in the Theater of Pompey. At the same

²⁵ C. Panella, *LTUR* III (1996) 247-249; Darwall-Smith 1996, 216-17; Rosso 2008, 65-66; Longfellow 2011, 32-49; Torelli 2016; Volpe 2016. Longfellow suggest that its construction was planned by Titus, but completed under Domitian (p. 37). Coin images (p. 39-49) representing the Meta underline its importance.

²⁶ Kessener 2017, 157-59. I thank Paul Kessener for discussing this technical matter. The fountain was situated in the vicinity of Augustus' birth house.

²⁷ Longfellow 2011, 39. On the baetyl connection: Panella 1996, 90-91; Torelli 2016, 465-67, figs 3-7.

²⁸ Longfellow 2011, 32.

²⁹ Davies 2000, 142-48; endorsed and made stronger by Thomas 2004, 34, figs 9-10.

³⁰ Coarelli 2009, 87-88. On the Arch itself, i.a. J. Arce, *LTUR* I (1993) 109-111; Darwall-Smith 1996, 166-72; Millar 2005, 122-23.

³¹ See i.a. Darwall-Smith 1996, 55-68; F. Coarelli, *LTUR* IV (1999) 67-70; Köb 2000, 305-24; Rosso 2008, 58-61; Coarelli 2009, 71-75; various contributions in Coarelli 2009, 158-201; Bravi 2010; Leithoff 2014, 197-205; Meneghini 2015, 49-67; Tucci 2017.

time, it recalls the setting of the Temple of *diuus* Claudius on the Caelian. In a way, it might reflect Augustan ideas simultaneously, especially, of course, by being dedicated to Pax, although Vespasian strongly stressed a military peace, as has been pointed out by Carlos Noreña. The victory over Jewish Palestine might have been a special element in this context.³²

Domitian was responsible for the *Forum Transitorium*, which would be linked to Nerva after his death, because of his *damnatio memoriae*.³³ This corridor-like piazza and passageway from the old Forum to the *Subura* connected four forums: clockwise starting from the south, the Roman Forum, while touching the north side of the *Basilica Aemilia*, the *Forum Iulium*, the *Forum Augustum*, and the *Templum Pacis*. This sense of a *trait d'union* gave a specific weight to Domitian's position among his fellow-emperors, placing himself at the centre.³⁴ Minerva was venerated here as Domitian's personal patroness.³⁵

Domitian also initiated the construction of a counterpart at the west side of the *Forum Augustum*, that is, at the spot of the future *Forum Traiani*, an idea already proposed by various scholars some decades ago, but now substantiated by recent research. The hemicycle of the Markets of Trajan is the main element of this second forum.³⁶ As a matter of fact, a late Antique source ascribes the beginning of the Forum of Trajan to Domitian.³⁷ There is an architectural feature substantiating this idea. A staircase under the House of the Cavalieri di Malta, called the 'Terrazza Domiziana',³⁸ once formed a monumental fountain of which various water conduits and outlets were found and recognized. The stepped lower part formed a water display fed by the *Aqua Marcia*. A lost statuary group of a defeated German, described by Martial, would have embellished this fountain and would have turned the ensemble into a monument referring to Domitian's victory over the Chatti in A.D. 83/84.³⁹ It would symbolize the concern of the emperor towards the people of Rome, bringing fresh water and hence a vital element to the centre of the town.⁴⁰ The device testifies to the original setting of a part of this future forum, which might have required changes to the exedras of the *Forum Augustum*.⁴¹

³² Noreña 2003, 35-38 and 40; Palombi 2016, 280-87 (Jewish factor). See most recently Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007, 61-70; Leithoff 2014, 197-205 for a connection with Augustus. She leaves out the garden complexes of the Campus Martius as possible sources of inspiration.

³³ H. Bauer and C. Morselli, *LTUR* II (1993) 307-311; Susplugas 2002; Packer 2003, 175-176; Frederick 2003, 223-27; Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007, 71-80; A. Viscogliosi in Coarelli 2009, 202-9; Köb 2010, 269-81; Meneghini 2015, 68-77; La Rocca et al. 2015; Palombi 2016, 268-73. Gering 2012, 208-9 observes the combination of a lavish transit and the accommodation for a temple of his favourite goddess Minerva rather than a real forum. Leithoff 2014, 205-14 discusses possible bonds with Augustus, as does Goldbeck 2015, 56. Thomas 2004, 40-42 suggests that the *Equus Domitiani* stood more or less at the spot of the Column of Phocas and 'connected' the *Forum Romanum* with the *Forum Transitorium* via the *Argiletum*. I do not find this suggestion very likely, since the *Forum Transitorium* ran, as it were, parallel to the *Argiletum*.

³⁴ Cf. Köb 2000, 273 and Susplugas 2002, 115-24.

³⁵ Briefly mentioned in Scheithauer 2000, 141-43. See more extensively Darwall-Smith 1996, 115-24; Köb 2000, 274-75 and Leithoff 2014, 212-13, who aptly 'connects' Minerva with her neighbours Mars Ultor and Pax.

³⁶ On early phases of the Forum of Trajan see J. Packer, *LTUR* II (1993) 348-349; Bianchi and Meneghini

ni 2002, 398, 412-13; Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007, 83; Meneghini 2015, 78-80 and 81; Meneghini and Ungaro 2015, esp. 259-61; M. Vitti, *BullCom* 115 (2014) 278. See already Tortorici 1993, 12-13; Darwall-Smith 1996, 241-43; Scheithauer 2000, 158-159 n. 38; Boyle 2003, 29 ("envisaged" forum); Packer 2003, 176-77, with reference to his own previous publications on the Forum of Trajan.

³⁷ Aurelius Victor in *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Traianus* 13.5: *Romae a Domitiano coepta forum atque alia multa plusquam magnifice coluit ornauitque*.

³⁸ Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007, 81-82; Meneghini 2015, 78-80, fig. 91 (so called because of the Domitianean brick stamps); Longfellow 2011, 50; Palombi 2016, 77-78 and 168-170.

³⁹ Mart., *Ep.* 11.96. See Longfellow 2011, 57-58. On these wars, also commemorated by Martial (*Ep.* 2.2), see Gering 2012, 251-67. Rodríguez Almeida 2014, 280-82 locates this fountain and its statue near the *Fons Cati* on the Quirinal. He may be right, if its chronology would match this monument better than the probably rather late fountain in the 'Terrazza Domiziana'.

⁴⁰ Longfellow 2011, 54-55. On the aqueduct see D. Cattalini, *LTUR* I (1993) 67-69; Z. Mari, *LTURS* IV (2006) 31-33.

⁴¹ Tortorici 1993; Longfellow 2011, 52-53, fig. 14 (reconstruction). The literature on the Forum Augustum is massive, see i.a. Köb 2000, 225-67; Goldbeck 2015, 17-47 (excellent overview with bibliographical references).

These Flavian forums actually encompassed the Augustan monument as well as the Forum of Caesar at the south side; they would have also created a link to the Quirinal. By doing so, I believe that Domitian no longer simply followed and imitated Augustus, but rather emulated and outdid him: the *Forum Augustum* would almost have vanished under the weight of this massive fountain, to which surely other elements would have been added if the emperor had not met his untimely death in A.D. 96. At the same time, we may ask whether it was also meant as an extension of the *Forum Iulium*, which, in turn, was expanded and provided with new architectural embellishments under Domitian and Trajan, and would constitute a homage to Augustus' adopted father.⁴² Or to put it another way: Domitian planned to create one large, single forum composed of the older *Forum Augustum* and *Forum Iulium* as well as the new Flavian additions. If so, he accommodated his venerated predecessors in one single public and religious complex. Apparently, the emperor was murdered before the finalisation of this ambitious project.

Let me briefly recall how the old *Forum Romanum* underwent some fundamental interventions. First of all, Domitian constructed the *Porticus* or *Aedes Deum Consentium* and the *Templum diui Vespasiani*. The latter was built on top of a previous sanctuary and situated exactly in axial correspondence with the Arch of Augustus, rather than with the *Templum diui Iulii*, as is generally assumed.⁴³ Or should we surmise that it formed the counterpart of a temple dedicated to Minerva, a hitherto mysterious building not clearly identified in the surroundings of the Temple of the Dioscuri, near the S. Maria Antiqua?⁴⁴

Domitian evidenced his own presence with the *Equus Domitiani*, a colossal equestrian statue. The *Equus* was extensively commemorated in Statius' *Silvae* (1.1) and held a place of pride on Domitian's coins.⁴⁵ The monument was officially given by the Senate to honour Domitian's victory over the Chatti and the Dacians in A.D. 89 and would have been installed as early as A.D. 90 or 91; the figure of a German under its raised foreleg testified to the victory (cf. Statius, *Silvae* 1.1.50-51). It was probably destroyed in A.D. 96 or shortly after. Its position is still a topic of debate and we might have to take into account the west-eastern axis between the temple for Domitian's father and the Augustan monuments at the eastern side of the old piazza. It has been argued that the statue constituted a novelty because of its placement in the middle of the Forum,⁴⁶ but there was a long tradition of equestrian statues on the *Forum Romanum* and it might, rather more likely, have been a reference to similar monuments in the middle of the forums of Caesar and Augustus. In a brief but elucidating paper, Susanne Muth has made clear that, as a matter of fact, Domitian's intervention was nothing new: his statue fitted into a tradition of imperial equestrian monuments and was of a size that was properly suited to the grandiose forum space.⁴⁷ There are clear similarities with the *Colossus Neronis*, which stood further to the east and optically rose from

⁴² On the *Forum Iulium* i.a. C. Morelli, *LTUR* II (1995) 299-306; Darwall-Smith 1996, 243-44; Köb 2000, 203-34, esp. 207-8, 210 and 223. Tortorici 1993, 7, Torelli 2004, 89, and Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007, 37 on interventions under Domitian and Trajan.

⁴³ As has been observed by various scholars, i.a. Scheithauer 2000, 144; Köb 2000, 105-6 (she also connects it with the Rostra) and 122; Thomas 2004, 26; Muth 2010, 487. On the temple i.a. Darwall-Smith 1996, 97-98 and 154-157; S. De Angeli, *LTUR* V (1999) 124-125; Köb 2000, 101-6; Coarelli 2009, 75-81; Goldbeck 2015, 55-56 (elements from Forum Augustum adapted).

On the *Porticus* see G. Nieddu, *LTUR* II (1993) 9-10.

⁴⁴ Darwall-Smith 1996, 126-27; J. Aronen, *LTUR* III (1996) 251-252; Coarelli 2009, 85 (on the spot of the later S. Maria Antiqua); Rodríguez Almeida 2014, 368-71, fig. 91.

⁴⁵ C.F. Giuliani, *LTUR* II (1993) 228-29; Darwall-Smith 1996, 227-33; Scheithauer 2000, 149-50; Thomas 2004; Coarelli 2009, 81-83; Gering 2012, 160-63. On the Statius poem Klodt 2001, 52-54.

⁴⁶ E.g. Gering 2012, 162-63. Cf. note 44.

⁴⁷ Muth 2010, 488-93. See for other equestrian statues in Rome the entries *LTUR* II (1993) 224-33 s.v. "Equus".

behind the *Templum diui Iulii* and the Arch of Augustus.⁴⁸ The Roman audience might perceive these tendencies as forms of continuity rather than of discontinuity.

The presence of the Flavians in the traditional Forum area was furthermore stressed by the erection of the above-mentioned Arch of Titus on the Velia, where we should take into account the presence of the *Colossus* and the *uestibulum* of the Golden House (see above). The Arch was one of the apparently many commemorative arches that Domitian erected, as a result of which Suetonius recalled a play of words between *arci* and the Greek verb ἀρκεῖ - 'it is enough'.⁴⁹ As David Frederick has observed, this pun would have been written after Domitian's death, when the public had to cope with all these commemorative monuments in a new way, often referring to the good emperors Vespasian and Titus.⁵⁰

Let us not forget, in the framework of restyling the old Golden House properties, the adjacent *Horrea Piperataria* and *Horrea Vespasiani* on the Velia, located at both sides of the *Sacra Via*, more or less adjacent to Nero's *uestibulum* or *Porticus triplices miliariae*, the entrance to the Golden House, which gave a different touch to the area that was now becoming a focus point for commerce and industry, as well.⁵¹ The pepper and medical spices, which gave their names to the storerooms, came from the East and brought wealth to the city similar to that brought from Palestine by Vespasian and Titus. They were luxurious niceties, recalling the luxury of the *Domus Aurea* itself, but which were now destined to become a *bonum commune*.

The Quirinal

The never-realised and inevitably hypothetical *Forum Domitiani* at the western end of the existing forums could provide a connection with the Quirinal – as would be the case with the erection of the Column of Trajan, if we may rely on its inscription. This hill was the locus of Domitian's birth house and he built the *Templum gentis Flaviae* here.⁵² This massive complex was to be completed just before his death in A.D. 95-96. Domitian's birth house has been identified long ago as the house adorned with mosaics found underneath the modern Caserma dei Corazzieri, Via XX Settembre 12, next to the Church of S. Susanna, but it is more likely to locate the *Templum*

⁴⁸ See also Coarelli 2009, 83, on the visual effect, comparable with that of the bell tower of S. Maria Nova.

⁴⁹ Suet., *Domitianus* 13.7: *Ianos arcosque com quadrigis et insignibus triumphorum per regiones urbis tantos ac tot extruxit ut cuidam Graece inscriptum sit: 'arci'*. On this joke what might be a gossip Darwall-Smith 1996, 238-39; Frederick 2003, 222-23 (who also suggest the reading ἀρχει, 'he rules'); Gering 2012, 167 (on arches, pp. 166-69). Titus' triumphal arch should be sought at the eastern end of the Circus Maximus, where – indeed – vestiges have been found and which is marked on the Forma Urbis Romae (P. Cianci Rossetto, *LTUR* II [1993] 108-9); Darwall-Smith 1996, 95-96; Millar 2005, 120-22, fig. 6; Buonfiglio 2014, 331-34, fig. 12-17). On the triumphal procession see Millar 2005, 103-7.

⁵⁰ Frederick 2003, 205-6.

⁵¹ Suet. *Nero* 31 on the *porticus*. See further *Chronographus* of 354 (Mommsen 1892, 146): *hoc imp. [Domitianus] multae operae publicae fabricate sunt : (...), Horrea piperataria ubi modo est basilica Costantiniana et Horrea Vespasiani*. So Coarelli 2009, 86-87. See also

Darwall-Smith 1996, 234-36; M. Piranomonte, *LTUR* III (1996) 45-46 (h. Piperataria); E. Papi, *LTUR* III (1996) 49-50 (h. Vespasiani: entirely Domitianean). The *Horrea Vespasiani* would stand on top of Nero's *Porticus Margaritaria* (cf. C. Lega, *LTUR* IV (1999) 129-130).

⁵² Suet., *Domitianus* 1.1: *regione urbis sexta ad Malum Punicum domo quam postea in templum gentis flaviae conuertit*. Torelli 1987, 563-72 (temple as a parallel of *Templum diui Augusti* on Palatine); F. Coarelli, *LTUR* II (1993) 368-69; Paris 1994, 15-31; Darwall-Smith 1996, 159-65 [only literary sources]; Scheithauer 2000, 142-45; Davies 2000, 24-27, 143-58; Hartswick 2004, 143-46; Capanna 2008; Coarelli 2009, 93-94; E. La Rocca in Coarelli 2009, 224-33; Gering 2012, 209-10; Leithoff 2014, 187-97; Coarelli 2014, 194-207 [temple], 271-74, fig. 95-96 [house]; Tatarkiewicz 2014 [religious impact]. Rodríguez Almeida 2014, 287-92 (various mentions in Martial's ninth epigrams' book from 94). Also briefly mentioned in Heinemann 2014, 239.

gentis Flaviae in the area of the Baths of Diocletian, which still is not far from the properties of Domitian's birth house (fig. 2, no. 23: approximate location in area of modern Via Parigi, Aula Ottagona of the Baths of Diocletian, Piazza della Repubblica and Via Torino). Here a colossal head of a cult statue featuring Titus was found, as well as the Hartwig reliefs representing the temple's façade and spolia reused in the Baths of Diocletian.⁵³ There are various reconstructions of the complex that consist of a decastyle or an octastyle temple surrounded by a porticus.⁵⁴ The complex served, among other things, as the mausoleum for various members of the *gens Flavia*, beginning with Vespasian himself. There existed a relation with the Temple of Quirinus on the eponymous hill, which should be seen in connection with the (fanciful) association of the Flavians with this god.⁵⁵ In this way, Domitian enhanced the status of the family, which was initiated and presented so modestly by his father some fifteen years earlier. The use of the complex as a family tomb – Vespasian may have been buried in the Mausoleum of Augustus first – was part of that attempt to increase the family's prestige and to emulate Augustus' mausoleum.

The Campus Martius

Let us finally turn to the southern Campus Martius, completely restructured by Agrippa and now again reorganised by Domitian, in which the Iseum Campense would form such an important monument.⁵⁶ Not far from the Iseum Campense there was the *Templum* or *Porticus Diuorum*, a piazza with porticoes ending in two small temples for Vespasian and Titus, hence with a similar shape as the *Templum Pacis* and the *Forum Transitorium*.⁵⁷ Andrea Scheithauer sees them as expressions “des neuen religiösen Bewusstseins der Zeit Domitians,”⁵⁸ but does not make this notion explicit. In fact, as we have seen, the imperial cult temples are not the only sanctuaries dedicated to Domitian's father and brother, while the number of suchlike commemorative monuments altogether is not exceptional. The mere quantity of religious buildings in this area – new and restored ones – is not strange, either: from the Mid-Republic onwards, the Campus Martius had always been full of old and new shrines. Domitian follows the practice of his predecessors and therefore this pattern has not a very innovative character. The emphasis on the past, made clear by the numerous restorations, is recognisable in many imperial building policies, those of Augustus himself to begin with, and the deities chosen certainly differ according to personal interests (Augustus: Apollo, Domitian: Minerva; both *diui* predecessors), but as such do not constitute changes in the worship of the Roman official pantheon.

The only new feature was a small shrine or large fountain with a Latin cross-shaped plan dedicated to *Minerua Chalcidica* at the entrance of the *Diuorum*, which was a clear statement of Domitian in regard to his father and brother.⁵⁹ If we take into account Torelli's interpretation of

⁵³ Capanna 2008, 176; E. La Rocca in Coarelli 2009, 496-97, cat. 91; Coarelli 2014, 200 and 202, fig. 50.

⁵⁴ Capanna 2008 gives the various possibilities and pleas in favour of an octastyle temple.

⁵⁵ See most recently Albers 2013, 99-157 [Augustus and Agrippa], 135-59 [Flavii]; Leithoff 2014, 179-87, 193-94 and 196. On the position of the Temple of Quirinus under Palazzo Barberini and the Quirinal's topography in earlier periods see F. Coarelli, *LTUR IV* (1999) 185-87; Coarelli 2014, 83-112 and De Cristofaro 2015.

⁵⁶ See most recently Panzram 2008; Albers 2013, 143-59;

Jacobs and Conlin 2014, 148-52; Filippi 2016.

⁵⁷ I.a. F. Coarelli, *LTUR II* (1993) 19-20 (the architecture is like that of the *Templum Pacis*); Darwall-Smith 1996, 156-59; Scheithauer 2000, 137; Panzram 2008, 87-89; Coarelli 2009, 91; Gering 2012, 210 n. 52; Albers 2013, 155-57, fig. 81.

⁵⁸ Scheithauer 2000, 18.

⁵⁹ Panzram 2008, 91-92 follows Filippo Coarelli in labeling this building – rather mysteriously, as far as the knowledge of it is concerned – as the guardian of the *Porticus Diuorum* and its inhabitants. See also Dar-

the *Minerua Chalcidica* monument as a fountain, the element of the living water becomes a *trait d'union* between various complexes on the Campus Martius, but has, at the same time, connections with waterworks elsewhere in Domitian's Rome, as we have seen above: the emperor constantly brings its bounty to the city in abundance, but in controlled streams and 'rivulets' rather than by means of aggressive water works.⁶⁰ The emperor's bounty displayed in this specific area is clearly connected with the *congiarium* of oil at special occasions, like triumphs and the *frumentationes* or distribution of grain on a more regular basis,⁶¹ in which the nearby *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*, with its venerable old temples restored by Domitian, plays a fundamental role (fig. 1). The various surrounding monuments, also most of them rebuilt or restored by Domitian, such as the mentioned *Diuorum* and the Pantheon were considered as valuable in these processes, if not functioning to endorse the emperor's *liberalitas*.

The Temple of Isis can be seen as a welcome addition to these monuments as symbols of *liberalitas*, since the monument visualised the connection with Egypt, the country from where the grain was imported. Hence, apart from other implications, we can interpret the erection of the Iseum Campense in its new splendour as a monumental assessment of the munificence of the emperor. There is one more aspect we may take into account: Domitian seems to have collected monuments from the entire Empire throughout the Campus Martius as a whole. First of all, there are the Greek-like *Stadium*, preserved in and around Piazza Navona, and the nearby *Odeum* for his games, the *Capitolia*,⁶² whereas cults of various gods were given shrines as well – either new or restored – beginning with the Iseum Campense.⁶³ This *Iseum* does not constitute an innovation of the Flavian era, but rather a continuation of past religious practices. Domitian's connection with the cult of Isis is the topic of various other papers, so I shall not dwell on this point at length, beyond stressing its relationship with the distribution of grain in the nearby *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*.⁶⁴ As we know, the Flavians had a positive relationship with Egypt in general. Domitian might have stressed his bonds through the hieroglyphic inscription on the so-called *Obeliscus Pamphilius*, found in the Circus of Maxentius along the Via Appia and currently erected on Piazza Navona. On this needle, he is hailed as a pharaoh in what J.-C. Grenier has called a "hymne à Domitien et à la dynastie flavienne," something that Domitian apparently did not object to.⁶⁵ However, this Egyptian text will not have played a great role in conveying

wall-Smith 1996, 125-26; F. de Caprariis, *LTUR* III (1996) 255; Albers 2013, 154-55; Rodríguez Almeida 2014, 389-428 (with a reference to the fragment 35 of the *Forma Urbis Romae*). Torelli 2004, 93-96 interprets the monument as a large fountain (not taken into account by Longfellow 2011).

⁶⁰ Torelli 2004, 93-96, with references to other water works, like Domitian's *Meta Sudans*. We may add the nymphaeum along Via Claudia and the fountain of the planned *Forum Domitiani*. Cf. the intervention of Alexander Heinemann on the Nile and Tiber statues and their significance, chapter 12 in this volume.

⁶¹ On these matters, see Torelli 2004, 78-82, and 92, where the *congiurarium* is explained as sign of the emperor's *liberalitas* and connected with Domitian's predilection for Minerva.

⁶² See Darwall-Smith 1996, 221-26; P. Virgili, *LTUR* III (1996) 359-60 (*Odeum*); P. Virgili, *LTUR* IV (1999) 341-43 (*Stadium*); Panzram 2008, 93-94; Albers 2013, 146-50 (it might even be located on the spot where Augustus built his wooden stadium, as is also suggested by

P. Gros in Bernard 2014, 87); Heinemann 2014, 236-43; Jacobs and Conlin 2014, 88-89. On Piazza Navona's history from Domitian onwards, see the monumental volume edited by Jean-François Bernard (2014).

⁶³ On the Iseum Campense, see in the first place Lembke 1994 and Versluys 1997 (review article). Among later publications Darwall-Smith 1996, 139-45; F. Coarelli, *LTUR* III (1996) 107-9; Zimmermann 2003, 341-42; Panzram 2008, 89-90; Scheid 2009, 178-182; Kardos 2011, 58-62; Albers 2013, 150-54; Rodríguez Almeida 2014, 427-41, and all scholarship discussed in various contributions presented in the conference.

⁶⁴ See i.a. Lollio Barberi, Parola and Toti 1995, 41-45 on Isis in Rome. At p. 44 they point at the simultaneous introduction under Domitian of other syncretistic gods, like Mithras, Kybele, and Jupiter Dolichenus and Helio-politanus. Similarly on religion Salles 2002, 221-24. On the *Iseum* in connection with the Campus Martius, see Panzram 2008, 89-91; Tatarkiewicz 2014, 122-25.

⁶⁵ J.-C. Grenier, *LTUR* III (1996) 356-57, esp. 356. See on this obelisk as a monument from the *Iseum*, i.a.

specific messages to the citizens of Rome, since no Roman could read it. Consequently, it was for that reason that the obelisk remained untouched after A.D. 96 and did not fall prey to *damnatio memoriae*.⁶⁶ The monument does not give us a reason to detect a specific *aegyptophilia* of the emperor, but it rather is, again, a form of imitating Augustus.⁶⁷ The interpretation of things Egyptian as purely Egyptian is, as had been demonstrated various times by Miguel John Versluys, rather tricky, and in our context it seems more appropriate to see the Iseum Campense and the obelisk in the context of ‘things Roman’, as two of many tesserae in the mosaic of Flavian buildings on the Campus Martius.⁶⁸

The Iseum Campense might have had a specific signification for things other than religion. As we know, the triumphal processions – including the one of Vespasian and Titus after the Jewish War – started here.⁶⁹ I recall a pleasant poem by Martial on Silius, looking for a dinner invitation, who makes calls at various Domitianic monuments.⁷⁰ In lines 7-8, Silius tries to find such an invitation in the *Memphitica templa*, where Io is, transformed into a sad cow, a *maesta iuvenca*. Towards the end of the epigram, the person who should invite Silius turns into a bull: does Silius become his Io? Like the Phoenician girl Europa, Io is often recalled as an instrumental connection between East and West: both myths refer to exchanges between Greece and Egypt. Both women were sent into exile, but met happy ends, on Crete and in Egypt, respectively, where both of them begot children. Although we perceive Crete as a Greek island, it was a province together with Libya (*Creta et Cyrenaica*). As Emilio Rodríguez Almeida has observed, Vespasian was expelled from Nero’s court during the Greek sojourn and he was almost killed for not attentively listening to the emperor.⁷¹ We may add that Vespasian was a procurator of Africa as well, so that his bond with both Egypt and Crete may have been symbolically visualized in the Iseum Campense, with which he restored the bonds temporarily destroyed by Nero’s rough intervention.

Finally, a brief remark on the *Horologium* in the northern Campus Martius. The monument has had a certain relevance in the debate on Domitianic interventions, since it has long been assumed that the meridian found near the original position of the obelisk in the northern part of the Campus Martius was a remake of the grand *Horologium* constructed under Augustus and that it was executed under Domitian and loaded with a strong ideological impact. The acerbic debate

Lembke 1994, 69-70; Scheithauer 2000, 139 (no mention in sources); Kardos 2011, 60; Pfeiffer 2010, 281-83; Gering 2012, 169-71; Albers 2013, 154. Coarelli 2009, 94; J.-C. Grenier in Coarelli 2009, 234-39 and Coarelli 2014, 205-7: they see it as an element from the Temple of the *Gens Flavia*, which might be likely on the basis of the inscription, but not as to its shape and signification. On the obelisk as part of Bernini’s Four Rivers Fountain, see M.G. D’Amelio and T.A. Marder in Bernard 2014, 399-419. The sobriquet *Obeliscus Pamphilus* was coined in the title of the homonymous publication by Athanasius Kircher (Rome 1650).

⁶⁶ On the obelisk and its text, see Darwall-Smith 1996, 145-50. ‘My’ point recalled in Gering 2012, 171, and, before, Flower 2006, 241-42, fig. 62. She discusses Domitian’s *damnatio memoriae* (ibid. 234-65). See also Versluys 2015, 145.

⁶⁷ Gering 2012 171, and previously Darwall-Smith 1996, 150. Another egyptianizing monument would be the *Adonaea* on the Palatine, explored by an team of the French School in Rome. See M. Royo, *LTUR* I (1993) 14-16; Coarelli 2009, 90-91; Rodríguez Almeida 2014,

465 (with a reference to fragment 46 of the *Forma Urbis Romae*).

⁶⁸ See ultimately Versluys 2015, esp. 135-37 and 145-46. Darwall-Smith 1996, 150-53 does not see Domitian as a peculiarly strong ‘Egyptophile’.

⁶⁹ Flavius Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 7.123. See also Torelli 2004, 91, and Scheid 2009, 177-80, who therefore takes into account the existence of an Iseum in those days, but doubts the existence of a previous phase. On the monuments commemorating this war, see especially Millar 2005. On the Flavians and Egyptian cults, V. Gasparini in Coarelli 2009, 348-53; Versluys 2015, 135.

⁷⁰ Mart., *ep.* 2.14, on which poem see Rodríguez Almeida 2014, 439, fig. 111 (reconstruction of Silius’ walk: “periplo del cenipeta Silius nel Campo Marzio”). See i.a. Kardos 2011. Io also occurs in *ep.* 8.81.1-4: *Non per mystica sacra Dindymenes / nec per Nilivae bouem iuvencae, nullos denique per deos deasque / iurat Gellia, sed per uniones.*

⁷¹ Rodríguez Almeida 2014, 437. The expulsion from Nero’s court is told by Suetonius (*Vespasianus* 4.4).

of the last years has not yet made clear all uncertainties (and debunked old certainties), but there seems at least consensus about the non-commitment of Domitian to this Augustan ensemble. Therefore, we can leave it out in this overview.⁷²

Conclusion

Some final remarks can be made. First, can we say something about the expectations the public might have had of Domitian's Roman enterprises?⁷³ We cannot be certain, but I think that they were pleased with the many public accommodations. Let us recall the clear attention paid to the relaxation of the Roman citizens by means of sports and stage performances. The Colosseum and its four *Ludi*, the *Meta Sudans* as an emblem of sports as well, and the *Naumachia*, about which we do not know very much,⁷⁴ were supplemented by the *Odeum* and the *Stadium*. The *Templum Pacis* and other forums were adorned with a lot of *mirabilia*, formed opulent museums and *Wunderkammer*, and could simultaneously accommodate various kinds of activities. Points of critique might be the nuisance caused by the influx of spectators to these centrally located monuments and the tasteless demonstration of wealth by the use of precious materials in all of these commodities.⁷⁵

Secondly, the aspect of innovation. Seeing himself as the greatest emperor, Domitian hoped to be a *nouus Augustus* as well as a *nouus Nero*.⁷⁶ As we have seen, there are many links to predecessors, both Greek (Ptolemies, Demetrios Poliorketes) and Roman (from Caesar through Titus). Domitian's innovative monuments testified to a loyalty to noble emperors of the past and provided a basis for his own display of power.

Thirdly, as we have seen, many Augustan projects were restored, amplified or modified, but always with a clear reverence for the founder of the Empire. Domitian also respected and made permanent the works realised by his father and his brother and, by doing so, worked in a dynastic tradition. In that sense, he imitated Augustus who, of course, had one only previous generation (that of Caesar), although he was well aware of founding a new dynastic era. As aforementioned, the Campus Martius displayed a virtual map of the Roman Empire, which also matched Augustus' encompassing of the world in his building program. The Iseum Campense was an assembly of tesserae collected to integrate the old and new worlds into one and the same topographical mosaic. In the *mise-en-scène* of Domitian's Rome, this sanctuary was a logical element next to other shrines, not by creating a new world of its own, but as part of the multicultural society brought into the power of the Roman emperor. What is more, the relevant area of the Campus Martius was an emblem of the emperor's goodness, as shown in the distribution of grain and oil. In this frame, the Egyptian gods Isis and Serapis were relevant, and I think that for this reason

⁷² I thank Paolo Liverani for pointing out this matter to me. I only refer to the recent collected volume edited by Lothar Haselberger (2014), in which various contributions show (P. Albéri Auber, 63-76, with fig. 8; cf. Albéri Auber 2014-15) and endorse Domitian's absence here (esp. Haselberger 2014, 23-25, 29, 170, 181-84). See also the review by V. Jolivet, *BMCR* 2016.06.04.

⁷³ Such a question is posed by Scheithauer 2000, 26.

⁷⁴ See i.a. Darwall-Smith 1996, 220-21; C. Buzzetti, *LTUR* III (1996) 338; Albers 2013, 150; Rodríguez Almeida 2014, 586-88.

⁷⁵ As rightly observed by Scheithauer (2000, 138). On the *Capitolia* see Gering 2012, 180-81: they were connected with Jupiter and not with the emperor himself, for which reason they could remain a venue in Rome until the fourth century. On Domitian's Jupiter temples, see Darwall-Smith 1996, 105-15.

⁷⁶ Worked out in respect to games by Heinemann 2014. See also Zimmermann 2003, 319. New Augustus, with peculiar changes in Domitian's sense: Panzram 2008, 95-96.

Domitian felt no need to specifically highlight the cult of Isis and Serapis, if not by the lavishness of the complex's architecture. He enhanced the bond his father had with Egypt and the Near East. Simultaneously, he gave the Egyptian couple their appropriate position within the Roman pantheon, as happened for many old and new gods, as well. It had nothing to do with a purely Egyptian cult, but was a Roman-style evocation of two of the many worshiped gods and goddesses, for whom Domitian could refer to a venerable tradition. In sum, in terms of religious interventions, Domitian did not really change the traditional world, but carefully proceeded in the footsteps of his father and brother and of the previous emperors, especially Augustus.⁷⁷

In regard to the dimensions of Domitian's building complexes, it has often been observed, on the basis of his negative *post mortem* reputation, that all these projects were the products of the emperor's megalomania. There are, however, also more positive opinions, all well discussed by David Frederick in his fine 2003 essay.⁷⁸ In Frederick's words, "Flavian buildings, like Neronian ones, do not adhere to the compositional forms and spatial limits – to the outward spirit of restraint and compromise – practiced by Augustus."⁷⁹ But even that alleged Augustan "restraint" is questionable, if we think of the dimensions of Augustan building projects, like the house *cum* temple on the Palatine, the *Forum Augustum* with its huge firewall, the refurbishment of the southern Campus Martius by Agrippa, the installations of a huge family tomb and the *Horologium* as well as the *Ara pacis augustae* as a token of imperial policy in the northern part of the Campus Martius by Augustus himself, as well as the numerous restorations and restyling projects of standing monuments. In all these areas discussed here – viz. the forums and the Campus Martius next to the Palatine as a counterpart of the Quirinal – people could not avoid experiencing the presence of both emperors.⁸⁰ In my opinion, Domitian simply fulfilled his tasks as an absolute ruler and used his expertise to build a city that corresponded with his status as emperor and the city's status as the centre of the world, while at the same time he reinstalled important Augustan monuments. When we look at the number of enterprises, Domitian is second to Augustus, who incidentally was never accused of megalomania but regarded as a good emperor, in contrast to his late first century 'imitator'. Both – and other emperors – envisaged monumentality in their building programs as necessary features.⁸¹

Therefore, I would like to conclude that Domitian's Rome is – if I may use the cinematic term – a remake of Augustan Rome, *mutatis mutandis*. Although in the eyes of many people Domitian's version of Rome was less appreciated, remakes of movies are similar: the maker might hit the mark for better or for worse. Whether Augustus or Domitian was the superior enactor of imperial Rome is a matter of taste, but every visitor can easily make a comparison between the works of both emperors when strolling through the centre of the eternal city, and come to a final judgment.

⁷⁷ This conclusion has also been drawn by Anna Tartakiewicz in her brief but careful assessment of Flavian religious politics (Tartakiewicz 2014).

⁷⁸ Frederick 2003, 199-207.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 207.

⁸⁰ This is said about Domitian's project by Cassius Dio (67.8.1) and taken up by Frederick 2003, 222.

⁸¹ See Jenkins 2013, 313-33 on monumentality in Rome and the responses of contemporary authors.

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