

Chrystina Häuber

**The Cancellaria Reliefs and Domitian's Obelisk in Rome in context of the legitimation of Domitian's reign. With *Studies* on Domitian's building projects in Rome, his statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great), and Hadrian's portrait from Hierapydna**

*in Honour of Rose Mary Sheldon*

With Contributions by

John Bodel, Emanuele M. Ciampini, Amanda Claridge, Angelo Geißen, Laura Gigli, Hans Rupprecht Goette, Peter Herz, Eugenio La Rocca, Eric M. Moormann, Jörg Rüpke, Franz Xaver Schütz, R.R.R. Smith, Giandomenico Spinola, Mario Torelli, Walter Trillmich, Claudia Valeri, and T.P. Wiseman

FORTVNA PAPERS

Edited by Franz Xaver Schütz and Chrystina Häuber  
Volume III-1, 2021/2023

ISBN: 978-3-943872-24-8  
(München: Hochschule München)

## Impressum

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ISBN 978-3-943872-24-8

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( = FORTVNA PAPERS, edited by Franz Xaver Schütz and Chrystina Häuber, Volume III-1, 2021/2023 )

Druck und Bindung: Universitäts-Buchbinderei Georg Konrad.

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## VORWORT DER HERAUSGEBER

Wir danken Frau Katja Koralewski und Herrn Constantin Künzl von der Bibliothek der Hochschule München (Munich University of Applied Sciences) dafür, einen weiteren Band unserer Reihe FORTVNA PAPERS, die 2017 an der Hochschule gegründet wurde, auf ihrem Publikationsserver publizieren zu dürfen.

Unser besonderer Dank gilt zudem allen, die mit eigenen Beiträgen zum Gelingen dieses Bandes seit 2018 beigetragen haben. Es handelt sich (in alphabetischer Reihenfolge) um folgende Personen: John Bodel, Emanuele M. Ciampini, Amanda Claridge, Angelo Geißen, Laura Gigli, Hans Rupprecht Goette, Peter Herz, Eugenio La Rocca, Eric M. Moormann, Jörg Rüpke, R.R.R. Smith, Giandomenico Spinola, Mario Torelli, Walter Trillmich, Claudia Valeri und T.P. Wiseman.

Dieses Buch über Domitian ist 'zufällig' entstanden als Folge einer Email, die mir (Häuber) Rose Mary Sheldon am 26. August 2018 schrieb, und in der sie mich fragte, ob ich ihr bezüglich ihres eigenen Buches (R.M. SHELDON 2023, in press) über die Flavii helfen könne, falls sie Fragen zu flavischen Kunstwerken hätte, wobei sie ausdrücklich die Cancellariareliefs erwähnt hat.

Pandemiebedingt kam dann ab 2020 zeitweise der internationale 'Tagungstourismus'\*) zum Erliegen, was für dieses, inzwischen als Festschrift für Rose Mary konzipierte Buch, unvorhergesehene Folgen haben sollte. Plötzlich waren nämlich viele Spezialisten, die ich meinerseits um ihren Rat fragen wollte, problemlos per Email, oder sogar telefonisch zu Hause erreichbar. Diese meine ehemaligen Universitätsdozenten und Chefs, sowie Kollegen und Freunde zeigten sich nicht nur sehr an dieser Thematik interessiert, sondern schickten mir überdies, von sich aus, eine nahezu unübersehbare Fülle von einschlägiger Fachliteratur, die ich ohne ihre Hinweise nie selbst gesucht, geschweige denn gefunden hätte.

Die resultierende bedeutende Erweiterung der in diesem Werk behandelten Themen hatte ihrerseits die bedauerliche Folge, dass einige dieser Gelehrten, die dieses Buch gleichfalls mit gutem Rat, und sogar mit eigenen Beiträgen unterstützt hatten, in der Zwischenzeit verstorben sind, ohne dass wir Ihnen das fertige Resultat hätten überreichen können. Um sie alle noch lebend antreffen zu können, hätte ich allerdings nur einen kleinen Aufsatz über Domitian verfassen können, der Mitte 2020 hätte fertig sein müssen. - Dazu ist hinzuzufügen, dass viele der sehr fruchtbaren Fachgespräche mit einigen dieser Gelehrten noch bis in den Juli 2023 hinein andauern sollten.

In alphabetischer Reihenfolge handelt es sich bei diesen verstorbenen Gelehrten um:

Hugo Brandenburg, Marco Buonocore, Frederick E. Brenk, Paola Ciancio Rossetto, Maria Gabriella Cimino, Amanda Claridge, Andrew Stewart und Mario Torelli.

Neben der Pandemie im Jahre 2020 gab es, was dieses Buch betrifft, im Februar 2021 eine weitere wichtige Zäsur: Damals hoffte ich nämlich, dieses Manuskript sehr bald fertigstellen zu können. Da mir jedoch ab diesem Zeitpunkt bis zum Dezember 2021 (und lange darüber hinaus) noch weitere zahlreiche Publikationen von Freunden und Kollegen geschickt werden sollten, die ich beschlossen habe, in diesem Buch zu diskutieren, hat sich die Bearbeitung aller dieser Werke noch bis zum Juli 2023 hingezogen (!).

Und weil diese Studie im Jahr 2021 von anderen in ihren Publikationen als 'Häuber 2020' (wie ich sie zunächst datiert hatte) und als 'Häuber 2021' zitiert worden war, haben wir beschlossen, bei 'Häuber 2021' zu bleiben. Korrekterweise haben wir jetzt die beiden Bände 'Häuber 2021/ 2023' datiert.

Am 15. Juli 2023 hatten wir bereits wunschgemäß dieses Vorwort datiert, als uns überraschend das großzügige Geschenk von Eugenio La Rocca erreichte, der Katalog *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e Amore* (2023) (!). Ich (Häuber) habe daraufhin noch einige der darin gemachten Erkenntnisse in meinen Text integriert.

Franz Xaver Schütz und Chrystina Häuber

München, 23. Juli 2023

\*) Vergleiche zum oben erwähnten, salopp so genannten 'Tagungstourismus', an dem natürlich auch wir selbst seit Jahrzehnten beteiligt gewesen sind: Chrystina Häuber und Franz Xaver Schütz: "Von Forschungsreisenden für Forschungsreisende: FORTVNA - ein Archäologisches Informationssystem für Rom", vorgetragen am 2. Oktober 2001, in der Fachsitzung "Virtueller Städtetourismus", beim 53. Deutschen Geographentag in Leipzig.





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### *Dedication*

Ich widme dieses Buch meiner guten Freundin, der Militärgeschichtlerin Rose Mary Sheldon, Professor Emerita des Virginia Military Institute.

Rose Mary hat nichts Geringeres fertig gebracht, als mich zuerst nach Rom und dann nach Dumbarton Oaks zu bringen. Ihr ist es also zu verdanken, dass ich in Rom (nach vielen vergeblichen Versuchen) mein Dissertationsthema gefunden habe, und später in Dumbarton Oaks, dank eines Junior Fellowships, in aller Ruhe meine Doktorarbeit schreiben konnte.

Dass ich mit Hilfe von Rose Mary nach Rom, und damit zu meinem Lebensthema, der stadtrömischen Topographie, gelangt bin, lag daran, dass wir im Juli-August 1979 ein Zimmer geteilt haben. Das war bei den "Corsi estivi di Lingua e Cultura Italiana dell'Università del Sacro Cuore di Milano", die im Collegio Denza auf dem Capo Posillipo bei Neapel stattgefunden haben. - Seither haben wir unsere Forschungsthemen miteinander diskutiert.

Ein sehr wichtiger Bestandteil dieser Kurse waren Exkursionen zu allen Museen und Ausgrabungen rund um den Vesuv und zu den Inseln im Golf von Neapel, die Prof. Mario Torelli von der Università Perugia durchgeführt hat.



**Abb. 1. Mario Torelli, teaching us members of the "Corsi estivi di Lingua e Cultura Italiana dell'Università del Sacro Cuore di Milano" in the summer of 1979. The photo shows Torelli in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale at Naples in front of the marble bust of Pindar (cf. here Fig. 51), which he explains to us. Photo: Courtesy Rose Mary Sheldon.**

Rose Mary hatte bei Torelli an der University of Michigan studiert, weshalb ich ihn durch sie persönlich kennenlernen konnte. So kam es, dass Mario von meinem (bereits vierten) Dissertationsthema erfuhr: "Die Statuenausstattung der Villa dei Papiri". Er wies mich dann freundlicherweise darauf hin, dass ich (auch) diese Arbeit nicht würde schreiben können, da dieses Thema bereits seit geraumer Zeit von einer Doktorandin der Università Perugia bearbeitet wurde. Mein Doktorvater, Andreas Linfert, hatte darauf bestanden, dass ich mein Dissertationsthema selbst finden solle - wofür ich ihm im Nachhinein sehr dankbar bin. Es war ein langwieriger Prozeß, der von 1975-1981 andauern sollte: das erste Thema (begonnen 1975) lautete: "Die Portraits der Ptolemäerinnen", das zweite: "Der Statuentypus der Großen Herculansenserin".

Unterstützt durch ein Gutachten von Mario Torelli, habe ich daraufhin erfolgreich ein DAAD-Stipendium für Rom beantragt. Gleichzeitig mit mir war Rose Mary in Rom, in der American Academy (von 1980-1982).

Und als Rose Mary dann in Washington, D.C., im Center for Hellenic Studies, beschäftigt war, hat sie mir 1984 einen Zeitungsausschnitt nach Rom geschickt, in dem das Center beschrieben wurde, 'das an den Park von Dumbarton Oaks grenzt'. Ich schrieb zurück: 'Ist das das berühmte Dumbarton Oaks?'. 'Ja', antwortete Rose Mary, und fügte hinzu, 'sie vergeben auch Stipendien', und legte ein Faltblatt bei, das sie für mich in Dumbarton Oaks besorgt hatte, und in dem erklärt wurde, wie man sich dort um Stipendien bewirbt. Ich habe sogleich einen Antrag gestellt und im akademischen Jahr 1985-86 das Privileg genossen, mit einem Junior Fellowship ausgestattet, in 'DO' forschen zu können. Auf diese Weise waren Rose Mary und ich wieder zusammen, diesmal in Georgetown, in Washington, D.C., wo sie wie immer lebhaft an meinen Forschungen Anteil nahm.

Durch einen glücklichen 'Zufall' habe ich in Rom am 29. Dezember 1980 meine gute Freundin Amanda Claridge wiedergefunden.

Amanda hatte im Juli 1973 Hansgeorg Oehler in Köln besucht, den Gründer und damaligen Direktor der '*Monumenta Artis Romanae*', des 'Forschungsarchivs für Römische Plastik' am Archäologischen Institut der Universität zu Köln, und zwar just an dem Tag, an dem ich bei ihm als Studentische Hilfskraft angefangen hatte.

An diesem 29. Dezember 1980 nahm ich an einem Besuch der Villa Albani in Rom teil, zu dem mich freundlicherweise Valentin Kockel vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut (DAI) Rom eingeladen hatte. Mit von der Partie in dieser Gruppe des DAI waren unter anderem Denys Haynes (1913-1994), der bis 1976 Keeper der Greek and Roman Antiquities des British Museum in London gewesen war, und seine Ehefrau, Sybille Haynes, die ich bei dieser Gelegenheit kennen gelernt habe.

Vor der Villa Albani wartend, erzählte das Ehepaar Haynes neben ihnen stehenden Freunden, dass sie soeben aus Princeton zurückgekommen seien. Daraufhin fragte ich Denys Haynes, ob er in Princeton Amanda Claridge getroffen habe, von der ich wußte, dass sie dort seit 1977 an der Universität arbeitete (Denys Haynes hätte sie jedoch zu diesem Zeitpunkt dort gar nicht mehr antreffen können, weil Amanda, wie sie mir später erzählte, bereits im September 1980 nach Rom gekommen war).

Haynes erinnerte sich an meinen Besuch bei ihm im British Museum im Jahre 1975, den Amanda für mich arrangiert hatte. Ich hatte einen römischen Frauenkopf anschauen wollen, den Walter Görlitz (1936) als ein Portrait Königin Kleopatras VII. erklärt hatte - ein Thema, das damals für mich im Zusammenhang meines (ersten) Dissertationsthemas über die Portraits der Ptolemäerinnen von Interesse war. Denys Haynes war so freundlich gewesen, Amanda und mich ins Magazin des British Museum zu begleiten, wo dieses 'Kleopatraportrait' in einem Pappkarton aufbewahrt wurde, und das wir dann gemeinsam studiert hatten.

Sybille Haynes, die ebenfalls Amanda kannte, hatte aufmerksam unserem Gespräch zugehört. In der 'Sala ovale' der Villa Albani angelangt, ging Sybille Haynes zum aufgeschlagenen Gästebuch, das auf einem Tischchen neben dem 'Apollon auf dem Omphalos sitzend' lag, und rief: "Da ist sie doch!". Neben ihr stehend lasen wir dann alle den letzten Eintrag in dieses Gästebuch: "22. December 1980, Amanda Claridge, British School at Rome". In meine Wohnung zurückgekehrt, habe ich gleich in der British School angerufen, und Amanda am folgenden Tag dort besucht. - Ein Entschluß, der mein Leben komplett verändern sollte. Und mit Sybille Haynes, die wir Jahre später in der British School wiedersehen sollten, haben Amanda und ich dann herzlich über ihren Ausruf: "da ist sie doch!", gelacht.

Auf Amandas Einladung hin konnte ich dann seit dem 30. Dezember 1980 in der Bibliothek der British School at Rome arbeiten, wo sie inzwischen Assistant Director geworden war. Dort habe ich im Januar 1981 einen der Bibliothekare, Demetrios Michaelides, kennen gelernt. Am 2. März 1981 hat sich dann auch mein fünftes Dissertationsprojekt, "Die Statuenausstattung der Villa von Chiragan" bei einem Gespräch im Musée Saint Raymond in Toulouse als nicht realisierbar herausgestellt. Diese römische Villa befindet sich in der Nähe von Toulouse und die entsprechenden Funde werden in diesem Museum aufbewahrt, das aber vom

folgenden Tag an für fünf Jahre geschlossen werden sollte. - Danach entschloss ich mich, *nolens volens*, mein drittes Dissertationsthema wieder aufzunehmen: "Die Statuenausstattung der *Horti Sallustiani* in Rom".

Demetrios Michaelides, der mich am 19. März 1981 in der British School auf die *Horti Sallustiani* ansprach, hatte dann die rettende Idee. Eugenio La Rocca, der Direktor der Kapitolinischen Museen, hatte Demetrios soeben ein Angebot zur Mitarbeit in einem Projekt unterbreitet, das dieser aber nicht annehmen konnte, weil er nach Zypern zurückkehren musste. Demetrios fragte mich deshalb, warum ich nicht die 'Statuen aus den *Horti* des Maecenas' untersuchen wolle, ich könne diesbezüglich doch einmal La Rocca ansprechen. "Hatte Maecenas auch Statuen?", fragte ich ungläubig. Demetrios erzählte mir von La Roccas Angebot an ihn, und dass ich La Rocca am folgenden Tag, dem 20. März 1981, anlässlich einer Tagung in der American Academy, kennen lernen könne: *The Topography of ancient Rome: New Developments and suggestions* - da La Rocca dort einen Vortrag halten werde.

Zu dieser Tagung erschien selbstverständlich auch Rose Mary, sowie glücklicherweise auch Mario Torelli. Mario hat mich auf meine Bitte hin Eugenio La Rocca vorgestellt, und dieser hat mich eingeladen, ihn am Morgen des 23. März 1981 in seinem Büro in den Kapitolinischen Museen aufzusuchen.

Eugenio La Rocca hat mir am 23. März 1981 ein Thema zur Bearbeitung angeboten, das, nach Absprache mit meinem Doktorvater, mein Dissertationsthema werden sollte. Ich habe zunächst die Fundorte der Neufunde der Archäologischen Kommission in Rom nach 1870 identifiziert, von denen sich die meisten in den Musei Capitolini, sowie früher auch im Antiquarium Comunale auf dem Caelius befanden, und dann, darauf aufbauend, "Die Statuenausstattung der *Horti Maecenatis* und der *Hort Lamiani* auf dem Esquilin" studiert.

La Rocca war außerdem so freundlich, mich an diesem Morgen einzuladen, gleich damit anzufangen, zeigte mir die Registerbände der Funde, die zu bearbeiten seien, und stellte mich allen Mitarbeitern seines Museums vor. Die Kapitolinischen Museen sind daraufhin für die folgenden fünf Jahre mein Zuhause geworden.

Als ich nach dem Gespräch mit Eugenio La Rocca die *Cordonata* des Kapitols hinuntergehüpft bin, hat mich ein sehr alter Römer gefragt: 'Warum singen Sie denn so fröhlich?'. Ich hatte das gar nicht bemerkt, und nachdem ich ihm die ganze Geschichte erzählt hatte, hat er gelächelt und gesagt, dass er mich nun sehr gut verstehen könne.

Dass das, was so vergnügt begann, gelingen konnte, hat natürlich Gründe: es ist tatsächlich nur der unendlichen Geduld und dem wissenschaftlichen Sachverstand von einigen meiner ehemaligen Universitätsdozenten und Chefs, und vielen meiner Kollegen und Freunde zu verdanken. Sowohl denen, die ich bereits in Köln und Neapel kennen gelernt hatte, als auch den neu hinzugewonnenen in Rom und später in den Vereinigten Staaten, Greifswald, Bonn, Regensburg, Tübingen und München. Sie haben mich die entsprechende Methodik gelehrt und mir das entsprechende Wissen vermittelt, waren seither an allen meinen Forschungsprojekten beteiligt, auch an diesem Buch, sind mir immer mit Rat und Tat beigestanden und haben mich durch alle damit verbundenen wissenschaftlichen Schwierigkeiten 'hindurchgelotst'.

Mit dieser Festschrift danke ich aber allen voran Rose Mary Sheldon.

Ohne sie hätte ich es nie geschafft, am 3. Oktober 1980 überhaupt erst einmal nach Rom zu kommen, obendrein mit einem Stipendium versehen, zunächst allerdings nur mit dem Wunsch, dort eine Dissertation schreiben zu wollen. - Dass ich mich dann an Rom gewöhnt habe, und seither ausschließlich über diese Stadt forsche, war das sehr angenehme, völlig unvorhergesehene Ergebnis dieses Aufenthalts.

Chrystina Häuber

For the identification of the portrait of Pindar (cf. here **Fig. 51**), visible on **Abb. 1**; cf. below at *The second Contribution by R.R.R. Smith : Note on the function of the 'Atrium House' at Aphrodisias* (cf. here **Figs. 51; 52**).

The above-mentioned, very beautiful and well preserved female portrait in the British Museum is wearing a mellon coiffure but not the diadem, which is why this is *not* Queen Cleopatra VII; cf. Walter Görlitz (1936, Frontispiz, illustrating a photo of this head, the caption reads: "Kleopatra"); Peter Higgs (in: S. WALKER and P. HIGGS 2000, 164-165: "III. 11. Testa di donna somigliante a Cleopatra VII 50-40 a. C. circa. Acquistata in Italia, già nella collezione di Alessandro Castellani, Travertino italiano, h 28 cm, Londra, the British Museum, Department of Greek & Roman Antiquities, GR 1879.7-12.15 (Scultura 1873)"); cf. Peter Higgs (in: S. WALKER and P. HIGGS 2001, 228-229: "210 Head of a woman resembling Cleopatra VII"). Higgs himself (2000; *id.* 2001) does not quote Görlitz (1936).

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## What this *Study* is all about

This *Study* analyses the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2**) and tries to answer the question: to which monument or building did these panels belong? This structure was commissioned by the Emperor Domitian, whose other building projects at Rome are likewise discussed. The text is divided into Chapters I.-VI., and is supplemented by Appendices I.-VI., that are published *infra*, in volume 3-2. To some of these Chapters and Appendices belong separate *Studies* on specific subjects, *inter alia* on famous sculptures.

**These four separate, but interrelated monographs have provided (in many cases unforeseen) new insights concerning Domitian, which is why they are published in this book on Domitian :**

**The text *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination* is to be found in volume 3-2, the other three additional *Studies* are to be found below, in this volume 3-1.**

To Chapter I.2. *The amazon-like figure on Frieze A* (cf. here **Fig. 1**): Dea Roma, not Virtus belongs:

### ***A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination :***

*Nero is forced to adopt Trajan and Trajan creates Domitian's negative image to consolidate his own reign. With Hadrian's adoption manquée in late October or at the beginning of November of AD 97, his 20-year long road to his accession and his thanksgivings for it, his Temple complex in the Campus Martius.*

*Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nero, and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here **Fig. 3**). With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz, with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz, with The Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen.*

To Appendix I.g.4.) *Domitian's sacellum of Iuppiter Conservator, his Temple of Iuppiter Custos, and his (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* belongs:

### ***A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here **Fig. 10**).**

To Appendix IV.c.1.) *Final remarks on Appendix IV.b) and Appendix IV.c): Hadrian's efforts to legitimize his reign at the beginning of his principate, as expressed in the Anaglypha Hadriani ...* belongs:

***A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great).**

To Appendix IV.c.2.) *The Ogulnian monument ... and the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus on a headless cuirassed statue of a Flavian emperor (Domitian?) in the Vatican Museums* (cf. here **Fig. 6, right**) and on Hadrian's cuirassed statue from Hierapydna at Istanbul ... belongs:

### ***A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here **Fig. 29**).**

In six cases, I have followed the views of earlier scholars, that have been contested in the meantime:

1.) Filippo Magi (1939; *id.* 1945) in believing that the emperor, represented on frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 14 and 12**), was from the very beginning Vespasian, and that the togate youth, standing in front of him, his younger son Domitian;



2.) I have followed those scholars, who suggest that Flavius Sabinus and his men comprising Domitian, when taking refuge on the Capitoline Hill on 18th December AD 69, did not withdraw to the *Arx*, as has been suggested, but instead to the *Capitolium*, that is to say within the *area Capitolina*;

3.) Instead of believing that Domitian erected his obelisk (cf. here **Fig. 28**) in front of his *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, as has been suggested, I have followed those earlier scholars, who were of the opinion that Domitian commissioned his obelisk for the square between the Temples of Isis and Serapis in the *Campus Martius* (i.e., the Iseum Campense), both built anew by the emperor after the great fire of AD 80. Domitian's obelisk is on display on Gianlorenzo Bernini's famous Fountain of the Four Rivers in Piazza Navona at Rome;

4.) Mario Torelli (1987) in believing that Domitian's *sestertius* of AD 95/96 (cf. here **Fig. 30**) and the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here **Fig. 31**) represent the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, built by Domitian;

5.) Cécile Evers (1991) in believing that the colossal acrolithic statue of Constantine the Great (cf. here **Fig. 11**) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome was reworked from a statue of Hadrian;

6.) T.P. Wiseman (1987-2022) and Amanda Claridge (1998; *ead.* 2010; *ead.* 2014) in believing that Octavian/Augustus, although the owner of the "House of Augustus", did not live there, but, when this house was hit by lightning in 36 BC, erected the Temple of Apollo Palatinus on top of it, which was oriented towards the north-east; and that the (real) House of Augustus, the former House of Hortensius, stood at the site of Domitian's '*Domus Flavia*' / *Domus Augustana*.

For a discussion of the Cancellaria Reliefs; cf. *infra*, at Chapters I.; II.; III.; IV.; V.; VI.; for summaries of my hypotheses concerning point 1.), cf. below, at Chapters V.1.d; V.1.h; V.1.h.1.); V.1.h.2); V.1.i.3.) VI.3; and at *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

My hypotheses concerning point 2.), Domitian's escape from the *Capitolium* on 19th December AD 69, are to be found below, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III., at point 1.); *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.*; *Appendix IV.*

For my hypotheses concerning point 3.), Domitian's obelisk, which he erected at the Iseum Campense, for my hypotheses concerning Domitian's Iseum Campense, and concerning Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; cf. below, in Chapters IV.1.; IV.1.1.a-f); IV.1.1.h); and V.1.i.3.a); *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix I.g*); *Appendix I.g.1.*); *Appendix I.g.2.*); *Appendix I.g.3.*); *Appendix II.*; *Appendix III.*; and in *Appendix VI.*, at Sections II.; and XII.

For a discussion of point 4.), that the *sestertius*, issued by Domitian in AD 95/96, and the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" represent the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; cf. below, in Chapters IV.1.1.h); V.1.i.3.a); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix I.g.3.*); at Sections I.-IV.; in *Appendix IV.c.1.*); in *Appendix IV.c.2.*); and in *Appendix VI.*; at Sections II. and XII.

For a discussion of point 5.), that the colossal acrolithic statue of Constantine the Great in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome was reworked from a statue of Hadrian; cf. below, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part I.; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*); and *Appendix IV.c.2.*).

For a discussion of point 6.), the "House of Augustus", the Temple of Apollo Palatinus, the House of Hortensius and the (real) House of Augustus; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix V.*; at Section IX; and in *Appendix VI.*; at Sections I.-XII.

On 4th December 2022, Franz Xaver Schütz and I have published an earlier version of this Chapter on our Webserver as a Preview for this *Study on Domitian*:

Online at: <<https://FORTVNA-research.org/FORTVNA/FP3.html>>.

Only after having finished writing my text on the Cancellaria Reliefs, did I come across the research of Rita Paris (1994b) on the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. Her findings, especially those concerning the relief, representing Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in AD 70 (cf. here **Fig. 33**), which she discusses in context with Frieze A and B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2**), support my overall hypothesis concerning those panels. I have added the Chapter *V.1.i.3.a*) to my text, in which Paris's research is presented.

Even later than that, on 31st August 2019, John Pollini was kind enough to send me his article on the so-called Nollekens Relief (2017b; cf. here **Fig. 36**) which, exactly like the relief **Fig. 33** from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, shows great similarities with the Cancellaria Reliefs. I have, therefore, also added Chapter *V.1.i.3.b*), in which Pollini's discussions on both subjects are summarized. Pollini's analyses of the Nollekens Relief and of the Cancellaria Reliefs corroborate likewise the here developed view of the Cancellaria Reliefs.

I had just found in John Pollini's article (2017b, 124, with n. 118) the famous line by Augustus (*RG 13*): *parta victoriis pax*, translated by Pollini as: "peace through victory", when I received on 2nd November 2019 the manuscript of the article by Rose Mary Sheldon, which has appeared in the meantime (cf. *ead.*, "Insurgency in Germany: The Slaughter of Varus in the Teutoburger Wald", 2020). In this article, Rose Mary has greatly expanded her earlier relevant observations; cf. Sheldon (2001).

Rose Mary Sheldon (2020) thus provided me with a classic example of what Augustus's doctrine 'peace through victory' in reality may have meant. P. Quinctilius Varus, "the commander of the Rhine army" (R.M. SHELDON 2020, 1011), was precisely one of those men, who was supposed to provide Augustus's subjects in the provinces with 'peace through victory'. For Sheldon's (2020) and Pollini's (2017b) observations in detail; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*).

Sheldon (2020) describes the events that led to P. Quinctilius Varus' catastrophic defeat in the Teutoburger Wald in AD 9 and to the destruction of his entire army, the battle itself, which she assumes at Kalkriese, and its extraordinary historical impact. There, to regain their liberty, Arminius, his Cherusci and their allies, destroyed Varus's three Roman legions, and the many Roman civilians accompanying them, in the course of three days. 20,000 Romans soldiers and 10,000 civilians perished in the Teutoburger Wald, comprising one tenth of Augustus's entire thirty legions; cf. Sheldon (2020, 1014, 1018, 1025, 1030). Sheldon (2020, 1013, with n. 25, quoting Tacitus, *Annals* 2,88) writes about Arminius: "no doubt, the liberator of Germany".

To Arminius I will come back below (cf. at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here **Fig. 29**); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*); *Appendix IV.c.2.*); and *Appendix IV.d.2.d*)). For the visit on 11th June 1999 of Rose Mary Sheldon, her husband Jeff Aubert, Franz Xaver Schütz and myself of the battle site at Kalkriese and the Varusschlacht-Museum; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*).

When this manuscript was about to be sent to the press, Franz Xaver Schütz alerted me to the following publication, some passages of which are quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*):

ARCHAEOLOGIE-ONLINE.DE Metallurgischer Fingerabdruck weist Legion des Varus in Kalkriese nach. Neue wissenschaftliche Methode bestätigt Kalkriese als Ort der Varusschlacht. 21.11.2022. Online at: <<https://www.archaeologie-online.de/nachrichten/metallurgischer-fingerabdruck-weist-legion-des-varus-in-kalkriese-nach-5466/>> [last visit: 15062023].

From this publication emerges that until recently, quite a few scholars have still doubted that the area at Kalkriese was indeed the theatre of "The Slaughter of Varus in the Teutoburger Wald", to borrow the title of Sheldon's (2020) article. Those scholars have suggested that the excavated archaeological finds at Kalkriese should instead be attributed to a military campaign, conducted by Germanicus six years later. As we have seen above, Sheldon (2020), on the contrary, had based her, in my opinion very convincing account, on the assumption that those remains, excavated at Kalkriese, may actually be attributed to Varus's famous defeat.

Excavated fragments of the equipment of the Roman soldiers, who were killed in the battle at Kalkriese, are on display in the Varusschlacht-Museum there. In this article in *ARCHAEOLOGIEONLINE DE* is described, how the metal of those finds has recently been analysed. The obtained results have not only been compared with those of all other contemporary Roman legions in the area, but, in addition to this, with finds from all those camps, where Varus's three legions had been stationed *before* AD 9. It could thus be

proven beyond any doubt, that some of these items from Kalkriese had certainly been owned by soldiers of 'Legio 19', one of Varus's three legions, who perished 'in the Teutoburger Wald'.

See below, at *The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz: Zur kartographischen Visualisierung historischer Landschaftselemente zwischen Rhein und Schwarzem Meer von Augustus bis Hadrian* (cf. here **Fig. 77**).

The manuscript of Sheldon's article (2020) had reached me on 2nd November 2019 right in time to make me realize what it meant to the people in the Roman provinces, to be deprived of great parts of their income in form of taxes, because Augustus or later emperors, such as Domitian (or for example Vespasian, Trajan, Hadrian and Septimius Severus, whose relevant actions are also discussed in this *Study*), spent such enormous sums on their (building) projects.

Concentrating predominantly on Domitian, this *Study* tries to answer the question, *why* Domitian felt the desperate need to build 'in such a pharaonic manner', as has (similarly) first been suggested by Mario Torelli (1987, 575, quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 228, in Chapter I.2.). Of course, Domitian's building policy has already been studied by many previous scholars. In the following, I, therefore, anticipate a conclusion, at which I have arrived below (cf. *infra*, at Chapter II.3.1.c):

'Eric M. Moormann (2018, 162) mentions "three fields of interest in Domitian's building policy", as defined by Jens Gering (2012, 210-211): "personal grandeur, family memory and legitimization".

This is exactly how, in my opinion, also the contents of the Cancellaria Reliefs can be defined. Contrary to all other scholars - the only exception being Wolfgang Kuhoff - I have concentrated in this *Study* on a comparison of the contents of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**) with the contents of Domitian's obelisk, which the emperor erected at the Iseum Campense (cf. here **Fig. 28**): namely the contents of the representations on the *pyramidion* of this obelisk, as well as the contents of its hieroglyphic texts. And I happily confess that my research on this obelisk was only possible thanks to the generous support by the Egyptologist Emanuele M. Ciampini. To this I will come back below in a minute.

As I only realized after having conducted this research, a comparison between Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs and the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Domitian's obelisk has been drawn before by Wolfgang Kuhoff (1993, 77 with n. 103, quoted *verbatim* in Chapter IV.1.), who mentions his findings in a footnote.

To attain this goal, two avenues of research have been pursued in this *Study*, at first was made a detailed analysis of the contents of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs, and second, on the basis of this, a comparison of those contents with the contents of the representations on the *pyramidion* of Domitian's obelisk, as well as with the contents of its hieroglyphic texts, both of which have been analysed by Ciampini (2004; *id.* 2005). This article is quoted *verbatim* in its entirety; cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.d.). See also *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini* in this volume: *La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*.

As a result of this comparison, I suggest that exactly the same themes (as on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs) are also formulated in the representations on the *pyramidion* and in the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk.

The contents of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs are hotly debated, and what I am presenting here is my own opinion.

For a summary of the relevant debate by other scholars; cf. *infra*, at Chapters I.1.; I.1.1.; VI.1.; and below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

The contents of the representations on the *pyramidion* of Domitian's obelisk are likewise debated, but the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk, on the contrary, have the great advantage that here Domitian's propaganda is formulated *expressis verbis*. See for both Ciampini (2004; *id.* 2005); cf. also *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.f)); and at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini* in this volume: *La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*, as well as my own comments on all those subjects (cf. *infra*, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Section II. *Conclusions: Domitian's representations of his military successes and his claims to be of*

*divine descent and to possess a divine nature; at Section III. My own thoughts about Domitian; at Chapters IV.1; IV.1.1.a); IV.1.1.b); IV.1.1.c); IV.1.1.d); IV.1.1.f); VI.3.); and at The major results of this book on Domitian.*

Whether or not I have been able to define correctly: 1.) the contents of Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs; and 2.) the contents of the representations on the *pyramidion* of Domitian's obelisk, as well as of the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk, can both only be judged by other scholars.

But one thing is clear. Egyptologists are certainly able to add many more insights to this complex subject, when studying in-depth the hieroglyphic texts on Domitian's obelisk - as well as other Egyptian texts that have been created at Rome in the Flavian period. On 28th October 2022, after this *Chapter* was written so far, reached me an E-mail by Emanuele M. Ciampini, who kindly informed me that the paper, prepared by himself and by the Egyptologist Federica Pancin, has been accepted for a Conference, which has the following title: *The Damned Despot : Rethinking Domitian and the Flavian World*", and was held at Rome from 18-21 January 2023. This Conference was organized by Antony Augoustakis, Emma Buckley, Nathalie de Haan, Eric Moormann, Maria Paola del Moro, Massimiliano Munzi, Claudio Parisi Presicce, Aurora Raimondi Cominesi, and Claire Stocks.

In their paper, Ciampini and Pancin have presented precisely that, the results of their current research on the Egyptian inscriptions, created at Rome in the Flavian period, comprising those on Domitian's obelisk. The title of the paper by Emanuele M. Ciampini and Federica Pancin is:

**"And may the land be prosperous in the time of the dynasty whose name is Flavii'. Thoughts on the Egyptian Domitian [my emphasis]".** The first part of the title of their paper is, of course, a quote from Domitian's obelisk; cf. E.M. Ciampini (2004,159, H.7).

Assuming for the time being that my above-mentioned observations are correct, I have in this *Study*, concerning the "three fields of interest in Domitian's building policy", as defined by Gering (2012, 210-211): "personal grandeur, family memory and legitimization", concentrated on Domitian's aim of 'legitimization' - (so my first aim). These activities of Domitian can be compared in this *Study* with the relevant efforts reported for Augustus, Vespasian, Trajan, Hadrian and Septimius Severus. The summary will show (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d*) *The summary of the research presented in Appendix IV. has led to a summary of Domitian's building projects at Rome*) that also Gering's 'other two fields of interest in Domitian's building policy : personal grandeur and family memory', have in the end likewise been discussed in this book in detail. Again assuming for the time being that my relevant observations are correct, my answer to the above posed question - *why* Domitian felt the desperate need to build 'in such a pharaonic manner' - is therefore:

The extraordinary efforts that Domitian undertook served, exactly like the comparable ones in the case of Augustus, Vespasian, Trajan, Hadrian and Septimius Severus (apart from the other two motivations in the case of Domitian: "personal grandeur and family memory"), the purpose of legitimizing Domitian's reign. The actions discussed here, especially the grandiose building projects of these emperors, served, therefore, the purpose that all of these emperors should duly be acknowledged by their subjects for these achievements, and, in addition to this, favourably remembered by posterity.

Rose Mary Sheldon (2020, 1011 with n. 12) succinctly defines the underlying conflict of the above-described situation from the perspective of those subjects in the Roman provinces, who had to pay the taxes, with which those emperors financed all these formidable activities: "Florus rightfully points out that it is easier to subdue a province than to retain one.

**The simple truth is that no one likes being occupied [my emphasis]".**

In her **note 12**, Sheldon writes: "Florus, *Epitome of Roman History*, 2.30.29 ...".

### *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*

On 26th August 2018, my good friend Rose Mary Sheldon has asked me to consult her on artworks and buildings dating to the Flavian period that she will discuss in her book related to the Flavians (cf. *infra*, n. 1, in Chapter I.1.), mentioning in this context the Cancellaria Reliefs to me (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**).

To begin with, I had no idea that my relevant inquiries could possibly develop into an entire book about Domitian. I hope that the resulting *Study* will be regarded as one step towards the reconstruction of a more colourful portrait of *Domitian and his achievements, especially at Rome* when regarded in retrospect. Here are two reasons:

a) The different avenues of research followed in this book were often stimulated by discussions with other scholars, Rose Mary Sheldon included, some of whom even wrote *Contributions* to this volume on my request. Many of these scholars alerted me to new publications or even presented me with them, and I confess that in many cases I only realized much later the potential of those publications for the topics, discussed here;

b) Domitian's actions were *inter alia* defined in the course of studying the achievements of other emperors and/ or by discussing artworks commissioned by other emperors.

Let me mention two of many more possible examples, in order to explain this working method in more detail; both examples are, by the way, closely related to each other. - As we shall see below, also a 3.) major hypothesis of this *Study* has resulted from studying those two examples.

1.) None of the books presented to me is dedicated to Domitian (although that was only true at the beginning of these studies; cf. *infra*).

But one of them, Hugo Brandenburg's (*Le Prime Chiese di Roma IV-VII Secolo*, 2013), which Hugo Brandenburg and Angelika Geyer were so kind as to present me with, deals with the colossal acrolithic marble portrait of Constantine the Great in the cortile of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here **Fig. 11**).

Brandenburg (2013, 16) writes that Constantine 'put himself under the protection of the god [of the Christians] to guarantee, according to Roman tradition, his victory [over Maxentius at the *Pons Milvius* in AD 312], as *imperator invictus*, and thus the prosperity of the Roman Empire'.

At first, I became only interested in pursuing the doctrine of 'invincibility' over time, my inquiry at that very moment. I then began to study this *colossus* of Constantine itself, however, which turned out to have originally been a portrait of Hadrian, as has first been suggested by Cécile Evers (1991). Concentrating on Hadrian, has led me to look for the first time at Hadrian's military campaigns (but see below).

Studying this colossal statue of Hadrian/ Constantine the Great had also another effect, since Claudio Parisi Presicce (2006b) has compared it with the statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (cf. here **Fig. 10**), which copies the same prototype of Jupiter as the Hadrian/ Constantine in mirror image. This statue-type of Jupiter (here **Fig. 10**) (and its variants) was extremely successful in antiquity and has also been copied in statuette format as Capitoline Triad, together with Juno and Minerva (cf. here **Fig. 13**). Most famous among these copies in statuette format is certainly the statuette of 'Euripides' in the Louvre at Paris (cf. here **Fig. 12**). As Hans Rupprecht Goette (forthcoming) has demonstrated, this was created at the order of Francesco Ficoroni by turning such a headless copy of Jupiter of a Capitoline Triad into the tragic poet. And Evers's article (1991), in its turn, has also led to detailed research on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna in Crete at Istanbul (here **Fig. 29**).

2.) Trying to understand Domitian's escape from the *Capitolium* on 19th December AD 69, I came across the reliefs called Anaglypha Hadriani (cf. here **Figs. 21-22**), because, as Dunia Filippi (1998) has shown, on one of them, the 'burning of debt records' relief (cf. here **Fig. 22**), appears an arch that is of importance in this context. But instead of contenting myself with the discussion of the topographical situation, which is visualized on this relief, I turned then to the overall content of both Anaglypha Hadriani, which led me again to military campaigns, but in this case not only to those of Hadrian, but also to those of Trajan. For all that; cf. *infra*, at *The third Contribution by Peter Herz* in this volume: *Der Übergang von Trajan auf Hadrian und das erste Regierungsjahr Hadrians*.

As a result of his research was added *Appendix IV.* to this book, in which all the topics of points 1.) and 2.) are discussed in detail (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.*, and here **Figs. 21; 22**).

Studying Hadrian's military campaigns that are mentioned among the topics of points 1.) and 2.) has also provided new insights concerning Domitian's Dacian Wars, and has procured the answer to the question for which of his military campaigns Domitian (now Nerva) is actually leaving for on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6**). Another result consists in the identification of the statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (cf. here **Fig. 10**), and of those Capitoline Triads in statuette format (cf. here **Fig. 13**, for which this had already been suggested by other scholars), including the statuette of 'Euripides' in the Louvre (cf. here **Fig. 12**), as copies of the colossal (chryselephantine?) cult-statue of Jupiter in Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.

**I am not saying that it would have been impossible to find out those new data about Domitian's military campaigns or concerning his cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus otherwise, but, as a matter of fact, I found them *this way*. - The above-mentioned ideas are based on publications which will be mentioned in the following. The relevant insights developed slowly and are, therefore, described in the following in detail and in chronological order.**

Hugo Brandenburg's and Angelika Geyer's present of Brandenburg's *Le Prime Chiese di Roma IV-VII Secolo*, 2013) has resulted in research, that was at first integrated into already existing *Chapters* of this book. At a later stage, I 'cut some relevant text passages out of those Chapters', to the effect that this book present has finally resulted in three separate, but interrelated monographs, all of which have provided (unforeseen) new insights concerning Domitian, which is why they are all published in this book on Domitian:

See below, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here **Fig. 10**); and *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here **Fig. 29**).

**Since I was about to leave for Rome, when Rose Mary Sheldon's request first reached me on 26th August 2018, I therefore took the chance of asking Claudia Valeri and Giandomenico Spinola of the Vatican Museums, as well as Paolo Liverani to discuss with me the two Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2**).**

**I especially thank Giandomenico Spinola, who was so kind as to explain to me his own findings concerning those friezes while in front of the reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2**) on 24th September 2018, and in our following E-mail correspondence, the content of all this he has generously allowed me to publish here (see Chapter III.). In addition to this, he took the time to summarize, on my request, in an E-mail on October 15th, 2018, what he had told me at our first meeting; this letter is here published with his friendly consent.**

**Cf. below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*.**

I further thank Paolo Liverani for sending me his comments on an early draft of this text, and for his much appreciated bibliographic help. - Not only concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs, which I had hoped and almost expected that he would have discussed them himself (cf. *id.*, "Per una >Storia del colore< La scultura policroma romana, un bilancio e qualche prospettiva", 2014).

**This essay by Liverani (2014) turned out to be decisive in the identification of Frieze A as a *profectio* (cf. *infra*, at Chapters III.; and V.1.i.3.)).**

I seem to constantly run into themes, which Liverani has studied long before me : this time this 'additional' subject was the 'Phrygianum' *Vaticanum*, which had been mentioned by him on 23rd September 2008 at the Congress of Classical Archaeology, Roma 2008, in the discussion after a session on oriental cults in Rome, and I am very glad that he has provided me now, by request, with a copy of his publication ("Il 'Phrygianum' Vaticano", 2008).

**On the content of Liverani's article (2008), I have based my hypothesis concerning Domitian's escape from the *Capitolium* on 19th December AD 69 (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.d)).**

**Also especially fruitful for this *Study* has been the fact that the organizers of the Iseum Campense Conference at Rome in May 2016, Miguel John Versluys, Kristine Bülow Clausen and Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi invited me to attend.**

**There I met again with the classical archaeologist Paul G.P. Meyboom, who was so kind as to present me with a copy of his recent book (*The Nile Mosaic of Palestrina. Early Evidence of Egyptian Religion in Italy*, 2016).**

Cf. below, at Chapter IV.1.1.e); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.g.1.); Appendix I.g.2.); Appendix II.a); and Appendix IV.c.1.)).

**In addition to this, I was lucky enough to make the acquaintance of the Egyptologist Nicola Barbagli at the Iseum Campense Conference at Rome in May 2016, who helped me to solve a great problem I had at the time concerning the question, whether or not Octavian/ Augustus actually *was* the Pharaoh of Egypt; cf. Barbagli (2017; *id.* 2018; and *id.*. Ph.D. Dissertation Scuola Superiore, Pisa 2022). - To this I will come back below.**

On 25th February 2018, Franz Xaver Schütz and I met in Rome, at the home of our good friend Laura Gigli, one of her former colleagues, the architect Carla Bresciani. Like herself, Carla's late husband, the architect Giuliano Sacchi, had likewise been working for the Superintendency of the State. When telling both ladies of my idea (published 2017; cf. here **Figs. 58; 59; 60**, for our updated maps) that the *Porticus Octaviae* had also a propylon on its north side, Carla told us the following. Her husband, Giuliano Sacchi, had excavated architectural remains in the basements of Palazzo Patrizi Clementi immediately to the north of the *Porticus Octaviae* (cf. here **Fig. 59; 60**), which have been attributed to a *propylon* on the north side of the *Porticus Octaviae*; cf. Sacchi (1995), a publication that I had unfortunately overlooked when writing my book of 2017.

I therefore met, when back in Rome, on 3rd May 2018 with my good friend, the archaeologist Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio, who was kind enough to organize on 9th May 2018 a meeting of the two of us with her friend Paola Ciancio Rossetto, who was at the time (again) excavating at the *Porticus Octaviae*; cf. Ciancio Rossetto (2018; 2021; 2022). - To this I will come back below.

For a discussion of all that; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ... Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?) ...*; at Introduction; Section I. The motivation to write this Study: W. Eck's (2019b) new interpretation of the inscription CIL VI 40518 (cf. here **Fig. 91.1**), the decision to correct my own relevant errors in my earlier Study (2017), and the subjects discussed here, as told by the accompanying figures and their pertaining captions.

Carlotta Caruso (of the Museo Nazionale Romano) generously presented Franz Xaver Schütz and me on 27th February 2018 with a copy of Maria Antonietta Tomei's book (*Augusto sul Palatino. Gli scavi di Gianfilippo Carettoni. Appunti inediti (1955-1984)*, 2014), when we were discussing the marble statue of Jupiter kept at the Museo Nazionale Romano (MNR), Terme di Diocleziano (the 'Giove Vimino', inv. no. 424751) which, when I was studying it some years before had unfortunately not been accessible; cf. Häuber (2014a, 449, 680-681, 692, Figs. 76a-c on p. 449; cf. **B 23**). Tomei's book has turned out to be of great importance in the discussion of the 'House of Augustus' on the Palatine, which Gianfilippo Carettoni excavated, and the (real) House of Augustus on the Palatine, at the site of which Domitian built his Palace, therefore on purpose called '*Domus Augustana*' (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*, at Section I.)).

On 28th February 2018, Francesca Ceci (of the Musei Capitolini) was kind enough to present Franz Xaver Schütz and me with books that likewise turned out to be of great importance for some of the topics, discussed in this *Study*: the *Bullettino Comunale* 117 (2016), which contains *inter alia* the article by Giuliano Giovannetti ("La struttura portuale di lungotevere Testaccio: una nuova analisi della documentazione", 2016 (cf. below, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*)); Elisabetta Carnabuci (*Regia. Nuovi dati archeologici dagli appunti inediti di Giacomo Boni, LTUR Suppl. 5*, Roma 2012; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section III.); Margherita Albertoni and Isabella Damiani (*Il tempio di Giove e le origini del Colle Capitolino*, 2008); and Eloisa Dodero and Claudio Parisi Presicce (*Il tesoro di Antichità. Winckelmann e il Museo Capitolino nella Roma del Settecento*, 2017); for a discussion of both publications; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.e.*

As we shall see in the following, also the discussion of the quartiere Testaccio/ *La Marmorata* in *Appendix IV.c.1.*) has later been 'cut out' and incorporated into another separate monograph within this *Study* on Domitian:

Cf. *infra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11)*. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part I. *The statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (cf. here Fig. 11), the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524; cf. here Fig. 29.1)*, and the cult-statue of *Divus Vespasianus* in the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); and at Part II. *Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalía) and of the Horrea Aemiliana*. With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : *Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?*

Peter Herz should send me his sixth *Contribution* to this volume on 25th February 2023 (see below).

**At the Iseum Campense Conference in May of 2016, I was also lucky enough to make the acquaintance of the Egyptologist Alessandro Roccati, whom I met again in Rome on 4th May 2018. On that occasion, Roccati presented me with the volume *L'Impero Ramesside* (1997). As I only realized much later, this volume turned out to be precisely what I needed for my research.**

The occasion to understand this came when studying Domitian's escape from the *Capitolium* on 19th December AD 69 (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.*). When reading the first draft of my resulting text, Rose Mary Sheldon alerted me to the fact that the stories told about this event are reminiscent of *The Taking of Joppa*, an Egyptian story, set in the Levant around 1450 BC. In this tale Djehuty, a general of Pharaoh Tuthmosis III, takes the city of Joppa (today: Tel Aviv-Jaffa) by applying a similar stratagem as the one applied on 19th December AD 69 by some of Flavius Sabinus's companions, who thus escaped from the *Capitolium*. *The Taking of Joppa* was written down circa 200 years after the (possible) event, that is to say, under the Egyptian Pharaoh Rameses II. As we shall see when discussing its historical background this turns out to be (in part) the Egyptian Imperialism in the Levant under Rameses II.



Moreover, another coincidence, the Ramesside period was the subject of the International Conference, organized by the Università di Roma "La Sapienza", published in the volume *L'Impero Ramesside. Convegno Internazionale in Onore di Sergio Donadoni* (1997), that Roccati had given me. Paolo Liverani's essay in this volume discussing the Egyptian Imperialism in the Levant under Rameses II ("Ramesside Egypt in a changing world an institutional approach", 1997) happened to be particularly relevant.

For all that; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.1.a*).

**Alessandro Roccati was also kind enough to introduce me to the Egyptologist Emanuele Marcello Ciampini, whom I first met in Rome on 11th May 2018.**

**Even later than that I realized that Rose Mary Sheldon's hint at the Egyptian story *The Taking of Joppa* can help us also to understand the otherwise rather bewildering iconography of the portrait-statue of Hadrian from Hierapydna at Istanbul (cf. here Fig. 29), in which the cuirassed emperor sets his left foot on the neck of a (representation of a?) vanquished 'enemy', possibly the representation of *Iudaea* - if so, this portrait-type celebrates Hadrian's victory over his own subjects. This portrait of Hadrian from Hierapydna was copied after a very successful prototype.**

It is well known that the iconography of this series of portraits of Hadrian (cf. here Fig. 29) was derived from archaic 'oriental' models, as demonstrated by Eugenio La Rocca ("Ferocia barbarica. La rappresentazione dei vinti tra medio Oriente e Roma", 1994). These 'oriental' iconographies show Near Eastern and Egyptian kings in the act of smiting their enemies; but note that the same iconographies were likewise used when those kings had suppressed the revolts of subjects in their own Empires.

**But only when we consider, in addition, the discoveries by the Egyptologist David Peter Davies (*The Taking of Joppa*, 2003), in combination with the observations of the Egyptologist Emanuele M. Ciampini ("The King's Food A Note on the Royal Meal and Legitimation", 2016), can we arrive at a better understanding of Hadrian's peculiar portrait (cf. here Fig. 29).**

David Peter Davies (2003, 48, quoted in detail *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.1.a*)) concludes that Tuthmosis III's general Djehuty, whose name derives from that of the god Thot, by taking the city of Joppa, 'restores harmony', precisely as the god Thot himself 'restores harmony'.

For that conviction; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.1.a*) *The stratagem, told in The Taking of Joppa, a town, 'taken' by Djehuty, a general of Tuthmosis III (around 1450 BC), compared with the escape of some of the Flavians from the Capitol on 19th December AD 69. With some remarks on what The Taking of Joppa has to do with Tuthmosis III's Lateran Obelisk (cf. here Fig. 101). With The second Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini.*

See also below, at still another separate monograph, integrated into this *Study on Domitian: A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here Fig. 29).

Let me explain, why the Egyptians believed in this important power of their god Thot. The Egyptian Pharaoh was crowned at the festival of New Year, presided over by the gods Thot and Ma'at, and celebrated in the month named after the god Thot. As a result of his coronation, the Egyptian king would then be able to restore the desired state of affairs in the Egyptian state, as well as in the realm of the gods, called by the Egyptians Ma'at - harmony. The Egyptians believed also that only their king was able to achieve this foremost goal, and that without the king there would be no Ma'at, but the opposite: *chaos*.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II. Again on the Egyptianizing marble relief allegedly from Ariccia at the Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altamps (Fig. 111) - a representation of the Egyptian festival of New Year?*

Emanuele M. Ciampini (2016, 115, quoted in more detail below, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here Fig. 29), explains that the Egyptian iconography, showing the king "smiting the chaotic element (= the enemy)", illustrates the foremost duty of the Egyptian Pharaoh, namely to restore order and

justice, a state of affairs called by the Egyptians Ma'at - harmony, thus proving, as Ciampini writes, the ruler's 'active role in the eternal conflict between order and chaos'.

**Seen from this perspective, the very large series of these portraits of Hadrian, among them the statue from Hierapydna (cf. here Fig. 29), which commemorate one of the emperor's victories (in my opinion, the Bar Kokhba Revolt), could, in theory, have celebrated Hadrian as 'the restorer of harmony'. If so, that particular state of harmony was, of course, clearly a matter of perspective. Besides, when one stands in front of this over-lifesize portrait of Hadrian (here Fig. 29), which I found very impressive and even scary, this interpretation of its iconography does not come to mind easily. - To all the above-mentioned publications I will come back below.**

The above-mentioned research topic point 1.), in addition to what was already said, has also led to another result, namely:

3.) to the hypothesis that we know the original of this large group of portraits of Hadrian discussed here, of which the statue from Hierapydna (cf. here Fig. 29) is the most prominent one.

Cécile Evers (1991), in her discussion of the portrait of Hadrian/ Constantine the Great (cf. here Fig. 11), mentioned five inscriptions found in the *Forum Romanum*, suggesting that these could (in theory) have belonged to this colossal portrait of Hadrian. One of these inscriptions was CIL VI 974, now called CIL VI 40524. Geza Alföldy (at: CIL VI 40524 = here Fig. 29.1), because of its findspot, believed that this dedicatory inscription belonged to an honorary portrait of Hadrian that was erected within the *cella* of the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*. Michaela Fuchs (2014, 130, with n. 47) followed him, not only because of the provenance of this inscription, but also because of its content. This honorific statue of Hadrian was dedicated by the Senate and the Roman People to commemorate Hadrian's victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt. In this inscription, the emperor's military success is explicitly compared with those of the *imperatores maximi*, thus referring to Vespasian and Titus, 'whom, with his victory, Hadrian has even surpassed'.

Alföldy and Fuchs have not themselves discussed Evers's hypothesis concerning this inscription. I have at first followed Evers by tentatively suggesting that this portrait of Hadrian, to which the inscription (CIL VI 40524 = CIL VI 974 = here Fig. 29.1) belonged, could have been the colossal portrait of Hadrian/ Constantine the Great (here Fig. 11). But while writing *Appendix IV.c.2.*) (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2), further information turned up, which made me change my mind. This portrait of Hadrian, erected by the Senate and the Roman People (possibly) within the *cella* of Domitian's Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*, should, in my opinion, be regarded as the original, after which Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna (cf. here Fig. 29) was copied. And this, in my opinion, is also true for the almost 30 replicas of this portraits of Hadrian (here Fig. 29), which are discussed here as well.

Cf. below, a *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here Fig. 11). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part I. *The statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori* (cf. here Fig. 11), the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524; cf. here Fig. 29.1), and the cult-statue of *Divus Vespasianus* in the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); below, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here Fig. 29); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.*)

**Emanuele M. Ciampini has also translated the hieroglyphic texts of all the obelisks in Rome into Italian (cf. *id.*, *Gli Obelischi iscritti di Roma*, 2004). With Alessandro Roccati and Ciampini I discussed the question, of whether or not Domitian had commissioned the Obeliscus Pamphilius/ Domitian's obelisk for the Iseum Campense, which is today mounted on top of Gianlorenzo Bernini's 'Fountain of the Four Rivers' in Piazza Navona at Rome (cf. here Fig. 28). Personally I am unable to read hieroglyphs, and Ciampini was kind enough to present me with his book.**

**I am glad to say that Ciampini has helped me find evidence in these hieroglyphic inscriptions which, in our opinion, proves that Domitian had indeed commissioned his obelisk for the Iseum Campense.**

**Cf. supra, at Chapter *What this Study is all about*; and infra, Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Sections II. and III.; at Chapters IV.1.1.d); IV.1.1.f); and below, at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini : La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*.**

The reason, why I had asked first Roccati and then Ciampini to help me study the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk in more detail, was the following. Whereas most earlier scholars took for granted that the Obeliscus Pamphilius had been commissioned by Domitian for the Iseum Campense, Jean-Claude Grenier (1996; *id.* 1999; *id.* 2009) and Filippo Coarelli (1996; *id.* 2009b; *id.* 2014) have attributed this obelisk to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* instead, that Domitian built at the site of the *domus* of his father Vespasian on the Quirinal, where Domitian was born (Suet., *Dom.* 1; cf. *Dom.* 15).

On 3rd May 2018, I discussed with Barbara E. Borg at the British School at Rome her new findings concerning the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, which have in the meantime been published (cf. B. BORG, *Roman Tombs and the Art of Commemoration*, 2019). Borg's new findings concerning the building type of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* further support the hypothesis suggested here that Domitian commissioned the Pamphili Obelisk for the Iseum Campense instead.

Luckily I also had the chance to meet with Mario Torelli at Perugia on 5th May 2018. Torelli has, since 1979 taken a great interest in my work, and has also been so kind, as to read an earlier version of this entire text. This time, I wanted to know Torelli's current opinion concerning the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, which he has discussed in an article of 1987. I told Torelli the idea of Emanuele M. Ciampini and myself that the Obeliscus Pamphilius/ Domitian's obelisk (here **Fig. 28**) was not created for the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, as has first been suggested by Jean-Claude Grenier (1996; *id.* 1999; *id.* 2009), followed by Filippo Coarelli (1996; *id.* 2009b; *id.* 2014). Torelli agreed that, also in his opinion, Domitian's obelisk does not belong to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, *inter alia* because it does not show similarities with any of the known fragments of its sculptural decoration, published by Rita Paris 1994b (cf. here **Figs. 33; 34**). At that stage of my research, I had not as yet studied the entire relevant scholarly debate, which is why Franz Xaver Schütz and I visited Torelli another time at Perugia on 29th November 2019, to discuss some additional questions concerning the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. As we shall hear in more detail below, as a result of both visits, and after I had sent him my texts on the subjects discussed with him, Torelli wrote me an E-mail with his comments, part of which I publish here with his kind consent.

**Cf. below, at *The Contribution by Mario Torelli on the Templum Gentis Flaviae*.**

See also *supra*, at *Dedication*, with Abb. 1; and *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.a) *The reconstruction by R. Paris (1994b) of two of the marble reliefs of the Templum Gentis Flaviae: 'Vespasian' adventus into Rome in October of AD 70* (cf. here **Fig. 33**), and *'Sacrifice in front the Temple of Quirinus on the Quirinal'* (cf. here **Fig. 34**); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Sections II.; V.; VI.; VII.; X.; XII.

See, in addition to this, *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.h) *The new findings by B. E. Borg (2019) concerning the Templum Gentis Flaviae support the hypothesis suggested here that Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) was commissioned for the Iseum Campense. With some observations concerning the Temple of Divus Traianus at Italica, and concerning the Marble Forum at the Colonia Augusta Emerita (Mérida) in Spain. With The Contributions by Eric M. Moormann, Mario Torelli, and Walter Trillmich, and with The second Contribution by Jörg Rüpke.*

**On 13th May 2018, I met with two more scholars in Rome to discuss the 'Templum Gentis Flaviae debate', Hugo Brandenburg and Angelika Geyer, who specialize in Early Christian Archaeology. I likewise discussed with them the idea that, according to Emanuele M. Ciampini and myself, the Obeliscus Pamphilius had actually originally been commissioned by Domitian for the Iseum Campense.**

Hugo Brandenburg and Angelika Geyer agreed with me, and that although we know -

a) that the Emperor Maxentius (reigned AD 306-312) had re-used this obelisk, by erecting it on the *spina* of the *Circus* he built at his *Villa* on the *Via Appia*, and -

b) although I had just learned in Brandenburg's recent book (cf. *id.*, *Die konstantinische Petersbasilika am Vatikan in Rom*, 2017, 70 with n. 203) that until the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century 'pagan' temples like the Iseum Campense were regarded as *ornamenta urbis* and were thus protected from being robbed of their artworks and of their building material. - In his note 203, Brandenburg quotes for this statement *inter alia* Angelika Geyer ("*Ne ruinis urbis deformetur. Ästhetische Kriterien in der spätantiken Baugesetzgebung*", 1993, 63-77).

Cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.c) *Further research that was undertaken to clarify the question, whether or not Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) was commissioned for the Iseum Campense and G. Gatti's (1943-1944) correct reconstruction of the central Campus Martius (cf. here Fig. 78).*

But, as already mentioned above, my own contribution to the '*Templum Gentis Flaviae* debate' did not end here: On 2nd July 2018, Oliva Rodríguez Gutiérrez (Universidad de Sevilla) gave a talk at the Archäologisches Institut der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (henceforth: LMU) München, with the title: "Itálica, die Stadt des Scipio Africanus, Trajan und Hadrian", that I was lucky enough to attend. Rodríguez Gutiérrez has excavated herself at Itálica, and on 4th July 2018 she was so kind as to discuss with me in Munich the Temple of *Divus Traianus* at Itálica, which she had shown in her talk.

This temple was built by Hadrian, together with an entire new city quarter. Its architecture has great similarities with Hadrian's 'Library' at Athens, the architecture of which in its turn is not only based on the gymnasium of Plato's academy at Athens, but also on Vespasian's *Templum Pacis* at Rome and even more so on Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. On 20th August 2019, Rodríguez Gutiérrez was so kind as to inform me about recent publications on the *Traianeum* at Itálica.

Cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.h) *The new findings by B. E. Borg (2019) concerning the Templum Gentis Flaviae support the hypothesis suggested here that Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) was commissioned for the Iseum Campense. With some observations concerning the Temple of Divus Traianus at Itálica, and concerning the Marble Forum at the Colonia Augusta Emerita (Mérida) in Spain. With The Contributions by Eric M. Moormann, Mario Torelli, and Walter Trillmich, and with The second Contribution by Jörg Rüpke.*

On 17th September, 2018, I had again the chance to meet with Emanuele Ciampini in Rome. We began then to discuss other passages of the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Domitian's obelisk, since I had, in the meantime, started to study the Cancellaria Reliefs and, because all these monuments were made at the order of Domitian, I wanted to know more about their meaning.

**I had already been discussing for quite some time the course of the *Aqua Claudia* from the Caelian towards the Palatine with our good friend, the engineer Edoardo Gautier di Confienigo. On 21st September 2018, both of us had the chance to meet with Francesco Paolo Arata in Rome.**

Arata has not only studied the same subject, but has recently discussed the results of an excavation at the Casina Salvi on the western slope of the Caelian, on the basis of which he has been able to correct the course of this aqueduct between the Caelian and the Palatine. The purpose of this meeting was to discuss with Arata the results of his relevant publication ("*L'acquedotto della Claudia tra il Celio e il Palatino alcune note*", 2012).

**Arata (2012) mentions also Nero's project to supply the structures of his *Domus Transitoria* on the Palatine by building an extension of this aqueduct, but observes that the extant architectural foundations of pylons of this aqueduct at the Casina Salvi can be attributed to Domitian, who thus supplied his**

**'Domus Flavia' / 'Domus Augustana' with water (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in Appendix V.; at Section III.; and in Appendix VI., at Section XII.).**

On 23rd September 2018, Franz Xaver Schütz and I had the chance to pursue these discussions together with Edoardo Gautier di Confiengo and Elettra Santucci, both of whom were, at that stage, in the course of preparing a publication on the subject. - To this I will come back below.

**On 24th September, 2018, I was also able to discuss the Cancellaria Reliefs with Eugenio La Rocca in Rome, who alerted me to the fact that on Frieze A the process of reworking the portrait of Nerva has not been finished. This information became the starting point of research that led to the solution of the question, how many carving phases the Cancellaria Reliefs may have had, and that in turn to historical conclusions drawn from those facts.**

Cf. *infra*, at Chapters I.1.- II.3; II.3.2; II.4.).

I further thank Amanda Claridge for her advice given to me on the Cancellaria Reliefs in a telephone conversation on 17th October, 2018. Long ago, Amanda had also alerted me to the article by Cécile Evers (1991), when that had just come out, in which the author suggests that for the colossal portrait of Constantine the Great in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori the head had been reworked from a portrait of Hadrian. In the meantime, Amanda Claridge (1998, 382; *ead.* 2010, 465, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.a); Section XIII.) has followed Evers's (1991) idea, but without naming Evers, or providing a reference. As it happens, Evers's observation has now become important in the contexts discussed here. Back in 1991, I was completely convinced, whereas now, by writing this text, I had at first serious doubts. Now I follow Evers as well and hope to have found additional arguments in favour of her thesis. Hans Rupprecht Goette has added some more supporting observations concerning Evers's (1991) hypothesis.

**See below, at *The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great)*, which he would kindly send me on 6th May 2020, and to which I will come back below.**

For all that; cf. below at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11)*. With *The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great)*; at Part I. *The statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (cf. here Fig. 11)*, the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524; cf. here Fig. 29.1), and the cult-statue of Divus Vespasianus in the Temple of Divus Vespasianus. With *The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great)*.

On 18th October, 2018, I had the chance to study the plaster casts of the three portraits on the Cancellaria Reliefs that are kept at the Museum für Abgüsse Klassischer Bildwerke, München (M. F. A.), which Daniel Wunderlich (M. F. A.) was so kind as to make accessible to Michaela Fuchs (Archäologisches Institut der LMU München) and to myself. I thank Michaela Fuchs for arranging this visit for us, and for discussing the Cancellaria Reliefs with me on that occasion, as well as on many later ones. I am especially thankful that on 30th July 2019 I had also the chance to learn her opinion concerning the so-called Anaglypha Hadriani (cf. *ead.*: "*Libertas restituta: Hadrians Verfügungen des Jahres 118 n. Chr.*", 2019, and here *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.). And because I was still unable to find the publication by "Siegfried Fuchs 1938", quoted by Hugo Meyer (2011, 175) in which the author was (allegedly) first to realize that the portrait of the emperor on Frieze B represented Vespasian, I sent Michaela Fuchs on 30th January 2020 the relevant passage of my text. When I called her on January 31st, she had already found this article by Siegfried Fuchs (!), but its content turned out to be very surprising. I am indeed very grateful to Michaela Fuchs for finding this text,

especially because she looked for it in a place, which I myself would never have checked (cf. *infra*, at Chapter I.1., at the Section: *The Siegfried Fuchs Saga*).

In addition, Michaela Fuchs was kind enough to send me, on request, on 9th February 2020, her article, in which she discusses the portrait of Hadrian from Hierapydna at Istanbul (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2*), and here **Fig. 29**), as well as the inscription *CIL VI 974 = 40524* (cf. here **Fig. 29.1**), which belonged to a statue, dedicated by the Senate and the Roman People to Hadrian in commemoration of his victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt ("Ein Ehrenbogen für Hadrian in Rom: Würdigung eines vielseitigen Kaisers am Ende seines Lebens", 2014).

Cf. below, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part I. *The statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori* (cf. here **Fig. 11**), the inscription (*CIL VI 974 = 40524*; cf. here **Fig. 29.1**), and the cult-statue of Divus Vespasianus in the Temple of Divus Vespasianus. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); below, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here **Fig. 29**); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*); and at *Appendix IV.c.2.*).

My thanks are also due to Sandra Schmeck (Archäologisches Institut, LMU München), who was so kind as to provide me with professional scans that I needed for this publication, and to Maria Rüegg for providing me with photocopies of a publication I needed (both of the same institute). Further thanks go to Paul Scheduling and to Viktoria Räuchle, and to the Librarian Frau Barbara Birk (of the same institute), for kindly supporting this *Study* in many ways.

My colleagues Maria Beck and Andrea Beigel, the secretaries of the Lehr- und Forschungseinheit Wirtschaftsgeographie at the Department of Geography of the LMU until 30th September 2021, were so kind as to provide me with library services. My thanks are also due to the 'Fernleihteam' of the Hochschule München, who was again able to provide me with a rare publication.

**On 18th November 2018, the ancient historian Peter Herz, whose collaborator I have been at the University of Regensburg (2006-2009), was so kind as to explain to me in a telephone conversation the circumstances, under which Nerva had adopted Trajan, and when exactly that had happened. And on 18th and 23rd July 2019, he helped me with an inscription of the Arval brethren (*CIL VI 2059.11*).**

**Cf. below, at *The first Contribution by Peter Herz on the inscription (*CIL VI 2059.11*), which reports on a meeting of the Arvel brethren on 7th December 80 at the Temple of Ops in Capitolio, among them Titus and Domitian: Titus vows to restore and dedicate what would become Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.***

On 18th November 2019, I called Peter Herz again, this time we discussed Hadrian's destruction of debt records in AD 118. Since I was wondering, how the emperor had managed this enterprise, and which consequences it might have had financially, it turned out that Peter Herz had just finished a manuscript on the relevant details of the Imperial household ("*SPQR. Die Verwaltung während der römischen Kaiserzeit*", Arbeitstitel; forthcoming), from which he has kindly allowed me to quote here (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.b*).

**When it comes to ancient coins, I have, as long as I can remember, asked and immediately received help from our good friend Angelo Geißen, with whom I studied numismatics at the Universität zu Köln since 1975.**

**I thank Angelo Geißen this time for discussing with me in a telephone conversation on 26th November 2018 the problem of distinguishing the iconographies of *Virtus* and *Dea Roma* from each other, as well as 'the fundamental problem of the Flavians', as he put it, that of 'the legitimization of their reign': his remark has actually made me change the title, as well as the avenue of research of this *Study* accordingly.**

On 3rd July 2019, I had in addition to this the chance to discuss with Angelo Geißen on the telephone some details of the controversy concerning Domitian's escape from the *Capitolium* on 19th December AD 69, and on 23rd July 2019, he was so kind as to send me the link to here **Fig. 38**, a bronze drachma, issued by Antoninus Pius in Alexandria in 144/145 AD. In addition to this, I am very thankful that he has read an earlier version of this entire text.

Since, back in 2015, I had discussed with Hans Rupprecht Goette the provenance of the statuette of 'Euripides' in the Louvre (cf. here **Fig. 12**), Hans was kind enough to write me by E-mail on 19th December 2018 that he had in the meantime presented his ideas concerning this statuette in various talks and that he was in the course of writing an article about his findings. - As I only realized much later, the discussions with Goette about this 'Euripides'-statuette have contributed to the very long and convoluted discussions with several scholars that has finally led to my hypothesis of identifying the statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage of St. Petersburg (cf. here **Fig. 10**) as a copy of the cult-statue of Jupiter in Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. - To all of this I will come back below.

Back in Rome in the spring of 2019, I asked on 25th February Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio, who has always greatly supported my studies, for help concerning the Arch of Titus in the *Circus Maximus*, which she did by contacting Paola Cancio Rossetto for me. The latter had actually been one of the first among those who have recently excavated the Arch of Titus in the *Circus Maximus*, and on 1st March 2019, Paola Cancio Rossetto wrote me an E-mail, kindly providing me with the recent publications on the subject (cf. *infra*, at Chapter I.3.2.).

**My thanks are also due to Patrizio Pensabene, whom I have met on 27th February 2019 in Rome. Since I knew from Sibel Kioukioukali who, during her studies at the Universität Tübingen, had been involved in 2009 in his excavation of the podium of the Temple of Iuppiter Invictus on the Palatine (also identified with the Temple of Iuppiter Stator, Iuppiter Victor, and with the Temple of Iuppiter Propugnator), I was interested to know, whether he had published in the meantime his findings.**

Pensabene kindly provided me with an update on his relevant work, and on 11th November 2019, I received his two articles on the subject, which he has written together with Vincenzo Graffeo: "Il Tempio sul cd. [cosiddetto] Clivo Palatino" (2014), and: "(LAZIO) I. ROMA - *Indagini sul Palatino: fronte della Domus Flavia e c.d. [cosiddetto] Tempio di Iuppiter Invictus*" (2016-2017). I am very grateful that Pensabene shared this information with me, since thanks to these publications, he and Graffeo have been able to solve some major topographical problems (cf. below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*, at Section X.). - To this I will come back below.

**Edoardo Gautier di Confiengo was kind enough to meet with me on 4th March 2019 to discuss again his thoughts concerning the course of the *Aqua Claudia* from the Caelian to the Palatine and he brought along the manuscript of the forthcoming article which he wrote with Elettra Santucci ("La distribuzione di *Aqua Claudia* e *Anio Novus* in Roma. Un tentativo di ricostruzione"; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix V.; Section III.*).**

To this I will come back below. Another subject, that both of us are interested in, is Nero's *cenatio rotunda*, that the emperor built at his *Domus Aurea*, and which has been identified with a spectacular structure on the Palatine within the former Vigna Barberini. This building had later disappeared in the course of building that part of Domitian's Palace which would accommodate his 'Adonis garden' (the DI(aeta) (a)DONAEA, which is visible on the Severan Marble Plan; cf. *infra*, in Chapter *V.1.i.3.b*); at Section II.), as well as

Domitian's *Tabularium principis*, built for the documents previously kept at the *Tabularium publicum* on the Capitoline (cf. *infra*, in Chapter II.3.1.c), and *infra*, at volume 3-2, in Appendix IV.b.2.)).

Edoardo brought along also his manuscript on the *cenatio* ("La macchina della cenatio rotunda neroniana [Suet. Nero 31]. Ipotesi costruttive", forthcoming), as well as the most recent publication on the subject by the excavator of this structure, Françoise Villedieu ("La *cenatio rotunda* de Néron : état des recherches", 2016). Both the projects of Gautier di Confiengo mentioned here are closely related since, in his opinion, the mechanism, which made Nero's *cenatio rotunda* turn around its own axis, was powered by the waters of the *Aqua Claudia*. If so, Nero had *inter alia* for that purpose added the above-mentioned branch of this aqueduct that led from the Caelian to the Palatine.

As a matter of fact, Nero's *coenatio rotunda* and its predecessors was also the subject of studies undertaken by Filippo Coarelli and first presented by him at a Conference in Rome, which Franz Xaver Schütz and I had the chance to attend ("I precedenti della *praecipua cenationum rotunda*"). This Conference was organized "Nell'ambito del WORKSHOP organizzato dal Master Sapienza *Architettura per Archeologia Progetti di valorizzazione del patrimonio culturale*", had the title: *Convegno di studi alle Terme di Diocleziano*, and was held at the Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, on 24th September 2015. - As we shall see in the following, the above-mentioned research, conducted on Nero's *cenatio rotunda* by Françoise Villedieu, Edoardo Gautier di Confiengo and Filippo Coarelli, has all appeared in the meantime in a volume, edited by Villedieu (*La Vigna Barberini*, III. *La cenatio rotunda*, 2021). Cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section II.

**On 7th March 2019, I met again with Emanuele M. Ciampini in Rome. I now informed him about my idea to compare in this Study the political message, visualized on Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs (cf. here Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing), with a section of the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Domitian's obelisk in which, in my opinion, the same message is *expressis verbis* formulated: the *Autokrator* [emperor] *Caesar Domitianus Augustus* has received his reign from his father, *Divus Vespasianus*, and from his brother, *Divus Titus* - as I had just learned in his book (cf. E.M. CIAMPINI 2004, discussed in detail *infra*, at Chapter IV.1., and in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*).**

Ciampini was so kind as to tell me that this is a formula that defines the legitimation of the new king, which is known from several documents of the Ptolemaic period. I am especially grateful that he has taken the time to write upon my request a short text, in which he summarizes his relevant observations, which he kindly explained to me on that occasion, and that he has generously allowed me to publish here. His text shows that the meanings of those hieroglyphic texts are much more complex than I had been able to understand myself by reading his translation of them.

Cf. below, at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini: La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*.

On 8th March of 2019, I again had the chance to discuss the Cancelleria Reliefs in front of the originals with Giandomenico Spinola and Claudia Valeri, with whom I could also discuss the most recent publication of those reliefs by Stephanie Langer and Michael Pfanner (2018, 18-90; cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.) - which at the time I had not as yet completely read. I wanted to see the originals of the Cancelleria Reliefs another time, in order to check several details on both friezes, and especially the amazon-like figure of Frieze A, and the heads of the emperor on Frieze B, and of the togate youth standing in front of him.

I agree with Filippo Magi, Giandomenico Spinola and Claudia Valeri that the amazon-like figure on Frieze A is the *Dea Roma*, that the head of the emperor on Frieze B was from the very beginning a portrait of Vespasian, and that the togate youth standing in front of him is his son Domitian (cf. here Figs 1 and 2 drawing: figures 14 [Vespasian]; 12 [Domitian]).



Paolo Liverani, with whom I met on 14th March 2019 in Rome, was so kind as to discuss with me the hypotheses suggested here, and he alerted me to some details of the Cancellaria Reliefs that I had neglected so far. Cf. *infra*, at Chapter I.2.1.c)).

My thanks are also due to Francesca Deli and Cecilia Carponi, the Assistant Librarians of the British School at Rome, who on 14th March 2019, were kind enough to provide me with scans of the reconstructions of the Arch of Titus in the *Circus Maximus*. On 28th November 2019, Francesca Deli was, in addition to this, so kind, as to make a scan of the reconstruction drawing of the Extispicium Relief by A.J.B. Wace (1907, pl. 29; cf. here **Figs. 16-18**) of the Capitoline Triad that appears in the pediment of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus on the 'Extispicium Relief' (cf. here **Figs. 16-18**), as well as on Marcus Aurelius's sacrifice panel (cf. here **Fig. 19**) for me, both of which represent a sacrifice in front of Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.

Cf. *infra*, n. 144, in Chapter I.1.; at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here **Fig. 10**)); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.3.*); and at *Appendix I.g.4.*).

And on 5th March 2020, Francesca Deli, Assistant Librarian at the British School at Rome, scanned for me the plan of the Orti Farnesiani on the Palatine by Silvano Cosmo (1990, Fig. 8 [= here **Fig. 39**]), in which the author marks the areas, where Francesco Bianchini and Pietro Rosa had excavated.

Cf. *infra*, Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Section II. *Conclusions: Domitian's representations of his military successes and his claims to be of divine descent and to possess a divine nature*; *infra*, in Chapters V.1.i.3.b); VI.3.; and in *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix IV.c.1.*); and in *Appendix VI.*, at Section I.

Asuman Lätzer-Lasar was kind enough to visit me on 19th March 2019 in Munich to share with me her findings concerning the cult of Magna Mater on the Palatine, the Caelian and at the 'Phrygianum Vaticanum' (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.*)).

**On 4th April 2019, I asked the religious historian Jörg Rüpke for advice, who has already in the past kindly discussed with me subjects related to 'pagan' religions. This time I asked him, whether Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli's (1946-48, 259) statement is based on any literary sources or other ancient documents, that on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs appear on purpose only five (of altogether six) Vestal Virgins, because one of them had always to stay behind in the Temple of Vesta, to keep the fire going. There seems to be no such record for this, as Rüpke replied, but his answer was so interesting that I have asked him to give me his permission to publish it here, which he was kind enough to grant.**

**See below, at *The first Contribution by Jörg Rüpke***

Cf *infra*, at Chapter V.1.d) *The reconstruction, in my opinion erroneous, of the length of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs by S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018) (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**) and the correct reconstruction of the length of Frieze B by F. Magi (1945), whom I am following here (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2; **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**; and **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**). With a discussion of how many Vestal Virgins we might expect to appear at public ceremonies, such as the one shown on this panel (cf. here **Fig. 2**), and with *The first Contribution by Jörg Rüpke.****

I am in addition to this very thankful that Jörg Rüpke too has read an early version of this book manuscript.

**When I (for the first time) thought to have finished writing this *Study*, reached me on 26th April 2019 the *Proceedings of the Iseum Campense Conference at Rome in May 2016*, edited by Miguel John Versluys, Kristine Bülow Clausen and Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi (2018a, *The Iseum Campense from the Roman***

***Empire to the modern Age Temple - Monument - Lieu de Mémoire*), which Miguel John Versluys was kind enough to provide.**

Many subjects discussed in this volume appear also in this *Study*. As was already the case at the conference, and in many discussions with these scholars since then, their printed essays have again greatly improved my understanding of these subjects. I wish to especially single out Martin Bommas, Irene Bragantini, Frederick E. Brenk, Filippo Coarelli, Valentino Gasparini, Alexander Heinemann, Katja Lembke, Trevor Luke, Eric M. Moormann, Stefan Pfeiffer, Laurent Bricault and Richard Veymiers, as well as Miguel John Versluys, whose accounts reached me just in time to be discussed here: for all of this important help I am very grateful indeed!

On 3rd May 2019, I had the chance to discuss my ideas, presented in this *Study*, with Hans-Ulrich Cain in Munich, to whom I am very thankful for helping me to interpret the inscription *PP FECIT* (CIL VI, 40543) on an architrave block, found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs, that may have belonged to the same monument or building. On the same occasion, we discussed our research related to the *Campus Martius*. - To this I will come back below.

Cf. *infra*, at Chapters II.3.1.b); V.2.; V.3.; VI.3; and at *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

**On 9th May 2019, I fortunately had another chance to discuss the Cancellaria Reliefs with Giandomenico Spinola and Claudia Valeri in the Vatican Museums. This visit became necessary, because I had found in the meantime more observations by Langer and Pfanner (2018) that I wanted to verify myself in front of the original reliefs, and that I wished to discuss with Spinola and Valeri, who deserve my heartfelt thanks for their valuable contributions to this long discussion, in which we have tried together to better understand those panels. This time I wanted to know, whether Langer and Pfanner are right in assuming an additional slab between slabs B1 and B2 on Frieze B.**

**Thanks to our additional observations, which were unknown to Stephanie Langer and Michael Pfanner, Giandomenico Spinola, Claudia Valeri and I have been able to disprove their hypothesis concerning an additional slab for Frieze B (cf. *infra*, at Chapters V.1.d); and at *The major results of this book on Domitian*).**

At the same time, these new findings demonstrate that Magi's reconstruction of the length of Frieze B proves to be correct (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**). This verification of Magi's reconstruction of the length of Frieze B is in its turn of importance for any attempt to visualize the hypothesis, suggested by Massimo Pentiricci (2009; cf. *infra*, at Chapter I.3.) - who follows with this idea some earlier scholars - according to which both friezes of the Cancellaria Reliefs should be identified as the two horizontal panels in the bay of an arch. See our own visualization of this idea, presented here (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**, and below at Chapters I.3.2.; V.1.d); and at *The major results of this book on Domitian*), of which we can now say that it is thus based on correct assumptions.

**The other detail I wanted to study again on 9th May 2019 in front of the original was the neck of the emperor on Frieze B. Langer and Pfanner (2018; cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.h.2.)) assert that Vespasian's larynx cuts through a wrinkle at the represented man's neck, an alleged fact, which, in their opinion, proves that this wrinkle belongs to a presumed earlier portrait, and that Vespasian's larynx was only carved at a second moment. Langer and Pfanner, therefore, conclude that Vespasian's entire head has been recut from this alleged earlier portrait. Their conclusion is based on a wrong observation though: in front of the original is clearly visible - with and without the aid of a lamp - that the wrinkle in question was instead cut *after* the larynx was sculpted. What we see is, therefore, the first and only larynx ever carved on this figure's neck - a fact, which proves beyond any doubt that the extant portrait of Vespasian is the original head of the emperor on Frieze B (cf. *infra*, at Chapters V.1.h.2.); and at *The major results of this book on Domitian*).**

**Consequently, also Magi's assumptions concerning the head of Vespasian prove to be correct, which he took for the original head of the represented emperor on Frieze B (cf. *id.* 1939, quoted *verbatim infra*, in n. 112, at Chapter I.1.; and *id.* 1945).**

Besides, Rita Paris (1994b) had already found long ago an argument that proves beyond any doubt that the emperor on frieze B was from the very beginning Vespasian. In her discussion of one of the marble reliefs of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, which shows, in my opinion, Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in October of AD 70, Paris mentions the *corona civica* Vespasian is wearing on this panel (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.a) and here **Fig. 33**). Paris (1994b, 81-83), in her description of this relief, stresses that the decoration with this specific wreath was *a*) regarded by Pliny (*HN* 16,3) as "l'emblema più fulgido del valore militare" ('the most splendid symbol of military prowess'), highly superior to the decorations with all other known crowns granted for military victories, and *b*) that Vespasian had been honoured this way because, by conducting his victorious campaigns, he had put an end to the civil war of AD 68-69. - Exactly as Augustus before him, who had received the *corona civica* for likewise having ended a civil war.

Cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.a) and here **Fig. 35**); and at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

On 27th August 2019, Florian Ebeling was so kind as to send me the recently published volume 4 of *Aegyptiaca. Journal of the History of Reception of Ancient Egypt* (2019). Especially interesting for the subjects discussed in this *Study*, is Eleanor Dobson's essay ("Cross-Dressing Scholars and Mummies in Drag: Egyptology and Queer Identity", 2019). It made me realize that, unfortunately, I cannot offer here any relevant thoughts concerning Domitian's famous disguise as an *Isiacus* or as an Isis priest on 19th December AD 69, let alone compete with Dobson's deep insights into such enterprises, that may have complex consequences for all individuals involved.

But because I side with those, who believe the accounts of Suetonius (*Dom.* 1) and Tacitus (*Hist.* 3,74,1), according to which Domitian *did* disguise himself this way, I do hope that in the future some scholar will study also this important aspect of Domitian's 'providential escape' (so Josephus, *BJ* 4,11,4). Especially because Domitian, when himself emperor, would become known for his stratagems, as such manoeuvres are precisely called in military contexts.

Cf. below, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Section III. *My own thoughts about Domitian*; at point 1.); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.c); Appendix I.d.1.a), and Appendix I.i).

**On 31st August 2019, John Pollini was so kind as to send me, by request, his recent publication on the Iseum Campense ("Contact Points: The Image and Reception of Egypt and Its Gods in Rome", 2018), and since he knew that I wished to integrate his relevant findings into this *Study* about the Cancellaria Reliefs, he also provided me with a copy of another article ("The 'lost' Nollekens Relief of an imperial sacrifice from Domitian's Palace on the Palatine: its history, iconography and date", 2017b; cf. here Fig. 36). This article I had planned to check anyway (cf. below, n. 72, in Chapter I.1.), and both texts have turned out to add important information to many of the subjects discussed here.**

Cf. *supra*, at *What this Study is all about*; and *infra*, at Chapters I.1.; I.2.; I.2.1.; I.2.1.c); I.3.2., II.1.e); II.3.1.c); II.4.; *ad b*); III.; IV.1.; V.1.b); V.1.i.3.); especially at Chapter V.1.i.3.b) J. Pollini's discussion (2017b) of the allegedly 'lost' Nollekens Relief (cf. here **Fig. 36**), which he compares with the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2**) and Domitian's 'Domus Flavia' / Domus Augustana. With The Contribution by Amanda Claridge; at Chapters VI.3.; and at *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix III); Appendix IV.c.1.); Appendix IV.c.2.); Appendix IV.d.2.f); Appendix IV.d.4.b); and Appendix VI.; at Section I. - To this I will come back below.

**Pollini's article (2017b) has turned out to be so important for this *Study*, because he has compared the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2**) with the Nollekens Relief (cf. here **Fig. 36**), both of which have a lot**

in common. Pollini's article (2017b) and the new book by T.P. Wiseman (2019; cf. *infra*) have, in addition to this, made me enlarge the map Fig. 73 considerably and to add *Appendix V.* to this *Study* (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2), in which the toponyms, marked on this map, are explained.

On 13th September 2019, Franz Xaver Schütz and I visited the recently opened, very elegant market halls, called *Il Nuovo Mercato del Testaccio* at Rome, together with Francesco Buranelli and Susanna Le Pera, who kindly presented us with Francesco's recent exhibition-catalogue (*L'Arte di Salvare l'Arte. Frammenti di storia d'Italia. Mostra organizzata in occasione del 50° anniversario dell'istituzione del Comando Carabinieri Tutela Patrimonio Culturale 1969 - 2019, 2019*).

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.4.*); and *Appendix IV.c.1.*).

As I only realized much later, a marble Capitoline Triad in statuette format is published in Buranelli's catalogue (2019, 73; cf. here Fig. 13), on display in the Museo Civico Archeologico 'Rodolfo Lanciani' at Guidonia Montecelio (Roma). This Capitoline Triad has been identified as copying the cult-images in Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.

Cf. *infra*, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here Fig. 10); at Part II. *The Capitoline Triad in statuette format at Guidonia Montecelio (Roma), Museo Civico Archeologico 'Rodolfo Lanciani'* (cf. here Fig. 13) and the colossal statue of Jupiter at the Hermitage (cf. here Fig. 10). - To this I will come back below.

Sylvia Diebner, who has recently studied the foreign academies at the Valle Giulia, as well as the monuments dedicated to foreigners in the Valle Giulia and in the adjacent Villa Borghese, was so kind as to send me, by request, her relevant article ("Austria in Urbe Österreichs Adresse in der Ewigen Stadt una dimora terrena dell'Austria nella Città eterna", 2018). On 15th September 2019, and on 23rd September, Franz Xaver Schütz and I were able to discuss her research with her in Rome. As I had hoped, Diebner has also studied in this text the equestrian statue of Simon Bolívar (cf. here Fig. 40) in the context of the "*memorial garden di Valle Giulia*", as it has recently been called. A work of the Italian sculptor Pietro Canonica (1934), this monument is on display on the Piazzale Simon Bolívar at the Valle Giulia.

Cf. *infra*, at Chapter VI.2; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.1.*), and here Fig. 40.

Because we know that Domitian restored the Iseum Campense after its destruction in the great fire of AD 80, I have added to this *Study* a discussion of the controversy, when exactly the Iseum Campense was first built (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix III.*).

On 17th September 2019, Franz Xaver Schütz and I had again the chance to meet with Eugenio La Rocca in Rome, whom I have asked for advice in this question. He agreed with me that my further topographical arguments sound convincing. With these I hope to support the early dating of the sanctuary Iseum Campense, that is to say, shortly after the relevant decision by the triumvirs in 43 BC (Dio Cassius 47,15,4 or 47,16,1, depending on which edition one uses). This has been suggested by Filippo Coarelli since (1982, 64) and is maintained by him in his most recent publications on the subject (cf. *id.* 2018; 2019b). See also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix III.*

On 17th September 2019, I also asked Eugenio La Rocca for advice concerning the Extispicium Relief in the Louvre, which shows a sacrifice in front of Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. Cf. *infra*, n. 144, in Chapter I.1.; below, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus*, and here Figs. 16-18); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.3.*); and at *Appendix I.g.4.*); and concerning the Italian sculptor Pietro Canonica (1869-1959), whose works are discussed in this *Study* (cf. *infra*, at Chapter VI.2.; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.1.*)). On 11th November 2019, we could pursue these inquiries, when Franz Xaver Schütz and I met with La Rocca in Munich.

Giandomenico Spinola and Claudia Valeri, after receiving my updated manuscript that comprised now all relevant additions concerning our observations at the Cancellaria Reliefs, were so kind as to make on 19th September 2019 another appointment with me in front of those panels, to discuss again all the results obtained. On that occasion, Giandomenico Spinola accompanied me to these friezes.

In the course of our discussions, Giandomenico Spinola was able to further confirm Magi's observations concerning the Vestal Virgin figure 6 on frieze B by realizing that the large toe of her right foot is visibly indicated under the soft leather of her shoe. Thus Magi is proven right (cf. *id.* 1945, 27-28), who wrote that what we see of this figure 6 on slab B2 is her right foot, and that this now heavily destroyed Vestal Virgin faced the beholder (cf. Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6 on slab B2).

Langer and Pfanner (2018) erroneously suggest instead that Magi had asserted this foot belonged to the Vestal Virgin figure 5 on slab B1, but this Vestal Virgin turns her back to the beholder (cf. Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 5). Langer and Pfanner's wrong observation concerning the Vestal Virgins figure 5 (and thus concerning also figure 6) is one of the reasons, why they postulate for frieze B an additional slab between slabs B1 and B2 (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.d)). Spinola and I discussed on this occasion again all the peculiarities of both panels of the Cancellaria Reliefs, observed at our previous meetings, in addition, he was so kind as to photograph all these details for me; those photographs are kept in my archive.

On 20th September 2019, Franz Xaver Schütz and I were lucky enough to discuss Domitian's escape from the *Capitolium* with Claudio Parisi Presicce in Rome. To my great surprise, Parisi Presicce told us that he has recently conducted an excavation behind the 'ospedale teutonico' (*i.e.*, the 'Casa Tarpea') on the *Capitolium*. The spectacular finds that occurred in this excavation, accompanied by in-depth research concerning all previous excavations of the four Temples of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus at this site, are published in the exhibition catalogue *Campidoglio mito, memoria, archeologia*, edited by Parisi Presicce and Alberto Danti (2016) - that I had managed to overlook so far. Parisi Presicce was so kind as to present us with a copy of this catalogue. Fortunately the discussions of those finds could still be integrated into the relevant Chapters of my text.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.d); Appendix I.e); and Appendix I.g).

These finds comprise architectural terracottas of the Jupiter temple(s), dating between the Archaic and the Republic, which prove that the first two Jupiter Capitolinus temples were much smaller than hitherto believed. Also the research focused on the excavated remains of the temples at this site has come to the result that only Domitian's (fourth) Jupiter temple had the enormous size that some scholars had previously also attributed to the first three Jupiter temples, that had been erected at the same site.

Parisi Presicce, who is planning further excavations in the area in question, told us also that he believes that to Domitian's Jupiter temple belonged not only one altar, as I had so far suggested in my text (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.d)), but instead altogether three altars (!); in an telephone conversation of 28th October 2019, Parisi Presicce has kindly allowed me to mention all this here.

See now also Claudio Parisi Presicce ("L'istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica 190 anni dopo: la prospettiva italiana", 2019); and Ortwin Dally ("L'istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica 190 anni dopo: la prospettiva tedesca", 2019); as well as Claudio Parisi Presicce and Eloisa Dodero ("Il Campidoglio di Domiziano", 2023).

On 21st September 2019, I had the chance to discuss the above-mentioned ideas concerning the Iseum Campense with Emanuele M. Ciampini in Rome, who, exactly like Franz Xaver Schütz, agrees with me that the peculiarities of the construction of the *Aqua Virgo* in the area in question are a strong argument for the assumption that "C'era qualche cosa" ('there was something', so Ciampini), when the *Aqua Virgo* was being built this way (or that something was already planned for this area at that stage), namely the Iseum Campense. - I have chosen Ciampini's line as the first epigraph of my Appendix III; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2.

On 25th September 2019, Franz Xaver Schütz and I met with Luca Sasso D'Elia in Rome, and I myself with Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio, with both of whom I could discuss these ideas as well, both of whom likewise agreed with me.

**Finally on 26th September 2019, Franz Xaver Schütz and I met with Filippo Coarelli in Rome, who like these other friends and colleagues was of the opinion that my arguments are sound (for a detailed discussion; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix III.).**

Coarelli had just finished writing his forthcoming monograph, which has appeared in the meantime (*Initia Isidis: L'ingresso dei culti egiziani a Roma e nel Lazio*, 2019b), of which he was so kind as to present us with the relevant file, and in which he addresses again the problem of the dating of the Iseum Campense. On that occasion, we had also the chance to discuss with Coarelli all my other questions concerning this sanctuary, as well as my hypotheses concerning Domitian's escape from the *Capitolium* on 19th December AD 69 (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I).

**As usual in discussions with Coarelli, he contributed valuable information, in this case concerning the meaning of the epithet of that Isis, who had an altar behind the Temple of Ops in Capitolio - Isis *deserta*. Namely that this is the 'widowed' goddess Isis, who has lost her husband Osiris, and who, according to the relevant myth, is now 'in search of her husband Osiris'. This information turned out to be decisive in my effort to solve the whole problem. This is for the following reasons.**

Ops (whom the Romans equated with Isis) and Saturn (whom the Romans equated with Osiris) were believed to be spouses. Another cult of Ops, called *ad Forum*, was located at the Temple of Saturnus, likewise called *ad Forum*, facts, which can also explain that their festivals were 'close to each other': the *Saturnalia* began on 17th December, followed by the *Opalia* on the 19th, which were celebrated at Ops *ad Forum*. I learned from Alfred Grimm (1997, 128) that Domitian's escape occurred on 19th December, and that this was not a festival of Isis but the day of the *Opalia*, and that Ops could be equated with Isis. But contrary to Grimm (1997, 128), I believe those literary sources (Suetonius, *Dom.* 1, and Tacitus, *Hist.* 3,69-86,3), which, describing Domitian's escape from the *Capitolium*, state that he managed to do so by disguising himself as an *Isiacus* or as a priest of Isis. I, therefore, suggest that this procession, which Domitian joined, had come down from the Temple of Ops in *Capitolio* to the Roman Forum that day.

Cf. below, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III., at point 3.); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.d); Appendix I.f.1.); Appendix I.g.1.); and Appendix II.a).

Since in connection with Domitian's escape from the *Capitolium*, I was studying the statue of the mule Scudela by Pietro Canonica (here Fig. 41; cf. Fig. 42, for the inscription on the base of this statue, and for the statue of the Alpino, who is accompanying Scudela - or vice versa), I asked also Coarelli my relevant questions, and he was able to answer one of them, having himself observed the behaviour of those animals.

**On 14th October 2019 reached me T.P. Wiseman's new book (*The House of Augustus: A Historical Detective Story*, 2019), which he was so kind as to present us with, and that I had been waiting for since quite some time. Fortunately it arrived in time, so that I could still discuss those of his findings that relate to subjects discussed in this *Study*. I hope to have added some observations that further support his hypotheses.**

Cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in Appendix I.c); Appendix I.e); Appendix IV.c); Appendix V.; at Section IX; and Appendix VI., at Sections I.; III., IV.; V.; VI.; IX.; and XI.

On 29th March 2020, T.P. Wiseman was kind enough to send me his latest discussion of Romulus ("Rome's legendary foundations: Could a newly discovered sarcophagus really be that of Romulus?", 2020).

On 26th November 2019 in Rome, Hugo Brandenburg and Angelika Geyer were so kind as to present me with the already mentioned book by Brandenburg: *Le prime chiese di Roma IV-VII secolo* (2013).

On page 16, in his discussion of Constantine the Great, which is illustrated with a photo of the colossal acrolithic portrait of the emperor (cf. here Fig. 11), Brandenburg states that Constantine "ponendosi sotto la protezione della divinità [*i.e.*, the god of the Christians] per preservare, seconda la tradizionale concezione romana, la propria vittoria [in AD 312 in his battle against Maxentius at the *Pons Milvius*] nelle vesti di *imperator invictus*, e quindi la prosperità dell'impero".

'Invincibility' will loom large in this *Study* (see especially below, at Chapter *Preamble*; in *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here Fig. 11). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part I. *The statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori* (cf. here Fig. 11), the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524; cf. here Fig. 29.1), and the cult-statue of *Divus Vespasianus* in the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here Fig. 29); at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*); and *Appendix IV.c.2.*)).

This *virtus* was on principle expected of Roman generals, and later also of Roman emperors. Only the gods could grant victory, of course, and that was *the* prerequisite for the leaders in question to create 'peace through victory' (cf. J. POLLINI 2017b, 124, with n. 118) - a state of affairs which in its turn resulted (in theory) in prosperity and *felicitas* of their subjects.

Although at first only interested in pursuing the doctrine 'invincibility' over time, Hugo Brandenburg's and Angelika Geyer's present of Brandenburg's book *Le prime chiese di Roma IV-VII secolo* (2013) has thus become the starting point of research on the colossal acrolithic portrait of Constantine the Great itself, the fragments of which are on display in the cortile of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (cf. here Fig. 11). Its head has been reworked from a portrait of an earlier emperor, the identification of whom is debated. As a result of this inquiry, I myself follow now Cécile Evers (1991) in assuming that the original statue had represented Hadrian.

Cf. *infra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here Fig. 11). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix I.a*; at Section XIII. - But, as already mentioned above, that was not the only result of this book present.

By studying this colossal portrait of Constantine (here Fig. 11), I have arrived - via discussions of various other sculptures - at the hypothesis that the colossal statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage of St. Petersburg (cf. here Fig. 10), which Claudio Parisi Presicce (2006b) has compared with this colossal portrait of Constantine (here Fig. 11), may be identified as a copy of the cult-statue of Jupiter, commissioned by Domitian for his (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.

Cf. *infra*, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus*; cf. here Fig. 10); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*) - To this I will come back below.

On 27th November 2019, when Franz Xaver Schütz and I met again with Filippo Coarelli in Rome, he kindly allowed me to publish his above-mentioned personal observations on mules (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.1.*)).

On that occasion, Filippo Coarelli was kind enough to present me with his new book (*Statio: I luoghi dell'amministrazione nell'antica Roma*, 2019a), in which he concentrates on many ancient buildings at Rome and the institutions of the Roman state attached to them, that are of importance to this *Study*. Many of these

structures were built anew, or were dramatically changed under Domitian. For Domitian's *Tabularium principis* at his Palace on the Palatine, built for the documents previously kept at the *Tabularium publicum* on the Capitoline (cf. *infra*, at Chapter II.3.1.c), and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.b.2.); for Domitian's *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria* (cf. *infra*, at Chapter II.3.1.c)); for the *praefectura urbana* and the different buildings, where it was accommodated over time (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.a)); for the *Mundus*, a *sacellum* next to the Temple of Saturn *ad Foro*, which was dedicated to Dis Pater and Proserpina, who could be equated with Saturn and Ops (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.f.1.); Appendix II.a); and Appendix IV.b.2.); for the Temple of Iuno Moneta and the *officina Monetae*, the mint, which Domitian transferred from its original site on the *Arx* to the Augustan *Regio III* (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.g.4.), and Appendix IV.c)); for the *Aerarium publicum populi Romani* that was attached to the Temple of Saturn (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.b)); for the Temple of Iuppiter Custos (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.g.4.)); for the Temple of Ops in *Capitolio* and the *aerarium militare* (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.d.2.)); for the so-called 'Tabularium' and the *Tabularium publicum* on the Capitol, and Domitian's destruction of the *Tabularium publicum* (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.c)); for the *Schola Xanthi* at the 'Portico degli Dei Consenti', which was related to the *Aerarium* at the Temple of Saturn (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.a)); for the consequences of Domitian's/ Trajan's destruction of the *sella* between the Quirinal and the Capitoline, in order to build the Forum (of Trajan): the new *Atrium Libertatis* was built at the Forum of Trajan, and the 'Mercati di Traiano' were erected anew. This huge office building replaced the offices of the old *Atrium Libertatis* that had been related to the *Censores*, and it possibly accommodated also the office of the *fiscus libertatis et peculiorum* (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.b.2.). - On 24th February 2020, I had the chance to discuss all these subjects with Coarelli in Rome. To this I will come back below.

**On 28th November 2019, I met (as I erroneously believed at that stage) for the last time with Claudia Valeri at the Vatican Museums in relation to this Study. On that occasion, she kindly discussed with me the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here Fig. 31), which has likewise been most recently published by Langer und Pfanner (2018, 142-157), who suggest a Claudian date for it.**

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in Appendix I.g.3.); at Section I.

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 152) discuss also Domitian's *sestertius* of 95/96 AD (cf. here Fig. 30), which, according to Mario Torelli (1987), shows the same building as the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano". But because Langer and Pfanner (erroneously) compare the coin images representing Severus Alexander's Temple of Iuppiter Ultor on the Palatine (cf. R. PARIS 1994b, 27, Fig. 15, and *infra*, in volume 3-2, ns. 760-763, in Appendix V.; at Section VII.) with the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (here Fig. 31), they arrive at wrong conclusions; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in Appendix I.g.3.); at Section III.

Torelli (1987), who dates also the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" to the Flavian period, has, in addition to this, identified the decastyle temple, visible on both the coin (here Fig. 30) and the relief (here Fig. 31), with Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. Langer and Pfanner (2018), who ignore the fact that the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* has in the meantime been securely located (cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.h)), reject Torelli's hypotheses, basing their arguments, as already mentioned, on wrong assumptions. But with Langer and Pfanner's (2018, 151) important observation that the temple, visible on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano", certainly stood within the *pomerium* - which is true in the case of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* - the authors unwittingly provide a strong argument in favour of Torelli's hypothesis.

For a discussion of this point; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in Appendix I.g.3.); at Section II.

**By discussing the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here Fig. 31), standing in front of it on 28th November 2019, Claudia Valeri and I have come to the conclusion that Torelli's (1987) Flavian dating of it is correct.**

As is well known, at the Vatican Museums, Museo Gregoriano Profano, are on display the original fragment owned by this collection (cf. here Fig. 31, below), as well as a plaster cast of the fragmentary relief in the



Museo Nazionale Romano (cf. here **Fig. 31, in the middle**), both of which belong together, as shown in the photomontage (cf. here **Fig. 31, above**).

Claudia Valeri has added some additional observations which support the dating of the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" to the Flavian period, which she has kindly allowed me by E-mail of 1st May 2020 to mention here.

**See below, at *The first Contribution by Claudia Valeri on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano"* (cf. here Fig. 31),**

And below, in Chapter *V.1.i.3.a*); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix I.g.3.*); and in *Appendix VI.*; at Sections *II.*; *XII.*

**On 10th December 2019, Giandomenico Spinola was kind enough to write to me by E-mail that he agrees with Claudia Valeri and me concerning our dating of the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (here Fig. 31) to the Flavian period.**

In the case of the marble fragment in the Museo Nazionale Romano, the 'other' half of the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here **Fig. 31, in the middle**), I was not so lucky. Claudia Valeri and I originally had the idea of studying it together, but on November 29th 2019, Carlotta Caruso of the Museo Nazionale Romano alle Terme di Diocleziano sent me an E-mail, kindly informing me that this fragment is currently not only not on display at the Museum, but in addition to this not accessible to visitors for safety reasons. - To the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" I will come below.

As already mentioned above, Franz Xaver Schütz and I went again on 29th November 2019 to Perugia to meet with Mario Torelli, since I wished to know his current opinions concerning Domitian's *sestertius* (cf. here **Fig. 30**) and concerning the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here **Fig. 31**); Torelli maintains his relevant judgements, already published in 1987. As in the past on many other occasions, for example at our meeting in Perugia on 5th May 2018, this meeting with Torelli has helped me tremendously to formulate my own ideas concerning both Domitian's *sestertius* (here **Fig. 30**) and the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (here **Fig. 31**). -To this I will come back below.

**Since December 20th 2019, I have had the chance to discuss in many telephone calls and in a long E-mail-correspondence the ideas developed in this *Study* with Eric M. Moormann, who, together with other colleagues, is in the course of preparing a large exhibition on Domitian, to be held in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden at Leiden.**

For the accompanying volume containing essays on the subject; cf. Aurora Raimondi Cominesi *et al.* (*God on Earth: Emperor Domitian. The re-invention of Rome at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD*, 2021); after that, this exhibition will then be on display at Rome (to this I will come back below). Moormann has kindly offered to read an earlier version of this entire manuscript, and, as a result of this, has provided me with lots of information that I had neglected so far (not only relating to Domitian), which I was lucky enough to still be able to incorporate into my manuscript.

Cf. below, in Chapters *I.2.1.c*); *I.3.2.S*); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix I.a*); at Section *VII.*; in *Appendix IV.d.4.b*) *Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the Templum Pacis, and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum*; and in *Appendix VI.*; at Section *I.*

**Thanks to Eberhard Thomas (Köln), the former assistant of Heinz Kähler at the *Archäologisches Institut der Universität zu Köln*, I was able to contact Frau Waltraud Holst (who is a Librarian at the *Historisches Archiv der Universität zu Köln*). She kindly provided me on 13th January 2020 with the title of Kähler's last *Vorlesung*: *Kunst der Zeit Konstantins*, held in the *Wintersemester* of 1972/1973, which I had been lucky enough to attend. In this *Vorlesung*, that also Eberhard Thomas attended, Kähler had presented his**

**research, that is discussed here, which related to the Basilica of Maxentius and to the colossal acrolithic portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the cortile of the Palazzo dei Conservatori.**

Cf. below, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.a*; Section XIII.; and at *Appendix IV.c.1.*).

Frank G.J.M. Müller kindly presented me with his new book on the 'Aldobrandini Wedding', which reached me on 14th January 2020 (*The So-Called Aldobrandini Wedding. Research from the Years 1990 to 2016. With contributions by Carla Benocci and Valter Proietti*, 2019).

Cf. below, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here **Fig. 10**); at Part I. *The wall painting 'Aldobrandini Wedding' in the Vatican Museums and the statuette of the 'Euripides' in the Louvre* (cf. here **Fig. 12**), which has been discussed together with it; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*)). - To this I will come back below.

The visit to Rome, which Franz Xaver Schütz and I undertook from 16th February 2020 onwards (originally planned to last until 15th March), in order to support the research conducted for this book on Domitian, was overshadowed by the dramatic vicissitudes in connection with the Corona Virus. The outbreak had accelerated at the end of our stay. March 5th was, for example, the last day on which we could work at the Library of the British School at Rome. We still had the chance to meet with Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio on 22nd February, 28th February and 2nd March 2020, who told us at our last meeting about her own talk and those of other scholars presented at the *Colloque international*, organized by the Université de Caen Normandie from 11-13 December 2019 (« *Topographie et urbanisme de la Rome antique* »), for example on the Forum of Trajan. (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix V.*).

We met with Filippo Coarelli on 24th February and on March 4th 2020, with whom I discussed, once again, his new books (*STATIO: I luoghi dell'amministrazione nell'antica Roma*, 2019a; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.a*) and elsewhere in this *Study*, and *Initia Isidis: L'ingresso dei culti egiziani a Roma e nel Lazio*, 2019b; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix III.*), as well as his talk on the Temple of Iuppiter Tonans on the *Capitolium*, held at the Conference at Caen (cf. F. COARELLI 2019c, and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.4.*)), of which he has kindly given me a copy. On 24th February 2020, Coarelli was also kind enough to discuss with me our different locations of the *lucus Iovis Fagutalis*, which is caused by the fact that we have reconstructed the courses of the procession of the *Argei* on the *Mons Oppius* differently.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix I.a*); at Section XI. *The locations of the lucus Iovis Fagutalis, as suggested by myself* (2014a), and by F. Coarelli (2019a). Both hypotheses are based on our reconstructions of the course of the procession of the *Argei* on the *Mons Oppius*, as described by Varro (Ling. 5,45-54).

I met with Gabriella Centi on 29th February, discussing the progress of our studies on the *Mons Oppius*, a research area that we are both interested in (cf. *infra*). On 3rd March 2020, I had the chance to meet with Christoph Luitpold Frommel and Massimo Pentiricci (cf. *infra*), and on the 7th of March 2020, Franz Xaver Schütz and I saw Eugenio La Rocca. But I could not meet again with Claudio Parisi Presicce, Giandomenico Spinola or Claudia Valeri, since first the offices of the Capitoline Museums closed on March 6th 2020, then the Vatican Museums on March 9th 2020, and were not accessible to visitors any more. On that day, Claudia Valeri and I had intended to study together the two headless cuirassed statues in the Museo Chiaramonti (inv. nos. 1250 and 1254; cf. here **Fig. 6, left and right**), because it has been suggested that one of them (cf. here **Fig. 6, right**) had possibly represented Domitian (cf. below, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue of Hadrian from Hierapydna* (cf. here **Fig. 29**); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.*)). - To this I will come back below.

When on 8th of March 2020 Franz Xaver Schütz and I wanted to make photographs in the *Forum Romanum*, of the *Miliarium Aureum* and of the Basilica of Maxentius, we found out that the *Forum Romanum* was closed. On 9th March there were no trains to Germany any more - which we usually take - which is why we left Rome by airplane on 12th March 2020. Because our research at Rome could thus not be finished this time, we could only hope to come back as soon as possible.

**On 22nd February 2020, Franz Xaver Schütz and I met again with Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio in Rome, this time discussing with her the recent article, published by her together with Paola Virgili ("Dioniso e Leucotea, Atena e Eracle sul tempio arcaico di Fortuna e Mater Matuta nel Foro Boario", 2020; cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section IV.). In addition, I thank Geppi as ever for much bibliographic help and for presenting us with publications on subjects that are discussed in this *Study*, or later sending them by E-mail, that I received still in time to be integrated into this book.**

For example the book by Silvana Balbi de Caro (*Roma Caput Mundi. Lusso e denaro nell'età Repubblicana*, 2018a; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c*), and an article by Clementina Panella ("Roma: Massenzio, Costantino e gli spazi urbani", 2015; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1*). On 28th February 2020, we were able to continue these discussions, and Geppi presented us with volume 89 of the *RendPontAcc* (2016-2017), with the contributions on the Forum of Trajan by Patrizio Pensabene and Javier Á. Domingo (I) and Paola Baldassari (II) ("Foro Traiano: organizzazione del cantiere e approvvigionamento dei marmi alla luce dei recenti dati di Palazzo Valentini: "I Il cantiere, l'approvvigionamento dei marmi, il trasporto e i costi dei grandi monoliti in granito del Foro e in sienite"; "II Templum *Divi Traiani et Divae Plotinae*: nuovi dati dalle indagini archeologiche a Palazzo Valentini"), and with the volume, written by Carlo Buzzetti and Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio herself (*Le scoperte archeologiche sul tracciato della metropolitana B di Roma (1939-1953) dall'Archivio Gatti*, 2015).

For a discussion of all this; cf. below, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11)*. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part II. *Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalìa) and of the Horrea Aemiliana*. With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix V*.; at Section II.).

**On 3rd March 2020, I finally had the chance to discuss the ideas developed here concerning the Cancelleria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing) with Christoph Luitpold Frommel and Massimo Pentiricci in Rome, whose monumental publication (*L'antica Basilica di San Lorenzo in Damaso. Indagini archeologiche nel Palazzo della Cancelleria (1988-1993)*, 2009) I have discussed in this *Study* in great detail. Both of whom asked many constructive questions concerning my hypotheses.**

Thanks to my good friend Gabriella Centi, I was able to solve a problem that I had worked on for many years when studying the former Capuchin monastery on the former Via Curva (today Via Carlo Botta) on the *Mons Oppius*. Gabriella was kind enough to present me on 29th February 2020 in Rome with the new book by Carmelo G. Severino (*Roma. Esquilino 1870-1911 ... e nel centro del progettato quartiere una vastissima piazza*, 2019), in which he discusses the "Villa D'Aste alle Sette Sale", where this monastery was located, and also addresses the questions that interest me; cf. Häuber (2014a, 220: "Other facts that we do not know are when the Villa d'Aste had become Villa Capaccini, nor when and under which conditions the Capuchin monks had entered the scene to live in the former Villa d'Aste").

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix I.a*); at Section XI.).

**On 7th March 2020, in Rome, Eugenio La Rocca asked me, which were the most important results obtained in the meantime in regard to the Cancellaria Reliefs:**

**I told him those of my hypotheses that are summarized *supra*, in: *What this Study is all about*, and *infra*, in Chapters I.2.; V.1.b); V.1.d); V.1.h.1.); V.1.h.2.); V.1.i.3.); V.1.i.3.a); V.1.i.3.b); and VI.3. See now also a summary of all this, presented *infra*, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.**

La Rocca was so kind as to discuss these ideas with me. On that occasion, I wanted also to know La Rocca's opinion concerning the colossal acrolithic statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the cortile of the Palazzo dei Conservatori.

Cf. *infra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*);

**In addition, La Rocca was so kind as to provide me, by request, with one of his articles I had been unable to find in the libraries I use ("The Colossal Herms at Villa Borghese and the Temple of Hermes/ Thoth: a Chapter of Religious History at the Time of Marcus Aurelius", 2007).**

As we know from literary sources and from Marcus Aurelius's Mercurius coin series (cf. here **Fig. 44**), the emperor had dedicated at Rome a Temple of Hermes-Thot (Hermes Trismegistos), as a thanksgiving for the famous rain miracle that had saved in AD 172/173 the Roman army in the war against the Quadi. - But note that, according to Dietmar Kienast, Werner Eck and Matthäus Heil (2017, 132), the "Blitz-und Regenwunder (so Dio 71 [72] 10, 5)", had only occurred in AD "174".

La Rocca (2007; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II.a*)) has been able to demonstrate in this account, that the herms at the Parco Borghese (cf. here **Fig. 45**) belonged to Marcus Aurelius's Temple of Hermes-Thot. Fortunately, Florian Ebeling had already presented us on 24th June 2016 with his book on Hermes Trismegistos (*Das Geheimnis des Hermes Trismegistos. Geschichte des Hermetismus*, 2009), whom Ebeling refers to as: "Der legendäre weise Ägypter" ('the legendary wise Egyptian'; cf. *id.* 2009, back cover). This book has helped me a lot to understand the proceedings that had led to the dedication of Marc Aurelius's temple at Rome.

La Rocca was also so kind as to look at an earlier version of the entire manuscript of this *Study*, which resulted in the clearer structuring of its 'Table of Contents'.

**Despite this pandemic, and thanks to the invention of telephone, E-mails and the internet, I could nevertheless keep in touch with all those colleagues and friends in Rome.**

**For example with Claudio Parisi Presicce, who sent me, by request, on 24th March 2020 an article, which I would have liked to discuss with him in Rome ("Costantino come Giove. Proposta di ricostruzione grafica del colosso acrolitico della Basilica Costantiniana", 2006b).**

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*).

In this text, Parisi Presicce compares this colossal portrait of Constantine (cf. here **Fig. 11**) with a likewise colossal acrolithic statue of Jupiter at the Hermitage of St. Petersburg (cf. *id.* 2006b, 146, Fig. 47; cf. here **Fig. 10**), because this statue is based on a statue-type of Jupiter which repeats the prototype of the portrait of Constantine (here **Fig. 11**) in mirror image. Besides, Parisi Presicce states that this mirror image prototype of a Jupiter was by far more successful than the original from which the statue of Constantine had been copied. As I only realized much later, this statue of Jupiter at the Hermitage is a copy of the cult-statue of Jupiter in Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.

Cf. below, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here **Fig. 10**). - To this I will come back below.

On 1st May 2020 Claudia Valeri kindly allowed me to mention her observations concerning the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here **Fig. 31**) that she had shared with me when we were discussing the relief at the Museo Gregoriano Profano on 28th November 2019, and that I had summarized in the meantime.

**See below, at *The first Contribution by Claudia Valeri on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano"* (cf. here **Fig. 31**); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix I.g.3.*); at **Section IV.****

I would, of course, very much have liked to discuss the relief and the resulting text together with her in person. On the 4th of May 2020, Claudia Valeri has, in addition to this, allowed me to quote a passage of her E-mail of 1st May in my text.

**On 4th and 6th April 2020, Hans Rupprecht Goette was kind enough to send me, by request, his impressive photographs of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, which he has very generously allowed me to publish here (cf. here **Fig. 46**). Scholars have compared the Cancellaria Reliefs in many respects with the reliefs of this arch.**

Cf. *infra*, at Chapters *II.3.3.*; *II.3.3.a.*); *V.1.h.1.*); *V.1.i.3.*); *V.1.i.3.a.*); *VI.3.*); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.b.2.*).

Beginning with 7th April 2020, I discussed with Walter Trillmich the Marble Forum at Mérida in Spain. There togate statues without heads were excavated, one of them showing striking similarities with the togate youth on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2**; **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12**), which is, in my opinion, a portrait of Domitian. Other scholars, who likewise compare the togate statues from the Marble Forum with the Cancellaria Reliefs, which they themselves regard as Flavian, date the togate statues in Mérida therefore to the Flavian period (cf. *infra*, at Chapter *IV.1.1.h.*)).

**On 25th April 2020, Walter Trillmich, who finds our visualization of the Cancellaria Reliefs 'in situ' convincing (cf. *infra*, at Chapters *I.2.1.b.*); *I.3.2.*; *V.1.d.*; at *The major results of this book on Domitian*: and here **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**), was kind enough to write me about what consequences it would have for other sculpture groups of *togati*, if the togate statues at the Marble Forum of Mérida were indeed datable to the Flavian period. Trillmich himself (2004), following Hugo Meyer's (2000) (in my opinion erroneous) Neronian dating of the Cancellaria Reliefs has so far dated all those statues, including those in Mérida, to the Claudian period. On 28th April 2020, Trillmich kindly gave me permission to publish here the relevant passage of his E-mail.**

**See below, *The Contribution by Walter Trillmich*; and *infra*, at Chapter *IV.1.1.h.***

Since, in 2015, I had discussed the matter both with Frank G.J.M. Müller and Hans Rupprecht Goette, after having read Frank Müller's new book on the 'Aldobrandini Wedding', I rang Hans Goette, who at the time, had been in the course of studying the above-mentioned statuette of 'Euripides' in the Louvre (cf. here **Fig. 12**). I asked him in this telephone conversation, how far he had gotten with his research.

**Hans Rupprecht Goette was kind enough to send me on 21st April 2020 the current draft of the manuscript of his relevant article ("Remarks on the statuette of Euripides in Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 343"). Goette's relevant research, as already mentioned above, turned out to be of great importance for the identification of the statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage of St. Petersburg (cf. here **Fig. 10**), as a copy of the cult-statue of Jupiter in Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.**

Cf. *infra*, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here **Fig. 10**); at Part I. *The wall painting 'Aldobrandini Wedding' in the Vatican Museums and the statuette of the 'Euripides' in the Louvre* (cf. here **Fig. 12**), which has been discussed together with it.

Goette's research on this statuette of 'Euripides' is, as mentioned above, in addition to this of great importance in the context of the recent discussion of the wallpainting called 'Aldobrandini Wedding'.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.) Final remarks on Appendix IV.b) and Appendix IV.c): Hadrian's efforts to legitimize his reign at the beginning of his principate, as expressed in the Anaglypha Hadriani ...*. - As already mentioned above, the relevant passages of this *Appendix IV.c.1.)* have in the meantime become a separate monograph within this *Study on Domitian*; cf. below, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here **Fig. 10**).

**When Goette realized the subject of *Appendix IV.c.1.)* (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2), he sent me on 27th April 2020, on his own account, one of his own publications ("Fragment of a newly discovered portrait of Hadrian in Budapest", 2019), as well as a publication by Marianne Bergmann ("Zu den Porträts des Trajan und Hadrian", 1997). Bergmann (1997) and Goette (2019) discuss Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta$ ), as well as coins, issued at Alexandria in AD 117, representing Hadrian. Both authors suggest, that, at the end of Hadrian's life, his last portrait-type Delta Omikron was modelled after those coins. - To this I will come back below.**

And when I decided to illustrate Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron in this *Study*, Hans kindly provided me, on his own account, with photographs of the replica from the Villa Hadriana and of the portrait in the Prado at Madrid (cf. here **Fig. 3**). - To Goette's 'Euripides'-manuscript I will likewise come back below.

In the course of our recent correspondence on the 'Aldobrandini Wedding' (cf. here **Fig. 155**), Eric M. Moormann has sent me on 21st April 2020 one of his essays, the title of which actually refers to our current inquiry ("Did Roman Republican Mural Paintings Convey Political Messages?", 2013). I thank Eric also for discussing not only the Marble Forum at Mérida in Spain with me (cf. *infra*, at Chapter *IV.1.1.h*)), but also the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine; cf. here **Fig. 11**). Eric has alerted me to the colossal head of Constantine (cf. here **Fig. 47**), found on the Forum of Trajan, which has likewise been reworked from an earlier portrait, suggesting to me that I should compare it with the portrait here **Fig. 11**.

For all that; cf. below in *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here **Fig. 10**); at Part I. *The wall painting 'Aldobrandini Wedding' in the Vatican Museums and the statuette of the 'Euripides' in the Louvre* (cf. here **Fig. 12**), which has been discussed together with it; and at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.)*.

**My thanks are also due to Paolo Liverani for sending me on 22nd April 2020 his forthcoming essay ("Historical Reliefs and Architecture"), in which he discusses the Cancelleria Reliefs, as well as many other subjects that are dealt with here.**

This text has in the meantime appeared in the volume, edited by Aurora Raimondi Cominesi *et al.* 2021 (cf. *supra*), and on 30th April 2020, Liverani has kindly granted me the permission to quote *verbatim* from this text. In addition to this, Liverani sent me, by request, on 24th April 2020 his following publication ("La situazione delle collezioni di antichità a Roma nel XVIII secolo", 2000; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.)*). Since I had sent him the current draft of my *Appendix IV.* (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2), in which his essay is mentioned, he alerted me to an additional publication that relates to the subjects discussed, and sent me also another one of his own articles ("Osservazioni sui rostri del Foro Romano in età tardoantica", 2007). He

also read other parts of my here published *Study* and wrote me his much appreciated comments on 24th April 2020.

**Eric Moormann and Paolo Liverani also took the time to discuss with me the question for which of his military campaigns Domitian was actually leaving on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6; and *infra*, at Chapter VI.3.). - Not that we could solve this problem, but I thought it was necessary to try to define the *status quaestionis*. - To this I will likewise come back below.**

I have also asked Hans Rupprecht Goette for advice concerning the headless marble *togati* that were excavated in the Marble Forum at Mérida. He sent me a detailed discussion of them on 30th April, and wrote me that they are in his opinion datable to the Flavian period (cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.h)).

**In addition, I am very grateful to Hans for having had the chance to discuss with him by E-mail between 4th and 6th May 2020 the problems I had with the colossal acrolithic portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great; cf. here Fig. 11), on display in the cortile of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.c.1.)). On 6th May 2020 Hans Rupprecht Goette was kind enough to send me his text on this portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine.**

**Cf. below, at *The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette*.**

Finally, Hans Rupprecht Goette has alerted me to the recent essay by Ulrich-Walter Gans ("Bildhauerkunst zur Zeit der konstantinischen Kaiser", 2019), in which this portrait of Constantine here Fig. 11 is discussed. And when I realized that Gans (2019) mentions also the head of Constantine from the Forum of Trajan, Hans sent me on 19th May 2020, on his own account, his own photographs of this head (cf. here Fig. 47).

As already mentioned above, all this resulted in an additional monograph within this *Study*; cf. below, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great)*. See also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.c.1.).

Since I was working contemporaneously on the portrait-statue of Hadrian of the "Piräus-Hierapydna-type" (so M. FUCHS 2014), Hans Rupprecht Goette was also kind enough to send me on 12th May 2020, on his own account, the following articles: Marco Cavalieri and Simon Jusseret ("Hadrien et la Crète: Le témoignage des statues cuirassées de Gortyne et de Knossos", 2009) and Pavlina Karanastasi ("Hadrian im Panzer. Kaiserstatuen zwischen Realpolitik und Philhellenismus", 2012/2013). Also this research resulted in the creation of another monographs within this *Study* on Domitian.

See below, at a *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna (cf. here Fig. 29)*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.c.2.).

**Since for the dedicant of the *puteal Scribonianus* (or *Libonis*), that had been erected on the *Forum Romanum* under the open sky, two different individuals have been suggested: L. Scribonius Libo, who was tribune in 149 BC, and L. Scribonius Libo, who was *praetor peregrinus* in 204 BC, I asked T.P. Wiseman for advice, who was kind enough to send me on 23rd May 2020 a discussion of those two alternatives, which I may publish here with his kind consent.**

See below, at *The first Contribution by T.P. Wiseman on the identification of the L. Scribonius Libo, who was the dedicant of the puteal Scribonianus (or Libonis)*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.c).

**The scenario developed here concerning Domitian's escape from the *Capitolium* on 19th December AD 69 (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.), has had its starting point in one of the very vivid stories, told us**

**by our professor of history, Dr. Stephan Türr, in September of 1972, when he made us look from the former "Protestant hospital" (i.e., the 'Casa Tarpea') on the Capitoline Hill over to the Palatine.**

Cf. *infra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III.; at point 1.); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.e*). It is conceivable that Vitellius (cf. *Suet.*, Vit. 15,3), on December 19th AD 69, could actually have watched the fighting on the Capitolium, while staying at the 'Domus Tiberiana' on the Palatine.

We were a group of students of the Kunstseminar at the Universität Duisburg, who visited Rome for the first time. I regret that it wasn't possible any more to discuss my ideas concerning Domitian's escape with Stephan Türr in person, because he has recently passed away. But I am happy to acknowledge that, since I am studying myself the history of Rome, to have constantly quoted the incredible wealth of information, which Stephan Türr used to share with all of us so generously. Fortunately I could talk to his wife, Gudrun Türr-Lipjes on 29th May 2020, who was also kind enough to tell me the precise dates of his life (Budapest 27th January 1927-25th September 2016 Duisburg). - My thanks are due to Helke Kammerer-Grothaus for finding the address of Gudrun Türr-Lipjes for me.

**On 29th May 2020 Emanuele Ciampini, whom I had asked for advice concerning this subject, was kind enough to send me the link to the publication by David Peter Davies (*The Taking of Joppa*, 2003). *The Taking of Joppa*, set in the time of Pharaoh Tuthmosis III, and written on Papyrus Harris 500 at the time of Rameses II, was first mentioned to me by my friend, the military historian Rose Mary Sheldon because it describes a similar stratagem as that applied by some of Flavius Sabinus's companions on 19th December AD 69, who were smuggled from the *Capitolium*, 'hidden between baggage'.**

For the stratagem of Flavius Sabinus's companions; cf. below, at Chapter *Preamble*; Section III.; at point 1.); and for *The Taking of Joppa*; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.1.a*); and *Appendix I.i*)).

**When studying David Peter Davies's account (*The Taking of Joppa*, 2003), I came across some problems, which Emanuele Ciampini was again kind enough to solve in an E-mail of 3rd June 2020, which I may publish here with his kind consent.**

**See below, at *The second Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini, which refers to the Egyptian tale The Taking of Joppa*.**

**By chance I found further information that has helped to clarify the question: for which of his military campaigns is Domitian actually leaving for on Frieze A of the Cancelleria Reliefs? (cf. here Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 6). Decisive in this respect was the study of Domitian's *Forum/ Forum Nervael Forum Transitorium*. This enquiry began when I read a remark by Rose Mary Sheldon (2007, 199) on the effect his suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt may have had on Hadrian *himself*.**

Cf. below, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2*.); and at *Appendix IV.d*) *The summary of the research presented in Appendix IV. has led to a summary of Domitian's building projects at Rome*.

**I, therefore, studied the reliefs of the representations of 'provinces' from the Temple of the divinized Hadrian at Rome, the *Hadrianeum*. The *Hadrianeum* is often compared with Domitian's *Forum/ Forum Nervael Forum Transitorium*, because that building had originally contained a similar group of 'provinces', of which unfortunately only one has survived in its entirety and some more representations of such 'provinces' in fragments. Cf. Maria Paola Del Moro ("Il Foro di Nerva", 2007; to this I will come back below). Because the figure appearing on the relevant relief of Domitian's *Forum* has been identified as the personification of a people called *Piroustaë* (cf. here Fig. 49), I finally arrived at suggesting for which military campaign Domitian is leaving on Frieze A of the Cancelleria Reliefs. - To all this I will come back below in detail.**



Contemporaneously, I studied the Anaglyphy Hadriani, commissioned by Hadrian (cf. here **Figs. 21; 22**).

Hans Rupprecht Goette sent me, therefore, by request, on 7th and 13th June 2020 his photographs of the Anaglypha Hadriani (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.*, and here **Figs. 21; 22**), as well as his photographs of the marble reliefs from the *Hadrianeum* at Rome that represent 'provinces' and trophies and that are kept in the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome and in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale at Naples. On 21st June he sent me also his photographs of the two 'provinces' from the *Hadrianeum* that are kept in the Museo Nazionale Romano at Rome (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.1.*); and *Appendix IV.d.2.a*) and here **Fig. 48**), all of which I may publish with his kind consent.

**Since Amanda Claridge (2010, 174-175) does not herself provide a reference for the important finding that at "Le Colonnacce" in Domitian's Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium "On the attic storey the surviving sculptured panel in the recess shows a helmeted [page 175] female carrying a shield, recently recognized (thanks to a labelled version found at Aphrodisias in Turkey) as the personification of the Piroustae, a people of the Danube", I wrote her an E-mail on 13th June 2020, asking her for help, and asked on 13th June also Hans Rupprecht Goette for advice.**

Hans was kind enough to send me on the same day, on his own account, his photograph of the relevant marble relief in the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias, mentioned by Claridge (2010, 175). In addition, he wrote me a reference for this relief; cf. R.R.R. Smith (*Aphrodisias VI. The Marble reliefs from the Julio-Claudian Sebasteion*, 2013), and provided me with one of his photographs of "Le Colonnacce" at Domitian's Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium (for all of those illustrations; cf. here **Fig. 49**), kindly granting me his permission to publish also those photographs.

On 14th of June 2020, I managed to reach Amanda Claridge on the telephone, who told me that she, at first, believed she had found the information, according to which the female figure of "Le Colonnacce" is a representation of the *Piroustae*, in an article by R.R.R. Smith ("*Simulacra Gentium: The Ethne from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias*", 1988; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.a*). Amanda provided me also with this article and told me in her accompanying E-mail that at least, in this account, Bert Smith does not mention the fact that the female figure of "Le Colonnacce" at Domitian's Forum/ Forum of Nervae/ Forum Transitorium is, in fact, a replica of the (labelled) relief with a representation of the *Piroustoi* in the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias.

**Apropos the *Piroustae* or *Piroustoi*. We shall see in the following, that the name of this people, an Illyrian tribe (also called a Pannonian tribe and a Dalmatian tribe) is spelled very differently. Apart from these two main transliterations they are also referred to as *Pirousti*, *Piroustai*, or *Perustae*, and in German as 'Pirousten', and as 'Perusten'.**

On 14th June 2020, Stefan Pfeiffer was kind enough to write me by E-mail on my request the reference to "Wiegartz 1996" ("*Simulacra Gentium auf dem Forum Transitorium*"), which is missing in his publication of 2009, and which I had been otherwise unable to find (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.a*). According to Pfeiffer (2009), Hans Wiegartz (1996) wrote in his article that the alleged 'Athena/ Minerva' of "Le Colonnacce" at Domitian's Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium represents a *gens* instead.

**But because the libraries were still closed and Wiegartz's article (1996) is not available on the internet, I wrote on 15th June R.R.R. Smith an E-mail, asking him, whether he himself or Hans Wiegartz had made the important finding that the female figure at "Le Colonnacce" does not depict Minerva, as hitherto believed, but instead a representation of the *Pirustae*. Bert Smith was kind enough to answer me straight away: WIEGARTZ!**

R.R.R. Smith enclosed the relevant chapters of his book (*Aphrodisias VI. The Marble reliefs from the Julio-Claudian Sebasteion*, 2013), in which he discusses the matter (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.b*).

**When I realized that recently the female figure at "Le Colonnacce" in Domitian's Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium (cf. here Fig. 49) has again been identified with Minerva, I asked on 28th June 2020 R.R.R. Smith another time for advice.**

As we shall see below, the author (*i.e.*, P. GROS 2009; cf. *infra*, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*) who asserted that this allegorical representation has recently again been interpreted as Minerva, has either himself misunderstood the publication to which he refers (*i.e.*, M.P. DEL MORO 2007), or his manuscript has been translated into Italian incorrectly.

**Bert Smith was kind enough to answer me immediately that, in his opinion, the female figure (cf. here Fig. 49) shows some iconographic features which prove that this is not 'Athena/ Minerva', but instead a representation of a "natio devicta". On 29th June 2020, Bert Smith kindly allowed me to publish his E-mail.**

**See below, at *The first Contribution by R.R.R. Smith on the iconography of the representation of the Piroustaie at "Le Colonnacce" in Domitian's Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium (cf. here Fig. 49); and infra, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.a).***

Bert Smith sent me, in addition to this, on his own account a photo of the representation of the *Piroustoï* in the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias and granted me by E-mail of 29th June 2020 the permission to publish it in this book (cf. here **Fig. 50**). Cf. *infra*, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.a*).

The manuscript of Eric M. Moormann's article ("Some Observations on the Templum Pacis - a Summa of Flavian Politics", now published in 2022) reached me on 2nd July 2020, right in time to be still discussed (cf. below, in Chapter *II.3.1.c*); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.c*); *Appendix II.a*); and *Appendix IV.d.4.b*)), and on 3rd July 2020, he wrote me an E-mail kindly granting me the permission to quote *verbatim* from this manuscript.

Likewise on 2nd July 2020, Ulrich Hofstätter was kind enough to write me, on request, the title of his Dissertation, in which he discusses *inter alia* the 14 statues of 'nations', ordered by Pompeius Magnus for his Theatre in the *Campus Martius* (*Fremde Frauen. Republikanische und augusteische Darstellungen weiblicher Fremder in Rom*, forthcoming). Hofstätter has in addition to this sent me, on his own account, first the passages of his work, in which he discusses Pompeius Magnus's 'nations', then his entire dissertation (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d*)).

**My thanks are also due to Claudio Parisi Presicce for sending me on 6th July 2020, on request, his "ricostruzione virtuale del colosso di Costantino"; cf. Parisi Presicce (2006b, 147, caption of Fig. 48; cf. p. 127, note \*), which I publish here with his kind consent.**

Cf. below, in *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11)*. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part I. *The statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (cf. here Fig. 11)*, the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524; cf. here **Fig. 29.1**), and the cult-statue of *Divus Vespasianus* in the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1*.); and here **Fig. 11.1**.

Eric Moormann (2022, 135 n. 26) mentions Beatrice Pinna Caboni's (2014) discussion of the cult-statue of Pax in her temple within the *Templum Pacis*, and when I asked Hans Rupprecht Goette for help, he was kind enough to provide me on 10th July 2020 with Pinna Caboni's publication. This acrolithic cult-statue of Pax is of interest here because it had been dedicated by Domitian. This fact has been neglected by most scholars,

but see Filippo Coarelli ("Pax, Templum", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 69; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*)).

On 10th July 2020, Hans Rupprecht Goette alerted me also to a publication by Klaus Fittschen that I had overlooked so far, and when I sent him the update of *Appendix IV*. (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2), in which those sculptures are mentioned that we had been discussing in the last couple of months, he sent me, on his own account, this publication by Fittschen ("Lesefrüchte IV; 3. Zur Umarbeitung des Kolossalbildnisses Constantins im Hof des Konservatorenpalastes", 2012b), which is of great importance to *Appendix IV.c.1.*), as well as the article by Hans Wiegartz ("Simulacra Gentium auf dem Forum Transitorium", 1996), which I had already put on my to-do-list for *infra*, volume 3-2 *Appendix IV.d*). - See for a discussion of Wiegartz (1996) also below, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

**After having finished writing the relevant Chapters, I sent all the text passages, related to the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here Fig. 31) and to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* to Mario Torelli, whom Franz Xaver Schütz and I had visited on 29th November 2019 at Perugia in order to discuss those matters with him. He was kind enough as to write me by E-mail of 18th July 2020 his comments. On July 19th 2020, he has granted me the permission to publish his E-mail. In addition to this, Mario kindly allowed me to mention him in the *Dedication* of this book.**

**Cf. below, at *The Contribution by Mario Torelli on the Templum Gentis Flaviae*.**

On 20th July 2020 reached me an E-mail by Demetrios Michaelides, in which he likewise kindly granted me the permission to mention him in the *Dedication* of this book.

Hans Rupprecht Goette was kind enough to send me on 20th July 2020 one of his own articles ("*Corona spicea, corona civica* und Adler. Bemerkungen zu drei römischen Dreifussbasen", 1984) that turned out to be of importance for the discussion of the *corona civica*, 'a civic crown [that] was fixed above my door', as Augustus wrote in his *Res gestae* (34.1-2; translation: T.P. Wiseman 2019, 9). Augustus thus referred to 'the (real) House of Augustus on the Palatine' (cf. *infra*, at Chapter *V.1.i.3.a*), and here **Fig. 35**).

**My thanks are also due to Eugenio La Rocca, who sent me on 20 July 2020, on request, his article ("*Ferocia barbarica. La rappresentazione dei vinti tra medio Oriente e Roma*", 1994), since I wanted to consult it in the context of the discussion of the portrait of Hadrian from Hierapydna.**

See below, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapyda* (cf. here **Fig. 29**); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2*).

When reading La Rocca's article (1994), I realized that it is also of great importance to the discussions in other *Chapters* of this book (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.e*)). And on 21st July 2020, La Rocca kindly wrote me an E-mail, granting me his permission to mention him in the *Dedication* of this book.

**On 23rd July 2020 Amanda Claridge kindly granted me the permission to mention her in the *Dedication* of this book. In addition to this, she answered my relevant question by writing to me that it had been her own idea to suggest that Domitian's *Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium* could commemorate Domitian's triumph of AD 89; and the reason was the representation of the *Piroustaie* in this Forum. On 24th July 2020, Amanda wrote me an E-mail, allowing me to mention this here. Cf. Claridge (2010, 174-175, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.a*); see also *Appendix IV.d.2.f*)).**

The friends and colleagues mentioned here, who helped me to understand the problems connected with the subjects discussed in Chapter *V.1.1.h*), *Appendix I*. and *Appendix IV*. (for the latter; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2), did so by providing me not only with the explanations I had asked them for, but also, on their own accounts, with their own unpublished manuscripts, or with their own publications and photographs, and even with

publications by other scholars. They did this during the time of the Corona pandemic, when all libraries were closed. For this tremendous help I am very grateful indeed.

In the course of conducting the research for this *Study* on Domitian, many lifelong contacts with friends and colleagues have greatly been intensified, with the result that these scholars were, for example, kind enough to write *Contributions* for this volume. On 27th of July 2020, Franz Xaver Schütz and I met with Eric M. Moormann in Munich, which gave me the chance to celebrate with both of them these new achievements by discussing with Eric his own research projects, and also the common ones on Domitian, that are documented in this book.

From 29th July until 24th of August 2020, I had again the chance to discuss with Hans Rupprecht Goette in an E-mail correspondence the various opinions concerning the reworking of the facial traits of the colossal portrait of Hadrian into those of Constantine (cf. here **Fig. 11**). Related to our questions concerning the modern term 'damnatio memoriae', and concerning the reworking of the portraits of emperors, whose memory had been damned in antiquity, Hans alerted me to the article by Joachim Raeder ("Das Bildnis des C. Fulvius Plautianus und andere durch Umarbeitung entstandene Bildnisse des Septimius Severus", 2019). And because the fragments of the colossal statue of Hadrian/ Constantine are carved from Parian marble, Hans provided me with the article by Donato Attanasio, Matthias Bruno and Walter Prochaska ("The Marbles of Roman Portraits. New Data on the Marble Provenance of 261 Imperial and Private Urban Portraits Dating from the Mid 1<sup>st</sup> century to the Early 6<sup>th</sup> Century A.D", 2019), in which also portraits carved from Parian marble are discussed. We also asked ourselves, until when such large blocks of Parian marble, as used for this portrait of Hadrian/ Constantine, were available at Rome (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*), and here **Fig. 11**); one of the areas at Rome, where such materials were found in great quantities in past centuries, is the famous *La Marmorata* (to this I will come back below).

**Eugenio La Rocca was kind enough to send me on 1st August 2020 his publication (*Mosaici parietali nel Musaeum del Colle Oppio*, 2020a), in which he discusses the mosaics found in one of the buildings excavated underneath the Baths of Trajan on the *Mons Oppius*, identified by him as a pavilion belonging to Nero's *Domus Aurea*, that comprised a *Musaeum*. La Rocca's findings also have consequences concerning the efforts to reconstruct the topography of the area in question.**

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.a*); Section X.; and at *Appendix IV.d.4.c*)).

**Discussing with La Rocca my idea suggested here that it may already have been Domitian's idea to erect large Baths on the *Mons Oppius* at precisely the same site, where the Baths of Trajan were later built, La Rocca agreed and wrote me by E-mail on 3rd August 2020 an answer that, as he has confirmed by E-mail of 4th August 2020, I may publish here with his kind consent. - To the Baths of Trajan I will come back below.**

See below, at *The first Contribution by Eugenio La Rocca*.

**On 4th August 2020, Hans Rupprecht Goette sent me, on his own account, Klaus Fittschen's (2014, 57-59, cat. 50a) discussion of the colossal head of Constantine the Great from the Forum of Trajan (cf. here **Fig. 47**), for which I am especially thankful. We may wonder, whether the (possibly) cuirassed statue, to which this head had once belonged, was the portrait of Constantine, described by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 10,4,16). The Senate had dedicated this portrait-statue to the emperor after Constantine's victory over Maxentius, and, as Eusebius writes, it carried in its right hand, at the explicit order of the emperor himself, Constantine's victory-bringing sign.**

See below, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the

reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*)

**As already mentioned, on 13th September 2019, Franz Xaver Schütz and I had visited the recently opened market halls, called *Il Nuovo Mercato del Testaccio*, together with Francesco Buranelli and Susanna Le Pera and Luca Sasso D'Elia. When Susanna Le Pera and Luca Sasso D'Elia went with us to the ongoing excavations and started talking with one of the archaeologists there, we were lucky enough to meet also with the director of those excavations, Renato Sebastiani, who is also the Responsabile of the *Museo Diffuso del Rione Testaccio*. This museum is called after the quarter, where it is located, the 'Testaccio', and is dedicated to the promotion of the archaeological sites of this part of the city.**

After our meeting with Renato Sebastiani, our little group went by chance to the restaurant 'da Checchino' on Via di Monte Testaccio 30, located at the Piazza Orazio Giustiniani, opposite the impressive entrance to the ex *Mattatoio*. Entering its interior rooms, we realized that they have virtually been cut into the steep western slope of the Monte Testaccio. At the beginning, we were all by ourselves in these very dark rooms. Into their back walls are carved large illuminated windows, through which the sherds of the Monte Testaccio are visible, that are immediately touching those windows from the outside. These sherds have very different sizes and shapes, but they have been deposited in incredibly neatly ordered layers - as if on purpose arranged like this by an artist to be viewed in these 'vitrines'. Considering that these rooms are located level with the current street, that is to say, presumably almost at the base of this artificial mount, and that the Monte Testaccio rises high above these rooms, one gets an extraordinary impression of the high sophistication, with which this 'dumping-ground' had been organized.

**For me this visit 'inside' the Monte Testaccio has been one of the most impressive ones ever experienced in the City of Rome since September of 1972 - the Cappella Sistina included.**

On 11th May 2022, Franz Xaver Schütz and I went to the Restaurant 'da Checchino' again, in the hope to get the permission to take photographs of these 'vitrines' with the terracotta sherds. I was kindly told by the gentleman, whom I had explained my wish that currently those rooms of the 'cantina' are unfortunately not accessible.

Before building *Il Nuovo Mercato del Testaccio*, the area in question, ancient Rome's new commercial riverport (by many scholars erroneously believed to have been called *Emporium* in antiquity, which is mentioned by Livy 35,10,12; 41,27,8 together with a *Porticus Aemilia*) had been excavated. In antiquity even larger warehouses had stood in this area; they were called *Horrea* (the 'Porticus Aemilia' [in reality *Navalia*], *Horrea Galbana*, *Lolliana*, *Seiana*, etc.), which had also covered parts of the area of the ex *Mattatoio* (the ex-abattoir), which stands to the south of the *Nuovo Mercato del Testaccio*. To those ancient *Horrea* had belonged in the Imperial period the above-mentioned immediately adjacent dumping-ground, which over time developed into a very impressive hill, called *Monte dei Cocci* or *Monte Testaccio*, because it consists of nothing else but sherds of terracotta *amphorae* of certain types, in which (mostly) olive oil was transported. The didactic concept of the *Museo Diffuso del Rione Testaccio* stresses also the importance of the *Monte Testaccio*, of course.

**Likewise, thanks to Luca Sasso D'Elia, Franz Xaver Schütz and I had the chance to visit the *Monte Testaccio* on 8th March 2018, accompanied by Francesco Pacetti, who gave us a very interesting guided tour on top and all around this artificial mount.**

**This entire quarter was called in post-antique times *La Marmorata* - because vast quantities of marble and of all other kinds of building material had occurred there over the centuries, having been stocked here in antiquity.**

See below, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11)*. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking

of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part II. *Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalìa) and of the Horrea Aemiliana. With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?; and infra, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.c.1.).*

On 8th August 2020, I reached Luca Sasso D'Elia on the telephone, who was kind enough to send me on 10th August 2020 links to those recent excavations, *inter alia* to the publication by Mirella Serlorenzi and Renato Sebastiani ("Nuove scoperte dall'area di Testaccio [Roma] tecniche costruttive, riuso e smaltimento dei contenitori anforici pertinenti ad horrea e strutture utilitarie di età imperiale", 2011). For the *Museo Diffuso del Rione Testaccio*; cf. <<http://romearcheomedia.fub.it/testaccio/>>.

See also the above-mentioned article by Giuliano Giovannetti ("La struttura portuale di lungotevere Testaccio: una nuova analisi della documentazione", 2016); and more recently Paolo Liverani ("Il Tevere, i ponti e l'Annona", 2020). - To this I will come back below.

On 12th August 2020, Eric M. Moormann sent me his *Contribution* to this volume, which I publish here with his kind consent.

**See below, at *The Contribution by Eric M. Moormann : Can we Reconstruct the Templum Gentis Flaviae?***

Cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.h). I especially appreciate that Eric M. Moormann also sent me the article by Maria Cristina Capanna ("Il Tempio della Gente Flavia sul Quirinale. Un tentativo di ricostruzione", 2008), which was already on my long to-do-list.

**John Pollini was kind enough to send me, at my request, on 24th August 2020, the photograph of the Nollekens Relief (cf. here Fig. 36), which he has recently published (cf. J. POLLINI 2017b, 98, Fig. 1 = here Fig. 36), and granted me at the same time his permission to publish it.**

This photograph was taken in 1914 in the White Hall of the Gatchina Palace near St. Petersburg, when the relief was still preserved in its restored state of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Pollini (2017b, 120, 124), in my opinion convincingly, suggests that the Nollekens Relief shows the togate *triumphator* Domitian, sacrificing in AD 89 in front of Domitian's *Porta Triumphalis*; after which, the emperor would begin his (last) triumphal procession (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.f)).

**On 22nd July 2020 an E-mail by Angelo Geißen reached me. I had asked him for advice concerning the above-mentioned coins, issued at Alexandria in AD 117, that represent Hadrian, and to write a text on the subject, which resulted in Geißen's first *Contribution* to this volume, that he sent me on that day.**

From Geißen's first *Contribution* emerges that, contrary to Marianne Bergmann's opinion (1997, 144), who suggested that they had been ordered by local magistrates at Alexandria, those coins were instead issued at the order of Hadrian himself, who, after Trajan's death on 7th (?) August 117, on 11th August 117 had been hailed as Roman emperor.

Marianne Bergmann's opinion (1997, 144) is quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.c.1.). Post Scriptum: *Hadrian's situation in AD 117-118. With The first Contribution by Angelo Geißen: Bemerkungen zur frühen Münzprägung Hadrians in Alexandria.*

But, as Angelo Geißen and I agreed, there were still some points that needed further clarification. On 25th August 2020, Geißen sent me the final version of his first *Contribution*, which I publish with his kind consent.

See below, at *The first Contribution by Angelo Geißen: Bemerkungen zur frühen Münzprägung Hadrians in Alexandria*.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1*). *Post Scriptum: Hadrian's situation in AD 117-118*. With *The first Contribution by Angelo Geißen: Bemerkungen zur frühen Münzprägung Hadrians in Alexandria*.

Edoardo Gautier di Confiengo was kind enough to send me, on his own account, on 7th September 2020 the English translation of his article, written together with Elettra Santucci ("The Distribution of *Aqua Claudia* and *Anio Novus* in Rome", 2020 - which has appeared in the meantime), as well as the current version of his manuscript on Nero's *cenatio rotunda* ("La macchina della *cenatio rotunda* neroniana [Suet. Nero 31]. Ipotesi costruttive ", forthcoming).

On 9th September 2020, Hans Rupprecht Goette was kind enough to inform me about his forthcoming article ("Zu einer Schwertbandbüste in Budapest - Werkstattfragen und Benennung", Arbeitstitel, 2021; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1*)). In this publication, Goette will develop further the ideas that he has already published in his above-mentioned article ("Fragment of a newly discovered portrait of Hadrian in Budapest", 2019 - of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ )), and that in its turn has become the starting point of our common discussions on Hadrian, summarized here. - In the meantime, this publication has appeared; cf. Hans Rupprecht Goette (2021).

**In September of 2020, after reading Francesco Buranelli's exhibition-catalogue (*L'Arte di Salvare l'Arte ...*, 2019, 13; cf. pp. 72-73 [Z. MARI]), in which the Capitoline Triad (cf. here Fig. 13) is published, I resumed my correspondence with Hans Rupprecht Goette about the alleged portrait of Euripides in the Louvre (cf. here Fig. 12). Zaccaria Mari's publication and these additional discussions with Hans about representations of this Capitoline Triad (cf. here Fig. 13), and about Domitian's *Villa* on Lake Albano, called *Albanum*, have finally led me to identify the colossal statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (cf. here Fig. 10) as a copy of the cult-statue of Jupiter in Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.**

For all that; see below, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here Fig. 10).

On 12th September 2020, Hans Rupprecht Goette sent me, on request, the current version of his manuscript ("Remarks on the Statuette of ›Euripides‹ in Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 343"). I am very grateful that Hans has shared his findings with me, and that he has generously allowed me on 12th September 2020 to quote *verbatim* from this text.

Cf. *infra*, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here Fig. 10); Part I. *The wall painting 'Aldobrandini Wedding' in the Vatican Museums and the statuette of the 'Euripides' in the Louvre* (cf. here Fig. 12), which has been discussed together with it.

On 14th September 2020, Hans Rupprecht Goette sent me the final version of this manuscript ("From Father god to tragic poet. Remarks on the Statuette of ›Euripides‹ in Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 343", forthcoming). The statuette in question (cf. here Fig. 12) shows the poet enthroned in front of a wall, on which appear the titles of some of his tragedies, written in Greek. Goette is able to demonstrate that this famous, but alleged Euripides was created at the order of Francesco Ficoroni on the basis of a representation of the Capitoline Triad in statuette format, of which only the (headless) figure of Jupiter and the common throne of all three divinities was re-used. This Capitoline Triad is also known from other sculpture groups in statuette format, such as the one, discussed by Goette ("From Father god to tragic poet. Remarks on the Statuette of ›Euripides‹ in Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 343", with n. 10, forthcoming), which is now kept in the Museo Civico Archeologico 'Rodolfo Lanciani' at Guidonia Montecelio (Roma) (cf. here Fig. 13).

According to Filippo Coarelli (in: F. COARELLI 2009a, 514, cat. no. 118), this Capitoline Triad (cf. here Fig. 13) shows the cult-statues of Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. This is certainly true since we know the iconography of the cult-statues of Domitian's temple from Renaissance drawings that represent the 'Extispicium Relief' at the Louvre (cf. here Figs. 16-18), and from the relief in the staircase at the Palazzo dei Conservatori, which shows Marcus Aurelius sacrificing in front of this temple (cf. here Fig. 19).

The statue-type of Jupiter, known in several variants, of which the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great; cf. here Figs. 11; 11.1) and the statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (here Fig. 10) are mirror copies, was extremely successful in antiquity, often copied for portraits of the Imperial period, *inter alia* of the Emperors Claudius and Tiberius (cf. here Fig. 15). Claudio Parisi Presicce (2006b, 144-145, quoted *verbatim infra*, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here Fig. 10)), who discusses the statue of Constantine the Great (cf. here Fig. 11), therefore convincingly assumes as its prototype the cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus (without indication, which one of the four cult-statues of the god he refers to). But Parisi Presicce (2006b, 144) does not address the (alleged) fact that according to Oskar Waldhauer (1928, 4, 5, quoted *verbatim infra*, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus*) (cf. here Fig. 10)), the statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage (cf. here Fig. 10) originally held a thunderbolt in its right hand, exactly like the figure of Jupiter in the Capitoline Triad (cf. here Fig. 13), which certainly shows the cult-statues of Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.

Especially interesting in the context discussed here are the facts that the statue of Jupiter at St. Petersburg (cf. here Fig. 10), which, in my opinion, follows the same statue-type as the Jupiter in the Capitoline Triad (Fig. 13), is datable Domitianic and was found in the vicinity of Palazzo Barberini at Castel Gandolfo that was built 'on top of' Domitian's *Villa*, called *Albanum*. Because the right hand of this statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage was incorrectly restored, by holding a statue of Victoria, it thus (intentionally) resembles the cult-statue of Zeus in his Temple at Olympia, one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient (Western) World (cf. here Fig. 14) - a comparison which is actually drawn on the Website of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (quoted *verbatim infra*, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (here Fig. 10)).

In reality, this statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage (here Fig. 10) (allegedly) held a thunderbolt in its right hand, as explicitly stated by Oskar Waldhauer (1928, 4, 5). This iconographic detail characterized also Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, see the Extispicium Relief in the Louvre (here Figs. 16-18), the above-mentioned relief of Marcus Aurelius (here Fig. 19), and the Capitoline Triad (here Fig. 13), all of which represent the Capitoline Triad in Domitian's Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. But, as I only found out later, when reading Anna Trofimowa's discussion of this statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage ("Kopien der Victoria von Calvatone aus dem 19. und 20. Jahrhundert", 2020, 78, on the modern statuette of Victoria this statue of Jupiter is holding in its right hand), the author states that, when this sculpture of Jupiter was excavated, its right hand had *not* been found (quoted *verbatim infra*, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here Fig. 10)). My thanks are due to Hans Rupprecht Goette for sending me Trofimowa's article, to which I will come back below.

Because of its overall iconography, I nevertheless suggest that this statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (here Fig. 10) can give us an impression, what the (probably chryselephantine) cult-statue of Iuppiter may have looked like, which Domitian commissioned for his (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. - I maintain this view here, although according to the latest information concerning this point that I have been alerted to (to which I will come back below), this statue of Jupiter had not only been found without its right hand (or its right arm ?), but also without its head (!), a fact which previously had not been realized.



Cf. Massimiliano Papini (2021, 30 with Fig. 14 [= here **Fig. 10.1**]). - My thanks are due to Hans Rupprecht Goette, who provided me also with this information.

The reason for my confidence (back in 2020) that the colossal statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage (here **Fig. 10**) actually copies Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus lay in the following facts. This statue (here **Fig. 10**) was found in Domitian's Villa, called *Albanum* and is datable in the reign of Domitian. Although only its headless torso had survived, when found, without its right hand (or right arm?), it can nevertheless with confidence be restored as a replica of Jupiter of this specific type. Its pose, left arm, and exposed left knee and lower leg, are exactly those of Domitian's cult-statue, represented in the pediment of his temple - and that in its turn is known from the Renaissance drawings of the Extispicium Relief (cf. here **Figs. 16-18**). We learn from Anna Trofimowa (2020, 77-78) that the statue (here **Fig. 10**) had first been restored by Vincenzo Pacetti, holding a thunderbolt in its right hand: since its right thigh is ancient, my guess is that Pacetti had seen remains of this thunderbolt on the right leg of the god.

Fortunately in July of 2023, I should find out something else: the 'Capitoline Jupiter' is also known through the bronze statuette in New York, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, datable to the 1st or 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, which Stephan Faust (2022, 22-24, Abb. 4 [= here **Fig. 20.1**]) has published, and that I did not know before. This bronze statuette preserves both hands of the god, comprising his attributes thunderbolt and sceptre, as well as his head, whereas the colossal marble statue at the Hermitage (here **Figs. 10; 10.1**) was found without its right hand (or without its right arm ?) and even without its head.

The iconography of this bronze statuette (here **Fig. 20.1**) is (almost exactly the same as that of the marble statuette from the Via Appia Nuova in Rome (cf. here **Fig. 20**), with the great difference that this marble statuette shows the god with exposed left knee and lower left leg (here **Fig. 20**), whereas in the bronze statuette the left knee and lower left leg are completely covered by the god's garment. Because this statuette (here **Fig. 20.1**) is not precisely datable, we cannot know, whether it represents Domitian's (fourth) cult-statue of Jupiter, or rather the second or the third cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.

**I thank Hans Rupprecht Goette for discussing the above-mentioned ideas with me, who alerted me on 15th September 2020 to the article by Karoline Manfrecola on Domitian's Villa, called *Albanum* ("Aus zwei mach eins: Der Zusammenschluß zweier Villen zum *Albanum* des Domitian, 2020; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2 at *Appendix I.g.4*)).**

Goette has also himself recently studied Domitian's *Albanum* ("The Portraits of Aischylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Menander in Roman Contexts. Evidence of the Reception of the Theatre Classics in Late Republican and Imperial Rome"). He has sent me, on the same day, by request, this manuscript, and was kind enough to allow me by E-mail of 20th September to quote here *verbatim* from this text; in the meantime this text has been published in 2022.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*) *Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the Templum Pacis, and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum.*

Also on 15th September 2020, Hans Rupprecht Goette kindly alerted me to the article by Nicole G. Brown ("The Living and the Monumental on the Anaglypha Traiani", 2020; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.b*); and at *Appendix IV.c*)).

**Between 16th and 21st September 2020, I had the chance to discuss with Hans Rupprecht Goette a marble fragment of a state relief that he has published in an article ("Disiecta membra eines trajanischen Frieses", 1983; cf. here **Figs. 32.A-E**), in which he attributed this fragment to the above-mentioned "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here **Fig. 31**). - I suggest to call the fragment, found by Goette (here **Figs. 32.A-E**), "Rilievo**

**Foro Romano", and will discuss it below (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.3.*); at Section V.). - To the "Rilievo Foro Romano" I will likewise come back below.**

On 18th September 2020, Hans Rupprecht Goette sent me, on his own account, the catalogue text on the statue of Jupiter at St. Petersburg (cf. here **Fig. 10**) by Oskar Waldhauer (*Die antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage*, 1928), and on 21st September 2020, Hans sent me the book by Martin Bossert (*Die Skulpturen des gallorömischen Tempelbezirkes von Thun-Allmendingen*, 2000), who has already identified the above-mentioned type of a Capitoline Triad (cf. here **Fig. 13**) as a representation of the cult-statues in Domitian's Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.

For all that; cf. *infra*, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here **Fig. 10**).

Finally, on 23rd September 2020, Hans Rupprecht Goette sent me photographs of coins that show the cult-statue of Zeus in his Temple at Olympia (cf. here **Fig. 14**), which actually held a statue of Nike (*Victoria*) on its right hand - contrary to the statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage (cf. here **Fig. 10**), which has only been restored this way. For both; cf. *infra*, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here **Fig. 10**).

Between 7th and 19th October 2020 I had the chance to discuss with Peter Herz on the telephone- and in E-mail conversations the controversy concerning the dating of the *primus pilus* of *Legio XIII Gemina*, *T. Statius P. F. Serg. Marrax*, who is known from an inscription at Aquileia. According to Carl Patsch (1899), Statius Marrax had been decorated by Domitian for his services in the emperor's Dacian War(s). More recent scholars have either not dated this inscription at all, or have rather suggested that Statius Marrax served in the Augustan period (see below, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.e*); and at *Appendix IV.d.2.f*).

On 19th October 2020, Herz was kind enough to send me his second *Contribution* to this volume, which I publish here with his kind consent. In this text Herz suggests that more arguments speak for the later date, therefore, Statius Marrax may actually have served in the *Legio XIII Gemina* at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, as already suggested by Carl Patsch (1899).

See below, at *The second Contribution by Peter Herz : Anmerkungen zu Statius Marrax*.

On 15th October 2020, Hans Rupprecht Goette was kind enough to send me the book by Ludwig Curtius (*Das antike Rom. Aufnahmen von Alfred Nawrath*, 1944). It is illustrated with the excellent photographs by Alfred Nawrath, which show for example the Anaglypha Hadriani, when those were still standing in the piazza of the *Forum Romanum*. This has led me right back to a more intensified discussion of those reliefs (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.b*), and here **Figs. 21; 22**).

Since I wished to illustrate here a photograph, showing Mario Torelli, teaching us members of the 'Corsi estivi di Lingua e Cultura Italiana dell'Università del Sacro Cuore di Milano' in the summer of 1979, I asked Rose Mary Sheldon, who had taken it, to give me the permission to publish it, which she has generously granted (cf. *supra*, at *Dedication*, and here **Abb. 1**).

This photo shows Torelli in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale at Naples in front of the Roman marble bust of a Greek intellectual, explaining it to us. Since I vaguely remembered that R.R.R. Smith had been able to identify this man, I asked Bert now for advice. He was kind enough to write me on 18th October 2020 that it is Pindar !

This portrait-type, representing a Greek, Bert was able to identify by its inscription in Greek ('ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΣ'; cf. here **Fig. 51**), incised on the bottom contour of a marble shield portrait of this man,

**found at Aphrodisias, together with many other such *clipeus* portraits. These portraits of intellectuals, who are identified by their inscriptions, had decorated the absidal building (called 'Atrium House' by R.R.R. Smith in his second *Contribution* to this volume) next to the *Sebasteion* (cf. here Fig. 52), which may (possibly) be identified as a philosophical school.**

For this 'Atrium House' at Aphrodisias (here Fig. 52); cf. R.R.R. Smith (1990, 132-135, Pls. IV-XVI; for this building, cf. pp. 128-130, 153-155). After having read R.R.R. Smith's article (1990), I asked him more questions on 24th October 2020. On 25th October, Bert Smith was kind enough to answer my questions concerning the possible function of this building and recent work on it. With his kind consent, I publish his answers here.

**See below, at *The second Contribution by R.R.R. Smith : Note on the function of the 'Atrium House' at Aphrodisias* (cf. here Figs. 51; 52).**

**On 18th October 2020, I asked Eugenio La Rocca for advice concerning the colossal marble portrait of Titus in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale at Naples (cf. here Fig. 53), which he (cf. *id.* 2009) has identified as the head of the cult-statue of *Divus Titus* in Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, and on the facial traits of which Oskar Waldhauer (1928) has *inter alia* based his dating of the above-mentioned statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (cf. here Fig. 10) into the Domitianic period. - But, as we shall see below, the Jupiter in the Hermitage was found without its head (!). - To this portrait of Titus I will likewise come back below.**

On 20th October 2020, I had, in addition to this, the chance to discuss this portrait of *Divus Titus* with Hans Rupprecht Goette (for all of that; cf. *infra*, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here Fig. 10)).

Eric M. Moormann was kind enough to send me on 27th October 2020 the article by Stephanie Pearson ("Holding up the mirror to research on the Iseum Campense", 2020, a review of the volume edited by M.J. VERSLUYS, K. BÜLOW-CLAUSEN and G. CAPRIOTTI VITTOZZI 2018a); in this *Study* on Domitian are discussed many contributions to these proceedings of the Conference on the Iseum Campense in Rome 2016.

**On 27th October 2020 also Emanuele M. Ciampini sent me, by request, his article in which he describes the most decisive ritual, performed by the Egyptian Pharaoh himself on the occasion of his coronation that occurred on the Festival of New Year ("The King's Food A Note on the Royal Meal and Legitimation", 2016).**

Cf. below, at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini : La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica; infra*, at Chapters IV.1.1.d); IV.1.1.e); and IV.1.1.f); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix II.

To my great surprise Ciampini's discussion (2016) of the rôle of the Egyptian king, which in its turn helps to understand the meaning of this ritual, has also provided further crucial information to explain the 'oriental' roots of the iconography of the portrait of Hadrian from Hierapydna.

See below, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here Fig. 29); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.c.2.).

On 28th October 2020 the article by Ian Lockey reached me: ("The Atrium House: the archaeology of a late-antique residence", 2016), that Hans Rupprecht Goette sent me, on his own account, because R.R.R. Smith had mentioned this article to us in an E-mail correspondence.

See below, at *The second Contribution by R.R.R. Smith : Note on the function of the 'Atrium House' at Aphrodisias*.

**On 29. October 2020, Michaela Fuchs was kind enough to send me the digital version of her recent article on the Anaglypha Hadriani ("Libertas restituta: Hadrians Verfügungen des Jahres 118 n. Chr."; cf. here Figs. 21; 22), because between the 29th October und 22nd November 2020 I was in the course of discussing these reliefs with Amanda Claridge in several telephone- and E-mail conversations, especially the meaning of the *suovetaurilia*, represented on both reliefs.**

On 8th November, Amanda Claridge sent me Mario Torelli's chapter on the subject in his book (*Typology & Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs*, 1982), and on 20th November, likewise on request, she sent me Filippo Coarelli's discussion of the Anaglypha Hadriani (which Coarelli himself, like Torelli, dates Trajanic) in his new book on the Roman Forum (*Il Foro Romano III. Da Augusto al tardo impero*, 2020).

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.b) Similarly as some of the hypotheses, already published by M. Hammond (1953), M. Fuchs (2019) suggests that the therefore here-so-called Anaglypha Hadriani (cf. here Figs. 21; 22) celebrate Hadrian's achievements, and that Hadrian's burning of debt records in AD 118 occurred at two sites: the burning of the debt records of the *fiscus* in the Forum Traiani (represented on the Chatsworth Relief), and the burning of the debt records of the *Aerarium publicum populi Romani* in the Forum Romanum (represented on one of the Anaglypha Hadriani; cf. here Fig. 22). With a discussion of the *suovetaurilia* that appear on both Anaglypha Hadriani (cf. here Figs. 21.A; 22.A), and with The third Contribution by Peter Herz; and at Appendix IV.c) The meanings of the statue group 'Marsyas and fig tree' which appears twice on the Anaglypha Hadriani (Figs. 21; 22), and of the Ogulnian monument (a statue group representing the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, standing underneath the sacred fig tree *ficus Ruminalis* in the Comitium). With The first Contribution by T.P. Wiseman.

**First of all I asked Hans Rupprecht Goette for advice concerning the *suovetaurilia*. On 2nd November 2020 he sent me not only his own photographs of *suovetaurilia* (those of the 'Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus' in the Louvre at Paris; cf. here Fig. 27, and those of 'The Five-Column Monument or Decennial Monument' in the *Forum Romanum*; cf. here Fig. 26), but also his own article on the subject ("Kuh und Stier als Opfertier. Zur *probatio victimae*", 1986). On 4th November 2020 more of Hans Rupprecht Goette's own photographs of the Anaglypha Hadriani reached me, in addition to this, he was kind enough to send me the article by Nicole Brown on the subject ("The Living and the Monumental on the Anaglypha Traiani", 2020).**

Also for a discussion of all of this; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.b).

**On 4th November 2020 the new book by the Egyptologist Rafed El-Sayed, reached me. It was edited by himself and Cäcilia Fluck (*The Textile Centre Akhmîm-Panopolis (Egypt) in Late Antiquity. Material Evidence for Continuity and Change in Society, Religion, Industry and Trade*, 2020).**

The Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. below, in Chapters I.-VI., and here Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing), the Nollekens Relief (cf. below, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b), and here Fig. 36), and the Anaglypha Hadriani (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV., and here Figs. 21; 22) are discussed in this book in detail. They feature a great number of figures, who are dressed in specific ways, either according to their professions or social status, or because they are humans, allegorical representations, or divinities. The fact that these reliefs were originally painted must, therefore, have added tremendously to their overall messages, and to our ability to understand their contents immediately.

As we shall see in the case of Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. *infra*, at Chapter III., and here Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 3), on one of its figures (*i.e.*, the lictor, walking in front of Domitian, now Nerva) part of the former paint of its garments is still extant. As already mentioned above, its specific colour has provided the decisive information to identify the scene as a *profectio* (cf. P. LIVERANI: "Per una >Storia del colore< La scultura policroma romana, un bilancio e qualche prospettiva", 2014), whereas previously that question had been debated.

The book, edited by Rafed El-Sayed and Cécilia Fluck (2020) thus fills a gap insofar, as the very different types of elaborately woven and, in addition to this, multi-coloured garments, which are discussed in their book, can give us an impression of how much information has been lost that the reliefs discussed here may have additionally contained.

On 7th November 2020, Hans Rupprecht Goette sent me, on his own account, his photographs of the plaster cast of the colossal marble head of Constantine from the Forum of Trajan in Rome at the Museo dei Fori Imperiali (inv. no. FT 10337). This plaster cast is on display at the Abgußsammlung of the Freie Universität Berlin (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*), and here **Fig. 47**); on 12th November 2020, Hans was kind enough to write me that I might publish his photos here.

See below, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great).

**As a result of the just-summarized additional research on the Anaglypha Hadriani, I had the chance, beginning with 11th November 2020, to discuss Hadrian's precarious situation at the beginning of his reign with Peter Herz, who was kind enough to summarize his relevant findings for me:**

See below, at *The third Contribution by Peter Herz : Der Übergang von Trajan auf Hadrian und das erste Regierungsjahr Hadrians*.

The first draft of this text reached me on 28th November 2020. Peter Herz's third *Contribution* has turned out to be, in its turn, the beginning of further research, to which I will come back below.

On 15th November 2020, Hans Rupprecht Goette sent me, on his own account, the already mentioned article by Anna Trofimowa ("Kopien der Victoria von Calvatone aus dem 19. und 20. Jahrhundert", 2020), in which the author discusses the bronze statuette of Victoria, held by the statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage of St. Petersburg in its right hand (cf. *infra*, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here **Fig. 10**)).

Frau Daria Lanzuolo of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom was kind enough to send me on 16th November 2020 the photographs of the Anaglypha Hadriani of this institution that are published here (cf. **Figs. 21; 21.A; 22; 22.A**). I thank her, Frau Daniela Gauss, and Frau Heide Behrens for their combined efforts to provide me with those photographs.

For granting permission to illustrate some portraits of Hadrian at his Villa in Tivoli and in Madrid (cf. here **Fig. 3**), I would like to thank Hans Rupprecht Goette (DAI Zentrale, Berlin).

My thanks are also due to Michaela Fuchs, who took the effort to copy for me on 16th November 2020 a passage from Edoardo Brizio's article ("Due bassorilievi in marmo rappresentanti scene del Foro Romano", 1872, 316-317) and to send it to me by E-mail, in which the author describes the fig tree, which is visible on both Anaglypha Hadriani (cf. here **Figs. 21; 22**), quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.b*).

On 20th November 2020, Hans Rupprecht Goette was kind enough to send me, on request, the passage from Richard Neudecker's book (*Die Skulpturenausstattung römischer Villen in Italien*, 1988), concerning Domitian's Villa on Lake Albano, called *Albanum*, and the article by Karoline Manfrecola on Domitian's *Albanum* ("Aus zwei mach eins: Der Zusammenschluß zweier Villen zum *Albanum* des Domitian", 2020 (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.4.*); and at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*) *Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the Templum Pacis, and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum*).

And on 21st November 2020, Hans Rupprecht Goette sent me, on his own account, a remark concerning the *suovetaurilia* of the Anaglypha Hadriani by Hansgeorg Oehler (2005, 55; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, quoted as epigraph of *Appendix IV.c*).

Peter Herz sent me on 23rd November 2020, on his own account, the current version of his book manuscript on building laws (*Studien zur römischen Wirtschaftsgesetzgebung. Die Baugesetzgebung, forthcoming*). We have been discussing this subject since I was his collaborator at the University of Regensburg (2006-2009), and I am especially thankful that Herz sent me this text right now, because he discusses also Domitian's relevant laws, of course.

**Riccardo Montalbano was kind enough to send me on 24th November 2020 the program of a conference, organized by himself, together with Antonio Pizzo of the Escuela Española De Historia y Arqueología en Roma (EEHAR), to be held online in Rome on 10-11 December 2020 (*Giornata di studio dedicata a Emilio Rodríguez Almeida - TRA LE PENDICI DEL QUIRINALE E IL CAMPO MARZIO, 10-11 dicembre 2020*). The Proceedings of this conference have in the meantime been published in 2022 (see below).**

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix V.*; at Section VI. *The Imperial Fora on the map Fig. 73*.

In an E-mail correspondence of 24th-27th November 2020, I had the chance to discuss with John Pollini the parts of this *Study* on Domitian that relate to the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. *infra*, at Chapters I.-VI.). Pollini agrees with me that the head of the emperor of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure: 14**) was from the beginning the extant portrait of Vespasian. In addition to this, he was kind enough to send me his recent articles on the reworking of the portraits of Roman emperors ("Recutting Roman Portraits: Problems in Interpretation and the New Technology in Finding Possible Solutions", 2010, and: "Die Umarbeitung römischer Kaiserbildnisse: Deutungsprobleme und neue Lösungsansätze mit Hilfe digitaler Technologie", 2020; cf. *infra*, at Chapter I.1.).

Hans Rupprecht Goette was kind enough to send me on 27th November 2020, on request, his photograph of the so-called Suovetaurilia Relief in the Louvre at Paris (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c*), and here **Fig. 25**), and on 1st December 2020 he sent me, on his own account, Étienne Michon's catalogue of the Louvre (*Les bas-reliefs historiques romains du Musée du Louvre*, 1910), in which the author discusses the Suovetaurilia Relief, as well as all the other state reliefs kept in the Louvre which are mentioned in this *Study*.

Likewise on 27th November 2020 reached me Peter Herz's article, in which he discusses the loss of Roman soldiers in Egypt during the Revolt of the Jews in the diaspora ("Join the army", 2015). Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.b*)).

**On 1st December 2020 reached me the articles by Maria Paola Del Moro ("Il Tempio della Pace" and "Il Foro di Nerva", 2007), which Eugenio La Rocca was kind enough to send me, on request (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.a*)). To my great surprise, the content of Del Moro's article on the *Forum* of Nerva differs very much from the discussion of her work, provided by the above-mentioned scholar (i.e., P. GROS 2009). Unfortunately, I do not know whether Pierre Gros (2009) himself had completely misunderstood Del Moro's observations (which I find difficult to believe) since, in theory, his original manuscript has perhaps not been understood by the person who translated it into Italian.**

This experience too has turned out to be an interesting effect of the Corona pandemic: whereas under normal circumstances, I would immediately have read Del Moro's article, as soon as I had found a discussion of it by Pierre Gros (2009). Whereas in this case, it has taken me a long time to find out that Del Moro's own arguments differ greatly from this summary of her work by Gros (2009). La Rocca was also kind enough to send me, on the same day and on his own account, an exhibition-catalogue, that I had, in part, already discussed in the context of Domitian's additions to Vespasian's *Templum Pacis* (cf. R. MENEGHINI and R.

REA, *La biblioteca infinita. I luoghi del sapere nel mondo antico*, 2014). Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*)).

**Between the 2nd and 7th December 2020 Edoardo Gautier di Confiengo discussed with me in E-mail- and telephone conversations the final version of his article, in which he suggests a reconstruction of the mechanism that made Nero's *cenatio rotunda* in his *Domus Aurea* move ("La macchina della *cenatio rotunda neroniana* [Suet. Nero 31], ipotesi di ricostruzione", in press).**

As already mentioned above, Nero's *cenatio rotunda* stood in the north-eastern part of the Palatine, within the area of the (later) Vigna Barberini, and at a site where Domitian would later erect as one part of his Palace a grandiose office building for the *Tabularium principis*, an archive which comprised the documents previously kept at the *Tabularium publicum* that had belonged to the Temple of Saturn and stood at the foot of the Capitoline (cf. *infra*, at Chapter II.3.1.c), and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.b.2*)).

Domitian's new office building within his Palace on the Palatine was embellished by a huge roof terrace that accommodated the emperor's 'Adonis garden' (the DI(aeta) (a)DONAEA, which is visible on the Severan Marble Plan; cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.b); Section II.). Gautier di Confiengo was also kind enough to send me the '3D'-reconstructions of the *Domus Aurea*, created by Marco Fano, into which Nero's *cenatio rotunda* on the Palatine is integrated; cf. Clementina Panella ("VI. La Domus Aurea", 2013, Figs. 122; 136). Cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section II.

**In the context of the common interest of Peter Herz, Hans Rupprecht Goette and myself in the beginning of Hadrian's reign, especially in the years 117-118 AD, I have discussed with both scholars in November and December of 2020 the observations made by Mario Torelli (1982, 105 with n. 131) in his account of the Anaglypha Hadriani (cf. here Figs. 21; 22).**

**Torelli (1982, 105 with n. 131), who followed in this respect earlier scholars, saw a close connection between the statues of Marsyas and of the fig tree that appear on both reliefs, and which, as Torelli wrote, in their combination, 'stood for the *libertas* of the Roman *plebs*, that kind of freedom that allowed the reproduction of the forces of the empire - the *continuitas imperii* - to which also the *alimenta* aimed'.**

But note that Torelli, contrary to myself, did not identify the fig tree on both reliefs as representations of a sculpture. I myself follow with this assumption the relevant judgement R.R.R. Smith (1983, 227), in his review of Mario Torelli (1982).

Using Torelli's (1982 105 with n. 131) above-mentioned statement as my starting point, I asked Peter Herz, whether we know, how many Roman soldiers died in Trajan's wars, especially in those against the Parthians, since I wondered, whether that fact could have been the motivation for both, Trajan and Hadrian, to spend so much money on their *alimenta* programs - facts that we know in great detail from the scholarly debate of the Anaglypha Hadriani (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.b*); *Appendix IV.c*); and at *Appendix IV.c.1*)).

**I am happy to say that Peter Herz took an interest in this inquiry by finding the relevant scholarly discussion, and that Hans Rupprecht Goette was kind enough to provide Peter Herz and myself on 1st and 3rd December 2020 with these publications, in which, among many other things, both, the great losses of Roman soldiers in Trajan's and in Hadrian's own military campaigns, are discussed in detail. I am referring to the following publications:**

Johannes Kramer ("Die Wiener Liste von Soldaten der III. und XXII. Legion [P. Vindob. L2]", 1993); Werner Eck und Andreas Pangerl ("L. Minucius Natalis in einem weiteren Militärdiplom für Pannonia Superior", 2012); Werner Eck ("Konsuln des Jahres 117 in Militärdiplomen Traians mit *Tribunicia potestas XX*", 2013); Werner Eck und Andreas Pangerl ("Das vierte Diplom für die Provinz Galatia et Cappadocia, ausgestellt im

Jahr 99", 2014); Werner Eck und Andreas Pangerl ("Neue *Diplomata Militaria* aus der Zeit von Hadrian bis Antoninus Pius", 2015); Peter Weiss ("Hadrians Rückkehr nach dem Partherkrieg. Das früheste Militärdiplom für die *equites singulares Augusti* und die Entlassungsweihe in Rom vom Jahr 118", 2017); Werner Eck ("Soldaten aus den Donauprovinzen in der Prätorianergarde. Zum Erdbeben in Syrien aus dem Jahre 115 und zum Edikt Hadrians aus dem Jahr 119", 2018).

**Hans Rupprecht Goette sent me on 4th December 2020, on his own account, the passage in Cornelius Vermeule's book (*Art of Antiquity Volume Four Part Two. Jewish Relationships with the Art of Ancient Greece and Rome* ('*JVDAEA CAPTA SED NON DEVICTA*', 1981) that relates to the portrait-statue of Hadrian from Hierapydna at Istanbul (cf. here Fig. 29); this account had been ignored by the scholars, whom I had consulted so far. Vermeule, who based his judgement on additional observations that were so far unknown to me, came to the conclusion that this statue had most probably been dedicated to commemorate Hadrian's victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Independently of Vermeule, and by following other scholars, I had come to the same conclusion.**

See below, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here Fig. 29); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.*)

**For detailed considerations of the above-quoted publications concerning Trajan's campaign against the Parthians and Hadrian's policy in this area at the beginning of his reign immediately after Trajan's death; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV*.**

Peter Herz incorporated also these new findings into his text, the final version of which he sent me on 16th December 2020, along with additional publications, related to this subject by David Potter ("The mysterious Arbaces", 1979) and Udo Hartmann ("Die Ziele der Orientpolitik Trajans", 2010a), as well as Hartmann's review (2010b) of Oliver Linz (*Studien zur römischen Ostpolitik im Principat*, 2009), Werner Eck ("Kaiserliche Imperatorenakklamation und *ornamenta triumphalia*", 1999c) and Bernhard Linke (*Von der Verwandtschaft zum Staat. Die Entstehung politischer Organisationsformen in der frühromischen Geschichte*, 1995), all of which Herz discusses in his *Contribution* as well. On the same day, Herz kindly granted me the permission to publish his text here.

See below, at *The third Contribution by Peter Herz : Der Übergang von Trajan auf Hadrian und das erste Regierungsjahr Hadrians*.

Hartmann's (2010a) description of Hadrian's policy in Mesopotamia immediately after Trajan's death provides also new insights concerning the discussion of the portrait of Hadrian from Hierapydna at Istanbul (see below, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here Fig. 29), and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.*)), additionally supporting the hypothesis suggested here that the statue from Hierapydna (and the statues related to it) commemorated Hadrian's victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

**The new book by Eric M. Moorman reached me on December 9th 2020 (*Nerone, Roma e la Domus Aurea*, 2020b), which he kindly presented to me. Moorman discusses the two structures that have so far been identified with the above-mentioned *cenatio rotunda* in Nero's *Domus Aurea*: the octagonal room in the 'Esquiline Wing' of the *Domus Aurea* on the *Mons Oppius* and the recently excavated structure on the Palatine within the (later) *Vigna Barberini*.**

Cf. *infra*, in Chapter *V.1.i.3.b*); at Section II.. *The Nollekens Relief was found in the 'Aula Regia' within the 'Domus Flavia' / Domus Augustana*.

**Finally, in the course of our further discussions of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ; cf. here Fig. 3), Hans Rupprecht Goette was kind enough to remind me in an E-mail of 15th December 2020 of a**



**term, coined by my late supervisor Andreas Linfert: 'Thronprätendenten-Bart' ('beard of a pretender to the throne'; cf. A. LINFERT, "Bärtige Herrscher", 1976).**

When Andreas Linfert was writing this article, he discussed this complex subject with me, also the togate youth of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 12**) has been known to me for quite some time. This Frieze B shows, in my opinion, Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in October of AD 70, where he is received at the *pomerium* line by the togate youth, in my opinion the acting *praetor urbanus*, his younger son Domitian (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.), who held the office *praetor urbanus consulari potestate* since the 1st of January AD 70. We know also that already on 21st December AD 69, Domitian had received the title *Princeps iuventutis* (for both; cf. *infra*, at n. 189, in Chapter I.1.).

I have followed in this book Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee (1957, 8 with n. 11, quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 205, in Chapter I.1.1.), who suggested that the togate youth on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs represents the young Domitian in his capacity as *Princeps iuventutis*, "a title that marked him out from other senators as heir presumptive to the Empire" (so M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 8 with n. 11). But only thanks to Hans Rupprecht Goette's mentioning of Andreas Linfert's relevant research to me, did it occur to me that this togate youth's beard, if interpreted as a 'beard of a pretender to the throne', actually corroborates Toynbee's identification of this young man as the *Princeps iuventutis*, and thus as Domitian (for detailed discussions of all these subjects; cf. *infra*, at Chapters I.1.; I.1.1.).

Previously, I had followed those scholars, who had explained Domitian's beard with his age: "we see the young Domitian, togate and slightly whiskered", so Toynbee (1957, 5, quoted in more detail *infra*, at n. 208, in Chapter I.1.1.), which, provided the togate youth represents indeed Domitian, who was 19 at that stage (being born on 24th October AD 51; cf. *infra*, n. 82, in Chapter I.1.), may simply be interpreted that way. Diana E.E. Kleiner, assuming this, describes this togate youth, therefore, as follows (cf. *ead.* 1992, 191, quoted in more detail *infra*, at n. 394, in Chapter III.): "Domitian ... He has a slight beard on his cheeks and chin, which was probably worn by young men before the traditional first shave at age twenty". - My thanks are due to Claudia Valeri, whom I had asked for advice, for writing me by E-mail of 22nd December 2020 that she agrees with me that Domitian's portrait on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2**), discussed here, shows him with a 'beard of a pretender to the throne', but reminding me at the same time of the fact that Domitian's "'barbula'" indicates in the first place his age as that of an adolescent young man, of course. - I can only agree.

**On 18th December 2020 another E-mail by Claudia Valeri had reached me, in which she was kind enough to answer all my questions concerning the two headless cuirassed statues in the Museo Chiaramonti (inv. nos. 1250 and 1254; cf. Fig. 6, left and right), which she and I had planned to study together on 9th March 2020, when, as mentioned above, all of a sudden the Vatican Museums were closed on that very day because of the Corona pandemic. Since then, we had been discussing various aspects of these sculptures in telephone and E-mail conversations, and in this E-mail, Claudia Valeri answered all my questions in writing. In addition to this, Claudia Valeri had looked again herself closely at those sculptures, together with Giandomenico Spinola - for which I am especially thankful, of course. To the effect that both Claudia Valeri and Giandomenico Spinola confirm that the Domitianic date of those statues, which Claudia Valeri had already earlier suggested to me, may be regarded as the most probable one - as she added in her E-mail. On 22nd January 2021, Claudia Valeri was kind enough to grant me the permission to publish this Email here.**

See below, at *The second Contribution by Claudia Valeri; and infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.*)

These cuirassed statues (cf. here **Fig. 6, left and right**) have always been identified as a pair of emperors, but their date and the resulting identifications, are debated. A Domitianic date had already been suggested before, and was confirmed by Claudio Parisi Presicce (2000), who was first to suggest that these cuirassed statues should be identified with two Flavian emperors, identifying inv. no. 1254 with Domitian (cf. here **Fig.**

**6, right**), and inv. no. 1250 (cf. here **Fig. 6, left**) with Titus or Vespasian. I have tentatively followed Parisi Presicce's relevant hypotheses, and hope to have added some observations that may corroborate his hypotheses. To this I will come back below, because luckily, on 16th May 2022, Claudia Valeri and I could in the end study those two headless statues together (cf. here **Fig. 6, left and right**).

Cf. *infra*, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Section II. and III.; at point 5.); below, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here **Fig. 29**), and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.*)).

**Between 24th and 25th December 2020, I had again the chance to discuss with Hans Rupprecht Goette the above-mentioned "Rilievo Foro Romano". He was kind enough to allow me to publish a summary of our discussion and sent me, on request, his photographs of this fragment, which I publish here with his kind consent (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix I.g.3.*); at Section V., and here Figs. 32.A-C).**

In the course of discussing with me the above-mentioned *Navalia* at Rome's so-called *Emporium*, which was (therefore) previously erroneously identified with the *Porticus Aemilia*, Peter Herz was kind enough to send me on 31st December 2020 the article by Lucos Cozza and Pier Luigi Tucci ("*Navalia*", 2006), as well as Pier Luigi Tucci's later article ("*La controversa storia della 'Porticus Aemilia'*", 2012). On 7th January 2021 Francesco Paolo Arata was so kind as to send me, by request, the article written by himself and Enrico Felici ("*Porticus Aemilia, navalia o horrea? Ancora sui frammenti 23 e 24 b-d della Forma Urbis*", 2011); on the same day reached me also the article by Paolo Liverani ("*Il Tevere, i ponti e l'Annona*", 2020), which Amanda Claridge was kind enough to provide me with.

Cf. below, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part II. *Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalia) and of the Horrea Aemiliana. With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?*; see also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*).

**Between the 8th and 11th January 2021, I had the chance to discuss with Rose Mary Sheldon and T.P. Wiseman in E-mail conversations, which ancient author explicitly records that Domitian had restored the *Templum (novum) Divi Augusti*, and that he had dedicated this temple in AD 89 or 90, since the quotation I found had proved to be wrong. On 13th January 2021 Peter Wiseman was kind enough to grant me the permission to publish his E-mail of 10th January 2021 here.**

**See below, at *The second Contribution by T.P. Wiseman*; below, at Chapter II.3.1.c); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*); and *Appendix V.*; at Section I.**

On 17th January 2021 Mirella Serlorenzi was so kind as to send me, by request, the article on the '*Domus Tiberiana*' on the Palatine, written by herself, Stefano Camporeale, Fulvio Coletti and Lino Traini ("*Il progetto della Domus Tiberiana (Roma): cantieri edili e topografia della pendice nord-ovest del Palatino tra l'età neroniana e l'età severiana*", 2020).

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d*) *Domitian's escape from the Capitolium on 19th December AD 69, which happened on the festival of the Opalia, one day of the Saturnalia*.

Donato Colli was kind enough to send me on 17th January 2021, on his own account, his new publication on the *Sessorianum* ("*Costantino, il Sol Invictus e il palazzo Sessoriano. Spunti, dati e considerazioni per una ricostruzione della residenza imperiale*", 2020).

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b) Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the Templum Pacis and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum.*

The first draft of the forthcoming monograph by Hans Rupprecht Goette ("Schwertbandbüsten der Kaiserzeit. Zu Bildtraditionen, Werkstattfragen und zur Benennung der Büste inv. 4810 im Museum der bildenden Künste in Budapest und verwandter Werke. 1. Die Schwertbandbüste Inv. 4810 im Museum der Bildenden Künste") reached me on 19th January 2021. In this text, he addresses many topics that are discussed in this *Study* on Domitian as well. On 23rd January 2021, Hans has kindly allowed me to quote *verbatim* from this manuscript; in the meantime this monograph has been published in 2021.

Cf. below, in Chapter *V.1.i.3.b)*; at Section *III.*);

and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

Or: *The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of ... Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron (Δο) (cf. here Fig. 3) ...*; at Chapter *VI.2. Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron (Δο) ...*; at Chapter *VI.2.1. H.R. Goette's (2021) discussion of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron (Δο) (cf. here Fig. 3)*. To this I will come back below. See now also *infra*, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian.*

From 20th-22nd January 2021 I had the chance to discuss with Hans Rupprecht Goette, in an E-mail conversation, the cuirassed portrait-statue of Hadrian from Hierapydna (cf. here **Fig. 29**).

**On 21st January 2021, Carlo Gasparri surprised me with his elegant exhibition-catalogue (*I Marmi Torlonia. Collezionare Capolavori*, 2020), which he has edited together with Salvatore Settis. Carlo's present of this splendid catalogue became the starting point of research on Domitian's sister, Flavia Domitilla minor, since to this collection belongs an excellent portrait of her (cf. here **Fig. 54**, and *infra*, at Chapter *IV.1.1.h*). I also started studying the famous marble relief of the Collezione Torlonia, which shows ships in the *Portus Augusti* at *Portus* (cf. here **Figs. 98; 99**).**

Cf. *infra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11)*. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part *II. Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalía) and of the Horrea Aemiliana. With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?*

On 24th January 2021 Hans Rupprecht Goette sent me the publication by Martin Beckmann ("Trajan and Hadrian", 2012"), and on 26th January 2021, Hans sent me also Martin Beckmann's ("The Gold Coinage of Hadrian AD 130-138", 2019).

Cf. *infra*, at the Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian;*

and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

Or: *The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Neroa, and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron (Δο) (cf. here Fig. 3) ...*; at Chapter *VI.2. Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron (Δο). Hadrian issued coins with this portrait-type in AD 117 on tetradrachmas at Alexandria (cf. here Fig. 137) and on aurei in AD 138 at Rome, inter alia with his DIVIS PARENTIBVS on the reverse (cf. here Fig. 139), on all of which Hadrian looks straight ahead ...*; at Chapter *VI.2.2. Additional information that is of importance for the discussion of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron (Δο) (cf. here Fig. 3)*; at *Hadrian's adoption by Trajan, as propagated by Hadrian; at The tetradrachma issued by Hadrian in AD 137/138 at Alexandria to commemorate his adoption of Antoninus Pius (cf. here Fig. 138)*.

Since we had for quite some time discussed the Arch of Domitian, erected in front of the emperor's 'Domus Flavia' / Domus Augustana on the Palatine, Amanda Claridge was kind enough to send me on 6th February 2021 Alessandro Cassatella's report of his re-excavation of one of its piers ("Arco di Domiziano sul Clivo Palatino", 1986), and on 7th February 2021 the article by Maria Antonietta Tomei ("Le indagini di G. Boni all'Arco di Domiziano: gli scavi e la storia della sistemazione del pilone sotto via S. Bonaventura", 1997).

Cf. below, in Chapter VI.3. *Summary of my own hypotheses concerning the Cancelleria Reliefs presented in this Study; Addition: My own tentative suggestion, to which monument or building the Cancelleria Reliefs may have belonged, and a discussion of their possible date; and infra, in volume 3-2, in Appendix IV.d.2.f); in Appendix IV.d.4.b); and in Appendix VI.; at Section VI.*

Hans Rupprecht Goette was kind enough to send me on 10th February 2021 the article by Werner Eck ("Zur Entstehung der kaiserlichen Gladiatorenschulen in Rom: Der Ludus Dacicus", 2020; cf. *infra*, at Chapters IV.1.1.g); and IV.1.1.h); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.c); Appendix IV.d.4.); Appendix IV.d.4.a); and at Appendix IV d.4.c). Hans Goette sent me, in addition to this, Eck's ("Chapter 6. Judäa als Teil der Provinz Syrien im Spannungsfeld zwischen den Legaten von Syrien und den ritterlichen Funktionsträgern in Judäa von 6-66 n. Chr.", 2021a). Cf. below, at Chapter I.1.1.); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.c.2.).

Peter Herz was kind enough to alert me to the research of Lorenzo Cigaina on Crete. Lorenzo Cigaina, with whom I had the chance to start an E-mail correspondence on the subject of his dissertation, was kind enough to send me on 16th February 2021 his recent book (*Crete nel Mediterraneo greco-romano: identità regionale e istituzioni federali*, 2020), in which he discusses *inter alia* the portrait statue of Hadrian from Hierapydna (cf. here Fig. 29). Concentrating on the five (or six?) copies of this statue-type, found in Crete, Cigaina (2020) is able to add important new observations concerning the meaning of the iconography of this enigmatic sculpture, and concerning the date of its creation.

Cf. *infra*, at A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna (cf. here Fig. 29).

Between 15th and 18th February 2021, Eugenio La Rocca, with whom I have been discussing those sculptures in the last couple of years on the occasions of several meetings in Rome and München, was kind enough to read the resulting texts and to discuss them with me in telephone conversations.

Cf. below, at Chapter I.2.; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.g.4.); Appendix IV.c.1.); and Appendix IV.c.2.)).

Since the accounts concerning those sculptures comprised in each case detailed documentations of the scholarly discussions, La Rocca suggested to me to publish them as *separate* texts. La Rocca's advice resulted in the following decision: these four separate, but interrelated monographs, that were developed from the below-mentioned *Chapters*, have, in addition to this, provided (in many cases unforeseen) new insights concerning Domitian. This is why they are, therefore, published in this book on Domitian:

To Chapter I.2. belongs the following monograph, which is published *infra*, in volume 3-2:

*A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination :*

*Nerva is forced to adopt Trajan and Trajan creates Domitian's negative image to consolidate his own reign. With Hadrian's adoption manquée in late October or at the beginning of November of AD 97, his 20-year long road to his accession and his thanksgivings for it, his Temple complex in the Campus Martius.*

*Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva, and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here Fig. 3). With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz; with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz, with The Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen.*

To *infra*, volume 3-2, *Appendix I.g.4.*), belongs:

*A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here **Fig. 10**). This, and the next two monographs, are published below, in this volume.

To *infra*, volume 3-2, *Appendix IV.c.1.*), belongs:

*A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great).

And to *infra*, volume 3-2, *Appendix IV.c.2.*); belongs:

*A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here **Fig. 29**).

**On 15th February 2021, Hans Rupprecht Goette was kind enough to send me the article by Sam Heijnen ("Living up to expectations. Hadrian's military representation in freestanding sculpture", 2020)**

*Cf. infra*, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here **Fig. 29**).

**And on 18th February 2021, Hans Rupprecht Goette sent me, likewise on his own account, Werner Eck's article ("Hadrian mit dem Titel ›proconsul‹ als Bauherr in Rom. Zur Neuinterpretation von CIL VI 40518, einer stadtrömischen Bauinschrift", 2019b).**

**In my publication of 2017, I had followed Michaela Fuchs's interpretations (2014) concerning the inscription CIL VI 40518 (cf. here **Fig. 91.1**), to which Werner Eck refers in the title of this article, and which he rejects. I myself follow some of Eck's arguments (2019b), and have decided to add to this *Study on Domitian* a discussion of this controversy, and to correct my own relevant errors of 2017. To write this additional text kept me busy for more than two full years.**

*Cf. infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

*Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?)...;*

*Introduction; at Section I. The motivation to write this Study: W. Eck's (2019b) new interpretation of the inscription CIL VI 40518 (cf. here **Fig. 91.1**), the decision to correct my own relevant errors in my earlier Study (2017), and the subjects discussed here, as told by the accompanying figures and their pertaining captions;*

*at Chapter II. W. Eck's (2019b) critique of the hypotheses published by M. Fuchs (2014) concerning the inscription CIL VI 40518 (cf. here **Fig. 91.1**) and the Arch of Hadrian discussed here; and at Chapter IV. Summary of my own research (2017) of this Arch of Hadrian, updated with W. Eck's (2019b) new findings concerning this subject.*

In addition to this, Hans Rupprecht Goette sent me Caroline Barron's article ("Dedication for a statue of Hadrian near the Temple of Vespasian and Titus (CIL VI, 974 = CIL VI, 40524), 2018"); cf. here **Fig. 29.1**.

*Cf. below*, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here **Fig. 29**).

**On 23rd February 2021, Eugenio la Rocca was kind enough send me, by request, two of his articles (cf. *id.*: "Traianus vs. [versus] Domitianus. Dalla rappresentazione del potere imperiale all'usurpazione dei Monumenti pubblici", 2017).**

*Cf. infra*, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here **Fig. 29**); at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.c.*

The other article was : La Rocca ("La testa colossale di Tito nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli: uno scandalo agli albori dell'unità d'Italia", 2020b; cf. here Fig. 53), on the already mentioned colossal head of Titus at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale at Napoli, which La Rocca (2009) has recognized as the head of the cult-statue of *Divus Titus* in Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. La Rocca's article (2020b) contains the archaeological plans of the area here Figs. 56; 57, in which the findspot of this portrait of Titus and the location of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* are marked.

Cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.h); at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here Fig. 10); at Part II.; and below, at *The Contribution by Eric M. Moormann : Can we Reconstruct the Templum Gentis Flaviae?*; and at *The Contribution by Mario Torelli on the Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

On 7th May 2021, Eugenio La Rocca was kind enough to send me, on request, his illustrations of the colossal head of Titus at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale at Napoli (Fig. 53), which I may publish here with his kind consent (cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.h); and at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here Fig. 10); at Part II.).

Apropos, the maps and plans of the areas in Rome discussed in this *Study on Domitian*. In March of 1999 the then Sovraintendente ai Beni Culturali of the Comune di Roma, Eugenio La Rocca, had generously provided Franz Xaver Schütz and me with the official photogrammetric data of the Comune di Roma (now *Roma Capitale*) for our research projects on the basis of which our Rome maps have been drawn since then. In February of 2004, the Sovraintendente ai Beni Culturali of Roma Capitale, Claudio Parisi Presicce, kindly renewed this contract, granting us also the permission to publish the photogrammetric data *themselves*, even on the internet.

See the maps here Figs. 8.1; 58; 59; 60; 61; 62; 63; 64; 65; 66; 71; 72; 73; 74; 75; 76.

On 25th February 2021 I started a series of discussions with Peter Herz on hypotheses published by Werner Eck (2019b), *inter alia* on Hadrian's title *proconsul* in the inscription CIL VI 40518 (cf. here Fig. 91.1).

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

Or: *The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?)...*; at Chapter II. W. Eck's (2019b) critique of the hypotheses published by M. Fuchs (2014) concerning the inscription CIL VI 40518 (cf. here Fig. 91.1) and the Arch of Hadrian discussed here; and at Chapter IV. Summary of my own research (2017) of this Arch of Hadrian, updated with W. Eck's (2019b) new findings concerning this subject.

In this '*Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination*' is also mentioned the fact that Hadrian had been advised to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva. Discussing the matter with Peter Herz, he was kind enough to correct the date of this important event that I had mentioned so far in this *Study on Domitian* (cf. *infra*, at Chapters II.3.1.a); and II.3.2.). On my request, Peter Herz has written me in an E-mail, what he had explained to me on 9th March 2021 concerning Trajan's adoption in this telephone-conversation, and on 11th March 2021, he has generously allowed me to publish this here.

See below, at *The fourth Contribution by Peter Herz : Wann wurde Trajan von Nerva adoptiert?*

Between the 4th and the 26th of March 2021, I had the chance to discuss with Rose Mary Sheldon in an Email- correspondence the recent controversy concerning the question, whether or not Hadrian had in person led a campaign in the course of suppressing the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

Or: *The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?)...*; at Chapter III. Was Hadrian himself present at the suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt?; and at Appendix IV.c.2.).

See also below, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here **Fig. 29**); and at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great).

**On 9th March 2021, Ilaria Romeo was kind enough to send me, on her own account, her new study on the statue-type 'Athena in corsa' ('Un'Athena capitolina, il puteale di Madrid e il frontone Est del Partenone', 2020).**

Romeo (2020) convincingly suggests that the statue-type 'Athena in corsa' copies the Athena from the Eastern pediment of the Parthenon at Athens, which shows the 'birth of Athena'. In addition to this, Romeo (2020, 850 with n. 53) discusses the important observation that the figure of Minerva on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 1**; **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**; **figure 5**) is modelled on this statue-type 'Athena in corsa' (!). - To this I will come back below.

For Domitian's interest in the Acropolis of Athens, see also the already-mentioned article by Hans Rupprecht Goette, in which he has *inter alia* studied Domitian's *Albanum* ("The Portraits of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Menander in Roman Contexts. Evidence of the Reception of the Theatre Classics in Late Republican and Imperial Rome"). In this article, Goette suggests that the overall design of Domitian's *Villa*, called *Albanum* may be regarded as "inspired by the topographical situation of the Athenian Acropolis with its south slope"; my thanks are due to Hans Rupprecht Goette for having discussed this subject with me again in an E-mail of 17th June 2022, in which he has suggested the just-quoted formulation to me.

Cf. Hans Rupprecht Goette ("The Portraits of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Menander in Roman Contexts. Evidence of the Reception of the Theatre Classics in Late Republican and Imperial Rome", which has in the meantime been published in 2022).

Already Paolo Liverani (in an unpublished manuscript), because of copies of two sculpture groups, found at Domitian's *Albanum*, the famous originals of which had been dedicated on the Acropolis at Athens, has observed that, 'these two sculpture groups could have created together [for Domitian's *Albanum*] "il modello dell'Acropoli ateniese"'. Licia Luschi (2015, 13 n. 115) has followed this (unpublished) idea of Paolo Liverani, and I myself follow both scholars. - To this I will come back below.

Cf. *infra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section *III.*; at point *4.*); below, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here **Fig. 10**); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b* *Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between the Arx and the Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the Templum Pacis*, and some remarks on Domitian's *Villa*, called *Albanum*.

Ilaria Romeo (2020, 850 with n. 54) follows Ferdinando Castagnoli (1960), who was one of the scholars who believed that Domitian's coin (cf. here **Fig. 84**), which shows a temple with a cult-image copying the statue-type 'Athena in corsa', should be identified with Domitian's (alleged) Temple of Minerva Chalcidica; cf. Francesca de Caprariis ("Minerva Chalcidica, Templum", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 255, Fig. I, 122; Fig. 174 [= here **Fig. 84**]). Also Frederick G. Naerebout (2021, 149 with n. 18) and Diane Atnally Conlin (2021, 158) still (erroneously) believe that 'Minerva Chalcidica' was a temple.

Romeo (2020), Naerebout (2021) and Atnally Conlin (2021) have not realized that Mario Torelli (2003; 2004a) has been able to demonstrate that *a*) Domitian's Minerva Chalcidica was a fountain (as had also been realized by earlier scholars), and *b*) that on top of this fountain was placed a colossal statue of a *standing* Minerva *promachos* instead. Cf. here **Figs. 59; 60; 61**, labels: ISEUM; SERAPEUM; Piazza Collegio Romano; Former site of S. Marta and of the Monastero d'Agostiniane; Fountain: MINERVA CHALCIDICA.

**Fig. 84.** *Denarius, issued by Domitian, BMC 241 (undated), allegedly showing the round Temple of Minerva Chalcidica, within which its cult-statue is visible . In reality this temple is not identified. Cf. R.H. Darwall-Smith (1996, 125, 280, Fig. 33 on Plate XX); cf. LTUR III (1996) 476, Fig. 174: "... Denario di Domiziano del 94-96 d.C. BMCEmp II, 346 N. 241 tav. 67.7". The represented statue-type is called 'Athena in corsa'.*

See below, in Chapter *Preamble; Section III.*, at point 4.); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g) The shrines built by Domitian as a thanksgiving for his escape from the Capitolium (sacellum of Iuppiter Conservator, Temple of Iuppiter Custos, and in a certain sense also his [fourth] Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus), and some other of his buildings in Rome, which are documented on his coins.*

Other scholars have identified the Minerva that (allegedly) belongs to Domitian's (alleged) Temple of Minerva Chalcidica (cf. here **Fig. 84**) with the statue of Minerva standing in the central bay of the "ARCUS AD ISIS" (cf. here **Figs. 89; 90**), which appears on one of the reliefs from the Tomb of the Haterii; cf. Häuber (2014a, 787). These scholars (erroneously) assume that this "ARCUS AD ISIS" may be identified with the 'Arco di Camilliano' (or 'Arco di Camigliano') standing immediately to the east of the Iseum Campense.

In reality, the "ARCUS AD ISIS" stood at the former site of the *Porta Querquetulana* within the Servian city wall and bridged the ancient road underneath the modern *Via Labicana*. The "ARCUS AD ISIS" had presumably been erected by the Roman Senate in honour of Vespasian. The inscription "ARCUS AD ISIS" on this arch (cf. here **Figs. 89; 90**), therefore, refers to the sanctuary *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III*, and the arch itself was the eastern entrance of the new 'Colosseum city', begun by Vespasian and completed by Domitian. The statue of Minerva (cf. here **Figs. 89; 90**), standing under the central bay of this arch, may, therefore, be identified with the cult-statue of Minerva Medica, built by Maecenas on the substructure in *Via Pasquale Villari*, which stands immediately to the north of the *Porta Querquetulana* / "ARCUS AD ISIS"; cf. Häuber (forthcoming, *Laocoon*, Chapter IV.2.8.).

For discussions of all that; cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.g) *The controversy concerning the "ARCUS AD ISIS" that is visible on a relief from the Tomb of the Haterii (cf. here Figs. 89; 90): it cannot be identified with the Arco di Camilliano to the east of the Iseum Campense, but stood instead near the Temple of Isis et Serapis in Regio III. With a summary of Domitian's 'pharaonic project', called 'Colosseum city'.*

The question remains, which one of Domitian's temples of Minerva did Domitian's coin (here **Fig. 84**) represent?

For a discussion of this question, and of the other coins of Domitian which represent temples built by him; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g) The shrines built by Domitian as a thanksgiving for his escape from the Capitolium (sacellum of Iuppiter Conservator, Temple of Iuppiter Custos, and in a certain sense also his [fourth] Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus), and some other of his buildings in Rome, which are documented on his coins.*

Likewise on 9th March 2021 Hans Rupprecht Goette's article ("Bellerophon zähmt Pegasos", 2020b) reached me. Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.*

On 16th March 2021 Peter Herz was kind enough to send me, on his own account, the articles by Henner von Hesberg ("Das Augustus-Mausoleum in Rom und die Verehrung der römischen Herrscher", 2021), and Alfred Schäfer ("Symbols of Power. The Tombs of Roman Rulers and Roman Victory Monuments", 2021). Cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.a).

In addition, Peter Herz sent me on 19th March 2021 his manuscript (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Marc Aurels. Wie verhielt sich das Imperium Romanum in den Zeiten einer Krise?*), and generously allowed me in a telephone conversation on 20th March 2021 to quote *verbatim* from this text.



Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ....*

Or: *The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?)...; at Chapter III. Was Hadrian himself present at the suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt?*

**Because I had asked him in this context, whether we know how many people were involved in managing the  *fiscus*  (i.e., the imperial treasury, or else the emperor's private 'bank'), Peter Herz also recommended that I consult also in this case his already mentioned manuscript on the administration of the Roman state in the Imperial period, the current version of which he was so kind as to send me on 20th March 2021 ("SPQR", Arbeitstitel), from which he has kindly allowed me to quote here as well.**

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.b.1.) The meaning of the suovetaurilia, which appear on both Anaglypha Hadriani (cf. here Figs. 21.A; 22.A); at Appendix IV.b.2.) The Aerarium publicum populi Romani at the Temple of Saturn with the pertaining archive at the site of the Porticus of the Dei Consentes, called Tabularium publicum; Domitian's transfer of this archive to his Palace on the Palatine at the (later) Vigna Barberini, which was now called Tabularium principis, tabularium Caesaris or sanctuarium Caesaris, and the Anaglypha Hadriani (cf. Figs. 21; 22).*

**In the context of my research related to the Arch of Hadrian alongside the *Via Flaminia*, I had the chance to discuss with Peter Herz in telephone conversations on 21st and 22nd March of 2021 Hadrian's legal status at the moment when he went to Mogontiacum (Mainz) at the end of October AD 97 in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva.**

And because in his own manuscript on Marcus Aurelius, which he had sent me earlier, Herz has mentioned several military campaigns, conducted in this period that were called *expeditio* in our sources, I had the chance to discuss with him on 24th March 2021 my ideas concerning the meaning of this term.

Finally, on 30th March 2021, I was able to discuss with Peter Herz the question of how fast Hadrian, in late October of November of AD 97, could (in theory) have gotten from Moesia *Inferior*, where he was based as senatorial tribune of *legio V Macedonica*, to Mogontiacum (Mayence, Mainz) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva. Peter Herz was kind enough to study also this question and wrote a text, which would later become *The fifth Contribution by Peter Herz : Der Ritt Hadrians nach Mogontiacum*.

See *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

Or: *The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva, and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta$ ) (cf. here Fig. 3). With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz, with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz, with The Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen; at Chapter III. Was Hadrian himself present at the Bar Kokhba Revolt?; and at Chapter VI.1. My 2. Conclusion: In this context it is interesting to analyse the process by which Hadrian finally became emperor; at Trajan's adoption by Nerva and Hadrian's Parforceritt from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum to congratulate Trajan on his adoption.*

**Michaela Fuchs was kind enough to provide me on 27th March 2021, on request, with her illustrations of the four Hadrianic reliefs (cf. here Figs. 91-94) that originally belonged to the Arch of Hadrian discussed here, and that she has published as her Figs. 12; 16; 21; 22 in her above-mentioned article (cf. *ead.*, "Ein Ehrenbogen für Hadrian in Rom: Würdigung eines vielseitigen Kaisers am Ende seines Lebens", 2014).**

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

Or: *The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?)...; Introduction; at Section I. The motivation to write this Study: W. Eck's (2019b) new interpretation of the inscription CIL VI 40518 (cf. here Fig. 91.1), the decision to correct my own relevant errors in my earlier Study (2017), and the subjects discussed here, as told by the accompanying figures and their pertaining captions; at Chapter I. The Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia and the four marble reliefs belonging to it (cf. here Figs. 91-94); at Chapter II. W. Eck's (2019b) critique of the hypotheses published by M. Fuchs (2014) concerning the inscription CIL VI 40518 (cf. here Fig. 91.1) and the Arch of Hadrian discussed here; at Chapter IV. Summary of my own research (2017) of this Arch of Hadrian, updated with W. Eck's (2019b) new findings concerning this subject; at Chapter V. The results of this discussion of this Arch of Hadrian and my 1. Conclusion; at Chapter VI. The results of this discussion of this Arch of Hadrian and my 2. Conclusion. This is based on the topographical context of this Arch of Hadrian and on some considerations concerning Hadrian's accession and is in my opinion the preferable scenario.*

**Likewise on 27th March 2021 the manuscript by our good friend, the art historian Laura Gigli reached me (cf. *ead.*, "Dal faro di Alessandria alla banchina di Santa Passera: viaggio fra realtà e immaginazione", 2022, which has been published in the meantime).**

This she was kind enough to send me by request, since it very vividly helps to understand the life of those merchants, in this case coming from Alexandria, who supplied the ancient City of Rome with goods from all over the Roman Empire. On 30th March 2021, Laura generously allowed me to quote *verbatim* from her text, and on 31st March 2021, Laura sent me, on request, the article written by herself and Gianfrancesco Solferino ("La chiesa di Santa Passera. Riflessioni sui dipinti del presbiterio", 2016).

Cf. *infra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part II. Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalia) and of the Horrea Aemiliana. With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?*

**Hans Rupprecht Goette, with whom the discussions on *La Marmorata* had started, when seeing the first draft of the resulting text, was kind enough to send me on 6th April 2021, on his own account, his own photograph of a famous marble relief from the Quadrifrons/ Tetrapylon at Leptis Magna, that I mention in this text, and kindly allowed me to publish this photo here (cf. here Fig. 100). This relief represents Septimius Severus and his wife and two sons, Iulia Domna, Augustus Caracalla and Caesar Geta, and is on display in the Archaeological Museum at Tripoli (Libya).**

**In order to get an idea of how the ancient city of Rome was supplied with goods from all over the then known parts of the world, the study of the ports of Rome are of the greatest importance.**

Already on 25th February 2010 the late Simon Key was so kind as to present Franz Xaver Schütz and me with his book, written by himself together with Martin Millett, Lidia Paroli and Kristian Strutt (*Portus*, 2005). In this book are published plans (cf. here Figs. 95-97), which show how the layouts of the Port of Claudius and of the Trajanic Harbour developed over time. To get an idea, how busy the Trajanic harbour was, we need only to look at the famous, already mentioned marble relief in the Museo Torlonia, dating to the Severan period, which shows ships in the *Portus Augusti* at Portus (cf. here Figs. 98; 99).

The latter two harbours were connected by means of the *Fossa Traiana* and the *Canale Romano* with the Tiber. It is fascinating to imagine that the heaviest documented object in antiquity that was with certainty transported on the Tiber must have been shipped on those canals. I am referring to the Lateran Obelisk (cf. her Fig. 101), which came from Egypt in AD 357, and travelled here to its final destination in antiquity, the

*spina* in the *Circus Maximus*. Its size and weight at this time are disputed. I myself, like Emanuele Ciampini and Franz Xaver Schütz, follow the late Egyptologist Labib Habachi (2000, 49, 67), according to whom the Lateran Obelisk was at that stage 34 m high. Today it is 'only' 32,18 m high, but it still weighs 455 tons, according to Habachi.

Other scholars, for example Patrizio Pensabene and Javier Á. Domingo (2016-2017, 580, with n. 195, providing references) believe that the Lateran Obelisk was already in AD 357 (like today) 'only' 32 m high, and that it weighs 'only' 350 tons.

Also (almost) all the marble blocks, which were used in Domitian's enormous building sites all over the city of Rome were imported via Portus and the Tiber. At Rome's new commercial river port (by many scholars, in my opinion, erroneously identified with the *Emporium*) on the left bank of the Tiber (cf here **Figs. 102; 103**), at the foot of the Aventine, not by chance called *La Marmorata* in post-antique times, were found over the last centuries countless blocks of ancient building material. Many of the marble blocks, found there, carry consular dates, and of those by far the most date to the reign of Domitian. Not by chance the only representation of a marble block, shipped on the Tiber, is to be found on the plinth of Domitian's statue of the Tiber (cf. here **Figs. 104; 105; 106**), which the emperor had commissioned for his newly restored Iseum Campense (to this I will come back below).

For discussions of all that, cf. *infra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part II. *Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalía) and of the Horrea Aemiliana.* With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?

**Laura Gigli sent me on 7th April 2021, on her own account, an article written by herself and the architect Giuseppe Simonetta, which had come out in the last couple of days and right in time to be incorporated here ("Storia di un ritorno e del rinnovamento di un dono: Palazzo Capranica in Roma", 2018 [2021]).**

In this publication, Simonetta and Gigli (2018) have published, for the first time, the reconstructed ground-plan of an ancient building (cf. here **Figs. 67; 67.1**), which they have found in the basements of Palazzo Capranica at Rome.

Following my suggestion in Häuber (2017, 218-322; cf. here **Figs. 62-66**) to locate the Temple of Matidia, built by Hadrian, right there, Simonetta and Gigli (2018) likewise identify this building as the Temple of Matidia. Not having had access to those architectural finds in the basement of Palazzo Capranica when I conducted my earlier research (published 2017), I reconstructed the ground-plan of this temple with a very similar ground-plan, basing my reconstruction *inter alia* on Giambattista (G.B.) Nolli's large Rome map of 1748 (cf. here **Figs. 62; 63**) and on Hadrian's medallion which represents his Temple of Matidia (cf. here **Fig. 68**). In this context I had also studied a drawing of the "Tempio di Siepe" at Windsor and Alò Giovannoli's etching of the "Tempio di Siepe" (cf. here **Figs. 69.1; 69.2**).

And on 15th April Laura Gigli sent me, on request, the article by Alessandra Eula ("Il palazzo del cardinal Capranica", with Fig. 22.a.b), who has published a plan that shows Cardinal Domenico Capranica's huge garden behind his Palazzo, in which he grew vegetables for the students of his 'Collegio Capranica'. This garden extended so far north and north-east that it covered parts of the current Piazza in Montecitorio. - For Cardinal Domenico Capranica's vegetable garden; cf. also the Rome map by Giovanni Battista Falda (1676; here **Fig. 69.3**).

For all that; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study of the consequences of Domitian's assassination ..*

Or: *The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?) ...;*

at Chapter VI. *The results of this discussion of this Arch of Hadrian and my 2. Conclusion. This is based on the topographical context of this Arch of Hadrian and on some considerations concerning Hadrian's accession and is in my opinion the preferable scenario;* at *The Templum Divae Matidiae ('Precinct of Diva Matidia') with Hadrian's Temple complex discussed here. With the correct location of the Temple of Diva Matidia (cf. here Figs. 67; 67.1), and new findings concerning the "Tempio di Siepe", and concerning the TEM PL[...], which is recorded by the inscription on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan (cf. here Figs. 132-134) and refers to a Templ(um) of Diva Sabina?: a 'Precinct of Diva Sabina'? or a Temple of Diva Sabina?;* at *To whom was the second temple (seemingly) within the Templum Divae Matidiae (the 'Precinct of Diva Matidia') dedicated: to Diva Sabina or to Diva Plotina? (cf. here Figs. 66; 135; 136);* and at *The "Tempio di Siepe" (cf. here Figs. 69.1; 69.2).*

**On 8th April 2021, Javier Á. Domingo was kind enough to send me, on request, a photo of the relief (here Fig. 105).**

Domingo and Patrizio Pensabene have published this relief in their article ("Foro Traiano: Organizzazione del cantiere e approvvigionamento dei armi alla luce dei recenti dati di Palazzo Valentini. I. Il Cantiere, l'approvvigionamento dei marmi, il trasporto e i costi dei grandi monoliti in granito del Foro e in sienite", 2016-2017, 573, Fig. 15). This relief represents a ship on the Tiber transporting a huge block of marble and decorates the base of the famous statue of the River God Tiber in the Louvre in Paris (cf. here Fig. 104). This statue was once on display in the water basin in front of the Temple of Serapis at the Iseum Campense which was built anew by Domitian after this sanctuary had been completely destroyed in the great fire of AD 80.

**Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017, 527-534, Section: "La gestione del progetto architettonico [of the Forum of Trajan] e l'approvvigionamento dei materiali") rightly stress the admirable management of the enormous building site of the (future) Forum of Trajan. - to their observations we should add, that it was Domitian, who had already planned and begun this huge forum (the later 'Forum of Trajan').**

For all that, cf. *infra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great);* at Part II. *Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalia) and of the Horrea Aemiliana. With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?*

Hans Rupprecht Goette was also kind enough to send me on 9th April 2021 the article by Werner Eck ("14. The Extraordinary Roman Military Presence in Judaea from AD 70 until the 3<sup>rd</sup> Century", 2021b).

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

Or: *The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?) ...;* at Chapter III. *Was Hadrian himself present at the suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt?*

**Amanda Claridge, with whom I had discussed the above-mentioned photo of the Tiber ship (here Fig. 105), represented on the plinth of Domitian's statue of the Tiber (here Fig. 104), was kind enough to send me on 9th April 2021 information concerning a drawing of the plinth of this statue, which belongs to the 'Paper Museum' of Cassiano Dal Pozzo and is kept at Windsor, Royal Library (RL 8739; cf. here Figs. 106).**

Amanda Claridge and Eloisa Dodero will publish this drawing in their catalogue raisonné (*The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo*, Series A, Part III, *Sarcophagi and Reliefs*, 4 vols. forthcoming, cat. no. 563; these volumes have appeared in the meantime in 2022). - To this I will come back below.

**Between 10th and 16th April 2021 the different versions of *The fifth Contribution by Peter Herz* in this volume reached me. On 17th April 2021, Peter Herz generously granted me the permission to publish the final version.**

*See below, at The fifth Contribution by Peter Herz : Der Ritt Hadrians nach Mogontiacum.*

Hans Rupprecht Goette, with whom I had already discussed for a long time the subjects of the relevant *Chapter*, was kind enough to send me by E-mail on 15th April 2021 his comments. In addition, Hans sent me, on his own account, the final version of his manuscript (*Schwertbandbüsten der Kaiserzeit. Zu Bildtraditionen, Werkstattfragen und zur Benennung der Büste inv. 4810 im Museum der bildenden Künste in Budapest und verwandter Werke*, 2021), and on 18th April 2021 the article by Andrew Burnett ("Trajan Optimus", 2017).

For all that; cf. below, at *The fifth Contribution by Peter Herz: Der Ritt Hadrians nach Mogontiacum*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

Or: *The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva, and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron (Δο) (cf. here Fig. 3)...; at Chapter VI.2. Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron (Δο). Hadrian issued coins with this portrait-type in AD 117 on tetrachmas at Alexandria (cf. here Fig. 137) and on aurei in AD 138 at Rome, inter alia with his DIVIS PARENTIBVS on the reverse (cf. here Fig. 139), on all of which Hadrian looks straight ahead. This portrait-type is also known from two marble heads and two marble busts (cf. here Fig. 3), in all of which Hadrian turns to his left. The date of those marble portraits is debated. Concerning this portrait-type we need to answer the following questions, 1.) when exactly was this youthful likeness of Hadrian created?, connected with the further question: had Hadrian commissioned its prototype in order to commemorate a specific event in his youth?; and 2.), what was Hadrian's intention at the end of his life, when he ordered for the first time marble portraits in the round of himself of this portrait-type?; and at Chapters VI.2.1.; VI.2.2.; VI.2.3.*

For a summary of this research; cf. *infra*, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

**Peter Herz sent me, on his own account, on 16th April 2021 the article by Markus Handy ("Strategien zur Legitimierung der Ermordung des Domitian", 2015). Reading this interesting essay has resulted in my decision to add a Preamble to this book on Domitian:**

Cf. *infra*, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Section I. 'The intentional creation of Domitian's negative image', here presented by discussing relevant text passages from Markus Handy ("Strategien zur Legitimierung der Ermordung des Domitian", 2015) and from Peter L. Viscusi (*Studies on Domitian*, 1973); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ... Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?) ...; at Chapter VI.1.*

On 4th May 2021, Hans Rupprecht Goette sent me, on his own account, the article by Fabrice Delrieux ("Les frappes provinciales romaines de Mylasa en Carie au nom de M. Iulius Damianus. Un acte d'évergétisme monétaire sous Hadrian", 2017).

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study of the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

Or: *The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva,*

and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here **Fig. 3**) ...; at Chapter VI.2.3. My own interpretation of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here **Figs. 3**); at How adoptions could be visualized on coins: Nerva/Trajan, Trajan/Hadrian, Hadrian/Aelius Caesar, Hadrian/ Antoninus Pius, Antoninus Pius/Marcus Aurelius.

**On 10th May 2021, Hans Rupprecht Goette sent me, on request, the article by Klaus Stemmer ("Fragment einer kolossalen Panzerstatue Domitians? Zur Kolossalität in Flavischer Zeit", 1971); cf. here Fig. 5.**

Klaus Stemmer (1971) has (convincingly) dated this fragment (here **Fig. 5**) to the Flavian period, and because the cuirass of the represented man is decorated with a huge *gorgoneion*, he has identified the pertaining colossal cuirassed statue as a portrait of 'Domitian as Jupiter'.

Cf. *infra*, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Section II. *Conclusions: Domitian's representations of his military successes and his claims to be of divine descent and to possess a divine nature*; below, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.c.2.) *The Ogulnian monument (a statue group representing the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, standing underneath the sacred fig tree ficus Ruminalis), and she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus on a headless cuirassed statue of Flavian emperor (Domitian?) in the Vatican Museums (cf. here Fig. 6, right) and on Hadrian's cuirassed statue from Hierapydna at Istanbul (cf. here Fig. 29). Exactly like the statue of the ficus Ruminalis on the Anaglypha Hadriani (cf. here Figs. 21; 22), the lupa and the twins on those cuirasses symbolize Rome's claim to eternal power and divine mission, and that it was the task of the Roman emperor to fulfill this obligation (cf. C. Parisi Presicce 2000, 28, 29). With a discussion of the meaning of the lupa and the twins on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here Fig. 31), and with The second Contribution by Claudia Valeri.*

Peter Herz sent me, on his own account, on 12th May 2021 also the following article: Virginia Closs ("Neronianis Temporibus: the So-Called Arae Incendii Neroniani and the Fire of A.D. 64 in Rome's Monumental Landscape", 2016).

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.4.b) *Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the Templum Pacis and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum.*

**Peter Herz was kind enough to send me on the same day also the article by Brent D. Shaw ("The Myth of the Neronian Persecution", 2015).**

Cf. *infra*, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Section I. 'The intentional creation of Domitian's negative image', here presented by discussing relevant text passages from Markus Handy ("Strategien zur Legitimierung der Ermordung des Domitian", 2015) and from Peter L. Viscusi (Studies on Domitian, 1973).

**On 18th May 2021, Eric M. Moormann was kind enough to send me, on his own account, the digital version of the volume edited by Aurora Raimondi Cominesi, Nathalie de Haan, Eric M. Moormann and Claire Stocks (God on Earth: Emperor Domitian. The re-invention of Rome at the end of the 1st century AD, 2021).**

Cf. *infra*, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Sections I.; II. and III.; and at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian.*

On 21st May 2021 Hans Rupprecht Goette was kind enough to alert me to a passage in the publication by Silvia Aglietti and Alexandra Busch (*Ager Albanus: von republikanischer Zeit zur Kaiservilla = Dall'età repubblicana alla villa imperiale. Albanum 1*, 2020), in which Massimiliano Papini ("I monumenti dell'AGER ALBANUS nella storia degli studi", 2021, 30 with Fig. 14 [= here **Fig. 10.1**]) discusses the first find report of

the statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage (cf. here **Fig. 10**): **according to this report, the statue was found without its head.** Papini's Fig. 14 is Plate 11 from the book by Giuseppe Antonio Guattani (*Monumenti antichi ovvero notizie sulle antichità e belle arti di Roma per l'anno 1805, 1805*), who published this first restoration of this statue of Jupiter (cf. here **Fig. 10.1**).

Cf. *infra*, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here **Fig. 10**).

On 25th May 2021 Emanuele M. Ciampini was kind enough to send me the final version of his first *Contribution* to this volume: *La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*.

Cf. *infra*, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Section II. *Conclusions: Domitian's representations of his military successes and his claims to be of divine descent and to possess a divine nature*; at Chapter IV., *passim*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II.*, *passim*.

As already mentioned, I had also discussed with Emanuele M. Ciampini the weight of the Lateran Obelisk (cf. here **Fig. 101**), on 28th May 2021 he wrote me his relevant opinion.

Cf. *infra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**). With The *Contribution* by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part II. *Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalia) and of the Horrea Aemiliana.* With The sixth *Contribution* by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second *Contribution* by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?

**On 4th July 2021 Amanda Claridge was kind enough to send me her Contribution to this volume. Cf. here Figs. 108-110. On 15th July she sent me the second version of her Contribution.**

**See below, at A note for Chrystina Häuber: Drawings of the interior order of the Aula Regia of the Palace of Domitian on the Palatine, once in the British School at Rome.**

As far as I can see, these drawings (here **Figs. 108-110**) represent the only *measured* reconstructions of the interior order of the 'Aula Regia' and of other parts of Domitian's 'Domus Flavia' within his *Domus Augustana* (the 'Peristyle' and the 'Triclinium'/'Cenatio Iovis'), into which the colossal statues (that had originally decorated the 'Aula Regia'), as well as some of the architectural fragments are integrated, that Francesco Bianchini had excavated (1720-1726) within the 'Aula Regia' (he found only two of those colossal statues in a secondary context immediately next to the 'Aula Regia') and published (posthumously) in 1738. The author of those drawings (here **Figs. 108-110**) is the architect Gordon Leith (1885-1965) from South Africa, who had in 1913 a scholarship at the British School at Rome. As Amanda would later confirm (see below), Gordon Leith had only received a scholarship for one academic year (*i.e.*, from October until June).

For Bianchini's measured plans, the two reliefs, and the architectural fragments, excavated by him within the 'Aula Regia' of Domitian's 'Domus Flavia'/'Domus Augustana' on the Palatine, and published posthumously (1738); cf. here **Figs. 8; 9; 36; 37**.

Cf. below, at Chapter V.1.i.3.b) J. Pollini's discussion (2017b) of the allegedly 'lost' Nollekens Relief (cf. here **Fig. 36**), which he compares with the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**) and Domitian's 'Domus Flavia'/'Domus Augustana'. With The *Contribution* by Amanda Claridge; and at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

Back in 2020, Amanda had told me for the first time about those reconstruction drawings of Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, that she had seen at the British School, where they had been on display, and which, as she recalled, in the 1980s or 1990s had been donated to the Superintendency of the State on the Palatine. At that stage (*i.e.*, in 2020) it seemed impossible to trace the architect and his drawings. I myself, although having spent much time at the BSR since late December of 1980, did not remember these drawings, which is why, without Amanda's help, I would never have been able to identify them (!).

The reason being that neither the name of this man, nor the time of his scholarship at the British School were known, and that although Valerie Scott, the Librarian of the BSR, and the archivist Alessandra Gioenco had supported Amanda's relevant research in all possible ways. In the end, Amanda found out by chance that, already a long time ago, four of those drawings have been published by Maria Antonietta Tomei (*Scavi Francesi sul Palatino : le indagini di Pietro Rosa per Napoleone III (1861-1870)*, École française de Rome 1999, figs 225, 228, 229, and 230), who mentions the information that Amanda had in vain been looking for : the name of the architect, Gordon Leith, and the date of his drawings, 1913. But Amanda told me also that she knew that Gordon Leith had created many more of these drawings.

My thanks are due to Francesca Deli, Assistant Librarian at the BSR, for scanning for me in Tomei's publication Gordon Leith's extraordinary reconstruction drawings of Domitian's Palace on the Palatine (cf. here **Figs. 108-110**).

**On 6th July 2021, Eric M. Moormann was kind enough to send me, on his own account, and for a different book-project; cf. Häuber (forthcoming, Laocoon) two articles: by James C. Anderson Jr. ("The Date of the Thermae Traiani and the Topography of the Oppius Mons", 1985), and Rabun Taylor, Edward O'Neill, Katherine W. Rinne, Giovanni Isidori, Michael O'Neill und R. Benjamin Gorham ("A Recently Discovered Spring Source of the Aqua Traiana at Vicarello, Lazio", 2020).**

Apart from the fact that this information was also crucial in *this* context, the research on the different findspots that have been attributed to the Laocoon over time, Eric's relevant information reached me right in time to change the heading of the following *Chapter* in this volume:

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.c) Domitian's building projects at Rome: Conclusions arrived at in Appendix IV.d. With The first Contribution by Eugenio La Rocca.*

*As a result of this Chapter it seems to be clear that Domitian, who destroyed the sella between the Quirinal and the Arx, in order to erect his huge forum there (the later 'Forum of Trajan'), had used this excavated material to fill in a valley on the Mons Oppius. This finding invited the further assumption that already Domitian had planned to erect at this site great public baths, the now so-called 'Baths of Trajan'. The confirmation that Domitian had actually started building those baths, reached me only afterwards.*

**On 7th July 2021 Hans Rupprecht Goette's new book (*Schwertbandbüsten der Kaiserzeit. Zu Bildtraditionen, Werkstattfragen und zur Benennung der Büste inv. 4810 im Museum der Bildenden Künste in Budapest und verwandter Werke*, 2021) reached me.**

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

*Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Neroa, and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here **Fig. 3**) ...; at Chapter VI.2.1. H.R. Goette's (2021) discussion of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here **Fig. 3**); and at Chapter VI.2.3. My own interpretation of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here **Figs. 3**);*

*see also below, at A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here **Fig. 11**). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); and at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian.**



Hans Rupprecht Goette was so kind as to alert me on 2nd August 2021 to Christopher Weikert (*Von Jerusalem zu Aelia Capitolina. Die römische Politik gegenüber den Juden von Vespasian bis Hadrian*, 2016).

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

Or: *The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?) ...*; at Chapters III. and VI.1.; and at Appendix IV.c.2.).

**Hans Rupprecht Goette sent me also, on request, on 14th August 2021 his photographs of the colossal portrait of Domitian's sister, Flavia Domitilla *minor*, in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek at Copenhagen (inv. no. 3186), which I may publish here with his kind consent (cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.h), and here Fig. 55).**

**On 6th September 2021, an E-mail by our good friend John Bodel, reached me, in which he kindly accepted my offer to write a *Contribution* to this volume on the subject temple tombs.**

I had asked him for advice concerning a problem related to Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae*: Eugenio La Rocca (2020b) has reminded us of the fact that, 'under normal circumstances', within a *templum*, an inaugurated space, burials should have been forbidden. Which is why we must ask ourselves, whether or not Domitian could have built his temple tomb within his *Templum Gentis Flaviae* without infringing upon this sacred law.

Concerning this subject, I had also asked Jörg Rüpke for advice, who answered my relevant question by Email on 21st October 2021. - To all of this I will come back below.

Amanda Claridge, with whom I discussed this subject in a telephone conversation on 7th September 2021, had an excellent idea which she kindly shared with John Bodel and me: such temple tombs as the one within Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, are by no means without precedent, since founders were usually honoured this way: 'and the Flavians *were founders too*', as Amanda added. On 25th September 2021, Amanda wrote me that I may mention our relevant correspondence here. Cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.h).

**Hans Rupprecht Goette was kind enough to send me, on request, on 8th September 2021 the last and posthumously published article by the late Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt on Domitian's Palace on the Palatine ("Il cuore del Palazzo Flavio sul Palatino: le diverse funzioni della *Domus Augustana*", 2020). Cf. *infra*, at Chapters V.1.i.3.b); at *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and at *The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps*.**

Amanda Claridge sent me on 10th September 2021, on request, further information about the architect Gordon Leith, who had received a scholarship in 1913 for a stay at the British School at Rome and who created the above-mentioned extraordinary reconstruction drawings of Domitian's Palace on the Palatine (cf. *infra*, at Chapters V.1.i.3.b); and at *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and here **Figs. 108-110**).

**Likewise on 10th September 2021, Laura Gigli, with whom I had discussed Domitian's obelisk in the Piazza Navona, sent me, on her own account, some digital files of her own photographs, which were made in the context of her research project, that resulted in the restoration of the Church of S. Agnese.**

The results were published in: Giuseppe Simonetta, Laura Gigli and Gabriella Marchetti (*Sant'Agnese in Agone a Piazza Navona. Immagine Luce Ordine Suono nelle fabbriche Pamphili II* [2004]). Laura sent me also some files of the famous photographs of Domitian's obelisk, taken by the late Cesare D'Onofrio (1921-2003), who had presented Laura with his original photos. With Laura Gigli's kind consent, I publish here one of D'Onofrio's photos of this obelisk, which she has herself published; cf. Simonetta, Gigli and Marchetti ([2004] 122, Fig. 8 [= here **Fig. 28**]), which was among those she had send me. Laura also wrote to me that a similar

photo, like the one illustrated here, was published by Cesare D'Onofrio himself in black and white in one of his now famous books (*Le fontane di Roma*, 1986, 397, Fig. 352). - For Cesare D'Onofrio; cf. Laura Gigli (2004).

In September of 2021, Laura Gigli donated the original photographs of her vast collection, comprising the photographs of Cesare D'Onofrio in her possession, to the Fototeca Hertziana, where they will be part of the 'Fondo Simonetta-Gigli'. - To this I will come back below.

On 13th September 2021 the article by Nihal Tüner Önen ("Hadrians Reisen im östlichen Mittelmeer anhand neuer Inschriften aus Phaselis", 2013) reached me, which Hans Rupprecht Goette was kind enough to send me.

Cf. *infra*, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Section I. 'The intentional creation of Domitian's negative image', here presented by discussing relevant text passages from Markus Handy ("Strategien zur Legitimierung der Ermordung des Domitian", 2015) and from Peter L. Viscusi (Studies on Domitian, 1973).

**Barbara E. Borg, with whom I had already had the chance to discuss her findings concerning the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* in 2018, was kind enough to answer my above-mentioned new question concerning this building by E-mail of 14th September 2021. Barbara Borg sent me, on her own account, the relevant Chapter 4 of her recent book; cf. Borg (*Roman Tombs and the Art of Commemoration. Contextual Approaches to the Funerary Customs in the Second Century CE*, 2019; Chapter: "4 Straddling Borderlines: Divine Connotations in Funerary Commemoration"). On 20th September 2021 Barbara Borg wrote me that I may mention our relevant correspondence here.**

For a detailed discussion; cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.h) *The new findings by B. E. Borg (2019) concerning the Templum Gentis Flaviae support the hypothesis suggested here that Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) was commissioned for the Iseum Campense. With some observations concerning the Temple of Divus Traianus at Italica, and concerning the Marble Forum at the Colonia Augusta Emerita (Mérida) in Spain. With The Contributions Eric M. Moormann, Mario Torelli, and Walter Trillmich, and with The second Contribution by Jörg Rüpke.*

**On 27 September 2021 an E-mail by Nicola Barbagli reached me. He was kind enough to send me his recent article ("The emperors in the province: A study of the Tetrarchic images from the imperial cult chamber in Luxor"). Barbagli's essay adds important insights to our understanding of the latest phase of the Temple complex of Amun at Karnak/Luxor, of which we have also heard a lot of its earlier history in this *Study on Domitian*.**

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.d.1.a) *The stratagem, told in The Taking of Joppa, a town, 'taken' by Djehuty, a general of Tuthmosis III (around 1450 BC), compared with the escape of some of the Flavians from the Capitol on 19th December AD 69. With some remarks on what The Taking of Joppa has to do with Tuthmosis III's Lateran Obelisk (cf. here Fig. 101). With The second Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini.*

**Nicola Barbagli was also kind enough to write me on that occasion the title of his dissertation (*Faraoni romani: rappresentazioni del potere imperiale in Egitto da Augusto a Domiziano (30 a.C.-96 d.C)*, which he has finished in the meantime, as Ph.D. Dissertation Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa 2022). Already at the Iseum Campense Conference at Rome in May 2016, I had been lucky enough to discuss this topic with him. I am happy to confess that this meeting with Nicola Barbagli came then right in time for me, because I myself was very insecure concerning two questions: 1.) how to judge the controversial discussion revolving around the question, whether or not Augustus *was* the Pharaoh of Egypt; and 2.) because I assumed that he *was* the Pharaoh of Egypt, I also wanted to know, whether that fact had any effect on Octavian/ Augustus *himself*.**

Cf. Häuber (2017, 19, PREFACE, pp. 350-351, Chapter: III., pp. 374-381, Chapter: V., p. 599, Chapter: VIII.). Concerning my 1.) question, Nicola Barbagli was kind enough to write a *Contribution* to my book; cf. Barbagli ("Augusto e la regalità egiziana: lo stato attuale della ricerca", 2017; see also N. BARBAGLI 2018).

**Barbagli's research is also of importance concerning my 2.) question, that will be discussed in this *Study* on Domitian again; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*); and at *Appendix IV.d.4.c*).**

Hans-Ulrich Cain, with whom I had already had the chance to discuss my publication on the *Campus Martius* (2017) in May of 2019, was kind enough to send me on 9th October 2021 his own recently published article on the subject he had been studying at the time ("Dynastischer Memorialraum und Herrschernekropole - das römische Marsfeld im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.", 2021). In this article, Cain discusses *inter alia* Hadrian's Temple of Matidia and the "Tempio di Siepe". Cain (2021, 38-39 with n. 89) himself suggests the identification of the "Tempio di Siepe" with the previously unlocated temple that must have been dedicated to the divinized Marcus Aurelius and Faustina *minor*. - I am especially grateful that on 25th October 2021, Hans-Ulrich Cain presented me also with the volume, in which his article has appeared (W. AUGUSTYN and U. SÖDING [eds.], *Bildnis - Memoria - Repräsentation. Beiträge zur Erinnerungskultur im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, 2021).

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

Or: *The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?) ...*; at Chapter VI. *The results of this discussion of this Arch of Hadrian and my 2. Conclusion. This is based on the topographical context of this Arch of Hadrian and on some considerations concerning Hadrian's accession and is in my opinion the preferable scenario*; at *The Templum Divae Matidiae ('Precinct of Diva Matidia')* with Hadrian's Temple complex discussed here. *With the correct location of the Temple of Diva Matidia (cf. here Figs. 67; 67.1), and new findings concerning the "Tempio di Siepe", and concerning the TEM PL[...], which is recorded by the inscription on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan (cf. here Figs. 132-134) and refers to a Templ(um) of Diva Sabina?: a 'Precinct of Diva Sabina?' or a Temple of Diva Sabina?; at To whom was the second temple (seemingly) within the Templum Divae Matidiae (the 'Precinct of Diva Matidia') dedicated: to Diva Sabina or to Diva Plotina? (cf. here Figs. 66; 135; 136); and at The "Tempio di Siepe" (cf. here Figs. 69.1; 69.2).*

**On 12th October 2021, John Pollini was kind enough to send me his forthcoming article ("New Observations on the imperial reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias and the portraiture of Claudius, Britannicus, and the young Nero", 2021), which has appeared in the meantime.**

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.b*) R.R.R. Smith (1988; 2013) on the series of 50 *ethne* in the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, its model, the 'nations' within Augustus's Porticus ad Nationes at Rome, the Piroustaie and their representation in the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias and in Domitian's Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium.

As the title of the above-mentioned *Appendix IV.d.2.b*) implies, of the 50 representations of *ethne* ('nations') in the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, one, that of the *Piroustoï*, appears also in Domitian's Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium at Rome: the representation of the *Piroustaie*. As we shall see below, the presence of the *Piroustaie* in Domitian's Forum allows the dating of the *profectio*, to which Domitian (now Nerva) is leaving on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 6**).

**The 50 *ethne* in the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias were presumably chosen from the altogether 250 'nations', that decorated Augustus' (lost) Porticus ad Nationes at Rome. Because that assumption sounds reasonable, I ask myself, whether the representations of Claudius, Agrippina *minor*, Britannicus and Nero in the Sebasteion could be somehow related to the (completely? lost) sculptural decoration of the Temple of Divus Claudius on the Caelian in Rome.**

Pollini's (2021) new findings concerning the portraits of Claudius's son Britannicus could not be considered any more in my own discussion of a portrait of Britannicus (?) that probably belonged to the sculpture decoration of the temple of his father *Divus Claudius* on the Caelian, since my *Chapter IV.*, where this portrait is mentioned, had already been published on 4th October 2021, in the Preview of this volume on our Websserver.

This portrait of Britannicus (?) possibly belongs to a statue of Messalina (?) or rather Agrippina *minor*. Both statues were found in the same area on the Caelian in different secondary contexts, but are carved from the same rare green greywacke (or rather basanite, *basanites*; cf. *infra*) from Egypt. Emilia Talamo (2011) tentatively identifies this statue of a boy with Britannicus, which, given the rare material that identifies him as a member of the imperial family, and the represented age of the boy, who is still wearing the *bullae*, is very convincing - especially because this statue cannot possibly represent Nero, who was already 17 years old, when Claudius died. Talamo identifies the female portrait with Agrippina *minor* (which is clearly reworked from an earlier portrait, the identification of which is debated).

**Talamo further suggests that Claudius's widow is here represented as the priestess of the deified Claudius, and that both statues were either on display in the *Augusteum*, next to the temple, or even within the Temple of *Divus Claudius* itself. - To this structure, called *Augusteum* by Talamo, I will come back below, because that has now been studied by Patrizio Pensabene and Javier Domingo (2022).**

Cf. Talamo (in: E. LA ROCCA *et al.* 2011, 230-231, cat. no. "3.7 Statua di Agrippina minore come orante"), Roma; Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini (inv. no. 1882), this torso is restored with a plaster cast of the statue's head in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek at Copenhagen; cf. p. 232, cat. no. "3.8 Statua di fanciullo togato", Britannicus (?), Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi (inv. no. 1914).

See for this statue of Agrippina *minor* now also: Thorsten Opper (2021, 128 Fig. 144 "Statua of Agrippina performing a sacrifice"; according to him it is carved from basanite.

A large number of hydraulic *pozzi* proves that the Temple of *Divus Claudius* was built at the site of a very old and very large *domus*. According to Filippo Coarelli (2003, 260), the Temple of *Divus Claudius* was possibly erected at the site of Claudius's private *domus*, "forse nei pressi della *domus* ancestrale della gens". For this *domus*, the Temple of *Divus Claudius* and these statues of Messalina (?)/Agrippina *minor* and Britannicus (?); cf. Häuber (2014a, 153, 383, 552, 553-554).

This statue of Britannicus (?) was excavated by, and once in the possession of, Leonardo Agostini, who is known for his precious collection of ancient gems (comprising an alleged portrait of Britannicus, after which this head could in theory have been created), as well as for the excellent restorations of the statues he found; cf. for him additionally, Häuber (2014a, 395-399). Talamo (2011, 232) writes that it is possible but not certain that the head of this Britannicus (?) belongs to the statue. Given the rareness of the material, from which both the head and the (headless? statue of the) body are carved, I myself have nevertheless suggested that this head could actually *belong* to the statue.

**Now that Pollini (2021) has found several portraits which he identifies with Britannicus, it would be interesting to look at the head of this statue of Britannicus (?) in Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi (inv. no. 1914) again.**

For this portrait of Britannicus (?); cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.g) *The controversy concerning the "ARCUS AD ISIS" that is visible on a relief from the Tomb of the Haterii (cf. here Figs. 89; 90): it cannot be identified with the Arco di Camilliano to the east of the Iseum Campense, but stood instead near the Temple of Isis et Serapis in Regio III. With a summary of Domitian's 'pharaonic' project, called 'Colosseum city'.*

**On 14th of October 2021, Hans Rupprecht was kind enough to send me, on his own account, an article by Dietrich Willers, in which the author discusses the 'Relief Ruesch', a marble relief that represents a cavalry battle of Romans against Germanic troops ("Relief mit Reiterschlacht", 2021, his Taf. 11; 13 [= here Fig. 7]), in which the Roman general is (a now defaced) portrait of the Emperor Domitian.**

Cf. below, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; Section III. *My own ideas about Domitian*; at point 5.); and *infra*, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

On 20th October 2021, Carlo Gasparri, who has published the sculptures once owned by the Farnese family (*Le Sculture Farnese. Storia e documenti*, 2007) was kind enough to answer my question concerning the 'Trofei Farnese' as they are sometimes called, since I was not sure whether the architectural fragments (cf. here **Fig. 5.1**) that are on display in the Cortile of Palazzo Farnese at Rome, and which I am discussing here, are those that are sometimes referred to by that name - which is actually the case, as Carlo told me.

Cf. below, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Section II; and *infra*, in Chapter *V.1.i.3.b*) J. Pollini's discussion (2017b) of the allegedly 'lost' Nollekens Relief (cf. here **Fig. 36**), which he compares with the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2**) and Domitian's 'Domus Flavia' / Domus Augustana. With The Contribution by Amanda Claridge; at Section III. *Does the design of the Nollekens Relief reflect the topographical context, for which Domitian had commissioned it?*; and *infra*, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

When discussing Domitian's *Villa*, called *Albanum* at Castel Gandolfo with her in a telephone conversation on 20th October 2021, Claudia Valeri was kind enough to inform me that she is right now in the course of studying its sculpture decoration, and that she would give a talk on the subject the following day ("Sculptures in Context. The Ariadne Barberini and the Decorative Programme of the Domitian's Villa in Castel Gandolfo", 21st October 2021).

For Domitian's *Villa*, called *Albanum*; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*); and at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*) *Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal*. With detailed discussion of the *Templum Pacis* and some remarks on Domitian's *Villa*, called *Albanum*.

**On 21st October 2021, Jörg Rüpke answered by Email my questions concerning the above-mentioned temple- tomb-problem that I have also discussed with John Bodel and Barbara E. Borg.**

In this E-mail, Jörg Rüpke has contributed important thoughts to solve this problem, and because he is already mentioned as a 'Contributor' in the title of this book, first published in September 2021 in the first Preview of this book on our Webserver, I could ask him to grant me the permission to publish his E-mail here as his *second Contribution* to this volume. He kindly agreed by E-mail of 22nd October 2021.

**See below, at *The second Contribution by Jörg Rüpke to this volume : Tempel-Gräber*.**

Cf. *infra*, at Chapter *IV.1.1.h*) *The new findings by B. E. Borg (2019) concerning the Templum Gentis Flaviae support the hypothesis suggested here that Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) was commissioned for the Iseum Campense. With some observations concerning the Temple of Divus Traianus at Italica, and concerning the Marble Forum at the Colonia Augusta Emerita (Mérida) in Spain. With The Contributions by Eric M. Moormann, Mario Torelli, and Walter Trillmich, and with The second Contribution by Jörg Rüpke.*

My thanks are due to Frau Daria Lanzuolo (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom) for sending me on 26th October 2021 photos of the fragment of a colossal cuirassed marble statue of Domitian (cf. here **Fig. 5**),

which is on display among one of the two famous ensembles of ancient architectural marbles at the Palazzo Farnese, the above-mentioned 'Trofei Farnese', of which she sent me photographs as well (cf. here **Fig. 5.1**).

Cf. *infra*, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Section II. *Conclusions: Domitian's representations of his military successes and his claims to be of divine descent and to possess a divine nature*; and at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

**Likewise on 26th October 2021, Claudio Parisi Presicce was kind enough to send me, on his own account, the proofs of his forthcoming article ("Il tempio di Plotina in un frammento della pianta marmorea severiana. Ipotesi e contesto, 2021"). In this article, which has appeared in the meantime, the author rejects my tentative identification of a temple, visible on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan (cf. here Fig. 132), as that of the Empress *Diva Sabina*. He himself suggests that the inscription TEM PL on this fragment refers to a 'Temple of Plotina' instead, but I myself maintain my earlier hypothesis.**

For a discussion; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A study of the consequences of Domitian's assassination ... Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?) ...*

With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz, with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz (cf. here **Fig. 77**), with The Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen; Introduction; at Sections X. and XIII.; and at Chapter VI. *The results of this discussion of this Arch of Hadrian and my 2. Conclusion. This is based on the topographical context of this Arch of Hadrian and on some considerations concerning Hadrian's accession and is in my opinion the preferable scenario*; at *The Templum Divae Matidiae ('Precinct of Diva Matidia') with Hadrian's Temple complex discussed here. With the correct location of the Temple of Diva Matidia (cf. here Figs. 67; 67.1), and new findings concerning the "Tempio di Siepe", and concerning the TEM PL[...], which is recorded by the inscription on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan (cf. here Figs. 132-134) and refers to a Templ(um) of Diva Sabina?: a 'Precinct of Diva Sabina'? or a Temple of Diva Sabina?; at To whom was the second temple (seemingly) within the Templum Divae Matidiae (the 'Precinct of Diva Matidia') dedicated: to Diva Sabina or to Diva Plotina? (cf. here Figs. 66; 135; 136); and at The "Tempio di Siepe" (cf. here Figs. 69.1; 62.2).*

See also below, at *The Contribution by John Bodel: The Label Inscribed on Fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan*.

**As a consequence of our discussion of Domitian's *Villa*, called *Albanum*, Claudia Valeri was kind enough to send me on 30th October 2021 the already mentioned article by Licia Luschi ("Un gruppo di Teseo con il Minotauro dell'*Albanum Domitiani*. Origine e dispersione delle antichità Barberini", 2015), who discusses in this article also the copy of the statue group *Athena and Marsyas*, found at the *Albanum*.**

Claudia alerted me to the fact that already Luschi (2015) has observed that Domitian's *Albanum* was in a certain way 'modeled' on the Acropolis at Athens. She told me this, because I had mentioned to her my discussion on the *Albanum* with Hans Rupprecht Goette, who, as mentioned above, in an article (which has in the meantime been published in 2022) has observed something very similar concerning the *Albanum*.

Luschi (2015) quotes for this observation from an unpublished manuscript, written by Paolo Liverani (cf. *infra*), who refers to the facts that in Domitian's *Albanum* were found the copies of marble statues, representing Theseus and the Minotaur and *Athena and Marsyas*, the originals of both were dedicated on the Acropolis at Athens. As a consequence, I sent Hans Rupprecht Goette the article by Licia Luschi (2015), who, on 1st November 2021, was kind enough to provide me with the entry in *Der Neue Overbeck (DNO, 2014)* on the statue group *Athena and Marsyas* by Myron, the original of which stood on the Acropolis.

Paolo Liverani, whom I had asked, whether he has in the meantime published his brilliant idea, quoted by Licia Luschi (2015, 12 with n. 115), according to which Domitian's *Albanum*, because of its sculpture decoration which copies famous sculptures of the Acropolis at Athens, could be regarded as being modelled

on the Acropolis, was kind enough to answer me by E-mail on 6th November 2021 the following. This article was never published. He had written it in 2002 for a volume, edited by Wilhelmina Jashemski.

For a discussion of all that; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.4.b) Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the Templum Pacis, and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum.

In addition to this, I myself find another of Licia Luschi's (2001, 197) observations very interesting, namely that Domitian had chosen as one of his models the Attic hero and mythical king Theseus, which is why I have chosen her relevant statement as the second epigraph of this Study on Domitian (cf. *infra*, at Chapter I.1.). For a discussion of Licia Luschi's findings; cf. below, in Chapter Preamble: Domitian's negative image; at Section II. Conclusions: Domitian's representations of his military successes and his claims to be of divine descent and to possess a divine nature; and at Section III. My own thoughts about Domitian; at point 4.). - To this I will come back below.

**On 2nd November 2021 the article by Eugenio La Rocca reached me ("Il tempio dei Divi Traiano e Plotina, l'arco partico e l'ingresso settentrionale al Foro di Traiano: un riesame critico delle scoperte archeologiche", 2018), which I had asked him to provide me with. In addition to this, he was kind enough to send me, on his own account, also another, forthcoming article on a similar subject ("Atti della Giornata di Studi Roma, Auditorium dell'Ara Pacis 30 gennaio 2020 a cura di EUGENIO LA ROCCA ROBERTO MENEGHINI", with Eugenio La Rocca's Preface: "Prefazione. La topografia dell'area a nord del foro di Traiano: sulle questioni irrisolte", 2021), which has appeared in the meantime.**

La Rocca (2021, 93) discusses my tentative suggestion; cf. Häuber (2017 and here Fig. 66) to identify the ground-plan which is partly visible on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan (cf. here Fig. 132) and accompanied by the inscription TEM PL, as a Temple of *Diva Sabina*, but prefers Claudio Parisi Presicce's (2021) hypothesis to identify this building with a Temple of *Diva Plotina*. - To this I will come back below.

**Already on 20th September 2017, I had the chance to discuss with Eugenio La Rocca our map of the Campus Martius with my reconstruction of the "TEMPLUM : DIVA MATIDIA", the Precinct of *Diva Matidia*, published in 2017 (cf. our updated map; here Fig. 66). Looking at the first version of this map, La Rocca had been kind enough to disclose to me that, in his opinion, within a sacred precinct could not possibly have been dedicated temples to *different* divinities, as I had done by assuming within this precinct also my Temple of *Diva Sabina* ?**

Because of this, I now tentatively suggest that my Temple of *Diva Sabina* ? which, in my opinion, is visible on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble (here Fig. 132), stood within its own precinct, the 'Precinct of *Diva Sabina*?', which was located immediately to the south of my Precinct of *Diva Matidia* (cf. here Fig. 66).

On 11th November 2021, I discussed these hypotheses with Jörg Rüpke in an E-mail correspondence, who was kind enough to reminded me of the fact that, at Rome, the "Einschachtelung" of sacred precincts was not problematic, on the contrary, it happened frequently, mentioning some famous examples to me. This means that my Temple of *Diva Sabina* ? could just as well have been erected *within* my Precinct of *Diva Matidia* - as I had assumed in the first version of our map here Fig. 66; cf. Häuber (2017, 99, Fig. 3.7.5.c).

For a discussion of all that; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ... Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of *Diva Matidia* (and of *Diva Sabina*?) ... With ... The Contribution by John Bodel ...; Introduction; at Section X. Further new research on the Precinct of *Diva Matidia* : C. Parisi

*Presicce's (2021) identification of my Temple of Diva Sabina ? with a Temple of Diva Plotina. With related research and with The Contribution by John Bodel : The Label Inscribed on Fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan.*

On 13th November 2021, after I had sent her the relevant *Chapter* of my text, I had the chance to discuss with Amanda Claridge my idea that the inscription TEM PL on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan could possibly relate to a *templum* in the sense of a sacred precinct. In the course of this discussion, I realized that she too has discussed the portrait of Hadrian of the Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) type (cf. here **Fig. 3**), and she was kind enough to send me on the same day, by request, her following article ("Hadrian's Succession and the Monuments of Trajan", 2013), which I had managed to overlook so far. And when I told her on 22nd November 2021 that Franz Xaver Schütz had found the volume, edited by Fritz Mitthof und Günther Schörner on the Internet (*Columna Traiani - Traianssäule Siegesmonument und Kriegsbericht in Bildern. Beiträge der Tagung in Wien anlässlich des 1900. Jahrestages der Einweihung*, 2017), Amanda replied that she had reviewed this volume and sent me on the same day her review; cf. Claridge (2019).

For a summary of this discussion; cf. *infra*, at *The major results of this book on Domitian*; see also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

*Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?) ...; at Chapter VI.2.4. Amanda Claridge (2013) has identified the head of the "Stonethrower" in the battle Scene LXXII on Trajan's Column (here Figs. 4; 4.1) as a copy of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ). Since all four of Hadrian's known marble portraits of this type (here Fig. 3) show him turning to his left, and the "Stonethrower" (here Figs. 4; 4.1) turns to his left as well, we may wonder, provided Claridge's identification is correct, whether we have in this relief for the first time a representation of Hadrian's complete statue-type Delta Omikron. But we shall see that further research on this subject has led to a surprising result, opening new questions related to Hadrian's Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) portrait-type.*

Peter Herz was kind enough to alert me on 14th of November 2021 to the new monograph by Joelle Prim (*Aventinus Mons*, 2021). And on 15th November 2021 the following publication by Simon Malmberg ("Understanding Rome as a port city", 2021) reached me, kindly sent by Hans Rupprecht Goette.

For both; cf. *infra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11)*. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part II. *Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalia) and of the Horrea Aemiliana*. With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?

My thanks are due to Hans Rupprecht Goette for sending me, on the same day, also the article by Sabine Panzram ("Domitian und das Marsfeld. Bauen mit Programm", 2008) that I had managed to overlook so far.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b) Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal*. With detailed discussion of the *Templum Pacis*, and some remarks on *Domitian's Villa, called Albanum*.

T.P. Wiseman was kind enough to send me on 15th November 2021 the manuscript of his forthcoming article ("Palace-sanctuary or pavilion? Augustus' House and the limits of archaeology"). - To this I will come back below. Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI*.; at Section I. *The 'House of Augustus', the 'House of Livia' and the Temple of Apollo Palatinus, and the (real) House of Augustus and Domitian's Domus Augustana*.

On 23rd November 2021 the exhibition-catalogue by Thorsten Opper reached me (*Nero the man behind the myth*, 2021) that Amanda Claridge was kind enough to present me with.



Cf. below, in Chapter *V.1.i.3.b*); at Section *II. The Nollekens Relief was found in the 'Aula Regia' within the 'Domus Flavia'*.

Hans Rupprecht Goette alerted me on 2nd December 2021 to Anne Wolsfeld (*Die Bildnisrepräsentation des Titus und Domitian*, 2021), and on 3rd December 2021 he was kind enough to provide me with the passages that are relevant to my work.

Cf. below, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Sections *II.* and *III.*; and at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

On 6th December 2021 the new, very interesting book by the Egyptologists Rafed El-Sayed and Konstantin C. Lakomy, reached Franz Xaver Schütz and me. It was edited by themselves, together with Elisabeth Ehler, Cäcilia Fluck, Anne Herzberg-Beiersdorf and Olivia Zorn (*Akhmîm Ägyptens vergessene Stadt*, 2021). Also their book 'reached me right in time' because it addresses several subjects revolving around the Emperor Hadrian that I was studying at this very moment, and I am very glad that I could further discuss those subjects with Rafed El-Sayed in many telephone conversations. And on 7th December 2021, Paolo Liverani was kind enough to send me, by request, his essay ("*Leo in fabula: l'apoteosi di Antinoo*", 2020a), the content of which we had been discussing years before, when I was in the course of studying the Obelisk of Antinous.

For a discussion of both subjects; cf. *infra*, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here **Fig. 29**); at *The research published in my earlier Study (2017): on the tomb of Antinous at Antinoopolis, on his (alleged) tomb at Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli, on his cenotaph at Rome, and on the two pertaining Antinous Obelisks*.

Hans Rupprecht Goette was so kind as to send me, by request, in addition to all this on 6th December 2021 the article by Maria Cristina Capanna ("*L'anfiteatro di Traiano distrutto, il tempio della diva Matidia e l'edificio funerario a nicchie (detto 'di Siepe')*", 2019), because I had found this reference in Claudio Parisi Presicce's above-mentioned article of 2021.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

Or: *The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?) ... With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz, with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz, with The Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen;*

*Introduction*; at Section *XIV. Further new research: F. Chausson's (2001) idea that the Hadrianeum was possibly dedicated to Divus Hadrianus and to Diva Sabina, and recent discussions of this hypothesis. With The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen : Zum 'Hadrianeum' auf Münzen des Antoninus Pius;*

at Chapter *VI.*; at *The Templum Divae Matidiae ('Precinct of Diva Matidia')* with *Hadrian's Temple complex discussed here. With the correct location of the Temple of Diva Matidia (cf. here Figs. 67.; 67.1), and new findings concerning the "Tempio di Siepe" and concerning the inscription TEM PL[...], which is recorded by fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan (cf. here Fig. 132- 134) and refers to a Templ(um) of Diva Sabina?, a 'Precinct of Diva Sabina?' or a Temple of Diva Sabina?;*

and below, at *The Contribution by John Bodel: The Label Inscribed on Fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan*.

**On 10th December 2021 Andrew Stewart's very interesting article ("Continuity or Rupture? Further Thoughts on the 'Classical Revolution' (2500+ Years after Salamis)", 2021) reached me, and on 11th December 2021 Franz Xaver Schütz presented me with the likewise very interesting catalogue by Florian S. Knauß and Christian Gliwitzky (*SALAMIS 480*, 2021) of their current exhibition here in Munich.**

Although I have studied half a century ago at the Universität zu Köln both Near Eastern Archaeology with Wolfram Nagel and Greek sculpture with Andreas Linfert, after reading the above-quoted publications, one important insight concerning this period has occurred to me *only now*.

Wolfram Nagel frequently told us that the Egyptian Pharaohs had waged wars, because they were in desperate need of manpower for their ambitions building projects. For example, they deported men from the states of the Near-East, which at times they had conquered and incorporated into their own Empires. I have mentioned above a telling example, the Egyptian story *The taking of Joppa* in Palestine (today: Tel Aviv-Jaffa), in which Djehuty, a general of the Egyptian Pharaoh Tuthmosis III, takes (circa 1450 BC) the city of Joppa exclusively by applying stratagems, that is to say, without any bloodshed - to the effect that no one of his own very few soldiers and of the expected precious 'booty', the town's inhabitants, was hurt.

All former inhabitants of Joppa are then deported by Djehuty over a distance of circa 1000 kilometres to the Temple of Amun at Karnak in Egypt, where they become the slaves of the god Amun; *inter alia*, Tuthmosis III erected 7 obelisks in this Temple complex. One of these, the tallest of all extant Egyptian obelisks, is the Lateran Obelisk at Rome (cf. here **Fig. 101**).

Since we know from relevant accounts, written on papyri, how many thousand men were needed to carve an obelisk and to transport it from the quarry to its final destination in Egypt, and, in addition to this, how many men perished in each of these enterprises, I have asked myself, whether these deported people from Joppa could have been personally involved in the creation of the Lateran Obelisk. We are fortunate to have the complete hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Lateran Obelisk, which tell us its dramatic history, but the people of Joppa, if at all they were involved in the making of this obelisk, are, of course, not mentioned.

We have also heard of the scenes of defeated and deported enemies of Near-Eastern sovereigns, who had likewise founded Empires, and of some Egyptian Pharaohs, which are represented in the reliefs of their relevant temples, and that have both been studied by Eugenio La Rocca ("*Ferocia barbarica. La rappresentazione dei vinti tra medio Oriente e Roma*", 1994). La Rocca has rightly observed that the merciless iconography, chosen for Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna at Istanbul (cf. here **Fig. 29**) was precisely based on such archaic 'oriental' models.

For all that; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.1.a) The stratagem, told in The Taking of Joppa, a town, 'taken' by Djehuty, a general of Tuthmosis III (around 1450 BC), compared with the escape of some of the Flavians from the Capitol on 19th December AD 69. With some remarks on what The Taking of Joppa has to do with Tuthmosis III's Lateran Obelisk (cf. here Fig. 101). With The second Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini; and below, at A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna (cf. here Fig. 29).*

Yet 970 years after *The Taking of Joppa* (circa 1450 BC), at Salamis (in 480 BC), things were very different. Against all odds it was the Greeks, who defeated no less than the Persian Great King, Xerxes. Moreover, after reading Andrew Stewart's article (2021), I see another important difference. All those peoples, who were defeated by the 'predecessors' of Xerxes, the above-mentioned kings of the Near-Eastern Empires, and by the Egyptian Pharaohs, appear only on the 'state reliefs' of those sovereigns, as defeated and humiliated 'enemies' - whereas we possess no testimonia from those people themselves.

Contrary to that, we can now with Andrew Stewart (2021) discuss his "Thoughts on the 'Classical Revolution' (2500+ Years after Salamis)", that is to say, on Greek art and Greek literature after the victories at Marathon (490 BC) and Salamis (480 BC) against the Persians. And together with Stewart (2021), and with the authors of the catalogue, edited by Florian S. Knauß and Christian Gliwitzky (*SALAMIS 480*, 2021), we can study the complex relationships of Greeks and Persians (at that time, but also before and afterwards), and what consequences that had for their own societies - and for us today.

**On 15th December 2021, Edoardo Gautier di Confiengo was kind enough to send me his above-mentioned article ("La macchina della *cenatio rotunda* neroniana (Suet., *Nero*, 31), ipotesi di ricostruzione"), which had just appeared in the volume, edited by Françoise Villedieu (*La Vigna Barberini, III. La cenatio rotunda*, 2021).**

Cf. below, in Chapter *II.3.1.c*); in Chapter *V.1.i.3.b*); at Section *II*.); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.b.2*.)).

**On 17th December 2021 reached me the files of the *aurei*, issued by Trajan in AD 112/113, that represent himself with his divinized natural father, and with both his divinized natural father *Divus Traianus pater* and with his adoptive father *Divus Nerva*. Eugenio La Rocca (2021, 92, Figs. 18; 19 [= here Figs. 141.2; 141.1]) has published those coins and he was kind enough to send these files to me, after we had discussed his article in a telephone conversation.**

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

Or: *The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?) ...; at Chapter VI.2.3. My own interpretation of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here Figs. 3); and at How adoptions could be visualized on coins: Nerva/Trajan, Trajan/Hadrian, Hadrian/Aelius Caesar, Hadrian/ Antoninus Pius, Antoninus Pius/Marcus Aurelius.*

**On 19th December 2021, Mark Wilson Jones was kind enough to send me, by request, his article on the Basilica at Volubilis ("La basilique de Volubilis, quelques considérations architecturales", 2019).**

The reason of my request was the fact that Maria Teresa D'Alessio (2017; *ead.* 2019) and Maria Cristina Capanna (2019) have based their reconstruction drawings of the ground-plans of the Basilica of *Diva Matidia* and of the Basilica of *Diva Marciana* within Hadrian's Temple complex in the *Campus Martius* on Wilson Jones's drawing of the ground-plan of the Basilica at Volubilis, which was only published in 2019.

For a discussion; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ....*

Or: *The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?) ...;*

*Introduction; at Section VII. The Precinct and Temple of Diva Matidia: further new research: M.T. D'Alessio (2017; 2019), F. de Caprariis (2018), A. Carandini (2019), M.C. Capanna (2019) and F. Dell'Era (2020) follow H.-J. Beste's and H. von Hesberg's (2015) (in my opinion erroneous) reconstructions of their Precinct and Temple of Diva Matidia; at Chapter VI. The results of this discussion of this Arch of Hadrian and my 2. Conclusion. This is based on the topographical context of this Arch of Hadrian and on some considerations concerning Hadrian's accession and is in my opinion the preferable scenario; at The Templum Divae Matidiae ('Precinct of Diva Matidia') with Hadrian's Temple complex discussed here. With the correct location of the Temple of Diva Matidia (cf. here Figs. 67; 67.1), and new findings concerning the "Tempio di Siepe" and concerning the inscription TEM PL[...], which is recorded by fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan (cf. here Figs. 132- 134) and refers to a Templ(um) of Diva Sabina?, a 'Precinct of Diva Sabina?' or a 'Temple of Diva Sabina?'; and at To whom was the second temple (seemingly) within the Templum Divae Matidiae (the 'Precinct of Diva Matidia') dedicated: to Diva Sabina or to Diva Plotina? (cf. here Figs. 66; 135; 136).*

**On 19th Dezember 2021 John Bodel was kind enough to send me his *Contribution* to this volume. Because John is already mentioned as a 'Contributor' in the title of this book, published in October 2021 in the first Preview of this book on our Webserver (for his text on temple tombs, a project which, unfortunately, we later had to abandon) - I could still accept his very kind offer.**

**See below, at *The Contribution by John Bodel : The Label Inscribed on Fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan*.**

See also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

Or: *The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?) ... With ... The Contribution by John Bodel ...; Introduction; at Section X. Further new research on the Precinct of Diva Matidia : C. Parisi Presicce's (2021) identification of my Temple of Diva Sabina ? with a Temple of Diva Plotina. With related research and with The Contribution by John Bodel : The Label Inscribed on Fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan.*

**Between 22nd December 2021 and 18th January 2022, the Egyptologist Friedhelm Hoffmann of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität was kind enough to discuss with me the first Preview of this book on Domitian on our Webserver (published in October of 2021), as well as the manuscripts of the Appendices I and II to this book on Domitian.**

Hoffmann alerted me to two things, for which I am especially grateful: first of all that the transcriptions of the hieroglyphic texts in Emanuele M. Ciampini's text were not correctly represented in the Preview on our Webserver (these mistakes turned out to be caused by our application of a wrong software). Thanks to the combined efforts of Emanuele Ciampini, Franz Xaver Schütz and myself these mistakes could be corrected. To our great surprise, Hoffmann disclosed to us also that he has been studying in a research project the architectural remains of precisely that temple of the Egyptian goddess Nehemet-awy, built by Domitian at Hermopolis Magna in Egypt, which, according to Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi (2013; 2014), is represented on the Roman marble relief, allegedly 'from Ariccia' (cf. here **Fig. 111**) at the Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, which is the subject of *Appendix II*.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I. The praefectus urbi T. Flavius Sabinus, Domitian's escape from the Capitolium on 19th December AD 69, which happened on the festival of the Opalia, one day of the Saturnalia, and the 'Isis ship', shown in the processions of the Saturnalia at Cologne; at Appendix II. Again on the Egyptianizing marble relief allegedly from Ariccia at the Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps (Fig. 111) - a representation of the Egyptian festival of New Year?; at Appendix II.d) The interpretation of the relief Fig. 111 by G. Capriotti Vittozzi (2013; 2014): it is datable in the Domitianic period and represents the goddess Nehemet-awy, the parhedros of Thot, who was assimilated to Isis, in her temple at Hermopolis Magna in Egypt ('the city of the god Thot'), which was built by Domitian.*

On 18th January 2022, Friedhelm Hoffman wrote me the title of his relevant research-project: "Weltentstehung und Theologie von Hermopolis Magna. Tuna el-Gebel als Teil einer Kultlandschaft in Mittelägypten von der Spät- bis in die Römerzeit (ca. 600 v. Chr. - 400 n. Chr.)". Hoffmann told me that from Domitian's Temple of Nehemet-awy at Hermopolis Magna some fragmentary columns are preserved, which carry inscriptions that could be reconstructed in this project and that will be published in one volume of the series "Weltentstehung und Theologie von Hermopolis Magna", of which volume I has already appeared, edited by Roberto A. Diaz Hernández, Mélanie C. Flossmann-Schütze and Friedhelm Hoffmann (*Antike Kosmogonien*, 2019 = *Tuna el Gebel* Band 9). The scholars of this project have also discussed an older temple, dedicated to the same goddess at the same site: this temple had been renovated by king Nektanebis (I.) of the 30th Dynastie. To this older temple belongs a long inscription on a stela, in which the goddess Nehemet-awy is even represented. This stela will likewise be published in the same volume.

**On 11th January 2022 R.R.R. Smith sent me his article ("*Maiestas Serena: Roman Court Cameos and Early Imperial Poetry and Panegyric*", 2021), which likewise 'reached me right in time', because he adds very interesting observations to the 'Great Trajanic Frieze', with Trajan (now Constantine the Great) on horseback (here Fig. 7.1), that I was discussing in my text on Domitian at this very moment.**

Cf. below, in Chapter *Preamble; Section III; at point 5.*); and at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian.*

**Frederick E. Brenk was kind enough to send me on 16th January 2022 his forthcoming article on the Iseum Campense ("The temple of Isis in the Campus Martius in Rome: Place, Space, and Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean World", 2022), which has appeared in the meantime.**

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II.c;* and at *Appendix III.*

**On 20th January 2022 the article by Ronald T. Ridley ("The Man in the Background: The Search for Maecenas"; 2020) reached me. And on 28th January 2022, Ronald Ridley sent me, likewise by request, his article "The Fate of an Architect: Apollodoros of Damascus", 1989).**

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

Or: *The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?) ...*; at Chapter III. *Was Hadrian himself present at the suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt?*

**On 28th January 2022 reached me two generous presents by Eric M. Moormann: the printed essay volume, edited by Aurora Raimondi Cominesi, Nathalie de Haan, Eric M. Moormann, and Claire Stocks (*God on Earth: Emperor Domitian. The re-invention of Rome at the end of the 1st century AD*, 2021), and the book, written by Nathalie de Haan and Eric M. Moormann (*God op aarde Keizer Domitianus*, 2021).**

Cf. *infra*, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Sections I-III; at Chapter IV.; and at

Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; cf. also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II*.

Another consequence was that Eric M. Moormann and Nathalie de Haan were kind enough to discuss with me my Chapter IV. I am very grateful for their interest in my work and also for their corrections of my text.

**On 2nd February 2022 reached me the final version of Emanuele M. Ciampini's first *Contribution to this volume*.**

He was, in addition to this, kind enough so send me Luigi Prada's text on the pair of obelisks from the Temple of Isis at Beneventum ("Obelisk honoring Emperor Domitian and Isis", 2018), which Ciampini has quoted in his text.

See below, at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini : La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*.

**On 10th February 2022, T.P. Wiseman was kind enough to send me, on his own account, two of his articles ("The Temple of Iuppiter Stator", 2021, and "Palace-sanctuary or pavilion? Augustus' House and the limits of archaeology", 2022).**

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix V.*; at *Section IV. The (now twelve) different locations of the Temple of Iuppiter Stator, of which seven are marked on the map Fig. 73*; and in *Appendix VI. A digression on Domitian's intention to emulate Augustus and Nero*; at Sections I.; III.; V.; and XI.

**Between February 4th and 24th 2022, I could discuss with Andrew Stewart the portrait-statue of Hadrian from Hierapydna at Istanbul (here Fig. 29), the 'Relief Ruesch' (here Fig. 7), as well as the famous Alexander Mosaic from the Casa del Fauno in Pompeii, kept at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale at Naples.**

Cf. *infra*, in Chapters *Preamble*; *Section III.*; at point 5.); at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here Fig. 29); and at *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

**On 25th February 2022 Filippo Coarelli was kind enough to send me his above-mentioned article ("La praecipua cenationum rotunda"), which had recently appeared in the volume, edited Françoise Villedieu (*La Vigna Barberini, III. La cenatio rotunda*, 2021).**

Cf. *infra*, at Chapter II.3.1.c); Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section II.); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.b.2.*)).

**From 3rd until 5th March 2022 I had the chance to discuss with Eugenio la Rocca in E-mail and telephone conversations which temple could possibly have been represented on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan, a question, which he himself (2021) and Claudio Parici Presicce (2021) have recently addressed.**

Both reject my hypothesis (of 2017), to tentatively identify this temple as that of *Diva Sabina*. La Rocca (2021, 93) follows Parici Presicce (2021, *passim*, especially p. 226 with n. 42) in identifying this temple with that of *Diva Plotina* instead. Parici Presicce himself has based his hypothesis on some new observations concerning fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan (cf. here **Figs. 132-136**).

In order to evaluate those contradictory hypotheses, I, therefore, asked Francesca de Caprariis on 8th March 2022, whether it is possible to study several fragments of the Severan Marble Plan, and especially fragment 36b. I am very grateful that on 6th May 2022, Francesca de Caprariis has kindly arranged in the Antiquarium Comunale at Rome that we could study fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan : apart from Franz Xaver Schütz and myself also Claudio Parici Presicce and Eugenio La Rocca came to this meeting.

As a result of my new research on those hypotheses, my discussions with John Bodel, who was kind enough to write the following *Contribution* to this volume ("The Label Inscribed on Fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan"), and especially after viewing fragment 36b now for the first time myself, I maintain my suggestion of 2017 (cf. here **Fig. 66**) of tentatively attributing this temple to *Diva Sabina*.

For a detailed discussion of all aspects of this topic; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at:

*A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

*Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?) ...; at Introduction; Section X. Further new research on the Precinct of Diva Matidia : C. Parici Presicce's (2021) identification of my Temple of Diva Sabina ? with a Temple of Diva Plotina. With related research and with The Contribution by John Bodel : The Label Inscribed on Fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan;*

*and at Chapter VI. The results of this discussion of this Arch of Hadrian and my 2. Conclusion. This is based on the topographical context of this Arch of Hadrian and on some considerations concerning Hadrian's accession and is in my opinion the preferable scenario; at The Templum Divae Matidiae ('Precinct of Diva Matidia') with Hadrian's Temple complex discussed here. With the correct location of the Temple of Diva Matidia (cf. here **Figs. 67; 67.1**), and new findings concerning the "Tempio di Siepe", and concerning the TEM PL[...], which is recorded by the inscription on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan (cf. here **Figs. 132-134**) and refers to a Templ(um) of Diva Sabina?: a 'Precinct of Diva Sabina' ? or a Temple of Diva Sabina?; at To whom was the second temple (seemingly) within the Templum Divae Matidiae (the 'Precinct of Diva Matidia') dedicated: to Diva Sabina or to Diva Plotina? (cf. here **Figs. 66; 135; 136**); and at The "Tempio di Siepe" (cf. here **Figs. 69.1; 69.2**).*

See also below, at *The Contribution by John Bodel: The Label Inscribed on Fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan*.

**On 11th March 2022 the book by Friderike Senkbeil reached me (*Tacitus und Rom. Die urbs Roma als Raum der erzählten Welt in den Historien und Annalen*, 2022), kindly sent me by Peter Herz.**

Cf. below, in Chapters *Preamble*; at Section II.; at *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.b*).

**Francesca de Caprariis, whom I had asked on 8th March 2022 to give us also access to fragments 23a-d and 24b of the Severan Marble Plan, which represent the 'Porticus Aemilia'/ Navalvia at La Marmorata, was kind enough to send me on 13th March 2022, on her own account, two of her own publications on this subject.**

Cf. Francesca de Caprariis ("L'invisibile Roma dei Fulvi", 2019; and "Public buildings and Urban Landscape: A View from the Riverfront", forthcoming 2022. This article has been published in the meantime and Francesca de Caprariis was kind enough to provide with on 16th February 2023 with a scan of it).

On 6th May 2022, we had the chance to study together with her at the Antiquarium Comunale also the fragments 23a-d and 24b of the Severan Marble Plan.

De Caprariis (2022, 131, n. 49) mentions a text by Renato Sebastiani (*et al.* 2016), from which we learn the title of another of their articles, published in *BABESCH* of 2015. I have, therefore, called the editor of this periodical, my good friend Eric M. Moormann in Amsterdam, who, in his turn, on his own account, contacted Gert-Jan Burgers for me, for which I am likewise very grateful indeed.

As a result of Eric Moormann's initiative, Gert-Jan Burgers was kind enough to send me on 21st March 2022 this article which he published together with his co-excavators Raphaëlle-Anne Kok-Merlino and Renato Sebastiani ("The Imperial *horrea* of the *Porticus Aemilia*", 2015).

And on 28th March, two more articles on these excavations by Gert-Jan Burgers reached me, which the author was kind enough to send me as well by request. They were written by himself and by his co-excavators Valerio De Leonardis, Sara Della Ricca, Raphaëlle-Anne Kok-Merlino, Matteo Merlino, Renato Sebastiani and Franco Tella ("*Porticus una extra Portam Trigemina*: nuove considerazioni sulla *Porticus Aemilia*", 2014a, and "Le trasformazioni del paesaggio subaventino nell'età tardoantica: il caso di studio della *Porticus Aemilia*", 2014b).

Finally, on 11th May 2022, Franz Xaver Schütz had the chance to I visit ourselves the quartiere Testaccio and especially the area, called *La Marmorata* in past centuries, with the enormous *opus incertum* building, identified by many scholars (in my opinion erroneously) with the *Porticus Aemilia*.

In addition to this, we met on 19th May 2022 with Laura Gigli at the Church of Santa Passera, located on the opposite (right) bank of the Tiber. Both, the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* and the Church of Santa Passera (cf. here **Figs. 102; 103**) loom large in the following text. Unfortunately, the Rettore of the Church of Santa Passera, whom Laura had asked to give us access to the church, could not join us that day, which is why we need to postpone this detail of our research to a future publication.

For discussions of all that; cf. *infra*, at *A Study of the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part II. *Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalìa) and of the Horrea Aemiliana. With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?*

See also below, at *The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung*; and at *The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?*

**Claudia Valeri was kind enough to send me on 26th March 2022, on request, the article by Cecilia Ricci ("La sicurezza degli imperatori nelle ville di Praeneste e Albanum", 2021).**

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b) Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the Templum Pacis, and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum.*

**On 3rd April 2022, Amanda Claridge was kind enough to send my, by request, the article by T.P. Wiseman ("Walls, gates and stories: Detecting Rome's riverside defences", 2021a).**

Cf. *infra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part II. *Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalía) and of the Horrea Aemiliana.* With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?

**On 4th May 2022, Helen Whitehouse, whom I had called in Oxford, and Panorea Alexandratos were kind enough to help me acquire a photo from a drawing of the Paper Museum of Cassiano Dal Pozzo (cf. here Fig. 106), and to get in touch with the Royal Collection Trust at London.**

This drawing represents the above-mentioned relief with three Tiber ships, carved on the plinth of the colossal marble statue of the River God Tiber, which Domitian had commissioned for the Iseum Campense at Rome, after this sanctuary had been destroyed in the great fire of AD 80. This statue of the River God Tiber is on display in the Louvre at Paris (here **Fig. 104**), and the drawing of the three Tiber ships is kept at Windsor, at the Royal Library (RL 8739). It had been, of course, Amanda Claridge who, when discussing with her the photo of one of those Tiber ships, which transports a huge block of marble, and has been published by Patrizio Pensabene and Javier Á. Domingo (2016-2017, 573, Fig. 15 [= here **Fig. 105**]), alerted me to the fact that all three Tiber ships, represented on this relief, have been documented on a drawing, kept in the Paper Museum of Cassiano Dal Pozzo (here **Fig. 106**).

On 6th May 2022, an E-mail of Daniel Partridge of the Royal Collection Trust (London) reached me, who informed me that, according to their regulations concerning scholarly publications, I may publish the image of this drawing (here **Fig. 106**). For this generous offer I am very grateful indeed.

Cf. *infra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part II. *Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalía) and of the Horrea Aemiliana.* With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?; at Section II. *Ships in the Portus Augusti* (here **Figs. 98; 99**) and on the Tiber (here **Figs. 105; 106**), which supplied the city of Rome with goods from all over the Empire, and the men, who provided these services.

**On the 13th of May 2022, Franz Xaver Schütz and I had the chance to meet with Filippo Coarelli in Rome. We discussed my reconstruction of Hadrian's Temple complex in the Campus Martius (cf. here Fig. 66), and Coarelli was kind enough to offer me to read the manuscript, in which all this is discussed: the Introduction of my text *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination*.**

Coarelli, after having read this *Introduction*, told me in a telephone conversation of 9th June 2022 that, in his opinion, the temple represented on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan cannot possibly have been dedicated to *Diva Sabina*, as I myself propose (cf. here **Fig. 66**). The reason being the suggestion by François Chausson ("Temples des Diui et Diuae de la dynastie antonine", 2001) that *Diva Sabina* may have been worshipped in the Temple of *Divus Hadrianus*, the *Hadrianeum* (here **Fig. 66**).

If true, this hypothesis would preclude my assumption of a separate Temple of *Diva Sabina* in the area of the *Campus Martius* under scrutiny here. When writing my earlier *Study* on the subject, published in 2017, I had managed to overlook this publication by Chausson (2001). I have, therefore, now added to this *Introduction* the below-quoted Section XIV., in which I discuss Chausson's hypothesis (2001), as well as all similar more recent hypotheses.

In addition to this; I have asked the numismatist Angelo Geißen for advice, who was kind enough to study for me some coins, issued by Antoninus Pius in 150-151 AD; those coins are believed by some of the just-



mentioned scholars to show the *Hadrianeum*. And because some of those coins represent *two cult-statues* in the *cella* of the represented temple, this is taken by those scholars for the proof, that, in the *Hadrianeum*, *Diva Sabina* was worshipped together with *Divus Hadrianus*. But it is not as easy as that. See below, at Angelo Geißen's second *Contribution* to this book on Domitian : *Zum 'Hadrianeum' auf Münzen des Antoninus Pius*.

**As a result of all this, I maintain my earlier tentative hypothesis (of 2017; cf. here Fig. 66) that the temple, represented on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan was dedicated to 'Diva Sabina'.**

For a discussion; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination : Nerva is forced to adopt Trajan and Trajan creates Domitian's negative image to consolidate his own reign. With Hadrian's adoption manquée in late October or at the beginning of November of AD 97, his 20-year long road to his accession and his thanksgivings for it, his Temple complex in the Campus Martius. Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?) ... With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz, with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz, with The Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen; Introduction; at Section XIV. Further new research: F. Chausson's (2001) idea that the Hadrianeum was possibly dedicated to Divus Hadrianus and to Diva Sabina, and recent discussions of this hypothesis. With The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen : *Zum 'Hadrianeum' auf Münzen des Antoninus Pius*.*

**On 16th of May 2022, Claudia Valeri accompanied me to the two headless cuirassed statues in the Musei Vaticani, Museo Chiaramonti (inv. nos. 1250 and 1254), the possible portraits of Domitian (inv. no. 1254; here Fig. 6, right) and of Vespasian or Titus (inv. no. 1250; here Fig. 6, left), which, as already mentioned above, we had already in vain planned to study together on 9th March 2020.**

On that occasion, Claudia provided me also with a publication, in which both statues (here Fig. 6, left and right) have been discussed; cf. Maria Grazia Picozzi ("Le antichità", in: C. PIETRANGELI (ed.), *Palazzo Ruspoli*, 1992, p. 246 with n. 54 (when in this collection, these statues were identified with Hadrian and Antoninus Pius), p. 248 with n. 67, p. 251, with ns. 105-108).

See below, at *The second Contribution by Claudia Valeri on the two headless cuirassed statues of Flavian emperors at the Museo Chiaramonti (inv. nos. 1250; 1254; cf. here Fig. 6, left and right);* and in Chapter *Preamble*, at Sections II. and III.; in *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna (cf. here Fig. 29);* and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.) The Ogulnian monument (a statue group representing the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, standing underneath the sacred fig tree ficus Ruminalis), and she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus on a headless cuirassed statue of a Flavian emperor (Domitian?) in the Vatican Museums (cf. here Fig. 6, right) and on Hadrian's cuirassed statue from Hierapydna at Istanbul (cf. here Fig. 29). Exactly like the statue of the ficus Ruminalis on the Anaglypha Hadriani (cf. here Figs 21; 22), the lupa and the twins on those cuirasses symbolize Rome's claim to eternal power and divine mission, and that it was the task of the Roman emperor to fulfill this obligation (cf. C. Parisi Presicce 2000, 28, 29). With a discussion of the meaning of the lupa and the twins on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here Fig. 31).*

**My thanks are also due to our good friend Laura Gigli in Rome, who has been studying the area of the Piazza Capranica in the *Campus Martius* for a very long time, and with whom I could discuss from 19th June to 12th July 2022 the following ideas on the telephone and in E-mail conversations.**

First of all I asked Laura to take photographs, if possible, of the two shafts of cipollino columns, inserted into the west- and east-walls of the courtyard of the Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario (cf. here Fig. 62.6), which have been documented on Nolli's map (cf. here Figs. 62; 62.1; 62.1.A; 62.2), that I was studying at that time. This palazzo stands on the south-side of Piazza Capranica and has today the mailing address 'Piazza Capranica number 78'.

Laura, who, despite the great heat in Rome at that time, was kind enough to go several times for us to this palazzo, found out the following by discussing the matter with people, whom she met there: the impressive portal of the Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario on Piazza Capranica, through which, at Nolli's time, this cortile had obviously been accessible, still exists, but the cortile itself not (cf. here **Fig. 62**, Nolli's index number 328; cf. **Figs. 62.6; 66**, labels: Piazza Capranica; Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario). Nowadays there are only two very small 'chiostri di servizio', which also appear in the current cadastre/ the photogrammetric data (cf. here **Fig. 62.3**). Laura was also kind enough to take photographs of the cipollino column on the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando for us (here **Fig. 62.7**), also documented on Nolli's map.

And when I sent Laura a first draft of my relevant text, *inter alia* accompanied by a photo of the buildings standing on the south-side of Piazza Capranica, published by Ferruccio Lombardi (1992, 120), she realized that this image must have been taken from the Torre Capranica within Palazzo Capranica, which stands on the north-side of Piazza Capranica (cf. here **Fig. 66**). Laura was kind enough to contact for me, on her own account, Dott. Richard Sasson of "A World Apart", which is accommodated at the Torre Capranica. To the effect that, thanks to Laura's energetic initiative, and thanks to the great kindness of Dott. Richard Sasson, and of the photographer of this splendid image, Signora Francesca Maiolino, I may publish here this photograph from his own collection, which shows the entire Piazza Capranica, as seen from the Torre Capranica (!), looking south-west (cf. here **Fig. 62.6**).

For discussions of all this; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at:

*A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination : Nerva is forced to adopt Trajan and Trajan creates Domitian's negative image to consolidate his own reign. With Hadrian's adoption manquée in late October or at the beginning of November of AD 97, his 20-year long road to his accession and his thanksgivings for it, his Temple complex in the Campus Martius.*

*Or : The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva, and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here **Fig. 3**). With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz, with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz (cf. here **Fig. 77**), with The Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen;*

*Introduction; at Section III. The Precinct and Temple of Diva Matidia: my new research, motivated by Francesca Dell'Era's (2020) critique of my first reconstruction of the Temple of Diva Sabina ?*

**Hans-Ulrich Cain, who has himself recently studied the area of the *Campus Martius* in his already mentioned article ("Dynastischer Memorialraum und Herrschernekropole - das römische Marsfeld im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.", 2021), was kind enough to discuss with me in telephone- and E-mail conversations between 4th and 19th July 2022 my own ideas presented here: he has read the *Introduction* of the relevant *Study*, as well as several of the other *Chapters*, and has written me his comments.**

*Cf. infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ... Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?)*.

**On 4th July 2022, Hans-Ulrich Cain sent me another of his publications ("Der sterbende Gallier im Kapitol - heroischer Elitekrieger oder rabiater Barbar?", 2022). Here he discusses the article by Alexander Heinemann ("Jupiter, die Flavier und das Kapitol oder: Wie man einen Bürgerkrieg gewinnt", 2016), which is, of course, also of great importance to this *Study*, and that I had managed to overlook so far. - And on 27th July 2022, Alexander Heinemann was kind enough to send me his article of 2016.**

See below, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III.; at point 1.); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.a*); and at *Appendix I.b*).

**As another result of our conversations, Hans-Ulrich Cain sent me on 19th July 2022, on request, his own article ("Die Bildhauerkunst zur Zeit der antoninischen Kaiser (138-192 n. Chr.)", 2019), in which he too discusses Hadrian's Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) portrait-type (here Fig. 3), and that I had also overlooked so far. I am glad to say that independently of him and for different reasons, I have come in my relevant text to exactly the same conclusions concerning the date and meaning of the marble copies of this portrait-type.**

For a discussion, see below, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian; and infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ... Or: The wider topographical context ...*; at Chapter VI.2. *Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ )*; at Chapter VI.2.3. *My own interpretation of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here Figs. 3)*; and at Chapter VI.2.3. *Why does Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) appear on his aurei of AD 138 with his DIVIS PARENTIBVS on the reverses (here Fig. 139)? The answer is provided by a comparison of those aurei with Hadrian's tetradrachma (cf. here Fig. 138), issued at Alexandria in AD 137/ 138 to commemorate his adoption of the future Antoninus Pius on 25th February AD 138.*

*With a discussion of the observations by H.-U. Cain (2019, 1-2) concerning Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here Fig. 3), and concerning the portrait-types of his successors, all adopted in AD 138: the portrait-type of the future Antoninus Pius, created on the occasion of his adoption by Hadrian, which intentionally shows great similarities with Hadrian's own later portraits; and of the portrait-types of the future Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, created on the occasion of their adoptions by Antoninus Pius, that are intentionally very similar as Hadrian's youthful portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (here Fig. 3) (for these portrait-types of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus; cf. H.-U. CAIN 2019, 1-2, Abb. 1-3). Cain (2019, 2) writes that Hadrian "in seinen letzten Lebensjahren 136–138 n. Chr. sein eigenes Jugendbildnis [here Fig. 3] aktualisieren ließ, als ihm die Nachfolgeregelung zu einem vordringlichen Anliegen geworden war".*

**Discussing (again) with Laura Gigli the various excavations, conducted at the *Porticus Octaviae*, she was kind enough to send me on 5th October 2022, by request, the article by the late architect Giuliano Sacchi.**

Cf. Giuliano Sacchi ("Un palazzo patrizio del tardo Cinquecento nel Rione Sant'Angelo : sopravvivenze medievali e antichi resti del lato nord-orientale della *Porticus Octaviae* ; contributo alla conoscenza del manufatto e documenti di cantiere : con appendice di Pier Nicola Pagliara ; il palazzo Patrizi a Santa Caterina dei Funari", 1995 [1996]).

**And Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio, with whom I likewise discussed again the excavations conducted at the *Porticus Octaviae* by the late Paola Ciancio Rossetto, published 2017, sent me on 7th October 2022, on her own account, two more publications by Ciancio Rossetto on the following subjects ("*Porticus Octaviae: fase augustea*", 2018; and *ead.*, "*Porticus Octaviae: fase severiana*", 2021).**

In addition to this, Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio sent me, on 11th October 2022, on her own account, the last article, written by Paola Ciancio Rossetto on the *Porticus Octaviae* ("Il portico d'Ottavia all'inizio del III secolo. Dall'analisi archeologica e architettonica nuovi elementi per la ricostruzione tridimensionale", 2022). Ciancio Rossetto's last article on this subject has in the meantime (posthumously) appeared in the Proceedings of a conference, held at Caen in 2019, and edited by Philippe Fleury and Sophie Madeleine (*Topographie et urbanisme de la Rome antique Actes du colloque organisé à Caen (11-13 décembre 2019)*, 2022).

And on 25th October 2022, Francesca Deli, Assistant Librarian of the British School, was kind enough to send me, on request, a scan of the following publication for me: Paola di Manzano ("Via Cavalletti", 1989-1990). Together with Giuliano Sacchi, the archaeologist Paola di Manzano had excavated finds in the basements of Palazzo Patrizi Clementi at the Via Cavalletti that belong to northern part of the *Porticus Octaviae*.

Paola Ciancio Rossetto (2017-2022) writes in all her articles that the architectural finds, excavated in the basements of Palazzo Patrizi Clementi, which belong to the *Porticus Octaviae*, are not accessible any more.

Those finds had been excavated and documented in exemplary fashion by the director of this excavation, the architect Giuliano Sacchi (1995); see also the publications by his colleagues, the archaeologists Paola di Manzano (1989-1990; cf. *ead.* 1990), and Roberto Giustini (1990). Ciancio Rossetto (2022, p 270, n. 91) writes also that the entire original documentation of this excavation, directed by Giuliano Sacchi, which, according to Ciancio Rossetto, had been kept in the archive of the Superintendency of the State at Palazzo Altemps, had disappeared, when she went there in order to consult these documents (!).

On 3rd November 2022, Paola di Manzano was kind enough to write me an E-Mail. Laura Gigli had found her address for me, telling her that I would like to send her my text, in which I have discussed her excavation at the *Porticus Octaviae*. As I had hoped, di Manzano still has her own documentary material of this excavation, since she had always hoped to publish herself the *Porticus Octaviae*. In this E-mail, di Manzano kindly offered me to send me her material. I thanked her for her generous offer, but because I do not know the relevant architectural finds in the basements of Palazzo Patrizi Clementi from autopsy, where she, Giuliano Sacchi and other colleagues had excavated, and because there is no chance right now that she and I could visit the site together, I rather refrain for the time being from such a research project. I have, therefore, suggested to her to donate her own material, that refers to the excavation of the *Porticus Octaviae*, to one of the Superintendencies of Rome: hoping that other scholars will be able to study it, who wish to pursue research on the *Porticus Octaviae*. On 8th November 2022, Paola di Manzano has kindly granted me the permission by E-mail to mention here the generous offer she has made me.

For a discussion of all that; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ... Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?) ...*; Introduction; at Section I. *The motivation to write this Study: W. Eck's (2019b) new interpretation of the inscription CIL VI 40518 (cf. here Fig. 91.1), the decision to correct my own relevant errors in my earlier Study (2017), and the subjects discussed here, as told by the accompanying figures and their pertaining captions.*

**Francesca Deli made on 25th October 2022 also a scan of the following publication for me: Maria Teresa D'Alessio ("Il Tempio di Adriano nel Campo Marzio nuove proposte ricostruttive", 2014), for which I am very grateful.**

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination: ... The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?) ... With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz, with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz, with The Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen*;  
Introduction; at Section XIV. *Further new research: F. Chausson's (2001) idea that the Hadrianeum was possibly dedicated to Divus Hadrianus and to Diva Sabina, and recent discussions of this hypothesis. With The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen : Zum 'Hadrianeum' auf Münzen des Antoninus Pius.*

**On 28th October 2022 Emanuele M. Ciampini kindly informed me by E-mail that the paper, prepared by himself and by the Egyptologist Federica Pancin, had been accepted for a Conference in January of 2023.**

This Conference had the following title: *The Damned Despot : Rethinking Domitian and the Flavian World*", and was held at Rome from 18-21 January 2023. This Conference was organized by Antony Augoustakis, Emma Buckley, Nathalie de Haan, Eric Moormann, Maria Paola del Moro, Massimiliano Munzi, Claudio Parisi Presicce, Aurora Raimondi Cominesi, and Claire Stocks.

In their paper, Ciampini and Pancin presented the results of their current research on the Egyptian inscriptions, created at Rome in the Flavian period, comprising those on Domitian's obelisk. The title of the paper by Emanuele M. Ciampini and Federica Pancin was:

"**And may the land be prosperous in the time of the dynasty whose name is Flavii'. Thoughts on the Egyptian Domitian** [my emphasis]". The first part of the title of their paper is a quote from Domitian's obelisk; cf. E.M. Ciampini (2004,159, H.7). Cf. *supra*, at *What this Study is all about?*; and *infra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section *III.*; at point 5.).

**On 20th November 2022 reached me an Email by Peter Herz, who was kind enough to send me the review by Frederick Naerebout (2022) of Raymond Marks and Marcello Mogetta, *Domitian's Rome and the Augustan Legacy* (2021).**

Naerebout discusses among other things the notorious, but unjustified reproach in ancient literary sources, also followed by authors of this volume, according to which Domitian had demanded to be addressed as '*dominus et deus*', not only in official ceremonies at Rome, but also in official texts. This has already been refuted by John Pollini (2012, 103 with n. 167, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter *I.2.*, at n. 227).

Cf. below, in Chapter *Preamble*; at Section *II.*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section *I.*

**Hans Rupprecht Goette was kind enough to send me, on his own account, two more recent publications by Werner Eck ("B. Bar-Kochba-Aufstand" and "E. Jüdischer Krieg", in: *Militär-geschichte der griechisch-römischen Antike, Der Neue Pauly, Supplemente Band 12, 2022*).**

Contrary to his earlier publications (cf. W. ECK, P. HOLDER, and A. PANGERL 2010; and W. ECK 2012), Eck (2022, Sp. 485, 486) expresses in his most recent publication on the subject doubts that Hadrian had himself led a campaign to suppress the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

Cf. *infra*, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here Fig. 29); in Chapter *The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

*Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?)...; at Chapter III. Was Hadrian himself present at the suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt?; and infra, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.c.2.).*

**In the autumn of 2022, I have realized that I would be unable to publish my entire book on Domitian on our Webserver by the end of this year.**

I have, therefore, prepared two more Previews for this book on Domitian for our Webserver, published there in December of 2022. Namely the Chapters "What this *Study* is all about", and the closely related Chapter "The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps". In order to explain the delay of the publication of this book, I have written E-mails to those scholars, who had been so generous as to write *Contributions* for this book and to other colleagues and friends, providing them with links to those two texts.

In her reply to my E-mail Laura Gigli has discussed a remark in my text "The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps", in which I follow a hypothesis of Giandomenico Spinola, which he had kindly told me on 24th September 2018, and which is quoted *infra*, in Chapter *III.*. See also below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs.*

Like myself, Spinola (*op.cit.*) is convinced that Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs showed from the beginning the Emperor Vespasian and his younger son Domitian (*i.e.*, the togate youth standing in front of Vespasian; cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing, figures: 14** [Vespasian]; **12** [Domitian]). Spinola suggests that Vespasian's gesture to lay his lifted right hand on Domitian's left shoulder means the "legittimazione" of Domitian's

(future) reign as emperor (in reality, Vespasian's hand does not touch Domitian's shoulder, but from a distance it looks like this). For a detailed discussion; cf. *infra*, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*. Laura Gigli wrote me her comments on this hypothesis in an E-mail of 27th December 2022; and because I find her comments very interesting, she has kindly allowed me to publish them here.

**See below, at *The second Contribution by Laura Gigli : Il Potere dell'immagine*.**

On 31st December 2022 an E-mail by Maria Paola Del Moro reached me, whom I had asked to tell me the editors of their exhibition catalogue on Domitian. Maria Paola Del Moro was kind enough to provide me with this information. The full reference to this catalogue is: Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi and Maria Paola Del Moro (a cura di), *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore* ([Roma:] Gangemi Editore 2023).

On 1st January 2023, I could again discuss with Andrew Stewart in an E-mail correspondence the 'Relief Ruesch' (here **Fig. 7**) and the Alexander Mosaic. Cf. *infra*, in Chapter *Preamble; Section III.; at point 5.*; and *infra*, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

**After we had published a Preview of the Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian* (cf. *infra*) on our Webserver, Alexander Heinemann has asked me in an E-mail of 26th January 2023, whether I could provide him with publications, in which it has been demonstrated that the labyrinth in the great 'Peristyle' of Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, the 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana* (cf. here **Figs. 8.1; 58**), which in its current state is heavily restored, is actually ancient.**

Franz Xaver Schütz was kind enough to make a special research on the Internet, finding an article by Staffan Lundén ("The Palatine Labyrinth. Was it built in the 1<sup>st</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> Century?", 2004), who believes that this labyrinth was 'invented' by its excavator Giacomo Boni. Lundén quotes *inter alia* 'La Rocca 1994'. Discussing Lundén's article (2004) with Alexander Heinemann and Eugenio La Rocca, La Rocca was kind enough to answer my relevant questions by E-mail on 18th February 2023. He provides evidence which proves beyond any doubt that this labyrinth, which Boni had excavated and later restored, is indeed ancient. With La Rocca's kind consent, I may publish here his E-mail as his second *Contribution* to this volume.

**See below, at *The second Contribution by Eugenio La Rocca : Una nota sul labirinto del Palatino*.**

Cf. *infra*, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image; Section III. My own thoughts about Domitian. With The second Contribution by Eugenio La Rocca: Una nota sul labirinto del Palatino; at point 4.*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the Templum Pacis, and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum*.

On 16th February 2023 Hans Rupprecht Goette was kind enough to send me, by his own account, the following publication by Werner Eck ("Iudaea/Syria Palaestina und seine militärische Besatzung: Ein Beispiel für Römische Realpolitik", 2022a).

Cf. *infra*, at Chapter *The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps*.

Peter Herz, with whom I had been discussing from the very beginning all subjects revolving around ancient Rome's new commercial riverport, at *La Marmorata* in the quartiere 'Testaccio', was kind enough to send me on 25th February 2023 the sixth *Contribution* to this volume. In this text, Herz describes the great difficulties to supply the city of Rome with all kinds of goods needed for its already in antiquity more than one million inhabitants.

**See below, at *The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung*.**

Cf. *infra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part II. *Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalìa) and of the Horrea Aemiliana.* With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?

The following publications have reached me so late that I could not discuss them in this *Study* any more, but I wish at least to mention them here, and have also added those references to the relevant *Chapters*.

**Patrizio Pensabene, with whom I had discussed on the telephone and in an E-mail correspondence the publication on our Webserver of the Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*, was kind enough to tell and write me on 25th March 2023 that he and Francesca Caprioli are about to finish a book on the 'Domus Flavia' on the Palatine (*Par domus caelo est* [Mart. 8,36,12], in press).**

**Pensabene sent me on 25th March 2023, in addition to this, two of his recent publications; cf. Pensabene and Javier Domingo ("Capitolo I L'area della Basilica e del Convento e il Tempio di Claudio", in: Franco Astolfi and Alia Englen: *Caelius II Tomo 2 Pars Superior La Basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo e il Tempio di Claudio*, 2022), as well as the article by Pensabene, which has been published in the same volume ("5. Recupero e riuso dell'antico nei SS. Giovanni e Paolo: gli elementi architettonici", 2022).**

As already mentioned above, Patrizio Pensabene and Javier Domingo (2022) discuss in their article not only the Temple of the divinized Claudius, but also the enormous "aula absidata" as they refer to it, called by other scholars the *Augusteum*, that was located in the southern portico, surrounding the *Claudianum*, which is represented on the Severan Marble Plan.

For this *Augusteum*, where she suggests that the statues discussed by her were possibly on display (or alternatively within the *Claudianum*); cf. Emilia Talamo (in: E. LA ROCCA *et al.* 2011, 230-231, cat. no. "3.7 Statua di Agrippina minore come orante"), Roma; Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini (inv. no. 1882), "Grovacca del Wadi Hammamat (Egitto)"; this torso is restored with a plaster cast of the statue's head in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek at Copenhagen; cf. p. 232, cat. no. "3.8 Statua di fanciullo togato", Britannicus (?), Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi (inv. no. 1914). As already mentioned above, I myself wonder, whether the head of this statue actually belongs to the statue; cf. Häuber (2014a, 395-399).

We have also heard above, that John Pollini has now dedicated a study to the portrait-type of Claudius's son Britannicus ("New Observations on the imperial reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias and the portraiture of Claudius, Britannicus, and the young Nero", 2021). But Pollini (2021) does not consider in his article the "Statua di fanciullo togato", Britannicus (?), Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi (inv. no. 1914), discussed by Talamo (2011).

According to Pensabene and Domingo (2022, 54) this enormous "aula absidata"/ the *Augusteum*, located in the southern portico surrounding the *Claudianum*, accommodated a cult of members of the Flavian dynasty, and that Vespasian, who had built this phase of the *Claudianum*, thus had aimed to 'add' a cult of his own dynasty to that of the Iulio-Claudians. Pensabene and Domingo (2022, 54) suggest that the statues of Claudius's family (thus referring to the just-mentioned portrait-statues of Agrippina *minor* and of the presumed Britannicus ?), were possibly on display within the Temple of *Divus Claudius*: "... la definizione dell'ampliamento del recinto porticato della piazza [surrounding the *Claudianum*] nella fase vespasiana, ha consentito di approfondire la funzione di alcune strutture segnalate dalla FUR [*i.e.*, the Forma Urbis Romae, the Severan Marble Plan] sul portico del lato sud, in particolare quella di un'enorme aula absidata molto probabilmente destinata al culto dei membri della famiglia flavia, che si aggiunse a quella dei giulio-claudi le cui statue dovevano forse trovarsi nel tempio centrale".

We have also heard above that Thorsten Opper (2021, 128 Fig. 144 "Statua of Agrippina performing a sacrifice") suggests that this portrait-statue is carved from basanite (*basanites*) instead.

Pensabene and Domingo (2022), who have studied the fragmentary architectural marbles from both the *Templum Pacis* and the Vespasianic phase of the *Claudianum*, convincingly stress the great similarities of both buildings. The great "aula absidata"/ the *Augusteum* in the southern portico surrounding the *Claudianum* actually occupied the same position as the Temple of Pax within the *Templum Pacis* (cf. for both here **Fig. 58**). Finally I found Pier Luigi Tucci's recent article on the *Templum Pacis* ("Il Tempio della Pace : ricostruzioni e istruzioni per l'uso", 2022), which, in my opinion, should be considered in this context as well.

**In future studies all these above-summarized new observations concerning the *Claudianum* and the *Templum Pacis* will hopefully be considered together.**

And provided, this could actually become a new research project, also the above-mentioned new findings by Francesco Paolo Arata should be considered as well. Arata (2012) has discussed an excavation at the Casina Salvi on the western slope of the Caelian, where Domitianic foundations were found, which Arata (convincingly) attributes to the pillars of Domitian's branch of the *Aqua Claudia*, built by the emperor from the Caelian to the Palatine in order to provide his Palace 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana* with water. As Arata is able to demonstrate, the building history of the *Aqua Claudia* on the Caelian is closely related to the building history of the *Claudianum*.

**In addition to this, we should not forget a fundamental problem that Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani has recently reminded us of that everyone faces, who publishes his or her ideas on the just-mentioned subjects.**

In his review of Pier Luigi Tucci's book on the *Templum Pacis* (2017), **Santangeli Valenzani observes** (2018, quoted *verbatim* in more detail *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*): "**that in some cases the book [i.e., P.L. TUCCI 2017] has already been outdated by the results of the latest research ... [listing in the following some examples for this fact]. Naturally these lacunae cannot be attributed to Tucci (except for the choice of publishing a monograph on a monument that is still being excavated) [my emphasis]**".

For discussions of all those subjects; cf. below, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III.; at point 3.); in Chapter IV.1.1.g) *The controversy concerning the "ARCUS AD ISIS" that is visible on a relief from the Tomb of the Haterii* (cf. here **Figs. 89; 90**): it cannot be identified with the *Arco di Camilliano* to the east of the *Iseum Campense*, but stood instead near the Temple of Isis et Serapis in Regio III. With a summary of Domitian's 'pharaonic project', called 'Colosseum city'; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*) *Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the Templum Pacis, and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum; and in Appendix VI.; at Section XII.*

**On 27th March 2023 reached me the article by Eugenio La Rocca and Lorenzo Kosmopoulos ("Il Templum Gentis Flaviae", 2023), published in the exhibition-catalogue, edited by Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi and Maria Paola Del Moro, *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore*, which I had asked La Rocca to provide me with.**

Cf. below, in Chapter IV.1.1.h) *The new findings by B.E. Borg (2019) concerning the Templum Gentis Flaviae support the hypothesis suggested here that Domitian's obelisk* (cf. here **Fig. 28**) *was commissioned for the Iseum Campense. With some observations concerning the Temple of Divus Traianus at Italica, and concerning the Marble Forum at the Colonia Augusta Emerita (Mérida) in Spain. With The Contributions by Eric M. Moormann, Mario Torelli, and Walter Trillmich, and with The second Contribution by Jörg Rüpke; cf. also infra, in volume 3-2, in Appendix VI.; at Sections II.; and XII.*



**On 29th March 2023, Stephan Faust was kind enough to send me his exhibition-catalogue (*Im Angesicht der Gottheit. Kultbilder in Religion und Gesellschaft der Antike*, 2022).**

In this publication, which I fortunately received 'right in time', Faust presents, among many other famous sculptures, two cult-statues with excellent illustrations that are also discussed in this book. With Faust's kind consent, I have, therefore, decided to reproduce his figures also in this book. The first example is the cult-statue of Zeus in his temple at Olympia. Faust (2022, 9-10, Abb. 1 [= here **Fig. 14**]) has chosen the reconstruction by Antoine Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy, a coloured lithography, which the author published in his book *Le Jupiter olympien* (1815). A digital version of this book is provided by the "Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg digital, Quatremère de Quincy, *Le Jupiter olympien* 1815, Frontispiz". The second example is the already above-mentioned bronze statuette of 'Jupiter Capitolinus', datable to the 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, which is kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York; cf. Faust (2022, 22-24, Abb. 4 [= here **Fig. 20.1**]).

Cf. *infra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**)...; at Part I. *The statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori* (cf. here **Fig. 11**), the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524; cf. here **Fig. 29.1**), and the cult-statue of *Divus Vespasianus* in the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); and at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here **Fig. 10**); at Part II. *The Capitoline Triad in statuette format at Guidonia Montecelio (Roma), Museo Civico Archeologico 'Rodolfo Lanciani'* (cf. here **Fig. 13**) and the colossal statue of Jupiter at the Hermitage (cf. here **Fig. 10**).

On 31st March 2023, an E-mail by Filippo Coarelli reached me, who wrote me, by request, the reference to the catalogue of the exhibition on Alexander the Great, which he is preparing: Filippo Coarelli and Eugenio Lo Sardo (a cura di), *Alessandro Magno e l'Oriente. La scoperta e lo stupore*, to be opened on 29th May 2023 at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli.

Cf. *infra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III.; at point 5.).

**Claudia Valeri was kind enough to send me, by request, on 5th April 2023 her Contribution to the exhibition-catalogue *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore*, edited by Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi and Maria Paola Del Moro ("La Villa di Domiziano sul lago di Albano", 2023).**

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b) Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal*. With detailed discussion of the *Templum Pacis*, and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum.

**Also Eric M. Moormann sent me, by request, on 7th April his Contributions to the catalogue *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore* (cf. *id.*, "Il riordinamento di Roma sotto Domiziano", 2023), and, written together with Nathalie de Haan, Aurora Raimondi Cominesi and Claire Stocks ("La Memoria Sepolta di Domiziano e una sua rivalutazione nelle mostre di Leiden e Roma", 2023), for which I am very thankful.**

Cf. *infra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Sections II. and III.; at points 3.) and 5.); and in Chapter IV.1.1.h) *The new findings by B.E. Borg (2019) concerning the Templum Gentis Flaviae support the hypothesis suggested here that Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) was commissioned for the Iseum Campense*. With some observations concerning the Temple of *Divus Traianus at Italica*, and concerning the *Marble Forum at the Colonia Augusta Emerita (Mérida) in Spain*. With The Contributions by Eric M. Moormann, Mario Torelli, and Walter Trillmich, and with The second Contribution by Jörg Rüpke; and in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

**T.P. Wiseman has kindly suggested to me in an Email of 19th April 2023 that my German term 'Verwaltungsgenie' (with which I try to explain, why Domitian's government was so successful) can be translated into English as 'administrative genius': for this help I am very grateful indeed.**

Cf. *infra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III.; at point 5.).

On 16th May 2023 an E-mail by Francesca Deli, Assistant Librarian of the British School at Rome, reached me, who was kind enough to send me, on request, a scan of the article by Filippo Magi ("Notiziario"; Section: "Zona della Cancelleria", 1939).

**My thanks are also due to Michaela Fuchs, who sent my, by request, by Email on 20th May 2023 the photo of the fragmentary building inscription CIL VI 40518 (illustrated in her article of 2014, S. 137, Abb. 20 [= here Fig. 91.1]), that I may publish here with her kind consent.**

In my *Study* of 2017, I had followed Michaela Fuchs's interpretation of this inscription, who was first to attribute it to the Arch of Hadrian alongside the *Via Flaminia*, the entrance gate of the (later) *Hadrianeum*. As mentioned above, Werner Eck (2019b) has rejected Michaela Fuchs's hypotheses (2014) concerning this inscription, and because I find some of Eck's arguments convincing, I decided to correct in this *Study* on Domitian my own relevant errors of 2017. - Fortunately, this turned out to be a very good decision.

**Because writing this text had for me the unforeseen result to learn that Domitian's still prevailing negative image had been intentionally created at the order of the Emperor Trajan.**

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination*:

*Nerva is forced to adopt Trajan and Trajan creates Domitian's negative image to consolidate his own reign. With Hadrian's adoption manquée in late October or at the beginning of November of AD 97, his 20-year long road to his accession and his thanksgivings for it, his Temple complex in the Campus Martius.*

*Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?)...;*

*Introduction; at Section I.; at Chapter II.; and at Chapter IV.*

See also below, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*;

at Section I. 'The intentional creation of Domitian's negative image', here presented by discussing relevant text passages from Markus Handy ("Strategien zur Legitimierung der Ermordung des Domitian", 2015) and from Peter L. Viscusi (Studies on Domitian, 1973); at Section II. *Conclusions: Domitian's representations of his military successes and his claims to be of divine descent and to possess a divine nature*; and at Section III. *My own thoughts about Domitian. With The second Contribution by Eugenio La Rocca: Una nota sul labirinto del Palatino.*

On 27th May 2023 reached me an E-mail by Angelo Geißen, who was kind enough to send me the first draft of his text on coins, issued by Antoninus Pius in AD 150-151, that I had asked him to study for me. On 5th July he should send me the final version of his text. See below, at *The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen: Zum 'Hadrianeum' auf Münzen des Antoninus Pius*. To this I will come back below.

On 2nd June 2023, Hans Rupprecht Goette was kind enough to send me his just appeared article ("Lesefrüchte? Vom Nutzen gründlicher Autopsie und guter Photodokumentation bei der Untersuchung von Portrait-Umarbeitungen", 2020/2021).

And on 6th June 2023, I managed to pursue a discussion with Paul Scheduling in a telephone conversation that had begun on 21st December 2022 : on the *opus incertum* building at the Testaccio/ *La Marmorata*, the enormous 'Porticus Aemilia'/ *Navalia*. Scheduling told me that this building has been discussed in Martin Tombrägel's book (*Die republikanischen Otiumvillen von Tivoli*, 2011), and in Dominik Maschek's (2013) review of it, both of which I had managed to overlook so far.

On 13th June 2023, I could discuss with Peter Herz in a telephone conversation the decline of Rome in the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD, that has now been very well documented for the area of the Testaccio/ *La Marmorata* by the excavators of the *opus incertum* building there, Gert-Jan Burgers (*et al.* 2014b, 815).

I admit to have expected what Herz then told me : he has, of course, already himself dedicated an essay to this fact ("Rom in der Spätantike. Der Niedergang einer ehemaligen Hauptstadt", 2012) (!). In this context. Herz was also kind enough to alert me to the book by Oliver Schmitt (*Constantin der Große (275-337) Leben und Herrschaft*, 2007).

For discussions of all that; cf. *infra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11) ...*; at Part I. *The statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (cf. here Fig. 11), the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524; cf. here Fig. 29.1), and the cult-statue of Divus Vespasianus in the Temple of Divus Vespasianus. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); and at Part II. Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalìa) and of the Horrea Aemiliana. With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?*

On 21st June 2023, reached me an E-mail by Paolo Liverani, who was kind enough to send me, by request, his following article ("Antinoo a Roma: l'obelisco e la tomba", 2022). And Hans Rupprecht Goette sent me, on his own account, on 29th June 2023 his recently made photographs of the portrait-statue of Hadrian from Hierapydna at Istanbul, which I may publish here with his kind consent (cf. here Fig. 29). For those photographs I am very grateful indeed.

For both subjects; cf. *infra*, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna (cf. here Fig. 29)*.

In addition to this, Hans Rupprecht Goette sent me, on 29th June 2023, the article by Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou ("Hadrian's Himation: Eigenart eines philhellenischen Kaisers oder Ausdrucksform einer innovativen Politik?", 2022), because the author discusses in this essay also Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here Fig. 3).

Cf. also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ... Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of ... Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here Fig. 3) ...*; at Chapter VI.2. *Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ )*.

**Stefanidou-Tiveriou (2022) quotes, in addition to this, an article by Andreas Schmidt-Colinet, that I had managed to overlook so far. Fortunately on 1st July 2023 reached me also this essay by Andreas Schmidt-Colinet ("Des Kaisers Bart: Überlegungen zur Propagandageschichte im Bildnis des römischen Kaisers Hadrian", 2005), that he was so kind as to send me by request, and in which he addresses many topics that are also discussed in this Study.**

See below, in Chapters I.1.; II.3.3; II.3.3.a); and V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ... With discussions of ... Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here Fig. 3) ...*; at Chapter III. *Was Hadrian himself present at the suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt?*; and at Chapter VI.2. *Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ )*.

**When we take the recent results obtained in the research on Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (here Fig. 3, summarized in this Study) together with Andreas Schmidt-Colinet's observations concerning the portraits of the Emperor Hadrian (cf. *id.* 2005, who himself does not discuss Hadrian's youthful portrait-type here Fig. 3 though) - we arrive at a very surprising result.**

Already in his earliest portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ; here **Fig. 3**), which, in my opinion, shows him when he was circa 20 years old, Hadrian has presented himself 'as a soldier'. At that stage he was an officer, and his wearing a beard and a baldric in this portrait-type shows that he wanted to be seen that way.

Hadrian would also become the first *emperor* wearing a beard (cf. here **Figs. 11; 29**). Schmidt-Colinet (2005) is able to demonstrate that Hadrian chose to present himself in his portraits, which he commissioned as emperor, as wearing the short-cut beard typical of soldiers and officers. So far it had been taken for granted that the Emperor Hadrian, by wearing a beard, had propagated his philhellenism - erroneously, as Schmidt-Colinet points out, because he (rightly) assumes that Hadrian had been wearing a beard long before his first documented stay in Greece in AD 112, when he was already 36 years old.

As we have seen above, Schmidt-Colinet's (2005) objection against this assumption is certainly true, because Hadrian had already presented himself in his first portrait-type as bearded (cf. here **Fig. 3**).

The Emperor Hadrian thus turns out to have presented himself since his first portrait-type 'as a soldier' (cf. here **Fig. 3**), and throughout his reign as (the first) 'Soldatenkaiser' (cf. here **Fig. 29**) - as I myself should like to call him therefore (*avant la lettre* obviously, and, as we should also add, with very different coiffures than the later *real* 'Soldatenkaiser').

For the term 'Soldatenkaiser'; cf. Matthias Haake ("Zwischen Herrschertypus und Epochenbegriff. Eine begriffsgeschichtliche und wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Archäologie des Burkhardtschen Pseudoneologismus 'Soldatenkaiser'", 2022).

**Editing my bibliographies has never been my favourite pastime, because they were never complete. This was, of course, always my own fault.**

Already in the middle of my research for this *Study*, Hans Rupprecht Goette, on his own account, had been so kind as to add missing information to my bibliography (!). And at the very end of this work, I have been saved by my good friend Eugenio La Rocca, who was kind enough to scan for me the last missing references in a publication (that is not available in Germany), which he then sent me on 1st July 2023 (!). I am very grateful indeed to both scholars for this important help.

**On 5th July 2023 reached me the long waited for final version of Angelo Geißen's second *Contribution to this Study on Domitian*, in which he discusses those *sestertii*, issued by the Emperor Antoninus Pius, which, according to many recent scholars, represent the *Hadrianeum*.**

**See below, at *The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen : Zum 'Hadrianeum' auf Münzen des Antoninus Pius*.**

Along with his *Contribution*, Angelo Geißen was kind enough to send me the article by Domenico Palombi ("Antoninus Pius and Rome: sobrius, parcus parum largiens", 2017), for which I am also very grateful.

For discussions of all that; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination: ... With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz, with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz, with The Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen; Introduction*; at Section XIV. *Further new research: F. Chausson's (2001) idea that the Hadrianeum was possibly dedicated to Divus Hadrianus and to Diva Sabina, and recent discussions of this hypothesis. With The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen : Zum 'Hadrianeum' auf Münzen des Antoninus Pius.*

**Finally, on 15th July of 2023, reached me a wonderful surprise : the exhibition-catalogue, edited by Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi and Maria Paola Del Moro (*Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore*, 2023), an indeed very generous present, which Eugenio la Rocca has sent me from Rome (!).**

Franz Xaver Schütz and I had already dated on that day (for the first time) the "Vorwort der Herausgeber" in this volume, since I had finished writing my text. But because in this exhibition-catalogue on Domitian many subjects are discussed that are also addressed in this *Study*, I decided to integrate also at least some of these other new observations into my own text that I had not been able to read before (cf. *supra*). Thanks to those accounts, I could improve my own text and have even been saved from several errors (!).

**On 17th July 2023, Francesco Buranelli sent me, by request, the photograph of the Capitoline Triad, kept in the Museo 'Rodolfo Lanciani' at Guidonia Montecelio, which he has published in his exhibition-catalogue (*L'Arte di Salvare l'Arte. Frammenti di storia d'Italia. Mostra organizzata in occasione del 50° anniversario dell'istituzione del Comando Carabinieri Tutela Patrimonio Culturale 1969 - 2019, 2019*).**

Francesco Buranelli had been kind enough to contact for me the *Comando Carabinieri Tutela Patrimonio Culturale* in Rome, from whom he had received this photo. When I asked the *Comando* to grant me the permission to publish their photo of this Capitoline Triad, I received on 21st July a very kind answer by Tenente Colonnello Massimiliano Quagliarella, *Capo Ufficio Comando Carabinieri Tutela Patrimonio Culturale*. He informed me that the *Comando* does not own the copyright of the photo, Buranelli (2019) had published, but rather the Museo Civico "Rodolfo Lanciani" at Montecelio. Unfortunately, the publication of this photograph was not possible, which is why we publish here the photo of our **Fig. 13**, which is available under CC licence.

As already said, this Capitoline Triad (here **Fig. 13**) is nothing less than one of only two so far known replicas in statuette format of the cult-statues of Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. In 1992, this Capitoline Triad had illegally been 'excavated', but in 1994 it could be saved from being sold abroad by members of the *Comando Carabinieri Tutela Patrimonio Culturale*.

For discussions of all that; cf. *infra*, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here **Fig. 10**); at Part I. *The wall painting 'Aldobrandini Wedding' in the Vatican Museums and the statuette of the 'Euripides' in the Louvre* (cf. here **Fig. 12**), which has been discussed together with it.

Cf. also here **Fig. 13. Statuette of the Capitoline Triad, marble. Guidonia Montecelio (Roma), Museo Civico Archeologico 'Rodolfo Lanciani' (inv. no. 80546). Cf. Z. Mari, in: F. Buranelli (2019, 73: "20. Triade Capitolina Fine del II-inizi III secolo. Scultura a tutto tondo in marmo lunense, quasi integra (parzialmente mancanti alcuni arti delle figure e attributi); lungh. cm 119, largh. cm 53, h. max. cm 80. Dal Comune di Guidonia Montecelio (Rm), loc. Tenuta dell'Inviolata - Quarto Campanile, Guidonia Montecelio, Museo Civico Archeologico "Rodolfo Lanciani" (già nel Museo Nazionale di Palestrina fino al 2012). Inv. no. 80546. Furto 1992 (scavi clandestini), Guidonia Montecelio (Roma). Recupero: 1994, Livigno (Sondrio))".**

**Photo: Triade Capitolina, Museo Civico Archeologico Rodolfo Lanciani, Guidonia Montecelio Author: Sailko, CC BY 3.0 Deed (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/deed.en>).**

I then discussed again with Peter Herz on the telephone the journey of Hadrian and his companions in November of AD 97 from *Moesia Inferior* to Mogontiacum in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva. My question was, whether he could mention similar travels that have allowed him to calculate how many kilometres Hadrian and his companions could have covered every day, which is actually the case. Herz, therefore, decided to write an addition to his *Contribution*, in which all this is explained in more detail than before, and was kind enough to send me his resulting "Nachtrag" to his *Contribution* on 23rd July 2023.

**See below, at *The fifth Contribution by Peter Herz : Der Ritt Hadrians nach Mogontiacum*.**

Immediately after receiving this very last *Contribution* by another scholar to this *Study*, Franz Xaver Schütz and I have now definitely dated the "Vorwort der Herausgeber" in this volume - on "23. Juli 2023".

Writing in a foreign language is not only difficult but always a great risk and without the help of friends and colleagues, who are native speakers, I would never have dared to try anything like that at all. It has two great advantages though. One is obvious: once one of those native speakers has corrected my English, these texts reach (in theory) many more people, but the other advantage should not be underestimated either : given my limited language capacity in English, the prose of these texts is much less complicated than had I written them in German.

It takes of course someone who is not only a native speaker, but who is himself or herself a scholar, who is studying the same period or even exactly the same topic. This ideal person for the subject discussed here I found in Colonel Rose Mary Sheldon, Professor Emerita at the Virginia Military Institute, and I am very grateful to her. She has read great parts of this manuscript and wrote me her very useful comments, which are mentioned in the text, and was also so kind as to correct my English. It is by no means the first time that Rose Mary has helped me in this respect, since we know each other since 1979 and have been discussing our research projects ever since. But only in this *Study*, in which I have for the first time tried to understand 'historical reliefs', have I ventured into a field, in which she is herself a great expert : military history.

Apart from the described practicality of writing in English, I am also a great admirer of the generosity, with which some scholars, whose native language it is, appreciate in their publications the help they have received from others. Since it is also true for this *Study* that I have not personally met all those, whose work I have discussed, I allow myself to borrow a passage from the chapter 'Acknowledgements' in the recent book by Rose Mary Sheldon (*Kill Caesar! Assassination in the Early Roman Empire*, 2018, pp. XVIII-XIX):

"To all the scholars whom I have not met but whose work I have used in this book, I hope I have quoted them correctly, accurately portrayed their views, and been gracious in my disagreements".

This text has gradually grown to its final size, and (at least for some time) the last *Chapters* I decided to integrate were the five Appendices.

*For the Appendices I.-VI., to which we will now turn; cf. infra, in volume 3-2.*

The first Appendix was added as a result of the discussion (in *infra*, in Chapter V.1.h.1.)), which magistrates could possibly have received a new emperor in an *adventus*-ceremony. The reason being the (in my opinion erroneous) suggestion, made by Tonio Hölscher (2009a, 58) that the togate youth on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12**), in my opinion the 18 year old Domitian, should be identified as the *praefectus urbi*.

Cf. *infra*, at **ns. 182-189**, in Chapter I.1., in Chapter I.1.1., at **ns. 357 and 358**, in Chapter II.3.3., at **n. 471**, in Chapter VI.1.; and at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

I, therefore, wished to give an example for the usual age and stance of a man, who would have been entrusted by an emperor with the office of his representative, the *praefectus urbi*.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I. The *praefectus urbi* T. Flavius Sabinus, Domitian's escape from the Capitol on 19th December AD 69, which happened on the festival of the Opalia, one day of the Saturnalia, and the 'Isis ship', shown in the processions of the Saturnalia at Cologne. See also: Appendix I.a) The *praefectus urbi* T. Flavius Sabinus. With a summary of the recent discussion concerning the locations of the buildings that belonged to the *praefectura urbis* over time. - The latter Chapter was added, after Filippo Coarelli had been so kind as to present me with his above-mentioned book (*Statio. I luoghi dell'amministrazione nell'antica Roma*, 2019a). Into Appendix II., I have integrated a text the first draft of which I had been advised by Valentino Gasparini to 'abandon' in June of 2013. Thanks to the research conducted for this book, I have now better understood, what this enigmatic 'relief from Ariccia' (cf. here **Fig. 111**) may possibly represent.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II. Again on the Egyptianizing marble relief allegedly from Ariccia at the Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps (Fig. 111) - a representation of the Egyptian festival of New Year?*

But I had pursued research on the relief **Fig. 111** ever since I had 'abandoned' this part of my text that is now published in *Appendix II*. On 4th March 2014, I had again the chance, to study this relief at the Palazzo Altemps in Rome, and I am very grateful to Laura Acampora and Letizia Rustico of this museum, who were so kind as to accompany me, as well as to Franz Xaver Schütz and the Egyptologists Rafeed El-Sayed and Konstantin Lakomy, who joined me as well. We could use a ladder to look closely at the relief, and a lamp, and my thanks are due to all of them for the interesting discussions.

Before, I had already the chance to study the relief (here **Fig. 111**) : I was able also on those occasions to use a ladder to look closely at the relief, as well as a lamp, and thank Miriam Taviani (November 15th, 1999), and Letizia Rustico and Mauro Borgia (December 19th, 2012) for accompanying me and for the interesting discussions : the upper, the lower and right-hand side edge of the relief are preserved and the marble slab is very thin, these facts preclude that the fragment was originally part of a sarcophagus, as has been suggested.

Given its findspot (in secondary context "come copertura di una tomba a inumazione rinvenuta ad Albano Laziale, nei pressi dell'antico tracciato della via Appia"; cf. Palazzo Altemps Guida 2011, 61 [L. RUSTICO], suggested date : 100 AD), Letizia Rustico, who was kind enough to present me on December 19th, 2012 with a copy of this catalogue, suggested to me that it could originally have been part of the marble revetment of a small tomb on the Via Appia.

*Appendix III* tries to answer the following question: *When was the Iseum Campense first built?* It is an attempt to add some topographical observations to the current controversial debate of this question.

The next *Appendix* has been developed out of a note in *Appendix I*. and has the following title:

*Appendix IV. D. Filippi (1998) has convincingly identified the 'first gate of the Capitolium' (Tac., Hist. 3,71,1-2) with the remains of an arch, excavated by A.M. Colini in the 1940s, with the Porta Pandana, and with the arch, visible on the 'burning of debt records' relief of the here-so-called Anaglypha Hadriani (Figs. 21; 22). With some new ideas concerning the Anaglypha Hadriani; and discussions of the colossal statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (cf. here Fig. 11); of the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524; cf. here Fig. 29.1), belonging to a statue of Hadrian; of two cuirassed statues of Flavian emperors (Titus or Vespasian? and Domitian?) in the Vatican Museums (cf. here Fig. 6, left and right); and of Hadrian's cuirassed statue from Hierapydna at Istanbul (cf. here Fig. 29).*

After having read the above-mentioned publications by Pollini (2017b) and Wiseman (2019), a fifth *Appendix* became necessary, because my updated map here **Fig. 73** contains toponyms, which are relevant to the passages of both scholars discussed here, but those toponyms had so far not been explained.

These toponyms, which are located on the Palatine and in its immediate surroundings, were described in the manuscript of my book on the *Mons Oppius* (2014a), but I had been advised by Eugenio La Rocca to cut the relevant sections out. This I did, announcing their publication in my bibliography as forthcoming; cf. Häuber (2014a, 10, n. 65, p. 908).

See below, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix V. Explanations concerning the ancient toponyms of the Palatine and its immediate surroundings, between the Velabrum and the Caelian, as marked on my map Fig. 73*, into which these updated text passages have now been integrated.

Also the next *Appendix* was written as a result of reading Wiseman's book (2019) and has the following title:

*Appendix VI. A digression on Domitian's intention to emulate Augustus and Nero.* This text was written for volume 3-1 and called Chapter II.3.1.d), following Chapter II.3.1.c) *Domitian's building policy: praising the gens*

Flavia, *emulating Augustus and Nero*. It was conceived as a response to E.M. Moormann's observation (2018, 163-164, quoted in more detail *verbatim* in Chapter II.3.1.c): "From Golden House to Public Space - Nero's memory was not entirely obliterated in the *Domus Flavia* and *Domus Augustana* ... ". Gradually, this Chapter II.3.1.d) outgrew the size of a normal chapter, which is why I decided, not to publish this text in volume 3-1 any more, but instead in volume 3-2, where it will appear, under the same title, as *Appendix VI*.

**Last, but not least, my thanks are due to my husband, Franz Xaver Schütz. He not only listened very patiently to all my many scholarly problems that occurred while I was writing this book, but, competently as ever, has helped me to solve them.**

*Inter alia* by finding publications for me, all of which turned out to be crucial for the understanding of the subjects discussed here. For example Filippo Magi (1939; cf. *infra*, at Chapters I.1.; and IV.1.), but also Sven Hansel (2009), and Marina De Franceschini and Giuseppe Veneziano (2019).

For a discussion of the latter publications; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.f.2.) The procession, which Domitian joined, the festival of the Opalia on 19th December, the Saturnalia, the festival of Fors Fortuna on 24th June, and the 'Isis ship', shown in the processions of the Saturnalia at Cologne.*

**In addition to this, Franz discussed, and realized along with me our visualization of the Cancellaria Reliefs 'in situ'. See here Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'. This reconstruction, although not providing a definitive proof, adds another argument in favour of Pentiricci's suggestion (2009; cf. *infra*, at Chapter I.3.2.) to identify the Cancellaria Reliefs as the horizontal panels in the bay of one of Domitian's lost arches.**

**Cf. also *infra*, at Chapters V.1.d); and at *The major results of this book on Domitian*.**

Franz was also able to translate a passage in Suetonius (*Dom.* 1) correctly, and realized that the day of Domitian's escape from the *Capitolium*, 19th December of AD 69, the *Opalia*, was celebrated within the *Saturnalia*, which lasted from December 17th through the 23rd or 25th (depending, which calendar one uses). In addition to this, Franz found the information that in the processions of the *Saturnalia* at Cologne in Germany a 'ship of Isis' used to be exhibited (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.f.2.))*.

**When I doubted that some of Flavius Sabinus' companions and men, who, 'hidden between baggage', fled from the *Capitolium* (Tac., *Hist.* 3,73,1), could possibly have been 'hidden between baggage', carried on the backs of horses or donkeys, Franz told me that he has seen in movies that precisely such operations have actually been performed by mules. On 3rd September 2019, Franz was so kind as to take photographs of the monument of a mule (cf. here Fig. 41), created by Pietro Canonica (1937), and called "'Monumento all'Umile Eroè'" ('monument to a modest hero') by the artist; cf. Bianca Maria Santese (2017, 20, 48). This statue of a mule belongs to the "monumento agli Alpini" of the artist, which carries an inscription in "dialetto valdostano". On 4th September 2019, our good friend Laura Gigli was so kind as to translate this inscription into Italian for us.**

**See below, at *The first Contribution by Laura Gigli* in this volume.**

For discussions of all that cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.1.)*.

**Franz conducted also a special research on the internet concerning the people called *Piroustae/ Piroustoi*, a representation of whom appears at "*Le Colonnacce*" at Domitian's *Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium* at Rome (cf. here Fig. 49), and provided me, in addition to this, with the following relevant publications, which turned out to be crucial for the understanding of Domitian's design of this *Forum*. And that in turn has helped to date the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1; 2).**



Cf. Carl Patsch ("Archäologisch-epigraphische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der römischen Provinz Dalmatien, 1899), Géza Alföldy ("Einheimische Stämme und civitates in Dalmatien unter Augustus", 1963), Dragana Grbić ("Augustan Conquest of the Balkans in the light of triumphal monuments", 2011), and Alfred Hirt ("Dalmatians and Dacians - Forms of Belonging and Displacement in the Roman Empire", 2019). Since I had asked Rose Mary Sheldon for advice concerning the *primus pilus* Statius Marrax, she had alerted me to a publication, in which the relevant inscription is discussed, and Franz found it on the Internet; cf. Hans Krummrey (2003; Review: Marco Buonocore, *L'Abruzzo e il Molise in età romana tra storia ed epigrafia*, Vol. I-II (Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria. Studi e Testi 21/1-2, 2002).

Cf. below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; at *The second Contribution by Peter Herz: Anmerkungen zu Statius Marrax*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.e) Did Domitian intentionally represent the Piroustae in his Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium? With The second Contribution by Peter Herz*; and at *Appendix IV.d.2.f) Domitian's choice to represent the Piroustae in his Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium and the date of the Cancellaria Reliefs* (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2**).

As a consequence of all these enquiries, Franz has created a visualization of the area in question.

**See below, at *The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Zur kartographischen Visualisierung historischer Landschaftselemente zwischen Rhein und Schwarzem Meer von Augustus bis Hadrian* (cf. here **Fig. 77**).**

The purpose of the map here **Fig. 77** is to support research that tries to understand the movements of the three men within this area, who are discussed in this *Study*: Arminius, Domitian and Hadrian.

Our first protagonist is Arminius, who was "war-chief of the Cherusci"; cf. Arnaldo Momigliano, Theodore John Cadoux (?) and Barbara M. Levick ("Arminius (*RE* 1, with Suppl. 1. p 139), born c.[*irca*] 19 BC ... He had Roman citizenship, and served long in the auxiliary forces, attaining equestrian rank ... Arminius was killed by his own kinsfolk [soon after AD 19]"), in *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 173.

More recent studies, for example by Rose Mary Sheldon (2020, that will be summarized *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.d*)), have shown that Arminius moved from (what would later become) Germania *inferior* towards Illyricum. There, in his capacity as a Roman officer, he joined the army under the command of Tiberius, who, from 6-9 AD, fought *inter alia* against the people called *Piroustae*, in an area that in AD 9 would become the Roman province of Dalmatia. Arminius was accompanied by soldiers, who were his compatriots, and who stayed with him. Later in AD 9, in the *saltus Teutoburgiensis* ('Teutoburger Wald'), now under Arminius's command, the experiences of all these men in Illyricum were instrumental for their own successful insurrection against P. Quinctilius Varus.

Both Domitian and Hadrian moved back and forth within the area, shown on **Fig. 77**. - As already mentioned above, also for Domitian the people called *Piroustae* had a very special importance.

In the case of Hadrian all that began with his famous *Parforceritt* in November of AD 97 from Moesia *Inferior* to Mogontiacum (Mayence, Mainz) in Upper Germany, in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva. Exactly like Arminius in his capacity as a Roman officer, this action became crucial for Hadrian's own career. But Hadrian moved within the area shown on **Fig. 77** in the *opposite* direction, when compared with Arminius.

**For Arminius**; cf. *supra*, at Chapter *What this Study is all about*; and *infra*, at *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*; *Appendix IV.c.2.*; and especially at *Appendix IV.d.2.d) The meaning of the representation of the Piroustae within Augustus's Porticus ad Nationes at Rome. With H. Wiegartz's (1996) observations concerning the Piroustae and their representations; and a summary of the revolt of Arminius in Germany, which he planned because he had fought under Tiberius to suppress the revolt of the Pannonian-Dalmation tribes, inter alia of the Piroustae.*

**For Domitian's wars in the Balkans** and the question of why the people called *Piroustaie* were also of importance for him; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d), *passim*, especially at Appendix IV.d.2.) *The 'Province' Reliefs from the Hadrianeum* (cf. here Fig. 48), *the Piroustoi in a labelled relief in the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias*, *the Piroustaie in Domitian's Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium* (cf. here Figs. 50; 49), and *the answer to the question: Does the presence of the 'nation' Piroustaie in Domitian's Forum provide a date for the Cancellaria Reliefs* (cf. here Figs. 1; 2)?; at Appendix IV.d.2.e) *Did Domitian intentionally represent the Piroustaie in his Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium?* With The second Contribution by Peter Herz; and at Appendix IV.d.2.f) *Domitian's choice to represent the Piroustaie in his Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium and the date of the Cancellaria Reliefs* (cf. here Figs. 1; 2); see also below, at *The second Contribution by Peter Herz : Anmerkungen zu Statius Marrax*.

As we shall see, the fact that Domitian ordered a female representation of the *Piroustaie* (cf. here Fig. 49) to appear in the sculptural decoration of his *Forum/ the Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium* at Rome, finally allows us to answer the question, for which of his military campaigns Domitian was actually leaving on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 6: Domitian, now with the facial traits of Nerva).

The reason being that recent scholars have shown that the Cancellaria Reliefs have been created by the same workshop that was also active in Domitian's *Forum/ the Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium* and in Domitian's Palace on the Palatine '*Domus Flavia*'/ *Domus Augustana*. For that; cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.3.; and at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*, at point 2.).

In my opinion what this panel A of the Cancellaria Reliefs shows is Domitian's *profectio* in Rome in the spring of AD 89 to Pannonia. This campaign resulted in victories that he would celebrate with his (last) triumph at Rome over the Chatti and the Dacians, in November/ December of the same year.

Cf. *infra*, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Section II. *Conclusions: Domitian's representations of his military successes and his claims to be of divine descent and to possess a divine nature*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.e); and Appendix IV.d.2.f).

The latter fact, in its turn, provides a *terminus post quem* for the date, at which Domitian may have commissioned the Cancellaria Reliefs (i.e., 'post AD 89').

**For Hadrian**; cf. below, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here Fig. 11). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here Fig. 29);

and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ... Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?)*. With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva, and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here Fig. 3). With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz; with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz; with The Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen; at Chapter VI.1.; at *Trajan's adoption by Nerva and Hadrian's Parforceritt from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum to congratulate Trajan on his adoption*.

Franz found also Statius (*silv.* 4,3,17) and Suetonius (*Aug.* 94,8) for me on the Internet.

In addition to this, Franz took the photographs that are illustrated on here Figs. 4.1.1.; 8.2; 11; 28; 40; 41; 42; 45; 49; 85; 86; 101; 101.1.; 102.6; 115; 120; 123; 124; 125; 126; 127; 128; and 154, created the map here Fig. 77, and the illustrations here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; Figs. 1 and 2 Cancellariareliefs, drawing, '*in situ*'; Figs. 8.1; 8.3; 58.1; 58.2; 62; 62.2; 62.3; 62.4, right; 62.5; 62.11; 63; 64.1; 66.1; 66.2, 66.3; and 119, all of which he kindly allowed me to publish here.

Franz found a photograph on the Website of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg and an explanatory text of the colossal acrolithic statue of Jupiter (cf. here **Fig. 10**), which is kept in this museum, that are both published here. Franz found also the famous book by Johann Jacob Bernoulli for me on the internet (*Römische Ikonographie Zweiter Teil Die Bildnisse der römischen Kaiser II. Von Galba bis Commodus*, 1891).

For all that; cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.h); and at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here **Fig. 10**); at Part II. *The Capitoline Triad in statuette format at Guidonia Montecelio (Roma), Museo Civico Archeologico 'Rodolfo Lanciani'* (cf. here **Fig. 13**) and the colossal statue of Jupiter at the Hermitage (cf. here **Fig. 10**).

In addition to this, Franz copied for me from the Internet the review by R.R.R Smith (1983) of Mario Torelli's book (*Typology & Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs*, 1982). Searching for a photograph of the Chatsworth Relief, Franz found the following blog on the Internet: The early reforms and economic policies of Hadrian (#Hadrian1900), July 24, 2018. Online at: <<https://followinghadrian.com/2018/07/24/>>. The author is unfortunately not indicated, but thanks to her or him, who quoted from his account, Franz found Mason Hammond's article on the Anaglypha Hadriani on the Internet ("A Statue of Trajan Represented on the 'Anaglypha Traiani'", 1953).

For all that; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.b) Similarly as some of the hypotheses, already published by M. Hammond (1953), M. Fuchs (2019) suggests that the therefore here-so-called Anaglypha Hadriani (cf. here **Figs. 21; 22**) celebrate Hadrian's achievements, and that Hadrian's burning of debt records in AD 118 occurred at two sites: the burning of the debt records of the *fiscus* in the Forum Traiani (represented on the Chatsworth Relief), and the burning of the debt records of the *Aerarium publicum populi Romani* in the Forum Romanum (represented on one of the Anaglypha Hadriani; cf. here **Fig. 22**). With a discussion of the *suovetaurilia* that appear on both Anaglypha Hadriani (cf. here **Figs. 21.A; 22.A**), and with The third Contribution by Peter Herz.

See also below, at *The third Contribution by Peter Herz: Der Übergang von Trajan auf Hadrian und das erste Regierungsjahr Hadrians*.

And when I was studying Domitian's *Naumachia*, Franz found on the Internet a publication, in which this is discussed: Stefan Rudolf Beck (*Ferrum est quod amat. Das Amphitheater in der lateinischen Literatur des ersten und zweiten Jahrhunderts unter politischen und gesellschaftskritischen Aspekten*, 2016).

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.4.b) Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the *Templum Pacis*, and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum.

Of equal importance was that Franz found on the Internet Analina Caló Levi's article ("Hadrian as King of Egypt", 1948; cf. here **Fig. 129**), and on 30th January 2021 on the Internet Vespasian's IVDAEA CAPTA *sestertius* (cf. here **Fig. 130**) and Titus's IVDAEA CAPTA *sestertius* (cf. here **Fig. 131**), with which both commemorated their victories in *Judaea*. Conducting research in the Internet on the inscription CIL VI 974 = CIL VI 40524 (cf. here **Fig. 29.1**), Franz found also the publication by Caroline Barron ("Dedication for a statue of Hadrian near the Temple of Vespasian and Titus (CIL VI, 974 = CIL VI, 40524)", 2018).

For all that; cf. *infra*, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here **Fig. 29**).

When looking for publications concerning the inscription CIL VI 40518 (here **Fig. 91.1**), and especially Pietro Romanelli ("Roma. Via della Torretta. Cippi del Pomerio", 1933) who reported on its find, Franz found that Romanelli's article is discussed by Carlos F. Noreña ("Medium and Message in Vespasian's *Templum Pacis*", 2003), which turned out to be of great importance for many of the subjects discussed in this book.

Cf. especially *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.4.b)).

And when trying to find publications on the Bar Kokhba Revolt, Franz found Menahem Mor ("What does Tel Shalem have to do with the Bar Kokhba Revolt?", 2013) on the Internet. And when Peter Herz, in the course of discussing Hadrian's *Parforceritt* from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum with me, had alerted me to this dissertation, Franz found also Angela Kühnen (*Die imitatio Alexandri als politisches Instrument römischer Feldherren und Kaiser in der Zeit von der ausgehenden Republik bis zum Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts n.Chr.*, 2005) on the Internet for me.

For all that; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ... Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With a discussion of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ )* (cf. here **Fig. 3**). With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz; with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz; with The Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen; Introduction; at Section I. *The motivation to write this Study: W. Eck's (2019b) new interpretation of the inscription CIL VI 40518* (cf. here **Fig. 91.1**), *the decision to correct my own relevant errors in my earlier Study (2017), and the subjects discussed here, as told by the accompanying figures and their pertaining captions;* at Chapter II. *W. Eck's (2019b) critique of the hypotheses published by M. Fuchs (2014) concerning the inscription CIL VI 40518* (cf. here **Fig. 91.1**) *and the Arch of Hadrian discussed here;* and at Chapter IV. *Summary of my own research (2017) of this Arch of Hadrian, updated with W. Eck's (2019b) new findings concerning this subject;* at Chapter VI.1. *My 2. Conclusion: In this context it is interesting to analyse the process by which Hadrian finally became himself emperor;* at *Trajan's adoption by Nerva and Hadrian's Parforceritt from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum to congratulate Trajan on his adoption;* and at Chapter VI.2.2. *Additional information that is of importance for the discussion of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ )* (cf. here **Fig. 3**).

See also below, at *The fifth Contribution by Peter Herz: Der Ritt Hadrians nach Mogontiacum*.

Franz also found Verena Schulz for me ("Nero und Domitian bei Cassius Dio. Zwei Tyrannen aus der Sicht des 3.Jh. n.Chr.", 2014), and the entire volume, in which this article has appeared: Sophia Bönisch-Meyer, Lisa Cordes, Verena Schulz, Anne Wolfsfeld and Martin Ziegert (eds.), *Nero und Domitian. Mediale Diskurse der Herrscherrepräsentation im Vergleich* (= *Classica Monacensia* 46, 2014). Franz found also D.C.A. Shotter ("The Principate of Nerva: Some Observations on the Coin Evidence", 1983) in the Internet for me, as well as Trajan's coin, mentioned by Shotter, on which Nerva gives him the globe 'of world rule' (here **Fig. 140**).

Cf. *infra*, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image;* at Section I. and II.; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...;* at Chapter VI.1. *My 2. Conclusion: In this context it is interesting to analyse the process by which Hadrian finally became emperor;* at *The circumstances that had brought Trajan to Mogontiacum and Domitian's negative image, created by Tacitus and Pliny at the order of Trajan to legitimize his own accession;* and at Chapter VI.2.3. *How adoptions could be visualized on coins: Nerva/Trajan, Trajan/Hadrian, Hadrian/Aelius Caesar, Hadrian/ Antoninus Pius, Antoninus Pius/Marcus Aurelius*.

When we were discussing Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, Franz found the following publications for me: Ernst Schulze ("Über die Giebelgruppe des capitolinischen Jupitertempels (hierzu Taf. 57) des Tempels des Hercules an der Porta trigemina (hierzu Taf. 58)", 1873); cf. here **Figs. 16-18**; and Antonio Maria Colini ("Indagini sui frontoni dei Templi di Roma Parte I. I Frontoni meglio noti. Capitolo I. I frontoni del Tempio di Giove Capitolino", 1925).

Cf. *infra*, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here **Fig. 10**).

Franz found also the article Volker Michael Strocka ("Beobachtungen an den antiken Attikareliefs des severischen Quadrifrons von Lepcis Magna"), in which he discusses the Cancellaria Reliefs.

Cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.b) *The Cancellaria Reliefs under Nerva - as reconstructed by S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018) and my own comments on their conclusions. With some remarks on the efforts of Septimius Severus to legitimize his reign.*

Next, Franz found Giuseppe Antonio Guattani's book for me on the Internet (*Monumenti antichi ovvero notizie sulle antichità e belle arti di Roma per l'anno 1805, 1805*); cf. here **Fig. 10.1**.

Cf. *infra*, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here **Fig. 10**); at Part II. *The Capitoline Triad in statuette format at Guidonia Montecelio (Roma), Museo Civico Archeologico 'Rodolfo Lanciani'* (cf. here **Fig. 13**) and the statue of Jupiter at the Hermitage (cf. here **Fig. 10**).

Franz helped me also to use my reader's pass of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in order to download the following publication: John Bintliff and Keith Rutter (*The Archaeology of Greece and Rome. Studies in honour of Anthony Snodgrass*, 2016), which contains *inter alia* the article by Rolf Michael Schneider ("Context Matters: Pliny's Phryges and the Basilica Paulli in Rome", 2016).

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.b*.

In addition to this, Franz found on the Internet Francesca De Caprariis (2018) review of Fedora Filippi (2015), and Johannes Lipps's (2020) review of T.P. Wiseman's book ("The House of Augustus A Historical Detective Story, 2019), with Comments by T.P. Wiseman.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

Or: *The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?) ...* ; at Chapter VI. *The results of this discussion of this Arch of Hadrian and my 2. Conclusion. This is based on the topographical context of this Arch of Hadrian and on some considerations concerning Hadrian's accession and is in my opinion the preferable scenario*; at *The Templum Divae Matidiae ('Precinct of Diva Matidia') with Hadrian's Temple complex discussed here. With the correct location of the Temple of Diva Matidia* (cf. here **Figs. 67; 67.1**), and new findings concerning the "Tempio di Siepe" and concerning the inscription TEM PL[...], which is recorded by fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan (cf. here **Figs. 132- 134**) and refers to a Templ(um) of Diva Sabina?, a 'Precinct of Diva Sabina?' or a Temple of Diva Sabina?; and in *Appendix VI.*; at Section. I.

Franz found also the volume, edited by Fritz Mitthof und Günther Schörner on the Internet (*Columna Traiani - Traianssäule Siegesmonument und Kriegsbericht in Bildern. Beiträge der Tagung in Wien anlässlich des 1900. Jahrestages der Einweihung*, 2017).

Cf. below, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Section III.; at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...; Introduction*; at Section XI.; and at Chapter VI.2.4. A. Claridge (2013) has identified the head of the "Stonethrower" in the battle Scene LXXII on Trajan's Column (here **Figs. 4; 4.1**) as a copy of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta$ ). Since all four of Hadrian's known marble portraits of this type (here **Fig. 3**) show him turning to his left, and the "Stonethrower" (here **Figs. 4; 4.1**) turns to his left as well, we may wonder, provided Claridge's identification is correct, whether we have in this relief for the first time a representation of Hadrian's complete statue-type Delta Omikron. But we shall see that further research on this subject has led to a surprising result, opening new questions related to Hadrian's Delta Omikron ( $\Delta$ ) portrait-type (cf. here **Fig. 3**).

Franz found also the article by Richard Bruce Parkinson on the Internet ("Imaginary Histories: Ancient Egypt in the writings of Marguerite Yourcenar and Philippe Derchain", 2019).

Cf. below, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here **Fig. 29**); at *The research published in my earlier Study (2017): on the tomb of Antinous at Antinoopolis, on his (alleged) tomb at Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli, on his cenotaph at Rome, and on the two pertaining Antinous Obelisks.*

In addition to this, Franz found the article by Matthias Grawehr on the Internet ("Travertine in Rome: Its Style and Meaning", 2022), who discusses the architectural fragments on display at the Porticus of the Dei Consentes (cf. here **Fig. 125**), which have been excavated by Antonio Nibby in 1832-1834. Franz was also able to find all the publications on the Internet that are of importance for a judgement of those architectural fragments : Antonio Nibby (*Roma nell'anno MDCCCXXXVIII, Parte I.II Antica and Parte I.II Moderna*, 1838, 1839, and 1839, 1841); Richard Delbrueck (*Hellenistische Bauten in Latium I-II*, 1907-1912); Pier Luigi Tucci ("Where high Moneta leads her steps sublime". The Tabularium and the Temple of Juno Moneta", 2005); Tucci ("A new look at the Tabularium and the Capitoline Hill", 2013-2014); as well as Luca Contrafatto ("Il Tabularium di Roma. Per una revisione delle prove archeologiche", 2019).

For a discussion of all that; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.e*) *It is conceivable that Vitellius* (cf. *Suet., Vit. 15,3*), on December 19th AD 69, could actually have watched the fighting on the Capitolium, while staying at the 'Domus Tiberiana' on the Palatine.

And when we were discussing the location of the former Arco di Portogallo on the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata/ Via del Corso*, which was destroyed in 1622, Franz has made a relevant research and found a hitherto not recognized representation of the former Arco di Portogallo on Antonio Tempesta's bird's-eye-view map of Rome (1593; cf. here **Fig. 64.1**). For the former Arco di Portogallo; cf. Häuber (2017, 64-65, Fig. 3.5.1): Some scholars regard the former Arco di Portogallo as a gate in the sacred boundary of Rome, the *pomerium*; cf. Häuber (2017, 111, n. 56, pp. 351-352 with n. 136, pp. 583-584, n. 306).

Cf. below, in Chapter *V.1.i.3.b*); at Section *IV.*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...; Introduction*; at Section *XIV.*; and at Chapter *I*.

**Franz found also the first volume of the *Bullettino Comunale* for me in the Internet. There (cf. *BullCom 1, 1872-1873, 229*), Rodolfo Lanciani has announced the find of the colossal portrait of Titus (here **Fig. 53**), not a colossal head of Vespasian, as has erroneously been asserted.**

**To my great surprise, Lanciani was thus first to identify the site, where this head of Titus had come to light, with the area of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.**

Cf. below, in Chapter *IV.1.1.h*.

In addition to this, Franz found on the Internet the book by Patrizio Pensabene, in which the inscriptions *CIL VI 301 and 410* are discussed (*Le vie del marmo: I blocchi di cava di Roma e di Ostia: Il fenomeno del Marmo nella Roma Antica*, 1994).

Cf. *infra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part *II. Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalìa) and of the Horrea Aemiliana. With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?*

Fortunately Franz found on the Internet a quotation from the article by Francesca dell'Era ("Il complesso di Matidia nel Campo Marzio", 2020), in which the author rejects the northern part of my first reconstruction of

the Temple of *Diva Sabina* ? (2017). I have now corrected my reconstruction of the Temple of *Diva Sabina* ? accordingly (cf. here **Fig. 66**).

Franz managed also to find the volume at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München, in which Dell'Era's article (2020) has appeared. Cf. Rafael Hidalgo, Giuseppina E. Cinque, Antonio Pizzo and Alessandro Viscogliosi (*Adventus Adriani Investigaciones sobre Arquitectura Adrianea*, 2020). This is the only copy of this volume in a German library - it contains, in addition to his, the article by Giorgio Ortolani ("`A Viterbo un tempio che serve per bagno`": l'edificio termale del Bacucco", 2020), discussing the "Tempio di Siepe".

For discussions of all that; cf. below, in Chapters *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and in *The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

Or: *The wider topographical context ...; Introduction*; at Sections II.; III.; VIII.; XII.-XIV.; and at Chapter VI. *The Templum Divae Matidiae ('Precinct of Diva Matidia') with Hadrian's Temple complex discussed here. With the correct location of the Temple of Diva Matidia (cf. here Figs. 67; 67.1), and new findings concerning the "Tempio di Siepe" and concerning the inscription TEM PL[...], which is recorded by fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan (cf. here Figs. 132-134) and refers to a Templ(um) of Diva Sabina?, a 'Precinct of Diva Sabina'? or a 'Temple of Diva Sabina?'; and at To whom was the second temple (seemingly) within the Templum Divae Matidiae (the 'Precinct of Diva Matidia') dedicated: to Diva Sabina or to Diva Plotina? (cf. here Figs. 66; 135; 136).; and at The "Tempio di Siepe" (cf. here Figs. 69.1; 69.2).*

In addition to this, Franz managed to find the volume by Andrea Carandini and Emanuele Papi (*Adriano Roma e Atene*, 2019) at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München, to which I have been alerted thanks to a quotation of a contribution to this volume by Maria Cristina Capanna (2019) in the article by Claudio Parisi Presicce (2021).

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination :*

*Nerva is forced to adopt Trajan and Trajan creates Domitian's negative image to consolidate his own reign. With Hadrian's adoption manquée in late October or at the beginning of November of AD 97, his 20-year long road to his accession and his thanksgivings for it, his Temple complex in the Campus Martius.*

Or: *The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?) ...;*

*Introduction*; at Section XIV. *Further new research: F. Chausson's (2001) idea that the Hadrianeum was possibly dedicated to Divus Hadrianus and to Diva Sabina, and recent discussions of this hypothesis. With The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen : Zum 'Hadrianeum' auf Münzen des Antoninus Pius.*

As a further result of all these discussions, Franz found volume 11 of the *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma (BullCom)* 1883 for me in the Internet, with the article by Rodolfo Lanciani ("La basilica Matidies et Marcianes dei Cataloghi Tav. I-II", 1883a). And because Lanciani quotes in this article a publication by Faustino Corsi without precise reference, Franz found also the following two editions of the book by Faustino Corsi in the Internet for me, which turned out to contain precisely that information which I had been looking for (*Delle pietre antiche trattato di Faustino Corsi Romano. Edizione seconda in alcune parti corretta in molte accresciuta con l'aggiunta dell'indicazione e descrizione di tutte le colonne e raggiungevoli massi di pietre antiche che sono in Roma*, 1833; and *Delle pietre antiche trattato di Faustino Corsi Romano. Edizione terza con notevole aggiunta al terzo libro in cui sono indicate e descritte tutte le colonne ed alcuni massi di pietre antiche ragguardevoli per grandezza o per rarità esistenti in Roma*, 1845).

Franz found also the following article by Maria Pia Muzzioli in the Internet ("Tra Piranesi e Canina: ricerche topografiche e piante di Roma antica", 2018), as well as: Giambattista Piranesi (*Le Antichità Romane*, vol. 1. 1756), The volume *Notizie degli Scavi* 26 (1972) with the article by Elisa Lissi Caronna ("Roma, Rinvenimenti in piazza Capranica 78"), the volume of *Römische Mitteilungen* 1899, with the article by Christian Huelsen ("Das angebliche Templum Matidiae bei Piazza Capranica"), the volume *ATTA* 27 (2017), with the article by

Paola Ciancio Rossetto ("*Porticus Metelli: riflessioni*"), and the article by Raffaele Leonardi, Stefano Pracchia, Stefano Buonaguro, Matteo Laufato and Nicoletta Saviane ("*Sondaggi lungo la Tratta T2. Caratteri ambientali e aspetti topografici del Campo Marzio in epoca romana*", 2010).

I have taken all this as a chance to discuss again the "Tempio di Siepe", my reconstructions of the Temple of *Diva Matidia* and of *Diva Sabina* ?, as well as many other subjects of my earlier *Study* of 2017 that relate to the *Campus Martius*.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study of the consequences of Domitian's assassination ... . Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?) ...; passim*.

Franz found also the exhibition-catalogue (*La Roma dei Re*, 2019), with several articles by Sabina Zeggio that I have discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix V.*; at *Section I.*; and in *Appendix VI.*; at *Section XII*.

In addition to his, Franz found the volume, edited by Mark Heerink and Esther Meijer (*Flavian Responses to Nero's Rome*, 2022), with the article by Eric Moormann ("Some Observations on the Templum Pacis - a Summa of Flavian Politics" (discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*) *Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the Templum Pacis, and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum*) - and with the article by Aurora Raimondi Cominesi ("Flavian Architecture on the Palatine: Continuity or Break", 2022); cf. below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

Franz found for me on the Internet also the *Katalog Fischer I (1936) Sammlung Arnold Ruesch 1882 –1929, Zürich. Griechische, etruskische und römische Altertümer. Auktion in Luzern, Galerie Fischer, 1.– 21.9.1936*, and Staffan Lundén ("The Palatine Labyrinth. Was it built in the 1<sup>st</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> Century? Originally published in *Caerdroia* 34 (2004), p. 7-14"), as well as Clifford H. Moore, *Tacitus. The Histories with an English translation by Clifford H. Moore of Harvard University. The Annals with an English Translation by John Jackson, in four volumes, I The Histories, Books I-III (Loeb Classical Library 1962); H.S.J. Thackeray, Josephus with an English translation by H. St. J. Thackeray, volume III The Jewish War, books IV-VII (Loeb Classical Library 1961); Alexander Thomson, The Complete Works of Suetonius. The twelve Caesars, translation by Alexander Thomson (Delphi Classics 2016); as well as Barbora Chabrečková (*The Imperial Cult during the Reign of Domitian*, 2017).*

For discussions of all that; cf. *infra*, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at *Section III. My own thoughts about Domitian*. With The second Contribution by Eugenio La Rocca: *Una nota sul labirinto del Palatino*; and in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

Franz found also the article by Gerhard Koepfel for me on the Internet ("Profectio und Adventus", 1969).

Cf. below, in Chapters *I.2.1.b*); *I.2.1.c*); and at **n. 416**, in Chapter *III*.

Fortunately, Franz found also right in time the following publication on the Internet: *ARCHAEOLOGIEONLINE DE Metallurgischer Fingerabdruck weist Legion des Varus in Kalkriese nach. Neue wissenschaftliche Methode bestätigt Kalkriese als Ort der Varusschlacht. 21.11.2022*.

Online at <<https://www.archaeologie-online.de/nachrichten/metallurgischer-fingerabdruck-weist-legion-des-varus-in-Kalkriese-nach-5466/>>.

Cf. *supra*, at Chapter *What this Study is all about*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*).

Franz found also the following publications on the Internet: Maurizio del Monte, Paola Fredi, Alessia Pica, and Francesca Vergari ("Geosites within Rome City Center (Italy): A mixture of Cultural and



Geomorphological Heritage", 2013); Dominik Maschek's (2013) review of Martin Tombrägel's book (*Die republikanischen Otiumvillen von Tivoli*, 2011); and Klaus M. Girardet (*Der Kaiser und sein Gott. Das Christentum im Denken und in der Religionspolitik Konstantins des Großen*, 2010).

For all that; cf. below, in *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**)...; at Part I. *The statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori* (cf. here **Fig. 11**), the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524; cf. here **Fig. 29.1**), and the cult-statue of Divus Vespasianus in the Temple of Divus Vespasianus. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); and at Part II. *Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalía) and of the Horrea Aemiliana*. With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?

In addition to this, Franz found the following publication in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, edited by Peter Schäfer (*The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 2003).

Cf. below, in *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here **Fig. 29**).

Luckily, Franz found also just in time the following books in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, of which there are in both cases only two copies in German libraries: Antonio Pizzo and Riccardo Montalbano (eds.) (*Tra le pendici de Quirinale e il Campo Marzio in memoria di Emilio Rodríguez Almeida*, 2022); and Dunia Filippi (ed.) (*Rethinking the Roman City. The Spatial Turn and the Archaeology of Roman Italy*, 2022).

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix V. Explanations concerning the ancient toponyms of the Palatine and its immediate surroundings, between the Velabrum and the Caelian, as marked on my map Fig. 73*.

I regard it as a great privilege to live in walking distance to a magnificent library such as the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, the 'STABI'. It is always a delight to go there, not only because of its superb collection of books, but especially thanks to the excellent service of all the members of its staff.

Franz found also Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani's review (2018) of Pier Luigi Tucci's book on the Internet (*The Temple of Peace in Rome, I. Art and Culture in Rome; II. Remodelings, Conversions, Excavations*, 2017).

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the Templum Pacis, and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum*.

Especially fortunate was Franz's find of Jona Lendering's texts on the Internet (dated 1995-2023) that relate to the Great Jewish Revolt or War, because Lendering adds information concerning the reasons for the outbreak of this revolt that were so far unknown to me; cf. Jona Lendering ("Livius.org; Jewish War (66-70); Causes of the War of 66-70").

Cf. below, in Chapter *Preamble; Section III.*; at point 2.).

Luckily Franz found also right in time the following volume, written by mediaevalists, who have studied exactly the same area on the Esquiline and Caelian as Franz Xaver Schütz and I myself: Claudia Barsanti, Roberta Flaminio and Alessandra Guiglia (*La Diocesi di Roma; Tomo Settimo, La III Regione Ecclesiastica, Corpus della Scultura Altomedievale VII*, Collana diretta da Letizia Pani Ermini e Adriano Peroni, *Introduzione topografica di Lucrezia Spera, Note epigrafiche di Ottavio Bucarelli e Giorgio Crimi* (Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo Spoleto, 2015).

Cf. below, in Chapter *IV.1.1.g*).

Especially important turned out to be Franz's find of Patrizio Pensabene and Enrico Gallochio's article on the Internet ("Neue Forschungen zum augusteischen Komplex auf dem Palatin", 2017).

This essay was published in the following volume, that Franz then found in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München: Manuel Flecker, Stefan Krmnicek, Johannes Lipps, Richard Posamentir und Thomas Schäfer (eds., *Augustus ist tot – Lang lebe der Kaiser!, Internationales Kolloquium anlässlich des 2000. Todesjahres des römischen Kaisers vom 20. - 22. November 2014 in Tübingen*, 2017). This volume contains *inter alia* also the following essays: by Vibeke Goldbeck ("Architekturkopien? Terminologische Überlegungen zur Rezeption von Bauwerken und ihrer Ausstattung bei den Römern. Untersucht am Beispiel des Forum Augustum und der Porticus ad Nationes", 2017), and by Thomas Schäfer ("Das Tropaeum Augusti von Lugdunum Convenarum: Skylla, Sex. Pompeius und Oktavian", 2017).

Another find of Franz in the Internet was Jens Fischer's article ("Augustus und Apollon. Notizen zu den Hintergründen einer 'göttlichen' Beziehung", 2020), along with the entire volume, to which it belongs: Jessica Bartz, Martin Müller and Rolf Frank Sporleder (eds., *Augustus immortalis. Aktuelle Forschungen zum Princeps im interdisziplinären Diskurs, Beiträge des interdisziplinären Symposiums an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 25.–27. Oktober 2019*, 2020). This volume contains *inter alia* also the article by Vibeke Goldbeck ("Die Rezeption der stadtrömischen Monumente des Augustus im Imperium Romanum", 2020).

Franz found also the following volume for me in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München: Katja Piesker and Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt (*Umgebaut: Umbau-, Umnutzungs- und Umwertungsprozesse in der antiken Architektur*, 2020), because it contains, apart from the contributions by Hans Rupprecht Goette (2020a) and Karoline Manfrecola (2020), which I had already discussed a long time ago, the essay by Nicole Röring ("Von einer Basilika (?) zu einem rezipierten Augustusforum. Das Marmorforum von Mérida", 2020).

The articles by Patrizio Pensabene (2017) and Jens Fischer (2020) are discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI. A digression on Domitian's intention to emulate Augustus and Nero*.

The articles by Vibeke Goldbeck (2017; *ead.* 2020) and by Nicole Röring (2020) are discussed below, in *Chapter IV.1.1.h*); at *The Marble Forum at the Colonia Augusta Emerita (Mérida) in Spain*; below, at *The major results of this book on Domitian*; at *The Contribution by Walter Trillmich on the headless marble togati found in the so-called Marble Forum at Mérida in Spain, one of which looks like the togate youth on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.*).

And the essay by Thomas Schäfer (2020) is discussed below, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11)*. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part II. *Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalía) and of the Horrea Aemiliana*. With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : *Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung*; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : *Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?*

One of the very last publication that Franz found on the Internet for me was the review by Klaus Fittschen (2018 [2019]) of the volume edited by Friederike Fless, Stephanie Langer, Paolo Liverani and Michael Pfanner (*Vatikanische Museen. Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Lateranense: Katalog der Skulpturen IV: Historische Reliefs*, 2018).

Cf. below, in Chapters I.-VI.; and in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

Franz found also the following publications on the Internet for me: Waldemar Haberey ("Römische Brandgräbergruppe an der Ecke Adolfstraße - Im Krausfeld zu Bonn. Hierzu Taf. 40-42", 1960); Ernest Nash (*Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 1961); and Robert Turcan ("*Templum gentis Flaviae*", 2000).

Cf. below, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix I.g.3.*) A sestertius, issued by Domitian in AD 95/96 (cf. here **Fig. 30**), and the Flavian date of the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here **Fig. 31**), both of which possibly represent Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. With The first Contribution by Claudia Valeri; and in *Appendix VI.*; at Sections II. and XII.

See also here **Fig. 30. Sestertius of Domitian, issued AD 95/96, representing a decastyle temple, which M. Torelli (1987) has identified with the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. BMC, p. 406, n. 12, R.H. Darwall-Smith (1996, 281, Plate XVIII, Fig. 30). From W. Haberey (1960, Taf. 42, Abb. 1: "Bronzemedaille des Domitian vom Jahre 95-96 n. Chr. aus Grab I"). Cf. R. Paris (1994b, 26, Fig. 14). From: E. Nash (1961, 371, Fig. 452: "Sestertius of the 17th consulate of Domitian (95/96 A.D.)".**

Finally Franz found two reviews on the Internet: Parrish Elizabeth Wright's review (2020) of T.P. Wiseman's book (*The House of Augustus. A Historical Detective Story*, 2019), and Niccolò Mugnai's review (2023) of the book, published by Patrizio Pensabene, Patrizio Fileri and Enrico Gallochio (*Il complesso di Augusto sul Palatino: nuovi contributi all'interpretazione delle strutture e delle fasi*, 2021)

Cf. below, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix I.c*); *Appendix I.e*); *Appendix IV.c*); *Appendix V.*; at Section IX.; and in *Appendix VI.*; at Sections I.; III.; IV.; V.; VI.; IX., and XI.

Franz found for me also the article "Götterkleid" by Rosel Pientka-Hinz and Astrid Nunn, in: *Das Wissenschaftliche Bibellexikon im Internet* (www.wibilex.de), 2018.

Cf. *infra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**) ...; at Part I. *The statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori* (cf. here **Fig. 11**), the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524; cf. here **Fig. 29.1**), and the cult-statue of Divus Vespasianus in the Temple of Divus Vespasianus. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great).

The last publication, Franz has alerted me to was the article by Massimiliano Moscatelli, Sabatino Piscitelli, Salvatore Piro, Francesco Stigliano, Alessandro Giocoli, Daniela Zamuner, and Fabrizio Marconi ("Integrated geological and geophysical investigations to characterize the anthropic layer of the Palatine hill and Roman Forum", 2014). And the *very* last publication that Franz found for me on the Internet was Paolo Carafa and Daniela Bruno ("Il Palatino messo a punto", 2013).

For discussions of all that; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI A digression on Domitian's intention to emulate Augustus and Nero*; at Section III.

Franz presented me also with a copy of the book by Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli and Mario Torelli (*Etruria. Roma. L'Arte dell'Antichità Classica*, 2, 1976) that I had in vain tried to find for a very long time.

Cf. *infra*, **n. 208**, in Chapter I.1.1.; at Chapter IV.1.; in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section IV.; and at **n. 475**, in Chapter VI.3.

In addition, Franz purchased a copy of another book that is of great importance for many of the subjects, discussed in this *Study* (*L'Urbs. Espace urbain et histoire Ier siècle avant J.-C.-IIIe siècle après J.-C.*, 1987).

Finally Franz presented me with a copy of the following rare book:

Filippo Magi (*I rilievi flavi del Palazzo della Cancellaria in Roma con prefazione di Bartolomeo Nogara*, 1945).

Cf. here **Figs 1 and 2 drawing**; and **Figs. 1 and 2 Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**; and below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

Thanks to the generous help of all my aforementioned former university teachers and superiors, my colleagues and friends, and especially to Franz, this whole enterprise, though extremely challenging, has been a very rewarding experience.

See also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*, which is an addition to this Chapter: there are mentioned the publications, which have reached me after 23rd July 2023 and that are discussed in the second volume of this book on Domitian.

***Preamble: Domitian's negative image***

This Chapter is divided into three Sections:

I. 'The intentional creation of Domitian's negative image', here presented by discussing relevant text passages from Markus Handy ("Strategien zur Legitimierung der Ermordung des Domitian", 2015) and from Peter L. Viscusi (*Studies on Domitian*, 1973)

II. Conclusions: Domitian's representations of his military successes and his claims to be of divine descent and to possess a divine nature

III. My own thoughts about Domitian. With *The second Contribution by Eugenio La Rocca: Una nota sul labirinto del Palatino*

***Preamble; Section I. 'The intentional creation of Domitian's negative image', here presented by discussing relevant text passages from Markus Handy ("Strategien zur Legitimierung der Ermordung des Domitian", 2015) and from Peter L. Viscusi (Studies on Domitian, 1973)***

Domitian's negative image is the result of the conscious creation of that image by Trajan in order to legitimize his own accession. The relevant, very influential texts were written by Tacitus and Pliny the Younger. Trajan, at the beginning of his reign, regarded this as necessary since those who, in the crisis of AD 97, had favoured the accession of M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curiatius Maternus instead, were still very powerful. Nigrinus had instigated an uprising of the Praetorian Guard, aiming to overthrow Nerva, rehabilitate Domitian, and to become emperor himself.

I have arrived at the above-given summary by reading the article by Markus Handy ("Strategien zur Legitimierung der Ermordung des Domitian", 2015).

Because I am myself not an ancient historian, I am happy to say that many subjects discussed in this *Study* that relate to Domitian, receive a better explanation when we read Markus Handy's (2015) relevant analyses. I myself would have been unable to provide these analyses myself, although having felt for quite some time that such a 'preamble' would be very useful as a 'backdrop', on which the findings, presented in this *Study* on Domitian, could be 'projected'. Markus Handy's article reached me after the manuscript of this entire *Study* was almost finished (as I erroneously thought at the time), and my thanks are due to Peter Herz for sending me on 16th April 2021 a copy of this text.

Rose Mary Sheldon, whom I had asked to correct the English of my comments in this *Preamble*, was also kind enough to write to me in an E-mail of 25th April 2021 her comments on its content. I, therefore, took advantage of her expertise as an ancient historian, by referring in the following to the manuscript of her book, in which she discusses those procedures, and of which she was kind enough to send me at that stage a relevant paragraph; cf. Sheldon (*Guarding the Caesars. Roman Internal Security under the Flavian Dynasty*).

After having (this time indeed) almost finished writing this *Study*, Rose Mary Sheldon sent me, on her own account, on 12th April 2023, the following part of the manuscript of book (2023, in press; Chapter 7: "Domitian: Reigning in Rome"), in which she discusses many subjects that will also be addressed in this *Preamble*; in addition, she addresses subjects concerning Domitian, that I have not discussed in this *Study*. With her kind consent, I have decided to quote in this *Preamble* some passages from Rose Mary's Chapter 7.

When I first read Markus Handy's article (2015), the subject 'denigration of a predecessor' (when discussed in regard to *ancient* individuals !), was completely new to me. Both as a phenomenon, and especially in the case of those procedures that interest me in this *Preamble*, "the idea that Pliny and Tacitus denigrated Domitian to legitimize Trajan's usurpation", as Rose Mary Sheldon commented on those events in her E-mail

of 25th April 2021 to me. I have, therefore, quoted in the following the relevant passages from Handy's article (2015), which I chose because the author refers to precisely those passages from Tacitus and Pliny the Younger that I had already studied in this book - only that I had so far not understood the 'deeper meaning' of Tacitus's and Pliny's relevant texts.

Thanks to a footnote in Handy's (2015) discussion of Dio Cassius, I have been alerted to the following volume, in which subjects like the 'denigration of a predecessor' loom large as well: Sophia Bönisch-Meyer, Lisa Cordes, Verena Schulz, Anne Wolfsfeld and Martin Ziegert (*Nero und Domitian. Mediale Diskurse der Herrscherrepräsentation im Vergleich*, 2014). Some of the contributions to this volume have made me add another *Section* to this already finished *Preamble*, namely *Section II. Conclusions: Domitian's representations of his military successes and his claims to be of divine descent and to possess a divine nature*.

Even after that I received on 18th May 2021 from Eric M. Moormann the digital version of the volume, edited by Aurora Raimondi Cominesi, Nathalie de Haan, himself and Claire Stocks (*God on Earth: Emperor Domitian. The re-invention of Rome at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD*, 2021), for which I am likewise very thankful.

Many of the contributors to Raimondi Cominesi *et al.* (2021) are interested in the same subjects as those, who published articles in the volume, edited by Bönisch-Meyer *et al.* (2014), and some of the former discuss the latter's work. Almost all authors of both volumes are interested in the bad image of Domitian, created by Tacitus, Plinius the Younger, Suetonius and Dio Cassius, especially Aurora Raimondi Cominesi, Nathalie de Haan, Eric M. Moormann and Claire Stocks ("Introduction: Domitian, the Neglected Emperor Who Wished to Be God", 2021), as well as Antony Augoustakis and Emma Buckley ("Man and God : Literature", 2021), two articles, to which I will come back below. Augoustakis and Buckley refer also to their earlier publication: Antony Augoustakis, Emma Buckley and Claire Stocks (eds., *Undamning Domitian? Reassessing the last Flavian princeps*, 2019).

**But, as already mentioned, these publications reached me only after this I. Section of this Preamble was already written. None of the authors of Raimondi Cominesi *et al.* (2021) addresses Handy's (2015) and Viscusi's (1973) relevant findings, which will be presented here. Also I myself have refrained from trying to provide a complete coverage of this part of the discussion on Domitian, for example by mentioning systematically in Section I. of this Preamble, who of all those modern commentators has referred to the slander of the above-mentioned ancient authors that will be discussed in detail in the following.**

Apropos 'complete coverage of a subject', or the aim at reaching this ideal. As will be said again below (cf. *infra*, in Chapter VI.1.), in regard to the scholarly discussion of the Cancellaria Reliefs (here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**), the absence of even the attempt to reach this goal characterizes the scholarly production concerning those panels, and, when considering the other subjects looked at in this *Study* - this is true almost throughout. My own texts included. Let me give you an example right here.

It is, of course, important to know that the same observations, that I first found in Handy's article (2015), have already been made some time ago by other scholars, whom Handy himself does not mention in his account. I thank Rose Mary Sheldon for alerting me in her E-mail of 25th April 2021 to those publications, whom she discusses in her own book (*ead.*, 2023, in press) in detail; cf. John D. Grainger (2003; D. KIENAST 1968, R.P. LONGDON 1936, C. MICHAEL 2002; E.S. RAMAGE 1989 and R. SYME 1983).

Rose Mary Sheldon alerted me in this E-mail also to another observation that I found in Markus Handy (2015). My relevant comment was written for another *Chapter*, but I anticipate it here:

'Geza Alföldy and Helmut Halfmann (1973) were able to identify the man, who was Trajan's competitor for the emperorship, with M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curiatius Maternus, and thanks to Karl-Heinz Schwarte (1979) we know also that it had been Nigrinus who instigated the uprising of the Praetorian Guard against Nerva in AD 97; cf. Handy (2015, 42-44)'.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *A Study of the consequences of Domitian's assassination : Nerva is forced to adopt Trajan and Trajan creates Domitian's negative image to consolidate his own reign ...*; at Chapter VI.1.

Handy (2015, 42-44) thus summarizes the findings of previous scholars concerning M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curiatius Maternus and has come to the above-mentioned conclusion that I have followed here. Rose Mary Sheldon alerted me in her E-mail of 25th April 2021 to the fact that this hypothesis, which I had taken for fact, is instead debated. It is neither clear "that Maternus was trying to foment a coup against Nerva, nor is it proven that Maternus was the leader", as Rose Mary Sheldon wrote me, quoting for her relevant findings: A. Berriman and M. Todd ("A Very Roman Coup: The Hidden War of Imperial Succession, A.D. 96-98", 2001).

Be all that as it may !

Even later than the article by Markus Handy reached me the dissertation by Peter L. Viscusi (*Studies on Domitian*, 1973), which offers, in my opinion, an excellent, coherent picture of what the emperor had actually intended with his campaigns in Germany and on the Danube, and what he had achieved. - I have again decided to quote in the following *verbatim* from this account, because Viscusi discusses precisely those events in his book to which I myself have referred in this *Study*, again - before reading Viscusi's book - without understanding the 'deeper meaning' of the relevant events so far. I am happy to acknowledge that Rose Mary Sheldon has sent me a copy of his dissertation right in time to be incorporated here.

As we shall see throughout this volume, Markus Handy's and Peter L. Viscusi's results are, of course, of importance whenever Domitian as a person is mentioned, or else his actions or his achievements. Among the topics discussed here, for which the findings of both scholars are especially important are: Domitian's escape from the *Capitolium* on 19th December AD 69 (cf. below in Section III.; at point 1.); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.*), Domitian's military campaigns and victories, and Domitian's buildings projects at Rome (cf. *infra*, at n. 232, in Chapter I.2.; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.*), especially *Appendix IV.d.2.a* - *Appendix IV.d.2.f*); and *Appendix IV.d.4.a* - *Appendix IV.d.4.c*).

**As the title of his essay indicates, Markus Handy (2015) himself is predominantly interested 'in the strategies of legitimization of Domitian's assassination'. By analysing the rôles of Tacitus, Plinius the Younger and Trajan in this context, Handy is able to demonstrate that these 'strategies' consisted in the systematic creation of that negative image of Domitian which is even nowadays still the prevailing one. With the - at least for me - surprising result that Markus Handy is able to demonstrate that these 'strategies' served the purpose of legitimizing Trajan's own accession.**

Markus Handy's results are, therefore, also of great importance to those subjects discussed in this *Study* that are related to Nerva's, Trajan's and Hadrian's reigns, and especially to those events which followed the crisis in Nerva's reign of AD 97. This crisis was caused by an uprising of the Praetorians Guard - according to some authors instigated by the governor of Syria, M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curiatius Maternus - in order to rehabilitate Domitian, overthrow Nerva, and to become himself emperor. Nerva reacted very prudently by installing Trajan, Nigrinus's competitor for the emperorship, as governor of Germania *Superior* and by shortly afterwards adopting Trajan as his son, co-emperor and successor. This move saved Nerva's life and because he died three months later, Trajan became the next emperor. Trajan's accession was thus, thanks to Nerva's adoption, legal.

But because some earlier scholars (cf. *supra*) and Markus Handy (2015) have been able to demonstrate that Domitian's negative image is a result of Trajan's conscious propaganda, in which the texts, written by Tacitus and Pliny the Younger, discussed by Handy in the below quoted passages, play a very important part, the following conclusions seem to me inevitable - provided the assumption is true that Nigrinus, the highest decorated general of the Flavian period and former protégé of Domitian, as soon as he learned that Trajan was installed as governor of Germania *Superior*, had given up his attempts to overthrow Nerva. Nevertheless

those, who had supported Nigrinus's aims (provided that were true at all) to rehabilitate Domitian and to become himself emperor, were obviously still very strong even after Trajan's accession.

**Otherwise I find it impossible to imagine, why Trajan felt a) the need to legitimize his own accession, and b) to do this by creating that negative image of Domitian which we still know so well, and that Markus Handy (2015) analyses for us.**

For the above-mentioned events in AD 97/ 98; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination : Nerva is forced to adopt Trajan and Trajan creates Domitian's negative image to consolidate his own reign...*; at Chapter VI.1.

My just-formulated hypothesis seems now to have been corroborated by research, conducted by Werner Eck (2022b), but to which I have only been alerted when I had finished writing this entire *Preamble*. See below, Section III., at point 5.). I anticipate, therefore, in the following the relevant passage:

**'See now Gian Luca Gregori and Valerio Astolfi ("La damnatio memoriae di Domiziano. Iscrizioni e monumenti di Roma", 2023, 159): ...**

**Ma anche in altre iscrizioni di Roma (come pure d'Italia e delle province) il nome del principe [i.e., Domitian] non fu sempre scalpellato [with n. 5]. Nell'Urbe la percentuale delle iscrizioni domizianee erase sarebbe solo del 21%, in Italia scenderebbe al 15% [with n. 6], mentre nelle province, in particolare in quelle orientali, salirebbe oltre il 40% [with n. 7]" ...**

In their **note 7**, they write: "**L'alta percentuale nelle province potrebbe dipendere dalle nomine di governatori vicini a Traiano nel 97: Eck 2022 [i.e., here W. ECK 2022b; my emphasis]"**.

**See the title of Werner Eck's (2022b) relevant essay: "La crisi di potere dell'imperatore Traiano nella Renania romana nell'anno 97/98 sulla base dei diplomi militari [my emphasis]"**.

**Let's now turn to the relevant passages in Markus Handy's account.**

At the beginning of his article, Handy (2015, 19) asks, how Domitian's assassination could be justified:

"Ist die Beseitigung des Domitian ein legitimes Mittel zur Befreiung der Bürger von einem furchtbaren Tyrannen? Welche Möglichkeiten sind vorhanden, um die Ermordung dieses Kaisers zu legitimieren?"

I myself do not discuss Domitian's assassination in this volume, to which Handy turns in the following. Of greater interest to the subjects discussed in this *Study* are Handy's next following observations. They concern the creation of Domitian's negative image in Roman literature; in this context Handy discusses in great detail Tacitus and Pliny the Younger.

Cf. Markus Handy (2015, 30):

#### **"Das Domitian-Bild in der römischen Literatur**

Diesem Vorhaben entsprechend wollen wir auch die Geschichte vom Ende des Domitian unter dem Aspekt seiner Rezeption in der öffentlichen Meinung Roms sehen. Es bietet sich daher ein Blick auf das literarische Oeuvre von zwei Zeitgenossen an. Es sind dies P. Cornelius Tacitus und C. Plinius Secundus, deren Biographien und Werke im Kontext ihrer "Domitianerlebnisse" [with n. 65] im Folgenden zu thematisieren sind".

In his **note 65**, Handy writes: "Zum Begriff "Domitianerlebnis" vgl. *Nesselhauf*, Tacitus und Domitian [1952], S. 222".



Next, Markus Handy (2015, 31-32) turns to the first of those ancient authors which he wants to discuss, Tacitus, and states that the author wrote his *Agricola* not only in order to celebrate the man of this name, his father-in-law, but that this text may also be regarded as Tacitus's literary account of Domitian's principate:

### "Tacitus

Betrachten wir zunächst den Fall des P. Cornelius Tacitus: Über sein Leben ist wenig bekannt. Glücklicherweise lässt sich dessen *cursus honorum* rekonstruieren. [with n. 66] In den frühen Regierungsjahren Domitians wird er wahrscheinlich Volkstribun. Danach bekleidet er um 88 n.Chr. die Prätur. [with n. 67] Anschließend übernimmt er vielleicht die Statthalterschaft in einer Provinz oder das Kommando über eine Legion, jedenfalls weilt er eine längere Zeit fern von Rom. **Im Jahre 97 n. Chr. wird er Konsul, wobei wir davon ausgehen können, dass ihm dieses Amt bereits von Domitian versprochen worden ist.** [with n. 68] **Wie wir in den Annalen selbst lesen können, ist er ein Mitglied der *decemviri sacris faciundis*, [with n. 69] womit er eine Priesterfunktion ausübt, deren Bekleidung für gewöhnlich hochrangigen Senatoren vorbehalten ist und viel Prestige verleiht.** [with n. 70] **Tacitus, der selbst eingesteht, seine Karriere sei von Domitian gefördert worden, kann demnach kaum als Gegner Domitians gelten.** [with n. 71]

**Nichtsdestotrotz ist die Beurteilung Domitians bei Tacitus fast ausnahmslos negativ.** Zwar ist es bereits seit geraumer Zeit bekannt, dass sein literarisches Schaffen nicht ohne Ereignisse aus der eigenen Zeit zu deuten ist, [with n. 72] **jedoch fragt man sich, ob wir in Anbetracht der Begünstigung, die Tacitus vom letzten Flavier erhielt, tatsächlich von jenem negativen "Domitianerlebnis" [with n. 73] sprechen können, das die Triebfeder für dessen literarisches Schaffen sein soll. Leider fehlen uns jene Teile der Historien, die den Prinzipat des Domitian zum Inhalt hatten und die taciteische Sichtweise zu diesem Herrscher ergänzen würden.** Da darüber nur spekuliert werden [page 32] kann, erübrigt sich eine eingehende Erörterung in diesem Fall. [with n. 74]

**Bereits im Jahre 98 n. Chr. oder auch ein wenig später veröffentlicht Tacitus die Biographie seines Schwiegervaters Agricola, [with n. 75] worin wir mit den Worten von Karl Christ "Tacitus' persönlichstes Werk" [with n. 76] sehen wollen. [with n. 77] Die Schrift dient aber nicht nur der Anerkennung der Leistungen des Agricola, einem Heerführer in flavischer Zeit, [with n. 78] oft wird darin auch eine literarische Abrechnung des Autors mit dem Prinzipat des Domitian gesehen. [with n. 79; my emphasis]."**

In his note 66, Handy writes: "Eine seit längerem bekannte Inschrift (CIL VI 1574) gilt mittlerweile als Epitaph für den bekannten Schriftsteller (vgl. Geza Alföldy, Bricht der Schweigsame sein Schweigen?, in: Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung 102 (1995), S. 252-368; Anthony R. Birley, The Life and Death of Cornelius Tacitus, in: Historia 49 (2000), S. 230-247) [my emphasis]."

In his note 67, he writes: "Vgl. Birley, The Life and Death of Cornelius Tacitus [2000], S. 235, 237".

In his note 68, he writes: "Vgl. John Percival, Tacitus and the Principate, in: Greece & Rome 27 (1980), S. 119 - 133, 128; Birley, The Life and Death of Cornelius Tacitus [2000], S. 238".

In his note 69, he writes: "Tac. ann. 11,11".

In his note 70, he writes: "Vgl. Percival, Tacitus and the Principate [1980], S. 128-129; Birley, The Life and Death of Cornelius Tacitus [2000], S. 237".

In his note 71, he writes: "Tac. hist. 1,1,3; vgl. Karl Strobel, Plinius und Domitian: Der willige Helfer eines Unrechtssystems, in: Luigi Castagna, Eckard Lefèvre (Hrsg.), Plinius der Jüngere und seine Zeit (= Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 187) (München, Leipzig 2003), S. 303-314, 309 [my emphasis]."

In his note 72, he writes: "Vgl. Nesselhauf [1952], Tacitus und Domitian, S. 222".

In his note 73, he writes: "Nesselhauf, Tacitus und Domitian [1952], S. 222.

In his note 74, he writes: "**Hier können wir verschiedene Positionen finden, wovon eine von Herbert Nesselhauf stammt, nämlich, "[...] dass die ganze spätere Überlieferung über Domitian von der uns verlorenen Darstellung der Historien beeinflusst ist."** (Nesselhauf, Tacitus und Domitian [1952], S. 224).

**Einen anderen Weg schlägt Karl-Heinz Schwarte ein: Er geht von zwei verschiedenen taciteischen Domitian-Bildern aus: Während die verlorenen Teile der Historien den letzten Flavier korrekt und authentisch wiedergeben würden, hätten wir es im Falle des Domitian, wie er in der Biographie des Agricola gezeichnet wird, mit einer literarischen Kunstfigur zu tun, die als negatives Gegenbild zu**

**Agricola konstruiert werde** (vgl. **Karl-Heinz Schwarte, Trajans Regierungsbeginn und der `Agricola´ des Tacitus**, in: *Bonner Jahrbücher* 179 (1979), S. 139-175, 140) [my emphasis]".

In his **note 75**, he writes: "Tac. Agr. 9,6".

In his **note 76**, he writes: "Karl *Christ*, Tacitus und der Prinzipat, in: *Historia* 27 (1978), S. 449-487, 453".

In his **note 77**, he writes: "Was die Datierung der Schrift betrifft, gilt das, was Dieter Flach feststellt: Nervas Leistungen werden in der Vergangenheit erwähnt, während Traians Tun in der Gegenwartsform geschildert wird (Tac. Agr. 3,1; vgl. *Flach*, *Römische Geschichtsschreibung* [1998], S. 192)".

In his **note 78**, he writes: "Vgl. *Nesselhauf*, Tacitus und Domitian [1952], S. 226".

In his **note 79**, he writes: "**Wie Karl-Heinz Schwarte überzeugend betont, gab es eine `Präponderanz der antidomitianischen Polemik´ in der Schrift** (vgl. [vergleiche] *Schwarte, Trajans Regierungsbeginn* [1979], S. 141); vgl. [vergleiche] dazu *Sven Lorenz*, Von Gespenstern und Denunzianten: Die Herrschaft Domitians und Trajans bei Plinius und weiteren zeitgenössischen Autoren, in: *Rolf Kussl* (Hrsg.), *Antike im Dialog* (Speyer 2011), S. 238-260, 238f. [my emphasis]".

**Cf. Markus Handy (2015, 34-35), where he discusses the fact that Tacitus, in his *Agricola*, denies Domitian's military successes in Germany:**

**"An anderer Stelle steht das Bemühen im Vordergrund, die militärischen Erfolge des Domitian in Germanien wenn nicht komplett zu ignorieren, so wenigstens doch klein zu reden.** [with n. 90] Tacitus erzählt von den gewaltigen Siegen des Agricola, die, so Tacitus, zur vollständigen Eroberung Britanniens geführt haben. **Als Vorbild unübertroffen, habe der Feldherr den persönlichen Kampfeinsatz nicht gescheut**, neue Völkerschaften in das Römische Reich eingegliedert und die Herrschaft in Britannien auf Jahre hinweg gefestigt. Fast gewinnt man den Eindruck, als ob Tacitus die Verleihung des Britannicus-Siegerbeinamens an seinen Schwiegervater nur allzu gerecht empfunden hätte. [with n. 91] **Diesem real erfochtenen Erfolg im Feld wird die erlogene und keineswegs in die Tat umgesetzte Sieghaftigkeit des Domitian gegenübergestellt.** Hier wird also die Intention des Autors sehr deutlich sichtbar, den Erfolgen des letzten Flaviers ihre Echtheit abzuerkennen und [page 35] **die Leistungen Agricolas als Statthalter deutlich zu übertreiben.** [with n. 92] Dies ist aber umso verwunderlicher, als das Vorgehen des Schwiegervaters des Tacitus in Britannien im Schrifttum der domitianischen Zeit kaum Erwähnung findet. **Auch auf den Bildern der Reichsprägungen werden wir vergeblich nach einem Echo dieser Kämpfe suchen.** [with n. 93] Wir werden demnach nicht fehlgehen, wenn wir Tacitus' Version von der segensreichen Feldherrntätigkeit des Agricola als befangen ansehen. Domitian muss im Text dieser Schrift als eine Art Negativfolie erhalten, seine Leistungen und sein Verhalten werden stets mit jenem des Agricola kontrastiert [my emphasis]".

In his **note 90**, Handy writes: "Tac. Agr. 39,1; vgl. *Birley*, *The Life and Death of Cornelius Tacitus* [2000], S. 240. **Zu Domitian und dem Nachweis seiner *virtus imperatoria* im Chattenkrieg und zur Bedeutung der Annahme von *Germanicus* als Siegesbeiname für römische Kaiser** vgl. [vergleiche] *Strobel*, *Kaiser Traian* [2010], S. 79f., 84f. [my emphasis]".

In his **note 91**, he writes: "Vgl. *Nesselhauf*, Tacitus und Domitian [1952], S. 228-230".

In his **note 92**, he writes: "**Tacitus könnte hier die Darstellung bei Cassius Dio beeinflusst haben, wo ähnlich negativ über Domitians Kriege geurteilt wird (Cass. Dio 67,7,2-4); zu Domitians Feldzügen im Bericht des Cassius Dio vgl.** [vergleiche] *Schulz*, *Nero und Domitian bei Cassius Dio* [2014], S. 417". - For this subject: cf. also *Verena Schulz* (2014, 418 with n. 58).

In his **note 93**, he writes: "Vgl. *Nesselhauf*, Tacitus und Domitian [1952], S. 233".

For Domitian's achievements in Britain; cf. now *Barbara Birley and Frances McIntosh* ("Material Culture in Britannia under Domitian; a Northern Focus", 2021). They mention also Agricola (on p. 57), but do not address the above-mentioned problems concerning Tacitus and Agricola, discussed by Handy (2015, 31-35).

*In the following, I allow myself a digression on the persecutions of Christians, allegedly ordered by Nero and by Domitian*

To Markus Handy's (2015, 34-35) just-quoted discussion of Tacitus's denigration of Domitian's successful military campaigns in Germany, I should like to add another observation.

**As Brent D. Shaw (2015) has demonstrated, Tacitus (*Ann.* 15,38-44) is also the first ancient author who asserts that the Emperor Nero had started the persecutions of Christians: according to Tacitus, many of whom were "punished by Nero as the culprits responsible for the Great Fire" of AD 64; cf. Shaw (2015, 79). Also Domitian has been blamed by ancient authors for the persecutions of Christians. For both emperors this is not true.**

See Brent D. Shaw ("The Myth of the Neronian Persecution", 2015, 78-81 and *passim*, for Nero. On pp. 97-98, he discusses Domitian's likewise alleged persecutions of Christians, providing references). - I thank Peter Herz for this reference.

Shaw (2015, 97, n. 113) writes: "That there is reliable evidence to support the frequently asserted claims of a persecution under the emperor Domitian is summarily dismissed (and rightly so) by Barnes 2010 : 37; for the details see 'Domitian and the Christians', ch.[apter] 3, in Cook 2010, 112-37 ... [my emphasis]".

The article by Shaw (2015) has not been discussed by the authors of the volume, edited by Aurora Raimondi Cominesi *et al.* (*God on Earth: Emperor Domitian*, 2021). The editors, Aurora Raimondi Cominesi, Nathalie de Haan, Eric M. Moormann, and Claire Stocks write for example in their ("Introduction: Domitian, the Neglected Emperor Who Wished to Be God", 2021, 14) :

"The number of exhibitions centred around Nero (three only in the last decade) [with n. 1, providing references] reflects a die-hard interest in the emperor who more than any other incarnated all sorts of misbehaviours as he was presented as the opponent of Christianity and the embodiment of the iconic 'bad emperor' [my emphasis]".

See also Maria Paola Del Moro ("Domitian's Damned Memory in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries", in: A. RAIMONDI COMINESI *et al.* 2021, 186-188; *ead.* 2023, 169), who comments on the literary sources of the 4th and the 5th centuries that stress Domitian's (alleged) cruelty and assert likewise that Domitian had persecuted Christians.

To Domitian's (alleged) cruelty, I will come back below in Section III. of this *Preamble*; at point 3.). Del Moro (*op.cit.*) herself is unaware of the fact that both reproaches: Domitian's (alleged) cruelty and his (alleged) persecution of Christians, are both unfounded.

The same is true for some literary sources of the Middle Ages, which Nine Miedema has analysed ("An Enemy of God' on the Imperial Throne? The Reception of Domitian During the Middle Ages", in: A. RAIMONDI COMINESI *et al.* 2021, *passim*). Also Miedema does not realize that the reproach, according to which Domitian had persecuted Christians, is not true.

Concerning the (unjustified) assertion that (Nero and) Domitian had persecuted Christians, Frederick G. Naerebout ("Domitian and Religion", in: A. RAIMONDI COMINESI *et al.* 2021, 150), who bases his discussion on different modern commentators, comes nevertheless to the same conclusion as Shaw 2015:

"Domitian has gone down as the second persecutor of the Christians, Nero being the first. In fact, there is no shred of evidence [with n. 42, quoting: "Speigl 1970"; my emphasis].

Nevertheless, Nathalie de Haan, Eric M. Moormann, Aurora Raimondi Cominesi and Claire Stocks, in the Italian version of their English text ("La Memoria Sepolta di Domiziano e una sua rivalutazione nelle mostre di Leiden e Roma", 2023, 15-16) (erroneously) still call the Emperor Nero the :

"... **oppositore per eccellenza del Cristianesimo** e l'incarnazione ormai iconica della figura del cattivo imperatore", adding to this a passage, which the English text (2021) does not contain: "**L'esempio di Nerone mostra come a una pessima reputazione, persino a una *damnatio memoriae*, non faccia necessariamente seguito una caduta nell'oblio. Viene dunque da chiedersi perché le stesse sanzioni, applicate agli atti e alla memoria dell'imperatore Domiziano, ebbero invece successo, o certamente più successo di quello applicato al suo predecessore [i.e., Nero]. Proprio questa domanda forma la base del progetto di ricerca scaturito nella mostra *God on Earth. Emperor Domitian*, tenutasi al Rijksmuseum van Oudheiden di Leiden dal 17 dicembre 2021 al 22 maggio 2022 e incentrata sulla complessità della memoria e sulla [page 16] controversa eredità di questo imperatore [i.e., Domitian]. Per la prima volta, Domiziano viene considerato come uomo, sovrano e (quasi) dio offrendo un ritratto ricco di sfacciatte (fig. 1) [my emphasis]**".

To the above-quoted passage from de Haan, Moormann, Raimondi Cominesi and Stocks (2023, 15-16), I should like to add two comments:

**a) note that the Senate did by no means decree in the case of Nero a *damnatio memoriae*** (as indeed in the case of Domitian), as de Haan, Moormann, Raimondi Cominesi and Stocks (2023, 15) (erroneously) assert; cf. M.P. Charlesworth, G.E.F. Chilver and M.T. Griffin ("Nero (Nero Claudius Caesar ...) ... Roman emperor AD 54-68 ... The praetorians were told that Nero had already fled abroad and were bribed by C. Nymphidius Sabinus, one of the prefects, to declare for Galba. **The senate followed suit, decreeing Nero a public enemy** [my emphasis]", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> [1996] 1038).

See also Diane Atnally Conlin ("Master and God: Domitian's Art and Architecture in Rome", in: A. RAIMONDI COMINESI *et al.* 2021, 153; the context is the birth of Domitian): "**... there must have been little anticipation that the child of Sabine heritage born that autumn day would inherit the imperial scepter of Rome, and even less expectation that young Domitian would become the first emperor to suffer an official damnation by the Senate following his assassination in 96** [my emphasis]";

**b)** also Rose Mary Sheldon has studied in her book (*Guarding the Caesars. Roman Internal Security under the Flavian Dynasty*, 2023, in press; Chapter 7), some of the questions posed by the organizers of the recent exhibition *God on Earth: Emperor Domitian*, and mentioned by de Haan, Moormann, Raimondi Cominesi and Stocks (2023, 15-16) in the above-quoted passage. Cf. below, in the II. and III. Sections of this *Preamble*, where the relevant passages from Rose Mary Sheldon's book (2013, in press) are quoted *verbatim*.

**Let's now turn to Markus Handy's (2015, 35) discussion of Plinius the Younger's relationship with Domitian :**

### "Plinius

Kommen wir nun zur Figur des C. Plinius Secundus: Auch er ist ein weiterer wichtiger Zeuge von Domitians Herrschaft. **Als *homo novus* verdankt er seine Tätigkeiten in der Reichsverwaltung zu einem überwiegenden Teil der Förderung durch Domitian.** [with n. 94] Demnach ist er um 82 n. Chr. Militärtribun in Syrien, um etwa 88/89 n. Chr. *quaestor Augusti*. **In dieser Funktion bekundet er vielleicht dem Kaiser Domitian anlässlich dessen Sieges über die Germanen seinen Beifall.** [with n. 95] Etwa 92 n. Chr. ist er dann Volkstribun, und in einem der Folgejahre erhält er die Prätur. **Zur Zeit des Herrscherwechsels von Domitian zu Nerva dient er als *praefectus aerarii militaris* (von 95-97 n. Chr.) und ist für die Verwaltung der Kasse zuständig, aus der ausgediente Legionäre ausbezahlt werden. Da die Versorgung und Besoldung der Truppen für jeden Kaiser wichtige Anliegen sind, können wir daraus folgern, dass sich Plinius in seiner Laufbahn der besonderen Förderung des Domitian erfreut hat.** [with n. 96]".

In his **note 95**, Handy writes: "Vgl. *Strobel* [2003], *Plinius und Domitian*, S. 304".

In his **note 96**, he writes: "Vgl. *Strobel*, *Plinius und Domitian* [2003], S. 303f., 308; Lorenz, *Von Gespenstern und Denunzianten* [2011], S. 255f.". - For the location of the *aerarium militare* on the *Capitolium*, at the Temple of Ops Opifera in *Capitolio*; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.2.*).

Markus Handy (2015, 37-38) then describes, how Pliny, in his *Panegyricus* on Trajan, creates Trajan's positive image by constantly contrasting him with Domitian, who is throughout characterized as *malus princeps*:

**"Das überschwängliche Lob für Traian bedingt den Verriss Domitians als *malus princeps*, der nicht als Mensch, sondern als schreckliches Ungeheuer den edelsten Bürgern Tod und Verderben gebracht habe. [with n. 104] Es ist bemerkenswert, dass Plinius dem Domitian gar keine positiven Eigenschaften zugesteht: Selbst die Siege, die Domitians Truppen im Feld errungen hatten, seien erlogen gewesen. [with n. 105] Man kann daraus schließen, dass sich die Legitimierung der Ermordung des letzten Flavierkaisers und der Machtübernahme des Kreises um Traian sich wie ein Leitfaden durch die Rede zieht. [with n. 106] Obgleich Plinius insgesamt den Unrechtscharakter der Herrschaft Domitians und dessen Tyrannentum, wenn auch meist unter der Bezeichnung eines *malus princeps*, stark betont, hat er diesem Kaiser zu dessen Lebzeiten jedoch nicht nur als loyaler Helfer, sondern mitunter sogar als Täter gedient. [with n. 107] Höchst seltsam erscheint uns daher eine Bemerkung dieses Autors, er habe sein Karrierestreben gerade dann unterbrochen, als Domitian im Begriff gewesen sei, sich zum Gewalt- [page 38] herrscher zu entwickeln. [with n. 108] Man darf daher Karl Strobel's Einschätzung von Plinius als Karrieristen und Opportunisten einiges abgewinnen. [with n. 109] Nach Domitians Ermordung entwickelt sich Plinius zu einem Wendehals, der mit seiner programmatischen Legitimierung des Kaisermordes maßgeblich zur Herauentwicklung der verheerenden *imago* des letzten Flaviers beiträgt. [with n. 110; my emphasis]"**.

In his **note 104**, Handy writes: "Plin. paneg. 95,3; vgl. *Strobel*, *Plinius und Domitian* [2003], S. 310f."

In his **note 105**, he writes: "Plin. paneg. 11,4,2-5; 12,2; 16,3; 17,1; 17,3 -4; 82,4; dazu vgl. [vergleiche] Tac. Agr. 39; ebenso vgl. [vergleiche] *Strobel*, *Plinius und Domitian* [2003], S. 312".

In his **note 106**, he writes: "Vgl. *Strobel*, *Plinius und Domitian* [2003], S. 305f."

In his **note 107**, he writes: "Vgl. *Strobel*, *Plinius und Domitian* [2003], S. 312".

In his **note 108**, he writes: "Plin. paneg. 95,3-4; vgl. *Strobel*, *Kaiser Traian* [2010], S. 124".

In his **note 109**, he writes: "Vgl. *Strobel*, *Plinius und Domitian* [2003], S. 304; *Strobel*, *Kaiser Traian*, S. 125".

In his **note 110**, he writes: "Vgl. *Strobel*, *Plinius und Domitian* [2003], S. 312".

**In his final conclusion, Markus Handy (2015, 48-50) suggests that the negative images of Domitian and Nerva, created for Trajan by Tacitus and Pliny in their works discussed above served the purpose of legitimizing Trajan's accession :**

### **"Resümee**

**Die vorhin angestellten Überlegungen lassen sich folgendermaßen zusammenfassen: Es kann kein Zweifel daran bestehen, dass Tacitus und Plinius ihre oben vorgestellten Werke vor dem Hintergrund der Herrschaft Domitians schreiben. Obgleich beide Autoren unter Domitian Karriere gemacht haben, zeichnen sie das Bild eines grausamen und menschenverachtenden Despoten ... [page 49]**

Mit ihren Ausführungen zu den Ereignissen von Domitians Ermordung bis zu Traians Thronbesteigung schufen Tacitus und Plinius ferner auch eine Zäsur, die vielleicht bislang in der Altertumswissenschaft ein wenig unbemerkt geblieben ist: Die Texte der beiden Autoren erwecken nämlich den Anschein, als ob eine Trennlinie zwischen den Prinzipaten von Nerva und dessen Adoptivsohn Traian gezogen wird. **Nervas Laufbahn und Vita ist eng mit dem Flavierhaus verbunden, sodass Traian in seiner Selbstdarstellung einen Aufbruch in eine neue Zeit signalisieren muss. Dies mag auch der Grund sein, warum Nerva im plinianischen Panegyricus als schwacher Herrscher in Erscheinung tritt. Man weiß von**

seiner Nähe zum Flavierhaus, was nach offizieller traianischer Sicht kaum einem Qualitätsmerkmal entsprechen kann. Allerdings lässt sich Nervas Rolle als Adoptivvater kaum ignorieren, sodass sich Plinius mit sporadischen Bemerkungen, die Nervas Fähigkeit zum Herrschen anzweifeln, begnügt. [with n. 175] Auch die Gunst und die [page 50] Förderung, die Nigrinus, Traians Rivale um die Macht, von Domitian erhalten hat, sowie die spezielle Lage des Jahres 97 n. Chr., als es auf Grund der Proteste der Prätorianer scheint, dass die Erinnerung an diesen Kaiser wieder wachgerufen wird, zwingen Traian dazu, Domitian zu jenem bekannten Bild eines *malus princeps* zu verhelfen und auch die Distanz zum flavierfreundlichen Nerva zu wahren. Von sich selbst erzeugt der Ulpier das Bild eines leutseligen Herrschers, der jede Art von autokratischem Gehabe vermissen lässt. Obgleich militärisch kaum ausgewiesen, vermittelt er von sich die Vorstellung eines erfahrenen Kriegsmannes, dessen Erfolge, anders als die des Domitian, real existieren.

Auf der Basis dieser Vorgaben, nämlich der ``Erneuerung der *damnatio memoriae*'' [with n. 176] des letzten Flaviers, der Charakterisierung Nervas als altersschwachen Greises und der Auszeichnung Traians mit dem Image eines *vir militaris*, kreieren nun Tacitus und Plinius ihre Version der Ereignisse. Dass beide eine profunde rhetorische Ausbildung genossen haben, ist dabei ganz sicher kein Nachteil, zumal damals die Legitimation von Tyrannenmord als gängiges Thema in der Schulrhetorik bekannt ist. [with n. 177; my emphasis]".

In his **note 175**, Handy writes: "Plin. paneg. 6,1-4; 8,5-6; 10,1; vgl. *Strobel*, Zu zeitgeschichtlichen Aspekten im 'Panegyricus' des jüngeren Plinius [1985], S. 28. An anderer Stelle dieses Artikels (S. 32) schreibt Karl *Strobel*: ``Aber offenkundig war es für Trajan wichtiger und vorteilhafter, die Rechtfertigung seiner Herrschaft gerade von der Person und der Entscheidung Nervas so weit wie möglich unabhängig zu machen.'' Eine Distanzierung zu Nerva sieht auch Dietmar *Kienast* (vgl. *Kienast*, Nerva und das Kaisertum Trajans [1968], S. 62-65)".

In his **note 176**, he writes: "*Schwarte*, Trajans Regierungsbeginn [1979], S. 155".

In his **note 177**, he writes: "Barbara Patzek, Art.[ikel] Tyrannenmord, in: *Der Neue Pauly* 12/1 (2002), S. 946".

**Concerning Handy's (2015, 49) above-quoted text, accompanied by his note 175, in which he asserts that Trajan distanced himself from Nerva, I should like to add a comment by anticipating a passage that was written for another Chapter in this book.**

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...* ; at Chapter VI.1. My 2. Conclusion: In this context it is interesting to analyse the process by which Hadrian finally became emperor; at The circumstances that had brought Trajan to Mogontiacum and Domitian's negative image, created by Tacitus and Pliny at the order of Trajan to legitimize his own accession:

'D.C.A. Shotter (1983, 225) states: "Trajan's accession issue [*i.e.*, the coin here **Fig. 140**] shows Nerva handing Trajan a globe with the legend PROVID P M TR P COS II [with n. 67; my emphasis]". Cf. p. 226: "Nerva's memory in Trajan's reign was correctly observed. Trajan assumed Nerva into his nomenclature: indeed, his portrait on his early coins [cf. here **Fig. 140**] passes through as ``Nerva'' phase [with n. 68; my emphasis].

In his **note 67**, D.C.A. Shotter writes: "P. V. Hill, *The Undated Coins of Rome, A. D. 98-148* (London 1970), 23f.". In his **note 68**, he writes: "*Ibid.* 22".

By issuing the coin (here **Fig. 140**), which celebrates his adoption by Nerva, Trajan showed his gratitude towards his adoptive father and predecessor - to whose facial traits Trajan's portrait has even been assimilated on this coin (!). This conclusion seems to be inevitable and is in so far a surprising result as scholars often stress Trajan's lack of gratitude in regard to Nerva; cf. C.C.A. Shotter (1983, 225) ...'.

### Let's now turn to Suetonius.

But not only Tacitus and Pliny the Younger wrote texts, on which Domitian's negative image is based. Also Suetonius was involved in this process; cf. *infra*, in Section III. of this *Preamble*; at n. 232, in Chapter I.2; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.b*); *Domitian's escape from the Capitolium - Introduction*; and at *Appendix I.c*).

**As we shall see in more detail below, according to Frederick G. Naerebout (2021, 151): "Suetonius ... has contributed more than any other author to the black legend about Domitian" (!).**

But, as I only realized after this *Section I.* of Chapter *Preamble* was written so far, that fact has already been observed and discussed in great detail by Robert Sablayrolles (1994, 137-138, and *passim*), whose article has not been discussed by the contributors to the volumes edited by Bönisch-Meyer *et al.* (2014), nor by the contributors to the volume edited by Raimondi Cominesi *et al.* (2021), or by the scholars, who wrote essays for the *Cat. Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore*, edited by Claudio Paris Presicce *et al.* (2023) I thank Rose Mary Sheldon for providing me with a copy of Sablayrolles's article. To Sablayrolles's observations I will come back below, and again, in Sections II. and III. of this *Preamble*.

I will not repeat Suetonius's discussion of Domitian here, that (as already mentioned) is analysed elsewhere in this *Study* in great detail, but find it useful, similarly as Markus Handy (2015) has done in the above-quoted passages about Tacitus and Pliny the Younger, to add at this point some information about Suetonius *himself*.

**We know for example that, thanks to his patron Pliny the Younger, and to his friend C. Septicius Clarus, one of Hadrian's praetorian prefects, Suetonius gained the support of both, Trajan and Hadrian (needless to say that also Pliny and Septicius Clarus were closely related).**

**Suetonius even became Hadrian's *ab epistulis* ('personal secretary'), but due to his own luckless conduct, he was unable to stay in Hadrian's favour.**

Anthony R. Birley (1996, 663) wrote about Hadrian and the man who was for three years his *ab epistulis* ('personal secretary'), Suetonius: "In 119 he [*i.e.*, Hadrian] was consul for the third and last time, and changed guard prefects. One new prefect was Septicius Clarus, to whom the younger Pliny had dedicated his Letters; C. Suetonius Tranquillus, protégé of Pliny and Septicius' friend, became *ab epistulis* ... In 122 he [*i.e.*, Hadrian] crossed to Britain, taking his friend Platorius Nepos ... The empress Sabina, the prefect Septicius, and Suetonius also went. An obscure imbroglio involving these three led to the men's dismissal [my emphasis]".

For this "imbroglio", mentioned by Birley (1996, 663); cf. also Nihal Tüner Önen (2013, 97-98, wo quotes for that: "Aelius Spartianus, SHA; Hadrian XI 2-6"). But note that Tüner Önen does not assume that the empress Sabina, Septicius Clarus and Suetonius had *accompanied* Hadrian on this trip to Britain in AD 122, but rather that Hadrian had left his wife Sabina and these two gentlemen behind in Rome (!). - I thank Hans Rupprecht Goette for the reference.

Be all that a it may !

I can imagine that a Roman emperor could easily have travelled 'abroad' without his wife - but also without his personal secretary? Let alone without one of his regularly two guard prefects, "since one prefect usually travelled with the emperor on campaign"; cf. John Brian Campbell and John F. Matthews ("*praefectus praetorio*", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> [1996] 1238).

Cf. Birley (1996, 1451): "From the correspondence of the younger Pliny (2), he [*i.e.*, Suetonius] appears already to have attracted attention in Rome as an author and scholar by c.[irca] AD 97 [when Suetonius, born around AD 70, was circa 27 years old] ... he secured through Pliny's patronage a military tribunate in

Britain c.[irca] 102, which in the event he declined to hold; c.[irca] AD 110, however, he probably travelled with Pliny to Bithynia as a member of the provincial governor's [*i.e.*, Pliny's] retinue, gaining soon after, again through Pliny's intercession, the *ius trium liberorum* ... In the late years of Trajan's reign and under Hadrian, Suetonius held three important posts in the imperial administration, the secretaryships *a studiis*, *a bibliothecis*, and *ab epistulis* ... As *ab epistulis* he is likely to have accompanied Hadrian to Gaul, Germany and Britain in AD 121-2, but then for unknown reasons was dismissed from office when Hadrian simultaneously deposed as praetorian prefect ... C. Septicius Clarus, the dedicant of Suetonius' collection of imperial biographies, the *Caesares* [my emphasis]" (!).

Frederick G. Naerebout (2021, 151), after mentioning one of Suetonius's (*Dom.* 8.5) accounts about Domitian comes to very interesting conclusions concerning Suetonius and Domitian:

"Is there any reason to trust these words of Suetonius who has contributed more than any other author to the black legend about Domitian? Yes, there is: Suetonius is here speaking about the years before the emperor supposedly turned tyrant, and wants us to see the good, and godly, emperor. The tyrant of legend is contrasted with the pious *cultor deorum* - with an eye for detail and a severe disposition: for all we know, that is the real Domitian".

**Let's now turn to the relevant passages in Peter L. Viscusi's account, that relate to the intentional creation of Domitian's bad image.**

Peter L. Viscusi (1973, 53-55, in his "Chapter V Domitian and the Roman Frontiers"; Section: "I. Domitian vs. [versus] the Chatti") writes about Domitian's achievements in Germany:

**"In January of 89 A.D., Lucius Antonius Saturninus, the governor of Upper Germany, was hailed as emperor by the two legions stationed at Mogontiacum, XXI Rapax and XIV Gemina.** The would-be emperor was expecting aid from "barbarian allies" across the Rhine. These "barbarian allies" would most probably have been Chatti. The expected aid, according to Suetonius did not arrive because the thawing of the Rhine prevented any crossing [with n. 23] and the revolt was promptly crushed by L. Appius Maximus Norbanus, governor of Lower Germany. [with n. 24] In keeping with a Claudian precedent, Domitian rewarded the loyalty of the legions from Lower Germany by bestowing upon them the additional title of pia fidelis Domitiana. [with n. 25] ... [page 54] ...

**Upper and Lower Germany were officially organized as provinces by the year 90 A.D.** An inscription from Nedinum (Dalmatia) states that the famous jurist Javolenus Priscus had been the legate of the province of Upper Germany. [with n. 29] Prior to their being raised to the status of provinces, Upper and Lower Germany were administratively attached to the province of Gallia Belgica although the armies of [page 55] these two German areas were operationally independent. [with n. 30] **The establishment of Upper and Lower Germany as provinces says much for the pacification programs of Domitian. As Lepper so aptly stated: "On the Rhine little probably remained for Trajan to do in 97/8 but to inspect and appreciate the work of Domitian, which had been well done."** [with n. 31; my emphasis]".

In his **note 23**, Viscusi writes: "Suetonius, Domitian, 6, 2.

In his **note 24**, he writes: "Henderson [1927], p. 111; Dio Cassius, LXVII, 11.1."

In his **note 25**, he writes: "Syme, "Rhine and Danube Legions" [1928] p. 44".

In his **note 29**, he writes: "MW, 309 = ILS, 1015".

In his **note 30**, he writes: "Henderson [1927], p. 114".

In his **note 31**, he writes: "F. A. Lepper, Trajan's Parthian War [1948], p. 110".

For L. Antonius Saturninus; cf. Dietmar Kienast, Werner Eck and Matthäus Heil (2017, 113).



Peter L. Viscusi (1973, 72, "Chapter V Domitian and the Roman Frontiers"; Section: "II. Domitian on the Danube Frontier") comes to an equally concise, and likewise very positive conclusion concerning Domitian's campaigns 'on the Danube Frontier', as in the case of Domitian's campaigns in Germany:

**"As Lepper [1948] has observed: ``Only in their scale do the Dacian [with n. 90] Wars of Trajan differ from the various Flavian successes ... If one were to compare the respective frontier policies of Trajan and the Flavians, with particular emphasis on Domitian, it would become abundantly clear that Trajan is ``the active and successful executor of the Flavian legacy, unfairly credited no doubt with [with n. 91] some of their achievements because of his greater popularity ... [my emphasis]".**

In his **note 90**, Viscusi writes: "Lepper [1948], p. 110".

In his **note 91**, he writes: "Ibid."

I completely agree with Lepper's (1948) and Viscusi's (1973) above-quoted judgements. But because of the lies, told by Tacitus and Dio Cassius in their writings discussed here, that will be quoted below and again in several other *Chapters* of this *Study*, I have decided to quote in the following also some more passages from Viscusi's dissertation, in which he discusses *inter alia* Dio's account (67,7.2-7.4) concerning 'the Dacian truce of AD 89' and Domitian's double triumph over the Chatti and the Dacians of AD 89. Viscusi (1973) is able to demonstrate that Dio's (67,7.2-7.4) assertions are certainly not true. As we have already heard above; cf. Markus Handy (2015, 35, n. 92, on Cass. Dio 67,7,2-4), Dio's assertions 'may be influenced by Tacitus's negative image of Domitian'. - In my opinion, this is definitely true.

**But before quoting more passages from Peter L. Viscusi's dissertation (1973), I should like to mention, to which conclusion Aurora Raimondi Cominesi and her colleagues have come concerning the judgement of Domitian's 'military skills' (so RAIMONDI COMINESI *et al.* 2021, 16, quoted below).**

Aurora Raimondi Cominesi, Nathalie de Haan, Eric M. Moormann and Claire Stocks (2021, 16) write: "Scholars nowadays acknowledge the fact, for example, that Domitian's military skills were good [my emphasis]". And Nathalie de Haan, Eric M. Moormann, Aurora Raimondi Cominesi and Claire Stocks (2023, 17), write in the Italian version of this text: "**Gli studiosi oggi riconoscono, per esempio, il fatto che Domiziano possedesse buone capacità militari** [my emphasis]".

Let's now return to the discussion of Viscusi's findings.

**Peter L. Viscusi (1973, 58-60) describes Domitian's Dacian wars between AD 86 and 89 that ended in 89 with a great victory of the Roman army at Tapae, celebrated by Domitian with a double triumph at Rome over the Chatti and the Dacians in November/ December of AD 89.**

As I tentatively suggest in this *Study*, Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6**) shows Domitian's *profectio* to his Second Dacian war in the spring of AD 89 that ended with this victory; cf. *infra*, **n. 232**, in Chapters *I.2.*); below, at *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.e*); and *Appendix IV.d.2.f*).

I, therefore, summarize in the following in some detail passages from Viscusi's (1973, 58-63) account that relate to Domitian's actions in AD 89.

After that victory over the Dacians at Tapae, and still in AD 89, the Romans fought against tribes on the Danube and suffered a defeat. To avoid further difficulties with those tribes all along the Danube, Domitian agreed to come to terms with the Dacian king Decebalus, as the king had suggested for quite some time already, resulting in 'the Dacian truce of AD 89'.

To explain Domitian's policy in regard to the Dacians, Viscusi (1973, 69) follows Ronald Syme: by making Decebalus a client king, Domitian aimed at securing the Danube frontier, since the Dacians were supposed to 'control the tribes on either side of the Danube'. In the course of the ceremonies, surrounding 'the Dacian truce of AD 89', Domitian crowns Diegis, a "substitute for the absent Decebalus"; cf. Viscusi (1973, 62). Viscusi (1973, 62) also observes that the victory at Tapae is enough to prove that "Domitian had conquered the Dacians". Because Domitian crowned Diegis, which, according to Viscusi, was common practice in the case of client kings, this meant that Decebalus thus acknowledged that Domitian had won this war against the Dacians. Dio Cassius (LXVII, 7.2-7.4) continues his narrative by writing that Domitian then sends a letter and envoys of Decebalus to the Senate of Rome and the Roman People; cf. Viscusi (1973, 60-61), but Dio adds that there were rumours that Domitian had written this 'letter of Decebalus' himself. Dio further asserts that Domitian, instead of exhibiting war booty from Dacia in his triumphal procession, showed furniture of the imperial household.

Viscusi (1973, 62) refutes Dio's first assertion by stating that *a*) writing such a letter was usual practise of client kings under such circumstances, *b*) that it would have been impossible for Domitian to forge such a letter of Decebalus, because the king had sent his own envoys to the Senate, and *c*) "that it seems that Domitian was only following normal procedure in forwarding the Dacian envoys and a letter from their king to the Senate in Rome"; cf. Viscusi (1973, 62).

But because Dio says explicitly (67,7.2-7.4) that Domitian "sent" Decebalus's letter *and* his envoys to Rome, this may, in my opinion, perhaps be interpreted as follows, *1.*) that Decebalus, presumably after having discussed the whole procedure with him, sent his envoys with his letter, addressed to the Senate, first to Domitian, to give the emperor the chance to read his letter, and *2.*) that Domitian, thus "following normal procedure", as Viscusi (1973, 62) suggests, offered Decebalus's envoys (who carried Decebalus's letter) that they could travel to Rome by using the *cursus publicus* - a service that Decebalus himself could *not* have used. If so, Decebalus's envoys and his letter would thus have arrived much earlier at the Roman Senate than had Decebalus sent those envoys himself, a result that would also have been in Domitian's own interest, of course.

For the blessings of the *cursus publicus*; cf. below, at *The fifth Contribution by Peter Herz : Der Ritt Hadrians nach Mogontiacum*; as well as *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ..*; at Chapter VI.1. My 2. Conclusion: In this context it is interesting to analyse the process by which Hadrian finally became emperor; and at *Trajan's adoption by Nerva and Hadrian's Parforceritt from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum to congratulate Trajan on his adoption*.

Viscusi (1973, 62) adds that Dio's (67,7.2-7.4) assertions concerning Domitian's double triumph of AD 89, in which the emperor allegedly exhibited the furniture of the imperial household are likewise unjustified. As we shall see below, Tacitus (*Agr.* 39; cf. *infra*, n. 232, in Chapter I.2.; and quoted *verbatim* and discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix I.c*)) had already asserted something very similar concerning exactly the same triumph of Domitian.

**Let's now look at Peter L. Viscusi's (1973, 58-61) account of Domitian's wars against the Dacians in detail, with special attention to the events that led to Domitian's double triumph of AD 89 :**

"In the summer of 86 A.D., Cornelius Fuscus, Domitian's appointed commander of the Dacian War, crossed the Danube to punish the Dacians for their previous attacks. When Decebalus, the Dacian king, learned of Fuscus' movements he sent an embassy to Domitian  
... with the insulting proposal to make peace with the emperor, on condition that every Roman should elect to pay two obols to Decebalus each year; otherwise, he declared, he would make war and inflict great ills upon the Romans. [with n. 44: "Dio Cassius, LXVII, 6.5".]

Indeed it was not long before Fuscus was met by the Dacians and killed in battle. [with n. 45] The Romans lost a legion, probably V Alaudae, [with n. 46] along with its standard, [with n. 47] a particularly great dishonor. [page 59]

**While leaving Fuscus to conduct the war in Moesia, Domitian returned to Rome in time to begin the Capitoline Games in the summer of 86 A.D.** The news of Fuscus' defeat did not cause the emperor despair but only hardened his resolve to redouble his efforts. The Dacians seemed content with their victory of 86 A.D. and so there was a respite from war in 87 A.D. while both sides marshalled their forces. Domitian ordered the transfer of II Adiutrix from Britain [with n. 48] to Moesia to replace V Alaudae. **The war began anew in 88 A.D. and lasted into 89 A.D.. The careful planning of Domitian paid off in a great Roman victory. The Roman legions, under the command of Tettius Julianus, engaged the enemy at Tapae where there was such a great slaughter that the Dacians were utterly defeated.** [with n. 49]

**The celebration of the victory over the Dacians in 89 A.D. was marred by the rebellion of the governor of Upper Germany, Lucius Antonius Saturninus.** This rebellion was apparently timed to take the most advantage of the Roman military difficulties. The armies of Rome could not very well leave the Danube front within so brief a time after the Dacian defeat. Problems were compounded for Domitian in that the Parthians were now supporting the claims of a false Nero in the East and war seemed imminent. **Syme suggests the possibility that Decebalus had been in contact with the Parthian King Pacorus II so that the two enemies of Rome could operate in concert.** [with n. 50] **Acting decisively, Domitian ordered VII Gemina, under the command of the future emperor Trajan, to march from Spain to Upper Germany.** [with n. 51; page 60] In the meantime, the emperor himself went to Northern Italy with the Praetorian Guard. [with n. 52] The revolt of Saturninus ended as quickly as it had begun. The legions of Lower Germany remained loyal and crushed the usurper's forces. [with n. 53] Domitian, however, continued his march to Upper Germany where he proceeded to punish Saturninus' accomplices. It has been suggested by Syme that Sallustius Lucullus, governor of Britain, was executed at this time for alleged complicity in Saturninus' plot. [with n. 54] **Later in 89 A.D., Domitian celebrated a double triumph for his victories over the Chatti and the Dacians.** [with n. 55]

After dealing with the problem of Saturninus, Domitian resolved to punish several of the Trans-Danubian tribes that were subject to Rome for failing to aid him in his war with the Dacians. The Germanic Marcomanni and Quadi and the Sarmatian Iazyges [with n. 56] sent an embassy to Domitian to discuss peace terms but they were executed by order of the emperor. [with n. 57] Our sources do not reveal the reasons for Domitian's actions. The war against these tribes did not go well and the Romans suffered a defeat. [with n. 58] This defeat had greater ramifications than just being a small border skirmish. The entire Rhine-Danube frontier could be ablaze with war if it appeared to the barbarians that the Romans were weakening. Domitian, therefore, realized that he would have to break off his war with the Dacians and consolidate his position. He sent messages to Decebalus and [follows a quotation from Dio Cassius] :

*... induced him to make a truce, though he himself had hitherto refused to grant one in response to the frequent requests of Decebalus. And so Decebalus accepted his overtures, for he had suffered grievous [page 61] hardships; yet he did not wish to hold a conference with Domitian personally, but instead sent Diegis with the men, to give him the arms and a few captives, who, he pretended, were the only ones that he had. When this had been done, Domitian placed a diadem on the head of Diegis, just as if he had truly conquered and could give the Dacians anyone he pleased to be their king. To the soldiers he granted honours and money. And, just as if he had won a victory, he sent to Rome, among other things, envoys from Decebalus and also a letter from the king, as he claimed, though rumour declared that he had forged it. He graced the festival that followed with many exhibits appropriate to a triumph, though they came from no booty that he had captured; on the contrary, the truce had cost him something besides his losses, for he had given large sums of money to Decebalus on the spot as well as artisans of every trade pertaining to both peace and war, and had promised to keep on giving large sums in the future. The exhibits which he displayed really came from the store of imperial furniture ...* [with n. 59: "Dio Cassius LXVII, 7.2-7.4".]

**The Dacian truce of 89 A.D. and the events immediately following it have been the subject of much debate. As can be seen in the quotation from Dio Cassius, Domitian is the one who is seeking the truce although Decebalus also wanted a cessation of hostilities because ``he had suffered grievous hardships ...'' [my emphasis].**

In his **note 44**, Viscusi writes: "Dio Cassius, LXVII, 6.5".

In his **note 45**, he writes: "Martial, VI, 76; Juvenal, 4, 111-112".

In his **note 46**, he writes: "Syme, ``Rhine and Danube Legions'' [1928], p. 47".

In his **note 47**, he writes: "Dio Cassius, LXVIII, 9.3. Syme suggests, however (C.A.H., XI [1936], p. 171, n. 1) that it is possible that the standard to which Dio Cassius was referring was that of the Praetorian Guard".

In his **note 48**, he writes: "MW, 371 = ILS, 9193".

In his **note 49**, he writes: "Dio Cassius, LXVII, 10.2".

In his **note 50**, he writes: "Syme, C.A.H., XI [1936], p. 144".

In his **note 51**, he writes: "Pliny the Younger, Panegyricus, 14.1".

In his **note 52**, he writes: "Syme, C.A.H., XI [1936], p. 173".

In his **note 53**, he writes: "Dio Cassius, LXVII, 11.1".

In his **note 54**, he writes: "Syme, C.A.H., XI [1936], p. 174".

In his **note 55**, he writes: "Suetonius, Domitian, 6, 1".

In his **note 56**, he writes: "Syme, C.A.H., XI [1936], p. 175".

In his **note 57**, he writes: "Dio Cassius, LXVII, 7.1".

In his **note 58**, he writes: "Ibid., 7.2".

In his **note 59**, he writes: "Ibid., 7.2-7.4".

**Next Peter L. Viscusi's (1973, 62-63) discusses Dio Cassius's (67,7.2-7.4) assertion that Domitian had allegedly forged the letter, written by Decebalus to the Roman Senate and to the Roman People and that Domitian had allegedly shown in his double triumph over the Chatti and Dacians of AD 89 instead of war booty furniture from the imperial household:**

"Dio Cassius states that ``Domitian placed a diadem on the head of Diegis, just as if he had truly conquered and could give the Dacians anyone he pleased to be their king''. Domitian was obviously not crowning Diegis as king but was treating him only as a substitute for the absent Decebalus who ``did not wish to hold a conference with Domitian personally ...'' Decebalus did not want to put himself in the position where he could be held captive by the Romans. With regard to whether or not Domitian had conquered the Dacians, the battle at Tapae is sufficient testimony. [page 63] It is said that Domitian then sent Decebalus' envoys to Rome and forwarded a letter from the Dacian king. Dio Cassius gives the rumor that this letter was forged by Domitian but adds no reason why the emperor would want to do such a thing. The presence of the Dacian envoys would seem to preclude the possibility that Domitian could have revealed anything untrue about Decebalus or his intentions in this allegedly forged letter. With the rumor of the forged letter put aside, it seems that Domitian was only following normal procedure in forwarding the Dacian envoys and a letter from their king to the Senate in Rome. The letter from Decebalus undoubtedly contained expressions of friendship and goodwill for the Senate and the Roman People. This would be in keeping with traditional statements made by nations and tribes that had been defeated by the Romans. The sheer fact that Diegis is crowned for Decebalus by Domitian clearly shows the Dacians in the role of a client-kingdom.

The statements that Domitian exhibited his own imperial furniture as booty hardly deserve comment. The occasion of the slaughter at Tapae and the free and unhindered movement of Roman troops within Dacia would have provided ample opportunity for the accumulation of war booty".

**Peter L. Viscusi (1973, 69) follows Ronald Syme in suggesting that Domitian's policy in regard to the Dacians aimed at securing the Danube frontier, since the Dacians were supposed to `control the tribes on either side of the Danube': "If Domitian's grants of money and artisans to the Dacians were not the result of Roman weakness, and they were not harmful to Roman interests, what were the emperor's motives for these**

generous gifts? [G.A.T.] Davies suggests that Domitian had hoped that these two grants would eventually bring the Dacians around to the Roman way of thinking. By being generous and showing the Roman arts (stressing the peaceful arts), it was hoped that the Dacians would see the worth of Romanization. This general procedure had worked in Gaul and Britain and there was every reason to believe that it would work again in Dacia. The fact that this procedure did not succeed in Dacia is hardly the fault of Domitian. [with n. 76]

Domitian may very well have hoped for the gradual Romanization of Dacia, but he would have been more likely concerned about the practical application of military power. Syme maintains that Domitian used the Dacians as a means of keeping the tribes on either side of Dacia under control. The kingdom of Dacia was thus used in the same way that Trajan was later to use his province of Dacia. [with n. 77] This view has much to be said for it".

In his **note 76**, Viscusi writes: "G.A.T. Davies, "Trajan's First Dacian War," *Journal of Roman Studies*, VII (1917), pp. 86-87".

In his **note 77**, Viscusi writes: "Ronald Syme, "The Lower Danube under Trajan", *Journal of Roman Studies*, XLIX (1959), p. 31".

**Let's now conclude this survey of Domitian's bad image, created by Tacitus, Pliny, Suetonius and Dio Cassius, as analysed by Handy (2015), Viscusi (1973), and by myself in this Study.**

After finished writing the I. Section of this *Preamble*, I read the article by Antony Augoustakis and Emma Buckley ("Man and God : Literature", 2021), who address among other subjects the bad image of Domitian, created by Tacitus, Pliny, Suetonius and Dio Cassius; adding to this also Martial's texts, which the author published *after* Domitian's assassination, and that have so far not been discussed here.

**Augoustakis and Buckley do not quote Handy's (2015) and Viscusi's (1973) accounts and base their results on the judgements of different modern commentators than Handy and Viscusi. Since Augoustakis and Buckley arrive at basically the same results as Handy and Viscusi before them, this allows the conclusion that, since quite some time, a great number of scholars is interested in this topic. - For example also the already mentioned Robert Sablayrolles (1994), who does not discuss Viscusi (1973), and who, in his turn, has been overlooked by Handy (2015), Augoustakis and Buckley (2021).**

Still other scholars, likewise not discussed by Augoustakis and Buckley (2021), or by any other contributor to the volume, edited by Raimondi Cominesi *et al.* (2021), who have contributed further important findings to the same subject, are discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination : Nerva is forced to adopt Trajan and Trajan creates Domitian's negative image to consolidate his own reign ...*; at Chapter VI.1. My 2. Conclusion: *In this context it is interesting to analyse the process by which Hadrian finally became emperor*; and at *The circumstances that had brought Trajan to Mogontiacum and Domitian's negative image, created by Tacitus and Pliny at the order of Trajan to legitimize his own accession.* - To this I will come back below.

Concerning those just-mentioned ancient writers, who have created Domitian's bad image, Augoustakis and Buckley (2021, 165), similarly like Handy (2015, 31-50) in the above-quoted passages, come to the following, in my opinion very convincing, conclusion:

**"Modern scholars, in particular, have cautioned us to remember that the denigration of Domitian in the voices of Martial, Pliny, and Tacitus is at the same time an 'unwriting' of their own previous selves, and a sophisticated self-fashioning for a new era [my emphasis]".**

**Aurora Raimondi Cominesi, Nathalie de Haan, Eric M. Moormann and Claire Stocks ("Introduction: Domitian, the Neglected Emperor Who Wished to Be God", 2021, 15) have come to a similar judgement :**

"The memory sanctions bestowed upon him [*i.e.*, the Emperor Domitian] by the Senate, and the blackest-possible portrait immortalised in writing by his contemporaries are proof of this mechanism of

power. **Tacitus, Pliny the Younger, or Suetonius, were all eager to wash away any memory of their own entanglements with his rule** [*i.e.*, of Domitian; my emphasis]".

And Nathalie de Haan, Eric M. Moormann, Aurora Raimondi Cominesi and Claire Stocks ("La Memoria Sepolta di Domiziano e una sua rivalutazione nelle mostre di Leiden e Roma", 2023, 17) write in the Italian version of their article of 2021:

"Le sanzioni alla memoria imposte dal Senato e il ritratto più cupo possibile reso per iscritto dai suoi [*i.e.*, Domitian's] contemporanei sono la prova di questo meccanismo di potere. **Tacito, Plinio il Giovane e Svetonio erano ansiosi di mondarsi d'ogni ricordo dei loro stessi intrecci con il governo di Domiziano** [my emphasis]".

**Contrary to Handy (2015) and Augoustakis and Buckley (2021), Raimondi Cominesi, de Haan, Moormann and Stocks (2021; *id.* 2023) mention also Suetonius in this context - but Suetonius was certainly not personally 'entangled with Domitian's rule' as these authors (erroneously) assert.**

As we have seen above, Suetonius (born circa AD 70), became only known as an author and scholar by AD 97, that is to say, *after* Domitian's assassination. Suetonius was closely connected with Trajan, which can explain that (and why) Suetonius created his negative image of Domitian; Suetonius was also closely connected with Hadrian. See for Suetonius also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.b*) *Domitian's escape from the Capitolium - Introduction*.

An earlier book, edited by Antony Augoustakis, Emma Buckley and Claire Stocks has already been mentioned above (*Undamning Domitian? Reassessing the last Flavian princeps* [my emphasis]", 2019). Together with further partners, these scholars have recently, under a similar title, organized the following Conference at Rome:

#### **The Damned Despot : Rethinking Domitian and the Flavian World.**

This Conference was organized by Antony Augoustakis, Emma Buckley, Nathalie de Haan, Eric Moormann, Maria Paola Del Moro, Massimiliano Munzi, Claudio Parisi Presicce, Aurora Raimondi Cominesi, and Claire Stocks, and took place from 18th-21st January 2023, at the Capitoline Museums, the Royal Netherlands Institute (KNIR), and the British School (BSR), concurrently with the exhibition *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore* (13 July 2022-29 January 2023), on display at the Capitoline Museums, Villa Caffarelli, which followed the exhibition *Emperor Domitian. God on Earth/ Keizer Domitianus God op aarde* at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (17 December 2021-22 May 2022).

**After having finished writing the entire manuscript of the first volume of this *Study on Domitian*, reached me the exhibition-catalogue *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore* (2023).**

The editors of this catalogue, Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi and Maria Paola Del Moro ("*Domiziano imperatore. Odio e amore*", 2023, 9-10) describe their own motivation and that of the scholars, attached to the exhibition on Domitian at the Museum in Leiden, to create this exhibition together.

They mention also that the new exhibition space of their museum, the 'Villa Caffarelli' has added a very special quality to their exhibition, by presenting Domitian 'in context', since the Villa Caffarelli was in part erected 'on top of' Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus' [for a visualization of this fact; cf. the map here **Fig. 74**] :

"**Domiziano oggi**

...

**A seguito del rinnovato interesse per la famiglia imperiale dei Flavi, manifestatosi a partire dalle celebrazioni del bimillenario della nascita di Vespasiano, culminate a Roma nella mostra *Divus***

*Vespasianus* (2009-2010) e nei convegni *La Lex de imperio Vespasiani e la Roma dei Flavi* (2008), *Vespasiano e l'impero dei Flavi* (2009) e *L'Italia de Flavi* (2012) [with n. 1], sono emerse nuove linee di ricerca che hanno portato alla revisione della figura autocratica trasmessa dalla tradizione, filtrandola attraverso le lenti delle forze sociali che si rapportavano con l'imperatore. Ne è risultata un'immagine più complessa, in un certo senso bifronte: alla rappresentazione negativa, tramandata dalla storiografia antica filosenatoria, è venuta sempre più giustapponendosi una rivisitazione dai forti connotati positivi, che fa riferimento alle percezioni di Domiziano imperatore da parte della *familia*, dell'esercito e del popolo romano. La prova migliore di tale articolata complessità e antinomia percettiva è costituita proprio dal non generalizzato espletamento della *damnatio memoriae* [with n. 2].

Proprio per fare il punto sull'evoluzione degli studi e dunque sulla rinnovata valutazione del personaggio Domiziano è stato ideato il ciclo di mostre a lui dedicate a Leiden e a Roma.

### Una mostra contestuale: Domiziano e il colle Capitolino

... [page 10] ...

Quella [*i.e.*, the exhibition] romana è poi certamente una mostra contestuale. La sede espositiva capitolina rimanda direttamente e in modo significativo alla presenza di Domiziano. Il Campidoglio infatti non solo era l'*arx* della città, che dominava dall'alto con l'imponente tempio dedicato a Giove Ottimo Massimo, a Giunone e a Minerva, ma costituiva uno dei luoghi più cari all'ultimo dei Flavi, che qui avrebbe avuto per la prima volta prova del favore che gli era accordato dagli dei, trovando scampo dal sanguinoso attacco dei seguaci di Vitellio grazie al travestimento da sacerdote del tempio di Iside. La profonda dedizione per gli dei e, insieme, il sentimento religioso che lo portò a sentire su di sé la loro protezione, soprattutto quella di Minerva, ne determinarono il comportamento di attenta cura delle cerimonie e degli edifici sacri, la cui espressione più alta fu la lussuosa ricostruzione del tempio capitolino arso nell'incendio dell'80 d.C., ricordata e rivendicata dall'iscrizione incisa sull'architrave del portale: un gesto d'amore per gli dei e per la città che li onorava, in risposta all'amore ricevuto dagli dei e dalle persone amiche che lo protessero e lo aiutarono a fuggire e a nascondersi dall'odio dei sostenitori di Vitellio. Di questo fortissimo legame personale di Domiziano con i luoghi capitolini si è dunque tenuto conto nella scelta dello spazio espositivo di Villa Caffarelli, costruita sul Campidoglio ed impostata in parte proprio sulle fondamenta del Tempio di Giove [my emphasis].

In their **note 1**, Parisi Presicce, Munzi and Del Moro write: "[here is missing: "F. Coarelli 2009a"]; Acta Flaviana 1-3: Capogrossi Colognesi, Tassi Scandone 2008 [*corr.*: 2009] e 2009 [*corr.*: 2012]; Capogrossi Colognesi, Lo Cascio, Tassi Scandone 2012 [*corr.*: 2016]."

In their **note 2**, they write: "Tra gli ultimi: Gregori, Spinelli 2019".

In their **note 3**, they write: "de Haan, Moormann 2021; Raimondi Cominesi *et al.* 2021".

**To the above quoted passage of Parisi Presicce, Munzi and Del Moro (2023, 9-10), I should like to add some comments.**

*a)* As we have seen above, the editors of the essay volume (*God on Earth: Emperor Domitian. The re-invention of Rome at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD*, 2021) that accompanied the exhibition on Domitian at the Museum in Leiden, Nathalie de Haan, Eric M. Moormann, Aurora Raimondi Cominesi and Claire Stocks, name in the Italian version of their English text (cf. *id.* 2023, 15-16) different motivations for the joint exhibitions in Leiden and Rome than their Roman partners Parisi Presicce, Munzi and Del Moro (2023, 9-10).

That there was a difference between both projects is also apparent because of another fact: the exhibitions on Domitian at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden and at the Musei Capitolini, Villa Caffarelli in Rome, had *different* titles. Those differences are all the more remarkable, since eight of the 27 essays (published in English) of the volume accompanying the exhibition in Leiden (2021), have been re-published in Italian in the Roman exhibition catalogue of 2023, in most cases even unchanged. Apart from the 'Domitianic context', which only the Roman exhibition could provide, the exhibition projects at Leiden

and Rome, as explicitly stated by Aurora Raimondi Cominesi (*et al.* 2021, 15-16), and by Claudio Parisi Presicce (*et al.* 2023, 9) were based on different sets of previous publications on Domitian.

My own research on the recent revision of 'Domitian's bad image' was based on a third nucleus of research. Those publications were not considered by the scholars attached to the exhibition in Leiden, and very few of them by the scholars attached to the exhibition in Rome. This is also true for the scholars, whom I had at first consulted (myself included): in part for chronological reasons they could not yet consider the research, on which the exhibition in Leiden was based, nor did they consider (part of) the work that became the motivation to create the exhibition in Rome. I say 'part of', since Filippo Coarelli (*Divus Vespasianus*, 2009a) had kindly invited *me* to write a contribution for this exhibition-catalogue; cf. Häuber (2009).

As already mentioned above, I have summarized my relevant research not only in this Section I. of the Chapter *Preamble*, but also in a Chapter that is published *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on Domitian's assassination ...*; Chapter VI.1.; at *The circumstances that had brought Trajan to Mogontiacum and Domitian's negative image, created by Tacitus and Pliny at the order of Trajan to legitimize his own accession*.

My own relevant research was at first only based on: Peter L. Viscusi (1973), Helmut Halfmann (1979), Karl-Heinz Schwarte (1979), Geza Alföldy (1995), Karl Strobel (1985; 2003; 2010; 2019), Werner Eck (2000; 2002; 2007b; 2017), Markus Handy (2015) and Dietmar Kienast, Werner Eck and Matthäus Heil (2017). Compared with the other nuclei of publications, on which the scholars of the projects on Domitian in Leiden and in Rome have based their research, the approach of the scholars, whom I had at first consulted, differs in one respect. As the titles of my relevant Chapters indicate: these scholars are able to demonstrate that Domitian's bad image was intentionally created at the order of the Emperor Trajan.

After having now seen all three nuclei of new research on Domitian, I maintain my earlier judgement, at which I had arrived after having studied only two of those nuclei: the research, on which the 'scholars attached to the Leiden exhibition' had based their project, and the research that I myself had consulted. The scholars, on whose publications I have myself at first based, had begun their work much earlier, but, independently of them, the 'scholars attached to the exhibition on Domitian in Leiden' arrived at (almost) the same conclusions. This is also true for the 'scholars attached to the exhibition on Domitian in Rome'.

b) Parisi Presicce, Munzi and Del Moro (2023, 10, with n. 1) do not provide a reference for their statements concerning Domitian's dedicatory inscription on the architrave of the entrance of his (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus:

**"... il sentimento religioso [of Domitian] che lo portò a sentire su di sé la loro protezione, soprattutto quella di Minerva, ne determinarono il comportamento di attenta cura delle cerimonie e degli edifici sacri, la cui espressione più alta fu la lussuosa ricostruzione del tempio capitolino arso nell'incendio dell'80 d.C., ricordata e rivendicata dall'iscrizione incisa sull'architrave del portale: un gesto d'amore per gli dei e per la città che li onorava, in risposta all'amore ricevuto dagli dei e dalle persone amiche che lo protessero e lo aiutarono a fuggire e a nascondersi dall'odio dei sostenitori di Vitellio [my emphasis]"**.

Note that Stefano De Angeli (nor any other scholar known to me) does *not* provide the dedicatory inscription on the architrave of the entrance of Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, to which Parisi Presicce, Munzi and Del Moro (2023, 10) nevertheless refer. Cf. Stefano De Angeli ("Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, Aedes (fasi tardo-repubblicane e di età imperiale)", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 148-153). - I am mentioning De Angeli (1996) here, because Claudio Parisi Presicce and Eloisa Dodero (2023, 63 with n. 1) quote him themselves for Domitian's Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.

**Unfortunately, none of the dedicatory inscriptions on public buildings, erected by Domitian, has survived; cf. Gian Luca Gregori, Valerio Astolfi ("La damnatio memoriae di Domiziano. Iscrizioni e monumenti di Roma", 2023, 160) :**

**"Ben diverso invece il destino delle iscrizioni esposte sulla facciata dei numerosi edifici pubblici eretti a Roma da Domiziano e di cui effettivamente non sopravvivono esempi: il decreto senatorio di damnatio trovò in questo caso i suoi esiti più evidenti [with n. 12; my emphasis]"**.



In their **note 12**, Gregori and Astolfi write: "Suet. *Dom.* 5. Gregori, Spinelli 2019, pp. 245-248; Moormann in questo volume, pp. 57-62; de Haan 2021; Atnally Conlin 2021; sugli interventi urbanistici vd. [vedi] Cavalieri 2005 e Astolfi 2020/21".

**Addendum:** archaeological evidence from the Netherlands that supports what we have learned above from Peter L. Viscusi (1973, 53 with n. 25) concerning Domitian's decision to add the title *pia fidelis Domitiana* to the name of the legions stationed in Lower Germany, a passage that I repeat here again:

"In January of 89 A.D., Lucius Antonius Saturninus, the governor of Upper Germany, was hailed as emperor by the two legions stationed at Mogontiacum, XXI Rapax and XIV Gemina ... the revolt was promptly crushed by L. Appius Maximus Norbanus, governor of Lower Germany. In keeping with a Claudian precedent, Domitian rewarded the loyalty of the legions from Lower Germany by bestowing upon them the additional title of pia fidelis Domitiana. [with n. 25; my emphasis]".

Jasper de Bruin (2021, 63: "Domitian and the Lower German *Limes* (The Netherlands)"; Section: "Introduction") writes: "... recent research has also led o a reappraisal of the previously negative assessments of the Emperor Domitian in this area. Fairly recently, archaeological research in The Netherlands has provided more detailed information on the effects of Domitian's reign here".

Cf. de Bruin (2021, 68, Section: "Domitian and the Lower German *Limes*):

"Other building activities under Domitian took place in the auxiliary fort in De Meern near Utrecht, based on brick stamps of the *cohors I Classica* showing the honorary titles *pia fidelis Domitiana*, dated between 89 and 96 (fig. 5). These building activities suggest, again, that auxiliary units might have been 'rewarded' with new barracks. More evidence for a large scale refurbishment of the Lower German *limes* can be obtained from another rich source of information: constructions made from oak wood that are preserved under the high groundwater level in The Netherlands. There is a significant cluster of dendrochronological datings between 89 and 93 from heavily constructed quay works along the Lower Rhine (fig. 6) and even the first phase of the road that connected the forts (the *limes* road) can be dated to this period. [with n. 21] Erik Graafstal sees these activities in the light of the strategic completion of the *limes* along the Lower Rhine, as a conscious policy to strengthen this area before the Roman military could turn its attention to *Dacia*. [with n. 22] Graafstal's suggestion that Trajan executed these building programmes before he became emperor and that he was responsible for its completion after Domitian's death seems plausible. [with n. 23] **It implies that it was Domitian who laid the foundation for the successful reign of Trajan** [my emphasis]".

In his **notes 21-23**, de Bruin provides references.

Cf. der Bruin (2021, 68, Section: "Concluding Remarks"):

"It is clear, that archaeological research can provide a better understanding of the impact of Domitian's imperial policies at the Lower German *limes*, down to the level of individual forts and even rural settlements. It shows how increasingly entangled Rome had become with its frontier regions during the Flavian period. Moreover, the evidence suggests that up until the end of Domitian's reign, his foreign policy remained intact. **Although it is not clear if the emperor was personally involved in every decision, he also made no attempt to change this policy, indicated by the large-scale military building campaigns between 89 and 96. Therefore, the archaeological evidence is additional proof that the rehabilitation of Domitian as a competent emperor is indeed justified** [my emphasis]".

***Preamble; Section II. Conclusions: Domitian's representations of his military successes and his claims to be of divine descent and to possess a divine nature***

In Section I. of this *Preamble* has been summarized - at least part of - the scholarly discussion that relates *a*) to the various facets of Domitian's bad image, and *b*) to the questions, why and how that image was created. To this I have added *c*) the efforts of some modern commentators to find out the truth concerning points *a*) and *b*).

To come myself to an overall judgement of Domitian's actions, I will in the following add some information to Peter L. Viscusi's (1973) observations concerning Domitian's military campaigns that can hopefully further help us to understand Domitian's relevant decisions - at least in this sector of his 'professional duties' as Roman emperor.

In addition will be discussed the reproaches by some ancient authors that Domitian, with the way how he defined his relationship with the gods, and how he defined himself in regard to the divine, had transgressed what was regarded at his time as befitting an emperor.

***Domitian's military successes, as documented by his coin issues and by his official title***

Concerning Domitian's military successes, it is worth while to consider in the first place, how the emperor himself had decided to officially comment on this.

Domitian did this *a*) by his coinage: from AD 84-85 onwards, he issued his *GERMANIA CAPTA* series; cf. Anne Wolfsfeld (2014, 202, quoted *verbatim infra*). See also Reinhard Wolters and Martin Ziegert (2014, 55, 59-60).

But not only that, Domitian was *b*) also the first Roman emperor who added the victory name 'GERMANICUS' to his official title, 'which referred to Domitian's personal participation in a larger, victoriously ended military campaign'; Domitian's relevant innovation was continued by later emperors; cf. Sophia Bönisch-Meyer and Christian Witschel (2014, 161):

"Andere Titulaturbestandteile [of Domitian's official title] waren zwar tatsächlich innovativ, wurden aber von späteren Kaisern fortgeführt, so etwa der unter Domitian erstmals verwendete Siegerbeiname Germanicus, der auf die persönliche Teilnahme des Kaisers an einer größeren, erfolgreich abgeschlossenen militärischen Operation verwies".

It is well known, and has also been discussed by Wolters and Ziegert (2014, 59) and Wolfsfeld (2014, 203 with n. 113), that Vespasian had based his accession on his own victories in *Judaea* and those of his elder son Titus. We know, in addition to this, that Domitian should represent these facts and his own military victories again and again in countless monuments all over Rome.

In his own buildings, Domitian has constantly commemorated Vespasian's and Titus's victories.

Cf. Emmanuelle Rosso (2007, 140, quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter VI.3. *Summary of my own hypotheses concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs presented in this Study; Addition: My own tentative suggestion, to which monument or building the Cancellaria Reliefs may have belonged, and a discussion of their possible date*).

And for Domitian's constant commemoration of all the victories of his family, comprising his own victories; cf. Eugenio Polito (2009, 506, quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.); see also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*).

### *The meaning of Domitian's cuirassed statues*

Anne Wolfsfeld (2014) adds to all this something else that I myself have not tackled in great detail in this *Study*, namely a discussion of Domitian's cuirassed statues, which, as Wolfsfeld is able to demonstrate, were likewise ubiquitous at Rome.

I have only discussed the two headless cuirassed statues of Flavian emperors (cf. here **Fig. 6, left and right**) the torso on **Fig. 6, right** is a possible portrait of Domitian).

For a discussion; see below, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here **Fig. 29**); at *The second Contribution by Claudia Valeri Valeri on the two headless cuirassed statues of Flavian emperors at the Museo Chiaramonti* (inv. nos. 1250; 1254; cf. here **Fig. 6, left and right**); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.*

**Of special interest in the context of this *Study* is the small fragment of a cuirassed statue of Domitian, published by Wolfsfeld (2014, 200 with n. 92, Fig. 6) [= here Fig. 5], which I did not even know before. This colossal marble portrait of Domitian was according to Klaus Stemmer (1971) originally 8 m high and was, in Wolfsfeld's opinion, 'presumably found on the Palatine or in its vicinity'.**

In the passages, quoted in the following *verbatim*, Anne Wolfsfeld (2014) comes to two convincing conclusions. First Domitian's military successes were absolutely crucial on a factual basis, since Domitian was the Roman emperor and precisely that was expected of any emperor by the contemporaries of that period. Second Domitian needed his actual military successes because of his 'personal "Siegesprogrammatik"', as Wolfsfeld (2014, 203) refers to the emperor's attitude to this subject.

As I should like to demonstrate with the following remarks, Wolfsfeld's relevant observations are corroborated by the results that I myself have obtained in this *Study*, independently of her research, and concentrating myself on totally different subjects.

But before turning to those subjects, I would like to illustrate Wolfsfeld's observation that his 'personal "Siegesprogrammatik"' was very typical of Domitian.

Wolfsfeld (2014, 2021) believes that the fragment of Domitian's colossal cuirassed marble statue (cf. here **Fig. 5**) was 'presumably found on the Palatine'.

In Anne Wolfsfeld's recently appeared book (*Die Bildnisrepräsentation des Titus und Domitian*, 2021, 130-131 with ns. 808-813 and Taf. 94,3 [= here **Fig. 5**]; Taf. 94,4 [= here **Fig. 5.1**], pp. 308-310, Nr. K4 with ns. 2063-2076) she repeats, in part *verbatim*, what she has already published in her text of 2014, discussed above, as well as in the following. - My thanks are due to Hans Rupprecht Goette for providing me with the relevant pages of Wolfsfeld's book (2021).

**Fig. 5. Fragment of a colossal cuirassed marble statue of 'Domitian as Iuppiter' (102 x 90 cm). This statue was, according to K. Stemmer (1971), hollow and, provided Domitian was represented standing, it was originally circa 8 m high, and because of the huge *gorgoneion* on the chest of his cuirass, it showed the emperor assimilated to the god Jupiter.**

This fragment is on display in the left hand one of the 'Trofei Farnese' in the cortile of Palazzo Farnese at Rome (cf. here **Fig. 5.1**). It may belong to Francesco Bianchini's finds (excavated 1720-1726, published 1738) within the 'Aula Regia' in Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, the 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana*. This has already been suggested by K. Stemmer (1971, 566, 579-580) on the basis of the documentation that is available for this fragment. See also F. Bianchini's (1738, 48-68, with Tab. II; Tab. VIII = both here **Fig. 8**) own documentation of his excavations comprising measured plans, and S. Cosmo's (1990, **Fig. 8** = here **Fig. 39**) findings concerning Bianchini's excavations.

For the photos illustrated here; cf. K. Stemmer (1971, **Abb. 3-6**); Photos: G. Singer; D-DAI-ROM-71.175-71.178. K. Stemmer's (1971, 571, **Abb. 7**) reconstruction drawing of this colossal cuirassed portrait of 'Domitian as Jupiter' is here reproduced after A. Wolfsfeld (2014, 215, **Abb. 6**).

**Fig. 5.1. The two 'Trofei Farnese' in the cortile of Palazzo Farnese at Rome. These are two ensembles of architectural fragments, mostly found by Francesco Bianchini in his excavations (1720-1726; published 1738) on the Palatine, within the 'Aula Regia' of Domitian's Palace 'Domus Flavia' / Domus Augustana. Cf. K. Stemmer (1971, Abb. 1 [here on the left], with the fragment of the colossal cuirassed marble statue of 'Domitian as Jupiter'; here Fig. 5), Photo: J. Felbermeyer, D-DAI-Rom 35.566. Cf. K. Stemmer (1971, Abb. 2 [here on the right], with a fragment of one of the slabs with a representation of a 'province', from the porticos of the Hadrianeum at Rome; cf. here Fig. 48), Photo J. Felbermeyer, D-DAI-Rom 35.567.**

Nevertheless Wolfsfeld (2014) does not discuss this sculpture in the context of Domitian's *Domus Augustana*, the Palace which the emperor had erected on the Palatine. - And that, although she herself, as I only noticed at a second moment; cf. Wolfsfeld (2014, 200, n. 92), indicates the current whereabouts of this fragment of a colossal portrait-statue of Domitian (here Fig. 5) as follows: "**Rom, Palazzo Farnese (verbaut in eine dekorative Fragmentkomposition u. a. [unter anderem] aus Architekturteilen vom Palatin ...** [my emphasis; cf. here Fig. 5.1, the so-called 'Trofei Farnese']". - The fragment of Domitian's colossal marble statue (here Fig. 5) appears on the 'dekorative Fragmentkomposition' in the left hand niche (cf. here Fig. 5.1, the photo on the left).

As we shall see below, the western part of Domitian's Palace, the so-called 'Domus Flavia' within his *Domus Augustana*, contained the 'Aula Regia', a grandiose reception hall. Francesco Bianchini (1738; cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section II.; and at *The major results of this book on Domitian*) excavated the 'Aula Regia', drew measured ground-plans of it (cf. his Tab. II.; VIII. = both here Fig. 8) and discussed and illustrated his finds in exemplary fashion; his publication is available open access on the Internet. And because Bianchini documented in great detail the marble decoration of this hall (cf. F. BIANCHINI 1738, Tab. III.; IV. = here Fig. 9; cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.), we know also that the major theme of the 'Aula Regia' was the celebration of Domitian's military victories; so Eugenio Polito (2009, 506, quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.). Some of the fragments of the marble decoration of the 'Aula Regia', excavated by Bianchini, were assembled in decorative manner and are on display in the cortile of Palazzo Farnese at Rome. And because these finds contain the friezes illustrating trophies, that Bianchini had found within the 'Aula Regia', these marble fragments are in many scholarly publications referred to as the 'Trofei Farnese' (here Fig. 5.1); cf. Eugenio Polito (2009, 506) and François de Polignac (2009, 507). - To those publications I will come back below.

Wolfsfeld (2014, 200, n. 92) thus herself provides the information that the fragment of Domitian's colossal cuirassed statue (here Fig. 5) belongs to the famous 'Trofei Farnese'.

On 20th October 2021, Carlo Gasparri, who has published the sculptures once owned by the Farnese family (*Le Sculture Farnese. Storia e documenti*, 2007) was kind enough to answer my question concerning the 'Trofei Farnese' as they are sometimes called, since I was not sure whether the architectural fragments (cf. here Fig. 5.1) that are on display in the Cortile of Palazzo Farnese at Rome, and which I am discussing here, are those that are sometimes referred to by that name - which is actually the case, as Carlo told me.

Besides, (almost) all sculptural fragments which the 'Trofei Farnese' comprise, were certainly found in the excavations of the Farnese (1724-1730) on the Palatine, and most probably even likewise within the 'Aula Regia'; cf. François de Polignac (2009, 507, quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.). That in reality not all of those finds, assembled in the 'Trofei Farnese' (here Fig. 5.1) come from the Palatine, has been discussed in detail by Klaus Stemmer (1971, 565, 579-580). This is especially clear in the case of those 'Trofei Farnese' (here Fig. 5.1, right; cf. K. STEMMER 1971, Fig. 2), which comprise one of the slabs with representations of 'provinces' from the porticos that surrounded the *Hadrianeum* in Rome (cf. here Fig. 48). For a list of all those reliefs, comprising this one; cf. Claudio Parisi Presicce (2005, 88, 91, note 54, who quotes M. SAPELLI 1999, 28-43, nos. 1-6). For the entire group of those reliefs; cf. Parisi Presicce (2005, 88-99, Figs. 17-22, plus colour photos of one of these fragments on p. 115).

But note that Stemmer (1971) himself suggests that the fragment of Domitian's colossal cuirassed statue (cf. here **Fig. 5**) may actually have been found *within* Domitian's 'Aula Regia' (!). To this I will come back below.

*Let's now turn to Domitian's overall theme of his 'Aula Regia', the reception hall within his 'Domus Flavia' / Domus Augustana: the celebration of his own military victories*

As Mario Torelli (1987, 578-579, quoted *verbatim* below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*); and again *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section *VI.*, has rightly pointed out, it was not by chance that a temple of Iuppiter stood right in front of the façade of Domitian's 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana* on the Palatine, the epithet of which is debated. - I myself follow those scholars who identify this temple with that of Iuppiter Invictus; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Sections *IV.*; *VII.*; *IX.*; and *X.* For a summary; cf. below, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

I am saying 'not by chance' because, according to the belief of the Romans themselves, it was their god Jupiter, who granted them their victories (cf. *infra*, at n. 431, in Chapter *III.*): 'At Jupiter's orders and under his guidance the Romans fought their wars, and to him they consequently attributed their military victories'.

To Domitian's very special relationship with Jupiter I will come back below. As we have already seen above, this fact has now also been stressed by Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi and Maria Paola Del Moro (2023, 10, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Section *I.* of his *Preamble*).

Another fact should likewise be considered in this context, and we may wonder, which one of the two was more important. Namely, that the welfare of the Roman state/ the Roman People could be regarded as directly depending on the most important 'state god' of the Romans, as he is sometimes called, namely Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, and, by implication, on the physical state of his temple. That the latter was actually believed became evident when, during the civil war, in the course of the siege of the *Capitolium* by the Vitellians on 18th/ 19th December AD 69, the (second) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus was completely destroyed by fire. For the (second) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, dedicated by Q. Lutatius Catulus (cf. *infra*, at n. 181, in Chapter *I.1.*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.c*); and at *Appendix I.d*); see now also C. PARISI PRESICCE and E. DODERO 2023, 68).

For the relevant events of AD 69, summarized in the following, as well as for Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus; cf. now also Friderike Senkbeil (2022, 196-237).

As a result of this, "**the Gauls mistakenly believe that the destruction of the [second] Temple of Jupiter [Optimus Maximus] portends the end of Rome** [with n. 20; my emphasis]"; cf. Trevor Luke (2018, 198). In his **note 20**, Luke quotes for this statement Tacitus, *Hist.* 4,54. See also Flavius Josephus (*BJ* 7,4,2) for the uprising of some Germanic tribes in AD 70, likewise as a result of this civil war. For a discussion of both; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.c*).

Therefore, Vespasian hastened to restore this sanctuary by building the (third) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d*)).

Ernst Schulze (1873,1) has, therefore, aptly commented on this precarious situation as follows: "Im Jahre 70 [*corr.*: 69] n. Chr., ging während des Kampfes des Sabinus gegen die Vitellianer dieser zweite Tempel in Flammen auf. **Vespasian ließ es nach Wiederherstellung der Ordnung seine erste Sorge sein, den Tempel, das Unterpfand des Reiches, wiederherzustellen** ['it was Vespasian's first care to restore the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, the pledge of the Roman Empire']; my emphasis]".

In the great fire of AD 80 also this (third) temple of Jupiter perished. Domitian built the (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, and that, as we know now through the research of Claudio Parisi Presicce and Alberto Danti (2016; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.e*)), on a much larger scale than the first three temples, but at exactly the same site.

Previously, it had (erroneously) been taken for granted *that all four* Temples of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus had been erected at the gigantic scale which the extant remains seemed to indicate, which belong to its "platea di fondazione del Tempio di Giove Capitolino" ('the foundation platform of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus', labelled on here **Fig. 74**: Temple of IOM). For that; cf. Claudio Parisi Presicce (2019, 33, Fig. 30). The (wrong) assumption that all four temples of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus had those gigantic proportions was seemingly corroborated by our relevant ancient literary sources. But as the recent excavations, conducted by Claudio Parisi Presicce and Alberto Danti (2016) have shown, all that was obviously *not* true.

Domitian's cult-statue in his (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus was copied very frequently in antiquity, not only in Italy, but especially so in the provinces, and there even in colossal format. Also the famous *Jupitersäulen*, so typical of the German provinces, are topped by statues of the god that are copies of the statue-type "Iuppiter Capitolinus"; cf. Martin Bossert (2000). Cf. *infra*, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here **Fig. 10**).

**What was said above proves, in my opinion, more than anything else that the Roman emperor, so in this case Domitian, had to guarantee both, not only the welfare of the Roman Empire/ the Roman People, but also the *pax deorum*, because the former depended directly on the latter. And as if that were not complicated enough, the *pax deorum* was dependent of an additional condition - caused, as we have just seen, by the belief of some contemporaries that the gods could only act in the desired way, provided their temples were in excellent physical state (!).**

**The underlying assumption was obviously that the Roman emperor - in this case Domitian - could only guarantee all this because of his personal military prowess. No wonder, then, that Domitian himself propagated exactly the same doctrine.**

To this doctrine of the 'invincibility' of the Roman emperor, and Domitian's acceptance of it, I will come back below, in Section III. of this *Preamble*, and in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

So far, this is also what Anne Wolfsfeld (2014) expresses in her below-quoted passages. - But that is by no means all what can be said about Domitian's self-representation. To this topic I will come back below, after quoting *verbatim* the text passages from Wolfsfeld (2014), to which I have referred to above. Those further findings relate to Domitian's escape from the *Capitolium* on 19th December AD 69, and concern Domitian's close relationship with Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.

**Only after having finished writing this Section II. of the *Preamble* so far, did I realize that Alexander Heinemann (2014, 240) has already commented on all these events as well.**

After mentioning Domitian's escape from the *Capitolium*, the destruction of the (second) and of the (third) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Capitolinus, and of Domitian's erection of the (fourth) temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, Heinemann, in my opinion convincingly, connects all these events with Domitian's inauguration of the *Capitolia*, games in honour of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, which as we have already heard above (cf. *supra*, in Section I. of this *Preamble*), Domitian had started in AD 86.

To this we may add an interesting information: the Roman branch of the famous association of Greek athletes, the *iera xystike synodos ton peri ton Heraklea athleton*, is documented in Rome from AD 46 until about 370; as is well known, their performances were related to the imperial cult. We know also that they were supported by Domitian and that they performed at his *Capitolia*; cf. Häuber (2014a, 673, 675-676).

**Finally, by characterizing the 'dedication, management and iconography of the *Capitolia*', Heinemann (2014, 250) comes to a similar conclusion as Ernst Schulze (1873, 1) and myself (as mentioned above) concerning the importance of Jupiter Capitolinus and of Domitian, by stating that: 'the dedication, management and iconography of the *Capitolia* confirm the undisputed positions of Jupiter Capitolinus and of the emperor as guarantors of the Roman Empire'.**

See also the title, which Andrea Carandini has chosen for a recent book: *Giove custode di Roma. Il dio che difende la città* (2016).

Alexander Heinemann (2014, 240; cf. p. 239), by referring to the above-mentioned events (*i.e.*, Domitian's escape from the *Capitolium*, the destructions of the (second) and of the (third) Temples of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, and Domitian's erection of the (fourth) Temple of Jupiter), comments on Domitian's foundation of the *Capitolia* as follows: "Es ist kaum vorstellbar, dass die Gründung der Spiele [*i.e.*, of the *Capitolia*] zu Ehren des kapitolinischen Jupiter nichts mit diesen Ereignissen zu tun haben sollte, und in der Tat werden die dynastischen Bezüge durch die Einbindung der *sodales Flaviales* als Teil des zeremoniellen Leitungsgremiums explizit gemacht".

Cf. Heinemann (2014, 250) on the *Capitolia* and on the importance of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus and of the Roman emperor [Domitian]: "**Die *Capitolia* sind konzipiert für ein zunehmend vernetztes Reich ... An den entscheidenden Stellen - Zueignung, Leitung und Ikonographie der Spiele - formulieren sie die unangefochtene Stellung des Jupiter Capitolinus und des Kaisers als Garanten römischer Herrschaft** [my emphasis]".

Domitian presided the *Capitolia*, a festival he had inaugurated in honour of the most important state god of the Romans, Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, "in imposing Greek-style dress"; cf. Carole E. Newlands (2014, 322), a fact which has interested her, Alexander Heinemann (2014, 138-139, 250), and many other scholars. See for example Robert Sablayrolles ("Domitien, l'Auguste ridicule", 1994, 124, 125), according to whom the emperor's design of his games called *Capitolia* proved that 'Domitian, like Augustus before him, felt that it was the obligation of the emperor to care for all parts of the Empire':

"Ainsi fit-il [*i.e.*, Domitian] **inscrire des compétitions athlétiques et musicales de tradition grecque dans le programme des Jeux qu'il créa en l'honneur de Jupiter Capitolin, dieu romain par excellence** (Suétone, Domitien, 4). Le nouveau Stade et le nouvel Odéon abritaient ainsi une cérémonie célébrée en l'honneur du dieu le plus vénérable de Rome, **mais, dans ce cadre à la grecque, l'empereur présidait à cette liturgie profondément romaine en costume grec, comme le souligne perfidement Suétone qui décrit l'empereur et les flamines en sandales et en toge grecques mais coiffés d'une couronne d'or portant la triade capitoline**"; cf. p. 125: "**Même alliance de l'Orient et de l'Occident que dans les Jeux Capitolins à la grecque. Ce désir d'englober dans une perspective unique toutes les parties de l'empire et de ne pas limiter à Rome la sollicitude impériale est encore un trait de ressemblance entre Domitien et Auguste** [my emphasis]".

Domitian's *Capitolia*, as so many other of his innovative initiatives, turned out to be very successful indeed. The last epigraphic evidence for a winner in the *Capitolia* dates to AD 338 or 342; cf. Paolo Vigliarolo (2023, 104 with n. 26). - To the *Capitolia* I will come back below.

#### *Let's now turn to Anne Wolfsfeld's (2014) findings concerning Domitian's cuirassed portraits*

Anne Wolfsfeld (2014, 200) writes about the fragment of the colossal cuirassed statue of Domitian from the Palatine (cf. here **Fig. 5**) and other cuirassed portrait-statues of Domitian formerly on display there:

##### "5. Domitian im Panzer

Mit Domitian ist eine weitere Veränderung im Befund festzuhalten: die Panzerdarstellungen finden sich in einem erweiterten Repertoire an öffentlichen und privaten Bildträgern. **Nachdem weder für Vespasian noch für Titus lebenszeitliche Statuen kolossalen Ausmaßes bekannt sind, kann ein vermutlich vom Palatin oder seiner Umgebung stammendes Bruchstück mit einer in der Rekonstruktion ca. [circa] acht Meter hohen Panzerstatue Domitians (Abb. 6 [= here Fig. 5]) assoziiert werden.** [with n. 92] **Dafür sprechen sowohl die Monumentalität der Darstellung, die vermutete Herkunft vom Palatin und die stilistische Einordnung mittels der Ornamentik in flavische Zeit.** [with n. 93] **Martial erwähnt außerdem zahlreiche Statuen des Princeps am Aufgang zum Palatin** [with n. 94] **und auch einen *Palatinus colossus*,** [with n. 95] **der zumindest eine kolossale Statue Domitians auf dem Palatin voraussetzt. Zudem ist nach dem**

**neronischen Sonnenkoloss erst wieder mit dem *equus Domitiani* (s.[siehe] die Rekonstruktion Abb. 7) eine zu Lebzeiten eines Princeps errichtete, kolossale Statue gesichert.** [with n. 96; my emphasis]".

In her **note 92**, Wolfsfeld writes: "**Rom, Palazzo Farnese (verbaut in eine dekorative Fragmentkomposition u. a. [unter anderem] aus Architekturteilen vom Palatin [= here Fig. 5.1]). Ruck (2007) 172. 280 Nr. 7 Taf. 15,3f.; Kreikenbom (1992) 106. 218 Nr. III 101; Stemmer (1971) 563-580 Abb. 1. 3-8 [my emphasis]**".

In her **note 93**, she writes: "Ruck (2007) 172 Anm. 772; Stemmer (1971) 573f."

In her **note 94**, she writes: Mart. 1,70,5f."

In her **note 95**, she writes: "Mart. 8,60".

In her **note 96**, she writes: "Die Überlieferung basiert auf Stat. Silv. 1,1 in Verbindung mit einem Sesterz-Revers von 95/96 n. Chr. (RIC II.1 797 [Domitian]); zur Rekonstruktion s. Coarelli (2009) 81-83 Abb. 19-21; Bergemann (1990) 164-166; Stemmer (1971) 575-579; zum *equus* bei Statius s.[siehe] in diesem Band den Beitrag von Cordes S. 346-355".

**To Wolfsfeld's (2014, 200) following passage, I should like to add a comment :**

"Martial erwähnt außerdem zahlreiche Statuen des Princeps am Aufgang zum Palatin [with n. 94] und auch einen *Palatinus colossus*, [with n. 95, quoting: "Mart. 8,60"] der zumindest eine kolossale Statue Domitians auf dem Palatin voraussetzt".

**See now Jane Fejfer (2021, 78 with n. 22), who, after discussing Domitian's colossal *Equus Domitiani*, mentions Domitian's *Palatinus colossus*, known from Martial (8,60), suggests that the marble fragment (here Fig. 5) had possibly belonged to this *colossus* :**

"Another Domitian statue of enormous proportions in Rome, the *Palatinus colossus*, is lost as well, apart from a possible related fragment of its cuirass. [with n. 22]".

In her **note 22**, Fejfer writes: "Wolfsfeld 2014, 200 with fig. 6 [= here Fig. 5]". Cf. Fejfer (2021, 80): "We do not know how Domitian's portrait of the *Equus Domitiani* and the *Palatinus colossus* looked [like], whether they showed the Emperor in a now lost pathetic three-dimensional portrait type".

**One of Wolsfeld's (2014, 200, with n. 96) above-quoted statements is not true, namely that "nach dem neronischen Sonnenkoloss [ist] erst wieder mit dem *equus Domitiani* (s.[siehe] die Rekonstruktion Abb. 7) eine zu Lebzeiten eines Princeps errichtete, kolossale Statue gesichert".**

This had already been asserted by Klaus Stemmer (1971, 574-575), but in the meantime Mario Torelli (1987, 579), Cécile Evers (1991, 796 with note 66), both quoted *verbatim* below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*); and again *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section VI.; and Claudia Lega ("Colossus: Nero", in: *LTUR I* [1993] 296), have reminded us of the fact that, according to Dio Cassius (66,15,1), Titus had ordered that Nero's *colossus*, the portrait features of Nero Vespasian had ordered to change into the features of the Sun god, were now again changed - into a portrait of Titus (!).

If so, Domitian's *Equus Domitiani*, depending on how high that was, must **a**) either even have looked 'modest', when compared with the near-by 36 m high gilded (?) bronze *colossus* of Titus which, when sparkling in the sunshine, must have been a spectacular sight; or **b**) may intentionally have 'counterbalanced' the *colossus* of Nero/ Titus, as has already been suggested by some other scholars; cf. *infra*, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

For further discussion of the *colossus* of Nero/ Titus; cf. Häuber (2014a, 704 with n. 100); and most recently Pier Luigi Tucci (2022, 224-225, with Fig. 20, Section: "Il Colosso").

See also *infra*, in *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11) ...*; at Part I. *The statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (cf. here Fig. 11), the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524; cf. here Fig. 29.1), and the cult-statue of Divus Vespasianus in the Temple of Divus Vespasianus. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); summarized below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.*



**In the following, Wolfsfeld (2014, 202-204) continues her discussion of Domitian's other cuirassed statues:**

"Die Münzprägung hilft dieses gattungswise disparate Bild der dreidimensionalen Panzerdarstellung zu konkretisieren. Vor Regierungsantritt taucht Domitian im Panzer nur sehr zurückhaltend gegenüber der militärischen und sieghaften Darstellungen der Judäa-Sieger auf, da er, anders als sein Bruder Titus, an diesem Erfolg nicht beteiligt war ...

Neben diesen nur isoliert auftretenden Panzerdarstellungen werden die militärischen Leistungen Domitians auf dem Revers schon in den frühen Jahren seiner Herrschaft thematisiert. Bereits 84-85 n. Chr. werden die ersten Bronzemünzen mit dem militärisch aktiven Kaiser und die erste *Germania-Capta*-Serie geprägt. [with n. 110] Ab 85 n. Chr. scheinen sich vier auf die Germanensiege bezogene Reversmotive mit dem Princeps im Panzer in der stadtrömischen Sesterzprägung etabliert zu haben und wie- [page 203] derholen sich jährlich bis zum Ende seiner Regierungszeit. [with n. 111] ...

Die zwei vermutlich vor Regierungsantritt entstandenen, aus Nero umgearbeiteten Panzerstatuen suggerieren entgegen der raren Münzzeugnisse eine auch für Domitian als 'Prinz' übliche Darstellung im Panzer. Es lässt sich hingegen ein Mangel an Büsten, Kameen und Militaria konstatieren, **so dass sich die erhaltenen Panzerdarstellungen mehrheitlich auf den öffentlichen Raum konzentrieren. Die Panzerfigur scheint sich dort nun vollends etabliert zu haben.**

**Augenscheinlich ist die hauptsächlich in der Münzprägung durch Abhebung auf militärische Aktivität und die damit verbundenen Erfolge zu Tage tretende Siegesprogrammatische Domitians.** Die misenische Reiterstatue und die anhand des erhaltenen Bestands anzunehmende hohe Anzahl von Panzerstatuen stützen diese These für die öffentliche Repräsentation; das Relieffragment aus Castel Gandolfo **und die kolossale Statue vom Palatin** [cf. here Fig. 5] **ließen den Aspekt der militärischen *virtus* des Kaisers dann auch in den weniger öffentlichen Bereichen in Erscheinung treten.** Der gleichzeitig Sieg und Frieden verkörpernde *equus Domitiani* beanspruchte und dominierte zudem den zentralen Platz Roms in der Mitte des alten republikanischen Forums. **Der klar nach außen getragene militärische Aspekt der Herrschaft setzte nunmehr eine umfassende Akzeptanz dieser kaiserlichen Rolle - und ein massives Bedürfnis nach ihr bei den Auftraggebern von Ehrungen - voraus, die durch die Leistungen der flavischen Vorgänger vorbereitet wurde. Der Katalysator für die einschlägig militärische Repräsentation der Flavier war sicherlich der herrschaftslegitimierende Sieg über Judäa.** [with n. 113] Domitian spielte in dieser Zeit gegenüber dem älteren Bruder eine untergeordnete Rolle, **was sich dann nach seinem Regierungsantritt mit kontinuierlichen militärischen** [page 204] **Expeditionen, seiner persönlichen Anwesenheit an der Front und vier in Rom gefeierten Triumphen änderte.** Die Nachfolge von Titus zu Domitian verlief zwar unproblematisch, aber **offenbar bestand nun ein besonders hoher Bedarf, die höchste Position im Prinzipat durch militärische Leistungen zu untermauern** [my emphasis]".

In her **note 110**, Wolfsfeld writes: "RIC II.1 205 (Domitian); *Germania Capta*: RIC II.1 274 (Domitian), das Reversmotiv wiederholt sich in den Folgejahren bis 88-89 n. Chr."

In her **note 111**, she writes: "Exemplarisch für die vier Motive: RIC II.1: 1) 278; 2) 279; 3) 470; 4) 474 (Domitian). Diese vier Reversmotive kehren in den Buntmetall-Emissionen von 85-96 n. Chr. als Set oder einzeln wieder".

In her **note 113**, she writes: "Zur Rolle Judäas in der Repräsentation der Flavier s.[iehe] Coarelli (2009 [*i.e.*, here F. COARELLI 2009b]) 68-97; Eck (2006) 570-578; Millar (2005) 102-128; Beard (2003) 543-558; Pfanner (1983) 99-102; zu den *Iudaea Capta*-Prägungen s.[iehe] exemplarisch: RIC II.1 163-169. 233-236 (Vespasian)".

*So what is still missing in the analysis of Domitian's self-advertisement, as asserted above? We need, in my opinion, to add Domitian's relationship with the gods and his (only alleged?) belief to be himself divine*

Domitian had, for example, the personal patron goddess Minerva, whose son he propagated to be (cf. *infra*, at **n. 240**, in Chapter I.2.). Not by chance, therefore, Wolters and Ziegert (2014, 54-55, 60) stress the at times

overwhelming number of Domitian's coin-types that show representations related to Minerva. Considering Domitian's 'personal "Siegesprogramm", so Wolfsfeld (2014, 203), it does not surprise at all that Domitian may have equated himself with Jupiter, a possibility suggested or even taken for granted by previous scholars, that Wolters and Ziegert (2014, 62), and Bönisch-Meyer and Christian Witschel (2014, 147) have therefore discussed again, but without finding any definite positive results. Other contributors to the same volume judge this subject differently. - To this we will now turn.

**Take for example Lisa Cordes (2014, 355-356), who analyses "die Inszenierung der Göttlichkeit des Princeps [i.e., of Domitian]", and precisely, his "Parallelisierung mit Jupiter".**

I have chosen Cordes's above-mentioned example to be quoted below *verbatim* for the following reasons. Cordes (2014, 355-356) discusses Statius (*Silvae* 1,6, called *Saturnalia principis*), in which the poet describes a spectacular event, which Domitian, in December of AD 89, during the *Saturnalia*, had staged at the Colosseum. Domitian had invited the people of Rome not only to an exuberant banquet, he presented them also with very generous gifts. - By the way, both of which typical customs at the *Saturnalia* (cf. *infra*). Cordes (2014, 356 with n. 48) suggests that Domitian may thus have celebrated his double triumph of AD 89, which, because of the date of this triumph 'November/ December AD 89', sounds perfectly possible.

I am especially interested in Cordes's (2014, 355-356) example, because I suggest in this *Study* that Domitian, on Frieze A of the Cancelleria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 1**), may be represented in his *profectio* ceremony at Rome at the beginning of AD 89, after which he had left for *this war*. In addition, the decoration of Domitian's *Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium* may likewise commemorate (possibly *inter alia*) Domitian's triumph of AD 89. The latter hypothesis has already been suggested by Amanda Claridge (2010, 169).

For a discussion; cf. *infra*, at Chapter VI.3. *My own tentative suggestion, to which monument or building the Cancelleria Reliefs may have belonged, and a discussion of their possible date; below, at Chapter The major results of this book on Domitian; and infra, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.f).* As mentioned above, Domitian celebrated this triumph in November/ December of AD 89.

We may wonder, why Domitian had chosen a date in December of AD 89 (instead of choosing rather one in November) to celebrate his triumph together with the people of Rome, inviting them to this extraordinary banquet, which Statius (*Silvae* 1,6) has 'documented' for us. Before suggesting my own idea, let me add another observation by Lisa Cordes, who analyses such acts of euergetism under the perspective, which guides all the contributors of the volume, edited by Bönisch-Meyer *et al.* (2014): namely the transgressions of both Nero and Domitian, and how they can be defined in detail.

Cordes adds to this spectrum of transgressions her analyses of panegyric texts, written to praise Nero and Domitian. Interestingly these panegyric texts all start with actual facts, namely that during the reign of both emperors building activities and acts of euergetism had reached dimensions that by far exceeded what had been usual before. In contrasting both emperors with these achievements, the panegyric authors then intentionally blur the differences between these emperors and the gods, as Cordes suggests, to the effect that she comes to the following conclusion: one of the central themes of these panegyric texts, dedicated to Nero and Domitian, is to assert that both emperors possess a divine nature.

**Lisa Cordes (2014, 341) begins her Section 1. on panegyric texts, which were written to praise Nero and Domitian, as follows :**

"1. Die Ambivalenz des Herrscherlobes

In der literarischen Panegyrik für Nero und Domitian spielt das Motiv der Erweiterung und Transgression von Grenzen eine zentrale Rolle. Die Dichter preisen die Entfaltung einer nie dagewesenen Pracht in der Bautätigkeit und im Euergetismus, sie beschreiben die Imposanz der Spektakel bei Spielen und Volksfesten und verwischen oder negieren bei der Darstellung des Herrschers die Grenzen zwischen Mensch und Gott. So werden Kolossalität und Glanz in der panegyrischen Dichtung ebenso wie in der bildenden Kunst

wichtige ästhetische Kategorien; [with n. 1] die Monumentalisierung des beschriebenen Gegenstandes und **die Inszenierung der Göttlichkeit des Kaisers sind zentrale Gestaltungsprinzipien des neronischen und domitianischen Herrscherlobes** [my emphasis]".

In her **note 1**, Cordes writes: "Cancik (1965), (1990)".

Instead of using such texts as arguments 'against' Domitian (or Nero), we should, in my opinion, ask ourselves: *what else* we might expect from a panegyric text than 'hyperbolic praise'? Interesting seems to me, therefore, quite a different question: do we have such panegyric texts for *all* Roman emperors, or only for a few, and are the latter, because they allowed authors to praise them in this way, *therefore* judged negatively by modern commentators? - As we shall see below, Klaus Stemmer (1971) and Claire Stocks (2021), to mention only those two scholars, judge these panegyric texts, written to praise Domitian, very differently.

**Lisa Cordes (2014, 355-356), in her Sections 3. and 3.1., comments on Domitian's Saturnalia principis, described by Statius (Silvae 1,6), as follows :**

"3. Die positive Kodierung von Göttlichkeit: Statius' *Silvae* 1,6

Als Beispiel für die Inszenierung und positive Kodierung von Göttlichkeit [in the case of Domitian] soll im Folgenden das sechste Gedicht aus Statius' erstem Silvenbuch betrachtet werden. [with n. 47] Darin beschreibt der Dichter die *Saturnalia principis* (82), ein opulentes Fest, das Domitian an den Kalenden des Dezember wohl im [page 356] flavischen Amphitheater [*i.e.*, the Colosseum] für die Hauptstadtbevölkerung ausrichtete. [with n. 48] **Neben der Darstellung der unermesslichen Fülle an Speisen und Geschenken, die der Kaiser in der Arena verteilen lässt, steht im Gedicht die Inszenierung der Göttlichkeit des Princeps im Vordergrund. Diese basiert auf seiner Parallelisierung mit Jupiter.** Mit den Ambivalenzen, die eine solche Darstellung birgt, geht Statius auch hier bemerkenswert offensiv um und tritt negativen Lektüren derselben explizit entgegen.

3.1. Lenkung des Lesers zum *preferred reading* einer Metapher

**In den Versen 9-27 beschreibt Statius die Geschenke, die Domitian von einem über das Theater gespannten Seil auf die Besucher fallen lässt, [with n. 49] mit dem Bild des Regens. Die Metapher dient zum einen dazu, die Fülle der gebotenen Gaben anschaulich darzustellen, zum anderen ermöglicht sie die Inszenierung von Domitians Göttlichkeit, die in der Benennung des Princeps als *Iuppiter noster* (27) gipfelt** [my emphasis]".

In her **note 47**, Cordes writes: "Zu diesem Gedicht vgl. Cancik (1965) 100-108; Nauta (2002) 397-402; Newlands (2002) 227-259; Leberl (2004) 181-199; Elm (2012) 243-246".

In her **note 48**, she writes: "Möglicherweise fand das beschriebene Ereignis im Rahmen der Feierlichkeiten zu Domitians Doppeltriumph über die Chatten und Daker im Jahr 89 statt. Vgl. Nauta (2002) 396f. [my emphasis]".

In her **note 49**, she writes: "Vgl. 10: *iam bellaria linea pluebant*. Dazu Vollmer (1898) 305: "Die Näschereien fielen von einem über das Amphitheater gespannten Seile unter das Volk", mit Hinweis auf Mart. 8,78,7f. Killeen (1959) hält die *linea*, die Martial erwähnt, für eine Art Hängematte".

**Most recently, Daniëlle Sloopjes ("Entertainment and Spectacles during Domitian's Rule", 2021, 121 with n. 18; ead. 2023, 88 with n. 18) has commented on the Saturnalia principis (Statius, Silvae 1,6).**

Sloopjes (*op.cit.*) comes, in my opinion, to the convincing conclusions that Domitian himself liked to organize such events, at which he was always present, presiding the spectacles, and that he was especially good in showing the People of Rome his commitment to them. The People of Rome, in their turn, had, therefore, very much appreciated the way the emperor had entertained them :

**"Domitian seems to have liked public spectacles as he ``constantly gave grand and costly entertainments, both in the amphitheatre and in the Circus ... Besides he gave hunts of wild beasts, gladiatorial shows at**

night by the light of torches, and not only combats between men but between women as well." [with n. 18] **Notably, Domitian was personally engaged by being present even "amid heavy rains," by presiding at competitions or by showering the people with gifts.** [with n. 19] **Similar to the case of Augustus, personal imperial engagement and an attentive attitude of Domitian towards the audience and performers seems to have been presented and valued as an advantageous characteristic of a ruler ...**

This overview of the way in which Suetonius presented the first twelve Caesars and their organization of public spectacles has shown that **the emperors used it in particular to offer the people of Rome pleasant and even spectacular performances in various venues as an expression of their relationship with their subjects.** As the last of Suetonius' Caesars, **Domitian was presented in this respect in similar fashion as his predecessors. He behaved as an emperor was supposed to act in his attempt to secure his subject's respect and loyalty. Even more, his personal attention and interest at public shows gives the reader the impression that he was particularly good at showing his people his commitment to them [my emphasis]."**

In her **note 18**, Sloopjes writes: "Suet. *Dom.* 4. Cf. Statius, *Silv.* 1.6.51-56, *Kalendae Decembres*. For a modern study on female gladiators, see McCullough 2008".

In her **note 19**, she writes: "Suet. *Dom.* 4".

*Let's now turn to my own interpretation of Domitian's choice  
to invite the people of Rome to a banquet during the Saturnalia of AD 89*

Because Domitian had himself serious personal reasons to celebrate the *Saturnalia* anyway, it is tempting to believe that he, in December of AD 89, had thus decided to celebrate, together with the People of Rome, his double triumph together with something else: the *Vicennalia* of his famous escape from the *Capitolium*.

**I argue that, because of these experiences in December of AD 69, Domitian had this close relationship with Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, of which also many contributors to the volumes, edited by Bönisch-Meyer *et al.* (2014) and by Raimondi Cominesi *et al.* (2021), are convinced. So, by the way, also Frederick G. Naerebout (2021, 148). But because these authors approach this subject differently, as we shall see below, I find it worth while to present here in the following my own relevant results.**

**See now also Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi and Maria Paola Del Moro (2023, 10, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Section I. of this *Preamble*), whose exhibition-catalogue on Domitian reached me only after this entire *Preamble* had already been written. For similar reasons as suggested here, they too believe that Domitian had a close relationship with Jupiter Capitolinus.**

But note that Parisi Presicce, Munzi and Del Moro (2023, 10) do not explicitly state, to which summit of the Capitoline Hill Flavius Sabinus and his men (comprising Domitian) had withdrawn on 18th December AD 69. Consequently, they do not suggest, the *aedituus* of which temple on the Capitoline Hill had saved Domitian from the Vitellians. The same is true for the essay, written by Claudio Parisi Presicce and Eloisa Dodero for this catalogue ("*Il Campidoglio di Domiziano*", 2023), which is why these authors come to very different conclusions concerning all these subjects than suggested in this *Study* by myself. In addition to this, they assume the (wrong) date 17th/ 18th December for the siege of the Vitellians of the Capitoline.

For a discussion of the hypotheses of Claudio Parisi Presicce and Eloisa Dodero (2023); cf. *infra*, in *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here **Fig. 10**); at Part II. *The Capitoline Triad in statuette format at Guidonia Montecelio (Roma), Museo Civico Archeologico 'Rodolfo Lanciani'* (cf. here **Fig. 13**) and the colossal statue of Jupiter at the Hermitage (cf. here **Fig. 10**).

**We owe to Parisi Presicce and Dodero (2023, 63), in addition to this, the following, very convincing judgement concerning Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus:**

"L'occasione di questo intervento [to erect the fourth Temple for Jupiter Capitolinus] è il devastante incendio dell'80 d.C., **preziosa opportunità per l'imperatore [i.e., Domitian] ``maniaco della costruzione''** [with n. 6] **di plasmare Roma a propria immagine e somiglianza** [my emphasis]".

In their **note 6**, Parisi Presicce and Doderò write: "Plut. *Publ.* 15, 5-6".

*Let's now turn to Domitian's experiences on 18th and 19th December of AD 69.*

On 18th/ 19th December AD 69, the soldiers of the Emperor Vitellius (*i.e.*, the Vitellians) had laid siege on the *Capitolium*, where Vespasian's brother, the *praefectus urbi* Flavius Sabinus and his men, comprising Domitian (henceforth: the Flavians), had found refuge on 18th December. Concerning the controversy, to which summit of the Capitoline Hill Sabinus and his men had withdrawn, to the *Arx* or to the *Capitolium*, I hope to have found additional evidence to support the old conviction that Sabinus and his men were staying within the *area Capitolina* - *i.e.*, the sacred precinct of the (second) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus - on the *Capitolium* proper, when the Vitellians laid siege on this citadel. But I have, of course, also discussed in detail the hypotheses of those scholars, who believe that Flavius Sabinus and his men had withdrawn to the *Arx* instead.

For all that, see below, Section III. of this *Preamble*; at point 1.) and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d) Domitian's escape from the Capitolium on 19th December AD 69, which happened on the festival of the Opalia, one day of the Saturnalia*; at *Appendix I.f.1.) The procession, which Domitian joined, the festival of the Opalia on 19th December, the Saturnalia, and the festival of Fors Fortuna on 24th June*; at *Appendix II.a)*; and at *Appendix IV.*

*My own hypothesis concerning Domitian's escape from the Capitolium on 19th December AD 69*

We know that Flavius Sabinus and his men (comprising Domitian) withdrew to the Capitoline on 18th December AD 69. I follow those, who believe he had found refuge within the *Area Capitolina*, the sacred precinct of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus on the *Capitolium* proper (cf. here **Figs. 58; 73**). We know also that Domitian's escape from the Capitoline occurred on 19th December, and that the Temple of Ops Opifera in *Capitolio* stood within the *Area Capitolina*. I myself suggest that a procession marched each 19th December (so also in AD 69) from the Temple of Ops Opifera in *Capitolio* down to the *Forum Romanum*; and because Domitian had been advised to join this procession, he could escape from the Capitoline.

My hypothesis is based on the following observations: the Egyptologist Alfred Grimm (1997, 128) has rightly observed that 19th December was *not* a festival of Isis but the day of the *Opalia*, and that Ops could be equated with Isis. Grimm (1997, 123, quoted *verbatim* and discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.c)*; and at *Appendix I.d)*) writes also that the "Saturnali[a] ... erano altrettanto legati alle cerimonie isiache".

As Franz Xaver Schütz has pointed out to me, the *Opalia* were part of the *Saturnalia*. The *Opalia* were celebrated at a cult place called 'Ops ad Forum', also called *sacellum* of Dis Pater (Saturn) and Proserpina (Ops), which stood next to the Temple of Saturn in the *Forum Romanum*, and that was also called *Mundus* (cf. here **Figs. 58; 71**). Ops and Saturn were believed to be spouses and were both related to the golden age.

Since Saturn was equated with Dionysus/ Osiris, and Osiris in his turn with Serapis, Saturn's close connection to Ops/ Isis becomes understandable. As already mentioned, the Temple of Ops Opifera in *Capitolio* stood within the *Area Capitolina*, the sacred precinct of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. We also know that behind the Temple of Ops in *Capitolio* there stood an altar of Isis *deserta*.

I, therefore, suggest:

a) that on each 19th December there was a procession of the priests and adherents of Ops in *Capitolio* and of Isis *deserta* that went in the morning down to the *Forum Romanum* in order to join the festival of the *Opalia*;

b) that this procession was usually joined by the priests and adherents of Isis *Capitolina*, whose temple stood on the near-by *Arx*;

c) that Domitian had been advised by the freedman of the *aedituus* of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, who had hidden Domitian in his house next to the temple of Jupiter in the night of 18th/19th December, to join on the following morning this procession in the guise of an *Isiacus* or of a priest of Isis; and -

d) that Domitian had done this, clad in the garments of an *Isiacus* or of a priest of Isis, and (possibly also) with his head shaven.

Cf. below, in Section III. of this *Preamble*, at point 1.); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.b) - Appendix I.d)*; and at *Appendix I.i)*.

Already Erika Simon had asserted (1963, 10, quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 181, in Chapter I.1) that Domitian had allegedly written an epos >Kampf um das Kapitol<. According to Eric M. Moormann (2022, 150), Domitian, before himself becoming emperor, had actually written some literary texts. In his **note 93**, Moormann writes: "See, for example, Coleman (1986); Nauta (2002) 328 ...". See also *infra*, in Section III. of this *Preamble*; below, at Chapter I.1.; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.1.a)*; and at *Appendix IV.d.4.b)*.

Even provided Domitian had also *himself* the intention to be compared with Jupiter at this banquet in December of AD 89, described by Statius (*Silvae* 1,6,27, who calls Domitian: "*Iuppiter noster*"; but see below) - this could possibly somehow be explained with his escape from the Capitoline precisely 20 years earlier. Jupiter had 'himself' rescued Domitian on 18th/19th December AD 69 : since the *aedituus* of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus had hidden Domitian overnight in his house that stood close to the Temple of Jupiter, and his freeman had given Domitian the decisive advice to join the procession of the priests and adherents of Ops in *Capitolio*, of Isis *deserta* and of Isis *Capitolina* the next morning (cf. *supra*).

Because of all this, Domitian had at first styled himself as 'protected by Jupiter', or as 'the son of Jupiter', and that by means of the design of the cult-statue of his Temple of Jupiter Custos. Under the reign of his father Vespasian, Domitian had already built at the former site of the house of this *aedituus* of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus his 'modest *sacellum*', dedicated to Iuppiter Conservator, and, as soon as he had himself become emperor, his 'huge temple of Iuppiter Custos'. Here Domitian had ordered a representation of himself which proclaimed that he was 'protected by Jupiter', or that he was 'the son of Jupiter': I am suggesting this, because the cult-statue of this temple was a seated Jupiter, who held a portrait of Domitian on his lap. For all of this; cf. Tacitus (*Hist.* 3,74,1; discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d)*).

Many contributors to the volumes, edited by Bönisch-Meyer *et al.* (2014) and by Raimondi Cominesi *et al.* (2021) discuss Domitian's escape from the *Capitolium* and his erection of a *sacellum*, dedicated to Iuppiter Conservator and of a Temple of Iuppiter Custos, but without addressing the controversy, where the Vitellians had laid siege on Sabinus, on the *Arx* or on the *Capitolium*. - These scholars thus mention the dedications of these shrines as an explanation for their own conviction that Domitian had a very close relationship with Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, but without addressing the question, why Domitian had thanked *Jupiter* at all for his salvation by building first this *sacellum*, and later this huge temple.

**The only exception of all these scholars being Frederick G. Naerebout (2021, 148), who rightly states: "Because Jupiter had saved Domitian's life in 69, when an *aedituus*, sacristan, of the Capitoline Temple hid him from the Vitellian forces"; quoted in more detail and discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.b) Domitian's escape from the Capitolium - Introduction*.**

See now also Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi and Maria Paola Del Moro (2023, 10, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Section I. of this *Preamble*), who have arrived at a similar conclusion as Naerebout (2021, 148), and now also myself, by assuming that Domitian was convinced 'that the gods had saved his life'. But note that, contrary to Naerebout (2021, 148), neither Parisi Presicce, Munzi and Del Moro (2023, 10), or Parisi Presicce and Dodero (2023) explicitly state, to which summit of the Capitoline Hill Flavius Sabinus and his

men (comprising Domitian) had withdrawn on 18th December AD 69. Consequently, they do not explicitly suggest, the *aedituus* of which temple on the Capitoline Hill had saved Domitian.

Among those scholars, whose contributions are published in the essay-volume, that accompanied the exhibition on Domitian at Leiden, Eric M. Moormann's (2021, 47-48) interpretation of Domitian's escape is significantly different from my own. Moormann (*op.cit.*) follows those authors, who have suggested that Domitian must have been hiding at the house of the *aedituus* of the Temple of Isis *Capitolina*, which stood on the *Arx*. Those scholars, whom Moormann follows, argue as follows:

- a) otherwise Domitian could not have disguised himself as a priest of Isis; consequently they assume -
- b) that Flavius Sabinus and his men must have found refuge on the *Arx*; they assume -
- c), in addition to this, that Domitian had (allegedly) later built a new Temple for Isis *Capitolina*.

For a discussion of this controversy; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.d).

Besides, when reading the accounts of Domitian's escape from the *Capitolium* on 19th December AD 69, even those written by authors who were hostile to Domitian, for example Tacitus and Suetonius, it does not come as a real surprise that Domitian was convinced to 'enjoy the favour of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus'. - For all that; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.

I, therefore, anticipate here a passage that was written for Appendix I.d): 'Many scholars, who have discussed the Cancellaria Reliefs, have stressed Domitian's close relationship not only with Minerva, but also with Jupiter; according to T.P. Wiseman (1978, 175), the latter fact was already stressed by Suetonius (*Dom.* 5,4). I therefore quote here in the following the version of these events, as reported by Tacitus (*Hist.* 3.74.1), because he provides a good explanation for Domitian's relevant feelings for Jupiter ...'.

Apropos, Lisa Cordes's (2014, 355-356) remark concerning Statius (*Silvae* 1,6): "... **die Inszenierung von Domitians Göttlichkeit, die in der Benennung des Princeps als Iuppiter noster (27) gipfelt**".

Claire Stocks (2021, 91), by referring to the same panegric texts, written by Martial and Statius in order to praise Domitian, remarks as follows on the comparison in these texts of Domitian with the gods: "... **or to make humorous comparisons between the Emperor and the gods** [my emphasis]".

Klaus Stemmer (1971, 576), in his detailed discussion of Statius's texts, comes to the following conclusion: "Die Silven ... sind also zugleich **Begriff der Kaiserreligion** ... [with note 70a; my emphasis]".

For the term 'Kaiserreligion', which was by no means coined to characterize texts that intended to praise Domitian; cf. Mario Torelli, who already used the term: "teologia imperiale" (cf. *id.*: "Providentiae, Ara", in: *LTUR* IV [1999], 166); and Häuber (2014a, 720 with n. 284, p. 721 with ns. 301-305, p. 728).

**Since we have just discussed Domitian's escape from the Capitoline Hill on 19th December AD 69 (as I believe from the *Capitolium* proper; cf. here Figs. 58; 73), I was surprised to find that it seems still to be debated, who had been first to locate the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus right there.**

**I, therefore, allow myself in the following a digression on this subject: It was Rodolfo Lanciani who, in 1876, published three times his (correct) observation that the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus stood on the southern summit of the Capitoline Hill, the *Capitolium*.**

I anticipate in the following some passages, written for and discussed in more detail *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.e) *It is conceivable that Vitellius (cf. Suet., Vit. 15,3), on December 19th AD 69, could actually have watched the fighting on the Capitolium, while staying at the 'Domus Tiberiana' on the Palatine :*

'In his 'Notes from Rome' of "April 1st, 1876, Vol. 2527, 470-1", published in the English journal *The Athenaeum*, Lanciani wrote: " ... Let us start from the Capitol where the S.E. [south-east] corner of the

platform of the Capitolium [*i.e.*, of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus] was found, the other day, in building the new stables of the German Embassy. The horses of his Excellency Herr von Keudell fed in the very cella of Jupiter Capitolinus! Shades of Tarquinius, of Catulus, of Augustus, of Vespasian, and Domitian! such is the fate of the most venerable sanctuary of the Roman World, which you built or restored. Arminius is not yet satisfied, and the threatening words against the Latin race, pronounced lately by an Imperial personage in the forest of Teutoburg, are not a vain boast of national pride". Cf. Anthony L. Cubberley (1988, 9-10) ...

Lanciani did not tell the readers in his just quoted 'Notes from Rome' of "April 1st, 1876 ...", that he had himself only shortly before identified the true location of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus; this question was hotly debated at the time and most scholars assumed this temple on the *Arx* instead. Lanciani recognized in the architectural remains that occurred in the building site of the 'Sala ottagonata', that was to open on February 25th, 1876, the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus. The 'Sala ottagonata' was a new wooden exhibition hall of the Musei Capitolini (which existed from 1876-1903), erected at the site of the former 'kitchen garden' (called: Giardino Romano) of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, which was located between that Palazzo and the Palazzo Caffarelli. For the 'Sala ottagonata'; cf. also Alberto Danti (2001, 329 with n. 17).

Lanciani announced his important findings concerning the Jupiter temple in his opening speech of this new pavilion. - Today the Equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius is on display in a new hall of the Capitoline Museums that was erected at the site of the former Giardino Romano/ 'Sala ottagonata'.

Cf. Lanciani (1876, 1-2) - this is his printed opening speech, delivered on February 25th, 1876, when the 'Sala ottagonata' was inaugurated. In March of 1981, Eugenio La Rocca was so kind as to give me access to the copy owned by the library of the Musei Capitolini; cf. Häuber (1991, 17 with n. 59). Maddalena Cima (2008, 139-140, quoted *verbatim infra*), reports on (obviously later) conducted excavations, for which parts of the Palazzo Caffarelli had been destroyed in the hope to find more remains of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus; those finds were, as she writes, at the time neither officially announced, nor published. To those excavations, and to the most recent ones, conducted in the area from 2008-2014 by Claudio Parisi Presicce and Alberto Danti, and published in the exhibition-catalogue *Campidoglio mito, memoria, archeologia* (2016), I will come back below.

**Concerning Lanciani's spectacular identification of the true location of the Jupiter temple, I have written elsewhere:**

"Es war das erklärte Ziel der Städtischen Archäologischen Kommission Roms, mit dem 'Provisorium' der Sala ottagonata an die Öffentlichkeit zu appellieren, rasch einem Museumsneubau für die Funde aus den Ausgrabungen zuzustimmen [with n. 299]. **Dieses Ziel wurde nicht erreicht, aber es gehört zu den wissenschaftlichen 'Triumphen' im Leben des rührigen '1. Sekretärs' der Kommission, R. Lanciani, daß bei der Fundamentierung der Sala ottagonata Reste des Jupiter Optimus Maximus Tempels zutage kamen, die er umgehend publizierte, und deren (korrekte) Identifizierung er gegen heftige Widerstände erfolgreich verfochten hat** [with n. 300; my emphasis]". Cf. Häuber (1991, 81).

Cf. my **note 299**: "R. Lanciani 1876, 20f". Cf. my **note 300**: "BullCom 3, 1875, 165-189, Taf. 16-18; 4, 1876, 32f.; ders. in: *The Athenaeum* Nr. 2516 vom 15.1.1876; Cubberley ... [*i.e.*, here A.L. CUBBERLEY 1988] 1f. [quoted *verbatim infra*]; ders. ebd. [ebenda] 2527 vom 1.4.1876; Cubberley ebd. [ebenda] 9f. [this is the passage quoted above]".

**Claudio Parisi Presicce and Eloisa Dodero (2023, 63, n. 1) do not give Lanciani credit for having been first to recognize the correct location of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus on the Capitolium proper, and for having proven this hypothesis. The authors write instead: "... sui primi tentativi di localizzazione [of the Temple of IOM] ancora fondamentale Jordan 1885, pp. 8-35 [my emphasis]**".



Since Lanciani was able to identify the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus 'thanks to Domitian', I quote here also the relevant passage from his very first letter, which Lanciani wrote to *The Athenaeum*.

In his 'Notes from Rome' of "January 15th, 1876, Vol. 2516, 96-7", Lanciani wrote:

"The place of honour belongs at the moment to the discovery of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. On the 7th of last November, while digging was going on for the foundation of a new hall [*i.e.*, the 'Sala ottagonata'] of the Museum of the Capitol, in the garden [*i.e.*, the Giardino Romano] which separates the Palazzo dei Conservatori, from the palazzo Caffarelli (the German Embassy), **a fragment was brought to light of a colossal column of Pentelican marble**, as well as part of the substructure of a temple, constructed of squared stones, placed one on top of the other, without mortar, and in quite archaic style. **Such a find, taken by itself, would have no great importance, but taken along with other discoveries on the same spot, made on previous occasions, it proves, beyond doubt, that the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was on the western summit - Monte Caprino.** We know from Dionysius Halicarnassus that the basement of the temple was 207 ½ feet long, 192 ½ broad; secondly, from Livy, that the platform on which the sanctuary rose was surrounded [!] by a gigantic substructure, classed by the elder Pliny among the marvels of Rome; **and from Plutarch, that the temple rebuilt by Domitian for the fifth and last time was of Pentelic marble** [my emphasis]. - **In the following, Lanciani described many other fragments of the temple's marble decoration that had been recorded in previous centuries;** cf. Anthony L. Cubberley (1988, 1-2).

Thus not only 'thanks to Domitian', Lanciani had been able to identify the Jupiter temple, but, of course, also because he was working at the time on his monumental work 'Storia degli Scavi di Roma e Notizie intorno le Collezioni Romane di Antichità'; cf. Lanciani (1902-1913, I-IV; id. 1989-2000, I-VII), in which he has documented those earlier finds.

Apropos, Domitian's Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus. Contrary to what Lanciani wrote in the above-quoted passage, it is currently believed that Domitian built the fourth (not the fifth) temple; cf. Lawrence Richardson Jr. (1992, 223), who, like Lanciani, mentioned also Augustus: "Augustus restored it [*i.e.*, the 2. temple] at great expense, but without the addition of his name (Augustus, RG 20)"; cf. Suetonius (*Dom.* 5,4, and *supra*, n. 181 and at n. 182, in Chapter I.1.) ...

As we have heard above, Lanciani, in his 'Notes from Rome' of "January 15th, 1876, Vol. 2516, 96-7", had mentioned "a colossal column of Pentelican marble", that (taken together with earlier finds in the same area) had led him to locate Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus right there.

Alberto Danti (2016, 215-217: "cat. III.2,9,11,12" and "figg. 7, 8; cat. III.2.10,12,13") has now published all the fragments of colossal columns found in this area, which, because of their proportions and their material 'Pentelic marble', Danti likewise attributes to Domitian's Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus (and I wonder whether Lanciani's column is among those fragments) ... Danti (2016, 215) does not say that this fragment of a shaft of a column of Pentelic marble (his Fig. 8), which was found in 1875, as Danti writes, was perhaps the one that had led Lanciani in his 'Notes from Rome' of "January 15th, 1876, Vol. 2516, 96-7", to locate Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Capitolinus in this area - as I ask myself.

Also Claudio Parisi Presicce and Eloisa Dodero discuss now the just-mentioned fragmentary column shaft, carved from Pentelic marble, that was published by Alberto Danti (2016, 216, his Fig. 8); cf. Parisi Presicce and Dodero (2023, 66 with n. 30):

"Vd. [vedi] in particolare Danti 2016, pp. 215-217"; cf. p. 67, Fig. 2. The caption of this illustration reads: "Fig. 2: Roma, Musei Capitolini, depositi. Frammento di rocchio di colonna, marmo pentelico, età domiziana (da Danti 2016, p. 216, fig. 8) (Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali, Musei Capitolini, foto Zeno Colantoni) [my emphasis]"'. .

*Let's now return to our main subject, the list of reproaches, made by ancient authors, who were hostile to Domitian, and that concern Domitian's relationship with the gods and his (only alleged?) belief to be himself divine*

*The most famous among those reproaches was that Domitian had demanded to be addressed in public as 'dominus et deus'*

The well-known reproach of the ancient 'anti-Domitian' literary sources, according to which Domitian had demanded to be addressed as '*dominus et deus*', not only in official ceremonies at Rome, but also in official texts, has already been refuted by John Pollini (2012). Sophia Bönisch-Meyer and Christian Witschel (2014, 118-121), after carefully discussing the available ancient evidence, have come to the same conclusion.

I anticipate here the quote from John Pollini: "... Although it has been asserted that Domitian wished to represent himself as a living god on earth, including the demand that he be called *Dominus et Deus* ('Lord and God'), no evidence in official art or documents substantiates this claim. Domitian was, however, the first living Princeps to be represented in official monuments accompanied by Olympian gods, as in Panel A of the Cancelleria Reliefs in the Vatican's Museo Gregoriano Profano [cf. here Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing]. Only in nonofficial literature and art was Domitian directly compared to or equated with the gods, following a long-standing private encomiastic tradition ... [my emphasis]". Cf. *infra*, at Chapter I.2., with n. 227: "Cf. J. POLLINI 2012; the quote is from ... p. 452, n. 153, which refers to p. 438."

Bönisch-Meyer and Witschel (2014, 118) write concerning the reproach that Domitian had demanded to be officially addressed as '*dominus et deus*': "... soll Domitian darüber hinaus einen gänzlich neuen und ungewöhnlichen Titulaturbestandteil eingeführt haben, nämlich die Anrede des Herrschers als 'Herr und Gott' (*dominus et deus*) – und dies auch in offiziellen Schriftstücken. Das behaupten zumindest die Domitian feindlich gesonnenen, nach seinem Tod entstandenen literarischen Quellen, insbesondere Sueton [my emphasis]", quoting in the following Sueton (*Dom.* 13,1-2). - Cf. p. 121, where the authors refute this reproach.

Already in his earlier essay, Frederick G. Naerebout ("Domitian and Religion", in: A. RAIMONDI COMINESI *et al.* 2021, 150) has stated the following:

"Domitian is also said to have suggested, or decreed according to later authors, that he should be addressed henceforth as *dominus et deus*, which would mean that he entertained extreme ideas about his own divinity, but it is unlikely to be true. [with n. 41; my emphasis]".

In his note 41, Naerebout writes: "Dominik 1994, 158-159, Witulski 2010, 71. On all aspects of deification under Domitian: Chabrečková, 2017".

Most recently Frederick G. Naerebout (2022) has discussed the untestified reproach, according to which Domitian had demanded "to be addressed in public as *dominus et deus*" (in his review of R. MARKS and M. MOGETTA 2021) :

"[Egidio] Incelli's paper is the only one to deal with Domitian's policies from an institutional/legal point of view, especially his relationship with the Senate. The title of his paper, 'An Ambiguous Attitude' could also describe his own appraisal of Domitian: a worthy successor to Augustus in outsmarting the Senate, but ever more authoritarian and isolated, and thus digging his own grave. Incelli's analysis is generally finely balanced, but he still buys the black legend about Domitian, most obviously by accepting unquestioningly that he wanted to be addressed in public as \*dominus et deus\* (249). If Domitian was in so many respects a new Augustus, why would he have neglected Augustus' important (life-saving) lesson on postponing divinity until after death (at least in Rome)? [my emphasis]".

But not only some other scholars, who have contributed to the essay volume, edited by Aurora Raimondi Cominesi (*et al.*, *God on Earth: Emperor Domitian*, 2021), follow the untestified reproach that Domitian demanded to be addressed in public as *'dominus et deus'*; this is also true for some scholars, who have written articles for the exhibition-catalogue *Domiziano Imperator. Odio e amore*, edited by Claudio Parisi Presicce (*et al.* 2023). To the statements of those scholars we will now turn.

André Lardinois and Ineke Sluiter, who have written the preface to the essay volume *God on Earth: Emperor Domitian* ("Preface: Anchoring a New Emperor", 2021, 10) write for example:

**"Domitian started 'new traditions' and found legitimation in them. One area in which this is apparent is religion. Some of his innovations in this area were more successful than others. In presenting his role as that of god on earth, he extended the familiar post mortem deification (bestowed, e.g., on Caesar and Augustus) beyond the acceptable and relatable [my emphasis]"**.

Lardinois and Sluiter, although adding footnotes to other subjects in their preface, do not provide references for the most important of their statements, according to which Domitian (allegedly) presented "his role as that of god on earth".

In my opinion, also the editors of the essay volume *God on Earth: Emperor Domitian* (2021), Aurora Raimondi Cominesi, Nathalie de Haan, Eric M. Moormann and Claire Stocks, do not provide a proof for the assertion, which the title of this volume implies, according to which 'Domitian presented his rôle as that of god on earth', to borrow the phrasing of Lardinois and Sluiter (2021, 10).

See Aurora Raimondi Cominesi, Nathalie de Haan, Eric M. Moormann and Claire Stocks ("**Introduction: Domitian, the Neglected Emperor Who Wished to Be God** [my emphasis]", 2021, pp. 13-17).

Raimondi Cominesi, de Haan, Moorman and Stocks (2021, 16) explain in their *Introduction* the design of their essay volume: "**Section Five ('Man and God')** considers how we should respond to an emperor who actively marketed himself as a god on earth. We consider this from three approaches: **Frederick G. Naerebout** focuses on religion under the Flavians, whilst **Diane A. Conlin** investigates how the divine and imperial intersect in the art and architecture of Domitian's reign. Finally, **Antony Augoustakis and Emma Buckley** consider the literary sources on Domitian both during and after his reign, and the effect that this has had upon how the emperor has been received [my emphasis]"

As we have seen above and shall also see below, I myself have likewise studied the articles of those three scholars, mentioned by Raimondi Cominesi, de Haan, Moormann and Stocks (2021, 16), but have come to completely different conclusions concerning their results than they themselves.

1.) **Frederick G. Naerebout** (2021, 155), in his *Contribution to God on Earth: Emperor Domitian*, and even more explicitly so in his article of 2022 (both quoted *verbatim supra*), **regards the assertion, that Domitian had demanded to be addressed in public as *dominus et deus*, as being "unlikely to be true [my emphasis]"**;

2.) **Diane A. Conlin** (2021, 157, quoted in more detail *infra*) **asserts that, after AD 89, "Domitian embraced the responsibilities of his role as sole *imperator* and master (*dominus*) of Rome [my emphasis]"**. - But, in my opinion, she does not provide proofs for this assertion;

3.) **Antony Augoustakis and Emma Buckley** (2021, 165) state: "**it is clear that Domitian's distinctive personality, his comfort with autocracy and his desire to be divine does catalyse new modes of literature of and for the Emperor [my emphasis]"**. In my opinion, this is not true, for two reasons:

a) Lisa Cordes (2014, 341, quoted *verbatim infra*) has demonstrated that these "new modes of literature of and for the Emperor", to use the phrasing of Augoustakis and Buckley (2021, 165), which, in their opinion, were (allegedly) developed under Domitian, had already been applied for the Emperor Nero;

b) Augoustakis and Buckley (2021, 162; cf. p. 165, quoted in detail *verbatim infra*) thus refer to the judgements of Domitian by: "Martial, Statius and the Flavian epicists". But this type of literature cannot possibly prove that Domitian had demanded to be addressed *in public* as *dominus et deus*.

See John Pollini (2012, 452, n. 153, quoted in more detail above): "**Only in nonofficial literature and art was Domitian directly compared to or equated with the gods, following a long-standing private encomiastic tradition ...** [my emphasis]".- To this I will come back below.

The four editors of *God on Earth: Emperor Domitian* have also themselves contributed essays to this volume. But only Nathalie Haan (2021, 118, quoted in more detail *verbatim infra*) refers in her own essay explicitly to the reproach, according to which Domitian wanted to be addressed in public as *dominus et deus*. In her discussion of Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, de Haan (2021, 118) even suggests that Domitian actually *was* '*dominus et deus*': "**he [i.e., Domitian] was no longer the *princeps civium* but rather *dominus et deus*** [my emphasis]". - As said above, this reproach is, in my opinion, unjustified.

Let's now turn to those scholars in detail, who have written contributions for the essay volume *God on Earth : Emperor Domitian* (2021) and who have addressed this subject.

Jane Fejfer ("The Image of the Emperor: Seeing Domitian 2021, 73) writes: "Through biography people have engaged with and made sense of a portrait, today and in the past: does Domitian look like an emperor, or does he come across as a ruler who demanded that his subjects address him as *dominus et deus*?". Cf. Fejfer (2021, 74): "And does his [i.e., Domitian's] portrait image provide evidence which supports the traditional reading of Domitian as an Emperor who radically converted the imperial office from principate to monarchy, and of the Emperor from being *primus inter pares* to *dominus et deus*? Cf. Fejfer (2021, 81): "**A variety of sources, material and written touch upon Domitian's religious innovations and divine ambitions: Statius comments on Domitian's divine look in the *Equus Domitiani*, as discussed above, other authors that he demanded to be addressed as *dominus et deus*.** [with n. 44; my emphasis]".

In her **note 44**, Fejfer writes: "Bönisch-Meyer/Witschel 2014, 121".

But note that Jane Fejfer's statement is in a certain sense misleading, since she leaves out the judgement of those authors: Sophia Bönisch-Meyer and Christian Witschel (2014, 118-121) discuss in great detail the reproach in some ancient literary sources, according to which 'Domitian had demanded to be addressed in public as *dominus et deus*'. But note that, as a result of their analyses, Bönisch-Meyer and Witschel (2014, 121), which Fejfer (2021, 73, n. 44) refers to, *refute* this reproach.

Nathalie De Haan ("Between Magnificence and Misery: Living Conditions in Metropolitan Rome", 2021, 118) writes: "Grand scale building in the public sphere was one thing, but commissioning a palace with the dimensions and opulence in decoration such as Domitian's residence on the Palatine was another. The unconcealed splendour of his private dwelling showed from a far distance already that he was no longer the *princeps civium* but rather *dominus et deus*". - In the Italian version of her article (2023), this passage has not been repeated.

Diana Atnally Conlin ("Master and God: Domitian's Art and Architecture in Rome", 2021, 157) writes: "During his fourteenth consulship and soon after completing his second campaign on the Danube against the Dacians in 89, Domitian embraced the responsibilities of his role as sole *imperator* and master (*dominus*) of Rome".

Antony Augoustakis and Emma Buckley ("Man and God: Literature", 2021, 162) write: "Martial consistently visualizes Domitian's power as divine, the impact of his presence as awe-inspiring, and the effects of his presence as miraculous. The Emperor is featured as the most noble conqueror of Rome's enemies even from a young age (*Ep.* 2.2), a true god (*deum*, 5.3), and on occasion as 'master and god' (*dominus et deus*) [with n. 22]".

In their **note 22**, Augoustakis and Buckley write: "E.g. 5.8.1, 7.34.8, 8.2.6".

Augoustakis and Buckley (2021, 165), after analysing the ancient literary sources that discuss Domitian (at his lifetime and after his assassination), come to the following conclusions, parts of which have already been quoted *verbatim supra*, in Section I. of this *Preamble*:

**"The sharp distinctions between 'Domitian' and 'after Domitian'; the construction of Domitianic silence and slavery, versus post-Domitianic *libertas*; the extent to which imperial policies, imperial panegyric and even imperial self-representation changed very much after Domitian, is still up for debate. Modern scholars, in particular, have cautioned us to remember that the denigration of Domitian in the voices of Martial, Pliny, and Tacitus is at the same time an 'unwriting' of their own previous selves, and a sophisticated self-fashioning for a new era. At the same time, it is clear that Domitian's distinctive personality, his comfort with autocracy and his desire to be divine does catalyse new modes of literature of and for the Emperor. Domitian's own father Vespasian had downplayed imperial associations with divinity, joking on his deathbed, so Suetonius tells us, "Oh dear, I think I'm becoming a god." [with n. 39] Augustus, the first Emperor and exemplary model for all who came after, claimed status only as 'first citizen' (*princeps*), and 'first among equals' (*primus inter pares*). Nero, the last Julio-Claudian Emperor and avowed 'anti-type' for the Flavian dynasty, at least set out (again, as Suetonius tells us) claiming to rule by the watchwords of generosity, mercy, and affability (*comitas*). Such efforts to level citizen and emperor are conspicuously lacking in evocations of Domitian in Martial, Statius and the Flavian epicists. A new vision of imperial power is embodied, one that aims to get close – but not too close - to a new conceptualization of the Emperor as god on earth. [with n. 40; my emphasis]"**

In their **note 39**, Augoustakis and Buckley write: "*Vesp. 23.4: uae, puto deus fio*".

In their **note 40**, they write: "For further reading, see Augoustakis/Buckley [corr.: Buckley]/Stocks 2019, Jones 1992, Leberl 2004, König/Whitton 2018, Ley 2016, Nauta 2002".

**To the above-quoted conclusion of Augoustakis and Buckley (2021, 165): "it is clear that Domitian's distinctive personality, his comfort with autocracy and his desire to be divine does catalyse new modes of literature of and for the Emperor [my emphasis]", I should like to add some comments :**

Neither Raimondi Cominesi, de Haan, Moormann and Stocks (2021, 13-17), or Augoustakis and Buckley (2021, 159-165) discuss the *Contributions* to the following volume: *Nero und Domitian. Mediale Diskurse der Herrscherrepräsentation im Vergleich* [my emphasis], edited by Sophia Bönisch-Meyer, Lisa Cordes, Verena Schulz, Anne Wolfsfeld and Martin Ziegert (2014).

As already mentioned: in this volume, Sophia Bönisch-Meyer and Christian Witschel (2014, 118-121), exactly like Augoustakis and Buckley (2021, 159-165), discuss in great detail the reproach in some ancient literary sources, according to which 'Domitian had demanded to be addressed in public as *dominus et deus*'. As a result of their analyses, Bönisch-Meyer and Witschel (2014, 121) refute this reproach. I myself have followed above the relevant judgement of Bönisch-Meyer and Witschel (2014, 118-121), but realize now that, in the opinion of Augoustakis and Buckley (2021, 165), this entire complex of subjects, "is still up for debate".

Also after reading the account by Augoustakis and Buckley (2021), I maintain my earlier judgement to follow Bönisch-Meyer and Witschel (2014) in this respect. But because Augoustakis and Buckley (2021) have overlooked the volume, edited by Bönisch-Meyer (*et al.* 2014), in my opinion only scholars, who have studied *this entire discussion*, will be able to say, whether or not my relevant judgement is correct.

Let's now turn to my comments on Augoustakis and Buckley (2021, 165) in detail:

1.) Augoustakis and Buckley (2021, 165) mention only Augustus's 'official' image, according to which Augustus claimed nothing more than the status "'first citizen' (*princeps*), and 'first among equals' (*primus inter pares*)".

Contrary to that 'official' image, we shall see below, that already Augustus had been identified with Jupiter; cf. Häuber (2014a, 727 with n. 64; cf. p. 741; p. 738 with n. 102; *ead.* 2017, 343 with n. 105, with references and discussion). This is, by the way, also true for Vespasian (cf. his coins here **Figs. 112; 113**, that will be discussed below). As I have only realized now, also Ovid (*Tr.* 3.1.33–8) identified Augustus with Jupiter; cf. Wiseman (2022, 9 with n. 42, mentioned again below and quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section I.). Cf. also *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix II.a*).

2.) Augoustakis and Buckley (2021, 165) mention only Nero's 'official' image, according to which Nero "at least set out ... claiming to rule by the watchwords of generosity, mercy, and affability (*comitas*). Such efforts to level citizen and emperor are conspicuously lacking in evocations of Domitian in Martial, Statius and the Flavian epicists".

**In my opinion, the following statement by Augoustakis and Buckley (2021, 165) is not true: "it is clear that Domitian's distinctive personality, his comfort with autocracy and his desire to be divine does catalyze new modes of literature of and for the Emperor [my emphasis]". And that for the following reason.**

In the volume, edited by Bönisch-Meyer (*et al.* 2014), Lisa Cordes has written the following contribution ("*Preferred Readings: von Seneca bis Statius*"), in which she compares in detail the panegyric texts that were written under Nero with those, written under Domitian.

From Cordes's analyses emerge that all the characteristics, which, according to Augoustakis and Buckley (2021, 165) have (allegedly) only been invented for the imperial panegyric under Domitian, had already been applied in the imperial panegyric under Nero.

I, therefore, repeat here again, what was written above, for Section II. of this *Preamble*, at *So what is still missing in the analysis of Domitian's self-advertisement, as asserted above? We need, in my opinion, to add Domitian's relationship with the gods and his (only alleged?) belief to be himself divine:*

"Lisa Cordes (2014, 341) begins her Section 1. on panegyric texts, which were written to praise Nero and Domitian, as follows:

#### **"1. Die Ambivalenz des Herrscherlobes**

**In der literarischen Panegyrik für Nero und Domitian spielt das Motiv der Erweiterung und Transgression von Grenzen eine zentrale Rolle. Die Dichter preisen die Entfaltung einer nie dagewesenen Pracht in der Bautätigkeit und im Euergetismus, sie beschreiben die Imposanz der Spektakel bei Spielen und Volksfesten und verwischen oder negieren bei der Darstellung des Herrschers die Grenzen zwischen Mensch und Gott. So werden Kolossalität und Glanz in der panegyrischen Dichtung ebenso wie in der bildenden Kunst wichtige ästhetische Kategorien; [with n. 1] die Monumentalisierung des beschriebenen Gegenstandes und die Inszenierung der Göttlichkeit des Kaisers sind zentrale Gestaltungsprinzipien des neronischen und domitianischen Herrscherlobes [my emphasis]".**

In her **note 1**, Cordes writes: "Cancik (1965), (1990)".

Let's now turn to the scholars, who have written *Contributions* for the exhibition-catalogue *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore* (2023), and who have likewise addressed the reproach in some ancient literary sources, according to which Domitian had demanded to be addressed in public as *dominus et deus*.

The editors of this catalogue, Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi and Maria Paola Del Moro, mention in one of the "Introduzioni" to this volume ("*Domiziano imperatore. Odio e amore*", 2023, 9)

the reproach that Domitian had demanded to be addressed in public as *dominus et deus* (and several other reproaches against Domitian, to which I will come back below, in Section III. of this *Preamble*; at point 3.):

"Noto per la severa attività legislativa in campo amministrativo, economico, sociale e religioso e allo stesso tempo tacciato dalla storiografia senatoria di autoaffermazione come *dominus et deus* e "dio sulla terra" e dipinto dalla stessa come sospettoso e crudele, Domiziano raggiunse Gaio (Caligola) e Nerone come *exemplum* del pessimo imperatore, galleria in seguito ulteriormente arricchita da personaggi anch'essi oltremodo esemplari quali Commodo ed Eliogabalo".

Serena Guglielmi (2023, 25 with n. 3) still follows this reproach: "... lui [*i.e.*, Domitian] che amava essere chiamato "signore e dio"', quoting in her **note 3**: "Cass. Dio 67,4,7; Suet., *Dom.* 12,5".

Note also that two more authors, who have contributed essays to the exhibition-catalogue *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore* (2023), still take for granted that "Domitian wanted to be addressed in public as '*dominus et deus*', to borrow the phrasing of Frederick G. Naerebout (2022).

See Roberta Alteri ("La reggia del *Dominus et Deus* sul Palatino: cenni sul linguaggio architettonico", 2023, 29), who writes: "Il palazzo di Domiziano si configurava pertanto come un grandioso complesso architettonico nel cuore dell'*Urbs*, degno di un *dominus et deus*, che si sviluppava verticalmente fino a 50 metri di altezza ed era percepito dai suoi abitanti "par domus est caelo" (Mart. 8, 36, 12)". See also Paolo Vigliarolo ("Domiziano *Dominus, Deus* e *agonothètes*: il rapporto dell'imperatore con le arti", 2023), who mentions '*Dominus et Deus*' in the title of his essay, but without referring to it in his text.

*As we have seen above, the reproach that Domitian had demanded to be addressed in public as 'dominus et deus' has, in my opinion, turned out to be unfounded.*

*Nevertheless Domitian had obviously transgressed the limits of what Romans accepted as 'normal' behaviour of one of their emperors - and that, in my opinion, not by chance concerning the way how he presented himself in relation to the gods and to the divine*

To this topic refer Sophia Bönisch-Meyer, Lisa Cordes, Verena Schulz and Anne Wolfsfeld (2014, 448) in their article: "Schlussfolgerungen: Herrscherrepräsentation in synchroner und diachroner Perspektive":

"Schließlich unterliegen auch die Elemente in Domitians Repräsentation, die auf seine Göttlichkeit verweisen, einer negativen Verformung. Denn sie werden von Plinius im *Panegyricus* als inhaltslos dechiffriert und als *Hybris* gewertet (S. 359-361 [referring to the article by L. CORDES]). Das ist insofern bemerkenswert, als in Münzen und Inschriften einige für Domitian zum ersten Mal genutzte Elemente der Repräsentation, die der Sakralisierung des Kaisers dienen, gerade unter Trajan weiterhin präsent sind (S. 62, 70 [referring in both cases to the article by R. WOLTERS and M. ZIEGERT], 140 [referring to the article by S. BÖNISCH-MEYER and C. WITSCHHEL]) [my emphasis]". To one of Domitian's coin-types, discussed by Reinhard Wolters and Martin Ziegert (2014, 62, Abb. 20), I will come back below in Section III. of this *Preamble*; at point 5.).

To these statements by the above-quoted scholars can be added some further observations, made in other published accounts, for example concerning the question, whether or not Domitian had assimilated himself to Jupiter, or had been assimilated by others to the god. Besides, it is generally assumed that, since Augustus, the Roman emperors had :

- 1.) identified themselves with Iuppiter, and/ or had -
- 2.) been identified with Jupiter by others, and that those emperors had -
- 3.) regarded themselves as sons of Jupiter.

For the second assumption, the identification of Augustus and other Roman emperors with Jupiter; cf. Häuber (2014a, 727 with n. 64; cf. p. 741; p. 738 with n. 102; *ead.* 2017, 343 with n. 105, with references and discussion). See also Ovid (*Tr.* 3.1.33–8), who identifies Augustus with Jupiter; cf. Wiseman (2022, 9 with n. 42, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section I.). Cf. also *infra*, at *Appendix II.a*).

The third assumption rests on the 'idea of divine sonship', as Henry Stuart Jones (1926) wrote in his discussion of the bust of Commodus as Hercules Romanus in the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (which belongs to the Musei Capitolini), and this in its turn was *the* prerequisite for the emperor in question to be himself deified after his death:

**"This assimilation to Jupiter, which is the essential characteristic of the dogma of Imperial deification, rests on the idea of divine sonship, which had been latent in the cult of the ruler at least since Alexander [my emphasis]".** Cf. Häuber (2014a, 717 with n. 250, quoting: "H. STUART JONES, *Pal. Cons.* [1926], p. 139, Ort. Lam. 20: 'Bust of Commodus', pl. 48".

Add to the relevant results obtained by Wolters and Ziegert (2014, 62), and Bönisch-Meyer and Christian Witschel (2014, 147), also Klaus Stemmer (1971, 577, 579-580), whose article they themselves have not discussed. Stemmer has stressed the fact that Domitian had -

- a) a close relationship with Jupiter, and -
- b) that Domitian (in K. STEMMER's opinion according to his own wishes) had also undoubtedly been identified with Jupiter, discussing the relevant works of the Flavian poets for both assertions in detail.

To this point I will come back below, when discussing Vespasian's *sestertius* (cf. here **Figs. 112; 113**).

Also Licia Luschi (2015, 14) writes: "... **Domiziano, a cui i poeti di corte (Stazio, Marziale) alludono come ad un Giove terrestre** [my emphasis]".

Caroline Vout ("Portraiture and Memory Sanctions [of Domitian]", 2021, 176-177 with n. 17) mentions also the works of the Flavian poets, referred to by Stemmer (1971) and Luschi (2015), in which Domitian had been "**cast as Jupiter's earthly equivalent**", as she writes:

"Elsewhere, in Asia Minor, **someone saw fit to scratch Domitian's face, name and title off a bronze coin**, leaving his wife Domitia, who had been eyeball to eyeball with him, to stare into the abyss. **On the reverse [illustrated as her Fig. 2], a seated Zeus holding a sceptre and sacrificial dish reminds us of the power he [i.e., Domitian] used to wield: whether on coins or in the [page 177] works of the Flavian poets, he had been cast as Jupiter's earthly equivalent (fig. 2).** [with n. 17]".

In her **note 17**, Vout writes: "Varner 1995, 203 and 2004, 115, and, on Domitian's affiliation with Jupiter, Jones 1992, 99-100". For illustrations of the coin, mentioned by Vout, with Domitian's erased portrait, and of another copy of the same coin-type, with his portrait opposite Domitia; cf. *Cat. Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore* (2023, 23, *opere* nos. 14 and 13).

Concerning this point, also Claudio Parisi Presicce and Eloisa Dodero (2023, 67 with n. 33) have come to the same conclusion as Klaus Stemmer (1971), Licia Luschi (2015), and Caroline Vout (2021): "... **Giove, con cui, Domiziano amava identificarsi** [my emphasis]", quoting in their **note 33**: "Mart. 9,39,1; 9, 91".

Also Eugenio La Rocca (in: E. La ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 131) has come to the same conclusion as Stemmer (1971), Luschi (2015), Vout (2021), and Parisi Presicce and Dodero (2023): "**Per poter fondare una dinastia imperiale, Domiziano poteva contare sia sul suo costante riferimento a Giove, di cui si presentava come emissario in terra** [with n. 53] ... [my emphasis]".



In his note 53, La Rocca writes: "Fishwick 2009, pp. 344-347; Escámez De Vera 2016, pp. 5-6, 67-87. Per la monetazione, vd. [vedi] nota 18".

In addition to this, Caroline Vout (2021, 178) provides further support for Klaus Stemmer's hypothesis that the colossal cuirassed marble statue, of which the fragment here **Fig. 5** survives, represented 'Domitian as Iuppiter': "Ruling for just over a year, **the aged emperor [Nerva]** barely had time to go it alone .... Unpopular with the military, his best chance was for change within continuity, **even if this meant having his portrait put onto a Jupiter body of the kind that Domitian had so controversially coveted.** [with n. 26]".

In her **note 26**, Vout writes: "Varner 2004, 115-117".

Also Olivier Hekster (2021, 24) is interested in the subject discussed here. He writes: "**Roman emperors were responsible for a proper relationship with the divine and could be supported by gods. Augustus had highlighted his special relationship with Apollo.** Nero did the same, though on a larger and perhaps more personalised scale [my emphasis]".

For 'the special relationship, which Augustus had with Apollo', to borrow Hekster's (2021, 24) phrasing; cf. now Jens Fischer ("Augustus und Apollon. Notizen zu den Hintergründen einer 'göttlichen' Beziehung", 2020). Fischer (2020, 133 with n. 18) convincingly explains this 'special relationship' with the fact that Octavian had been since 37 BC *quindecimvir*, that is to say, a *priest of Apollo* (!).

But precisely concerning the point 'that they could be supported by gods', to borrow Hekster's (2021, 24) phrasing, all Roman emperors since Augustus had a fundamental problem. As Rose Mary Sheldon has observed, also the members of the Senate, with many of whom for example Domitian should have a very bad relationship, believed that 'they were supported by gods'.

Sheldon (2018, 173) writes about the resulting struggle of the senators with the emperors: "**They [i.e., the senators] believed that their fathers and grand-fathers had put together an empire by the valor of their arms and the favor of the gods and that the empire had been taken away from them by a tyrant [i.e., the emperor] who now maintained his power with the help of their social inferiors** [my emphasis]".

This passage will be quoted in more detail *infra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section; *III.*; at point 3.).

Let's, therefore, again turn to the games called *Capitolia*, inaugurated by Domitian in honour of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus - because Domitian had 'a special relationship with this god', to borrow again Hekster's (2021, 24) phrasing, or because 'Domitian used to present himself as Jupiter's agent on earth', as La Rocca (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPULOS 2023, 131) suggests, or, according to Vout (2021, 177): 'as Jupiter's earthly equivalent, as he had been presented'.

As was already mentioned above, Alexander Heinemann (2014) discusses Domitian's *Capitolia* in detail; see also Carole E. Newlands (2014, 321-323) and Onno van Nijf, Robin van Vliet and Caroline van Toor ("Domitian and the Capitolia", 2021).

Van Nijf, van Vliet and van Toor (2021, 125) comment on those games as follows: "... **one of the most remarkable initiatives of Domitian: the institution in 86 of the *Capitolia*, a Greek-style contest with athletic, musical, equestrian and literary competitions** ... [my emphasis]".

Newlands (2014), exactly like all the other contributors to the volume, edited by Bönisch-Meyer *et al.* (2014), analyses the fact that Domitian was constantly compared with Nero. Concerning the subject, in which she herself is interested in, namely Domitian's own literary production, there are obviously two 'myths': according to one group of ancient authors, Nero was by far the better poet than Domitian, other ancient authors assert instead that Domitian's epic texts were excellent (and that at the expense of Nero). Newlands does not decide herself, which one of these 'myths' should be true.

Considering the literary *agon* of Domitian's *Capitolia*, and that of the *Quinquatria Minervae* (cf. *infra*), of course also discussed by Newlands (2014) herself, there can, in my opinion, be no doubt that Domitian had a personal interest in this subject. - To this question I will come back below, when discussing the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's Obelisk.

Claire Stocks (2021, 92) writes concerning this controversy: "Certainly Domitian took a keen interest in the literary production of his day, evidenced not only through the authorial aspirations of his youth, but from his continued interest in poetry and the arts throughout his time as Emperor, which included the institution of several literary competitions as part of his *Capitolia* games in Rome and also the Alban Games in honour of Minerva, which were held annually at his villa in the Alban Hills. [with n. 6, providing references]"

For the *Quinquatria Minervae*, celebrated by Domitian at his *Albanum*, as well as the observation that Domitian emulated the Attic hero and king Theseus and modeled his *Albanum* on the Acropolis of Athens, see also Licia Luschi (2015, 13 n. 115, p. 14 n. 116, page 197).

Cf. *infra*, at Section III. of this *Preamble*; at point 4.); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*) *Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the Templum Pacis, and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum.*

**To conclude this point. Because of what was said above, Stemmer (1971, 579-580), in my opinion, convincingly suggests that in Domitian's colossal portrait-statue from the Palatine (cf. here Fig. 5), the fact that the emperor's cuirass is decorated with a very large gorgoneion clearly indicates that Domitian is here equated with Jupiter.**

Apropos, 'the meaning of wearing the *gorgoneion*': in AD 71, Vespasian issued two *sestertii* (here **Figs. 113; 112**), on both of which his naked portrait bust is decorated with an *aegis* in a way that it seems to be part of his own body. By means of this iconography, Vespasian has clearly been equated with Jupiter.

**Fig. 113. *Sestertius* of Vespasian, AE, Rome, AD 71. On the obverse we see a naked portrait bust of Vespasian, as if he were a god or a dead hero, crowned with a laurel wreath like a *triumphator*, in addition to this, we see Jupiter's *aegis* on Vespasian's chest. By means of his *aegis*, Vespasian is equated with Jupiter, and that in a very peculiar iconography. Vespasian is wearing Jupiter's *aegis* similarly as Minerva does on Frieze A of the Cancelleria Reliefs (cf. here Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 5), but without attaching it to a garment or a cuirass, it rather seems, as if the *aegis* were part of his own body. On the reverse is represented the Temple of Isis at the Iseum Campense in Rome. As L. Bricault and R. Veymiers (2018, 142) were able to demonstrate, this is the Temple of Isis, commissioned by Vespasian. Cf. M.J. Versluys *et al.* (2018, 158-159). © Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.**

For a discussion of the coins here **Figs. 112 and 113**; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II.a*).

**Fig. 112. *Sestertius*, issued by Vespasian in AD 71, Rome. With the *Dea Roma* on the reverse, seated on Rome's 'seven hills', thus referring to the *Septimontium* festival, which Vespasian had revived. Cf. A. Fraschetti ("Montes", in: *LTUR* III (1996) 285, Fig. 186: "Sesterzio di Vespasiano del 71 d. C. *RIC* II, 69 N. 442"). From: The British Museum. Obverse: IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG P M T P P P COS III; reverse: S C ROMA; *RIC* 2.1, 108, p. 67: "Roma seated right on the seven hills; to left wolf and twins; to right, River Tiber". © The Trustees of the British Museum.**  
**Online at: <[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1872-0709-477](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1872-0709-477)> [last visit: 7-V-2023].**

For a discussion of the coin here **Fig. 112**; cf. also below, in Chapter *V.1.i.2*).

Also Hadrian did not feel 'only' like the 'son of Mars' - as any one of his Roman soldiers - the iconography of his cuirassed portrait-statue from Hierapydna in Crete (here **Fig. 29**) even assimilates Hadrian to the god.

According to Michaela Fuchs (2014, 129-130 with ns. 40-44, Fig. 7 [cf. here **Fig. 129**]) this is proven by coins, issued by the emperor, which show Hadrian in the pose of Mars Ultor, and this pose is exactly the same as that of this portrait-statue (here **Fig. 29**). In her discussion of Hadrian's cuirassed statues, dedicated, in her opinion, to Hadrian after his victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt (*inter alia* here **Fig. 29**), Michaela Fuchs (2014, 130), therefore, speaks of an "Angleichung" (assimilation) of the emperor to Mars. This fact has already been observed by other scholars in different contexts; cf. Michaela Fuchs (2014, 130, n. 44).

For a discussion; cf. below, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here **Fig. 29**).

Eugenio La Rocca has suggested a similar, and likewise very convincing hypothesis concerning the colossal portrait of Constantine the Great in the cortile of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (cf. here **Fig. 11**, which was originally a portrait of Hadrian). **La Rocca writes that, because Constantine's portrait was modelled on a statue-type of Jupiter, the emperor here was not only meant as "commandante vincitore", but also as "deus praesens** [my emphasis]".

Cf. La Rocca (2000, 25), followed by Claudio Parisi Presicce (2005, 147; *id.* 2006b, both quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*); and at *Appendix IV.c.2.*). Cf. also *infra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**) ...; at Part I. *The statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori* (cf. here **Fig. 11**), the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524; cf. here **Fig. 29.1**), and the cult-statue of *Divus Vespasianus* in the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great).

If Domitian actually felt *himself* that way, and/ or provided a colossal cuirassed statue of Domitian, like here **Fig. 5** could have been understood by himself or by his contemporaries as 'Domitian as Jupiter', we have a problem though: if so, Domitian himself, or any contemporary, seems not to have had any problems with Domitian's claims: **a**) to be the *son* of Minerva, and **b**) to be at the same time Minerva's *father*, Jupiter (!).

Ad **a**); cf. *infra*, at **n. 240**, in Chapter *I.2.*); and Häuber (2014a, 792-798: "**B32.**) The *Arcus ad Isis* and the goddess Minerva-Isis worshipped by Domitian").

Anne Wolfsfeld (2014, 200), in her discussion of Domitian's cuirassed statues, does not analyse the possible meanings of the very elaborate iconographies of the relief decorations of such cuirasses. For example Claudio Parisi Presicce's (2000) findings concerning the two headless cuirassed statues of Flavian emperors at the Museo Chiaramonti in the Musei Vaticani, one of which (here **Fig. 6, right**) may have been a portrait of Domitian.

For a discussion of those sculptures; cf. *infra*, at *The second Contribution by Claudia Valeri on the two headless cuirassed statues of Flavian emperors at the Museo Chiaramonti* (*inv. nos. 1250; 1254*; cf. here **Fig. 6, left and right**); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.*).

As stated in the title of *Appendix IV.c.2.*), and later in the same *Chapter* in a commentary on this title:  
'... Exactly like the statue of the *ficus Ruminalis* on the *Anaglypha Hadriani* (cf. here **Figs. 21-22.**), the *lupa* and the twins on those cuirasses [cf. *inter alia* here **Fig. 6, right**, a possible portrait of Domitian] symbolize Rome's claim to eternal power and divine mission, and that it was the task of the Roman emperor to fulfill this obligation (cf. Claudio Parisi Presicce 2000, 28, 29). - To the just-quoted claim I will come back below, in Section *III.* of this *Preamble*; at point 5.)

This statement in the title of *Appendix IV.c.2.*) was deliberately formulated this way, because *this* was also one of the foremost obligations of the Egyptian Pharaoh (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix. II.c*)'.

*Also Sheldon (2023, in press) addresses Domitian's relationship with the divine by analysing his promotion of the imperial cult all over the Roman Empire. She suggests that Domitian needed this for his claim to imperial legitimacy. Domitian's promotion of the imperial cult explains his bad relationship with the Senate. Since I do not address this fact in my Study, I quote here Sheldon's relevant observations verbatim*

Like all other scholars, who have been discussed in this II. Section of Chapter Preamble so far, also Sheldon addresses the question, whether or not Domitian believed to possess a divine nature, which, according to her, was not the case.

Sheldon herself concentrates on a different fact, namely that Domitian used the imperial cult, comprising the cults of *Divus Vespasianus* and *Divus Titus*, to legitimize his own reign as emperor.

Sheldon (*Guarding the Caesars. Roman Internal Security under the Flavian Dynasty*, 2023, in press; Chapter 7; Section: "Imperial Cult") writes:

**"Part of the Senate's disdain for the Flavians concerned their lack of heralded ancestry.** Vespasian could not change his lineage or rewrite his family history ...

Domitian now had two deified emperors in his family tree and could compensate for his family's lack of nobility by promoting their achievements and honoring them with religious piety ... **By highlighting the connection to his father and brother, he promoted the Flavian family and his own imperial credentials.** [with n. 94] **Domitian used the imperial cult to lay claim to imperial legitimacy, despite the disregard of many in the Senate.** [with n. 95] ...

**Domitian did not institute a new role for the imperial cult.** He simply connected it to his own imperial fortune. **He used it and emphasized it in ways that reflected his own unique position as an emperor who was the son of an emperor and a brother of an emperor seeking the legitimacy denied him by the old vanguard within the Senate.** The imperial cult included building projects, statues, rituals, eulogy, highly emotional language, social constructs, and the culture of the respective provinces which made it an ideal conduit to appeal for, and receiving, expressions of loyalty. [with n. 101]

As Pontifex Maximus, he [*i.e.*, Domitian] had general oversight of the Roman state religion and his attention to religion apparently surpassed the previous Flavians. He took his duties seriously and seems to have performed them conscientiously. [with n. 102] **His interest in religion was far more than casual politics. The imperial cult was a means of underlying power for all emperors** [with n. 103]. **The imperial cult implied the divine right to rule.** Preservation of personal authority and preservation of the state were closely intertwined, and outward appearance was everything. Deification and worship of dead ancestors was an accepted procedure with an established history, and Domitian was just following the pattern. **Scott believed that Domitian was responsible for the establishment of the Flavian cult throughout the Roman world, and that worship was kept going until the close of the second century in spite of the fact that Domitian suffered *damnatio memoriae*.** [with n. 104] The Flavian *gens* had its own temple in Rome and its own cult with priests to observe worship. There is considerable epigraphic evidence for the activities of the priests of the Flavian cult. [with n. 105] ...

**Scholars have actually debated whether he [*i.e.*, Domitian] believed in himself as divine. Certainly, he did not believe he was a living god, son of Minerva, associate of Jupiter.** [with n. 110] **These were roles he played to augment his position and, as some have suggested, to bolster his rather weak ego. Although Vespasian had used the same mechanism to shore up his power, no one ever accused him of believing in his own divinity. There is no reason to believe Domitian did, either, and those who argue that he did would also have to seriously discuss his sanity. His devotion to Minerva was no more sincere than Caesar's to Venus ...**

Instead, he [*i.e.*, Domitian] determined to renew respect for the Principate and raise the office to the glorious heights achieved under Augustus. The imperial cult helped him toward his goal. [with n. 111] **Domitian's attention to the Flavian family most certainly included the intention of raising his own status as emperor, but his approach to elevating his own status came through his relationship to his family and his elevating them through the cult rather than on direct claims of deity for himself.** [with n. 112]

**This was a masterstroke. By using the imperial cult as a means to secure a recognized legitimacy, Domitian was able to place the Senate in a dilemma. Since the cult was attached in practice to the local religions throughout the empire and to the goddess Roma herself, at least in theory, the Senate could not disregard it. By emphasizing the imperial cult, and the Flavian cult in particular, Domitian utilized all the emotion of political loyalty and religious fervor that even the Senate could not suppress. The imperial cult emphasized Domitian and limited the gravity and influence of the Senate. [with n. 113] The imperial cult was, therefore, less of a statement about the relationship of emperors and gods than it was an expression of the relationship between the people of the empire and the current emperor. There need not be a choice between religion and politics. It was both. [with n. 114; my emphasis]"**.

To Rose Mary Sheldon's observations concerning Domitian's bad relationship with the Senate, I will come back below, in Section III. of this *Preamble*; at point 3.).

In her **note 94**, Sheldon writes: "Rhodes (2014), 85-86".

In her **note 95**, she writes: "Rhodes (2014), 86".

In her **note 101**, she writes: "Rhodes (2014), 87-88. Stewart (1994), 309 has shown how Juvenal's *Satires* can be used as important evidence for the function of traditional ritual as part of the rhetoric for legitimizing imperial power".

In her **note 102**, she writes: "Murison (1999), 219; Scott (1975), 61; Rhodes (2014), 88-89".

In her **note 103**, she writes: "See Sheldon (2018), 41; Lendon (1997), 10 on the part the cult played in helping the emperor to rule. On the cult under the Flavians, see Fishwick (2009), 344-347. On the cult under Domitian, see Chabrečková (2017), *passim*; Fernandez Uriel (2016), 97-101".

In her **note 104**, she writes: "**The cult included most members of the Flavian gens including *Diva Domitilla* Vespasian's daughter: *ILS 6692* and *Julia: ILS 6487* [my emphasis]"**.

In her **note 105**, she writes: "Epigraphical evidence from the empire: Scott (1936), 79-82. The very abundance of inscriptions causes problems with terminology. There were *sodales Flaviales*, *sodales Flaviales Titiales* and *seviri Flaviales*. It is not known whether these represented successive amalgamations of the college of priests as first Vespasian and then Titus were deified or whether they were different colleges all observing worship at the same time".

In her **note 110**, she writes: "On Vespasian's use of the imperial cult, see Waters (1969), 397; Viscusi (1973), 91. Inhabitants of the eastern provinces of the empire were accustomed to ruler worship and were perfectly willing to subscribe to the worship of a living Roman emperor. For those who believe Domitian was aiming at a divine monarchy, see Boyle (2003a [*i.e.*, here A.J. BOYLE 2003]), 20 and Newlands (2014), 499-522".

In her **note 111**, she writes: "Rhodes (2014), 100".

In her **note 112**, she writes: "Rhodes (2014), 101".

In her **note 113**, she writes: "Rhodes (2014), 121".

In her **note 114**, she writes: "See Rhodes (2014), 196-97 discussing the theories of Friesen (1993)".

For a discussion of Rose Mary Sheldon's statement in her above-quoted **note 104**, that: "The cult [of the *gens Flavia*] included most members of the Flavian gens including *Diva Domitilla* Vespasian's daughter"; cf. *infra*, at *Chapter IV.1.1.h*).

*The design of the volume, edited by Sophia Bönisch-Meyer, Lisa Cordes, Verena Schulz, Anne Wolfsfeld and Martin Ziegert (2014)*

The volume: *Nero und Domitian. Mediale Diskurse der Herrscherrepräsentation im Vergleich* (2014), edited by Sophia Bönisch-Meyer, Lisa Cordes, Verena Schulz, Anne Wolfsfeld and Martin Ziegert, from which some contributions have been discussed so far in this *Section 'II. Conclusions'* of this *Preamble* - and also elsewhere in this *Study* - contains the results of several interdisciplinary research projects and pertaining conferences. The contributions to this volume were written by 15 authors, who are interested in many subjects that are also discussed in this *Study*, although their general focus is very different from my own.

Sophia Bönisch-Meyer, Lisa Cordes, Verena Schulz and Anne Wolfsfeld (2014, 437) define in the final Chapter: "Schlussfolgerungen: Herrscherrepräsentation in synchroner und diachroner Perspektive" the focus of their research, and mention the fields, from which the contributors to their book come:

"Abschließend soll nun versucht werden, den eingangs (15-18) angesprochenen Kommunikationsprozess zwischen Princeps und Untertanen, der sich in der Repräsentation zeigt, an prägnanten Beispielen ausgehend von den Ergebnissen der Einzelstudien greifbarer zu machen. **Da dazu eine Betrachtung dieser Repräsentation in allen fassbaren medialen Formen nötig ist**, sollen nun die Untersuchungen aus der **Archäologie, Alten Geschichte, Numismatik, Epigraphik, Philologie und Theologie** zusammengeführt werden [my emphasis]".

### *The design of my own Study on Domitian published here*

My aim, in this *Study*, was to better understand certain aspects concerning Domitian's life, his achievements and wars, as well as the artefacts and buildings commissioned by Domitian. In order to reach this aim I have, in addition to studying Domitian himself, also concentrated on the life, portraits, achievements and wars of other emperors, as well as on artefacts and buildings commissioned by those emperors. To attain the overall goal of documenting and discussing all this in this *Study*, I have asked other scholars for advice, and seventeen of them have even written (in most cases very short) *Contributions* to this book.

This advice and the written contributions came from scholars of the following fields: **Ancient History, Art History, Classical Archaeology, Egyptology, Geography, History of Architecture, Latin Epigraphy, Numismatics, Military History, Philology, Theology and History of (‘pagan’) Religions.**

I myself, being by training a geographer and a classical archaeologist, have added cataster-based digital maps of Rome, in which the buildings, discussed in this *Study*, are marked. Those maps have been created in close cooperation with my husband, the geographer Franz Xaver Schütz, who has also contributed one of his own maps (here **Fig. 77**). Creating these maps, we have used methods of applied Geographic Information Science (GIS).

There is, therefore, a great difference between the design of my own *Study* on Domitian and the concept of those, whose work has resulted in the volume, edited by Bönisch-Meyer *et al.* (2014): I am referring here to those scholars, who decided, from which disciplines should be asked scholars to collaborate in the relevant research projects, and who should publish articles in this book.

**Contrary to them, I myself have regarded from the beginning of my research on Domitian the collaboration with scholars specializing in the fields Egyptology and geography as indispensable.**

**Although I had not anticipated this myself, I was lucky enough to receive, in addition to this, the competent relevant advice of the military historian Rose Mary Sheldon, to whom this *Study* is dedicated.**

With the ‘collaboration with Egyptologists’, I refer to the discussions about subjects concerning this field in Egypt, the Near East and in Rome with Rafeed El-Sayed and Konstantin Lakomy, with Nicola Barbagli, Alessandro Roccati, Emanuele M. Ciampini and Friedhelm Hoffmann (here named in chronological order since I have collaborated with them), that were decisive for this *Study*. I am especially grateful to all of them for alerting me to, and even providing me with publications, and that they took the time to read my own relevant texts that are published in this *Study*, and that they corrected them. With the ‘collaboration with a scholar specializing in geography’, I refer, as already mentioned, to the discussions about the geography of Rome and of the entire Roman Empire with the geographer Franz Xaver Schütz that were of equal importance to this *Study*, and to my maps that accompany this book, which were created in close cooperation with him.

Note also that Bönisch-Meyer *et al.* (2014, 437), in the above-quoted passage, write themselves explicitly that, in their efforts to analyse Nero's and Domitian's self-representations they have regarded it as necessary to consider 'all available medial forms' in their relevant reasoning ("Da dazu eine Betrachtung dieser Repräsentation in allen fassbaren medialen Formen nötig ist [my emphasis]").

We have heard above of Lisa Cordes's (2014, 355-356) analyses of panegyric texts, written by other authors in order to praise Domitian's deeds and achievements as emperor, and in which Domitian was, for example, referred to by Statius (*Silvae* 1,6,27) as "*Iuppiter noster*" ('our Jupiter'). We have also learned from Carole E. Newlands (2014, 334 with n. 51) that, although Domitian had been an epic poet himself, only one single quotation from one of his own works is known.

This means that the authors of the volume, edited by Bönisch-Meyer (*et al.* 2014, 437) have not considered any texts in their reasonings that had been written on the subjects they are interested in by Domitian himself. This is, by the way, also true for the authors, who have contributed to the volume, edited by Aurora Raimondi Cominesi (*et al.* 2021), as well as for the authors, who have contributed to the exhibition-catalogue *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore*, edited by Claudio Parisi Presicce (*et al.* 2023).

The assertion that 'only one single quotation from one of Domitian's own works is known' is obviously true for Domitian's Latin (and Greek?) texts. But it is not true for texts, either written, or at least closely supervised by Domitian himself, but 'published' in Egyptian, and at the same time 'translated' into pharaonic phraseology by those Egyptians, with whom Domitian collaborated in the relevant project.

Considering the topic 'Domitian's relationship with the divine', which is discussed in this final part of this Section II. *Conclusions* of this *Preamble*, I anticipate in the following a passage that was written for below, Chapter VI.3., because that defines the important contribution of the field Egyptology to this topic and, by implication, to my entire *Study* on Domitian. And that for the reason that the content of the Egyptian texts on Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) was defined by Domitian himself:

*It is in these inscription on Domitian's obelisk (cf here Fig. 28),  
and only there,  
where Domitian himself claims his divine origin and nature*

'In his text, which the Egyptologist Emanuele Marcello Ciampini was kind enough to write for this *Study* (cf. below, *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini: La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*), we learn that there is not only in one section of the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk a reference to the legitimization of Domitian's reign and to his own divine nature - as I, being not an Egyptologist myself, had suspected (cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.) - but in fact in three different passages of those inscriptions'.

Cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV. Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Fig. 2) and the Obeliscus Pamphilius/ Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28); at Chapter IV.1. A letter by Giandomenico Spinola concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1; 2) and the Obeliscus Pamphilius/ Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28); below, at Chapter VI.3. Summary of my own hypotheses concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs presented in this *Study*; Addition: My own tentative suggestion, to which monument or building the Cancellaria Reliefs may have belonged, and a discussion of their possible date; and below, at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini : La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*.

Ciampini (at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini: La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*) has analysed the above-mentioned three Egyptian text passages on Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28).

In the following, I quote from the *Introductory remarks* of Ciampini's first *Contribution* to this volume, as well as from his *Conclusions*: especially interesting in the context discussed here is the fact that in these three Egyptian text passages on Domitian's obelisk Domitian's "*natura divina*" is claimed.

**And because Ciampini also states that the "cancellaria domiziana" was responsible for the content of the inscriptions on Domitian's obelisk, we can be sure that Domitian himself, supported by his Egyptian consultants, had written the texts that appear on his obelisk.**

**But that is not all. According to Ciampini, these hieroglyphic texts are therefore so remarkable because they 'translate' Domitian's self-advertisement and the propaganda concerning his own reign into the phraseology of classical pharaonic texts, and that formulated in Egyptian and in a way that, from the perspective of philology, the results look like texts from the Pharaonic period. Ciampini even defines Domitian's Egyptian consultants as "'faraonicamente' ineccepibile" ('impeccable what their ability is concerned to create 'pharaonic' texts) (!).**

To Ciampini's surprising results, I allow myself to add something else: If anything can prove that Domitian was indeed himself interested in writing texts, then this superb quality of the hieroglyphic texts of his obelisk. Which is, by the way, paired by the equally excellent workmanship of the sculptural execution of Domitian's obelisk.

**Emanuele M. Ciampini writes in his *Introductory remarks* :**

"Nello studio del complesso rapporto tra Roma e l'Egitto, il profilo di Domiziano offre numerosi spunti di riflessione: esponente dell'ultima 'dinastia' imperiale (intesa come sequenza di Imperatori legati tra loro da vincoli di parentela), favorì in modo significativo la diffusione di culti e di modelli egizi nell'Urbe. Di questo particolare rapporto ci possono dare testimonianza anche le fonti epigrafiche in lingua egizia, prodotte a Roma con l'intento di cementare questo rapporto esclusivo tra la famiglia imperiale e la cultura faraonica [with n. 1]; la ragione di questo legame può trovarsi in un chiaro intento politico: legittimare la dinastia, e nel caso particolare Domiziano, attribuendogli una natura divina che gli deriva dall'essere discendente diretto degli dei [*i.e.*, of *Divus Vespasianus* and of *Divus Titus*].

La fonte più importante per questa celebrazione della divinità imperiale si ha nei testi dell'Obelisco Pamphyli [*i.e.*, Domitian's obelisk; here **Fig. 28**], nei quali la cancellaria domiziana riesce a fondere aspetti ideologici e dogmatici della tradizione faraonica con quegli che meglio rispondono ai modelli imperiali. I temi che meglio possono esprimere questi concetti sono quelli riconducibili alla nascita divina e alla legittimazione della dinastia [with n. 2] ...

Tre passaggi nelle iscrizioni dell'obelisco sono di particolare interesse per la definizione 'faraonica' della legittimità dinastica e la natura divina del sovrano regnante / imperatore [*i.e.*, Domitian]".

**And in his *Conclusions*, Ciampini writes :**

"Pur nella loro sintenticità, i tre passaggi qui analizzati permettono di riconoscere la ricezione attiva di elementi pertinenti all'ideologia faraonica da parte di Domiziano: si tratta di un processo che dà voce, in modo coerente e organico, al concetto di trasmissione dinastica del potere. Ciò che stupisce in queste iscrizioni, è il loro essere un prodotto 'egizio' che traduce, in una fraseologia di tradizione, quelli che sono gli elementi dell'ideologia domiziana. Dobbiamo ipotizzare pertanto la presenza, a Roma, di un gruppo di specialisti di origine egiziana che hanno saputo interpretare e costruire quei modelli essenziali nell'ideologia del tempo; e questo aspetto è tanto più importante, se confrontiamo l'abilità dei compositori del testo nel realizzare una formulazione 'faraonicamente' ineccepibile, con l'ampio programma decorativo in santuari faraonici, promosso da Domiziano in Egitto; si può quindi postulare la particolare vivacità delle cerchie di specialisti della scrittura, che sanno produrre modelli efficaci, in grado di svilupparsi e affermarsi anche nei contesti egizi dell'Urbe".

In his **notes 1 and 2**, Ciampini provides references.

See below at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini: La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica.*



Between these two above-quoted paragraphs of his first *Contribution*, Ciampini quotes and translates these three text passages of Domitian's obelisk and adds his comments to them.

For the importance of Ciampini's relevant research to this *Study*; cf. *supra*, at the Chapters *What this Study is all about*; and at *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*; and *below*, at *Chapter IV.*; and at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II*.

To Ciampini's thoughts concerning Domitian's personal involvement in the creation of the hieroglyphic texts of his obelisk (here **Fig. 28**), I will come back below in Section *III.* of this *Preamble*; at point 5.).

*Preamble; Section III. My own thoughts about Domitian*

In the following, I will try to characterize Domitian by concentrating on five extraordinary subjects:

- 1.) Domitian's escape from the *Capitolium* proper on 19th December AD 69;
- 2.) Domitian's meeting with Vespasian in AD 70 at Beneventum;
- 3.) Domitian's building projects in Rome and the airport Berlin Brandenburg;
- 4.) Domitian identified himself with Romulus and Theseus, exactly as Augustus before him;
- 5.) Domitian's emulation of Alexander the Great.

After the discussion of those five points, I will formulate my own judgement about Domitian.

**Ad 1.) Domitian's escape from the *Capitolium* proper [so my own hypothesis] on 19th December AD 69**

Of the following 5 points, this subject is the most difficult to judge, because the available literary sources do not agree on several important details that concern the reported events. In addition to this, the scholarly debate concerning this subject is very complex.

Scholars do not agree for example, to which summit of the Capitoline Hill Flavius Sabinus and his men, the Flavians, had withdrawn on 18th December AD 69: to the northern summit, the *Arx*, or instead to the *Capitolium* proper, the southern summit. As a consequence of this, the two shrines, built by Domitian as thanksgivings for his salvation, the *sacellum* for Iuppiter Conservator and his Temple for Iuppiter Custos, have been located both on the *Arx* and on the *Capitolium*. I myself follow those scholars, who believe that Flavius Sabinus had withdrawn to the *Capitolium* and that he was besieged there by the soldiers of Vitellius, the Vitellians, and hope to have added new observations to this discussion, which support this view.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...; Introduction*; at Section I.; at *Appendix I.* and at *Appendix IV.*, where I have also summarized the relevant scholarly debate.

For the toponyms, that are of importance in connection with the events that took place between the 18th and 21st December AD 69, on the Quirinal, the Palatine, the Capitoline Hill (with the *Arx* and the *Capitolium* proper), the *Velabrum* and Trastevere, that will be discussed below, and in more detail *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.*; cf. here: **Fig. 58**, labels: QUIRINAL; COLLIS QUIRINALIS; Servian city Wall; S. Susanna; Caserma dei Corazzieri; site of DOMUS; ALTA SEMITA; site of DOMUS : T. FLAVIUS SABINUS / DOMUS : NUMMII; VICUS LONGUS; Baths of DIOCLETIAN; site of DOMUS : VESPASIAN / TEMPLUM GENTIS FLAVIAE; COLLIS MUCIALIS; COLLIS LATIARIS (CATIALIS); FONTS CATI; S. Silvestro al Quirinale; PORTA SANQUALIS; CAPITOLINE; CAPITOLIUM; TEMPLUM : IUPPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS CAPITOLINUS; Finds TESORERIA COMUNALE : DOMITIAN's SACELLUM : IUPPITER CONSERVATOR ?; DOMITIAN's Temple : IUPPITER CUSTOS ? [the black arrow points at those finds]; CLIVUS CAPITOLINUS; AEDES : SATURNUS; MUNDUS; "TABULARIUM"; FORUM ROMANUM; VELABRUM; TRANSTIBERIM; **Fig. 59**, labels: S. Susanna; Caserma dei Corazzieri; site of DOMUS; ALTA SEMITA / Via del Quirinale / Via XX Settembre; Via Firenze; site of DOMUS : T. FLAVIUS SABINUS / DOMUS : NUMMII; Piazza S. Bernardo; Via Torino; Baths of Diocletian; site of DOMUS : Vespasian / TEMPLUM GENTIS FLAVIAE; Palazzo del Quirinale; DOMUS : C. FULVIUS PLAUTIANUS; DOMUS : T. POMPONIUS ATTICUS; Fontana di Monte Cavallo; Palazzo della Consulta; Via XXIV Maggio; Via Mazzarino; Palazzo Pallavicini Rospigliosi; FONTS CATI; Villa Colonna; Former Convent / TEMPLUM : SEMO SANCUS; S. Silvestro al Quirinale; **Figs. 71; 73-76**, labels: ARX; S. Maria in Aracoeli/ site of Temple : ISIS CAPITOLINA; Fortifications / TEMPLUM : IUPPITER CUSTOS ? / AEDES : IUNO MONETA ?; "TABULARIUM"; FORUM ROMANUM; AEDES : SATURNUS / S. Salvatore de Statera; MUNDUS; CLIVUS CAPITOLINUS; CAPITOLIUM; TEMPLUM : IUPPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS; former AIdDR [Archäologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches = 'Laspeyres Bau']; Casa Tarpea [former 'Protestantantisches Krankenhaus']; "Knapp Bau" [former Istituto di Corrispondenza]; TEMPLUM : IUPPITER CUSTOS ?; Finds Tesoreria Comunale; Clivo precapitolino ?; INTER LUCOS; ITER; GRADUS MONETAE; SAXUM TARPEIUM; PALATIUM; "DOMUS TIBERIANA".

The two following itineraries were in part quoted from *Appendix I.* (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2), but because this is a summary of this very long *Appendix I.*, I have added to my following text many more details in order to be understandable for readers, who are not familiar with this entire scholarly debate.

But before turning to those two short itineraries, I begin with some detailed passages, written for *infra*, volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.b) Domitian's escape from the Capitolium - Introduction* :

The starting point of my research was one of the very vivid stories, told by the ancient historian Stephan Türr back in 1972, to which I will come back below, and, in addition to this, some observations made by the Egyptologist Alfred Grimm (1997, 128), all of which (as I erroneously believed) had not as yet been considered by those scholars, who studied Domitian's escape from the Capitoline Hill so far. Grimm (1997, 128) rightly observed that the date of this escape, 19th December, is not a festival of Isis, but the day of the *Opalia*, celebrated in honour of the Roman goddess Ops, who could be equated with Isis. In addition to this, Grimm (1997, 128) expressed his disbelief that Domitian could have escaped by disguising himself as an *Isiacus* or as a priest of Isis, because of the precedent of Marcus Volusius (as I see now, this story was already known to A. HEINEMANN 2016, 209, n. 70). Elsewhere, Grimm (1997, 123) added the observation that the *Saturnalia* "erano altrettanto legati alle cerimonie isiache". In my opinion, this point is important in the context discussed here.

I have combined Grimm's observations (1997, 123, 128) with the following information: *a*) the results of my earlier research on the *Area Capitolina*, the sacred precinct of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus on the *Capitolium* proper, which was surrounded by walls and had entrance gates that could be closed and were watched; *b*) my findings concerning the Temple of Ops Opifera in *Capitolio* ("la portatrice di aiuto" (!); cf. J. ARONEN 1996, 36): most scholars (as I only realize now: convincingly) assume the Temple of Ops Opifera in *Capitolio* within the *Area Capitolina*. For both subjects; cf. Häuber (2005, 18-50); *c*) T.P. Wiseman's mentioning (1978, 174, n. 49) of an altar, dedicated to Isis *deserta* behind the Temple of Ops Opifera within the *Area Capitolina*; *d*) Filippo Coarelli's kind explanation of Isis's epithet '*deserta*' to me (meaning 'abandoned'), which refers to the widowed and mourning Isis, who, after the assassination of her husband Osiris, is in search of him; and *e*) Franz Xaver Schütz's likewise very important observation that the festival of the *Opalia* on 19th December was part of the *Saturnalia*.

To all this I have added ... that the *Opalia* were celebrated at the sanctuary of the goddess Ops, called Ops *ad Forum*: this was a *sacellum*, dedicated to Saturnus and Ops, which was located in the Roman Forum, next to the Temple of Saturn, likewise called *ad Forum*. Both gods were regarded as spouses and Saturnus could be equated with Osiris, and Ops with Isis. Both gods were also equated with Dis Pater and Proserpina, and their *sacellum*, where the *Opalia* were celebrated, was regarded as the *mundus*, and was also called *umbilicus urbis*.

The festival of the *Saturnalia* lasted from December 17th through the 23rd or 25th (depending, on which calendar one uses) and were *inter alia* celebrated with processions, which came from all over the city of Rome down to the Temple of Saturn in the *Forum Romanum*; cf. Marina De Franceschini and Giuseppe Veneziano (2011, 64).

I, therefore, suggest that Domitian, on 19th December AD 69, joined a procession, organized by the priests and adherents of Ops Opifera in *Capitolio*, those of Isis *deserta*, and possibly also those of Isis *Capitolina*, who went down to the *sacellum* of Ops *ad Forum* to join the celebrations of the *Opalia*. And because I follow the "orthodox view" (so T.P. WISEMAN 1978, 173 with n. 38) that Flavius Sabinus and his men (and later Domitian) found refuge on the *Capitolium* proper, within the *Area Capitolina*, I, therefore, believe that the *aedituus*, who saved Domitian by hiding him in his lodging, was the guardian of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. In my opinion, this explains why Domitian later dedicated the *sacellum* and the temple, which he built as thanksgivings for his salvation, to *Jupiter*.

... I believe that Domitian hid in the lodging of the *aedituus* of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, and that the freedman of this man had suggested that Domitian disguise himself with appropriate garments, and leave the *Capitolium* on 19th December with an Isis procession. All this could be understood as Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus *himself* saving Domitian's life. Contrary to Heinemann (2016, 206), I find it, therefore, more than appropriate that Domitian would later dedicate his modest *sacellum* to Iuppiter *Conservator*.

Because of all this, I follow Christoph Reusser (1993a, 34, Abb. 4, Nr. 2, p. 38 with ns. 25-31, pp. 207, 208, 214; cf. *id.* 1993b, 114, Fig. 64, Nr. 2; *id.* 1996, 131, Fig. I 64, Nr. 2), who suggests that the Temple of Iuppiter Custos, built by Domitian, may be identified with architectural finds belonging to a huge building and dating to the imperial period that have occurred on the *Capitolium*, at the Tesoreria Comunale. By erecting this building Domitian, in Reusser's opinion (*op.cit.*), had enlarged the area of the *Area Capitolina* towards the east (cf. here **Fig. 75**). And because those finds are located immediately adjacent to the south-east corner of Domitian's gigantic (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, I have also followed Reusser's (*op.cit.*) further suggestion, according to which Domitian had erected his likewise huge Temple of Iuppiter Custos at the site of his earlier modest *sacellum* ... we learn from Tacitus (*Hist.* 3,74,1) that Domitian, immediately after his salvation, when he was still Caesar, had erected his *sacellum*, dedicated to Iuppiter Conservator, at the former site of the lodging of the *aedituus*, who had saved his life.

Given the facts that I am 1.) convinced that Flavius Sabinus and his men (and later Domitian) found refuge within the *Area Capitolina*; and 2.) that the *aedituus* of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus had hidden Domitian in his lodging, I do not believe that it was the Flavians, who were responsible for the burning down of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus - at least I cannot imagine that they would have done that intentionally ...'

**Contrary to all other recent scholars discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I., I believe that we are explicitly told by Flavius Josephus (BJ 4,11,4) and by Suetonius (Vit. 15,3), where Flavius Sabinus and his men found refuge and where they were besieged by the Vitellians - namely on the *Capitolium* proper.**

And that ``for the following reasons. When reporting on the fighting of the Vitellians with the Flavians on the morning of 19th December, Flavius Josephus, by referring to the Flavians, calls them "those that held the temple [translation: W. WHISTON 1737; thus obviously referring to the (second) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus on the *Capitolium* proper]". This assumption is, in my opinion, corroborated by the way Suetonius (*Vit.* 15,3) describes the events discussed here, who reports the following. Vitellius, who was staying at that time at the '*Domus Tiberiana*' on the Palatine, feasting, drove first of all the Flavians "*in Capitolium*", then ordered his Vitellians to burn the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, and then watched the fighting of his Vitellians with the Flavians and the burning of the temple.

When trying to find out, whether Vitellius could have watched from the '*Domus Tiberiana*' on the Palatine the battle of his Vitellians with the Flavians, as Sueton (*Vitr.* 15,3) writes, provided Flavius Sabinus and his men had withdrawn to the *Arx* and were besieged by the Vitellians there, Franz Xaver Schütz and I found out that Vitellius could not possibly have been able to see this. The reason being that Vitellius's sightline was interrupted by the buildings standing on top of the '*Tabularium*'. If, on the other hand, this battle had occurred on the *Capitolium*, as I believe, Vitellius could very well have watched these proceedings. Franz Xaver Schütz has documented with photographs, what we can see, when looking ('with Vitellius') from the '*Domus Tiberiana*' towards the *Capitolium* (distance circa 300 m), and what is visible, when we look ('with Vitellius') from there to the *Arx* (distance circa 400 m. For both; cf. here **Fig. 123**).

**Fig. 123. Views of the *Capitolium* and of the *Arx*, seen from the area of the '*Domus Tiberiana*' on the Palatine. Marked are from left to right: the Basilica of St. Peter, the Synagogue, the *Capitolium*, with: the former Archäologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches (the '*Laspeyres-Bau*'), the '*Casa Tarpea*' (the former '*Protestantisches Krankenhaus*' and immediately below it in the valley the Church of S. Maria della Consolazione), the former Istituto di Corrispondenza (the '*Knapp-Bau*'), the southern terrace of the Palazzo Caffarelli (built on top of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus), the Palazzo Caffarelli, the '*Tabularium*' (with the Palazzo Senatorio, built on top of it), and the *Arx*, with the Campanile of the Church of S. Maria in Aracoeli, and the Monument for Victor Emanuel II. Photos: Franz Xaver Schütz (26-VIII-2019)''.**

I happily acknowledge, why I had the idea to investigate the question, whether or not Vitellius could have seen such details, when looking from the '*Domus Tiberiana*' on the Palatine towards the *Capitolium*. I am referring to a story, told our group of students of the Kunstseminar at the Universität Duisburg by our

professor of history, Dr. Stephan Türr, in September of 1972, when visiting the Capitoline Hill and looking 'in the opposite direction', namely from the former "Protestant hospital" (Casa Tarpea) over to the Palatine.

Stephan Türr (Budapest 27th January 1927-25th September 2016 Duisburg) told us that the French excavations of the 19<sup>th</sup> century on the Palatine had been watched from the *Capitolium*. The people in question were either the foreign guests of the 'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica', the predecessor of the German Archaeological Institute, or else German recipients of scholarships of the 'Istituto di Corrispondenza'. All these people resided at the former "Protestantisches Krankenhaus" on the *Capitolium*, also referred to as 'German hospital', 'ospedale teutonico', or as 'Casa Tarpea' (cf. here Fig. 73), where guest were accommodated from 1836 until 1877 - the loggias on the south-east-side of this building were possibly also accessible for guests from 1877 until 1915.

See Maria Antonietta Tomei ("Gli scavi di Pietro Rosa per Napoleone III (1861-1870)", 1990); and Alberto Danti (2016, 209), who writes that Pietro Rosa's excavations on the Palatine (cf. here Fig. 39) were conducted "su incarico di Napoleone III".

Besides, standing with Stephan Türr at the 'Casa Tarpea' on this sunny afternoon in September of 1972, we could perfectly well see the Palatine in front of us in great detail (cf. here Figs. 122; 124). - Note also that we were standing in the cortile of the 'Casa Tarpea', immediately to the south-west of the building, which opens to the Via del Tempio di Giove, whereas the views from the loggias on the south-east-side of the 'Casa Tarpea' are certainly even better than that.

**Fig. 122.** "Erstes Institutsgebäude auf dem Kapitol, Sitz des Instituts 1836 bis 1877. Architekt Johann Michael Knapp. Giebelskulpturen Emil Wolff. Ansicht in idealer Umgebung. Titelvignette der Monumenti inediti publicati dall'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, Vol. II, Roma e Parigi 1834/38"; cf. A. Rieche (1979, caption of her cat. no. 20; the name of the artist, who drew this "Titelvignette" is not indicated). This Vignette appears also on the cover of this catalogue, from where it was copied for this illustration; cf. p. 8 (Impressum): "Umschlagfoto: Helmut Schwanke, DAI Rom". In the background on the right of this drawing Pietro Rosa's excavations on the Palatine (1861-1870) are visible.

**Fig. 124.** Views of the 'Casa Tarpea', the 'Knapp Bau' (former Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica), and the 'Domus Tiberiana' on the Palatine, seen from the southern terrace of the Palazzo Caffarelli on the *Capitolium*, which was erected 'on top of' the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. Photos: Franz Xaver Schütz (26-VIII-2019).

See our map here Fig. 74, which shows intentionally the cadastre (with the ground-plan of Palazzo Caffarelli) 'on top of' the "platea di fondazione del Tempio di Giove Capitolino" ('the foundation platform of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus', labelled on Fig. 74: Temple of IOM). For that; cf. Claudio Parisi Presicce (2019, 33, Fig. 30).

For a discussion; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.e) It is conceivable that Vitellius (cf. Suet., Vit. 15,3), on December 19th AD 69, could actually have watched the fighting on the Capitolium, while staying at the 'Domus Tiberiana' on the Palatine.

Let's now turn to the two above-mentioned itineraries.

#### **The itinerary of the *praefectus urbi* Flavius Sabinus and his men on 18th December AD 69.**

On that day, Flavius Sabinus, the elder brother of Vespasian and *praefectus urbi* (i.e., the representative of the Emperor Vitellius) went from his *domus* on the Quirinal to Emperor Vitellius, who was residing in the 'Domus Tiberiana' on the Palatine, in order to negotiate with the emperor the final details of his abdication.

Already on the 1st July of AD 69, Flavius Sabinus's younger brother Vespasian had been hailed by the legions at Alexandria as (the new) emperor, and at that very moment (on 18th December AD 69), the Flavian troops under Marcus Antonius Primus and Gaius Licinius Mucianus were approaching Rome from the North, where they would arrive only two or three days later, respectively.

In order to negotiate this contract with Emperor Vitellius, Flavius Sabinus was accompanied by a fairly large group of men, even women joined him (cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* 3,69), but unfortunately we do not know their precise number.

Alexander Heinemann (2016, 191) characterizes this group as follows:

"Am gleichen Tag [*i.e.*, on 18th December AD 69] kommt im Haus des Flavius Sabinus auf dem Quirinal (Abb. 3 Nr. 3) eine größere Menschenmenge zusammen, einflußreiche Ritter und Senatoren, sowie die amtierenden Konsuln C. Quintius Atticus und Cn. Caelius Simplex, ferner Offiziere der *cohortes urbanae* und der *vigiles*, jener Einheiten also, die dem Stadtpräfekten direkt unterstellt sind".

When they had reached the *Lacus Fundani* at the *Fons Cati* on the Quirinal, they were all of a sudden attacked by Vitellius's German guards (so Dio Cass. 64,17.1-4). Then 'Vitellius chased Flavius Sabinus and his men in *Capitolium*', as Suetonius (*Vit.* 15,3) writes, which, in my opinion, is enough to prove that Flavius Sabinus and the other Flavians withdrew to the *Capitolium* proper (as already explained in more detail above), the southern summit of the Capitoline Hill, where they were besieged by the Vitellians.

In the night of 18th December, also Domitian was brought to his besieged uncle Flavius Sabinus on the *Capitolium*, who, as I believe, had withdrawn to the *Area Capitolina*, the sacred precinct of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, which was surrounded by walls, the gates of which could be closed and that were watched.

On the morning of 19th December, the Vitellians, now broken into this citadel, took Flavius Sabinus captive (who was unarmed, as Tacitus *Hist.* 3,73,2 writes), and killed many of his men, others could escape (some of them disguised). The Vitellians brought Flavius Sabinus and some of the other Flavians to Vitellius on the Palatine, later Flavius Sabinus and these men were killed there by the Vitellians. On 20th December, the Flavian troops under Antonius Primus conquered Rome, on 21st December, also Mucianus and his troops reached the City. On 20th (or on 21st ?) December, Vitellius was killed by soldiers (so D. KIENAST, W. ECK and M. HEIL 2017, 100). - To this I will come back below.

#### **Domitian's escape from the *Capitolium* on the morning of 19th December AD 69.**

Disguised as an *Isiacus* or as a priest of Isis, Domitian was able to join a procession of adherents of Isis, as Tacitus (*Hist.* 3,74,1) writes, that left the *Capitolium* on 19th December AD 69.

I believe that Domitian spent the night of 18th December (as Sueton, *Dom.* 1 says) in the lodging of the *aedituus* (in my opinion, of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus), located within the sacred precinct of the temple, the *Area Capitolina*, and we are told by Tacitus (*Hist.* 3,74,1) that a freedman of this *aedituus* had advised him to join a procession (with Isis priests) that would leave the *Capitolium* - on the following morning, as Sueton (*Dom.*1) says. - To the differences of Tacitus's and Suetonius's reports concerning these details I will come back below.

Because on 19th December was the festival of the *Opalia*, which belonged to the *Saturnalia*, I suggest that this procession was organized each year by the priests and adherents of the Temple of Ops Opifera in *Capitolio* (who was equated with Isis), and by the priests of Isis *deserta*, and that it was possibly joined by the priests and adherents of Isis *Capitolina* on the *Arx*. Also the Temple of Ops in *Capitolio* stood within the *Area Capitolina*, the sacred precinct of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus on the *Capitolium* proper (where Flavius Sabinus and his men had found refuge), and the altar of Isis *deserta* stood right behind the Temple of Ops in *Capitolio*. 'Isis *deserta*' means 'abandoned' Isis, 'having lost her husband Osiris', as Filippo Coarelli was so kind as to explain to us this epithet of the goddess on 26th September 2019 at Rome, a fact which I myself had previously not realized; cf. now Coarelli (2019b, 29-31).

According to my hypothesis, this procession of 19th December went down from the Temple of Ops Opifera in *Capitolio* to the *sacellum* of Ops *ad Foro*, where the *Opalia* were celebrated. This *sacellum* stood in front of the Temple of Saturn, also called *ad Foro*, and was dedicated to Saturn and Ops (Saturn was

identified with Serapis, and Serapis in his turn with Osiris, and Ops with Isis), and was also called *sacellum* of Dis Pater and Proserpina. This *sacellum* was also identified with the *mundus* and with the *umbilicus urbis*.

After his escape from the *Capitolium* on 19th December, Domitian was hiding somewhere in Trastevere or in the *Forum Boarium*, but the Vitellians were unable to detect him (so Suetonius, *Dom.* 1.2).

After Vitellius's death, 'Vespasian obtained his recognition as emperor from the Senate', so Rose Mary Sheldon (2007, 141).

Barbara Levick (2021, 34) writes that this occurred on 21st December: "Antonius Primus entered Rome on 20th December and the Senate met on the following day to confer on Vespasian all the necessary powers". Although this conclusion sounds reasonable, it is contradicted by Tacitus (*Hist.* 3,86; cf. *infra*).

According to Heinemann (2016, 192 n. 12), Vitellius died already on 20th December AD 69. This has already been suggested by Guy Edward Farquhar Chilver and Barbara M. Levick: "Vespasian (Titus Flavius (*RE* 206) *Vespasianus*), emperor AD 69-79, in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 1590; quoted *infra*, n. 171, in Chapter 1.1.).

This assumption sounds reasonable, when we consider that Domitian should leave his hiding place already on 21st December, and that Tacitus (*Hist.* 3,86) comments on this fact that at that stage 'Domitian did not have to fear any enemies [any more]' (cf. *infra*). Dietmar Kienast, Werner Eck and Matthäus Heil (2017, 101) suggest instead that Vitellius died only on the 21st or 22nd December.

On 21st December, Domitian came out of his hiding place and presented himself to the Flavian leaders. After reporting on Vitellius' death (cf. *Hist.* 3,85), Tacitus (*Hist.* 3,86) mentions the moment, when Domitian leaves his hiding place: "**The day hurried to its close. It was impossible to summon the senate because the senators had stolen away from the city or were hiding in their clients' houses. Now that he had no enemies to fear, Domitian presented himself to the leaders of his father's party** [translation: Clifford H. Moore 1925; my emphasis]".

Mucianus organized that, on this occasion, Domitian was saluted as *Princeps iuventutis* (cf. *infra*, n. 189, in Chapter 1.1.), as the "heir presumptive to the Empire" (so M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 8 with n. 11). After this ceremony, the Flavian soldiers escorted Domitian to the *domus* of his father Vespasian on the Quirinal, where Domitian was born. When emperor, Domitian should erect at this site the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

I believe, contrary to Levick (2021, 34), that the Senate did *not* meet on 21st December in order "to confer on Vespasian all the necessary powers", as she writes, but that this was only possible on 22nd December. The reason being the statement by Tacitus (*Hist.* 3,86) that on the evening of 21st December AD 69 "It was impossible to summon the senate because the senators had stolen away from the city or were hiding in their clients' houses [translation: Clifford H. Moore 1925]".

Cf. Dietmar Kienast, Werner Eck and Matthäus Heil (2017, 101 [on Vespasian]): "Wichtige Einzeldaten 21./(22.?) Dez.[ember] 69 Bestätigung durch den Senat".

Let's now discuss some details of the events that had preceded this - at least for Domitian - 'happy end'. In the night of the 18th December, the Vitellians did not watch the place efficiently, where Flavius Sabinus and his men had found refuge, which is why Flavius Sabinus managed to organize that his own sons and Domitian were brought to this place. Sabinus could also send messengers to the Flavian leaders Antonius Primus and Mucianus, who were approaching Rome from the North, describing his precarious situation and asking them for help, and on the morning of 19th December he sent another messenger to Vitellius.

**Concerning these events, there are several more open questions, which we cannot answer with certainty:**

a) Tacitus (*Hist.* 3,69) reports that in the night of 18th December the sons of Flavius Sabinus and Domitian could be brought to the besieged Flavius Sabinus to the *Capitolium*, and that Flavius Sabinus himself managed that night to send the above-mentioned messengers to the Flavian leaders. Tacitus, therefore, adds that Flavius Sabinus and the other Flavians could also themselves have easily left the citadel that night; modern commentators have likewise asked themselves, why they did not do this;

b) Tacitus (*Hist.* 3,73,2) tells us that Flavius Sabinus and the suffect consul Q. Atticus were unarmed, which is why they did not fight with the Vitellians on the morning of December 19th, when those broke into the citadel. The Vitellians took Flavius Sabinus, the consul Q. Atticus and some of the other Flavians captive and brought them in chains to Vitellius on the Palatine;

c) interestingly, our sources differ in describing, *when* Domitian stayed at the lodging of the *aedituus* (of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, as I believe): already in the night of 18th December (so Suetonius, *Dom.* 1), or only on the morning of 19th December, when the Vitellians had already broken into the citadel, and the pitched battle of the Vitellians and the Flavians had begun (so Tacitus, *Hist.* 3,74,1);

d) whereas Sueton (*Dom.* 1) writes that it had been Domitian's *own idea*, to secretly spend the night of 18th December at the lodging of the *aedituus*, Tacitus (*Hist.* 3,74,1) asserts that Domitian *was hidden* by the *aedituus*;

e) because I follow those scholars, who believe that Domitian was hidden by the *aedituus* of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, we can deduce the following. Since we learn from Tacitus (*Hist.* 3,74,1) that a freedman of this *aedituus* gave Domitian on the morning of 19th December the good advice to join a procession of adherents of Isis on that day (in appropriate disguise: Tacitus writes that Domitian was clad "in a linen robe", translation: Clifford H. Moore 1962), this garment had first of all to be *brought* to this place (from the priests of Isis *deserta?* or of the Temple of Isis *Capitolina* on the *Arx?*). Sueton (*Dom.* 1) writes that Domitian, clad as an *Isiacus*, joined on the morning of 19th December a procession of Isis priests.

Tacitus (*Hist.* 3,71) not only mentions explicitly to have asked eye-witnesses concerning these events, he also reports (*Hist.* 3,73,1) that, when they realized that the Vitellians would soon manage to break into the citadel, many of the Flavian defenders, like Domitian, escaped by applying similar ruses: some of them were smuggled out by their clients 'between baggage', some changed their attires with those of their slaves, others could escape from the *Capitolium*, because they had found out the passwords of the Vitellians.

Besides, we should not forget another fact. The representatives of the Senate, who would meet with Vespasian and Titus at the *Porticus Octaviae* on the morning (!) of their triumphal procession in June of AD 71, informed them only at that very late moment that the Senate had decided to grant *all three men a separate triumph*: Vespasian and Titus for their victories in the Great Jewish War, and Domitian for his actions at Rome during the absence of Vespasian and Titus - as we are informed by Flavius Josephus (*BJ* 7,5,3). Cf. *infra*, at point 3.) of Section III. in this *Preamble*; and at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

One thing is clear: of the Flavians only those survived this attack of the Vitellians, who were able to leave the place before the fighting on the morning of 19th December began - in disguise, or because they knew the passwords of the Vitellians. These were the above-mentioned Flavians, Domitian, who disguised himself as an *Isiacus* or as a priest of Isis (cf. *infra*), and the younger son of Flavius Sabinus.

Flavius Josephus (*BJ* 4,11,4) understandably defined the salvation of Domitian and of those Flavians, who could escape from the *Capitolium* on the morning of 19th December, as "miraculous".

Most of the other Flavians were killed in this battle, whereas Flavius Sabinus, the consul Q. Atticus, and those of the Flavians, who were brought in chains to Vitellius on the Palatine, were killed there by the Vitellians; cf. Barbara Levick (2021, 34); and Friderike Senkbeil (2022, 264, on Tacitus, *Hist.* 3, 73,2; 3, 74,1).

Some scholars have doubted that Domitian had disguised himself as an *Isiacus* or as a priest of Isis, as reported by Suetonius (*Dom.* 1: disguised as an *Isiacus*, he joined a procession of Isis priests), and Tacitus (*Hist.* 3,74,1), who says that Domitian "then through the cleverness of a freedman he was dressed in a linen robe and so was able to join the crowd of devotees [not mentioning of which divinity] without being recognized and to escape ...", translation: Clifford H. Moore 1962).



For a detailed discussion; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.c*) *The precise date of Domitian's escape from the Capitolium, M. Volusius' disguise as an Isis priest in 43 BC, and the hypothesis that because of this alleged precedent, Domitian's disguise on 19th December 69 as a priest of Isis should therefore be regarded as an invention.*

For those doubts; cf. also Eric M. Moormann (2021, 47 with n. 25; and *id.* 2023, 60 with n. 26).

**Also Laurent Bricault and Richard Veymiers (2018, 140-141) doubt that the story told by Suetonius (*Dom.* 1) and Tacitus (*Hist.* 3,74,1) about Domitian's disguise is true.**

After mentioning the story about Marcus Volusius, they comment (page 141) on Domitian's escape from the *Capitolium* as follows:

**"Intervenant quelques semaines après l'élection de Vespasien par Sarapis en son sanctuaire alexandrin [with n. 79], la coïncidence est heureuse. On est en droit de se demander si l'on n'aurait pas d'affaire ici à l'une des composantes fictionnelles d'un récit littéraire visant à montrer avec force la protection accordée par les divinités isiacques à la famille flavienne [with n. 80; my emphasis]"**.

This passage is quoted in more detail and discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.c*).

I myself believe this story is true :

*a*) because Tacitus and Suetonius report on it, who, contrary to the assumption of Bricault and Veymiers (2018, 140-141), had on principle no intention to flatter Domitian, because both were hostile to him. Besides, their texts do not contain any 'actions' of the relevant gods, which would be typical for accounts of such a kind. Tacitus does not mention, with the garments of which cult Domitian disguised himself, and Suetonius (although stating that Domitian managed to escape disguised as an *Isiacus*, joining a procession of Isis priests) goes so far as to express his contempt of the Isis religion in this context. Neither does Suetonius explicitly say that those priests were instrumental for Domitian's escape. For detailed analyses of Tacitus's and Suetonius's accounts; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.b*); *Appendix I.c*); and *Appendix I.d*); and -

*b*) because Domitian's obviously likewise successful stratagems (in German: 'Kriegslisten') in Germany were recorded by Frontinus in his book *Strategemata*, 'who may have accompanied Domitian during his German campaign in 82/3', as we learn from John Brian Campbell and Nicholas Purcell (1996, 785).

**After having finished writing this Chapter, I found the essay by Valentina Musella ("`et incendium Romae per triduum totidemque noctes'" (Suet. *Tit.* 8, 3). Un focus sull'incendio dell'80 d.C.", 2023, 51 with ns. 2; 3), who has come to similar conclusions concerning Domitian's escape as I suggest here.**

Also Musella (2023, 51) believes that Domitian, before his escape, had stood at (or near) the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, and that he disguised himself as a priest of Isis:

"Nell'arco della sua vita l'imperatore si trovò a fronteggiare tre grandi incendi. Sedici anni dopo l'incendio che sotto Nerone devastò tre quarti di Roma per sette giorni e sette notti [with n. 1] – a cui il futuro Cesare assistette con gli occhi di un ragazzo tredicenne – il fuoco tornò ad abbattersi su un'altra porzione della città nell'80 d.C.. **Oltre a questi due grandi roghi Domiziano era rimasto coinvolto anche in quello che scoppiò sul colle capitolino nel 69 [with n. 2], quando si salvò dal Tempio di Giove in fiamme fuggendo camuffato da sacerdote di Iside [with n. 3], la dea che da allora venerò con tanta devozione [my emphasis]"**.

In her **note 1**, Musella writes: "Tac. *ann.* 15, 40".

In her **note 2**, she writes: "Tac. *hist.* 3, 71".

In her **note 3**, she writes: "Suet. *Dom.* 1".

## **Ad 2.) Domitian's meeting with Vespasian in AD 70 at Beneventum**

Currently it is assumed that Vespasian, after his victories in the Great Jewish War and in the Civil War of 68-69, arrived at Rome for the first time as emperor 'in the first half of October AD 70' (cf. *infra*, at Chapter I.1.1., with n. 195: "so D. KIENAST, W. ECK and M. HEIL 2017, 101-102").

Domitian, who went from Rome circa 250 kilometres down to Beneventum to meet Vespasian already there, was at that stage 18 years old. The meaning of this meeting for Domitian has been discussed several times in this *Study*. In the following, I anticipate some passages, written for *infra*, volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*), in which the relevant observations have been summarized :

**''I agree with [Eric M.] Moormann (2018, 168) that Domitian with his 'all-embracing-mega-forum' [i.e., the later Forum of Trajan] wanted to outdo Augustus, and that for two reasons ...**

As stated for the first time ... {below; cf. *infra*, at Chapter II.3.1.c)}, already in the first half of October AD 70, at the age of 18, being after all Caesar, *Princeps Iuventutis* and *praetor urbanus*, Domitian had not contented himself in only emulating Augustus, but had rather aimed at outdoing him. - I repeat in the following, what was written ... [below; cf. *infra*, in Chapter II.3.1.c):

"Irene Bragantini (2018, 246-247, quoted *verbatim* ... [*infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.]) has aptly compared Domitian's reception of Vespasian at Beneventum with Augustus' famous description of a delegation, led by the consul, who had come all the way down to Campania to greet him already there, when he returned from Spain and Gaul, the *ire obviam*, an unprecedented honour, as Augustus proudly stated in his *Res gestae* (12).

Bragantini's example (*op.cit.*), in my opinion, does not sound as if Domitian contented himself in merely 'emulating Augustus' example here, or, as [Stefan] Pfeiffer (2009, 62) writes, that Domitian's objective was, 'sie [i.e., the Flavian dynasty] auf diese Weise mit dem julisch-claudischen Kaiserhaus gleichzusetzen'. In my opinion, since Domitian himself went to Beneventum, and Mucianus and some other dignitaries even down to Brundisium (circa 500 kilometres distant from Rome), where Vespasian landed, coming back from Alexandria, they clearly aimed at 'outdoing the Augustan example'".

### **Apropos Domitian's choice to meet Vespasian at Beneventum.**

**Modern commentators have wondered, why Domitian received Vespasian at Beneventum instead of joining Mucianus and the others. When considering the lasting effects of Domitian's relevant decision -**

**a)** that our available literary source (Dio Cassius 65,9,3, quoted *verbatim* ... [*infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.]) mentions only Domitian, when describing the first meeting of Vespasian and his younger son after four years of separation, and -

**b)** the fact that Domitian, when himself emperor, generously supported the major cults at Beneventum, *inter alia* the Temple of Isis there; cf. Marina R. Torelli (2002; cf. C. HÄUBER 1983, 206; cf. *ead.* 2014a, 796 with n. 34; cf. also ... [below, at Chapter V.1.i.3.]) -

**my guess is that Domitian regarded his 'exclusive' meeting with Vespasian as precisely the great success he had planned and hoped it to be. Considering the alternative scenario, namely that Domitian had first met Vespasian at Brundisium - together with all the other dignitaries, and especially Mucianus - Domitian could only 'have played second fiddle'.**

**And I myself, like many others, believe that Domitian was not exactly good at that.** My thanks are due to Rose Mary Sheldon, with whom I could discuss this point [my emphasis]''.

*In the following, I allow myself a digression on the question, whether one detail of the story, told about Domitian's meeting with Vespasian at Beneventum, could possibly be true.*

Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee (1957, 5-7), therefore, referred to this meeting as: "The unpleasant encounter of father and son at Beneventum, when the former rebuked the latter sharply for his outrageous conduct [my emphasis]".

We should not forget the following detail of this story of Domitian's meeting with Vespasian at Beneventum, that has likewise been reported by Dio Cassius (65,9,3). I, therefore, anticipate here the relevant detail from a passage, written by Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee (1957, 5-7), and first quoted *infra*, in Chapter I.1.1., with n. 208. Following Filippo Magi (1945), Toynbee identified the togate youth on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12) with Domitian:

"Finally, in the foreground [on Frieze B] between the Senate and the *Genius Populi Romani* we see the young Domitian, togate and slightly whiskered, turned three-quarters towards his father [*i.e.*, Vespasian]. **There he stands, the pivot of the whole scene, composed, confident, and somewhat aloof, accepting as though it were his natural right the gesture of approval with which the Emperor [*i.e.*, Vespasian] greets him. The unpleasant encounter of father and son at Beneventum, when the former rebuked the latter sharply for his outrageous conduct, is over and forgotten;** and it would seem that Domitian was publicizing here his own version - not so much a wholly false, as a 'rose-coloured' version - of his situation as Caesar in Rome at the time of his father's accession, as the recipient of congratulations on the 'vice-regency' exercised by him in the capital while Vespasian was still absent in the East. **Thus the scene portrays the first public occasion on which Domitian, as a youth of nineteen, played a significant part in the crucial hour of the founding of the Flavian dynasty. It is almost an illustration of the saying which Suetonius attributes to him: 'patri se et fratri imperium dedisse, illos sibi reddidisse'** [with n. 1; my emphasis] [and with my own n. 208]" .

In my note 208, I write: "J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 5-6. In her note 1 on p. 6, she quotes: 'Suetonius, *Domit.* 13'. TOYNBEE, *op.cit.*, does not say that already H. LAST 1948, 12, had suggested the latter: "There is much that might be added about this panel [*i.e.*, Frieze B], for instance it invites consideration of the passage in which Suetonius (*Dom.* 13,1) asserts of Domitian that '*principatum ... adeptus, neque in senatu iactare dubitavit et patri se et fratri imperium dedisse, illos sibi reddidisse ...*'. This was also discussed by M. BERGMANN 1981, 19-20; and by H. MEYER 2000, 136: "Die alte Deutung des Frieses B ist gewiß zutreffend, sagt doch Sueton: >>Als [Domitian] dann zur Herrschaft gelangt war, hatte er die Stirn, vor dem Senat zu prahlen, er sei es gewesen, der seinem Vater wie seinem Bruder den Thron gegeben, sie hätten ihm diesen nur zurückgegeben<< [with n. 431: "Suet. *Dom.* 13". H. MEYER 2000, 136, is quoted in more detail *infra*, in n. 272, at Chapter I.3.2.]" . - For that very influential idea, cf. also *infra*, at n. 456, in Chapter III. Similarly also R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI and M. TORELLI (1976, ARTE ROMANA, *scheda* 105, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter IV.1." . - There, also the above-quoted passage from Toynbee (1957, 5-6) is quoted again.

Apropos Toynbee's (1957, 5-6) suggestion in the above-quoted passage that Domitian was "a youth of nineteen" at the ceremony represented on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (here Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing). Since we know now that Vespasian arrived at Rome in the first half of October AD 70 (cf. *infra*, n. 195, in Chapter I.1.1.), it follows that Domitian was still 18 years old at that stage.

We have learned above, in Section I. of this *Preamble*, that Dio Cassius and Suetonius belong, together with Tacitus and Pliny the Younger, to those ancient authors, who have created Domitian's bad image. We could, therefore, think that those two above-quoted reproaches (by Dio Cassius 65,9,3 und Suetonius, *Dom.* 13,1) are not true either. And I actually consider this possibility, at least in the case of Dio Cassius's assertion (65,9,3).

For the following reason. Fortunately not only Dio Cassius reports on Vespasian's return from Alexandria to Rome, but also Flavius Josephus (*Bj* 7,2; 7,4,1); both accounts are quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.a).

We know from Josephus' own writings, which have been discussed by T.P. Wiseman (2013, XI-XIII, quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 201, at Chapter I.1.1.) that he, although in the meantime among Vespasian's favourites (so T.P. WISEMAN 2013, XIII), was not present at Vespasian's arrival at Rome in October of AD 70, since he had stayed all the time with Titus in Jerusalem. We also know that Vespasian and Titus had commissioned Josephus to write his book *Bellum Judaicum*, which was finished by AD 81. This means that Josephus described in his book, how Vespasian and Titus *saw* those events. Interestingly, Josephus does not mention at all, to borrow Toynbee's (1957, 5-6) phrasing, "The unpleasant encounter of father [Vespasian] and son [Domitian] at Beneventum, when the former rebuked the latter sharply for his outrageous conduct".

Apart from the fact that remarks like that would, in my opinion, not have suited the purpose of Josephus's book *Bellum Judaicum*, I should like to add to this a personal comment, which is, of course, not provable.

After four years of separation, and after both had survived the civil war, Vespasian and Domitian met each other for the first time in Beneventum at the beginning of October (?) in AD 70. This is why I rather believe that they were overwhelmed by the fact to be reunited again.

### *Apropos, Vespasian's and Domitian's 'four years of separation'*

We know that Vespasian was *comes Neronis* in *Achaea* (AD 66/67), and *legatus Augusti pro praetore exercitus* in *Judaea* (AD 67-69); cf. Dietmar Kienast, Werner Eck and Matthäus Heil (2017, 101). This means Vespasian had left Rome already in AD 66, together with the Emperor Nero, when the latter embarked for his 'concert tour' in Greece, and that Nero (in 67) "entrusted him with suppressing the rebellion in Judaea" (cf. G.E.F. CHILVER and B.M. LEVICK: "Vespasian (Titus Flavius (RE 206) Vespasianus), emperor AD 69-79, in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 1590; quoted *infra*, n. 171, in Chapter I.1.). For the details of this war; cf. *infra*, n. 404, in Chapter III.).

Only after this entire *Preamble* had been written, have I read two publications, which allow the conclusion that the Emperor Nero had actually *himself*, if not caused, at least 'helped to precipitate' (so H.H. SCULLARD 1996; cf. *infra* this "rebellion in Judaea", to borrow Chilver's and Levick's (1996) phrasing.

Werner Eck, 2022, Sp. 494, Section: "E. Jüdischer Krieg") writes:

"Die Gründe für die Revolte eines Teils des jüdischen Volkes werden sehr unterschiedlich gesehen. **Sie reichen von massiven sozialen Spannungen zwischen Großgrundbesitzern und verarmten Bauern über den Einfluss messianischer Vorstellungen und die Provokationen insbesondere der römischen Präfekten** bis zur Ansicht, das jüdische Gemeinwesen sei grundsätzlich mit der Herrschaft Roms nicht vereinbar gewesen. **Zuletzt wurde argumentiert [7], entscheidend seien die letzten Jahre vor dem Aufstand unter dem Präfekten Gessius Florus gewesen, als die veränderte Politik Neros zu einer stärkeren Ausplünderung des Landes und in Caesarea zur Explosion der Spannungen zwischen der jüdischen Bevölkerung und der paganen Mehrheit, u. a. den Auxilien des Präfekten, führte** [my emphasis]".

In his **note [7]**, Eck writes: "S. Mason, A History of the Jewish War, A. D. 66–74, 2016".

Franz Xaver Schütz, who had already alerted me to Werner Eck's (2022, Sp. 494) above-quoted passage, found on the Internet also the following account: "Livius.org; Jewish War (66-70); Causes of the War of 66-70". Cf. online at: <<https://www.livius.org/articles/concept/roman-jewish-wars/roman-jewish-wars-3/>>. The author of the texts (dated 1995-2023), that are published on this Website, is Jona Lendering. Cf. online at: <<https://www.livius.org/contributor/jona-lendering/>>.

Jona Lendering (*op.cit.*) describes Nero's relevant decisions in more detail, to which Eck (2022, Sp. 494) refers in the above-quoted passage:

**"In 66, the Roman emperor Nero needed money, and ordered his representative in Judaea, Gessius Florus, to confiscate the Temple treasure.** The governor was not amused when some Jewish jokers passed the hat around for "that poor procurator Florus". He demanded their punishment, but when his policemen could not find the mockers, he had some passersby arrested and crucified.

Of course this was tactless and brutal, but it would not have led to the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple if there had not been one or two deeper causes. The obvious reason why this incident led to war was the religious tension between the Jewish populace and the Roman government ...

**The deepest cause of the war was the impoverishment of the Jewish peasantry. Sixty years of Roman taxation had meant only one thing, the Jews had to pay money, which was spent in Italy and on the border ... [my emphasis]**".

See also Howard Hayes Scullard ("**Gessius Florus**, Roman knight from Clazomenae, married Cleopatra, a friend of Poppaea Sabina, and thus gained the favour of **Nero who in AD 64 appointed him procurator of Judaea which Gessius proceeded to govern ruthlessly**. Although Josephus' account of his villainies may be exaggerated, **he certainly inflamed Jewish feeling[s] (e.g. a demand for 17 talents from the Temple treasury led to rioting and bloodshed) and helped to precipitate the great insurrection of 66"**, in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> [1996] 635 [my emphasis]).

When Nero came back from his 'concert tour' to Rome in the Spring of AD 68, the *Porta Capena* was (allegedly) torn down in his honour, because of his victories in Greece. Domitian has (according to the *Chronogr. a.* 354, 146, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.g)), allegedly therefore, restored the *Porta Capena*; cf Häuber (2014a, 286 with ns. 386-389; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*).

**Other scholars are convinced that the ancient authors said the truth, who reported on the "friction" of Domitian with his father Vespasian, or on the "rift" between the two, as Sheldon (2023, in press) refers to those (alleged?) feelings, that would result in the (alleged?) "unpleasant encounter of father [Vespasian] and son [Domitian] at Beneventum", to borrow Toynbee's (1957, 5-6) above-quoted phrasing.**

See the summary of the scholarly discussion concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs provided by Rose Mary Sheldon (*Guarding the Caesars. Roman Internal Security under the Flavian Dynasty*, 2023, in press; Chapter 7; Section: "The Cancellaria Reliefs") :

"Frieze A

**Frieze A originally depicted Domitian as he prepared to depart for a campaign against the Chatti. [with 64; providing references] Contemporary authors such as Suetonius alleged that Domitian's military endeavors were largely a failure, motivated by a quest for personal glory rather than necessity. The scene depicted on Frieze A seems to counter such accusations by presenting Domitian as a reluctant general, spurred on by the gods Mars, Minerva and Roma, who are pictured on the far left, to defend his home country ...**

Frieze B

**Frieze B depicts Vespasian's reconciliation with Domitian following the civil war, in 69 mentioned above. Domitian seems to be reassuring his father that Rome had been governed well in his absence, and that their relations are good. Once again, ancient authors paint a different picture of the events presented in the Frieze B. According to both Tacitus and Suetonius, Domitian's conduct during Mucianus' interim government was less than satisfactory; they allege he [*i.e.*, Domitian] was overzealous in distributing political offices and eager to take part in unwarranted military campaigns. This caused friction with his father. Frieze B may have been intended to dispel popular rumors that there was a rift between the two. Neither interpretation can be established with certainty, although Jones favors a straightforward account in which Vespasian's reconciliation with Domitian was indeed amicable. [with n. 67] Domitian is seen receiving his father in Rome in 70 without any reference to Titus and with himself as true heir of Vespasian. [with n. 68] The reliefs were probably meant by Domitian to justify two events in his career which were subject to criticism: his conduct in Rome in 69/70, here represented as approved by Vespasian, and his wars, here approved by the tutelary deities of Rome. [with n. 69; my emphasis]**".

In her **note 67**, Sheldon writes: "Jones (1992), 18. Flower (2001), 634".

In her **note 68**, she writes: "Hammond (1956), 84, n. 122".

In her **note 69**, she writes: "**As argued by Last (1948), 9-14** [my emphasis]".

In this *Study*, I have discussed, but not followed the just-quoted opinions of some of those scholars, whom Rose Mary Sheldon (*Guarding the Caesars. Roman Internal Security under the Flavian Dynasty*, 2023, in press; Chapter 7; Section: "The Cancellaria Reliefs") refers to in this passage.

In the following, I will add some comments to those of her statements that I have emphasized above:

**a) What does Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs represent ? (cf. here Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing)**

In my opinion, Frieze A did not originally show Domitian's *profectio* to his war against the Chatti, but instead his *profectio* in the Spring of AD 89 to his Second Dacian War.

Cf. *infra*, at Chapters I.2.; and V.1.i.3.). The reasons for my dating of the Cancellaria Reliefs and for my suggestion to which war Domitian (**Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 6**) is leaving on Frieze A are summarized below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

In Chapter I.2. is discussed the assertion that Domitian is represented on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs as "a reluctant general", as Sheldon (2023, in press) writes.

This hypothesis has already been refuted by Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee (1957, 9-10, quoted *verbatim infra*, **n. 233**, in Chapter I.2.: *contra* P.G. Hamberg [1945, 53], who was first to suggest this hypothesis [and *contra* the hypothesis of H. LAST 1948, 9ff.]), by stating that state reliefs never represented anything 'negative' (*i.e.*, showing in this case, so to say, the Emperor Domitian, unwillingly performing his foremost duty, that of defending the Roman Empire).

Concerning the somewhat enigmatic representation of Domitian in Frieze A, who is standing composedly, with both soles of his feet planted firmly on the ground, I myself follow instead Gerhard Koeppel's suggestion (1969, 141-143; quoted in more detail *infra*, **n. 222**, in Chapter I.2.).

Koeppel explained, why the artists represented Domitian on Frieze A this way (see also *infra*, in Chapter I.2.1.a), and why they showed him as performing a gesture with his right hand, called by ancient literary sources "*dextra elata*" and "*ingens dextra*". Cf. Koeppel (1969, 142): "Wie Franz Cumont gezeigt hat, findet sich dieser Gestus erstmals im Kult der alten semitischen Völker [with n. 30, with reference: 'oriental' Sun gods, like Sol '*Invictus*', perform this gesture]. So hat sich bereits Vespasian darstellen lassen [with n. 32, with reference]. In der gleichen Haltung wie Vespasian erscheint Helios-Sarapis in domitianischer Zeit auf alexandrinischen Münzen [with n. 33, with reference]".

Koeppel (1969, 143) wrote: "*Ingens dextra* ist also in domitianischer Zeit gleichbedeutend mit *magnus dux* ... Die *ingens dextra* des Kaisers im Relief A von der Cancellaria wird Verderben über seine Feinde bringen, die er, wie Victoria zeigt, besiegen wird ('*ingens dextra* has, therefore, in the Domitianic period the same meaning as *magnus dux* ... The *ingens dextra* of the emperor will cause the ruin of his enemies, whom he will defeat, as *Victoria* on Frieze A indicates')". - To the gesture, Domitian is making on Frieze A with his right hand, I will come back below.

Cf. also *infra*, **n. 222**, in Chapter I.2.; in Chapter I.2.1.a), especially at **ns. 246; 247**; and in Chapter V.1.g) *The gestures that the two emperors on both friezes (cf. here Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing) perform with their right hands*.

In Chapter I.2. are also discussed the negative statements by Tacitus (*Hist.* 4,68,85,86) and Suetonius (*Dom.* 2), which concern Domitian's military 'adventure' (so J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 21) as Caesar in AD 70 (to this I will come back below), as well as the negative statements by Tacitus (*Agr.* 39) and Suetonius (*Dom.* 6) concerning the wars, which Domitian conducted as emperor.

Cf. *infra*, at **ns. 229-232**, in Chapter I.2., and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.c*).

As we have seen above, in Section I. of this *Preamble*, it has in the meantime been proven by scholars like Peter L. Viscusi (1973) and Markus Handy (2015) that the negative assertions by Tacitus, Suetonius and Dio Cassius concerning the wars which Domitian conducted as emperor, are *not* true;

**b) Was there a "friction" or "rift" between Vespasian and Domitian, which could justify the assumption that Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs shows their "reconciliation" ? (so R.M. SHELDON 2023, in press)**

As already said, I myself take Flavius Josephus's report (BJ 7,2; 7,4,1) as Vespasian's and Titus's 'official' version of the relevant events - and there nothing of the sort is mentioned. We cannot regard this as a proof, that, in reality, *such feelings did not exist*. But the fact remains that they are not mentioned in the 'official' report of those events, commissioned by Vespasian and Titus, and written by Flavius Josephus in his *Bellum Judaicum*. This allows, in my opinion, the conclusion that this "friction" or "rift" (in case such feelings existed at all) were likewise *not* represented in state art, as for example in Domitian's Cancellaria Reliefs.

I agree with Hugh Last (1948, 9-14), quoted by Sheldon (2023, in press), that the gesture, Vespasian is making with his right hand on Frieze B (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 14**), has a positive meaning. But concerning the interpretation of Vespasian's gesture, I follow Giandomenico Spinola (who, in his turn, follows in this respect H. FUHRMANN 1940, Sp. 471-472; *id.* 1941, Sp. 544-545; and F. MAGI 1945, both quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter IV.1.), according to whom Vespasian thus expresses the (future) *investiture*, or the "legittimazione" (so G. SPINOLA) of Domitian as emperor.

Cf. below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*.

The reason for my relevant decision are the results obtained by comparing the contents of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**) with those of Domitian's obelisk (here **Fig. 28**). For discussions of this point; cf. *supra*, at Chapter *What this Study is all about*; and below, at Chapter V.1.g) *The gestures that the two emperors on both friezes (here Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing) perform with their right hands*; and at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*;

**c) Why is Titus not represented on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (here Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing) ?**

We know that Vespasian arrived in Rome for the first time as emperor in the first half of October AD 70. We know also that, on that occasion, such an *adventus* ceremony, performed by Domitian and Vespasian, as purportedly 'documented' by Frieze B of the Cancellaria, did not take place; cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.).

Because of this date, we cannot expect Titus to be represented in this scene as well. Because Titus, as already mentioned above, was at that stage in Jerusalem. For a discussion of this point; cf. *infra*, in Chapters *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps*.

Apropos, the belief that Frieze B shows Domitian "as true heir of Vespasian", as Sheldon (2023, in press) writes. This refers to another of Suetonius's reproaches (*Dom.* 2). But see the comments by Häuber (2014a, 794-795, with n. 16): Suetonius's relevant assertion "seems to be contradicted by Suetonius (*Tit.* 9,3), who reports that Titus, from the beginning of his reign, had declared Domitian *consors* and *successor imperii*";

**d)** Sheldon (*Guarding the Caesars. Roman Internal Security under the Flavian Dynasty*, 2023, in press; Chapter 7; Section: "The Cancellaria Reliefs") concludes: "**The reliefs were probably meant by Domitian to justify two events in his career which were subject to criticism: his conduct in Rome in 69/70, here represented as approved by Vespasian, and his wars, here approved by the tutelary deities of Rome**", with n. 68: "As argued by Last (1948), 9-14" [my emphasis]).

To those assumptions, I should like to comment the following. First of all we need to ask ourselves, whether these 'two events in his [*i.e.* Domitian's] career were indeed subject to criticism' - already in Domitian's lifetime (!) - namely: *e*) 'his conduct in Rome in 69/70', and *f*) 'his wars', as Sheldon (2023, in press) writes.

*Ad e)* Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee (1957, 16) wrote: "At any rate, we are here presented with two pictures [*i.e.*, the Cancellaria Reliefs] of undoubted biographical significance - [and referring to Frieze B :] **Domitian's holding of Rome for Vespasian at a moment of crisis in the fortunes of the Flavian House ...** [my emphasis]".

Rita Paris (1994b, 80-83; cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a): the quote is from p. 82), who addresses also the reproaches of Tacitus ("*Hist.* V, 51,2") and Dio Cassius ("epitome libro LXV, 2, 3") against Domitian, explains in great detail that "Il ruolo di Domiziano [in AD 68-70 at Rome] è stato fondamentale in assenza del padre".

Also in my own opinion, until the time, when Domitian may have commissioned the Cancellaria Reliefs, it was certainly not true that 'Domitian's conduct in Rome in 69/70 was subject to criticism', to borrow Sheldon's phrasing (2023, in press). And that for the reasons already mentioned above:

On the morning of their triumph in June of AD 71, representatives of the Senate should meet with Vespasian and Titus in the *Porticus Octaviae*. According to Flavius Josephus, these representatives told Vespasian and Titus that the Senate had granted all three men, Vespasian and Titus (for their victories in the Great Jewish War) and Domitian (for his contemporary actions at Rome - and/ or for his military 'adventure' in Gaul and Germany in AD 70 ?) three *separate* triumphs. But we know that Vespasian, Titus and Domitian decided to celebrate only one triumph - *together* (cf. Josephus, *BJ* 7,5,3). Cf. Häuber (2017, 191-202).

**Since Vespasian, the reigning emperor, did not prevent the Senate from granting Domitian this triumph, Domitian must have done something noteworthy at the time; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.c).**

We even have a representation of this fact, commissioned by Domitian himself. In the 'spoils relief' of the Arch of *Divus Titus*, built by Domitian on the *Velia* (here Fig. 120) shortly after AD 81, we see on the far right the *Porta Triumphalis*, through which the triumphal procession of June AD 71 is marching. On the attic of this arch appear what seem to be sculptures representing *the three Flavian triumphatores*. The centre of those sculptures is occupied by Domitian on horseback, accompanied to his left by his walking patron goddess Minerva, flanked on either side by the two triumphal quadrigas of Vespasian and Titus, each of which are pulled by four horses. Cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III., and the caption of here Fig. 120.

For further discussions of this point see also *infra*, in Chapter I.2., at ns. 241 and 242; in Chapter III., with n. 458; in Chapters V.1.i.3.); Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...; Introduction*; at Section I.; and at Appendix I.c). For Domitian's military 'adventure' in Gaul and Germany in AD 70; cf. *infra*, at Chapters I.1.; I.2., with ns. 229; 230; n. 458 in Chapter III.; in Chapter V.1.i.3.a); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.c).

*Ad f)* We know now that the military campaigns, conducted by Domitian when he was emperor, were very successful. As already said above, the assertions by Tacitus, Suetonius and Dio Cassius, all of whom have denigrated these military successes, are definitely *not* true.

For a detailed discussion of this point; cf. *supra*, at Section I. in this *Preamble*.

**In addition to this, we should not forget that Tacitus and Suetonius wrote their negative accounts about Domitian and his wars only *after* Domitian's assassination;**

**g) and most importantly: I myself follow the above-mentioned statement by Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee (1957, 9-10, quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 233, in Chapter I.2.), according to which we cannot possibly expect Domitian to represent a negative statement about himself in any of his state reliefs, for example in the Cancellaria Reliefs.**

**To conclude.** After what was said above, the Cancellaria Reliefs cannot have been meant "by Domitian to justify two events in his career which were subject to criticism", as Sheldon (2023, in press) writes, who quotes for this statement Hugh Last (1948, 9-14). **The reason being that both points of critique have only been invented after Domitian's death.**

For discussions of Domitian's meeting with Vespasian in AD 70 at Beneventum; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.4.b) *Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the Templum Pacis, and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum*; below at Chapter II.3.1.c) *Domitian's building policy: praising the gens Flavia, emulating Augustus and Nero*; and at Chapter V.1.i.3.) *My own hypotheses concerning the design, manufacture, and meaning of both friezes of the Cancellaria Reliefs, the structure to which they may have belonged, and the reason, why this structure was destroyed.*



*Post scriptum*

to `the summary of the scholarly discussion concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs, provided by Rose Mary Sheldon (*Guarding the Caesars. Roman Internal Security under the Flavian Dynasty*, 2023, in press; Chapter 7; Section: "The Cancellaria Reliefs")`

Only after having finished writing my comments on Rose Mary Sheldon's summary of the scholarly discussion of the Cancellaria Reliefs, did I read Paolo Liverani's (2021) relevant conclusions. I will quote them in the following, because they are so different from what we have just heard above. Contrary to myself, Liverani (2021) is of the opinion that the portrait of Vespasian on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 14**) has been reworked from a portrait of Domitian. Apart from this detail, I very much agree with Liverani's conclusions.

Paolo Liverani (2021, 87) writes:

"In this case, too [*i.e.*, Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs], the original Emperor must be recognized as Domitian ... **The two friezes of the Cancellaria Reliefs complement each other: the military *profectio* and the civic *adventus* allude to the military virtues and good fortune of the Emperor [*i.e.*, Domitian]. At the same time, they demonstrate the legitimacy of the Emperor's [here Liverani obviously refers again to Domitian, but this is also true for Vespasian] power displayed before one of the most prestigious priestly colleges of Rome, the Vestal Virgins, and before Rome itself [does Liverani only want to say: 'before the *Dea Roma*', or does he also mean: *and the Genius Senatus, and the Genius Populi Romani* = together the 'SPQR'?; my emphasis]". - For the same passage in the Italian version of this article; cf. now Liverani (2023, 118).**

*Post scriptum*

to the gesture Domitian is making  
with his right hand on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs

For this representation of Domitian on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs; cf. here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6**. When looking at the coins, which represent the *Equus Domitiani*, I have the impression, that in this portrait-statue Domitian was making the same gesture with his right hand as on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs, the (possible) meaning of which we have discussed above. For the coins, representing the *Equus Domitiani*; cf. Filippo Coarelli (2009b, 79, Fig. 17, p. 81 with ns. 140, 141). Fortunately in the case of the *Equus Domitiani*, we have a description of this gesture by Statius (*Silv.* I,1), as well as his interpretation of it.

Jane Fejfer ("The Image of the Emperor: Seeing Domitian", 2021, 78) writes about the *Equus Domitiani*:

"**Depicted on coins and praised, as mentioned above by Statius, it [*i.e.*, the *Equus Domitiani*] showed the emperor as military commander holding in his left hand a figure of his patron goddess Minerva while raising his right arm in a *vetat pugnas* (banning battles) gesture [my emphasis]**". For this gesture, Domitian is making in this portrait-statue; cf. also Cairoli F. Giuliani ("Equus: Domitianus", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 228).

Antony Augoustakis and Emma Buckley ("Man and God: Literature", 2021, 161) comment on Statius' description of the gesture, Domitian is making with his right hand in the *Equus Domitiani*, as follows:

"**The first poem [by Statius] does not gaze at Domitian directly .... focusing in particular on a colossal equestrian statue of the Emperor [*i.e.*, the *Equus Domitiani*] erected in the Forum Romanum to celebrate Domitian's military victories over the Dacians and Chatti. [with n. 15, providing references] ... Statius blurs statuary with human form to describe a godlike Domitian whose peace-demanding posture quells further war but retains clear martial menace [with n. 16] :**

*dextra uetat pugnas, laeuam Tritonia uirgo non grauat et sectae praetendit colla Medusae, ceu stimulis accendit equum; ...*

**Your right hand bans battles.** The Tritonian maiden (sc. Minerva) is no burden to your left as she holds out severed Medusa's neck as though to spur the horse forward [my emphasis]".

In their **note 16**, Augoustakis and Buckley write: "*Silvae* 1.1.37-44".

### **Ad 3.) Domitian's achievements as emperor and the airport Berlin Brandenburg**

In connection with his research on Trajan's Column, it was first Martin Beckmann ("Planning and Execution of the Frieze of Trajan's Column: the Case of Scene CXII", 2017), who has mentioned the airport Berlin Brandenburg in connection with this ambitious project - which, in its turn, belonged to the enormous building site of the Forum of Trajan. In the meantime it has been realized that this mega-building site, which should result in the Forum of Trajan, had been connected from its very beginning with the likewise huge building-site of the (future) Baths of Trajan, and that both buildings had been planned and begun by Domitian. - To this I will come back below.

**I, therefore, borrow here Beckmann's (2017) idea to compare Domitian's building projects in Rome with the Flughafen Berlin Brandenburg.**

After analysing the obvious planning problems concerning the Frieze of Trajan's Column, Beckmann (2017) convincingly states that such mismanagements of great building-projects, as the one discussed by him, are by no means rare. And because at the time, when he was writing this article, this mega-project was much discussed, Beckmann mentioned as a contemporary example the airport Berlin Brandenburg.

Beckmann (2017, 83 with n. 25) quotes critical voices concerning the management of this huge building site airport Berlin Brandenburg, which I will quote *verbatim* in the following.

**I am mentioning the example of the mismanagement of the airport Berlin Brandenburg here, because, when comparing this airport with the sheer number and size of Domitian's building projects at Rome, it becomes clear that Domitian's management of his building sites was obviously *excellent*.**

**Domitian reigned for 15 years, from AD 81-96. The decision to erect the airport Berlin Brandenburg was made in 1996, but the airport could only be opened on 31st October 2020, that is to say, 24 years after first planning it, and after its opening had to be postponed for seven times.**

**After having analysed the design and execution of the spiral Frieze of Trajan's Column in great detail, Martin Beckmann (2017, 83) concludes that this project had obviously been planned very badly :**

"This suggests the lack of comprehensive, detailed planning for the frieze [of Trajan's Column] ... Though the evidence for such a scenario is strong ... it is still difficult for a modern observer to imagine that such a complex task as carving the frieze of Trajan's Column could be approached without minute planning. But this should not come as a great surprise, since such a situation is hardly unknown in the field of architecture. Even the largest and most complicated projects can be undertaken with incomplete or insufficient planning, sometimes resulting in significant problems. Most recently, planners of the new Berlin Brandenburg airport have been accused of completing only 10% of their work before the start of construction. [with n. 25]"

In his **note 25**, Beckman writes: "An den ausführenden Bauunternehmen liege die Verzögerung nicht, betonen die beiden großen Interessenverbände der Bauwirtschaft. Stattdessen hätten fehlende Planung und mangelnde Sachkompetenz auf Seiten des Auftraggebers zu diesem Chaos geführt. **Wenn zu Baubeginn von geschätzten 6000 Einzelplänen nur rund 10 Prozent fertig waren, ließ das nur einen Schluss ziehen: Der Bauherr wusste nicht genau, was er haben wollte - außer vielleicht, dass es ein Flughafen sein sollte**", sagt Felix Pakleppa, Hauptgeschäftsführer des Zentralverbandes Deutsches Baugewerbe. "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Wed. 9 Jan. 2013, "Das Aushängeschild Berliner Flughafen wird zum Schandmal" [my emphasis]"

**On the Website of the 'Flughafen Berlin Brandenburg Willy Brandt' we find the information that in 1996 was decided to erect this airport and that it was opened on 31st October 2020.**

Cf. online at:

<<https://corporate.berlin-airport.de/de/unternehmen-presse/historie/flughafen-berlin-brandenburg-willy-brandt.html>>. Visited 4th April 2023.

" 2000 – 2004: Planfeststellungsverfahren mit Auslegung der Unterlagen und öffentlichen Anhörungen.

1999: Unterzeichnung der Verträge zur Umsiedlung der Gemeinde Diepensee und der Teilumsiedlung der Gemeinde Selchow.

1997 – 2003: Verhandlungen über die Privatisierung des Bauvorhabens und Vergabeverfahren. Die Privatisierung wird schlussendlich nicht umgesetzt und die Planungsunterlagen gehen an die Flughafengesellschaft über.

1996 – 1999: Planung des Flughafens und Einreichung des Planfeststellungsantrags

1996: Konsensbeschluss der Gesellschafter Berlin, Brandenburg und Bund: Die Gesellschafter verzichten auf den Neubau eines Flughafens für die Region. Stattdessen soll der bereits existierende Flughafen Schönefeld zum Airport Berlin Brandenburg International BBI ausgebaut werden. Die innerstädtischen Flughäfen Tegel und Tempelhof sollen geschlossen werden.

Einfach aufmachen: Am 31. Oktober 2020 ist das Terminal 1 des Flughafens Berlin Brandenburg Willy Brandt (BER) mit der Ankunft der ersten beiden Flugzeuge von easyJet und Lufthansa eröffnet worden ...".

**But note that other scholars judge the Column of Trajan very differently than Martin Beckmann (2017).**

See the exhibition-catalogue, edited by Giovanni Di Pasquale: *L'arte di costruire un capolavoro: la colonna Traiana* (2019).

**In this Study, Domitian's building projects in Rome have been discussed in great detail.**

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.) Domitian's building projects at Rome, discussed in this Study*;

at *Appendix IV.d.4.a) Domitian's building project 'Colosseum City'*;

at *Appendix IV.d.4.b) Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the Templum Pacis, and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum*;

at *Appendix IV.d.4.c) Domitian's building projects at Rome. Conclusions arrived at in Appendix IV.d. With The first Contribution by Eugenio La Rocca.*

As a result of this Chapter it seems to be clear that Domitian, who destroyed the sella between the Quirinal and the Arx, in order to erect his huge forum there (the later 'Forum of Trajan'), had used this excavated material to fill in a valley on the Mons Oppius. This finding invited the further assumption that already Domitian had planned to erect at this site great public baths, the now so-called 'Baths of Trajan'. The confirmation that Domitian had actually started building those baths, reached me only afterwards;

See also below, at *The first Contribution by Eugenio La Rocca.*

**See most recently for the fact that Domitian had started his Mega-Forum which should become the Forum Traiani:** Antonella Corsaro and Beatrice Pinna Caboni (in: A. CORSARO, B. PINNA CABONI and C. PARISI PRESICCE, "Domiziano, Nerva e il loro Foro", 2023, 70), and Gian Luca Gregori and Valerio Astolfi ("La damnatio memoriae di Domiziano. Iscrizioni e monumenti di Roma", 2023, 161 with ns. 19-20).

**And concerning the Baths of Trajan, Gregori and Astolfi (2023, 161) write :** "La medesima operazione di appropriazione da parte di Traiano potrebbe riconoscersi nel complesso termale della *regio III* (colle Oppio), che secondo le fonti letterarie sarebbe stato edificato da Domiziano [with n. 21]".

In their **note 21**, Gregori and Astolfi write: "Anderson 1983, pp. 102-104; Packer 1997, pp. 3-4".

Domitian rebuilt/ restored great parts of Rome, which had been destroyed by the fire on the *Capitolium* on 19th December 69, and again in the great fire of AD 80. Concerning his building projects at Rome, I have

come to conclusions that are summarized *infra*, in Chapter: *The major results of this book on Domitian*. In the following, I anticipate the essential results from the Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*:

**1.) Domitian's enterprises [*inter alia* concerning his building projects at Rome] were without any doubt important accomplishments for the public good.**

**2.) Thanks to Domitian's enterprises and those of his family, Rome is still nowadays basically a Flavian city.**

I have borrowed the formulation of my 2.) point from the two epigraphs of Eric M. Moormann's article ("Domitian's remake of Augustan Rome and the Iseum Campense", 2018, 161), which read: "A visitor to Rome today cannot avoid the Flavians" [with n. 1], and: "To the modern visitor the centre of Rome presents itself as essentially a Flavian city" [with n. 2]. In his **note 1**, Moormann writes: "Darwall-Smith 1996, 17 ...". In his **note 2**, he writes: "Boyle 2003, 29 ...".

In his most recent discussion of this subject; cf. Moormann ("Domitian's Reshaping of Rome", 2021, 43-44), he even writes: "**Due to Titus' [page 44] premature death in September 81, Domitian could shape the town into a real Domitianopolis** without trespassing the ambitions of his father and brother (fig. 1) [with n. 4, providing references; my emphasis]".

In his note 1, Moormann (2021, 43) mentions the essay by Katherine E. Welch ("Neropolis", 2018).

For 'Neropolis'; cf. also T.P. Wiseman (2019, 35).

In the Italian version of this article, Moormann ("Il riordinamento di Roma sotto Domiziano", 2023, 62) has made a relevant addition to his final statement: "**Tutte queste attività edilizie mostrano come Domiziano abbia meticolosamente ancorato i suoi progetti ai programmi costruttivi di Augusto e Nerone**, evitando tuttavia, accuratamente, di essere indicato come un tiranno, come invece era accaduto al pur ancora ammirato Nerone [with n. 38, providing references], **per sottolineare, invece, l'importanza degli edifici di pubblica utilità, come già fatto da Vespasiano e Tito nei decenni immediatamente precedenti. E così creò davvero la sua "Domizianopoli"** [my emphasis]".

After what was said so far in this point 3.), I recommend that the reader, who looks at the above-mentioned *Chapters* of this *Study* that are dedicated to Domitian's building projects in Rome, should keep in mind the following. The airport Berlin Brandenburg was erected in 24 years, whereas Domitian succeeded in 'rebuilding/ restoring great parts of the entire city of Rome' in the short period of the 15 years of his reign.

**In the following, I wish to alert the reader to some important observations concerning the subjects discussed here, made by Sablayrolles (1994), whose account has been overlooked by most scholars, who have discussed Domitian recently; I myself have likewise only been alerted to it after all my above-quoted *Chapters* had already been written. Sablayrolles adds many more observations to my point 1.) Domitian's enterprises were without any doubt important accomplishments for the public good'.**

I myself concentrate in this *Study* predominantly on Domitian's *visible* buildings at Rome, erected anew or restored after the devastating fires of AD 69 and 80, and in some cases also on their (former) sculpture decorations. Concerning this point, I have come to the following conclusion, written for *infra*, Chapter I.2.:

'One thing is clear, Domitian provided superb chances for marble workers and all kinds of people, who collaborated with them. **Their results are especially noteworthy, as pointed out by Francesca Ghedini [1986, 299, 291-292] and John Pollini [2012, 103; both quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter I.2., at n. 227], in the vast field of politically motivated iconographies. It therefore seems, as if Domitian not only commissioned new buildings at Rome at a truly 'pharaonic' scale - as Julius Caesar's relevant activities have aptly been characterized by Eugenio La Rocca [with n. 228] - but also, that Domitian's relevant initiatives, by creating an atmosphere of artistic experimentation and innovation, are nothing less than pioneering [my emphasis]'.**

To this I should like to add some further observations concerning the innovations that characterize the marble reliefs, commissioned by Domitian. Already Diana E.E.Kleiner (1992, 183) describes as "one of the hallmarks of Domitianic art" that, on the Nollekens Relief (here **Fig. 36**), "the human emperor interacts with divinities and personifications"; in addition to this, she observes "that the figures [of this relief] are almost frontal".

In the following, I, therefore, anticipate another passage, written for *infra*, Chapter *V.1.i.3.a*):

**“What then are the innovative ideas that characterize the relief here Fig. 33 from Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, which represents Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in the first half of October AD 70 ?**

1.) As was already mentioned above: the application of a ‘hierarchy of scale’, which is therefore proven to have already started under Domitian, a fact which was previously unknown. Or rather: this innovation was earlier (erroneously) attributed to Trajanic/ Hadrianic art [cf. *infra*, in Chapter *II.3.3.*, and here **Fig. 46**: the reliefs from the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum]; 2.) Vespasian in the relief from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (here **Fig. 33**), who is accompanied by an entourage, ‘faces’ the beholder, who thus becomes himself or herself one part of the receiving party. There is no better way to ‘integrate’ a beholder into a composition than by this seemingly simple decision’.

From Claudio Parisi Presicce we learn that also the design of Domitian's arches became standard ("The Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus", 2021a, 53; cf. *id.* 2023, 110, the Italian version of this essay): "Under Domitian, in Rome the practice to frame the archway with a pair of columns set against the pillars, came into being ... The Arch of Titus [here **Fig. 121**] in the Circus Maximus displayed, for the first time in Rome, the type with four entirely round columns on the front sides - two on the outside and two in the middle between the central major passage and the two lateral ones - completely detached from the body of the structure. This scheme ... would become standard in the three-arched arches of the middle Empire [my emphasis]". He discusses also the Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia* (here **Fig. 120**) and the "ARCUS AD ISIS" on the relief from the tomb of the Haterii (here **Figs. 89; 90**), both of which are Domitianic. Cf. below, in Chapter *IV.1.1.g*).

Apropos, the innovations, created by Domitian's artists. In this context, I wish to anticipate, in addition to this, a passage from a text that was written for *infra*, Chapter *V.1.i.3.b*); at Section *III*.

The following are Roberta Alteri's (2023, 34 with n. 21) observations concerning the architectural marbles of Domitian's Palace on the Palatine: "**Questa ricchezza e particolarità delle varianti** [of the applied architectural marbles] **presenti nella residenza domiziana** [*i.e.*, his Palace on the Palatine] **assurgeranno a modello e diventeranno prototipo delle botteghe dei periodi successivi, che ripeteranno lo stile di Domiziano, specialmente quello palaziale, ancora nel II e nel III secolo d.C.** [with n. 21; my emphasis]".

In her **note 21**, Alteri writes: "**Pensabene, Caprioli 2009; Caprioli 2021** [my emphasis]”.

Let's now return to our main subject.

Contrary to my own just-quoted main interest pursued in this *Study*, I have addressed Domitian's great efforts concerning the supply of the people of Rome only *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*) on Domitian's building projects in Rome, and in my *Chapter* on *La Marmorata* (to which I will come back below).

**Sablayrolles (1994) on the other hand, is, in addition to this, interested in Domitian's likewise gigantic projects concerning the restoration of great parts of the City's (in part invisible) infrastructure, which had also been destroyed in the fire of AD 80, and concerning the supply of the people of Rome with all goods needed. I am happy to admit that these achievements of Domitian are also grandiose and admirable, and, in reality, at least of equal importance as his very famous and (in part) still visible buildings.**

Sablayrolles (1994, 113) reminds us of the following facts. Domitian's *damnatio memoriae* had dramatic effects on the visible structures and statues, built and erected by the emperor in Rome, especially on his inscriptions. In the *fistulae aquariae*, on the other hand, Domitian's name could, of course, not be erased, because those water conduits were built underground, and were, therefore, *not visible*. As a matter of fact, Domitian's name appears on the *fistulae aquariae*, found at Rome, much more frequently than that of any other emperor, for example the names of the Emperors Trajan and Hadrian, which proves in Sablayrolles's convincing opinion Domitian's very important care for this part of Rome's infrastructure :

"Si la *damnatio memoriae* fut à la mesure de l'oeuvre accomplie, radicale et gigantesque, l'archéologie n'en confirme pas moins les données littéraires, lorsqu'elle rend compte des vestiges conservés, par hasard ou par nécessité, de l'oeuvre urbaine de Domitien. **Ainsi, comme le remarquait déjà justement S. Gsell, la marque de Domitien sur les conduites d'eau en plomb de la ville - qui échappèrent par leur position souterraine à la fureur iconoclaste des briseurs de statues et d'inscriptions - est la plus fréquente dans le corpus des *fistulae plumbeae*, avant celles de Trajan et d'Hadrien, témoignage concret, significatif - et conservé, à la différence d'autres - de l'ampleur des travaux de l'empereur [i.e., of Domitian; my emphasis]**".

In his **note 3**, Sablayrolles writes: "S. Gsell, *Essai sur le règne de Domitien*, Paris, 1892, p. 117. A s'en tenir au seul index du *CIL XV*, on recense 16 exemples de marques appartenant à Domitien, pour 10 à Trajan et 10 à Hadrien".

For those *fistulae aquariae*, which carry the names of Domitian, Trajan and Hadrian; cf. also Christer Bruun (1991, 33-34), who lists also the names of all the other emperors. Bruun's documentation proves that Gsell (1892) and Sablayrolles (1994) were right in asserting that by far the most *fistulae aquariae* with a name of an emperor, that were so far found at Rome, are those of Domitian.

See now also Christer Bruun (2022) for the point discussed in the following: the supply of the City of Rome with all goods needed that were transported on the Tiber (to this I will come back below).

Sablayrolles (1994, 115) writes that Domitian and his consultants concentrated on three essential problems of urban life in ancient Rome: security, supply and water : "L'empereur et ses conseillers en la matière s'attaquèrent à trois problèmes essentiels de la vie urbaine antique : la sécurité, l'approvisionnement, l'eau [my emphasis]".

To Sablayrolles's (1994, 115) statement concerning Domitian's care for the supply of Rome with water, I should like to add the observations, made by Francesco Paolo Arata concerning the branch of the *Aqua Claudia*, built by Domitian from the Caelian to the Palatine to supply his '*Domus Flavia*'/ *Domus Augustana* with water. Arata is able to document the precise course of this branch that was previously incorrectly reconstructed (cf. *id.*, "L'acquedotto della *Claudia* tra il Celio e il Palatino alcune note", 2012).

Since AD 62, the aqueduct *Aqua Claudia* did not deliver water to the Caelian any more. Vespasian and Titus started a huge project to repair the *Aqua Claudia*, finished by Domitian, who also built its extension to the Palatine. This branch of the *Aqua Claudia* was carried by the imposing, partly extant aquaeduct, it comprised 3-4 storeys, and was 300 m long and circa 37 m high. Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section *XII*.

Sablayrolles (1994, 115), after mentioning the fact that the fire of AD 80 had destroyed important parts of Rome's infrastructure, lists in the following Domitian's measures that aimed at preventing such great fires in the future: *inter alia* by founding at Rome's port Ostia the barracks of a new fire brigade :

"Sur le plan administratif, Domitien renforça l'organisation des cohortes de vigiles destinées par leurs rondes permanentes à prévenir le déclenchement du sinistre. La construction d'une caserne de vigiles à Ostie prouve qu'à partir de cette époque y frut expédiée régulièrement une *vexillatio* de vigiles pour surveiller le port".

We shall see in this *Study* that this decision of Domitian and his consultants was especially far-sighted, because Tacitus (*Ann.* 15,18,2, who does not say when exactly all this had happened) tells us the following. On one occasion, 200 ships (with goods from abroad) had been destroyed during a thunderstorm at the *Portus Augusti*, and on another occasion, 100 ships (also with goods from abroad) had been destroyed by a fire. Those ships had been docked over night, one next to the other, somewhere on the banks of the Tiber between Ostia and Rome.

Cf. *infra*, in the *Chapter* on *La Marmorata*; Section I. *Introduction*, and below, at *The sixth Contribution* by Peter Herz : *Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung*. See also the essay, dedicated to the same subject by Christer Bruun ("Approvvigionamento, infrastruttura, trasporti", 2022), referred to in Section IV. of this *Chapter*, which I have only found when this volume was about to be sent to the press.- To this I will come back below.

**To Sablayrolles's (1994, 115) remarks concerning Domitian's care for the *vigiles*, we can now add further observations, made by Valentina Musella (2023, 55). She, in my opinion convincingly, tentatively suggests that Domitian's interest in the *Vigiles* may be explained with his personal positive experiences with them during the Civil War :**

"Inoltre, tra le attività di protezione dagli incendi Domiziano mise in atto diversi interventi [with n. 22], influenzato, forse, anche dal proprio vissuto. L'imperatore ripagò infatti la lealtà del corpo dei *Vigiles*, che si era schierato con la famiglia Flavia durante il *Bellum Vitellianum*, quando egli, a soli 18 anni, aveva rischiato di morire, tenendolo in grande considerazione. Promosse un progetto di prevenzione mantenendo le sette coorti e i quattordici *excubitoria* [with n. 23], aumentando il numero del personale, dotandoli di nuove caserme [with n. 24] e coinvolgendoli nelle celebrazioni rituali come i *Volcanalia*, ed erigendo, finalmente, le *Arae incendii Neroniani* [with n. 25]. Circondate da un recinto rituale delimitato da cippi e da una cancellata metallica, le are, erette per scongiurare il propagarsi di nuovi incendi, furono dedicate da Domiziano a Vulcano, dio del fuoco distruttore, per portare a compimento il *votum* contratto da Nerone e mai mantenuto (fig. 4) [my emphasis]".

In her note 22, Musella writes: "22 Già Nerone, dopo aver emanato le *Ignibus reprimendis* che stabilivano accorgimenti tecnici volti a scongiurare nuovi incendi, come la realizzazione di strade più larghe, un'altezza limite per gli edifici, l'apertura di piazze e il divieto di utilizzo del legno, consapevole che per assicurarsi la protezione dagli incendi era necessario riottenere il favore delle divinità, consultò ``i libri sibillini e ricorse ad un insieme di riti espiatori rivolti a Vulcano, Cerere e Proserpina`` (Tac. *ann.* 15, 43-44)".

In her note 23, she writes: "Sulle sedi dei vigili *LTUR* I, pp. 292-294, s.v. *Vigiles* [A.M. Ramieri]".

In her note 24, she writes: "Ramieri 1990, p. 27; Sablayrolles 1996, pp. 49, 791; Astolfi 2021, p. 106 e nota 50".

In her note 25, she writes: "Note anche come *Arae Incendii Neronis*, con un latinismo riduttivo e fuorviante (Closs 2014 [corr.: V.M. CLOSS 2013], p. 229), le are riportano le iscrizioni *CIL* VI 30837a (dal Vaticano), *CIL* VI 30837b (dal Quirinale) e *CIL* VI 30837c (dall'Aventino). Di questi altari dedicati a Vulcano sono stati rinvenuti due esemplari *in situ*, presso l'Alta Semita sul Quirinale (per Coarelli l'esemplare del Quirinale è lo stesso di quello non *in situ* rinvenuto nell'area vaticana, Coarelli 2014a [*i.e.*, here F. COARELLI 2014], p. 267) e alle pendici orientali dell'Aventino, e uno in giacitura secondaria (forse 14 se si considera un esemplare per ogni *regio*), ma ne dovevano esistere altri".

**These so-called *Arae Incendii Neronis*, erected by Domitian, are also in so far of interest in the context discussed here, because on their inscriptions, the name of Domitian and his title has *not* been erased.**

Cf. Gian Luca Gregori, Valerio Astolfi ("La *damnatio memoriae* di Domiziano. Iscrizioni e monumenti di Roma", 2023, 159-160): "Un caso interessante è costituito, tra le iscrizioni sacre, dai cippi di delimitazione di aree colpite dall'in- [page 160] cendio neroniano e che menzionano lo scioglimento di un voto da parte di Domiziano, la prescrizione di riti per Vulcano (il 23 agosto) e il divieto di commerciare e stazionare nell'area [with n. 10]".

In their **note 10**, Gregori and Astolfi write: "*CIL VI 30837a = EDR177974; CIL VI 30837b = EDR177975; CIL VI 30837c = EDR177976: tre iscrizioni identiche, ma solo quella rinvenuta nel 1640 presso S. Andrea sul Quirinale e oggi dispersa, conservava il nome e la titolatura di Domiziano: CIL VI 30837b = EDR177975; vd. Coarelli 2014a [i.e., here F. COARELLI 2014], pp. 264-267; Lauro 2019; Scheid 2019, pp. 55-59; Astolfi 2021 [my emphasis]*".

For further discussion of this subject; cf. also Virginia Closs ("*Neronianis Temporibus: the So-Called Arae Incendii Neroniani and the Fire of A.D. 64 in Rome's Monumental Landscape*", 2016).

Cf. also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b) Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the Templum Pacis and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum.*

Sablayrolles (1994, 116) then turns to Domitian's measures that aimed at the supply of the people of Rome with food and comes to the (in my opinion convincing) conclusion that Domitian and his consultants had developed a grandiose master-plan to control each step of this very complex process :

"Dans le domaine de l'approvisionnement, Domitien fit preuve de la même *diligentia*, assurant le support architectural et urbanistique indispensable à toutes les étapes du processus. Nous avons déjà rappelé que c'est à lui qu'Ostie devait une protection identique à celle de la capitale par l'installation d'une *vexillatio de vigiles*. Située à proximité du quartier de l'approvisionnement en blé (la place des corporations), la caserne assurait de toute évidence en priorité la sécurité des *horrea*. A Rome, le Chronographe de 354 rappelait la reconstruction des *horrea piperataria*, à l'emplacement de la future basilique de Constantin sur le Forum et des *horrea Vespasiani*, dont la localisation est inconnue [their location is now known; cf. *infra*]. Les études archéologiques récentes faites sur le Champ de Mars près de San Paolo alla Regola confirment cette activité édilitaire en matière de stockage [with n. 11]. L. Quilici a montré que ces constructions s'inséraient dans un vaste complexe d'*horrea*, qui devait couvrir toute la partie orientale du quartier, le long du Tibre [with n. 12]. Même en matière d'édifices utilitaires, la politique de Domitien ne perdait pas son aspect grandiose et le fonctionnel s'accordait en la circonstance avec le gigantesque; les solutions architecturales étaient à la mesure du problème. C'est aussi dans le cadre de la reconstruction du champ de Mars après l'incendie de 80 que prirent place les travaux de la *Porticus Minucia Vêtus* mentionnés par le chronographe de 354. Certes, la *Minucia Vêtus*, identifiée justement par F. Coarelli avec l'*area sacra* du Largo Argentina, est à distinguer de la *Minucia Frumentaria* qui lui était cependant attenante, comme en témoignent les fragments 322 et 35 ee de la *Forma Urbis* [i.e., the Severan Marble Plan] tels qu'ils ont été replacés par L. Cozza [with n. 13]. L'ampleur de l'incendie de 80, qui détruisit les trois édifices encadrant la *Minucia Frumentaria* (*Diribitorium* et *Theatrum Balbi* selon Dion Cassius, *Minucia Vêtus* selon le Chronographe de 354) ne laisse aucun doute sur la réalité du sinistre [with n. 14]. De la source d'approvisionnement à Ostie jusqu'à la distribution des rations aux ayant droit en passant par les aires de stockage, Domitien et ses conseillers avaient donc eu soin d'assurer l'infrastructure indispensable à l'approvisionnement de la cité. Ces réalisations révèlent une analyse globale du problème, un plan cohérent de solutions et une exécution à la dimension tout à la fois des difficultés de l'entreprise et du génie organisateur de l'équipe impériale [my emphasis]

In his **note 11**, Sablayrolles writes: "Ces découvertes ponctuelles, faites en 1914-1915 et 1929 lors de travaux de restauration du Ministerio [!] di Grazia e Giustizia, via di S. Paolo alla Regola, n'ont fait l'objet que de publications peu connues et peu accessibles (G. Parisi, *S. Paolo alla Regola*, Rome, 1931, p. 29-31), selon L. Quilici qui a repris l'ensemble des données dans un article récent : Roma. Via di S. Paolo alla Regola. Scavo e reapero [!] di edifici antichi e medioevali, dans *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, 8ème série, XL-XLI, 1986-1987 (1990), p. 175-416. Voir en particulier, sur ces découvertes précises, p. 190 et note 27".

In his **note 12**, he writes: "L. Quilici, *article cité* note 11, p. 403".

In his **note 13**, he writes: "L. Cozza, *Pianta Marmorea Severiana : nuove ricomposizioni di frammenti*, dans *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Topografia Antica dell'Università di Roma*, V, 1968, p. 9-20. Pour l'identification de F.



Coarelli, voir F. Coarelli, U. Nyberg, M. Steinby, *L'Area Sacra di Largo Argentina*, 1, Rome, 1981, p. 32 et F. Coarelli, L'identificazione dell'Area Sacra dell'Argentina, dans *Palatino*, 12, 1968, p. 365-373".

In his **note 14**, he writes: "Le seul avis contraire est celui de F. Castagnoli, selon qui, seule, la *Minucia Vêtus* aurait brûlé (*Il Campo Marzio nell'antichità, Memorie dell'Accademia dei Lincei*, s. VIII, vol. I, 4, 1946, p. 93-113, et p. 176-177). La localisation de la *Minucia Vetus* sur les vestiges de l'*Area Sacra* montre qu'elle encadrait, avec le théâtre de Balbus et le *Diribitorium*, la *Minucia Frumentaria*. L'incendie qui touchait ces trois édifices ne pouvait donc pas épargner le quatrième".

For the controversy, (in part) summarized by Sableyrolles (1994, 116), which revolves around the identifications/ locations of the *Porticus Minucia Vetus* and of the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*, built by Domitian; cf. also Häuber (2017, 20, 59-60); Coarelli (2019a, 229-267), and below, at Chapter II.3.1.c); and at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here Fig. 11). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part II.; Section III.

On our maps also the other buildings, mentioned by Sableyrolles (*op.cit.*) are marked; cf. here **Figs. 58; 59**, labels: DIRIBITORIUM; Largo Torre Argentina; Republican temples; IUTURNA; FORTUNA HUIUSCE DIEI; FERONIA; LARES PERMARINI; Via delle Botteghe Oscure; PORTICUS MINUCIA FRUMENTARIA; AEDES: NYMPHAE.; THEATRUM BALBI.

And for the location of the *Horrea Vespasiani*, mentioned by Sableyrolles (1994, 116); cf. Emanuele Papi ("Horrea Vespasiani", in *LTUR* III [1996] 49-50, Figs. 33-34; V [1999] 263); and here **Fig. 71**, labels: SACRA VIA; VELIA; HORREA VESPASIANI.

**Also Eric M. Moormann (2018, 173) observes the fact that the *Campus Martius*: "was an emblem of the emperor's [i.e., Domitian's] goodness, as shown in the distribution of grain and oil ... [my emphasis]", thus referring to the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*, built by Domitian.**

For further discussion of this point; cf. *infra*, at Chapter II.3.1.c).

**As mentioned above, part of Domitian's master-plan to supply the people of Rome with all goods needed, as described by Sableyrolles (1994, 116), has also been discussed in this Study.**

For example by trying to answer the question, how not only those goods, but also how the enormous masses of building material, needed for Domitian's building projects at Rome, had reached the City. This I have done by concentrating on ancient Rome's new commercial river port to the south of the Aventine, in the quartiere Testaccio, at *La Marmorata* (cf. here **Figs. 102; 102.4; 103**). This place was called like this because of the incredible quantities of building material, brought there in antiquity, which has been extracted in this area in past centuries.

Not surprisingly, recent excavations at *La Marmorata* have shown that most of those marble blocks, imported in antiquity from far away marble quarries all over the Mediterranean, that carry consular dates, had been brought there under Domitian; cf. Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017, 573 with n. 161).

Also Domitian 'himself' was involv'd in this documentation of the marble trade on the Tiber: he commissioned for the new Iseum Campense, which he built after the great fire of AD 80 had destroyed the earlier sanctuary, two colossal marble statues of the River gods Tiber and Nile (here **Fig. 104**), which were on display in the water basin in front of Domitian's Temple of Serapis (cf. here **Figs. 58; 59; 61; 82**); these statues are in the Vatican Museums and in the Louvre, respectively. On the plinth of the River God Tiber appears a relief, showing three small ships on the Tiber (here **Figs. 105; 106**). The ship in the middle is transporting a huge block of marble and this is actually the only extant representation of the marble trade on the Tiber.

Cf. *infra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11)*. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part II. *Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalia) and of the Horrea Aemiliana*. With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?; at Section I. *Introduction*; and at Section II. *Ships in the Portus Augusti (here Figs. 98; 99) and on the Tiber (here Figs. 105; 106), which supplied the city of Rome with goods from all over the Empire, and the men, who provided these services*. See also below, at *The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung*.

Sablayrolles (1994, 125), who compares in this article Domitian with Augustus, comes to the conclusion that there were many parallels between the two men. Domitian was for example, intentionally, as Sablayrolles suggests, 'like Augustus, a prudent administrator' :

"Les rapprochements entre Auguste et Domitien sont, on le constate, nombreux. Conséquences, certes, d'identités de vues et de choix politiques dans bien des domaines - **Domitien, comme Auguste, fut un administrateur avisé** - , ils sont aussi le fruit d'une politique délibérée de l'empereur flavien [my emphasis]". Also Vignia Closs (2016, 116) writes about Domitian: "A **capable administrator, Domitian** augmented Rome's aggressive taxation measures, and his ambitious building programme is still apparent today in the city's landscape [with n. 62, providing references and further discussion; my emphasis]".

Of a different opinion concerning this point are Aurora Raimondi Cominesi, Nathalie de Haan, Eric M. Moormann and Claire Stocks (2021, 16):

"Scholars nowadays acknowledge the fact, for example, that "**his [i.e., Domitian's] grip on the empire's administration was no worse than [that of] many of the emperors before or after him** [my emphasis]".

And Nathalie de Haan, Eric M. Moormann, Aurora Raimondi Cominesi and Claire Stocks (2023, 17), write in the Italian translation of this text: "Gli studiosi oggi riconoscono, per esempio, il fatto che **Domiziano ... e che il suo modo di condurre l'amministrazione dell'impero non fosse tutto sommato peggiore di quello della maggioranza degli imperatori che l'avevano preceduto né di quelli che vennero dopo di lui** [my emphasis]".

Finally Sablayrolles (1994, 135) discusses (like many other scholars before and after him), whether Domitian had financial problems at the end of his reign, given his enormous building projects.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*), where I have asked the same question. Quoting different modern commentators than Sablayrolles (*op.cit.*), I have come like him to the conclusion that this was *not* the case, and that Domitian's confiscations at the end of his reign were politically motivated.

In the following, Sablayrolles (199, 135), summarizes Domitian's achievements concerning his gigantic building projects at Rome.

Then he asks, whether in reality 'the famous *Pax Romana*' under the Antonine emperors had not already been achieved by Domitian, thanks to his excellent government. Sablayrolles points out all aspects of the consequences Domitian's government, his building projects at Rome, the economy of the Roman Empire, its society and its institutions. At the end of this discussion Sablayrolles, therefore, (in my opinion understandably) asks why this period is *not* called 'the age of Domitian', similarly as we are used to speak of 'the age of Augustus', and of 'the age of Pericles'. Sablayrolles himself answers this question as follows: Because Domitian ended as Augustus had begun, 'with a violent and bloody tyranny', Domitian's opponents have, as Sablayrolles suggests, therefore, consequently 'intentionally wiped out from history the memory of Domitian's achievements' :

"Si Domitien fut capable de réaliser, sans grands problèmes financiers, une entreprise aussi gigantesque d'urbanisme, plus que les difficultés du Trésor ne faut-il pas souligner les possibilités de l'empire quelles qu'elles aient été ? En d'autres termes, la *Pax Romana*, pourvoyeuse d'une richesse et d'une sérénité propices aux créations en tout genre, cette *Pax Romana* dont on fait le symbole du II<sup>ème</sup> siècle dit des Antonins n'est-elle pas plutôt la caractéristique essentielle du règne de Domitien, la raison première de son éclat, le fondement de son histoire ? Domitien, homme de son temps, aurait ainsi été l'instrument opératoire, l'élément cristallisateur qui aurait donné vie et forme à l'*Urbs* que, seule, rendait possible la prospérité d'un empire arrivé à un stade d'équilibre et de maturité sur le plan de l'économie, de la société, des institutions. **Pourquoi alors cette période, où se trouvaient réunies les conditions d'un classicisme triomphant, ne porte-t-elle pas le nom de Siècle de Domitien, comme il y eut un Siècle d'Auguste ou un Siècle de Périclès?** Parce que, bien sûr, **Domitien finit par là où Auguste avait commencé : une tyrannie violente et sanguinaire, ponctuée d'exils, d'emprisonnements et de meurtres. Parce qu'aussi une machiavélique réaction, à la mesure du despotisme de l'empereur, s'employa à rayer de l'histoire l'oeuvre accomplie avec le nom du Prince** [my emphasis]".

**Concerning the achievements of Domitian's reign, pointed out by Sablayrolles (1994, 135), Aurora Raimondi Cominesi, Nathalie de Haan, Eric M. Moormann and Claire Stocks (2021, p. 16) have come to a likewise positive conclusion :**

"Rome benefitted from his [*i.e.*, Domitian's] building policy, and arts and literature flourished. Economy performed well under his governance, which one sees reflected in the prospering towns and countryside of the Mediterranean in these years". And Nathalie de Haan, Eric M. Moormann, Aurora Raimondi Cominesi and Claire Stocks (2023, 17), write in the Italian translation of this text: "Roma trasse vantaggio della sua [*i.e.*, Domitian's] politica edilizia; le arti e la letteratura fiorirono, l'economia si mantenne prospera, come testimoniato dalle ricchezze di città e campagne".

**For Domitian's 'bloody and violent tyranny' at the end of his reign, mentioned by Sableyrolles (1994, 135), I anticipate here a passage written for *infra*, volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*) :**

'Neither should we neglect what is to be found under: "Domitian, tyranny of", in the index of T.P. Wiseman's book (*The House of Augustus: A Historical Detective Story*, 2019), namely an explanation of Tacitus's attitudes to Augustus and Domitian. Commenting on Tacitus (*Ann.* 1,8,6), Wiseman (2019, 163) writes: "... Tacitus' point of view is perfectly understandable. He was a distinguished senator. During the late years of Domitian he had seen the Senate terrorised and men like himself subjected to arbitrary arrest and execution". This was quoted in more detail ... [*infra*, in *Appendix I.c*)).

**For a detailed discussion of Tacitus's attitude to Domitian; cf. T.P. Wiseman ("Domitian and the Dynamics of Terror in Classical Rome. The Saddam Hussein of the Roman Empire? Peter Wiseman offers some intriguing thoughts on the world of the emperor Domitian - its traumas and its terrors - to mark the 1900th anniversary of his assassination [my emphasis]", September 1996).**

My thanks are due to Rose Mary Sheldon for providing me with a copy of this article'.

For this subject; cf. also Barbara Levick (2009, 23). - As we shall see in a minute, it is worth while to consider the findings of T.P. Wiseman (1996), Barbara Levick (2009), and Maria Paola Del Moro (2021, 186 with n. 3; *ead.* 2023, 167 with n. 4) together with the additional observations, made by Rose Mary Sheldon (2023, in press), to which we will now turn.

**The reason why I had suddenly doubts concerning this question was Frederick G. Naerebout's (2021, 151) statement : the "years before the emperor [*i.e.*, Domitian], supposedly turned tyrant". I have, therefore, asked Rose Mary Sheldon for advice.**

Rose Mary Sheldon is of exactly the same opinion as Naerebout (*op.cit.*), and answered me by E-mail of 12th April 2023 the following, which I may publish here with her kind consent:

"... Here is my answer to your question. The same people who invented Domitian's ``monstrous tyranny'' were those who invented a financial crisis to explain his behavior. They are both imaginary. I explain this in my Chapter 7: ``Domitian: Reigning in Rome'' (attached) starting on p. 5. Was Domitian an autocrat? Of course, all Roman emperors were. The Principate is the rule of ONE. Could he be dictatorial at times. Yes, so could most emperors. But what gets them labeled as ``tyrants'' is when they start killing off senators. Remember that Domitian was assassinated which means he got a lot of people angry. But I see no reason to believe he ran out of money and the works cited in my footnotes for the relative argument in Chapter 7 argue the same, including Sablayrolles and Wiseman.

Mostly, this is a matter of semantics. How ``tyrannical'' a tyrant is depends on who is making the judgement. In the case of Roman emperors, it is usually the people who killed him that write the history afterwards so they always portray him as an out-of-control maniac ...".

Attached to this E-mail of 12th April, 2023, Rose Mary Sheldon was kind enough to send me that Chapter of her book (*Guarding the Caesars. Roman Internal Security under the Flavian Dynasty*, 2023, in press; Chapter 7: "Domitian: Reigning in Rome"), in which the subjects, mentioned by Sablayrolles (1994, 135) in the above-quoted passage, are discussed in great detail.

**I quote in the following the relevant passages from Sheldon's book (2023, in press; Chapter 7), in which she addresses also Domitian's possible motives to act in these specific ways.**

As mentioned in Section II. of this *Preamble*, I find especially significant Sheldon's observations concerning Domitian's bad relationship with the Senate, a subject that I myself have not addressed in this *Study*. From Sheldon's text it is clear - as she had already written to me in her E-mail of 12th April 2023 - that after Domitian's assassination, *this* has become another reason (that is to say: apart from Trajan's personal motivation, discussed in Section I. of this *Preamble*) for the creation of Domitian's bad image: simply because some of the authors of this bad image (Tacitus, Pliny the Younger, and Dio Cassius) were *themselves* senators.

For the fact that Dio Cassius was a senator (cf. *infra*, n. 201, in Chapter I.1.1.). We have already heard above from T.P. Wiseman (2019, 163), that Tacitus "was a distinguished senator" (for Tacitus; cf also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.b*). For the fact that also Pliny the Younger was a senator; cf. A.N. Sherwin-White and Simon R.F. Price ("**Pliny (2) the Younger** (c.[irca] AD 61-c.[irca] 112) Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus ...", in *OCD*<sup>3</sup>, 1198 [the emphasis is by the authors themselves]).

**Concerning the reproach that Domitian, in the later years of his reign, turned into a tyrant, Sheldon (2023, in press; Chapter 7; Section: "A Good beginning") writes :**

"... Later authors wrote that Domitian actually *had* eliminated a large number of people, but there is no evidence for this".

**In her Section: "Domitian's Building Program", Rose Mary Sheldon (2023, in press; Chapter 7) writes :**

"... Domitian's determination to make Rome a capital that would be the pride of the empire was among his greatest achievements, and his building program created a very different city than that which existed before him. There were some fifty structures either erected, restored, or completed by Domitian in a massive and spectacular program of public building hardly equaled by any other emperor. [with n. 28] ... Some scholars have interpreted his extensive building as a need to build in a "pharaonic manner," that is, as extension of his delusions of grandeur. [with n. 30] **The problem is that Domitian's building only becomes ``monstrous'' after the history writers made it so. The same people who created the ``Reign of Terror'' concept for Domitian's last years also see his buildings as a reflection of his madness - which they created.** [with n. 31; my emphasis]".

In her **note 28**, Sheldon writes: "Jones (1992), 79, who also provides a summary of the sources (82-84) and a list of the buildings divided into four categories: 1) structures erected by Domitian, 2) structures restored by Domitian, 3) structures completed by Domitian and structures attributed to Domitian. Platner and Ashby (1929), 587-89 give a chronological list of imperial buildings, in which Domitian has the most entries after Augustus. On this, see Sablayrolles (1994), 113-44. He has slightly more than Nero and as many as Trajan and Hadrian combined. Cf. Blake (1959), 99-124".

In her **note 30**, she writes: "The term *''Bauwut''* ('building rage') is an expression coined by Stephanie Langer and Michael Pfanner (2018), 41 with n. 23. The term *Bauwut* suggests Domitian's motivation to build in such a grand style came from very strong, but 'irrational' feelings. Torelli (1987), 575 refers to Domitian's building activities on the Capitoline as *''il faraonico programma''*. See Häuber (2021 [(/ 2023, volume 3-2]), App. IV.d.4.a. Frederick (2003), 203. Edwards (1993), 137-72 for the condemnation of building as a *topos* in Roman rhetoric".

In her **note 31**, she writes: "**D'Ambra (1993), 10 on the error being a myth created for the Trajanic faction to condemn Domitian and to conceal the reality that Trajan continued Domitian's policies. Cf. Vinson (1989), 449. Domitian's only real crime was being the last Flavian. Jones (1992), 160-63 [my emphasis]**".

**In her Section: "The Economy", Rose Mary Sheldon (2023, in press; Chapter 7) writes :**

**"One of the biggest criticisms of Domitian as emperor is that he bankrupted the state and left an empty treasury.** Opinions range from Gsell, who believed he did not try to restore the economy that Titus had compromised, to Syme who believed that he left a surplus. And there are many opinions in between [with n. 134]. Gsell's accusation cannot be substantiated. [with n. 135] There is little positive evidence that Domitian was short of money in his later years. Suetonius accuses Domitian of spending more than he received but it is impossible to calculate the state income under Domitian because of lack of solid evidence. [with n. 136] ...

**Domitian inherited an administrative and financial system that worked well, and he involved himself meticulously in the details. The evidence seems to point to a balanced economy for the greater part of his reign.** [with n. 142; my emphasis]".

In her **note 134**, Sheldon writes: "Gsell (1894), 334. Syme (1930), 55-70. Part of the debate centered on a supposed decline in Domitian's building at the end of his reign. According to Jones (1992), 79 this decline is illusory. See refutations by Sutherland (1935), 150-62, who argues that Domitian was neither *''bankrupt, nor did he leave a surplus''* (161). Robathan (1942), 103-4 on the building program, 130-44. Garzetti (1974), 281-4. For conclusions based on coin evidence: Carradice (1983), 153-72. Rogers (1984), 60-78 draws up a balance sheet of Domitian's reign with estimates of his expenditures and income. See also Häuber (2021[ / 2023, volume 3-2]), Appendix IV.d.4.c".

In her **note 135**, she writes: "Syme (1930), 55".

In her **note 136**, she writes: "Suet., *Dom.* 3.2.12".

In her **note 142**, she writes: "On the treasury being empty, see Gsell (1894), 333-34, who argued that it was bankrupt. Syme (1930), 55-70 stressed Domitian's intelligence and capabilities and argued that there was sufficient money left in the treasury for Nerva to squander. Sutherland (1935), 150-62 restated the case for financial disaster at the end of Domitian's reign. Garzetti (1974), 281-4 stressed Domitian's efficient revenue collection which yielded more than enough for him to spend on his various projects. Rogers (1984), 77 concluded that the treasury was not full when Nerva took over, but that Domitian had settled all accounts, Syme(1983), 121-46".

**In her Section "The Coinage", Rose Mary Sheldon (2023, in press; Chapter 7) writes :**

**"Domitian's reign was one of the most important in the history of Roman imperial coinage.** [with n. 156] It was an area where he was determined to reverse the policies of his brother Titus. Titus, like his father Vespasian, left the coinage in a reduced quality to give himself more spending power. [with n. 157] **Domitian restored the coinage and maintained it at a level of purity that it had seldom reached before and was never to reach again.** [with n. 158] ...

**Some scholars have suggested, for example, that a decline of his relationship with sections of the aristocracy can be assigned to the period immediately after the devaluation of 85, but none have shown that the prosecutions of the later part of his reign were motivated by a need for money.** [with n. 167] It is charged that Domitian confiscated properties to remain solvent. Syme argued that the confiscations were politically motivated, but the goods and the estates of the victims were not given away or sold in order to raise money; they remained in the imperial possession. [with n. 168] In fact, the property was later restored, sold, or given away by Nerva and by Trajan [my emphasis]".

In her **note 156**, Sheldon writes: "Jones (1992), 74. Carradice (1983), 5. Carradice's study provides a detailed numismatic analysis. On the Flavians in general, see Ranucci (2009), 358-67".

In her **note 157**, she writes: "Carradice (1979), 102".

In her **note 158**, she writes: "Syme (1930), 70. On the comparison of the coinage of Nero and Domitian and the role it played in legitimation, see Wolters/Ziegert (2014), 43-80".

In her **note 167**, she writes: "On prosecutions Pliny, *Epis.* 1.5.5; 3.9.31, 33. 4.9.2. See Jones (1992), 78. Suet., *Dom.* 7.2, 14.2. Cf. Levick (1982), 69-72".

In her **note 168**, she writes: "Syme (1930), 66-67. Carradice (1983), 165 stresses the moral and legal aspects. Rogers (1984), 62, 71, 76 n. 63 thinks there were both financial and political motives. He believed the confiscations provided considerable income, and that Domitian used the money so raised for public necessities in Rome".

**In her Section: "Domitian and the Senate", Rose Mary Sheldon (2023, in press, Chapter 7) writes :**

"... **He [i.e., Domitian] spoke himself of ``assembling excellent men from both orders.''** [with n. 196] **His administrators, whether freedmen, equestrian or senatorial, generally proved themselves to be exceedingly competent. The fact that his successor kept so many of them in office after his death speaks volumes.** [with n. 197; my emphasis]".

In her **note 196**, Sheldon writes: "This was from August 82 in a published judgment from his *consilium* concerning squatters. For the complete document and translation, see Jones (1984a), 171-72". - Because 'Jones 1984a' does not appear in Sheldon's bibliography, I asked her for help. She was kind enough to write me that this quote is from Jones's book on Titus; cf. here 'B.W. JONES 1984'.

In her **note 197**, she writes: "Bennett (2001), 27".

**In her Section: "Eliminating the Opposition", Rose Mary Sheldon (2023, in press; Chapter 7) mentions the reasons for Domitian's bad relationship with the Senate :**

"Domitian's elimination of people was not always judicious. Two of his known fourteen consular colleagues perished at his hand - his kinsman, the two brothers T. Flavius Sabinus. [with n. 235] and T. Flavius Clemens, father of the two boys Domitian had chosen as his heirs. [with n. 236] In the end, this would hurt Domitian more than anything else since he was left without heirs. What had Clemens done that would cause Domitian to leave himself with no successors? ...

**Domitian's growing cruelty has been attributed to rapacity, but suppose it was fear? Domitian might have fought the Senate and killed or exiled senators, but they were for reasons other than financial. The fact is that Domitian faced a continued opposition.** If he allowed leniency, as the Senate defined it, he would possibly allow collaborators in a conspiracy to grow in number and lose his life as well as his rule. If he punished the known conspirators, though it was just, it placed him in opposition to a Senate which already disliked him.

**Finally, after repeated conspiracies he confiscated the goods of his enemies because this was the punishment for disloyalty and because it was his most valuable weapon. Domitian, the grandson of a tax-collector from Reate, knew exactly what he was doing - he hit his enemies where it hurt. There is no need to assign motives that are either frivolous or sinister. Yet this is precisely what made him hated and feared and his successors would brand him a monster, but he was never a fool or a madman.** [with n. 239; my emphasis]".

In her **note 235**, Sheldon writes: "Cos. Ord. 95, husband of Julia. Suet., *Dom* 10.4".

In her **note 236**, Sheldon writes: "Cos. Ord. 95, Suet., *Dom* 15.1; *RE* 6.2536-2539. Suppl. 12.379. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 240. For the length of time Clemens survived into Domitian's reign, see Passerini (1940), 159-163. Townend (1961), 57, who thinks he was exiled rather than killed".

In her **note 239**, she writes: "Syme (1930), 67, who points out that even when Tacitus speaks of his Reign of Terror, he never accuses Domitian of rapacity or there being financial straits causing his behavior".

**In her Section: "Domitian as Emperor", Rose Mary Sheldon (2023, in press; Chapter 7) addresses again Domitian's bad relationship with the Senate :**

"... Rather than making concessions to the Senate he [*i.e.*, Domitian] chose to oppose them and thus distinguished himself and his imperial authority from those of the weakened Senate. The results were impressive. He was a meticulous administrator, a reformer of the economy and the coinage, and designed a building program that ensured the Roman Empire had a capital worthy of envy. He became a micromanager who involved himself in the minutiae of running the empire. [with n. 254] And, if one can get beyond the diatribes leveled against him, one has to admit he was responsible for far-reaching changes in domestic administration and foreign policy most of which were happily adopted by his successors. [with n. 255] ...

As suspicion grew, Domitian attempted to pacify the more radical element in the Senate with offices and titles. This ploy would not work since **they were not interested in honors, they wanted power**. There was nothing he could do to appease them short of stepping aside, and he was not about to abdicate. **This was not a fight between the maniacal actions of an evil emperor and an innocent Senate. Domitian was fighting for his survival, and they were fighting against a system that condemned them to irrelevancy.**[with n. 267; my emphasis]".

In her **note 253**, Sheldon writes: "Although, see Saller (2000), 4-18, who believes there is no documentary evidence to support the interpretation that Domitian was an attentive, if severe, administrator. On his accomplishments and his reputation see Sablayrolles (1994), 113-44".

In her **note 255**, she writes: "Bennett (2001), 28".

In her **note 267**, she writes: "Rhodes (2014), 83".

Apropos, Rose Mary Sheldon's (2023, in press) observation in the above-quoted passage, in which she refers to Domitian's bad relationship with some members of the Senate: "**they were not interested in honors, they wanted power** [my emphasis]". I, therefore, quote in the following in more detail from an earlier of her publications, that was already quoted above, in Section II. of this *Preamble*: here Sheldon has addressed this fundamental problem of the Principate in more detail.

Rose Mary Sheldon (*Kill Caesar! Assassination in the Early Roman Empire*, 2018, 172-173; Chapter: "8 The End of the Julio-Claudians") writes:

"It took nearly a century of struggle with the princeps for the former ruling class to find a place in the new order as civil servants. The tension caused by these two incompatible sources of power fighting each other ensured that the task of ruling the empire could never simply be a case of issuing commands and expecting them to be obeyed without question. What ensued was due in no small part to the disappearance of the old republican nobility with their hereditary principles and their outmoded ideas regarding the Senate's functions. They had to resign themselves to the new reality - the monopoly of power in the hands of emperors and the administrative concentration in the hands of freedmen and slaves. Senators who chafed under this new imperial restriction and mourned their lost "freedom" were not talking about democracy but were talking about what they thought of as their immemorial right to compete within their own exclusive circle for the great offices of state, which they could use to enrich themselves and their families. They believed that their fathers and grand-fathers had put together an empire by the valor of their arms and the favor of the gods and that the empire had been taken away from them by a tyrant who now maintained his power with the help of their social inferiors ... [my emphasis]".

**See now Simone Pastor (2023, 97-100), who lists in his article more reasons, why Domitian's relationship with the Senate was so bad.**

In Pastor's opinion, this finally led to Domitian's assassination (cf. *id.*, "Esercizi e trasmissione del potere: l'ascesa della *gens Flavia*, l'*imperium* di Domiziano e il principe *polokrátor*", 2023). Pastor (2023, 97-100) analyses Cn. Domitius Corbulo's rising influence during the reign of Nero and the importance of the "establishment corbuloniano" (p. 98) for Vespasian's accession and for Domitian's career, since the latter had married in AD "70-71" Corbulo's daughter, Domitia Longina. Pastor suggests that the death of the son of the couple, born "nel 79", "Tito Flavio Cesare", who died in his childhood (again because of this powerful "establishment corbuloniano" in the Senate), turned out to be of great importance for Domitian's deteriorating relationship with the Senate.

For Domitia Longina, her marriage with Domitian and their son, whom they call: "T. Flavius Caesar?", cf. Dietmar Kienast, Werner Eck and Matthäus Heil (2017, 112), who suggest different dates than those stated by Pastor (2023): "70 Heirat mit Domitian, 73 Geburt eines Sohnes ... gest.[orben] vor 28. Aug.[ust] 83. Consecratio als DIVUS CAESAR [providing references]".

#### **Ad 4.) Domitian identified himself with Romulus and Theseus, exactly as Augustus before him**

Domitian built his Palace on the Palatine, not by chance called '*Domus Augustana*', at the site of the (real) House of Augustus (which stood at the presumed site of Faustulus's hut, where Romulus had grown up), and where already Nero had built his *Domus Aurea* for the same reasons as Augustus. In addition to this, Domitian (like Nero) had actually rebuilt Rome after a great fire (in AD 64 and 80, respectively), which is why Domitian *felt*, in addition to this, like Romulus. For discussions of all those subjects; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix VI*.

See now also the sub-title of the essay volume, edited by Aurora Raimondi Cominesi, Nathalie de Haan, Eric M. Moormann and Claire Stocks (*God on Earth: Emperor Domitian. The re-invention of Rome at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD*, 2021 [my emphasis]).

**Domitian's relevant propaganda has also been addressed by Licia Luschi in her article ("Un gruppo di Teseo con il Minotauro dell'*Albanum Domitiani*. Origine e dispersione delle antichità Barberini", 2015).**

Luschi (2015) discusses the fact that Domitian had at his Villa, called *Albanum*, two sculpture groups, the originals of which had been dedicated on the Acropolis at Athens : Myron's Athena and Marsyas and a group of Theseus and the Minotaur. Luschi (2015, 13 n. 115), therefore, follows an (unpublished) idea of Paolo Liverani, according to which, by copying those famous artworks, and putting them on display at his *Albanum*, 'these two sculpture groups could have created together "il modello dell'Acropoli ateniese"'.

Luschi suggests, in addition to this, that Domitian had also another copy of this group of Theseus and the Minotaur on the Palatine, where these sculptures decorated the labyrinth fountain of the 'Peristyle' of his '*Domus Flavia*' / *Domus Augustana*. Because of all this, Luschi (2015, 197, quoted in more detail *verbatim infra*), suggests that Domitian 're-used well known symbols of the Augustan period: the Athenian acropolis, its patron goddess Athena and Theseus, and identified himself with the mythical king of Athens, Theseus'.

For Domitian's Palace on the Palatine '*Domus Flavia*' / *Domus Augustana* with this labyrinth fountain; cf. here **Figs. 8.1; 8.2; 58**, labels: PALATINE; "DOMUS FLAVIA"; "PERISTYLE" [the octagonal ground-plan of this fountain is marked on those maps], and **Figs. 108-110**, and *infra*, at Chapters V.1.i.3.b) J. Pollini's discussion (2017b) of the allegedly 'lost' Nollekens Relief (cf. here **Fig. 36**), which he compares with the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2**) and Domitian's '*Domus Flavia*' / *Domus Augustana*. With The Contribution by Amanda Claridge; and at Chapter *The major results of his book on Domitian*.



**Fig. 8.2. Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, his 'Domus Flavia' / Domus Augustana. In the foreground we see the 'Peristyle' with the labyrinth fountain. Looking to the north-east (compare for the orientation of this photo the map here Fig. 73), we see what is left of the southern walls of the 'Aula Regia'. The Church in the background is the Chiesa di S. Bonaventura. Photo: Franz Xaver Schütz (1-III-2015).**

In my discussion of Domitian's *Villa*, called *Albanum* (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*)), I have followed Luschi's (2015) hypothesis concerning this labyrinth fountain in Domitian's Palace on the Palatine. Before following such a hypothesis, we should, of course, on principle first of all investigate, whether this labyrinth fountain had already existed at Domitian's time (!).

This I had so far not done, as I must confess, taking for granted that this is the case, because Luschi (2015, 8) writes:

**"Al centro dell'immenso peristilio è situata infatti una grande fontana di forma ottagonale (fig. 23); i muretti in laterizi che la costituiscono (in gran parte di restauro moderno, ma ricostruiti sull'antico) non delimitano in realtà ottagonali concentrici, come appare nella maggior parte delle piante dell'area, fortemente semplificate, ma disegnano per l'appunto un labirinto.**

Gli appunti di Giacomo Boni (degli anni 1912-1914, ma più probabilmente relativi alla campagna del 1914) parlano di condutture e tubi di diramazione che penetrato di base a qualche delfino od altro animale di bronzo, per uno dei numerosi getti d'acqua che tra una nicchia e l'altra animavano il perimetro dell'impluvium". [with n. 70; my emphasis].

In her **note 70**, Luschi provides references and further discussion, but does not address her assertion that this labyrinth is certainly ancient, which in reality it is. - To this I will come back below.

But because this labyrinth is heavily restored, I am very glad that Alexander Heinemann has asked me in an E-mail of 26th January 2023, whether I could provide him with publications, in which it has been demonstrated that this labyrinth is actually *ancient*.

I answered Heinemann that this labyrinth is obviously indeed Domitianic, as Natascha Sojc's recent plan of Domitian's Palace shows, in which she has also marked the 'Peristyle' with its labyrinth fountain; cf. Sojc ("Archaeological Evidence from Domitian's Palatine", 2021, 132, Fig. 2. "Overview of the nucleus of Domitian's palace with names given to individual wings and rooms by archaeological research for better orientation, but with no correspondence to ancient terminology. Rome, Palatine (A. Reeder after instructions by the author)"; label: 4 (= "Peristyle with fountain").

When discussing this problem with Franz Xaver Schütz, he, on his own account, searched for a discussion of the matter on the Internet and found an article by Staffan Lundén ("The Palatine Labyrinth. Was it built in the 1<sup>st</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> Century?", 2004), who believes instead that this labyrinth was 'invented' by its excavator Giacomo Boni.

Lundén quotes in his article *inter alia* "La Rocca 1994". Fortunately I had the chance to discuss Lundén's article (2004) with Alexander Heinemann and with Eugenio La Rocca. La Rocca told me that he neither edited the relevant volume, quoted by Lundén (2004), nor that he contributed an essay to it. He was, in addition to this, kind enough to send me the article by Alessandra Capodiferro in this publication of 1994, which Lundén (2004, 1 n. 2) refers to as "ed. La Rocca 1994". Capodiferro (1994, 73) mentions the labyrinth fountain.

La Rocca also answered my relevant questions, first in several telephone conversations, then by E-mail on 18th February 2023, providing evidence which proves beyond any doubt that this labyrinth (here **Fig. 8.2**), which Boni had excavated and later restored, is indeed ancient. With La Rocca's kind consent I may publish here his E-mail as his second *Contribution* to this volume.

**See below, at *The second Contribution by Eugenio La Rocca : Una nota sul labirinto del Palatino*.**

Let's now return to a discussion of Licia Luschi's observations (2015).

Luschi (2015, 197) writes in her English abstract: "... **In Domitian[']s propaganda a number of factors seem to support the choice of the archetypal image of the labyrinth and of Theseus as an exemplary hero: the resurgence of analogous Augustean symbols, Alexandrian models, allusions to the Athens acropolis and its patron goddess. It is therefore possible to propose the existence of a parallel between Domitian and Theseus - both favourites of Athena, the goddess of *Metis*, both presented as civilizing heroes, both seeking the reappropriation and legitimization of power that had initially been denied them [my emphasis]**".

Cf. Jan N. Bremmer ("**Metis**, intelligence personified. According to Hesiod (*Theog.* 886-900), she was the wife of Zeus, who swallowed her when she was pregnant, since he knew that she would first bear Athena and then another child, who would become the ruler of the universe ...The myth explains the close connection of Zeus and Athena with *metis*", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> [1996] 969 [the emphasis is by the author]").

With her statement: "both [Theseus and Domitian] seeking the reappropriation and legitimization of power that had initially been denied them", Luschi (2015, 197) obviously refers to an (alleged) remark by Domitian at the beginning of his reign; cf. Suetonius (*Dom.* 13: *patri se et fratri imperium dedisse, illos sibi reddidisse*), that has already been discussed above, at point 2.) in Section III. of this *Preamble*, and that will also be discussed below, in Chapter I.1.1., with n. 208.

I have chosen Luschi's (2015, 197) just-quoted passage as the second epigraph of this book on Domitian; cf. *infra*, at Chapter I.1. From Luschi's (2015, 197) observations it becomes clear why Domitian felt himself to be a new Theseus. We know, in addition to this, that he stressed at the same to be a new Romulus and the Pharaoh of Egypt. Seen from our perspective today, not only the constructions of Romulus and Theseus had a lot in common, this was even true for the constructions of these three, at first glance seemingly very different rôles - which is, of course, understandable since all three are the constructions of ideal kings or of ideal government.

**Concerning his emulation of Romulus and Theseus, Domitian followed Octavian/ Augustus, as Luschi (2015, 10, 11, 197) has observed.**

Luschi (2015, 10) writes about the emulation of Augustus with Theseus: "... **(Romolo e Teseo sono paralleli nella fondazione della regalità, nonché entrambi figure di riferimento per Augusto [with n. 87] ... Del resto le imprese di Teseo sono state riconosciute da tempo come uno dei temi fondamentali della propaganda augustea [with n. 90], in particolar modo quella del recupero degli *gnorismata* [with n. 91], tema allusivo all'eredità cesariana e alla legittimità del potere di Ottaviano, sembra avere avuto valore politico rilevante [my emphasis]**".

In her **note 87**, Luschi writes: "V.[edi] *infra* nota 91".

In her **note 90**, she writes: "Sul rapporto fra Apollo e il labirinto cfr. E. Simon, *Apollon und die Labyrinth*, in 'Thetis', 11-12, 2005, pp. 7-10. **Vedi come Plutarco istituisca il parallelo Teseo/ Romulo e come Augusto si paragoni, come è noto, a Romulo. Sull'uso politico delle immagini da parte di Augusto: P. Zanker, *Augusto e il potere delle immagini*, Torino 2006 [my emphasis]**".

In her **note 91**, she writes "**Per il ciclo di Teseo utilizzato in funzione propagandistica nell'età augustea vedi almeno: E. La Rocca, *Amazzonomachia. Le sculture frontonali del tempio di Apollo Sosiano*, Roma 1985; F. Ghedini, *Il mito di Teseo nella propaganda di Augusto*, in *Archeologia Veneta*, 15, 1992, pp. 85-93 [my emphasis]**".

Luschi mentions Domitian's labyrinth fountain in the 'Peristyle' of his 'Domus Flavia/ Domus Augustana on the Palatine (cf. L. LUSCHI 2015, 12, Figs. 22; 23; and here **Fig. 8.2**), where she, therefore, assumes another copy of the statue group representing Theseus's defeat of the Minotaur, of which Domitian had also a copy at his *Albanum*, and the original of which stood on the Acropolis at Athens.

Luschi (2015, 16) comes at the end of her article to the following conclusions: "Il paragone Teseo/Domiziano poi è avvincente: entrambi pupilli di Atena, si presentano come eroi civilizzatori, vincitori di bestiali, barbarici avversari, che rappresentano viceversa la primitività, la forza bruta che va a scapito della civiltà. L'immagine archetipica del labirinto rinvia metaforicamente ad un cosmo ordinato e contrapposto al *chaos*, presentando al centro l'eroe ordinatore che ha ragione delle forze ctonie. [with n. 126, providing references] ... Domiziano, assistito come Teseo (e come Ulisse) da Atena *Ergane* – dea degli *erga*, della razionalità, del ginnasio, del labirinto, del palazzo, la divinità regale – vince sull'animalità, recuperando nel contempo la legittima sovranità insidiata. Il potere riacquisito contro chi aveva tentato di sottrarlo fa tutt'uno con la lotta della civiltà contro le forze oscure della natura".

Licia Luschi (2015, 8-16) discusses Domitian, his *Villa*, called *Albanum*, the meaning of the representation of labyrinths in Roman *Villas* in general, and of the labyrinth fountain in Domitian's Palace on the Palatine. Considering Luschi's findings (2015), Domitian's labyrinth fountain (with the sculpture group of Theseus and the Minotaur ?) in his Palace on the Palatine was ideally located immediately after visitors had entered his Palace on its west side, and signalled the following message :

*here lives the man, who protects his people - like Theseus, who rescued his compatriots from the Minotaur.*

Luschi (2015, 16), by writing: "**L'immagine archetipica del labirinto rinvia metaforicamente ad un cosmo ordinato e contrapposto al *chaos*, presentando al centro l'eroe ordinatore che ha ragione delle forze ctonie** [my emphasis]", applying this image of Theseus to Domitian, who, as "l'eroe ordinatore" fights successfully against the "*chaos*", unwittingly thus mentions the foremost obligation that was also demanded by the Egyptians of their Pharaohs.

The Egyptians called the desired resulting ideal state of affairs - the re-establishment of order on earth and in the realm of the gods (!) - Ma'at. According to Egyptian theology, only the king was capable of establishing Ma'at and of maintaining it, this was his most important obligation. Without the Pharaoh there would be no Ma'at, but instead its contrary: *chaos*.

For a discussion of how the Egyptians believed that their Pharaoh was able to establish this very complex state of affairs, called by them Ma'at; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II.c) My own interpretation of the relief Fig. 111: datable in the Hadrianic period, and representing a sanctuary of Isis at Rome or elsewhere in Italy, it possibly shows the celebrations on the day of the Egyptian festival of New Year.*

To the meaning of the statue group 'Theseus and the Minotaur' at Domitian's *Villa*, called *Albanum*, I will come back below. There will also be discussed the (in my opinion convincing) suggestion of Hans Rupprecht Goette, according to which the overall design of Domitian's *Albanum* 'may have been inspired by the south slope of the Acropolis at Athens', as he was kind enough to suggest to me in an E-mail of 17th June 2022; cf. now Goette (2022).

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b). Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the Templum Pacis, and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum.*

For the possible meaning of the labyrinth fountain in the 'Peristyle' of Domitian's Palace (here **Figs. 8.1; 8.2; 58; 73**) that was erected at the site of the (real) House of Augustus; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section I., at *Also I myself should like to add an observation concerning the (real) House of Augustus.*

**Apropos, 'Domitian and the Acropolis at Athens': Domitian never had the chance to visit Athens himself. Nevertheless, Domitian's interest in the Acropolis at Athens was obviously very strong.**

Fortunately Ilaria Romeo (2020) has studied the statue-type 'Athena in corsa', known from a coin, issued by Domitian (cf. here **Fig. 84**), which shows an (unidentified) Temple of Minerva, and that Romeo (2020), like many other scholars before and after her (erroneously) identifies with Domitian's (alleged) Temple of

Minerva Chalcidica. That Domitian built a Temple of Minerva Chalcidica, has also (erroneously) been suggested by Frederick G. Naerebout (2021, 149 with n. 18), and by Diane Atnally Conlin (2021, 158).

But, as Mario Torelli (2003; 2004a) was able to demonstrate, Domitian's 'Minerva Chalcidica' was instead a monumental fountain, named after a colossal statue of a *standing* Minerva *promachos* (cf. here **Figs. 59; 60; 61**, labels: ISEUM; SERAPEUM; Piazza Collegio Romano; Former site of S. Marta and of the Monastero d'Agostiniane; Fountain: MINERVA CHALCIDICA).

**Fig. 84. Denarius, issued by Domitian, BMC 241 (undated), allegedly showing the round Temple of Minerva Chalcidica, within which its cult-statue is visible. In reality this temple is not identified. Cf. R.H. Darwall-Smith (1996, 125, 280, Fig. 33 on Plate XX); cf. LTUR III (1996) 476, Fig. 174: "... Denario di Domiziano del 94-96 d.C. BMCEmp II, 346 N. 241 tav. 67.7". The represented statue-type is called 'Athena in corsa'.**

The statue-type 'Athena in corsa' is also known from a colossal marble statue in the Museo Capitolino, Museo Nuovo (inv. no. 654); cf. Ilaria Romeo ("Un'Athena capitolina, il puteale di Madrid e il frontone Est del Partenone", 2020). Romeo convincingly suggests that the statue-type 'Athena in corsa' copies the Athena from the Eastern pediment of the Parthenon at Athens, which shows the 'birth of Athena'. In addition to this, we owe to Romeo (2020, 850 with n. 53) the important observation that the figure of Minerva on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 5**) is modelled on this statue-type 'Athena in corsa' (!).

As I only realized much later, all of Romeo's just-mentioned findings have already been observed by Werner Fuchs ("Statue der Athena", in: *HELBIG*<sup>4</sup> II [1966] 199-201, no. 1395), whose relevant observations Romeo (2020) addresses, of course, herself as well.

Torelli's (2003; 2004a) observations concerning Domitian's Fountain of Minerva Chalcidica, and the findings of Werner Fuchs (1966) and of Ilaria Romeo (2020) concerning the figure of Minerva on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs are discussed and quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.1.) The shrines built by Domitian as a thanksgiving for his escape from the Capitolium (sacellum of Iuppiter Conservator, Temple of Iuppiter Custos, and in a certain sense also his [fourth] Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus), and some other of his buildings in Rome, which are documented on his coins.*

**To conclude.** The three rôles, propagated by Domitian as being incorporated by himself (Romulus, Theseus, Pharaoh of Egypt), had the additional advantage of being immediately understood by three different parts of the population of the Roman Empire - Domitian's subjects. Interestingly, none of Augustus's and Domitian's *Identifikationsfiguren*, like Romulus and Theseus, came from the West of the Roman Empire. And that although it is conceivable that also there existed myths, believed by great parts of the relevant populations, in which ideal kings like Romulus and Theseus were described.

#### **Ad 5.) Domitian's emulation of Alexander the Great**

Dietrich Willers (2021, 81, 86-87 with n. 40, Taf. 11,1 [= here **Fig. 7**]), in his discussion of the 'Relief Ruesch', which shows Domitian in a battle scene, without wearing a helmet, points out that not wearing a helmet (as Domitian on the relief here **Fig. 7**), has been interpreted by ancient and modern commentators *inter alia* as follows: Alexander the Great and other commanders, who followed his model, thus stressed their invincibility.

Above, in Section II. of this *Preamble*, we have discussed in detail, what Anne Wolfsfeld (2014, 203) calls 'Domitian's personal "Siegesprogramm"'. From what was said there it seems obvious that Domitian, apart from emulating Romulus, Theseus and the Pharaohs of Egypt (as we have seen above at point 4.) of

Section III. in this *Preamble*), and will discuss again below, must also have cherished the idea of emulating Alexander the Great.

Besides, already Reinhard Wolters and Martin Ziegert (2014, 62 with ns. 67-70, Abb. 20) have suggested this as a result of their analysis of one the coin-types, issued by Domitian:

**"Spektakulärer im Hinblick auf Grenzverletzungen erscheinen demgegenüber die Reversbilder, die Nero und Domitian götterähnlich zeigten ... Die Entwicklung wurde bei Domitian fortgeführt: Er wurde ab 85 n. Chr. mit dem Blitzbündel als Attribut des Jupiter in der Hand und von Victoria bekränzt werdend dargestellt (Abb. 20). [with n. 67] Der Panzer signalisiert, dass es sich um den Kaiser und nicht um den Göttervater selbst handelt. Hierarchisch gesehen wurde Jupiter auch nicht von Victoria bekränzt: Trotz des Blitzsymbols bestand keine Gleichstellung des Kaisers mit dem obersten Gott.**

Möglicherweise geht die Bildidee auf das berühmte Alexanderbild des Apelles im Artemision von Ephesos zurück, das kurz zuvor etwa noch Plinius der Ältere in seiner Naturgeschichte beschrieben hatte. [with n. 68] Eine Abbildung dieser Alexanderdarstellung mit Blitzbündel und Speer, wie er von einer fliegenden Nike bekränzt wird, liegt vielleicht in den noch zu seinen Lebzeiten ausgeprägten Dekadrachmen des Taxiles vor (Abb. 21). [with n. 69] **Sollte es sich bei dem Revers Domitians um eine bewusste Anlehnung an dieses Bild des Apelles handeln, dann wäre weniger der Vergleich mit Jupiter die entscheidende Aussage, als jener mit Alexander dem Großen.** [with n. 70; my emphasis]"

In their **notes 67-70**, Wolters and Ziegert provide references

Let's now turn to the 'Relief Ruesch'.

On 14th of October 2021, Hans Rupprecht was kind enough to send me, on his own account, an article by Dietrich Willers, in which the author discusses the 'Relief Ruesch', a marble relief that represents a cavalry battle of Romans against Germanic troops ("Relief mit Reiterschlacht", 2021, with his Taf. 11; 13 [= here **Fig. 7**]). Willers (2021) reports that the collector Arnold Ruesch (1882-1929), best known for the '*Guida Ruesch*' (1908; 1911), the excellent guide of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli, which he edited, had acquired the 'Relief Ruesch' in 1920 at an art dealer's in Rome. Ruesch himself, as Willers writes, had already realized that the design of the central group on the 'Relief Ruesch', a cuirassed Roman *imperator*, wearing the *paludamentum*, and a German immediately opposite him, both on horseback, shows striking similarities with the two protagonists on the famous Alexander Mosaic from the 'Casa del Fauno' in Pompeii, now at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli. This extraordinary fact led Bernard Andreae (1956) to assert that the 'Relief Ruesch' must be a modern forgery, to the effect that henceforth this relief was not discussed by archaeologists any more. As a matter of fact, I myself had not even known of this relief.

Willers (2021) reports that Ruesch had built a villa at Zürich to accommodate his collection. After his death his antiques were sold and dispersed, and in 1977 his villa was destroyed. Fortunately in 2019 the Antikensammlung Bern of the Universität was able to acquire as loans from private collectors some of the antiques formerly in Ruesch's collection (comprising the 'Relief Ruesch', here **Fig. 7**), in addition, the owner of the 'Relief Ruesch' had obviously agreed that it could recently be restored.

This restoration of the 'Relief Ruesch' has proven that already in antiquity the face of the Roman *imperator* on the 'Relief Ruesch' had deliberately been destroyed. Willers (2021, 79, 83-84, 89, 94), who is able to disprove that the 'Relief Ruesch' can possibly be a modern forgery, follows the judgement of earlier scholars by dating it Domitianic, *inter alia* by convincingly comparing it with the Cancellaria Reliefs (here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**). And, as already suggested by Arnold von Salis (1947, 99-100),

Willers (2021, 89-90, Taf. 11; Taf. 13, 2-5 [= here **Fig. 7**]) is able to demonstrate that the head of this rider was originally a portrait of Domitian, whose face had obviously been destroyed as a result of the emperor's

*damnatio memoriae*. Domitian is fighting against Germanic soldiers, identified by Willers (2021, 90) with the Chatti, whom Domitian defeated in AD 83, as Willers writes.

**Fig. 7. 'Relief Ruesch', ex collection Arnold Ruesch (Zürich), who bought it in 1920 at an art dealer's in Rome (provenance unknown). Cavalry battle of a Roman *imperator* (Domitian) against Germanic soldiers (the Chatti?). Marble, 74 x 108,8 cm. Domitian's head was defaced because of his *damnatio memoriae*, but the relief has nevertheless been re-used in antiquity. Private collection. On loan at the Antikensammlung Bern of the Universität. From D. Willers (2021, Taf. 11; Taf. 13,1: detail of the *imperator*, Taf. 13,2-4: details of the head of the *imperator*; Taf. 13,5: right profile of the bust of Domitian, Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. no. MC 1156).**

Apropos, the striking similarities of the composition of the 'Relief Ruesch' and of the Alexander Mosaic. I am, of course, aware of the fact that, for chronological reasons, Domitian and his artists could not possibly have known the Alexander Mosaic at Pompeii, but rather either its prototype, a famous painting, which Willers (2021, 81) dates to around 300 BC, or else other copies of this prototype.

Between February 4th and 24th 2022, and again on 1st January 2023, I could discuss with Andrew Stewart in E-mail correspondences the 'Relief Ruesch' (here Fig. 7) and the Alexander Mosaic. As Stewart wrote me, the prototype of this mosaic was a (now lost) painting, which, being a "four-colour-painting", is clearly datable in the fourth century BC, and was, in his opinion, still created in Alexander's lifetime. Later it was brought by the Romans as war booty from Macedonia to Rome, "after 168 or after 148 BC", as Stewart suggests, where it was henceforth copied in a variety of media; cf. Stewart (1993, 133 with n. 37).

Andrew was also kind enough to provide me with his relevant publication; cf. Stewart (*Faces of Power: Alexander's image and Hellenistic politics*, 1993, 130-150, Chapter: "2. The Alexander Mosaic: A Reading"). On 1st January 2023 I had again written Stewart asking him, whether the date "after 148 BC" could mean that he assumed that this Greek painting had been on display at the *Porticus Metelli* (the later *Porticus Octaviae*), but Andrew Stewart was kind enough to answer me immediately that he himself has not suggested this.

I had asked Andrew Stewart this question, because we know that in 146 BC Metellus Macedonicus had brought to Rome and put on display in his *Porticus Metelli* the famous statue group *turma Alexandri*, which Alexander the Great had dedicated in the sanctuary of Zeus at Dion in Macedonia. *The turma Alexandri* showed Alexander the Great together with those of his *hetairoi* fallen at the Granikos (334 BC): a group of 25 equestrian bronze statues and further nine infantrymen, all by Lysippos; cf. Häuber (2014a, 532). To Alexander the Great and his *hetairoi* I will come back below.

Cf. *infra*, in this Section III.; and in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...; Introduction; Section I., at 4.) Hadrian's Parforceritt in November AD 97 from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mainz). The discussion of this 'itinerary' of Hadrian brings us another time back to the Porticus Octaviae, because there was on display the famous turma Alexandri; and at Chapter VI.1.*

On 14th January 2023, I was told by Kris Seaman that Andrew Stewart had passed away the day before. What his own scholarly production is concerned, which was thus prematurely interrupted, this clearly means a great loss to the entire scholarly field of archaeology. But this loss is especially felt by his friends and colleagues, who had the privilege of knowing him personally, and with whom Andrew used to share his vast knowledge so generously.

Likewise since February 2022, I had the chance to discuss with Filippo Coarelli the 'Relief Ruesch' (which he actually knew, but of which he ignored, of course, its current whereabouts) and the Alexander Mosaic. Coarelli told me that he is in the course of preparing an exhibition on Alexander the Great, organized by the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli; the Alexander Mosaic will be restored on this occasion.

On 31st March 2023, Coarelli was kind enough to write me the reference of the catalogue of this exhibition, that will be opened on 29th May 2023 at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli: Filippo Coarelli and Eugenio Lo Sardo (a cura di), *Alessandro Magno e l'Oriente. La scoperta e lo stupore*.

I am not a specialist in *militaria*, but I wish at least to mention a fact that other scholars, more knowledgeable in this field, might like to study in more detail. I am referring to the soldier, to the right of Amanda Claridge's (alleged) Hadrian (of his portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta$ ); here **Fig. 3**) in Scene LXXII of Trajan's Column (here **Figs. 4; 4.1**), who (like Willers's Chatti on the 'Relief Ruesch'; here **Fig. 7**) is only wearing long trousers and is armed with a shield. This soldier on Trajan's column (here **Figs. 4; 4.1**) according to Karl Strobel (2017, 318) may be identified as a "Markomanne" or as a "Quade", who, in Trajan's First Dacian War (in 102 AD), which is represented in Scene LXXII, belonged to Rome's auxiliary troops.

To this relief and to Hadrian's portrait-type (here **Figs. 4?; 4.1?; 3**) I will come back below.

If those Germanic soldiers on the 'Relief Ruesch' (**Fig. 7**) really were Marcomanni or Quadi, not Chatti, those were Germanic tribes, whom Domitian had only to deal with in AD 89, as we have learned above from Peter L. Viscusi (1973, 53-63), who discusses also the fact that Domitian celebrated in AD 89 a double triumph over the Chatti and the Dacians. If the Germanic soldiers, visible on the 'Relief Ruesch', were those of the later war, this relief could be dated 'after AD 89', exactly as, in my opinion, the Cancellaria Reliefs (here **Figs. 1; 2**), with which Willers (2021) himself compares the 'Relief Ruesch'.

For Domitian's campaign against the Marcomanni and Quadi (AD 89), and Domitian's double triumph over the Chatti and the Dacians in AD 89; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Section I. 'The intentional creation of Domitian's negative image', here presented by discussing relevant text passages from Markus Handy ("Strategien zur Legitimierung der Ermordung des Domitian", 2015) and from Peter L. Viscusi (Studies on Domitian, 1973).

Dietrich Willers (2021, 74 n. 1) writes that the Antikensammlung Bern der Universität is planning "eine Sonderausstellung mit Dauerleihgaben aus dem einstigen Bestand der Sammlung Ruesch". And in an E-mail on 20th October 2021, he mentioned to me that he has sent an offprint of his article (2021) to Bernard Andreae, who answered Willers that he agrees with him that the 'Relief Ruesch' (here **Fig. 7**) is ancient. On 24th October 2021, Willers has kindly granted me the permission to mention our correspondence here.

**In addition, Willers (2021, 84, 91, 93, 98) convincingly points out that the 'Relief Ruesch' proves that still another artistic innovation, commonly attributed to Trajan (or rather Hadrian?), had already been invented at the order of Domitian - as we might perhaps not otherwise expect, after having read this entire Study. - Willers thus refers to the famous relief representing a battle scene that shows Trajan in exactly the same iconography as Domitian is represented on the 'Relief Ruesch' (here **Fig. 7**).**

For "The Great Trajanic Frieze. Trajan [now Constantine] on horseback, early Hadrianic. Rome, Arch of Constantine ...", also for the other relief, inserted into the opposite side of this central passageway of the Arch of Constantine, representing the *adventus* of Trajan/ now Constantine; cf. Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 222, Figs. 185 [= here **Fig. 7.1**]; 186). For 'The Great Trajanic Frieze', Trajan [now Constantine] on horseback; cf. also Willers (2021, 84 with n. 21); and R.R.R. Smith (2021, 24-25 with n. 97).

**Fig. 7.1. The 'Great Trajanic Frieze', Constantine on horseback. Rome, Arch of Constantine. The relief had originally shown Trajan, whose portrait was recut into one of Constantine the Great. In the central passageway of the Arch of Constantine the inscriptions LIBERATORI VRBIS and FVNDA TORI QVIETIS were added to these reliefs of Trajan/ Constantine, which refer to Constantine (in recognition of his defeat of Maxentius at the Pons Mulvius in AD 312). Photo: C. Faraglia, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 37.328. - Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 222, Fig. 185) dates both reliefs: "early Hadrianic".**

Cf. Ian Archibald Richmond, Donald Emrys Strong and John Robert Patterson ("pons Mulvius", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> [1996] 1219 [the emphasis is by the authors themselves]).

**R.R.R. Smith (2021, 24-25 with n. 97) convincingly points out that the representation of Trajan in 'The Great Trajanic Frieze' (here Fig. 7.1), when compared to the 'real actions' of an emperor during a war, turns out to be extremely unrealistic.**

My thanks are due to Bert Smith for sending me on 11th January 2022 the above-quoted article ("*Maiestas Serena: Roman Court Cameos and Early Imperial Poetry and Panegyric*", 2021).

**I myself would call the iconography of Roman emperors, as pictured on (Figs. 7; 7.1), as that of 'a dashing hero on horseback, like Alexander the Great'.**

Smith (2021, 24-25 with n. 27) writes: "The cameos are quite different in their visual system from the **monumental imperial reliefs in marble, such as those that decorated altars, arches, bases and columns, in which the emperor acts out real public roles of his office, as consul, priest, or general.** Those reliefs and their narratives were public and rooted in what could be, and their literary cognates were in prose of the kind preserved for us in Pliny the Younger's Panegyric of Trajan ... **Although they are, of course, not** [page 25] **precise historical records, modern focus on their 'propaganda' has obscured a central feature of such marble reliefs, namely that, like Pliny's Panegyric, they rarely represent the emperor doing something he did not do in real life.** [with n. 97; my emphasis]".

In his note 97, Smith writes: "**The Great Trajanic Frieze (re-used on the Arch of Constantine [= here Fig. 7.1]), with the emperor leading a cavalry charge in battle himself, is a rare example of a clearly 'unreal' monumental narrative:** Touati 1987. On such public narratives of imperial action, Fittschen 1972; Hölscher 2003; 2019: ch.[apter] 4 [my emphasis]".

*In the following, I allow myself a digression on Scene LXXII of Trajan's Column (here Figs. 4; 4.1) and on Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron (Δο) (here Figs. 4?; 4.1?; 3)*

That Smith (2021, 25, n. 27) is certainly right with his above-quoted remark is clear, when we consider for example the many representations of Trajan on the spiral frieze of Trajan's Column (dedicated by Trajan in AD 113): here the emperor and his entourage are, without exception, standing 'beside', at the beginning of, or at the far end of a scene, obviously engaged in discussions of some kind, and are certainly not looking at the large scenes which the beholders see in the foreground. This is even true in the case of the few battles that are depicted on this frieze (cf. here Fig. 4.1).

Nevertheless all the scholars, who have commented on these images, and whose observations will be summarized below, are of the opinion that Trajan is actually shown (or meant?) as supervising the relevant events, that the large scenes represent.

See for example the above-mentioned Scene LXXII (here Figs. 4; 4.1). Amanda Claridge (2013, 12) comments on this scene as follows: "**Band 11: lxxii Trajan surveys the last battle of the First [Dacian] War. Focal point: Stonethrower** [my emphasis]".

Claridge (2013, 13 with n. 80, pp. 14, 15, her plate 15 [= here Fig. 4]) tentatively identifies this "Stonethrower" on here Figs. 4; 4.1 with Hadrian, represented in the here-so-called portrait-type Delta Omikron (Δο) (cf. here Fig. 3).

**Although the head of this man strikingly resembles portraits of Hadrian of this portrait-type (here Fig. 3), I do not follow Claridge's (2013) identification. Scene LXXII of Trajan's Column (here Fig. 4.1) represents the decisive third battle in the third campaign of Trajan's First Dacian War that took place in AD 102.**

Hadrian was a senator, who, if represented on Figs. 4; 4.1, should have been depicted as wearing the *calcei patricii*; he had served from AD 96 on as senatorial tribune of *Legio V Macedonica* in *Moesia Inferior*, and from



November AD 97 until January 98 as senatorial tribune of *Legio XXII Primigenia* at Mogontiacum (Mainz) in Upper Germany. Since AD 100, Hadrian was married to Trajan's great-niece Sabina, in Trajan's First Dacian war, he was Trajan's *comes expeditionis Dacicae* (since 101 AD), and would earn the *dona militaria* in this war.

The "Stonethrower", as Claridge refers to this man on **Figs. 4; 4.1**, is fighting bare-headed and with bare feet. I follow those scholars, who identify him as a slinger from the *Baleares*, a man from Rome's *foederati*, of whom altogether four are represented on the entire frieze (cf. here **Figs. 4; 4.1; 4.2; 4.3**) - all of them fighting bare-headed and with bare feet.

For discussions of all those subjects; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at

*A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination : Nerva is forced to adopt Trajan and Trajan creates Domitian's negative image to consolidate his own reign. With Hadrian's adoption manquée in late October or at the beginning of November of AD 97, his 20-year long road to his accession and his thanksgivings for it, his Temple complex in the Campus Martius.*

*Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva, and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta$ ) (cf. here **Fig. 3**). With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz, with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz, with The Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen;*

at *Introduction*; Sections IX.; XI.; and at Chapter VI.2.4. Amanda Claridge (2013) has identified the head of the "Stonethrower" in the battle Scene LXXII on Trajan's Column (here **Figs. 4; 4.1**) as a copy of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta$ ) .... For a summary of all this; cf. *infra*, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

***In addition to this, I allow myself in the following a digression on another question: why did Domitian order to be represented on the 'Relief Ruesch' in this 'Alexander iconography' ?***

Considering that Domitian for the 'Relief Ruesch' (here **Fig. 7**) chose for himself the iconography of 'a dashing hero on horseback, like Alexander the Great', and that Hadrian (?) chose the same iconography for Trajan in 'the Great Trajanic Frieze' (here **Fig. 7.1**), the following conclusions seem to be inevitable.

When discussing above, in Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements* Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna at Istanbul (**Fig. 29**), in which Hadrian sets his left foot on the neck of a tiny defeated 'enemy', we have seen that Eugenio La Rocca (1994) has been able to demonstrate that Hadrian's artists had copied archaic 'oriental' models for this merciless representation of a defeated opponent. These models, paintings and reliefs, had been commissioned by Near-Eastern and Egyptian kings, who, like the Romans, had at times conquered and governed large Empires.

**Such archaic representations of Near-Eastern and Egyptian state art had been dedicated by these kings in the temples of their gods, and comprised *inter alia* 'documentations in image and text' of how these kings had successfully suppressed the revolts of their own subjects (!).**

I, therefore, follow Cornelius C. Vermeule (1981, 24-25), who was first to suggest that this portrait-statue of Hadrian from Hierapydna (**Fig. 29**) commemorates Hadrian's suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt (132-135 AD). So, independently of Vermeule (1981), also Michaela Fuchs (2014), who, in her turn, follows the relevant suggestion of still other scholars. To this I will come back below.

Vermeule (1981) had based this hypothesis on some important findings of Annalina Caló Levi (1948; cf. here **Fig. 129**; to which I will come back below). If so, the defeated 'enemy', on whose neck Hadrian sets his left foot (here **Fig. 29**), may possibly be identified as a representation of *Judaea*, which since AD 6 was a Roman Province (!).

La Rocca's (1994) survey of the relevant state paintings and reliefs of these archaic Near-Eastern and Egyptian kings has also shown that to the self-representation of these kings had belonged various multifigured iconographic schemes, which show 'the king smiting his enemies'.

**In my opinion, of these archaic multifigured scenes the design of Hadrian's portrait-statue (Fig. 29) could be regarded as an 'abbreviation', reduced to its 'essentials'. The most important message of these archaic Near-Eastern and Egyptian multifigured compositions, presenting 'the king smiting his enemies', to borrow Smith's (2021, 25, n. 97) above-quoted observation,**

**'is that these kings had been leading their victorious battles *themselves*'.**

When considering Domitian's self-presentation as a whole, which is discussed in the Sections II. and III. of this *Preamble*, it does not come as a real surprise that the emperor chose precisely that kind of iconography for himself in the 'Relief Ruesch' (Fig. 7).

**Interestingly, without considering the 'Relief Ruesch' as an intermediary step in the development of this iconography, we could not possibly prove that Hadrian's (?) representation of Trajan, in 'the Great Trajanic Frieze' (Fig. 7.1), has been developed after the portrait of Alexander in the (lost original of the) Alexander Mosaic, which showed the young Macedonian king in his decisive battle against the Persian Great King, Darius (in German: Dareios) III.**

For a discussion of the Alexander Mosaic; cf. Willers (2021, 80-81, Abb. 2). Concerning the date of the Greek prototype of this mosaic, Willers (2021, 81), by comparing its composition with the 'Relief Ruesch', writes:

"In dem erheblich grösseren, figurenreicheren Mosaik ist bekanntlich das eigentliche Thema das dramatisch tragische Aufeinandertreffen von Alexander und dem persischen Grosskönig Dareios III., eine musivische Nachbildung, d. h. [das heißt] eine hervorragende und anerkanntermassen getreue Kopie nach einem griechischen Gemälde aus der Zeit um 300 v. Chr."

As already mentioned above, Andrew Stewart (1993, and in 2022) was instead of the opinion that this painting had still been created in the fourth century BC, and in Alexander the Great's own lifetime.

None of the above-mentioned iconographic schemes of these archaic Near-Eastern and Egyptian kings, which, in their entirety, have aptly been documented and commented by Eugenio La Rocca (1994), show these kings on horseback, of course, since that way of fighting was at their time not as yet invented.

I suggest that Domitian's innovative idea to represent himself like this on the 'Relief Ruesch' (here Fig. 7), nevertheless, *cum grano salis*, can only be explained with these 'oriental' precedents. - But, of course, only via the direct iconographic forebear of the 'Relief Ruesch', the original painting, which was *inter alia* copied by the Alexander Mosaic.

I am suggesting this here since it is the 'essence' of the self-representations of those archaic Near Eastern and Egyptian kings, which, if true, Domitian would thus intentionally have applied to himself, a doctrine, which we could express with the following slogan:

**'the king himself leads his battles' - which are, therefore, victorious**

*Nota bene*, I am suggesting here three things:

a) that Domitian, with the 'Relief Ruesch' (Fig. 7), by intentionally replacing Alexander's likeness on the (original of the) Alexander Mosaic with his own portrait, consciously emulated Alexander the Great - this suggestion is certainly true;

*b*) that the iconography of the portrait of Alexander in the (original of the) Alexander Mosaic, in its turn, and in a certain sense, is consciously modelled on the archaic iconographic schemes of the Near-Eastern and Egyptian kings, discussed above.

The resulting new iconography, of which we do not know, whether it had been created at Alexander's own order, is documented for us in the Alexander Mosaic, the prototype of which, as we learn from Willers (2021, 81), was created around 300 BC; or, according to Andrew Stewart (1993 and 2022), still in the fourth century, and in Alexander the Great's lifetime.

Here, the representation of Alexander was adapted to the current modes of warfare, so that 'king Alexander, smiting his enemy Darius III', is, therefore, shown as riding on horseback.

The hypothesis suggested here makes, of course, only sense, provided the mode of representing Alexander on the Alexander Mosaic in the iconography chosen, reflected consciously the fact that Alexander had been victorious in this battle.

A premise which, I think, we can confidentially assume, not least because of the date 'circa 300 BC' (so D. WILLERS 2021) / or else in the 4<sup>th</sup> century and 'still in Alexander's lifetime' (so A. STEWART 1993 and 2022) of the prototype of the Alexander Mosaic.

As, in my opinion, is on principle true of all comparable products of state art (whenever produced), for example also of the Cancellaria Reliefs (**Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**);

*c*) that Domitian and his artists, when creating the 'Relief Ruesch', in which they copied consciously the (original of the) Alexander Mosaic and carved instead of Alexander's portrait that of Domitian, were themselves clearly aware of points *a*) and *b*), and that they also knew that Domitian was very much interested in the iconographies of at least one group of those Eastern kings, namely the Egyptian Pharaohs.

I assume all this for the following reasons.

Ad *b*): this assumption presupposes that Alexander the Great identified himself somehow with 'those Great Kings of the Near East of the past', whose iconographies were mentioned above.

We happen to know that Alexander did this, at least in a certain sense: he actually emulated one of the most important archaic kings of the Near East (albeit none of that specific time of the archaic period, whose iconographic schemes were discussed above). Countless Roman generals were eager to compete with Alexander, but we also know that Alexander himself had very similar ideas.

We learn about Alexander the following:

**'Alexander the Great regarded the Persian Great King Cyrus the Great as his model. When in Pasargadae in Persia, he visited the King's tomb and venerated Cyrus by spreading his mantle over the king's tomb, a gesture, which meant Alexander's investiture - as king of Persia [my emphasis]'.**

When I wrote this in my earlier *Study*, I had summarized the relevant findings auf Paul Rehak and John Young (2006, 50-51); cf. Häuber (2017, 481). - To this I will come back below.

For Alexander the Great's above-mentioned 'hero'; cf. Pierre Briant: "Cyrus (1) the Great ... who became circa 557 BC king of the small kingdom of Anshan in Persia ", in *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 423.

**This ceremony in Cyrus the Great's tomb at Pasargadae proves that Alexander 'identified himself with this Great King of Persia of the past'. To this we may add that Alexander's choice of *this* model for**

**himself is very well understandable: like Alexander 'the Great', also Alexander's 'hero', Cyrus 'the Great', 'had conquered for himself his huge Empire'.**

For Cyrus the Great, and the Palace at Pasargadae, where the investiture of some of the *Achæmaenid* Great Kings had probably been celebrated; cf. Florian S. Knauß (2021, 75-76, Abb. 3.3), who writes that some of the marvellous achievements that had earlier been attributed to this king, cannot possibly be true.

For discussions of all that; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ... Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?) ...*; at Chapter VI.1. My 2. Conclusion: In this context it is interesting to analyse the process by which Hadrian finally became himself emperor; at Section Trajan presented Hadrian in AD 106 with the signet-ring that he himself had received on the occasion of his adoption by Nerva. With a discussion of the meaning of this gesture; at Chapter VI.2.2. Additional information that is of importance for the discussion of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) (cf. here Fig. 3); at **Hadrian and Alexander the Great**; at Chapter VI.2.3. **My own interpretation of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) (cf. here Fig. 3).** Concerning the 1.) question, I suggest that Hadrian (who, in my opinion, looks in this portrait-type like a man who is circa 20 years old) commissioned his Delta Omikron portrait-type at an unknown date. **He thus either wished to commemorate his circa 1800 km long Parforceritt in November of AD 97 from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mainz), which he undertook (together with some 'companions') to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva, or else the beginning of the resulting 20 year-long cooperation with Trajan (that ended with his adoption? by Trajan, and with his own accession : on the 9th and 11th August of AD 117, respectively).** Concerning the 2.) question, I suggest that Hadrian ordered the marble copies of this portrait-type (here Fig. 3) as part of the propagation of his providentia for the *continuitas imperii* : Hadrian's adoption on 25th February AD 138 of Antoninus Pius (immediately after Antoninus Pius, in his turn, had adopted Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus). I suggest this because Hadrian commemorated his adoption of Antoninus Pius also with his tetradrachma, issued at Alexandria in 137/ 138 (here Fig. 138). I regard, therefore, the assumption as plausible, although it is currently not provable that, as a part of this propagation, Hadrian had still himself issued in AD 138 the aurei with this portrait-type and his adoptive parents ('DIVIS PARENTIBVS'), Trajan and Plotina (here Fig. 139). These aurei, like the marble portraits (here Fig. 3), apart from hinting at the fact that Hadrian had now himself adopted a son, hinted also at Hadrian's own adoption *manquée* (his own 'missed' adoption: by Trajan, immediately before Nerva had adopted Trajan) in late October or at the beginning of November of AD 97. **And because of 'the turn to their left' of those portraits (here Fig. 3), a possible Alexander imitatio, Hadrian may also have claimed to have decided (in November of AD 97), at the age of 21, 'to conquer for himself his Roman Empire', similarly as Alexander (together with his *hetairoi* - and his soldiers) had conquered his, starting at the age of 20 [my emphasis].**

Ad c): throughout this volume we will see that Domitian and Hadrian had great interest in Egyptian Pharaohs and their art.

### Let's begin with Hadrian.

In the case of Hadrian this will be discussed in the context of the portrait-statue of Hadrian from Hierapydna in Crete at Istanbul (here Fig. 29).

Annalina Caló Levi (1948), followed by Vermeule (1981), has realized that this statue-type is (*inter alia*) based on a representation of the emperor on a coin, issued by Hadrian at Rome ('not earlier than AD 134'; cf. here Fig. 129), which shows him, in an almost identical iconography, but setting his left foot, not on a human figure (as in the statue, here Fig. 29), but on a crocodile (!).

This is the Egyptian iconography of Horus, who fights the evil (here Fig. 129.1), or in other words, this coin Fig. 129 shows 'Hadrian as King of Egypt', to quote the title of Levi's article (1948).

**As we have heard above, in Section II. of this Preamble, Michaela Fuchs interprets Hadrian's coins (here Fig. 129) and his portrait-statue (here Fig. 29) differently. According to Michaela Fuchs (2014, 129-130, Fig. 7 [cf. here Fig. 129])) those coins show Hadrian 'in the pose of Mars'.**

Against the 'Egyptian interpretation' of those coins, Michaela Fuchs (2014, 130) objects that: "Das Parazonium in der Linken des Kaisers scheint jedoch auf von Legionen errungene Siege hinzuweisen, ein Aspekt, der sich nur schlecht mit der ägyptischen Perspektive vereinbaren läßt". In her discussion of Hadrian's cuirassed statues, dedicated, in her opinion, to Hadrian after his victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt (*inter alia* here Fig. 29), Michaela Fuchs (2014, 130), therefore, speaks of an "Angleichung" (assimilation) of the emperor to Mars.

**Caló Levi (1948, 33) herself believed that the iconography of Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna (here Fig. 29) could "refer to the victorious power of the emperor in general", or, in other words, to the doctrine of the emperor's 'invincibility', the discussion of which looms large in this Study (cf. *infra*).**

For these observations by Michaela Fuchs (2014) and Annalina Caló Levi (1948), and the fact that the *virtus* 'invincibility' was on principle demanded of all Roman emperors; cf. *infra*, in *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here Fig. 29); and in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

Concerning the just-mentioned *virtus* 'invincibility', I have written elsewhere:

**"The Hellenistic king and the Egyptian Pharaoh had in common that their rule was legitimized by religion [with n. 255]; Babet Edelmann observes that "Sieghaftigkeit" ('invincibility') was characteristic of both ruler types. But there was an important difference: according to Hellenistic ideology, the gods endowed the king with "Sieghaftigkeit" which the king was forced to prove in reality [with n. 256], Patrizio Pensabene speaks of a "teologia della Vittoria" of the Hellenistic monarchies [with n. 257]. The "Sieghaftigkeit" of the Egyptian Pharaoh was a result of the "Horusaspekt seiner Natur" [with n. 258] ('a result of the fact that he was Horus'); cf. B 27" [my emphasis]; cf. Häuber (2014a, 718).**

In my **note 255**, I write: "Cf. on the Roman "Kaiserherrschaft", Zanker 2004 [*i.e.*, here P. ZANKER 2004a], p. 69: "Jedes monarchische System muß sich letztlich religiös legitimieren"".

Cf. **note 256**: "Cf. on the "agonale >Siegerideologie<" of Hellenistic "Dynasten", Lehmann 2012, p. 204 and *passim*".

Cf. my **note 257**: "Pensabene 2007, p. 336".

Cf. my **note 258**: "Edelmann 2007, p. 327 with 591 (with references); cf. B 27".

**Let's now turn to Domitian.**

In the case of Domitian, his affinity to Egyptian Pharaohs and their art will be discussed in this *Study* predominantly in context of Domitian's obelisk (here Fig. 28).

Cf. *supra*, at Chapter *What this Study is all about*; *infra*, at Chapter IV.; below at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini: La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II.* and *Appendix III.*

But before turning to Domitian's obelisk, let me alert you to something else. When discussing in this *Study* Hadrian's portrait-statue of Hierapydna (here Fig. 29), and Hadrian's coin (here Fig. 129), issued at Rome, which presents the emperor in the 'pose of Horus' (*i.e.*, in the Egyptian iconography of Horus, who fights the evil; here Fig. 129.1), and therefore as 'King of Egypt', we shall see that Hadrian himself and/ or his consultants and artists were very well aware of these archaic constructions of kingship. And, most surprising of all, the coin here Fig. 129 proves that not only Egyptians in Egypt, but also the People of Rome

*understood* the relevant message. In Hadrian's case, these archaic iconographies, and especially the archaic construction of the king of Egypt, were only 'borrowed' for Hadrian. We also know that Hadrian had travelled extensively in Egypt and in the Near East. In the past, the kings of those countries had filled the temples of their gods with paintings and reliefs that celebrated their victories - applying precisely the archaic iconographies discussed here (*i.e.*, 'the king smiting his enemies').

For detailed discussions of all that; cf. E. LA ROCCA 1994); and below, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here Fig. 29).

In Egypt, temples with such iconographies still survive today, and we know that Hadrian had actually been given guided tours through temples in Egypt. Contrary to all other contemporaries, he could enjoy this privilege, because as Roman emperor he was also the Pharaoh of Egypt, and the kings of Egypt were allowed to enter the temples of the gods. - I thank Rafeed El-Sayed for this information.

For Hadrian's guided tour in the Temple of Min at Panopolis; cf. Rafeed El-Sayed (pp. 58-60, Section: "3.3 Panopolis - Alexandria - Rom"; p. 60, at: "Panopolis and Rome", in: *id.*, Konstantin C. Lakomy, Elisabeth Ehler, Cäcilia Fluck, Anne Herzberg-Beiersdorf and Olivia Zorn (*Akhmîm Ägyptens vergessene Stadt*, 2021); English edition: *Akhmîm Egypt's forgotten city*:

"After founding the Middle Egyptian city of Antinoopolis a year later, Hadrian reached Panopolis, some 200 km to the south, where he had the temple of Min shown to him. The priest of Min Pa-di-Hor-neb-khem ('the one given by Horus-of-Letopolis'), who guided the emperor through the temple, is also considered the original author of the text written for the Antinous obelisks, one of which is still in Rome today. [with n. 11]".

This passage is quoted in more detail and discussed *infra*, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here Fig. 29); at *The research published in my earlier Study (2017): on the tomb of Antinous at Antinoopolis, on his (alleged) tomb at Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli, on his cenotaph at Rome, and on the two pertaining Antinous Obelisks*.

Concerning my above-mentioned assertion, I asked Rafeed El Sayed, whether he could provide me with examples of temples in Egypt, where reliefs representing the archaic iconography of 'the king smiting his enemies' are indeed still preserved (apart from the example of Domitian that will be discussed below). El-Sayed was kind enough to answer me by E-mail on 30th April 2023:

"Ja, z.B. auf den Tempeln des Neuen Reichs in Karnak und auch den ptolemäischen und römischen Tempeln, von denen ja noch einige aufrecht stehen. Die Darstellungen sind gerne auf den Pylonen (Horus-Tempel von Edfu aus der Ptolemäerzeit) aber auch an anderen Außenwänden angebracht".

El-Sayed has also kindly provided me with the following references: Sylvia Schoske, *Das Erschlagen der Feinde. Ikonographie und Stilistik der Feindvernichtung im alten Ägypten* (Diss. Heidelberg 1982 [cf. also S. SCHOSKE 1994]); and Günther Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I (2000, S. 2): showing a relief representing the Emperor Trajan in the archaic iconography of 'the king smiting his enemies'.

**Domitian, on the other hand, did not have the chance to travel himself to Egypt, but contrary to even Hadrian, we happen to know that Domitian was actually *himself* represented in Egypt in the archaic iconography of 'the king smiting his enemies'.**

Olaf E. Kaper (2021, 184, Chapter: "Domitian and the Temples of Egypt"; Section: "Domitian's *Damnatio Memoriae* in Egypt") writes: "After Domitian's death his name and images were affected by a *damnatio memoriae* that was imposed by the Senate [with n. 19, providing references]. In contrast to other parts of the

Roman world, many images of Domitian have survived in Egypt. The *damnatio* only rarely affected his name in Egyptian texts and in Greek inscriptions in Egypt and never his images as Pharaoh (fig. 4)". Cf. Kaper (2021, 183, Fig. 4). The caption of this illustration, a photo of a relief from the temple at Esna, showing Domitian in the archaic iconographic scheme 'the king smiting his enemies', reads:

**"Relief on the outer wall of the temple at Esna, depicting Domitian as Pharaoh smiting his enemies. This relief has symbolic and no historical significance, but it is illustrative of the major work of decoration undertaken at some temples under Domitian, which survived despite the *damnatio memoriae* (photo O.E. Kaper) [my emphasis]"**.

Most recently Maria Iride Pasquali ("Domiziano faraone sui rilievi dei templi egizi", 2023) has discussed the at first glance remarkable fact that in some temples in Egypt have survived reliefs, which represent Domitian, and she is also able to explain, why these reliefs have not been destroyed.

Let's now turn to Domitian's obelisk (here **Fig. 28**).

Miguel John Versluys (2021, 170-171, Fig. 3 [cf. here **Fig. 28**]: "*Fontana dei Quattro Fiumi* by Bernini on Piazza Navona with the obelisk from the *Iseum Campense* ...") writes about Domitian's obelisk: "The obelisk re-used by Gian Lorenzo Bernini as the centrepiece of his *Fontana dei Quattro Fiumi* on Piazza Navona comes from the *Iseum Campense* (fig. 3). It might [page 171] well have decorated the central courtyard of the complex. **On this obelisk, Domitian presented himself in hieroglyphs as divine pharaoh to the Roman People** [my emphasis]"

**According to Emanuele M. Ciampini in his first *Contribution* to this volume ("La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica"), the hieroglyphic texts of this obelisk (here Fig. 28) were composed by Egyptian specialists in close collaboration with Domitian himself. In the resulting texts, Domitian stresses three statements, which are closely interconnected, and that we could regard as his 'Credo' :**

- a) the legitimacy of the reign of all three emperors of the Flavian dynasty in general; this statement is expressed in these inscriptions by using formulations that derive from old Egyptian theological constructions of kingship;
- b) the legitimacy of Domitian's own reign as Pharaoh of Egypt and as the Roman emperor; and -
- c) his own divine nature.

Domitian's reign as Roman emperor is legitimate, because he has received his reign from his natural father, the Emperor *Divus Vespasianus*, and from his natural brother, the Emperor *Divus Titus*. At the same time Domitian stresses his divine nature, because he is descended directly from gods: *Divus Vespasianus* and *Divus Titus*.

As I have understood through E-mail- and telephone conversations on the subject with Emanuele Ciampini on 4th and 5th February 2022, whom I had asked for further advice - not being an Egyptologist myself - these hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk are indeed very special, as Ciampini himself has also stated in his first *Contribution* to this volume ("La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica"). Namely in so far, as these texts 'amalgamate' in a very specific way these old Egyptian theological constructions of kingship with Domitian's own ideas about himself as Pharaoh of Egypt and as Roman emperor. I do hope that Ciampini will find the time to publish also these additional thoughts, which he was kind enough to share with me in these conversations, and which he has allowed me to mention here.

Cf. *supra*, at *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at *Section II. Conclusions: Domitian's representations of his military successes and his claims to be of divine descent and to possess a divine nature*; See also *infra*, at *Chapter IV. Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs* (cf. here **Fig. 2**) and *the Obeliscus Pamphilius/ Domitian's obelisk* (cf. here **Fig. 28**); and below, at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini : La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*.

See now also Emanuele M. Ciampini and Federica Pancin (forthcoming): "**And may the land be prosperous in the time of the dynasty whose name is Flavii'. Thoughts on the Egyptian Domitian** [my emphasis]".

As already mentioned above, the first part of the title of their article is, of course, a quote from Domitian's obelisk; cf. E.M. Ciampini (2004,159, H.7).

Let's now return to the 'Relief Ruesch'.

Much debated in the past, and also discussed by Willers (2021, 79 n. 6, pp. 93-94), is the fact that the 'Relief Ruesch' (Fig. 7), although fragmentary, and with Domitian's portrait defaced, was nevertheless re-used in antiquity. This assumption is based on two facts: the breaks of the relief were smoothed and the great holes, one of them in the middle of the relief, which were made in antiquity, but at a second moment (*i.e.*, in the course of the reworking), were created in a way that the figure of Domitian, and of the horse he is riding, remained intact.

Willers (2021, 80 with n. 9, p. 94 with n. 82) is able to disprove the hypothesis of earlier scholars, according to whom the 'Relief Ruesch' had been *created* as a "Brunnenverkleidung" ('a decoration of a fountain'), apart from its iconography, which does not suit such a purpose, its holes were obviously made at a second moment. Most importantly, the 'Relief Ruesch' was definitely not exposed to water, because that would clearly be visible; cf. Willers (2021, 80): "Spuren von fließendem Wasser sind auf der Reliefseite der Platte nicht vorhanden".

Willers does not discuss the suggestion, formulated in the sales catalogue of the Collection Ruesch, *Katalog Fischer 1936* (which he quotes), where the 'Relief Ruesch' has the catalogue number 238. The author suggests: "Nachträgliche Verwendung dieses Reliefs als Brunnenverkleidung" ('secondary use as decoration of a fountain'), which I find (in theory) plausible, although the fact remains that the relief does not show any traces of such a use. Willers himself, who, as already mentioned, convincingly compares the 'Relief Ruesch' with the Cancellaria Reliefs (Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing), concludes that we ignore for both (*i.e.*, the Cancellaria Reliefs and the 'Relief Ruesch'), to which buildings they may originally have belonged.

Willers (2021, 94), therefore, ends his article with an admonition regarding 'Domitian's Rome':

**"Es bleibt die Aufgabe, die Begehungen des domitianischen Roms zu intensivieren** [my emphasis]".

I can only agree and have chosen Willers's phrase as the first epigraph of this *Study* on Domitian cf. *infra*, at Chapter I.1.

Contrary to Willers, who does not suggest where the building may have stood, to which the 'Relief Ruesch' originally belonged, nor what its purpose was, when the relief was re-used, I myself have an idea concerning both subjects. Since I follow Filippo Coarelli (2009b, 88; *id.* 2012, 283, 286-291, 481-483, 486-491) in assuming that the Domitianic arch in front of Domitian's 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana* on the Palatine was possibly dedicated to *Divus Vespasianus*, I suggest that the Cancellaria Reliefs decorated either the opposite walls in the passageway of this arch, or, because of the content of both Friezes, possibly rather a passageway of the Arch of Domitian, which Coarelli postulates at the "Porta principale" of Domitian's Palace *Domus Augustana* on the Palatine.

Cf. here Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'; Figs. 71; 58; 8.1, labels: Arch of DIVUS TITUS; PALATIUM; VICUS APOLLINIS? / "CLIVUS PALATINUS"; ARCUS DOMITIANI / DIVI VESPASIANI ?; "DOMUS FLAVIA"; DOMUS AUGUSTANA; "Porta principale", Arch of Domitian ? / Cancellaria Reliefs ?



Cf. *infra*, at Chapter I.3. Were the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2**) the horizontal panels in the bay of an arch, built by Domitian?; at Chapter I.3.2. A discussion of the question, whether the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2**) and the architectural finds from the area of the Palazzo della Cancellaria could have belonged to an arch, built by Domitian (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**); at Chapter V.1.d) The reconstruction, in my opinion erroneous, of the length of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs by S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018) (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**) and the correct reconstruction of the length of Frieze B by F. Magi, whom I am following here (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2; and Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**). With a discussion of how many Vestal Virgins we might expect to appear at public ceremonies, such as the one shown on this panel (cf. here **Fig. 2**), and with The first Contribution by Jörg Rüpke; at Chapter V.1.h.1.) The passages of Langer and Pfanner (2018), in which they discuss the togate youth on Frieze B (in my opinion Domitian; cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12**); at Chapter V.1.i.3.) My own hypotheses concerning the design, manufacture and meaning of both friezes of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2**), the structure, to which they may have belonged, and the reason, why this structure was destroyed; at Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.; at Chapter VI.3. Summary of my own hypotheses concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2**) presented in this Study; Addition: My own tentative suggestion, to which monument or building the Cancellaria Reliefs may have belonged, and a discussion of their possible date; at Chapters The major results of this book on Domitian; and at The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.f)).

**Provided my hypothesis is true that the Cancellaria Reliefs decorated one of Domitian's two arches on the Palatine, and considering at the same time Willers's (2021, 79 n. 6, p. 83, n. 18) observation that the Cancellaria Reliefs (here Figs. 1; 2) and the 'Relief Ruesch' (here Fig. 7) show great stylistic similarities, I suggest, as a working hypothesis, that the 'Relief Ruesch' (the provenance of which is not recorded) may originally also have belonged to the sculpture decoration of Domitian's Palace on the Palatine.**

Only after this Chapter had been written so far, did I realize that Willers (2021, 84) mentions the fact that on the Palatine has been found a fragmentary relief with the representation of a horse (cf. here **Fig. 4.1.2**) that looks very similar as Domitian's horse on the 'Relief Ruesch': "Bloesch hat seinerzeit auf die enge Verwandtschaft des Feldherrnpferdes auf unserem Relief [cf. here **Fig. 7**] mit dem Pferd eines fragmentierten Reliefblocks vom Palatin aufmerksam gemacht [with n. 25]".

In his **note 25**, Willers writes: "Bloesch 1943, 204; [von] Blanckenhagen 1940 [65, I. f], Taf. 20 Abb. 58".

Cf. Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen (1940, 65, I. f): "Friesstück, Fragment einer Platte; Teil einer Ranke mit Tier, "Peristyl", Taf. 20 Abb. 58 des Flavienpalastes. Photo: Dr. Fuhrmann".

Cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III; and in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

*As is well known, Domitian had friends, who remained faithful to him after his assassination*

In my opinion, one such proof of fidelity is Domitian's famous portrait in the Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori (inv. no. MC 1156; cf. here **Fig. 7**). For this hypothesis; cf. Häuber (2017, 167).

This portrait of Domitian has been chosen for the cover of the essay volume *God on Earth : Emperor Domitian*, edited by Aurora Raimondi Cominesi, Nathalie de Haan, Eric M. Moormann and Claire Stocks (2021), and appears also on the cover of the exhibition catalogue *Domiziano imperatore. Odio e amore*, edited by Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi and Maria Paola Del Moro (2023).

Elsewhere, I have identified the findspot of this bust of Domitian, which was previously unknown: in the Via Rattazzi on the Esquiline, a cross-road of the Via Principe Amedeo. Interestingly it came to light at a site, where also the following portraits in the Musei Capitolini were found: of *Diva Matidia* (MC S 889), of Hadrian (MC S 890), of Sabina (MC S 848), and possibly also a portrait of *Faustina maior* (MC S 851).

Cf. Häuber (1991, 57-58 with n. 251: I have identified this bust of Domitian with find reports in *NSc* 1898, 391: "In via Principe Amedeo, facendosi alcun lavori stradali ... busto marmoreo dell'imperatore Domiziano ... in parte danneggiato mancano del tutto le spalle", and *BullCom* 26, 1898, 350; cf. p. 351: "Tutti gli oggetti di questa sezione sono conservati nel Magazzino Archeologico all'Orto Botanico; cf. *HELBIG*<sup>4</sup> II (1966) Nr. 1752, "Fragmentierte Büste des Domitian" (H. v. HEINTZE): "Gefunden wahrscheinlich auf dem Esquilin zwischen 1894 und 1904. Erst im Antiquarium auf dem Caelius, dann im Konservatorenpalast, Sala degli Arazzi 3").

Dietrich Willers (2021, Taf. 13, 2-5 [= here Fig. 7]) has compared a photo of this portrait of Domitian with the head of the Roman *imperator* on the 'Relief Ruesch', in order to prove that the protagonist of this relief is likewise Domitian.

**Diana Atnally Conlin (2021, 157) writes about Domitian's portrait (here Fig. 7) :**

**"Reflection and innovation were also combined in the design of Domitian's mature portraits.** Created around 88, his official imperial portrait was a curious blend of familiar Flavian facial similarities reborn with inventive details that curiously correspond to unusual physical traits of earlier emperors (fig. 5 [cf. here Fig. 7]). In sculpture, Domitian continued to resemble his father and brother, but his adult portraits were also distinct and individualized. For most images based on Domitian's officially sanctioned third portrait type - an official image which appears to have remained relatively unchanged for the rest of his reign - **the artists retained a realistic rendering of his facial features while also adding idiosyncratic attributes, such as the protruding upper lip (similar to Gaius Caligula) and an artfully coifed hairstyle of thick curls (similar to Nero's Helios-inspired tiara hairdo), this despite Domitian's notorious baldness.** In portraiture, Domitian's likeness had evolved into a visual amalgamation of both the Julio-Claudian and Flavian dynasties. His public visage represented the venerated past and the superior present simultaneously. [with n. 9; my emphasis]".

In her **note 9**, Atnally Conlin writes: "See on portraits, Jane Fejfer and Caroline Vout in this volume".

**To Diana Atnally Conlin's (2023, 157) above-quoted passage, I should like to add a comment :**

**Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 191) has, in my opinion, correctly identified the head of the togate youth on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Fig. 2; Figs 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12) as a portrait of the young Domitian, identifying him *inter alia* because of his "slightly protruding upper lip [my emphasis]".**

For a discussion; cf. below, at **n. 394**, in Chapter *III*.

In the exhibition-catalogue *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore* (2023, 19), this bust of Domitian (here Fig. 7) has the following *opera*-number [*i.e.*, in the sense of 'exhibited object'] :

"[Opera] 1. Busto-ritratto di Domiziano

Marmo pentelico

Alt. cm 53, con peduccio cm 79; largh. cm 26

Età domiziana (81-96 d.C.)

Da Roma, Esquilino, via Principe Amedeo: 1898

Roma, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, inv. MC S 1156".

**The discussion of this bust of Domitian (cf. here Fig. 7) leads us to Domitian's *damnatio memoriae*.**

Because, as already said above, the 'survival' of this bust proves, in my opinion, that the decree by the Senate to damn Domitian's memory, had obviously not been followed by private individuals - for example not by the owner of this bust, who lived on the Esquiline.

See now Gian Luca Gregori and Valerio Astolfi (*La damnatio memoriae di Domiziano. Iscrizioni e monumenti di Roma*, 2023, 159).

Gregori and Astolfi discuss both, portraits of Domitian in Rome, which have survived, and inscriptions in Rome, in which, in spite of his *damnatio memoriae*, his name has not been erased:

**"In questa sede si vuole portare l'attenzione non già sui documenti che presentano l'erosione totale o parziale del nome e della titolatura di Domiziano, quanto piuttosto su quei casi, più numerosi di quanto non si pensi, in cui essa non ebbe luogo, a cominciare dai commentarii dei Fratelli Arvali [with n. 1]. Negli atti ufficiali di questo collegio sacerdotale d'estrazione senatoriale, esposti presso il lucus della Dea Dia alla Magliana, il nome del principe non è stato mai cancellato. Il sospetto è che vi sia stata una precisa volontà politica di risparmiare il nome dell'ultimo dei Flavi. Il sospetto è che vi sia stata una precisa volontà politica di risparmiare il nome dell'ultimo dei Flavi. Diversi fattori sembrano suggerire l'esistenza di uno stretto rapporto tra gli Arvali e Domiziano, sotto il cui Principato furono condotti lavori nel lucus, come la costruzione di un tetrastilo per ospitare le statue dei Divi e dello stesso Domiziano [with n. 2] ...**

**Ma anche in altre iscrizioni di Roma (come pure d'Italia e delle province) il nome del principe non fu sempre scalpellato [with n. 5]. Nell'Urbe la percentuale delle iscrizioni domiziane erase sarebbe solo del 21%, in Italia scenderebbe al 15% [with n. 6], mentre nelle province, in particolare in quelle orientali, salirebbe oltre il 40% [with n 7; my emphasis]". Cf. Gregori and Astolfi (2023, 160): "Sembra pertanto difficile seguire Svetonio, secondo cui il popolo avrebbe accettato con indifferenza la morte del principe [with n. 15] e le manifestazioni di gioia, soprattutto nelle province, non possono considerarsi rappresentative dei sentimenti generali, in special modo della plebe di Roma e dei soldati, che sappiamo essere stati fino all'ultimo fedeli a Domiziano [with n. 16; my emphasis].**

In their **note 1**, Gregori and Astolfi write: "Per il tema della *damnatio domiziana* nelle fonti letterarie e nella ritrattistica vd. [vedi] ora i contributi nel volume di Raimondi Cominesi et al. 2021 (Stocks 2021, pp. 91-95; Augoustakis, Buckley 2021, pp. 159-165), ma anche Augoustakis, Buckley, Stocks 2019".

In their **note 2**, they write: "Scheid 1990, p. 131; Marcattili 2013, pp. 51-55; Broise, Scheid 2020".

In their **note 5**, they write: "Kajava 1995, p. 208".

In their **note 6**, they write: "Per la *damnatio* nelle iscrizioni sempre utili Martin 1987; Martin 2007 e Pailler, Sablayrolles 1994, che nelle percentuali non conteggiano gli Atti degli Arvali, l'*instrumentum domesticum*, le titolature della moglie Domizia e le iscrizioni in cui il nome di Domiziano è integrato dagli editori a causa del danneggiamento della pietra. Cfr. anche Bianchi 2014, pp. 48-51 e per un aggiornamento Gregori, Romano 2022".

In their **note 7**, they write: "**L'alta percentuale nelle province potrebbe dipendere dalle nomine di governatori vicini a Traiano nel 97: Eck 2022 [i.e., here W. ECK 2022b; my emphasis]**".

In their **note 15**, they write: "Suet. Dom. 23, 1"

In their **note 16**, they write: "Philostr. VS 1, 7, 2; Plut. *Mor.* 828 A; D. Chr. *Or.* 18. Nei diplomi militari d'età domiziana, essendo esse copie private di documenti ufficiali, non è testimoniata alcuna erosione del nome di Domiziano; del tutto eccezionale il caso di *AE* 1969/70, 583 [my emphasis]".

**To the above-quoted observations of Gregori and Astolfi (2023, 159) I should like to add some comments :**

The title of Werner Eck's article (2022b), quoted by Gian Luca Gregori and Valerio Astolfi (2023, 159, n. 7), is: "**La crisi di potere dell'imperatore Traiano nella Renania romana nell'anno 97/98 sulla base dei diplomi militari** [my emphasis]". As already mentioned above, at the very beginning of Section I. of this *Preamble*, Werner Eck's essay (2022b) leads us precisely to those historical events, which are discussed there.

**Also to the following remark by Gregori and Astolfi (2023, 159), I should like to add a comment :**

"Negli atti ufficiali di questo collegio sacerdotale [*i.e.*, the "fratelli Arvali"] d'estrazione senatoriale, esposti presso il *lucus* della Dea Dia alla Magliana, il nome del principe non è stato mai cancellato". - As is well known, Domitian and Titus were themselves members of the Arval brethren.

See below, at: *The first Contribution by Peter Herz on the inscription (CIL VI 2059.11), which reports on a meeting of the Aroel brethren on 7th December 80 at the Temple of Ops in Capitolio, among them Titus and Domitian: Titus vows to restore and dedicate what would become Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus; and infra, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.g.4.) Domitian's sacellum of Iuppiter Conservator, his Temple of Iuppiter Custos, and his (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus (cf. here Fig. 83). With The first Contribution by Peter Herz.*

*Another proof that Domitian had friends is his nurse Phyllis,  
who even secured Domitian a burial in his Templum Gentis Flaviae.  
Phyllis buried Domitian there, together with his beloved Diva Iulia Titi' -  
the daughter of his brother Titus - in the same cinerary urn (!)*

Phyllis had educated both Domitian and Iulia Titi (Suet., *Dom.* 17; 22); *Diva Iulia Titi* was the first member of his family, whom Domitian buried in his *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. Phyllis cremated Domitian's corpse in her *Villa* on the *Via Latina*; she then secretly carried Domitian's ashes to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, where she mixed them with those of Iulia Titi (cf. Suet., *Dom.* 17).

Cf. Filippo Coarelli ("Gens Flavia, Templum", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 368); Maria Cristina Capanna (2008, 173 n. 5); Coarelli (2009b, 94 with n. 309); IV.1.1.h); J.-C. Grenier (2009, 238): "esso [the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*] era dedicato al culto della *gens Flavia* in quanto tomba dinastica: le ceneri di Vespasiano e di Tito vi erano state deposte (Mart. IX,34,7 e Stat. *Silv.* V,1,240-241) ed esso ospitava quelle di Domiziano che qui furono mischiate a quelle della beneamata Giulia, la figlia di Tito (Suet. *Dom.* 17 e 22)"; Eugenio La Rocca (2009, 228 with n. 45); Coarelli (2014, 204 with n. 471); Häuber (2017, 167; cf. below, at Chapter IV.1.1.h); Eric M. Moormann (2021, 46 with n. 16; *id.* 2023, 59 with n. 17); Diane Atnally Conlin (2021, 158 with n. 14); Caroline Vout (2021, 176 with n. 5); Maria Paola Del Moro (2021, 185 with n. 2; *ead.* 2023, 167 with n. 2); Eugenio La Rocca (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 121, with n. 8, p. 124, with ns. 28, 29); and Rose Mary Sheldon (2023, in press; Chapter 7, with n. 81). Dietmar Kienast, Werner Eck and Matthäus Heil (2017, 109) comment on Domitian's death and burial as follows: "18. Sept.[ember] 96 *Tod*: Ermordet (Suet. *Domit.* 17, 3). **Heimliche Beisetzung im templum gentis Flaviae** [my emphasis]".

I, therefore, add something else to my working hypothesis concerning the 'Relief Ruesch' (here Fig. 7). For the time being we cannot know, whether the person, who re-used the 'Relief Ruesch', knew that, in its original state, it had represented Domitian. Nor, if so, whether or not this person was hostile to Domitian. Although all of this is so far unknown, the following possibility remains. Perhaps it was another person, faithful to Domitian, who took the 'Relief Ruesch', after Domitian's portrait had been defaced, thus possibly preventing its complete destruction, kept it as a memory of Domitian, and, by means of those holes, put it on display somewhere.

For discussions of all this; cf. *supra*, at *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Section II. *Conclusions: Domitian's representations of his military successes and his claims to be of divine descent and to possess a divine nature*; and below, at Chapter IV.1.1.h). *The new findings by B. E. Borg (2019) concerning the Templum Gentis Flaviae support the hypothesis suggested here that Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) was commissioned for the Iseum Campense. With some observations concerning the Temple of Divus Traianus at Italica, and concerning the Marble Forum at the Colonia Augusta Emerita (Mérida) in Spain. With The Contributions by Eric M. Moormann, Mario Torelli, and Walter Trillmich, and with The second Contribution by Jörg Rüpke.*

**Conclusions concerning the five points discussed in the III. Section of this Preamble.**

1.) Domitian's escape from the *Capitolium*  
on 19th December AD 69

We do not know, whether he was only lucky, or whether this was the predictable result of his *own* prudent decision to disguise himself, as suggested to him by the freedman of the *aedituus*. But Domitian *profited* from this experience, because Frontinus wrote in his *Strategemata* that Domitian had also applied excellent stratagems in his war against the Chatti

2.) Domitian's meeting with Vespasian at  
Beneventum in AD 70

This was definitely Domitian's own, very prudent decision

3.) Domitian's achievements as emperor  
and the airport Berlin Brandenburg

Of Domitian's projects, commissioned by him as emperor, some of his gigantic buildings at Rome have (only in part) survived until the present day. Interestingly, this had the effect that 'thanks to Domitian's enterprises and those of his family, Rome is still nowadays basically a Flavian city'. Domitian's projects discussed in this *Study* turned out to be so extraordinarily successful and far-sighted, because of his ability - among many other relevant decisions - to choose excellent collaborators. All this taken together proves that Domitian was, what I should like to call, a *Verwaltungsgenie* (an 'administrative genius'). Especially when we consider that **a)** all three Flavian emperors together reigned for less than 30 years, and Domitian for only 15 years; and **b)** that Domitian had a bad relationship with the Senate (or should we rather say that Domitian was *therefore* so successful?)

4.) Domitian's emulation of  
Romulus and Theseus

Like Domitian's emulation of Augustus this shows his very personal interest in 'ideal' rulers

5.) Domitian's *Alexander imitatio*

By ordering to be represented on the 'Relief Ruesch' (here **Fig. 7**) in the same iconography as Alexander the Great, Domitian demonstrated that he had accepted the doctrine 'invincibility' for himself. This *virtus* was on principle demanded of all Roman emperors (being the *conditio sine qua non* to guarantee the desired *continuitas imperii*)

Points 3.), 4.) and 5.) prove that Domitian took his 'job Roman emperor' very seriously; point 1.) proves that Domitian, already at the age of 18, was capable of adjusting himself to a very dangerous situation and to accept a solution, suggested to him by someone else, which saved his life; point 2.) proves that Domitian, still 18 years old, was also capable of planning himself a scenario that was completely to his own advantage.

My thanks are due to T.P. Wiseman for suggesting to me in an Email of 19th April 2023, how my above-suggested term '*Verwaltungsgenie*' could be translated into English.

Apropos, Domitian took his 'job Roman emperor' seriously. In my opinion, this is further supported by :

**a)** what Robert Sablayrolle (1994, 125) writes about Domitian's design of his games called *Capitolia*. According to Sablayrolles, '**Domitian, like Augustus before him, felt that it was the obligation of the**

**emperor to care for all parts of the Empire**: "Même alliance de l'Orient et de l'Occident que dans les Jeux Capitolins à la grecque. **Ce désir d'englober dans une perspective unique toutes les parties de l'empire et de ne pas limiter à Rome la sollicitude impériale est encore un trait de ressemblance entre Domitien et Auguste** [my emphasis]". - This was already quoted *supra*, in Section III. of his *Preamble*; and -

b) what Claudio Parisi Presicce writes about the iconography of the headless cuirassed statue in the Museo Chiaramonti (a possible portrait of Domitian; cf. here **Fig. 6, right**) - tacitly assuming that Domitian accepted also that doctrine for *himself*, which is represented by means of the iconography of this portrait:

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, the title of *Appendix IV.c.2.*): `... **Exactly like the statue of the *ficus Ruminalis* on the Anaglypha Hadriani** (cf. here **Figs. 21-22**), **the *lupa* and the twins on those cuirasses** [cf. *inter alia* here **Fig. 6, right, a possible portrait of Domitian**] **symbolize Rome's claim to eternal power and divine mission, and that it was the task of the Roman emperor to fulfill this obligation** (cf. Claudio Parisi Presicce 2000, 28, 29 [my emphasis])'.

*Personally, I prefer the following judgements about Domitian by other scholars :*

by Robert Sablayrolles (1994, 116, who, discussing Domitian's government, mentions his "*diligentia*" - circumspection; and p. 125, where he states that Domitian was an "administrateur avisé" - a prudent administrator); by Barbara Levick (2009, 23): "il suo governo fu acuto e attento"; by Alexander Heinemann (2014, 250): "Die *Capitolia* sind konzipiert für ein zunehmend vernetztes Reich ... An den entscheidenden Stellen - Zueignung, Leitung und Ikonographie der Spiele - formulieren sie die unangefochtene Stellung des Jupiter Capitolinus und des Kaisers [*i.e.*, Domitian] als Garanten römischer Herrschaft"; by Daniëlle Sloopjes (2021, 121): "Domitian seems to have liked public spectacles ... his personal attention and interest at public shows gives the reader the impression that he was particularly good at showing his people his commitment to them"; by Frederick G. Naerebout (2021, 151): "the pious *cultor deorum* - with an eye for detail and a severe disposition: for all we know, that is the real Domitian"; by Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi and Maria Paola Del Moro (2023, 10): "La profonda dedizione [*i.e.*, of Domitian] per gli dei e, insieme, il sentimento religioso che lo portò a sentire su di sé la loro protezione, soprattutto quella di Minerva, ne determinarono il comportamento di attenta cura delle cerimonie e degli edifici sacri, la cui espressione più alta fu la lussuosa ricostruzione del tempio capitolino arso nell'incendio dell'80 d.C."; by Nathalie de Haan, Eric M. Moormann, Aurora Raimondi Cominesi and Claire Stocks (2023, 17): "Roma trasse vantaggio della sua [*i.e.*, Domitian's] politica edilizia; le arti e la letteratura fiorirono"; by Roberta Alteri (2023, 34): "Questa ricchezza e particolarità delle varianti [of the applied architectural marbles] presenti nella residenza domiziana [*i.e.*, Domitian's Palace on the Palatine] assurgeranno a modello e diventeranno prototipo delle botteghe dei periodi successivi, che ripeteranno lo stile di Domiziano, specialmente quello palaziale, ancora nel II e nel III secolo d.C."; by Eric M. Moormann (2023, 62): "Tutte queste attività edilizie mostrano come Domiziano abbia meticolosamente ancorato i suoi progetti ai programmi costruttivi di Augusto e Nerone ... E così creò davvero la sua "Domizianopoli"; by Claudio Parisi Presicce and Eloisa Doderò (2023, 63): "L'occasione di questo intervento [to erect the fourth Temple for Jupiter Capitolinus] è il devastante incendio dell'80 d.C., preziosa opportunità per l'imperatore [*i.e.*, Domitian] "maniaco della costruzione" [with **note 6**: "Plut. *Publ.* 15, 5-6"] di plasmare Roma a propria immagine e somiglianza"; by Gian Luca Gregori and Valerio Astolfi (2023, 160): "Sembra pertanto difficile seguire Svetonio, secondo cui il popolo avrebbe accettato con indifferenza la morte del principe [*i.e.*, Domitian] ... in special modo della plebe di Roma e dei soldati, che sappiamo essere stati fino all'ultimo fedeli a Domiziano"; and by Rose Mary Sheldon (2023, in press; Chapter 7): "Rather than making concessions to the Senate he [*i.e.*, Domitian] chose to oppose them and thus distinguished himself and his imperial authority from those of the weakened Senate. The results were impressive ... He ... designed a building program that ensured the Roman Empire had a capital worthy of envy ... he was responsible for far-reaching changes in domestic administration and foreign policy".

Also most of these judgements have already been quoted before in this *Preamble*.

*I like best, of course, that Sablayrolles (1994, 135) has asked, why this period is not called  
`the age of Domitian´,  
similarly as we are used to speak of `the age of Augustus´, and of `the age of Pericles´.*

This passage was already quoted in more detail *supra*, in Section III. of his *Preamble*; at point 3.).

Below I quote some of these and another statement about Domitian by other scholars in more detail.

Sablayrolles (1994, 125), who compares in this article Domitian with Augustus, comes to the conclusion that there were many parallels between the two men. Domitian was for example, intentionally, as Sablayrolles suggests, 'like Augustus, a prudent administrator':

**"Les rapprochements entre Auguste et Domitien sont, on le constate, nombreux. Conséquences, certes, d'identités de vues et de choix politiques dans bien des domaines - Domitien, comme Auguste, fut un administrateur avisé - , ils sont aussi le fruit d'une politique délibérée de l'empereur flavien [my emphasis]"**.

This passage was already quoted *supra*, in Section III. of his *Preamble*; at point 3.).

For Barbara Levick's statement; cf. Häuber (2017, 166, 167), where I have quoted Barbara Levick (2009, 23):

**"In addition to that, Domitian's reign may actually be judged - in retrospect - as a time of excellent government, the achievements of which should last for a very long time (!). See the comments by Barbara Levick (2009, 23) [quoted on p. 167; my emphasis]"**.

Barbara Levick (2009, 23) writes :

"Domiziano si sarebbe lamentato che le province erano difficilmente in grado di sostenere il costo dell'impero. Sembra che "il Calvo Nerone [*i.e.*, Domitian]" avesse lasciato le finanze statali in buone condizioni. Nei suoi difetti erano anche i suoi pregi : il suo governo fu acuto e attento, e Svetonio riferisce che i governatori delle province si comportarono particolarmente bene ...

Svetonio dice che il popolo, a differenza dei soldati, la cui paga era stata aumentata da Domiziano, ne accolse l'uccisione con indifferenza. I senatori erano contenti della sua caduta, ma il contributo di Domiziano ai successi dei Flavi fu particolare e paradossale: egli ridusse il Senato a un luogo di conversazioni prudenti e caute che soddisfacevano le ambizioni dei provinciali e forniva agli imperatori degli amministratori coscienziosi. Non avrebbe più creato loro problemi. Fu questo a rendere possibili i regni, relativamente tranquilli, di Traiano, Adriano e degli Antonini. Soprattutto, il giudizio finale di Svetonio sulla dinastia fu di riservata approvazione: essi presero in mano l'impero e gli diedero rinnovata forza. I difetti personali dei Flavi erano superati dai pregi politici che vennero trasmessi ai loro successori nel secolo seguente [my emphasis]"

Eric M. Moormann (2018, 173) writes that the *Campus Martius* :

"was an emblem of the emperor's [*i.e.*, Domitian's] goodness, as shown in the distribution of grain and oil ... [my emphasis]", thus referring to the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*, built by Domitian.

This passage was already quoted *supra*, in Section III. of this *Preamble*; at point 3.).

Daniëlle Slootjes (2021, 121 with n. 18; *ead.* 2023, 88 with n. 18) writes :

**"Domitian seems to have liked public spectacles** as he "constantly gave grand and costly entertainments, both in the amphitheatre and in the Circus ...". Notably, Domitian was personally engaged by being present even "amid heavy rains," by presiding at competitions or by showering the people with gifts. Similar to the case of Augustus, personal imperial engagement and an attentive attitude of Domitian towards the audience

and performers seems to have been presented and valued as an advantageous characteristic of a ruler ... As the last of Suetonius' Caesars, **Domitian was presented in this respect in similar fashion as his predecessors. He behaved as an emperor was supposed to act in his attempt to secure his subject's respect and loyalty. Even more, his personal attention and interest at public shows gives the reader the impression that he was particularly good at showing his people his commitment to them** [my emphasis]". - The *verbatim* quotes are from Suet., *Dom.* 4.

This passage was already quoted in more detail *supra*, in Section II. of this *Preamble*.

Cf. **Frederick G. Naerebout (2021, 151)**. After mentioning one of Suetonius's (*Dom.* 8.5) accounts about Domitian, Naerebout comes to very interesting conclusions concerning Suetonius and Domitian:

"Is there any reason to trust these words of Suetonius who has contributed more than any other author to the black legend about Domitian? Yes, there is: **Suetonius is here speaking about the years before the emperor supposedly turned tyrant, and wants us to see the good, and godly, emperor. The tyrant of legend is contrasted with the pious *cultor deorum* - with an eye for detail and a severe disposition: for all we know, that is the real Domitian** [my emphasis]".

This passage was already quoted *supra*, in Section I. of this *Preamble*.

**Claudio Parisi Precissce, Massimiliano Munzi and Maria Paola Del Moro (2023, 10)** write :

"Il Campidoglio infatti non solo era l'*arx* della città ... ma costituiva uno dei luoghi più cari all'ultimo dei Flavi [*i.e.*, Domitian], che qui avrebbe avuto per la prima volta prova del favore che gli era accordato dagli dei, trovando scampo dal sanguinoso attacco dei seguaci di Vitellio grazie al travestimento da sacerdote del tempio di Iside. La profonda dedizione per gli dei ... ne determinarono il comportamento di attenta cura delle cerimonie e degli edifici sacri, **la cui espressione più alta fu la lussuosa ricostruzione del tempio capitolino arso nell'incendio dell'80 d.C.** [my emphasis]".

This passage was already quoted in more detail *supra*, in Section I. of this *Preamble*.

**Nathalie de Haan, Eric M. Moormann, Aurora Raimondi Cominesi and Claire Stocks (2023, 17)**, write :

"Roma trasse vantaggio della sua [*i.e.*, Domitian's] politica edilizia; le arti e la letteratura fiorirono, l'economia si mantenne prospera, come testimoniato dalle ricchezze di città e campagne [my emphasis]".

This passage was already quoted *supra*, in Section III. of this *Preamble*; at point 3.).

**Roberta Alteri (2023, 34 with n. 21)** writes :

"Questa ricchezza e particolarità delle varianti [of the applied architectural marbles] presenti nella residenza domiziana [*i.e.*, Domitian's Palace on the Palatine] **assurgeranno a modello e diventeranno prototipo delle botteghe dei periodi successivi, che ripeteranno lo stile di Domiziano, specialmente quello palaziale, ancora nel II e nel III secolo d.C.** [with n. 21; my emphasis]".

In her note 21, Alteri writes: "**Pensabene, Caprioli 2009; Caprioli 2021** [my emphasis]".

This passage was already quoted *supra*, in Section III. of this *Preamble*; at point 3.).

**Eric M. Moormann (2023, 62)** writes :

"Tutte queste attività edilizie mostrano come Domiziano abbia meticolosamente ancorato i suoi progetti ai programmi costruttivi di Augusto e Nerone ... per sottolineare, invece, l'importanza degli edifici di pubblica utilità, come già fatto da Vespasiano e Tito nei decenni immediatamente precedenti. E così creò davvero la sua "Domizianopoli" [my emphasis]".

This passage was already quoted *supra*, in Section III. of this *Preamble*; at point 3.).

**Gian Luca Gregori and Valerio Astolfi (2023, 160)** write :

"Sembra pertanto difficile seguire Svetonio, secondo cui il popolo avrebbe accettato con indifferenza la morte del principe [*i.e.*, Domitian] e le manifestazioni di gioia, soprattutto nelle province, non possono considerarsi rappresentative dei sentimenti generali, **in special modo della plebe di Roma e dei soldati, che sappiamo essere stati fino all'ultimo fedeli a Domiziano** [my emphasis]".

This passage was already quoted in more detail *supra*, in Section III. of this *Preamble*; at point 5.).



**And Rose Mary Sheldon, in her Section: "Domitian as Emperor" (2023, in press; Chapter 7) writes:**

**"... Rather than making concessions to the Senate he [*i.e.*, Domitian] chose to oppose them and thus distinguished himself and his imperial authority from those of the weakened Senate. The results were impressive.** He was a meticulous administrator, a reformer of the economy and the coinage, and designed a building program that ensured the Roman Empire had a capital worthy of envy. He became a micromanager who involved himself in the minutiae of running the empire. [with n. 254] And, if one can get beyond the diatribes leveled against him, one has to admit **he was responsible for far-reaching changes in domestic administration and foreign policy most of which were happily adopted by his successors.** [with n. 255] ...

As suspicion grew, Domitian attempted to pacify the more radical element in the Senate with offices and titles. This ploy would not work since they were not interested in honors, they wanted power. There was nothing he could do to appease them short of stepping aside, and he was not about to abdicate. **This was not a fight between the maniacal actions of an evil emperor and an innocent Senate. Domitian was fighting for his survival, and they were fighting against a system that condemned them to irrelevancy.**[with n. 267; my emphasis]".

In her **note 254**, Sheldon writes: "Although, see Saller (2000), 4-18, who believes there is no documentary evidence to support the interpretation that Domitian was an attentive, if severe, administrator. On his accomplishments and his reputation see Sablayrolles (1994), 113-44".

In her **note 255**, she writes: "Bennett (2001), 28".

In her **note 267**, she writes: "Rhodes (2014), 83".

This passage was already quoted in more detail *supra*, in Section III. of this *Preamble*; at point 3.).

These judgements about Domitian, voiced by other scholars, have led me to compare their observations with my own hypotheses concerning the reliefs, commissioned by Domitian, which are discussed in this *Study*, and on which he is himself represented:

The above-quoted scholars describe Domitian as an emperor, who took legal and religious prescriptions *very* seriously. The Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**), on the other hand, originally decorated an arch (?), commissioned by Domitian.

Interestingly, the unique design of those two panels, seen under *that* perspective, may be regarded as illustrating this peculiarity of Domitian's character in perfect fashion (for this hypothesis; cf. *infra*, in Chapters V.1.d); and V.1.i.3.). Provided that were true, this assumption may also be applied to the likewise unusual composition of the Nollekens Relief, ordered by Domitian for the 'Aula Regia' of his Palace on the Palatine, the 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana* (cf. here **Figs. 36; 8.1; 58; 73** and *infra* in Chapter V.1.i.3.b)).

## I. A survey of the scholarly discussion of the Cancellaria Reliefs

### I.1. The discussion of the Cancellaria Reliefs, or the story of a dilemma: 'wrong shoes' or wrong interpretations?

"Es bleibt die Aufgabe, die Begehungen des domitianischen Roms zu intensivieren".

Dietrich Willers (2021, 94).

Dietrich Willers's statement is discussed *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image; Section III.*; at point 5.); and *infra*, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian.*

"In Domitian[']s propaganda a number of factors seem to support the choice of the archetypal image of the labyrinth and of Theseus as an exemplary hero: the resurgence of analogous Augustan symbols, Alexandrian models, allusions to the Athens acropolis and its patron goddess. It is therefore possible to propose the existence of a parallel between Domitian and Theseus - both favourites of Athena, the goddess of Metis, both presented as civilizing heroes, both seeking the reappropriation and legitimization of power that had initially been denied them".

Licia Luschi (2013, 197, English abstract).

Licia Luschi's observations are quoted in more detail and discussed *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble : Domitian's negative image; Section III.*; at point 4.); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b) Domitian's building projects comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the Templum Pacis, and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum.*

As already mentioned, on 26th August 2018, my good friend Rose Mary Sheldon has asked me to consult her on artworks and buildings dating to the Flavian period that she will discuss in her book related to the Flavians, mentioning in this context the Cancellaria Reliefs to me (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs 1 and 2 drawing**).

Rose Mary's book has the title: *Guarding the Caesars. Roman Internal Security under the Flavian Dynasty* (2023, in press)<sup>1</sup>.

The 'Cancellaria Reliefs' consist of two marble friezes (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**) that are kept at the Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano (Inv. 13389-13391 [Frieze A]; 13392-13395 [Frieze B]); Frieze A: 5,08 x 2,06 m [this is the original height of both friezes]; Frieze B: 6,06 m [this is the original length of both friezes] x 2,06 m; cf. E. SIMON 1963. According to M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 61, the original length of the friezes was precisely 6,058 m; for a different (but, in my opinion, erroneous) reconstruction of their lengths

<sup>1</sup> See also R.M. SHELDON 2018.

by S. LANGER and M. PFANNER, cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.d); cf. Chapter V.2. The labs (A1- [A 1 is missing] A4 and B1-B4; cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**), belonging to the two panels of the Cancellaria Reliefs (here **Figs. 1; 2**), were found in 1937-1939 (cf. *infra*, at n. 113):

Both friezes were sculpted from four slabs of uneven lengths, in the case of Frieze A the slab on the far left is missing (*i.e.*, slab A1; cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**). F. MAGI 1945, Tav. I, in his monumental *editio princeps* of the Cancellaria Reliefs, published photographs of both of them together, which show them in their entirety and at the same scale, thus demonstrating how much of both friezes is actually missing. M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 57, Figs. 26; 27, has illustrated both friezes in the same way (cf. also here **Figs. 1; 2**). Originally, the average thickness of the slabs was 20 cm; cf. F. MAGI 1945, 13. The thickness of slab A 4 was originally 21,8 -22,5 cm; cf. M. PFANNER 1981, 514-515, Abb. 1 (a reconstruction drawing of slab A4 *in situ*).

After the reliefs had been carved, the remaining average thickness of the slabs was only 10 cm; cf. F. MAGI 1945, 13; and according to H. MEYER 2000, 125, only circa 8 cm. Originally these panels were also painted; cf. P. LIVERANI 2014, 26 with Fig. 26 (quoted *verbatim, infra*, at n. 448, in Chapter III.).

Interestingly, both friezes were designed in a way that a thin 'frame' surrounded the drawings of the processions those panels were supposed to show, which, in the process of carving the reliefs, was 'preserved' in such a way that now - at those parts of both friezes, where this 'frame' is still extant - a plastically rendered borderline, cut into profiles, enhances the represented scenes, which represents the former thickness of those slabs; cf. F. MAGI 1945, 13: this "cornice" is on average 4 cm wide.

Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee described this feature as follows: "both [friezes] are framed by identical projecting ledges"<sup>2</sup>. It would be interesting to understand the function and/ or meaning of this 'frame', and I suspect that it can help us to reconstruct the building, for which those friezes were commissioned. Paolo Liverani was kind enough to write me that such a "cornice" is by no means rare in Roman reliefs.

As I was only able to realize much later (cf. *infra*, in Chapter II.), M. PFANNER's (1981, 514-515, Abb. 1) reconstruction drawing that I have just mentioned, which shows a section of the building with slab A 4 *in situ*, has also demonstrated the function of this 'frame'.

Pfanner has found out that Frieze A had protruded by 6-6,5 cm from the wall, into which it was inserted. He refers to what we are calling here the 'frames' as profiles that surrounded the reliefs on all sides. Pfanner's reconstruction drawing shows the position of a dowel hole on the lower edge of slab A 4 (for the numbered slabs of both panels; cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**).

The choice of the position of this dowel hole demonstrates, that the marble, from which this profile was carved, had in the first place been preserved in order to allow the dowel holes to be cut into the lower and upper edges of the slabs. By means of the pertinent dowels, as well as with clamps, the friezes had been fixed to the monument.

In my *Vorlesung* on the imperial period, held at the Archäologisches Institut of the Universität Tübingen in the Sommersemester of 2009<sup>3</sup>, I followed the interpretations of Tonio Hölscher (2009a) concerning both Cancellaria Reliefs, but without making the effort to look anew at the friezes myself. In the following, I cannot possibly myself summarize the *status quaestionis* of the scholarly discussion concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs in all its ramifications, but will instead summarize Hölscher's account (2009a) and Giandomenico Spinola's findings (cf. *infra*, in Chapter III).

See also below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*), and will also refer to the hypotheses published by the following scholars:

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<sup>2</sup> J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 3.

<sup>3</sup> C. HÄUBER 2009b, 168-171.

Antonio Maria Colini (1938; published 1939)<sup>4</sup>, Siegfried Fuchs (1938; *corr.*: 1937)<sup>5</sup>, Bartolomeo Nogara (1939), Filippo Magi (1939)<sup>6</sup>, Heinrich Fuhrmann (1940), Fuhrmann (1941)<sup>7</sup>, Nogara (1941)<sup>8</sup>, Magi (1945)<sup>9</sup>, Per Gustaf

<sup>4</sup> A.M. COLINI (ed.) 1938 [1939], pp. 269-270 ("Notiziario: Sepolcro di Aulo Irzio", with TAV. AGG. F), written by Colini himself. The article "Notiziario", edited by Colini, appeared in the 4th fascicle of *BullCom* 66, 1938, which, as the title page of this fascicle shows, was printed in 1939. COLINI (1938 [1939] 270) refers to the meeting of the Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia 'December last year [on 1st December 1938]', at which Bartolomeo Nogara and Filippo Magi had reported on the find of the Cancellaria Reliefs, what Colini now summarizes in his "Notiziario" (quoting *verbatim* a text on those finds that Magi had kindly provided him with, together with a photo, Colini's TAV. AGG. F): "Queste interessanti scoperte sono state illustrate dal Prof. Nogara e dal Dott. Magi nella seduta dello scorso dicembre nella Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia, e verranno dagli stessi quanto prima pubblicate. Della straordinaria scoperta di rilievi [*i.e.*, of the Cancellaria Reliefs] ed elementi architettonici referibili ad un arco trionfale fatta successivamente [*i.e.*, after the find of the reliefs of the so-called Ara dei Vicomagistri; cf. Colini's TAV. AGG. E] nello stesso luogo diremo nel prossimo Notiziario". For the publications of the Cancellaria Reliefs by Nogara and Magi, announced by COLINI (1938 [1939] 270); cf. B. NOGARA (1939, 8, 106, 115-116, 227; cf. below, at n. 6); and F. MAGI 1939; 1945 (cf. below, at ns. 6; 9). R. HORN (1938, Sp. 686, quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 145) informs us about the date of this meeting of the Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia: 1st December 1938, to which COLINI (1938 [1939] 270) refers.

<sup>5</sup> The publication in question is (but only allegedly): 'S. FUCHS 1938'. Unfortunately the reference mentioned here, quoted for this publication by S. FUCHS after H. MEYER 2011, 175 n. 5, has turned out to be wrong. The (alleged) relevant finding of S. FUCHS concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs was mentioned by FUHRMANN 1940, Sp. 472: "Wohl als erster hat S. Fuchs in dem Kopf des älteren Togatus [on Frieze B] statt eines alten Tiberius das Portrait des Kaisers Vespasian erkannt". The author in question was called "Siegfried Fuchs" by A. RUMPF 1955-56, 112 n. 2 (quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 113), who referred to FUHRMANN *op.cit.*; also M. BERGMANN 1981, 28 n. 48, mentioned "Fuchs"; as well as M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 57, n. 409 ("... in quanto non risolvevano l'indiscutibile contraddizione originata dal fatto che il ritratto rilavorato di Nerva veniva ad assumere caratteri stilistici del tutto analoghi a quelli **del ritratto di Vespasiano del fregio B ritenuto invece originario e riconosciuto come tale per primo da S. Fuchs**" [my emphasis]). None of these four scholars provided a reference for S. FUCHS's (alleged) relevant publication (for discussions; cf. *infra*, at the Section: *The Siegfried-Fuchs-Saga*, and ns. 113; 191). S. LANGER and M. Pfanner 2018, 21-27, do not mention a publication by 'S. Fuchs'.

But note that already F. MAGI 1939, 205, had recognized that the head of the emperor on Frieze B here Fig. 2 (called by him "pannello A" in this article, cf. his Fig. 14) is a portrait of Vespasian; MAGI'S publication of 1939 (cf. *infra*, n. 6) has not been mentioned by FUHRMANN 1940, RUMPF 1955-56, BERGMANN 1981 and PENTIRICCI 2009. But FUHRMANN 1941, Sp. 544 n. 3 (quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter IV.1.), has quoted F. MAGI 1939.

H. MEYER 2011, 175 with n. 5, asserted knowing the missing publication by Siegfried Fuchs: it is, according to MEYER (*op.cit.*), S. FUCHS 1938, 270ff. - But this reference is wrong. H. MEYER'S relevant discussion is quoted *verbatim infra*, at the Section: *The Siegfried-Fuchs-Saga*, and in n. 113. Michaela Fuchs was kind enough to check for me on 30th/31st January, 2020, whether she could find the article by Siegfried Fuchs among Hugo Meyer's notes. She found out that this article by S. FUCHS had already appeared in *Pantheon* vol. XX 1937, but this article does not contain any remarks on the Cancellaria Reliefs. - Not surprisingly, since at that time the slabs B3 and B4 of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (here Fig. 2), on which the portrait of Vespasian appears (here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 14), was not as yet excavated; those slabs should only occur in 1938 (cf. *infra*, n. 113).

<sup>6</sup> B. NOGARA (1939, 227) writes that F. Magi had reported on the Cancellaria Reliefs in the "Adunanza [of the Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia] del 26 gennaio 1939". Cf p. 8: **in this meeting, Nogara reported that these "sculture [*i.e.*, the Cancellaria Reliefs] che il dott. Magi reputa possono avere appartenute ad un arco neroniano** [my emphasis]; cf. pp. 105-106, report on the "Adunanza del 22 giugno 1939". See p. 105: **in this meeting, Nogara had reported, that "in uno di questi frammenti è sicuramente rappresentato l'imperatore Vespasiano ... Riceve l'imperatore un giovane", who has been identified with the young Domitian** [my emphasis]. Cf. p. 106, where Nogara reports that all the interpretations of the Cancellaria Reliefs, presented by him, are those of Filippo Magi, who also suggests that they "avevano ornato l'attico" of one of Domitian's many arches in Rome. See also *supra*, n. 4.

Cf. F. MAGI 1939, 205-206 (quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 112), who repeats in detail, what Nogara 1939, 8, 105-106 had reported about his hypotheses. I thank Franz Xaver Schütz for the reference. This publication was only mentioned by the author himself; cf. F. MAGI 1945, 51 n. 1; by H. FUHRMANN 1941, 544-545, n. 3, by J. MÜHLENBROCK 2003, 150 n. 1319; by G. ALFÖLDY 1996, 4462, at *CIL* VI, 40543, and now by S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 21. See also F. MAGI 1945, that will be discussed in this book in Chapters I.-VI.

<sup>7</sup> H. FUHRMANN 1940, Sp. 460-476: "Cancellaria"; on p. 462, he referred to an earlier report on those finds in *AA* 1938, Sp. 686-692, Abb. 29-31. = R. HORN 1938, but that is only dedicated to the so-called Ara dei Vicomagistri (cf. *infra*, n. 145), since the Cancellaria Reliefs discussed here had not as yet been excavated within the time period, on which FUHRMANN 1940 reported; cf. Sp. 467-472 (for FUHRMANN'S discussion of the Cancellaria Reliefs). Cf. H. FUHRMANN 1941, Sp. 542-545, which I have found in the bibliography of S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 22.

<sup>8</sup> B. NOGARA 1941, 15-17, quoted here after M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 57 with n. 409.

<sup>9</sup> F. MAGI 1945. The Cancellaria Reliefs "were found leaning against the walls of the republican Tomb of Aulus Hirtius"; cf. D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 191 (cf. also *infra*, n. 113). For the graffiti, written on this enclosure, cf. A. DEGRASSI 1942-1943. See also L. RICHARDSON Jr. 1992, 356 s.v. Sep. A. Hirtii: "the bustum of the consul of 43 B.C., victim of the Battle of Modena, in the Campus Martius. It was found in 1938 under the northwest corner of Palazzo della Cancellaria, a simple enclosure of brick-faced concrete with a plain travertine coping and with travertine cippi, some of them inscribed with his name, at the corners (*ILLRP* 419). This is the more impressive because he was awarded a state funeral by vote of the senate (Livy, *Epit.* 119; Vell. Pat. 2.62.4)"; F. COARELLI: "Sepulcrum: A. HIRTIUS", in: *LTUR* IV (1999) 290, Figs. I, 120, 126; II, 87-88; cf. *infra*, n. 42. For further maps, cf. *infra*, n. 66.

Cf. H. MEYER 2011, 177: Hirtius was the author of book 8 of Julius Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*.

For the importance of the tomb of Aulus Hirtius for the dating of the *Euripus*; cf. V. GASPARINI 2018, 90 with ns. 71, 72, Fig. 11, discussed *infra*, at n. 294, in Chapter I.3.2.

Hamberg (1945), Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee (1946a), Giuseppe Lugli (1946)<sup>10</sup>, Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli (1946-48)<sup>11</sup>, Hugh Last (1948)<sup>12</sup>, Ludwig Curtius (1948)<sup>13</sup>, Bernhard Neutsch (1948-49)<sup>14</sup>, Karl Schefold (1949)<sup>15</sup>, Goffredo Bendinelli (1949)<sup>16</sup>, Heinz Kähler 1950<sup>17</sup>, Mason Hammond (1953), Magi (1954-55)<sup>18</sup>, Andreas Rumpf (1955-56)<sup>19</sup>, Magi (1955-56)<sup>20</sup>, Toynbee (1957)<sup>21</sup>, Kähler (1958; 1960), Erika Simon (1960)<sup>22</sup>, George Maxim Anossov Hanfmann [1964]<sup>23</sup>, Jean Béranger (1964), Georg Daltrop (1966)<sup>24</sup>, Elisabeth Keller (1967)<sup>25</sup>, Simon (1963)<sup>26</sup>; Gerhard Koepfel (1969)<sup>27</sup>, Andreas Linfert (1969), Klaus Stemmer (1971), Volker Michael Strocka (1972)<sup>28</sup>, Anne Marguerite McCann (1972)<sup>29</sup>, Magi (1971), Magi (1973)<sup>30</sup>, Werner Gauer (1973), Bernard Andreae (1973)<sup>31</sup>, Anthony Bonanno (1976), Bianchi Bandinelli and Mario Torelli (1976), Magi (1977)<sup>32</sup>, Eliska Kazdová (1979), Michael Pfanner (1981)<sup>33</sup>, Marianne Bergmann (1981)<sup>34</sup>, Hans-Werner Ritter (1982)<sup>35</sup>, Hans Rupprecht Goette (1983) Heinz Bernhard Wiggers (1983)<sup>36</sup>, Michaela Fuchs (1984)<sup>37</sup>, Koepfel (1984)<sup>38</sup>, Pfanner (1983), Wolfgang Schürmann (1985), Simon (1985), Manfred Oppermann (1985)<sup>39</sup>, Niels Hannestad (1986), Goette (1986)<sup>40</sup>, Francesca Ghedini (1986)<sup>41</sup>, Filippo Coarelli (1988), Richard Neudecker

<sup>10</sup> P.G. HAMBERG 1945, 52-53. Cf. review of P.B. HAMBERG by J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1946, 179-180; and *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*, at Section *III*.

cf. TOYNBEE 1946a, 187-191, review of F. MAGI 1945, quoted after R. SABLAYROLLES 1994, 131, n. 44 (quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 47), who discusses TOYNBEE's hypothesis;  
cf. G. LUGLI 1946, 7-8: "The Cancellaria Reliefs".

<sup>11</sup> R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI 1946-48, 259 (quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 112, and in Chapter *IV.1.*).

<sup>12</sup> H. LAST 1948, 9-14.

<sup>13</sup> L. CURTIUS 1948.

<sup>14</sup> B. NEUTSCH 1948-49, 109.

<sup>15</sup> K. SCHEFOLD 1949, 188ff. (*non vidi*); quoted after M. BERGMANN 1981, 19.

<sup>16</sup> G. BENDINELLI 1949, quoted after M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 61 with n. 426. BENDINELLI identified the togate youth on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs with Domitian; cf. *infra*, the text related to ns. 230, 231.

<sup>17</sup> H. KÄHLER 1950.

<sup>18</sup> M. HAMMOND 1953, 134-135, 136, 146, 157; F. MAGI 1954-55.

<sup>19</sup> A. RUMPF 1955-56.

<sup>20</sup> F. MAGI 1955-56.

<sup>21</sup> J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957.

<sup>22</sup> H. KÄHLER 1958, Taf. 162 (above); Taf. 163 (above and below); H. KÄHLER 1960, 254-256: "Tafel 162/163"; E. SIMON 1960.

<sup>23</sup> G.M.A. HANFMANN [1964] 108, quoted after G. KOEPEL 1969, 174 n. 164 (quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter *IV.1.*).

<sup>24</sup> J. BÉRANGER 1964, 81, quoted after S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 62 n. 59; G. DALTROP 1966, 41 Taf. 31.

<sup>25</sup> E. KELLER 1967.

<sup>26</sup> E. SIMON: "Spätflavische Reliefs von der Cancellaria", and: "Fragment eines großen flavischen Reliefs, Kaiser und Likatoren", in: *HELBIG* I (1963) 8-12 no. 12; 727-728 no. 1013.

<sup>27</sup> G. KOEPEL 1969, 138-144, 172-174.

<sup>28</sup> A. LINFERT 1969; K. STEMMER 1971, 573, 574, 575, Abb. 9; V.M. Strocka 1972, 147 (quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter *V.1.b.*).

<sup>29</sup> A.M. MCCANN 1972.

<sup>30</sup> F. MAGI 1971; F. MAGI 1973.

<sup>31</sup> W. GAUER 1973, 350, quoted after S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 60, n. 52, who refer back to their n. 41; cf. *infra*, at Chapters *III.*; and *V.1.h.1.*).

B. ANDREAEE 1973, 193, quoted after S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 62 n. 59, cf. *infra*, at Chapter *V.1.h.*).

<sup>32</sup> A. BONANNO 1976, 52-61, pls. 116-134;

R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI and M. TORELLI 1976, ARTE ROMANA, scheda n. 105 (cf. *infra*, n. 208, at Chapter *I.1.1.*; one passages is quoted *infra*, at Chapter *IV.1.*; cf. Chapter *V.1.i.3.b.*); at Section *IV.*); at n. 475, in Chapter *VI.3.* - At first I had quoted this book after M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 61, with n. 426.

F. MAGI 1977.

<sup>33</sup> E. KAZDOVÁ 1979, 47-56 (I thank Rose Mary Sheldon for the reference); M. PFANNER 1981.

<sup>34</sup> M. BERGMANN 1981 [1982].

<sup>35</sup> H.-W. RITTER 1982.

<sup>36</sup> H.R. GOETTE 1983, 242 n. 15; H. B. WIGGERS 1983, 154-157.

<sup>37</sup> M. FUCHS 1984, 249, Abb. 21 with n. 203, p. 250, with n. 204.

<sup>38</sup> G.M. KOEPEL 1984, 5-9, 28-34.

<sup>39</sup> W. SCHÜRMAN 1985, 85-88; E. SIMON 1985; M. OPPERMAN 1985, 44-62, 185; found in the bibliography of S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 25; cf. p. 61, "Abb. 13 Deutungen Relief A: Auswahl der Interpretationsvorschläge"; quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.b.*

<sup>40</sup> N. HANNESTAD 1986, 133-135 (quoted after the book manuscript of R.M. SHELDON, *Guarding the Caesars. Roman Internal Security under the Flavian Dynasty*, 2023, in press; cf. *supra*, at n. 1);

H.R. GOETTE 1986, 64 with n. 16.

(1990)<sup>42</sup>, Sandro De Maria (1988)<sup>43</sup>, Goette (1988), (1990)<sup>44</sup>, Thomas Schäfer (1989), Christoph Luitpold Frommel (1989 and 1991)<sup>45</sup>, Catherine Lochin (1990), Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992)<sup>46</sup>, Wolfgang Kuhoff (1993), Rita Paris (1994b), Fulvio Canciani (1994), Robert Sablayrolles (1994)<sup>47</sup>, Hans Wiegartz (1996), Geza Alföldy (1996), T.P. Wiseman (1996)<sup>48</sup>, Nancy H. Ramage and Andrew Ramage (1996), Robin Haydon Darwall-Smith (1996)<sup>49</sup>, Coarelli (1997), Thomas Ganschow (1997)<sup>50</sup>, Colini (1998)<sup>51</sup>, Burkhard Fehr (1998)<sup>52</sup>, Hugo Meyer (2000), Horst Herzog (2001)<sup>53</sup>, John Henderson (2003)<sup>54</sup>, Josef Mühlenbrock (2003)<sup>55</sup>, Walter Trillmich (2004), Susanna Le Pera Buranelli (2004)<sup>56</sup>, Eric R. Varner (2004)<sup>57</sup>, Chrystina Häuber (2005), Andreas Schmidt-Colinet (2005), Marion Meyer (2006), Lorenz E. Baumer (2007), Baumer (2008)<sup>58</sup>, Stefan Pfeiffer (2009), Coarelli (2009a)<sup>59</sup>, Massimo Pentiricci (2009)<sup>60</sup>, Frommel and Pentiricci (2009)<sup>61</sup>, Maddalena Cima (2009)<sup>62</sup>,

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M. PFANNER 1983, 56, 58ff., 64, 68ff., 70, Beilage 9,1-4, Beilage 10,9-11, Beilage 11,13, Beilage 10,7-11; H.R. GOETTE 1986, 64 with n. 16.

<sup>41</sup> F. GHEDINI 1986.

<sup>42</sup> F. COARELLI 1988, 383, 451-452. Cf. *supra*, n. 9.

R. NEUDECKER 1990, 176; cf. C. HÄUBER 2005, 53 n. 385; and *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.b).

<sup>43</sup> S. DE MARIA 1988, 121, 289-291; quoted after M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 61, with n. 426.

<sup>44</sup> H.R. GOETTE 1988, quoted after S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 25; H.R. GOETTE 1990, 41, B a 316: Taf. 12,5, p. 128, cat. no. 316.

<sup>45</sup> T. SCHÄFER 1989; C.L. FROMMEL 1989; C.L. FROMMEL 1991.

<sup>46</sup> C. LOCHIN: "Honos", in: *LIMC* (1990) 500 Nr. 21, p. 502, quoted after S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 62 n. 59; D. E.E. KLEINER 1992, 191-192, Figs. 158; 159; pp. 203-204 (bibliography).

<sup>47</sup> W. KUHOFF 1993, 77 with n. 103 (found in S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 62 with n. 59); R. PARIS 1994b, 81-83, Figs. 6; 7a-c; F. CANCELANI 1996, 40, no. 21, Cancellaria Relief A.

R. SABLAYROLLES 1994, 131 writes: "Les reliefs de la Chancellerie pourraient avoir constitué les panneaux d'un autre de ces édifices triomphaux, peut-être l' *arcus Tiburi* ou *arcus Diburi* du Moyen Age, entrée monumentale et triomphale de la *Porticus Divorum* élevée par Domitien sur le Champ de Mars en l'honneur de Titus et Vespasien [with n. 44]".

In his **note 44**, R. SABLAYROLLES writes: "Sur l'*arcus Diburi*, voir Platner Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* [1926], p. 38-39. L'attribution des reliefs de la Chancellerie à un monument du Champ de Mars - qui pourrait être par conséquent l'arc triomphal de l'entrée de la *Porticus Divorum* - est une hypothèse suggérée par J. Toynbee dans un compte-rendu de l'ouvrage de F. Magi, *I rilievi Flavi della Cancellaria*, Rome, 1945 (J. Toynbee, Review of F. Magi, *I rilievi Flavi del Palazzo della Cancellaria*, dans *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 36, 1946 [*i.e.*, here J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1946a], p. 187-191 et en particulier p. 189)". See below, at **n. 74**: also D. ATNALLY CONLIN 2021, 157, suggests this hypothesis, but without providing a reference.

<sup>48</sup> H. WIEGARTZ 1996, 172 with n. 13 (quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.a*); G. ALFÖLDY 1996, 4462-4463, at *CIL* VI, 40543; T.P. WISEMAN 1996, 20 (Fig., illustrating Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs): "... beckoned on by the goddesses Roma and Minerva and by the 'genius' of the Senate ...".

<sup>49</sup> N.H. RAMAGE and A. RAMAGE 1996, 144 (*non vidi*), quoted after S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 62 n. 59 (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.h); cf. R.H. DARWALL-SMITH 1996, 172, quoted after S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 60, n. 52 (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.h).

<sup>50</sup> F. COARELLI 1997, 256, 557; T. GANSCHOW 1997, 277, no. 38, Cancellaria relief A..

<sup>51</sup> A.M. COLINI 1998 II, 159.

<sup>52</sup> B. FEHR 1998.

<sup>53</sup> H. MEYER 2000, 124-142; p. 125, n. 396 (bibliography); H. HERZOG 2001, 103-147 (*non vidi*), quoted after S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 26.

<sup>54</sup> J. HENDERSON 2003, 244-253, Figs. 46-52.

<sup>55</sup> J. MÜHLENBROCK 2003, 150 with ns. 1319, 1320. I thank Franz Xaver Schütz for the reference.

<sup>56</sup> W. TRILLMICH 2004, 334-335 (cf. *infra*, **n. 130**, at Chapter I.1.; and at Chapter IV.1.1.h)), quoted after A. PENA 2017, 206-207 with n. 56.

S. LE PERA BURANELLI, 2004; cf. M.G. CIMINO and S. LE PERA 1995; C. BENOCCI, P. CIANCIO ROSSETTO, G. CIMINO, S. LE PERA 1995; M.G. CIMINO 1997; M.G. CIMINO and M. NOTA SANTI 1998, with the contributions by M.G. CIMINO, S. LE PERA 1998; by M. PENTIRICCI 1998, and by P. SOMMELLA and L. MIGLIORATI 1998..

<sup>57</sup> E.R. VARNER 2004, 119f. n. 62, quoted after S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 60, n. 52 (cf. *infra*, at Chapters III.; and V.1.h.1.).

<sup>58</sup> C. HÄUBER 2005, 53 n. 385;

A. SCHMIDT-COLINET 2005, 112-114, Abb. 10a; 10b, illustrates the two bearded soldiers on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs: his Fig. 10a shows Domitian's bearded *armiger* (cf. here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 14**), and his Fig. 10b shows Domitian's bearded *primipilus* (cf. here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 8**).

M. MEYER 2006, 134, quoted after H. MEYER 2011, 180 n. 69.

L.E. BAUMER 2007; L. BAUMER 2008, 189-192 (I thank Rose Mary Sheldon for the reference).

<sup>59</sup> S. PFEIFFER 2009, 61-62, found in the bibliography of S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 27. Cf. PFEIFFER 2009, 62: "Eines der beiden Reliefs [*i.e.*, Frieze B] zeigt auf jeden Fall Domitian mit Vespasian. Vater und Sohn werden von Minerva, Rom und den Genien von Senat und Volk Roms begleitet. Auf diese Weise ist nicht nur die Legitimation der Herrschaft des Domitian durch seinen Vater verkündet, sondern auch der *consensus universorum*, die Zustimmung zu seiner Herrschaft durch die Götter und die Untertanen".

Andrea Carignani and Giandomenico Spinola (2009)<sup>63</sup>, Thuri Lorenz (2009)<sup>64</sup>, Fedora Filippi (2010), Franz Xaver Schütz (2010)<sup>65</sup>, Joachim Raeder (2010), Friederike Sinn (2010), John Pollini (2010), Pollini (2012), Hugo Meyer (2011)<sup>66</sup>, Ludovico Rebaudo and Katharina Zanier (2012-2013)<sup>67</sup>, Coarelli (2014), Paolo Liverani (2014)<sup>68</sup>, Anne Wolfsfeld (2014), Guido Petruccioli (2014)<sup>69</sup>, Filippi (2015)<sup>70</sup>, Markus Wolf (2015)<sup>71</sup>, Pollini (2017b), Antonio Peña (2017), Maria Teresa D'Alessio (2017)<sup>72</sup>, Dietrich Boschung (2017), Pier Luigi Tucci (2017), Barbora Chabrečková (2017)<sup>73</sup>, Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani (2018), Miguel John Versluys, Kristine

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Cf. F. COARELLI 2009a, with the contributions by: T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 54-58; cf. p. 54, n. 43 (bibliography); F.P. ARATA 2009, 210-217; E. LA ROCCA 2009, 224-233; J.-C. GRENIER 2009, 234-239; C. KRAUSE 2009, 264-267; C. HÄUBER 2009a, 312-317; R. NEUDECKER 2009, 354-357 with Fig. 2; and R. PARIS 2009, 460-467.

<sup>60</sup> M. PENTIRICCI 2009.

<sup>61</sup> C.L. FROMMEL and M. PENTIRICCI 2009b.

<sup>62</sup> M. CIMA 2009; cf. *infra*, ns. 262, 286, 291.

<sup>63</sup> A. CARIGNANI and G. SPINOLA 2009; cf. *infra*, n. 76 and at n. 287.

<sup>64</sup> T. LORENZ 2009.

<sup>65</sup> F. FILIPPI 2010 (discussed *infra*, at n. 293); F.X. SCHÜTZ 2010, who discusses the western part of the *Campus Martius*.

<sup>66</sup> J. RAEDER, 2010, Textband, pp. 141, 143-146, Abb. 50a-b, Tafelband Abb. 229 a-r; and F. SINN 2010, Textband, p. 149. Both found in the bibliography of S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 27. My thanks are due to Hans Rupprecht Goette for sending me on 25th October 2023 detailed information concerning J. RAEDER's 2010 discussion of the Cancellaria Reliefs; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*. For a discussion of J. RAEDER's 2010 hypotheses; cf. *infra*, in Chapter *I.1.1*; in Chapter *V.1.b*); and in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

J. POLLINI 2010, 23; J. POLLINI 2012, 103 with ns. 164, 165, Fig. II.37a-c, p. 309 with n. 2 (there the Cancellaria Reliefs are only mentioned), p. 452 n. 153 (quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 227);

H. MEYER 2011, 175-180, found in the bibliography of S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 27.

<sup>67</sup> L. REBAUDO and K. ZANIER 2012-2013, 276 with n. 9 (for the *Genius Populi Romani* on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs).

<sup>68</sup> F. COARELLI 2014, 105 with n. 80, Fig. 27;

P. LIVERANI 2014, 26 with n. 72 and Fig. 26 (quoted *verbatim, infra* at n. 448, in Chapter III.).

<sup>69</sup> A. WOLFSFELD 2014, 201-202 (on the sceptre, held by the *Genius Senatus* on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter *V.1.e*); G. PETRUCCIOLI 2014, 109-127.

<sup>70</sup> F. COARELLI 2014, 105, with n. 80, Fig. 27.

Filippi (2015b) discusses the hypothesis of PENTIRICCI (2009, 15-75, 138-144, Fig. 33, p. 207 Fig. 4), to identify the ancient structure, found at the Church of San Lorenzo in Damaso underneath the Palazzo della Cancellaria ("edificio A1") with remains of the *stabulum Factionis Prasinæ*, one of the "Stabula III Factionum: the stables of the four companies that owned and trained the horses for the races in the circus" (cf. L. RICHARDSEN JR. 1992, 366), as well as contradictory opinions; cf. F. FILIPPI 2015b, 396 with n. 11, p. 426 with ns. 97-99 (quoting in her n. 99 different opinions), pp. 427, 430 with n. 123 (quoting the opinion of another scholar, who identifies those ancient structures as the remains of a *domus*), p. 432, Fig. 65 "Carta della Area del Campo Marzio. Topografia degli *Stabula* Circensi, sulla base dei dati archeologici": the ancient structures, found underneath Palazzo della Cancellaria, are marked and are labelled "(A)", the ancient structures, found underneath the Museo Barracco are marked and labelled: "9"; cf. pp. 434-435 with n. 149 (*prasina* means: "Verde"); cf. p. 436 with n. 163 (on the structure "n. 9" on her map Fig. 65: "È incerta e discussa l'identificazione di strutture pertinenti a *stabula* circensi, nel sito dell'attuale Museo Barracco, oggi ridotte a una pavimentazione di lastre di marmo [with n. 163] (n. 9)"; cf. her n. 163: "CIMINO - LE PERA 1998, pp. 153-158. Si tratterebbe di una fase precedente la privatizzazione dell'area con l'insediamento di una *domus* di IV sec." (For those ancient structures underneath the Museo Barracco, likewise interpreted by her as remains of the *stabula*, see also S. LE PERA 2004, 193-194 with n. 28); further for the *stabula Factionis Prasinæ*, cf. pp. 437-438.

For a map of the entire *Campus Martius* which contains those ancient structures, cf. F. FILIPPI 2015a, map Tavola II in the end pocket of this volume: "Planimetria dei nuovi dati con ipotesi ricostruttive (scala 1:4000) di A. Blanco, D. Nepi, A. Vella". This map shows the *Euripus*, the tomb of Hirtius, as well as all the other the ancient structures, found underneath the Palazzo della Cancellaria and underneath the Museo Barracco immediately to the east of the Palazzo della Cancellaria (both Palazzi are not labelled on this map). Here were excavated the ancient structures, archaeological and architectural finds, to which the publications, here listed in ns. 4-74, refer; cf. C.L. FROMMEL and M. PENTIRICCI 2009a, volumes I and II.

For maps of the area, cf. also C. HÄUBER 2017, 212, 483, cf. p. 69, map Fig. 3.7 [= here Fig. 59], labels: Corso Vittorio Emanuele II, Palazzo della Cancellaria; SEPULCRUM: AULUS HIRTIUS; Palazzo Le Roy/ Farnesina ai Baullari/ Museo Barracco. For Fig. 3.7 in high resolution, cf. <[https://FORTVNA-research.org/Digitale\\_Topographie\\_der\\_Stadt\\_Rom](https://FORTVNA-research.org/Digitale_Topographie_der_Stadt_Rom)>. At the same link you find also my map Fig. 3.5 [= here Fig. 58] of the *Campus Martius*. For that, cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 63.

<sup>71</sup> M. WOLF 2015; cf. now M. WOLF 2018 (cf. *infra*, in Chapter *V.2*.)

<sup>72</sup> J. POLLINI 2017b, 115-118 (first found in S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 27). Pollini 2017b, 116, 118, identifies the emperor on Frieze B with Vespasian, and on p. 118 n. 96 the togate youth on Frieze B with Domitian, "who greets his father [Vespasian]"; A. PEÑA, 2017, 206f., Abb. 12; 14 (found in the bibliography of S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 27);

M.T. D'ALESSIO, 2017, 505: 2.6.4., p. 506 with n. 248, p. 515: 2.8.2, p. 520, quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 326, in Chapter *II.1.e*).

<sup>73</sup> D. BOSCHUNG 2017, 393-394, Abb. 216-218; cf. D. BOSCHUNG 2012, 44f. (found in the bibliography of S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 27).

P.L. TUCCI 2017 I, Chapter 5, quoted after E.M. MOORMANN 2019, 269 (cf. below, at Chapter *I.3.2.*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*)), whom I thank for alerting me to Tucci's discussion of the Cancellaria Reliefs.

Bülow-Clausen and Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi (2018), Silvana Balbi de Caro (2018b), Klaus Fittschen (2018 [2019]), Eric M. Moormann (2019; *id.* 2020a), Pollini (2020), Iliaria Romeo (2020), Claudio Parisi Presicce (2021a), Liverani (2021), Frederick G. Naerebout (2021), Nathalie de Haan and Moormann (2021), Diane Atnally Conlin (2021), Caroline Vout (2021), Dietrich Willers (2021), Anne Wolfsfeld (2021), Moormann (2022), Parisi Presicce (2023), and Rose Mary Sheldon (2023, in press)<sup>74</sup>.

B. CHABREČKOVÁ 2017, discusses on pp. 63-71 the Cancellaria Reliefs; on pp. 65-67, she identifies the togate youth on Frieze B (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 12**), with Domitian (cf. her Figs. XXXI; XXXII) and believes that the portrait of Vespasian on Frieze B (here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 14**) is not the result of a reworking process (cf. her Figs. XXIX; XXX).

My thanks are due to Rose Mary Sheldon for sending me on 12th April 2023 Chapter 7 of her book on Domitian (2023, in press), in which she has quoted CHABREČKOVÁ's publication in her **note 102**; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; at Section *II*.; and *infra*, at Chapter *IV.1.1.h* *The new findings by B.E. Borg (2019) concerning the Templum Gentis Flaviae ...*; at the Section *Did Domitian bury in his Templum Gentis Flaviae also his mother and his sister, Flavia Domitilla maior and minor ?*; and at the Section: *Diva Flavia Domitilla minor was indeed buried in the Templum Gentis Flaviae*; and below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

<sup>74</sup> R. SANTANGELI VALENZANI (2018), quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter *I.3.2*.

M. J. VERSLUYS, K. BÜLOW-CLAUSEN and G. CAPRIOTTI VITTOZZI (eds.) 2018a, comprising the contributions by: I. BRAGANTINI 2018; L. BRICAULT and R. VEYMIERS 2018; F. COARELLI 2018; V. GASPARINI 2018; A. HEINEMANN 2018; K. LEMBKE 2018; T. LUKE 2018; E.M. MOORMANN 2018; S. PFEIFFER 2018, M.J. VERSLUYS 2018, and M.J. VERSLUYS, K. BÜLOW-CLAUSEN and G. CAPRIOTTI VITTOZZI 2018b.

S. BALBI DE CARO 2018b, 84 (Fig.): "Rilievo B [*corr.*: A] della Cancellaria, particolare con la Dea Rom, 81-96 d.C., Musei Vaticani, Città del Vaticano". I thank Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio for the reference.

K. FITTSCHEN 2018 [2019] 405-406 writes in his review of F. FLESS *et al.* 2018: "Die Reliefs sind erst nach Versetzen der Platten am (weiterhin unbekanntem) Bau ausgeführt worden. **In beiden Friesen fehlt mindestens eine Platte**, weswegen es nicht möglich ist, ihr Thema eindeutig und endgültig zu benennen. Zwar neigen die Autoren zur Deutung des Frieses **A als Profectio** (S. 76) und des Frieses **B als Adventus** (S. 78), **heben aber den betont zivilen Charakter dieses letzteren Reliefs hervor ... Die beiden Kaiserköpfe sind beide aus einer Umarbeitung hervorgegangen. Bei dem [page 406] Kopf des Nerva auf Fries A war das nie strittig; für den Kopf Vespasians auf Fries B ist dieser Befund nun eindeutig dokumentiert (Kap. 2.9.4). Wenn die Frieße A und B zusammengehören, was ja nicht feststeht, was die Autoren aber trotz beträchtlicher Unterschiede für wahrscheinlich halten, war das Vorgängerporträt Vespasians ebenfalls eines des Domitian. Für eine von manchen Forschern behauptete zweifache Umarbeitung der Kaiserköpfe haben sich dagegen keine Indizien finden lassen. Der Kopf des Togatus Nr. 12 auf Fries B ist kein Porträt, vielmehr ein Genrekopf wie die der meisten anderen Figuren (Taf. 50, 4-5), also auch kein jugendlicher Domitian [my emphasis]**".

Cf. E.M. MOORMANN 2019, 269. E.M. MOORMANN 2020a, 277, writes in his review of Friederike Fless, Stephanie Langer, Paolo Liverani and Michael Pfanner 2018: "**Relief B** lacks military connotations and includes the Vestals as well as some *genii* circling around the emperor in an act of *adventus*. **The fact that the young man in front of the emperor, Vespasian, cannot be satisfactorily explained, although Domitian is the most likely candidate if we may follow Magi (and Chrystina Häuber with whom I discussed the relief in late 2019), makes a sound interpretation impossible.** The - plausible, cautiously formulated - conclusion is that we have pendants, showing the emperor's military and civil virtues expressed in a departure and arrival scene (p. 80) [my emphasis]".

J. POLLINI 2020, 243-244 with n. 2, Abb. 1a.-b.

I. ROMEO 2020 convincingly suggests that the statue-type 'Athena in corsa' copies the Athena from the Eastern pediment of the Parthenon at Athens, which shows the 'birth of Athena'. In addition to this, we owe Romeo (2020, 850 with n. 53) the important observation that the figure of Minerva on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 5**) is modelled on this statue-type 'Athena in corsa' (!). As I only realized at a second moment, all of ROMEO's just-mentioned findings had already been observed by W. FUCHS: "Statue der Athena", in: *HELBIG* 4 II (1966) 199-201, no. 1395 (!). Those facts are, of course, also mentioned by I. ROMEO 2020 herself. Cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; at Section *III*.; and *infra*, n. 239, in Chapter *I.2*. W. FUCHS's (1966) and I. ROMEO's (2020) findings are discussed and quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.1.*)

C. PARISI PRESCICCE 2021a, 56.

P. LIVERANI 2021, 86-87, Figs. 2; 3 [= here **Figs. 1; 2**], who writes on p. 87, after mentioning the almost undisputed fact that the face of the emperor on Frieze A (here **Fig. 1**) has been reworked from a portrait of Domitian into that of Nerva, writes about the togate youth of Frieze B (here **Fig. 2**) in front of Vespasian (in my opinion Domitian), about the (alleged) missing slab of Frieze B, and about Vespasian himself: "**In front of him [i.e., Vespasian] is a young togate figure, whose identity has been hotly debated. Many have proposed to interpret him as the young Domitian, but his traits are generic and he must rather be identified as a magistrate or a similar institutional personage. The left group consists of the Vestal Virgins ... Some more figures were portrayed on the missing slab in the middle of the group of the priestesses. The portrait of the Emperor [i.e., of Vespasian] is stylistically very different from the other heads and also a little smaller: there is the strong suspicion it, too, was reworked, even if in a more accurate and mimetic way than on frieze A. In this case, too the original Emperor must be recognized as Domitian ...** [my emphasis]".

F.G. NAEREBOUT 2021, 148, n. 34.

N. DE HAAN and E.M. MOORMANN (2021, 54-55) write about the (alleged) missing slab of Frieze B, about the togate youth on Frieze B (in my opinion Domitian, and about the portrait of Vespasian): "**Reliëf B meet 209,4 x 611,6 cm en mist ook een plaat en delen van de bovenzijde ... Op reliëf B is de derde figuur van rechts onmistkenbaar Vespasianus. Ook zijn gezicht is het resultaat van een bewerking van een portret van Domitianus. Aan de rechterzijde zet Victoria ... De twee jongemannen links von hem [i.e., Vespasian] zijn allebei als Domitianus geïnterpreteerd, maar hebben [page 55] geen specifieke gezichtskenmerken** [my emphasis]".

D. ATNALLY CONLIN 2021, 157: "The Cancellaria reliefs depicting Vespasian's *adventus* and Domitian's *profectio* may have originally adorned an arch attached to or with[in] the Divorum complex". The author does not say that this is the hypothesis of J.M.C.



The (at the time) most recent contributions, dedicated to the Cancellaria Reliefs, and to the architectural fragments, found together with them, by Stephanie Langer and Michael Pfanner (2018), Markus Wolf (2018), and Klaus Stefan Freyberger (2018) appeared only when this part of this *Study*, which is dedicated to the Cancellaria Reliefs, was almost finished. To avoid the creation of entirely new footnotes, I have not integrated their ideas into the here following text, but have contented myself in adding references to their work by using already existing notes (with one exception: my **note 480** in Chapter VI.3., which was at that stage my very last one). I have written additional Chapters comprising summaries of their work (cf. *infra*, at Chapters V.1.-V.3.).

Taken together, the detailed accounts of all these scholars, mentioned above, summarize what seems to be the complete discussion of the Cancellaria Reliefs - but they discuss also the self-presentation and the building policy of the emperor, who commissioned these panels, Domitian, as well as the *Iseum Campense* and its sculpture decoration, where Domitian had erected his obelisk (cf. here **Fig. 28**; cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.), the hieroglyphic texts of which are discussed here together with Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs. See also below, at *The first Contribution by Emanuele Ciampini : La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*.

Most authors, who have studied the Cancellaria Reliefs so far, are interested in the scenes that are presented, and try to understand the represented historical actions of the relevant emperors being represented - or else their virtues - as well as the possible function of the monument or building, to which those panels belonged. Other studies concentrate on the stratigraphy of the excavations, where those friezes occurred in 1937-1939, together with ancient structures and many other architectural fragments as well as archaeological finds. Some discuss the findspot of those panels in relation to the topography of the area of the Palazzo della Cancellaria and its immediate surroundings in order to find out their possible date, and that of the structure, which they had adorned. Still other scholars mentioned here have studied the ancient structures that extended from the area of the Palazzo della Cancellaria to the east comprising also the area of the Museo Barracco.

Some of the scholars mentioned here base their conclusions on analyses not only of the excavated structures found within the area of the Palazzo della Cancellaria, combined with thorough analyses of the many excavations undertaken there, but also of all other relevant archaeological and architectural finds from this area in the *Campus Martius*, seen in their individual stratigraphic and topographical contexts.

Already Colini (1938 [1939]), following the relevant suggestions by Filippo Magi and Bartolomeo Nogara<sup>75</sup>, had suggested that the Cancellaria Reliefs "ed elementi architettonici riferibili" had all belonged to a triumphal arch, built by Domitian. Like many other scholars who have come after, I myself likewise follow them in assuming that the Cancellaria Reliefs were commissioned by Domitian. According to Giandomenico

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TOYNBEE 1946a, 189. Cf. *supra*, n. 47, a *verbatim* quotation from R. SABLAYROLLES 1994, 131, n. 44, who has summarized TOYNBEE's relevant hypothesis.

C. VOUT 2021, 178 with n. 33 (on the reworking of Domitian's portrait on Frieze A into that of Nerva).

D. WILLERS 2021, 79 n. 6, p. 83, n. 18 (suggested date for the Cancellaria Reliefs: Domitianic), p. 94 n. 87. Cf. *supra*, at chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*; at Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Section II. *Conclusions: Domitian's representations of his military successes and his claims to be of divine descent and to possess a divine nature*; and at Section III. *My own thoughts about Domitian*; and *infra*, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

A. WOLFSFELD 2021, 128-129 with ns. 789-794, pp. 274-275 Nr. D66a (Fries A) Taf. 51,1-3; 99,1; 101,1; 102,1; 108,3, pp. 275-277 Nr. D66b (Fries B) Taf. 100,1: 102,2".

E.M. MOORMANN 2022. For a discussion of his observations; cf. *infra*, at Chapter I.3.2.; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*).

C. PARISI PRESICCE 2023, 111-112, with n. 7.

R.M. SHELDON 2023, in press; discusses the Cancellaria Reliefs in her Chapter 7; Section: "The Cancellaria Reliefs", with ns. 60-68. For discussions; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; at Section II.; *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.h) *The new findings by B.E. Borg (2019) concerning the Templum Gentis Flaviae ...*; at the Section *Did Domitian bury in his Templum Gentis Flaviae also his mother and his sister, Flavia Domitilla maior and minor ?*; and at the Section: *Diva Flavia Domitilla minor was indeed buried in the Templum Gentis Flaviae*; and at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

<sup>75</sup> cf. *supra*, ns. 4; 6.

Spinola, the Cancellaria Reliefs are datable in the late Domitianic period, see his E-mail, written to me on October 15th, 2018 (cf. below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*).

As we know from Magi's publications (1939 and 1945), and those of Pentiricci, Cima, and Carignani and Spinola (all 2009), as well as other scholars, Colini (1938 [1939]) was thus *inter alia* referring to curved soffit blocks, column capitals, and a block of an architrave, carrying part of a dedicatory inscription<sup>76</sup>; those architectural fragments were all found in the same area as the Cancellaria Reliefs. Some of the architectural fragments, found together with the Cancellaria Relief, are according to Freyberger (cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.3.) likewise datable in the late Domitianic period.

Following the hypothesis of Bendinelli (1949)<sup>77</sup>, Pentiricci (2009)<sup>78</sup> has further developed the idea of Magi and Nogara (1939; cf. *supra*, n. 6), and Colini (1938 [1939]; cf. *supra*, n. 4), by suggesting that the Cancellaria Reliefs are to be identified as the horizontal panels in the bay of an arch.

Finally, Wolf (2015)<sup>79</sup> published his reconstruction of an "arco monumentale", defined by him as "arco onorifico isolato", which he dates in the Domitianic period; his reconstruction integrates the Cancellaria Reliefs as the horizontal panels into its central bay; the width of which he was able to reconstruct on the basis of the above-mentioned curved soffit blocks: it was circa 5,10 m wide. But Wolf (2015) has also drawn the reconstruction of "un'entrata con volta a botte in un edificio domiziano con colonne addossate" ('an arched entrance to a Domitianic building with engaged columns'), to which the same architectural fragments (but *not* the Cancellaria Reliefs) have belonged. He is thus, understandably, of the opinion that *a*) the curved soffit blocks and the other architectural fragments, on which his reconstructions are based, certainly belonged to an arch, but that we do not know for sure *b*) that the Cancellaria Reliefs had necessarily originally belonged to the same monument or building. In the case of his "arco onorifico isolato", Wolf, like

<sup>76</sup> for this architrave, carrying an inscription, cf. F. MAGI 1939, 206; F. MAGI 1945, 42-43, 44, 51 with n. 1, FIGS. 37, *q* and *r*; 38, *q* and *r*; 40, *q* and *r*; cf. H. FUHRMANN 1940, Sp. 473.

Cf. G. ALFÖLDY 1996, 4462-4463, at *CIL* VI, 40543; p. 4462: "Tit.[ulus] operis publici ab imperatore dedicati ..."; p. 4463: "Fuisse videtur aedis fortasse numini cuidam ab imperatore dedicatae. Ex formis litterarum oblungarum accuratissime insculptarum circ[iter] Hadriani vel potius Antonini Pii aetati attribuendum opinor. Puncta aedem fere forma extant in titulo aedis Divae Faustinae Divoque Antonino Pio dicatae, cf. supra titulum n. 1005 [providing a reference]. Dedicatus fortasse inter a. 139 (cf. supra titulum n. 40541) et a. 161".

Cf. A. CARIGNANI and G. SPINOLA 2009, 528-529, cat. no. 40: "Blocco di trabeazione decorato e iscritto (figg. 46-47), Musei Vaticani, inv. 16173" (they quote for this block: H.G. WIGGERS 1983, 154-157, Taf. 20,5-21).

Cf. pp. 542-543 ("Considerazioni conclusive"): "... Ad un altro complesso architettonico della fine del I secolo d.C. - o forse a più edifici all'incirca coevi - sono referibili una serie di quattro capitelli corinziegganti (cat. nn. 23, 24, 25, 26 [add to those: M. CIMA 2009, 78, cat. no. 5, "Capitello corinzio di colonna (fig. 11), Antiquarium Comunale del Celio, inv. 29113"] - provenienti dagli scavi effettuati nel 1937 nel Cortile del Palazzo (cfr. nel I volume: PENTIRICCI, Cap. 3, p. 85) - ed una trabeazione con parte di un'iscrizione (cat. n. 40); all'incirca dello stesso periodo, oltre ai frammenti di soffitto a cassettoni (cat. n. 41); sono altre cornici decorate (cfr. cat. nn. 42, 43, 44, 45 e, forse, 46) ... Dall'area del sepolcro di Irzio - in possibile relazione con le botteghe di marmorari della fine del I - prima metà del II secolo d.C. - provengono alcune opere che mostrano tracce di ri-lavorazione o appaiono non finite o mancanti della rifinitura finale; tra queste ovviamente si dovranno inanzitutto ricordare le lastre che compongono i rilievi flavii [i.e., the Cancellaria Reliefs] e la c.d. [cosiddetta] Ara dei Vicomagistri. Oltre ai rilievi sopra menzionati anche la testa femminile (cat. n. 2 [for that unfinished head, cf. *infra*, n. 287, in Chapter I.3.2.]) attualmente non più reperibile, potrebbe giungere dalle botteghe di uno scultore, presentandosi priva di alcune parti e dell'allessitura finale [my emphasis]".

Cf. M. CIMA 2009, 76-78, cat. 4: "Capitello corinzio di lesena", Figs. 4; 10), Antiquarium Comunale del Celio, inv. 2663; p. 78, cat. no. 6: "Soffitto a lacunari (fig. 12), Antiquarium Comunale del Celio, inv. 29114"; p. 80, cat. 7: "Soffitto a lacunari (fig. 13), Antiquarium Comunale del Celio, inv. 29110". She refers also to the fragments in the Vatican Museums, Carignani and Spinola, cat. no. 41, and concludes: this fragment of a curved soffit block "permette di ipotizzare la sua pertinenza ad un arco ... La possibilità di attribuire ad un arco la destinazione originaria dei grandi rilievi della Cancellaria e per di più la coincidenza nelle datazioni ha fatto avanzare già nella prima notizia edita dei ritrovamenti (così Colini in *BCom* [i.e., *BullCom*], 66 [1938], p. 270) la proposta di attribuire materiali architettonici e fregi figurati ad un medesimo monumento ..."; cf. PENTIRICCI 2009, 61-62 with ns. 422-432; M. WOLF 2015, *passim*, cf. *infra*, ns. 79-81. Cf. now M. WOLF 2018 and K.S. FREYBERGER 2018 (cf. *infra*, at Chapters V.2.; and V.3.)

<sup>77</sup> G. BENDINELLI 1949 (cf. *supra*, n. 16).

<sup>78</sup> M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 61 with n. 426.

<sup>79</sup> M. WOLF 2015, 317, 319, cf. p. 320, Fig. 8 ("Ricostruzione arco monumentale, [scale:] 1: 350"); cf. p. 318: "Ambedue i pezzi di soffitto hanno la stessa curvatura di una volta a botte con un raggio di circa 2,55 m e appartengono dunque a un passaggio arcuato di circa m 5,10 m. Questo corrisponde circa alla luce dell'arco di Tito dove l'apertura raggiunge 5,44 m [mit Anm. 4, mit Literatur]". For the "blocco di trabeazione A 1", cf. pp. 318-319, Figs. 6; 7; cf. next note.

Magi, Nogara, Colini, Pentiricci, and Cima before him, bases his reconstruction on the Cancellaria Reliefs, the curved soffit blocks, a "capitello di lesena"<sup>80</sup>, and on the block of an architrave, which carries the far right end of a dedicatory inscription: *PP FECIT* (CIL VI, 40543)<sup>81</sup>.

We know that Domitian received the title *pater patriae* already in AD 81, after October 30th<sup>82</sup>. Provided the dedicatory inscription just mentioned had belonged to an arch, built under Domitian, and considering the content of this inscription, only the emperor himself could have commissioned this arch. Markus Wolf (2015; cf. *supra*, n. 81 - but cf. *infra*, in Chapter VI.3) has also arrived at this conclusion. According to Dio Cassius (68,1,1), after Domitian's death and *damnatio memoriae*, his arches, which were 'of very great number', were torn down<sup>83</sup>. If the Cancellaria Reliefs, these curved soffit blocks and this dedicatory inscription had actually belonged to the same arch, the aforementioned scholars, in their combined efforts, have thus collaborated in the reconstruction of one of those lost arches, erected by Domitian.

Provided this arch (or whatever other monument or building) had indeed carried the Cancellaria Reliefs, its dedicatory inscription unfortunately does not help us to date those panels with more precision than what was already known before the recent research of Pentiricci, Cima, Carignani and Spinola (2009), and Wolf (2015). The scene represented on Frieze A (cf. here Fig. 1) had shown in its first carving phase a *profectio* (others believe: an *adventus*) of Domitian that had either occurred in 83 or in 92(-93) AD, as earlier scholars have suggested; I myself believe that we witness on Frieze A Domitian's *profectio* of AD 89 (cf. *infra*, n. 232, in Chapter I.2.; in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.f).

Magi<sup>84</sup> himself had dated the Cancellaria Reliefs between 83 and 85 AD. Since the portrait-type of Domitian, used for Frieze A (the face of his portrait was later recut into that of Nerva), has been identified as his last portrait-type, we know for sure that Domitian had only commissioned the building that comprised the Cancellaria Reliefs when he was himself emperor (from 14th September AD 81)<sup>85</sup>. This prevents us from considering the possibility, as Bendinelli had done, that Frieze A might show the *profectio* to a much earlier one of Domitian's military campaigns, known from literary sources, which he had conducted when still being

<sup>80</sup> M. WOLF 2015, 317, Figs. 1; 2; 8; 9. M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 61, with ns. 428 and 430, has discussed this "capitello di lesena" as well: "lo studioso [H. KÄHLER 1950], nel tentativo di ricostruire le dimensioni dello spazio che doveva ospitare i rilievi prendeva in esame anche uno dei pezzi architettonici rinvenuti nello scavo, in particolare il grande capitello di lesena, scoperto nel 1937 presso la lastra A 4 [of the Cancellaria Reliefs] citato da Magi", with n. 428: "Magi 1945, pp. 42-43; COLINI *Appunti* [1998] II, p. 159; PENTIRICCI, CAP. 3. p. 95 sulle modalità del ritrovamento e, nel II volume, CIMA, n. 4 per l'analisi del frammento"; in his note 430, he quotes, in addition to this: "MAGI 1945, p. 51"; cf. *infra*, n. 256, in Chapter I.3.1.

<sup>81</sup> The find of this inscription was already reported by F. MAGI 1839, 206, quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 112.

M. WOLF 2015, 318: "[...] *p(ater) p(atriciae) fecit*", with n. 7 (quoting CIL VI 40543 = G. ALFÖLDY 1996; *supra*, ns. 48, 76); cf. pp. 319-320, where he convincingly writes: "problematica è l'iscrizione *p(ater) p(atriciae) fecit*, che fa pensare piuttosto a una fondazione dell'edificio da parte dell'imperatore stesso che ad un arco in onore dell'imperatore"; cf. pp. 320-321, for his second reconstruction, which he calls on p. 320: "un'entrata con volta a botte in un edificio domiziano con colonne addossate Fig. 10)", and in the caption of Fig. 10: "Ricostruzione ingresso monumentale". Cf. now M. WOLF 2018. This text is written in German and his publication of 2015 is an Italian translation of almost exactly the same text (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.2.).

<sup>82</sup> D. KIENAST, W. ECK and M. HEIL 2017, 109: "Domitian (14. Sept.[ember] 81-18. Sept.[ember] 96) *Geb.[oren]*: 24. Okt.[ober] 51 in Rom. Sohn des T. Flavius Vespasianus (s.[iehe] oben) und der Flavia Domitilla (s.[iehe] oben). Name: T. FLAVIUS DOMITIANUS.

Wichtige Einzeldaten: ... 73 (?) frater Arvalis. 81 Imperatorische Akklamation durch die Prätorianer (13. Sept.[ember]). Übertragung des Augustus-Namens durch den Senat (14. Sept.[ember] = dies imperii): IMP. CAESAR DOMITIANUS AUGUSTUS ... PONT. MAX. und PATER PATRIAE (nach 30. Okt.[ober]). Herbst 83 Triumph über die Chatten; Siegername GERMANICUS ... 85 ... Aufenthalt in Mösien (Winter 85/86?). 86 Triumph über die Daker ... 89 ... Aufenthalt in Pannonien, Triumph über Daker und Germanen in Rom (Nov.[ember]/Dez.[ember]). 92 Erneuter Aufenthalt in Pannonien. Jan.[uar] 93 Ovatio de Sarmatis (vgl. Martial 8, 8, 5) ... 18. Sept.[ember] 96 *Tod*: Ermordet (Suet., Domit. 17,3). Heimliche Beisetzung im templum gentis Flaviae. *Damnatio memoriae*". Cf. *infra*, n. 232, in Chapter I.2.; and in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); Section III.

For a discussion of Domitian's last years as emperor and his assassination; cf. T.P. Wiseman 1996: "Domitian and the Dynamics of Terror in Classical Rome"; and R.M. SHELDON (2023, in press)

For Domitian; cf. also *infra*, at n. 189 and n. 304, in Chapter II.1.b).

<sup>83</sup> cf. C. HÄUBER 2014a, 786 with n. 37 (quoting Dio Cassius 68,1,1).

F. MAGI 1945, 141ff; F. MAGI 1955-56, 309 n. 1. Cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.

<sup>85</sup> so also M. BERGMANN 1981, 19. For this portrait type, cf. *infra*, n. 302, in Chapter II.1.b); for Domitian's *dies imperii*, cf. *supra*, n. 82.

Caesar<sup>86</sup> (for that campaign, cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section *III.*, at point 2.); and at **ns. 229, 230**, in Chapter *I.2.*).

Wolf (2015), in discussing his reconstruction of the "arco onorifico isolato", which comprises the Cancellaria Reliefs and the dedicatory inscription *p(ater) p(atriciae) fecit*, attributes this inscription to Domitian. Because of the content of this inscription, considering at the same time the, in the following discussed, new findings concerning the topography of the area, the findspots of the Cancellaria Reliefs and of this dedicatory inscription, the historical situations at which those friezes underwent their first and their second carving phase, and the fact that at the time of Domitian's death this building was not entirely finished (for all that, cf. below and *infra*, in Chapter *II.*), in theory not only Domitian, but also Nerva<sup>87</sup> could have commissioned the inscription *PP FECIT* (*CIL VI*, 40543), because both Domitian and Nerva held the title *pater patriae*.

*To put it mildly, the scholarly discussion of the Cancellaria Reliefs is very lively*

This I have already tried to indicate by mentioning above that Magi, who excavated those friezes, wrote not only the first monograph on this subject, but also refuted in five later articles (1945-1977) some of the theories that, in the meantime, had been published by other scholars. Before his monograph, he had already announced his finds in a short note, which has so far not attracted the interest it deserves (1939; quoted therefore *verbatim* in **n. 112**). Magi maintained in his five publications, published between 1945 and 1977, all the hypotheses, first aired in his monograph, but took also the chance to explain them in more detail in those articles. Simon, on the other hand, who appears with three contributions in the above-listed bibliography (1960-1985), had changed most of her earlier ideas by the time of her last publication.

When today trying to judge the results of these efforts, regarded as a whole and in retrospect, the first impression one gets, is that of their extraordinary diversity. The reasons for this are clear: there is a lack of agreement on almost all counts, as the following summary will show, and there is a variety of reasons, why that is the case. I will mention those reasons *after* the summary.

As an introduction to all this, it is perhaps useful to anticipate what all modern commentators (before Langer and Pfanner 2018) so far known to me, who have published interpretations concerning these famous panels, agreed upon:

1.) the Cancellaria Reliefs currently consist of two marble friezes of originally equal size that originally belonged together (so first MAGI 1939 and NOGARA 1939; cf. *supra*, **n. 6**; and COLINI 1938 [1939], 270; cf. *supra*, **n. 4**). The latter assumption is *inter alia* proven by the above-mentioned profiles, which frame the friezes on all four sides, and by the fact that (originally), both panels showed 17 figures<sup>88</sup>; 2.) Scholars also

<sup>86</sup> cf. G. BENDINELLI 1949; quoted after J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 21-22, who had refuted Bendinelli's relevant hypothesis.

<sup>87</sup> cf. D. KIENAST, W. ECK and M. HEIL 2017, 114: "Nerva (18. Sept. 96-27. [?] Jan. 98) ... 18. od. 19. Sept. 96 Erhebung zum Kaiser (dies imperii): IMP. NERVA CAESAR AUGUSTUS, PONT. MAX., PATER PATRIAE ... Ende Okt. 97 Adoption Trajans ... Germanicus Nov. 97". Cf. *infra*, **n. 322**, in Chapter *II.1.d*).

<sup>88</sup> so first R. BIANCHI-BANDINELLI 1946-48, 259; then suggested by H. LAST 1948, 9; followed by J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 3; she added the remark that both panels "are of Luna (Carrara) marble". Cf. J. POLLINI 2012, 309, n. 1 (on p. 358): "... The marble has not been tested, but it is likely to be lunar (Carrara)".

Cf. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 27: "2.4 Material: Die Beurteilung erfolgte nur optisch: mittel- bis grobkristalliner weißer Marmor, teilweise mit grauen Schlieren durchsetzt, wohl aus Luni (s. Abb. 6a und 6b). Bei Relief B wirkt der Stein etwas heller, bei A leicht bräunlich".

Also G.M. KOEPEL 1984, 28, Fig. 11, pp. 29-30, cat. no. 7. "Profectio des Domitian" [= Frieze A], gives the represented figures the nos. 1-17; so likewise in the case of the other panel: pp. 31-32, cat. no. 8. "Adventus des Vespasian" [= Frieze B]. Cf. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 19, Abb. 2 (here the figures on Frieze A and B are numbered).

Cf. ad point 1.): S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018 reconstruct both friezes of the Cancellaria Reliefs differently than Magi (cf. *infra*, at Chapter *V.1.d*); cf. ad 5.) S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018 are, in addition to this the only scholars, who question that the site, where the panels were found, may be identified as the deposit of a sculptor's workshop; cf. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 20; quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter *V.1.a*).

agree that these panels have been reworked at the order of Nerva (so MAGI 1945, 130-131)<sup>89</sup>; 3.) that Frieze A shows (in its reworked phase) a portrait of Nerva (so MAGI 1945, 60-69); 4.) that the emperor on Frieze B is Vespasian (so first MAGI 1939, 205); and 5.) that the reliefs, after having been dismantled from their monument, had been brought in antiquity to the deposit of what we call here the 'Second sculptor's workshop', where they were excavated (so MAGI 1945, 138-140). All 5 points will be discussed in detail in the following (for this 'Second sculptor's workshop'; cf. *infra*, in Chapters I.3.1.; and V.1.a.1.))

Note that of the 5 points of agreement, nos. 2.)-5.), that is to say, altogether four, were first suggested by Magi (!). - As we shall see below at n. 113, this is actually true.

Now, as I only found out much later, only three of those points of agreement were certainly first published by Magi, since Siegfried Fuchs (1938, 270ff.) was - but as we shall see below: only allegedly - first to write that the emperor on Frieze B is Vespasian (cf. *infra*, at n. 113).

There is no more *consensus*, since it is already debated, 6.) how many friezes may have belonged to the original monument<sup>90</sup> (cf. below and *infra*, in Chapters II.; and III.). The next points of disagreement concern the questions 7.), which Roman emperor had originally commissioned the friezes, although most scholars assume Domitian<sup>91</sup>; and 8.), why the reworking process of the reliefs, started by Nerva, was not finished, although Nerva's short reign seems to be the most probable reason<sup>92</sup>. Point 8.) has kindly been pointed out to me by Eugenio la Rocca. The latter fact had already been mentioned by Hugo Meyer and by Massimo Pentiricci<sup>93</sup>.

On both panels a procession outside Rome is represented which moves from right to left (but, as we shall see below at n. 271, in Chapter I.3.2., this assumption is not quite true) and which depicts, as many modern commentators agree, an area either in Rome or in the immediate vicinity of the City<sup>94</sup>. Likewise in both friezes we see as the most important figure a Roman emperor<sup>95</sup>. In Frieze A scholars agree that the portrait of this emperor has been reworked<sup>96</sup>, all recent scholars currently agree that the visible 'second' portrait is that

<sup>89</sup> so M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 57-58 with n. 410; cf. p. 57 with n. 409.

As I have realized only after this Chapter was written so far, PENTIRICCI 2009, 57-60 with ns. 409-421, has summarized the complete relevant early scholarship related to the Cancellaria Reliefs, that I have summarized in my text that relates to ns. 88-107 in Chapter I.1., as well as in Chapter I.1.1., but note that Pentiricci judges some of these scholarly opinions differently as is suggested here.

Cf. H. MEYER 2000, 128 with n. 409. B. FEHR 1998, 717 with n. 4, pp. 720, 724, 727-731, follows M. BERGMANN 1982 [*i.e.*, 1981, 22, 24, 25], who has suggested that Nerva had ordered the recutting of the allegedly original portrait of Domitian on Frieze B into a portrait of Vespasian. Fehr himself (cf. *op.cit.*, *passim*) offers a summary of the meanings that have been suggested for the alleged two carving phases of Frieze B.

<sup>90</sup> that more than the two extant friezes may have belonged to the Cancellaria Reliefs, have for example suggested J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 3; and M. BERGMANN 1981, 31. This question is also discussed by S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 84; cf. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 20; quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter V.1.a).

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 60), quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter III., add another judgement concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs, which is in their opinion *communis opinio*.

<sup>91</sup> H. MEYER 2000, 128.

<sup>92</sup> so J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 20; and E. SIMON 1963, 9; cf. H. MEYER 2000, 139, and *infra*, at Chapter V.1.c).

<sup>93</sup> cf. H. MEYER 2000, 139. Already A.M. MCCANN 1972, 260, observed that we need to find out, why in Frieze A the portrait of Domitian had been recut into a portrait of Nerva, whereas on Frieze B the portrait of the young Domitian is still extant. To this I will come back below.

For the re-carving of Domitian's portrait on Frieze A (cf. here Fig. 1) into one of Nerva, and the fact that this 'second carving phase' of Relief A was *not* completed; cf. already M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 57-58, n. 409.

<sup>94</sup> for some locations at Rome, where, according to different scholars, the processions, visible on these friezes, are staged, cf. M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 60 with n. 420. Cf. *infra*, at ns. 181, 182, for the suggestions that the scene, represented on Frieze B, is staged on the *Forum Romanum*, the Capitoline and the *Campus Martius*.

<sup>95</sup> both emperors are at least the tallest figures on both friezes, cf. MCCANN 1972, 251. To this we may add, that no other figure overlaps those two: but this is also true for the togate youth on Frieze B. This way of representing these *three* figures on both friezes thus stresses their importance. As we shall see in the following, this is also apparent because of some other characteristics of the compositions of both friezes.

<sup>96</sup> so first F. MAGI 1945, 60-69; cf. A.M. MCCANN 1972, 251 n. 7.

of Nerva<sup>97</sup>, and most scholars agree that the original portrait represented Domitian<sup>98</sup>, but Hölscher (2009a) writes that it has also been suggested that the relief originally showed a portrait of Nero, a hypothesis which he himself rejects<sup>99</sup> (to this I will come back below, in Chapter II.4.). Before Magi had recognized the portrait of the head of the emperor on Frieze A as that of Nerva, recut from a portrait of Domitian, this head had been identified as Domitian<sup>100</sup>.

Hölscher<sup>101</sup> does not discuss the fact that the head of the emperor on Frieze A, now recut as Nerva, had been previously identified by McCann<sup>102</sup> as a portrait of Hadrian. She observed: "a distinct swelling on either side of the upper lip [of Nerva] terminating in a point ... which has not been completely erased by the recutting (Pl. 115,1)", and interpreted these shapes as remains of a moustache. This observation, combined with the result of her analysis of the style of the Cancelleria Reliefs, led her to believe that these friezes were originally commissioned by Hadrian (to this I will come back below in Chapter II.4.). McCann's dating of the Cancelleria Reliefs into the Hadrianic period has been refuted by Magi, a judgement followed also by other scholars<sup>103</sup>. Already some scholars before McCann had dated the Cancelleria Reliefs to the Hadrianic period<sup>104</sup>.

McCann, in her turn, had reported on still another lesser known hypothesis, related to the emperor on Frieze A: that already in the original phase of Frieze A the emperor represented was a portrait of Nerva. McCann commented on this hypothesis: "If the recut head can, in truth, be identified with Nerva, as most scholars believe, it would not be likely that the original portrait represented the same man"<sup>105</sup>. In this case, McCann had simply misunderstood the relevant discussion. Schefold, to whom she referred with her critique, had, contrary to what McCann understood (erroneously) suggested that the extant portrait of Nerva on Frieze A should be regarded as the original state of this relief (*i.e.*, as a result of the first carving phase), instead of acknowledging Magi's correct observation that Nerva's portrait on Frieze A is the result of the recutting of the *face*<sup>106</sup> of the original head of Domitian<sup>107</sup>.

I have intentionally mentioned McCann's misunderstanding here, because it is the complex phenomenon of possible 'errors', which we need to consider when studying the scholarly discussion related to the Cancelleria Reliefs - and, especially, when adding oneself another interpretation, as I endeavour to do here.

<sup>97</sup> so first F. MAGI 1945, 60-69; cf. A.M. MCCANN 1972, 253, 256 n. 28; M. BERGMANN 1981, 20, Taf. 8; 10; M. BERGMANN and P. ZANKER 1981, 388-389; M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 57 with n. 409.

<sup>98</sup> so first F. MAGI 1945, 67-69; cf. A.M. MCCANN 1972, 253; H. MEYER 2000, 128; M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 57 with n. 409.

<sup>99</sup> T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 56 with n. 44. He quotes for this opinion H. MEYER 2000, 125-140. Cf. M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 60 with n. 420, who discusses the accounts by H. HERZOG 2001 and L.E. BAUMER 2007 and refutes them; see also pp. 59-60 with ns. 417, 419; cf. *infra*, ns. 130-132, 451, at Chapter III., for M. PENTIRICCI's discussion (2009) of the hypotheses of H. MEYER 2000, which he likewise refutes.

H. MEYER 2000 and H. HERZOG 2001 wrote their publications obviously independently of each other (so explicitly H. MEYER 2011, 175, quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 374, at Chapter II.4.). L.E. BAUMER 2007, 94-95, refuted the hypotheses of H. MEYER 2000 and H. HERZOG 2001; H. MEYER 2011, 175-177; in his turn, refuted the hypotheses of L.E. BAUMER 2007.

S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 60, erroneously assert that the hypotheses of H. MEYER and H. HERZOG have not been discussed so far.

<sup>100</sup> so B. NOGARA 1941, 15-17, quoted after M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 57 with n. 409 (cf. *supra*, n. 8).

<sup>101</sup> T. HÖLSCHER 2009a.

<sup>102</sup> A.M. MCCANN 1972, 255 pl. 115,1; for the alleged Hadrianic style of the Cancelleria Reliefs, cf. pp. 264, 265, 266, 269, 271.

<sup>103</sup> F. MAGI 1973; followed by M. BERGMANN 1981, 22 with n. 12. T. HÖLSCHER 2009a does not even mention MCCANN's hypothesis.

<sup>104</sup> cf. H. MEYER 2000, 128, n. 408, who refers back to his bibliography on p. 125, n. 396.

<sup>105</sup> A.M. MCCANN 1972, 256 with ns. 26, 27, referring back to her n. 15: "... Cf. Schefold, *Orient, Hellas und Rom* [1949], who believes the head was originally intended to be Nerva and never recut". Also H. MEYER 2000, 135 n. 424, had mentioned this identification. For a discussion of MCCANN's hypotheses, cf. also M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 57 n. 409.

<sup>106</sup> and only that, cf. M. BERGMANN 1981, 20 with Taf. 8; 10.

<sup>107</sup> cf. M. BERGMANN 1981, 21, with n. 9, who quotes for this earlier opinion not only K. SCHEFOLD, *Atlantis* 1949, H. 12, 546ff; K. SCHEFOLD 1949, 189; but also A. RUMPF 1955/56, 112f. F. MAGI 1955-56, 310-312, Taf. 37-41, himself had refuted the hypotheses of SCHEFOLD 1949 and RUMPF 1955/56, cf. *infra*, at n. 137.

Remembering the constant danger of errors is certainly, on principle, a good idea, whenever we wish to understand other scholars' ideas, but in the case of those panels, this kind of precaution seems to have special importance. Because, when we try to interpret the represented scenes on the Cancellaria Reliefs, let alone to reconstruct the various phases of their lifetime in antiquity, we come across contributions, written by scholars who do not only come from different disciplines, but who, even though they belong to the same discipline, pursue very different avenues of research, and therefore apply very different methodologies.

**Consequently, while reading the resulting scholarly production, we need to judge the observations of scholars with very different kinds of expertise than our own, knowledge that, regarded as a whole, none of us can presumably boast to actually possess all himself /herself<sup>108</sup>.**

As for the interpretation of Frieze A, scholars disagree, whether it represents a *profectio*<sup>109</sup> scene or rather an *adventus*<sup>110</sup> (cf. *infra*, in Chapter III.). Although it is, therefore, already not exactly easy to find out the meanings of all phases of Frieze A throughout its lifetime in antiquity, Frieze B is even more difficult to interpret, because of the following reasons.

In the case of Frieze B, not only the identification of one protagonist is controversial, as in Frieze A, but instead that of both protagonists. In addition, it is debated, in which one of the (alleged) two carving phases of Frieze B the heads of these figures were carved. They are the represented emperor and a togate youth, standing in the front of him. All current commentators agree that the emperor in Frieze B is Vespasian, but they disagree whether or not this is the result of a reworking process<sup>111</sup>: Magi was of the (in my opinion correct) opinion that Frieze B had already in the first carving phase shown the still extant portrait of Vespasian (cf. *infra*, n. 112).

Let me anticipate here an information that I should come across only after this Chapter I.1. had been completed. As we shall see below (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.h.1.), Stephanie Langer and Michael Pfanner (2018, 60 with n. 52) have observed that Marianne Bergmann's (1981, 24; cf. *supra*, n. 111) very influential hypothesis, has been rejected. According to this hypothesis, which has been followed by many scholars (cf. *infra*, at Chapter I.1.1.), the emperor on Frieze B had originally been Domitian, whose head was allegedly reworked into the extant portrait of Vespasian. The scholars who, according to Langer and Pfanner (2018, 60, n. 52), have refuted either McCann's hypothesis (1972, 251, with n. 8; cf. *supra*, n. 111) that the head of Vespasian has been re-cut from the portrait of another emperor (in McCann's opinion: Trajan), or Bergmann's hypothesis (1981), that the head of Vespasian has been reworked from the portrait of Domitian, are: Gauer (1973, 350), Darwall-Smith (1996, 172), and Varner (2004, 119f. n. 62).

### *The Siegfried-Fuchs-Saga*

Some scholars have, erroneously, as we shall see, asserted that Siegfried Fuchs was first to identify the head of the emperor on Frieze B (here **Fig. 2**) as a portrait of Vespasian, but did not mention, on which kind of evidence their assertions was based.

<sup>108</sup> cf. *infra*, at Chapter VI.; and at Chapter VI.1.

<sup>109</sup> so J.C.M. TOYNBEE 1957, 9-12, 16; G. M. KOEPEL 1969, 138-144 Fig. 3, pp. 190-194; cf. M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 58 with n. 412.

<sup>110</sup> so first F. MAGI 1945, 98-195; so also F. MAGI 1954-55. Magi's interpretation of Frieze A as representing an *adventus* was refuted by J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 11-12. For *adventus*, cf. G.M. KOEPEL 1969, *passim*.

<sup>111</sup> so first A.M. MCCANN 1972, 251 with n. 8 (who credits for this idea "Prof. [Diether] Thimme"), pls. 112,1-113,2. For a publication of 'D. Thimme's unpublished thoughts' on this subject, cf. the bibliography in H. MEYER 2000, 125, n. 396: they were published by J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 22-24.

Also M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 57-58, with n. 409 (cf. *infra*, n. 115), who follows MC CANN (*op.cit.*) and M. BERGMANN's (1981; cf. *infra*, n. 190) (in my opinion wrong) assertions, believes that the portrait of Vespasian on Frieze B is the result of a reworking-process.

Also K. FITTSCHEN 2018 [2019] 406, quoted *verbatim supra*, in n. 74, believes that the portrait of Vespasian on Frieze B is the result of a reworking process.

These scholars do not discuss the fact that Magi<sup>112</sup>, already in his first publication on the Cancellaria Reliefs of 1939, had identified this head as a portrait of Vespasian. Because I have not been able to find a relevant publication by Siegfried Fuchs so far, I have suggested above, for the time being, that Magi was also first in recognizing this fact. Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli (1946-48) has also given Magi credit for this identification, not mentioning any other scholar, who might have suggested this *before* Magi (cf. *supra*, n. 112). - As we shall see below, this is actually true.

Fortunately, when I had almost given up on that point, almost at the very end of my relevant studies, I consulted the contribution on the Cancellaria Reliefs by Hugo Meyer (2011), who, as I only later observed, erroneously asserted to have been able to identify the missing publication by Siegfried Fuchs (1938), in which the author had (allegedly) been first to recognize that the emperor on Frieze B is Vespasian. I, therefore, allow myself in the following a digression on that subject.

*The wrong assertion that Siegfried Fuchs (1938) was allegedly first to realize that the emperor of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs was from the beginning Vespasian.*

Hugo Meyer (2011, 175) had commented on the relevant finding of Siegfried Fuchs as follows:

"Der Kaiser [Vespasian on Frieze B] hatte sich, sozusagen, schon von Anfang an proteushaft 'geriert', war er doch von den ersten nachantiken Betrachtern - vielleicht unter dem Eindruck der schon vorher gefundenen

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<sup>112</sup> F. MAGI 1939, 205 (Chapter "Notiziario"), writes:  
"ZONA DELLA CANCELLERIA ...

Il pannello che chiameremo A [since his monograph of 1945, MAGI called this panel 'Frieze B' instead, cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**] (Fig. 14) rappresenta a sinistra Roma in trono che ha davanti le Vestali fra due *apparitores*, e sembra attendere, per riceverlo, l'imperatore Vespasiano, il quale avanza da destra fra i suoi littori, mentre la Vittoria che vola dietro di lui regge sopra il suo capo una corona di quercia. Tra i due gruppi ve n'è un terzo, pressoché al centro della composizione, in cui campeggia una figura giovanile che è con ogni probabilità il figlio minore dell'imperatore, il ventenne [in reality Domitian was 18 years old at that stage] Domiziano del quale sappiamo che prese parte all'*adventus* del padre nell'anno 70; nello sfondo e ai suoi lati sono i Geni del Senato e del Popolo Romano rivolti verso Vespasiano.

La indiscutibile preminenza che ha il giovane Domiziano, piuttosto che l'imperatore, in questo primo pannello, fa legittimamente supporre che il monumento al quale questo e il corrispondente pannello B [since his monograph of 1945, MAGI called this panel 'Frieze A' instead; cf. here **Fig. 1**] (Fig. 15) appartengono fosse in onore di Domiziano ... [therefore, MAGI argued in the following, although the portrait of the emperor, depicted on Frieze A, does not look like the usual portraits of Domitian, this "condottiere" should be Domitian] ... "nel momento nel quale parte o torna per una spedizione militare, il cui esito vittorioso è comunque assicurato dalla Vittoria che vola in testa al corteo e dalla presenza e cordiale compartecipazione degli dei della guerra Marte e Minerva, nonché del Valore impersonato da una figura amazzonica; oppure si presenta strettamente unito con la sua dea protettrice Minerva in una specie di parata trionfale ...". Contrary to identifying the amazon-like figure on Frieze A with "Valore", MAGI, in his monograph of 1945 identified this amazon-like figure with *Dea Roma* instead; cf. F. MAGI 1939, 206: "Che i due pannelli ornassero l'attico di un giano domiziano è ipotesi molto attendibile ... [my emphasis]".

The latter hypothesis had presumably been suggested by Bartolomeo Nogara (cf. *supra*, n. 8), who should publish this hypothesis in 1941, as we learn from M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 57 with n. 409, possibly in the talk on the finds at the Palazzo della Cancellaria, which Nogara and Magi had delivered at the Pontificia Accademia on 1st December 1938; for that cf. R. HORN 1938, Sp. 686, quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 145. But note that in a second moment I should find out that Nogara (1939, 8; 105-106, 227; cf. *supra*, n. 6) had given Magi credit for this idea (!).

Finally MAGI 1939, 206, mentioned also the block of an architrave, carrying the inscription *CIL VI 40543: P.P. FECIT*. For that, cf. *supra*, ns. 76; 81.

Cf. MAGI 1945, 57-60, 149, 167, Tav. XXIV, p. 149, where he repeated his identification of the head of the emperor on Frieze B with Vespasian.

Cf. R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI 1946-48, 259: "Il Magi [1945] ha proposto, come interpretazione del rilievo B ... l'*adventus* di Vespasiano nel 70 d. E. v. [dell'Era volgare], e l'incontro con il figlio Domiziano, che il 24 ottobre di quell'anno compieva i 19 anni ... resta acquisita con certezza l'identificazione in B, di un ritratto fortemente idealizzato di Vespasiano e di un ritratto giovanile di Domiziano".

That F. MAGI (1939; 1945) was right with his assumption that the emperor on Frieze B was from the beginning Vespasian, has been proven by R. PARIS 1994b, 81-82, because she realized the meaning of the *corona civica*, with which *Victoria* is shown as crowning Vespasian (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figures 14** [Vespasian] and **16** [*Victoria*]) because, apart from Augustus, this highest decoration for a military victory was only appropriate in the case of Vespasian, because both emperors had been able to put an end to civil wars; cf. *infra*, in Chapters V.1.i.3.b; at *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and at *The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps*.



Vicomagistri - Platten [with n. 3] für eine Wiedergabe des betagten Tiberius gehalten worden. Diesem Irrtum aber hatte sogleich Siegfried Fuchs entgegengewirkt [with n. 4], der damals über Tiberius arbeitete [with n. 5], und für Vespasian votiert, **welche Deutung Magi übernommen hat** [with n. 6; my emphasis]".

In his **note 3**, Hugo Meyer (2011) wrote: "s.[iehe] R. Horn, AA 1938, 690, Abb. 30.31 ...". Cf. his **note 4**: "Vgl. [vergleiche] H. Fuhrmann, AA 1940, 472: >>Wohl als erster hat S. Fuchs in dem Kopf des älteren Togatus statt eines alten Tiberius das Porträt des Kaisers Vespasian erkannt<<". Cf. his **note 5**: "S. Fuchs, Pantheon 1938 IX, 270ff.". Cf. his **note 6**: "Bei Magi [i.e., here MAGI 1945] findet sich kein Hinweis darauf, was allerdings die verschiedensten Gründe haben kann"<sup>113</sup>.

Contrary to Hugo Meyer (2011, 175 with n. 6), I see no reason to assume that Magi had "übernommen" ('taken over') the relevant finding of Siegfried Fuchs, as Meyer expressed himself. Since Magi (1945, 111) had not quoted Siegfried Fuchs (1938), as Hugo Meyer rightly observed - a query that I have myself likewise pursued (cf. *infra*, n. 191) - Meyer thus reproached Magi in his above quoted text for plagierism, whereas in his pertaining **note 6**, he admitted the following: the fact that Magi did not mention Fuchs's relevant finding, 'may have had various reasons'. Already Rumpf (1955-56, 112, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 113), by asserting that Siegfried Fuchs had been first to recognize Vespasian's portrait as such on Frieze B, had thus 'between the lines' expressed his thought that Magi (1945) should have given Siegfried Fuchs credit for this identification.

**But note that neither Hugo Meyer (2000; 2011), nor Rumpf (1955-56), who discussed only Magi (1945), had realized the fact that Magi had already identified the emperor on Frieze B with Vespasian in his publication of 1939** (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 112).

Besides, Magi (1955-56, 310-312; cf. *infra*, at n. 137) had immediately responded to Rumpf's article in the next fascicle of the same periodical, because Rumpf (1955-56) had rejected many ideas of Magi (1945), but in this article Magi did not address the point discussed here. - For Magi's own discussion of the above-mentioned scholars; cf. also Massimo Pentiricci (2009, 56-57, with ns. 405-409).

As we have seen above, the accusations put forward by Andreas Rumpf (1955-56, 112; cf. *supra*, n. 113) and by Hugo Meyer (2011, 175 with n. 6) were unfounded. They expressed 'between the lines' that they had uncovered Magi being guilty of plagiarizing an idea first published by Siegfried Fuchs, that the emperor on Frieze B had always been Vespasian. At first, I wondered, whether one part of their error could be explained similarly by the following story. - But we shall see below that, in the case of Magi's alleged plagiarism, this assumption is also wrong.

<sup>113</sup> H. MEYER 2011, 175 with ns. 3-6. My thanks are due to Michaela Fuchs, for discussing this point with me on 12th April 2019 in München.

For S. FUCHS, cf. *supra*, n. 5. Cf. A. RUMPF 1955-56, 112: "Die gegenwärtig fast allgemein angenommene Datierung [of the Cancellaria Reliefs] nahm ihren Ausgang davon, daß Siegfried Fuchs in dem als Togatus dargestellten Kaiser der einen Plattenreihe (Taf. 17, unten [i.e., Frieze B, here Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 14]), der zunächst für Tiberius gehalten worden war, vielmehr Vespasian erkannte [with n. 2]", quoting in n. 2: "Arch. Anz. 1940, 472". - But that is the article of H. FUHRMANN 1940, Sp. 472 (cf. *supra*, n. 5, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter IV.1.), who himself had only mentioned S. FUCHS's (alleged) relevant finding, without providing a reference. H. FUHRMANN 1940, Sp. 472, himself identified the emperor on Frieze B with Vespasian, the togate youth with Domitian, and the *Genius Senatus*, the *Genius Populi Romani*, as well as the *Dea Roma*, as such. Cf. also H. FUHRMANN 1941, Sp. 542-545, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter IV.1.).

The slabs A1 (which is missing) -A4 and B1-B4 that belong to the two panels of the Cancellaria Reliefs (here **Figs. 1; 2**) were found 1937-1939; cf. for detailed find reports: E. SIMON 1963, 8-9; M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 56-57, with ns. 405-408, Figs. 26-28; and S. LANGER and M PFANNER 2018, 18, 20, who write:

"Die Fundumstände waren wie folgt: Im November 1937 fand man in einer Tiefe von 5,4 Metern unter dem Corso Vittorio Emanuele vor der Front des Palazzo [della] Cancellaria die Platte A4, und zwar mit der Schauseite nach oben [with n. 2, providing references]. Im Juli 1938 stieß man an der NW [Nordwest]-Ecke des Palazzo unmittelbar vor der Gartenfront in ungefähr 5,7 Metern Tiefe auf das Grabmal des Aulus Hirtius ... [page 20] ... An der Ostmauer dieses Grabbaues entdeckte man fünf weitere Platten der Cancellariareliefs ... Direkt an der Mauer stand die Platte A3, an welcher die Platten B3 [with the left hand half of the figure of Vespasian], B1 and A2 lehnten. Die stark fragmentierte Platte B4 [with th right hand half of the figure of Vespasian] war an der Mauer einzeln abgestellt. Die siebente Platte B2 entdeckte man erst im Juli 1939 ca. [circa] 1 Meter nordwestlich des Grabbaus ... (s.[iehe] Abb. 4 [see also their Abb. 3b - both reproduced from F. MAGI 1945, pp. 43, 38])". - For the numbering of the slabs of the Cancellaria Reliefs; cf. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 19, Abb. 2 (compare here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**).

Hugo Meyer (2000) and Horst Herzog (2001) have both published the idea that it was not Domitian, but instead Nero, who commissioned the Cancellaria Reliefs in the first place. Because of this fact, Meyer had obviously asked himself the same kind of question, as the one just mentioned (concerning Magi's alleged plagiarism), since Hugo Meyer (2011, 175) that he had, in the meantime, taken the chance to discuss the matter with Herzog: only to find out, that both scholars, independently of each other, had had the same idea at about the same time (cf. *supra*, n. 99, and quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 374, in Chapter II.4.).

I had written this passage so far, when on 10th May 2019, I had the chance to check in the Library of the British School at Rome the reference, given by Hugo Meyer (2011, 175 with n. 5): "S. Fuchs, *Pantheon* 1938 IX, 270ff." - which turned out to be wrong. But I still hope to find the relevant article by Siegfried Fuchs in the end, somewhere ...

After this digression had been written, I asked Michaela Fuchs on 30th January 2020 for advice, hoping that she might be able to find among Hugo Meyer's notes the correct quotation of Siegfried Fuchs's article. She actually found this publication on the following day: at the *Bibliothek des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte in München*, and I confess that I would never have been able to find this missing information myself. - That is because of the following reasons.

As I checked myself on 14th February 2020, Siegfried Fuchs's article, found for me by Michaela Fuchs, has the title: "Ein Neues Bildnis des Kaisers Tiberius", and is published in the periodical *Pantheon* Band XX (1937) 270-273. In this article, Siegfried Fuchs does not mention the Cancellaria Reliefs at all - as Michaela Fuchs had already mentioned to me on 31st January 2020 in a telephone conversation. 'Not by chance', I explained to her, because in 1937 Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2**), on which the portrait of Vespasian appears (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 14**), was not as yet excavated. And because I knew the date of the relief's discovery (*i.e.*, 1938; cf. *supra* n. 113), I myself would *never* have dreamt of looking, whether or not Siegfried Fuchs's relevant article might already have appeared in the *Pantheon* of 1937 (!). So, what I learn from this example is: one should indeed on principle check *everything*. See the prudent advice by Lucos Cozza, which he has given me a long time ago; cf. Häuber (2014a, 1 with n. 4).

#### **Now that Michaela Fuchs has found Siegfried Fuchs's 1937 article, Magi is rehabilitated.**

Magi could definitely not have "übernommen" ('taken over'; so H. MEYER 2011, 175) Siegfried Fuchs's alleged observation, according to which the emperor on Frieze B represents Vespasian, because Siegfried Fuchs (1937) did not (and could not) have written anything like that. We may, therefore, conclude that this important finding was Magi's own idea (cf. *id.* 1939, 205; quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 112). Fuhrmann's relevant assertion (1940, Sp. 472; cf. *supra*, n. 5, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter IV.1.), who gave "S. Fuchs" credit for the identification of the emperor on Frieze B with Vespasian, is therefore wrong.

And because Siegfried Fuchs (1937) could not possibly reject an alleged earlier identification, according to which the emperor on Frieze B represented 'an old Tiberius', as Fuhrmann (1940, Sp. 472) had likewise asserted, we need now to find out, whose hypothesis *that* could have been.

Fuhrmann's (1940) alleged information concerning "S. Fuchs" has been repeated uncritically by some later scholars (for those; cf. likewise *supra*, n. 5, and *infra*, n. 191). The entire story reminds me of a famous book by Carl Robert, to which my late supervisor Andreas Linfert had alerted me many years ago - the title of which has become proverbial:

*Archaeologische Maerchen aus alter und neuer Zeit* (1886) ('Archaeological fairy tales from old and new times').

To all this I will come back below, in Chapters IV.1.; and at *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

Let's now return to our main subject.

If instead the head of the emperor on Frieze B has indeed been recut, the original carving phase of Frieze B had supposedly represented Trajan<sup>114</sup>, or likewise Domitian<sup>115</sup> (as on Frieze A), or Nero<sup>116</sup>.

Especially interesting is the scholarly debate related to the togate youth on Frieze B (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 12**). Magi (1939; 1945)<sup>117</sup> had identified its still extant head as a portrait of Domitian, carved in the first phase of the relief (this is in my opinion correct, cf. below and *infra*, in Chapters III.; V.1.h.1.); V.1.i.3.); and VI.3; summarized in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*).

This was followed *inter alia* by Fuhrmann (1940; 1941; cf. *supra*, ns. 5; 7; 113), Lugli (1946; cf. *supra*, n. 10); Bianchi Bandinelli (1946-48; cf. *supra*, n. 112), Bendinelli (1949; cf. *supra*, n. 16), Hammond (1953; cf. *supra*, n. 18), Toynebee (1957)<sup>118</sup>, Simon (1960; 1963)<sup>119</sup>, Hanfmann (1964; cf. *supra*, n. 23), Béranger (1964, cf. *supra*, n. 24), Daltrop (1966)<sup>120</sup>, Keller (1967)<sup>121</sup>, Koepfel (1969)<sup>122</sup>, Andreae (1973, cf. *supra*, n. 31), Bandinelli and Torelli (1976, ARTE ROMANA, scheda 105; cf. *supra*, n. 32), Lochin (1990, cf. *supra*, n. 46), Kleiner (1992; cf. *infra*, n. 129), Kuhoff (1993, cf. *supra*, n. 47), Ramage and Ramage (1996; cf. *supra*, n. 49), Pfeiffer (2009; cf. *supra*, n. 59), Pollini (2017b; cf. *supra*, n. 72), Chabrečková (2017; cf. *supra*, n. 73), and Sheldon (2023, in press; cf. *supra*, n. 74), Claudia Valeri and Giandomenico Spinola (cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements; infra*, in Chapter III.; and in *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and below at *The Contribution of Giandomenico Spinola*), and myself.

Other scholars identified the youth's head as a portrait of Nerva<sup>123</sup>, or as a portrait of Hadrian<sup>124</sup>. Rumpf<sup>125</sup> denied that the head of this youth is a portrait of Domitian, was of the opinion that it isn't a portrait at all, but rather an 'ideal' head, and suggested to recognize in this figure another allegorical representation, the *Ordo Equester* (to this I will come back below). Bergmann<sup>126</sup> likewise denied that this head is a portrait of Domitian and suggested also that this head was not a portrait at all. According to Bergmann<sup>127</sup>, some

<sup>114</sup> so McCANN 1972, 275: "While a missing link in the reconstruction of the original iconography of Frieze B remains the identification of the emperor ... in the light of the historical and numismatic evidence discussed is it not probable that Frieze B commemorated to the world Hadrian's right to the imperial office through his adoption by Trajan? The original of the head of Vespasian would therefore have been Trajan who is shown with his hand upon his selected successor". MCCANN's hypothesis was refuted by M. BERGMANN 1981, 22 with ns. 12, 13.

<sup>115</sup> so first M. BERGMANN 1981, 23-24, Taf. 11; 12; 9, p. 25; followed by M. PFANNER 1981, 518 with n. 17; B. FEHR (cf. *supra*, n. 89); T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 56; and M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 57-58 with n. 409.

S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 60 with n. 52, who likewise suggest that Vespasian's portrait is a result of a recutting process, state that the relevant assertions by McCANN 1972 and BERGMANN 1981, have been rejected by W. GAUER 1973, 350, R.H. DARWALL-SMITH 1996, 172, and E.R. VARNER 2004, 119f. n. 62. They themselves suggest the head of Vespasian proves to be reworked because of a different reason (for a discussion of their hypothesis, cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.h.2.). See the summary of this *infra*, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

<sup>116</sup> so H. MEYER 2000, 131-132, Figs. 243; 242; refuted by T. HÖLSCHER 2009a and by M. PENTIRICCI 2009 (cf. *supra*, n. 99).

<sup>117</sup> F. MAGI 1939, 205, Fig. 14; F. MAGI 1945, 70-72, Tav. XXIII. MAGI 1955-56, 309 with n. 1, in his refusal of A. RUMPF hypothesis 1955-56, in which the author, *contra* MAGI 1945, suggested to date the Cancellaria Reliefs in the Hadrianic period instead, had himself stated: "Lo stesso Rumpf (p. 112) è costretto a constatare che il riconoscimento di Domiziano nei due fregi (e quindi la loro datazione in età flavia [suggested by MAGI 1945]) è stato accettato da quasi tutti gli studiosi che si sono occupati della questione".

<sup>118</sup> J.M.C. TOYNEBEE 1957, 4, 5-8, 23.

<sup>119</sup> E. SIMON 1960, 134-135; E. SIMON 1963, 9. But see E. SIMON 1985, 549 with n. 27, quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 181.

<sup>120</sup> G.M.A. HANFANN [1964], 108; cf. *supra*, n. 22 (quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter IV.1.); G. DALTRÖP 1966, 41 Taf. 31.

<sup>121</sup> E. KELLER 1967, 215 (quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 177).

<sup>122</sup> G. KOEPEL 1969, 172 with n. 157 (quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 173), Fig. 16. But see G.M. KOEPEL 1984, 7, 31-33 (quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 416, in Chapter III.).

<sup>123</sup> by K. SCHEFOLD 1949, 190; quoted after MCCANN 1972, 260 with ns. 46-47, who herself rejects this hypothesis.

<sup>124</sup> so A.M. MCCANN 1972, 260-261, 266, 271 (because she dates the Cancellaria Reliefs to the Hadrianic period, and because the youth is bearded).

<sup>125</sup> A. RUMPF 1955-56, 114-116.

<sup>126</sup> M. BERGMANN 1981, 20, 22, 24 with ns. 19-22, pp. 25-29.

<sup>127</sup> M. BERGMANN 1981, 29 with n. 52. Since she does not mention, who those 'manche' scholars are, who have allegedly suggested the identification of the here-so-called *Genius Senatus* with the *Ordo Equester*, I have at first asked myself, whether or not she may have had in mind A. RUMPF's hypothesis (cf. *supra*, n. 125, quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 172) - but RUMPF 1955-56, 114, had suggested

scholars have instead suggested that the here-so-called *Genius Senatus* of Frieze B should be identified with the *Ordo Equester*. Bergmann's<sup>128</sup> hypothesis, not to identify the togate youth on Frieze B with the young Domitian, was followed by many other scholars (but cf. *infra*, at Chapters I.1.1.; V.1.h).

**One thing is, of course, certain: if Marianne Bergmann's (1981) hypothesis should be true that the head of Vespasian on Frieze B has been recut from a head of Domitian, the togate youth standing in front of this presumed Domitian (now Vespasian) cannot possibly represent Domitian as well.**

Diana E.E. Kleiner<sup>129</sup>, who discusses Marianne Bergmann's (1981) hypotheses, nevertheless identifies the head of this youth on Frieze B as the young Domitian, so did Hugo Meyer, and so does Giandomenico Spinola (cf. *infra*, in Chapter III.; and below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*), as well as Claudia Valeri, and myself.

Cf. *supra*, at Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*; and *infra*, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

The other above-mentioned scholars, who identify the togate youth with Domitian (S. PFEIFFER 2009; cf. *supra*, n. 59, J. POLLINI 2017b; cf. *supra*, n. 72, B. CHABREČKOVÀ 2017; cf. *supra*, n. 73, and R.M. SHELDON 2023, in press; cf. *supra*, n. 74) do not explicitly discuss neither Magi's (1945), or Bergmann's (1981) hypotheses in their accounts.

Hugo Meyer<sup>130</sup> is so far the only scholar to have (in my opinion erroneously, cf. *infra*, at Chapter II.4.) suggested that also the head of the togate youth on Frieze B was recut in antiquity: in his opinion, this head was first a portrait of king Tiridates of Armenia<sup>131</sup>, that was later recut into the still extant portrait of the

to identify the togate youth on Frieze B with the *Ordo Equester*. Later I have realized that also the discussion of G.M. KOEPEL 1984, 7 (quoted *verbatim infra*, ns. 150, 172) of the here-so-called *Genius Senatus* implies that this figure has been identified with the *Ordo Equester*; but neither KOEPEL, *op.cit.*, provides a reference for this hypothesis.

<sup>128</sup> so for example H.-W. RITTER 1982, 30; G.M. KOEPEL 1984, 7, 33 (quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 416, in Chapter III.; E. SIMON 1985, 549 with n. 27 (quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 181); F. GHEDINI 1986, 298 (quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 181); B. FEHR 1998, 725 with ns. 37, 38, cf. p. 720;

M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 57 with n. 409, follows the suggestion by M. BERGMANN 1981, 22-24, that the extant portrait of Vespasian on Frieze B was recut from an original portrait of Domitian; p. 58 with n. 414: he identifies the here-so-called *Genius Senatus* likewise as such; p. 58 with n. 414: he states that the togate youth on Frieze B is much discussed, but does not suggest himself, which function he may have, nor, what the scene on frieze may represent; pp. 58-59 with n. 415, p. 61: he identifies the here-so-called *Dea Roma* on Frieze B likewise as such; p. 60, n. 417: he adds as an argument against the identification of the togate youth on Frieze B as Domitian: "... non si comprende per quale motivo il ritratto dell'imperatore, dopo il sua assassinio, non sarebbe stato eliminato dal pannello come è avvenuto nel fregio A".

So already M. BERGMANN 1981, 20: "Es war schwer zu erklären, warum nicht auch das Porträt Domitians in Fries B gelöscht worden war", with n. 2. For a possible explanation, cf. *infra*, at Chapter II; summarized *infra*, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

The hypothesis of BERGMANN (1981), concerning the togate youth on Frieze B, was also followed by T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 57, 58, quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 182, and in n. 391, at Chapter III. The hypotheses of M. BERGMANN 1981, H.-W. RITTER 1982, G.M. KOEPEL 1984, E. SIMON 1985, F. GHEDINI 1986, B. FEHR 1998, M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 57-58, with ns. 409-414; and T. HÖLSCHER 2009a mentioned here are discussed in detail in the following, and are summarized *infra*, in Chapter I.1.1. All seven scholars, who are listed here after BERGMANN 1981, follow also her assertion (cf. M BERGMANN 1981, 22-24), that the extant portrait of Vespasian on Frieze B was recut from an original portrait of Domitian. So also most recently M. LANGER and PFANNER 2018 (for a discussion, cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.h).

<sup>129</sup> D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 191, 192, Fig. 159, quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 394, in Chapter III.

<sup>130</sup> For the assertion that the extant portrait of the young togate Domitian on Frieze B had been recut from the original portrait of Tiridates, cf. H. MEYER 2000, 134-138, Figs. 229; 251; 252; 256-259. This was refuted by M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 59-60 with ns. 417, 419. Cf. *infra*, at Chapters II.4.; VI.1.

Hugo Meyer's dating of the (alleged original) togate youth on Frieze B (in my opinion Domitian) in the Neronian period, has been followed by W. TRILLMICH 2004, 334-335, quoted after A. PEÑA 2017, 206-207 with ns. 56, 57. A. PEÑA himself, following E. BAUMER 2007, dates the Cancellaria Reliefs to the Flavian period). - To this I will come back below; cf. *infra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.h).

<sup>131</sup> For Tiridates, cf. M.S. DROWER and B.M. LEVICK: "Tiridates (4) (RE 6), brother of Vologeses I of Parthia, who set him on the throne of Armenia (AD 54). He fled before the Romans and was temporarily displaced by Tigranes (4) V, but was reinstated by Vologeses. By a compromise with Cn. Domitius Corbulo, Tiridates agreed to journey to Rome and receive the crown of Armenia ceremonially from Nero (AD 66) ...", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 1531. The authors quote Tac. *Ann.* 12ff. and Joseph. *BJ* 7.244-51. It is unfortunately unknown how old Tiridates was in AD 66.

young Domitian. According to Hugo Meyer, Tiridates was shown in the moment of receiving his diadem by the Emperor Nero, whose head was later reworked into a portrait of Vespasian<sup>132</sup>.

When we read the just summarized extraordinary range of contradictory opinions, the main reasons for this diversity of scholarly opinion concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs are not as yet apparent<sup>133</sup>. In my opinion, those crucial points have already all been addressed by Magi, who, in addition to this, had also documented in excellent fashion the relevant details of the two friezes, on which his conclusions were based.

1.) Magi<sup>134</sup> discussed in detail and documented with drawings and photographs that the marble slabs, which belong to the two friezes of the Cancellaria Reliefs, had originally been prepared for several different projects that, in the end, had not materialized; all these slabs were also previously supposed to be attached to walls. On the back sides of those slabs and on their edges there are cavities (for lifting those slabs, for clamps, as well as dowel holes), that were clearly not used, and which allowed the further conclusion that even those slabs, that already originally belonged together, had previously been paired in different sequences. Magi also documented that other such cavities, which the slabs contain, *had* been used.

Those cavities in the slabs, that pre-existed the decision to use the slabs for the Cancellaria Reliefs, should cause a lot of problems, as soon as the first carving phase of those friezes had begun (as we shall see below at Chapter II., the Cancellaria Reliefs were carved *in situ*, that is to say, only after the slabs had been attached to the monument).

These technical peculiarities of the slabs have been ignored by many subsequent scholars, who therefore arrived at wrong conclusions concerning that phase of the lifetime of both friezes in antiquity, which followed their dismantling from their original monument.

2.) Magi<sup>135</sup> described in detail and documented with photographs substantial carving traces on the background of the reliefs around the three portrait heads (*i.e.*, of the two emperors and of the togate youth)

<sup>132</sup> H. MEYER 2000, 131-132, with n. 416, Figs. 243; 242.

<sup>133</sup> as I have only realized at a later moment, also M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 57, has discussed the question, why the scholarly opinions concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs are so diverse. He lists the following reasons for that: 1.) the "genericità" of the represented scenes, 2.) our ignorance, to which building the friezes had belonged, 3.) "l'incertezza riguardo all'identità di alcuni dei personaggi rappresentati, in particolare delle due figure di imperatori dovuta in primo luogo all'intervento di rilavorazione che i ritratti hanno subito".

Still very much later, I had the chance to read the summary of the scholarship on the Cancellaria Reliefs by H. MEYER 2011, 177-180: "Zur Forschungsgeschichte".

Cf. the relevant summary by S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018 (73-74, chapter "2.9.5 Deutung und Interpretation der Reliefs"), quoted *verbatim* and discussed *infra*, at Chapters V.1.; V.1.i.1.).

<sup>134</sup> F. MAGI 1945, 8-13. This has also been observed by S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 37-39 and 80, who do not give MAGI, *op.cit.*, the credit though to have observed this fact first. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018 document this technical side of both friezes in great detail; cf. pp. 28-30: "[Kapitel] 2.6. Erhaltungszustand und ursprüngliche Breite der Reliefs"; cf. pp. 30-42: "[Kapitel] 2.7 Bautechnischer Befund".

<sup>135</sup> cf. F. MAGI 1945, 149-150 with n. 2 on p. 149 and n. 2 on p. 150 ("L'artista ritrattista"): "Infine un terzo artista sembra abbia collaborato al nostro monumento ... come sopra ho accennato: l'artista cioè che ha eseguito il ritratto di Vespasiano e che aveva fatto quello di Domiziano sul fregio A (e che forse esegui in fretta e furia, a distanza di tempo, la trasformazione di questo in Nerva). Non pare infatti attribuibile né all'artista di A né a quello di B la testa di Vespasiano. È vero che, come ritratto, essa si distingue naturalmente dalle teste cosiddette ideali o comuni, ma da queste non si differenzia invece il ritratto, sullo stesso fregio [*i.e.*, B], del giovane Domiziano. Nulla infatti ci spinge a dissociare quest'ultima testa da tutte le altre del fregio, mentre la singolarità di quella di Vespasiano non ha bisogno di dimostrazione. Si noti poi che intorno al cranio di questa testa [*i.e.*, of Vespasian] la superficie del fondo mostra una striscia che ne ripete parzialmente il profilo, non levigata come il restante fondo, la quale non può spiegarsi se non come la traccia di una più grossa testa. È evidente che si tratta qui della testa abbozzata dall'esecutore del fregio, lasciata da finire allo specialista in ritratti. La riprova si ha nella simile striscia, di cui ho già parlato [with note 2 on p. 149: "Le teste non del tutto finite nella calotta sono: nel fregio A, le teste del Genio del Senato, del sottoufficiale e del soldato che parla con questo; nel fregio B, le teste del littore presso Domiziano, di Domiziano e di Vespasiano".], intorno ai capelli della testa di Domiziano [now Nerva] sul fregio A, la quale non può in alcun modo attribuirsi, come si è visto, alla rilavorazione del ritratto stesso [here F. MAGI refers back to p. 61, see the *verbatim* quotation below at \*) in Chapter II.4., *Ad b*]), ma deriva anch'essa dalla testa abbozzata. Il ritrattista dunque non si è affatto preoccupato di lisciare con cura il fondo intorno ai suoi ritratti, di modo che le sagome delle teste abbozzate sono rimaste, specialmente a luce radente, ben visibili. Non così i suoi colleghi, che hanno dovunque levigato la superficie del piano, se anche si sono permessi di lasciare non del tutto

and around several of the 'ideal' heads of both friezes, whereas in other parts these friezes are characterized by a final finish. These remaining carving traces are of different kinds, and Magi explained their existence with the assumption that the sculpting of those heads had been prepared by roughening out their shapes, speaking of "teste abbozzate", and then later, those heads had been carved by specialists. Because of those traces, he believed the reliefs had been left unfinished at those parts of the background which surround the aforementioned heads. In addition to this, Magi realized that on Frieze A the original face of Domitian had been reworked into the portrait of Nerva, and suggested further that also the process of recutting Domitian's face into that of Nerva had not been completed<sup>136</sup>.

These carving traces have caused a great deal of scholarly discussion; Magi<sup>137</sup> himself refuted some of the relevant hypotheses published by Schefold (1949), Rumpf (1955-56) and McCann (1972).

3.) Both friezes show a pair of two allegorical representations, a bearded middle aged man and an unbearded youth, carrying a cornucopia; the iconographies of both are (slightly) different on Frieze A and B<sup>138</sup>. Magi<sup>139</sup> was first to identify them on both friezes as *Genius Senatus* and as *Genius Populi Romani* respectively, an identification that was followed by many subsequent scholars, including myself (cf. below and *infra*, at Chapter III.). On the other hand, Magi was also first to mention that the *Genius Senatus* on Frieze A is shown wearing the *calcei senatorii* - as he should - whereas on Frieze B, which shows the: "Genio del Senato (Tav. XXII,1 [illustrating only his head]), i cui piedi sono poi calzati con i consueti calzari con rovescia invece che con i <<calcei senatorii>>"<sup>140</sup>.

Thus already Magi himself had stated that the *Genius Senatus* on Frieze B is wearing the 'wrong shoes'. These 'wrong shoes', worn by the *Genius Senatus* on Frieze B, have likewise caused a great deal of scholarly discussion.

4.) Magi<sup>141</sup> suggested that : "tra la scorcia del I secolo e il primo ventennio del II" (at a date 'between the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century and AD 120'), the Cancelleria Reliefs were brought to the deposit of an ancient sculptor's workshop (where they were finally excavated).

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finite le calotte di alcune teste d'altronde non affatto visibili [with n. 2 on p. 150, mentioning the figures of *Dea Roma* and of *Victoria* on Frieze B]. Questo elemento esteriore persuade ancor più a ritenere che un solo artista abbia fatto i due ritratti, e di Vespasiano e di Domiziano [on Frieze A, now Nerva], il che è probabile già di per sé. Non saprei, per contro, fissare sicuri caratteri stilistici comuni fra le due teste, essendo che la seconda [*i.e.*, Domitian/ Nerva] non ha più il volto originale. Non sono confrontabili i capelli, forse i due orecchi, rispetto a tutti gli altri orecchi visibili nei due fregi, presentano fra di loro una maggiore affinità. Quanto al volto di Nerva, se teniamo conto soprattutto della distanza di tempo che lo separa dal ritratto originale [*i.e.*, of Domitian on Frieze A], penso che difficilmente potrà attribuirsi al ritrattista di cui si parla, ma non lo escluderei del tutto. Certo è che il confronto fra i due volti di Vespasiano e di Nerva si stabilisce malamente, dato che l'uno è un ritratto compiuto, l'altro un volto rimediato alla meglio; in questo, per esempio, è del tutto difforme il naso fra lato e lato nella veduta frontale: forse lo era già, ma meno evidentemente nella faccia originaria di Domiziano. Resta dunque possibile che abbia lavorato ai nostri fregi anche un quarto artista".

Cf. F. MAGI 1945, 61: "Qui importa piuttosto dar rilievo ad una conseguenza che sembra scaturire logicamente da questa rilavorazione della fronte [of the portrait of Domitian, now Nerva, on Frieze A], cioè che anche il restante della faccia abbia subito una rilavorazione, anche se di questa non si hanno tracce se non forse intorno ai buchi del naso dove pare che il marmo sia stato in parte tolto, dato che questi risultano assai meno profondi che nelle altre figure. Il tormento della superficie del fondo lungo la faccia può e non può esser dovuto a questa rilavorazione, o lo è solo in parte. Certamente non è da attribuire ad essa una specie di striscia o impronta che ripete sul fondo l'andamento dei capelli sulla parte anteriore del cranio, contornandola, la quale è invece sicuramente lasciata dalla sagoma della testa nel suo stadio di abbozzo; i capelli, infatti, per quanto si è già detto, non dimostrano di essere stati rilavorati. Neppure sembra che sia stato toccato l'orecchio e nemmeno il collo (o assai poco, questo)".

<sup>136</sup> so also M. BERGMANN 1981, 21 with n. 8.

<sup>137</sup> F. MAGI 1955-56, 310-312, Taf. 37-41; cf. MAGI 1973.

<sup>138</sup> cf. M. BERGMANN 1981, 29-31 with ns. 51-58.

<sup>139</sup> F. MAGI 1945, 22-23 with n. 3, Fig. 21 (drawing of the "Calzare senatorio", which the *Genius Senatus* on Frieze A is wearing), Tav. XV,2 (*Genius Senatus* of Frieze A); p. 24 and Tav. XVI,2 (*Genius Populi Romani* of Frieze A); pp. 30-31 (on the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* on Frieze B); Tav. I; XXII,1 (*Genius Senatus* on Frieze B); the quote is from p. 31.

<sup>140</sup> F. MAGI 1945, 22-24, 30-31 (cf. *supra*, n. 139). It was therefore not E. SIMON 1960, 135, who was first to observe this fact, as erroneously asserted by M. BERGMANN, 1981, 29, n. 61. Cf. now S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 77, quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 193.

For *calcei patricii*, cf. H.R. GOETTE 1988, 451 "Abb. 35a-c, calceus patricius, senatorius und equester".

<sup>141</sup> cf. F. MAGI 1945, 138-140, with n. 4 (referring back to his pp. 40, 42, 50); p. 140, quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 255, at Chapter I.3.1.

His assumption, which, in my opinion, is well founded<sup>142</sup> because based on the detailed documentation and discussion of his own excavation of the site, has, however, been doubted by other scholars<sup>143</sup>.

Fehr<sup>144</sup> mentions, in a different context, a great variety of 'errors' that have been observed in Roman state reliefs, but does not himself apply those experiences to the 'oddity', mentioned above at point 3.), the wearing of 'wrong shoes'. In theory, we could simply interpret this iconographic detail on Frieze B as an 'error' on the side of the artist(s) involved (or else on the side of their consultant(s)). On the other hand, I am also aware of the danger that such an assumption could just as well be wrong: take for example the so-called Altar of the Vicomagistri, two marble slabs of which were found, exactly as the Cancellaria Reliefs, but prior to those, in the same deposit of a sculptor's workshop. The alleged Vicomagistri, represented on those reliefs, are in reality of a much higher social rank than we know the Vicomagistri possessed, since two of the represented men are wearing the *calcei patricii*<sup>145</sup>.

The question arises, how we should deal with such instances. In the specific case of the 'wrong shoes', the bearded personification on Frieze B is wearing, I side with Magi (1939 and 1945)<sup>146</sup>, Fuhrmann (1940; cf. *supra*, ns. 5; 7; 113), Rumpf (1955-56)<sup>147</sup>, Toynbee (1957)<sup>148</sup>, Simon (1960; 1963)<sup>149</sup>, Koeppel (1969)<sup>150</sup>, Linfert (1969), H.-W. Ritter (1982) and Ghedini (1986; for all three, cf. *infra*, n. 181), Kleiner (1992)<sup>151</sup>, Hugo Meyer

<sup>142</sup> so also J.C.M. TOYNBEE 1957, 4.

<sup>143</sup> so M. BERGMANN 1981, 25 with n. 28 (quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 252, at Chapter I.3.); and M. PFANNER 1981, 517 with n. 16, quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 318, at Chapter II.1.d). Also S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, repeat these doubts (for a discussion, cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.a).

<sup>144</sup> B. FEHR 1998, 717 n. 3: "Über die - nur von uns als solche wahrgenommene - Nichtbeachtung der raumzeitlichen Einheit oder (bei Friesen) der 'richtigen' zeitlichen Reihenfolge der Ereignisse hinaus erscheinen im Bildgefüge nicht selten Personen und Objekte, die sich aufgrund von Naturgegebenheiten, historischen Tatsachen oder kulturellen Spielregeln der Antike auf dem (vom modernen Betrachter postulierten) 'Schauplatz des Geschehens' nicht befinden dürften (vgl. z. B. KOEPEL 1969, 144 Anm. 41: auf dem traianischen Extispicium-Relief im Louvre ist unmittelbar neben dem Jupiterempel auf dem Kapitol ein Liktör dargestellt, dessen Rutenbündel mit einem Beil versehen ist, obwohl dies innerhalb der Stadtgrenzen nicht erlaubt war) ...".

For the Extispiciumrelief, cf. also D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 223-224, Fig. 187; and below, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here Fig. 10); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.3.*; and *Appendix I.g.4.*)

For more such mistakes, as the one, mentioned by FEHR (*op.cit.*); cf. *infra*, at n. 145, and S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 77 with n. 123, quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 193.

<sup>145</sup> but that fact was, of course, also known to the excavators, as Rudolf Horn reported, cf. R. HORN 1938, Sp. 686: "Cancellaria. In der Sitzung der Päpstlichen Akademie vom 1. Dezember 1938 haben der Generaldirektor der Päpstlichen Museen, B. Nogara, und dessen Assistent F. Magi, einen ausführlichen Bericht über die neuen Funde gegeben, den wir im folgenden kurz wiederholen [my emphasis]"; he discusses the reliefs of the so-called Altar of the Vicomagistri on Sp. 689-692 (with Abb. 29-31), mentioning the identification of the represented men as Vicomagistri and also the fact that some of them are wearing the *calcei patricii*; cf. M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 56 with ns. 3, 4; J. POLLINI 2012, 10; chapter "VII. The Smaller Cancellaria ('Vicomagistri') Reliefs and Julio-Claudian Imperial Altars: Limitations of the Evidence and Problems of Interpretation", p. 309-353, Figs. VII.1-36. POLLINI, *op.cit.*, identifies the two men, who are wearing the *calcei patricii*, as the *consules*. For the so-called Altar of the Vicomagistri, see now also P. LIVERANI 2018; and the review of the relevant volume by E.M. MOORMANN 2020a, 277: "P. Liverani opens the book with the 'Vicomagistri reliefs' (cat. 1) found near the tomb of Aulus Hirtius, just like the Cancellaria reliefs (see below). Whereas the connection with the Vicomagistri was abandoned rather briefly after their discovery in 1937 and 1939, various unconvincing alternative readings have been proposed. Liverani connects the scenes with a ritual executed by the two consuls in the emperor cult. The two reliefs would have adorned the sides of an altar like that of the Ara Pacis Augustae, made in the age of Tiberius". Cf. *supra*, n. 7.

For *calcei patricii*, cf. H.R. GOETTE 1988, 451 "Abb. 35a-c, calceus patricius, senatorius und equester".

<sup>146</sup> cf. *supra*, ns. 112, 139.

<sup>147</sup> A. RUMPF 1955-56, 114 (quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 172).

<sup>148</sup> J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 5. So by the way already J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1946, 180.

<sup>149</sup> E. SIMON 1963, 10: "Die einfachen militärischen Schuhe, die Domitian und der Genius senatus im Frie [B] tragen ...". I am fully aware of the fact that E. SIMON 1985, 551-552 with Abb. 3, has identified the here-so-called *Genius Senatus* on Frieze B, because of the diadem he is wearing, with the mythical Roman King Numa Pompilius instead (quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 181). B. FEHR 1998, 723-724 with ns. 26, 27, identifies this representation likewise as Numa Pompilius.

<sup>150</sup> G. KOEPEL 1969, 172. In his later publication, Koeppel had changed his mind concerning the interpretation of this allegorical representation; cf. KOEPEL 1984, 33, cat. 8 "Adventus des Vespasian", 11 [*i.e.*, fig. 11 on Frieze B; cf. here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing]: "Bärtige Gestalt mit Idealfrisur in toga und calcei. Wegen des Fehlens von calcei senatorii kann es sich nicht um den Genius Senatus handeln. Auch die Interpretation als Personifikation des ordo equester stößt auf Schwierigkeiten. Dazu s.[iehe] S. 7". The just mentioned observation by G.M. KOEPEL 1984, 7, is quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 172.

<sup>151</sup> D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 191.

(2000)<sup>152</sup>, Pentiricci (2009)<sup>153</sup>, Pfeiffer (2009), Hölscher (2009a)<sup>154</sup>, and Spinola (cf. *infra*, at Chapter III.), who, although being perfectly aware of the relevant fact, have nevertheless made the decision to identify this personification on Frieze B with the *Genius Senatus*. Please note: to my knowledge, Simon (1960; 1963) is so far the only scholar, who has suggested that the *Genius Senatus* on Frieze B has deliberately been represented as wearing the 'wrong shoes' (!)<sup>155</sup>.

Those scholars, who believe instead that this personification cannot possibly be the *Genius Senatus* (because this figure is wearing the 'wrong shoes'<sup>156</sup>), and who do *not* regard this 'oddity' as a simple error, or alternatively, as a deliberate decision on the side of the artist(s), are, of course, forced to identify this personification differently. The latter decision results in a lot of problems, as we shall see in a minute.

The following discussion relates to the kind of iconographic details, mentioned above in point 3.): the wearing of 'wrong shoes'. Two figures on Frieze B are characterized like this, the here-so-called *Genius Senatus*, and the togate youth, the here-so-called Domitian. A summary of this discussion will be provided below; cf. *infra*, at Chapter I.1.1..

Let's begin with the here-so-called *Genius Senatus* on Frieze B. Provided, he is another allegorical figure, also his young companion on Frieze B cannot possibly be identified as the *Genius Populi Romani*, since those two are always represented together<sup>157</sup>. Both are for example undoubtedly represented on Hadrian's *adventus* relief, to which I will come back below (cf. here **Fig. 91**). As already mentioned, the iconography of this youthful representation, in addition to this, is slightly different on both friezes, a fact, which has caused a detailed discussion on its own<sup>158</sup>. Frequently, this figure has therefore been identified with *Honos*<sup>159</sup>. In a certain sense consequently, because *Honos* was often venerated and represented together with *Virtus*, the amazon-like personification that likewise appears on both friezes, has therefore been identified with *Virtus*<sup>160</sup> (to this I will come back below, at Chapter I.2.); Bendinelli, on the other hand, identified this allegorical figure on both friezes with the goddess Bellona<sup>161</sup>. Personally, I side with Magi<sup>162</sup>, Simon (1960; 1963) and

<sup>152</sup> H. MEYER 2000, 126 with n. 402.

<sup>153</sup> M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 58 with n. 414.

<sup>154</sup> S. PFEIFFER 2009, 62, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 59; T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 58. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 55, call this figure: "Genius Senatus [?]" (cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.a).

<sup>155</sup> E. SIMON 1960, 135 (quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 175); E. SIMON 1963, 9-10 (quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 456, in Chapter III.). Also in E. SIMON 1985, 552, she suggested this, although she now interpreted both figures differently (quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 181).

<sup>156</sup> so M. BERGMANN 1981, 29 with ns. 51, 52: "Ebenso müssen die anwesenden Götter und Genien eher aus dem Kontext gedeutet werden, als daß sie selbst den Vorgang erklären. Das gilt zunächst für den bärtigen Genius in der Toga [on Frieze B]. Er kann nicht der Genius des Senats sein, da er keine Senatorenschuhe trägt [with n. 51, quoting SIMON 1960, 135; KELLER 1967, 205 ff.]. Da er keine anderen Attribute hat, könnte er nur durch den Zusammenhang benannt werden. Sollte H. Gabelmann die Statue eines jugendlichen Genius mit Trabea in Neapel zu Recht als Personifikation des Ordo Equester erklären [with n. 52, providing references], wäre auch diese von manchen vorgeschlagene Benennung für den bärtigen Genius wenig wahrscheinlich". BERGMANN, *op.cit.* herself does not suggest an identification of this 'bearded Genius wearing a toga'.

<sup>157</sup> cf. D. BOSCHUNG 2017, 393-394, quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 213, in Chapter I.2. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 55-56, call this figure on Frieze B: "Genius Populi Romani[?]" (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.a).

<sup>158</sup> for a summary of the detailed discussion, in which various scholars have in vain tried to identify this representation, cf. M. BERGMANN 1981, 27-30; D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 191. So also S. LANGER and PFANNER 2018, 62; cf. p. 77 with ns. 124, 125 (who provide examples and references).

For the *Genius Populi Romani* on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs, cf. A. HEINEMANN 2018, 229 with n. 71, Fig. 11.

<sup>159</sup> cf. M. BERGMANN 1981, 30. B. FEHR 1998, 721-724, is of the opinion that this representation should instead be identified as the god Terminus (quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 459, in Chapter III).

<sup>160</sup> for a discussion, cf. M. BERGMANN 1981, 29-31. S. LANGER and PFANNER 2018, 45-46, call this figure on Frieze A: "Roma/Virtus?", and pp. 51-52 on Frieze B: "Dea Roma" (for further discussions, cf. *infra*, n. 221, in Chapters I.2.); and below, at Chapters V.1.h); and V.1.i)).

<sup>161</sup> G. BENDINELLI 1949; quoted after J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 21-22, who has refuted his hypothesis.

<sup>162</sup> F. MAGI 1945, 21, Tav. XIV (Roma on Frieze A); p. 28, Tav. XX (Roma on Frieze B). Also J. HENDERSON 2003, 250, identifies both amazon-like figures on Frieze A and B as Roma.



Pollini (2017b)<sup>163</sup>, who, in my opinion correctly, have identified this representation on both friezes with the goddess Roma instead. So also Spinola (cf. below and *infra*, at Chapter III.).

As a result of all this, the scholars, who have discussed the Cancellaria Reliefs so far, can already, because of point 3.), be divided into at least two different 'camps'. Although in reality those 'wrong shoes', worn by the *Genius Senatus* on Frieze B, have generated some kind of 'genealogy' of interrelated interpretations. In the following, I will mention some examples.

Bergmann<sup>164</sup> states that the bearded personification<sup>164</sup> on Frieze B cannot be identified with the *Genius Senatus*, because this figure does not wear the *calcei senatorii*; she herself does not identify this figure, but refers to it as a "bärtigen Genius in der Toga". Then, after a discussion of the different suggestions to identify the here-so-called *Genius Populi Romani* on Frieze B with other allegorical figures, none of which is really convincing in her opinion, she follows Elisabeth Keller, who has identified this figure with *Honos*<sup>165</sup>. Then Bergmann discusses another of Keller's hypotheses, who identifies the seated, amazon-like representation on Frieze B, which is wearing a helmet, as *Virtus*. Bergmann<sup>166</sup>, who finds this identification also not convincing, refers to this figure on Frieze B as "sitzende amazonengestaltige Göttin". As already mentioned, Magi and some subsequent scholars (cf. *infra*, at Chapter III.), identify this seated amazon-like figure on Frieze B as *Dea Roma*<sup>167</sup> instead.

**I myself follow this suggestion here and believe it is provable, because precisely this representation of the statue-type (?) of the *Dea Roma* appears on the coins (cf. here Fig. 112), issued by Vespasian to commemorate his revival the archaic festival of the *Septimontium*, which would be especially lavishly celebrated by Domitian.**

Cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.2.) My own hypothesis concerning the statue-type (?) of the *Dea Roma* on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Fig. 2): it is reminiscent of Vespasian's coins commemorating his revival of the archaic festival of the *Septimontium* (cf. here Fig. 112).

**Now, since Bergmann does not identify on Frieze B the here-so-called *Dea Roma*, the here-so-called *Genius Senatus*, and the here-so-called *Genius Populi Romani* as such, her relevant decisions result in a great problem: as we shall see below, she is at the end of her discussion unable to say, what the scene, visible on Frieze B, represents. The reasons for that are, in addition to her just mentioned hypotheses, some further assumptions, to which we will now turn.**

Bergmann<sup>168</sup> rejects Magi's identification of the togate youth on Frieze B as the young Domitian. First of all she explains why, in her opinion, the head of this youth is not a portrait of Domitian, then she suggests that the head of this figure is not a portrait at all. Next Bergmann<sup>169</sup> discusses the impossibility of identifying this youth with Domitian, because he too is wearing the 'wrong shoes' (as first observed by A. RUMPF 1955-56). According to Bergmann<sup>170</sup>, who follows Rumpf, Domitian, being "senatorischen Ranges", should likewise

<sup>163</sup> E. SIMON 1960, 139 (Roma on Frieze A), p. 151 (Roma on frieze B); E. SIMON 1963, 9 (Roma on Frieze B), p. 10 Roma on Frieze A: "die amazonenhafte Roma (von manchen Gelehrten Virtus genannt)". So also J. POLLINI (2017b, 116: Roma on Frieze B; cf. pp. 117, 118: Roma on Frieze A).

<sup>164</sup> M. BERGMANN 1981, 29, n. 51 (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 156), quotes SIMON 1960, 135 and KELLER 1967, 205 ff. But see BERGMANN's final remark on p. 31 at "Nachträge; S. 29", quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 193.

<sup>165</sup> M. BERGMANN 1981, 30.

<sup>166</sup> M. BERGMANN 1981, 29-31.

<sup>167</sup> so also J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 5.

<sup>168</sup> M. BERGMANN 1981, 20, 22, 24 with ns. 19-22, pp. 25-29 (cf. *supra*, n. 126).

<sup>169</sup> M. BERGMANN 1981, 26: "Er [*i.e.*, the togate youth on Frieze B] trägt die einfachen Calcei, ist also nicht senatorischen Ranges", with n. 34: "Die Schuhe waren auch ein unauflösbarer Einwand gegen die Deutung des Mannes vor Vespasian als Domitian: Rumpf [1955-56] 115 f. m. Lit.; Simon [1960] 135 [quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 175]; Keller [1967] 215 ...". KELLER 1967, 215 is quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 177.

<sup>170</sup> M. BERGMANN 1981, 26, with n. 34 (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 169).

wear the *calcei senatorii*. We might at first glance object that Domitian was, of course, not 'of the senatorial order', but belonged instead, like his father Vespasian, to the *ordo equester*<sup>171</sup>. But Rumpf<sup>172</sup> did not refer to

<sup>171</sup> cf. B. LEVICK 2009, 15, Section: "Un imperatore plebeo"; G.E.F. CHILVER and B.M. LEVICK: "Vespasian (Titus Flavius (RE 206) Vespasianus), emperor AD 69-79, was born on 9 November, AD 9, at Sabine Reate. His father, Flavius Sabinus ... was a tax-gatherer; his mother also was of equestrian family ... **In 66 he accompanied Nero to Greece and allegedly offended him by falling asleep at one of his recitals, but at the end of the year he was entrusted with suppressing the rebellion in Judaea. By mid-68 he had largely subdued Judaea apart from Jerusalem but conducted no further large scale campaigns** ... On 1 July [69] the two Egyptian legions under Ti. Iulius Alexander proclaimed Vespasian; those in Judaea did so on 3 July, and the Syrian legions a little later ... [M. Antonius] Primus pressed on, entering Rome on 21 December -

[but note that is now assumed that M. Antonius Primus reached Rome already on 20th December AD 69, as B. LEVICK 2021, 34, herself writes, since he still received an embassy of Vitellius (who died on 20th December); cf. Tacitus (*Hist.* 3,81; for a discussion; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d*)]

- the day after Vitellius' death. The senate immediately conferred all the usual powers on Vespasian [cf. *infra*, the *lex de imperio Vespasiani*], though he dated his tribunician years from 1 July, negating the acts of senate and people and treating his legions as an electoral college ... Vespasian returned to Italy in the late summer of 70 ... After the Jewish and Rhineland rebellions (see TITUS; IULIUS CIVILIS, C.) had been suppressed, Vespasian continued imperial expansion with the annexation of northern England, the pacification of Wales, and an advance into Scotland (see IULIUS AGRICOLA, CN.), as well as in south-west Germany between Rhine and Danube. On his death on 23 June 79 he was accorded deification, though Titus did not act at once (he had been Vespasian's colleague since 71 ...) ...[my emphasis]", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 1590.

Cf. D. KIENAST, W. ECK and M. HEIL 2017, 101, "Vespasian (1. Juli 69-23. Juni 79) ... Wichtige Einzeldaten: 23 Juni 79 Tod: Gest.[orben] in seiner Villa bei Aqua Cutiliae (Suet., *Vesp.* 24). Beisetzung zuerst im Mausoleum Augusti (?), dann Überführung in das templum gentis Flaviae. nach 8. Sept.[ember] 79, vor 2. Mai 80. Consecratio: DIVUS VESPASIANUS (AUG.)."

Notoriously, it were Vespasian's humble origins, in combination with his acknowledged military prowess, which had caused Nero in 67 AD to entrust him the command in a conflict, called in retrospect 'the Great Jewish Revolt' or War, which should finally result in catapulting Vespasian himself to the throne. As Suetonius (*Vesp.* 4,5; translation: J.C. ROLFE) put it: "Since to put down this rebellion required a considerable army with a leader of no little enterprise, yet one to whom so great a power could be entrusted without risk, Vespasian was chosen for the task, both a man of tried energy and as one in no wise to be feared because of the obscurity of his family and name".

For the *lex de imperio Vespasiani* (CIL VI 930), cf. D. MANTOVANI 2009, *passim*, esp. p. 27 (quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 455, at Chapter III).

Cf. further for Vespasian, Titus and the Great Jewish Revolt or War, *infra*, ns. 189; and in Chapter I.1.1., ns. 195, 198, 200, 201, 229; and in Chapter III., ns. 404, 412, 413, 455; and in Chapter VI.3., n. 476.

For excavations at *Falacrinae* (Cittareale, Rieti), where Vespasian was born; cf. F. COARELLI (*et al.* 2011; *id.* 2012).

<sup>172</sup> in the following, I quote a very long section of RUMPF's account, because J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 7-8 (quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 176), in her refusal of RUMPF's hypotheses, refers to all the arguments, mentioned by him in this passage.

A. RUMPF 1955-56, 114, wrote: "... so bleibt noch das Problem des jugendlichen Togatus, der auf den Platten mit Vespasian [*i.e.*, Frieze B; here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 12**] zwischen Genius Senatus und Genius Populi Romani steht (*Taf.* 22). Nach der Identifizierung des Vespasian galt er - wie gesagt - als Domitian, der im Jahre 70 seinen Vater in Benevent empfängt, und das ist auch heute die am öftesten vertretene Annahme ... Aber auch für Domitian spricht nichts. Der durch die Umstände zum Statthalter erhobene Sohn hätte Vater und Kaiser mit Handschlag begrüßen müssen [with n. 6, providing references]; pp. 115-116: "Der Kopf [of the togate youth on Frieze B] ist nicht von dem Meister der beiden Kaiserköpfe nachträglich gemeißelt. Er ist genau so nichtssagend und verblasen wie die Köpfe der anderen Nebenfiguren (*Taf.* 19,2). Bernhard Neutsch hat ihn mit Recht neben den eines Lictor in demselben Halbfries (*Taf.* 19,3) gestellt, von dem er sich in keinem wesentlichen Zug unterscheidet [with n. 7: quoting B. NEUTSCH 1948-49, 109]. Um zu erkennen, wen dieser Togatus darstellt, darf man nicht sein Gesicht betrachten, man muß ihm auf die Füße sehen. Der Dargestellte trägt nicht den 'calceus senatorius' wie Vespasian neben ihm [with n. 8, providing references]. Also kann er kein Mann senatorischen Ranges sein ... **nicht Domitian, der als praefectus urbi consulari potestate und als Praetor [corr: Domitian was praetor urbanus consulari potestate; cf. *infra*, at ns. 183-189]** Zutritt und Vorsitz im Senat hatte. Nie hätte der eitle Domitian einen solchen Schnitzer verziehen. Ja, es wäre nicht einmal Eitelkeit gewesen, 'calceos mutare' ist bekanntlich gleichbedeutend mit Aufnahme in den Senat [with n. 9, quoting: "Cicero, *Phil.* 13, 28".], das entsprechende Schuhwerk war also für jeden Betrachter selbstverständliches 'insigne' der Würde, das Domitian schon in seiner damaligen Eigenschaft als Praetor zustand. Man wende nicht ein, das sei eine Kleinigkeit, über die sich die künstlerische Freiheit hinwegsetzen könne. Auf einem offiziellen Denkmal ist das einfach unerlässlich, zumal wenn - wie auf den Friesen von der Cancellaria - der senatorische Schuh, der einfache calceus, die caligae der Soldaten und die Götterstiefel aufs sorgfältigste ausgeführt und unterschieden sind [with n. 11: quoting: F. MAGI 1945, 23ff.].

Die einfachen calcei, wie sie der in Frage stehende Togatus [on Frieze B] trägt, kann ein Römer senatorischen Ranges damals nur tragen, wenn er in militärischer Kleidung 'paludatus accinctusque' dargestellt wird, so wie Nerva [originally Domitian] auf dem anderen Fries [Frieze A]. Sie kennzeichnen ihren Träger als Angehörigen der 'militia equestris' im Gegensatz zur 'militia caligata' ... Also nur als Krieger könnte der Caesar Domitianus vom Jahre 70 ... mit solchen Stiefeln abgebildet werden. Ein Togatus senatorischen Ranges hat von republikanischer Zeit bis zu den Elfenbeindiptychen des 6. Jahrhunderts die seinem Stand entsprechenden Stiefel mit den vier Riemen, welche in zwei Knoten mit herabfallenden Enden verbunden sind [with n. 12, quoting: AA 1935, 396.]. Unser Togatus trägt die calcei ohne solches Riemenwerk ganz ebenso wie der Apparitor der Vestalinnen [on Frieze B] und die Lictoren [on both friezes]. Er ist also kein Mitglied des Senats, dennoch kann er eine relativ hohe Würde bekleiden ... Der Rangunterschied zwischen Nerva [originally Domitian; on Frieze A], dem Ritter [the togate youth on Frieze B] und den Lictoren mag am Relief durch die verschiedene Färbung der an sich gleich geformten Fußbekleidung angegeben gewesen sein [with n. 13, providing references.].

Domitian's family at all - as I at first erroneously assumed - but rather to his position *praetor urbanus*, which Domitian held as of 1st January 70 (that is to say, he also held this position at the moment, which is presumably represented on Frieze B; for both, cf. *infra*). Domitian thus belonged to the Senate and should therefore, according to Rumpf and Bergmann, be represented with the *calcei senatorii*. Rumpf further assumed that this togate youth on Frieze B, because of the type of shoes he is wearing, is rather characterized as being of equestrian rank. And because Rumpf could not imagine that a human being of equestrian rank could possibly have been placed at this privileged position on Frieze B - right between the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* - he identified the togate youth with the allegorical representation *Ordo Equester*.

When we apply Bergmann's and Koeppel's relevant findings (cf. *supra*, **ns. 156, 172**), the 'togate youth' - provided, he actually were the *Ordo Equester*, as suggested by Rumpf - should instead be clad with a different garment, namely 'the *trabea*, worn by the *equites*, and not the long *toga*, which reaches down to the foot' (G.M. KOEPPEL 1984). But it is, on the other hand, certainly more prudent to follow Koeppel's earlier statement (cf. *supra*, **n. 172**), according to which the iconography of the (only supposed) allegorical representation of the *Ordo Equester* is unknown.

Already Koeppel (1969)<sup>173</sup> had rejected Rumpf's relevant hypotheses, but for different reasons: "Die Deutung des Reliefs (Bild 16 [*i.e.*, Frieze B] wird dadurch erschwert, daß der Fries eine spätere Interpretation des Ereignisses vom Jahre 70 darstellt, als Vespasian nach Rom kam. Die Hauptfigur des Reliefs ist nicht Vespasian, sondern Domitian [with n. 157]. An der Identifizierung dieser Gestalt als Domitian ist festzuhalten trotz Rumpf ... [1955-56, 112ff.] (= *Ordo Equester*) ... Vgl. [vergleiche] Toynbee ... [1957], 7", who, like Koeppel (1969), still identified the togate youth with Domitian, despite Rumpf's arguments against this assumption.

By the time of his later publication, Koeppel had radically changed his mind concerning this subject. Following several of the ideas, suggested by Bergmann (1981), he assumed now that the head of Vespasian on Frieze B was recut from an original portrait of Domitian, and that, consequently, the togate youth standing in front of the emperor, cannot possibly represent Domitian as well. Koeppel (1984) denied also that the here-so-called *Genius Senatus* may be identified as such (because he does not wear the *calcei senatorii*), but could not offer an alternative identification for this figure. In addition to that, Koeppel (1984) referred to the here-so-called *Genius Populi Romani* as *Honos* instead (cf. *supra*, **ns. 150, 172**), and suggested that the

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Was sollte aber ein Ritter [*i.e.*, the togate youth on Frieze B] an dieser Stelle? Zweifellos ist der Platz zwischen *Genius Senatus* und *Genius Populi Romani* bevorzugt, so bevorzugt, daß man in ihm keinen Sterblichen erkennen wird. Die Schwierigkeit löst sich sofort, wenn man in ihm die Personifikation des *ordo equester* erkennt. Ganz ebenso bekleidet, als *Togatus* mit einfachen *calcei* ist er mit den *Genien* von Senat und Volk auf dem *Beneventer Bogen* dargestellt [with n. 14, providing a reference]. *Vespasian* stammt aus dem Ritterstand, er hat sich nach Sueton (*Vesp. 2*) lange ... dagegen gesträubt, den *latus clavus* anzustreben [*i.e.*, to become a senator]. Der Repräsentant des zweiten Standes [*i.e.*, the representation of the *Ordo Equester*] wäre also hier in vollstem Maße sinnvoll angebracht ... [my emphasis]".

For the representation of the (alleged?) *Ordo Equester* at Trajan's Arch at Beneventum, mentioned by A. RUMPF 1955-56, 114, in the above-quoted passage, cf. G. KOEPPEL 1969, 162-163, Fig. 12: "Vor einer Architektur, die aus korinthischen Säulen und einem mit einem Waffenfries geschmückten Gebälk besteht ... steht eine Gruppe von neun Figuren. Die drei im Vordergrund sind Personifikationen: in der Mitte der *Genius Senatus*, links 'Ordo Equester' [with n. 112], und rechts der *Genius Populi Romani*". - For this relief; the left hand side panel in the lowest register of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum ('city side'); cf. *infra*, in Chapter II.3.3., and here Fig. 46.

In his **note 112**, G. KOEPPEL 1969, 163, writes: "Es gibt keinen *Genius* des Ritterstandes: Béranger ...[B]b 165 (1965)], 85 mit Anm. 54". So also S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2016, 78, who state that: "wir kennen keine Ikonographie einer Personifikation des römischen Ritterstandes".

But see G.M. KOEPPEL 1984, 7, where he has modified his idea concerning this subject in so far, as he does not deny any more that there possibly were representations of the allegorical representation *Ordo Equester*. Discussing the here-so-called *Genius Populi Romani* and *Genius Senatus* on Frieze B, he writes: "Daß die im Hintergrund neben der Jünglingsfigur [*i.e.*, the here-so-called *Genius Populi Romani*] stehende Personifikation nicht als *Genius Senatus* bezeichnet werden kann, weil ihr die *calcei senatorii* fehlen, ist ein weiteres Argument gegen die Deutung des Jünglings als *Genius Populi Romani*. Als *Ordo Equester* kann der bärtige *togatus* [*i.e.*, the here-so-called *Genius Senatus*] aber nicht gedeutet werden, denn als solcher müßte er die ritterliche *trabea*, und nicht, wie hier, die bis zum Fuß herab fallende, lange *toga* tragen [with n. 41, providing a reference]".

<sup>173</sup> G. KOEPPEL 1969, 172 with n. 157. In n. 157, KOEPPEL quoted: E. SIMON 1960, 151; E. SIMON 1963, 10.

amazon-like figure on Frieze B is rather *Virtus* than *Dea Roma*. In his final comments on Frieze B, Koepfel (1984) came to the conclusion, that 'very much remains unexplained on Frieze B, especially the rôle of the *togatus* [*i.e.*, the here-so-called Domitian] who turns to the Emperor'. Cf. Koepfel (1984, 7, 31-33, quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 416, in Chapter III.). But before discussing that (cf. *infra*, at Chapter III.), let's return to our discussion of Bergmann (1981) herself.

Bergmann (1981), who mentions the scholars quoted here in her bibliography and discusses many of their other observations, in stating her approval of Rumpf's hypotheses<sup>174</sup>, quotes also Simon (1960) and Keller (1967) in this context with the relevant page numbers of their publications. In these sections of their publications, Simon and Keller have refuted Rumpf's ideas, but Bergmann does not address these facts. By quoting these scholars the way she does, Bergmann thus gives the wrong impression that also those scholars, like herself, had followed Rumpf's relevant ideas. This is not the case: Simon<sup>175</sup>, who herself followed Magi (1945) and Toynbee, mentioned that Magi himself (1955-56) had refuted Rumpf's relevant ideas. Before Simon, already Toynbee<sup>176</sup> had refuted Rumpf's hypotheses, Koepfel (1969) too, who followed

<sup>174</sup> M. BERGMANN 1981, 26, with n. 34 (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 169), quoting: E. SIMON 1960, 135 (quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 175); and E. KELLER 1967, 215 (quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 177); cf. p. 19 for her bibliography.

<sup>175</sup> the hypotheses, published by A. RUMPF 1955-56, 112f., were refuted by F. MAGI 1955-56, 309ff. - as stated by E. SIMON 1963, 12, - in her bibliography, who herself described the togate youth's shoes as 'einfache militärische Schuhe', and who identifies the young man as Domitian.

Cf. SIMON 1960] 134-135 (where she likewise discussed the hypotheses of A. RUMPF, *op.cit.*): "Nur das Bildnis des Vespasian in [Frieze] B steht unumstritten fest. Den jugendlichen Togatus vor ihm hält Rumpf nicht für Domitian, sondern für eine Idealgestalt [with n. 3, quoting: A. RUMPF 1955-56, 114ff.]. Er sei die Personifikation des Ritterstandes, dem Vespasian entstamme. Sein Gesicht sei so allgemein gehalten wie das des Liktors zu seiner Rechten. Das läßt sich - nicht nur vor dem Original - eindeutig widerlegen und wurde von Magi und Toynbee bereits zum Teil getan [with n. 4: "Die Entgegnung von Magi Bjb 155/56, 1955/45 (Teil II) 309ff."]. Die Augen des Togatus sind größer als die des Liktors und liegen tiefer. Sein Gesicht ist in allen Einzelzügen klar durchgeformt, wirkt schmaler und edler. Durch die ersten Bartlocken an Wangen und Kinn erhält er etwas Besonderes und Zartes [with n. 5]. Sein Haupthaar zeigt weder die kurzen Strähnen des Liktors noch die Lockenfülle der beiden Genien, die ihn umrahmen und denen er als Idealgestalt doch ähneln müßte. Es ist sorgfältig zu jener bestimmten Frisur zurechtgelegt, die in den beiden Friesen nur noch einmal wiederkehrt: bei dem Imperator [*i.e.*, Domitian, now Nerva; cf. here Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6] in [Frieze] A. Die Haare sind nach vorn gekämmt und umrahmen in zwei Wellenreihen Schläfen und Stirn. Es ist die *coma a gradus formata*, die für zwei Kaiser, Nero und Domitian, bezeichnend war. Der jugendliche Togatus vor Vespasian ist sein Sohn Domitian. An dieser Tatsache kann auch die Beobachtung der Schuhe nichts ändern, auf die Rumpf großen Wert legt. Der Jüngling besitzt nämlich nicht die *calcei senatorii* mit Riemen und Schleifen wie Vespasian. Seine Schuhe sind einfache *calcei* mit überfallenden 'Gamaschen', wie sie die Liktoren tragen oder der Imperator [*i.e.*, Domitian, now Nerva] in [Frieze] A zu seiner militärischen Kleidung. Dort seien sie angebracht, nicht aber in Verbindung mit der civilen Toga. >>Nie hätte der eitle Domitian einen solchen Schnitzer verziehen.<< Rumpf hat übersehen, daß dieselben einfachen *calcei* auch von dem Genius Senatus getragen werden, der als Togatus hinter dem Jüngling steht. Und dem Schutzgeist des Senats kämen doch in erster Linie Senatorenschuhe zu, wie er sie in [Frieze] A auch wirklich besitzt [with n. 6, providing a reference]. Genius und Kaisersohn [*i.e.*, the young Domitian; figure 12] legen also in [Frieze] B eine Art 'understatement' an den Tag. Diese Besonderheit darf bei einem staatlichen Monument nicht dem Steinmetzen in die Schuhe geschoben werden, sondern war von oben befohlen. Wodurch könnte dieser auffällige Schuhwechsel veranlaßt sein? Besagte er vielleicht, daß man sich in Rom damals in einer außergewöhnlichen Lage befand, zu der die zivilen Senatorenschuhe nicht paßten? Rom war im Jahr vor dem Einzug des Vespasian Kriegsschauplatz gewesen. Geben die einfachen militärischen Schuhe des Jünglings und des Senats vielleicht einen Hinweis auf den gemeinsam durchgestandenen Kapitolinischen Krieg? Wie dem auch sei: sicher ist, daß sich Domitian und Senat durch diese Abweichung von der Regel nahe zusammenschließen ...".

Cf. E. SIMON 1963, 9-10, quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 181 and at n. 456, in Chapter III.

<sup>176</sup> J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 7-8, with n. 7 on p. 7 and ns. 1-2 on p. 8: "In a recent essay on our reliefs [with n. 7, quoting: A. RUMPF 1955-56, pp. 112ff.] A. Rumpf rejects the identification of the young man at the centre of Frieze B [cf. here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12] with Domitian. Discounting the hair-style, which, if not peculiar to Domitian, is at any rate distinctive of him and is worn by no other figure in either of these friezes, and failing, so it seems, to appreciate the portrait-like appearance of the head, Rumpf argues that the simple half-boots worn by this youth instead of the senatorial boots (*calcei senatorii*), which Vespasian affects, rule out Domitian and proclaim this to be the personification of the *ordo equester*, to whom such footwear was well suited. **It is indeed a fact that in 70 Domitian was urban praetor and a member of the Senate and therefore entitled to senatorial boots. But it is no less true that from 69 until his accession, as coin-types and coin-legends show, Domitian was also *Princeps Iuventutis*, a title that marked him out from other senators as heir presumptive to the Empire and with which equestrian activities were definitely connected** [with n. 1, quoting references]. If these details of footwear are significant, as is very likely to be the case (although we may ask why the *Genius Populi Romani* goes bare-foot in this frieze, but is booted, as we shall see, in the companion frieze [A]), it could well have been to emphasize his special role as *Princeps Iuventutis* that Domitian had himself depicted here as shod like a rider. Again, it is difficult to understand why Vespasian should, as senator and Emperor, have still insisted so strongly upon his own equestrian origin [with n. 2, quoting: "Suetonius, *Vesp.* 2".] as to make his greeting of that Order the central feature of his *adventus* ceremonies in 70, with Senate and People, according to Frieze A, thrust well into the background behind the Knights' representative. Here, as in Frieze A, as we shall find, **the citizens of Rome are represented by the pair of personifications of *Senatus Populusque Romanus***; the intermediate Order does not appear; **and if the**

Toynbee, refuted them (quoted *verbatim supra*), and Keller<sup>177</sup>, who herself, like all the other scholars listed here, identified the togate youth with Domitian, had also followed Toynbee.

I myself follow Toynbee as well by assuming the following, 1.) the togate youth on Frieze B - as suggested by Magi - should be identified as the young Domitian, 2.) Domitian - as suggested by Toynbee - had commissioned the artists to represent him (*i.e.*, Domitian) on Frieze B with these - for a senator, as the *praetor urbanus* was, 'wrong shoes' - in order to stress the fact that he also had been elected as *Princeps Iuventutis*, for whom, being in close relation with the *ordo equester*, the wearing of those 'simple *calcei*' was appropriate (to this I will come back below).

**Finally Bergmann<sup>178</sup> questions Rumpf's hypothesis that, because of the shoes he is wearing, this togate youth on Frieze B could represent an *eques*<sup>179</sup>. In Bergmann's opinion, the assumption, to see an *eques* in this figure, cannot be verified, because this young man is not shown as wearing a (golden) ring. Bergmann<sup>180</sup> therefore concludes, that this 'ideal' figure of a youth cannot possibly be identified as a high ranking Roman magistrate.**

Before Bergmann wrote her article (of 1981), it was for example Simon (1960, 134-135 and 1963, 10), who had identified the togate youth on Frieze B as such a high ranking Roman magistrate. Acknowledging that the head of this youth is his portrait, and being well aware of the specific kind of shoes he is wearing (called the 'simple military shoes' by her), she identified this figure as Domitian, shown in his capacity as *praetor urbanus*, an office, that Domitian held starting on January 1st, 70 AD (cf. *infra*). But because Simon knew

footgear of this youthful figure is not inapposite to Domitian, in view of the above consideration, his features and hair-style and the conspicuous way in which he balances Vespasian are far more appropriate to that imperial prince than to any personification. We need not assume, with Rumpf, that two imperial persons invariably greeted one another with a handshake [my emphasis]".

<sup>177</sup> E. KELLER 1967, 211: "Der mit Toga und Senatorenschuhen bekleidete Kaiser [*i.e.*, Vespasian on Frieze B] kommt von rechts ... Dem Kaiser gegenüber steht sein jugendlicher Sohn [*i.e.*, Domitian], ebenfalls als Togatus, doch in einfachen Schuhen, wie sie die Ritter zu tragen pflegen"; cf. p. 215: "Es bleibt die Frage, wer mit der Personifikation des bärtigen Togatus [*i.e.*, the here-so-called *Genius Senatus*] gemeint sein kann. Auffallend ist, daß ebenso wie er auch Domitian einfache *calcei* trägt, obwohl letzterer als Stadtpräfekt berechtigt gewesen wäre, die Senatorenschuhe anzulegen. Man hat versucht, die Schuhe Domitians aus der Tatsache zu erklären, daß er als *Princeps Iuventutis* aufgefaßt werden wollte [with n. 1: "So Toynbee, The Flavian Reliefs [1957], 8", quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 176.]. Als solcher steht er in enger Verbindung zum Ritterstand und trägt deshalb auch einfache *calcei*".

<sup>178</sup> M. BERGMANN 1981, 26-27: "**Der Domitian/Vespasian [on Frieze B] Gegenüberstehende** [*i.e.*, the togate youth; here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12**] ist zwar etwas kleiner als der Kaiser, doch sind beide zusammen durch ihre Größe und durch die Komposition gegenüber den anderen nicht göttlichen Figuren hervorgehoben und als Hauptakteure bezeichnet. Die Handlung zwischen den so Hervorgehobenen war als Begrüßung verstehbar, solange es sich um die Begegnung von zwei Kaisern [!] handelte. Nun aber steht vor dem Kaiser ein Mann, dessen Funktion schwer zu erkennen ist. Er trägt die einfachen *Calcei*, ist also nicht senatorischen Ranges [with n. 34, discussed and quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 169]. Er trägt keinen Ring, während der Ring des Kaisers in beiden Friesen angegeben ist. Ob man daraus schließen darf, daß er auch nicht ritterlichen Rang hat [with n. 35, providing references for the *ordo equester*], oder ob der Ring als Geringfügigkeit fehl- [page 27] en kann, ist schwer zu beurteilen. Ob er im übrigen der Inhaber eines höheren Ritteramtes sein könnte, hängt davon ab, wie man sein Alter einschätzt. Solange er als Domitian galt, deutete man den Bartflaum auf Wangen und Kinn gern als Jugendbart [with n. 36, providing references], d. h. [das heißt = *i.e.*] als den Bartflaum, der bei der zeremoniellen ersten Rasur, der *depositio barbae*, abgenommen wurde. Nach den bekannten Beispielen fand diese Zeremonie zwischen dem 18. und 24. Lebensjahr statt [with n. 37, providing examples]. Wäre die Bartracht hier so zu verstehen, könnte der Mann nicht Inhaber eines höheren Ritteramtes sein, denn Ritter hatten in diesem Alter militärische Posten inne [with n. 38, providing references; my emphasis]". She then discusses the fact that, at the time, such "*barbulae*" had also been fashionable, concluding:] "Das Bärtchen des Mannes [*i.e.*, of the togate youth] vor Domitian [*i.e.*, Vespasian; here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 14**] kann also Mode sein, die nicht auf sein Alter um 20 Jahre schließen läßt". M. BERGMANN'S final conclusion is quoted *infra*, at n. 193.

<sup>179</sup> BERGMANN does not discuss that RUMPF 1955-56, 114 (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 172) identified the togate youth on Frieze B as the (alleged) allegorical figure *Ordo Equester*, but asserts that the here-so-called *Genius Senatus* of Frieze B has allegedly been identified by 'some' scholars (without quoting them) as the *Ordo Equester* (so far example by G.M. KOEPEL 1984, 7, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 172), cf. BERGMANN 1981, 29 with n. 52. Her relevant idea is discussed *supra*, n. 127.

<sup>180</sup> M. BERGMANN 1981, 26-29; pp. 27-28, writes: "Man kann demnach nur feststellen, daß dem Kaiser [in her opinion, originally Domitian, now Vespasian, on Frieze B; here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 14**] ein Mann gegenübersteht, der keines der höchsten Ämter der Stadt innehat. Darf solch ein Mann als einziger Vertreter Roms umgeben von Symbolfiguren einen siegreich ankommenden Kaiser begrüßen und mit ihm über andere hinausgehoben werden? Die antiken Beschreibungen berichten, wie bei solchen Anlässen das Volk und uterque *ordo* den Herrschern vor die Stadt entgegenziehen [with n. 43, providing references]. Eine Begrüßung wird man sich aber nur durch hohe Beamte vorstellen können, >>Volk<< in der Mehrzahl und akklamierend. In den wenigen erhaltenen Adventusdarstellungen [with n. 44, providing a reference] wird der Kaiser von Personifikationen erwartet und begrüßt ...".

Rumpf's arguments concerning the shoes, the young Domitian is wearing on this panel - she quoted A. RUMPF 1955-56 in her bibliography - Simon (1963, 10) suggested the following:

"Rom war im Jahre vorher, dem berüchtigten Vierkaiserjahr, Kriegsschauplatz gewesen. Der achtzehnjährige Domitian hatte sich dort aufgehalten und angeblich den >Kampf um das Kapitol<, den er später in einem Epos schilderte, mitgekämpft. Die einfachen militärischen Schuhe, die Domitian und der Genius senatus im Fries tragen, spielen vielleicht darauf an". ('Rome was in the previous year, the notorious year of the four Emperors, at war. The eighteen year old Domitian was there and had allegedly fought in the 'battle for the Capitoline', which he later described in an epic. The simple military shoes, which Domitian and the *Genius Senatus* are wearing on the Frieze [B], possible allude to this fact'). For this quote from Simon (1963, 10); cf. also *infra*, at n. 456, in Chapter III.).

For those events in great detail; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*, Section III.; at point 1.); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I*.

After this *Chapter* was written up to this point, I found that, according to Eric M. Moormann (2022,, 150), Domitian, before himself becoming emperor, had actually written some literary texts. In his **note 93**, Moormann writes: "See, for example, Coleman (1986); Nauta (2002) 328 ...".

For a discussion of Domitian's literary texts; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; at Section II.; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.1.a*); and at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*).

According to Simon (1963), who assumed that Frieze B shows Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in AD 70, the young Domitian is represented on this frieze because, as *praetor urbanus*, the highest ranking magistrate currently present at Rome (the *consules*, Vespasian and Titus, being both absent because conducting wars), he is holding the appropriate office to welcome the new emperor. Simon further assumed that the young Domitian is accompanied on Frieze B by the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* (cf. *infra*, n. 181). -

But note that, contrary to Simon's just quoted assertion, Titus was not *consul* at that stage, although it is true that he was conducting a war (cf. *infra*, n. 413, at Chapter III.).

In her article of 1985 it becomes apparent that, in the meantime, Simon had changed her mind concerning the identification of four of the figures on Frieze B: the emperor (following Bergmann 1981, she now assumed that his head had originally been a portrait Domitian, recut into Vespasian), the togate youth, as well as the here-so-called *Genius Senatus* (whom she now identified as Rome's mythical King Numa Pompilius), and the *Genius Populi Romani* (whom she now identified as *Honos*). Of her earlier interpretations of the figures on Frieze B, only one had remained the same: Simon still identified the amazon-like figure on Frieze B as *Dea Roma*, whereas she now identified the amazon-like figure on Frieze A as *Virtus* instead. Simon now identified the togate youth on frieze B as an anonymous *eques* of the *gens Flavia*, whom Domitian (now Vespasian), as *pontifex maximus*, by the gesture of his right hand, installs as an 'anonymous representative' of a new priesthood of the imperial cult, the *Sodales Flaviales Titiales*. In Simon's opinion, the scene, visible on Frieze B, is staged on the Roman Forum.

To understand Simon's hypothesis (1985), we need to recall the following. After the death of the Emperor Titus, his younger brother Domitian had succeeded him as emperor. Domitian immediately ordered the divinization of Titus and the foundation of this new college of priests, whose duty it was, to perform the cult for the new state god, *Divus Titus*. Hölscher (2009a; cf. *infra*, at n. 182) has refuted Simon's hypothesis. He convincingly argues that, to install another, anonymous person, for this kind of office, made no sense in this specific case. Because Domitian was himself a member of this college of priests by being its president, apart from the fact that all its members were high ranking personalities, which is why, as Hölscher adds, the representative of this priesthood should have been depicted as wearing the *calcei senatorii*. Provided, there actually was another representative of this priesthood, in addition to Domitian, its president - we might add - as Hölscher himself argues.

Simon (1985), in her turn, has refuted Hans-Werner Ritter's hypothesis concerning the interpretation of Frieze B. Also Ritter (1982) followed Bergmann (1981) in so far, as he assumed that the emperor on Frieze B had originally been Domitian, whose portrait had later been recut into that of Vespasian. But contrary to Bergmann (1981), Ritter identified the here-so-called *Dea Roma*, *Genius Senatus* and *Genius Populi Romani* on Frieze B likewise as such. Ritter interpreted the scene on Frieze B as an important religious ceremony, ordered by the Emperor Vespasian, by which the re-erection of the Temple of *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus* on the Capitoline had been inaugurated.

To understand this idea, we must recall, that 'in A.D. 69 the second temple of *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus* was burned during the storming of the Capitol by the Vitellians' (L. RICHARDSON Jr. 1992; cf. *infra*, n. 181.

For this event, which had occurred on 18th/19th December D 69; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; at Section III.; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d*).

According to Tacitus (*Hist.* 4,53), the ceremony concerning Vespasian's *restitutio Capitolii* took place on the Capitoline on 21st June AD 70; in the course of which was laid the "Grundstein" ('foundation-stone') of the new temple, which Ritter recognized in the *cippus*, on which the *Genius Populi Romani* on Frieze B sets his left foot (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 13**).

At that stage, Vespasian was still in the East, Ritter therefore suggested, that Domitian (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 14**) appears on Frieze B as substitute of Vespasian in the ceremony. But note that Tacitus does not mention Domitian's presence at the ceremony, as Ritter himself admitted. Ritter identified the togate youth in front of Domitian (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12**) with the *eques* L. Iulius Vestinus, whom, as we know from Tacitus, Vespasian had entrusted with the prestigious office of the *restitutio Capitolii*. In Ritter's opinion, Vestinus, on Frieze B, is depicted as receiving this order from Domitian. Simon (1985) rightly objected to Ritter's hypothesis that Vestinus, at that stage, was a man in his fifties - as Ritter himself had admitted. Ghedini (1986) has added to Simon's critique of Ritter's hypothesis that, in such a case, Frieze B should additionally have represented Helvidius Priscus, since we learn from Tacitus, that this man had performed the relevant sacrifices on the Capitol.

Personally I would like to add another observation: as H.-W. Ritter (1982) had himself mentioned, Domitian was definitely not in Rome on 21st June 70 AD, when that ceremony had taken place, since he had left the City before for his military 'adventure' in Gaul and Germany (for that, cf. *infra*, at **ns. 229, 230**, in Chapter *I.2.*, and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.c*)). I am mentioning this here, because Fehr (1998, 727-728, quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 459, in Chapter III.), in his turn, has suggested an explanation for Frieze B, that was based on Ritter's hypothesis.

Fehr (1998) followed likewise Bergmann (1981) in so far, as he assumed that the emperor on Frieze B had originally been Domitian, whose portrait had later been recut into that of Vespasian. Fehr's scenario has the advantage that, in theory, Domitian in this case could actually have had a chance to be present at the relevant ceremony. In Fehr's opinion, Domitian (now Vespasian) on Frieze B gives with the gesture of his right hand, "an einen hierfür kompetenten Mitbürger" ('to a competent fellow-citizen', *i.e.*, to the togate youth in front of him; cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 14 and 12**), the *mandatum* to rebuild - again - the (fourth) Temple of *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus* on the Capitoline.

To understand his idea, we need to remember, that the third temple, shortly before erected at Vespasian's order, had also been destroyed (in 80 AD), and that Domitian built the fourth temple. Fehr has come to this conclusion, *inter alia* because, following Simon (1985), he identified the here-so-called *Genius Senatus* (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 11**) on Frieze B with Numa Pompilius. Consequently, he did not recognize the *Genius Populi Romani* on Frieze B (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 13**) as such. Fehr referred to this figure as the god Terminus instead, who sets his left foot on his own altar, thus making clear with his gesture, that he is determined never to leave this place. Terminus was the god, who had not agreed to cede his place to Jupiter, when the first Temple of *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus* on the Capitoline was being built, which is why his altar had to be integrated within the temple of Jupiter. In Fehr's opinion, his assumption

identifies the locale, represented on Frieze B, as the *Capitolium*. Also the presence of Numa Pompilius in this scene, according to Fehr, is understandable, since Numa was believed to have founded many religious institutions, for example the festival in honour of the god Terminus, called *Terminalia*, and, according to others, even the cult of Terminus itself, as well as the priesthood of the Vestal Virgins, to whom so much space has been dedicated on Frieze B (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 3; 4; 5; 6; 7**).

**We have no literary sources that report on a public ceremony, connected with Domitian's order to build the fourth Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitolium.**

Hölscher (2009a; cf. *infra*, at n. 182) has also refuted Fehr's (1998) relevant hypothesis. Besides, the fact that already the Emperor Titus had begun with the erection of the (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, we should rather expect that Titus would have celebrated such a ceremony.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.g.4.) Domitian's sacellum of Iuppiter Conservator, his Temple of Iuppiter Custos, and his (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus (cf. here **Fig. 83**). With The first Contribution by Peter Herz;

and below, at *The first Contribution by Peter Herz on the inscription (CIL VI 2059.11)*, which reports on a meeting of the Arvel brethren on 7th December 80 at the Temple of Ops in Capitolio, among them Titus and Domitian: Titus vows to restore and dedicate what would become Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.

Simon (1985, 543), wrote: "McCann [1972] machte die Beobachtung, daß das Bildnis des Vespasian des Frieses B aus einem anderen umgearbeitet ist"; and elsewhere (cf. p. 545), after refuting H.-W. Ritter's hypothesis (1982): "Er [*i.e.*, the emperor on Frieze B: Domitian in her opinion, later reworked into the extant portrait of Vespasian; here **Figs 1 and 2 drawing: figure 14**] nimmt vielmehr als Pontifex Maximus in Anwesenheit der Vestalinnen eine sakralrechtliche Handlung vor: Er ernennt eine Priesterschaft für den Kult des neuen Divus, die Sodales Titiales [with n. 17, providing references]"; she elsewhere (cf. pp. 548-549) interpreted the gesture of the Emperor 'Domitian' (now Vespasian) on Frieze B as: "priesterliche Gebärde ... Im Zusammenhang des Frieses B bedeutet das, daß der Pontifex Maximus [*i.e.*, 'Domitian' / Vespasian] den vor ihm stehenden Togatus [*i.e.*, the togate youth on Frieze B, in my opinion Domitian; here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12**] in das Kollegium der Sodales Flaviales Titiales beruft. Gemeint ist kein bestimmter Mann, sondern ein >>anonymer Repräsentant<< jener Priesterschaft [with n. 27], deren Mitglieder wegen des gentilen Charakters des dennoch hochpolitischen Kultes der Gens Flavia angehörten".

In her **note 27**, Simon (1985, 549) wrote: "Aus diesem Grunde dürfte der junge Flavier [*i.e.*, the togate youth on Frieze B] die domitianische Modefrisur tragen, die so bei keinem anderen Mann in der Umgebung des Kaisers in den Friesen A und B zu beobachten ist. Sie hat die Forschung lang auf eine falsche Fährte gelockt. Im Zusammenhang des Frieses sagte sie für den antiken Betrachter nur aus, daß der Togatus einer aus der Gens Flavia ist. Er gehört in den Zwischenbereich zwischen realen und idealen Gestalten, der im römischen Staatsrelief auch sonst zu beobachten, aber noch nicht genügend definiert ist [with n. 28, providing references]"; she identified elsewhere the here-so-called *Genius Populi Romani* on Frieze B (with n. 32; with her Abb. 1) as *Honos*, the amazon-like figure on Frieze B (with her Abb. 6) as *Dea Roma*, and the amazon-like figure on Frieze A (with her Abb. 7 and n. 34, providing references) as *Virtus*; she identified the here-so-called *Genius Senatus* on Frieze B (with her Abb. 3) as Numa Pompilius, and wrote elsewhere: "Die Gens Pompilia war wie die Gens Flavia ein nichtpatrizisches sabinisches Geschlecht. Das Fehlen der calcei patricii bei dem Bärtigen [*i.e.*, the here-so-called *Genius Senatus* on Frieze B] wie bei dem dicht vor ihm stehenden flavischen Gentilpriester [*i.e.*, the togate youth on Frieze B, in my opinion, Domitian] schließt die beiden Figuren zusammen zu einem understatement mit positiver Aussage: Die Flavier haben keine patrizischen Ahnen, aber sie stammen wie Numa aus einer alten, tüchtigen sabinischen Gens ... die Szene auf [Frieze] B spielt nach allem, was oben ausgeführt wurde, auf dem Forum [Romanum]. Denn dort lag das Vestaheiligtum und dort, in der benachbarten Regia, war der Amtssitz des Pontifex Maximus"<sup>181</sup>.

<sup>181</sup> E. SIMON 1963, the quote is from p. 10 (quoted *verbatim* in more detail *infra*, at n. 456, in Chapter III.); cf. E. SIMON 1960, 135, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 175.



Francesca Ghedini (1986, 298; cf. n. 181) followed likewise Bergmann (1981) in so far, as she assumed that the emperor on Frieze B had originally been Domitian, whose portrait had later been recut into that of Vespasian. But contrary to Bergmann (1981), Ghedini identified the here-so-called *Dea Roma*, *Genius Senatus* and *Genius Populi Romani* on Frieze B likewise as such. Ghedini suggested that Frieze B shows the *consecratio* of the Temple of Fortuna Redux, that is to say, the temple, which Domitian, after his victory in the Sarmatian War (93 AD), had built on the *Campus Martius*. She, therefore, identified the togate youth on Frieze B with a magistrate *cum imperio* of the *ordo equester*, who, in the represented moment, is asked by the Emperor Domitian, who acts as *pontifex maximus*, to speak the ritually prescribed formula at that ceremony.

Ghedini (1986, 298) wrote: "Per perfezionare l'atto giuridico-religioso che costituiva la *consecratio* doveva infatti essere presenti entrambi i contraenti: il pontefice, in quanto garante dell'accettazione della offerta da parte degli dei, e un magistrato *cum imperio*, che rappresentava lo stato romano che cedeva il suolo pubblico sul quale sarebbe sorto il nuovo luogo di culto ... [with n. 119]"; and elsewhere: "Domiziano, in veste di pontefice massimo, invita il magistrato di rango equestre [*i.e.*, the togate youth on Frieze B], come denunciano le calzature, a ripetere le formule rituali della *consecratio*, che appunto il rappresentante dell'autorità civile pronuncia dopo il pontefice; in tal modo risultano pienamente comprensibili sia il discusso gesto che l'imperatore compie con la mano destra, che ben traduce l'atto dell'invito, sia il movimento dei littori al centro del rilievo che vogliono richiamare l'attenzione delle sacerdotesse [*i.e.*, the Vestal Virgins] sul rito che sta per compiersi. Assistono allo storico episodio il Senato ed il Popolo Romano, nella sintesi delle loro personificazioni [with n. 121, summarizing the *status quaestionis* concerning their identifications], assieme alle Vestali, custodi dei *pignora imperii* e garanti della *pax deorum*, mentre Roma, seduta in trono, partecipa immobile e beneaugurante alla scena". Also Ghedini's hypothesis has been refuted by Hölscher (2009a; cf. *infra*, n. 182). As Hölscher rightly observed, on Frieze B `of *Fortuna* nothing is visible,

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For the Regia, cf. now E. CARNABUCI 2012.

Cf. H.-W. RITTER 1982, 25-26 (for the revolt in Germany, that had caused Domitian's military 'adventure' in 70 AD); pp. 25, 26, 30 (for his identification of the togate youth on Frieze B (here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 12**) as the *equus* L. Iulius Vestinus); p. 31 (in 70 AD, L. Iulius Vestinus must have been in his fifties); p. 26 (on the ceremony of the *restitutio Capitolii* on 21st June 70 on the Capitoline [Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.53]: the sacrifices were performed by Helvidius Priscus); pp. 26-27 (following M. BERGMANN 1981, RITTER identifies the emperor on Frieze B with Domitian, whose portrait was, in his opinion, recut into that of Vespasian); p. 32: he identifies the here-so-called *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* on Frieze B as such, "so daß man sozusagen SPQR lesen kann [with n. 49, quoting my late supervisor, A. LINFERT 1969, 62 n. 5, for an idea, which was very typical of him: namely to read the presence of both *Genii* together as: "SPQR"]. Dagegen scheint mir geringer zu wiegen, daß ihre Attribute und ihre Schuhe nicht mit denen der entsprechenden Genien im Fries A übereinstimmen [with n. 50, providing references]"; pp. 26, 32 (for his idea to identify the here-so-called *cippus*, on which the *Genius Populi Romani* sets his left foot, as "Grundstein" ('foundation stone') for Vespasian's Temple of *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus*); p. 34: he identifies the *Dea Roma* as such on Frieze B.

Apropos the idea to read the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* together as "SPQR": as I only realized much later, before Andreas Linfert (1969), this has already been suggested by J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 7-8, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 176.

Cf. E. SIMON 1985; the quotes are from pp. 543, 544 (discussing the hypotheses suggested by H.W. RITTER 1982); p. 544: RITTER 1982 regards in the Emperor on Frieze B "mit Bergmann [1981] überzeugend einen ursprünglichen Domitian"; cf. p. 544: Lucius Vestinus "müßte im Jahre 70 >>die Fünfzig überschritten haben<< [with n. 31, quoting H.W. RITTER 1982, 31]"; cf. p. 545 with n. 17; p. 546 and Abb. 1; pp. 549-550 with ns. 32, 33 (on the here-so-called *Genius Populi Romani*: which is identified as *Honos*); cf. p. 550: the amazon-like figure on Frieze B, Abb. 6, is identified as *Dea Roma*; cf. pp. 550-551 with n. 34, Abb. 7, the amazon-like figure on Frieze A is identified as *Virtus* (contrary to her earlier interpretations in her publications of 1960 and 1963, where SIMON, in my opinion correctly, identified both figures with the *Dea Roma*, SIMON here stresses the great differences of the iconographies of the amazon-like figures on both panels. For the iconography of the *Dea Roma* on Frieze B, cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.1); cf. p. 551-552, Abb. 3: the here-so-called *Genius Senatus* is identified as Numa Pompilius; cf. p. 552 (on Numa Pompilius, the *gens Pompilia* and the *gens Flavia*).

Cf. F. GHEDINI 1986. The two quotes are from p. 298; p. 298 (on her discussion of the hypotheses, published by H.-W. RITTER 1982); p. 298 (for her identifications of the *Dea Roma* on Frieze B as such, of the *Genius Senatus* on Frieze B as such, and of the *Genius Populi Romani* on Frieze B as such).

For the Temple of *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus* on the Capitoline and its various restorations, cf. L. RICHARDSON 1992, 221-224 s.v. *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus (Capitolinus)*, Aedes, Fig. 19; G. TAGLIAMONTE: "*Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus*, Aedes, Templum (fino all'a.[anno] 83 a.C.)", in: *LTUR* III (1996) 144-148: this was the (first) archaic temple that was completely destroyed by fire on 6th July 83 BC. Cf. S. De ANGELI: "*Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus*, Aedes (fasi tardo repubblicane e di età imperiale)", in: *LTUR* III (1996) 148-153: the (second) temple was dedicated by Quintus Lutatius Catulus in 69 BC For the events on 18th/19th December AD 69, that led to the destruction of the (second) Temple of *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus*, cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I*; the (third) temple was built by Vespasian, which in its turn was destroyed by the fire of AD 80; the (fourth) temple was built by Domitian.

and to delegate the foundation [*i.e.*, of the Temple of *Fortuna Redux*] to another person does not seem to be a plausible theme for a monument, that was erected to glorify the emperor'.

Hölscher (2009a; cf. *infra*, n. 182), in developing his own hypothesis to interpret the scene visible on Frieze B, does not accept Bergmann's conclusion, that the togate youth on Frieze B cannot represent a high ranking Roman magistrate, although he follows some of her other suggestions, for example that on Frieze B the (alleged) original head of Domitian had been recut at the order of Nerva into a portrait of Vespasian. But contrary to Bergmann (1981), Hölscher identified the here-so-called *Dea Roma*, *Genius Senatus* and *Genius Populi Romani* on Frieze B likewise as such. Hölscher has refuted the above-mentioned hypotheses concerning Frieze B by Simon (1985) and Ghedini (1986), and presumably also that by Fehr (1998), by writing:

"Di più ardua esegesi il fregio B. Dope [di] che si è verificato come anche qui in origine Domiziano fosse il protagonista principale [meaning, that the main protagonist's head on Frieze B was originally Domitian, that was only later reworked into a portrait of Vespasian], **sono state avanzate diverse proposte, tutte non impeccabili** [my emphasis]. Secondo Erika Simon [1985], Domiziano conferisce al togato davanti a lui [*i.e.*, the togate youth on Frieze B] la carica di rappresentante del collegio per il culto imperiale, i *Sodales Flaviales e Titiales*. Ma, visto che Domiziano stesso apparteneva a questo collegio in funzione di presidente, tale investimento di un altro anonimo rappresentante non pare del tutto ragionevole; poiché inoltre si componevano di membri distinti, il loro rappresentante dovrebbe calzare scarpe senatorie e non semplici calcei".

Hölscher (2009a) does not provide a reference for Simon, but her article of 1985 is listed in his bibliography. There we find also Ghedini (1986), whose relevant hypothesis Hölscher discusses immediately after Simon's (cf. *infra*), again without providing a reference. But because Hölscher does not only speak of *two*, but of: "*diverse proposte, tutte non impeccabili* [my italics]", concerning the interpretation of Frieze B, and mentions, in addition to Simon and Ghedini, also "Fehr 1998" in his bibliography, I have concluded above, that Hölscher, with the just quoted remark, had also refuted Fehr's (1998) hypothesis. I am suggesting this here - although Hölscher does not explicitly address Fehr's ideas in his text - because Hölscher has objected to Ghedini's scenario, that on Frieze B 'of *Fortuna* nothing is visible': personally, I agree with Hölscher's relevant judgment. In my opinion, Hölscher could therefore analogously have thought about Fehr's proposal, that on Frieze B, also 'of *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* nothing is visible'.

For the time being, I maintain my assertion that Hölscher (2009a) has refuted also the hypothesis of Fehr (1998), *a*) because Hölscher has quoted "Fehr 1998" in his bibliography, and *b*) because Hölscher, as a result of his above quoted judgement - instead of following Fehr's hypothesis, for example - has himself suggested a *new* hypothesis to explain the scene, which is depicted on frieze B. - Only after I had written this *Chapter* so far, did I realize that my relevant assumption is most probably true, since Hölscher (2009a, 56; cf. *infra*, n. 316, in Chapter II.1.c)) follows also Bergmann (1981) in assuming that Nerva had ordered the head of the emperor on frieze B (in her opinion previously a portrait of Domitian) to be recut into a portrait of Vespasian; again, Hölscher does not quote Bergmann for that in his text, but lists only her publication in his bibliography.

Be all that as it may !

I should like to borrow here Hölscher's phrase, which relates to the hypothesis of Ghedini (1986; *i.e.*: 'of *Fortuna* nothing is visible' on frieze B), I apply that to the hypothesis of Fehr (1998), by saying myself that: on frieze B, also of *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* nothing is visible. And this is the reason, why I myself do not find Fehr's hypothesis convincing.

Hölscher (2009a) continues immediately after that: "Stando invece a una più recente intuizione di Francesca Ghedini [1986], Domiziano è rappresentato in occasione del ritorno dalla guerra sarmatica nell'atto di

ordinare a un magistrato di rango equestre di pronunciare le formule religiose per la fondazione del Tempio di *Fortuna Redux*. Ma di *Fortuna* niente si vede, e delegare la fondazione a un'altra persona non sembra un tema plausibile per un monumento a gloria dell'imperatore".

Hölscher (2009a) himself identifies the togate youth on Frieze B as the *praefectus urbi*, who has come, together with the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani*, to greet Domitian. Hölscher adds that 'considering that this magistrate [*i.e.*, the togate youth on Frieze B; cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 12**] belonged to the equestrian order, this explains his wearing of the simple shoes'. Because Hölscher argues with the "scarpe semplici"<sup>182</sup>, the togate youth is wearing, my first impression was that his words "*Praefectus urbi*" must be a typographic error, since we know that the *praefectus urbi* "was always a senator ... usually a senior ex-consul", as stated by Theodore John Cadoux and R.S.O. Tomlin<sup>183</sup>. A *praefectus urbi* should, therefore, always have been represented as wearing the *calcei senatorii*. - Apart from the fact that the togate 'youth' is much too young to have possibly represented "a senior ex-consul".

Looking for an explanation, why Hölscher (2009a) could have suggested that the togate youth on Frieze B should be identified with the *praefectus urbi* of Rome, there seem to be two possibilities: he either did this because of the above discussed remark by Rumpf (cf. *supra*, n. 172 - but, as I only found out later, Rumpf's relevant assertion was based on an error; cf. *infra*, at n. 189), or because scholars (convincingly) assume that on one of the panels of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, depicting Trajan's *adventus* into Rome in 99 AD, it is precisely the *praefectus urbi* (cf. here **Fig. 46**), who welcomes the new Emperor Trajan (to the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum I will come back below; cf. *infra*, in Chapter II.3.3.).

Whereas Hölscher (2009a), in a different context that will be discussed below (cf. *infra*, in Chapter III.), actually compares the Cancellaria Reliefs with the just mentioned panel on the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum (cf. here **Fig. 46**), that shows the *praefectus urbi* receiving Trajan at Rome, he does not discuss Rumpf's hypotheses, nor mentions him in his bibliography. It was Rumpf, who (erroneously) wrote about the togate youth on Frieze B: "Also kann er kein Mann senatorischen Ranges sein ... nicht Domitian, der als **praefectus urbi consulari potestate** und als Praetor Zutritt und Vorsitz im Senat hatte [my emphasis]"<sup>184</sup>.

*Praefectus urbi* and *praetor urbanus*<sup>185</sup> had always been two different offices, and we know that Domitian, from 1st January 70, only held one of these, called in his case *praetor urbanus consulari potestate* (cf. *infra*). If

<sup>182</sup> Cf. T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 58, on the "scarpe semplici", the togate youth on Frieze B (here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 12**), his *Praefectus urbi*, is wearing, and on his assumptions that Frieze B shows the civil *adventus* into Rome of Domitian [in T. HÖLSCHER's opinion reworked in a portrait of Vespasian; here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 14**] in AD 81: "**Domiziano dovette essere accolto allora da Senato e popolo, rappresentato dai due Geni, nonché dal Praefectus urbi, riconoscibile nel togato davanti a lui; considerata l'appartenenza di quest'ultimo al ceto equestre, se ne spiegano le scarpe semplici** [my emphasis]". For Hölscher's assumption that the togate youth represents the *praefectus urbi*, cf. also *infra*, in Chapter II.3.3., at ns. 355-358. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 58, mentions the panel of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, on which the *praefectus urbi* appears (quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter III., at n. 417). For the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, cf. *infra*, in Chapter II.3.3., at ns. 359-361. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 57, discusses Frieze B and the hypotheses of E. SIMON 1985, F. GHEDINI 1986, and presumably also of B. FEHR 1998 (for HÖLSCHER's bibliography, cf. p. 61, n. 43); on pp. 56, 57, he follows M. BERGMANN 1981 in assuming that Vespasian's portrait on Frieze B has been recut from a portrait of Domitian, and in likewise assuming that the head of the togate youth on Frieze B is not a portrait; p. 56 on the amazon-like representation on Frieze A, that should be identified as Roma or Virtus; p. 57 on the amazon-like representation on Frieze B, that should be identified as Roma; pp. 56-57, for his identifications of the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* on Frieze A; p. 57 for these two representations on Frieze B, who, according to him are "probabilmente i Geni del Senato e del popolo".

<sup>183</sup> for this office, cf. T.J. CADOUX; R.S.O. TOMLIN: "*praefectus urbi* 'Prefect of the City' (of Rome)", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 1239. See for the office *praefectus urbi* also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.a).

<sup>184</sup> A. RUMPF 1955-56, 114 (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 172). - RUMPF's just quoted formulation: "*praefectus urbi consulari potestate*", was therefore obviously likewise an error, since Domitian held the title: "*praetor urbanus consulari potestate*".

<sup>185</sup> for this office, cf. T.C. BRENNAN: "*praetor*; Republic 'Praetor' (from *prae-ire*, 'to precede', *i.e.* in battle) was originally the title borne by the two republican magistrates who were chosen annually to serve as eponymous heads of state. In 367 BC the Romans, as part of the Licinian-Sextian compromise .... decided to add a patrician 'praetor' as third colleague to these two chief magistrates, who were now (or were soon to be) called 'consuls'. The new praetor held *imperium*, which was defined as being of the same nature as the consuls' but *minus*, 'lesser' in relation to theirs. ... The praetor was, in the (quite common) absence of the consuls from the city, the chief magistrate in Rome and, as such, in charge of the legal system, as well as acting president of the senate and legislative *comitia*; but he also had the right to lead an army ... Plebeians ... were first admitted to the office in 337 [BC] ... In 81 as dictator Sulla raised the number of praetors to eight. He also institutionalized some earlier developments in a scheme aimed at ensuring regular annual succession, in

Hölscher, instead of writing "*Praefectus urbi*", had intended to write "*praetor urbanus*", that too would not help in this context, because also this assumption would imply that the togate youth on Frieze B should have been represented as wearing the *calcei senatorii*. If at all the current magistrate *praetor urbanus* is portrayed in the togate youth on Frieze B, as suggested by Simon (1963; cf. *supra*, at n. 181 and n. 175, and *infra*, at n. 456, in Chapter III.), this is only possible, as suggested by Toynbee (1957), provided this *praetor urbanus* was Domitian in the year 70 AD. Only in his case, this magistrate, who belonged to the senatorial order, could nevertheless have been shown as wearing the 'simple *calcei*', which were typical of members of the equestrian order, because those shoes were appropriate for the *Princeps Iuventutis*, a title, which Domitian likewise held at that time<sup>186</sup> (cf. *infra*). - Not to mention the already discussed possibility (cf. *supra*, at n. 144), that by carving the shoes of the togate youth, the artists had simply made a mistake (!).

**But Hölscher (2009a) interprets Frieze B, of course, very differently than is suggested here.**

Hölscher follows Bergmann (1981) in assuming that the togate youth, standing in front of 'Domitian'/Vespasian [cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 12 and 14**], is not a portrait, let alone a portrait of the young Domitian, obviously. Hölscher rather suggests that this panel shows the civil *adventus* of the (alleged) Domitian into Rome in the year AD 81 (at a moment, when Domitian was not as yet emperor). Since the *praefectus urbi*, with whom Hölscher identifies the togate youth, should have been represented as wearing the *calcei senatorii*<sup>187</sup> at this (alleged) public ceremony, Hölscher's interpretation of Frieze B thus proves to be impossible.

*Let's now turn from the individuals, who are possibly represented  
on the Cancellaria Reliefs, to the real historical events*

Barbara Levick<sup>188</sup> writes about the beginning of Vespasian's reign: "Il nuovo governo era diretto, in assenza di questi [*i.e.*, Vespasian], dal figlio diciannovenne Domiziano ... Domiziano divenne pretore con poteri consolari, ma il comando era in realtà nelle mani di Mucianus ...". And Kienast, Eck and Heil write about Domitian: "Wichtige Einzeldaten: 69 Verleihung des Namens Caesar im Osten (Juli oder August), später (21. Dez.[ember]) Anerkennung in Rom und Wahl zum PRINCEPS IUVENTUTIS: DOMITIANUS CAESAR (oder CAESAR DOMITIANUS). In die vier collegia maiora kurz nach Herrschaftsbeginn Vespasians aufgenommen ... [providing a reference]. 1. Jan. 70 praetor urbanus consulari potestate"<sup>189</sup>.

**Because Marianne Bergmann<sup>190</sup> identifies five figures on Frieze B differently than Magi and Simon (1960 and 1963), it follows that, in her opinion, no representatives of the City of Rome are visible on this scene (on Frieze B), who have come to the sacred boundary of the City of Rome (the *pomerium*) to welcome the new emperor. These five figures are in Bergmann's opinion: the Emperor Domitian: his portrait was later reworked at the order of Nerva into that of Vespasian (Magi and Simon 1960; 1963: his head was from the beginning a portrait of Vespasian), an unidentified bearded Genius wearing a *toga* (Magi and Simon 1960; 1963: *Genius Senatus*), the 'ideal' figure of a togate youth, who cannot be a high ranking magistrate, which is why his function is unknown (Magi: Domitian; Simon 1960; 1963: Domitian in his capacity as**

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which all praetors were restricted to Rome to tend to the city jurisdiction and the various courts ...", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 1240; cf. A.W. LINTOTT: "*praetor* ; *Caesar and imperial period* ... Under the Principate the praetors retained their traditional republican functions at Rome - performing civil jurisdiction ... and occasionally presiding over the senate ...", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 1240-1241.

<sup>186</sup> as suggested by J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 7-8 (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 176).

<sup>187</sup> cf. *supra*, at n. 183.

<sup>188</sup> B. LEVICK 2009, 15; cf. *supra*, n. 171.

<sup>189</sup> D. KIENAST, W. ECK and M. HEIL 2017, 109. Further for Domitian, cf. *supra*, n. 82, and *infra*, n. 304, in Chapter II.1.b).

<sup>190</sup> M. BERGMANN 1981, 24 (for the assumption that the portrait of Vespasian on Frieze B has been recut from the original portrait of Domitian; here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 14**); p. 29 (on the bearded Genius wearing a *toga* on Frieze B; here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 11**); pp. 19-20, 22, 24-25, 26-29 (on the togate youth on Frieze B; here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12**); pp. 29-30 (on *Honos* on Frieze B; here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 13**); pp. 29-31 (on the seated amazon-like goddess on Frieze B; here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 2**).

*praetor urbanus*), *Honos* (Magi and Simon 1960; 1963: *Genius Populi Romani*), and the seated amazon-like goddess (Magi and Simon 1960; 1963; 1985: the goddess Roma).

Consequently, Bergmann<sup>191</sup> comes to the following conclusions: 1.) because, in her opinion, no representatives of the City of Rome are present on Frieze B, she believes that this panel cannot possibly be identified as an *adventus* of the emperor, who is depicted on this Frieze (originally Domitian in Bergmann's opinion, reworked into Vespasian at the order of Nerva), and because Bergmann was unable to find comparisons for her new interpretations of those five figures, especially not for the central group of her Domitian (the here-so-called Vespasian) and the 'ideal' togate youth standing in front of him (the here-so-called Domitian), she is 2.) unable to say, what the scene on Frieze B may represent.

The identification of Frieze B as an *adventus* (of Vespasian into Rome, in 70 AD) had first been suggested by Magi (1939)<sup>192</sup>, followed by some subsequent scholars. But those were and are of the opinion that the head of the emperor on Frieze B, already in the Domitianic phase of this panel, had been the still extant portrait of Vespasian (cf. *infra*, at Chapter III.).

Bergmann (1981, 31) closes her article with the following remark (in her Section: "Nachträge; S. 29" - a *post scriptum* to her p. 29): "Wahrscheinlich muß jedoch die Frage des Senatorenschuhs völlig neu

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<sup>191</sup> M. BERGMANN 1981, 28-29 (discussing the question, whether or not the scene, represented on Frieze B, may be identified as an *adventus*): "Sehr merkwürdig wirkt auch das Übergewicht der empfangenden Seite [*i.e.*, the togate youth on Frieze B, here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12, and the representations surrounding him], wenn nicht mehr, wie man früher meinte, der Empfangende die heimliche Hauptfigur des Frieses ist, sondern der Ankommende selbst. Abgesehen von der Victoria fehlt jeder Hinweis darauf, von welchem Unternehmen der Kaiser zurückkehrt und in welchem Sinne er empfangen wird. Der Amtsdieners mit der Rolle am rechten Rand des Frieses gibt dem Ganzen eher einen zivilen Anstrich.

Ich halte es deshalb für denkbar, daß das Relief nicht einen *Adventus* Domitians nach einem erfolgreichen kriegerischen Unternehmen darstellt, sondern einen ganz anderen Vorgang, in dem der Mann [*i.e.*, the togate youth] gegenüber Domitian/Vespasian eine Rolle spielt, um derentwillen er trotz seiner rangmäßigen Unterlegenheit mit dem Kaiser zusammen hervorgehoben ist [with n. 48].

Welcher Vorgang das sein könnte, ist methodisch schwer zu ermitteln. Das größte Hindernis bildet das Fehlen von Parallelen für die Hauptszene. Ob der Kaiser die Hand nur erhebt oder mit der Hand die Schulter seines Gegenübers berührt, ist von der Forschung unterschiedlich gesehen und interpretiert worden. Man spricht von Gruß, Segnung, Geste der Verwunderung, freundlicher Zuwendung, Geste der Ernennung [with n. 49]. Eine durch diesen Gestus verbundene Personengruppe kommt, soweit ich sehe, weder auf anderen Staatsmonumenten, noch auf Münzen vor. Deshalb läßt sich die Handlung, die die beiden Personen verbindet, vorläufig wohl nicht deuten.

Auch die übrigen Anwesenden geben über den Vorgang wenig Aufschluß. Da die Vestalinnen auffallend viel Raum einnehmen, die amazonenhafte Göttin hinter ihnen zurücktritt und der Zug der Liktores sich ancheinend auf sie zubewegt, könnte man an einen Vorgang denken, in dem die Vestalinnen selbst eine Rolle spielen und nicht nur als Zeugen eines staatspolitisch wichtigen Zeremoniells anwesend sind. Aus dem Wenigen, was von ihren Tätigkeiten und Funktionen bekannt ist, ergibt sich kein Hinweis [with n. 50]".

In her note 48, BERGMANN 1981, 28, writes: "Fuchs, Curtius [1948] und Rumpf [1955-56] dachten an eine Ernennung. Für die Einsetzung einer Person in ein Amt würde man aber eher die Übergabe der Ernennungsurkunde wie in den spätantiken Darstellungen erwarten"; in her note 49 on p. 28, BERGMANN 1981, writes: "Fuhrmann [1940] 471: wie segnend, Curtius: die Gebärde Vespasians zeigt, daß er seinen Sohn mit einem Amt betraut ..."; in her note 50 on p. 29, she provides a reference.

"Fuchs [my emphasis]", whom BERGMANN 1981, 28, mentions in her just quoted footnote 48, does not appear in her bibliography. A. RUMPF 1955-56, 112, n. 2, called him "Siegfried Fuchs [my emphasis]", quoting: AA 1940, 472, but that is the article by H. FUHRMANN: AA 1940, Sp. 362-554. RUMPF, *op.cit.*, thus referred to FUHRMANN 1940, Sp. 472, where the latter writes: "Wohl als erster hat S. Fuchs in dem Kopf des älteren Togatus statt eines alten Tiberius das Portrait des Kaisers Vespasian erkannt [my emphasis]". Unfortunately also FUHRMANN, *op.cit.*, did not provide a reference for this publication (?) by S. FUCHS. - As we have seen above, ns. 5; 113, Siegfried Fuchs's publication is of 1937, which is why he did not mention the Cancellaria Reliefs at all (besides: Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs was only found in 1938; cf. *supra*, at ns. 5; 113).

F. MAGI 1945 does not mention S. FUCHS's (alleged) important finding, but as we have seen above (cf. *supra*, at n. 112), MAGI 1939 205, had already himself identified the head of the emperor on Frieze B as that of Vespasian. BERGMANN 1981, in her n. 48, quoted "Fuchs [my emphasis]" for his interpretation of the meaning of Vespasian's gesture towards the togate youth, the here-so-called young Domitian, mentioning the term "Ernennung [my emphasis]", and soon afterwards the term "Einsetzung [my emphasis]". But the latter is again a quote from H. FUHRMANN 1940, Sp. 472: "... daß der geschilderte Vorgang [on Frieze B] nur als die Einsetzung des Domitian zum Nachfolger des Kaisers [Vespasian] durch diesen selbst ... verstanden werden kann [my emphasis]".

See now for the publication of 'S. FUCHS 1938', *supra*, at n. 113, at the Section *The Siegfried Fuchs Saga*. But note that the reference, given by H. MEYER 2001, 175 with n. 5, for 'S. FUCHS 1938', has turned out to be wrong. See also for that now *supra*, at n. 113.

<sup>192</sup> so first MAGI 1939, 205 (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 112); cf. MAGI 1945, 106-115.

überprüft werden" ('but probably the question concerning the senatorial shoe must be checked completely anew').

This has been done in the meantime, see Stephanie Langer and Michael Pfanner (2018): "Der Kaiser (**Figur 14** [on Frieze B]) tritt drei Männern mit idealisierten Gesichtern entgegen, deren Benennung stark umstritten ist. Die **Figuren 11** und **13** werden oft als *Genius Senatus* und als *Genius Populi Romani* gedeutet [with n. 121]. Dafür sprechen ihre Ikonographie [with n. 122], ihr Auftreten als Paar und die Tatsache, dass sie um den Kaiser gruppiert sind. **Dass der *Genius Senatus* nur die einfachen *calcei* trägt, ist auffällig, aber nicht singulär. So haben auf der *Ara Pacis* manche Senatoren ebenfalls einfache *calcei*** [with n. 123; my emphasis]".

In their **note 123**, Langer and Pfanner write: "B.[irgit] Bergmann, *Der Kranz des Kaisers. Genese und Bedeutung einer römischen Insignie* (Berlin 2010) 18-24. Vgl. [vergleiche] zu der Problematik der >>historischen Korrektheit<< römischer Staatsreliefs auch U. Kreilinger, *Römische Bronzeappliken. Historische Repliken in Kleinformat* (Heidelberg 1996) 106 Anm. 628. - **Es könnte sich aber auch schlichtweg um einen Fehler handeln:** s.[iehe] dazu Kap.[itel] 2.9.3 [my emphasis]"<sup>193</sup>.

For a discussion of this point; cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.h.1.).

### ***1.1.1. Summary of the scholarly discussion concerning the 'wrong shoes', worn by figures on Frieze B, and the decision to pursue a different avenue of research***

As we have seen above, the observation by Marianne Bergmann (1981; cf. *supra*, n. 156, in Chapter I.1.), that the so-called *Genius Senatus* on Frieze B is wearing the 'wrong shoes', has had consequences for the identification of the so-called *Genius Populi Romani* on Frieze B - at least in the opinion of some scholars.

The togate youth on Frieze B, provided we follow Magi (1945; cf. *supra*, n. 117), in identifying this young man as Domitian, according to Rumpf (1955-56, cf. *supra*, n. 172), and Bergmann (1981; cf. *supra*, n. 16; all in Chapter I.1.), is likewise wearing the 'wrong shoes'. Under the premise that Bergmann's assumptions of 1981 are true, several scholars have tried to understand the meaning of the two representations of *Genii* on Frieze B in their relation to the togate youth. Of those scholars, who have followed Bergmann's suggestions, I have chosen seven, whose work has been discussed in detail above. For the references, that relate to their research, cf. *supra*, n. 128, at Chapter I.1. In the following are summarized their results (cf. also *infra*, at Chapter VI.1.).

1.) I begin with Bergmann (1981) herself, who identified five figures on Frieze B differently than Magi (1945): the emperor (in her opinion originally Domitian, whose portrait was later recut into that of Vespasian), the togate youth (interpreted as 'ideal' figure of a togate youth, who cannot be a high ranking magistrate, which is why his function is unknown), the so-called *Dea Roma* (identified as seated amazon-like goddess), the so-called *Genius Senatus* (called by Bergmann an unidentified bearded *Genius* wearing a *toga*), and the so-called *Genius Populi Romani* (identified as *Honos*). As a result of her re-interpretations of those five figures on Frieze B, Bergmann could not say, where the scene, represented on this panel, takes place, nor what it means.

2.) H.W. Ritter (1982) followed Bergmann in identifying the (alleged) original representation of the emperor on Frieze B with Domitian, recut into a portrait of Vespasian, but identified the *Dea Roma* on Frieze B as such, as well as the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* on Frieze B as such. Ritter identified the togate youth with the *eques* L. Iulius Vestinus, and suggested that this panel shows the ceremony relating to the *restitutio Capitolii*, that took place on 21st June AD 70 on the Capitoline. This ceremony marked the beginning of the construction of Vespasian's Temple of *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus*, the third

<sup>193</sup> M. BERGMANN 1981, 31.

The quote from S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018 is from pp. 76-77, in their **footnotes 121-123**, they provide further discussions and references.

temple at this site, because the second temple had been destroyed on 18th/19th December AD 69. This hypothesis has been refuted by Simon (1985) and Ghedini (1986).

3.) Koeppel (1984, 7, 31-33) followed Bergmann in identifying the (alleged) original representation of the emperor on Frieze B with Domitian, recut into a portrait of Vespasian, the togate youth as an anonymous man (but without identifying him as an 'ideal' representation), the so-called *Genius Senatus* as an unidentifiable representation, and the so-called *Genius Populi Romani* as *Honos*. Contrary to Bergmann, Koeppel maintained his earlier opinion (of 1969) that the amazon-like figure on Frieze B represents *Virtus*, and that Frieze B shows an *adventus*. But exactly like Bergmann (1981), he could not define the possible function of the togate youth on Frieze B, nor offer an explanation, what the scene on Frieze B represents.

4.) Simon (1985), who followed Bergmann in identifying the (alleged) original representation of the emperor on Frieze B with Domitian, recut into a portrait of Vespasian, identified the togate youth on Frieze B as an 'anonymous representative' of the new priesthood of the *Sodales Flaviales Titiales*, founded by Domitian after Titus' death in AD 81, who is represented as receiving the relevant order by Domitian, who is acting in his capacity as *pontifex maximus*. This hypothesis has been refuted by Hölscher (2009a).

5.) Ghedini (1986) followed Bergmann in identifying the (alleged) original representation of the emperor on Frieze B with Domitian, recut into a portrait of Vespasian, but identified the *Dea Roma* on Frieze B as such, as well as the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* on Frieze B as such. Ghedini suggested that the togate youth is a magistrate of equestrian rank, whom Domitian, as *pontifex maximus*, invites to speak the usual formula at the *consecratio* ceremony of the Temple of Fortuna Redux, which Domitian, after his victory in the Sarmatian War in 93 AD, built in the *Campus Martius*. This hypothesis has been refuted by Hölscher (2009a).

6.) Fehr (1998), who followed Bergmann in identifying the (alleged) original representation of the emperor on Frieze B with Domitian, recut into a portrait of Vespasian, suggested that Domitian gives the togate youth, whom Fehr identified as 'a competent fellow-citizen in this field', the order to build the fourth temple of *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus* on the Capitoline, which Domitian built, after the third temple had been destroyed in 80 AD. This hypothesis has been refuted by Hölscher (2009a); and above by myself (cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.1.).

7.) Hölscher (2009a) believed that the scene on Frieze B shows a 'historical' moment in AD 81, when Domitian was not as yet emperor. Hölscher followed Bergmann in identifying the (alleged) original representation of the main protagonist on Frieze B with Domitian, recut into a portrait of Vespasian, but identified the *Dea Roma* on Frieze B as such, as well as the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* on Frieze B as such. Hölscher believed that the panel shows Domitian's civil *adventus* into Rome in AD 81, which he assumed shortly before the death of Domitian's brother, the Emperor Titus. Domitian is welcomed by *Dea Roma*, the Vestal Virgins, the *Genius Senatus*, the *Genius Populi Romani*, and the togate youth. Hölscher identified the togate youth as the *praefectus urbi*, wearing the 'simple *calcei*', as he observed. Hölscher suggested that for the *praefectus urbi*, being of equestrian rank, the wearing of such shoes was appropriate.

This hypothesis has been refuted by myself (cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.1.).

As already mentioned, Hölscher's assertions are not true, because the *praefectus urbi* "was always a senator ... usually a senior ex-consul" (so T.J. CADOUX and R.S.O. TOMLIN 1996, cf. *supra*, at n. 183, in Chapter I.1.), who should, therefore, have been represented as wearing the *calcei senatorii*. In addition to this the togate youth, obviously a man 'around twenty', because of his young age, cannot possibly be a *praefectus urbi*.

8.) Pentiricci (2009, 57-58 with ns. 409-414) followed Bergmann in identifying the (alleged) original representation of the emperor on Frieze B with Domitian, recut into a portrait of Vespasian, but identified the *Dea Roma* on Frieze B as such, as well as the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* on Frieze B as such. He stated that the togate youth on Frieze B is a much-discussed figure, but did not suggest, what kind of function he may have had, nor what the scene, shown on Frieze B, might mean.

The aforementioned seven scholars have discussed the fact that Bergmann (1981) has interpreted five figures on Frieze B differently than Magi (1945).

All seven have accepted Bergmann's assertion that the emperor on Frieze B had originally been Domitian (only that Domitian, in Hölscher's scenario, was not as yet emperor in the represented moment), whose portrait was later recut into that of Vespasian.

What the other four figures on Frieze B may be, whom Bergmann had likewise re-interpreted, are ideas that have not been accepted by those seven scholars *in toto*, but very differently, and by all of them only in part. These eight hypotheses were published over the course of 28 years (1981-2009), but none of them has so far convinced the entire scholarly community because of the following reasons: in the cases of three of these hypotheses, the authors were themselves unable to say, what the scene on Frieze B may represent, and in the case of the other five hypotheses, those have been refuted by other scholars.

### *Post Scriptum*

Only when the manuscript of this volume was about to be sent to the press, did I have the chance to read the account by Joachim Raeder on the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. *id.* 2010, 141, quoted *verbatim* in more detail *infra*, in Chapter V.1.b). He too follows Marianne Bergmann (1981) in assuming that the emperor on both Friezes of the Cancellaria Reliefs had originally been Domitian, and states that no further historical figure appears on both panels (thus hinting at the controversy concerning the identification of the togate youth on Frieze B, but without explicitly addressing this fact). All the other above-quoted scholars took for granted that the reliefs represent specific historic events, but were either unable say, which event is represented, or in case they actually made such suggestions, they could not convince other scholars of their hypotheses.

Raeder himself arrives at a very different conclusion. He believes that it was by no means the intention to celebrate specific historic events in these panels; in his opinion they should instead be read as representations of "Herrscherlob". Raeder further believes that his hypothesis can explain, why Nerva, therefore, could very easily re-use those Friezes by simply replacing Domitian's portrait on Frieze A with his own likeness, and (allegedly) Domitian's portrait on Frieze B with that of Vespasian.

Concerning this point, Raeder (2010, 141) writes :

"Jeglicher ereignisgeschichtlicher Bezug ist in der Darstellung [on the panels of both Cancellaria Reliefs] unterdrückt, um den Kaiser als Repräsentanten eines Herrscherideals und als Garanten für das Glück und das Wohlergehen des Imperiums in seiner Sieghaftigkeit und Allgegenwart ausgestattet mit *virtus* und *auctoritas* zeigen zu können. Die Allgemeingültigkeit dieses 'Herrscherlobes' ermöglichte nach der *damnatio memoriae* des Domitian die Umarbeitung des Kaiserporträts in beiden Friesteilen, ohne Bedeutungsverlust konnte das Bildnis des Domitian in das des Nerva (Fries A (Abb. 229c) bzw.[beziehungsweise] das des Vespasian (Abb. 229d) verändert werden".

Also after reading Raeder's (2010) account, I maintain my own relevant hypotheses, to which we will now turn. For my comments on Raeder's suggestions; cf. below, in Chapters V.1.b); and V.1.h.2.).

### *Let's now turn to my own interpretation of Frieze B of the Cancellaria eliefs*

I believe that the scene, depicted on Frieze B, must have made sense in Domitian's opinion, since he commissioned this panel. He certainly accepted Frieze B, given the fact, that both reliefs were part of a Domitianic monument or building - which means, he must have approved them - and they were certainly only destroyed *after* Domitian's death. I assume the same in the case of Nerva, who, after all, decided to re-use both panels for his own purposes (for all of that, cf. *infra*, in Chapter II.), and by implication, in the case of all other ancient beholders.



Therefore it should be possible also for us to understand, what the real content of Frieze B was.

**After studying the eight hypotheses, summarized above, none of which convinces me, and because I myself do *not* follow any one of Bergmann's (1981) five re-interpretations of figures on Frieze B, I have decided to pursue a different avenue of research.**

It is, of course, essential to identify all 17 figures on Frieze B correctly, not only those five that Bergmann has re-interpreted.

Most importantly for our understanding of the represented 'historical event', are two of Bergmann's re-interpreted figures on Frieze B: the emperor and the togate youth, standing in front of him. After having studied those eight hypotheses, I maintain my earlier judgement, namely in *not* assuming - as suggested by Bergmann (1981) - that the emperor on Frieze B was originally Domitian (whose portrait, in her opinion, was later recut into that of Vespasian). A hypothesis which, provided it were true, would, of course, automatically result in the conclusion that the togate youth, standing in front of the Emperor Domitian, could not possibly be Domitian *as well*.

*In the following, I will explain my own avenue of research*

**I hope to show in the following (cf. below and *infra*, in Chapters II.;V.1.h); V.1.i.3.); and VI.3.) that Magi's<sup>194</sup> interpretation of the scene on Frieze B was correct, according to which it represents the *adventus* of Vespasian into Rome in AD 70. Currently it is assumed that Vespasian arrived at Rome 'in the first half of October AD 70'<sup>195</sup>. At Magi's<sup>196</sup> time, it was only known that this *adventus* had happened 'in the second half of AD 70'.**

Toynbee wrote<sup>197</sup>: "The *adventus* procession of Frieze B has, as we saw, attained its goal. Vespasian has reached Rome; and the representatives of Rome confront him". Toynbee, with this remark, was certainly right, provided we assume the following. Vespasian intended to be granted by the Senate the honour of a triumph for his victories in the Great Jewish Revolt or War, which was actually celebrated the following year, and precisely in June of 71 AD<sup>198</sup>. Consequently, until that very moment, the victorious general Vespasian had to stay outside the *pomerium*<sup>199</sup>. But this is only in theory true, as we will see below (cf. *infra*, at Chapters I.2.1.; V.1.i.3.)).

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<sup>194</sup> so first F. MAGI 1939, 205 (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 112, in Chapter I.1.); cf. F. MAGI 1945, 108-109 (who discusses the relevant literary sources and quotes them *verbatim*); cf. pp. 106-111, for his opinion that Frieze B shows Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome; p. 106: "6. Interpretazione del fregio B: <<adventus>> di Vespasiano ... anche in questo secondo fregio io vedo rappresentato un <<adventus>>, e più precisamente l'<<adventus>> di Vespasiano a Roma nell'anno 70 e l'incontro, in quella occasione col figlio Domiziano [with n. 1, providing references]"; cf. p. 110: "Non v'ha dubbio dunque che in questo secondo fregio ci troviamo di fronte alla rappresentazione dell'arrivo a Roma, nella seconda metà del 70, del primo imperatore di Casa flavia, e del suo incontro col figlio Domiziano". For *verbatim* quotations from MAGI 1945, 111, which likewise relate to Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in 70 AD, cf. *infra*, in Chapter IV.1., at n. 463.

Cf. F. MAGI 1945, 111 (on the gesture, which Vespasian makes with his right hand on Frieze B, and on the characterization of the figure of the young Domitian on this panel, quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 463, in Chapter IV.1.).

<sup>195</sup> so D. KIENAST, W. ECK and M. HEIL 2017, 101-102: "Wichtige Einzeldaten: ... 1. H.[älfte] Okt.[ober] 70 Ankunft Vespasians in Rom".

<sup>196</sup> cf. F. MAGI 1945, 110 (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 194). Cf. also *infra*, at n. 412, in Chapter III.

<sup>197</sup> J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 9.

<sup>198</sup> for that triumph and a discussion of the route, the triumphal procession took, cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 178-202; and *infra*, in Chapter *The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps*.

<sup>199</sup> cf. M. ANDREUSSI: "Pomerium", in *LTUR* IV (1999) 99: "Il potere proconsolare si poteva esercitare soltanto fuori del *p.[omerium]* ... [providing literary sources] e i magistrati investiti di *imperium* dovevano rimanere all'esterno del *p.[omerium]* ... [providing literary sources] ... numerosi sono gli episodi che ricordano la necessità per i proconsoli, per i generali in attesa di trionfo ecc.[etera] di restare fuori del *p.[omerium]* ..."; cf. p. 98: "Il *p.[omerium]* separa le due zone *domi* e *militiae*, ovvero *urbs* e *ager* ..."; cf. p. 102: "fino allora [*i.e.*, the time of the Emperor Aurelian] il *p.[omerium]* dovette coincidere con le Mura Serviane..."; cf. p. 101 (for Augustus' enlargement of the

And Koeppel (1969) wrote: "Vespasian kommt als Togatus nach Rom im Relief B von der Cancellaria ... Das Relief B von der Cancellaria (Bild 16 [= here Fig. 2]) und der untere Adventus vom Bogen in Benevent (Bild 14 und 15 [= here Fig. 46]) stellen den Regierungsantritt eines neuen Kaisers dar, wobei die Anerkennung durch den Senat und das Volk zum Ausdruck kommt [with n. 271]"<sup>200</sup>.

Elsewhere (cf. *infra*, n. 201), Toynby remarked: "The meaning of Frieze B is reasonably clear. Dr. Magi's interpretation of it as depicting Vespasian's civil *adventus* in Rome in 70 carries conviction. The Emperor, attended by a lictor with axe and *fasces* and by a man who grasps a scroll, stands towards the left, togate ... to quote the description of his appearance on his entry into Rome given by the Greek historian Cassius Dio [with note 1: "lxvi. 10: 'not like an *imperator*, but like a civilian' ...". ]".

Note that Toynbee has mistakenly given the wrong quotation, the correct one is 'Dio Cassius 65.10' instead, and the historian does not describe Vespasian as being at Rome at this very moment, but instead at Brindisi. There he had landed, coming from Alexandria, and, as soon as arriving in Italy, he had obviously decided to wear civilian, instead of military garb.

For a discussion of Vespasian's actions at Alexandria and his journey from there to Rome; cf. *infra*, at Chapters *The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps*; and at *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

As is well known, not only Dio Cassius, but also Flavius Josephus had reported on those events<sup>201</sup> (to this I will come back below, at Chapter V.1.i.3.).

*pomerium*); cf. pp. 101-105 (for the *cippi*, which marked the different *pomerium*-lines); cf. pp. 101-102, 103, 104 for Vespasian's enlargement of the *pomerium*, and for the *cippi*, which marked its course.

For Vespasian's enlargement of the *pomerium*, see also F. COARELLI 2009b, 69-71; cf. p. 69 with n. 33: only four *cippi* of Vespasian's *pomerium* have survived. For the most famous one of those *cippi*, "Scoperto nel 1930 tra la via di Campo Marzio e via della Torretta", cf. F. COARELLI 2009a, 426, cat. no. "21 Cippo del pomerio di Vespasiano" (F. COARELLI): "Si tratta del cippo scoperto nel 1930 tra via di campo Marzio e via della Torretta [with n. 1], insieme da un altro di Adriano, che si trovava a un livello più in alto di circa tre metri, e doveva quindi sostituire il più antico dopo l'innalzamento del suolo del Campo Marzio avvenuto in quegli anni". In his n. 33, Coarelli writes: "CIL VI, 31538a; 1232 = 31538b; 31538c; 40854". To this I will come back below (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.a.1.).

Cf. also G. KOEPEL 1969, 188 with n. 257, cf. his Fig. 15 on p. 165 (quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 361, in Chapter II.3.3.), who discusses the panel in the attic of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, depicting in his opinion the two *consules* of Rome, who tell Trajan, who, in KOEPEL's opinion, is represented as standing outside the *pomerium*, that the Senate has granted him to celebrate a triumph.

See also J. RÜPKE, *Domi militiae. Die religiöse Konstruktion des Krieges in Rom*, 1990; *id.*, *Peace and War in Rome*, 2019.

<sup>200</sup> both quotes are from G. KOEPEL 1969, 193. For those reliefs of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, cf. *infra*, at ns. 359-361, in Chapter II.3.3., at n. 454, in Chapter III.; and in Chapters IV.1.1.h); V.1.i.3.).

<sup>201</sup> J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 4-5 with n. 1 on p. 5.

For Dio Cassius, cf. J.W. RICH: "Cassius (*RE* 40) Dio (c.[irca] AD 164-after 229), Greek senator and author of an 80-book history of Rome from the foundation of the city to AD 229 ...", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 299-300.

For Flavius Josephus, cf. E. M SMALLWOOD, T. RAJAK: "Josephus (Flavius Iosephus) b.[orn] AD 37/8) was a Greek historian but also a Jewish priest of aristocratic descent and largely Pharisaic education ... and a political leader in pre-70 Jerusalem ...", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 798-799.

T.P. WISEMAN 2013, XI-XIII, writes about Flavius Josephus and his book *Bellum Judaicum*: "[p. XI] When the events described in this book [*i.e.*, the events that led to the death of Caligula in AD 41] were taking place, its author was a four-year-old boy in Jerusalem, named Joseph ben Mattathias. Over fifty years later, probably in AD 94, he wrote an autobiographical justification of his career ... [with n. 4: Josephus, *Life* 1-2; providing also further references] ...

As a boy, according to his own account, Joseph ben Mattathias was a prodigy of learning, already at the age of fourteen being consulted by the high priests on the finer points of Jewish tradition. At sixteen he undertook a thorough course of training in all the three main sects - the Pharisees, the Sadducees and the Essenes - and followed that up with three years' discipleship to an ascetic teacher in the wilderness. 'Returning to the city in my nineteenth year, I began to conduct my life according to the rules of the Pharisees, a sect closely resembling what the Greeks call the Stoic school' (*Life* 12) ... Certainly Joseph could speak Greek fluently by the time he was 26, for in AD 64 he went on an embassy to Rome to negotiate the release of some priests who had been arrested by the procurator of Judaea. His contacts were good enough to get him introduced to Nero's empress, Poppaea Sabina, [p. XII] who arranged for the priests to be freed and sent Joseph home laden with goodwill gifts [with n. 6: Josephus, *Life* 13-16; providing a further reference.].

Not surprisingly, when the Jewish revolt against Rome broke out two years later, Joseph argued strongly against it. But in vain - and soon he found himself in charge of the defence of Galilee against the Romans. His motives and his loyalties were bitterly disputed at the time, and have remained controversial ever since. For our purposes it is enough to report that in the spring of 67 Joseph's forces were concentrated at Jotapata; Nero's general Vespasian besieged the town and then captured it in a surprise attack; the hard core of the resistance, hiding in a cave, refused to surrender and preferred to die by their own hands; Joseph was one of the last two left alive. Unwilling, he tells us, to stain his hands with the blood of a compatriot, he talked his fellow-survivor out of the suicide pact and surrendered to the Romans [with n. 7; providing references.].

**Provided, Domitian had in mind to show with the scene on Frieze B (cf. here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing) his version of Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in AD 70, and considering at the same time, what was said above, we can come to some preliminary conclusions. The following is a working hypothesis, that will be pursued below; cf. *infra*, at Chapters II.; III.; V.1.h.1); V.1.i.3.); and VI.3.).**

As we have heard above, the appropriate chief magistrate to welcome a new emperor into Rome, on the occasion of the solemn ceremony of an *adventus*, was the man, who held the office of *praetor urbanus*; this magistrate 'was a member of the Senate and entitled to wear the senatorial boots'<sup>202</sup>. Although the togate youth on frieze B is shown as wearing the "simple half-boots"<sup>203</sup> instead, which prove his equestrian rank, the artists, who designed frieze B, have stressed the eminent importance of the young man: he is flanked by the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani*, who are thus characterized as if they were his entourage (cf. here Fig. 2; Figs 1 and 2 drawing).

At the same time, the artists characterize the togate youth as heading a very long procession, to which, so to say, not only the entire 'Senate of Rome', and the entire 'Roman People', but even (almost) the 'entire college of the Vestal Virgins' belongs. The youth's social rank is thus portrayed in a way that, in reality, no one else at Rome possessed (apart from the two *consules*) than the *praetor urbanus*. We know also that on 1st January 70 AD, Domitian had been endowed with the office of *praetor urbanus* (cf. *supra*, at n. 189, in Chapter I.1.)

**Considering what else has been said above, in my opinion, nothing prevents us therefore so far from identifying Domitian as the *praetor urbanus* at the 'historical moment', pictured on Frieze B (here Fig. 2).**

And that because of the following reasons: provided the togate youth on Frieze B may be identified as the *praetor urbanus*, as I believe because of the context within which he appears, only Domitian - apart from the historical fact that he *was* the *praetor urbanus* at the real historical moment - may be identified with that magistrate, as he is characterized on this panel.

Joseph always insisted that his actions were guided from on high, by >dreams in the night by which God had forewarned him both of the calamities coming to the Jews and the fortunes of the Roman emperors ...< [with n. 8: Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 3, 352; translation: G.A. Williamson.]. When brought before Vespasian, he prophesied that the general would soon be emperor. Vespasian kept him in chains, but decided not to send him to Nero.

Two years later, Nero was dead, his successor Galba had been assassinated, and there was civil war between the pretenders Otho and Vitellius. The eastern armies hailed Vespasian as emperor in the summer of 69. Joseph, his prophesy now on the point of coming true, was released from custody. He spent the next eighteen months with the Roman army under Vespasian's son Titus, who brought the Jewish revolt to an end with the siege and destruction of Jerusalem.

Like the Babylonians 656 years before, the Romans destroyed the Temple as agents of the wrath of God, punishing the sins of the Jews. That was how Joseph saw it, with himself in the role of Jeremiah, prophesying in vain [with n. 9: Joseph, *Bellum Judaicum* 5,39; providing a further reference]. He had not been able to prevent the catastrophe, but at least he could bear witness to what had happened. He wrote an account of the war (probably [p. XIII] quite short) in Aramaic, for the Jews of the eastern diaspora in Parthia, Babylonia and Mesopotamia [with n. 10: Joseph, *Bellum Judaicum* 1,6; providing a further reference.].

By then he was in Rome. Titus' victorious army returned in 71, bringing with it the Jewish priest who had prophesied Vespasian's rise to power. The new emperor showed his gratitude with three valuable gifts: free lodging in one of the imperial mansions; a regular income from the imperial treasury; and the Roman citizenship [with n. 11: Josephus, *Life* 423.]. Joseph ben Mattathias now becomes Flavius Josephus ...

He was 34, safe, subsidised, and in the enviable position of an imperial favourite. For the next twenty-five years - through the reigns of Vespasian (70-9) and his sons Titus (79-81) and Domitian (81-96) - Josephus devoted himself to writing history, and defending himself from the attacks of his many enemies.

His first major work was a history of the Jewish war, expanded from his Aramaic narrative and elaborated with all the features proper to Greek historiography ...

The *Jewish War* was completed about 81, and published at imperial expense with a personal endorsement from Titus ('so anxious was he that men should learn of the events from my volumes alone') [with n. 12: Josephus, *Life* 261-3; with a further reference for the date]. Cf. T.P. WISEMAN 1991, IX-XI (this text is almost identical with his above quoted text of 2013).

For a very critical view of Josephus and his writings; cf. now Werner Eck 2021a, *passim*; and *id.* 2022, Sp. 494.

<sup>202</sup> cf. J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 8. The *verbatim* quote reads: "It is indeed a fact that in 70 Domitian was urban praetor and a member of the Senate and therefore entitled to senatorial boots".

<sup>203</sup> so J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 7.

**Because only Domitian could have had an interest in *not* wearing at the real *adventus* ceremony of his father, the Emperor Vespasian (if that had actually happened the way it appears on Frieze B - but cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.)), the *calcei senatorii*, but rather those shoes, which emphasized his equestrian rank. The reason being that he would thus have stressed to be the *Princeps Iuventutis*, a position very close to the *ordo equester*, which is why the person, being honoured this way, would wear this type of shoes.**

We know that Domitian had been elected as *Princeps Iuventutis* on 21st December 69 AD<sup>204</sup>; Domitian was in Rome at that moment, whereas his father Vespasian was still in the East - this fact is of great importance to my conclusion (cf. *infra*). **Toynbee has characterized the importance of this title: "Domitian was also *Princeps Iuventutis*, a title that marked him out from other senators as heir presumptive to the Empire and with which equestrian activities were definitely connected"**<sup>205</sup>.

If indeed Domitian had commissioned not only the overall content, but also the specific iconographic details of the scene on Frieze B, as assumed here, only he could have ordered, that 1.) by the choice of the composition, the artists would show that he, Domitian, had been the *praetor urbanus* at the historical moment of Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome, and 2.) that he, Domitian, be represented on Frieze B with those 'equestrian shoes' although, being *praetor urbanus*, and thus a member of the Senate, he was entitled to wear the *calcei senatorii*.

**And if this wearing of the 'wrong shoes' was intentional, as suggested Toynbee<sup>206</sup>, whom I follow here, Domitian would have stressed the following. On that occasion, for the first time since he had been elected as *Princeps Iuventutis*, Domitian had appeared in an important public ceremony at Rome, together with his father, the Emperor Vespasian, and that in his capacity as heir presumptive to the Empire.**

My interpretation of Domitian's 'first appearance in an important public ceremony at Rome', and of the meaning which that may have had for himself, is, of course, influenced by my impression that the content, propagated by Domitian on Frieze B, has similarities with the hieroglyphic texts on Domitian's obelisk (here Fig. 28).

Cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*, at Section III.; *infra*, at Chapter IV.1; and below, at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini: La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*.

Provided, the interpretation of Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs suggested here is true, Toynbee has stressed yet another aspect of this 'first appearance of Domitian in an important public ceremony at Rome', which was presumably of equal, if not of greater importance within this 'sermon in stone' (George Maxim Anossov Hanfmann<sup>207</sup>), a term coined in a different context, but that we could also apply to Frieze B: "Finally, in the foreground [on Frieze B] between the Senate and the *Genius Populi Romani* we see the young Domitian, togate and slightly whiskered, turned three-quarters towards his father [*i.e.*, Vespasian]. There he stands, the pivot of the whole scene, composed, confident, and somewhat aloof, accepting as though it were his natural right the gesture of approval with which the Emperor [*i.e.*, Vespasian] greets him. The unpleasant encounter of father and son at Beneventum, when the former rebuked the latter sharply for his outrageous conduct, is over and forgotten; and it would seem that Domitian was publicizing here his own version - not so much a wholly false, as a 'rose-coloured' version - of his situation as Caesar in Rome at the time of his

<sup>204</sup> cf. *supra*, at n. 189, in Chapter I.1.

<sup>205</sup> J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 8, with n. 11, providing references. For the so-called "Thronprätendententbart"; cf. A. LINFERT 1976; and A. SCHMIDT-COLINET 2005, 98 with n. 7. For a discussion of all hat; cf. *infra*, in Chapter III.

<sup>206</sup> J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 8.

<sup>207</sup> G.M.A. HANFMANN 1975, 66-67, quoted after C. HÄUBER 2014a, 678 with n. 63: "Already George M.A. Hanfmann had aptly called such iconographies >Sermons in stone<".

According to J. POLLINI 2012, 105, with n. 178, the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum has aptly been called by J. BENNETT 1997, 205, a "panegyric in stone": "Aptly called a >panegyric in stone< [with n. 178], this grand arch, with its complex imagery in which history and allegory commingle, served as an illustrated testimonial of Trajan's domestic and foreign accomplishments, virtues, and programs". Cf. *infra*, n. 390, in Chapter III.

father's accession, as the recipient of congratulations on the 'vice-regency' exercised by him in the capital while Vespasian was still absent in the East. Thus the scene portrays the first public occasion on which Domitian, as a youth of nineteen, played a significant part in the crucial hour of the founding of the Flavian dynasty. It is almost an illustration of the saying which Suetonius attributes to him: '*patri se et fratri imperium dedisse, illos sibi reddidisse*' [with n. 1]<sup>208</sup>.

Apropos Toynbee's (1957, 5-6) suggestion in the above-quoted passage that Domitian was "a youth of nineteen" at the ceremony represented on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**). Since we know now that Vespasian arrived at Rome in the first half of October AD 69, Domitian was still 18 years old at that stage (cf. *supra*, n. 195).

## I.2. The amazon-like figure on Frieze A: Dea Roma, not Virtus

To chapter I.2. belongs the following text; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2:

*A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination :*

*Nerva is forced to adopt Trajan and Trajan creates Domitian's negative image to consolidate his own reign. With Hadrian's adoption manquée in late October or at the beginning of November of AD 97, his 20-year long road to his accession and his thanksgivings for it, his Temple complex in the Campus Martius.*

*Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva, and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron (Δο) (cf. here **Fig. 3**). With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz, with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz (cf. here **Fig. 77**), with The Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen.*

If we believe for a moment that the allegorical personifications on both Cancellaria Reliefs (here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 13 and 9** on Frieze A, and **figures 13 and 2** on Frieze B) have correctly been identified as *Honos* and *Virtus* (instead of as the *Genius Populi Romani* and the *Dea Roma*, as I suggest here), I would take it at first glance (perhaps too naïvely) to a logical consequence, to find these interpretations in exactly *that* way also applied by those scholars, who identify either one of those representations as *Honos* viz. *Virtus*. But that is not the case, on the contrary, there are all sorts of mixtures of the two above-mentioned, in my opinion clearly cut, hypotheses (but that was a wrong judgement on my side; see below).

Hölscher<sup>209</sup> for example, who, as we have just seen (cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.1.), follows Bergmann's hypotheses in some other respects, has no problems with the identifications of the *Genius Senatus* and of the *Genius Populi Romani* as such on both friezes, but suggests that the amazon-like representations on those friezes, which are both identified here as the goddess Roma, should instead be identified as 'Roma or Virtus' on

<sup>208</sup> J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 5-6. In her **note 1** on p. 6, she quotes: "Suetonius, *Domit.* 13". TOYNBEE, *op.cit.*, does not say that already H. LAST 1948, 12, had suggested the latter: "There is much that might be added about this panel [*i.e.*, Frieze B], for instance it invites consideration of the passage in which Suetonius (*Dom.* 13,1) asserts of Domitian that '*principatum ... adeptus, neque in senatu iactare dubitavit et patri se et fratri imperium dedisse, illos sibi reddidisse ...*'. This was also discussed by M. BERGMANN 1981, 19-20; and by H. MEYER 2000, 136: "Die alte Deutung des Frieses B ist gewiß zutreffend, sagt doch Sueton: >>Als [Domitian] dann zur Herrschaft gelangt war, hatte er die Stirn, vor dem Senat zu prahlen, er sei es gewesen, der seinem Vater wie seinem Bruder den Thron gegeben, sie hätten ihm diesen nur zurückgegeben<< [with n. 431: "Suet. Dom. 13".]". For that very influential idea, cf. also *infra*, at n. 456, in Chapter III. - Similarly also R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI and M. TORELLI (1976, ARTE ROMANA, *scheda* 105, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter IV.1.

For a discussion of this passage from J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 5-6; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; at Section III.

Without quoting Suetonius (*Dom.* 13), L. LUSCHI 2015, 197, obviously likewise referred to this (alleged) statement of Domitian; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*, at Section III. Her quote was chosen as the second epigraph of this *Study*; cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.1.

<sup>209</sup> T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 56, 57 (cf. *supra*, n. 182, in Chapter I.1.).

Frieze A, and as the 'goddess Roma' on Frieze B. Toynbee<sup>210</sup>, who likewise took the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* as such on both friezes, identified this amazon-like figure on Frieze A as *Virtus*, and on Frieze B as Roma. Kleiner<sup>211</sup> on the other hand, who identifies the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* as such on both friezes, calls the amazon-like representation on Frieze A: "Roma (or possibly *Virtus*)", and on Frieze B: "Roma (some other scholars identify her as *Virtus*)". T.P. Wiseman (1996), who took the *Genius Senatus* on Fries A as such, identified the amazon-like figure on Frieze A as the *De Roma*, and Hugo Meyer<sup>212</sup>, who took the two male representations on both friezes likewise for the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani*, identified (like Toynbee and Simon 1985) the amazon-like representation on Frieze A with *Virtus*, and on Frieze B with the goddess Roma.

The reasons for this further controversy (or rather: for *my* misunderstanding of the above quoted hypotheses) become evident, when we read Dietrich Boschung's<sup>213</sup> discussion of the Cancellaria Reliefs, in which he concentrates on exactly those subjects, which interest us here: the iconographies of: *Genius Senatus*, *Genius Populi Romani*, *Honos*, *Virtus* and *Dea Roma*. Boschung himself follows the relevant findings, made by Pfanner, whereas Bergmann<sup>214</sup>, discussing the same hypotheses a long time ago, had come to the conclusion that, in the case of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs, the application of Pfanner's relevant 'system' does not lead to any results.

Boschung's definition, according to which the goddess Roma is always represented "thronend" (or seated), differs from the relevant assumptions, made by three of the aforementioned scholars: Hölscher identifies the (walking - as I at first wrote - but in reality standing) amazon-like representation on Frieze A (here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 9** on Frieze A) as 'Roma or *Virtus*', Kleiner as "Roma (or possibly *Virtus*)", and Wiseman as 'goddess Roma', that, according to Boschung, should rather be identified as *Virtus*.

Personally, I follow Magi (1945), Simon (1960 and 1963), Pollini (2017b, 117, 118) and Spinola (cf. below and *infra*, at Chapter III.), by recognizing in this walking (but - as we shall see - in reality standing), amazon-like

<sup>210</sup> J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 5 (the amazon-like figure on Frieze B is in her opinion *Roma*); p. 5 (identification of *Genius Populi Romani* and *Genius Senatus* on Frieze B); p. 9 (identification of *Genius Populi Romani* and *Genius Senatus* on Frieze A); p. 10 (the amazon-like figure on Frieze A is in her opinion *Virtus*).

So already J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1946, 180 (*Dea Roma* on Frieze B); cf. pp. 180-181 (*Virtus* on Frieze A). So also E. SIMON 1985, 550-551 with n. 34, Abb. 7 (cf. *supra*, at n. 181, in Chapter I.1.).

<sup>211</sup> D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 192, 191.

<sup>212</sup> T.P. WISEMAN (1996, 20, Fig., illustrating Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs; cf. *supra*, n. 48, in Chapter I.1.); H. MEYER 2000, 126 (for his identifications of the *Genius Senatus* and of the *Genius Populi Romani* on both friezes and of *Virtus* on Frieze A); p. 127 (for his identification of the *Dea Roma* on Frieze B). - Of almost the same opinion, as Hugo Meyer 2000, 126 was, is P. LIVERANI 2021, 86-87: concerning the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* on both panels, and concerning the (in my opinion alleged) figure of *Virtus* on Frieze A, only concerning the figure of *Dea Roma* on Frieze B he writes on p. 87: "probably Roma". Exactly the same identifications of these figures suggests P. LIVERANI 2023, 118, in the Italian version of his article.

<sup>213</sup> D. BOSCHUNG 2017, 393-394, Abb. 216 ("Cancellariere relief A, Ausschnitt mit Genius des Senats und *Genius Populi Romani*"), 217 ("Sesterz des Galba, Rückseite mit *Honos* (links) als Jüngling, mit langem Haar, Hüftmantel und Füllhorn; *Virtus* in Amazonentracht mit Schwert und Lanze"), 218 ("Basis der Antoninus Pius-Säule ... Ausschnitt mit *Dea Roma*, Rom, Musei Vaticani, Inv. 5115"), with n. 24: "So zeigen der *Genius populi Romani* als Personifikation des römischen Volkes (Abb. 216) und *Honos* als Personifikation der Ehre (Abb. 217) die gleiche Altersstufe, die gleiche Tracht und Frisur sowie die gleichen Attribute: Als bartlose Jünglinge mit vollen Locken und idealem nacktem Oberkörper tragen beide einen Hüftmantel und halten ein Füllhorn in der gesenkten linken Hand. Zu benennen und voneinander zu unterscheiden sind sie nur durch den Kontext. Während *Honos* in einer festen Verbindung mit *Virtus* (>>Tapferkeit<<) auftritt [with n. 24], erscheint der Genius des römischen Volkes zusammen mit dem Genius des Senats. Dabei bezeichnen diese gleich gestalteten Figuren durchaus Unterschiedliches: in einem Falle wird die Gesamtheit aller römischen Bürger in einer Person verkörpert; im anderen Falle die Ehre, die herausragende Persönlichkeiten durch außergewöhnliche Leistungen im Dienste des Staates gewinnen. *Virtus* wiederum ist von *Dea Roma*, der Verkörperung der Stadt Rom (Abb. 218), ikonographisch nur durch die unterschiedliche Haltung zu unterscheiden, da beide als bewaffnete und behelmte Frauen im kurzem Chiton und mit entblößter Brust dargestellt wurden; in beiden Fällen bilden ältere Amazonenbilder den Bezugspunkt. Aber während *Dea Roma* thronend mit unterschiedlichen Partnern (etwa auch neben dem Kaiser sitzend) erscheint, präsentiert sich *Virtus* stehend [my emphasis]". In his note 24, D. BOSCHUNG 2017 quotes: "Pfanner, Michael: Der Titusbogen, Mainz 1983, 81-82, 98-99".

<sup>214</sup> cf. M. BERGMANN 1981, 31 n. 58: "M. Pfanner hat in seiner noch ungedruckten Dissertation über den Titusbogen m. E. [meines Erachtens] überzeugende Vorschläge zur Unterscheidung von Roma und *Virtus* und *Genius Populi Romani* und *Honos* nach ihrer Verwendung im Erzählzusammenhang gemacht. Für Fries B der Cancellariereiefs führt sein System jedoch zu keinem Ergebnis [my emphasis]".

figure on Frieze A the goddess Roma, also because I side with those<sup>215</sup>, who identify the standing, amazon-like representation on the *adventus* relief of Hadrian with *Dea Roma*, who welcomes the emperor outside one of Rome's city gates (cf. here **Fig. 91**)<sup>216</sup>. Or, in other words: I do not subscribe to the assertion that *Dea Roma* is always represented seated.

**Figs. 91-94. The first three reliefs are on display in the staircase of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Musei Capitolini) at Rome. Fig. 91: the *adventus* relief of Hadrian from the former Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia/ Via Lata/ Via del Corso in Rome that led in Hadrian's lifetime to his Temple complex dedicated to the women of his adoptive family and later to the *Hadrianeum*; from: M. Fuchs (2014, 132, Fig. 12); Fig. 92: the *apotheosis* of Sabina (from the Arco di Portogallo); from: M. Fuchs (2014, 149, Fig. 21); Fig. 93: the *adlocutio* relief (from the Arco di Portogallo); from: M. Fuchs (2014, 139, Fig. 22); Fig. 94: the fourth relief is on display in the Palazzo Torlonia at Rome; from: M. Fuchs (2014, 135, Fig. 16); cf. pp. 133, 138: this panel shows a *supplicatio* scene and demonstrates, according to Fuchs, Hadrian's *clementia*.**

The *adventus* relief, illustrated on **Fig. 91**, once belonged to the former Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia /Via Lata /Via del Corso in Rome on its west side, that led to the (later) *Hadrianeum* and to the Temple(s) of *Diva Matidia* (and of *Diva Sabina*?)<sup>217</sup>. We even happen to know a document<sup>218</sup>, which proves the provenance of this relief.

Cf. here **Fig. 58**, labels: CAMPUS MARTIUS; VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA; former Piazza di Sciarra; AQUA VIRGO; ARCH of Hadrian; *HADRIANEUM*.

To this Arch of Hadrian and to the Hadrianic reliefs, illustrated on **Figs. 91-94**, I will come back below.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*:

Or: *The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva, and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron (Δ) (cf. here Fig. 3). With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz, with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz, with The Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen.*

Note that on Hadrian's *adventus* relief (cf. here **Fig. 91**) appear three of the just mentioned representations: the amazon-like figure, the *Genius Senatus*, and the *Genius Populi Romani*. The latter two have exactly the same proportions as the Emperor Hadrian, who is standing in front of them, whereas the likewise standing amazon-like representation - without any doubt the goddess Roma - who was probably originally shown shaking hands with Hadrian (in the gesture of *dextrarum iunctio*) - is much taller than Hadrian. I therefore agree with Koepfel, Kleiner, Elena di Filippo Balestrazzi, Maria Radnoti-Alföldi and Michaela Fuchs that

<sup>215</sup> cf. G. KOEPEL 1969, 156-158, Fig. 9 (this photo shows the emperor still restored with a head of Marcus Aurelius): "Das hadrianische Adventus-Relief im Palazzo dei Conservatori"; p. 156: he identifies the amazon-like goddess as *Dea Roma*; cf. H.R. Goette 1990, 56, 142, cat. no. C a 24, Taf. 34,1; D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 254, Fig. 223, writes: " ... depicts the adventus of Hadrian, who is greeted at the gates of the city by Roma, the Genius Senatus, and the Genius Populi Romani". For further discussion of Hadrian's *adventus* relief, cf. below; **ns. 216-218**; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*; at Chapter I. *The Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia and the four marble reliefs belonging to it (cf. here Figs. 91-94)*.

<sup>216</sup> cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 242, 245-250, Fig. 5.7, pp. 520-523.

<sup>217</sup> cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 242-250, chapter "Matidia, Sabina and the Arch of Hadrian on the Via Flaminia/ Via Lata (Figs. 3.5; 3.7 [= here **Figs. 58; 59**]; for those maps, cf. *supra*, **n. 66**, in Chapter I.1.), labels: VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso; Arch of Hadrian; HADRIANEUM; "Tempio di Siepe"; Temple: MATIDIA?/ Collegio/ Teatro Capranica; TEMPLUM: MATIDIA; Temple: SABINA?]; 5.7; 5.8; 5.9); cf. pp. 520-523 (for this Arch of Hadrian and for Hadrian's *Athenaeum*); pp. 218-323 (for the new reconstructions of the Temple of *Diva Matidia*). Within the precinct of *Diva Matidia* stood in my opinion a second Temple - of *Diva Sabina*?; cf. pp. 310-320. For all that; cf. now *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

Or: *The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With a discussion of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron (Δ) (cf. here Fig. 3) ...*

<sup>218</sup> Cf. F. CASTAGNOLI 1942, 76, Fig. 1, cf. pp. 76-77, 82.

there are undisputed representations of *Dea Roma*<sup>219</sup>, which show the goddess standing. In some of these (as on **Fig. 91**), she is represented amazon-like, in exactly the same iconography as the allegorical representation *Virtus*.

The distinctive difference between *Dea Roma* and *Virtus* is therefore at first glance not, whether or not the relevant figure is shown seated or standing, but rather the specific action of a figure, represented in this iconography, when it is standing or walking. As already observed by Koeppel (1969)<sup>220</sup>, there are some more criteria, which are of importance: those concern the context, in which the relevant figure is shown. But not only her action, or the context, in which she appears, can tell us, who she is. Because, as Pfanner has rightly pointed out, the aforementioned differences of the representations of *Dea Roma* and *Virtus* are caused by the facts that their constructed personalities, and as a consequence of that, their specific functions, are fundamentally different: *Dea Roma* is a goddess, whereas *Virtus* is the representation of a human 'virtue'. Also Pfanner identifies the amazon-like figure on Frieze A as *Virtus*, and precisely as Domitian's *Virtus Augusti*.

And, as if that were not irritating enough, I allow myself to anticipate here an observation that I made only 'at second glance'. In his later publication of 1984, in his comments on the amazon-like figure on Frieze A, which he again identified as *Virtus*, Koeppel argued that it was on purpose that the iconographies of *Virtus* and *Dea Roma* are so similar. To the effect that 'in these representations stress may be laid on either one, but that both ideas are contemporaneously implicit', quoting for that observation a remark by Klaus Fittschen,

<sup>219</sup> G. KOEPEL 1969, 156 (who identifies the here-so-called *Dea Roma* as such) writes: "Dextrarum iunctio wie auf Münzen S. 183f."; p. 192 (quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 220; D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 254-256, Fig. 223, writes: "It ... depicts the adventus of Hadrian, who is greeted at the gates of the city by Roma, the Genius Senatus, and the Genius Populi Romani"; cf. E. DI FILIPPO BALESTRAZZI 1997, 1061 s.v. "Roma, 6. Roma e gli imperatori a) Salutatione dell'Imperatore, cat. no. 194. ... Rilievo storico, marmo, Pal. Cons. 810. Età adrianea. R.[oma], con figure del Senato e del Popolo romano ... stringe la mano di Adriano".

Cf. M. FUCHS 2014, 131-132 with ns. 59-65, Abb. 12 [= here **Fig. 91**]; 13: "Vor einem Torbogen ... steht die mit Schwert und Lanze bewehrte Dea Roma, die dem Kaiser zur Begrüßung die Hand entgegenstreckt. Der Arm mit dem Globus ist von der Schulter abwärts ergänzt und dürfte ursprünglich gerade vorgestreckt mit der Rechten Hadrians in *dextrarum iunctio* verbunden gewesen sein [with n. 61]". In her **note 61**, she writes: "CAFIERO 1986, 13, vgl. [vergleiche] Taf. 4. Unverständlich hierzu ALFÖLDI 1999 a [*i.e.*, here M. R.[ADNOTI]-ALFÖLDI 1999a], 187-190, hierzu 188 mit Anm. 5), welche die Restaurierung mit dem Globus für korrekt hält und daraus falsche Schlüsse zieht; in italienischer Sprache wieder abgedruckt in *BCom* 101, 2000, 101-104 [*i.e.*, here M. R.[ADNOTI]-ALFÖLDI 2000]; s.[iehe] auch ALFÖLDI 1999 b [*i.e.*, here M. R.[ADNOTI]-ALFÖLDI 1999b], 12-13". Immediately after that, M. FUCHS 2014, 132, continues, mentioning Hadrian's "ADVENTVS"-coins, issued between AD 134 and 138, which show the *Dea Roma* shaking hands with Hadrian: "Die *ADVENTVUS*-Münzen, welche der Legende nach zwischen 134 und 138 geprägt wurden [with n. 62], wiederholen dieselbe Szene (Abb. 13); diese kann daher wohl kaum auf etwas anderes als auf die glückliche Rückkehr des Kaisers nach dem Bar Kochba-Aufstand bezogen werden". In her **note 62**, M. FUCHS writes: "Zu den Datierungskriterien *BMCRE*, III, 1936, XXII-XXVIII, bes. CXIV-CXVIII; Beispiele *ibid.* 315-316, Nr. 581-588, Taf. 58; 16-18; vgl. CAFIERO 1986, 13, Abb. 2; zur Datierung s. auch KING 2007, 110".

*Contra*: M. R.[ADNOTI]-ALFÖLDI 2000, 103: "**La scena principale** [on Hadrian's *adventus* relief, here **Fig. 91**] **si svolge in primo piano: la Dea Roma porge ad Adriano il globo quale segno del potere** [with n. 5, providing references and further discussion, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*; my emphasis]. - This has been rejected by M. FUCHS 2014, 13, n. 61 (quoted *verbatim supra*).

In this book on Domitian, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitians assassination* (see below), I have now followed the interpretation by M. R.[ADNOTI]-ALFÖLDI 2000, 104, in believing that this relief, here **Fig. 91**, shows Hadrian's *adventus* into Rome on 9th July AD 118, when he entered Rome for the first time as emperor.

In my earlier publication (2017), I had agreed with Michaela Fuchs's (2014) above-quoted conclusion (also with her interpretation and dating of the inscription *CIL* VI 40518), since the Bar Kokhba Revolt lasted from AD 132-135; cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 518; cf. p. 247, Fig. 5.7 [= here **Fig. 91**], p. 246 (on M. FUCHS's 2014 interpretation and dating of the inscription *CIL* VI 40518, which she attributes to this Arch of Hadrian), p. 248. But because of Werner Eck's (2019b) new interpretation and dating of the inscription *CIL* VI 40518, I have changed my mind.

See now *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitians assassination ... Or : The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?)*. With a discussion of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here **Fig. 3**) ...; at *Introduction*; at Section I. *The motivation to write this Study*: W. Eck's (2019b) new interpretation of the inscription *CIL* VI 40518, the decision to correct my own relevant errors in my earlier study (2017), and the subjects discussed here, as told by the accompanying figures and their pertaining captions; and at Section XI. *New research on Trajan and Hadrian ...*

<sup>220</sup> G. KOEPEL 1969, 192: "Auch das Bewegungs- und Standortmotiv und die Ausrichtung jeder einzelnen Figur spielen eine Rolle. So muß die amazonenhafte Göttin in den meisten Reliefs wegen ihres Standes und ihrer Wendung als *Virtus* gedeutet werden, die den Kaiser führt oder ihm beisteht (siehe S. 150). Nur im hadrianischen *Adventus* (Bild 9 [= here **Fig. 91**]) kann diese Gestalt als Roma erkannt werden, weil sie den Kaiser empfängt (siehe S. 156)".



who discussed the problems of identifying some of the allegorical figures, which appear in the reliefs of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum<sup>221</sup> (to this arch I will come back below; cf. *infra*, at Chapter II.3.3., and here Fig. 46).

Only after this Chapter was written, did I have the chance to read the apt observations of Hans Rupprecht Goette (1988; cf. *supra*, n. 221), concerning the decisive differences in the constructions of the *Dea Roma* and of *Virtus*. Goette, too, identifies the amazon-like figure on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs as *Virtus*, and states, that both, *Dea Roma* and *Virtus*, are among those representations that may wear the "Fellstiefel" (*mullei*). Concerning *Virtus*, Goette (1988, 406) writes:

"Zumeist ist es *Virtus* (Abb. 7 [*i.e.*, the here-so-called *Dea Roma* on Frieze A, here Fig. 1]) [with n. 13], die eine Qualität des siegreichen Kaisers verkörpert". Whereas on the *Dea Roma*, Goette (1988, 406-407) remarks: "dagegen ist die Göttin Roma (Abb. 8 [*i.e.*, the *Dea Roma* on Hadrian's *adventus* relief; cf. here Fig. 91]) [with n. 14] dem Kaiser gleich gestellt, und sie tritt - entsprechend ihrer Funktion als Ortsgottheit - nicht in Szenen auf, die im Feld, sondern nur in solchen, die in oder bei der Hauptstadt anzusiedeln sind".

In his notes 13 and 14, Goette provides references.

Let's now return to Koepfel's earlier observations concerning the iconography of *Virtus*.

Koepfel (1969)<sup>222</sup> has also discussed the fact that, because of this identical iconography of both, the amazon-like figure on Frieze A could just as well be identified as either one: *Dea Roma* or *Virtus*. He himself identified

<sup>221</sup> cf. M. PFANNER 1983, 67-68 (on *Dea Roma*): "Wenn sie ohne Beschriftung allein und im Amazonentypus erscheint, ist sie von *Virtus* nicht zu unterscheiden"; p. 68 (on the amazon-like figure on Frieze A, which he identifies as *Virtus*); elsewhere on p. 68: "*Virtus* tritt also dem Kaiser nicht als selbständige Gottheit gegenüber [*i.e.*, as *Dea Roma* does], sondern begleitet ihn als Verkörperung einer seiner >Tugenden<"; and elsewhere on p. 68: "Es zeigt sich, daß Roma und *Virtus* in ihrer Art gänzlich verschieden sind, Roma ist eine selbständige Göttin, die dem Kaiser als gleichberechtigter Partner gegenübertritt. *Virtus* ist immer die *Virtus Augusti*, die zusammen mit anderen Eigenschaften den Kaiser begleitet und eine >Tugend< von ihm ausdrückt".

Consequently, S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 51-52,76, identify the amazon-like figure on Frieze B as the *Dea Roma*; cf. p. 76: "Im Hintergrund thront die mit Speer und Helm gerüstete Roma/*Virtus* (Figur 2) und blickt auf das Geschehen in der rechten Frieshälfte. Ihr Thronessel steht auf einem glatten Postament, das sie über die anderen Figuren hinaushebt. Ikonographie - Bewaffnung, Chiton, nackte Brust und Schulter - decken sich bekannterweise bei Roma und *Virtus*. Da *Virtus* in narrativen Kontexten meist der Hauptfigur beigeordnet ist oder sie begleitet, sprechen die Darstellungsform und die Szenerie auf Fries B eher für Roma [with n. 118, providing references concerning these controversial opinions]".

S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 45-46 identify the amazon-like figure on Frieze A as "Roma/*Virtus*" (for discussions, cf. *infra*, at Chapters V.1.e) and V.1.i)).

For a definition of the construction of *Virtus* by T. GANSCHOW 1997, 274, cf. *infra*, n. 236.

Cf. G.M. KOEPEL 1984, 7: "Die aktive Haltung von Kat. 7/9 [*i.e.*, the amazon-like figure on Frieze A; here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 9] spricht meines Erachtens eher für *Virtus* als Roma [with n. 42, providing references]. In Kat. 8/2 [*i.e.*, the here-so-called *Dea Roma* on Frieze B; here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 2] möchte man wegen Honos rechts [*i.e.*, the here-so-called *Genius Populi Romani*; here Figs 1 and 2 drawing: figure 13] auch lieber *Virtus* erkennen [with n. 43: "Die beiden Götter nehmen im Hintergrund eine deutlich parallele Haltung ein"]. Die Ikonographie von *Virtus* und Roma ist aber wohl mit Absicht äußerst ähnlich gehalten, so daß beide Ideen mit wechselnder Stärke mitschwingen. Dazu s.[siehe] FITTSCHEN, Arch. Anz. 1972, 758". Cf. K. FITTSCHEN 1972, 758: "Auch Roma und *Virtus* können in der Bildkunst gleichwertiges Aussehen haben [with n. 52, providing references], repräsentieren also ebenfalls gegeneinander austauschbare Werte". For a good analysis of the amazon-like figure on Frieze A, interpreted by her as *Virtus*, cf. also J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 9-10 (quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 233).

Cf. H.R. GOETTE 1988, 403-404 (on his observation that both, *Dea Roma*, and *Virtus*, are among the representations that are shown as wearing the "Fellstiefel", *mullei*).

<sup>222</sup> G. KOEPEL 1969, 138-144, writes: "Der Fries A vom Palazzo della Cancellaria mit dem Auszug Domitians in den Krieg [with n. 11, providing references]"; p. 141 (he himself was of the opinion that the amazon-like figure on Frieze A represents *Virtus*): "Bevor wir die Frage nach der Deutung des Reliefs fortsetzen, sollen drei Punkte besprochen werden: die Deutung der Göttin hinter dem Kaiser, die Geste des Kaisers, das Standmotiv der Kaisers.

Vom Typus her gesehen kann die Göttin hinter Domitian sowohl *Virtus* als auch Roma sein. Demzufolge ist auch die Forschung über diese Frage geteilter Meinung [with n. 22: providing references for both opinions]. **Für Roma könnte der Platz der Figur in der Nachbarschaft der Genien sprechen. Doch in einer Hinsicht unterscheidet sie sich wesentlich von den beiden Genii: sie steht nicht wie diese, sondern stürmt vorwärts wie Mars und Minerva. Mit diesen beiden gemeinsam geleitet sie den Kaiser in den Krieg** [with n. 23, providing references]. Die Zugehörigkeit der Göttin zu den Gestalten, die den Kaiser in den Krieg führen, steht jedoch im Widerspruch zu einer Deutung als Roma, denn die Stadtgöttin könnte die beiden Genii, die ja die Stadt vertreten, nicht verlassen. Aus diesem Grund ist hier *Virtus* zu sehen.

this figure on Frieze A as *Virtus*, and that because of the following reasons. First of all he asserted that the amazon-like figure on Frieze A "stürmt vorwärts" ('is storming forward'), exactly as Mars and Minerva on Frieze A (who are moving very fastly, and who, without any doubt, precede Domitian to his military campaign). But as we shall see below, Koeppel's assertion that the amazon-like figure on Frieze A 'storms forward', is *not* true. And since Koeppel thought that the amazon-like figure - because of her alleged energetic movement forward - was meant by the artists as accompanying Domitian to his military campaign, exactly as Mars and Minerva on Frieze A, this figure, in his opinion, could not be identified with *Dea Roma*. Because *Dea Roma* could not possibly have been meant by the artists as leaving behind at Rome the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani*, who are standing next to the amazon-like figure on Frieze A. Then Koeppel (1969) compared this, in reality standing, amazon-like figure on Frieze A with undisputed representations of *Virtus* on sarcophagi, but without illustrating his comparisons. Koeppel, after comparisons with representations of *Virtus* on lion-hunt sarcophagi, came to the conclusion that the amazon-like figure on Frieze A appears at exactly the same location within the composition, as *Virtus* on these sarcophagi, and that this amazon-like figure also moves and acts exactly like *Virtus*. Therefore, this amazon-like figure on Frieze A represents, in Koeppel's opinion, *Virtus Augusti*. When looking at those representations of *Virtus*, which were also discussed by Kleiner<sup>223</sup>, and by Thomas Ganschow, some of these images show *Virtus* indeed as moving very quickly.

Ganschow who, like Koeppel, identifies the amazon-like figure on Frieze A as *Virtus*, argues similarly like him: "Wohl kaum eine römische Personifikation dürfte ikonographisch so schwer faßbar sein wie V.[irtus], deren Ähnlichkeit zu Roma in vielen Fällen eine eindeutige Benennung unmöglich zu machen scheint. Dennoch muß dem antiken Betrachter unmißverständlich klar gewesen sein, wen er vor sich sah ..."; "Die Frage, welche Figuren als Roma benannt werden dürfen, ist bei Pfanner [1983] 67-68 ausführlich erörtert". Ganschow elsewhere characterizes *Virtus* as follows: "... bilden ihr starker Ausfallschritt und die auf das Jagdwild weisende Handbewegung charakteristische Motive, die auch ihr Erscheinungsbild bei der *profectio* oder dem Aufbruch zur Jagd prägen ([cf. his cat. nos.] 38-43): mit einer Geste fordert sie die Figur, die sie

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Nicht nur aus Überlegungen, die das Relief selbst zum Gegenstand haben, sondern auch durch andere Denkmäler wird diese Deutung unterstützt. Löwenjagd-Sarkophage des dritten Jahrhunderts zeigen hinter dem zu Pferde jagenden Feldherrn eine amazonenhafte Göttin, die in diesem Zusammenhang auf keinen Fall Roma sein kann [with n. 24, with reference]. Die Verbindung von *Virtus* und Jagd ist bekannt [with n. 25, with references]. Dicht hinter dem Jäger selbst stürmt seine *Virtus*. Ihre heftige Bewegung und ihre Gestik bringen überzeugend den anfeuernden Charakter der Göttin zum Ausdruck. **An der gleichen Stelle, auch weit ausschreitend, mit einer anspornenden Geste dem Kaiser zur Seite stehend, befindet sich die Göttin des Reliefs von der Cancellaria. Man kann also mit Sicherheit hier die *Virtus Augusti* erkennen** [my emphasis];

cf. pp. 141-142 on the gesture, made by Domitian on Frieze A with his right hand. Such a gesture is called in different contexts by ancient literary sources "*dextra elata* [my emphasis]". Cf. p. 142: "Wie Franz Cumont gezeigt hat, findet sich dieser Gestus erstmals im Kult der alten semitischen Völker [with n. 30, with reference]. So hat sich bereits Vespasian darstellen lassen [with n. 32, with reference]. In der gleichen Haltung wie Vespasian erscheint Helios-Sarapis in domitianischer Zeit auf alexandrinischen Münzen [with n. 33, with reference]. Es wird nicht befremden, daß eine solche östliche Ikonographie gerade in flavischer Zeit in Rom eindringen konnte, war doch Vespasian selbst in Alexandria zum Imperator ausgerufen worden [with n. 34: quoting: "Tac., hist. 4, 81-82"; for that, cf. *infra*, n. 455, in Chapter III.];

cf. p. 143 on the gesture, called "*ingens dextra* [my emphasis]" by other ancient literary sources. According to KOEPEL, this is applicable to the gesture, made by Domitian: "*Ingens dextra* ist also in domitianischer Zeit gleichbedeutend mit *magnus dux* ... **Die ingens dextra des Kaisers im Relief A von der Cancellaria wird Verderben über seine Feinde bringen, die er, wie Victoria zeigt, besiegen wird** [my emphasis]" (for further discussion of the gesture, made by Domitian, cf. *infra*, at n. 246, in Chapter I.2.1.a), and *infra*, in Chapter III., ns. 382, 383);

cf. p. 143: "**Im Standmotiv des Kaisers [of Domitian on Frieze A] braucht man kein Zögern zu erkennen, denn wie die Victoria zeigt, Domitian ist der Sieg gewiß** [my emphasis]". In the following, KOEPEL explained that he took the fact that Domitian (after walking up to this point) has come to a halt, as a means, by which the artist stressed that Domitian is the centre of the entire composition of Frieze A; continuing on p. 143 as follows: "Jede Figur schaut auf ihn oder ist auf ihn bezogen. An dieser Stelle ist der Mittelpunkt der ganzen Komposition. Das Auge des Betrachters wird dorthin geleitet und verweilt dort".

<sup>223</sup> Cf. D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 390-392: "Hunt Sarcophagi"; cf. her Fig. 360. "Lion Hunt Sarcophagus, 230-40. Paris, Musée du Louvre ...", and her comments on this sarcophagus on p. 390: "... lion hunt sarcophagi ... were produced between 220 and 280. In their fully developed form, such as the sarcophagus now in Paris of 230-40 (fig. 360), these lion-hunt sarcophagi depict the departure for the hunt and the hunt itself. In the former scene, the hunter, located on the left side of the front of the sarcophagus, receives the reins of his horse from a groom. The rest (nearly three-quarters) of the scene, represents the hunter on horseback. He is accompanied by *Virtus*, at whose urging he draws back his right arm and gets ready to plunge a spear into the pouncing lion ...".

begleitet, zum Handeln auf, z.T. [zum Teil] drängt sie sie geradezu (z. B. Cancellariarelief A: 38 [cf. here Fig. 1; **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 9**])"<sup>224</sup>.

Now, since Koepfel's and Ganschow's comparisons of the amazon-like figure, depicted on Frieze A, with representations of *Virtus* on coins, medallions and sarcophagi, all date to later periods than the Cancellaria Reliefs, we might object to their hypothesis, to identify the amazon-like figure on Frieze A as *Virtus*, that at the time, when the Cancellaria Reliefs were carved, those iconographies were possibly not as yet clearly differentiated between *Dea Roma* and *Virtus*. This has been suggested to me by Angelo Geißen<sup>225</sup>, who was so kind as to discuss the matter with me, alternatively, as he likewise remarked to me, both, *Virtus* and *Dea Roma*, may have had in Domitian's time a very close connection. As already mentioned, I should later find out, that this has already been stated as a proven fact by Koepfel (1984), who in his turn referred to observations by Fittschen, made while analysing the panels at the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum (both are quoted *supra*, n. 221). - But, as we shall see below, the solution to the problem discussed here is much simpler than all that.

*Virtus* does not appear on the coins, issued by Domitian, nor does *Dea Roma*, but Minerva does, and that very frequently, as well as the City of Rome, or rather, the many monuments, Domitian had erected there; cf. Laurent Bricault and Richard Veymiers (2018, 145 with ns. 129-130): "En 95/6 [with n. 125], l'Empereur fait frapper une série de deniers reproduisant au revers les façades de plusieurs sanctuaires reconstruits ou édifiés après l'incendie par la volonté impériale ... Elle comprend cinq revers".

For a discussion of those coins; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.1.*). See also *Appendix I.g.3.*).

Samuele Ranucci<sup>226</sup>, to whom we owe these findings, stresses "la complessità e il fascino della monetazione dei tre imperatori flavii". As we shall see, this is also true for that kind of iconographies, which are the subject of this *Study*. Given the gigantic building projects that Domitian undertook at Rome (cf. *infra*), the latter does not come as a real surprise. Besides, as Francesca Ghedini and John Pollini have rightly stressed, Domitian's commissions of buildings at Rome were by no means only grand in their physical dimensions, but their importance lay also in their artistic originality.

Ghedini (1986; cf. *infra*, n. 227), who aptly referred to Domitian's building projects as the: "quasi frenetica attività edilizia dell'ultimo dei Flavi", and who stressed the originality of the idea to show Domitian on Frieze A surrounded by gods, wrote about the Cancellaria Reliefs: "L'incertezza in cui versa la critica è per gran parte motivata dall'originalità di entrambe le composizioni che non hanno precedenti, se non generici [with n. 14], od esiti, se non modificati ad un punto tale che non sia possibile stabilire con i rilievi della Cancellaria una relazione men che superficiale [with n. 15]".

And Pollini writes: "By the end of the first century, Domitian was prepared to go a step further during his Principate (81-96 C.E.) than had his imperial predecessors with regard to direct association with the divine. In one of the state reliefs from the Palazzo della Cancellaria in Rome [with n. 164], Domitian - whose facial features in Panel B [*corr.*: A; cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing, figure 6: Domitian, figure 5: Minerva, figure 4: Mars, figure 9: Dea Roma; figure 11: Genius Senatus, figure 13: Genius Populi Romani**] (fig. II.37a-c) were recut after his damnation to those of his successor Nerva (96-98 C.E.) - was shown freely mixing not only with personifications but also with Olympian gods. Leading the way to a predestined victory [with n. 165] over the barbarians of the north are Domitian's divine *comites* - his patron goddess Minerva and the Roman war-

<sup>224</sup> T. GANSCHOW: "Virtus", in: *LIMC VIII* (1997) 271-281, the quotes are from his "Kommentar" on pp. 279, 280, 281; cf. p. 277 (for his cat. nos. 38-43). For *verbatim* quotes, cf. *infra*, n. 238.

<sup>225</sup> In a telephone conversation on 26th November 2018.

<sup>226</sup> S. RANUCCI 2009, 360 (on the reverses of coins, minted by Domitian: here appears very frequently his patron goddess Minerva; for that, cf. also, *infra*, n. 267, in Chapter I.3.2.); pp. 360-364 (on the buildings, erected by Domitian at Rome that appear on the reverses of his coins); p. 364 (on coins, issued by Domitian in 88 AD, that relate to the *ludi saeculares*, celebrated by him), Figs. 1-31 (illustrations of the discussed coins); the quote is from p. 358.

Cf. J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1946, 180-181, identified the amazon-like figure on Frieze A as *Virtus*, "in spite of the fact that on coins before the time of Commodus *Virtus* has no shield".

god Mars"; and elsewhere: "... Although it has been asserted that Domitian wished to represent himself as a living god on earth, including the demand that he be called *Dominus et Deus* ("Lord and God"), no evidence in official art or documents substantiates this claim.

**Domitian was, however, the first living Princeps to be represented in official monuments accompanied by Olympian gods, as in Panel A of the Cancellaria Reliefs in the Vatican's Museo Gregoriano Profano.**

Only in nonofficial literature and art was Domitian directly compared to or equated with the gods, following a long-standing private encomiastic tradition ...<sup>227</sup>.

One thing is clear, Domitian provided superb chances for marble workers and all kinds of people, who collaborated with them. Their results are especially noteworthy, as pointed out by Francesca Ghedini and John Pollini [cf. n. 227], in the vast field of politically motivated iconographies. It therefore seems, as if Domitian not only commissioned new buildings at Rome at a truly 'pharaonic' scale - as Julius Caesar's relevant activities have aptly been characterized by Eugenio La Rocca<sup>228</sup> - but also, that Domitian's relevant initiatives, by creating an atmosphere of artistic experimentation and innovation, are nothing less than pioneering.

**In other words, I regard the way that the interactions of Domitian, Minerva and the amazon-like personification are presented on Frieze A - be the latter *Dea Roma* or *Virtus* - and the designs of all three figures, as typical results of this 'atmosphere of artistic experimentation and innovation', in which Domitian or his consultants and these artists were seeking iconographic solutions for new ideas.**

But the main reason, why I am reluctant to agree with the aforementioned scholars that the amazon-like representation on Frieze A should be identified as *Virtus* - who, according to this hypothesis, urges Domitian to leave for (or even to start in the first place?) a military campaign, to which she will accompany him - is still another consideration.

Depending, for which war Domitian is represented as leaving on Frieze A, we must ask ourselves

a), whether there was a need to suggest to Domitian that he conduct this war, let alone to urge him to start this enterprise, and consequently -

b), whether Domitian could have decided to have himself characterized this way.

As we are told by our literary sources, to which we will now turn, Domitian's relative attitudes varied. We know that Domitian, already as Caesar, when both Vespasian and Titus were still in the East, had left Rome to conduct a military 'adventure' (so TOYNBEE, cf. *infra*) in Gaul and Germany. The only reason for that 'adventure' was, as stated by Suetonius and Tacitus, that his elder brother Titus was so extremely successful in this respect<sup>229</sup>.

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<sup>227</sup> F. GHEDINI 1986, the quotes are from pp. 299 and 291-292 with ns. 14, 15, providing references; on pp. 294-296, she discusses the importance of the iconographic novelty, to represent Domitian on Frieze A together with gods.

Cf. J. POLLINI 2012; the quotes are from p. 103 (with n. 164 on p. 129, providing references, and n. 165, quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 430, in Chapter III., and p. 452, n. 153, which refers to p. 438. For this unjustified reproach most recently; cf. F.G. NAEREBOUT 2022; quoted *verbatim* and discussed *supra*, in Chapter Preamble; at Section II..

<sup>228</sup> E. LA ROCCA 2012, 68: "Il dittatore [Julius Caesar] era poi in procinto di avviare lavori faraonici". Referring to this, I have elsewhere characterized Domitian's building programme, realized at Rome, as likewise being of "'pharaonic' dimensions", cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 167; cf. pp. 158-168 (for Domitian's building programme in detail); cf. p. 370 (for Julius Caesar). When I wrote this, I was not aware of the fact that already Mario Torelli (1987, 575) has referred to Domitian's relevant actions, as to "il faraonico programma".

<sup>229</sup> R.M. SHELDON 2007, 180, writes: "After the havock wrought by the *Bellum Judaicum* of 66, both sides tried to seek a renewed *modus vivendi* within the Roman provincial organization. Matters progressed under Nerva to the point where the Jews began to hope for a rebuilding of the Temple destroyed in the final phase of the fighting in 70 [with n. 6]. By the time of Trajan, however, it became clear that the Jews would not be able to live under Roman rule without suffering religious prosecution [with n. 7]. Trajan's father was one of the legionary commanders who served in the Great War under Vespasian's command, and the reputation of Vespasian and Titus as

Also after Vespasian's return to Rome, Domitian had very much hoped to conduct himself a military campaign, as we learn from Suetonius (*Dom.* 2) - but (thanks God!) - he had not been given a chance.

Bendinelli was of the opinion that both Cancellaria Reliefs referred to Domitian's just-mentioned military 'adventure' in his youth. Toynbee<sup>230</sup>, discussing Bendinelli's hypotheses, wrote: "Bendinelli's interpretation turns on two main points ... 2. Both friezes are to be connected with an unprovoked military expedition to Gaul and Germany on which Suetonius tells us (*Dom.* 2; cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. 68, 85, 86) Domitian embarked, against the advice of his father's friends, solely for the purpose of securing prestige and influence equal to those enjoyed by Titus. Frieze A shows Domitian's *profectio* for this adventure, undertaken under pressure from the gods and people of Rome; while Frieze B shows his *reditus* from the same excursion to Rome and to the bosom of his father, who appears as congratulating him on his success and as honoured by Victory for the victory that his son has secured for Emperor and Empire".

Toynbee has rightly refuted Bendinelli's hypotheses, also because we know now that the portrait of Domitian on Frieze A (the face of which was later recut into a portrait of Nerva), follows his 'Alleinherrschaftstypus'<sup>231</sup>. This finding precludes Bendinelli's hypothesis of recognizing in this portrait the young Caesar Domitian, who is shown in the course of leaving for this military 'adventure', because it provides for the Cancellaria Reliefs the *terminus ad quem* or *post quem* AD 81.

**Therefore, the war to which Domitian is shown as leaving on Frieze A, must be one of the conflicts, mentioned by Suetonius (*Dom.* 6) :**

"His campaigns he undertook partly without provocation and partly of necessity. That against the Chatti was uncalled for, while the one against the Sarmatians was justified by the destruction of a legion with its commander. He made two against the Dacians, the first when Oppius Sabinus an ex-consul was defeated, and the second on the overthrow of Cornelius Fuscus, prefect of the praetorian guard, to whom he had entrusted the conduct of the war. After several battles of varying success he celebrated a double triumph over the Chatti and the Dacians [with n. *d*]. His victories over the Sarmatians he commemorated merely by the offering of a laurel crown to Jupiter on the Capitol"<sup>232</sup>.

great generals was important to the new emperor [with n. 8]. - In her ns. 6-8, SHELDON 2007, 261-262, provides references. Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.*), where this passage is quoted in more detail.

For Titus and for the *Bellum Judaicum*, the Great Jewish War, cf. also *supra*, Chapter *I.1.*, ns. 171, 189; in Chapter *I.1.1.*, ns. 195, 198, 200, 201; in Chapter *III.*, ns. 404, 412, 413, 455; and in Chapter *VI.3.*, n. 476..

<sup>230</sup> J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 21 (who discussed G. BENDINELLI 1949). For the importance of the revolt in Germany, that had caused Domitian's 'adventure' in 70 AD, cf. also H.-W. RITTER 1982, 25-26. When we read Josephus report (*BJ* 7.4.2, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.c*)) about Domitian's military 'adventure' in AD 70, the conclusion seems at first glance inevitable that the Senate granted Domitian precisely for that a separate triumph in AD 71; cf. Josephus, *BJ* 7.5.3, *infra*, at n. 458 in Chapters *III.*; and *V.1.c.3.*).

Also A. LINFERT 1969 was of the (erroneous) opinion that Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs showed Domitian's *profectio* as Caesar to his military 'adventure' in AD 70. Cf. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER (2018, 61, "Abb. 13: Deutungen Relief A: Auswahl der Interpretationsvorschläge"): "Linfert 1969 *profectio* Domitian (**Fig. 6**) bricht gemeinsam mit Soldaten zu dem im Jahre 70 n. Chr. versuchten Gallien-Germanien-Feldzug auf, der jedoch vorzeitig beendet wurde und von Domitian hier in einem für den Princeps ruhmreichen Sinne umgedeutet wurde [my emphasis]". - For the numbering of the figures on Frieze on both Cancellaria Reliefs; cf. here **Figs. 1 and 1 drawing**.

<sup>231</sup> for that, cf. *infra*, n. 302., in Chapter *II.1.a*).

<sup>232</sup> Suet., *Dom.* 6: translation J.C. ROLFE (*Loeb Classical Library*, 1920); in his note *d*, he wrote: "Tac. *Agr.* 39 says that this unjustified triumph over the Germans [*i.e.*, over the Chatti] (and the Dacians) was a laughing stock". For the *verbatim* quotation of Tac. (*Agr.* 39); cf. *infra*, at *Appendix I.c*).

For a discussion of Tacitus's relevant assertions; cf. Markus Handy (2015, 34 with n. 90, p. 35, n. 92, and pp. 37-38, 48-50), quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Section *I.*, who discusses the fact that Tacitus, in his *Agricola*, denies Domitian's military successes in Germany - which are in reality proven. For all of Domitian's wars; cf. Peter L. Viscusi (1973, quoted likewise *verbatim supra*, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Section *I.*).

For Domitian's war against the Sarmatians; cf. also *infra*, at ns. 304, 305, in Chapter *II.1.a*); and at ns. 343, 345, 346, in Chapter *II.3.1.a*). E. SIMON 1960, 140ff.; and E. SIMON 1985, 552, who assumes that Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs shows Domitian's *adventus* into Rome after his Sarmatian War in 93 AD, has suggested the following. Domitian on Frieze A is depicted as praying to Jupiter, who, in her opinion, was represented on the (lost) fourth slab at the far left end of Frieze A, and that Domitian is on his way to the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitol to dedicate to Jupiter the laurel wreath, which *Victoria* at the far left of Frieze A (which is partly preserved) is carrying. For the *verbatim* quote, cf. *infra*, at n. 352, in Chapter *II.3.2*.

Scholars disagree, whether on Frieze A (provided, they regard the depicted scene as representing a *profectio* at all) Domitian is leaving for his war against the Chatti (in AD 83), or against the Sarmatians (in AD 92). As indicated with the caption of my **Fig. 1**, which illustrates Frieze A, I myself was at first unable to decide which one of Domitian's relevant enterprises it represents (in the meantime, I have come to the conclusion that Domitian on Frieze A of the Cancelleria Reliefs is leaving for his Dacian war in AD 89, which he would celebrate with his (last) triumph the same year.

For a discussion; cf. below in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.f*).

If Domitian's action and his body language on Frieze A, seen together with the action of the amazon-like figure behind him (here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures: 6 [Domitian]; 9 [Dea Roma]**), means

**a)** that he himself is reluctant to begin this war (as has been suggested by Hamberg 1945), and -

**b)** that she is urging him to this enterprise (as those scholars suggest, who interpret this figure as *Virtus*), this could mean - provided Suetonius (*Dom.* 6) is telling the truth - that Domitian is, 'realistically' represented, as unwillingly beginning his war against the Sarmatians.

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For Domitian's triumph over the Chatti (cf. Suet., *Dom.* 6), see also the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the two obelisks at the Temple of Isis at Beneventum, in which this fact is mentioned; cf. *infra*, at Chapter *V.1.i.3*).

F. GHEDINI 1986, 292, argues that Domitian's body language on Frieze A can only be understood as hesitation, when the scene is interpreted as a *profectio*. In her opinion, Frieze A shows Domitian's *adventus* into Rome instead, after his victory in the Sarmatian War (93 AD). Since he resigned to celebrate the triumph, which he had been granted for this victory, Domitian's "gesto di modestia" (with n. 16), or his "pudore degli onori", is represented on Frieze A: Domitian is shown on his way to *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* to dedicate the "corona d'alloro" to him, as mentioned by Suetonius (*Dom.* 6). Cf. pp. 292-293: GHEDINI does not believe that Domitian's gesture with his right hand may be identified as "Machtgestus", as suggested by Koepfel (with n. 27; for that, cf. G. KOEPEL 1969, 142, quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 247, in Chapter *I.2.1.a*), nor as a "riferimento ad una simbologia culturale, per cui il gesto si configurerebbe come atto di benedizione o di preghiera" (with ns. 28, providing references), but suggests to read it as an "atto di omaggio" (towards Iuppiter obviously). Cf. p. 293 with n. 35: on Domitian's decision, instead of celebrating a triumph for his Sarmatian War, to build a Temple for *Fortuna Redux*, similarly as Augustus had done in 19 BC (cf. p. 292 with ns. 24, 25), who, instead of celebrating a triumph, had built an Altar for *Fortuna Redux*. On p. 294, GHEDINI calls Domitian's relevant attitude: "*recusatio honorum*". Cf. pp. 297-298 (for GHEDINI's interpretation of Frieze B, quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 181, in Chapter *I.1*).

D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 191, suggests: "Frieze A (see fig. 159) depicts ... Domitian's departure (*profectio*) for his Sarmatian War in 92-93. Domitian's Sarmatian War gives a terminus post quem of 93 for the reliefs".

Cf. H. MEYER 2000, 136: "Eine ähnlich präzise Auslegung des Frieses A [as in his opinion in case of Frieze B] ist schon deshalb nicht möglich, weil dort am [alleged] ernerischen Originalbestand nur das Kaiserporträt abgeändert worden ist. Eine Weihinschrift an der Baulichkeit, welche die Friese zierte, mag hier Klarheit geschaffen haben. Konkret kämen wohl am ehesten die jeweils mit Triumph zelebrierten und historisch bedeutenden Siege über die germanischen Chatten im Jahre 83 und der Dakerkrieg im Jahre 88 [corr.: 89] in Frage".

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.f*), where I myself suggest that Frieze A of the Cancelleria Reliefs shows Domitian's *profectio* in the spring of AD 89.

For a discussion of Suet. (*Dom.* 6.1); cf. also J. POLLINI 2017b, 120 with n. 106, and *infra*, in Chapter *V.1.i.3.b*); at Section *I*.

**For the triumphs, celebrated by Domitian**; cf. D. KIENAST, W. ECK and M. HEIL 2017, 109 (quoted in more detail *supra*, n. 82, in Chapter *I.1*):

"Wichtige Einzeldaten ...

Herbst 83 Triumph über die Chatten; Siegername GERMANICUS ...

85 ... (Okt.[ober]/Nov.[ember?]. Aufenthalt in Mösien (Winter 85/86?).

86 Triumph über die Daker ...

89 Abreise aus Rom ... Aufenthalt in Pannonien, Triumph über Daker und Germanen in Rom (Nov.[ember]/Dez.[ember]).

92 Erneuter Aufenthalt in Pannonien.

Jan.[uar] 93 Ovatio de Sarmatis ...".

To all this I will come back below (cf. *infra*, at Chapter *VI.3*.; and *infra*, in volume 3-3, at *Appendix IV.d.2.e*); and at *Appendix IV.d.2.f*).

Cf. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 61, "Abb. 13: Deutungen Relief A: Auswahl der Interpretationsvorschläge".

**But because I believe that Toynbee<sup>233</sup>, who rejected Hamberg's relevant hypothesis, was right in stating that such state reliefs never represented anything 'negative' (i.e., showing in this case, so to say, a Roman emperor, unwillingly performing his foremost duty, that of defending the Roman Empire), I find this scenario not very convincing, also because Domitian's attitude to this war, as expressed by the artists on Frieze A, has been interpreted very differently.**

Even more serious seems to me the objection against this scenario - provided again that Suetonius' (*Dom.* 6) information is correct - that Domitian did not celebrate his victory in the war against the Sarmatians with a following triumph; there was presumably no reason to celebrate anything in this case. So why then represent a *profectio* to this war in a public building? But, as we have just seen, Simon (1960 and 1985) was, on the contrary, of the opinion, that Domitian on Frieze A is precisely represented in his *adventus* into Rome after his victory in the Sarmatian War in 93 AD. In addition to this, Ghedini (1986; for both; cf. *supra*, n. 232) has stated the following. Domitian had, of course, been granted a triumph for his Sarmatian War, but, out of modesty, and in order to emulate Augustus, had resigned to celebrate it, and instead built a Temple for *Fortuna Redux* on the *Campus Martius*.

If, on the other hand, Frieze A which, in my opinion, shows a *profectio* instead (cf. *infra*, at Chapter III.), does not represent Domitian's departure for the Sarmatian War, those scholars seem to be right, who have suggested that frieze A shows Domitian's *profectio* to his war against the Chatti: begun voluntarily by Domitian and celebrated with a triumph (but see *supra*, n. 232).

But if that should be true, what then means Domitian's body language on Frieze A, which seems to characterize him as reluctantly leaving for this war? (for various other interpretations, cf. below (n. 233) and *infra*, at Chapter III.) - and what on earth is the amazon-like figure behind him doing?

**All those attempts mentioned so far, that aimed at finding out what Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs may possibly represent, are explicitly or 'between the lines' dependent of Domitian's negative image.**

But at the time, when those above-mentioned interpretations were published, it was not as yet known, that Domitian's negative image had been created at the order of Trajan in order to legitimize his own accession; the relevant texts were written for him by Tacitus and Pliny the Younger (cf. *supra*, n. 232). - After this entire *Study* had (almost) been finished, I have, therefore, added an additional Chapter, with the title *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*, in which this subject is discussed in great detail.

Let's now return to our main subject.

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<sup>233</sup> J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 9-10, wrote: "We are not attracted by G. HAMBERG's idea [with n. 2, quoting: P.G. HAMBERG 1945, 53] that Domitian had himself depicted here, on an official relief, as seeking to shirk responsibility for an unpopular war by shifting the blame on to Mars and Minerva, the latter of whom being his patron deity, stands close beside him. Such a purpose would, again, be altogether too *negative*; and the objection applies to H. M. Last's view [with n. 1, quoting: H. LAST 1948, 9ff.] that the Emperor intended the frieze to answer an allegation that he was a war-monger, by presenting him as personally reluctant to depart to war. Domitian is certainly not depicted here as rushing headlong to the fight; but religious awe, rather than some form of 'pacifism', would seem to be the natural explanation of his halt. And, incidentally, this halt, in the midst of hurrying figures to left and right, is cunningly devised to rivet our gaze upon the imperial person and to emphasize its solemn dignity. Again, the Amazonian figure to the right of the emperor does not press her hand against his arm, as though she were pushing him on, forcing him to advance unwillingly: she places her hand beneath his elbow with a gesture of support and of encouragement to move in heavenly company. This Amazonian figure is likely to be, not *Roma*, as Dr. Magi holds, but *Virtus*, *Roma's* counterpart, travelling north with the Emperor as the personification of his martial prowess. Were she *Roma*, she would have been seated, or standing stationary, with Senate and People, bidding the Emperor farewell".

Cf. H. LAST 1948, 12-14 (on Domitian's wars and on his relevant attitudes): "... that he [Domitian] went to war (no particular war, but his wars in general) when called on to by Heaven and urged to do so by Rome (and not otherwise) ... For if in its original form it said of Domitian that he was an emperor whose policy it was not to make war without good cause, it could truthfully be made to say the same of Nerva"; cf. p. 13 (on P.G. HAMBERG 1945, 52-53, the author's discussion of Frieze A): "that the emperor's decision to take the field ... is not portrayed as an everyday occurrence, nor as a solemn historic ceremony, but as the result of divine pressure brought to bear against his will, represented as a contrast between his own so apparent hesitation and the fated and therefore irresistible decision of the gods. Can this inseparable combination of resignation and irresolution be regarded as expressing a wish to shirk the responsibility of an unpopular war which the Emperor wished to depict as unavoidable? Perhaps we have no possibility of proving this". Cf. E. SIMON 1960, 139; and L.E. BAUMER 2007, 97 with n. 23.

*The above-summarized discussion leads us to the questions, what the characterizations of the two figures on Frieze A: of Domitian and of the amazon-like representation right behind him (here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 6 and 9), might mean*

I myself prefer to read this scene as follows. The amazon-like figure is *Dea Roma*, Rome's city goddess. She will stay behind at Rome after Domitian's departure. With her action on Frieze A, she not only encourages Domitian to leave, but assures him at the same time of the support of the City of Rome. Rome is, so-to-say, Domitian's solid 'home base', on which he can rely, and to which he can safely return - not exactly a matter of course, when we think of what Domitian had himself witnessed at Rome, especially in AD 69, the 'year of the four Emperors'.

For Domitian's own experiences during this civil war, the siege of the *Capitolium*, where the Flavians had fled from the Vitellians on 18th December 69 AD, and Domitian's escape from there on 19th December, cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section *III.*; at point *1.*); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I*.

*Dea Roma's* action, trying to push Domitian forward - in a very friendly way, we should add - seen in connection with *Victoria's*, who appears in front of Domitian at the far left of Frieze A, can also mean that both, *Dea Roma* and *Victoria*, each in their own way, thus assure the emperor that his campaign will be victorious<sup>234</sup>, thanks to their support (and obviously also thanks to the support of Minerva and Mars, who likewise appear on Frieze A). If so, this interpretation would leave Domitian the benefit, of having himself decided to begin this war. According to this interpretation, Domitian and *Dea Roma* are two different personalities, one human, the other divine, who are characterized on Frieze A as being close partners in this enterprise. To the much discussed question, what Domitian's gesture of his right hand on Frieze A might mean, and to Mars' and Minerva's rôles on this panel, I will come back below, and again *infra*, in Chapter *III.*, but Minerva's main function will be discussed immediately in the following.

Another, and in my opinion, decisive argument in favour of assuming the presence of *Dea Roma* in this context on Frieze A, is the fact that she is also represented on Frieze B - exactly as the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani*, who are likewise pictured on both friezes. *Virtus*, on the contrary, does not appear on Frieze B. Besides, it is certainly not by chance that the artists placed the *Dea Roma*, the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* (on both friezes in exactly that sequence) on both friezes together in the same 'half' of the composition: on Frieze A they are all to be found on the right hand 'half' - which means, that, after Domitian's departure, they will all stay behind at Rome. On Frieze B, they all appear on the left hand 'half' of the composition - which means, they are all (of course) at Rome, when Vespasian approaches the city in his *adventus*. Note that on both friezes, this 'half' of the composition, where, in my opinion, the *Dea Roma*, the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* are to be found, is much larger than the other 'half'. By means of this decision, the artists, or presumably Domitian himself, indicated in a simple, but very effective way, the great importance, which the City of Rome, the Senate and the Roman People (*i.e.*, together the 'SPQR') actually had for him - in regard to both enterprises, represented on Frieze A and B.

Besides, the mutual estimation of emperor and Senate have also been expressed otherwise, as Dietrich Boschung (2012, 44) rightly observes in his description of the *Genius Senatus* on frieze A:

"Er hält ein Szepter mit der Büste des Kaisers und bringt damit die enge Verbindung von Herrscher und Senat zum Ausdruck [with n. 36, providing references]". - So also Anne Wolfsfeld (2014, 201-202, quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter *V.1.e*).

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<sup>234</sup> so already, in the case of *Victoria*, F. MAGI 1939, 205 (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 113, in Chapter *I.1*); and G. KOEPEL 1969, 143, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 222. Cf. H. MEYER 2000, 133: "Das Thema des Friezes [A] ist eine bevorstehende militärische Aktion - deren glücklicher Ausgang vorweggenommen ist"; so also D. BOSCHUNG 2012, 44, quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter *I.2.1.c*); and J. POLLINI 2012, 103 with n. 165 on p. 129, quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 430, in Chapter *III*. J. POLLINI 2017b, 116-117, writes concerning the figure of *Victoria* at the far left end on Frieze A, who leads the procession represented on this panel: "This is a proleptic reference to a coming victory".



The scholars<sup>235</sup> quoted above assume instead that the amazon-like figure on Frieze A is Domitian's *Virtus*, because this female (allegedly) acts and moves in a way that is typical of this allegorical representation. The specific iconographic schemes of *Virtus*, that have been compared by those scholars with the amazon-like figure on Frieze A, are known from representations, which all date to later times than the Domitianic period.

If we follow that hypothesis, the scene on Frieze A means something else: it is *Virtus*, who either urges Domitian to start this military campaign in the first place, or else, *Virtus* is urging him at this very moment to leave Rome for this campaign; in addition, *Virtus* will accompany him, and she will stay with him throughout this whole enterprise.

**We must imagine that, 'in reality', the allegorical representation *Virtus* is part of Domitian's character.**

As I have only realized after this *Chapter* was written so far, this thought has already been expressed by Michael Pfanner<sup>236</sup>, so, in a certain sense, both (Domitian and 'his' *Virtus*) are one and the same.

**Therefore - paradoxically - Domitian appears to be a far 'stronger' personality, when we envisage him as being paired with the amazon-like figure on Frieze A, and that female is regarded as *Dea Roma*, than, when we imagine him as being 'paired' with the same amazon-like figure, but that is identified as his own *Virtus* instead (!).**

But my impression that Domitian does not need the amazon-like figure on Frieze A to urge him to this enterprise, was wrong (and right) at the same time.

Right was this intuition in so far, as Domitian, in the context, in which he appears on Frieze A, does not need the amazon-like figure for this specific function, but wrong, as he actually follows the urging of another figure on Frieze A to conduct this war: namely his personal patron goddess Minerva (who, as I hope to show below, therefore precedes him on Frieze A; cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 5 [Minerva]; 6 [Domitian]; 9 [Dea Roma]**). This has always been suggested, also by those scholars, who identify the amazon-like figure on Frieze A as *Virtus*. But contrary to them, I hope to show in the following, that, therefore, Domitian does not *need* the additional representation of 'his' *Virtus* on Frieze A.

**If we believe for a moment that my identification of the amazon-like figure on Frieze A as *Dea Roma* is correct, it seems that the artists, who created this figure, have emphasized some more features in her design that corroborate my hypothesis.**

Contrary to the graciously and swiftly moving Minerva on the same panel (**figure 5**), this amazon-like female on Frieze A (**figure 9**) is at first glance not an overwhelmingly successful invention, *inter alia* because the artists seems to have represented her as moving very awkwardly - but exactly that may have been intentional.

First of all, she is *not* walking, as I, at first, have erroneously written above; the same had already been suggested by Koepfel<sup>237</sup>. As the composition of this scene implies, this female has obviously rushed up to this point, where she appears on Frieze A, but has now come to a sudden halt. Her left leg is completely stretched out. The artists thus indicate her previous fast, striding movement, coming from the far right (and from behind the *Genius Senatus* - her lower left leg and foot are still behind him).

<sup>235</sup> G. KOEPEL (cf. *supra*, n. 222); M. PFANNER (cf. *supra*, n. 221); and T. GANSCHOW (cf. ns. 224, 238). - Contrary to them, J. POLLINI 2017b, 117, 118, identifies the amazon-like figure on Frieze A with the *Dea Roma*.

<sup>236</sup> cf. M. PFANNER 1983, 67, 68, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 221. As rightly observed by T. GANSCHOW 1997, 273, the concept of the Romans concerning *Virtus* cannot be translated in a satisfactory fashion, he mentions for example the "vier Kardinaltugenden des Augustus" ('Augustus' four cardinal virtues'), that were mentioned on his *clipeus virtutis*, the inscription of which read: "*Mon Anc. 6,19: virtutis clementiae iustitiae pietatis causae*".

<sup>237</sup> so G. KOEPEL 1969, 141 (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 222), who describes both, the here-so-called *Dea Roma*, his *Virtus*, and Domitian.

By means of the composition, the artists shows also, that her place in the foreground, next to Domitian, has been reserved for her, but the fact that her lower left leg still disappears behind the *Genius Senatus*, clearly indicates also, that she has arrived here at the very last moment, right before the *profectio* ceremony has actually begun (for that hypothesis, cf. *infra*): whereas Domitian, the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* have been standing here since quite some time already, waiting for the ceremony to begin, otherwise their quiet demeanor could not be explained.

Contrary, to what Koeppel suggested, this amazon-like figure (**figure 9**) does not 'storm forward' to the left, together with Mars and Minerva, but has definitely 'stormed here', to this appointment, from the right. Contrary to her left leg, the artists have planted her right foot, with its entire sole, firmly on the ground, and her right knee is bent: she leans forward, trying to push with all her physical strength Domitian, whom she touches with her right hand under his left elbow.

In order to push Domitian effectively forward, the amazon-like figure (**figure 9**) would better put both hands flat on his back and then lean forward, but the artists could not represent her in this more convincing way: her hands would thus be invisible for the beholder, apart from the fact that the figure needs also to carry a shield on her left arm, in order to be recognizable. But as already said above, the artists may just as well have intended to express something else, namely that the amazon-like figure does *not* intend to actually 'push' Domitian, but that she touches him, as Toynbee has convincingly suggested: "with a gesture of support and of encouragement to move in heavenly company" (cf. *supra*, n. 233).

**This amazon-like figure's (figure 9) heavy movement towards Domitian on Frieze A is not only stressed by her forward bent, but also by the momentum, her whole design receives through her left, outstretched leg. But by planting her right foot so steadily on the ground, the artist shows also, that she will not go any further, she will stay, where she currently stands.**

Besides, this amazon-like figure on Frieze A cannot possible have been meant by the artists, who designed her and Domitian, as 'storming forward' (so KOEPPEL), since the artists have characterized Domitian as standing composedly, where he is, with both soles of his feet planted firmly on the ground (as also described by KOEPPEL, cf. *supra*, n. 222).

If my analysis of the amazon-like figure (**figure 9**) on Frieze A, seen in relation to Domitian, should be true, this female may be identified as the *Dea Roma*. As we shall see below, it is even possible that the artists, by designing the *Dea Roma* in this peculiar way, have indicated, where exactly she stands.

**It is interesting to note that Domitian (figure 6) is characterized on Frieze A as being by no means impressed, let alone touched or at least physically 'moved' by the great efforts, the amazon-like figure immediately behind him (figure 9) undertakes - thus urging him to move. It seems at least at first glance that he does not show any reaction, because Domitian does not look at the amazon-like figure (to this I will come back below, adding my relevant thoughts 'at second glance'; cf. *infra*, at Chapter I.2.1.a)).**

*A comparison of Thomas Ganschow's Domitianic iconographic scheme of  
Virtus (his cat. nos. 31-37) with the amazon-like figure on Frieze A*

In my opinion, also this lack of emotional commitment - for example expressed by a glance - on the side of Domitian (here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6**) on Frieze A, in regard to this amazon-like figure (**figure 9**), speaks against the identification of this female as *Virtus*. This is at least true in the case of an iconographical scheme of *Virtus*, the invention of which is datable in the Domitianic period (*i.e.*, GANSCHOW's cat. nos. 31-37)<sup>238</sup>. As most other scholars, I assume that also the Cancellaria Reliefs are Domitianic.

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<sup>238</sup> cf. T. GANSCHOW 1997, 273-281 s.v. *Virtus*; p. 276; cf. p. 276, cat. no. "31. Domitianisch (= Honos 142). Nördl.[iches] Durchgangsrelief des Titusbogens. V.[irtus] ... mit Speer in der Rechten führt das vorderste Pferd der Triumphalquadriga am Zügel,

I suggest here, therefore, to compare this iconographic scheme of *Virtus* with the amazon-like figure on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs (**figure 9**), which has so far not been done, precisely *because* this iconographic scheme of *Virtus* is Domitianic.

The iconographic scheme of *Virtus*, discussed by Ganschow himself together with the amazon-like figure on Frieze A (cf. his cat. nos. 38-43), apart from his cat. no. 38, the amazon-like figure on Frieze A itself (**figure 9**), is only known from representations dating to later periods. But, as we shall see below, the figure of *Virtus* in the latter iconographic scheme (the only exception being GANSCHOW's cat. no. 38), has been derived from the earlier Domitianic scheme (*i.e.*, GANSCHOW's cat. nos. 31-37). I likewise hope to demonstrate in the following, that Ganschow's cat. no. 38, the amazon-like figure on Frieze A, follows a different iconography than his cat. nos. 39-43, and therefore cannot be identified as *Virtus*.

**In the Domitianic scheme of *Virtus*' iconography (*i.e.*, GANSCHOW's cat. nos. 31-37), the male, whom *Virtus* accompanies, is characterized as caring for her, and she in her turn is characterized as caring for him. Domitian (figure 6) too, as depicted on frieze A, cares very much, but not for the amazon-like female, who follows him on Frieze A (figure 9), but instead for that female, who precedes him: his personal patron goddess Minerva (figure 5), as he has ordered the artists to emphasize on Frieze A: both look at each other.**

In addition to this, both are shown as having chosen for their attire the same, very unusual head-type of Medusa - with closed eyes ! - she for her *aegis*, he as decoration of the *fibula* of his *paludamentum*. It is regrettable that Domitian's face on Frieze A has not survived, but even so, we can still imagine the mutually

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während sie nach links läuft und sich zum Kaiser umwendet, der von Victoria bekränzt wird. Neben dem Wagenkasten, hinter den Pferden, schreitet Honos"; cf. p. 276, cat. no. 32. Also in this case, *Virtus*, moving to the left, turns her face around to the right, and looks at the (lost) male, whom she precedes, and he probably looked in her direction: "Fr.[agmentarisches] Relief, Marmor, Vatikan, Cortile del Belvedere 10.22, Domitianisch.- V.[irtus] mit (wohl richtig ergänzter) bedeckter Brust neben den Pferden einer (verlorenen) Triumphquadriga nach l.[inks] schreitend, sich umwendend, in der Linken geschultertes *Vexillum*"; cf. p. 276, cat. no. "33. (= Victoria 337) Fries des Trajansbogens von Benevent, Stadtseite [moving to the right] ... Die dem Kaiser im Triumphgespann voranschreitende V.[irtus] mit bedeckter Brust wendet sich um und führt die Pferde am Zügel [Trajan is shown as looking straight ahead, in direction of *Virtus*]; cf. p. 276, cat. no." 34. (= Helios/Sol 423, = Tellus 66), zwei Reliefplatten vom sog. Partherdenkmal. Wien, Kunsthist.[orisches] Mus.[eum] Inv. 867. Aus Ephesos ... 169 n. Chr. oder kurz danach.- Apotheose des L. Verus: Der Kaiser besteigt eine n.[ach] rechts sprengende Quadriga, die von V.[irtus] am Zügel geführt wird; die nach r.[echts] schreitende V.[irtus] wendet sich zum Kaiser um"; p. 276, cat. no. "35. Südöstliches Attikarelief vom Septimius-Severus-Bogen in Leptis Magna. Tripolis, Mus.[ée].- 206-209 n. Chr. ... Triumphzug: V.[irtus] schreitet nach r.[echts], dem Triumphgespann voran, und wendet sich um, r.[echter] Arm gesenkt"; p. 276, "Münzen und Medaillons", cat. no. "36a. AE Medaillon, Rom, L. Verus, 167 n. Chr. ... Rs.[ückseite]: Triumphalquadriga nach l.[inks], V.[irtus] mit Schild und *Vexillum* voranschreitend, sich umwendend"; p. 276, cat.no. "36.b. (= Roma 200) AE Medaillon, M. Aurelius, Commodus 177 n. Chr."; p. 277, cat. no. "37. AE Medaillon, Rom, Philippus Arabs, Philippus II und Otacilia Severa, 247 n. Chr. ... Rs. [rückseite]: Frontale Triumphalquadriga, die l.[inks] von V.[irtus] mit Speer [who turns her head around and looks at the *triumphatores*] mit Speer in der Rechten sowie Palmzweig über der l.[inken] Schulter und r.[echts] von Mars mit Schild und Speer in der Linken sowie Palmzweig in der Rechten geführt wird"; p. 277, s.v. "*Virtus*, B. Aufbruch zum Kampf oder zur Jagd, Historisches Relief", cat. no. "38. (= Ares/ Mars 288, = Athena/ Minerva 408, Populus, Populus Romanus 21, = Roma 208, Victoria 330) Cancellariereief A"; p. 277, cat. no. "39. (= Hippolytos I 60), Rom, Villa Doria Pamphilj, 220-30 n. Chr. In der l.[inken] Szene V.[irtus] nach r.[echts] laufend, Kopf umgewandt, mit der r.[echten] ein Pferd führend"; p. 277, cat. no. "40. (= Eros/ Amor, Cupido 2), Capua, Duomo, "wie 39"; p. 277, "Bellerophon Sarkophage", cat. no. "41. (= Pegasos 189), Rom, Villa Doria Pamphilj, sehr stark ergänzt ... 240/50 n. Chr.- Die beiden Szenen (l.[inks] Jagd auf die Chimaira, r.[echts] Abschied des Bellerophon) werden von V.[irtus] verbunden; sie eilt mit umgewandtem Kopf nach l.[inks] [she is moving to the left and turns her head around to the right and looks at Bellerophon, Bellerophon turns his head away from her and to another figure]"; p. 277, cat. no. "42. Deckel (= 63 [Deckel], = Iobates 14, = Pegasos 141), Algier, Mus.[ée] Nat.[ionale]. Aus Azeitoun (Rusazus).- ... Um 250 n. Chr. - Langseite, Abschiedsszene: V.[irtus] neben Bellerophon [who is turning his head away from *Virtus*], der den Pegasos am Zügel hält, nach l.[inks] schreitend und sich nach ihm umwendend"; p. 277, cat. no. "43. Theseus Sarkophag (= Ariadne 92, = Athena/ Minerva 406 = Europa I 255), Sarkophag des Artemidoros, Cliveden, gefunden an der Via Salaria bei Castel Giubileo.- 240-250 n. Chr.- In der l.[inken] Szene Theseus [who turns away from *Virtus*] mit Pferd vor Minos stehend, r.[echts] neben ihm nach r.[echts] schreitende V.[irtus], Kopf nach l.[inks] ] gewandt [towards Theseus], in der Linken Speer, die Rechte zu Theseus ausgestreckt".

See also M. PFANNER 1983, *passim*, providing an excellent documentation of the Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia* (cf. here **Fig. 120**); cf. his Taf. 45: "Triumphatorrelief"; and D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 183-191, Figs. 154-157; p. 183: "The Arch of Titus. The earliest of the three major Domitianic state monuments is the Arch of Titus (figs. 154-157), which was erected by Domitian in honour of his brother after Titus' death in 81". According to P. Liverani 2021, 83, the Senate had planned to build the Arch of Titus shortly before Titus's premature death, but it was actually built by Domitian; cf. the *verbatim* quote, *infra*, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

See for the Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia* PFANNER'S and KLEINER'S further observations, discussed *infra*, **ns. 477-479.**, in Chapter VL3.

exchanged glances, which the emperor and 'his' Minerva shared. And because of the way, the artists have placed the two protagonists - who touch each other - within Frieze A, their composition even carries a distinct romantic touch<sup>239</sup>.

Minerva was Domitian's patron goddess, and he claimed to be her son; we know from literary sources that he built three temples for her in Rome. Interestingly, Domitian's Minerva was actually the goddess Isis-Neith of Saïs in Egypt, or in other words Minerva-Isis, which means that Domitian claimed to be the son of Isis, as the Pharaohs of Egypt had done<sup>240</sup>.

**On the reverse of a *sestertius* of AD 92-94, where Domitian appears as a victorious, cuirassed general, he is flanked by two representations: 'his' personal patron goddess Minerva (left), who has obviously led him to this victory, and *Victoria* (right), who is crowning him with a laurel wreath. In a certain sense, we can regard such coin images as quintessential abbreviations of the multifigured scene, represented on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs - or vice versa<sup>241</sup>.**

In my opinion, in lack of a personal patron goddess, Domitian could in theory just as well have ordered his artists to represent *Virtus*, instead of 'his' Minerva, as flanking him, together with *Victoria*, on this coin image. But because Domitian had his personal patron goddess Minerva, who, as shown on Frieze A, not

<sup>239</sup> D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, describes the entire scene as follows: "In frieze A, Domitian is led by Victory (only her left wing survives), by a lictor with a fasces with an ax, by Mars, the god of war, dressed in cuirass and with helmet and shield, and Minerva, goddess of war, clad in aegis and helmet. Minerva was Domitian's divine patroness, and panel A depicts visually their special bond. They gaze at one another intently, and Domitian's right arm projects forward and seems to become one with the upper part of Minerva's right arm; the lower part of her arm bends back toward the emperor. Domitian's relationship with the goddess Roma is also a close one. The emperor, dressed in a short tunic covered by a mantle (his traveling costume), is propelled forward by Roma (or possibly *Virtus*), identified by her short Amazonian costume, with one breast bare, and her helmet. She places her right hand under the emperor's elbow and urges him on his way".

For the unusual head type of Medusa, showing the gorgo with closed eyes, that both Minerva and Domitian are wearing; cf. M. MAGI 20: "Fig. 17. Fibula di Domiziano" (photo); cf. p. 21: "Fig. 18. Fibula di Domiziano" (drawing).

Cf. G.M. KOEPEL 1984, 29 "[figure 5 on Frieze A:] Minerva ... die Aegis mit einem Gorgoneion, das die Augen geschlossen hat ... Mit der Rechten drückt die Göttin den Nackenschutz ihres Helmes nach unten und enthüllt somit dem hinter ihr stehenden Kaiser [i.e. Domitian, now Nerva] das Gesicht; [figure 6] [on Frieze A: Domitian/ Nerva] Er trägt die tunica, das paludamentum und calcei. Die Fibel auf seiner rechten Schulter ist mit einem Gorgoneion verziert, das die Augen geschlossen hat". For a photo, on which both are visible, cf. the frontispiece of the catalogue, edited by F. COARELLI 2009a.

For the relation of the figures of Domitian and Minerva on Frieze A, cf. F. GHEDINI 1986, 296: "Ma una più puntuale valenza simbolica emerge, se si tien conto che l'elegante <<silhouette>> della dea in marcia con le vesti danzanti intorno al corpo, rielaborazione di un fortunato archetipo greco [with n. 81, providing a reference]". On pp. 296-297 she provides for Minerva-guida, *ducens Athena*, iconographic predecessors dating to the Augustan period.

For the statue-type of the Minerva, that appears on Frieze A, cf. W. SCHÜRMAN 1985, 86-86, 87, 88.

But see now I. ROMEO ("Un'Athena capitolina, il puteale di Madrid e il frontone Est del Partenone", 2020), who convincingly suggests that the statue-type 'Athena in corsa' copies the Athena from the Eastern pediment of the Parthenon at Athens, which shows the 'birth of Athena'. We owe I. ROMEO 2020, 850 with n. 53, the important observation that the figure of Minerva on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 5**) is modelled on this statue-type 'Athena in corsa' (!). Cf. *supra*, in *Chapter Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*; and *supra*, n. 74, at Chapter I.1. As I only realized at a second moment, all this had already been observed by W. FUCHS: "Statue der Athena", in: *HELBIG*<sup>4</sup> II (1966) 199-201, no. 1395 (!). For *verbatim* quotes and discussions of W. FUCHS's 1966 and I. ROMEO's 2020 relevant texts; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.1.*

<sup>240</sup> for Domitian's patron goddess Minerva, cf. *infra*, at n. 267, in Chapter I.3.2.; and at n. 430, in Chapter III. For the fact that his patron goddess was Minerva-Isis, cf. C. HÄUBER 2014a, 795-796, Chapter B 32.: "The *Arcus ad Isis* and the goddess Minerva-Isis worshipped by Domitian"; cf. pp. 783-791 (Chapter B 31.).

For the goddess Neith; cf. M. BOMMAS 2018, 101-102.

*Contra*: S. PFEIFFER 2018, 184-185 with n. 47, pp. 185-186, who denies that Domitian, by representing Minerva, showed his reverence for Isis instead.

Cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1., for the content of the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's Obelisk, in which Domitian claims to be the son of Isis.

<sup>241</sup> so similarly already J. POLLINI 2012, 103 (after describing the scene on Frieze A, quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 227): "Such imagery was also reflected in state coinage, as in a *sestertius* of 92-94 C.E. in which a victorious Domitian in cuirass is flanked by Minerva and by Victoria, who crowns him (Fig. II.38)"; with n. 166, providing references. G. KOEPEL 1969, 160-161, with Fig. 11 on p. 161, interpreted this coin image as a representation of an *adventus*; datable 92-94 AD, providing on p. 160 n. 108 a reference for this coin: "BMC. Emp. II 404.406", "der Kaiser ist überhöht dargestellt". Elsewhere on p. 160, he wrote: "Das Datum der domitianischen Münze läßt ebenfalls die *Adventus* Deutung zu, denn der Sieg, auf den das Rückseitenbild hinweist, kann sich nur auf den Krieg in Dakien beziehen, von dem Domitian im Jahre 93 zurückkehrte".

only accompanied him, but who even preceded him to his war, he had - in my opinion - no need to commission this artist to show on Frieze A, in addition to Minerva, also *Virtus*. The same, in my opinion, is likewise true for Domitian's just mentioned coin image. I am suggesting this, because according to Ganschow's final comments quoted above (cf. n. 238) on the various iconographical schemes of *Virtus* (for those comments, see again below), *Virtus* acts in exactly the same way as Minerva is characterized on frieze A in her relation to Domitian:

**She is a female companion, who invites or urges the male, to whom she belongs, to an enterprise, at which she will accompany him - to this we may add in the case of Minerva on Frieze A: and she even precedes Domitian on his way to this enterprise.**

Or in other words: all the males, who are in the above-mentioned representations accompanied by 'their' *Virtus*, have only one such companion, who shares their enterprises with them. We can therefore conclude that also Domitian, in fortunate possession of his personal patron goddess Minerva instead, had likewise only one such companion (in his case: his patron goddess). There is consequently, in my opinion, no need to assume that on Frieze A should appear, in addition to Domitian's Minerva, also 'his' *Virtus*.

As I only realized after this *Chapter* was written, Domitian is not only accompanied by his patron goddess Minerva on his *sestertius* of 92-94 AD (there shown as his [only] companion, that is to say, in a function that in the case of other males could have been fulfilled by a representation of [their] *Virtus*), but is already shown on Domitian's Arch of *Divus Titus*, which Domitian built shortly after Titus' death in AD 81 (cf. *infra*).

On the 'spoils relief' of this Arch of *Divus Titus* are represented some statues (standing on the attic of the *Porta Triumphalis* (cf. D.E.E. KLEINER 2022; F. COARELLI 2009b; 2012; and P. LIVERANI 2021; 2023), through which the triumphal procession is marching). In the middle of those statues appears Domitian on horseback, accompanied by his patron goddess Minerva, who is walking beside him (cf. here Fig. 120).

**Fig. 120. The Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia* in Rome. Cf. Paolo Liverani (2021, 83-84): "We can exemplify what is at stake by examining the decoration on the Arch of Titus ... a monument whose construction was planned by the Roman Senate shortly before the premature death of Titus, but which had to be built and finished under his brother and successor, Domitian". Cf. Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 183): "The inscription on the attic of the Arch of Titus indicates that the monument was erected by the senate and people of Rome in honour of the divine Titus, son of the divine Vespasian".**

The bay of the Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia* is decorated with two famous relief panels, the "spoils scene" and the "triumph relief", and at the apex of the vault of this arch there is a relief representing "the apotheosis of Titus"; cf. Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 187, Fig. 155, p. 188, Fig. 156, p. 189, Fig. 157). On the 'spoils scene' stands at the far right an arch (*i.e.*, the *Porta Triumphalis*), through which the triumphal procession is marching. This arch is crowned by what seems to be statue groups. The centre of those statues is occupied by Domitian on horseback, accompanied to his left by his walking personal patron goddess Minerva, both are flanked on either side by the triumphal quadrigas of Vespasian and Titus, each of which pulled by four horses; cf. Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 185, Fig. 155). Photos: Courtesy Franz Xaver Schütz (4-IX-2019).

For discussions; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III.; at point 2.); and below, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III. *Does the design of the Nollekens Relief reflect the topographical context, for which Domitian had commissioned it?*; at n. 477, in Chapter VI.3.; in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.f*).

Cf. now Liverani (2023, 115) for the above-quoted passage (*i.e.*, the Italian version of his essay 2021).

**My assumption, formulated above, that the rôles of Domitian's Minerva - and of *Virtus*, in the case of other males - must therefore be interchangeable, is actually provable.**

As already mentioned, Ganschow has discussed another iconographic scheme of *Virtus*, known from several state reliefs (*i.e.*, GANSCHOW's cat. nos. 31-37) - the here-so-called Domitianic scheme of *Virtus*' iconography. Here *Virtus* walks in front of a triumphal quadriga, in which an emperor (or another *triumphator*) rides, whom *Virtus* has obviously accompanied throughout his military campaign that ended for him victoriously. The represented *triumphator* looks in *Virtus*' direction, whereas *Virtus*, who guides the four horses of his quadriga, by holding the first of them by its reins, turns her head around and looks back at the *triumphator*. These processions move from right to left (GANSCHOW's cat. no. 33 is a mirror image of this scheme, here the figures are moving instead from left to right), as the procession on Frieze A, and the movements of the heads of *Virtus* and of the *triumphator* on these reliefs, as well as their mutual glances, are almost exactly the same as on Frieze A, only that on Frieze A goddess and emperor are shown as being much closer to each other, and that on Frieze A not *Virtus* is that companion, who precedes the Emperor Domitian, but instead his personal patron goddess Minerva (!).

The so-called Domitianic scheme of *Virtus*' iconography, in which *Virtus* appears in an iconography that resembles very much that of Minerva on frieze A, is datable in the Domitianic period, because the most famous example of this scheme is the horizontal panel on the north side of the bay of the Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia* at Rome (cf. here Fig. 120), that was built by Domitian. This relief appears in Ganschow's catalogue of representations of *Virtus* as the first example within this iconographic scheme (*i.e.*, GANSCHOW's cat. no. 31).

**Contrary to his younger brother Domitian, Titus did not have a personal patron goddess. Domitian therefore ordered for him, to be represented on the Arch of *Divus Titus*, this new scheme of the iconography of *Virtus*, who accompanies Titus (cf. here Fig. 120; cf. GANSCHOW's cat. nos. 31-37). This iconography is very similar to the one, which is visible on Frieze A of the Cancelleria Reliefs - only that the represented males and the females, who accompany those two men to their wars, are different - and that in Frieze A of the Cancelleria relief the *profectio* to a war is represented, whereas the panel at the Arch of *Divus Titus* shows the triumphal procession after a war. What is very similar in both iconographies, is the way, how the relationships of both men with their accompanying females are visualized.**

**The comparisons just made show that under Domitian new iconographies were created that showed Titus with *Virtus*, and Domitian with Minerva respectively, and that both iconographies were in important details very similar. This means in theory that, what Ganschow has written in his comments about the iconography of *Virtus*, should equally be applicable to the iconography of Domitian with Minerva, as shown on Frieze A.**

But, as we have already seen, Frieze A of the Cancelleria Reliefs also contains two important iconographic details, which are not mentioned by Ganschow in his final comments on the iconography of *Virtus* (cf. *infra*), although also Ganschow himself mentions those facts in the descriptions of the relevant monuments of his catalogue (cf. GANSCHOW's cat. nos. 31-37; cf. *supra*, n. 238). I am referring here to the mutual commitment of Domitian and his patron goddess Minerva on Frieze A of the Cancelleria Reliefs: both look at each other. To be precise: she, the divine partner in this 'couple', is even more committed to him, because whereas Domitian on Frieze A is shown as looking straight ahead towards her, Minerva, who precedes Domitian in the procession, turns her head back to look at him.

In that version of *Virtus*'s iconographic schemes, chosen by Ganschow himself as comparison for Frieze A of the Cancelleria Reliefs (*i.e.*, GANSCHOW's cat. nos. 38-43; cf. *supra*, n. 238; here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6), things are different: the male looks in a different direction than 'his' *Virtus*. Because of that, Domitian on Frieze A of the Cancelleria Reliefs, cat. no. 38 of Ganschow's relevant scheme of *Virtus*' iconography, in

theory qualifies as a potential male, accompanied by 'his' *Virtus*, as shown in this iconographic scheme. But the amazon-like figure behind Domitian, whom Ganschow on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs identifies as Domitian's *Virtus* (Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 9), cannot be identified as such: instead of preceding Domitian and turning her head back to look at him, as all the other representations of *Virtus* of this iconographic scheme, this amazon-like figure follows Domitian and looks straight ahead. Therefore Ganschow's cat. no. 38 of *Virtus*, the amazon-like figure on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs, does *not* represent *Virtus*.

When we compare this scheme of *Virtus*' iconography, which comprises, in my opinion only Ganschow's cat. nos. 39-43 (cf. *supra*, n. 238), with the Domitianic iconographic scheme of *Virtus*, discussed above (*i.e.*, GANSCHOW's cat. nos. 31-37; and here Fig. 120), it is obvious that the former scheme has been derived from the latter, by maintaining the design of the figure of *Virtus*, and by pairing that figure with a male, who acts differently. As a matter of fact, all representations of *Virtus* that belong to this scheme (*i.e.*, GANSCHOW's cat. nos. 39-43), are datable after the Domitianic period.

The version of the Domitianic scheme of *Virtus*' iconography (*i.e.*, GANSCHOW's cat. nos. 31-37; and here Fig. 120), which I have chosen above to compare with Domitian and Minerva on Frieze A (cf. here Figs. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 5 [Minerva]; 6 [Domitian]), shows *Virtus* and an emperor (or another *triumphator*) in a triumphal procession, both moving in the same direction; here both protagonists are depicted in a certain distance to each other. The scheme of *Virtus*' iconography, chosen by Ganschow himself as comparison for the amazon-like figure on Frieze A (but in my opinion only his cat. nos. 39-43), shows likewise a male and 'his' *Virtus*, but in a different context: the *profectio* of an emperor (GANSCHOW's cat. no. 38, Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs, being the only example of a *profectio*<sup>242</sup>), or the emperor's or another male's departure for a hunt. Here both protagonists, *Virtus* and the male, whom she accompanies, are moving fastly, and both are shown closely together - exactly as Minerva and Domitian on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs.

But, as we have seen above, Ganschow's identification of the amazon-like figure on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs as *Virtus* of this latter iconographic scheme (*i.e.*, as his cat. no. 38), could be disproved, because this figure looks straight ahead and follows Domitian, instead of preceding him and turning her head back to look at him - apart from the fact, that the amazon-like figure on Frieze A is *not* a walking, but a standing figure.

If all that should be true, we can now add something to Ganschow's above-quoted comments on the iconography of *Virtus*<sup>243</sup>, that I translate here into English:

**'... her [*i.e.*, *Virtus*'] distinct striding pace and the gesture of her hand, with which she points to the hunting prey, are typical features, which also characterize her appearance in a *profectio* or in a departure for a hunt ([see his cat. nos.] 38-43): with a gesture, she invites the figure, whom she accompanies, to action, sometimes she even urges the person (*e.g.*, Cancellaria relief A: 38).'**

To Ganschow's just quoted comments, we may add: the author rightly stresses the 'striding pace', which is typical of all those schemes of *Virtus*' iconography, which have been compared with the amazon-like figure on Frieze A by Ganschow himself (cf. *supra*, n. 238) and by Koeppl (cf. *supra*, n. 222). The fact alone that the amazon-like figure on Frieze A does *not* walk, is enough to say that she cannot be identified as *Virtus*. But there is more.

In the Domitianic scheme of *Virtus*' iconography (*i.e.*, GANSCHOW's cat. nos. 31-37, and here Fig. 120), the male, whom *Virtus* accompanies on his enterprise, is shown as being emotionally committed to 'his' *Virtus*:

<sup>242</sup> if my hypothesis is true that GANSCHOW's cat. no. 38 (*i.e.*, the amazon-like figure on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs) does not represent *Virtus*, this iconographic scheme consequently was not applied to representations of a *profectio* at all.

<sup>243</sup> for the *verbatim* quote in German, cf. *supra*, at n. 224.

this is indicated by the fact that the male is shown as looking straight ahead in the direction of 'his' *Virtus*. She, his partner, who always precedes him, turns her head back and looks at him. The scheme of *Virtus'* iconography, compared by Ganschow himself with the amazon-like figure on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. GANSCHOW's cat. nos. 38-43), is in one important respect different from the Domitianic scheme: in the characterization of *Virtus'* male partner. The figure of *Virtus* herself is basically the same as in the Domitianic scheme: *Virtus*, who again precedes the male, moves very quickly. By doing so, she turns her head back and looks at him. The male, on the other hand, does not look in the direction of 'his' *Virtus*.

As we have already seen above, the iconographic scheme just described (cf. GANSCHOW's cat. nos. 38-43) does not apply to Ganschow's cat. no. 38, the amazon-like figure on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs. The fact that Domitian does not look at the amazon-like figure, could in theory define this scene as belonging to this iconographic scheme, but the amazon-like figure on Frieze A does not precede Domitian, turning at the same time her head back, in order to look at him. Because of those reasons, the amazon-like figure on Frieze A does *a*) not belong to Ganschow's relevant iconographic scheme of *Virtus* (only GANSCHOW's cat. nos. 39-43 belong to this scheme), and *b*) consequently, the amazon-like figure on Frieze A cannot be identified as *Virtus*.

Besides, because the amazon-like figure on Frieze A does not precede Domitian, Domitian in his turn (at least in the way, as he has been designed for Frieze A) 'cannot' look at this figure, he rather gazes at his personal patron goddess Minerva - who precedes him. It is not by chance, as we have seen above, that the position, occupied by *Virtus* in the Domitianic scheme of *Virtus'* iconography (*i.e.*, in GANSCHOW's cat. nos. 31-37, and here **Fig. 120**), on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs is occupied by Domitian's personal patron goddess Minerva instead.

As has already been said, the most famous example of the Domitianic scheme of *Virtus'* iconography, is the 'triumph relief' at Domitian's Arch of *Divus Titus* at Rome (*i.e.*, GANSCHOW's cat. no. 31; cf. here **Fig. 120**). Considering, what has been said so far, and combining this with the fact that Domitian built the Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia* (erected after 81) much earlier<sup>244</sup> than the monument, to which the Cancellaria Reliefs belonged (*i.e.*, after AD 89; cf. *infra*), it seems as if Domitian must have commissioned his artists to create first the new iconography of Titus with *Virtus* (here **Fig. 120**; *i.e.*, the here-so-called Domitianic scheme of *Virtus'* iconography), and, derived from that, only at a second moment, the iconography of himself with Minerva, that we see on Frieze A (cf. here **Fig. 1**; **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 5 [Minerva]; 6 [Domitian]**).

Apropos, the date of the Cancellaria Reliefs. Scholars have dated them after AD 83, after 89 or after 93. I myself follow those scholars, who date them 'after AD 89', and hope to have found more evidence that supports this view. For a summary of this discussion; cf. below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.f*).

But, as has already been mentioned above, on the 'spoils relief' of Domitian's Arch of *Divus Titus* Domitian appears already accompanied by his patron goddess Minerva, although in a different iconography. On the attic of the *Porta Triumphalis*, through which the triumphal procession on the 'spoils relief' is marching, appear statues, representing Domitian on horseback, with his patron goddess Minerva, who walks beside him, as well as Vespasian and Titus in their triumphal quadrigas (cf. here **Fig. 120**).

For discussions; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III.; at point 2.); below, in Chapter *V.1.i.3.b*); at Section III. *Does the design of the Nollekens Relief reflect the topographical context, for which Domitian had commissioned it?*; at n. 477, in Chapter VI.3.; in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.f*).

<sup>244</sup> so also M. PFANNER 1983, 91: "Auf dem Bogenmonument des Beutereliefs sind Vespasian und Titus in der Quadriga und Domitian auf dem Pferd dargestellt (s.[siehe] Taf. 56,4.5) [with n. 19]. Die Schlußfolgerung ist einfach. Da eine Darstellung Domitians nach seiner damnatio memoriae ausscheidet [with n. 20], ist der Titusbogen unter Domitian entstanden"; p. 92: "Aus der Interpretation des Bogens ergibt sich, daß der Bogen wegen der Konsekration des Titus errichtet wurde [with n. 22]. Demnach erscheint ein Ansatz zu Beginn der Regierungszeit Domitians sehr wahrscheinlich ..."; in his notes, PFANNER, *op.cit.*, provides references. - So now also P. LIVERANI 2021, 83, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.



### ***I.2.1. The consequence of the identification of the amazon-like figure on frieze A as Dea Roma: she and Domitian (now Nerva) separate from each other at the pomerium of Rome; with a discussion of the lictors and soldiers on both friezes of the Cancellaria Reliefs***

We have heard above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.2.) about *Dea Roma* that: 'When she appears without legend, alone and amazon-like, she cannot be distinguished from *Virtus*' (M. PFANNER 1983; quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 221). I further hope to have proven in Chapter I.2. that the amazon-like figure on Frieze A is *not Virtus*.

This figure (cf. here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 9**) is represented as currently standing next to, or immediately behind, the Emperor Domitian (now Nerva), after having rushed there shortly before. If all that should be true, we can now with certainty identify this amazon-like figure on Frieze A with the *Dea Roma* - as already suggested by Magi, and likewise by Pollini (2017b, 117, 118), and by Spinola (cf. *infra*, in Chapter III.). We can also deduce, where *Dea Roma* is supposed to stand on Frieze A: exactly at the *pomerium*-line<sup>245</sup>, the sacred boundary of the City of Rome, whose tutelary goddess she is, and which is therefore a place, which she cannot possibly leave. - *Dea Roma* may, of course, go 'one step further, beyond Rome's *pomerium*-line/ the so-called Servian city Wall, with its gates' (for that, cf. *supra*, n. 199, in Chapter I.1.1.), when she welcomes a new emperor into Rome. So for example Hadrian, as shown on his *adventus* relief (cf. here **Fig. 91**), where we see *Dea Roma*, who stands immediately outside one of the gates of her city, greeting the emperor. - But, as we shall see below, it is, as usual, not as easy as here so far assumed.

The artists, who designed Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs, in my opinion, have indicated the fact that *Dea Roma* is standing at the *pomerium*-line of Rome, by means of two details of their composition, 1.) by showing *Dea Roma's* abrupt halt at this very point, to which she has rushed, coming from the far right, that is to say, from the centre of her city, and 2.) by means of the overall compositions of both friezes - when viewed *in situ* - a subject, to which we will now turn. But before doing so, I wish to add something else to my analysis of the composition of Frieze A, the already announced thoughts 'at second glance', that refer to the relationship of Domitian with the *Dea Roma*, as they appear on Frieze A.

#### ***I.2.1.a) The relationship of Domitian with the Dea Roma on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs: thoughts at 'second glance'***

I maintain my assertion made above (cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.2.) that Domitian does not show *directly* his commitment to *Dea Roma*, for example, by looking at her. The artists have preferred to indicate Domitian's relevant feelings by certain choices of the composition which, regarded as a whole, prove on the contrary that Domitian's relation to *Dea Roma* is very intimate.

1.) Domitian has obviously ordered the artists to show himself and *Dea Roma* as standing next to each other, and that she too - exactly like his personal patron goddess Minerva - is clearly shown as touching him. Already these facts prove that *Dea Roma* is (almost) of equal importance to him as Minerva, since due to those choices of the composition, both goddesses are immediately flanking Domitian on either side, and are shown as *both being very close to him* - close not only in a 'physical' sense, but, by implication, also *au sens figuré*. These choices of the composition therefore mean: the area *domi*, which Domitian has just left, during his absence, will faithfully be guarded by his partner *Dea Roma*, together with the Senate and the Roman People, whereas within the area *militiae*, which Domitian has entered right now, the war-gods Mars and Minerva are his faithful divine *comites*, who will stay with him throughout this entire war;

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<sup>245</sup> my thanks are due to Franz Xaver Schütz, who, after listening to my description of the scene, represented on Frieze A, has suggested this to me. As I have only realized much later, this has already been suggested by J. POLLINI 2017b, 117: "To the left [on Frieze A], Mars and Minerva (who makes a gesture of donning her helmet) rush ahead of **Domitian (his head was recut to that of Nerva subsequent to Domitian's damnatio). The imperial figure, shown paludatus as he leaves the pomerium, is sent on his way by Roma, who places her arm beneath his left.** This suggests that his campaign is willed by the Gods, as a counter to public opposition to Domitian's unpopular wars in the north [my emphasis]". - This will be discussed in detail below; cf. *infra*, at Chapter I.2.1.c).

2.) as already mentioned, *Dea Roma* belongs on Frieze A to the much larger 'half' of the composition, a choice, which shows in itself the importance of the City of Rome for Domitian's enterprise. Only thanks to *Dea Roma*, the *Genius Senatus* immediately behind her, who lifts his right hand to bid farewell (cf. *infra*, n. 453, in Chapter III.), and the *Genius Populi Romani*, that is to say, the Senate and the Roman People - as Domitian states in this 'sermon in stone' (G.M.A. HANFMANN 1975) - he will be able to win this war. That Domitian does not turn round to look at *Dea Roma*, may even be read as indicating that their relationship is so close, that he does not have the faintest doubt in the loyalty of his divine partner. Of course, this war is very dangerous for the City of Rome and the entire Roman Empire. This explains on the one hand *Dea Roma's* great excitement at the moment shown on frieze A, when the Emperor Domitian leaves her City for this war, and on the other hand, that Domitian is shown as completely concentrating on the dangerous task that lies ahead of him, by performing the gesture *ingens dextra* (cf. *supra*, n. 222, in Chapter I.2.);

3.) the artists seems to have indicated, that *Dea Roma*, by 'storming' from the right, and by touching Domitian's elbow, has caused a chain reaction.

Because, if we don't want to believe that Domitian would have made this gesture *ingens dextra* with his right hand on Frieze A for a long time, but only for a moment (as seems reasonable to assume), *Dea Roma* has - fortunately? - arrived at exactly that moment, when Domitian makes this gesture. But because *Dea Roma* touches Domitian with her right hand at his left elbow, in a way that is clearly visible, it may well be that the artists rather want to tell us something else: Domitian makes this gesture with his right hand at precisely that moment, *because* the goddess Roma has finally arrived, and has touched him at his elbow: only now the ceremony can begin.

But this here supposed chain reaction goes possibly even further. Not only *Dea Roma* to the right of Domitian, or immediately behind him, is totally excited: even the Olympian goddess immediately in front of him, Domitian's personal patron goddess Minerva, 'storms forward' at this very moment (together with Mars).

**Interestingly, Domitian, between those two goddesses, one 'storming' from the right, the other 'storming' to the left, 'ist die Ruhe selbst', as we could say in German, or like the quiet centre of a hurricane.**

This is, by the way, how already Gerhard Koeppel (1969, 143, quoted for the first time *supra*, in n. 222, at Chapter I.2.) had described the figure of Domitian on Frieze A (Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6):

"Im Standmotiv des Kaisers [of Domitian on Frieze A] braucht man kein Zögern zu erkennen, denn wie die Victoria zeigt, Domitian ist der Sieg gewiß [my emphasis]". In the following, Koeppel explained that he took the fact that **Domitian (after walking up to this point) has come to a halt, as a means, by which the artist stressed that Domitian is the centre of the entire composition of Frieze A**; continuing on p. 143 as follows: **"Jede Figur schaut auf ihn oder ist auf ihn bezogen. An dieser Stelle ist der Mittelpunkt der ganzen Komposition. Das Auge des Betrachters wird dorthin geleitet und verweilt dort [my emphasis]".**

The ideas of the artists of closely matching on Frieze A these three figures - Minerva, Domitian and *Dea Roma* (Fig. 1; Figs 1 and 2 drawing: figures 5; 6; 9) - of totally different designs, moods and movements, and showing, after all, a human male between two goddesses, as if that were a matter of course, all engaged together in the same enterprise, at which the two goddesses will support this male with all their powers, are very remarkable indeed.

These choices of the artists secure the figure of Domitian on this panel the most possible attention (as already observed by Toynbee and Koeppel; cf. *supra*, ns. 233, 222), apart from the fact that this scene is also in so far highly innovative and groundbreaking for the future, as stressed by Ghedini and Pollini (cf. *supra*, at n. 227), as here for the first time in official state art a living emperor is shown together with Olympian gods (*i.e.*, Minerva and Mars).

**On Frieze A, Domitian is thus, in my opinion, characterized by the artists as being a man of extraordinary self-reliance, whose superiority is stressed, even when compared with his divine partners, who are all very upset, and who do everything to further his plans**

**At the same time, the artists show Domitian as completely concentrating on performing his enigmatic gesture. If that is true, the way, how the artists have orchestrated all this, can only mean, in my opinion, that with Domitian's gesture, the solemn ceremony of his *profectio* has just begun - which is why Minerva and Mars are 'storming forward', towards the theatre of Domitian's war.**

After this Chapter was written, Franz Xaver Schütz was kind enough to tell me that the phenomenon just described on Frieze A should, of course, not be called a 'chain reaction', since in reality, what we see on Frieze A, is the result of perfect timing. I agree, especially after having also studied Frieze B, in which the artists, again by means of their composition, assert exactly the same (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.d)).

This leads us to the question of what the gesture of Domitian's right hand might mean. Of all the different explanations (for example those formulated by E. SIMON and F. GHEDINI, cf. *supra*, n. 232, and *infra*, at Chapters III.; and V.1.g)), I find Koepfel's suggestion quoted above (n. 222; in Chapter I.2.) most convincing. He referred to it as *ingens dextra*, a gesture, known from 'oriental' Sun gods, like *Sol 'Invictus'*, and discussed in ancient literary sources. Already Vespasian, who had obviously come across this gesture in the East, had ordered a representation of himself performing this gesture on one of his coins, and Domitian issued coins at Alexandria showing Helios-Sarapis with *ingens dextra*.

**We know that Septimius Severus would later issue coins with representations of *Sol 'Invictus'*, with lifted right arm<sup>246</sup>, as part of a complex political message that propagated "*Aeternitas imperii*" (so A. LICHTENBERGER 2011), with which he expressed his personal hopes in invincibility, the endurance of his dynasty, and the eternity of the Roman Empire. - As we shall see in the following, exactly the same thoughts had not only already been formulated at the order of Vespasian and Titus by Flavius Josephus (for that, cf. *infra*, at Chapters V.1.i.3.); VI.3.), but also by Domitian, as a passage from Stefan Pfeiffer (2018, 189) shows, which is quoted below.**

Koepfel<sup>247</sup> concluded: "*Ingens dextra* ist also in domitianischer Zeit gleichbedeutend mit *magnus dux* ... Die *ingens dextra* des Kaisers im Relief A von der Cancellaria wird Verderben über seine Feinde bringen, die er, wie Victoria zeigt, besiegen wird" ('*ingens dextra* has therefore in the Domitianic period the same meaning as *magnus dux* ... The *ingens dextra* of the emperor will cause the ruin of his enemies, whom he will defeat, as *Victoria* on Frieze A indicates').

But in the specific case of Domitian on Frieze A, the iconography of *ingens dextra* is combined with something else: Domitian has ordered his artists to represent him with his left hand holding a *rotulus* (cf. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 74, quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter V.1.g), according to whom its precise meaning is allegedly unknown, although they likewise quote Erika Simon (1963) in their bibliography, whose interpretation I have followed here without at first realizing this fact.

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<sup>246</sup> G. KOEPEL 1969, 142. The assertion concerning this gesture by T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 56-57, is therefore not true: "La mano sollevata dell'imperatore si trova di norma solo per l'*adventus*, come gesto di saluto, che pretende una figura cui rivolgerlo: solo nel III secolo d.C. l'imperatore compare con simile gesto anche nella *profectio*, che da quel momento si eleva a segno di potere universale". For the meaning of this iconography for the Severan dynasty, cf. C. HÄUBER 2014a, 684-689, pp. 686-687 on Septimius Severus' *Sol 'Invictus'* coins, and on his concept of "*Aeternitas imperii*", quoting for that on p. 687 with n. 159 A. LICHTENBERGER 2011, 276, cf. p. 382: "*Aeternitas imperii* war ein Schlagwort, mit dem zwei Vorstellungen der kaiserlichen Repräsentation des Septimius Severus zusammengefaßt wurden: Zum einen war es die durch die severische Dynastie gewährleistete Ewigkeit des römischen Staates, zum anderen die mit der Gestalt Sols verbundene ewige und umfassende Sieghaftigkeit".

<sup>247</sup> G. KOEPEL 1969, 142. For the complete *verbatim* quotation, cf. *supra*, n. 222, in Chapter I.2. KOEPEL's just quoted interpretation has been rejected by F. GHEDINI 1986, 292-293 with n. 27 (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 232, in Chapter I.2.). For this interpretation of *Victoria* on Frieze A, cf. also *supra*, ns. 233, 234, in Chapter I.2.

For the gesture, Domitian (now Nerva) is making with his right hand, cf. also *infra*, at Chapter V.1.g).

I myself believe that this *rotulus* contains Domitian's *vota*, that he will fulfill, provided the gods, to whom he has prayed - presumably Iuppiter - should grant him the desired victory in the war to which he is leaving.

Not by chance, Domitian has ordered his artists to represent Vespasian on Frieze B being accompanied by a man in his entourage who carries likewise a *rotulus* (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 17**). The *rotulus*, carried for Vespasian on Frieze B certainly contains Vespasian's relevant *vota*, which he, since Iuppiter has already granted him the desired victories, will now certainly fulfill in due course. Thus, by representing those *rotuli*, Domitian has ordered his artists to lay great stress on propagating that Vespasian and he himself show *pietas* towards the gods.

I have obviously followed with these suggestions Erika Simon, whose entry on the Cancellaria Reliefs I had consulted several times, looking for something else. When I went back to it, I found more material; cf. Simon (1963, 9), who wrote about **figure 17** on frieze B):

"Den Zug beschließt eine Gestalt in doppelt geschürzter Tunika, wohl ein Kultdiener. Die Schriftrolle in seiner Linken enthält vielleicht ein Verzeichnis der gelobten Opfer, die der Feldherr bei seiner Rückkehr einzulösen hatte. Denn hier handelt es sich um eine Rückkehr (*reditus*), eine feierliche Ankunft (*adventus*) des Kaisers in Rom". And on the *rotulus*, held by Domitian (now Nerva) on frieze A, Simon (1963, 10) wrote: "Die Rolle in seiner [*i.e.*, Domitian's, now Nerva's] beringten Linken weist wohl wie bei der Gestalt in B auf Opfer hin, die pro *reditu* gelobt worden waren".

As I have only read after this *Chapter* was writteny, Stefan Pfeiffer (2018, 189, in his Chapter "The themes of Domitian's self-presentation"), has come to a conclusion that supports my interpretation just suggested of the gesture, Domitian on Frieze A is making with his right hand:

"1. it was a key issue for Domitian to show his *virtus militaris* and his victoriousness [with n. 85], as evident from 22 imperial acclamations [with n. 86], his epithet Germanicus [with n. 87], the coins depicting *Germania capta*, and the frequent representations of Minerva in military dress. His victories over the Chatti, Dacians, and Sarmatians were of utmost importance to Domitian [with n. 88], as clearly evident from the gigantic *equus Domitiani* on the Forum Romanum [with n. 89]. and the several triumphal arches that he erected [with n. 90]. Domitian's victoriousness was also expressed by the adulations of his subjects. The poets praise him for his victories [with n. 91] and in his unofficial titulature he is called *theos aniketos* and *Zeus eleutheros* [with n. 92]".

In his notes, Pfeiffer provides references.

For further quotations from Pfeiffer's "Themes of Domitian's self-presentation"; cf. *infra*, in Chapter II.3.1.c) for his points 2.) and 4.), in Chapter VI.3, for his point 2.), and in Chapter V.1.i.2.), for his points 3.) and 4.). For the *Equus Domitiani*, cf. *supra*, in Chapter Preamble, at Section II., *infra*, at n. 267, in Chapter I.3.2; and in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

**I.2.1.b) An anticipation of my tentative reconstruction of the Cancellaria Reliefs as the two horizontal panels in the bay of one of Domitian's arches (cf. *infra*, in Chapter I.3., and here Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, `in situ`)**

In the following, I anticipate a hypothesis<sup>248</sup>, to be discussed below, in Chapter I.3., according to which Frieze A and B were the horizontal panels in the bay of an arch, built by Domitian. If so, when these panels were *in situ*, and their carving finished (the latter was never the case, as we shall see *infra*, at Chapter II.), both friezes would have been seen by an ancient spectator as being parallel and opposite each other.

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<sup>248</sup> cf. *supra*, at ns. 195, 198-201, in Chapter I.1.1., where the presuppositions of this hypothesis are discussed.

We have based our relevant visualization on Magi's drawings (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**). **Fig. 2** shows a photo of Frieze B, which, at the Museo Gregoriano Profano, has been put on display this way, thus following the reconstruction of this panel as suggested by Magi (1945, Tav. I; cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.1.).

The reconstruction drawing by Markus Wolf (2015, cf. *supra*, n. 79, in Chapter I.1., his Fig. 8. "Ricostruzione arco monumentale, 1: 350"; cf. also *infra*, in Chapter V.2.) is based on a different approach. Wolf's reconstruction drawing of an "arco onorifico isolato" (also referred to by him as "arco monumentale") comprises the Cancellaria Reliefs, integrated as the horizontal panels into the central bay of this arch. Wolf's Fig. 8 illustrates a view of his reconstruction drawing of this arch, in which Frieze B is visible *in situ*: contrary to the reconstruction of Frieze B at the Museo Gregoriano Profano, in Wolf's reconstruction there is a wide gap between the slabs B1 and B2 of this panel. As we shall see below, this large gap, indicated by Wolf (2015), is (erroneously) assumed by Langer and Pfanner 2018 (for a discussion, cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.d)).

By looking at both friezes this way (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**), it becomes clear, that the artists have placed the Emperor Domitian on Frieze A (here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6**), literally speaking, almost precisely opposite the togate youth on Frieze B (**Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12**), which seems to prove that the compositions of both panels were designed for being viewed opposite each other - in the bay of an arch.

At the same time, the locale, chosen for both protagonists is also identical. The Emperor Domitian (now Nerva) on Frieze A stands precisely, where Domitian, as the togate youth, appears on Frieze B: at the *pomerium*-line. As we have seen above (cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.1.1.), the young Domitian, by means of the composition, is characterized on Frieze B as being the *praetor urbanus* (a position that Domitian actually held at the historical moment, purportedly pictured on Frieze B), a magistrate, who was responsible for the City of Rome within the *pomerium*, but not beyond. On Frieze B, this is clearly indicated by the fact that the *Genius Populi Romani* (here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 13**), who stands next to Domitian, sets his left foot on one of the *cippi* that marked the *pomerium*.

For a discussions of this subject; cf *infra*, at Chapters V.1.e) *The hypothesis of S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018) concerning the alleged 'footstool' on Frieze B, on which the Genius Populi Romani sets his left foot (cf. here Fig. 2);* and at Chapter V.1.f) *My own hypothesis concerning the alleged 'footstool' of S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018) on Frieze B, on which the Genius Populi Romani sets his left foot (cf. here Fig. 2) - it is a cippus of the pomerium-line of Rome.*

The young Domitian, on Frieze B, is thus depicted by the artists as standing right within the sacred boundary of the City of Rome, whereas on Frieze A the artists show Domitian, now emperor, as having just left the sacred boundary of Rome, by the position the artists chose for *Dea Roma* immediately behind the emperor (here **Figs 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6** [Domitian]; **figure 9** [*Dea Roma*]); in addition to that, Domitian is shown as wearing the *paludamentum*, which likewise indicates that he stands *outside* the *pomerium* (for that, cf. the next Chapter I.2.1.c), and *infra*, at n. 448, in Chapter III.).

If all that should be true, the artists have thus marked that the *real* centre of both friezes is the borderline between the areas *domi* and *militiae*, and in addition to this, they praise Domitian in these friezes as having acted competently in both areas, *domi* as Caesar and *praetor urbanus* on Frieze B, *militiae* as emperor, leaving for a (seen in retrospect) victorious war on Frieze A.

On Frieze A, *Dea Roma* has accompanied the Emperor Domitian up to this sacred boundary of her City, which she normally (but cf. here **Fig. 91**) does not transgress.

On Frieze B, one of the representatives of Rome, the *Genius Populi Romani* (**Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 13**), likewise bound to stay within the City, has accompanied the young *praetor urbanus* and Caesar Domitian (**Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12**) up to this boundary, together with the other representatives of Rome (here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing, figures 3; 4; 5; 6; 7** [five Vestal Virgins]; and **figure 11** [the *Genius*

**Senatus**]), all of whom are shown as standing within the area *domi* (whereas *Dea Roma* on Frieze B [here **Figs 1 and 2 drawing; figure 2**] is represented as being seated.

For the possible reason, why the artists decided to represent on Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs this statue type (?) of the *Dea Roma*; cf. *infra*, at Chapter *V.1.i.2.*)

This entire group of Rome's representatives on Frieze B has come to the City's sacred boundary, in order to welcome the new Emperor Vespasian [here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 14**], who approaches this boundary, the *pomerium*, from the opposite direction, and who is characterized by the artist as still standing within the area *militiae*.

As already said above, we should ask ourselves, whether Vespasian entered the City of Rome on the occasion represented on Frieze B (provided, Vespasian's *adventus* at Rome had happened this way at all; but see *infra*, in Chapter *V.1.i.3.*). Because, coming as victorious general from his Great Jewish War, he (in the represented moment) was now negotiating with the Senate to be granted a triumph. Only in the course of the triumphal procession, he would then be allowed to enter the City (for the consequences of the relevant Roman law, cf. *infra*, **n. 361**, in Chapter *II.3.3.*, and in Chapter *III.*).

As likewise mentioned above (cf. *supra*, at **ns. 195-201**, in Chapter *I.1.1.*), Vespasian is clad on Frieze B 'not like an *imperator*, but like a civilian' (so Dio Cassius 65,10), not because he had changed his military into civilian garb at the *Mutatorium Caesaris*, just outside Rome's city gate *Porta Capena* within the Servian city Wall, in order to be allowed to enter the city, but because he had decided to wear such clothes, as soon as he entered Italy at Brindisi.

For the *Mutatorium Caesaris*; cf. *infra*, **n. 405** in Chapter *III.*; and below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian.*

In my interpretation of this scene represented on Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs, I follow in part the observations, made by Erika Simon (1960 and 1963) and Gerhard Koeppel (1969)<sup>249</sup>. Koeppel has explained, how the areas *domi* and *militiae* are differentiated on Frieze B:

"Immer wieder spielt im *Adventus* und in der *Profectio* die Trennung der Bereiche *Domi* und *Militiae* eine nicht zu übersehende Rolle, die durch die Trennung in der Relief-Komposition sichtbar ist [with n. 163]. So verhält es sich auch in Relief B [page 173, Abb. 16; page 174] von der Cancelleria: der Stein [*i.e.*, the *cippus*, on which the *Genius Populi Romani* sets his left foot, that marks the *pomerium*-line] steht an dem Einschnitt in der Komposition, an dem sich zwei Bewegungsrichtungen treffen".

In his **note 163**, Koeppel provided references.

See also Marion Meyer (2006, 134), who interprets likewise, as is suggested here, the scene on Frieze A as a *profectio*:

"Der Kaiser erscheint hier nicht im Panzer [as on the relief of the "Parthermonument" at Vienna, which she is studying in this article], aber bereits im *Paludamentum*, also nach Ablegen der *Toga* an der *Pomeriumsgrenze* [with n. 86]. *Virtus* [here interpreted as *Dea Roma* instead] unterstützt ihn, im wörtlichen Sinne, und die kriegerischen Gottheiten *Minerva* und *Mars* geleiten ihn. *Victoria* fliegt ihm voraus [with n. 87].

In her **notes 86 and 87**, Marion Meyer provides references. For the relief, she is discussing; cf. Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 309-312 : "The Great Antonine Altar at Ephesus", esp. p. 312, Fig. "281 Great Antonine altar, Apotheosis of Lucius Verus, from Ephesus, after 169. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum").

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<sup>249</sup> The relevant observations by E. SIMON 1963, 9-10, are quoted *verbatim infra*, at **n. 456**, in Chapter *III.* Cf. G. KOEPPEL 1969, 172-174 (in his n. 138, he provided references). This passage is quoted again *infra*, in Chapter *I.2.1.c.* The complete passage of Koeppel's text, in which he explains his hypothesis in more detail, is quoted *infra*, at **n. 416**, in Chapter *III.*

### ***I.2.1.c) The problems, connected with the lictors and soldiers on both friezes of the Cancellaria Reliefs***

"Relief A [i.e., of the Cancellaria Reliefs] most likely displays a *profectio*, the emperor's departure from Rome, preceded by armed lictors and followed by unarmed lictors, so that they symbolize both the realms *militiae* and *domi*".

Eric M. Moormann (2020a, 277).

Also Stephanie Langer and Michael Pfanner (2018, 74), who likewise tend to interpret Frieze A as a *profectio* (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.)), write: "Fries A ... Die Likatoren 1 und 3 tragen Beile in ihren *fasces* (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figures 1; 3; 7; 8**), die Likatoren 7 und 8 anscheinend nicht [with n. 94, providing a reference]. Das könnte dafür sprechen, dass sich zwischen ihnen das *pomerium* befindet, denn Beile innerhalb des *pomeriums* durften nur beim Triumphzug mitgeführt werden [with n. 95, providing a reference]. Die Likatoren 3, 7 und 8 schauen auf den Kaiser [my emphasis]".

As just mentioned, the figures represented on Frieze A and B, are numbered on here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**. For the figures of the lictors and soldiers, discussed in this Chapter; cf. *infra*, n. 250.

After having almost finished writing this Chapter, I had the chance to discuss the matter with Eric Moormann in December of 2019, from whose relevant (at the time forthcoming) publication I have chosen the epigraph for this Chapter. I agree with Moormann's statement, and with that by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 74), although at second glance it is definitely not as easy, as I have just suggested myself in Chapter I.2.1.b). - I am not joking.

**Admittedly I quite like the idea (suggested in Chapter I.2.1.b)) that on both friezes the real centre of the composition is not any of its 17 figures, but in reality the *pomerium*-line, but in Frieze A my hypothesis seems at second glance not to work - although at third glance it *does* seem to work.**

Paolo Liverani, in the course of our discussion of both friezes on 14th March 2019 in Rome, was so kind as to remind me of the fact that on the far right of Frieze A - that I have interpreted above (in Chapter I.2.1.b)) as belonging to the area within the *pomerium*, or *domi* - appear the **figures 10; 12; 14-17** (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**), who are following Domitian (now Nerva).

They are armed soldiers (as I have written in this *Study* elsewhere myself; cf. at **ns. 381, 447**, in Chapter III. !), which means, as Liverani has rightly pointed out to me, that the entire scene shown on Frieze A, not only the part to the left of the figure of Domitian (now Nerva), as I have suggested above in Chapter I.2.1.b), is meant as taking place *outside* the *pomerium* (!). - But see below.

If true, not the *pomerium*-line, but instead Domitian is to be regarded on both friezes as the centre of the composition.

Paolo Liverani's observation has even more consequences. In theory there are two possibilities.

1.) It is (in theory) conceivable that the artists had intended to show that *Dea Roma* has made on Frieze A one of her rare exceptions to meet with the Emperor at a point 'just outside the *pomerium*', as on Hadrian's *adventus* relief (cf. here **Fig. 91**).

The scenario I have developed here is, of course, dependent of my identification of the amazon-like figure on Frieze A as the *Dea Roma* (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 9**, and *supra*, at Chapter I.2. *The amazon-like figure on Frieze A: Dea Roma, not Virtus*).

But the problem remains that the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* should stay within the *pomerium*. - Because: according to Liverani's just-mentioned hypothesis, both, *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* (cf. **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 11; 13**) seem thus to appear on Frieze A *outside* the *pomerium* (!).

2.) As mentioned before, Burkhard Fehr, as well as Langer and Pfanner (cf. *supra*, at **ns. 144, 193**, in Chapter I.1.), discuss in different contexts various kinds of 'errors' that have been observed in Roman state reliefs.

Does that possibly mean that Frieze A of the Cancelleria Reliefs should be added to the list of such reliefs, because it represents a scene that takes place *within* the City of Rome, but where armed soldiers appear, which, according to Roman law, was of course forbidden?

Besides, it happens more than once that on the Cancelleria Reliefs appear figures at places, where we would not expect them, or rather, that they are seemingly occurring at places, where their equipment proves to be wrong. One example are the just mentioned *armed* soldiers **figures 10; 12; 14-17**, who appear on Frieze A on that '(right) half of the panel' that is otherwise dedicated to the representatives of the City of Rome (*Dea Roma, Genius Senatus* and *Genius Populi Roman*: **figures 9; 11;13**), who are, as I suggest here, meant as being 'within' Rome. And that, although these soldiers belong to Domitian (now Nerva), who stands on the 'other half of the panel', that is to say, 'outside the city of Rome', where under normal circumstances also those armed soldiers should be expected.

**By mentioning here certain characteristics of Frieze A, I have already anticipated my conclusion that it was these (as we shall see: secondary) decisions concerning the compositions that have caused all the iconographic problems - on both panels. - To this I will come back below.**

With the error just mentioned on Frieze B, I am referring to three men, according to the nomenclature of Langer and Pfanner (2018) their **figures 8; 9 and 10** (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**). These men have been attributed to the Vestal Vergins, but also to Vespasian.

According to Hugo Meyer (2000, 127 with Fig. 229), we see on the left side of Frieze B the Vestal Virgins (**figures 3-7**) and the *Dea Roma* (**figure 2**):

"An diese schließt ein Togatus mit Gerten an [**figure 1**], in dem man wohl zu Recht einen *apparitor* gesehen hat [with n. 405]; dessen Aufgabe war es, den Priesterinnen in der Öffentlichkeit Durchlaß zu verschaffen. Zwei seiner Gehilfen [**figures 8 and 9**, both of whom are only in part preserved] sind vor der vordersten Vestalin [**figure 7**] wiedergegeben, wie sie den heiligen Frauen eine Gasse bahnen [with n. 406]. Der den Priesterinnen zustehende Lictor ist in der nach rechts anschließenden Figur [**figure 10**] zu erkennen [229]: ihm hatten selbst die Konsuln Platz zu machen [with n. 407]". - When we follow for a moment Hugo Meyer's scenario, we must imagine that the lictor **figure 10** had before marched in the procession, headed by the togate youth (**figure 12**) towards Vespasian (**figure 14**), but has stopped now and does not go any further, because the protagonists of both groups, the togate youth and Vespasian, have finally met. These (**figures 12 and 14**) stand still, obviously for quite some time already.

In his **notes 405-407**, Hugo Meyer provided references and further discussion. In **note 405** he quoted: E. SIMON (1963, 9), and in **note 407**: J. MARQUARDT (1885) 340f.

As observed by Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 191):

"The Vestals [**figures 3-7** on Frieze B] are followed by two lictors in short tunics and mantles and with axes attached to their rods. The one farthest left [*i.e.*, **figure 9**] has his back to the spectator; the one on the right [*i.e.*, **figure 10**] faces front and, along with another lictor on the far right of the relief panel [*i.e.*, **figure 15**], flanks the central group of Domitian and Vespasian".



Diana E.E. Kleiner thus attributes the lictor **figure 9** on Frieze B to the Vestal Virgins, whereas Langer and Pfanner (2018; cf. *infra*, quoted *verbatim* in n. 250), whom I am following here, suggest that lictor **figure 9**, together with lictor **figure 8**, precedes Vespasian, and thus belongs to the emperor. Now, the irritating fact on Frieze B is that these three lictors (**figures 8-10**), all of whom are, in my opinion, positioned 'within' the *pomerium* of Rome, are presumably equipped with axes attached to their rods (only in **figure 10** the axe is preserved) - exactly as in the case of the lictor (**figure 15**), who follows behind Vespasian. Only in his case, the fact that this lictor is equipped with *fasces*, to which an axe is attached, may be regarded as correct, since Vespasian and his lictor **figure 15** (at least in my opinion) are meant as standing outside the *pomerium* (to this I will come back below and *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.)).

Now, apart from the problems just mentioned concerning the three lictors (**figures 8-10**) on Frieze B, there are still more open questions. First of all not all scholars agree concerning the identification of those figures: Hugo Meyer (2000, 127 with n. 406) identified **figures 8 and 9** as two assistants of the *apparitor* (**figure 1**), who belongs to the Vestal Virgins. In his later publication on the subject; cf. Hugo Meyer (2011, 177), he called also the **figures 8 and 9** *apparitores*. This question has been clarified by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 53-54, for their **figures 8 and 9**), who have observed the remains of *fasces*, carried by the lictor **figure 9**, which is why probably also **figure 8** is a lictor. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 54) describe the lictor **figure 10** as follows: "Der sich nach links bewegend Mann wendet den Kopf nach rechts ...". From this (correct) observation follows that also the lictor **figure 10** belongs to Vespasian, which means that the emperors on both friezes are accompanied by four lictors each (in S. LANGER and M. PFANNER's opinion 2018 on Frieze B by possibly even five lictors). The lictor *curiatus*, who belonged to the Vestal Virgins, is according to Langer and Pfanner (2018, 50-51) the man on the far left of Frieze B, their **figure 1**, who is *not* equipped with *fasces* and an axe.

The next problem relates to the actions of the three lictors on Frieze B. Because of the directions, in which the **lictors 8 and 9** seem to move, Lorenz Baumer (2007, 101-102) suggested that they are 'walking around something', building on this (erroneous) observation far reaching hypotheses.

These hypotheses have been rejected by Hugo Meyer (2011b, 175-180: Section: "Ein interpretatorischer GAU [*i.e.*, ein 'größter anzunehmender Unfall']"), wrote on p. 177:

"Was Baumer selbst anzubieten hat, kann nur als abwegig bezeichnet werden und lohnt näheres Eingehen eigentlich nicht".

In reality, Baumer's observations at these lictors (**figures 8 and 9**) were not correct. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 53-54, discussing **figure 8**) were able to demonstrate, that the artists in question, instead of showing that the two lictors **figures 8 and 9** were walking in different directions, had simply made some serious mistakes concerning the legs and feet of **figure 8**, when they were sculpting this figure. Langer and Pfanner even suggest that the remains of **figure 8** could belong to two lictors: **figure 8** and **figure 8a**. Personally I am convinced that there was only one lictor: **figure 8**.

Although some of the aforementioned questions could thus be answered, other problems remain. If the lictor **figure 10** on Frieze B belongs to Vespasian, as is reasonable to suppose, we must assume that he, exactly as the lictors **figures 8 and 9** had at first preceded Vespasian - if not, he could not already stand at his current position. As I see now myself, he has clearly previously moved from 'right to left', exactly like Vespasian himself and as also almost all the other men of the emperor's entourage (**figures 9, 15, 17** - but not **figure 8**, although also this lictor must before have moved from 'right to left'), as well as *Victoria* (**figure 16**), who is crowning Vespasian. Now the lictor **figure 10** has stopped, looking back in the direction of the emperor, giving the impression that he must have heard something behind his back: possibly something that Vespasian is saying to his son Domitian (?), whereas the lictors **figures 8 and 9** are obviously not any more within ear shot of hearing Vespasian's voice (although the lictor **figure 8** looks in the direction of Vespasian).

**In the case of Frieze A, Lorenz E. Baumer has made some observations, which, together with those made by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 76, quoted *verbatim infra*, n. 250), allow the conclusion that the soldiers (figures 10, 12, 14-17) were only added at a later time to the composition of this panel.**

Baumer (2007, 97) writes:

"Keine Beachtung fand in der Diskussion bisher der Umstand, dass sich die Unruhe unter den Soldaten und Begleitern des Kaisers auf die Figuren im Vordergrund beschränkt, während die Likatoren und Soldaten im Hintergrund ein regelmäßiges Marschtempo angeschlagen haben. Ein ebenfalls wenig beachtetes ikonographisches Detail belegt, dass dieser Unterschied nicht zufällig sein kann. Bei den Likatoren am linken Bildrand ist zu erkennen, dass sie Rutenbündel tragen, an denen Beile befestigt sind, während die Likatoren, die in flachem Relief im Rücken des Kaisers vorbeimarschieren, keine Waffen in ihren *fasces* führen [with n. 25]".

In his **note 25**, Baumer writes: "Bemerkt von Herzog 2001, 122f., der daraus folgerte, dass die Likatoren im Hintergrund gerade die Stadtgrenze überschritten, während sich die anderen bereits außerhalb des Pomeriums befanden".

Also the observations by Dietrich Boschung (2012, 44) on Frieze A can help us to understand the relevant choices by the artists:

**"Einer der beiden sicher zusammengehörigen Friese [with n. 35] zeigte ursprünglich den Aufbruch des Kaisers Domitian in den Krieg (Abb. 29 [cf. here Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6]); nach der Ermordung des Herrschers wurde sein Porträt zu einem Bildnis des Nachfolgers Nerva umgearbeitet. Der Kaiser steht als Hauptfigur im Zentrum der Darstellung (Abb. 30). Er trägt Tunica und Paludamentum, wendet sich nach links und gibt mit erhobener Hand die Richtung an. Eine bewaffnete Frau in Amazonentracht, die *Virtus* (die personifizierte Tapferkeit [here interpreted as *Dea Roma*; cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.2.]) darstellt, unterstützt den Kaiser, indem sie seinen linken Unterarm fasst ... Vor Mars und im Rücken des Kaisers schreiten die Likatoren, die den Rang eines hohen Beamten bezeichnen". Cf. p. 44 on the *Genius Senatus* on Frieze A [here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 11]: "Er hält ein Szepter mit der Büste des Kaisers und bringt damit die enge Verbindung von Herrscher und Senat zum Ausdruck [with n. 36]". Cf. p. 44 on the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* [here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 13] on Frieze A: "Im Gegensatz zu den Begleitern des Kaisers bleiben sie in Rom zurück, während die anschließenden Soldaten sich in Bewegung setzen, um ihrem Imperator zu folgen. Am rechten Ende des Frieses stehen drei Soldaten in der *paenula*, der Reisekleidung, jedoch mit Ovalschild und *pilum* ausgerüstet. Der Vierte, der ihnen vorausgeht, hat abweichend von ihrer Ausrüstung eine *hasta*, wie die *principales* (Unteroffiziere) sie tragen [with n. 37], und einen Rundschild, den er nicht angelegt hat, sondern unter dem Arm trägt. Es handelt sich bei dieser Figur um den *armiger*, den Waffenträger des Kaisers [here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 14-17] ... Das Relief zeigt also die *profectio* des Herrschers: Er bricht von Rom mit seinen Soldaten zu einem Kriegszug auf, dessen siegreicher Ausgang die vorausfliegende Victoria ankündigt ... Noch reist der Kaiser wie ein ziviler Magistrat mit seinen Likatoren, aber er führt seine Waffen mit sich und wird, wenn nötig, mit seinen Soldaten mitkämpfen [my emphasis]".**

In his **notes 35-37**, Boschung provides references and further discussion.

For the sceptre, held by the *Genius Senatus* (**figure 11**) on Frieze A in his left hand (cf. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 75-76, Fig. 9 and n. 106, providing references): his loyalty to Domitian is stressed by the sceptre, provided that actually was adorned with a portrait of Domitian. This assumption has been doubted by some scholars, but Stephanie Langer Michael Pfanner (*op.cit.*) are able to prove it. See also Anne Wolfsfeld (2014, 201-202). This entire discussion is quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter V.1.e).

Tonio Hölscher (2009a, 57, according to whom both panels of the Cancellaria Reliefs represent an *adventus*) writes:

"Anche qui [*i.e.*, on Frieze B; cf. here **Fig. 2**] è quindi rappresentato un *adventus*, per cui i littori hanno scuri nei *fasces*, ma stavolta l'arrivo è di altra natura rispetto al fregio A: l'imperatore non torna da una campagna militare e non viene seguito da soldati, mentre Vittoria lo incorona non con lo corona del vincitore, ma con la corona *civica*".

For the fact that Vespasian is crowned by *Victoria* with this specific crown, and for the meaning of this decoration; cf. *infra*, **ns. 385, 386**, at Chapter III., and in Chapters V.1.i.3.); V.1.i.3.a); summarized in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

**The problems that thus remain are the following: 1.) on Frieze A appear six armed soldiers (figures 10, 12, 14-17) within an area, that I would otherwise identify as being located 'within the city'; 2.) on Frieze B we find a lictor (figure 10), equipped with rods, to which an axe is attached, a fact that is possibly also true for Vespasian's other lictors (figures 8 and 9), all three of whom likewise positioned at points, that I would otherwise interpret as being located 'within the city'.**

**This leads us to the characteristics of the compositions of both panels.**

The decisions concerning the designs of both Cancellaria Reliefs, made by the artists in the above-mentioned two examples 1.) and 2.), are similar, and consist in each case in the trial to adjust two (or even more) already existing iconographic schemata to each other - and in both panels the relevant choices of the artists have created problems of interpretation<sup>250</sup>.

<sup>250</sup> For the *pomerium*-line, cf. *supra*, **n. 199**, in Chapter I.1.1. See also M. ANDREUSSI: "Pomerium", in *LTUR* IV (1999) 96-105.

For Vespasian's four lictors on Frieze B, mentioned here, cf. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 53-54 (on **figure 8** on Frieze B); cf. p. 54 (on **figure 9** on Frieze B): "Reste der *fasces* befinden sich vor dem linken Oberarm"; cf. pp. 54-55 (on **figure 10** on Frieze B), cf. p. 54: "Mit seiner linken Hand hält er die mit Lorbeer geschmückten *fasces* vor der Brust ... an den *fasces* befestigt ist das Beil *securis*, das in ein Futteral eingesteckt ist ..."; cf. pp. 57-58, for **figure 15** on Frieze B, the lictor, who is following Vespasian. They write on p. 58: "Der linke Arm hält vor der Brust die *fasces*. An diesen ist in einem Futteral, dessen Stoffalten sich über die Beilschneide spannen, die *securis* eingesteckt. Beil und *fasces* sind freiplastisch gearbeitet ...".

S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 76 (on **Frieze B**), write about Vespasian's four (or in their opinion possibly five) lictors: "Der Gruppe der Vestalinnen und Stadtgöttin [*i.e.*, the *Dea Roma*] begegnen der Kaiser und sein Gefolge. Zuerst kommen drei bzw. vier Liktores (*i.e.*, their **Figure 8/9a-10**) an, deren lorbeerbekränzte *fasces* teilweise erhalten sind [with n. 119]. Ein weitere Liktor (**Figure 15** on Frieze B) nähert sich in schnellem Lauf von rechts. Hinter ihm steht ein nicht identifizierter Amtsdienstler (**Figure 17** on Frieze B) mit *rotulus* in der Hand. Die Figuren **10** und **15** tragen in den *fasces* das Beil (*securis*), was bei den übrigen Liktores aufgrund der fragmentarischen Erhaltung nicht gesichert ist [with n. 120; my emphasis]".

S. LANGER and M. PFANNER write in their note 119: "Eventuell handelt es sich um 4 anstatt 3 Liktores, die Rekonstruktion von Magi ist hier nicht gesichert. Siehe dazu ausführlich Kap. 2.8".

Cf. their note 120: "Die **Figuren 8 und 9** werden auch als Gehilfen des Lictor curiatus [of the Vestal Virgins] interpretiert: vgl. Meyer 2000, 126 [my emphasis]".

Cf. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 50-51 on Frieze B, "**Figure 1**: Apparitor/Lictor curiatus[?] (Taf. 10a; Taf. 17; Taf. 32; Taf. 48,2; Taf. 50,1; Taf. 57,3) [my emphasis]".

S. LANGER and M. PFANNER (2018, 46-50) discuss the armed **figures 10, 12, 14-17** on **Frieze A**. Cf. p. 46: "**Figure 10: Soldat** (Taf. 8; Taf. 25,1; 26,5; Taf. 49,3) ... Nach links gewandter Mann im Hintergrund ... Von seiner Bekleidung sind lediglich die Falten des *focale* im Nacken zu erkennen Über seiner rechten Schulter trägt er das *pilum*, das in einer runden Speerspitze endet ... [my emphasis]"; cf. p. 48: "**Figure 12: Soldat** (Taf. 8,2; Taf. 25,2; Taf. 26,6; Taf. 27,6) ... Männliche Figur im Hintergrund, die sich in einem weiten Ausfallschritt nach links bewegt ... über der rechten Schulter trägt er das *pilum* ... Der Soldat trägt *tunica*, *paenula* und *focale* sowie die *caligae* ... [my emphasis]"; cf. pp. 48-49: "**Figure 14: Soldat (Beneficiar/armiger)** (Taf. 9; Taf. 28) ... die Falten der *paenula* sind z.T. abgebrochen ... [he carries a] "Lanze (*hasta*) ... Unter dem linken angewinkelten Arm hat er einen mit kurzen Federn verzierten Rundschild geklemmt, den er an der Außenkante mit der Hand umschließt ..."; cf. p. 49: "**Figure 15: Soldat** (Taf. 9; Taf. 29; Taf. 49,5; Taf. 57,1) ... Er ist in die knielange *tunica* und *paenula* gekleidet ... Er hält in der Rechten ebenso wie **Figure 12** das *pilum*, dessen unteres abgesetztes Ende bis zur Mitte des rechten Schienbeines reicht. Die Kugel unterhalb der pyramidenförmigen Zwinge ist mit einem Adler verziert. Rechts davon sind wohl die Reste eines zweiten [*i.e.*, *pilum*] vorhanden. Die linke Körperhälfte schützt er mit einem gebogenen Ovalschild ... [my emphasis]"; cf. pp. 49-50: "**Figure 16: Soldat** (Taf. 9; Taf. 29,5; Taf. 30) ... unterer Schaft des *pilum* und Rand des Schildes abgebrochen ... In der gesenkten rechten Hand hält er das *pilum* ... [page 50. He is dressed in *tunica*, *paenula* and the *focale*] ... Ein Ovalschild, dessen Mittelgradverstärkung als geflügelter Blitz geformt ist, deckt die linke Körperseite ... [my emphasis]"; cf. p. 50: "Figure

The relevant decisions, made by the artists who designed the Cancellaria Reliefs, can in my opinion be divided into two different kinds: *a)* overall decisions, which must have been made before the carving process started; *b)* in addition, and *ad hoc* decided changes, made at a later stage of the carving process, which we could characterize with the Italian term *pentimenti*.

Let's begin with *a)*, the overall decisions concerning the compositions of the Cancellaria Reliefs.

According to Gerhard Koeppel (1969) in Frieze B two separate, already well known 'static images', have been combined with additional figures to create a *continuous frieze* (the following passage from Koeppel 1969 is quoted in more detail *infra*, at n. 416, in Chapter III.).

Koeppel (1969, 172-174) wrote:

"Das Relief B von der Cancellaria mit dem Adventus des Vespasian ... Immer wieder spielt im Adventus und in der Profectio die Trennung der Bereiche Domi und Militiae eine nicht zu übersehende Rolle, die durch die Trennung in der Relief-Komposition sichtbar ist [with n. 163]. So verhält es sich auch in Relief B [page 173, Abb. 16; page 174] von der Cancellaria [cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**]: der Stein steht an dem Einschnitt in der Komposition, an dem sich zwei Bewegungsrichtungen treffen ...

Im Gegensatz zum Profectio-Fries [*i.e.*, Frieze A; cf. here **Fig. 1**], wo die Bewegung in einem Zug nach links verläuft und über die Grenze des Reliefs hinausweist (Bild 3), ist hier in der Komposition ein Aufeinander-Zukommen der Bewegungen festzustellen. Das ist im Thema des Adventus selbst begründet, der ja ein Begegnung darstellt oder eine Ankunft an einem festen Ort ... **Die Form des Frieses ist für diese Darstellungsweise nicht geeignet, was schon die Tatsache, daß man von 'Frieshälften' sprechen kann, anzeigt. Im Grunde sind hier zwei statische Bilder in ein Friesband hineingesetzt und durch zusätzliche Figuren verbunden** [with n. 165; my emphasis]".

These two 'static images' (so G. KOEPEL 1969, 174), which are the basis of the two 'halves' of Frieze B, have been 'connected with each other' by the tree lictors, who precede Vespasian (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 8; 9 and 10**). In the case of Frieze A on the other hand, the armed soldiers (**figures 10; 12; 15-17**) and Domitian's *armiger* (**figure 14**), who carries Domitian's weapons, have only been moved to the right half, and therefore 'wrong' (because *domi*-)side of the composition, because on the correct, left half of the composition Minerva and Mars are occupying precisely that space, which we could regard as appropriate for armed soldiers. The reason to position the soldiers on the 'wrong' side of the panel was obviously the consequence of the - understandable - decision by Domitian himself or his artists that on the left side of the relief Domitian's divine *comites* Mars and Minerva should appear. This was, as we have seen above (cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.2.), an altogether innovative idea. And because Domitian wanted at the same time to stress his decision to be prepared to fight in person in this war, the artists had no other choice but to add the group of his *armiger* and the armed soldiers on the right side of the relief.

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17 (Taf. 31; Taf. 49,6) ... Stehender Mann, der nach links ausgerichtet ist .. Er ist mit *paenula*, *focale* und *tunica* bekleidet ... An den Füßen trägt er die *caligae* ... An der rechten Schulter lehnt das *pilum* ... [my emphasis]".

Cf. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER (76, in their section 2.9.4) write on the same **figures 10, 12, 14-17 on Frieze A**: "Hinter den Genien formiert sich eine Gruppe von sechs Soldaten (**Figure 10, 12, 14-17**). Welcher Einheit sie angehören wird nicht deutlich [with n. 108]. Ihre Ausrüstung entspricht im Prinzip der üblichen Bewaffnung von Legionären [with n. 109], wobei die auffällig reiche und nahezu prunkvolle Verzierung nicht zu einfachen Soldaten passt. Ob es sich um Prätorianer handelt, ist aufgrund der fehlenden Feldzeichen nicht auszumachen [with n. 110]. Der muskulöse und bärtige Mann (**Figure 14**) hebt sich von den jungen Soldaten ab. Er trägt ein zusätzliches *cingulum* und eine auffällige blattförmige *hasta*. Diese Ausrüstung ist auch für Beneficiarius, d. h. [das heißt] Unteroffiziere, belegt. Als Machtsymbol ist die *hasta* zudem für andere Beamte und den Kaiser selbst bezeugt, wobei mit dem Speerattribut das höchste Entscheidungsrecht (*summa imperii*) bezeichnet wurde. Die *hasta* wurde dabei meist nicht vom Beamten bzw. Kaiser selbst getragen, sondern von einem subalternen Begleiter [with n. 111]. **Es könnte sich bei dem Mann also um den persönlichen Waffenträger (armiger) des Kaisers handeln**, der deshalb den Schild so unkriegsgerisch unter seinen Arm klemmt [with n. 112]. **Die technische Analyse (s.[iehe] Kap. 2.9.3) lässt vermuten, dass er in einer ursprünglichen Vorlage vielleicht gar nicht vorgesehen war, sondern nachträglich eingefügt wurde, was die Ungereimtheiten bei Füßen, Schulter und Schild erklären würde** [my emphasis]".

In her notes 108-111, S. LANGER and M. PFANNER provide references and further discussion.

It is interesting to compare in the just discussed context the solution, found by the artists who designed the Nollekens Relief (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.b); Section I., and here **Fig. 36**). Here the two paludate lictors, who accompany Domitian, and one soldier (**figures 1, 4 and 3**) represent the area *militiae*. All three of them are standing just outside the *pomerium* and appear on the left hand 'half' of the panel - as they should. Whereas those figures, who represent the area *domi*: the *Dea Roma*, the *Genius Senatus* and the two *consules* (**figures 11; 8; 7 and 9**) are standing on the 'right' hand half of the panel - as also they should. The emperor himself thus stands at the *pomerium*-line - as he likewise should, provided we follow Pollini's interpretation. According to his hypothesis, Domitian is performing the sacrifice at the *Porta Triumphalis*. Only after its completion, Domitian will transgress the *pomerium*-line (by passing through his newly built *Porta Triumphalis*), and thus begin his triumphal procession, accompanied by his army and his lictors, who, at the represented moment, are still waiting outside the *pomerium*. And, as soon as the procession will have marched through the *Porta Triumphalis*, it will be solemnly received by the entire populace of Rome, indicated by the city's representatives on the right hand hand 'half' of the relief.

**Let's now turn to b), the ad hoc decided changes of the compositions of the Cancellaria Reliefs, or pentimenti**

In addition to this, Langer und Pfanner (2018, 49, in their texts related to **figures 14 and 15**; cf. p. 76, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 250) have observed that the sculpting process of Frieze A shows two phases, suggesting that the *armiger* (**figure 14**) has been added at later time. For Frieze B on the other hand Langer and Pfanner suggest (2018, 69, in Chapter 2.9.3, the context are mistakes made by the artists on both Cancellaria Reliefs) that in the group of the three **figures 11; 12; 13**, the *Genius Senatus* (**figure 11**) and the *Genius Populi Romani* (**figure 13**): ">spontan< oder nachträglich eingefügt wurden. In diesem Fall ist auch eine Umarbeitung oder Planänderung nicht ganz auszuschließen". This passage is quoted *verbatim* in more detail *infra*, at Chapter V.1.e).

These decisions, made by the artists of the Cancellaria Reliefs, concerning *a*), the overall design of the Cancellaria Reliefs, and *b*), the 'last minute' changes or *pentimenti*, which characterize both panels, have caused the above-mentioned iconographic problems. But we can also formulate the results thus obtained in a positive way. The decision to add on Frieze A Domitian's *armiger* and some of his armed soldiers (on the 'wrong' side of the relief), and on Frieze B the (armed) lictors, who precede Vespasian (likewise on the 'wrong' side of the relief), are, in my opinion, another proof that these artists were indeed innovative.

**As is well known, the great disadvantage of any innovation is that it is new.**

**And that, in its turn, can mean that the results of such projects may still contain many 'mistakes'.**

After this Chapter was written up to this point, I received John Pollini's (2017b) article on the Nollekens Relief (cf. here **Fig. 36**). Independently, and arguing in part on the basis of different evidence (cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.)), I have come in many respects to the same results as Pollini. I will quote my relevant conclusions after Pollini's account.

**Pollini (2017b, 116, in his Section: "Comparison with the Cancellaria Reliefs") writes about Frieze B (cf. here Fig. 2):**

"In Frieze B (fig. 14 [cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs 1 and 2 drawing**]) we find three paludate imperial lictors [**figures 8; 9; 10**], indicating that the scene would have taken place just outside the *pomerium* of Rome upon Vespasian's victorious return from the East following his suppression of the Jewish rebellion. Vespasian's eastern victory is underscored by the now-largely missing goddess Victoria (her foot dangling in mid-air directly behind Vespasian [**figures 14; 16**]), who extends an oak crown (partly preserved) over Vespasian's head. The helmeted, Amazonlike figure of Roma [**figure 2**] seated at the far left in the company of the Vestal Virgins

[figures 3-7] alludes to the hearth of Rome that the latter tended in the Temple of Vesta, providing a topographical reference to Vespasian's ultimate destination. There is general agreement that Frieze B represents an *adventus*, but some scholars believe that Frieze A also shows an *adventus* [with n. 85].

In his **note 85**, Pollini writes: "See e.g., Ghedini *ibid.* [*i.e.*, here F. GHEDINI 1986], 292-297, who takes Frieze A [corr.: Frieze B; cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**] as Domitian's *adventus*, with the head of Vespasian being recut from a portrait of Domitian. See also Hölscher (*supra* n. 45 [*i.e.*, here T. HÖLSCHER 2009a]) 5-60, figs. 19-20".

For Francesca Ghedini's relevant hypotheses; cf. *supra*, at **n. 181**, in Chapter *I.1.*, and in Chapter *I.1.1.*; and for Tonio Hölscher's hypotheses; cf. *supra*, at Chapters *I.1.*, *passim*; and *I.1.1.*, as well as *infra*, at Chapter *III.*

**Pollini (2017b, 117, Section: "Comparison with the Cancellaria Reliefs") writes about Frieze A (here Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing):**

"To the left, Mars and Minerva [figures 4; 5] (who makes a gesture of donning her helmet) rush ahead of Domitian [figure 6] (his head was re-cut to that of Nerva subsequent to Domitian's *damnatio*. The imperial figure [*i.e.*, Domitian/ Nerva], shown *paludatus* as he leaves the *pomerium*, is sent on his way by Roma [figure 9], who places her arm beneath his left ... The personified, bearded Senate [figure 11], standing farther to the right at the emperor's back, raises his hand in a gesture of farewell (it cannot be a gesture of greeting, since this figure does not face the emperor). Next to the personified Senatus is the semi-nude Genius Populi Romani [figure 13], also alluding topographically to the *pomerium* of the City from which the emperor is now departing".

For the *pomerium*; cf. *supra*, **n. 250**, and *infra*, **n. 453**, in Chapter *III.*

**In the following (on p. 118), Pollini discusses the terms *domi* and *militiae*. After that, Pollini (2017b, 118) continues :**

"A division between *domi* and *militiae* is also evident in the Cancellaria *adventus* scene [*i.e.*, Frieze B; cf. here **Fig. 2**]. The right half, punctuated by the one well-preserved paludate lictor of Vespasian [figure 10]; near the middle represents the domain beyond Rome's *pomerium* [with n. 93]. The left half, with the seated Roma, Vestal Virgins, and their togate lictor *curiatus* (or *apparitor*) holding two rods (*bacilli*) in the left hand [with n. 94; *i.e.*, **figure 1**], represents the sphere within the *pomerium*. To the immediate left of Vespasian's lictor is another [figure 9] (only a trace of his *fasces* now appears on his left shoulder), who rushes toward Rome's civic and religious center (represented by the Vestals and Roma herself) to announce Vespasian's victorious return [with n. 95]".

In his **note 93**, Pollini writes: "Koeppel 1984 (*supra* n. 1 [*i.e.*, here G.M. KOEPPEL 1984]) 31-32 (no. 10)".

In his **note 94**, he writes: "These two rods (without axe) of the Vestal's lictors were technically used to move people out of the way in the street, if necessary, but were probably more symbolic than practical. For the lictor *curiatus*, see Schäfer (*supra* n. 75 [*i.e.*, here T. SCHÄFER 1989]) 228; Pollini (*supra*, n. 20 [*i.e.*, here J. POLLINI 2012]) 359 n. 40, 362 n. 80".

In his **note 95**, he writes: "See Koeppel 1984 (*supra* n. 1 [*i.e.*, here G.M. KOEPPEL 1984]) 31-32 (no. 90)".

**Concerning the precise location of the *pomerium*-line on Frieze B, my own interpretation differs from Pollini's (2017b, 118) because of two reasons:**

1.) I follow Simon (1960) and Koeppel (1969) in assuming that the *Genius Populi Romani* on Frieze B sets his left foot on a *cippus* of the *pomerium*-line.

Cf. Simon (1960, 152ff.), followed by Koeppel (1969, 172 n. 159), quoted *verbatim supra*, at **n. 249**, in Chapter *I.2.1.b*), and *infra*, **n. 416**, in Chapter *III.*, where Koeppel's account is quoted in more detail; Simon (1963, 9-10; quoted *verbatim infra*, at **n. 456**, in Chapter *III.*). See also *supra*, at Chapter *I.2.1.b*), and *infra*, at Chapter *V.1.f*)

*My own hypothesis concerning the alleged 'footstool' of S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018) on Frieze B, on which the Genius Populi Romani sets his left foot - it is a cippus of the pomerium-line of Rome;*

2.) I follow Simon (1963, 10) in identifying in the togate youth **figure 12** the acting *praetor urbanus*. Also by means of the composition, the artists make clear that the young man holds this high office (cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.1.1.; see also below, Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*, with **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**, and the caption of this figure).

The *praetor urbanus* (cf. *supra*, at **ns. 172, 181, 185, 189**, at Chapter I.1.) was one of the magistrates, who could receive an emperor in an *adventus* ceremony (the other magistrates being the *consules* and the *praefectus urbi*, but those do not qualify here, because men holding these offices were much older than the togate youth; cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.h.1.).

But the *praetor urbanus* had an important spatial restriction: he could only act in the capacity of his office within Rome's *pomerium* (for a discussion of all that; cf. *infra*, at V.1.i.3.).

Since in Pollini's (2017b, 116) and my own opinion Frieze B shows Vespasianus' *adventus* into Rome in October of AD 70, the acting *praetor urbanus* (since 1st of January AD 70) was Vespasian's younger son Domitian (cf. *supra*, **n. 189**, in Chapter I.1.; and Chapter I.1.1.). Also Pollini (2017b, 118 with n. 96) himself identifies the togate youth on Frieze B (**figure 12**) with Domitian. But Pollini (*op.cit.*) does not address which 'topographical' consequences this assumption has in regard to Domitian's spatial restriction, when he was acting in October of AD 70 as the *praetor urbanus* in the (purported) *adventus* ceremony of his father Vespasian. A ceremony which, in its turn, had strict consequences for the locations of *both*, the *praetor urbanus* and the victorious Emperor Vespasian - *inside viz. outside the pomerium* - and thus consequently within the composition of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs.

For all that; cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.); summarized in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

In the following, I anticipate a passage from Chapter V.1.i.3.). This was written before I studied Pollini (2017b, 118). Also after reading Pollini's account, I maintain the conclusions, at which I had arrived there:

'I myself have therefore followed the relevant hypotheses of Simon (1960; 1963) and Koeppl (1969), in assuming that on Frieze B the young Caesar and *praetor urbanus* Domitian and Vespasian are shown in Vespasian's *adventus* at Rome of October AD 70, which is staged at the *pomerium*-line.

And that, although I am fully aware of the fact that on Frieze B Vespasian's two lictors (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 8 and 9**, who are not entirely preserved), could in theory have been represented with the axes attached to their rods, exactly as Vespasian's lictor **figure 10** on Frieze B. Note that these three lictors (**figures 8-10**) are positioned on Frieze B within that area, which is here interpreted as being located 'within the *pomerium*', an area, where lictors usually should *not* be shown with their axes attached to their rods. Although there is another state relief, in which exactly the same mistake has likewise been observed, the famous Extispicium Relief in the Louvre (cf. here **Figs. 16-18**).

For that mistake; cf. *supra*, **n. 144**, in Chapter I.1.; below, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.3.*; and at *Appendix I.g.4.*

Note also that Vespasian's fourth lictor (**Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 15**), who follows behind Vespasian, is correctly shown with the axe attached to his rods, because he stands outside the *pomerium*'.

**To conclude.** When we consider that the 'wrong shoes', worn by the *Genius Senatus* on Frieze B; nor the question of whether the amazon-like representation on Frieze A should be identified as *Dea Roma* or *Virtus*; or the just mentioned example of the six *armed* soldiers (figures 10; 12; 14-17) on Frieze A, who appear in a context that otherwise might be interpreted as an area *within* the *pomerium* of Rome; or the

**lictors (figures 8; 9 and 10) on Frieze B, with "axes attached to their rods" (D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 191), who are likewise seemingly represented within the City of Rome - are not the only iconographic problems, which are connected with the Cancellaria Reliefs - it becomes clear, why the 'history of scholarship' concerning those two friezes has grown to such enormous complexity.**

After having finished writing this Chapter, I received on 22nd April 2020 Paolo Liverani's forthcoming essay ("Historical reliefs and architecture") that has in the meantime appeared in the essay volume, edited by Aurora Raimondi Cominesi *et al.* (2021), and on 30th April 2020, Liverani has kindly granted me the permission to quote *verbatim* from this text.

Concerning Frieze A, Liverani (2021, 87) writes now (in my opinion convincingly), but to my not small surprise, when compared with our above-mentioned discussion of the subject on 14th March 2019 in Rome:

"The lictors standing before the Emperor carry the fasces with axes, and on one of them we find small traces of red among the folds of his dress, the *sagum*. [with n. 19] All these elements are signs of the *imperium*, the military power of the Emperor, and therefore the lictors must be standing outside the pomerium. On the other side, in contrast, the lictors behind the Emperor carry fasces without axes. Thus, they are still inside the pomerium. This means that the Emperor is going to cross the boundary of the city in a *profectio* for a military expedition". - Cf. now also Liverani (2023, 118, the Italian version of his essay).

In his **note 19**, Liverani writes: "Liverani 2014, 26". - Liverani (2014, 26) is quoted *verbatim* in more detail and discussed *infra*, at **n. 448**, in Chapter *III*.

### ***I.3. Were the Cancellaria Reliefs the horizontal panels in the bay of an arch, built by Domitian?***

Unfortunately, the Cancellaria Reliefs themselves do not contain any data that could tell us for which building they were made, or, in case they do contain such data or information, as is presumably the case, we are so far unable to recognize and interpret them. As we shall see below, one such datum may be provided by the sheer *lengths* of both friezes, and there seem to be also other information.

This is the reason, why different emperors could be suggested, who had allegedly first commissioned these friezes. In addition to this, Magi's<sup>251</sup> suggested date ('not after AD 120') for the moment, when the friezes became inaccessible at the deposit of the sculptor's workshop, to which they had been brought in antiquity, has been challenged. In the following, I therefore come back to Magi's point 4.), which has already been mentioned in Chapter *I.1.*:

4.) Magi suggested that : "tra la scoria del I secolo e il primo ventennio del II" (at a date 'between the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century and AD 120'), the Cancellaria Reliefs were brought to the deposit of an ancient sculptor's workshop (where they were finally excavated; cf. *supra*, at **n. 141**, in Chapter *I.1.*).

Bergmann, who belongs to those, who doubt Magi's relevant suggestion, has therefore come to the conclusion that the friezes may have been dismantled from their original building at a much later date than suggested by Magi:

"In beiden Friesen ist also das Porträt Domitians ausgelöscht und durch ein anderes Kaiserporträt ersetzt worden [in Frieze A by a portrait of Nerva, and, in Bergmann's opinion, in Frieze B by a portrait of Vespasian]. Die Friese schmückten demnach ein Gebäude, das beim Tode Domitians nicht abgerissen,

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<sup>251</sup> cf. F. MAGI 1945, 138-140, with n. 4 (referring back to his pp. 40, 42, 50); p. 140, quoted *verbatim infra*, **n. 255**. Cf. *supra*, **n. 141**, in Chapter *I.1.*



sondern weiterbenutzt wurde und können ohne weiteres erst zu einem viel späteren Zeitpunkt abgenommen worden sein"<sup>252</sup>.

Bergmann's idea was followed by Hölscher, who writes:

"Ovviamente dopo la morte di Domiziano furono staccati [*i.e.*, the Cancellaria Reliefs] dal monumento originario per essere rilavorati per un secondo impiego sotto il successore Nerva. Tale nuova destinazione tuttavia i rilievi non l'hanno mai raggiunta, perché rimasero in un deposito: si può così dedurre che essi appartennero a un edificio che, senza essere esclusivamente un monumento celebrativo di Domiziano, altrimenti destinato all'abbattimento dopo la sua morte, svolse funzioni più generali, per cui sotto Nerva o continuò a essere impiegato o venne completato"<sup>253</sup>.

Because of all this, Magi's point 4.) is of the greatest importance. Or in other words, if we would succeed in reliably dating the moment, when those friezes disappeared in the deposit of the sculptor's workshop, or when that deposit became inaccessible in antiquity, we could work 'backwards' from those dates, in order to better understand the different phases of the lifetime of these panels in antiquity. In my opinion, only a topographical study of the area, where those friezes were excavated, could in theory provide the relevant data we need.

As a matter of fact, this kind of research has actually been conducted by several scholars, who have thoroughly studied the topography of the entire area in question, diachronically, as it should be done. They have studied the relevant documentations of old excavations, and even conducted new ones there themselves, and have studied all the ancient structures, as well as the pertaining archaeological and architectural finds from this area, in their topographical contexts; *nota bene*: all finds from all previous excavations, as well as from the new excavations, *together*. The relevant research had already started in the 1980s and the results were published since the early 1990s. This is true for both here mentioned areas: that underneath the Museo Barracco and that underneath the neighbouring Palazzo della Cancellaria. The new excavations underneath the Palazzo della Cancellaria and the Church of San Lorenzo in Damaso, for example, were conducted 1988-1993; in this case, the first publications by Frommel appeared already in 1989 and 1991. The results of the new excavations conducted underneath the Museo Barracco, and of the old excavations, conducted there and at the Corso Vittorio Emanuele II from 1885-1904, have been summarized by Susanna Le Pera (2004)<sup>254</sup>.

Stephanie Langer and Michael Pfanner (2018), who have neglected all the above-mentioned publications, have, therefore, arrived at very different conclusions concerning the topography of this area (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.a)).

What was obviously felt in the 1980s by several scholars, who are interested in the City of Rome, was the need to direct the perspectives of their research towards the just described aims. Interestingly, this scholarly approach was not entirely new, on the contrary, since it pursued the same avenues of research as Magi's

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<sup>252</sup> M. BERGMANN 1981, 25 with n. 28: "Magi (Rilievi [1945] 137ff.) bezeichnet selbst seine Vermutung, der Bodenhorizont über den Platten könne durch die Niveauerhöhung des Campus Martius unter Hadrian bedingt sein, als hypothetisch ...".

<sup>253</sup> T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 54-56.

<sup>254</sup> for the date of the new excavations (1988-1993), conducted at and underneath the Palazzo della Cancellaria and the Church of San Lorenzo in Damaso, cf. the title of the publication by C.L. FROMMEL and M. PENTIRICCI 2009a.

For those excavations, cf. C.L. FROMMEL 1989; C.L. FROMMEL 1991; C.L. FROMMEL and M. PENTIRICCI 2009b; m. PENTIRICCI 2009.

For the archaeological and architectural finds from the Palazzo della Cancellaria, see also *inter alia*: M. CIMA 2009; A. CARIGNANI and G. SPINOLA 2009; T. LORENZ 2009; M. WOLF 2015 (cf. *infra*, at Chapters V.2.; and V.3.).

Cf. S. LE PERA BURANELLI, 2004, who summarizes the results of the excavations, conducted underneath the Museo Barracco and at the Corso Vittorio Emanuele II from 1885-1904; for those excavations, cf. also: M.G. CIMINO and S. LE PERA 1995; C. BENOCCHI, P. CIANCIO ROSSETTO, G. CIMINO, S. LE PERA 1995; M.G. CIMINO 1997; M.G. CIMINO and M. NOTA SANTI 1998.

For the topography of the area in question, see also: F. FILIPPI 2010; F.X. SCHÜTZ 2010; F. FILIPPI 2015b; M.T. D'ALESSIO, 2017; C. HÄUBER 2017; and V. GASPARINI 2018.

generation had done. But all this *reappeared* at this time, and that, after these kinds of inquiries had been abandoned for a very long time. Admittedly, such interdisciplinary studies cost much money and take more time than other scholarly approaches, but those changes were much to the advantage of the subjects which interest us here. These shifts of the scholarly trends within the last 80 years or so have aptly been described by Pentiricci (2009, 61), cf. the next Chapter I.3.1.

***1.3.1. M. Pentiricci's discussion (2009) of the excavations underneath the Palazzo della Cancellaria, his reconstruction of the stratigraphy of the excavated area, and his discussion of the two sculptor's workshops found there, and of the pertaining architectural and archaeological finds***

Massimo Pentiricci (2009, 61) writes:

the distribution of the related architectural and archaeological finds, that had come to light in the excavations underneath the Palazzo della Cancellaria, to various locations which are owned by different institutions, "e la mancata edizione esaustiva degli scavi annunciata da Magi<sup>255</sup> in cui avrebbe trovato posto un'analisi più dettagliata dei marmi, hanno contribuito alla perdita delle informazioni riguardanti il contesto stratigrafico di cui si è tentata una ricostruzione nel Cap.[titolo] 6. All'epoca dei primi ritrovamenti, furono attribuiti allo stesso edificio da cui provenivano i rilievi [*i.e.*, *inter alia* the Cancellaria Reliefs discussed here] anche alcuni frammenti di soffitto a lacunari con profili curvo ritenuti pertinenti al fornice di un arco [with n. 429]. Magi datò questi pezzi, insieme ad un capitello di colonna di grandi dimensioni, in età flavio-traiana, come il capitello di lesena più anzi citato [with n. 430]"<sup>256</sup>.

Cf. Pentiricci (2009, 204-205: "Capitolo 7 L'isolato della Cancellaria tra la tarda età repubblicana e il IV secolo d.C.").

Cf. Pentiricci (2009, 204: "§ 3. La ristrutturazione urbanistica in età flavia (Periodo 3) :

"Dalla tipologia degli interventi attribuiti al Periodo 3 si deduce con chiarezza l'esistenza di un vero e proprio progetto urbanistico che solo può giustificare l'estensione e l'entità delle diverse attività edilizie riconosciute; come si è desunto dall'analisi dei materiali ceramici associati alla stratigrafia in fase, l'avvio di questo processo di rinnovamento può datarsi nella prima età flavia [with n. 26: "PENTIRICCI, Cap. 5 § 3".].

Nell'area della Cancellaria, a sud dell'*Euripus*, viene creato un nuovo quartiere il cui assetto planimetrico mostra notevoli differenze rispetto a quello che aveva caratterizzato i periodi precedenti; gli assi secondo i quali sono realizzate le nuove costruzioni, rimanendo invariati per secoli, costituiranno le linee guida del successivo sviluppo edilizio dell'isolato fin in età tardomedievale. Nel Periodo 3, l'*Euripus*, con i muri paralleli a meridione doveva comunque costituire ancora un ineludibile vincolo urbanistico; verso nord l'attività edilizia non supera infatti la struttura in opera quadrata di tufo, ancora perfettamente in uso, che servirà a contenere la spessa colmata messa in opera nel Periodo 4 su tutta l'area della Cancellaria per innalzare il piano di calpestio da m 10,89 s.l.m. [sul livello mare = *asl*], coincidente con il piano di spiccatto del muro in opera quadrata parallelo a via del Pellegrino (Periodo 1-Fase C), si passerà a m 12,54/12,44 s.l.m., quota del pavimento di uno dei nuovi edifici. Ciò determina la scomparsa del settore nord dell'edificio in laterizi del Periodo 2, mentre è possibile che a sud alcune delle strutture rimangano ancora in uso. Prima dell'accumulo dell'interro viene invece demolita completamente la costruzione identificata della fondazione 4579 la cui mole originaria, che doveva probabilmente superare lo spessore della colmata, risultava di ostacolo alla realizzazione dei nuovi edifici (fig. 2)".

Pentiricci (2009, 204-205), continues immediately after the above quoted passage:

**"L'officina marmoraria presso il sepolcro di Irzio**

L'accumulo dell'interro dovette provocare l'interruzione dell'attività della bottega di marmorari [here therefore referred to as the 'First sculptor's workshop', which was located to the south of the *Euripus*] di cui è stato ricostruita la presenza nel settore posto a sud dell'edificio in laterizio del Periodo 2. Non sarebbe

<sup>255</sup> cf. F. MAGI 1945, 138-140, with n. 4 (referring back to pp. 40, 42, 50); p. 140: "Riassumendo, sempre in via di ipotesi e in attesa che un approfondito studio topografico di questa zona di Campo Marzio e dei monumenti <<in situ>> della Cancellaria ne tracci le vicende edilizie, potremmo concludere che le lastre [*i.e.*, the Cancellaria Reliefs] scomparvero alla vista sotto Adriano: dovettero essere quindi portate al deposito del sepolcro di Irzio tra la scoria del I secolo e il primo ventennio del II [my emphasis]".

<sup>256</sup> M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 61. In his n. 429, he quotes: "Cfr. nel II volume CIMA, nn. 6-7 e CARIGNANI-SPINOLA, n. 41". In his n. 30, he quotes: "MAGI 1945, p. 51". To this "capitello di lesena", he refers also on p. 61 with n. 428 (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 80, in Chapter 1.1.

dunque un caso che proprio in quest'area, nella colmata del Periodo 3, risulti utilizzata una cospicua quantità di frammenti di scaglie di marmo e travertino, distribuiti in strati di ampia superficie e spessore non irrilevante [with n. 27, quoting: "PENTIRICCI, cap. 6, p. 140"]. È possibile che la bottega sia stata trasferita sulla riva settentrionale dell'*Euripus* [thus creating the here-so-called 'Second sculptor's workshop'], rimasta esclusa dalla ristrutturazione edilizia; a nord del canale [*i.e.*, the *Euripus*] si deve comunque registrare un innalzamento della quota del piano di calpestio originario; lo strato [page 205] di riporto in base a quanto è stato possibile dedurre dalla documentazione degli scavi degli anni 1937-1940, non risulta di spessore uniforme: mentre in prossimità del sepolcro di Irzio la superficie del deposito doveva attestarsi intorno alla quota di m -7 ( m 10,54 s.l.m.), procedendo verso ovest doveva raggiungere m -6 (m 11,54 s.l.m.). Su questo interro, forse coevo all'attività del Periodo 3 interessano la zona posto a sud del canale, vengono ad accumularsi i numerosi materiali marmorei di spoglio venuti alla luce nel corso dell' esecuzione dei pozzi eseguiti, a partire dal 1937, lungo la facciata della Cancelleria su Corso Vittorio Emanuele [with n. 28, quoting: "PENTIRICCI, cap. 3, p. 931"]. Analogamente a quanto riscontrato per l'officina posta a sud dell'*Euripus*, anche la buona parte dei frammenti con sicurezza attribuibili al contesto artigianale localizzato a nord del corso d'acqua [*i.e.*, the *Euripus*], provengono dallo smantellamento di edifici preesistenti. Tra questi è un nucleo stilisticamente omogeneo, databile alla fine del I secolo a.C. costituito dalle due basi di colonna decorate e dai frammenti di cornice, in cui si è proposto di riconoscere elementi pertinenti all'edificio identificato dal tratto di fondazione 4579 [with n. 29, quoting: "Cfr. nota 15"]. Amettendo, anche in assenza di testimonianze certe, che la bottega si sia installato presso il sepolcro di Irzio in conseguenza dei lavori del Periodo 3, forse negli anni immediatamente successivi, si deve comunque prendere atto che i dati archeologici tendono a circoscrivere l'attività dell'officina nel periodo posteriore al principato di Domiziano, quando furono smantellati i monumenti da cui provengono i capitelli di lesena e di colonna, i frammenti di soffitto a cassettoni e il blocco iscritto di trabeazione, mentre i rilievi storici [*i.e.*, the Cancelleria Reliefs], che recano nel fregio A il ritratto di Nerva, prolungano l'attività di rimozione probabilmente nel corso del principato di Traiano, periodo al quale Degrassi datò le iscrizioni dipinti sul sepolcro di Irzio, che gli addetti all'officina eseguirono nei momenti di pausa dal lavoro [with n. 30, writing: "Per i frammenti architettonici: CIMA, nn. 4-7, CARIGNANI-SPINOLA, nn. 40-41 [cf. *supra*, n. 76, in Chapter I.1.]; sui rilievi della Cancelleria: PENTIRICCI, Cap. 2, § 8"]. Che la bottega potesse essere ancora operante nella prima età adrianea trova sostegno nel ritrovamento del rilievo con le due teste virili [the here-so-called "rilievo di prova"] la cui cronologia ne esclude un collegamento con l'officina posta a sud dell'*Euripus* [*i.e.*, the here-so-called 'First sculptor's workshop'], scomparsa sotto la colmata del Periodo 3 [with n. 31, writing: "Per il rilievo cfr. nel II volume: LORENZ [quoted verbatim *infra*, at n. 290, in Chapter I.3.2.]. Si distinguono da questi manufatti per l'ambito cronologico di pertinenza, oltre ai pezzi della prima età augustea poc'anzi citati, le *lastre* che dovevano comporre in origine la c. d. [cosiddetta] ara dei Vicomagistri, databile in età tiberiana dato che, ovviamente, non esclude che lo stoccaggio dei materiali possa aver avuto inizio già nel corso della dinastia Flavia; tanto più che le lastre, in base alle tracce sulla pietra >furono smontate in più di volte dai monumenti in cui erano poste< [with n. 32, quoting: "LIVERANI 1998, p. 168; cfr. anche: PENTIRICCI, cap. 2, p. 56, nota 403".]; si deve in ultimo citare il ritratto femminile non finito (n. 2 del catalogo CARIGNANI - SPINOLA nel II volume [for that head, cf. *infra*, n. 287, in Chapter I.3.2.], il quale qualora se ne accetti la provenienza dalla zona a nord dell'*Euripus* attesterebbe l'attività della bottega >alla metà/ seconda metà del I secolo d.C.<. È evidente come la creazione dell'officina sulla riva settentrionale dell'*Euripus*, sia un indizio incontestabile della perdita dell'originaria valenza commemorativa del sepolcro di Irzio a ridosso del quale si andarono accastonando le lastre dei rilievi storici e sulle cui pareti i lavoratori della bottega si dilettaavano a scrivere oscenità. È probabile che l'area di pertinenza del magazzino, dovesse estendersi anche verso nord-ovest se possono considerarsi dello stesso ambito, la serie di cinque capitelli scoperti nel 1923 scavando le fondamenta della nuova centrale telefonica e che M. Cima ha riconosciuto essere del tutto analoghi al capitello venuto alla luce lungo corso Vittorio Emanuele. Che la regione situata a nord dell'*Euripus* e a ovest dello stadio di Domiziano fosse, nel punto di vista produttivo, specializzata nella lavorazione dei marmi, era già stato evidenziato da Rodolfo Lanciani; lo studio di Maischberger ha consentito di percepire con maggiore precisione quale fosse l'entità di tali attività artigianale e come questi si distribuisse nella regione (fig. 3) [with n. 33, quoting: MAISCHBERGER 1997, pp. 95-110; per l'ubicazione delle botteghe: PENTIRICCI, cap. 2, § 8; in particolare p. 62, note 435-438"]. I dati della Cancelleria

consentono dunque di aggiungere nuovi tasselli al quadro delineato dallo studioso evidenziando l'importanza dell'officina *insediatasi* presso il sepolcro di Irzio nella seconda metà del I secolo d.C.: se la nostra ricostruzione coglie nel vero, l'attività artigianale aveva già avuto inizio, a sud del corso d'acqua [*i.e.*, the *Euripus*] già nella prima metà del secolo".

Massimo Pentiricci (2009, 205), at the end of this summary, adds the remark that there had unfortunately not been a chance in the context of writing and publishing this monumental work, to try a reconstruction of the structure, to which the Cancellaria Reliefs had once belonged, which, thanks to the research, published in the same volumes by Maddalena Cima (2009), would now be possible. - Precisely that has then been done for the first time by Markus Wolf (2015; cf. *id.* 2018; cf. *supra*, ns. 79-81 in Chapter I.1., and *infra*, at Chapters V.2.; VI.3.), who, based on the architectural fragments, published by Cima (2009) and Carignani and Spinola (2009), created two reconstructions: into the first, that shows an "arco onorifico isolato" ('an isolated honorary arch'), he has integrated the Cancellaria Reliefs as the horizontal panels in its central bay.

In the just quoted passage, Pentiricci (2009, 204-205) discusses *inter alia* the 'Second sculptor's workshops', excavated underneath the Palazzo della Cancellaria and the "rilievo di prova", which may be attributed to it, and to which I will come back below (cf. *infra*, at Chapter I.3.2.).

Concerning the 'Second sculptor's workshop' and the "rilievo di prova" Pentiricci (2009, 204-205) turns out to be of the same opinion as Cima was (cf. *infra*, ns. 286, 291, in Chapter I.3.2.): although Pentiricci does not date the "rilievo di prova" to the Flavian period, as Hölscher (2009a, 58, with Fig. 23, n. 49; cf. *infra*, n. 289, in Chapter I.3.2.) does, but instead Hadrianic. Pentiricci (*op.cit.*) is well aware of the fact that this relief was *not* found to the north of the *Euripus* (*i.e.*, within the deposit of the 'Second sculptor's workshop' proper), where the Cancellaria Reliefs and some of those architectural fragments were found, that are datable to the late Domitianic period. Pentiricci suggests that we better reckon with the possibility that this "rilievo di prova" nevertheless belonged to the workshop in question, concluding that we should regard this relief as the artifact, by which this workshop is datable. This "rilievo di prova", if actually belonging to the same workshop as the Cancellaria Reliefs (as seems to be the case), is so far the latest datable object that has been attributed to this deposit. I believe Pentiricci is right, because the 'First sculptor's workshop', that had existed likewise in the area of the Palazzo della Cancellaria, but to the *south* of the *Euripus*, had undisputedly disappeared, when the level of that area had been raised in the early Flavian period.

Because of the date of this sculpture, the situation is different in the case of the unfinished female head, published by Carignani and Spinola (2009, 510, cat. no. 2; cf. *infra*, n. 287, in Chapter I.3.2.), which the authors date: "alla metà/ seconda metà del I secolo d.C.". This head, which is unfortunately now lost, was likewise *not* found within the deposit of the 'Second sculptor's workshop' to the north of the *Euripus* itself, but only within the same area. Carignani and Spinola have published this head, and attribute it, because of its date, to 'one of the sculptor's workshop, found in this area'.

Pentiricci (2009, 204-205), referring to this female head, rightly concludes that - provided that it had likewise been sculpted at the 'Second sculptor's workshop', the lifetime of this enterprise should be dated accordingly: "si deve in ultimo citare il ritratto femminile non finito (n. 2 del catalogo CARIGNANI - SPINOLA nel II volume [for that head, cf. *infra*, n. 287, in Chapter I.3.2.]), il quale qualora se ne accetti la provenienza dalla zona a nord dell'*Euripus* attesterebbe l'attività della bottega >alla metà/ seconda metà del I secolo d.C.<".

To these two different sculptor's workshops, that were excavated underneath the Palazzo della Cancellaria, the first and older one to the south of the *Euripus*, the second, and younger one to the north of the *Euripus*, I will come back below (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.a.1.).

Thanks to the kindness of Massimo Pentiricci, I could elsewhere publish a photo of a sculptural find that, as I see now, may likewise tentatively be attributed to the 'Second sculptor's workshop', found underneath the

Palazzo della Cancelleria. This find is datable relatively late and was not excavated within the area proper of that workshop, but underneath the Church of San Lorenzo in Damaso - namely: "a marble fragment consisting of a five-petaled rose (fig. 16f) [with n. 287], which is the closest parallel to the roses in the box at the support of the 'Esquiline Venus' (fig. 16e) [with n. 288] so far known".

Cf. Häuber (2014a, 772, fig. 16f on p. 41, with ns. 287, 288). In my notes, I have provided references. In my **note 287**, I quote: "Cf. E.M. LORETI, *s.v.* Frammento di capitello (?), photo: M. Pentiricci), in ... [*i.e.*, here C.L. FROMMEL and M. PENTIRICCI 2009a], II, pp. 94-95, no. 51, fig. 37. I thank Massimo Pentiricci who was so kind as to send me this photo and to allow me to publish it (by E-mail of March 15th, 2013)". In Häuber (2014a, 746), I have dated the 'Esquiline Venus': "to the Hadrianic/Antonine period" - at the time, when I was writing this book, I had not yet studied the results of Pentiricci's work and that of his colleagues (cf. C.L. FROMMEL and M. PENTIRICCI 2009a), which is summarized in this *Study*.

### ***1.3.2. A discussion of the question, whether the Cancelleria Reliefs and the architectural finds from the area of the Palazzo della Cancelleria could have belonged to an arch, built by Domitian (cf. here Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancelleria Reliefs, 'in situ')***

Before the monumental publication of the excavations, conducted in the area of the Palazzo della Cancelleria, and edited by Frommel and Pentiricci (2009a), most recent scholars had taken it for granted that 1.) both friezes of the Cancelleria Reliefs showed scenes related to events in Domitian's reign, were 2.) part of a building or monument commissioned by this emperor and erected in his lifetime, and that 3.) the Cancelleria Reliefs, following Domitian's *damnatio memoriae*, were dismantled from this structure<sup>257</sup>, that the panels were brought to the deposit of a sculptor's workshop in the *Campus Martius*, where the emperor's head on Frieze A was recut into a portrait of Nerva<sup>258</sup>, and where these friezes were finally excavated underneath the Palazzo della Cancelleria. See Kleiner<sup>259</sup> for a good summary of the relevant hypotheses suggested until that date. But those assumptions were by no means all true (for a discussion cf. *infra*, in Chapter II.).

Pentiricci's<sup>260</sup> work and that of his colleagues, which Pentiricci has summarized (cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.3.1.), consisted in analyses of Magi's excavations, and of all other excavations in the area of the Palazzo della Cancelleria, in studies in the different magazines, where the relevant archaeological and architectural finds are kept, as well as in the related archives and in appropriate libraries. Many of the ancient architectural fragments (*inter alia* curved soffit blocks, capitals and column shafts), excavated in the area, are datable in the Domitianic period.

**Pentiricci<sup>261</sup> likewise dates the Cancelleria Reliefs to that period, and comes to the conclusion that all of those Domitianic architectural finds may have belonged to the same building that had been completely**

<sup>257</sup> so for example E. SIMON 1963, 9, who in addition to this suggested that the building or monument itself was destroyed because of Domitian's *damnatio memoriae*. This is discussed by S. LANGER and PFANNER 2018, 82 (both quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.1.). Cf. H. MEYER 2000, 128 with n. 108.

<sup>258</sup> so T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 54-56 (quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 253, in Chapter I.3.); so also D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 192, who remarks that also this point is controversial. Already M. PFANNER 1981, 516 with n. 13, wrote that this was the *communis opinio* of this time. He himself (cf. *op.cit.*, p. 517 with n. 15) has, in my opinion, proven that the head of Nerva had instead been carved when both friezes were still *in situ* on the Domitianic monument; cf. *infra*, at Chapter II.1.a). H. MEYER 2000, 128-139, suggested instead, contrary to all other previous scholars, that the Cancelleria Reliefs had altogether three - not only two - carving phases; to this I will come back below, at Chapter II.4.). T. HÖLSCHER, D.E.E. KLEINER and H. MEYER, all *op.cit.*, quote PFANNER 1981, but do not follow his relevant suggestion.

<sup>259</sup> D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 191-192, Figs. 158; 159.

<sup>260</sup> M. PENTIRICCI 2009, *passim*.

<sup>261</sup> M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 61 with ns. 428-431; p. 62 with ns. 440-442, p. 162 with n. 97, p. 204: "§ 3. La ristrutturazione urbanistica in età flavia (Periodo 3)", pp. 204-205 "L'officina marmoraria presso il sepolcro di Irzio" (quoted *verbatim supra*, at Chapter I.3.1.). - To this I will come back below (cf. *infra*, at Chapter VI.3.).

**destroyed. The curved soffit blocks, which certainly belonged to an arch, as had already been suggested by Magi and Nogara, and by Colini, and likewise by Cima<sup>262</sup>, and the considerable length of those friezes, leads Pentiricci, thus following Bendinelli<sup>263</sup>, to suggest that the Cancelleria Reliefs should be identified as the horizontal panels in the bay of an arch, built by Domitian.**

Pentiricci<sup>264</sup> discusses the objections of Pfanner (1983) to the hypothesis that the Cancelleria Reliefs had belonged to an arch, and is, in my opinion, right in rejecting Pfanner's arguments against such an assumption. The lengths of the Cancelleria Reliefs exceed the largest of those reliefs, which Pentiricci himself compares with them, by circa 6 cm. Since those reliefs date to later periods, it seems to me a better idea to compare two contemporary arches at Rome, not mentioned by Pentiricci himself, the Arch of

<sup>262</sup> cf. F. MAGI (1939, 205, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 112, in Chapter I.1.), B. NOGARA 1939 (8, 105-106, 227; cf. *supra*, n. 6, in Chapter I.1.); and A.M. COLINI 1938 [1939], 270 (cf. *supra*, n. 4, in Chapter I.1.); M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 61 with n. 422.

So also M. CIMA 2009, 72: "Il quadro che emerge dalla lettura degli elementi architettonici rinvenuti negli scavi comunale permette di stabilire una continuità con quanto scoperto all'interno dell'edificio [*i.e.*, the Palazzo della Cancelleria, found in a different excavation] ... Nello stesso modo negli scavi eseguiti all'interno dell'edificio fu rinvenuta una base di colonna decorata identica a quella già segnalata negli scavi del '37 [with n. 24], nonché frammenti del soffitto curvo a cassettoni attribuibile ad un arco [with n. 25: "Cfr. CARIGNANI-SPINOLA [2009], n. 41."] e un capitello corinzio di grandi dimensioni analogo al nostro cat. no. 5 [with n. 26: "Cfr. CARIGNANI-SPINOLA [2009], n. 27"]. Risulta quindi piuttosto evidente che una stessa situazione di 'deposito' di materiali marmorei smontati da edifici preesistenti comprenda, in maniera unitaria, tutta l'area interessata dai lavori e situata a nord dell'*Euripus*". Further for this "deposito", cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.3.1.

Cf. A. CARIGNANI and G. SPINOLA 2009, 524, "cat. no. 27 Frammento di capitello corinzio (fig. 33)"; pp. 529-530, "cat. 41. Frammenti di soffitto a cassettoni (figg. 48-50)", who refer back to M. CIMA's cat. no. 6.

<sup>263</sup> BENDINELLI 1949; 38-39; cf. M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 61 with n. 426 (BENDINELLI was against the idea [for that, cf. B. NOGARA 1941; cf. *supra*, n. 112, in Chapter I.1.], to assume the Cancelleria Reliefs in the attica zone of a monument): "Bendinelli trovava logico, sulla base di esempi noti, che i rilievi avessero decorato le pareti del fornice centrale di un arco; la notevole lunghezza dei fregi, m. 6,058, non costituiva un ostacolo a tale ipotesi che veniva resa plausibile dalla profondità dei fornici di alcuni archi tuttora esistenti come quello di Costantino e Settimio Severo rispettivamente di m 6,482 e m 7,085 o quello di Orange, di m 7,60 [with n. 426]". M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 61, n. 427, quotes J. HENDERSON 2003, 249, and mentions H. KÄHLER 1950, 30-41 (to both I will come back below).

Cf. J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 19: "If an arch were in question, our reliefs might have occupied the opposite walls of its passage-way, after the manner in which sculptured panels fill the passage-way walls of the Arches of Titus and Constantine [at Rome]".

Only after having finished writing this *Chapter*, have I found in R. SABLAYROLLES 1994, 131, n. 44 (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 47, in Chapter I.1.), who quotes for this hypothesis J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1946a, 189, that Toynbee had at this earlier stage suggested that the Cancelleria Reliefs could have decorated an arch at the entrance of the *Divorum*. R. SABLAYROLLES (*op.cit.*) tentatively followed this hypothesis of J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1946a, 189.

<sup>264</sup> M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 61-62: "**È, a ben vedere, lo stesso tema di rilievi, la virtù militare del principe, a rendere poi del tutto plausibile l'ipotesi <<arco>> quale monumento di appartenenza** [with 431, quoting for the subject *verbatim* Suet. *Dom.* 13.]; **non si può fare a meno tuttavia di osservare che, pur esistono archi di misure compatibili con quelle dei rilievi della Cancelleria, i pannelli figurati tuttora esistenti entro fornici sono tutti di dimensioni minori dei nostri, compresi i pannelli traiane dell'arco di Costantino ritagliati in modo da non superare i m 6** [with n. 432; my emphasis]; cf. his n. 432. Here PENTIRICCI provides measurements and quotes M. PFANNER 1983, 61: M. PFANNER, *op.cit.*, finds reliefs like those of the Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia* more appropriate for an arch than the Cancelleria Reliefs. Therefore PFANNER 1983, 51, according to PENTIRICCI, *op.cit.*: "riteneva più adatto per i rilievi della Cancelleria un tempio, un portico o un monumento dinastico. Alle considerazioni di Pfanner si può obiettare che il grande fregio traiano in parte riutilizzato nell'arco di Costantino possiede quelle caratteristiche tecniche che lo renderebbero adatto per una collocazione su un arco ma, che nel caso specifico, è notoriamente da escludere".

Cf. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER (2018, 81, quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter V.1.i)), repeat the earlier relevant opinion of M. PFANNER, 1983, 51, mentioned above, in modified form, without discussing that M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 61-62, has in the meantime rejected this opinion.

Domitian on the Palatine/ the Arch of *Divus Vespasianus* ?<sup>265</sup> (cf. here **Figs. 8.1: 58; 73**), of which only its two pylons are known, and the Arch of *Divus Titus* in the *Circus Maximus* (cf. here **Fig. 121**)<sup>266</sup>.

As already mentioned above, the innovative design of Domitian's arches has recently been observed by Claudio Parisi Presicce (2021a, 53; cf. *id.* 2023, 110): he discusses the Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia* (here **Fig. 120**), the Arch of Titus in the *Circus Maximus* (here **Fig. 121**), and the "ARCUS AD ISIS", represented on the relief from the Tomb of the Haterii (here **Figs. 89; 90**), which he (convincingly) dates Domitianic.

Cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*, Section III.; at point 3.); and *infra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.g).

Both arches (*i.e.*, the Arch of Domitian/ Arch of *Divus Vespasianus* on the Palatine and the Arch of *Divus Titus* in the *Circus Maximus*) were much larger than Domitian's Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia* (cf. here **Fig. 120**), which so far all scholars have compared, who discussed the question, whether or not the Cancellaria Reliefs might have decorated an arch at all, or more specifically, whether or not those friezes could have been the horizontal panels in one of its bays.

**Fig. 121. The Arch of Titus in the *Circus Maximus*. Reproduced are here three illustrations from M. Buonfiglio 2017, p. 171, Fig. "8. Ricostruzione del prospetto dell'Arco di Tito (Sovrintendenza Capitolina - Dipartimento di Architettura UniRomaTre - Laboratorio Rilievo e Tecniche Digitali)"; p. 177, Fig. "15. L'emiciclo del Circo Massimo con la ricostruzione dell'Arco di Tito. In nero le murature ad oggi esistenti, in grigio le parti nascoste o ipotizzate (elab.[orazione] grafica M. Buonfiglio su rilievo Zetema)"; p. 179, Fig. "17. L'arco di Tito al Circo Massimo (ricostruzione M. Buonfiglio, A. Ciancio, A. Vecchione)".**

According to the new reconstruction by Marialetizia Buonfiglio (2017) and her colleagues, the central bay of the Arch of *Divus Titus* in the *Circus Maximus* is 5 m wide and 15 m deep. The central bay was, as the ground-plan of this arch on the Severan marble plan indicates, interconnected with the two lateral bays of the arch, which were each 2,20 m wide. This arch was erected in AD 81 by the Roman Senate in honour of *Divus Titus* and all three bays were decorated with horizontal marble panels, of which some remains have survived.

Since neither Massimo Pentiricci (2009), nor Stephanie Langer and Michael Pfanner (2018), or Markus Wolf, or Klaus Stefan Freyberger (2018; for the publications of the latter four scholars mentioned here; cf. *infra*, in Chapters V.1.-V.3.)) discuss this monument, I think it is about time to consider this arch in this context, since it can help us to get an idea of the sheer sizes of the 'many arches' that the Emperor Domitian had himself built all over the City of Rome (cf. *supra*, n. 83, in Chapter I.1.), especially because its proportions fit the arch, to which the Cancellaria Reliefs might have belonged.

<sup>265</sup> A. CASSATELLA 1993) 92, Fig. 45; cf. A. CASSATELLA 1996.

For the foundations of this arch; cf. A. CLARIDGE, 1998, 120, "Fig. 50. Palatine. General site plan", no. "8 Arch: Palatine Gate (Domitian)"; A. CLARIDGE 210, 124, Fig. 50, no. 8, p. 127, p. 121; C. HÄUBER 2015, 9, "Fig. 4 [= here Fig. 73], Map showing the five different locations suggested for the temple of Iuppiter Stator", labels: VICUS APOLLINIS; "CLIVUS PALATINUS"; ARCUS DOMITIANI. Cf. below, in Chapter VI.3; in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix V*; at Section IV.; and in *Appendix VI*; at Section VII.

Because according to F. COARELLI (2012; 283) Domitian may have dedicated this arch to Vespasian, I suggest there that the Cancellaria Reliefs possibly belonged to this arch, or, because of the contents of both Friezes of the Cancellaria Reliefs, perhaps rather to the Arch of Domitian, postulated by Coarelli (2009b, 88; *id.* 2012, 481-483, 486-491) at the "Ingresso principale" of Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, the *Domus Augustana*; cf. here **Figs. 8.1: 58**, and below, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

<sup>266</sup> P. CANCIO ROSSETTO: "Arcus Titi (Circus Maximus)", in: *LTUR* I (1993) 108-109, Figs. 157; 160. M. PFANNER 1983, 98-99, mentions the publication by P. CANCIO ROSSETTO, and copies the inscription of this arch (cf. *infra*). For earlier publications of this Arch of Titus), cf. C. PARISI PRESICCE 2008, esp. p. 348, ns. 9, 10; and now C. PARISI PRESICCE 2021a; and *id.* 2023 (the English and Italian versions of the same essay).

Paola Ciancio Rossetto, whom I had asked whether she had published her relevant research and excavations in the meantime, has kindly alerted me in an E-mail of 1st March 2019 to the following publications, in which the relevant excavations have been published, together with reconstructions of this arch in "3D": M. BUONFIGLIO 2014; M. BUONFIGLIO 2017; M. CANCELANI, C. FAICOLINI, M.P. ALTABA, M. SACCONI 2017; M.G. GRANINO CECERE 2017 (for the inscription of this arch, that has been copied by the Anonymus Einsiedlense, and of which also some fragments have been found in the recent excavations, that allow the correction of this inscription).



As already mentioned, the curved soffit blocks, found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs, provided those had belonged, together with those reliefs, to the same "honorific arch", have been reconstructed by Marcus Wolf (2015) as belonging to an arch the passageway of which was circa 5,10 m wide (cf. *supra*, n. 79, in Chapter I.1.).

Besides, the Arch of Domitian on the Palatine/ the Arch of *Divus Vespasianus* ?, exactly like Domitian's colossal equestrian statue on the *Forum Romanum*, the *Equus Domitiani*<sup>267</sup>, can also teach us something else. Although both were obviously destroyed after Domitian's death and *damnatio memoriae*, they were by no means completely razed, on the contrary, in the case of this arch, the foundations were reused, and in the case of the *Equus Domitiani* not only its foundation, but also its base.

For the *Equus Domitiani*; cf. also *infra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part I. In my opinion, the idea to attribute the Cancellaria Reliefs to an arch is much preferable to all other so far aired suggestions concerning a building type, for which they might have been commissioned<sup>268</sup>. Because we know, as also mentioned by Pentiricci himself, that Domitian had erected many arches at Rome, all of which were destroyed after his death (Dio Cassius 68,1,1)<sup>269</sup>. As we have just seen, in the case of the Arch of Domitian/ The Arch of *Divus Vespasianus* ? on the Palatine at least, this monument did not disappear completely, as we might expect, when reading Dio's remark. In addition to this, Pentiricci<sup>270</sup> stresses convincingly, that also the contents of both friezes corroborate the assumption that they had adorned an arch (to this I will come back below).

Although, as I must also confess, when first comparing the horizontal panels in the bays of Domitian's Arch of *Divus Titus* at Rome (cf. here **Fig. 120**) and of Trajan's Arch at Beneventum (cf. *infra*, at Chapter II.3.3., and here **Fig. 46**), I believed to have realized a problem, that would contradict Pentiricci's hypothesis. Because, provided Pentiricci's idea is true, one of the Cancellaria Reliefs should have shown a procession, moving from right to left (as is actually true for both friezes - as I at first erroneously thought), whereas the other frieze should have shown the procession moving from left to right: to the effect that, when those reliefs were *in situ* in the bay of an arch, a spectator (as in Domitian's Arch of *Divus Titus*) could, so-to-say, move 'in the midst' of both processions, since both would 'walk' in the same direction as the spectator himself or herself.

<sup>267</sup> cf. C.F. GIULIANI: "Equus: Domitianus", in: *LTUR* II (1995) 228-229, Figs. 77-80. For the *Equus Domitiani* see also F. COARELLI 2009b, 81-83, Figs. 17-21, especially the reconstruction drawings Figs. 19; 20 (a comparison of the *Equus Domitiani* with the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, both drawn to scale); and 21: "L'Equus Domitiani nel Foro Romano sullo sfondo della Basilica (disegno di Francesco Corni)". As C.F. GIULIANI 1995, 228, states, and this reconstruction drawing illustrates, this equestrian statue of Domitian showed the emperor looking south-east, in direction to the Palatine and the Temple of Vesta. - And in the direction of the *colossus* of the Emperor Nero, whose facial traits of Nero had been changed into those of the Sungod at the order of the Emperor Vespasian, and who had received under the Emperor Titus the facial traits of himself. For this and the following; cf. *infra*, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 57-58, discussing the possible meaning of the prominent place - and space ! - reserved for the Vestal Virgins on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs, writes about the *Equus Domitiani*: "Il culto di Vesta e il collegio delle Vestali occuparono una posizione chiave nella politica religiosa di Domiziano. Il suo famigerato procedimento contro quattro Vestali, che egli punì con condanne a morte estremamente dure a causa della violazione della regola di castità, fu meno un segno di crudeltà esagerata che un atto dimostrativo di un impegno conseguente per l'integrità di un culto, da lui trattato come centrale pegno della continuazione dell'eternità di Roma. Il Palladio troiano, conservato dalle Vestali, uno dei più sacri garanti del dominio romano, era allo stesso tempo un'immagine di Minerva, la divinità protettrice di Domiziano: così il potere dell'imperatore si collegò in modo strettissimo con il culto di Vesta. Si spiega di conseguenza perché egli sin dall'inizio del suo regno avesse coniato monete con Domiziano recante il Palladio: e anche la sua colossale statua equestre nel Foro lo reggeva in mano".

Cf. E.M. MOORMANN 2018, 168-169; cf. p. 168: "The monument [*i.e.*, the *Equus Domitiani*] was officially given by the Senate to honour Domitian's victory over the Chatti and Dacians in A.D. 89". Cf. p. 167 with n. 33 (quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*)), where MOORMANN discusses M.L. THOMAS 2004, 40-42. - To this I will come back below (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*)).

<sup>268</sup> for that, cf. M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 61 with n. 426, and *supra*, n. 264.

<sup>269</sup> cf. C. HÄUBER 2014a, 786 with n. 37 (quoting Dio Cassius 68,1,1); cf. *supra*, n. 83, in Chapter I.1.

<sup>270</sup> M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 61 with n. 431, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 264.

But, and this objection seems to corroborate Pentiricci's idea: if we imagine that both friezes (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, 'in situ'**), when *in situ*, were located opposite one another and parallel, the positions of the two emperors in both panels are not exactly identical, but only almost. - And only at that second moment, did I realize that the figures on panel B belong to *two different groups* who, having moved to their current positions from opposite directions, and headed by the emperor and the togate youth, have just met and stand now opposite each other<sup>271</sup>.

If *that* symmetrical feature of both panels is indeed of importance, and I imagine that this could actually be the case, these friezes should better be read accordingly.

Or, in other words, seen under that perspective, those scholars, for example Magi, Fuhrmann, Bianchi Bandinelli, Simon, Bergmann and Hugo Meyer, seem to be right<sup>272</sup>, who have either themselves suggested, or have reported the opinion of other scholars, according to whom on frieze B not so much the *adventus* of the new Emperor Vespasian is the main subject (who is now standing stationary at the sacred boundary of Rome, the *pomerium*-line, but has before moved from right to left, together with those members of his entourage, who follow behind him: a lictor and another man<sup>273</sup>, who grasps a scroll<sup>274</sup>), whereas three lictors precede Vespasian (cf. *supra*, at n. 250, in Chapter I.2.1.c)), but rather the action of the young togate youth, who heads the representatives of the entire City of Rome, to whom also the Vestal Virgins belong.

This togate youth has been identified as Domitian *inter alia* by: Magi (1939, 1945), Fuhrmann (1940; *id.* 1941), Bianchi Bandinelli (1946-48), Simon (1960, 1963), Koepfel (1984), Pfeiffer (2009), Pollini (2017b), Chabrečková (2017) and Sheldon 2023, in press<sup>275</sup>, as well as by Claudia Valeri and Giandomenico Spinola

<sup>271</sup> contrary to myself, this has immediately been realized by S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 50: "Cancellariere relief B. Die 17 erhaltenen Figuren von Relief B bewegen sich aufeinander zu, d. h. [das heißt] die Figuren 1-7 und 11-13 nach rechts und die Figuren 8-10 und 14-17 nach links", for those numbers of the represented figures, cf. p. 19, their Abb. 2. Cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**, where we have copied the numbering of the figures on both Friezes of the Cancellaria Reliefs after S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 19, Fig. 2.

For the Arch of Titus and the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum (here **Fig. 120**), cf. D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 185-191, Figs. 154-157 (Rome, Arch of Titus); on p. 187, she writes about this arch: "It is the two large, horizontally oriented relief panels in the central bay that are of the greatest interest. They depict the two key scenes of the triumphal procession - the display of the spoils and Titus in his triumphal chariot. In the spoils panel, the figures march from left to right; in the triumph panel from right to left. In other words, both scenes are deliberately oriented in the direction of the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline hill, the goal of the triumphator"; cf. pp. 224-229, Figs. 188-193 (Benevento, Arch of Trajan).

<sup>272</sup> cf. F. MAGI 1939, 205 (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 112, in Chapter I.1.); F. MAGI 1945, 111 (quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter IV.1., at n. 463); H. FUHRMANN 1940, Sp. 472 and H. FUHRMANN 1941, Sp. 544-545 (cf. *supra*, ns. 7; 113, in Chapter I.1., quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter IV.1.); R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI 1946-48, 259 (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 112, in Chapter I.1.); E. SIMON 1963, 9-10 (quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 456, in Chapter III.).

Cf. M. BERGMANN 1981, 26, 28-29 (on the togate youth; quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 191, in Chapter I.1.); cf. p. 29: "Da die Vestalinnen auffallend viel Raum einnehmen, die amazonenhafte Göttin hinter ihnen zurücktritt und der Zug der Liktores sich anscheinend auf sie zu bewegt, könnte man an einen Vorgang denken, in dem die Vestalinnen selbst eine Rolle spielen und nicht nur als Zeugen eines staatspolitisch wichtigen Zeremoniells anwesend sind. Aus dem Wenigen, was von ihren Tätigkeiten und Funktionen bekannt ist, ergibt sich kein Hinweis [with n. 50, providing a reference]. Cf. also *infra*, n. 475, in Chapter VI.3

Cf. H. MEYER 2000, 127, 136: "An Fries B erschien Domitian als Prinz [*i.e.*, the togate youth], an Fries A dagegen war er als regierender Kaiser dargestellt ... Die alte Deutung des Frieses ist gewiß zutreffend, sagt doch Sueton: >>Als [Domitian] dann zur Herrschaft gelangt war, hatte er die Stirn, vor dem Senat zu prahlen, er sei es gewesen, der seinem Vater wie seinem Bruder den Thron gegeben, sie hätten ihm diesen nur zurückgegeben<< [with n. 413, quoting: "Suet. Dom 13"]. Im Jahre 70 n. Chr. war Domitian etwa 20 Jahre alt gewesen: sein Kinn- und Backenflaum [(Fig.) 251] wird deshalb Zeichen seiner Jugendlichkeit zu verstehen sein [with n. 432, providing references]. Inhalt der Szene ist folglich die Überlassung der Herrschaft an Vespasian - ein aus Sicht der Regierungszeit Domitians lange zurückliegendes Ereignis .."; pp. 133-134 (on the Vestal Virgins on Frieze B); pp. 133-134: "Urteilt man nach der Komposition, so stehen die Priesterinnen der Vesta im Rahmen des dargestellten Vorgangs dem Kaiser nicht wesentlich an Autorität nach. Und wenn in Fries B ein *adventus* dargestellt ist, dann allenfalls ein solcher der Vestalinnen, nicht aber der des Kaisers: die Haltung des vestalischen Liktors und der Apparitorenhelfer lassen darüber keinen Zweifel [with n. 422, providing a reference]".

For a discussion of Suetonius (*Dom.* 13); cf. *supra*, in Chapter Preamble, at Section III.

<sup>273</sup> cf. E. SIMON 1963, 9: "Den Zug [behind Vespasian] beschließt eine Gestalt in doppelter geschürzter Tunika, wohl ein Kuldiener. Die Schriftrolle in seiner Linken enthält vielleicht ein Verzeichnis der gelobten Opfer, die der Feldherr bei seiner Rückkehr einzulösen hatte"; cf. p. 10, on the representation of Domitian (now Nerva): "Die Rolle in seiner beringten Linken weist wohl wie bei der Gestalt in B auf Opfer hin, die pro reditu gelobt worden waren".

<sup>274</sup> J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 4.

<sup>275</sup> for F. MAGI; cf. *supra*, n. 117, in Chapter I.1.; cf. E. SIMON 1963, 9, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 175, and at ns. 181, in Chapter I.1., and at n. 456., in Chapter III. Cf. G. KOEPEL 1969, 172 with n. 157, quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 173; in Chapter I.1.; S. PFEIFFER 2009, 62, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 59, in Chapter I.1.; J. POLLINI 2017b, 118 n. 96; quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 72; B. CHABREČKOVÁ 2017; 65-

(cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*; *infra*, in Chapters III.; at *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*), and by myself.

That Vespasian and the togate youth, who are the protagonists of the two groups, whose meeting is represented on frieze B, are shown as standing at the *pomerium*-line of Rome (for that, cf. *supra*, at n. 199, in Chapter I.1.1.), has been made clear by the artists, who designed frieze B, by some details of their composition, in combination with the choice of the figures they have represented, as well as by the particular positionings of those figures, and by their equipment. To this I will come back below (cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.)).

Marianne Bergmann and Hugo Meyer (cf. *supra*, n. 272) have, in addition to this, mentioned the large space, and thus importance, given the Vestal Virgins on frieze B. But also the *Genius Senatus*, the *Genius Populi Romani*, and the goddess Roma (as Simon 1960; 1963<sup>276</sup> interpreted those personifications on frieze B) belong to the representatives of Rome, *who, all together, are now likewise standing stationary, but have before moved from left to right to the pomerium-line*, to welcome Vespasian. That this entire scene, visible on frieze B, is staged at the City of Rome, the artists have shown by the presence of the *Dea Roma*, and by the large number of the just mentioned further representatives of Rome. Looking at both friezes that way, the spectator, passing under the bay of Domitian's arch, could indeed have proceeded 'together' with both processions: on his or her left, and *from left to right*, would have moved (on frieze B) the representatives of the City of Rome, led by the young Domitian, towards Vespasian, on the spectator's right, again Domitian, now as emperor, followed by his armed soldiers, would have moved (on frieze A), *from right to left*, to his (finally) victorious campaign.

We have, therefore, arranged the illustrations of both friezes (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**) in a way that they are shown 'in situ' (as if in the bay of this Domitianic arch), but 'lying on their backs', so that we can better imagine, what the ancient spectator, passing under the bay of this arch, would have seen, while moving forward. Also in this illustration, both friezes are reproduced at the same scale. And because in the case of frieze B all four slabs are almost complete what their lower edges are concerned (but note that S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, concerning this point, are of a different opinion - a hypothesis, which could be disproved though; cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.d)), and since of frieze A the far right border is preserved, and on frieze B the far left border, the positions of all three protagonists, who are visible on both friezes, are almost precisely known (see also the caption of **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**).

As already said above (cf. *supra*, at n. 248, in Chapter I.2.1.b)), we have based our first relevant visualization (of 2020) on photographs of the Vatican Museums (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2**). **Fig. 2** shows frieze B, which, at the Museo Gregoriano Profano, has been put on display this way, thus following the reconstruction of this panel as suggested by Magi (1945, Tav. I, cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.1.). Our second visualization (of 2022) we have based on Magi's drawings (1945) instead (cf. **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**)

The reconstruction drawing by Markus Wolf (2015, cf. *supra*, n. 79, in Chapter I.1., his Fig. 8: "Ricostruzione arco monumentale, 1: 350") is based on a different approach. His reconstruction drawing of an "arco onorifico isolato" (also referred to by him as "arco monumentale") comprises the Cancellaria Reliefs, integrated as the horizontal panels into the central bay of this arch. Wolf's Fig. 8 illustrates a view of his reconstruction drawing of this arch, in which Frieze B is visible *in situ*: contrary to the reconstruction of Frieze B at the Museo Gregoriano Profano, in Wolf's reconstruction there is a wide gap between slab B1 and B2 of this panel. As we shall see below, this large gap, indicated by Wolf (2015), is (erroneously) assumed by Langer and Pfanner 2018 (for a discussion, in which their hypothesis could be disproved; cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.d)).

69, Figs. XXXI-XXXII; cf. *supra*, n. 73; RM. SHELDON 2023, in press; Chapter 7; Section "The Cancellaria Reliefs", with ns. 60-68; cf. *supra*, n. 74, all in Chapter I.1.

<sup>276</sup> E. SIMON 1963, 9, 10. Quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 175 and at ns. 181, 456.

By looking at both friezes this way (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, 'in situ'**), it becomes clear, that the artists have placed the Emperor Domitian on frieze A, literally speaking, almost precisely opposite the togate youth on frieze B, which seems to prove that the compositions of both panels were designed for being viewed opposite each other - in the passageway of an arch.

Let's now look again at those positions of the two emperors on frieze A and B (Domitian, now Nerva, and Vespasian), as they appear on **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**. After what was said above, it does not come as a real surprise, that not the two emperors, who appear on those panels, are to be found at the same positions on both friezes. Domitian (now Nerva) on frieze A stands rather at almost exactly the same position as the togate youth on frieze B. Those two figures, Domitian (now Nerva) on frieze A, and the togate youth on frieze B<sup>277</sup> have thus been defined by the artist (or by Domitian himself) as the two main protagonists of both friezes.

Bergmann (1981, 24, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 191, in Chapter I.1.), referring to previous interpretations of frieze B, writes about the togate youth that in the opinion of those scholars: "der Empfangende die heimliche Hauptfigur des Frieses [ist]" ('the receiving [the togate youth is] the secret main figure'). If our visualization of **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'** in the passageway of one of Domitian's arches, should be correct, this youth was not only the 'secret', but in reality the very obvious main figure in frieze B.

If Pentiricci's hypothesis should be true, that both Cancellaria Reliefs had actually been the horizontal panels in the bay of one of Domitian's arches, the scenario, just developed by looking at **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**, could corroborate Magi's hypothesis (1939; 1945) that the togate youth on frieze B should be identified as a portrait of that man, who commissioned this arch: Domitian.

See for this hypothesis *inter alia* the following scholars, most of whom are discussed *supra*, in Chapter I.1:

Lugli (1946; cf. *supra*, n. 10), Bendinelli (1949; cf. *supra*, n. 16), Hammond (1953; cf. *supra*, n. 18), Hanfmann (1964; cf. *supra*, n. 23), Béranger (1964, cf. *supra*, n. 24), Andreae (1973, cf. *supra*, n. 31), Bandinelli and Torelli (1976, ARTE ROMANA, scheda 105; cf. *supra*, n. 32), Bonanno (1976; cf. *supra*, n. 32), Lochin (1990, cf. *supra*, n. 46), Kuhoff (1993, cf. *supra*, n. 47), Ramage and Ramage (1996; cf. *supra*, n. 49), Pfeiffer (2009; cf. *supra*, n. 59), Pollini (2017b; cf. *supra*, n. 72), Chabrečková (2017; cf. *supra*, n. 73), Sheldon (2023, in press; cf. *supra*, n. 74), Bianchi Bandinelli (1946-48; cf. *supra*, n. 112), Fuhrmann (1940; 1941)<sup>278</sup>, Toynbee (1946; 1957; cf. *supra*, n. 118), Keller (1967; cf. *supra*, n. 121), Koepfel (1969; cf. *supra*, n. 173, but not any more in 1984, cf. *infra*, at n. 416, in Chapter III.), Simon (1960; 1963 - but not any more in 1985)<sup>279</sup>, Daltrop<sup>280</sup>, McCann (1972; cf. ns. 73; 398, in Chapter III.), Kleiner (1992)<sup>281</sup>, and Hugo Meyer (2000; cf. *infra*, n. 397 in Chapter III. - but Meyer, although recognizing in the extant portrait of the togate youth Domitian, erroneously thought that this portrait had been recut from an alleged original portrait of the King Tiridates; cf. *supra*, n. 130), Claudia Valeri and Giandomenico Spinola (cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*; *infra*, in Chapters III.; and *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and below at *The Contribution of Giandomenico Spinola*), and myself.

<sup>277</sup> and not Domitian (now Nerva) on Frieze A, and Vespasian on Frieze B.

<sup>278</sup> cf. F. MAGI 1939, 205 (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 112); F. MAGI 1945, 70-72, Tav. XXIII, p. 111 (quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 463); H. FUHRMANN 1940, Sp. 472; H. FUHRMANN 1941, Sp. 544-545 (cf. *supra*, n. 113; quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter IV.1.).

<sup>279</sup> E. SIMON 1963, 9 (quoted *verbatim infra*).

<sup>280</sup> G. DALTROP 1966, 41 Taf. 31.

<sup>281</sup> D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 191, 192, Fig. 159; cf. here n. 129, in Chapter I.1., and n. 394, in Chapter III.

Cf. S. LANGER and PFANNER 2018, 62 with n. 59, who write: "Vor den Arbeiten von McCann und Bergmann zu Beginn der 1970er Jahre bestand eine weitgehende Einigkeit darüber, dass hier [on Frieze B] Domitian (Figur 12) auf Vespasian (Figur 14) trifft und dem Vater im Beisein der wichtigsten Personifikationen seinen Herrschaftsanspruch abringt ... Diese Deutung wurde in leichten Variationen u.a. von Magi, J.M.C. Toynbee, J. Béranger, H. Fuhrmann, E. Simon, E. Keller und B. Andreae vorgetragen und schien so schlüssig, dass sie noch bis in die 1990er Jahre - unter Ausblendung der Umarbeitung - vertreten wird [with n. 59, with ample bibliography, quoting further scholars, who are of this opinion, but who are not discussed here]". Cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.h).

**What does all this tell us about the political messages of the Cancellaria Reliefs? Independently of Pentiricci's conclusions, which I will quote in a minute, and before I found out that it had been suggested that the Cancellaria Reliefs may have been the horizontal panels in one of Domitian's arches, I have come to the following conclusion: both Cancellaria Reliefs, if correctly interpreted here, celebrate in a certain sense the *invincibility*<sup>282</sup> of the Roman emperor (in frieze B, of Vespasian, in frieze A, of Domitian), and of all the virtues (or better: of all the different *aspects* of his *virtus*), attributed to and expected of a Roman emperor, *that was by far the most important one, since that alone could guarantee the survival and endurance of the Roman Empire and of the Roman People.***

For a discussion of this point; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*, at Section II.

As already quoted in more detail above, Stefan Pfeiffer (2018, 189; cf. *supra*, in Chapter 1.2.1.a)), who has analysed the themes of Domitian's self-presentation, has come to a conclusion that supports the just formulated observation:

"1. It was a key issue for Domitian to show his *virtus militaris* and his victoriousness [with n. 85, providing a reference]".

In an earlier publication, Stefan Pfeiffer (2009, 62, quoted in more detail *infra*, in Chapter II.3.1.), had already explained, what precisely Domitian's "Sieghaftigkeit" mentioned for the Roman People: "... die Sieghaftigkeit Domitians und des durch ihn garantierten Reichthums Roms ...". - See also below, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

Apropos, the martial prowess that is allegedly represented in the case of Domitian (now Nerva) on frieze A, and of Vespasian on frieze B. At first glance the latter seems to be a wrong assumption, considering that *Victoria* does not crown Vespasian with a laurel wreath, but instead with an oak wreath, and because the emperor is not accompanied by members of his army. - As Rita Paris (1994b, 80-81) has demonstrated, this is nevertheless true, because the *corona civica* was in fact the highest decoration for a military victory, only granted Augustus and Vespasian because both had been able to end civil wars (cf. *infra*, at Chapters V.1.i.3.); V.1.i.3.a); and *The major results of this book on Domitian*). - Paris' observation proves at the same time that the emperor, represented on Frieze B, was from the very beginning Vespasian.

This was written, as long as I took for granted that the two emperors on both friezes are the main protagonists. As we have just seen in my comments, made to the assumption, that the Cancellaria Reliefs may have been the horizontal panels in the bay of a Domitianic arch, I rather believe now that Domitian (recut into a portrait of Nerva) on frieze A and Domitian as togate youth on frieze B, are the main protagonists of both friezes. The above-mentioned conclusion did likewise not yet consider Spinola's relevant findings, that will be discussed below (cf. *infra*, in Chapter III.; see also below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*).

Before adding Spinola's thoughts to the whole picture, I therefore agree for the time being with Pentiricci's<sup>283</sup> relevant observations and conclusions:

"È, a ben vedere, lo stesso tema dei rilievi [*i.e.*, the Cancellaria Reliefs], la virtù militare del principe, a rendere poi del tutto plausibile l'ipotesi <<arco>> quale monumento di appartenenza".

But, as already said above (cf. *supra*, at n. 282), there are some more facts to consider:

<sup>282</sup> for 'invincibility' as the most important aspect of his *virtus*, expected from a Roman Emperor, cf. *infra*, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*. See also C. HÄUBER 2014a, 683-689 (for Septimius Severus and his son Geta), pp. 712-719 (for Commodus), pp. 733-735 with n. 377 (for the Egyptian Pharaohs, quoting A. AMENTA 2008, 72. This quote is here repeated *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at n. 559, in *Appendix. II.c) My own interpretation of the relief Fig. 21, - a representation of the annual flood of the Nile and the Egyptian festival of New Year?*. Cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 22, 247-248, Fig. 5.7, *adventus* relief of the Arch of Hadrian at Rome (= here Fig. 91), pp. 520-521, 580.

<sup>283</sup> M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 61-62, with 431. For a more detailed quotation of this passage, cf. *supra*, n. 264.

Vespasian on frieze B is clad as a civilian, he is crowned by *Victoria*, but not with a laurel wreath - which would be most typical for a victor - but with an oak wreath, and worst of all: he is not accompanied by his army - as we could duly expect in a representation of a military *adventus* of a Roman emperor into Rome (cf. here **Fig. 91**). As we shall see below (cf. *infra*, in Chapter *V.1.i.3.*)), frieze B thus faithfully documents Vespasian's real situation at the represented moment in October of AD 70. What we witness is Vespasian's first *adventus* into Rome as the new emperor; it is true that Vespasian, as emperor, had then come to Rome for the first time after his victories in the Great Jewish War, that had catapulted him to the throne (cf. *supra*, **n. 171**, in Chapter *I.1.*); it is also true that Vespasian was wearing the *toga*, when arriving at Rome; and we know also that Vespasian had left behind his army at that stage, because his son Titus was still fighting this war (cf. *infra*, **n. 404**, in Chapter *III.*). - But we shall likewise see below that it may well be that in reality Vespasian *was* accompanied by some of his soldiers (cf. *infra*, in Chapter *V.1.i.3.*)).

Only after this Chapter was written so far and our visualization was finished (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**), did I have the chance to read the account of John Henderson (2003), which has been discussed by Pentiricci (2009, 61, n. 427, cf. *supra*, **n. 263**):

"Che il contenuto dei fregi fosse valorizzato da una collocazione che ne favorisce la specularità era stato già sostenuto da Kähler ... [with n. 427]". In his n. 427, Pentiricci writes: "Kähler 1950, pp. 30-41 (recensione al volume di Filippo Magi sui rilievi. Anche secondo Henderson i rilievi dovevano essere posti in maniera che se ne favorisce una lettura >in reciprocity<: HENDERSON 2003, p. 249".

As also mentioned above (cf. *supra*, **n. 263**), Toynbee (1957, 19) had discussed this idea as well: "If an arch were in question, our reliefs might have occupied the opposite walls of its passage-way, after the manner in which sculptured panels fill the passage-way walls of the Arches of Titus and Constantine [at Rome]".

Henderson (2003, 245) writes about the Cancellaria Reliefs: "[they] flank ... the opposite sides of the passage through another triumphal arch [with n. 51, with further discussion] ... At any rate, they reward a reading in 'confrontation'".

Henderson has likewise provided a visualization of this idea, which he has based on the same drawings by Magi (1945) that appear on our **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**. Henderson's Fig. 48 stands above his Fig. 49. Fig. 48 illustrates the drawing by Magi of frieze A: "Magi Tav. Agg. D (sopra)", his Fig. 49 illustrates Magis drawing of frieze B: "Magi Tav. Agg. D (sotto) but reversed right/left".

Henderson (2003, 249) comments on this visualization of frieze A and B, as illustrated by his Figs. 48 and 49, as follows: "If we think one of the reliefs through another left/right reversal, *pace* the usual side-by-side presentation in books [as here our **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**], and imagine them as directly *facing* each other, then the Reliefs will indeed find an apt setting for design in reciprocity".

Henderson describes in the following that his visualization has resulted in stressing relationships between the figures on both friezes that were previously unknown. Whereas Pentiricci (2009, 61, n. 427) is impressed by Henderson's relevant findings, I do not repeat them here, because they are based on an error: ancient beholders could not see any one of both friezes "reversed right/left", once both were attached to the opposite and parallel walls of a bay in an arch. I rather maintain my own idea, that beholders saw what we have visualized in our **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**.

**To conclude.** I am not an architectural historian myself, but am happy to acknowledge with the greatest respect that the monumental publication, edited by Frommel and Pentiricci (2009a), allows us now to concentrate on attempts to reconstruct the building that the Cancellaria Reliefs once adorned. I thus assume as a working hypothesis, as Pentiricci does, that those architectural fragments, discussed by him and the co-

authors of this publication, which date to the Domitianic period (at least some of them), and the Cancellaria Reliefs may have belonged to the same building, and possibly even to one of Domitian's so far lost arches. As mentioned before, the first two reconstructions of this kind have already been published by Wolf (2015)<sup>284</sup>.

The second great accomplishment of the publication, edited by Frommel and Pentiricci (2009a), is provided by Pentiricci's own very detailed analysis of the topography of the entire 'western Campus Martius', which, in Pentiricci's<sup>285</sup> own opinion, has completely corroborated Magi's hypothesis concerning the moment, when the deposit of the 'Second sculptor's workshop' had been made inaccessible: at a date 'between the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century and AD 120', that is to say, under the early reign of Hadrian.

Cima<sup>286</sup>, studying the data, related to the stratigraphy of the area in question, and the architectural fragments that were excavated in the area of the Palazzo della Cancellaria, material that is kept in the Antiquarium Comunale on the Caelian at Rome, has come to the same conclusion as Pentiricci, assuming that this deposit became inaccessible "nei primi decenni del II secolo d.C.". Carignani and Spinola (2009), who have studied those architectural and archaeological finds, which, after the excavations, had remained at the Palazzo della Cancellaria, arrive at a different date for the timespan, within which the deposit of this sculptor's workshop was accessible: "della fine del I - prima metà del II secolo d.C."<sup>287</sup> (to this I will come back below (cf. *infra*, at Chapter II.3.3.). The relevant findings are summarized at n. 363, in Chapter II.3.3.a).

The research, conducted by Pentiricci, Cima, and Carignani and Spinola, serves, in addition to this, as a basis for the attempt, to arrive at a reliable dating of the Cancellaria Reliefs. These scholars have come to their

<sup>284</sup> cf. *supra*, ns. 79-81 in Chapter I.1.

<sup>285</sup> cf. M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 162 with n. 97, p. 205 with n. 31 (quoted *verbatim supra*, at I.3.1.); for F. MAGI's relevant own opinion, which in PENTIRICCI's opinion has been proven by the new research, which he himself here refers to, cf. *supra*, at n. 141, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 255 (cf. n. 256), in Chapter I.3.1.

<sup>286</sup> M. CIMA 2009, 72: "A giudicare dai materiali [found at the deposit of a sculptor's workshop underneath the Palazzo della Cancellaria, to the north of the *Euripus*], l'orizzonte cronologico del deposito corrisponde a quello delineato nello studio dei rilievi storici [*i.e.*, the Cancellaria Reliefs and the reliefs of the so-called Ara dei Vicomagistri] e della situazione topografica generale: non esistono infatti elementi databili oltre la fine del I secolo - primissimi anni del II secolo d.C."; and further down on the same page: "La notevole concentrazione di materiale architettonico - solo architettonico - nella stessa zona (i due siti [*i.e.*, the excavations at the Palazzo della Cancellaria and at the "centrale telefonica"] relativi ai principali gruppi di rinvenimenti distano poco più di cento metri) appare particolarmente interessante considerato che, per i materiali della Cancellaria, si evidenziano due precisi nuclei cronologici: quello augusteo con le piccole cornici a mensola, le basi decorate di colonna (e l'altare dei Vicomagistri) e quello domiziano con i capitelli, i soffitti arcuati (e i grandi rilievi storici [*i.e.*, the Cancellaria Reliefs]). Forse non è un caso che la datazione dei materiali corrispondano alle maggiori fasi di trasformazione urbanistica della zona legate alle figure di Agrippa e di Domiziano. Tale distribuzione cronologica concorda con le stratigrafie ricostruite da Magi [with n. 34: "MAGI 1945, pp. 37, 138, figg. 38 e 40".], confermate dalla pubblicazione dei disegni di Prandi [with n. 35] e dagli scavi successivi [with n. 36: "Su questa problematica cfr. nel I volume: PENTIRICCI; Cap. 6, pp. 163-164".], che mettono in evidenza l'esistenza di uno strato formato da scaglie di marmo, travertino e mattoni dello spessore di cm 40 ad una quota compresa tra m -4,50 e -4.80 databile all'età adrianea (strato definito A da Magi) che avrebbe livellato tutta l'area sigillando i materiali sottostanti. Non ci sono notizie di una simile situazione stratigrafica per quanto riguarda lo scavo realizzato a partire di 1919 per la centrale telefonica: infatti tra i materiali rintracciati compaiono alcuni elementi architettonici da un monumento circolare databile all'età antonina"; cf. pp. 74-75: "Leggermente diversa dal quadro delineato per questi ritrovamenti appare la situazione del 'deposito' di marmi architettonici rinvenuto presso il Palazzo della Cancellaria: qui infatti accanto alla presenza di rocchi di colonna e di blocchi di marmi colorati [with n. 46] che caratterizzano i ritrovamenti in tutta l'area del Campo Marzio, compare un gran numero di riperti di 'spoglio'. La situazione stessa di accumulo dei materiali che appaiono chiaramente tolti d'opera da qualche monumento preesistente e le tracce di rilavorazione presenti su molti elementi, nonché il recente ritrovamento di un rilievo non finito [with n. 47: "Cfr. in questo volume: LORENZ".] permettono di riconoscere nel contesto individuato nel sito del Palazzo della Cancellaria la sede di un'officina specializzata nel riuso e nella rilavorazione di materiali architettonici. La presenza delle iscrizioni dipinte sulla parete del sepolcro di Irzio, interpretate de Degrassi [with n. 48], già subito dopo le scoperte, come opera delle maestranze impegnate nella vicina officina marmoraria, offre un'ulteriore testimonianza della destinazione artigianale del sito. Come già concluse Filippo Magi [with n. 49: "MAGI 1945, p. 54".], un probabile cambiamento del disegno urbanistico della zona databile nei primi decenni del II secolo d.C. dovette portare ad un innalzamento del livello del suolo ed al conseguente abbandono dell'officina con il suo prezioso deposito di marmi".

<sup>287</sup> A. CARIGNANI and G. SPINOLA 2009, 542-543 (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 76, in Chapter I.1.); cf. p. 510, cat. "2. Testa femminile non finita (figg. 3-4) Marmo bianco a grano fine. Alt.[ezza] cm. 21; largh.[ezza] cm. 18; prof.[ondità] cm. 21. La testa, in buono stato di conservazione, presenta scheggiate la punta e la parte destra del naso; manca dell'alliscitura finale della superficie marmorea e presenta le orecchie e la capigliatura appena sbazzate. Constatata la non reperibilità dal 19 ottobre 1995 ... per il resto si può riconoscere un lavoro - non finito ed attribuibile ad una delle botteghe di marmorari attestata nella zona - della metà/seconda metà dal I secolo d. C.".

conclusions, by either reconstructing the stratigraphy of the area<sup>288</sup>, and/ or by trying to date the excavated ancient structures and the related architectural and archaeological finds. Interestingly, some scholars consider also a small marble relief in this context, although this object was *not* found within the deposit of the 'Second sculptor's workshop', which was located 'to the north of the Euripus', where also the Cancelleria Reliefs occurred. The reason for that is *inter alia* the relief's subject matter, which allows the assumption that it was certainly made in a workshop of this kind: it shows two unfinished 'ideal' male heads in profile to the left, that even preserve two measuring points. It has therefore aptly been called "rilievo di prova" by Hölscher<sup>289</sup>. Since Frommel had already published this relief in a previous article, also Hölscher (2009) could discuss it in his account. In the following text, Hölscher has (erroneously) assumed that this relief had been excavated at the same site as the Cancelleria Reliefs:

"I Rilievi della Cancelleria dopo la rilavorazione non furono riutilizzati, ma restarono evidentemente nella bottega, da cui peraltro è riemerso un documento singolare, che ovviamente illustra l'addestramento degli scultori nel settore dei grandi rilievi statali: ci si riferisce a un pezzo di rilievo dal contorno irregolare con due teste di profilo in diversi stadi di lavorazione, entrambe con punti di misurazione ancora presenti e ricavate da un sfondo ancora grossolanamente sbizzato [with n. 49] (fig. 23); le forme stilistiche sono flavie. In botteghe come questa furono allestiti i grandi monumenti di tale periodo". The caption of his Fig. 23 reads: "Rilievo di prova con due teste maschili, dalla bottega romana sotto il Palazzo della Cancelleria. Città del Vaticano, Musei Vaticani".

Soon afterwards, Thuri Lorenz<sup>290</sup> published this "rilievo di prova" in the volumes, edited by Frommel and Pentiricci (2009). He wrote:

"Quando il presente contributo era in corso di stampa, e stato edito, nel catalogo della mostra Divus Vespasianus. Il bimillenario dei Flavi, a cura di FILIPPO COARELLI, Milano 2009, l'articolo di TONIO HÖLSCHER, >Rilievi provenienti da monumenti statali del tempo dei Flavi<, pp. 46-61, nel quale si fa riferimento al rilievo con profili virili. È naturale porre in relazione questo pezzo con i grandi rilievi scoperti da F. Magi in un diverso settore del Palazzo della Cancelleria; tuttavia dal raffronto di alcuni dettagli emergono delle differenze che inducono a riferire le sculture ad ambiti cronologici diversi". The caption of his Fig. 1 reads: "Roma, Palazzo della Cancelleria: rilievo con teste virili (foto: M. PENTIRICCI)".

Also Cima<sup>291</sup>, who, as we have seen above (cf. *supra*, at n. 286), assumes that this deposit of the 'Second sculptor's workshop' became inaccessible: "nei primi decenni del II secolo d.C.", has mentioned this "rilievo di prova", as a clear indication to the fact that underneath the Palazzo della Cancelleria there was: "la sede di un'officina specializzata nel riuso e nella rilavorazione di materiali architettonici". As we have already seen above, Pentiricci<sup>292</sup> has likewise discussed in great detail this 'Second sculptor's workshop' underneath the Palazzo della Cancelleria, which was located to the north of the *Euripus*, as well as this "rilievo di prova", that was found not precisely at this workshop, but in the area of the Palazzo della Cancelleria (cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.3.1.).

Filippi<sup>293</sup> has studied the Euripus, further parts of which have recently been excavated underneath the Palazzo della Cancelleria and underneath the near by Museo Barracco. Filippi documents in her text, and

<sup>288</sup> so M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 61, quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 256, at I.3.1.

<sup>289</sup> T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 58, with Fig. 23, n. 49, quoting: "Frommel 1991, pp. 69 sg.".

<sup>290</sup> T. LORENZ 2009, 99, Figs. 1; 2 (detail), the quote is from p. 101.

<sup>291</sup> M. CIMA 2009, 75 with n. 47 (quoted *verbatim, supra*, n. 286).

<sup>292</sup> M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 204-205.

<sup>293</sup> F. FILIPPI 2010, 59-63; cf. p. 61, Fig. "33 -Ricostruzione del corso dell'Euripus sulla base dei tratti archeologicamente documentati". Integrated into this maps are sections of the *Euripus*, that have been drawn at the "Palazzo della Cancelleria" and at the "Museo Barracco"; those sections are different from each other and also from all the other sections of the *Euripus* that have been documented and which are likewise inserted into this map at the relevant sites; cf. p. 61, Fig. "34 - Complesso dell'Euripus, ricostruzione tridimensionale del sistema: muro in opera quadrata, muro in opera reticolata, canale (elaborazione di P. Belardinelli)".



with plans and sections of the excavated parts of the *Euripus*, that in this area of the *Campus Martius* the level of the terrain had been raised in the second century AD. Consequently, it had become necessary to build a new phase of the *Euripus*, at a higher level. The most recent study of the *Euripus* is that by Valentino Gasparini<sup>294</sup>; whereas previously it was taken for granted that Agrippa had built the *Euripus*, Gasparini suggests instead that it had already been commissioned by Pompeius Magnus. In my opinion, Gasparini is able to prove this, *inter alia* by observations at the tomb of Aulus Hirtius, who died in 43 BC. This tomb was deliberately erected very closely to the *Euripus*, respecting its orientation, which means that the canal obviously existed already, and that Hirtius' tomb provides a *terminus ante quem* for the *Euripus*.

For further discussions of Gasparini's (2018) hypotheses concerning the *Euripus*; cf. *infra*, at Chapter *The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps*.

The detailed picture of the topography of the area that has thus been created by those studies, published in the two volumes edited by Frommel and Pentiricci (2009a), by Filippi (2010), Schütz (2010), Filippi (2015a), and Gasparini (2018), is rounded out by the likewise diachronic research, based on still more early excavations, complemented by more recent ones. The focus of that research had likewise been the Palazzo Le Roy (now accomodating the Museo Barracco), that stood immediately to the east of the Basilica di San Lorenzo in Damaso and of the Palazzo of Cardinal Raffaele Riario (now called Palazzo della Cancellaria). These ancient structures have also been documented with maps and plans<sup>295</sup>. That research was published by Cimino and Le Pera (1995), by Cimino (1997), Cimino and Nota Santi (1998), and has been summarized by Le Pera Buranelli (2004)<sup>296</sup>.

**This information, which proves the intentional levelling of the terrain in this entire area of the *Campus Martius* in the second century, taken together with the above-mentioned new findings, published by Pentiricci, Cima, and Carignani and Spinola, that concern the archaeological and architectural finds excavated there, enable us now, to reconstruct also the history of the Cancellaria Reliefs with much more confidence.**

As mentioned above, most scholars had previously taken for granted that those friezes had been taken off their original Domitianic monument, suggesting various dates for this event, and assuming at the same time, that the building itself had survived this procedure. Contrary to all earlier scholars, and because of the presence of those Domitianic architectural fragments in the same area, Pentiricci<sup>297</sup> was first to suggest, that instead this *entire Domitianic monument or building*, together with the pertaining Cancellaria Reliefs, had been destroyed in the process.

Also S. LANGER and PFANNER 2018, 82 (quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapters *V.1.a*); and *V.1.i.1.*), who do not discuss M. PENTIRICCI 2009's, relevant hypothesis, suggest now that the Cancellaria Reliefs and the monument or building, to which they belonged, were destroyed simultaneously. - To this I will come back below (cf. *infra*, at Chapters *VI.3.*; and at *The major results of this book on Domitian*).

According to Wolf (2015)<sup>298</sup>, those Domitianic architectural fragments had either belonged to a free standing arch (that comprised the Cancellaria Reliefs), or also to an 'arched entrance to a Domitianic building' (to which the Cancellaria Reliefs did *not* belong).

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Cf. F. FILIPPI 2015a, 438: "La piena funzionalità dell'*Euripus*, che vide interventi di adeguamento già nella seconda metà del I sec. [with n. 176: "FILIPPI 2010, pp. 59-63"]., entrò in una crisi grave nel II sec., quando divenne un canale interrato a causa del considerevole innalzamento del livello urbano".

<sup>294</sup> V. GASPARINI 2018, *passim*, esp. 90 with Fig. 11. Valentino Gasparini had been so kind as to provide me with earlier versions of his manuscript, which is why I had already been able to mention his relevant ideas in a previous publication; cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 180, 204-217.

<sup>295</sup> for those maps and plans, cf. *supra*, n. 66, in Chapter *I.1.*

<sup>296</sup> cf. *supra*, n. 56, in Chapter *I.1.*

<sup>297</sup> M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 61 with ns. 428-431; p. 62 with ns. 440-442, p. 162 with n. 97, p. 204 "§ 3. La ristrutturazione urbanistica in età flavia (Periodo 3)"; cf. pp. 204-205 "L'officina marmoraria presso il sepolcro di Irzio" (quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter *I.3.1.*); see also *supra*, at n. 261.

<sup>298</sup> cf. *supra*, ns. 79-81, in Chapter *I.1.*

To be prepared for the following Chapters II.-VI.3., let's for the time being assume that Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs actually shows a *profectio* of Domitian - depending, which one of his departures to a military campaign was represented, an event that took place in 83 or else in 92 AD - or, as I myself believe, in the Spring of AD 89 (cf. *infra*, at Chapters II.; III.; and at *The major results of this book on Domitian*) - and that the deposit of the 'Second sculptors' workshop', underneath the Palazzo della Cancellaria and to the north of the *Euripus*, where those panels were finally excavated, became inaccessible at 'the beginning of Hadrian's reign' (circa AD 120 at the latest), exactly as suggested by Magi<sup>299</sup>. If both assumptions are true, the time span, within which the friezes were carved on the original monument (for this assumption, cf. *infra*, at Chapter II.1.a), later taken off this building, and brought to this deposit underneath the Palazzo della Cancellaria, is only circa 30 years long.

Or, if we follow Pentiricci's hypothesis, within this time span of circa 30 years, the Domitianic monument or building, comprising the Cancellaria Reliefs, had at first been erected and then completely destroyed, to the effect that the Cancellaria Reliefs, together with some architectural fragments that, in Pentiricci's opinion, had belonged to the same structure, were all discarded in the deposit of this 'Second sculptor's workshop'. If, on the other hand, we follow Carignani and Spinola's definition of the timespan, within which the deposit of this 'Second sculptor's workshop' was accessible, this time span extended instead: "della fine del I - prima metà del II secolo d.C." (cf. *supra*, n. 76, in Chapter I.1., and *supra*, n. 287), the relevant time span is thus circa 60 years long.

All this will be discussed in detail below, in Chapter II. (for a summary of this discussion, cf. *infra*, at n. 363 in Chapter II.3.3.a).

Only after having finished writing that part of this *Study*, which is dedicated to the Cancellaria Reliefs, have I been kindly alerted by Eric M. Moormann to Pier Luigi Tucci's hypothesis concerning the original function of the Cancellaria Reliefs. In his review of Tucci's new book on the *Templum Pacis* (2017), Moormann (2019, 269) writes:

"Chapter 5 [of P.L. TUCCI 2017 I] is on the works of art exposed in the TP [*Templum Pacis*]. Apart from the *opera nobilia* known from ancient texts and partly attested by inscriptions found *in situ*, Tucci includes the famous Cancellaria Reliefs which he interprets as the side ornaments of the Altar of Peace and sees as the aggrandizement of Domitian's deeds in the creation of the Flavian dynasty. Their removal to the Campus Martius would be the result of the bad recarving of Domitian's head as a Nerva and the bad appearance it would have made in the new regime".

Personally I do not follow Tucci's idea here but maintain the suggestion made in this *Chapter* that our visualization of **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'** rather supports Massimo Pentiricci's hypothesis (2009, 61-62, quoted *verbatim supra*, in ns. 263, 264) that the Cancellaria Reliefs were attached to the opposite walls in the passageway of an arch.

Tucci's hypothesis is also mentioned by E.M. Moormann (2020a, 278); and by Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani (2018) in his review of Tucci's book (2017): discussing chapter 5 of the first volume.

Santangeli Valenzani (2018) writes in his review of Tucci (2017, chapter 5):

"In this chapter it is important to highlight the original hypothesis in which the famous Cancellaria reliefs, now in the Vatican Museums, would have been initially located in the *Templum Pacis* where they are imagined as decorating an enclosed altar in the same manner as the Augustan *Ara Pacis*. Following Domitian's *damnatio memoriae*, these would have been dismantled and stored in a warehouse in the area of the Campus Martius, abandoned there until their discovery in the 1930s. (In the reliefs, the portrait of

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<sup>299</sup> F. MAGI 1945, 138-140, with n. 4 (referring back to pp. 40, 42, 50), quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 141, in Chapter I.1., and *supra*, n. 255.

Domitian is actually reworked as Nerva, but Tucci bypasses this problem stating that "the operation proved unsuccessful the new head was too small".)

## ***II. Technical observations concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs and various hypotheses concerning their reworking***

### ***II.1. My own discussion of these subjects***

In order to understand the possible meanings of these friezes, which is, of course, my main interest, we need first of all to understand the various phases of their lifetime in antiquity. I therefore suggest that we try to approach this subject by answering some interrelated questions.

I had already roughly formulated these questions and the resulting answers, before reading Pfanner's article of 1981, in which he has already addressed and answered some of these questions. Concerning his conclusions, I often agree with him, but not always, as the following will show (cf. below, at Chapter II.4.). Pfanner has also dedicated a forthcoming publication to the Cancellaria Reliefs<sup>300</sup>; this has appeared in the meantime (cf. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018 and will be discussed *infra*, in Chapter V.1.).

My own questions are:

- a) where exactly was the carving of the first phase of the Cancellaria Reliefs conducted and do we have criteria that allow us to date these friezes?;
- b) which emperor commissioned those friezes, and had that first phase of the reliefs been finished? What evidence do we have that other emperors were also involved in the making of these friezes?;
- c) where should we assume those friezes to have been, when the head of the emperor on Frieze A was recut into a portrait of Nerva?
- d) what can the state of the friezes, in which they were found when excavated, tell us?

A discussion of these points will lead us to:

- e) scenario, which tries to explain, why both friezes were not found attached to a monument, but rather as intentionally discarded material in the deposit of a sculptor's workshop<sup>301</sup>.

The main purpose of this Chapter is a detailed discussion of these questions. To allow the reader an easier understanding while reading this discussion, I allow myself to anticipate in the following summaries of my own relevant results. Based on that, I will arrive at two different conclusions (cf. *infra*, at Chapters II.2.; and II.3. - note that the latter Chapter is divided into: Chapter II.3.1.; II.3.2.; and II.3.3.).

Since I had arrived at the first conclusion before reading the account by Massimo Pentiricci 2009, the title of it is as follows: Chapter II.2. *My first conclusion, written before reading the account by M. Pentiricci (2009)*. I then wrote the following text: Chapter II.3. *My second conclusion, written after reading the account by M. Pentiricci (2009)*. In my first conclusion, I followed those scholars, who took for granted that the monument, for which the Cancellaria Reliefs were commissioned, had survived the dismantling of those friezes. In my second conclusion, I follow Pentiricci (2009), who suggests instead that the entire Domitianic building was destroyed (together with the Cancellaria Reliefs). After my own two conclusions will follow the discussions of those questions by other scholars (cf. *infra*, at Chapter II.4.). Let's begin with my own answers to the above posed questions.

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<sup>300</sup> My thanks are due to Paul Scheduling for alerting me to this fact and to Michael Pfanner for kindly encouraging me to pursue my relevant studies, and for writing me the title of his publication; cf. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018.

<sup>301</sup> so already F. MAGI 1945, 52-54; so also M. PFANNER 1981, 517; and D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 192.

**II.1.a) where exactly was the carving of the first phase of the Cancellaria Reliefs conducted and do we have criteria that allow us to date these friezes?**

As Michael Pfanner (1981, 514-516; cf. *infra*, ns. 318, 364 in Chapters II.1.e); and II.4.) has shown, the first phase of the Cancellaria Reliefs was sculpted, after its still undecorated marble slabs had been mounted on the Domitianic monument or building, for which they were intended, that is to say, its reliefs were carved *in situ*. We do not know, when exactly that building was erected, nor do we know its function.

The only indication that allows us to date both friezes is the 'terminus ad quem or post quem AD 81', provided by the third and last portrait-type of Domitian<sup>302</sup>, that is visible on Frieze A. The head of Domitian on Frieze A (the face of which has in the second carving phase of this frieze been recut into a portrait of Nerva), had clearly been modelled according to Domitian's third and last portrait-type: on the back of this head is preserved its typical coiffure<sup>303</sup>. Unfortunately Domitian's datable portrait does not help us to decide, which one of Domitian's departures into military campaigns was actually represented on Frieze A, since he conducted all of them not only in person, but also as reigning emperor, that to say, after AD 81<sup>304</sup>. According to Diana E.E. Kleiner, Frieze A depicts "Domitian's departure (profectio) for his Sarmatian War in 92-93"<sup>305</sup>.

**II.1.b) which emperor commissioned those friezes, and had that first phase of the reliefs been finished?**

**What evidence do we have that other emperors were also involved in the making of these friezes?**

Concerning the traces of carving activities surrounding all three portrait heads (*i.e.*, the heads of the two emperors on Frieze A and B, and of the togate youth on Frieze B; cf. here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 6** [on Frieze A: **Domitian/ Nerva**]; **figures 12 and 14** [on Frieze B: Domitian and Vespasian]) on both friezes (but also surrounding several of its 'ideal' heads, as already observed by Magi<sup>306</sup>), I do not follow those scholars, who assume complex recutting histories (cf. *supra*, at Chapters I.1.; and I.1.1.). I prefer the judgements of Magi and Daltrop<sup>307</sup>, who declared that these traces are not necessarily proof for the reworking of the portraits in question: they were rather left by the specialists, who *initially* carved those (portrait) heads; Giandomenico Spinola is likewise of this opinion (cf. *infra*, at Chapter III. See also below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*).

If so, we should ask ourselves, why those 'traces' were not abolished, considering the otherwise very high formal quality of those reliefs that is characterized by a smooth finish. Personally, I have, therefore, come to

<sup>302</sup> so H. MEYER 2000, 128 with n. 411; Fig. 232: "Alleinherrschaftstypus", who quotes for that: M. BERGMANN and P. ZANKER 1981, 366ff.; G. DALTRÖP 1966, 30ff. Cf. D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 176-177, Fig. 145; pp. 191-192: "One of the most recent studies of the [Cancellaria] reliefs confirm the late Domitianic date, and the portrait of Domitian in Frieze A is identified as an example of his last portrait type".

<sup>303</sup> see H. MEYER 2000, 128, Fig. 232.

<sup>304</sup> cf. J. B. CAMPBELL (1996, 491): "Domitian (Titus Flavius (RE 77) Domitianus, son of the emperor Vespasian, was born on 24 October AD 51 ... Although Domitian exercised no formal power, he was clearly part of the dynastic plan, and there is no convincing evidence that he was kept in the background or consumed by jealousy of his brother [*i.e.*, Titus], whom he succeeded smoothly in 81 ... Domitian was the first reigning emperor since Claudius in 43 to campaign in person, visiting the Rhine once, and the Danube three times ... In 82/83 he fought a successful war against the Chatti on the middle Rhine, brought the Taunus area under Roman control, and accepted a triumph and the name 'Germanicus'. But the military balance was shifting towards the Danube, and in 85 the Dacians, under king Decebalus, invaded Moesia killing its governor, Oppius Sabinus. Domitian came in person in 85 and 86; and after the defeat and death of Cornelius Fuscus (praetorian prefect), Tettius Iulianus, governor of Upper Moesia, won a victory at Tapae in 88. Since Domitian was facing trouble from the Marcomanni and Quadi in Pannonia, he made peace with Decebalus before launching a campaign against them (spring 89); at the end of 89 he celebrated another triumph. Then early in 92 a legion was destroyed in Pannonia by an incursion of the Sarmatian Iazyges and the Suebi, which was eventually contained under Domitian's personal direction ... he was murdered on 18 September 96; his memory was condemned by the senate". For Domitian, cf. *supra*, ns. 82, 189, in Chapter I.1., and *infra*, at Chapter IV.1. See also below, at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini: La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*.

<sup>305</sup> D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 191.

<sup>306</sup> cf. F. MAGI 1945, 149-150 with n. 2 on p. 149 and n. 2 on p. 150, cf. p. 61, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 135, in Chapter I.1.

<sup>307</sup> as reported by MCCANN 1972, 251, n. 8.

the conclusion that the friezes should be regarded as unfinished in these details, as already suggested by Magi<sup>308</sup>, and as likewise suggested by Carignani and Spinola<sup>309</sup>. Note that neither those earlier scholars (Magi and Daltrop), nor I myself, deny that the face of the emperor on Frieze A has been recut into a portrait of Nerva<sup>310</sup>. Because of the aforementioned assumption, I believe those scholars are right, who suggested that the heads of *both* protagonists on Frieze B (that is to say, also the head of the togate youth) are portraits, and that those two portraits on Frieze B represented from the very beginning the young Domitian and Vespasian<sup>311</sup>, or in other words: these two heads, in their opinion and in my opinion, have *not* been recut. Of the same opinion is Giandomenico Spinola (cf. *infra*, in Chapter III. See also below, *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*).

**If all that should be true, the monument in question must, therefore, 1.) originally have been commissioned by Domitian<sup>312</sup>, and 2.), also the represented emperor of Frieze A must originally have been Domitian<sup>313</sup> (besides, the latter assumption has already been proven, cf. *supra*, in Chapter II.1.a).**

*II.1.c) where should we assume those friezes to have been, when the face of the emperor on Frieze A was recut into a portrait of Nerva?*

The face of the emperor on Frieze A was recut into a portrait of Nerva, when both friezes were still *in situ* on the Domitianic building. Personally, I find this assumption (*i.e.*, alternative 1.) more convincing than alternative 2.), the hypothesis, that the portrait of Nerva was only carved, after the friezes had been taken off the Domitianic monument<sup>314</sup>.

Let's for a moment believe that alternative 2.) is true. Namely that, after Domitian's *damnatio memoriae*, both friezes had actually been taken off their Domitianic monument and brought to the 'Second sculptor's workshop', in order to recut the portrait of Domitian on Frieze A into that of Nerva, with the prospect, of finally being attached to another building, erected anew or restored by Nerva. In such a case, the workmen would presumably have removed the slabs of Frieze B with much more care, thus avoiding to damage them, as, in my opinion, has actually happened in the process of removing these slabs from their original monument (cf. *infra*, in Chapter II.1.d)). But note that this hypothesis, alternative 2.), leads to yet another problem. Bergmann<sup>315</sup> was first to suggest that Nerva had ordered the head of the emperor on Frieze B (in her opinion previously a portrait of Domitian) to be recut into a portrait of Vespasian, a hypothesis followed by many subsequent scholars, *inter alia* by Pfanner<sup>316</sup>. To this hypothesis we could object: but why then was this alleged second phase of Frieze B, commissioned by the 'good' Emperor Nerva, and already finished with the portrait of the 'good' Emperor Vespasian, so mercilessly destroyed? (for that assumption, cf. *infra*, at Chapter II.1.d)).

<sup>308</sup> F. MAGI 1945, 149 with n. 2 (quoted *verbatim supra*, in n. 135, in Chapter I.1).

<sup>309</sup> Cf. A. CARIGNANI and G. SPINOLA 2009, 542-543; Section: "Considerazioni conclusive": "Dall'area del sepolcro di Irzio - in possibile relazione con le botteghe di marmorari della fine del I - prima metà del II secolo d.C. - provengono alcune opere che mostrano tracce di ri-lavorazione o appaiono non finite o mancanti della rifinitura finale; tra queste ovviamente si dovranno innanzitutto ricordare le lastre che compongono i rilievi flavii [*i.e.*, the Cancellaria Reliefs] e la c.d. [cosiddetta] Ara dei Vicomagistri".

<sup>310</sup> on the contrary, F. MAGI 1945, 60-69, was first to suggest this. For the head of Nerva on Frieze A, cf. also G. DALTRÖP 1966, 43 Taf. 37.

<sup>311</sup> so first MAGI 1945, 57-60, 70-72, 149-150 (the latter two pages are quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 135, in Chapter I.1.).

<sup>312</sup> so also M. PFANNER 1981, 516, 518.

<sup>313</sup> so also M. PFANNER 1981, 518 with n. 17: "Es ist unverkennbar, daß nicht nur der Nerva auf Relief A, sondern auch der Vespasian auf Relief B umgearbeitet ist [with references]".

<sup>314</sup> so T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 54-56; cf. D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 192, who mentions the fact that both alternatives have already been debated. She herself prefers, like HÖLSCHER, *op.cit.*, the other alternative. Cf. *supra*, n. 258, in Chapter I.3.2.

<sup>315</sup> M. BERGMANN 1981, 22-24. As a consequence of this, she was forced to deny that the togate youth on Frieze B, standing in front of 'Domitian' / Vespasian could be a portrait of Domitian as well, she even denied that the head of this youth is a portrait at all.

<sup>316</sup> M. PFANNER 1981, 518 with n. 17; B. FEHR 1998, 717 with n. 4; T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 56 (he quotes Bergmann only in his n. 43, not in the text); and S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018 (for a discussion, cf. *infra*, at V.1.h)).

If, on the other hand, we believe that my hypothesis suggested here, alternative 1.), is true, according to which the friezes remained for their second carving phase on their original Domitianic monument<sup>317</sup>, nothing prevents us from imagining that Nerva, who commissioned that second carving phase, could also have had in mind to order the reworking of the two portraits on Frieze B (which, in my opinion, already in the first carving phase of the Cancellaria Reliefs showed the portraits of Vespasian and Domitian). Following the hypothesis suggested here concerning the second carving phase of the friezes, it is thus easy to explain, what McCann was wondering about (cf. *supra*, n. 93, in Chapter I.1.): the portrait of the young Domitian on Frieze B did only survive, because Nerva died before the works on the second phase of the Cancellaria Reliefs, as commissioned by him, could be finished (but see below, for another hypothesis). Because the head of the emperor on Frieze B (at least in my opinion) had not yet been recut when this frieze was destroyed, we could alternatively assume that Nerva and his artists had still to decide how the extant scene on Frieze B could be re-interpreted into an event of his own reign. Or in other words: in my opinion, only Frieze A shows the results of two carving phases, whereas Frieze B is preserved in the state of its first carving phase.

#### **II.1.d) what can the state of the friezes, in which they were found when excavated, tell us?**

When found, the farthest slab on the left of Frieze A was missing, but the other three slabs were almost intact. In the case of Frieze B, we have remains of all four slabs, but unfortunately they are heavily damaged. Considering not only that those slabs are remarkably thin, but also, which parts of them are missing, it seems to me, as if the damages have occurred beginning at those points, where the slabs had presumably been fixed to the monument by means of clamps.

**I believe that, when an operation of the kind was planned, a decision had to be made beforehand by the person in charge: it was either preferable in the process *not* to damage the monument, or else *not* to damage the reliefs, because it seems to me unthinkable to accomplish such a procedure without damaging *either one* (but as we shall see below, in note 318, precisely that assumption is certainly *not true*). Obviously in this case, the decision had been made, *before* the actual dismantling began, to discard the reliefs anyway, otherwise I find it impossible to explain, why the *reliefs* were damaged.**

As I have only realized after writing this, Pfanner<sup>318</sup> had already come to the conclusion that the second carving phase of the Cancellaria Reliefs was conducted, when both friezes were still *in situ* on the Domitianic

<sup>317</sup> this had already been suggested by M. PFANNER (1981; cf. *supra*, n. 258, in Chapter I.3.2.) - as I have only later realized.

<sup>318</sup> M. PFANNER 1981, 516-517 with ns. 13-16, Section: "Das Schicksal der Reliefs", writes: "Gemäß der vorherrschenden Meinung nahm man die Reliefs nach der damnatio memoriae Domitians vom Bau und arbeitete in der Werkstatt den Kaiser um mit der Absicht, die Platten anderswo anzubringen. Zur Wiederverwendung kam es aber nicht mehr, und die Reliefs blieben in einem Depot liegen [with n. 13; page 517]. Die meisten Platten weisen nun eine auffallend gleichartige Beschädigung auf. Jeweils von den Hebelöchern gehen Sprünge aus [with n. 14]. Das ist kein Zufall und muß geschehen sein, als man versuchte, die - nach der Herausarbeitung der Reliefs sehr dünnen - Platten mit Hilfe dieser Hebelöcher vom Bau zu nehmen. Meistens schlug der Versuch fehl (A 4 rechts, B 1, B 3; nach Art des Bruchs wohl ebenso bei den unvollständigen Platten B 2 und B 4, Bei A 2 saß das Hebeloch im Relief, s. Abb. 2 [for those slabs of both Cancellaria Reliefs; cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**]), nur bei Platte A 3 gelang er. Die Reliefs wurden durch diese Beschädigungen unbrauchbar. Offensichtlich sollten sie nicht wiederverwendet werden, sonst wäre man mit ihnen sorgfältiger verfahren und hätte sie anders bewegt; dafür sprechen auch die grob aufgeschlagenen Dübel- und Klammerlöcher. **Folglich muß die Umarbeitung des Kaisers am Bau stattgefunden haben** [with n. 15: "Daß die Beschädigungen erst nach einer Zweitverwendung erfolgten, ist nicht anzunehmen, da es keine Spuren einer weiteren Verwendung gibt."]. **Erst zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt nahm man die Platten vom Bau und lagerte sie des wertvollen Marmor materials wegen in einem Depot. Wann dies geschah, läßt sich nicht mehr genau bestimmen. Die Fundumstände geben m. E. [meines Erachtens] keinen sicheren Anhaltspunkt**, auch ist der gute Erhaltungszustand der Reliefoberfläche kein Indiz für eine kurze Anbringungsdauer, da die Platten in einem Innenraum angebracht gewesen sein könnten [with n. 16; my emphasis]".

Cf. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 82 (quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter V.1.a)), who convincingly state that, contrary to what I have just suggested here, it must have been impossible to remove the Cancellaria Reliefs, without damaging *both*: the reliefs *and* the monument or building, to which they were attached.

monument, providing in my opinion undeniable proofs for this hypothesis (to this I will come back at Chapter II.4.). Only that his observations have not been accepted by subsequent scholars<sup>319</sup>, whose accounts I had read before finding his article. But contrary to my opinion, Pfanner<sup>320</sup> (I think erroneously) believes that the head of the emperor on Frieze B had only in the second carving phase been reworked into a portrait of Vespasian (to this I will likewise come back below).

**II.1.e) scenario which tries to explain, why both friezes were not found attached to a monument, but rather as intentionally discarded material in the deposit of a sculptor's workshop**

If the questions a)-d), posed in Chapter II.1., were correctly answered above, the following scenario seems to be possible.

After Domitian's death and the declaration of his *damnatio memoriae* (96 AD)<sup>321</sup>, his successor Nerva must have ordered the Domitianic monument, with its two (or more?) at that moment in some details still unfinished marble friezes, to be converted into a monument that would celebrate his own achievements. This is proven by the fact that his portrait on Frieze A had already been recut from the original portrait of Domitian, before both (extant) friezes were discarded. Nerva's death on January 27th (?), 98 AD<sup>322</sup>, obviously combined with a lack of interest on the side of the relevant later emperor, possibly Trajan<sup>323</sup> (cf. *infra*), to pursue Nerva's idea to dedicate this monument to himself, or also to convert it into one of his (*i.e.*, Trajan's) own monuments, must finally have caused the removal of those friezes from this originally Domitianic monument (for a different hypothesis, cf. *infra*, at Chapters II.3.2.; and II.3.3.).

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**For the "Fundumstände" of the Cancellaria Reliefs, mentioned by M. PFANNER 1981, 517; cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.a) The stratigraphy of the site, where the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1; 2) were excavated, the topography of the entire area, and the date of the dismantling of these panels.**

<sup>319</sup> cf. *supra*, n. 258, in Chapter I.3.2.

<sup>320</sup> M. PFANNER 1981, 518 n. 17.

<sup>321</sup> cf. *supra*, n. 82, in Chapter I.1.

<sup>322</sup> J.B. CAMPBELL (1996, 1038-1039): "Nerva, Marcus Cocceius (*RE* 16), Roman emperor AD 96-98 ... However, Nerva was elderly and infirm and had no children. Naturally there was speculation about the succession, and further problems appeared ... The most serious signs of disquiet occurred among the soldiers, with whom Domitian had been popular ... Most ominously, rebellion broke out among the praetorians who had been stirred up by their prefect Casperius Aelianus into demanding the execution of the murderers of Domitian. Nerva had to accede, and was forced to give public thanks for the executions, thereby losing much of his authority. In October 97 amid gathering political crisis, he adopted Trajan, whom he had previously appointed governor of Upper Germany, as his son, co-emperor, and successor. His own title *Germanicus*, granted for a minor victory over the Germans in Bohemia [*corr.*: Pannonia], was conferred on Trajan. It is impossible to discover the exact circumstances of Trajan's adoption. Pliny suggests that the empire was tottering above the head of an emperor who now regretted his elevation to imperial power (*Pan.* 6.3, 7.3), but this may have been exaggerated in order to please Trajan. However if Nerva's regime faced increasing discontent, his advisers would doubtless take into consideration Trajan's distinguished background and career, popularity with the troops, and proximity to Rome ...".

See now Markus Handy (2015, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Section I.), who is able to demonstrate that this negative image of Nerva and Domitian was commissioned by Trajan in order to legitimize his own accession; the relevant texts were written by Tacitus and Pliny the Younger.

For Trajan's adoption by Nerva in AD 97, cf. also A.M. MCCANN 1972, 272-275; D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 228, 237; C. HÄUBER 2017, 242. Cf. D. KIENAST, W. ECK and M. HEIL 2017, 114: "Nerva (18 Sep. 96-27. [?] Jan. 98)", *Geb.[oren]*: 8. Nov. 30 in Narnia (Umbrien) ... Ende Okt.[ober] 97 Adoption Trajans. 27. (?) Jan. 98 *Tod*: Gest[orben]. in Rom ... imperator II 97 / Germanicus Nov.[ember] 97", with bibliography. Cf. *supra*, n. 87, in Chapter I.1.

<sup>323</sup> J.B. CAMPBELL (1996, 1543-1544): "Trajan (Marcus Ulpius Traianus), Roman emperor AD 98-117, was born probably in 53 at Italica in Spain ... [AD 117] and with his health declining, Trajan decided to return to Italy; but in early August he died suddenly in Selinus", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 1543-1544.

D. KIENAST, W. ECK and M. HEIL 2017, 116-120; p. 116: "Trajan (28. Jan.-7. August 117) ... Wichtige Einzeldaten: Ende Okt. 97 Adoption durch Nerva und Erhebung zum Caesar: IMP. CAESAR NERVA TRAIANUS ... 28. Jan. 98 ... Akklamation als Imperator (dies imperii): IMP. CAESAR NERVA TRAIANUS AUGUSTUS, PONT. MAX. ... Spätherbst 98 Annahme des PATER PATRIAE-Titels. Winter 98/99 Aufenthalt an der Donau. ca. Okt.[ober] 99 Rückkehr nach Rom. Sept.[ember] 100 Panegyricus des Plinius auf Trajan ..."; p. 117: "... 7. (?) Aug.[ust] 117 *Tod*: Gest.[orben] in Selinus (Kilikien) ... Germanicus Nov.[ember] 97".



In my opinion, the process of carving the portrait of Nerva on Frieze A, at the moment, when those friezes were taken off the monument, was not already finished<sup>324</sup>. And if also my above-mentioned idea should be correct (cf. *supra*, in Chapter II.1.c), the possibly likewise planned recutting of the two portraits of Vespasian and Domitian on Frieze B into two other portraits, that were adapted to a propagation of Nerva's own *gestae*, had at that point not even been started.

The scenario suggested here thus comes to the conclusion that both friezes were taken off its original monument with the intention to discard them, and were consequently, in the course of this dismantling, destroyed. The slabs of both friezes were 'ripped off' the Domitianic monument, to the effect that Frieze B could not possibly be reused again in its entirety by any other emperor; Frieze A is less heavily destroyed (to this I will come back below). Or in other words: only the decision that was presumably made under Trajan, not to pursue the plans, which Nerva had made for those friezes, nor to use them for any of Trajan's own monuments (or for any monument, dedicated to him) can explain, why these friezes were not taken off the original monument with the utmost care, thus trying to avoid damages to the reliefs.

**But we shall see below (cf. *infra*, in Chapter II.3.2.) that it was presumably Nerva himself, who ordered the destruction of the entire building, comprising the Cancellaria Reliefs.**

In addition to this, I assume that only Frieze A has two carving phases, whereas Frieze B has come down to us in its first carving phase. I suggest this not only because I follow Magi (1939; 1945; cf. *supra*, n. 117, in Chapter I.1.) by assuming that the heads of Vespasian and of the young Domitian on Frieze B have not been reworked. -

As already mentioned, of the same opinion were and are also Daltrop (1966; cf. *supra*, n. 120); Pfeiffer (2009; cf. *supra*, n. 59); Pollini (2017b; cf. *supra*, n. 72), Chabrečková (2017; cf. *supra*, n. 73), and Sheldon (2023, in press; cf. *supra*, n. 74; likewise all in Chapter I.1.), Claudia Valeri and Giandomenico Spinola (cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements; infra*, in Chapters III.; and below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and at *The Contribution of Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*).

**I find it also for a different kind of reasoning difficult to believe that Nerva could have commissioned a reworking of the head of the emperor on Frieze B - according to Bergmann 1981 (cf. *supra*, in Chapters I.1; I.1.1.) allegedly originally a portrait of Domitian - into a portrait of Vespasian.**

**My relevant idea is based on Magi's observation that the deposit of the slabs [*i.e.*, the Cancellaria Reliefs] should have been operating "tra la scorcia del I secolo e il primo ventennio del II"<sup>325</sup> (at a date 'between the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century and AD 120'). - To this I will come back below in Chapter II.2.**

Magi, in my opinion convincingly, argued with the data collected during his excavation of this site. His findings comprise the proof that, under Hadrian, the level of this entire area had been raised, to the effect that the deposit in question became inaccessible. This was followed by Pentiricci (2009; cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.3.1. See also *infra*, in Chapter V.1.a)).

Obviously, I cannot myself offer here a detailed analysis of the relevant excavations underneath the Palazzo della Cancellaria, where the 'Cancellaria Reliefs' were found, and of the adjacent area immediately to the east, later occupied by the Palazzo Le Roy / now the Museo Barracco, comprising also analyses of all archaeological and architectural finds, and of the topography of the entire area. But in recent years all that

<sup>324</sup> so already F. MAGI 1945, 149-150, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 135, in Chapter I.1. Cf. BERGMANN 1981, 21 with n. 8, p. 25 with n. 29 (referring back to p. 20 with n. 2).

<sup>325</sup> F. MAGI 1945, 138-140, with n. 4 (referring back to pp. 40, 42, 50), quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 255, in Chapter I.3.1. This was followed by A.M. MCCANN 1972, 265 with n. 64: "... the archaeological evidence indicates a date not later than the Hadrianic period for the placement of the reliefs in the mason's yard or marble worker's deposit in the Campus Martius where all but one were found carefully stacked with their sculptural faces protected by the tomb of the Republican Consul, Aulus Hirtius, who died in 43 B.C. [my emphasis]"; but doubted by M. PFANNER 1981, 517 with n. 16 (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 318, in Chapter II.1.d)). Cf. next note.

has been done by other scholars<sup>326</sup>. As I have only realized after this text was written so far, long before me already Pentiricci, Cima, and Carignani and Spinola<sup>327</sup> had come to the same conclusion, namely that Magi had actually proven his relevant hypothesis. Summarizing their observations (cf. *supra*, at Chapters I.3.1; and I.3.2.), has resulted in two different possibilities: the deposit was either 'only' accessible until circa AD 120 (so Magi 1945 and Pentiricci 2009), or else until circa AD 150. The latter date has been suggested by Carignani and Spinola (2009), according to whom the deposit was accessible: "della fine del I - prima metà del II secolo d.C." (cf. *supra*, n. 76, in Chapter I.1., and n. 287, in Chapter I.3.2.). But for my first conclusion, to which we will now turn, neither Pentiricci's findings, nor those of Cima, as well as Carignani and Spinola (all *op.cit.*) had as yet been considered.

## II.2. My first conclusion, written before reading the account by M. Pentiricci (2009)

As discussed above, Bergmann<sup>328</sup> has formulated the hypothesis that the head of the emperor on Frieze B had originally been a portrait of Domitian, which, after the emperor's death and *damnatio memoriae*, had been recut at the order of Nerva into the still extant portrait of Vespasian. This has been followed by some subsequent scholars (cf. *supra*, in Chapters I.1.; and I.1.1.). Personally, I am not convinced of this scenario, because, when considering the fact that the Cancellaria Reliefs had already been discarded into this deposit of a sculptor's workshop 'before the early reign of Hadrian' (so Magi 1945, 138-140, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 255, in Chapter I.3.1.), we must also answer the question, which one of Nerva's successors could have given the relevant order.

In my opinion, no emperor after the 'good' Emperor Nerva, so for example Trajan, who had after all been adopted by Nerva as 'his son, co-emperor and successor'<sup>329</sup>, and who, immediately after Nerva's death, had arranged that his predecessor be deified by the Senate<sup>330</sup>, or Hadrian, would have dreamt of destroying the state relief Frieze B, considering the fact that the portrait of Domitian on this frieze had been recut at the order of his own 'father, *Divus Nerva*' (in the case of Trajan), or else, at the order of his own 'grand-father, *Divus Nerva*' (in the case of Hadrian<sup>331</sup>), into a portrait of the likewise 'good' Emperor, *Divus Vespasianus*.

<sup>326</sup> cf. F. FILIPPI 2015b, *passim*, p. 432, Fig. 65; S. LE PERA BURANELLI 2004; C. HÄUBER 2017, 212, 483, cf. p. 69, map Fig. 3.7 [= here Fig. 59] (for that map, cf. *supra*, n. 66, in Chapter I.1.), labels: Corso Vittorio Emanuele II, Palazzo della Cancellaria; SEPULCRUM: AULUS HIRTIUS; Palazzo Le Roy/ Farnesina ai Baullari/ Museo Barracco.

For this tomb, cf. F. COARELLI: SEPULCRUM: A. HIRTIUS", in: *LTUR* IV (1999) Figs. I, 120, 126; Ii, 87-88; and M.T. D'ALESSIO 2017, 505: "2.6.4. Between Sulla and Augustus (76-27 BC)", p. 506 with n. 248 (where the tomb is mentioned; cf. p. 515: "2.8.2. From the reconstruction of Domitian to the death of Marcus Aurelius (AD 180) (tables 232, 275)"; p. 520: "structures for warehousing and artisanal activities stood between the Theater of Pompey and the river, an already commercial area ... Among the shops that housed artisanal activities in the quarter were those that worked the marble that arrived at the docks on the river [with n. 502]. North of the Euripus, which may have already been underground by this time, the wall marking the edge of the tomb of Hirtius was used for the workshop of an expert marble worker (IX 659). Among the objects found there were various tablets pending completion, but above all capitals, altars, *cippi*, and famous reliefs from the Claudian period belonging to the Altar of the Vicomagistri, as well as the honorary panels with the Cancellaria reliefs dated to the period of Domitian", with n. 503: "The reliefs are now kept in the Vatican Museums. To retrace the history of the fragments and their interpretation, see Pentiricci 2009, pages 55-62 with the bibliography therein".

<sup>327</sup> cf. for M. PENTIRICCI 2009, *supra*, in Chapter I.3.1.; for M. CIMA 2009, cf. *supra*, ns. 262, 286, 291, in Chapter I.3.2.; for A. CARIGNANI and G. SPINOLA, cf. *supra*, n. 76, in Chapter I.1., and n. 287, in Chapter I.3.2.

<sup>328</sup> M. BERGMANN 1981, 20, 22, 24, 25.

<sup>329</sup> cf. *supra*, ns. 55, 56, in Chapter I.1.

<sup>330</sup> so A. STEIN, in: *RE* IV 1 (1900) Sp. 149 s.v. M. Cocceius Nerva = Imperator Nerva Caesar Augustus, römischer Kaiser vom 18. September 96 bis 25. Januar 98 n. Chr.: "Trajan veranlaßte nach dem Tod Nervas sofort dessen Divinisierung", who provides literary sources); cf. W. ECK: "Nerva [2] Röm. Kaiser 96-98 n. Chr. ... er starb ... wohl am 27.1.98 ... Vom Senat wurde er divinisiert", in: *Der Neue Pauly* [DNP] Band 8 Mer-Op (Stuttgart - Weimar: Verlag J.B. Metzler 2000). D. KIENAST, W. ECK and M. HEIL 2017, 114: "Nerva ... 27. (?) Jan. 98 Tod: Gest. in Rom ... Beisetzung im Mausoleum Augusti. Consecratio: DIVUS NERVA".

<sup>331</sup> For Hadrian's adoption by Trajan in August of 117 AD, cf. A.R. BIRLEY: "Hadrian (Publius Aelius (*RE* 64) Hadrianus, emperor AD 117-38 ... When the Parthian expedition began (October 113), he joined Trajan's staff, becoming governor of Syria at latest in 117; and was designated to a second consulship for 118. His [*i.e.*, Hadrian's] position was thus very strong when Trajan died at Selinus in Cilicia at 8 August 117. The next day his adoption by Trajan was announced ...", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 662; cf. A.R. BIRLEY:

I am suggesting this, although I am aware of the fact that the apparent peaceful beginnings of the reigns of the 'adoptive emperors', with Trajan, have been interpreted very differently by Barbara Levick: "L'uccisione di Domiziano nel 96 non fu seguita da una guerra civile ma da un rapido passaggio a un senatore debole anziano, sovrano *ad interim*, Marcus Cocceius Nerva (96-98), a cui subentrò senza difficoltà un uomo d'armi, Marcus Ulpius Traianus (98-117), secondo un processo che può essere interpretato come un colpo di stato senza spargimento di sangue<sup>332</sup>".

For a detailed discussion of those events; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination: Nerva is forced to adopt Trajan and Trajan creates Domitian's negative image to consolidate his own reign ...*

As Pfanner has proven (cf. *supra*, n. 318, in Chapter II.1.d)), Frieze B was intentionally damaged in the process of 'ripping off' both friezes from their original Domitianic monument, and, as already observed above: even more so than the likewise discarded Frieze A. In my opinion, this crucial difference between both friezes has so far not attracted the attention it deserves. Contrary to Pfanner<sup>333</sup>, who suggests that *both* friezes, after having been removed from the monument, could not be used any more, I rather ask myself, whether Frieze A, at least in parts, could possibly have been re-used for a different purpose.

Because of all this, it therefore seems to me much more convincing to assume that Frieze B was discarded, and in the process of taking both friezes off the monument, destroyed, because of the following reasons. If it is true, as I believe, that Frieze B, until the very moment of its destruction, 1.) preserved its first carving phase, that showed 2.) the young Domitian and Vespasian, Frieze B was destroyed *because* of all that. Since Frieze B, in exactly that state, had been commissioned by the 'bad' Emperor Domitian. In addition, Frieze B was possibly therefore intentionally much more thoroughly destroyed than Frieze A, because it still carried Domitian's portrait (although that scenario does not explain why Domitian's face was left untouched).

But, as we shall see in my following second conclusion, many of those assumptions are *not* true. For my hypothesis that Nerva ordered the destruction of the building comprising the Cancellaria Reliefs; cf. *infra*, at Chapter II.3.2.

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"Pompeia Plotina, (RE 'Pompeius' 131), wife of Hadrian", in: OCD<sup>3</sup> (1996) 1214, both summarized in: C. HÄUBER 2017, 243. - See also below, at *The third Contribution by Peter Herz : Der Übergang von Trajan auf Hadrian und das erste Regierungsjahr Hadrians*.

Cf. D. KIENAST, W. ECK, M. HEIL 2017, 122-125 "Hadrian (11. Aug. 117-10. Juli 138)"; p. 122: "Geb.[oren]: 24. Januar 76 in Italica (Spanien) ... Wichtige Einzeldaten: 9. Aug. 117 Hadrian erhält die Nachricht von seiner (angeblichen?) Adoption durch Trajan = dies adoptionis (HA v. Hadr. 4,6), 11. Aug. 117 Akklamation als Imperator in Antiochia (dies imperii = HA 4,7 ...): IMP. CAESAR TRAIANUS HADRIANUS AUG., PONT. MAX., PROCONSUL (nur während des Aufenthalts in den Provinzen) ... bis Mitte 118 Rückreise nach Rom durch die kleinasiatischen und die Donau-Provinzen. 9. Juli 118 adventus in Rom"; p. 123: "August 132-Anfang 136 Bar-Kochba-Aufstand ... 13. Dez.[ember] 137 Vicennialienfeier (P.Oslo 77, 15f.). 25. Febr.[uar] 138 Adoption des Antoninus Pius. 10. Juli 138 Tod: Gest.[orben] in der Nähe von Baiae. Danach consecratio als DIVUS HADRIANUS. 139 Beisetzung im Mausoleum Hadriani".

Hadrian actually referred in his early coins, minted at Rome, not only to his adoptive father, *Divus Traianus*, but also to his adoptive grand-father, *Divus Nerva*, cf. A.M. MCCANN 1972, 272 with n. 94: "But in the later coin issues of 117 [at Rome] ... Hadrian drops all Trajan's titles of honour and the reference to adoption. A new emphasis on his relationship to Nerva as well as Trajan is stressed in the titulature of two of the later issues. For example, see his use of the titles: IMP CAES TRAIAN HADRIANO AUG DIVI TRA PARTH F and on the reverse, DIVI NER NEP PM TR P COS (pl. 122,3.4)". See also the colossal portrait-statue of Hadrian, dedicated to him by the Senate and the Roman People to commemorate his victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt (AD 132-135; cf. *supra*, n. 216, in Chapter I.2.), of which a fragment of its dedicatory inscription survives; cf. below, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here Fig. 11). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette; at Part I. *The statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori* (cf. here Fig. 11), and the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524; cf. here Fig. 29.1). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.c.1.).

<sup>332</sup> B. LEVICK 2009, 14.

<sup>333</sup> cf. *supra*, n. 51, in Chapter I.1.

### ***II.3. My second conclusion, written after reading the account by M. Pentiricci (2009)***

***The observations made in Chapter II.3. allow new interpretations concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs and concerning Domitian's building policy in general***

If Pentiricci<sup>334</sup> is right when he suggests that the Domitianic building in question was destroyed *together with* the Cancellaria Reliefs, the overall picture changes accordingly. In this case, the differences in grades of destruction between Frieze A and B were certainly not intended. With the ideas presented below, I follow another of Pentiricci's<sup>335</sup> hypotheses, namely that this Domitianic building had been an arch, and that the Cancellaria Reliefs had been the horizontal panels in one of its passageways. Pentiricci<sup>336</sup> himself, to support his hypothesis, has mentioned the sheer lengths of those friezes, as well as the military subject matter of the scenes that are represented on both panels (for discussions, cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.3.2., and *infra*, at Chapters V.1.i.3.); and VI.3.).

***II.3.1. Nerva' victory in the bellum Suebicum October AD 97, the architectural fragments, found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs, comprising the architrave block carrying the inscription PP FECIT (CIL VI, 40543), Domitian's Forum/ Forum Nerva/ Forum Transitorium, and Domitian's building policy: praising the gens Flavia, emulating Augustus and Nero***

#### ***II.3.1.a) Nerva' victory in the bellum Suebicum October AD 97***

Provided, Pentiricci's idea (cf. *supra*, n. 336, in Chapter II.3.) is true, that the Cancellaria Reliefs, because of their sheer length and the military subject matter of the scenes that are represented on both panels, were once the horizontal panels in the passageway of an arch, then something else should interest us now: the question of what Nerva may have had in mind when he ordered the face of Domitian on Frieze A to be recut into his own portrait, and presumably likewise the heads of the two protagonists on Frieze B to be reworked into portraits that celebrated his own (*i.e.*, Nerva's) achievements, a plan that, if ever conceived by Nerva, in my opinion, had never materialized (cf. *supra*, at Chapter II.1.c)).

**Pentiricci's assumption (2009, 61-62; cf. *supra*, n. 264, in Chapter I.3.2) of a 'military subject matter' of both panels of the Cancellaria Reliefs, which, although this has been questioned for Frieze B by several scholars is, in fact, actually true. To this I will come back below (cf. *infra*, at Chapters V.1.i.3.); and VI.3.).**

Given the fact that Nerva reigned for only 16 [*corr.*: 13,5 !] months, a campaign under his reign in Bohemia, as this region is (erroneously) called by John Brian Campbell<sup>337</sup>, that had earned Nerva the title *Germanicus*, could have been the reason, why the emperor had decided to re-use Domitian's arch, which held the Cancellaria Reliefs as a triumphal arch of himself<sup>338</sup>. In reality, the victorious campaign that had earned Nerva the title *Germanicus*, had been conducted in Pannonia, against the *Suebi*<sup>339</sup>.

We do not know, whether or not this arch had been finished at all by the time Domitian was assassinated. As mentioned before, I side with those scholars who believe that the carvings of the Domitianic phase of the

<sup>334</sup> M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 204-205; quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 292, cf. n. 297, in Chapter I.3.2.

<sup>335</sup> M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 61 with n. 426; cf. *supra*, n. 263, in Chapter I.3.2.

<sup>336</sup> M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 61-62, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 264, in Chapter I.3.2.

<sup>337</sup> cf. *supra*, n. 322, in Chapter II.1.e). - Besides, S. LANGER and M. PFANNER (2018, 83, quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter V.1.b)), rightly observe that Nerva reigned only for 13,5 months (!).

<sup>338</sup> M. BERGMANN 1981, 31, writes: "Auch Fries A ließ sich ja nicht auf eine reale kriegerische Aktion Nervas beziehen, zumindest dann, wenn das Porträt unmittelbar nach seinem Regierungsantritt umgearbeitet wurde". See the comments by E. SIMON 1985, 554 with n. 60, quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 352, in Chapter II.3.2.

<sup>339</sup> cf. A. STEIN, in: RE IV 1 (1900) Sp. 141 (quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 343).

Cancellaria Reliefs had not as yet received their final finish<sup>340</sup>. Provided, Pentiricci is right, that this arch was at a certain moment *completely* destroyed - together with the Cancellaria Reliefs - also something else must be true. Because, if we further assume that Nerva, by ordering the face of Domitian on frieze A to be recut into his own portrait, actually wished to refer with the *profectio*, represented on Frieze A, to his first own *real*<sup>341</sup> military campaign, this Domitianic arch must still have been intact at the time, when this campaign had resulted in a Roman victory. And that because of the following reasons.

Pfanner (1981, 516-517 with ns. 13-16, "Das Schicksal der Reliefs", quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 318, in Chapter II.1.d)) has proven, that Domitian's face on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs was recut into a portrait of Nerva, when that panel was still *in situ* on its Domitianic building. Domitian was murdered on 18 September 96. As we will learn below (cf. *infra*, at Chapter II.3.2.), Nerva dedicated at the end of October (or at the beginning of November) AD 97 the laurel wreath to *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* on the Capitoline, which, as a token of his victory over the *Suebi*, had been sent to him from Pannonia - that victory, for which Nerva would receive the title *Germanicus*. When we combine these facts, it seems reasonable to assume, that this Domitianic arch, at the stage of Nerva's victory, had survived Domitian's assassination already by more than 13 months. If so, we can further assume that this arch, following Nerva's decision, to convert this monument into one that celebrated his own victory, had again become a building site.

Perhaps we can even hypothesize something else: when we consider that the Cancellaria Reliefs were not yet finished, when Domitian died, the place may simply have remained, since Domitian's death, an abandoned building site. As we have already seen, when discussing the Arch of Domitian on the Palatine and the *Equus Domitiani* on the Roman Forum (cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.3.2.), not all the arches (nor the *Equus Domitiani*), erected (or begun) by Domitian, had immediately completely been razed to the ground after his *damnatio memoriae*, as one might perhaps take for granted for all of them, when reading Dio's account, who seems to have asserted exactly that (68,1,1; cf. *supra*, at n. 83, in Chapter I.1.). I do not know, what building sites would have looked like at the time, but in order to protect the citizens from possible damage, there were presumably some kind of fences around them. As we know for sure now, the Cancellaria Reliefs were carved *in situ* (for that, cf. *supra*, at Chapter II.1.a)). Provided, it is also true that they were the horizontal panels in the passageway of an arch - and that this monument was still a building site - no citizen would have been able to see from outside the fence, whom the togate youth on Frieze B represented (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 12**). If true, this could explain, why this head (in my opinion a portrait of Domitian) could survive. Also because I further suggest (cf. *infra*, at Chapter II.3.2.) that the monument in question (an arch?) was already destroyed by Nerva, which is why no citizen has ever really seen the Cancellaria Reliefs *in situ*.

As I have only realized after this Chapter had been written, John Henderson (2003, 246, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapters V.1.i.3.); and in *The major results of this book on Domitian*), provides another explanation, why the head of the togate youth on frieze B (in case it was meant as a portrait of Domitian at all) could survive the emperor's *damnatio memoriae*.

But what had happened next? Campbell<sup>342</sup> writes that Nerva's victory in 'Bohemia' in 97 AD was "conferred" to Trajan. If that is true, this could explain, why Trajan, after Nerva's death, did not pursue Nerva's plan to re-dedicate Domitian's arch as a triumphal arch to himself (*i.e.*, to Nerva). But also an alternative seems to be possible, which I myself find preferable. But before developing this idea (cf. *infra*, at Chapter II.3.2.), let me add some more information about:

<sup>340</sup> so already very detailed F. MAGI 1945, 149-150, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 135, in Chapter I.1. See now the detailed observations by S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018; quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.1.); and summarized *infra*, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

<sup>341</sup> this has been questioned by M. BERGMANN 1981, 31 (quoted *verbatim, supra*, n. 338).

<sup>342</sup> cf. *supra*, n. 322, in Chapter II.1.e).

*The circumstances, under which Nerva had received the title Germanicus*

Arthur Stein<sup>343</sup>, after discussing Nerva's adoption of Trajan, wrote: "Da zur selben Zeit die Nachricht von einem in Pannonien über die Sueben erfochtenen Sieg eintraf, nahm Nerva den Siegerbeinamen *Germanicus* an, den auch Trajan erhielt", and further (in the chapter: "Germanenkriege"; "Pannonien, ein *bellum Suebicum* unter Nerva): "... und endlich steht durch Münzen und Inschriften fest, dass Nerva und Trajan seit Ende 97 den Beinamen *Germanicus* führen ... und dass Nerva schon damals auch zum Imperator acclamiert wurde, daher imp. II heisst ... dass wir annehmen, der Sieg in Pannonien sei über die Germanen, und zwar über die Sueben erfochten worden, gegen die auch unter Domitian an der Donau gekämpft worden war ... Einzelheiten aus diesem Krieg sind uns nicht bekannt". Elsewhere, Stein mentioned Nerva's full title:

"Nachdem er [Nerva] im Jahre 97 den Ehrennamen *Germanicus* erhalten hatte und zum Imperator acclamiert worden war ... hiess er gegen Ende seiner Regierung mit vollem Namen und Titel *Imp. Nerva Caes. Aug., Germanicus, pontifex maximus, tribuniciae potestatis II, imp. II, cos. IV, pater patriae*, vgl. CIL V 4314 [my emphasis]".

According to Dietmar Kienast, Werner Eck and Matthäus Heil, both Nerva and Trajan received the title *Germanicus* in November of AD 97<sup>344</sup>.

If indeed Nerva had wished to refer to his own victory over the *Suebi* in Pannonia in AD 97, when he ordered to recut Domitian's face on Frieze A into a portrait of himself, this idea was perhaps not so extravagant, as we might at first glance believe. Because, provided Domitian actually had commissioned Frieze A in order to commemorate his own victorious Sarmatian War, which the emperor had fought in person in Pannonia in 92-93 against the Sarmatian Iazyges, and likewise against the *Suebi*<sup>345</sup>, as one scholar has suggested<sup>346</sup>, Nerva's idea would become much better understandable (cf. *infra*, at Chapter II.3.2).

I myself suggest instead that Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs shows Domitian's *profectio* to his (second) Dacian war in the spring of AD 89 (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.e); Appendix IV.d.2.f). Below (cf. *infra*, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*) I suggest that the Cancellaria Reliefs may have decorated the arch of Domitian, postulated by Filippo Coarelli (2009b; 2012) at the "Porta principale" of Domitian's Palace on the Palatine.

If that is true, considering at the same time that also the Emperor Nerva resided in Domitian's *Domus Augustana*, it would be more than understandable that he had the intention to appear with a portrait of *himself* on Frieze A (cf. here Fig. 1, or, if possible, on both Friezes ?), which decorated after all the arch at the entrance of *his* Palace.

For a discussion of this point; cf. *infra*, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

Cf. here Figs. 8.1; 58, labels: PALATINE; DOMUS AUGUSTANA; "Porta principale"; Arch of Domitian ? / Cancellaria Reliefs ?

<sup>343</sup> A. STEIN, *op.cit.*, cf. *supra*, n. 339. The quotes are from: Sp. 141, Sp. 142, Sp. 149, and Sp. 137.

<sup>344</sup> D. KIENAST, W. ECK and M. HEIL 2017, 114 "Nerva ... imperator II 97, Germanicus Nov. 97" (cf. *supra*, n. 87, in Chapter I.1.); p. 117 (Trajan): "Germanicus Nov. 97" (cf. *supra*, n. 323, in Chapter II.1.e).

<sup>345</sup> for discussions of Domitian's Sarmatian War, cf. also at n. 181, in Chapter I.1, n. 232, in Chapter I.2., n. 305, in Chapter II.1.a), and *infra*, at n. 346, and at n. 352, in Chapter II.3.2. See also below, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

<sup>346</sup> so D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 191; cf. T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 58 (but note that Hölscher does not interpret the scene as Domitian's *profectio* for his Sarmatian War, but rather as the emperor's *adventus* into Rome, after the victory in this war).

**II.3.1.b) The architectural fragments, found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs, comprising the architrave block carrying the inscription PP FECIT (CIL VI, 40543), and Domitian's Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium**

Also a second thought that comes to mind, when reading Stein's account (cf. *supra*, ns. 339, 343, in Chapter II.3.1.a)), in which he mentions the fact that Nerva, in October of AD 97, had learned the news of his victory in the *bellum Suebicum*. This thought relates to the inscription on the architrave block, datable to the Domitianic period, that carries the inscription *PP FECIT* (CIL VI, 40543; cf. *supra*, n. 81, in Chapter I.1.), assuming at the same time that this inscription belonged to the same monument as the Cancellaria Reliefs.

As already mentioned before, the emperor, who commissioned the dedicatory inscription of this Domitianic building, which Nerva had decided to re-use for himself, was not necessarily Domitian, as we might take for granted, but may instead have been Nerva, since in this inscription only the title *pater patriae* survives, that, as we know, both Domitian<sup>347</sup> and Nerva<sup>348</sup> held. This assumption seems possible, provided it is true, that the Cancellaria Reliefs were not finished, when Domitian died, an idea which could, by implication, mean, that the entire building was not finished, and consequently not yet dedicated. But since only the far right end of this dedicatory inscription survives, the block, carrying this inscription, may also represent, what is left of Domitian's original dedication, which had not yet been recut under Nerva. Alternatively, this inscription may likewise be what is left of Domitian's original inscription, but which *had* already been recut under Nerva, only that in this specific detail it had not been necessary to change its content.

If this dedicatory inscription was already commissioned by Domitian, would that assumption automatically imply that this arch could not possibly have been a building site any more, when the emperor died? In my opinion, that is not necessarily the case.

For a possibly similar situation, let's compare the dedicatory inscription of Domitian's Temple of Minerva at Domitian's *Forum* at Rome, that is to say, of a temple which was located within a larger building, that was only finished and dedicated by Nerva. Heinrich Bauer and Chiara Morselli<sup>349</sup>, in their discussion of the *Forum Nervae*, write: "L'iscrizione di Nerva, che occupava non solo il fregio [of the Temple of Minerva] ma anche l'architrave levigato, tramandataci quasi interamente, sostituiva probabilmente quella di Domiziano ed è databile al 97/98 d.C. [CIL VI 953 = 31213]. ...". Bauer and Morselli thus assume, that Domitian's Temple of Minerva at Domitian's *Forum* had already received Domitian's dedicatory inscription, although we know that the *Forum* has definitely been finished and dedicated by Nerva. Nerva's dedicatory inscription of his '*Forum Nervae*', comprising this Temple of Minerva (cf. CIL VI 953), reads:

"IMP . NERVA . CAES . AVG . germanicus . PONT . MAX  
 TRIB . POTEST . II . cos. IIII . P. p. forum miNERVAE . FECIT

[a. 98]".

For a reconstruction in "3D" of Domitian's *Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium*; cf. Alessandro Viscogliosi (2009, 203, Fig. "1. Foro Transitorio, veduta ricostruttiva verso il tempio di Minerva (Inklink)". In this reconstruction, the façade of the Temple of Minerva is visible, showing the above quoted dedicatory inscription on its architrave '*in situ*'; cf. p. 206, Figs. "5. Foro Transitorio, >le Colonnacce<" (cf. her Fig. 49); cf. p. 207, Figs. "7-9. Foro Transitorio, interpretazione delle fasi (Viscogliosi); pianta della prima e della seconda fase (da Viscogliosi 2008)".

For a discussion of "*Le Colonnacce*" at Domitian's *Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium*; cf. *infra*, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

<sup>347</sup> cf. *supra*, n. 82, in Chapter I.1.

<sup>348</sup> cf. *supra*, n. 87, in Chapter I.1.

<sup>349</sup> H. BAUER and C. MORSELLI: "Forum Nervae", in: *LTUR* II (1995) 307-311, Figs. 115, 147, 148.

For two other reasons Domitian's *Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium*, can be compared with the subjects discussed here: the inscription *PP FECIT* (CIL VI, 40543; cf. *supra*, n. 81 in Chapter I.1.), that was found in the same area as the Cancellaria Reliefs, is inscribed on an architrave block, exactly like the dedicatory inscription of the Temple of Minerva at Domitian's *Forum/ Forum Nervae / Forum Transitorium* (for a discussion of such architrave blocks, carrying dedicatory inscriptions, cf. H.B. WIGGERS 1983, and M. WOLF 2018, 91-93; cf. *infra* at Chapter V.2.). This architrave block, carrying the inscription *PP FECIT*, has been compared by Klaus Stefan Freyberger (2018, 97; cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.3.) on stylistical grounds with "*Le Colonnacce*" at Domitian's *Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium*. In his conclusion, Freyberger dates all the architectural fragments, found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. *supra*, n. 76, and in Chapter I.3.1.), to the late Domitianic period, and attributes them to a workshop that was also active at Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, the '*Domus Flavia*'/ *Domus Augustana*.

For Domitian's Palace on the Palatine; cf. here Fig. 73, labels: PALATIUM; "DOMUS FLAVIA"; DOMUS AUGUSTANA; and below, in Chapters V.1.i.3.b); in *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix VI.

Already Stefan Pfeiffer (2009, 61-62), whose account I only came across once I had finished writing my entire text on the Cancellaria Reliefs, has discussed those panels in context with Domitian's *Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium*:

"Das Forum des Domitian

Die in der Spätantike unter dem Namen Forum Transitorium (>Durchgangsforum<) bekannte Platzanlage befand sich auf relativ engem Raum (120 x 45 m) zwischen Augustusforum und dem vespasianischen Tempel des Friedens [*i.e.*, *Vespasian's Forum* or *Templum Pacis*]. Domitian wählte diesen, für ein Forum vielleicht etwas schmalen Ort, um eine Verbindung von Augustus und Vespasian auch topographisch zum Ausdruck zu bringen und sich selbst in beider Nachfolge zu stellen ...

Von der Dekoration des Forums ist nicht mehr viel erhalten, doch steht noch eine Wand (>Colonnacce< genannt), die einen Fries mit Szenen aus dem Themenkreis des Webens, für das Minerva/Athena zuständig war, zeigt. **Über dem Fries waren 2,65 m hohe Statuen angebracht, von denen noch eine erhalten ist, die man bisher als Minerva/Athena interpretierte [cf. here Fig. 49]. Inzwischen neigt die archäologische Forschung jedoch dazu, die Statue als Teil eines ganzen Statuenprogramms zu verstehen, das die 42 Joche der Wand ausfüllte (Wiegartz 1996). Es hätte sich demnach um Personifikationen von Provinzen des Imperiums oder von besiegten Völkern gehandelt. Sie würden auf die Sieghaftigkeit Domitians und des durch ihn garantierten Reichtums Roms hinweisen [my emphasis]**". - The last phrase was already quoted *supra*, at Chapter I.3.2.

See also *infra*, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.a); Appendix IV.d.2.e); and Appendix IV.d.2.f).

After having finished writing the manuscript of this first volume of my *Study* on Domitian, I received the exhibition-catalogue *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore*, in which Antonella Corsaro, Beatrice Pinna Caboni and Claudio Parisi Presicce have discussed Domitian's *Forum* ("*Domiziano, Nerva e il loro Foro*", 2023).

Cf. below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

### II.3.1.c) Domitian's building policy: praising the gens Flavia, emulating Augustus and Nero

Immediately after the passage, quoted above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter II.3.1.b)), Stefan Pfeiffer (2009, 62) continues:

"Neben die von Domitian besonders geschätzten Gottheiten Jupiter und Minerva trat der Kult der eigenen Vorfahren, der dem Kaiser vor allem aus legitimatorischen Gründen wichtig war. Er bemühte



sich, seiner eigenen Dynastie Frömmigkeit (*pietas*) zu erweisen und sie auf diese Weise mit dem julisch-claudischen Kaiserhaus gleichzusetzen. Bildlich vor Augen führen uns die *pietas*-Politik gegenüber dem Vater die beiden in der archäologischen Forschung bezüglich ihrer Interpretation mehr als umstrittenen sogenannten Cancellaria-Reliefs (vgl. [vergleiche] zuletzt Henderson 2003). Sie sind nach ihrem Fundort im Garten des Palazzo della Cancellaria Apostolica benannt. Eines der beiden Reliefs [*i.e.*, Frieze B] zeigt auf jeden Fall Domitian mit Vespasian. Vater und Sohn werden von Minerva, Rom und den Genien von Senat und Volk Roms begleitet. Auf diese Weise ist nicht nur die Legitimation der Herrschaft des Domitian durch seinen Vater verkündet, sondern auch der *consensus universorum*, die Zustimmung zu seiner Herrschaft durch die Götter und die Untertanen [my emphasis]".

Concerning the interpretation of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs, I have come - independently of Pfeiffer (2009, 62) - to almost the same conclusions (cf. *infra*, in Chapters V.1.i.3.); VI.3.).

Stefan Pfeiffer (2018, 189, Chapter: "The themes of Domitian's self-presentation") concerning Domitian's relation to his dynasty, writes: "2. Domitian had a special interest in showing his close connection to his dynasty, which legitimized his rule [with n. 93]. He erected several buildings that were related to Vespasian and Titus, the *templum gentis Flaviae* [with n. 94], the *porticus Divorum*, the *templum Divi Vespasiani*, and the arch of Titus [my emphasis]". In his notes, Pfeiffer provides references.

In this *Study*, I have concentrated on Domitian's Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia* (cf. here Fig. 120 and *supra*, at ns. 238 [= T. GANSCHOW 1997, cat. 31], 244, in Chapter I.2., and *infra*, at ns. 477, 478, in Chapter VI.3.). See below, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.; and at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

In previous studies, I have discussed the meaning of some of the other buildings erected by Domitian, that Pfeiffer (2018, 189) mentions (cf. C. HÄUBER 2014a, 165 with n. 144 [on the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* and on the find of colossal acrolithic portrait of *Divus Titus* (and a colossal portrait of *Divus Vespasianus*, allegedly found in the same area) that belonged to the cult-statues venerated there]; C. HÄUBER 2017, 162-164, 167 [on the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*]; Cf. pp. 20, 134, 142, 164-168, 171, 174-177 [for the building *Divorum*, erected by Domitian on the Campus Martius and dedicated to the two *Divi*, his father and brother, *Divus Vespasianus* and *Divus Titus*, for the difficulty to reconstruct its ground-plan, and for its meaning]).

For the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; see below, in Chapter IV.1.1., and especially Chapters IV.1.1.a)-IV.1.1.c), IV.1.1.f), IV.1.1.h); V.1.i.3.a); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix I.g.3*); and in *Appendix VI.*; at Section XII.; and here Figs. 58; 59, labels: Servian city Wall; Baths of Diocletian; site of *TEMPLUM GENTIS FLAVIAE*.

Stefan Pfeiffer (2018, 189, Chapter: "The themes of Domitian's self-presentation") writes concerning Domitian's relation to Augustus:

"4. Domitian tried to establish a symbolic relation to Augustus, as evident from his *correctio morum* and the saecular games he held [with n. 97; my emphasis]". In his notes, Pfeiffer provides references.

For Domitian's Saecular Games of AD 88; cf. also Trevor Luke (2018, 207-209).

Concerning Domitian's building policy, Stefan Pfeiffer (2009, 62; and 2018, 189), in this just quoted passages expresses his conviction that key motivations for the emperor were to show his close connection to his dynasty, and to emulate Augustus and the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

Eric M. Moormann (2018), who is of the same opinion as Pfeiffer, discusses his observations in detail and adds to this that Domitian also strived for emulating Nero.

Eric M. Moormann (2018, 161) begins his contribution with the epigraph: "A visitor to Rome today cannot avoid the Flavians [with n. 1]", followed by another one: "To the modern visitor the centre of Rome

**presents itself as essentially a Flavian city** [with n. 2; my emphasis]", quoting in his n. 1: "Darwall-Smith 1996, 17...", and in his n. 2: "Boyle 2003, 29 ...".

For the most recent observations by Moormann (2021; 2023) concerning this point; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III.; at point 3.) where they are quoted *verbatim*.

Cf. Moormann (2018, 161-162):

**"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 [page 162] of works executed by him, and some scholars argue that these building activities were among his greater achievements (see fig. 2 highlighting the monuments discussed in this paper [with n. 7, quoting G. GERING 2012, 213]. 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 [with n. 8, quoting G. GERING 2012, 210-211]. It was, so Gering argues, "ein gutes Beispiel für die Verbindung von realpolitischer und ideologischer Motivation kaiserlichen Handelns" [with n. 9, quoting G. GERING 2012, 206]. **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 [with n. 10, providing references and further discussion; my emphasis]".

Also for further discussion of this point; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III.; at point 3.).

My following conclusions have already been anticipated above (cf. *supra*, at *What this Study is all about*).

Eric M. Moormann (2018, 162) thus mentions "three fields of interest in Domitian's building policy", as defined by Jens Gering (2012, 2010-211): "personal grandeur, family memory and legitimization".

This is exactly how, in my opinion, also the contents of the Cancellaria Reliefs can be defined. Contrary to all other scholars - the only exception being Wolfgang Kuhoff - I have concentrated in this *Study* on a comparison of the contents of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**) with the contents of Domitian's obelisk, which the emperor erected at the Iseum Campense (cf. here **Fig. 28**): namely the contents of the representations on the *pyramidion* of this obelisk, as well as the contents of its hieroglyphic texts. And I happily confess that my research on this obelisk was only possible thanks to the generous support by the Egyptologist Emanuele M. Ciampini. - As I only realized after having conducted this research, a comparison between Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs and the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Domitian's obelisk has actually been drawn before, cf. Wolfgang Kuhoff` (1993, 77 with n. 103, quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter IV.1.), who mentions his relevant findings in a footnote.

To attain this goal, two avenues of research have been pursued in this *Study*, at first was made a detailed analysis of the contents of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs, and second, on the basis of this, a comparison of those contents with the contents of the representations on the *pyramidion* of Domitian's obelisk, as well as with the contents of its hieroglyphic texts, both of which have been analysed by Ciampini (2004; *id.* 2005; this article is quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.d.). See also below, at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini : La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*. As a result of this comparison, I suggest that exactly the same themes (as on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs) are also formulated in the representations on the *pyramidion* and in the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk.

The contents of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs are hotly debated, and what I am presenting here is my own opinion (for a summary of the relevant debate by other scholars; cf. *infra*, at Chapters I.1.; I.1.1.; and VI.1.). The contents of the representations on the *pyramidion* of Domitian's obelisk are likewise debated, but the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk, on the contrary, have the great advantage that here Domitian's propadanda is formulated *expressis verbis*. See for both Ciampini (2005; cf. also *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.f), and

at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini : La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*, as well as my own comments on all those subjects (cf. *infra*, at IV.1; IV.1.1.d); IV.1.1.f); VI.3.). - Whether or not I have been able to define correctly: 1.) the contents of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs; and 2.) the contents of the representations on the *pyramidion* of Domitian's obelisk, as well as of the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk, can both only be judged by other scholars.

For a summary of this discussion; cf. *infra*, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

Let's now return to Moormann's observations.

**Moormann** (2018, 172, quoted in more detail *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.) **himself writes about Domitian's obelisk: "The monument does not give us reason to detect a specific *aegyptophilia* of the emperor, but it rather is, again, a form of imitating Augustus** [with n. 67, providing references; my emphasis]"

That Domitian, by dedicating the Obelisk Pamphilius/ Domitian's obelisk, aimed at emulating Augustus, has, in addition to this, also been suggested by Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi (2014, 259; cf. p. 250 n. 51), and by myself. Domitian was by no means the only emperor to create such an *Architekturkopie* of Augustus' famous ensemble '*Circus Maximus*, with an Egyptian obelisk erected on its *spina*'. I anticipate here what will be discussed in more detail below (cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.a):

'For the idea that Maxentius' re-use of Domitian's obelisk on the *spina* of his *Circus* may be regarded as an *Architekturkopie* of Augustus' obelisk on the *spina* of the *Circus Maximus*, cf. Häuber (2017, 37, Fig. 1.2, pp. 162, 599. Cf. pp. 19, 113 n. 63, pp. 424-426, for the Egyptian obelisk now on the Piazza del Popolo, which is the one, Augustus had erected on the *spina* of the *Circus Maximus*. Cf. pp. 382-384, for the other comparable *Architekturkopien*'.

Immediately after the above quoted passage, **Moormann** (2018, 162, ) **continues: "This brief presentation sets out to provide a sketch of Domitian's building policy ... which in itself, I would argue, constituted a remaking of Augustan Rome ... Domitian's building policy also illustrated the emperor's *liberalitas*** [in the following listing the areas of Rome, where Domitian's buildings were concentrated; my emphasis]" . - For the term *liberalitas*; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.b*).

Moormann (2018, 163-164, Section: "From Golden House to Public Space") writes:

"Nero's memory [with n. 11] was not entirely obliterated in the *Domus Flavia* and *Domus Augustana* ... ". Cf. p. 164: **"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 ... Domitian envisaged the expansion of monuments in shape and dimension 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 this 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 [*i.e.*, the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*], which is similar to Hellenistic custom, 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** [with n. 15]. **His veneration of Minerva has antecedents as well**, especially in the emblematic figure of the great man of Early Hellenistic Athens, Demetrios Poliorketes [Ann. 16; my emphasis]"

In his **notes**, Moormann provides references.

Especially interesting for the topics discussed here are the observations by Moormann (2018, 164) that: "for the representation of his [*i.e.*, Domitian's] sacred self and his palace on the Palatine, in which we observe similarities with Ptolemaic palace buildings". Because also in the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk (cf.

here **Fig. 28**), stress is laid 1.) on the claim of Domitian's "sacred self" - which, as expressed in these hieroglyphic texts, was due to his family bonds with *Divus Vespasianus* and *Divus Titus* - as Emanuele Ciampini has observed, whereas 2.) Domitian's other important theme, that of the legitimation of his reign, in the hieroglyphic texts of his obelisk is expressed by copying the relevant passages from Ptolemaic texts, in which is likewise expressed the legitimation of the (new) king.

For both subjects, see below, at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini : La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*.

After a discussion of all of Domitian's building projects at Rome, Moormann (2018, 173, Section: "Conclusions") writes:

**".. Secondly, the aspect of innovation. Seeing himself as the greatest emperor, Domitian hoped to be a *novus Augustus* and a *novus Nero* [with n. 76] ... 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 [*i.e.*, Vespasian] and his brother [*i.e.*, Titus] and, by doing so, worked in a dynastic tradition. In that sense, he imitated Augustus who, of course, had one only generation (that of Caesar) ... **the ... area of the Campus Martius was an emblem of the emperor's [*i.e.*, Domitian's] goodness, as shown in the distribution of grain and oil ...**".** In his notes, Moormann provides references.

Interestingly, Moormann (2018, 173) mentions the fact that the *Campus Martius*: "was an emblem of the emperor's [*i.e.*, Domitian's] goodness, as shown in the distribution of grain and oil ...", thus referring to the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*, built by Domitian.

I have elsewhere come to the same result as Moormann (2018, 173). In my effort to find proof for the assumption that Domitian's obelisk was indeed commissioned by Domitian for the restored Iseum Campense, I have compared the claims made in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Domitian's obelisk (cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.; and here **Fig. 28**) that concern the benefactions of the Flavian dynasty for the Roman People, as well as the claims made in these texts that concern the benefactions of Domitian himself, especially his provision of the Roman People with bountiful food - with those building, surrounding Domitian's obelisk, which Domitian himself had actually commissioned, for example the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*, mentioned by Moormann.

For the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*; cf. now Filippo Coarelli (2019a, 195-314, Chapter: "Le distribuzioni alimentari alla plebe Romana", esp. pp. 229-254, section: "4. *Porticus Minucia*"; and pp. 254-267, Section: "5. L'identificazione della *porticus Minucia*: una risposta alle critiche recenti").

Coarelli summarizes here again his identification of the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria* with the architectural finds in the Via delle Botteghe Oscure and at the Crypta Balby. He identifies the temple within this porticus with that of the Nymphs and attributes this building to Domitian; cf. Coarelli (2009a, pp. 450-451, cat. no. "42 Frammento della Forma Urbis Romae con la *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*" [F. COARELLI], providing new evidence). For further discussion of the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III.; at point 3.).

I have already earlier followed Coarelli's relevant reconstruction; cf. Häuber (2017, 20, 59-60, 71, Fig. 3.7.1 = here **Figs. 59; 60**, labels: Largo Torre Argentina; Republican temples; IUTURNA; FORTUNA HUIUSCE DIEI; FERRONIA; LARES PERMARINI; PORTICUS MINUCIA FRUMENTARIA; AEDES: NYMPHAE; Via delle Botteghe Oscure; THEATRUM BALBI.

As a prerequisite for the just described 'urbanistic comparison' of Domitian's obelisk within its real surroundings, I have assumed that Domitian's obelisk was indeed standing on the piazza between the Iseum Campense and the *Serapeum* to the south of this square, where it has been located by many scholars (for that, cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.c)), and the maps, here **Figs. 59-61; 78**).

As I hope to have shown in this *Study*, Domitian had indeed commissioned the Obeliscus Pamphilius for precisely that location (cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.c)). For my earlier studies (cf. *infra*, n. 466, at Chapter IV.1., part of this text is quoted below, and C. HÄUBER 2017, 158-167, Fig. 5.5.2 [= here Fig. 28] and the maps Fig. 3.7.1 on p. 71 [= here Fig. 60], and Fig. 3.7.1.1 on p. 73 [= here Fig. 61]).

**When I had the idea to make such an 'urbanistic comparison', I had overlooked the fact that Pierre Gros (2009, 106, quoted in more detail *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.a)) describes something very similar in his discussion of Domitian's Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium. According to Gros, Domitian or his architect Rabirius, by choosing the subject of the frieze in Domitian's Forum, which shows, "sotto la protezione di Minerva ... figure femminili intente a filare e a tessere che simboleggiano le virtù e il talento dell'Atena "Erganè" ... Questo tema, che rompe con l'immaginario militare dei Fori precedenti, ben si addiceva a questo complesso orientato verso la parte popolare e artigianale della città [*i.e.*, the *Subura*; my emphasis]".**

Cf. here Figs. 58; 73, labels: FORUM DOMITIANI / NERVAE; Temple: MINERVA; SUBURA.  
**Moormann (2018, 174, after discussing the relevant topic), concludes :**

"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 [with n. 77] ... **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' [*i.e.*, Domitian]. Both - and other emperors - envisaged monumentality in their building programs as necessary features [with n. 81; my emphasis]".

In his notes, Moorman provides references and further discussion. This passage will be quoted in more detail below (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.4.c) *Domitian's building projects at Rome: Conclusions*).

Apropos, Moormann's (2018, 173) above quoted statement: "**.. Seeing himself as the greatest emperor, Domitian hoped to be a *novus Augustus* and a *novus Nero***".

There is actually another interesting proof for Moormann's observation that Domitian saw himself as a 'novus Augustus': the specific iconography of the cult-statue of Domitian's Temple of Iuppiter Custos. I anticipate in the following, what will be discussed in more detail below (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.d)):

'At the same time, the iconography of Domitian's cult-statue in his Temple of Iuppiter Custos, with himself, sitting on Jupiter's lap (cf. Tac., *Hist.* 3,74,1), refers also to a legend, told about the later Augustus, when he was a child' (cf. Suet., *Aug.* 94,8).

Suetonius, *Aug.* 94,8, in the translation of J.C. Rolfe 1920, writes:

'**After Quintus Catulus had dedicated the Capitol [*i.e.*, the (second) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus], he had dreams on two nights in succession: first, that Jupiter Optimus Maximus called aside one of a number of boys of good family, who were playing around his altar, and put in the fold of his toga an image of Roma, which he was carrying in his hand; the next night he dreamt that he saw this same boy in the lap of Jupiter of the Capitol, and that when he had ordered that he be removed, the god warned him to desist, declaring that the boy was being reared to be the saviour of his country. When**

Catulus next day met Augustus, whom he had never seen before, he looked at him in great surprise and said that he was very like the boy of whom he had dreamed.

Some give a different account of Catulus's first dream: when a large group of well-born children asked Jupiter for a guardian, he pointed out one of their number, to whom they were to refer all their wishes, and then, after lightly touching the boy's mouth with his fingers, laid them on his own lips [my emphasis]’.

SUETONIUS, *Lives of the Caesars 2. The Deified Augustus*, Loeb Classical Library LCL 31:290-291.

Online at:

<<https://www.loebclassics.com/>> (11-VII-2020).

Therefore, **by choosing the iconography, which Tacitus (*Hist.* 3,74,1) records for the cult-statue of Jupiter in Domitian's Temple of Iuppiter Custos, the emperor not only thanked the god for his salvation on 18th/19th December AD 69, but propagated at the same time to be, like Augustus before him (cf. Suet., *Aug.*, 94,8), 'the saviour of his country'** (translation: J.C. ROLFE 1920).

Domitian's Temple of Iuppiter Custos was also in another way closely connected with Augustus.

Robin Haydon Darwall-Smith (1996, 110, Section: "The Temple of Jupiter Custos") writes:

"The Temple of Jupiter Custos, then, was Domitian's personal thank-offering to Jupiter for his escape. This resembles closely the action of Augustus in similar circumstances: having narrowly escaped a thunderbolt in Spain, he erected a temple to Jupiter Tonans on the Capitol (*DA*, 29,13) to which he attached considerable importance [with n. 20, providing a reference]. It is striking that Augustus, after a dream, made Jupiter Tonans into a 'doorkeeper' for Jupiter Optimus Maximus (*ibid.*, 91.2), for the name of Jupiter Custos could imply a similar function for Domitian's god".

But there is even more. To the above quoted observation by Moormann (2018, 163-164): "From Golden House to Public Space - Nero's memory was not entirely obliterated in the *Domus Flavia* and *Domus Augustana* ... ", I should like to add two things:

**Namely the fact that Domitian a) emulated Augustus by building his Palace called *Domus Augustana* deliberately at the site of the *domus*, where the first *princeps* had actually lived, and that Domitian b), again like Augustus, as the 'new founder of Rome', emulated Romulus (or else compared the achievements of his entire dynasty with those of Romulus).**

For all that; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III., at point 4.); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section I.

Let's now return to the judgement of Domitian's self-presentation by other scholars.

**Irene Bragantini (2018, 246-247, quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.) has aptly compared Domitian's reception of Vespasian at Beneventum with Augustus' famous description of a delegation, led by the *consul*, who had come all the way down to Campania to greet him already there, when he returned from Spain and Gaul, the *ire obviam*, an unprecedented honour, as Augustus proudly stated in his *Res gestae* (12).**

Bragantini's example (2018, 246-247), in my opinion, does not sound as if Domitian contented himself in merely 'emulating' Augustus' example here, or as Pfeiffer (2009, 62) writes, that Domitian's objective was, "sie [*i.e.*, the Flavian dynasty] auf diese Weise mit dem julisch-claudischen Kaiserhaus gleichzusetzen". - In my opinion, since Domitian himself went to Beneventum, and Mucianus and some other dignitaries even down to Brundisium (circa 500 km distant from Rome), where Vespasian landed, coming back from Alexandria, they clearly aimed at 'outdoing' the Augustan example - also because one passage of the

hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk (cf. here **Fig. 28**) says *expressis verbis* that he [*i.e.*, Domitian] by no means regarded the Julio-Claudian dynasty as a good example. I have written elsewhere:

"In one of the inscriptions on his Obelisk, written in hieroglyphs, Domitian formulates his hope that his contemporaries as well as posterity will always remember the achievements of his family, the Flavian dynasty, especially their benefactions for the Roman People. Domitian stresses that his family managed to consolidate the state, which had severely suffered from those 'who reigned before' (*i.e.*, the Julio-Claudian dynasty)". Cf. Häuber (2017, 21; cf. *infra*, n. 466 in Chapter IV.1., for references concerning this hieroglyphic text).

For further discussion of Domitian's meeting with Vespasian at Beneventum; cf. *supra*, in Chapter Preamble; Section III., at point 2.).

**Another of Domitian's emulations of Augustus can be deduced from observations made by Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi (2013, 127, quoted *verbatim infra*): the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) mention that 'his kingship has been granted him by Isis, together with Ptah'.**

As is well known, in the past, the Egyptian kings had been crowned either in the Temple of Amun at Thebes, or in the Temple of Ptah at Memphis, the old capital of Egypt; cf. Günther Hölbl (2004, 531, quoted *verbatim* in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II.a*). Domitian's purposeful emulation of Augustus is proven in this case by the fact that Augustus' official title as Pharaoh of Egypt comprised the statement that he was 'elected by Ptah', as we likewise learn from Capriotti Vittozzi (2013, 93 with n. 3; quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II.a*)).

Cf. Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi (2013, 127, Chapter: "I luoghi 'egizi' di Roma"):

"Altre interessanti considerazioni riguardano il ruolo di Iside nell'obelisco di Domiziano, la quale appare come elargitrice di regalità e, in tal senso, in relazione con Ptah [with n. 11]: ciò lascia intravedere una precisa citazione dell'ambiente menfita, che peraltro era l'antica capitale dove avveniva tradizionalmente l'incoronazione".

In her **note 11**, Capriotti Vittozzi writes: "Ciampini 2004, 165". - For the *verbatim* quotation from Ciampini; cf. *infra*, at n. 467, in Chapter IV.1.

**Filippo Coarelli has observed that Domitian accommodated the *Tabularium principis* (the imperial archives) within that part of his Palace on the Palatine (at the later Vigna Barberini), which was very close to the *sacrarium Divi Augusti* at the *curiae veteres* (for those toponyms; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix V*; Section I., and here Fig. 73). This shows, in my opinion, likewise that Domitian tried to emulate Augustus.** The following is discussed again below in its wider context (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.b.2.*)).

Cf. Coarelli (2019a, 67-72, Chapter: "Gli Archivi dello Stato"; Section: "5. *Tabularium principis*"). On pp. 67-68, Coarelli mentions the fact that this *Tabularium principis* could even be referred to as *sanctuarium Caesaris* or *principis* (by Siculus Flaccus, with n. 275), and as *tabularium Caesaris* (by Hyginus Gromaticus, with n. 276). Cf. p. 68: "Quanto al termine *sanctuarium*, si tratta di una 'sacralizzazione' degli uffici di pertinenza dell'imperatore, di cui abbiamo altri esempi (come la *sacra Moneta*) che probabilmente venne introdotta da Domiziano, da mettere in rapporto con la divinizzazione dell'imperatore, *dominus et deus vivente*".

For a discussion of the (untestified) reproach that Domitian had demanded to be called and addressed as '*dominus et deus*', as stated by Coarelli (2019a, 68); cf. *supra*, in Chapter Preamble; at Section II.

**Coarelli (2019a, 71-72) comments on the immediate neighbourhood of the *sacrarium Divi Augusti* at the *curiae veteres* and Domitian's *Tabularium principis*:**

"Veniamo così a sapere che un archivio di carattere privato esisteva fin dal periodo di Tiberio in un'area adiacente alla Vigna Barberini, dove si troverà in seguito il *Tabularium* (o *Sanctuarium*) *Caesaris*, realizzato in età domiziana: dovrebbe trattarsi [page 72] di quel "piccolo deposito di carte personali, l'archivio di gabinetto dell'imperatore" evocato da Cencetti [with n. 283]. È difficile immaginare che tale prossimità tra i due edifici possa essere casuale: sembra anzi che il *Sacrarium* abbia costituito il nucleo iniziale di quegli archivi imperiali, che si svilupparono in seguito nello stesso luogo, a partire del periodo giulio-claudio, quando viene per la prima volta documentata la loro esistenza". - In his conclusion, Coarelli (2019a, 72) mentions the fact that in this part of the Palatine, beginning with the *sacrarium* for Divus Augustus, have existed "archivi imperiali, e poi bizantini e pontifici ... La presenza nello stesso luogo e per un periodo così lungo di un'istituzione del genere attesta uno straordinario fenomeno di continuità ininterrotta, che attraversa un periodo di più di un millenio".

In his **note 283**, Coarelli writes: "CENCETTI 1953, p. 162."

As already Zarah Newby (2016, 67-68) and before her, Eve D'Ambra (1993) observed, Domitian in his *Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium* used myth similarly as Augustus in his precinct of Apollo on the Palatine. The following passage is quoted in more detail *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.a*):

"A similar use of myth [as on the doors of Augustus's Temple of Apollo on the Palatine] can be seen again at the end of the first century AD in the frieze from the Forum Transitorium started by Domitian, in which his patron goddess Minerva is celebrated through images of her associations with weaving and household tasks ... [page 68] ... As in the Precinct of Apollo on the Palatine, the myth celebrates the complex's patron deity but also reflects on the commissioning emperor's own regime ...".

Stefano Tortorella (1992, 99 with n. 114) has reminded us of the fact that it was - of course - Domitian, who restored the *Templum novum Divi Augusti* after that had been destroyed by the fire of AD 80, and dedicated it in AD 89 or 90. Cf. M. Torelli ("Augustus, Divus, Templum (novum); Aedes", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 145-146, Figs. 78; 79). Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*); and *Appendix V.*; at Section I.).

See also below, at *The second Contribution by T.P. Wiseman on the questions which ancient author explicitly records that Domitian had restored the Templum (novum) Divi Augusti, and that he had dedicated this temple in AD 89 or 90.*

Cf. here **Fig. 73**, labels: CAPITOLIUM; VICUS IUGARIUS; Via del Foro Romano; site of TEMPLUM (novum) DIVI AUGUSTI; TEMPLUM MINERVAE?; GRAESOSTADIUM?; AEQUIMELIUM; FORUM ROMANUM; BASILICA IULIA; Via di S. Teodoro; VICUS TUSCUS; PALATIUM.

**This 'emulating' of Augustus, had, of course, already begun, when Vespasian in AD 69 went to Egypt.**

**Trevor Luke** (2018, 195) **writes about the importance of Vespasian's relevant decision and its consequences:** "The Augustan empire was arguably born in Egypt when Octavian completed his victory over Cleopatra and Antony ... The relationship Augustus forged between the emperor's power and Egypt subsequently found expression in Augustan monuments, images, and narratives, which celebrated Roman power over the land ruled by the pharaohs ... The *Campus Martius*, with its Egyptian obelisk - dedicated to Sol and placed near the Ara Pacis - and other Egyptian monuments and cult sites, served as a key *lieu de mémoire* of the role Egypt played in the birth of the principate [with n. 2].

A century later, during the civil war of A.D. 69, Vespasian visited Egypt to seize control of its grain supply, thus initiating a new chapter in Egypt's relationship with Rome and the use of the *Campus Martius* as a site of community memory of that relationship. Vespasian paid Isis and Serapis their due when he spent the night before his triumph in the Iseum Campense, but he did not exert much effort thereafter in the cultivation of the memory of Egypt as the place where he entered upon his empire [with n. 3, quoting: "Joseph., *BJ* 7.4"]. His youngest son, Domitian, whose passion for cultivating *aegyptiaca* in Italy and commitment to building in Egypt itself are well attested, was the Flavian emperor who chiefly promoted the miraculous origins of Flavian power in Egypt as he restored and augmented Egyptian monuments in the



Campus Martius after the fire of A. D. 80 [with n. 4]. This article explores how Tacitus, writing in the era of Trajan, reshaped the memory of Egypt in the rise of the Flavian dynasty and Vespasian's interactions with the god of the Rhakotis Hill [*i.e.*, Serapis, whom Tacitus himself identifies with Dispatēr]."

In his **notes**, Luke provides references.

For the 'Montecitorio Obelisk', brought by Augustus from Egypt, who erected it on the *Campus Martius*, where it served as the *gnomon* of a Meridian line, in order to bring Julius Caesar's calendar reform to a successful end, in addition to the references, quoted by Luke in his note 2 himself, cf. Häuber (2017, 33-122, 352-363, 388-417, 582-605, with a detailed discussion of the alleged 'Horologium Augusti', postulated by E. BUCHNER 1982). See also Amanda Claridge (2017) and Peter Heslin (2019); for all that cf. *infra*, n. 545, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II.c*).

**Also by enlarging the *pomerium* of Rome, Vespasian had 'emulated' Augustus** (cf. *supra*, n. 199, in Chapter I.1.1.; and *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.)).

**But his most important achievements were that Vespasian, a), like Augustus before him, had not only managed to end a civil war, as rightly stressed by Rita Paris (1994b, 81-83, Figs. 6; 7a-c), in her reconstruction of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.a); and b) that Vespasian's reign, again as in the case of Augustus, has been called 'the return of the golden age'. Cf. Laurent Bricault (2018, 143), who write that Isis-Sothis, who is visible on Vespasian's *sestertius* (cf. here **Fig. 113**); "célèbre le retour à l'âge d'or que constitue l'avènement de Vespasien ..."** (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II.a*)).

Besides, we should not forget, that Domitian had great part in Vespasian's just-mentioned first achievement. Rita Paris judges Domitian's *pro forma* regency, which lasted from 21st December AD 69 until October 70, as being so important for the establishment of Vespasian's reign that we could consider *that* as the reason, why Domitian was granted by the Senate in 71 a separate triumph for his actions at Rome during the absence of his father. Vespasian's reign had definitely brought peace after the civil wars, but Domitian had an important part in achieving this goal. Because 'in the most dramatic moment of the civil wars', as Rita Paris (1994b, 83) writes, 'Domitian was the only member of Vespasian's family present at Rome', and: 'Like Augustus, Vespasian - and for him Domitian - has saved the fatherland from the civil wars'. For a discussion of the reasons, why Domitian had been granted this triumph; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.c*). For further discussion of this point; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III.; at point 2.)

For Augustus' reign, which has been described in antiquity and by modern commentators as 'golden age'; cf. Häuber (2017, 44 n. 18, p. 49 n. 47, pp. 341-342 with n. 95, pp. 362-363 with ns. 182, 183).

**There was also a third point, in which Vespasian emulated Augustus: namely the fact that contemporary poets praised both emperors for having c) founded a dynasty, which would hopefully guarantee peace for the future to come.**

I have elsewhere quoted the relevant hope, expressed by Ovid (cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 380, 526):

"... this is precisely the hope expressed by Ovid ... a remark related to the consecration of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*: "You priests, add incense to the flames at the rites of Peace, and let the white victim fall, its brow well soaked. Ask the gods, who incline to pious prayers that the house [meaning the *Domus Augusta*, the family of Augustus] which guarantees her may last long years with Peace" (Ovid, *Fasti* 1.719-22, translation: T.P. and Anne Wiseman 2011)". Cf. the "Comments" by T.P. Wiseman (p. 722 in the same volume).

That Augustus' relevant achievement was emulated by Vespasian, is clear from Flavius Josephus' account of Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in the first half of October AD 70, discussed in more detail below (cf. *infra*, at Chapter VI.3.). I anticipate in the following the conclusion: 'As we have seen above, Flavius Josephus (*BJ* 7,4,1, in the translation of H.St. Thackeray 1928), ended his enthusiastic description of Vespasian's

overwhelming reception at the City of Rome in October of AD 70 with a formulation that sounds at least in part very similarly:

"... The crowds then betook themselves to festivities and, keeping feast by tribes and families and neighbourhoods, with libations prayed God that Vespasian might himself long be spared to the Roman empire, and that the sovereignty might be preserved unchallenged for his sons and their descendants throughout successive generations. And, indeed, the city of Rome, after this cordial reception of Vespasian, rapidly advanced to great prosperity".

As mentioned ... [in Chapter V.1.i.3.], where the entire passage (*BJ* 7,4,1) is quoted, Flavius Josephus wrote his Book on the 'Jewish War', which he finished in AD 81, at the order of Vespasian and Titus (cf. *supra*, n. 201, in Chapter I.1.1.). - This means that the above quoted passage had certainly been approved by Vespasian himself, or else by Titus'.

In addition to this, there is even another, and in addition to this truly grandiose building project, with which Vespasian intended to emulate Augustus. I have written elsewhere: "Vespasian erected an amphitheatre [*i.e.*, the Colosseum], because already Augustus had (obviously in vain) planned to build one". See the "translation of Suetonius (*Vesp.* 9.1) by J.C. Rolfe (1914; 1920): "He [Vespasian] also undertook new works ... also an amphitheatre in the heart of the city, a plan which he learned that Augustus had cherished"". For both quotations; cf. Häuber (2017, 334).

I have remarked elsewhere about the Colosseum: "Amanda Claridge writes about the Colosseum: "In antiquity it was a theatre of ritual death, witnessed by the emperor, Vestal Virgins, and senators, in company with a segregated microcosm of the rest of male Roman society" [with n. 125]. Zanker writes: in the Colosseum, "Through this strict ordering of seating and clothing the Roman citizenry could experience itself as a structured and class-based collectivity. The emperor sat in the most prominent position in his lodge ... visible to all" [with n. 126]. Cf. Häuber (2014a, 706, Chapter: "B 25.) The iconography of the bust of Commodus as Hercules Romanus").

In my **note 125**, I wrote: "Claridge 1998, p. 278, Ead. 2010, p. 314".  
Cf. **note 126**: "Zanker 2010, p. 70".

Although also Domitian's building phase of the *Amphitheatrum Flavium* is of great importance, I have decided not to repeat the results of my earlier research on the Colosseum in this *Study*.

Cf. Häuber (2017, 21, 164, 325-337 with Fig. 5.4 on p. 139 [= here **Figs. 89; 90**]): the relief from the tomb of the Haterii, representing buildings in Rome); this account discusses the following subjects:

*a)* the new hypotheses, suggested by Klaus Stefan Freyberger *et al.* (2016a; *id.* 2016b) concerning the buildings visible on the relief from the tomb of the Haterii (cf. here **Figs. 89; 90**) that, as was hitherto believed, and as I myself likewise confirm, represents Flavian buildings and monuments at Rome, *inter alia* the Colosseum. Cf. Häuber (2014a, 415, 170 with n. 178; cf. p. 794: **there I have suggested that relief from the tomb of the Haterii (here Figs. 89; 90) may have been created under Domitian, and if so, documents what this part of Rome looked like at his time.**

Freyberger *et al.* suggest instead that all these buildings visible of the relief (here Figs. 89; 90) date to the Augustan period;

*b)* the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus;

*c)* the hypothesis of Freyberger *et al.* (2016a; *id.* 2016b), according to which the Colosseum was not erected *ex novo* by Vespasian, but should rather be identified as the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus instead, which Vespasian merely restored.

After this Chapter was written up to this point, Eric M. Moormann was kind enough to send me on 2nd July 2020 his forthcoming article on the *Templum Pacis* ("Some Observations on the Templum Pacis - a Summa of Flavian Politics"), from which emerges that Vespasian also with the conception of his *Templum Pacis* had aimed at emulating Augustus.

**Moormann (2022, 129) writes about Vespasian's *Templum Pacis* : "Begun by Vespasian in 71 CE as a triumphal remembrance of the reach of power and the 'pacification' of Judaea, the Templum Pacis or, as Procopius called it, Ἀγορά or Φόρος Εἰρηνησ was completed as soon as 75. [with n. 8] It would be embellished and enlarged during the reign of his second son, Domitian, from 81 onwards: Domitian installed a library as one of the main additions realised by him, so the complex in its final state can be considered a Domitianic project as well. Vespasian wanted to underline that the *pax* venerated here was a military peace, which had found its culmination in the victory over Judaea and other liminal areas of the Empire. In this way he created a peace monument similar to Augustus' Ara Pacis Augustae, be it on a much grander scale. [with n. 9; my emphasis]"**.

In his **note 8**, Moormann writes: "Joseph. *BJ* 158-162; Dio Cass. 66.5.1; Procop. *Goth.* 8.21.12. See Miles (2008) 263-5".

In his **note 9**, he writes: "See Goldman-Petri (2021) 45-46 for this comparison worked out more extensively". We thus learn from Moormann (2022, 129) that Vespasian, also with the design of his *Templum Pacis*, was deliberately emulating Augustus. Concerning this fact, Moormann (2022, 129) himself observes:

"In this way he [*i.e.*, Vespasian] created a peace monument similar to Augustus' Ara Pacis Augustae, be it on a much grander scale". And Moormann's additional remark: "Vespasian wanted to underline that the *pax* venerated here was a military peace", reminds us of Augustus's (RG 13) own famous line: *parta victoriis pax* ('peace through victory'), which has been discussed by John Pollini (2017b, 124 with n. 118; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*).

The above-quoted passage from Moormann (2022, 129) will be discussed and quoted in more detail *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b.*

### II.3.2. *Nerva's adoption of Trajan in late October or at the beginning of November AD 97 and the consequences which this had for the monument (an arch?), built by Domitian, that contained the Cancelleria Reliefs*

According to Arthur Stein's account (cf. *supra*, n. 343, in Chapter II.3.1.a)), at about the same time in October of AD 97, when Nerva received the message concerning the victory over the *Suebi* in Pannonia, Nerva realized that without the support of Trajan, he himself could not possibly survive his difficult political situation. He came to an agreement with Trajan that resulted in his adoption of the man "whom he had previously appointed governor of Upper Germany, as his son, co-emperor, and successor" (J.B. CAMPBELL; cf. *supra*, n. 322, at Chapter II.1.e)).

As already quoted before, Barbara Levick is more outspoken in her characterization of the situation: "L'uccisione di Domiziano nel 96 non fu seguita da una guerra civile ma da un rapido passaggio a un senatore debole anziano, sovrano *ad interim*, Marcus Cocceius Nerva (96-98), a cui subentrò senza difficoltà un uomo d'armi, Marcus Ulpius Traianus (98-117), secondo un processo che può essere interpretato come un colpo di stato senza spargimento di sangue" [B. LEVICK 2009, 14, cf. *supra*, at n. 332, in Chapter II.2.].

Kienast, Eck and Heil<sup>350</sup> provide a more precise date for Trajan's adoption: 'end of October AD 97'. They too cannot provide the exact date of this victory over the *Suebi* in Pannonia but only the information that both Nerva and Trajan adopted the title *Germanicus* in November of 97 AD, which they both received because of this same victory.

For the problem involved in defining the precise date of Trajan's *dies adoptionis*; cf. *The fourth Contribution by Peter Herz* ("Wann wurde Trajan von Nerva adoptiert?"), who comes to almost the same result as Kienast, Eck and Heil (*op. cit.*): 'at the end of October or at the beginning of November AD 97'.

Since we know now that both, Nerva and Trajan, received the title *Germanicus* for the same victory in Pannonia in November of 97, the following scenario seems to be possible. Because it had been Nerva's own clever decision to resolve his precarious political situation by adopting Trajan, I can also imagine that the emperor was prudent enough to abandon his unfortunate project to re-dedicate Domitian's arch into a triumphal arch of himself - if indeed this is true at all. Nota bene, what we know for sure is only that Nerva had intended to re-dedicate this Domitianic monument, which contained the Cancelleria Reliefs, to one that celebrated his own achievements. If this monument was indeed an arch (cf. here, in Chapters I.3.; V.1.d)), and considering the emperor's weak political position at the end of 97, Nerva would have made a complete fool of himself by demanding a (triumphal) arch to be dedicated to himself at this very moment. No one else will have known this better than Nerva, a man, who, after all, had been a close advisor to all emperors before him since Nero. I therefore believe that it was the Emperor Nerva who, in 97, as a nod to Trajan, abandoned the project by giving the order to destroy this Domitianic arch (that contained the Cancelleria Reliefs, on one of which, Frieze A, at that stage, the face of Domitian had already been recut into that of himself). But as we shall see in a minute, there was presumably a much more serious reason, that may even have forced Nerva to abandon this project (cf. *infra*).

If that scenario is true, this could also explain, why the reworking of Nerva's face on Frieze A was not yet finished when the Cancelleria Reliefs were destroyed. This was because of the following reasons.

The military campaign which Nerva's *profectio* on Frieze A refers to (if that is, what Nerva had in mind, when ordering the recutting of the face of Domitian on Frieze A into his own), had resulted in a Roman victory, of which Nerva was informed 'at about the same time, when he adopted Trajan' (so STEIN). Neither the precise date of this victory, nor the date, when the relevant message reached Nerva, are known. What we do know from Stein is that Nerva received the second acclamation as *imperator* because of this victory, but

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<sup>350</sup> cf. *supra*, n. 56, in Chapter I.1., n. 202, in Chapter I.1.1.; and n. 344 in Chapter II.3.1.a).

Stein could not provide a precise date for that event either, and Kienast, Eck and Heil<sup>351</sup> only write, that Nerva received the title "imperator II" in 97. The adoption of Trajan occurred at the end of October (or at the beginning of November) 97, and likewise in November 97, both Nerva and Trajan accepted the title *Germanicus* for this victory in Pannonia. But Campbell (cf. *supra*, n. 322, in Chapter II.1.e)) writes: "His [*i.e.*, Nerva's] own title *Germanicus*, granted for a minor victory over the Germans in Bohemia [*corr.*: Pannonia] was conferred to Trajan".

By reading the chronology of events, as described and commented upon by those scholars, it seems reasonable to conclude that it was first only Nerva, who had adopted the title *Germanicus* for this victory in Pannonia, and that, as a consequence of Nerva's adoption of Trajan at the end of October (or at the beginning of November) 97, as his son, co-ruler and successor, Nerva had decided (or had agreed upon) that Trajan should likewise receive the title *Germanicus* for the same victory. The fact that Trajan accepted this title (cf. *supra*, n. 323, in Chapter II.1.e)), proves that this was in his own interest.

Also when looking at the Cancellaria Reliefs, we come to basically the same result. Given the fact that on Frieze A the face of the emperor had already been recut into a portrait of Nerva, before the friezes were intentionally destroyed, and further assuming that Nerva wished to refer with the representation on Frieze A to 'his own' victory in Pannonia in 97, it is reasonable to conclude the following. Nerva must have received the message of this victory in Pannonia *before* he adopted Trajan, and *before*, as a consequence of this adoption - as I believe - also Trajan had officially been credited with the title *Germanicus* for the victory in this campaign. As we have seen above, Nerva, at this critical moment of his reign, had no other choice than adopting Trajan. As a consequence of this decision at the end of October (or at the beginning of November) 97, Nerva, in my opinion, could not possibly any longer attribute this military triumph in Pannonia to himself alone, since the "uomo d'armi" (so B. LEVICK 2009, 14), the 'military man' in this new team of co-Emperors, Nerva and Trajan, was of course Trajan. At least according to Trajan's propaganda.

But this new alliance - of Nerva with Trajan - which literally 'saved' Nerva in this precarious moment of late October (or at the beginning of November) 97, caused insurmountable factual and 'artistic' problems in regard to the Cancellaria Reliefs: 1.) on Frieze A is represented only one emperor - not two - who is shown in the ceremonial *profectio* for this war; 2.) the fact that the slabs, used for the carving of the Cancellaria Reliefs, are extremely thin, prevents potential corrections to be made by simply cutting the relief scenes 'deeper'. I therefore suggest that Nerva, *nolens volens*, or (depending, on how well he actually got along with Trajan), even Nerva, *together with* his 'son, co-emperor and co-victor' Trajan, must have ordered the destruction of 'his triumphal arch' himself. - And that the (here assumed triumphal) arch, at the very beginning of Nerva's relevant plannings, was presumably supposed to celebrate *only his own* (*i.e.*, Nerva's) victory in Pannonia.

There are still some more problems that we should consider. The first concerns Frieze B, the second relates to some historical facts. We will now turn to both.

Since I believe that Frieze B still preserves the first, Domitianic carving phase, showing the portraits of the Emperor Vespasian and his son Domitian, it follows that Nerva had not been able to figure out, how the faces of the two protagonists on Frieze B could be recut into two individuals that would celebrate one of his own (*i.e.*, Nerva's), and *only his*, achievements. Now that Trajan, since late October (or since the beginning of November) 97, was Nerva's son, co-Emperor and co-victor, Nerva, in the few remaining months of his life and reign, in my opinion, could only have planned subjects to be represented in such a state relief that reflected the *gestae* of himself and his co-Emperor - together.

Therefore also the peculiarities of those two main figures on Frieze B must have caused problems for a possible re-use of this scene by the co-Emperors Nerva and Trajan. Provided, they would have wanted to use this panel, by recutting the heads of those figures into portraits of themselves, in an analogous scene, this would have been impossible. In theory, they could have thought of representing in this state relief the

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<sup>351</sup> cf. *supra*, n. 344, in Chapter II.3.1.a).

*adventus* of Trajan into Rome, staged after the, seen in retrospect, very important historical event that Nerva had adopted Trajan as his son, co-Emperor, and successor. - This is at least what nowadays historians regard as Nerva's most important achievement during his reign (!).

Such an *adventus* could have been celebrated at the moment, when Trajan, after his adoption, had come back to Rome for the first time. But for an *adventus* of Trajan into Rome, received by Nerva, Frieze B could not have been used, because that would have meant recutting the face of the receiving part on Frieze B, the togate youth, in my opinion the on 24th October AD 70 19 years-old Domitian, into the portrait of Nerva who would have been almost 67-year-old in October of AD 97. And the face of the received person, the portrait of Vespasian, who was 61 years old in AD 70 should have been recut into the portrait of Trajan, who in October of AD 97 was 44 years old. Besides, such a possible re-use of Frieze B by the co-Emperors Nerva and Trajan is already therefore impossible, because we know that Trajan, after his adoption by Nerva in late October (or at the beginning of November) 97, only came back to Rome for the first time 'circa October 99'. This means, that father and son - Nerva and Trajan - never met again during Nerva's lifetime (cf. *supra*, ns. 322, 323, in Chapter at II.1.e)). To this I will come back below.

Besides, Frieze B could not even have been used by Nerva as an *adventus* of himself, should he actually at first have had in mind to re-use this Domitianic structure, possibly a (triumphal) arch, into one that celebrated his own victory in the *bellum Suebicum* - and only *his* victory. The reason being that Vespasian on frieze B is clad as a civilian, is crowned by *Victoria* not with a laurel wreath, but with an oak wreath, and worst of all: he is not accompanied by his army. - As we will learn below from Rita Paris (1994b, 81-82, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a) and here Fig. 33), the 'worst' insurmountable fact, why Nerva could not possibly use Frieze B for himself, turns out to be another iconographic detail, namely the *corona civica*, with which *Victoria* is crowning this homecoming emperor - Vespasian. Because by choosing precisely that crown, Vespasian had been honoured for having ended a *civil* war.

Therefore Frieze B was perfectly tailored to Vespasian's real situation at the represented moment in AD 70 (cf. *infra*, in Chapters V.1.c); V.1.i.3.); V.1.i.3.a)), whereas none of his successors could possibly have re-used this panel for one of his own 'normal' military *adventus* into Rome, because the iconography, depicting 'an emperor, who comes back from an 'ordinary' victorious campaign' differs considerably from that.

If my scenario is true, we can now approximately date Nerva's order to recut Domitian's face on Frieze A into his own portrait. If the represented scene was indeed supposed to celebrate the victory that had earned him the title *Germanicus*, as is suggested here, Nerva's relevant order can only have been given within the short time span between the arrival of the message of this victory in Rome and the 'almost contemporary' (so STEIN) adoption of Trajan by Nerva at the end of October (or at the beginning of November) AD 97. We should, therefore, consider the possibility that the second carving phase of the Cancelleria Reliefs, ordered by Nerva, may have lasted for only a few weeks, or even for only a couple of days. In other words: Nerva's order to recut Domitian's face on Frieze A into a portrait of himself most probably occurred shortly before the end of October (or the beginning of November) 97, when the emperor adopted Trajan.

As I only found out after this *Chapter* was written, the scenario I have suggested here had actually been corroborated a long time ago by data published by Simon (1985)<sup>352</sup>. In her discussion of Frieze A of the Cancelleria Reliefs, she is of the opinion, that it shows Domitian's *adventus* into Rome after his victory in the Sarmatian War (AD 93). She also discusses the precise chronology of the events discussed above that are connected with Nerva's adoption of Trajan - only that the dates Simon suggested have in the meantime been proven to be wrong:

"Fries A: Virtus Principis ... Auch an meiner Ergänzung des linken Friesendes mit dem thronenden Iuppiter Capitolinus halte ich fest [with n. 55], sowie an der Datierung des domitianischen Adventus auf das Jahr 93,

<sup>352</sup> E. SIMON 1985, 554-555, who refers back to E. SIMON 1960, 139-145 with Fig. 4 (cf. *infra*, at n. 427, in Chapter III.. For SIMON's discussion of the Cancelleria Reliefs, cf. also *supra*, at n. 181, in Chapter I.1.; and n. 232, in Chapter I.2.

die Rückkehr vom Sarmatenkrieg [with n. 56]. Nur in der Deutung der Idealgestalt hinter dem Kaiser weiche ich, wie schon erwähnt, heute ab (Abb. 7). Sie ist mit Sicherheit nicht Roma, sondern Virtus [with n. 57].

Wie seiner Zeit von mir dargelegt, zeigt Fries A eine seit Augustus (res gestae 4) von den Kaisern wiederholt vollzogene Handlung: Die Weihung von Lorbeer als Zeichen der siegreichen Vollendung eines Feldzuges an Iuppiter Capitolinus. Sie ist nicht nur für Nero und Domitian [with n. 58], sondern auch für Nerva nach dem *bellum Suebicum*, das der Statthalter Pannoniens glücklich beendet hatte, überliefert [with n. 59]: Am 27. Oktober 97 [this is not true, see below], am selben Tage, an dem Nerva den Trajan in dessen Abwesenheit feierlich auf dem Kapitol adoptierte, legte er den aus Pannonien gesandten Lorbeer dem Iuppiter Capitolinus auf den Schoß. Diese Handlung wurde, wie Plinius in seinem Panegyricus berichtet, als gute Vorbedeutung für die am selben Tag und Ort vollzogene Adoption des Trajan angesehen.

Nach alledem ist die Annahme von M. Bergmann, die neue Situation des umgearbeiteten Frieses A lasse sich »nicht auf eine reale kriegerische Aktion Nervas beziehen« [with n. 60], zu modifizieren. Auch wenn ein Kaiser nicht persönlich in den Krieg zieht, findet der Feldzug unter seinen Auspizien statt, der Sieg ist der seine [with n. 61].

Die dem Nerva in Fries A voranschwebende *Victoria* bringt dem Iuppiter den pannonischen Lorbeerkranz. Nerva naht sich betend dem Gott, Virtus drängt ihn voran. Sie ist das zentrale Thema des Frieses A ... Aus dem Adventus des Domitian vom Sarmatenkrieg wurde durch die Umwandlung des Porträts der Gang des Nerva zum Kapitol, um den mit frischem Siegeslorbeer geschmückten höchsten Staatsgott zum Zeugen der Adoption seines Nachfolgers zu machen. **So gesehen dürfte Fries A nicht nur für Nerva, sondern auch für Trajan von höchster Bedeutung gewesen sein** [my emphasis]."

In her **note 55**, Simon wrote: "Verf. [Verfasser] [1960] 140 ff. ...".

In her **notes 56** and **57**, she provided references.

In her **note 58**, she wrote: "Suet. Nero 13 and Dom. 6; vgl. [vergleiche] Verf. [Verfasser] [1960] 149".

In her **note 59**, she wrote: "Quellen in RE Suppl. X (1965) 1042 s.v. M. Ulpius Traianus (Hanslik)".

In her **note 60**, she wrote: "Bergmann 31 [*i.e.*, M. BERGMANN 1981, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 338, in Chapter II.3.1.a)]".

In her **note 61**, she wrote: "Vgl. [vergleiche] Tac. ann. 2,22 und 2,41: dazu E. Simon, Kölner Jb 9, 1967/68, 17".

Concerning Simon's last remark, I do not agree with her, since I follow those scholars, who interpret Frieze A as the representation of a *profectio* instead - first of Domitian, now of Nerva (cf. *infra*, at Chapter III.). Provided, that should be true, in Nerva's case it is only possible to see in Frieze A the depiction of Nerva's *profectio* to the *bellum Suebicum*, that, in reality, the governor of Pannonia had victoriously fought for Nerva, and for which, as we likewise know, both Nerva and Trajan had received the title *Germanicus*.

Contrary to Simon's (1985) above-quoted assumption, Trajan even consciously distanced himself from Nerva, as we have learned above from Markus Handy (2015, 40 with n. 124, p. 45).

Cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Section I.

But also Handy's assumption is not true. I, therefore, anticipate a passage, written for *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*; at Chapter VI.1.:

'D.C.A. Shotter (1983, 225) states: "**Trajan's accession issue [*i.e.*, the coin here Fig. 140] shows Nerva handing Trajan a globe with the legend PROVID P M TR P COS II** [with n. 67; my emphasis]". Cf. p. 226: "Nerva's memory in Trajan's reign was correctly observed. **Trajan assumed Nerva into his nomenclature: indeed, his portrait on his early coins** [cf. here Fig. 4] **passes through as "Nerva" phase** [with n. 68; my emphasis] ...

By issuing the coin (here Fig. 140), which celebrates his adoption by Nerva, Trajan showed his gratitude towards his adoptive father and predecessor - to whose facial traits Trajan's portrait has even been assimilated on this coin (!). This conclusion seems to be inevitable and is in so far a surprising result as scholars often stress Trajan's lack of gratitude in regard to Nerva; cf. C.C.A. Shotter (1983, 225) ...'.

Let's now return to our main subject.

Thanks to Simon (1985 cf. *supra*, n. 352), we know now also that Nerva, on 27th October AD 97 - had contemporaneously - a) dedicated the Pannonian laurel wreath, sent to him from Pannonia as a sign of his victory, to *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus*, and b) had adopted Trajan as his son, co-Emperor and successor.

As I only found out much later by discussing the matter with Peter Herz, Simon (1985), by asserting that '27th October AD 97' had been Trajan's *dies adoptionis*, had followed an earlier opinion. This has since a very long time been superseded: the precise date 'in late October or at the beginning of November AD 97', when Nerva adopted Trajan, is unfortunately unknown. See below, at *The fourth Contribution by Peter Herz : Wann wurde Trajan von Nerva adoptiert?*

Because, according to this political propaganda, both Nerva and Trajan had won the *bellum Suebicum* 'together', it is, in my opinion, reasonable to conclude, that on Frieze A, which now depicted the *profectio* to this same war, Nerva and Trajan should likewise have been represented together as leaving for this war. And because Trajan does not appear on Frieze A, I do not believe, contrary to Simon (1985, 555), that Trajan could have felt the way she suggests in the above-quoted passage: that frieze A: "auch für Trajan von höchster Bedeutung [war]" ('that Frieze A [was] also for Trajan of the greatest importance').

Viewed from an iconographical perspective, Trajan, in theory, could have seen Frieze A in the same form as it is still preserved, when, after his adoption in late October (or at the beginning of November) of AD 97, and being now himself co-Emperor, he would have returned to Rome for the first time: Frieze A shows the *profectio* to the *bellum Suebicum*, for which Trajan (together with Nerva) had received the title *Germanicus* in November 97. The original face of the Emperor Domitian is recut into that of Nerva - but there is not a trace of Trajan. - Besides, when Trajan actually came back to Rome for the first time after his adoption by Nerva, 'circa in October of AD 99', Nerva had died in the meantime and Trajan was now sole emperor.

Most significant in this context seems to me the fact that the recutting of Domitian's face on Frieze A into Nerva's portrait had not been finished. This has already been explained above by the assumption that the time span between the date, when the message of the victory in the *bellum Suebicum* had reached Nerva, and the date of Trajan's adoption in late October or at the beginning of November 97, must have been very short. On that day, Nerva had dedicated the laurel wreath, the token of his victory in the *bellum Suebicum* in Pannonia, to *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus*, and had also adopted Trajan - who was at that stage the governor of Upper Germany and did not come to Rome to attend the ceremony of his adoption on the Capitol.

Within this time span of possibly only a couple of weeks or even days since late October (or the beginning of November) 97, Nerva had commissioned the recutting of the friezes, because he, at least according to my hypothesis, had intended at first to re-dedicate Domitian's arch into a (triumphal) arch of only himself, whereas in late October (or at the beginning of November) 97, or at the latest, on that day in November 97, when both Nerva and Trajan received the title *Germanicus* for the same victory in the *bellum Suebicum*, Nerva had then ordered to stop that work, because Trajan was now not only his co-Emperor, but also his co-victor, which meant that the re-cutting of both Cancellaria friezes had to consider both emperors. We may add that Nerva had possibly ordered to interrupt those works, in order to discuss the matter with Trajan in person, as soon as the latter would be back in Rome. Whether or not Nerva, after those important political changes had occurred, had already made relevant new plans for the building that contained the Cancellaria Reliefs, we cannot know, because only three months later the emperor was dead.

On the other hand, Nerva, being an experienced politician, and, after all, a man who was not in good health throughout his reign, must himself have realized that the scenes on the two Cancellaria Reliefs could not possibly be used to document *gestae*, conducted by himself *together* with Trajan in the period of their joint reign that had begun in late October (or at the beginning of November) 97. Although the most important difficulty, in my opinion, lies in another fact: both friezes celebrate the martial prowess of *one* emperor, not of *two*.



In this context, I repeat, what was already similarly said above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.3.2.):

‘Talking about the martial prowess that is allegedly represented here in the case of Domitian (now Nerva) on Frieze A, and of Vespasian on Frieze B. At first glance the latter seems to be a wrong assumption, considering that *Victoria* does not crown Vespasian with a laurel wreath, but instead with an oak wreath, and because the emperor is not accompanied by members of his army. I am nevertheless convinced that this is true and will discuss this point in more detail below (cf. *infra*, at Chapters V.1.i.3.); VI.3.). - As I only learned from Rita Paris (1994b, 81-82, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a)), the *corona civica* was, contrary to what I knew before, the highest ranking military decoration’.

I find it difficult to imagine that Trajan, after Nerva's death, could have destroyed the building in question, that, after all, comprised on Frieze A a portrait of his adoptive father Nerva (recut from the original face of Domitian). Because we now know that the Cancellaria Reliefs had been brought to the deposit of the ‘Second sculptor's workshop’ by circa AD 120 at the latest, or by circa AD 150 at the latest (cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.3.1., and *infra*, in Chapter V.1.a)), I maintain my above suggested hypothesis, that it was most probably Nerva himself, who ordered the destruction of the building that contained the Cancellaria Reliefs.

**II.3.3. The Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1; 2), the panels of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum (cf. here Fig. 46) and the importance of the hierarchy of scale**

As already said in Chapter II.3.2.), Trajan, after his adoption by Nerva, had only come back to Rome 'circa in October of AD 99'. Considering the fact that both friezes of the Cancellaria Reliefs are even now still unfinished, we must assume, provided the relevant building was still standing at the time, that, at Trajan's arrival at Rome in 99, Nerva's relevant building project therefore was likewise unfinished. Because Nerva had already died on 27th (?) January 98 (so D. KIENAST, W. ECK and M. HEIL 2017, 114), I find it difficult to believe that Trajan, at that stage, could have had an interest in pursuing Nerva's (unfinished) project to re-use the Domitianic building, that contained the Cancellaria Reliefs, a project, presumably come to a stop shortly after Nerva had adopted Trajan.

Interesting in this context is a comparison with the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum (cf. here Fig. 46), to which we will turn below. On this monument, although being composed of many relief panels, a scene that might refer to the fact that Trajan had been Nerva's co-Emperor is conspicuously missing. This arch was erected in AD 114-118 by the Roman Senate in honour of Trajan, but its political programme had certainly been discussed with the emperor (as long as he was alive). To borrow Simon's above quoted idea (cf. E. SIMON 1985, 554-555, quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 352 in Chapter II.3.2.): neither on his Arch at Beneventum did Trajan express his pride in having been adopted by Nerva. Only the inscription in which the Senate dedicated this arch to Trajan, repeated on both attics of this arch, refers to this fact by quoting Trajan's official title: '... DIVI NERVAE FILIO ...' (cf. *infra*, n. 360, and here Fig. 46).

**Fig. 46. Beneventum, Arch of Trajan, built AD 114-118, general view of 'city side'.**

Left and right panels in the attic of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum ('city side'). We see "Jupiter in the company of other important state gods [who] extends his thunderbolt to Trajan, his viceregent on earth - a gesture of divine approbation to rule and to conquer on behalf of the Roman People"; cf J. Pollini (2012, 105, with Figs. II.39b-c). On the right hand side panel appear the togate Emperor Trajan, a bearded and cuirassed man to his left (*i.e.*, in front of him), who has the same size as Trajan, and further to the left two adult *togati*, all standing in front of an arch. G. Koeppel (1969, 188-189, Fig. 15) suggested that the two *togati*, who are represented at the scale of children, are the two *consules* of Rome, who receive Trajan outside the *pomerium* of Rome to tell him that the Senate has granted him the celebration of a triumph. Koeppel compared this relief with Vespasian and the togate youth (in his opinion Domitian) on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 14 [Vespasian]: 12 [Domitian]).

D.E.E. Kleiner (1992, 228, Fig. 193) and A. Schmidt-Colinet (2005, 108-112, Abb. 9a; 9b) suggest that the bearded and cuirassed man to the left of Trajan may be identified with Hadrian.

Right hand side panel in the attic of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum ('city side'). Detail, showing the head of the bearded and cuirassed man, identified by Kleiner (1992) and Schmidt-Colinet (2005) as Hadrian.

Right hand panel in the middle register of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum ('city side'), where the adult male figures are differentiated by *three* different scales. The tallest figure is the togate Emperor Trajan on the right, who is accompanied by some of his lictors of almost the same size. In front of Trajan appears a man, who is smaller than Trajan and his lictors. He seems to have guided the three men on the left to Trajan, two of them are togate; compared with the emperor, these men reach only up to his chest, as if they were children. Cf. H.R. Goette (1990, 130 cat. Bb9 Benevent, Trajansbogen, Taf. 16,2).

Left and right panels in the lowest register of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum ('city side'). They "depict two parts of the same scene, which has been identified as the *adventus* into Rome of Trajan as the new emperor in 99. The togate emperor stands before the entrance to the city, surrounded by a full contingent of twelve lictors, and guided by the warden of the city (*praefectus urbi*). The Genius Senatus and the Genius Populi Romani ... are there to greet him"; cf. D.E.E. Kleiner (1992, 227).

Cf. H.R. Goette (1990, 130 cat. Bb9 Benevent, Trajansbogen, Taf. 15.3,4).

All photos: Courtesy H.R. Goette (5th and 6th February 2017).

There may be still another reason, that will be discussed in the following, why this Domitianic monument containing the Cancellaria Reliefs did not survive until the Trajanic period. I am referring to the fact that the togate youth on Frieze B and the Emperor Vespasian (here **Fig. 2**; **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**; **figures 12** [Domitian]; **14** [Vespasian]), who stands in front of the youth, are not designed according to a hierarchy of scale. According to such rules, the togate youth on Frieze B must be the emperor's equal. That would fit for the assumption of recognizing Domitian in this youth, as is suggested here. But it would *not* fit the alternative suggestions, made by those scholars, who have denied that this young man may be identified as Domitian.

As we have seen above, Bergmann not only suggests that the togate youth on Frieze B does not represent Domitian<sup>353</sup>, but also, that the head of this figure is not a portrait at all. Because of the simple *calcei*, this youth is wearing, she, following Rumpf, has rejected Magi's proposal to identify the togate youth with Domitian. Because he is not wearing a (golden) ring, she also denies that he may be identified as a high ranking Roman magistrate<sup>354</sup>; Bergmann's hypotheses have been followed by many scholars (for a detailed discussion, cf. *supra*, in Chapters *I.1.*; *I.1.1.*; and *infra*, at Chapter *V.1.h.1.*). Hölscher<sup>355</sup>, although following Bergmann in some other respects, for example in so far, as he too does not identify the youth's head as a portrait, nevertheless assumes that it is perfectly possible to identify the young man as a high ranking magistrate. Hölscher follows Bergmann<sup>356</sup> also in assuming that on Frieze B, in Nerva's alleged second carving phase of this panel, the original head of Domitian had been recut into the still extant head of Vespasian. As for the original subject matter of Frieze B, Hölscher suggests that we witness Domitian's *adventus* into Rome in AD 81. The author thus assumes that the scene represents Domitian, about to arrive at Rome, who comes straight away from *Aquae Cutiliae*, where he has left behind his dying brother Titus, in order to secure his own accession to the throne.

Hölscher writes: "Il più importante *adventus* di Domiziano a Roma ... fu il suo arrivo all'inizio del suo regno. Nell'81 d.C., per assicurarsi il potere nella capitale, aveva lasciato il fratello Tito sul letto di morte ad *Aquae Cutiliae* ... Alla luce di tale premessa, la scena [on Frieze B] trasmette un'interpretazione molto plausibile di siffatto evento cruciale. Domiziano dovette essere accolto allora da Senato e popolo, rappresentato dai due Geni, nonché dal *Praefectus urbi* riconoscibile nel togato davanti a lui; considerata l'appartenenza di quest'ultimo al ceto equestre, se ne spiegano le scarpe semplici"<sup>357</sup>.

As we have already seen above, Hölscher's interpretation of Frieze B is not possible<sup>358</sup>. To this I will come back below (cf. *infra*, at Chapter *III.*)

Trajan's Arch at Beneventum shows comparable scenes: here a man, whom Kleiner and Koepfel have identified as the *praefectus urbi*<sup>359</sup> (cf. here **Fig. 46**), and who has the same proportions as the emperor, guides Trajan in the ceremony of the emperor's *adventus* into Rome (in AD 99), in another relief, two togate men meet the emperor, but they, as also several other figures on those reliefs, are both represented as being much smaller than Trajan.

<sup>353</sup> M. BERGMANN 1981, 1981, 20, 22, 24 with ns. 19-22, pp. 25-29 (cf. *supra*, n. 89, in Chapter *I.1.*).

<sup>354</sup> M. BERGMANN 1981, 26-29; p. 27 (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 122, in Chapter *I.1.*).

<sup>355</sup> T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 56, 58 (cf. *infra*, at Chapter *III.*).

<sup>356</sup> M. BERGMANN 1981, 22, 24, 25. cf. *supra*, at ns. 130, 131, in Chapter *I.1.*

<sup>357</sup> T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 58.

<sup>358</sup> for a discussion, cf. *supra*, at ns. 182-189, in Chapter *I.1.*

<sup>359</sup> so D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 227; see her Fig. 189. So also G. KOEPEL 1969, 161 (Fig. 13), cf. pp. 162, 165 (cf. *supra*, at n. 188, in Chapter *I.1.*). For very good photographs, on which also the 'hierarchy of space' is clearly visible, cf. H.R. GOETTE 1990, 130 cat. Bb9 Benevent, Trajansbogen (Taf. 15; 16); Taf. 15.1: "nördl.[iches] Durchgangsrelief"; Taf. 15.2,3: "linkes Stadtseitenrelief unten"; Taf. 15.4: "rechtes Stadtseitenrelief unten" (Taf. 15.4 [= here **Fig. 46**] is the relief showing KLEINER's *praefectus urbi*, guiding Trajan); Taf. 16.1: "linkes Stadtseitenrelief Mitte"; Taf. 16.2 [= here **Fig. 46**]: "rechtes Stadtseitenrelief Mitte". On both reliefs appear two togate men, who are represented much smaller than Trajan; Taf. 16.1 shows the second relief, discussed by KLEINER's, depicting: "two veterans, also in togas, introduced to him [*i.e.*, Trajan] by two allegorical female figures". GOETTE's Taf. 16.2 illustrates the relief, mentioned by myself below: 'the right hand panel in the middle register of the Arch of Trajan (again 'City Side')'. Cf. J. POLLINI 2012, 105-107, Figs. II.39a-e.

The identification of the man, represented on the just-mentioned relief, as the *praefectus urbi* (cf. here **Fig. 46**) is convincing, since he is taller than the two *consules* (who appear on another relief of Trajan's Arch at Beneventum; also here **Fig. 46**), and has the same proportions as the emperor himself. He is thus aptly characterized as "the emperor's deputy at Rome" - so T.J. Cadoux and R.S.O. Tomlin ("*praefectus urbi* 'Prefect of the City', in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 1239, discussed in more detail below; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix I.a*), at Section I. *Introduction*.

Kleiner describes these scenes on Trajan's Arch at Beneventum as follows: "The eight panels [of Trajan's Arch at Beneventum] on the main body of the arch appear to represent major events from the principate of Trajan both in Rome and Italy and in the provinces ... The left and right panels in the lowest register of the city side of the arch (see fig. 189 [cf. here **Fig. 46**]) depict two parts of the same scene, which has been identified as the adventus into Rome of Trajan as the new emperor in 99. The togate emperor stands before the entrance to the city, surrounded by a full contingent of twelve lictors, and guided by the warden of the city (*praefectus urbi*). The Genius Senatus and the Genius Populi Romani, standing in front of the Curia Julia in the Roman Forum, are there to greet him. The scene in the upper left panel refers to the foundation of colonies by Trajan. The togate emperor with lictors meets with two veterans, also in togas, introduced to him by two allegorical female figures [cf. her Fig. 189]. What is most significant is that the two togati, both adult males, are much smaller in scale than the emperor, the artist using size to denote hierarchy ... What is significant about these panels as a whole is that they continue the Flavian tradition of depicting the interaction of human beings and divinities. And Trajan is usually represented in larger scale than the other figures in the scene - the idea of hierarchy of scale, that is, that the most important figure should be depicted as larger than the others. This is a device that has never before been used in state art but was developed on earlier coins and in the reliefs of freedmen since the Augustan period"<sup>360</sup>.

Bergmann discusses the right hand side panel in the attic ('city side') of Trajan's Arch at Beneventum (cf. here **Fig. 46**), which shows a group of adult men, again represented according to a hierarchy of scale. Koepfel and Klaus Fittschen, who have studied the same panel, identified the two *togati*, who are standing in front (and to the left) of Trajan and are, compared with the emperor, represented very small as if they were children, as the two *consules* of Rome. Koepfel suggested that they have come to tell Trajan that the Senate has granted him the celebration of a triumph; he likewise believed, that Trajan is shown on this panel as standing just outside the *pomerium* of Rome<sup>361</sup>.

<sup>360</sup> D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, both quotes are from p. 227; pp. 224-229, Figs. 188-193 (on the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum); Fig. 188 ('country side'); Fig. 189 ('city side'), both sides show in the attic the same dedicatory inscription.

The Arch of Trajan at Beneventum was dedicated by the Roman Senate; cf. J. POLLINI 2012, 105: "The direct mode of representation was not confined to Trajanic coinage, as evidenced by the magnificently preserved Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, which was voted by the Senat (figs. II.39) [with n. 177, providing references]".

Cf. D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 227: "The inscription [on the attic] indicates that the Arch of Trajan dates to 114, because it records Trajan's titles of Germanicus and Dacicus but not of Parthicus, which he was awarded after 114. It is nonetheless difficult to determine whether 114 refers to the completion of the arch or to the laying of the foundation stone. The latter seems more likely. The arch was begun in 114 and completed by Hadrian in 118 after the death of his predecessor".

<sup>361</sup> M. BERGMANN 1981, 27-28, with ns. 44-47, writes: "In den wenigen erhaltenen Adventusdarstellungen [with n. 44] wird der Kaiser von Personifikationen erwartet und begrüßt. Ein bürgerlicher Togatus [identified by KLEINER 1992, 227, as *praefectus urbi*; quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 360, and here **Fig. 46**] weist auf den unteren Reliefs der Stadtseite des Beneventer Bogens Trajans nur den Weg in Richtung der ihn erwartenden Personifikationen [with n. 45]. Allein auf den Attikareliefs des Bogens treten dem Kaiser noch vor den Göttern zwei bürgerliche Togati entgegen [with n. 46; cf. here **Fig. 46**]. Wer sie sind, ist umstritten [with n. 47]. Doch kann das Beispiel nicht als Parallele für eine Adventusdeutung des Cancellariareliefs [*i.e.*, of Frieze B] dienen, denn die Togati sind dort nicht nur dem Kaiser, sondern auch seiner Umgebung durch ihr kleineres Format untergeordnet". In her ns. 44-46, BERGMANN 1981, 28, provides references, in her n. 47 on p. 28, she writes: "In der Aufnahme Inst. Neg. Rom 29.460 meine ich zu erkennen, daß nur Trajan Senatorenschuhe trägt, die beiden Togati dagegen einfache calcei. Wenn das richtig ist, können sie wohl weder die Consuln noch die Duoviri von Benevent sein". -

For the first relief, discussed by BERGMANN, *op.cit.*, the left hand side panel in the lowest register of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum ('city side'; cf. here **Fig. 46**); cf. also G. KOEPEL 1969, 162-163, Fig. 12, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 172, at Chapter I.1.

The second relief, discussed by BERGMANN, *op.cit.* (*i.e.*, the right hand side panel on the attic of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum; cf. here **Fig. 46**); for the left hand side and the right hand side panel on this attic together, cf. J. POLLINI 2012, 105, with Figs. II.39b-c: "In sculptural panels in the attic, or uppermost part of this arch [of Trajan at Beneventum], Jupiter in the company of other

Let me alert you to the fact that the same iconographic strategy is observable on the right hand panel in the middle register of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum ('city side'; cf. *supra*, n. 359, and here Fig. 46), where the adult male figures are even differentiated by *three* different scales: here the tallest figure is again the togate Emperor Trajan, who stands on the right. He is accompanied by some of his lictors of almost the same size. In front of Trajan, and partly covered by the emperor, is depicted a man belonging to his entourage, who is smaller than Trajan and his lictors. This man turns to the emperor and seems to have guided the three men to him, who stand in front of Trajan, on the left. These three men are represented as being even much smaller than the man, who has guided them to Trajan, and compared with the Emperor, they reach only up to his chest, as if they were children. Two of these men are *togati*. Trajan addresses these men. In the background, behind the three men, appear the statues of three gods.

Applying to the Cancellaria Reliefs Kleiner's just quoted findings, which relate to the hierarchy of scale observable on the reliefs of Trajan's Arch at Beneventum, we can conclude the following. As is well known, the togate youth on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs is almost as tall as the Emperor Vespasian, who is standing in front of him (cf. here Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing, figures 12 [Domitian]; 14 [Vespasian]). Provided, this youth were Domitian, his smaller size, when compared with Vespasian, could be explained by the fact that Domitian, 'in the first half of October 70', the time, when Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome is currently assumed, was only 18 years old (his nineteenth birthday was on 24th October 70). Provided, this togate youth represents instead an 'ideal' image of an unidentifiable man, as suggested by Bergmann (1981), or the 'ideal' image of a Roman magistrate, as for example suggested by Simon (1985), Ghedini (1986), Fehr

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important state gods extends his thunderbolt (fig. II.39b) to Trajan, his viceregent on earth (fig. II.39c) - a gesture of divine approbation to rule and to conquer on behalf of the Roman People".

Contrary to M. BERGMANN, *op.cit.*, G. KOEPEL 1969, 188, was of the convincing opinion, that the right hand side panel on the attic of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum does not show the *consules* of Beneventum, but rather those of Rome ("Die Zweiteilung von Adventus-Darstellungen"; referring to his Fig. 15 on p. 165: "Benevent, Trajansbogen, Rechtes Attikarelief"): "Der zurückkehrende Kaiser [*i.e.*, Trajan] wird im Attika-Relief von den beiden Consuln begrüßt, die ihm die Erlaubnis zum Triumph übermitteln. Wie wir aus den literarischen Quellen wissen, geschah dies außerhalb der rituellen Stadtgrenze [quoting in his n. 257: "Ehlers, RE s.v. Triumphus 501"]. Das rechte Bild zeigt den Kaiser vor der Porta Triumphalis eben an dieser Grenze stehend (siehe S. 166)"; on pp. 188-189, KOEPEL 1969 himself compared this panel with Trajan and the two *consules* at the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum with Vespasian and the togate youth (in my opinion Domitian) on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs.

The just-mentioned relief; cf. G. KOEPEL 1969, 188, Fig. 15 on p. 165 (cf. here Fig. 46), is also reproduced by D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 228, as her Fig. 193. Cf. *infra*.

Cf. K. FITTSCHEN 1972, 775: he is, like KOEPEL, *op.cit.*, of the opinion that this panel (cf. here Fig. 46) shows a locale at Rome, and that the two togate men, who stand in front of Trajan, who are represented as being much smaller than the emperor, 'may be the *consules*', but he suggests that the scene is staged on the Capitoline, in front of the Temples of *Iuppiter Feretrius* and of *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus*; p. 774, Abb. 27. "Benevent, Trajansbogen, Stadtseite, rechtes Attikarelief"; cf. p. 775: "Die zwei Personen im Vordergrund sind durch die Toga als Römer gekennzeichnet, sie mögen die Consuln sein [with n. 140, providing references]. Durch ihr kleineres Format sind sie vom Kaiser und den anderen Figuren deutlich unterschieden [with n. 141, providing references]; cf. p. 777: according to FITTSCHEN, the scene is staged on the Capitoline, Trajan is guided by Romulus, they are standing in front of the Temple of *Iuppiter Feretrius*, the visible wall belongs, in his opinion, to the Temple of *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus*.

Cf. FITTSCHEN 1972, 778: "Trajan wird also offenbar vom Stadtgründer selbst empfangen. Die Häufung derartiger vieler Repräsentanten der Stadt Rom: Roma, Romulus, Genius populi Romani, Penates publici populi Romani, macht den Sinn der Szene deutlich: Der Kaiser wird als ein weiterer Heros der Stadt begrüßt. Feiert das Attika-Relief der Landseite den Kaiser als den Gründer einer neuen Provinz, so hier als einen neuen Gründer Roms, einen neuen Romulus, einen CONDITOR URBS ...".

Cf. D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 228, who identifies K. FITTSCHEN's alleged 'ideal' male figure on this panel, who has the same proportions as Trajan, welcomes the emperor at Rome, and whom FITTSCHEN, *op.cit.*, identifies as Romulus, as a portrait of Hadrian instead (cf. her Fig. 193 = here Fig. 46): "In the Benevento attic panel, Trajan receives his power from Jupiter, with the backdrop of Rome behind him. He stands in front of the Capitolium with an arch nearby. Two smaller male figures stand before him, as does a city tyche, but most significant is the young, bearded male figure who is portrayed as equal to Trajan in stature and stands at Trajan's right. Both men turn their heads toward one another as if linked in a special way. The younger man is dressed in a breastplate, whereas Trajan is togate. The man's beard and physiognomy identify him as Hadrian (he is also the mysterious young man in the right country side relief), who participated in Trajan's military campaigns but seems not to be included in the scenes on the Column of Trajan or even in what survives of the Great Trajanic frieze [*i.e.*, on the Arch of Constantine; cf. her Figs. 185 [= here Fig. 7.1]; 186]. It is for this very reason that the Arch of Trajan at Benevento must have been completed after Trajan's death. Hadrian is included in these two scenes because he was responsible for completing the arch after Trajan's death and because he was eager to accentuate his close relationship with his divine adoptive father".

Note that other scholars have not followed Kleiner (*op.cit.*) in identifying this bearded man with Hadrian. I thank Hans Rupprecht Goette for alerting me to this fact. Later I should find out that also A. SCHMIDT-COLINET 2005, 108-112 with ns. 27, 28, Abb. 9a; 9b, has suggested that this bearded man wearing a cuirass should be identified with Hadrian, basing his judgement on different scholars than D.E.E. KLEINER 1992.

(1998), and Hölscher (2009a), or the *equus* L. Iulius Vestinus, as suggested by H.-W. Ritter (1982; for these hypotheses, cf. *supra*, at ns. 181, 182; and elsewhere at Chapter I.1.1.), or an unknown man, as suggested by Koeppel (1984; cf. *infra*, n. 416, in Chapter III.), the mere proportions of this man may have been one of the reasons, why later emperors - so for example Trajan and Hadrian - had no interest in using the Cancellaria Reliefs for their own purposes any more. And that was because of the following reasons.

Already Koeppel (cf. *supra*, n. 361, also for FITTSCHEN 1972) had compared one of the above discussed panels on the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum with the togate youth and Vespasian on Frieze B: namely the right hand side panel in the attic ('city side') of Trajan's Arch, in which two *togati* appear, who have come to welcome the emperor, and whom Koeppel and Fittschen have identified with the two *consules* of Rome (cf. here Fig. 46). As we have seen, these adult men, when compared with Trajan, are represented at the scale of children.

That this assumption may not only be true for Trajan, but also for Hadrian, shows in my opinion the already discussed *adventus* relief of Hadrian (cf. here Fig. 91; cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.2.), in which the amazon-like goddess Roma is represented even much taller than the Emperor Hadrian himself.

Another of Pentiricci's findings<sup>362</sup> which corroborates Magi's relevant hypothesis, shows that those 'later emperors' after Nerva, who in theory might have considered to re-use the Cancellaria Reliefs, could only have been Trajan and Hadrian. The reason for that is the fact, that the deposit of the 'Second sculptor's workshop', where the Cancellaria Reliefs were kept after the destruction of the originally Domitianic building, to which they had belonged, was from a certain time in antiquity not accessible any more. This moment is datable in the early reign of Hadrian, a more precise date could so far not be established.

Only after this Chapter was written, did I realize that Carignani and Spinola (2009, 542-543; cf. *supra*, n. 76, in Chapter I.1., and n. 287, in Chapter I.3.2.) have defined the timespan, within which the deposit of this 'Second sculptor's workshop' was accessible, as follows: "della fine del I - prima metà del II secolo d.C.". Pentiricci himself (cf. *supra*, at n. 285, in Chapter I.3.2.; cf. Chapter I.3.1.) has not followed Carignani and Spinola's suggestion by changing his own opinion concerning the date, at which this deposit became inaccessible, but he discusses the relevant findings of Carignani and Spinola. I repeat in the following, what was already written above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.3.1.):

'Pentiricci (2009, 204-205), referring to this female head, discussed by Carignani and Spinola (2009, 510, cat. 2), rightly concludes that - provided that it had likewise been sculpted at the 'Second sculptor's workshop', the lifetime of this enterprise could be dated accordingly:

"si deve in ultimo citare il ritratto femminile non finito (n. 2 del catalogo CARIGNANI - SPINOLA nel II volume [for that head, cf. n. 287, in Chapter I.3.2.]), il quale qualora se ne accetti la provenienza dalla zona a nord dell'*Euripus* attesterebbe l'attività della bottega >alla metà/ seconda metà del I secolo d.C.<".

For a discussion of Carignani and Spinola's relevant finding; cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.3.2.).

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<sup>362</sup> cf. M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 162 with n. 97, p. 205 with n. 31 (quoted *verbatim supra*, n Chapter I.3.1.; cf. *supra*, n. 285, in Chapter I.3.2.), who corroborates the relevant hypothesis of F. MAGI 1945, 138-140, with n. 4 (referring back to pp. 40, 42, 50). For MAGI, *op.cit.*, cf. *supra*, n. 141, in Chapter I.1., quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 255., in Chapter I.3.1.

*II.3.3.a) A Summary of the following Chapters:*

*I.3. Were the Cancellaria Reliefs the horizontal panels in the bay of an arch, built by Domitian?;*

*I.3.2. A discussion of the question, whether the Cancellaria Reliefs and the architectural finds from the area of the Palazzo della Cancellaria could have belonged to an arch, built by Domitian;*

*II.1.e) scenario, which tries to explain, why both friezes were not found attached to a monument, but rather as intentionally discarded material in the deposit of a sculptor's workshop;*

*II.3.1. Nerva' victory in the bellum Suebicum October AD 97, the architectural fragments, found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs, comprising the architrave block carrying the inscription PP FECIT (CIL VI, 40543), Domitian's Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium, and Domitian's building policy: praising the gens Flavia, emulating Augustus and Nero;*

*II.3.1.a) Nerva' victory in the bellum Suebicum October AD 97;*

*II.3.1.b) The architectural fragments, found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs, comprising the architrave block carrying the inscription PP FECIT (CIL VI, 40543), and Domitian's Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium;*

*II.3.2. Nerva's adoption of Trajan in late October or at the beginning of November AD 97 and the consequences which this had for the monument (an arch?), built by Domitian, that contained the Cancellaria Reliefs;*

*II.3.3. The Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1; 2), the panels of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum (c. here Fig. 46) and the importance of the hierarchy of scale*

Let's once again return to the finding by Carignani and Spinola concerning the 'lifetime' of the 'Second sculptor's workshop' (cf. *id.* 2009, 542-543: "della fine del I - prima metà del II secolo d.C."; cf. *supra*, **ns. 76, 287**, in Chapters *I.1.*; and *I.3.2.*). How does this affect my just formulated conclusions concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs? The 'Second sculptor's workshop'/ its deposit discussed here, was thus in theory accessible until circa AD 150 (as the latest suggested date), that is to say, until the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD). This emperor is known for his "long, peaceful reign", with only one "major war", his campaign in Scotland, "for which Antoninus took the acclamation 'Imperator' for the second time in late 142", as Anthony R. Birley (1996) wrote. In my opinion, that does not sound, as if we should imagine that Antoninus Pius could have had an interest in re-using the Cancellaria Reliefs, both characterized, as they are, by their distinct martial subject matter (for that assumption, cf. *infra*, at Chapters *V.1.i.3.*); *V.1.i.3.a*); and *VI.3.*), for a building that could have celebrated one of his own relevant achievements.

Antoninus Pius did not even build very much at Rome. Amanda Claridge (1998) wrote about this emperor:

"In AD 138 Hadrian died, having adopted as his successor the 52-year-old **Antoninus Pius**, born T. Aurelius Arrius Antoninus, at Lanuvium (SW [south-west] of Rome), **who was to rule for another twenty-three years, his reign a byword for peace, prosperity, and tranquility, in fact one of the dullest figures in Roman political history. He hardly moved out of Italy, a man devoted to his family, a careful manager of imperial wealth and resources, conservative in person and taste. He built practically nothing public in Rome except a temple for Hadrian, and another for his wife Faustina**, who died and was deified in AD 140, dedicated in their joint names on his own death in 161 ... [the words in bold have been highlighted like this by the author herself]".

Considering the fact that Antoninus Pius did not erect any other public buildings at Rome than the two still extant temples, which were dedicated to divinized members of his own family (and the second temple after his own death also to himself), I maintain my above formulated conclusions - see in the following my points *a)* and *b)*<sup>363</sup>.

**But before turning to those points *a)* and *b)*, I should like to add something that I only realized after this Chapter was written so far: Antoninus Pius restored also the *Templum (novum) Divi Augusti*; cf. below, at *The second Contribution by T.P. Wiseman on the question which ancient author explicitly records that Domitian had restored the Templum (novum) Divi Augusti, and that he had dedicated this temple in AD 89 or 90. For further discussion of this point: cf. infra, in volume 3-2, at A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination; Introduction; at Section XIV; and infra, in Appendix IV.d.4.b).***

**For the coins, issued by Antoninus Pius to commemorate his restoration of the *Templum (novum) Divi Augusti*; cf. also below, at *The second Contribution by Anglo Geißen : Zum 'Hadrianeum' auf Münzen des Antoninus Pius.***

Let's now turn to those two points *a)* and *b)* :

*a)* the Domitianic monument - possibly an arch - that contained the Cancellaria Reliefs, may already have been destroyed at the order of the Emperor Nerva (who possibly acted in the relevant procedure together with his co-Emperor Trajan). Trajan was, from the moment of his adoption by him, until long after Nerva's death, away from Rome, but since the time, when Nerva had appointed Trajan as governor of Upper Germany, both men, since late October or the beginning of November AD 97, in addition to this, (adoptive) father and son, as well as co-Emperors, certainly corresponded regularly on all matters regarded important by them.

**In my opinion, Nerva could have made the decision, to destroy the Domitianic building that contained the Cancellaria Reliefs, as a consequence of his adoption of Trajan in late October or the beginning of November AD 97, as his son, co-Emperor and successor. I assume this because of the following reasons.**

After the victory in the war against the *Suebi*, that had been conducted for Nerva by the governor of Pannonia, as a consequence of which Nerva added '*imperator II*' to his official title, and which should earn the emperor the title *Germanicus*, Nerva received, as a token for this victory, a laurel wreath from Pannonia, which he, in late October or at the beginning of November AD 97, dedicated to *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Captolinus* in his Temple on the Capitol. On the same day, in a solemn ceremony, that had likewise taken place on the Capitol, Nerva had adopted Trajan - in *absentia* of Trajan. Trajan was in Upper Germany at the time, having been appointed by Nerva as governor of this province shortly before. Trajan received the title *Germanicus* - for the same victory in the war against the *Suebi* - obviously as a consequence of his adoption by Nerva. Both, Nerva and Trajan, adopted the title *Germanicus* in November of AD 97.

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<sup>363</sup> the quotes are from: A. CLARIDGE 1998, 19; repeated *verbatim* in: A. CLARIDGE 2010, 20; and A.R. BIRLEY: "Antoninus Pius, Roman emperor AD 138-61, born at Lanuvium in Latium in 86 ...", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996, 113-114; cf. p. 114: "His links with the *Annii Veri*, combined with his wealth, popularity, and character led Hadrian to choose him as adoptive son and successor on the death of L. Aelius Caesar [which occurred on 1st January 138 AD; cf. *infra*, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*). Post Scriptum: *Hadrian's situation in AD 117-118. With a Contribution by Angelo Geißen*. See also Anthony R. Birley: "Aelius Caesar, Lucius, Hadrian's first choice as successor ... After his sudden death on 1 January 138, his son (later called L. Verus) and prospective son-in-law (the future Marcus Aurelius) were adopted by Hadrian's second choice as heir, Antoninus Pius", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 18. Cf. *id.*: "**Verus, Lucius**, Roman emperor AD 161-9; was born in 130 and named L. Ceionius (*RE* 8) Commodus, son of L. Aelius Caesar", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 1589-1590.

Antoninus Pius was thus only 10 years younger than his adoptive father Hadrian, who was born in 76 AD; cf. *supra*, n. 331, in Chapter II.2.

For Hadrian's adoption of Antoninus Pius; see also below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination .... Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?) ...*; at Chapter VI.2.



When Nerva first gave the order to change Domitian's portrait on Frieze A into his own (cf. here Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 6), his idea had been, in my opinion, to celebrate only his own victory in this military campaign. I further suggest that Nerva can only have had this idea, *before* he adopted Trajan. I further believe that Nerva, as soon as Trajan was credited with the same victory, must have felt the obligation to add the portrait of Trajan to the *profectio* scene on Frieze A. Trajan, after all, was now his son, co-Emperor and 'co-victor' in the *bellum Suebicum*. The carving of another protagonist on Frieze A, if at all Nerva had thought of adding the portrait of Trajan to this panel, was, of course, impossible, simply because the slabs of the Cancellaria Reliefs are so extremely thin.

As I have only realized after this Chapter was written, Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992) has suggested something very similar for two panels of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum. There she identifies two figures as portraits of Hadrian, that, in her opinion, were only carved after Trajan's death, at the order of Hadrian (cf. *supra*, n. 361, in Chapter II.3.3., and here Fig. 46. As already mentioned there, other scholars have not followed Kleiner in identifying this man with Hadrian). Later I should find out that, independently of Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992), also Andreas Schmidt-Colinet (2005, 108-112 with ns. 27, 28, Abb. 9a; 9b) has suggested that this bearded man wearing a cuirass, who is standing in front of Trajan on the right hand side panel in the attic of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum ('city side') should be identified with Hadrian.

If indeed Nerva had in mind to convert this originally Domitianic building, to which the Cancellaria Reliefs belonged, into a monument, that celebrated his own martial prowess, this fact could be regarded as the decisive argument in support of the hypothesis here formulated, according to which the structure in question may be identified as one of Domitian's lost (triumphal) arches - that he had obviously built himself, provided the inscription *PP FECIT* belonged to the same arch (cf. *supra*, n. 81 and at n. 82, in Chapter I.1.; and *infra*, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*). With this idea, to attribute the Cancellaria Reliefs to one of Domitian's arches, I follow Pentiricci (cf. *supra*, n. 263, in Chapter I.3.2.). If true, that could even be the case, provided, the above-discussed architectural fragments (cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.3.1.) did *not* originally belong to the same monument as the Cancellaria Reliefs.

These architectural fragments are likewise datable in the Domitianic period, were found in the same area, and, since Magi (1939), Nogara (1939), and Colini (1938 [1939]) had first suggested this (cf. *supra*, ns. 4; 6; 112, in Chapter I.1.), have been attributed by many scholars to the same arch. Wolf (2015) has for example based his reconstruction of an "arco onorifico isolato" on those architectural fragments *and* on the Cancellaria Reliefs. But Wolf (2015) has also used the same architectural fragments for a reconstruction of an 'arched entrance to a Domitianic building', to which the Cancellaria Reliefs do *not* belong (for all that cf. *supra*, at ns. 75-81, in Chapter I.1., and ns. 284, 298, in Chapter I.3.2.; and *infra*, in Chapter V.2., for the publication of M. WOLF 2018 on the same subject).

With these two different reconstructions, Wolf (2015) has thus expressed his opinion that it is possible that those architectural fragments and the Cancellaria Reliefs belonged to the same building - but that it is not provable. I agree, *inter alia* because Domitian had erected many arches, all of which were allegedly destroyed after his *damnatio memoriae*. And because the deposit, where those friezes and some of the architectural fragments in question were found, had belonged to the 'Second sculptor's workshop' underneath the Palazzo della Cancellaria (cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.3.1., and *infra*, in Chapter V.1.a.1.)), that had obviously been specializing in the re-cycling of the marble decorations of state monuments - this could in theory mean that the extant Cancellaria Reliefs, the soffit blocks, etc., do all come from destroyed Domitianic arches, but from *different ones*. Likewise not provable, in my opinion, is the hypothesis, that Nerva had at first intended to rededicate the Domitianic building, that contained the Cancellaria Reliefs, into an (triumphal) arch, that celebrated his victory in the *bellum Suebicum* - and only *his* victory. Therefore this idea, in the title of Chapter I.3., has *not* been formulated as a fact, but rather in form of a question;

b) provided, that Nerva did *not* order the destruction of the Domitianic monument or building, that had contained the Cancellaria Reliefs, and assuming at the same time that those scholars are right, who have identified the togate youth on frieze B as the 'ideal' image of an unidentifiable man, as a personification, as a

(high ranking) Roman magistrate, or as an unknown man (cf. *supra*, in Chapters *I.1.*; *I.1.1.*, and *infra*, in Chapter *V.1.h.1.*)), I find it difficult to assume that Trajan and/ or Hadrian could have had an interest in re-using Frieze B (and by implication, both Cancellaria Reliefs) for their own state reliefs, given the fact that on Frieze B the represented emperor and the togate youth are *not* designed according to a hierarchy of scale (for that cf. *supra*, in Chapter *II.3.3.*, and here **Fig. 46**).

But, as already said above (cf. *supra*, at **ns. 282, 283**, in Chapter *I.3.2.*), there are more reasons, why Trajan and/ or Hadrian could not possibly have used Frieze B for themselves:

Frieze B could not even have been used by Nerva as an *adventus* of himself, should he actually at first have had in mind to convert this Domitianic structure, possibly a (triumphal) arch, into one that celebrated his own victory in the *bellum Suebicum* - and only *his* victory. The reason being that Vespasian on Frieze B is clad as a civilian, is crowned by *Victoria* not with a laurel wreath, but with an oak wreath, and worst of all: he is not accompanied by his army. Therefore Frieze B was perfectly tailored to Vespasian's real situation at the represented moment in AD 70 (cf. *infra*, at Chapters *V.1.c.*; *V.1.i.3.a.*); and at *The major results of this book on Domitian*), whereas none of his successors could possibly have re-used this panel for one of his own 'normal' military *adventus* into Rome, because the iconography, depicting 'an emperor, who comes back from a victorious campaign' differs considerably from that.

After this Chapter was written so far, I found the account by Rita Paris (1994b, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter *V.1.i.3.*)), in which she describes her reconstruction of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (for the latter, cf. *infra*, in Chapter *IV.1.1.*, especially in Chapter *IV.1.1.g.*)).

Especially interesting in the context discussed here is the fact that Paris (1994b) was able to reconstruct one of its reliefs by comparing it with Frieze A and B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**). The relief of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* in question shows, in my opinion, Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in AD 70 (cf. here **Fig. 33**), in which the emperor appears as wearing the *corona civica*. Paris (1994b, 81-82) states that this is the highest possible decoration for the acknowledgement of military prowess, only granted Augustus and Vespasian for their victories, because both had managed to put an end to *civil* wars. Paris' second suggestion, which is of interest here, refers to her assumption that the composition of this relief (cf. here **Fig. 33**) was designed by applying a hierarchy of scale. And because the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* was commissioned by Domitian, the innovative invention of a 'hierarchy of scale' in state art - provided Paris is right - which was above (cf. *supra*, at **n. 360**, in Chapter *II.3.3.*, and here **Fig. 46**) attributed to Trajan's Arch at Beneventum, had actually already been developed under Domitian. - If true, this would not come as a real surprise: also Domitian's other artistic projects, discussed in this *Study*, abound in innovations.

For a discussion of this point; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section *III.*, at point **3.**)

See also the 'boy ministrants' on the Nollekens Relief, who flank Domitian on either side (cf. here **Fig. 36: figures 2; 10**). These two boys, when compared with Domitian (**figure 6** on the relief **Fig. 36**), are represented according to a very pronounced hierarchy of scale (cf. *infra*, in Chapter *V.1.i.3.b.*)).

**So far my own ideas. Let's now turn to a more detailed discussion of the questions posed above by other scholars.**

#### II.4. Technical observations concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs and various hypotheses concerning their reworking. Discussion of the above-mentioned subjects by other scholars

*Ad a) where exactly was the carving of the first phase of the Cancellaria Reliefs conducted and do we have criteria that allow us to date these friezes?*

I agree with Paolo Liverani, who helped me in long E-mail- and telephone discussions, that question "a)" has definitely been answered by Michael Pfanner, to whose publication of 1981 he has kindly alerted me<sup>364</sup>. Pfanner's Abb. 1 in his article of 1981 shows a reconstruction drawing: a section of the monument, with slab A 4 *in situ*. His comments to this reconstruction are based on the precise documentation and 'mapping' of all kinds of extant cavities on the backs of those slabs, as well as of all their dowel holes. The dowel holes on the lower and upper edges of the slabs show that Frieze A, when fixed to the core of the monument, protruded from its surface by 6-6,5 cm.

Cf. for the latter detail now also Langer and Pfanner (2018, 80-81, chapter 2.9.6, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.1.)). For the single slabs of both Cancellaria Reliefs; c. here **Figs. 1 and 2, drawing**, an illustration, in which they are marked.

Pfanner (1981) also mentions in his Abb. 1 as the original thickness of slab A 4, 21,8-22,5 cm. In the process of carving the reliefs some of the above described cavities were hit, resulting in holes in the relief surfaces of those slabs. Pfanner is certainly right in assuming, that 1.) this was not intentionally done, and 2.) that this could only happen, because the reliefs were sculpted, when the slabs were already mounted on the monument. Or in other words, Pfanner has shown that the slabs were not yet adorned with their reliefs when they were attached to the monument. Before reading Pfanner's account, while looking at those friezes and discussing them with Giandomenico Spinola, I had instead taken for granted, exactly like Spinola himself (cf. *infra*, at Chapter III. See also below, *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*), that they were first carved in a sculptor's workshop, and only afterwards mounted on the building; this was actually also Magi's opinion<sup>365</sup>.

Hugo Meyer<sup>366</sup>, quoting Pfanner's article of 1981, realized that the marble slabs had been attached in their still undecorated state to the monument. He, as we shall see, assumed (erroneously) that they had been originally intended as mere marble veneer, so that the decision to decorate them with reliefs had only been made later. He thus unconsciously misunderstood Pfanner.

Since I am myself not familiar with this specific kind of technical question, I asked Amanda Claridge for advice, at first only hoping to learn from her the average thickness of marble slabs of a comparable size that had undoubtedly served as marble veneer. I mentioned to her the fact that, according to the findings of Pfanner (1981), Frieze A had protruded from the surface of the monument (cf. *supra*), and asked her, whether that fact could possibly contradict the assumption that both friezes initially had been intended as marble veneer - which is actually the case. I also asked her, whether or not it is conceivable that the reliefs were only carved when the marble slabs were already mounted on the building, as suggested by Pfanner. If so, this would mean that the slabs had from the very beginning been attached to the monument in order to carve its reliefs *in situ*. Reading Pfanner's account (1981), I had thought that this was exactly what the author had intended to say. Amanda Claridge was so kind as to answer that, yes, also other Roman reliefs protrude from the surfaces of the monuments, into which they were inserted, and that to her knowledge it is clearly conceivable that friezes of that size could have been carved *in situ*.

<sup>364</sup> cf. M. PFANNER 1981, 514-516.

<sup>365</sup> so M. PFANNER 1981, 514, n. 5, who quotes for that: "Magi [1945] 12f."

<sup>366</sup> H. MEYER 2000, 125: "Durch eingehende Beobachtungen konnte in jüngerer Zeit nachgewiesen werden [with n. 400: "M. Pfanner, AA 1981, 514ff.], daß sie nicht ursprünglich als Reliefräger vorgesehen gewesen waren: an mehreren Stellen haben sich bei der Ausführung der Frieße Durchschläge in Hebe- oder Klammerlöcher ergeben. Daraus ist ersichtlich, daß die Reliefszenen nachträglich am Bau - es ist nicht bekannt an welchem - in unverzierte Verkleidungsplatten eingetieft worden sind".

As usual, the problem is not as easy as here first assumed. It is true that Hugo Meyer had erred with his just quoted observation. It was not Pfanner, as asserted by Hugo Meyer<sup>367</sup>, but instead Magi<sup>368</sup>, who had made the following observations: clamp holes on the back of the slabs that belong to the two friezes of the Cancelleria Reliefs prove that those slabs had been originally made for a different purpose. And because those clamp holes were in none of the cases filled with lead, it is clear that the slabs had not been used for this purpose. Magi did *not* say that the slabs in this phase of their lifetime in antiquity - which we could call phase "-1" - had, in his opinion been intended to be mere marble veneer.

This means 1.) that the slabs were already re-used, when prepared for their first carving phase on the Domitianic building, 2.) it explains, as Magi himself wrote, and his Tav. I demonstrates, why these slabs have uneven lengths, and 3.), why it could happen that the artists, who sculpted the first carving phase, that occurred, when the slabs were already attached to the monument, ran into the cavities on the back of those slabs: those clamp holes had already been made in phase "-1" of the slabs, and possibly even by workmen of a different workshop.

***Ad b) which Emperor commissioned those friezes, and had that first phase of the reliefs been finished? What evidence do we have that other emperors were also involved in the making of these friezes?***

Almost all scholars agree that in Frieze A the original portrait of Domitian had been recut into that of Nerva<sup>369</sup>, thus at the same time assuming that Domitian had commissioned both friezes. McCann was instead of the opinion that the Cancelleria Reliefs were commissioned in the Hadrianic period, an opinion, which Pfanner<sup>370</sup> has rejected. Personally, I find Pfanner's resulting statements very convincing:

"Leider kennen wir nur von wenigen Staatsreliefs die einstige Anbringung. Die Reliefs am Titus-und Trajansbogen springen nicht friesartig vor, sondern sind weit in den Bau eingelassen [with n. 3, with reference]. Die Relieftiefe ist bei ihnen freilich viel größer als bei den Cancelleriareliefs. Man darf vielleicht folgern, daß tiefe Reliefs eine andere Anbringungsweise forderten als flache. Derartige Anhaltspunkte gewinnen Bedeutung im Zusammenhang mit der Beurteilung des Reliefstils. Klassizistisch wirkende Reliefs sind meist flach, barock wirkende dagegen tief. Wahrscheinlich bestimmten zu einem großen Teil äußere Kriterien, ob ein flacher (und somit klassizistischer) oder ein tiefer (und somit barocker) 'Stil' gewählt wurde. Als solche Kriterien sind der Bautyp, die Funktion des Reliefs im Baukontext und eben auch die davon abhängige Anbringungsart anzusehen [with n. 4, with further discussion]".

McCann's<sup>371</sup> assertion on the other hand that the original head of the emperor, represented on Frieze B, had been reworked into that of Vespasian, is still debated, and in a very complex way. Currently, several scholars<sup>372</sup> assume that the original portrait of Domitian in Frieze B had been recut at the order of Nerva into a portrait of Vespasian. Of these, Hölscher<sup>373</sup> is the only one who admits that, after all, this choice may at least be regarded as 'rather unexpected'.

<sup>367</sup> cf. *supra*, n. 366. F. MAGI 1945, 12f.; discussed by M. PFANNER 1981, 514 with n. 5.

<sup>368</sup> F. MAGI 1945, 12f.

<sup>369</sup> So first Magi 1945, 60-69, Tav. XII.

<sup>370</sup> MC CANN 1972, 255 (pl. 115,1), 260-271. The quotation is from M. PFANNER 1981, 514.

<sup>371</sup> MC CANN 1972, 251 with n. 8 (pls. 112,1-113,2); cf. *supra*, n. 111, in Chapter I.1. In her note 8, she mentioned, that she had discussed the matter in front of the original with Filippo Magi and Georg Daltrop, who had not shared her opinion, because both believed that Frieze B had shown the portrait of Vespasian from the very beginning (for MAGI 1939 and 1945, cf. *supra*, n. 112, in Chapter I.1.). See also F. MAGI 1973 (his response to MCCANN 1972). For that ongoing discussion most recently, cf. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018 (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.h).

<sup>372</sup> so first M. BERGMANN 1981, 22-24 (cf. *supra*, n. 315, in Chapter II.1.c), and at Chapter I.1.1.).

<sup>373</sup> T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 56: "L'interpretazione dei due fregi deve anzitutto far sì che i temi si armonizzino in maniera sensata: siccome essi sono in larga parte conservati e non v'è traccia di altri frammenti, è verosimile che il monumento originario constasse solo di questi due. La lettura deve poi rendere plausibile perché solo il fregio A venne rilavorato in Nerva, mentre sul fregio B la rilavorazione, **con scelta non troppo scontata**, portò a Vespasiano [my emphasis]". Also S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 62, 83-84, write that they cannot explain this choice (quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter V.1.b).

Whereas most scholars assume that in Frieze A the head of the emperor had been reworked only once: having at first represented Domitian, and in the second phase the Emperor Nerva, Hugo Meyer<sup>374</sup> has been the first scholar to suggest that the head of the emperor on Frieze A had been reworked twice: the original head was in his opinion a portrait of Nero, which, in the Flavian phase of the Cancellaria Reliefs, was recut into that of Domitian, and in the final phase, commissioned by Nerva, into a portrait of himself.

In his discussion of the portrait of Domitian (now Nerva), Hugo Meyer (2000, 128, who in n. 410 referred to Magi's observations, quoting only Magi 1945 "60 ff.", but not also Magi (1945, 149-150, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 135, at Chapter I.1.), thus neglecting many of Magi's important relevant observations.

Magi made a distinction between "teste abbozzate" (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 135, in Chapter I.1, with addition under \*) which are found around many of the heads on Frieze A and Frieze B, and the distinctly different traces around the head of Domitian/ Nerva, that this head shows in addition to this, which Magi, after all, had been first to recognize as proofs for a reworking of this head. Magi, in my opinion correctly, suggested that only the head of this Domitian has been recut into a portrait of Nerva.

Hugo Meyer (2000, 128) suggested that, in addition to this, this head of Domitian, in its turn, had been recut from a portrait of Nero: "... schon das Portrait Domitians am Fries A war durch Umarbeitung eines älteren Bildnisses entstanden. Die Richtigkeit dieser Einschätzung wird auch dadurch bestätigt, daß der untere Abschluß von Nervas Stirnhaar zu tief liegt, um aus der Frisur Domitians im dritten Typus [234; 236] hervorgegangen sein zu können".

Of course, Hugo Meyer was right in suggesting, that we should compare this third portrait-type of Domitian with Nerva's head on Frieze A because, as already stated above, the back of Nerva's head shows precisely the coiffure of Domitian's third portrait-type. Cf. Meyer (2000, 128, Fig. 232, cf. *supra*, n. 85, in Chapter I.1., n. 232, in Chapter I.2.; and n. 302, in Chapter II.1.a)).

I admit that Hugo Meyer's comparison of Nerva's head on Frieze A with a photo of a head of Domitian of his third portrait-type (cf. H. MEYER 2000, 129, Figs. 234; 236) actually shows, that in this portrait-type,

<sup>374</sup> Cf. H. MEYER 2000, 130, Fig. 237: head of Domitian/ Nerva on Frieze A; cf. p. 130, Fig. 239, left profile of the portrait of Nero in his fourth and last portrait type/ Typus München, München, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek. The entire hypothesis was discussed by H. MEYER 2000, 128-132, with Figs. 232-244.

H. MEYER's hypothesis has been refuted by T. HÖLSCHER 2009a and by M. PENTIRICCI 2009 (cf. *supra*, n. 99, in Chapter I.1.).

Cf. H. MEYER 2011, 175, Section: "Ein interpretatorischer GAU

In den Jahren 2000 und 2001 legten Verfasser und Horst Herzog unabhängig voneinander Einzelbeobachtungen vor, die auf den Schluß führten, daß sowohl der Domitian im Nerva A, als auch der Vespasian B aus zunächst Nero wiedergebenden Bildnissen geschöpft worden waren".

Cf. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 60: "Dagegen ist bezüglich des Stils und der Datierung in den letzten Jahren erneut Diskussionsbedarf angemeldet worden, nachdem H. Meyer und H. Herzog eine Entstehung in neronischer Zeit postuliert haben [with n. 45, quoting: H. MEYER 2000, 125-140; H. MEYER 2011, 175-180; H. HERZOG 2001, 108-119 (*non vidi*)] ... Die Diskussion um die Kaiserumarbeitungen hat sogar eine neue Dimension angenommen, denn wahrscheinlich unabhängig voneinander haben sowohl H. Meyer als auch H. Herzog eine zweifache Umarbeitung der Kaiserporträts vorgeschlagen: Die Porträtabfolge für Relief A sei als Nero - Domitian - Nerva, für Relief B als Nero - Domitian - Vespasian zu rekonstruieren [with n. 53]. Bisher scheint diese These nicht rezipiert worden zu sein". - The latter remark is not true (cf. *supra*, n. 99, in Chapter I.1.).

Cf. LANGER and Pfanner 2018, n. 53: "Meyer 2000, 128-132; Herzog 2001, 108-119 [*non vidi*]"; cf. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 63, in the text of their "Abb. 14. Deutungen Relief B. Auswahl der Interpretationsvorschläge", at: "Meyer 2000".

Cf. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 61, "Abb. 13. Deutungen Relief A: Auswahl der Interpretationsvorschläge", at: "Herzog 2001/ *profectio* / Dem Kaiser (Fig. 6), in der Reihenfolge der Umarbeitung: Nero - Domitian - Nerva ..."; cf. p. 63, "Abb. 14. Deutungen Relief B. Auswahl der Interpretationsvorschläge", at: "Herzog 2001 / *adventus* / Der ankommende Nero (Fig. 14) wird vor den Toren Roms von den Vertretern des Senates (Fig. 11), des Ritterstandes (Fig. 12) und des Volkes (Fig. 13) sowie von den Vestalinnen (Fig. 3-7) empfangen ...".

Cf. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 71: "Für eine zweifache Umarbeitung des Kaiserporträts - nämlich von einem Nero in einen Domitian und von einem Domitian in einen Nerva, wie von H. Meyer und H. Herzog vorgeschlagen - gibt es keinen Beweis [with n. 83]. Der ursprüngliche Nero müsste einen ballonförmigen Kopf gehabt haben [with n. 84]. Zudem spricht der bautechnische Befund (s. Kap. 2.7) gegen die These einer mehrfachen Wiederverwendung"; in their notes 83 and 84 they provide references.

Domitian's hair on his forehead was more receding than Nerva's hair on Frieze A - but not very much. See also another portrait of Domitian, of which Hugo Meyer (2000, 128 with n. 414, p. 130, Fig. 238) illustrates the left profile, as well as Domitian's portrait on the Nollekens Relief (here **Fig. 36**), which shows likewise Domitian's third portrait type, and will be discussed below.

Hugo Meyer (2000, 130, Fig. 237: head of Nerva in Frieze A; cf. here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6**) compares that portrait with his Fig. 239, the left profile of Nero's head in Munich, of Nero's fourth portrait-type, and suggests, that Domitian's (now: Nerva's head) on Frieze A must have been carved - because of the more suitable hair line on the forehead - out of a portrait of Nero of this, his fourth type. In order to test Hugo Meyer's hypothesis 'on his own grounds', so to say, I have made the following tests. In his Figs. 237 and 239 on p. 130, Hugo Meyer has reproduced the skulls of both heads intentionally at the same scale. This became even more clear than by simply looking at his comparison, when I cut out both heads from a photocopy of both figures. For this operation, I made a photocopy, on which both heads appeared together, so that they were both reproduced at the same scale, as on Hugo Meyer (2000, page 130).

Having studied sculpture myself, I then asked myself, how I would have proceeded in a similar case, coming to the conclusion that the artist would have tried to move the reworked head exactly the same way, as the original head, so that the entire represented scene looked as similar as possible as in the original phase of the frieze. Using those two heads, chosen by Hugo Meyer for his comparison, this is possible. My second thought was: in theory, a lot of details of the original head may be recut in the process, without any problem, provided the still extant marble is sufficient for the intended details, but two things, which concern the nose and the ear(s) of the portrayed person, can not be done: neither the position of the nostrils (if hollowed out), as defined in the original phase of the portrait, nor the position of the ear(s) with its auricle and ear lobe, and most importantly, the position of the ear canal (if hollowed out), can be changed for the recut portrait.

**Magi had already observed that, in the course of recutting on Frieze A the head of Domitian into Nerva (cf. here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6), the artist had come to a solution concerning Nerva's nostrils ("buchi del naso") that is different from all other such details in the case of all the other figures on both friezes (cf. F. MAGI 1945, 61, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 135, in Chapter I.1., in the addition, marked\*).**

Even when we put the photocopies of Hugo Meyer's two heads on top of each other and arrange them in a way that both ears, and especially their ear canals are positioned at exactly the same point, both represented men still look in exactly the same direction. Also the contours of their coiffures, from their foreheads, all the way around the skulls and down to their necks, are for the most part parallel, and in some spots at least almost parallel - so, in case of the coiffures, Hugo Meyer seems to be right.

But two facts contradict his hypothesis (for this test the photocopies of both heads had not been moved from their positions in the first test: the ear canals of both heads were at the same spot and the contour lines of the coiffures of both heads were parallel, or in some spots almost parallel):

1.) Nero's left auricle in his portrait in Munich is much smaller than the auricle of the head of Domitian (now Nerva) in Frieze A, which means that Nerva's left ear cannot possibly have been carved from a portrait of Nero of this portrait-type, and -

2.) Nerva's profile in Frieze A, from his forehead all the way down to his lower lip, and especially his nose, protrudes from Nero's profile.

Therefore, Nerva' head on Frieze A was certainly recut from a head of Domitian of Domitian's third portrait-type, but this portrait of Domitian was certainly not, in its turn, recut from a portrait of Nero of Nero's fourth portrait-type.

After this Chapter was written, I made the following illustration.

**Fig. 1.1. Drawing of the head of Domitian (now Nerva) on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs and of the portrait of Nero of his fourth portrait-type in Munich. After: H. Meyer (2000, 130, Figs. 237; 239). H. Meyer reproduced photographs of both heads on the same page of his book, where their skulls are intentionally reproduced as having the same sizes. Based on a photocopy of that page, on which both heads were illustrated together and thus showed both heads at the same scale, I made the drawings of both heads, that are here reproduced on top of each other. Drawing: C. Häuber (2023).**

As already said above (cf. *supra*, at Chapter II.1.a):

‘The only indication that allows us to date both friezes [of the Cancellaria Reliefs; cf. here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**] is the ‘*terminus ad quem* or *post quem* AD 81’, provided by the third and last portrait-type of Domitian [with n. 302], that is visible on Frieze A’.

After having finished writing this Chapter, I have been alerted to John Pollini's (2017b) study of the Nollekens Relief, of which Pollini is first to publish a photograph (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.b), and here **Fig. 36**). Contrary to Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 6**), the portrait of Domitian on the Nollekens Relief has fortunately not been reworked in antiquity. Considering the findspot of the Nollekens Relief within the ‘*Aula Regia*’ of Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, the ‘*Domus Flavia*’ / *Domus Augustana*; Domitian is here obviously likewise represented in his third portrait-type.

Domitian built his Palace ‘*Domus Flavia*’ / *Domus Augustana* between AD 81-92; cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.; and at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*. Pollini (2017b) convincingly suggests that the Nollekens Relief (here **Fig. 36**) shows Domitian sacrificing at his *Porta Triumphalis*, before beginning his (last) triumphal procession of AD 89; cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Sections I. and IV.) Pollini's (2017b) suggested date for the scene, represented on the Nollekens Relief, can be supported by further evidence; cf. below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

**Also Hugo Meyer's suggestion to identify the head of the togate youth on Frieze B (Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12) with a portrait of Tiridates, that was later recut into the extant portrait of the young Domitian, has rightly been refuted by Massimo Pentiricci (2009, 59-60 with ns. 417, 419; cf. *supra*, n. 130, cf. ns. 131-132, at Chapter I.1.) - concerning Hugo Meyer's assertion that this head had earlier been a portrait of Tiridates.**

As already mentioned, Pentiricci himself follows instead Bergmann (1981) in assuming that the togate youth does *not* represent the young Domitian (cf. *supra*, n. 128, at Chapter I.1., and at Chapter I.1.1.).

Hugo Meyer (2000, 134, Section: "6. Die flavische Verständnisebene") wrote concerning this identification:

"Wie im Falle des Frieses von S. Vitale in Ravenna (vgl. [vergleiche] S. 35ff.) wird man von einer Interpretation der Cancellaria-Reliefs verlangen, daß sie sowohl für den ursprünglichen Kontext als auch für die nachträglichen Bedeutungsgefüge einen bündigen Sinn erschließt. Voraussetzung dafür ist die Einsicht, daß nicht nur zwei, sondern drei Köpfe umgearbeitet worden sind. Der dritte ist derjenige des Togatus gegenüber dem Kaiser in Fries B [251. 252] [with n. 423]. Das geht schon allein aus dem ungeglätteten Streifen um Haupt und linke Schulter deutlich hervor"; cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 12**.

In his **note 423**, Meyer wrote: "In diesem Punkt hat mir M. Fuchs zum Durchbruch verholfen, wofür ihr herzlich gedankt sei".

Hugo Meyer (2000, 134-138, Figs. 229, 251, 252, 256-259) had based his observations concerning the head of the togate youth on Frieze B on a plaster cast at the Museum für Abgüsse Klassischer Bildwerke (M. F. A.),

München, where Michaela Fuchs and I, thanks to the kindness of Daniel Wunderlich of the Museum für Abgüsse Klassischer Bildwerke, München (M. F. A.), on 18th October 2018 had the chance to study this plaster cast of the togate youth again. This plaster cast of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs comprises only the head of the togate youth and a very small part of the surrounding background of the relief, a fact, which is also visible on some of Hugo Meyer's illustrations of this plaster cast.

Hugo Meyer's illustrations (cf. *id.* 2000, Figs. 251, 252, 258, 259), showing the head of the togate youth, were made after this plaster cast. Michaela Fuchs and I were able to see on this plaster cast the three small holes behind the togate youth's head, which according to Hugo Meyer prove the former existence of Tiridates' diadem allegedly represented here, whereas neither Michaela Fuchs, nor I myself could see on this plaster cast a 'triangle' above those three holes, likewise in the background of the relief behind the youth's head, another alleged trace that, according to Hugo Meyer, proves the reworking of a previously existing diadem here.

According to Hugo Meyer (2000, 137) this diadem was of a type that his Fig. 257 illustrates. In front of the original, only the three small drill holes are visible, as already seen and described by Pentiricci (cf. *id.* 2009, 59-60 with ns. 417, 419), a fact that I myself was later able to verify. I agree with Pentiricci (*op.cit.*) that these three small holes cannot prove the former existence of a diadem at this point. Besides, in theory not only behind the presumed head of Tiridates his alleged diadem should have left traces, as suggested by Hugo Meyer himself, but especially so in the hair of the represented youth - where there are likewise no traces of a formerly here existing diadem.

**Personally I wonder, why Hugo Meyer had not studied the head of the togate youth on Frieze B in front of the original and had not chosen to illustrate the details of the relief he was interested in with photographs of the original - where actually almost nothing of these alleged traces is visible.**

**As we shall see below (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.h.2.)), Stephanie Langer and Michael Pfanner (2018), who, like many other scholars follow Marianne Bergmann in assuming that the alleged original portrait of Domitian on Frieze B has been recut into the extant one of Vespasian (cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.1.1.), have likewise documented their new relevant ideas only working from photographs of a plaster cast.**

On 8th March of 2019, I had again the chance to discuss the Cancellaria Reliefs in front of the originals with Giandomenico Spinola and Claudia Valeri. - As a result of this, I maintain my earlier conclusion that the head of the togate youth on Frieze B (**Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 12**), in my opinion from the very beginning representing Domitian, has *not* been reworked from another portrait.



### III. A comparison of the interpretations of the Cancellaria Reliefs by Tonio Hölscher (2009a) and Giandomenico Spinola

In the following discussion I will refer to Giandomenico Spinola's observations that he generously shared with me on 24th September 2018, when we were discussing the Cancellaria Reliefs standing in front of those panels. He also wrote me all this in an E-mail on October 15th 2018 that I may publish here with his kind consent (cf. *infra*, n. 420; and below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*).

I myself found it at first difficult to believe that only two reliefs should have belonged to whatever monument this may have been, as for example Tonio Hölscher<sup>375</sup> suggests, because (as I had at first erroneously assumed) in both friezes the represented processions move from right to left - at least if both friezes were attached to the same side of this monument; let alone, if both friezes actually showed an *adventus*, as Hölscher<sup>376</sup> likewise assumes.

In the meantime, I have written Chapter I.3., a discussion of the question of whether or not both friezes may have been the horizontal panels in the passageway of an arch. - I myself follow Massimo Pentiricci's relevant hypothesis, and hope to support it with our visualization, which Franz Xaver Schütz and I have produced for the purpose; cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**.

Hölscher<sup>377</sup> writes: "Ovviamente dopo la morte di Domiziano [the two Cancellaria friezes] furono staccati dal monumento originario per essere rilavorati per un secondo impiego sotto il successore Nerva. Tale nuova destinazione tuttavia i rilievi non l'hanno mai raggiunta, perché rimasero in un deposito ...". - Personally I follow Michael Pfanner (1981), who has, in my opinion, proven that the second carving phase of Frieze A, in the course of which the face of Domitian was reworked into the (unfinished) portrait of Nerva, was done when this panel was still *in situ* (cf. *supra*, n. 258, in Chapter I.3.2.; cf. Chapter II.1.a); and n. 318, in Chapter II.1.d).

Hölscher discusses the fact that scholars disagree in case of Frieze A whether a *profectio* of an emperor is represented or else an *adventus*. Because of some iconographic details, he himself is of the opinion that we witness an *adventus*<sup>378</sup>: in a *profectio* we should rather expect to see a horse that is ready to be mounted by the emperor<sup>379</sup>, in addition to this, Frieze A depicts some soldiers, who, according to Hölscher, in a *profectio* scene should be shown in full armour, including helmets. Since a horse is missing in Frieze A and the soldiers do not wear helmets, these facts, in case they should be as crucial as suggested by Hölscher, would mean that Frieze A cannot possibly represent a *profectio*<sup>380</sup>. But note that the soldiers on Frieze A *are armed*<sup>381</sup>, which is

<sup>375</sup> T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 56.

<sup>376</sup> T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 58. - In the meantime, I have also realized that on Frieze B two groups are meeting that move from opposite directions towards this meeting point (cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.3.).

<sup>377</sup> T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 54-56.

<sup>378</sup> T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 56.

<sup>379</sup> T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 56, 57. For that, cf. also J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 11, who discusses the same relief in a private collection at Anacapri as HÖLSCHER, which was first published by F. MAGI 1954-55. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 57 with n. 45, Fig. 21, following thus MAGI, *op.cit.*, interprets the scene, pictured on this relief, as an *adventus*, at the same time assuming, like MAGI, that this proves that also Frieze A should be identified as an *adventus*; HÖLSCHER writes on p. 57: "Un rilievo di Anacapri, chiaramente dipendente dal rilievo A [of the Cancellaria Reliefs] rappresenta un *adventus*, se si considera il cavallo condotto molto dietro l'imperatore [with n. 45] (fig. 21)"; cf. p. 59: "Un riferimento sorprendentemente preciso ai monumenti urbani viene trasmesso dal già menzionato Rilievo di Anacapri (fig. 21), che in forma ridotta ripete la composizione del fregio A della Cancellaria. L'imperatore e Minerva coincidono, mentre le restanti divinità e figure ideali sono eliminate; al loro posto due lettori e il conducente di un cavallo seguono il *princeps*". HÖLSCHER, *op.cit.*, overlooks that TOYNBEE 1957, 11-12, had already refuted MAGI's relevant hypothesis. Cf. T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 58: the caption of his Fig. 21 reads: "Rilievo con scena di *adventus* (secondo altri di *profectio*) di Domiziano. Anacapri, collezione Armando Maresca". In his n. 45, HÖLSCHER 2009a, quotes: "Magi 1954-1955; Koeppel 1969, pp. 144-146". Cf. G. KOEPPPEL 1969, 144-146, Fig. 4: "Friesfragment in Anacapri mit Profectio des Domitian". I agree with TOYNBEE and KOEPPPEL, *op.cit.*, that also the relief in a private collection at Anacapri represents a *profectio*.

<sup>380</sup> T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 56-57. HÖLSCHER, *op.cit.*, has overlooked that already R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI 1946-48, 260, had observed that the argument 'of a missing horse' does not prevent us from identifying Frieze A as a representation of a *profectio*.

why I doubt that Hölscher's hypothesis is true (to this I will come back below). In addition to this, Hölscher<sup>382</sup> writes that the gesture which Domitian (now Nerva) makes in Frieze A, where he is (presumably) greeting someone with his lifted right hand, who obviously occupied the now missing slab at the far left end of this frieze, is in his opinion only to be found in *adventus* scenes<sup>383</sup>.

Frieze B shows in Hölscher's opinion likewise an *adventus*. Here the original portrait of Domitian has in his opinion been recut<sup>384</sup> into a head of Vespasian, who is crowned by the now heavily destroyed representation of *Victoria*. This personification is flying behind Vespasian (only *Victoria*'s right leg is preserved, behind the emperor's back, and the tip of her left foot). Hölscher<sup>385</sup> observes that *Victoria* does not crown the emperor with a *corona triumphalis* (i.e., a laurel wreath), but with a *corona civica* (made of oak leaves); the far left border of this wreath, with clear indication that it is made of oak leaves, is visible immediately behind Vespasian's head. Hölscher therefore does not believe (as for example Spinola, cf. *infra*) that Vespasian is represented as coming back to Rome after a victorious military campaign. As I have remarked elsewhere, the *corona civica*, with which *Victoria* is crowning Vespasian, identifies this figure on Frieze B as the reigning emperor<sup>386</sup>.

According to Hölscher, Domitian's most important *adventus* into Rome as a civilian - took place in 81, when he rushed to the Urbs to secure his own accession to the throne, leaving behind at *Aquae Cutiliae*, from where he came, his dying brother Titus (!). Note that, in Hölscher's opinion, Vespasian's portrait on Frieze B has been recut from an alleged original portrait of Domitian. Hölscher suggests that it is precisely this *adventus* of Domitian into Rome, which is represented on Frieze B<sup>387</sup>. Hölscher<sup>388</sup>, therefore identifies the togate youth on Frieze B, standing in front of 'Domitian'/ Vespasian, as the *Praefectus urbi*, who, together with the *Genius Populi Romani* and the *Genius Senatus*, has come to meet the new emperor just outside the City of Rome - because this togate youth is not wearing *calcei senatorii*, but the "semplique calcei". As we have seen above, Hölscher's relevant assumption concerning the shoes, a *praefectus urbi* should usually wear, is not true<sup>389</sup>.

Hölscher<sup>390</sup> does not explicitly say so, but it is clear from two of his remarks<sup>391</sup>, that he assumes that the head of the togate youth, who is standing on Frieze B in front of 'Domitian'/ Vespasian (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and**

<sup>381</sup> cf. B. FEHR 1998, 719 with n. 7, p. 720.

<sup>382</sup> T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 56-57.

<sup>383</sup> the latter assertion is certainly not true. This gesture, made by Domitian (now Nerva) on Frieze A, as well as the fact that he stands still, whereas some of the figures of his entourage move forward, has been interpreted differently by almost all scholars, who observed those facts. See for example J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 9-10; cf. p. 12, and G. KOEPEL 1969, 138-144: "Der Fries A vom Palazzo della Cancelleria mit dem Auszug Domitians", both of whom interpreted Frieze A as the representation of a *profectio*. G. KOEPEL 1969, 143, interpreted the gesture, made by Domitian on Frieze A, in my opinion convincingly as *ingens dextra*: (for the *verbatim* quote of KOEPEL's interpretation, cf. *supra*, n. 222, in Chapter I.2., and at n. 247, in Chapter I.2.1.a). For further discussion of this point; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III., at point 2.).

<sup>384</sup> T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 56. Also D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 192, mentions the fact that it has been suggested that in Frieze B the head of the emperor has been recut into that of Vespasian, although she herself on p. 191, and in the caption of her Fig. 158 on p. 190: "... adventus of Vespasian", maintains the traditional opinion that Vespasian was already represented in the original phase of Frieze B.

<sup>385</sup> T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 56-57. This had, of course, already been observed by F. MAGI 1939, 205, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 112, in Chapter I.1.; by F. MAGI 1945, 32; and by J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 5.

Cf. M. BERGMANN 1981, 19-20 (who summarizes the relevant opinions of scholars, who have followed F. MAGI's 1945 interpretation of the scene, represented on Frieze B, but does not herself follow this hypothesis).

For the meaning of the fact that Vespasian is crowned by *Victoria* with the *corona civica*, cf. *infra*, at Chapters V.1.i.3.); V.1.i.3.a)).

<sup>386</sup> C. HÄUBER 2009b, 170: Mit der *corona civica* "wurden seit Augustus die Kaiser ausgezeichnet". For the meaning of the *corona civica* in this context, cf. also B. FEHR 1998, 725 n. 35, p. 727 n. 49; and *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.a).

<sup>387</sup> T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 58.

<sup>388</sup> T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 58.

<sup>389</sup> T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 57 (for a discussion, cf. *supra*, at ns. 182-189, in Chapter I.1., and at Chapter I.1.1.). See the discussion of this question by B. FEHR 1998, 725 with ns. 37, 38, who observes that the representation of the togate youth does not give any clue that he might be of equestrian rank.

<sup>390</sup> T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 58.

<sup>391</sup> T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 56: "il fregio B (fig. 20) effigia nella seconda versione Vespasiano : infatti, anche il suo volto è rilavorato da un Domiziano di partenza ... L'imperatore si rivolge a un uomo togato davanti a lui ..."; cf. *op.cit.*, p. 57 (quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 182, in Chapter I.1.).

**2 drawing; figures 12** [Domitian]; **14** [Vespasian]), is *not* a portrait. Marianne Bergmann<sup>392</sup>, like Burghard Fehr<sup>393</sup>, both of whom Hölscher quotes in his bibliography, are in this respect more outspoken: they explicitly deny that the youth's head is a portrait.

Diana E.E. Kleiner<sup>394</sup>, on the other hand, follows in this respect the traditional view by recognizing Domitian's distinct facial traits in the head of this youth:

"The Vestals [on Frieze B; cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figures 3; 4; 5; 6; 7**] are followed by two lictors in short tunics and mantles and with axes attached to their rods. The one farthest left has his back to the spectator; the one on the right faces front and, along with another lictor on the far right of the relief panel, flanks the central group of Domitian and Vespasian. **Domitian, identifiable by his youthfulness, his slightly protruding upper lip, and especially by his hairstyle, which is full, plastically rendered, and arranged in a tiaralike configuration across his forehead, wears a tunic and toga, the folds of which he grasps with both hands. He has a slight beard on his cheeks and chin, which was probably worn by young men before the traditional first shave at age twenty** [my emphasis]".

In my opinion, especially after having studied myself the head of the togate youth at the original Frieze B in the Vatican Museums on four occasions, Kleiner's description of this head proves beyond any doubt that it is in fact a portrait. This had already been observed by Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee (1957, 7-8, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 176, in Chapter I.1.), who had thus refuted Andreas Rumpf's objection (1955-56, 115-116, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 172, in Chapter I.1.) to see in the head of the togate youth on Frieze B (**Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 12**) a portrait of the young Domitian.

Apropos, his "slightly protruding upper lip", which Diana E.E. Kleiner (cf. *supra*, n. 394) has already observed in Domitian's youthful portrait on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 6**). This feature has now been observed as being typical of Domitian's third portrait-type by Diane Atnally Conlin, who illustrates Domitian's bust in the Musei Capitolini (cf. *ead.* 2023, 157, and her Fig. 5 [= here **Fig. 7**]; quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter *Preamble; Section III.*; at point 5.)).

**Rumpf (1955-56, 115-116) in his turn had followed Bernhard Neutsch by writing:**

"Der Kopf [of the togate youth on Frieze B] ist nicht von dem Meister der beiden Kaiserköpfe nachträglich gemeißelt. Er ist genau so nichtssagend und verblasen wie die Köpfe der anderen Nebenfiguren (*Taf. 19,2*). Bernhard Neutsch hat ihn mit Recht neben den eines Lictor in demselben Halbfries (*Taf. 19,3* [cf. here **Fig. 2; and Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 10**]) gestellt, von dem er sich in keinem wesentlichen Zug unterscheidet [with n. 7: quoting B. NEUTSCH 1948-49, 109]".

Neutsch's just quoted judgement concerning the togate youth, although it had already - in my opinion convincingly - been rejected by Toynbee (1957, by refuting Rumpf's opinion), is still followed by other scholars.

But before discussing Neutsch's hypotheses, let me alert you to something else. Some of the scholars, who have so far discussed the head of the togate youth on Frieze B (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 12**) have asserted, exactly like Neutsch, that this head 'is lacking portrait features', to use the phrasing of Burghard Fehr (cf. *supra*, n. 393): "Wegen der fehlenden Porträtzüge ist es überdies wenig wahrscheinlich, daß eine bestimmte Person gemeint ist". Interestingly, by doing so, all of these scholars concentrate only on the facial traits of this youth's head as well as on his elaborate coiffure, thus overlooking the fact that this young man is wearing, in addition to this, "a slight beard on his cheeks and chin, which was probably worn by young men before the traditional first shave at age twenty", as Diana E.E. Kleiner (cf. *supra*, at n. 394)

<sup>392</sup> M. BERGMANN 1981, 20, 22, 24 with ns. 19-22, pp. 25-29. Cf. *supra*, n. 126, in Chapter I.1.

<sup>393</sup> B. FEHR 1998, 725: "Wegen der fehlenden Porträtzüge ist es überdies wenig wahrscheinlich, daß eine bestimmte Person gemeint ist".

<sup>394</sup> D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 191. Part of this passage was already quoted *supra*, at n. 250, in Chapter I.2.1.c).

writes. For this "Jugendbart"; cf. also Marianne Bergmann (1981, 27, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 178, in Chapter I.1.).

This kind of beard, given the context, in which this youth appears on Frieze B, may, in my opinion, possibly also be interpreted as a "Thronprätendenten-Bart" ('a beard of a pretender to the throne'), which, if true, would further support the hypothesis formulated here that this togate youth is a portrait of Domitian, who is here represented as the *Princeps iuventutis*, "the heir presumptive to the Empire" (so J.M.C. TOYNBEE; cf. *supra*, at n. 205, in Chapter I.1.). For a discussion of this hypothesis; cf. *supra*, in Chapters I.1.; I.1.1.).

The phenomenon that ancient men could be characterized as 'pretenders to the throne' by wearing such beards, has long ago been discussed by my supervisor Andreas Linfert (1976). If so, this kind of beard is the 'only' portrait feature of this togate youth's head, which no scholar can possibly deny: given the problem, that all the other portrait features, which this head likewise possesses, as Kleiner (*op.cit.*) describes, are denied by those other scholars. - Adding to the features, mentioned by Kleiner herself, also the slightly aquiline nose of this youth, referred to by Hugo Meyer (cf. *infra*, at n. 397) as Domitian's typical "Höckernase", whereas McCann (cf. *infra*, at n. 398), being likewise of the opinion that this facial trait was typical of Domitian's portraits, called this feature an "indented bridge of the nose". See also the deeply set eyes of the togate youth - both features, the aquiline nose and the deeply set eyes, are not those of a normal 'ideal' head. Cf. also John Henderson (2003, 246, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.), who discusses the portrait features of the togate youth's head that have been observed by Anthony Bonanno (1976, 56-57).

I have known these specific beards, discussed by Andreas Linfert (1976), since my supervisor was studying this subject back in the 1970s and, of course, likewise since a long time the beard of the togate youth on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12**). Nevertheless, I have only now realized the possibility to interpret this youth's specific beard as a "Thronprätendenten-Bart". The reason being a discussing with Hans Rupprecht Goette of a different ancient portrait, in the course of which Goette mentioned this term to me in an E-mail of 15th December 2020. This has finally 'opened my eyes' concerning the beard, worn by this togate youth - young Domitian.

I am referring here to Hadrian's portraits of the Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) type (cf. here **Fig. 3**), and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*).

See for this youthful portrait-type of Hadrian now Goette (2021); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

*Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva, and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) (cf. here **Fig. 3**). With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz, with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz, with The Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen; at Chapter VI.2. *Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ )*; and at Chapters VI.2.1-VI.2.4.*

**Langer and Pfanner** (2018, 60, in their Chapter "2.9.1 Forschungsgeschichte") **comment on Neutsch's hypotheses as follows:**

"... war der archäologische Fokus stark auf den Stil und die Bildsprache der Reliefs gelegt [with n. 42].

Dazu gehörte auch die Unterscheidung der Meisterhände, wie sie seit dem frühen 20. Jahrhundert für alle Gattungen der Klassischen Archäologie gepflegt wurde. Man übersah nicht, dass Fries B schwächer, steifer und ausdrucksärmer als Fries A ist, was zu der Mutmaßung führte, dass nicht 1 Meister bzw. 1 Werkstatt, sondern mindestens zwei mit der Ausführung der Reliefs betraut gewesen sein müssen [with n. 43]. **Solche Überlegungen wurden schon 1948/49 von B. Neutsch grundlegend diskutiert. Er kam durch stilistische Analysen zu dem Schluss, dass mindestens vier Meisterhände zu scheiden seien, wobei jeder dieser Bildhauer eine Frieshälfte ausgeführt habe [with n. 44]. Seine Ergebnisse wurden seither kaum**

**mehr in Frage gestellt und dürfen heute als *communis opinio* und als einer der wenigen Punkte gelten, über die man sich einig zu sein scheint** [my emphasis].

**In their notes, Langer and Pfanner provide references, but not for their last remark, which has surprised me, because I had not realized so far that this point is allegedly *communis opinio*.**

Elsewhere Langer and Pfanner repeat the opinion of Neutsch (1948-49, 109) concerning the togate youth and the lictor **figure 10** on Frieze B (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**), that, as we have seen above, was followed by Rumpf (1955-56), and refuted by Toynbee (1957), but without giving Neutsch credit for this idea.

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 64) write: "**Dasselbe Phänomen der geklonten Kopfreiheit findet sich auf Frieze B. Unabhängig von Geschlecht und Status oder von ihrer göttlichen bzw. menschlichen Natur sind die Köpfe der **Figuren 1, 2 und 3** wie aus einem Guss; auch die Köpfe des Liktors (**Figur 10**) und des jugendlichen Togatus (**Figur 12**) könnten ähnlicher kaum sein** (s. Taf. 50 ) [with n. 63; my emphasis]". Cf. here **Figs. 1; 2; and Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 10; figure 12**.

In their n. 63, Langer and Pfanner write: "**Die Tatsache, dass beide Köpfe so offensichtlich von der Hand eines Künstlers stammen und ihnen jeder individuelle Zug gleichsam fehlt, spricht auch gegen die Deutung des jungen Togatus als historische Persönlichkeit. Siehe dazu näher Kap. 2.9.3** [my emphasis] ". To this I will come back below (cf. *infra*, at Chapter *V.1.h.1.*)).

Let's now return once again to the hair-style of the togate youth/ Domitian on Frieze B (here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12**).

Richard Neudecker<sup>395</sup>, who calls his contribution "Il lusso in età flavia", writes that contemporary poets mocked about the fact that now even men spent hours at the hairdressers. He writes that in the Flavian period the *toga* comprised much more cloth than before - like those worn by the togate youth/ Domitian and Vespasian on Frieze B of the Cancellaria reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 12** [Domitian]; **14** [Vespasian]) - to the effect that a man, who wanted to put on such a garment, needed help of another person. Apart from the facts that these togas hindered the movements of those who were wearing them, and that all these new fashions were extremely expensive.

Neudecker mentions also that Domitian wrote a text about the care of the hair:

"Certo la toga non sembra avere lasciato molte possibilità alla moda. Cionostante, un paragone tra i togati dei Rilievi della Cancellaria [with n. 25] (fig. 2 [cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**]) e quelli dell'*Ara Pacis* augustea [with n. 26] mette in luce un mutamento dei costumi pieno di significati: in età flavia, la toga diviene ancora più ricca di tessuto, di fatto limitando sempre più pesantemente la libertà di movimento di coloro che la indossavano [with n. 27]. Questa moda comportò la necessità di avere un aiuto al momento di mettersi l'indumento e intensificò con ciò il ricercato stile di vita, a prescindere dai sempre più alti costi di manifattura. Ancora di più, una nuova moda dell'acconciatura comportò un sensibile incremento di spese, quasi un segno distintivo di uno stile di vita così lussuosa ... [after describing the famous complex hair-styles of the ladies in the Flavian period, he continues] Ancora più interessante che in questa fase nei ritratti degli uomini si riscontri una premura analoga [with n. 29]: i capelli sulla fronte non scendono più in ciocche, ma vengono composti con riccioli a fuoco e pomate in file (*gradus*) e boccoletti (*anuli*) (fig. 3). Persino l'inevitabile spreco di tempo era un argomento di discussione: al barbiere - dice Marziale [with n. 30, quoting: "Mart. VIII, 52."] - può crescere la barba ... Negli scritti di età flavia tali acconciature maschili alla moda sono segnalate senza eccezioni come negative, perché fungevano da segni di lusso [with n. 31]. Ma evidentemente proprio a questo fu dovuto il loro successo. Dei circa centoquaranta ritratti maschili di età flavia, circa la

<sup>395</sup> R. NEUDECKER 2009, 355. In his notes he provides references. The caption of his Fig. 2 reads: "Rilievo della Cancellaria, particolare. Città del Vaticano, Musei Vaticani". The caption of his Fig. 3 reads: "Ritratto maschile di età flavia. Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi".

metà presenta questi boccoli. Non a caso i *coiffeurs* divennero sempre più ricchi [with n. 32], e addirittura lo stesso Domiziano scrisse nientemeno un libello sulla cura dei capelli [with n. 33, quoting: "Suet. Dom. XVIII"].]

In his **notes 25-33**, Neudecker provides references and further discussion.

Hugo Meyer<sup>396</sup> (in my opinion erroneously) believed that the original phase of Frieze B showed the Emperor Nero, crowning the client king Tiridates of Armenia with a diadem (*i.e.*, the togate youth standing in front of him; cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 14** [Vespasian, the alleged Nero]; **12** [Domitian, the alleged Tiridates]), a ceremony that in reality, in Hugo Meyers opinion, had taken place on the Roman Forum in AD 66. Hugo Meyer further believed that this alleged head of Tiridates, in the Flavian phase of the Cancellaria Reliefs, had been recut into the extant portrait of the young Domitian.

To Diana E.E. Kleiner's above-mentioned catalogue of facial traits, typical of Domitian (cf. *supra*, at n. 394), Hugo Meyer<sup>397</sup> added that the head of the togate youth on Frieze B comprises also Domitian's typical "Höckernase". McCann<sup>398</sup>, being likewise of the opinion that this facial trait was typical of Domitian's portraits, called this feature an "indented bridge of the nose".

I agree with Hölscher and Spinola (cf. *infra*) that the emperor on Frieze B is shown as coming back to Rome, or in other words, that he is still standing outside the *pomerium* of the City of Rome, since the *Genius Populi Romani*<sup>399</sup> (here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 13**), standing in the background right between the represented emperor and the togate youth in front of him, sets his left foot on an object which obviously represents a *cippus* marking the *pomerium*-line of Rome<sup>400</sup>.

But contrary to Hölscher, thus following Spinola, I identify the represented emperor in the original phase of Frieze B with Vespasian, and the togate youth, who is leading the 'representatives' of the City of Rome (*Genius Senatus* and *Genius Populi Romani*), who have come to the *pomerium* of the City of Rome to welcome the emperor, with his son Domitian (here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: 12** [Domitian]; **14** [Vespasian]).

For my relevant assumptions, cf. *supra*, at n. 117, in Chapter I.1.; and *infra*, in Chapters V.1.h.1.; V.1.i.3.); VI.3; and at *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

To Hölscher's suggestion to interpret the *Genius Senatus*, the *Genius Populi Romani*, and the togate youth, as the 'representatives' of Rome<sup>401</sup>, I will come back below.

Besides, Vespasian is clad on Frieze B in a *tunica* and a *toga*<sup>402</sup>, and, provided Frieze B showed this emperor *from the very beginning*<sup>403</sup>, it is only conceivable that his *adventus* in Rome in AD 70 is pictured on this panel.

<sup>396</sup> H. MEYER 2000, 135, 137-138; cf. *supra*, n. 130, in Chapter I.1

<sup>397</sup> H. MEYER 2000, 136: "Die Identifizierung des jungen Togatus [on Frieze B] wird auch durch dessen auffällige Höckernase gestützt, für die sich an Münzbildnissen [256] Vergleiche finden", with n. 430..

<sup>398</sup> MCCANN 1972, 260.

<sup>399</sup> for the relevant passage, to which I refer here, cf. T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 57.

the allegorical figure on Frieze B, discussed here, is usually and, in my opinion, correctly identified as the *Genius Populi Romani* (so for example H. MEYER 2000, 126 with n. 402; T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 58). Personally, I therefore do not follow B. FEHR 1998, 720-725, who is of the opinion that this representation should instead be identified as the god Terminus, and (cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 723-724) that the bearded man standing right behind him, by many scholars regarded as the *Genius Senatus*, should instead be identified as the mythical king of Rome, Numa Pompilius. For a discussion of the *Genius Senatus* and of the *Genius Populi Romani*, cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.1.

<sup>400</sup> for that, cf. G. KOEPEL 1969, 172-174, quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 416. See also *infra*, in Chapters V.1.e); and V.1.f).

<sup>401</sup> so already J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 9, quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 197, in Chapter I.1.1.

<sup>402</sup> so D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 191.

<sup>403</sup> for different interpretations, cf. H. MEYER 2000, 131-132 with n. 416, Figs. 242; 243, pp. 136-138; Figs. 257-259 (the first phase of Frieze B showed Nero crowning king Tiridates of Armenia with a diadem); pp. 126-127, 128, 134-135, Figs. 251; 252 (the second phase of Frieze B showed the *adventus* of Vespasian, with the young togate Domitian standing in front of him); and T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 56 (the first phase of the Frieze B showed the *adventus* of Domitian, the second phase the *adventus* of Vespasian).

In order to understand, where exactly the represented scene is supposed to take place, we need to know, that Vespasian in this very moment comes back from the East, and precisely from the Great Jewish War, where he has left behind his elder son Titus, who would finally finish this revolt victoriously. Rose Mary Sheldon has studied this war in great detail in many of her publications<sup>404</sup>.

In theory, therefore, Vespasian's *adventus* visible on Frieze B, could only be staged on the *Via Appia*, and precisely right in front of the *Porta Capena* within the so-called Servian city Wall (cf. here **Fig. 58**).

If so, Frieze B would (under normal circumstances) show the Emperor Vespasian after the ritual performed at the building called *Mutatorium Caesaris* on the *Via Appia*, which stood immediately outside this city gate: there victorious generals, coming home from a campaign conducted in the East of the Empire, had to change from military into civilian garb<sup>405</sup>. But we happen know that in Vespasian's case this was not true.

Cf. *supra*, at **ns. 195-201**, in Chapter *I.1.1.*). To this I will come back below (cf. *infra*, in Chapter *V.1.i.3.*); summarized in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*).

Already Magi in 1939 and 1945, and some of the other scholars, discussed *supra*, in Chapter *I.1.*:

Bianchi Bandinelli (for F. MAGI and R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI; cf. *supra*, **n. 112**), Fuhrmann 1940 and 1941 (cf. *supra*, **n. 113**), Toynbee 1946 and 1957<sup>406</sup>, Kähler 1958<sup>407</sup>, Daltrop<sup>408</sup>, Keller<sup>409</sup>, and Koepfel (1969<sup>410</sup> - but see KOEPEL 1984, both quoted *verbatim infra*);

- had identified the emperor on Frieze B and the togate youth in front of him as Vespasian and Domitian respectively (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 14** [Vespasian]; **12** [Domitian]):

Hammond (1953, 136; cf. *supra*, **n. 18**) identified the togate youth with Domitian. Note that these scholars obviously took for granted that Vespasian's portrait had not replaced a different portrait. Of the same opinion were also Erika Simon (1960; 1963 - but see SIMON 1985, both accounts quoted *verbatim supra*, at **n.**

<sup>404</sup> for the Great Jewish Revolt, also called Great Jewish War, cf. R.M. SHELDON 2007, 10, Chapter "Chronology": "66-73 CE Great Jewish Revolt; 70 CE Titus captures Jerusalem. Destruction of the Temple; 73 CE Fall of Masada".

For this war in detail, cf. *op.cit.*, Part II, pp. 129-152: "The Jews against Rome". R.M. SHELDON 2007, 139, writes about the beginning of Vespasian's campaign: "The Jewish military victory over the Twelfth Legion gave new hope to the extremist cause in Jerusalem ... When news of the defeat reached Nero, he did not choose a negotiated settlement with the rebels. The emperor appointed a veteran commander, Vespasian, to prepare a new campaign. In 67 CE, Vespasian was dispatched with sixty thousand men; he was joined by his son Titus, who marched a legion from Alexandria [with n. 60]".

Cf. her n. 60 on p. 251: "The army of Vespasian consisted of three distinct legions: the Fifth, the Tenth and the Fifteenth. There were also twenty-three auxiliary cohorts, six *alae* of cavalry and the auxiliary troops of King Agrippa, King Antiochus of Commagene, Soemus of Emesa and Malchus of Arabia (Josephus, *BJ* 3.64-9; *Vita* 26-30)".

For short summaries of some of R.M. SHELDON's relevant publications, discussed in relation to some buildings and toponyms in ancient Rome, cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 178, 200, 518. Cf. *supra*. Chapter *I.1.*, **ns. 171, 189**; in Chapter *I.1.1.*, **ns. 195, 198, 200, 201**; in Chapter *I.2.*, **n. 229; ns. 412, 413, 455**, in this Chapter *III.*; and *infra*, **n. 476**, in Chapter *VI.3.*

<sup>405</sup> cf. C. HÄUBER 2014a, 265, 274-275; C. HÄUBER 2017, 248. For that, cf. also G. KOEPEL 1969, 194: "Beim Betreten des Stadtgebietes wechselte der Kaiser die Kleidung [with n. 272: "Von Hadrian und Marc Aurel ist diese Mutatio Vestis schon beim Betreten italischen Bodens überliefert."] ... Hier erscheint deutlich der Unterschied zwischen Domi und Militiae. Dem Bereich Domi entspricht das Stadtkleid, Militiae das Kriegsgewand".

<sup>406</sup> J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 180; J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 4-6.

<sup>407</sup> H. KÄHLER 1958, Taf. 162 (above): "Ausschnitt aus einem Relief [*i.e.*, Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs] mit der Begrüßung Vespasians als Kaiser. Rom, Museo del Vaticano. Ende des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. Marmor"; Taf. 163 (above): "Ausschnitt aus einem Relief mit dem Aufbruch Domitians zum Chattenkrieg. Rom, Palazzo dei Conservatori. Ende des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. Marmor"; Taf. 163 (below): "Soldaten. Ausschnitt aus Tafel 163 oben"; H. KÄHLER 1960, 254-256: "Tafel 162/163 Der *Adventus* Vespasians in Rom und der Aufbruch Domitians zum Chattenkrieg, zwei Reliefs von einem unbekanntem Denkmal Domitians. Rom, Museo del Vaticano und Palazzo dei Conservatori [*i.e.*, that part of Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs, which until 1956 was kept at the Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori. For that fact, cf. A.M. COLINI 1938, pp. 269-270 ("Notiziario"): "Sepolcro di Aulo Irzio; Tav. Agg. F"; J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 4; E. SIMON 1963, 8; M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 56-57]. Marmor. Höhe 2,05 m".

<sup>408</sup> G. DALTRÖP 1966, 41 Taf. 31 (cf. *supra*, **n. 112**, in Chapter *I.1.*

<sup>409</sup> E. KELLER 1967, 211, 215.

<sup>410</sup> G. KOEPEL 1969, 172 with n. 157 (quoted *verbatim supra*, at **n. 157**, in Chapter *I.1.*).

181, in Chapter I.1.), and Bianchi Bandinelli and Mario Torelli (1976; cf. *supra*, n. 32), and are now Paris (1994b; cf. *supra*, n. 47), Pfeiffer (2009; cf. *supra*, n. 59), Pollini (2017b; cf. *supra*, n. 72), Chabrečková (2017; cf. *supra*, n. 73), Sheldon (2023, in press; cf. *supra*, n. 74), Spinola and Valeri (cf. *supra*, in *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*; and Spinola (cf. below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*), and I myself.

There are, of course, some problems with this interpretation of Frieze B (Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing), which, after what was said above, we could call: "Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in AD 70, or Domitian welcomes Vespasian at the *pomerium* of the City of Rome". If we accept this interpretation of Frieze B for a moment, we must consider a historical fact which seems at first glance to contradict this assumption.

Domitian did *not* meet his father Vespasian for the first time in AD 70 at Rome - after Vespasian's victories in the Jewish War and in the Civil War of 68-69. Domitian, for this first meeting with his father after four years of separation, had instead gone from Rome all the way down the *Via Appia* to Beneventum<sup>411</sup>.

As already mentioned, we also know that at the time, when Vespasian is shown on Frieze B in his *adventus* in Rome in October of AD 70, the Great Jewish War<sup>412</sup> was still fought for him by his elder son Titus<sup>413</sup>. Other problems relate to the shoes<sup>414</sup>, the young Domitian is wearing on Frieze B (in case it is him, who is represented there), and to the question, why this scene has deliberately been located at the *pomerium* of Rome, although the first meeting of Domitian and Vespasian had occurred at Beneventum.

Elisabeth Keller<sup>415</sup> rightly observed in this context, referring to Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs: "Vespasian hat schon beim Betreten Italiens die Toga angelegt, hat in Benevent seinen Sohn begrüßt und ist nun in Rom selbst angekommen. Noch befindet er sich außerhalb des Pomeriums, wie die Beile an den Fasces der Liktoren zeigen [my emphasis]".

For a discussion of those lictor; cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.2.1.c) *The problems, connected with the lictors and soldiers on both friezes of the Cancellaria Reliefs* (cf. here Figs. 1; 2).

And Gerhard Koepfel (1969), as I have only realized much later, had already answered all the above posed questions, but in his publication of 1984, he should interpret Frieze B very differently<sup>416</sup>. In the following will be quoted first the relevant section from Koepfel's publication of 1969, and second from his publication of 1984.

<sup>411</sup> J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 5; H. KÄHLER 1958, 255. For a discussion of the 'four years of separation of Domitian and Vespasian', and for the meeting of Domitian and Vespasian at Beneventum; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III.; at point 2.).

<sup>412</sup> cf. R.M. SHELDON 2007, 141: "The death of this emperor [Nero, in 68 AD] meant that Vespasian's commission as general had expired, and accordingly he discontinued his military activities [conducted by himself in the Great Jewish War since 67 AD, a revolt, which should last until 73 AD]. He obtained his recognition as emperor from the Senate and the troops in the West in December 69, and he entered Rome in early 70 CE. He left his son Titus to finish the Jewish campaign". Cf. *supra*, ns. 171, 189; Chapter I.1.; ns. 195, 198, 200, 201; in Chapter I.1.1.; at n. 229, in Chapter I.2.; at ns. 404, 413, 455, in this Chapter III.; and *infra*, n. 476, in Chapter VI.3.

<sup>413</sup> cf. D. KIENAST, W. ECK and M. HEIL 2017, 105-107: "Titus (24. Juni 79 - 13. Sept.[ember] 81) Geb.[oren] 30. Dez. 39 (?) in Rom ... Name: T. FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS ... Wichtige Einzeldaten: 69 Annahme des Caesarnamens (Juli oder August); T. CAESAR VESPASIANUS. Übertragung des Oberbefehls im Jüdischen Krieg (Ende 69). Wahl zum PRINCEPS IUVENTUTIS (21. oder 22. Dez.[ember] 69). Aug.[ust]/Sept.[ember] 70 Einnahme von Jerusalem. T. CAESAR VESPASIANUS IMPERATOR (Imp. T. Caesar Vespasianus ...). 71 ... Sacerdos collegiorum omnium, sodalis Augustalis ... 79 Erhebung zum Augustus (24. Juni = dies imperii): IMP. TITUS CAESAR VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS ...13. Sept.[ember] 81 Tod: Gest.[orben] in seiner Villa bei Aquae Cutiliae. Bestattet erst im Mausoleum Augusti (?), dann im templum gentis Flaviae. Consecratio: DIVUS TITUS (AUG.) / cos. designatus seit 11. Dez.[ember] 69 / cos. I 1. Jan.[uar] - Ende Juni 70 / cos. design.[atus] seit Mitte März 71".

<sup>414</sup> for a detailed discussion of this subject, cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.1.

<sup>415</sup> E. KELLER 1967, 211.

<sup>416</sup> G. KOEPEL 1969, 172-174. In his footnotes 157-159, 162-165, KOEPEL 1969, 172, 174, quoted references In his n. 159 on p. 172, KOEPEL 1969, wrote: "F. Magi (I rilievi flavi [1945] 106ff.) interpretiert die Szene als Begegnung in Benevent. - E. Simon ... [1960, 152ff.] sieht hier mit Recht den Adventus des Kaisers an der Pomeriumsgrenze ...". KOEPEL erred in this point, MAGI had instead written exactly as SIMON, *op.cit.*; that Frieze B shows Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome. For the relevant *verbatim* quotations from MAGI, 1945, 106, 111, cf. *supra*, n. 194, in Chapter I.1.1. Cf. G.M. KOEPEL 1984, 7, 8, 31, 33.



Koeppel (1969, 172-174) wrote:

"Das Relief B von der Cancellaria mit dem Adventus des Vespasian

Die Deutung des Reliefs (Bild 16) wird dadurch erschwert, daß der Fries eine spätere Interpretation des Ereignisses vom Jahre 70 darstellt, als Vespasian nach Rom kam. **Die Hauptfigur des Reliefs ist nicht Vespasian, sondern Domitian** [with n. 157]. Wir wissen, daß Domitian seinem Vater bis Benevent entgegenging, und daß einige Senatoren mit Mucianus bis nach Brundisium gezogen sind, um den neuen Kaiser zu empfangen [with n. 158]. Den literarischen Quellen entgegengesetzt scheint jedoch die Interpretation zu sein, die wir in diesem Fries B von der Cancellaria vor uns haben [with n. 159] ... Zwischen den beiden aufeinander ausgerichteten Gestalten [*i.e.*, Vespasian and Domitian] befindet sich ein behauener Stein, der etwas schräg im Boden steckt, worauf sich der Genius Populi Romani mit seinem linken Fuß stützt. Dies kann nur als die Pomeriumsgrenze der Stadt Rom erklärt werden. In dem Stein kann man einen der Cippi erkennen, die diese Grenze markierten [with n. 162]. Immer wieder spielt im Adventus und in der Profectio die Trennung der Bereiche Domi und Militiae eine nicht zu übersehende Rolle, die durch die Trennung in der Relief-Komposition sichtbar ist [with n. 163]. So verhält es sich auch in Relief B [page 173, Abb. 16; page 174] von der Cancellaria: der Stein steht an dem Einschnitt in der Komposition, an dem sich zwei Bewegungsrichtungen treffen.

Auch von den anderen Adventus-Reliefs herkommend kann man diese Deutung vertreten. In Wirklichkeit hat Domitian seinen Vater nicht in Rom sondern in Benevent empfangen. Das Relief steht also im Widerspruch zur literarischen Überlieferung. Aber wir dürfen in diesem Fries keinen Bericht des Ereignisses sehen, sondern vielmehr eine Propaganda, die sich als solche auch in den literarischen Quellen feststellen läßt: **Domitian, der die Stadt für seinen Vater gehütet hat, übergibt Vespasian bei seiner Ankunft das Imperium** [with n. 164]. Für die Darstellung eines solchen Gedankens ist eine Begegnung in Rom viel sinnvoller als ein Treffen in Benevent ...

Im Gegensatz zum Profectio-Fries [*i.e.*, Frieze A], wo die Bewegung in einem Zug nach links verläuft und über die Grenze des Reliefs hinausweist (Bild 3), ist hier in der Komposition ein Aufeinander-Zukommen der Bewegungen festzustellen. Das ist im Thema des Adventus selbst begründet, der ja ein Begegnung darstellt oder eine Ankunft an einem festen Ort im Gegensatz zur Profectio, die ins Offene hinausführt. Die Form des Frieses ist für diese Darstellungsweise nicht geeignet, was schon die Tatsache, daß man von 'Frieshälften' sprechen kann, anzeigt. Im Grunde sind hier zwei statische Bilder in ein Friesband hineingesetzt und durch zusätzliche Figuren verbunden [with n. 165; my emphasis]".

In his notes 157-165, Koeppel provided references and further discussion.

Koeppel (1984, 7) wrote on Frieze B (**here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing, figures 14 [Vespasian]; 12 [Domitian]**):

**"Wie M. Bergmann überzeugend nachwies, muß der Vespasian (Kat. 8/14) vielmehr als Umarbeitung eines Domitiansbildnisses erkannt werden, was wiederum die Deutung des togatus im Vordergrund, Kat. 8/12, als Domitian ausschließt** [with n. 47, providing references]. Obgleich vieles am Relief B (Kat. 8) noch ungeklärt bleiben muß, besonders die Rolle des dem Kaiser zugekehrten togatus, kann an der Deutung des Vorganges als adventus Augusti festgehalten werden [with n. 48; my emphasis]".

Cf. his **note 48**, where he quoted G. Koeppel (1969, 172-174, 188-194).

Cf. Koeppel (1984, 8, on Frieze B): "... Zwischen 12 und 14 steht auf der Erde ein konkav profiliertes Gebilde, ähnlich einer ara, das allgemein als Angabe des pomerium gedeutet wird (s. Simon 1960), von Keller (1967) aber als Statuenbasis gesehen wird".

Cf. Koeppel (1984, 31, on Frieze B): "2 Göttin im Hintergrund ... vielleicht eine Statue darstellend ... Eher Virtus als Roma (s. dazu S. 7)".

Cf. Koeppel (1984, 33, on Frieze B): "12. Togatus im Vordergrund, leicht nach rechts gewandt, in toga und calcei. Leichter Backenbart. - Zumeist als Domitian, aber auch als Nerva (Schefold, 1949), Ordo Equester

(Rumpf, 1955-56) und Hadrian (McCann 1972) gedeutet. Da **Figur 14** ursprünglich Domitian darstellte (s. dazu S. 7), muß die Deutung als Kaiser für diese Gestalt aufgegeben werden.

13. Halbnackte Jünglingsgestalt im Hintergrund mit Idealfrisur ... Sein linker unbeschuhter Fuß steht auf einem ara- oder cippusähnlichen Gebilde (Pomeriumscippus?). Von Keller wird die ganze Gestalt als Statue angesehen und mit Recht eher als Honos denn als Genius Populi Romani bezeichnet. Dazu s.[siehe] S. 7.

14. **Domitian/ Vespasian im Vordergrund** ... Der rechte Unterarm ist erhoben, die Handfläche zur linken Reliefseite hin geöffnet wie zum Gruß. A.M. McCann (1972) hat erkannt, daß dieser Kopf eine Umarbeitung des ursprünglichen Bildnisses darstellt in dem sie Trajan erkennt. **Daß im Urbild vielmehr Domitian zu erkennen ist, hat M. Bergmann (1981) überzeugend dargelegt** (s. S. 7) [my emphasis]."

Hölscher<sup>417</sup> concludes his interpretations of both Cancelleria friezes as follows:

"Posto che tali letture siano giuste, entrambi i Rilievi della Cancelleria rappresentano due scene decisive dell'*adventus* dell'imperatore a Roma: un arrivo civile per l'inizio ufficiale del suo regno e uno militare dopo una vittoriosa campagna, probabilmente contro i sarmati nel 93 d.C. Una conferma di tale spunto è offerta dall'Arco di Traiano a Benevento: lì sulla facciata rivolta verso la città nei due rilievi inferiori ai lati del passaggio viene raccontato il primo arrivo dell'imperatore a Roma nel 99 d.C. dopo l'assunzione del potere, mentre nell'attico ne viene celebrato il ritorno trionfale dalle guerre contro i daci nel 106 d.C. **Per entrambi gli imperatori [i.e., Domitian and Trajan] il primo *adventus* si delinea come accoglienza legittimante da parte dei rappresentanti dell'Urbe, il secondo invece come ricevimento trionfale e panegirico** [my emphasis]". -

For the reliefs at the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, mentioned here by Hölscher; cf. *supra*, at Chapter II.3.3. and here **Fig. 46**.

Spinola, in my opinion rightly, identifies that divinity as *Dea Roma*<sup>418</sup>, who on Frieze A urges the emperor (originally Domitian, now Nerva) to move forward, by touching the emperor's lower left arm<sup>419</sup>, in a scene, which Spinola, in my opinion correctly, interprets as a *profectio*<sup>420</sup> (to this I will come back in detail below). Spinola rightly observes that the goddess is shown in the same iconography as on Frieze B<sup>421</sup> (where she is enthroned at the far left; many scholars agree that the latter representation should be identified as the goddess Roma, although some scholars believe that the figure, shown on Frieze B, is not the goddess herself, but rather a statue representing her<sup>422</sup>). The divinity walking immediately in front of Domitian on Frieze A, as rightly observed by Spinola<sup>423</sup>, is Domitian's personal patron goddess Minerva<sup>424</sup>.

According to Spinola's interpretation of panel A, the gods Minerva and Mars lead Domitian (now Nerva) to a promised victory in a military campaign<sup>425</sup>, which the emperor reluctantly begins. Reluctantly, since although he was obviously earlier rushing forward, is right now represented as standing still for a moment<sup>426</sup>, but he greets at the same time a not preserved figure, or else several figures (definitely *Victoria*,

<sup>417</sup> T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 58.

<sup>418</sup> H. MEYER 2000, 126, identifies this representation as *Virtus*. According to T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 56, the represented divinity should be identified as *Roma* or *Virtus*. For a discussion, cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.2. *The amazon-like figure on Frieze A: Dea Roma, not Virtus*.

<sup>419</sup> For this gesture in detail, cf. J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 9-10; B. FEHR 1998, 719 with n. 5.

<sup>420</sup> cf. Giandomenico Spinola's E-mail, which he wrote me on October 15th, 2018, that with his kind consent is published below as *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola*. Also H. MEYER 2000, 132-133, identified the represented scene on Frieze A as a *profectio*.

<sup>421</sup> so already F. MAGI 1945, 74-75.

<sup>422</sup> R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI 1946-48, 259, interpreted this figure on Frieze B as "immagine di Roma" ('a statue of the *Dea Roma*'). So also G. KOEPEL 1984, 31 (quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 416), and J. HENDERSON 2003, 250. For my own hypothesis; cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.I.i.2.) *My own hypothesis concerning the statue-type (?) of the Dea Roma on Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs: it is reminiscent of Vespasian's coins commemorating his revival of the archaic festival of the Septimontium*, and here **Fig. 112**.

<sup>423</sup> so also B. FEHR 1998, 719.

<sup>424</sup> so also D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 192, who adds: "Minerva was Domitian's divine patroness".

<sup>425</sup> so also H. MEYER 2000, 133.

<sup>426</sup> for the various interpretations of Domitian's relevant action shown in Frieze A, cf. B. FEHR 1998, 719-720: it has *inter alia* been interpreted as Domitian's "gesto di modestia" in front of Iuppiter by F. GHEDINI 1986, 292 (the complete passage is quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 232, in Chapter I.2. Cf. H. MEYER 2000, 126: "Gebets- oder Bittgestus"; cf. p. 133: "Das Thema des Frieses ist eine bevorstehene

but possibly also Iuppiter?<sup>427</sup>) at the far left end of Frieze A, where only the left wing of the representation of *Victoria* is preserved. As we have already seen above, Domitian's action here and the gesture he makes with his right arm have been interpreted very differently<sup>428</sup>.

According to Spinola, Frieze A, therefore, refers to a military campaign, which (seen in retrospect<sup>429</sup>) has resulted in the promised victory, to which *Dea Roma* herself, as well as *Victoria* (and possibly Iuppiter?) and Minerva and Mars had urged, and/or faithfully led Domitian. The promise being represented on this panel by means of the *Victoria* (and Jupiter?) at the far left end of Frieze A<sup>430</sup>.

At Jupiter's orders and under his guidance the Romans fought their wars, and to him they consequently attributed their military victories<sup>431</sup>. As we shall see in a minute, in the specific case of Domitian, the poet Martial (9, 101, 14 ss.) had actually reported that belief *expressis verbis*.

Besides, Hölscher's assertion that frieze A, by considering the garment the represented emperor (Domitian/Nerva) is wearing, could just as well be a *profectio* scene or an *adventus*, is in my opinion not necessarily true:

"Parimente la veste militare da viaggio si riscontra sia nella partenza sia nel ritorno dalla guerra"<sup>432</sup>.

Or, in other words: there actually existed *very* different iconographic schemes for both, *profectio* and *adventus*, from which the artists of this period could choose - which, as I believe, was actually done here - so why represent these highly important statements related to an emperor's military career in similar fashion? For example in an *adventus*, which could *not* be mistaken for a *profectio*, the emperor could nevertheless wear civilian garb, namely *tunica* and *toga*, as the emperor (the alleged Domitian, but in my opinion from the very beginning) Vespasian on Frieze B (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 14**), and Hadrian in his famous *adventus* relief (here **Fig. 91**)<sup>433</sup>.

Although admittedly these two reliefs are not exactly perfect examples of a 'classic' *adventus*-ceremony, because both emperors appear here in civilian garb, at the moment of writing I (had erroneously) assumed

militärische Aktion - deren glücklicher Ausgang vorweggenommen ist -, doch wirkt die statische Haltung des Kaisers selbst in diesem Zusammenhang befremdlich: Roma-Virtus muß ihn drängen [230]"

H. MEYER 2000, 137 (cf. *supra*, ns. 130, 131, in Chapter I.1.), who was of the opinion that the emperor on Frieze A was originally Nero, suggested the following instead: "Der Fries A schildert in halballegorischer Form die vom Staatsrat für gut befundene, erneute Mobilmachung gegen Parthien ... Die Verhaltenheit Neros und seiner Soldaten mag vielleicht als Hinweis darauf zu verstehen sein, daß eigentlich einer diplomatischen Lösung der Vorzug gegeben wurde wäre, wie sie ja schließlich auch zustande gekommen ist". For a summary of the various interpretations concerning this point, cf. now S. LANGER and M. PFANNER, 2018, 60 (quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter V.1.g).

I myself follow G. KOEPEL's interpretation (1969, 141-143; quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 222, in Chapter I.2., and at ns. 246; 247, in Chapter I.2.1.a), who interprets Domitian's gesture as *dextra elata* or *ingens dextra*. For a discussion; cf. *supra*, in Chapter Preamble; Section III.; at point 2.).

<sup>427</sup> this was first suggested by E. SIMON 1960, 139-145 with Fig. 4, reconstruction drawing by S. SIMON of Frieze B, with the enthroned Jupiter at the far left of the panel; cf. E. SIMON 1985, 554-555 (quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 352, in Chapter II.3.2.); so also B. FEHR 1998, 719 with ns. 6-8, p. 720 with ns. 10, 11, cf. p. 729; and T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 57. This hypothesis was refuted by H. MEYER 2000, 126 with n. 403 (providing a reference).

If, on the other hand, we believe that both friezes showed only 17 figures (cf. *supra*, at n. 38, in Chapter I.1.), we cannot add an additional Jupiter on Frieze A. For a discussion of the hypothesis to assume a representation of Jupiter at the far left end of Frieze A, cf. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 76 (quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter V.1.i)).

<sup>428</sup> cf. *supra*, n. 222, in Chapter I.2., and at ns. 246, 247, in Chapter I.2.1.a.

<sup>429</sup> so already H. MEYER 2000, 133, also Frieze B shows an event, seen in retrospect; cf. p. 136.

<sup>430</sup> cf. J. POLLINI 2012, 103: "Leading the way [on Frieze A] to a predestined victory [with n. 165] over the barbarians of the north are Domitian's divine *comites* - his patron goddess Minerva and the Roman war-god Mars"; cf. n. 165 (on p. 129): "As suggested at the beginning of the relief by the figure of Victoria, only a wing of which survives in the background". Cf. G. KOEPEL 1969, 142 (quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 247, in Chapter I.2.1.a).

<sup>431</sup> cf. H. MEYER 2000, 126 (on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs): "Das übrige ist verloren, doch darf man vielleicht annehmen, daß Juppiter, der Gewährer des Sieges, den Zug angeführt hat [with n. 403, with further discussion]".

<sup>432</sup> T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 56, cf. the frontispiece of the catalogue F. COARELLI 2009a, and Hölscher's Fig. 19 on p. 56.

<sup>433</sup> cf. *supra*, n. 216, in Chapter I.2.

that both of them were at the represented moment victorious generals. Although I have now realized my relevant error, I nevertheless mention both examples (Figs. 2 and 91) here, because the reasons, why they are pictured this way, are so interesting.

For a discussion of this error; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...* To this I will come back below.

**Koeppel (1969, 194, quoted already *supra*, n. 405) wrote that for Hadrian is recorded the *mutatio vestis* - as soon as he had stepped on Italian soil, coming back from a military campaign :**

"Beim Betreten des Stadtgebietes wechselte der Kaiser die Kleidung [with **note 272**: "Von Hadrian und Marc Aurel ist diese *Mutatio Vestis* schon beim Betreten italischen Bodens überliefert ..."] ...".

This information fits the *adventus* relief illustrated here on **Fig. 91**, on which we see Hadrian, not in military garb, as we might expect to see a victorious general in an *adventus*-ceremony, but instead, clad in *tunica* and *toga*, on the other hand he is accompanied by soldiers. - But, as already mentioned, my earlier assumption that Hadrian is shown on this relief (**Fig. 91**) as a victorious general, which I had assumed, following a hypothesis of Michaela Fuchs (2014), has convincingly been rejected by Werner Eck (2019b, 200).

These publications are quoted *verbatim* and discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ... Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva, and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron (Δο) (cf. here **Fig. 3**) ....; at Chapter II.*

We may wonder, whether Hadrian's changing from military into civilian garb, when first arriving at Italy, as reported by Koeppel (1969, 194), was meant as a gesture of homage to Vespasian. This seems actually to be possible, since Michaela Fuchs (2014, 130) has observed - in a different context - that in the inscription (CIL VI 974 = CIL VI 40524; cf. here **Fig. 29.1**), Hadrian's victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt was explicitly compared with Vespasian's and Titus's victories in the East. This inscription belonged to a portrait of Hadrian, dedicated to the emperor by the Senate and the Roman People and was (possibly) on display in the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*

See below at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna (cf. here **Fig. 29**)*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*; and at *Appendix IV.c.2.*

Because, as we will hear below, Vespasian had done exactly the same in AD 70 - when he came back from his victories in the Great Jewish Revolt or War. Vespasian's *adventus* at Rome in the first half of October AD 70, showing him likewise in *tunica* and *toga* - but without any soldiers in his entourage - is in my opinion represented on Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 14**). Dio Cassius (65,10), from whom we learn of Vespasian's *mutatio vestis* in AD 70 as soon as he had arrived at Brindisi, even asserted to know Vespasian's relevant motivation to do this.

For a discussion of this point; cf. *supra*, at **ns. 195-201**, in Chapter *I.1.1.*; *infra*, in Chapters *V.1.i.3.*; and *VI.3.*; and in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian.*

In the following, I should like to mention again this Arch of Hadrian<sup>434</sup> at Rome, to which Hadrian's *adventus* relief in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (here **Fig. 91**) once belonged, because some scholars confuse it with the former Arco di Portogallo, which stood likewise on the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata/ Via del Corso*. But contrary to this former Arch of Hadrian, that I am referring to here, which stood right in front of the (later) *Hadrianeum*, and on the west side of the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata/ Via del Corso*, and parallel to it, the former Arco di Portogallo had actually bridged this road. The Arco di Portogallo stood until 1662, when it was destroyed, circa 358 m<sup>435</sup>

<sup>434</sup> for this Arch of Hadrian, cf. M. FUCHS 2014..

<sup>435</sup> measured on my map Fig. 3.7 of the *Campus Martius*; cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 63, Fig. 3.5 [= here **Fig. 58**], p. 69, Fig. 3.7 [= here **Fig. 59**]. For that, cf. *supra*, n. 66, in Chapter *I.1.*

to the north of this Arch of Hadrian, and at the same time very close to the original location of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*. An inscription at a Palazzo on the east side of the Via del Corso<sup>436</sup> indicates the approximate location of the former Arco di Portogallo. I have elsewhere summarized the discussions related to this Arch of Hadrian alongside *Via Flaminia* and to the Arco di Portogallo<sup>437</sup> and have marked the former locations of both arches on the maps that accompany my texts.

Cf. here **Fig. 58; 59**, labels: VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso; Via della Vite; Approximate location of the Arco di Portogallo; Via in Lucina; Via di Pietra; Arch of Hadrian<sup>438</sup>.

It has always (but erroneously) been assumed that no historical maps of Rome are known, in which the still standing Arco di Portogallo is represented. Franz Xaver Schütz has made a relevant research and found a hitherto not recognized representation of the former Arco di Portogallo on Antonio Tempesta's bird's-eye-view map of Rome (1593; cf. here **Fig. 64.4**).

The reason for the confusion just mentioned (of the Arch of Hadrian in front of the later *Hadrianeum* discussed here with the Arco di Portogallo) is the fact that two other Hadrianic reliefs, the so-called *adlocutio* relief of Hadrian (here **Fig. 91**)<sup>439</sup>, and the representation of the *apotheosis* of Hadrian's wife Sabina (here **Fig. 92**)<sup>440</sup>, had both been reused in late antiquity as decorations of the Arco di Portogallo. Following Ferdinando Castagnoli and Michaela Fuchs<sup>441</sup>, I have in my earlier *Study* (2017) suggested that all three Hadrianic reliefs mentioned here at the Palazzo dei Conservatori: Hadrian's *adventus*, here **Fig. 91** (and the two reliefs that, in late antiquity, had been reused at the Arco di Portogallo, here **Figs. 92: 93**), plus a fourth Hadrianic relief at the Palazzo Torlonia (here **Fig. 94**), had originally belonged to this Arch of Hadrian that stood right in front of the (later) *Hadrianeum*.

Cf. now *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ... Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?)*. With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva, and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here **Fig. 3**) ...; at *Introduction*; and at *Chapter II. The Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia and the four marble reliefs belonging to it* (cf. here **Figs. 91-94**).

All three Hadrianic reliefs illustrated on **Figs. 91; 92** and **93** are since a very long time re-united in the staircases of the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome<sup>442</sup>.

Let's now return to our main subject.

When compared with the iconography, chosen for the representation of the emperor on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs, who is clad as a civilian, things are very different when we look at Frieze A. Here

<sup>436</sup> for a photograph of this inscription, cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, Fig. 3.5.1 on p. 65. The Palazzo, into which it is inserted, stands on the east side of the Via del Corso, between the junctions of Via del Corso and Via della Vite and Via del Corso and Via in Lucina.

<sup>437</sup> for the former Arco di Portogallo, cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 111-112, n. 56; map Fig. 3.5, cf. pp. 62-63; map Fig. 3.6, cf. pp. 66-67; map Fig. 3.7 [= here **Fig. 59**], cf. pp. 68-69; map Fig. 3.8, cf. pp. 104-106; map Fig. 3.9, cf. pp. 108-110; map Fig. 3.10. Some scholars regard the former Arco di Portogallo as a gate in the sacred boundary of Rome, the pomerium; cf. Häuber (2017, 111, n. 56, pp. 351-352 with n. 136, pp. 583-584, n. 306).

<sup>438</sup> the former locations of the Arch of Hadrian and of the Arco di Portogallo are both visible on my maps Fig. 3.5 [= here **Fig. 58**] and Fig. 3.7 [= here **Fig. 59**], labels: VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA; Via del Corso; Via della Vite; Approximate location of the Arco di Portogallo; Via di Pietra; Arch of Hadrian. For those maps, cf. *supra*, n. 66, in Chapter I.1.

<sup>439</sup> for the so-called *adlocutio* relief of Hadrian, cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 20-21, 23, 111-112, n. 56; p. 250, Fig. 5.9 [= here **Fig. 91**]; cf. pp. 520-521.

<sup>440</sup> cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 20-21, 23, 111-112, n. 56, pp. 242, 246; p. 249, Fig. 5.8 [= here **Fig. 92**], the relief showing the *apotheosis* of Sabina, p. 521.

<sup>441</sup> CASTAGNOLI 1942, 76-77, 82, Fig. 1; M. FUCHS, 2014, 131-144, Figs. 12-23; cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 20-21, 242, 245-246.

<sup>442</sup> cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 246.

Domitian (now Nerva) is clearly wearing something else: military garb, as Hölscher<sup>443</sup> himself writes: "L'imperatore, in veste ["militare", cf. *supra*] da viaggio, è immerso in una processione di carattere militare", Simon<sup>444</sup> wrote: "Der Kaiser trägt Feldherrntracht, Tunika und Paludamentum, aber keinen Panzer", and Kleiner<sup>445</sup>, who observes that the emperor is "dressed in a short tunic covered by a mantle (his travelling costume)", in my opinion consequently interprets frieze A as a *profectio*<sup>446</sup>.

**That the emperor (i.e., Domitian, now Nerva) on Frieze A (Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6) is definitely shown in a *profectio*-, and not in an *adventus*-scene, has in the meantime been proven by Paolo Liverani.**

Liverani has realized and documented with a colour photograph that the lictor, walking right in front of him, was clad in a red *sagum* (cf. **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 3**), which automatically means that the emperor was actually clad in the *paludamentum* - because that was coloured purple. In addition to this, Liverani with the following observations makes it clear that 'wearing the *paludamentum*' does not only mean that the emperor is shown in his 'travelling costume', as this detail has been interpreted by Kleiner and Hölscher (cf. *supra*), but rather that wearing the *paludamentum* means **a)** that the scene represented takes place outside the *pomerium* of Rome, and **b)** that this garment is the "segno della potestà militare" of the represented protagonist. To this I should like to add that the soldiers, following Domitian (now Nerva) on Frieze A, are armed, as we have seen above<sup>447</sup>.

Liverani<sup>448</sup> writes: "In altri contesti dobbiamo considerare che anche clienti e *apparitores* erano tenuti a uniformare il tipo e il colore delle loro vesti con quelle indossate dal patrono o dal magistrato che accompagnavano. Per esempio sappiamo che il littore di un magistrato dotato di *imperium* indossava fuori dal pomerio il *sagum*, un mantello corto, di colore rosso in quanto faceva riferimento al *paludamentum* purpureo del magistrato da cui dependeva, **segno appunto della potestà militare** [my emphasis]. Questo fatto è testimoniato dalle fonti scritte [with n. 72], ma si può facilmente riscontrare anche sul littore che precede Domiziano [now Nerva] nel rilievo di *profectio* [i.e., Frieze A] della Cancelleria (fig. 26 [cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 3**]). Un simile elemento apporta ulteriori utili elementi alla discussione, sempre vivace, sulla interpretazione dei rilievi, riconfermando una volta ancora la collocazione della scena al di fuori del pomerio".

The scholarly discussion, to which Liverani refers in this passage, that concerns the question whether the scene represented on Frieze A takes place inside or outside the *pomerium* of Rome, has *inter alia* been summarized by Koepfel<sup>449</sup>, and by Fehr<sup>450</sup>. See also the observations by Pentiricci<sup>451</sup>. - This is also elsewhere discussed in this *Study* (cf. at Chapters I.2.1.c); V.1.i.3.); and VI.3.).

**What was said above, supports Spinola's hypothesis that Frieze A actually represents a *profectio*<sup>452</sup>.**

<sup>443</sup> T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 56.

<sup>444</sup> SIMON 1963, 10.

<sup>445</sup> D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 192.

<sup>446</sup> D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 191.

<sup>447</sup> cf. *supra*, n. 381, and in Chapter I.2.1.c). See also M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 58 with n. 413.

<sup>448</sup> P. LIVERANI 2014, 26 with n. 72 and Fig. 26: "Rilievo della Cancelleria, Musei Vaticani, scena di *profectio* [i.e., Frieze A], dettaglio del littore". See now P. LIVERANI 2021, 87 with n. 19, where he has summarized these findings. For a discussion; cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.2.1.c).

<sup>449</sup> G. KOEPEL 1969, 138-144; cf. pp. 172, 194.

<sup>450</sup> B. FEHR 1998, 718 with n. 3, p. 720 with n. 9, p. 729 with n. 58.

<sup>451</sup> cf. M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 60 (who refers to the relevant interpretations by H. MEYER 2000 of both friezes): "Nel fregio A l'azione rappresentata, la partenza per la guerra, assumerebbe così un carattere del tutto generico e simbolico, come dimostrazione di potenza dal momento che una tale spedizione non ebbe mai luogo. Senza entrare nel merito della questione basterà solo ricordare come alcuni particolari della scena, quali, ad esempio, le scuri sui fasci dei littori, risultino del tutto incompatibili con un preteso contesto urbano dell'azione: risulta di conseguenza non condivisibile anche la ricostruzione proposta da Meyer della scena del fregio B priva di riferimenti a guerre combattute o da combattere".

<sup>452</sup> cf. H. MEYER 2000, 125, 132 with n. 418.

Further assuming that Frieze B represents an *adventus*, as so far most scholars take for granted, these two assumptions seem, in my opinion, also to be corroborated by the actions and by the positionings within the relevant scenes of two of the representatives of Rome, the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani*.

On Frieze A, a *profectio*, both stand behind the emperor and bid farewell (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing, figures 11; 13**)<sup>453</sup>, on Frieze B, an *adventus*, they stand in front of the emperor (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing, figures: 11; 13**), since they have come to the *pomerium*-line of the City (*i.e.*, in reality a gate in the Servian City Wall) to welcome him.

**As I have only realized after this Chapter was written so far, the same has already been observed by Marion Meyer (2006, 134): "Die Interpretation der Szene auf dem Cancellaria-Relief [Frieze A] ist umstritten [with n. 84]. Eindeutig für eine Profectio und gegen einen Adventus spricht m. E. [meines Erachtens, 'in my opinion'] die Tatsache, daß die Genien des Senats und des römischen Volkes hinter dem Kaiser stehen und dadurch zeigen, daß der Kaiser Rom verläßt [with n. 85]".**

In her **notes 84 and 85**, Marion Meyer provides references.

Besides, precisely the missing of characteristic architectural features, in the case of Frieze B, for example a city gate - for the *pomerium*, which at the time coincided with the Servian city Wall (cf. *supra*, n. 199, in Chapter I.1.1.) - makes interpreting the Cancellaria Reliefs so hard, but perhaps the simple fact that the slabs used for those panels are so thin, can explain the relevant decisions of the artists involved.

#### **Also for the interpretation of Frieze B, Spinola has added an important new observation**

Already earlier scholars have stressed the fact that we witness something that we could call the investiture of the represented Emperor Vespasian, because the figure in question is crowned by the personification of *Victoria* with a *corona civica* (cf. *supra*). And Koepfel (1969)<sup>454</sup> had observed still something else: 'Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs and the lower *adventus* of Trajan's Arch at Beneventum (cf. his Figs. 14 and 15 [cf. here **Fig. 46**]) both represent the beginning of the reign of a new emperor, in [a way by] which the approval of the Senate and the Roman People have been expressed'.

I believe that Koepfel - contrary to his own opinion, expressed in his article of 1984 - was right with his just quoted statement from his publication of 1969.

To this we should add that the situation represented on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs, as Domitian's contemporaries knew, was Vespasian's first public appearance at Rome as emperor in AD 70. And that, after

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<sup>453</sup> cf. A.M. MCCANN 1972, 271. See also J.M.C. TOYNEBEE 1957, 9-10 (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 233, in Chapter I.2.), and H. MEYER 2000, 132-133: "Der bärtige *genius senatus* [250] hat die Rechte zum Abschiedsgruß erhoben, sofern sich nicht auch sein Gestus an den vermuteten Juppiter am linken Friesende richtete [230]. Für den *genius populi* gilt wohl dasselbe".

Cf. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 75 (on Frieze A): "Hinter der Kaisergruppe stehen zwei männliche Personifikationen (Figur 11 und 13). Ihre betonte Zusammengehörigkeit, ihre identische Haltung und ihre Ikonographie lassen sie als *Genius Senatus* (Figur 11) und *Genius Populi Romani* (Figur 13) und damit die personifizierte Formel des *senatus populusque Romanus* identifizieren, eine Deutung, die allgemein anerkannt ist [with n. 105, providing references]. Umstritten ist, ob es sich bei den erhobenen Händen um einen Gruß- oder Abschiedsgestus handelt".

**To be precise: at least the *Genius Senatus* on Frieze A bids farewell with his lifted right hand; the right arm of the *Genius Populi Romani* is lifted like that of the *Genius Senatus*, but the artists have forgotten to represent his right hand (a fact which has so far not been realized) - as so many other details in both friezes. For a discussion; cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.d.)-**

After this note was written, I found the relevant observation by J. POLLINI 2017b, 117: "The imperial figure [on Frieze A, Domitian/ Nerva], shown *paludatus* as he leaves the *pomerium*, is sent on his way by Roma, who places her arm beneath his left ... The personified, bearded Senate, standing farther to the right at the emperor's back, raises his hand in a gesture of farewell (it cannot be a gesture of greeting, since this figure does not face the emperor). Next to the personified *Senatus* is the semi-nude *Genius Populi Romani*, also alluding topographically to the *pomerium* of the City from which the emperor is now departing". - This was already quoted *supra*, in Chapter I.2.1.c).

<sup>454</sup> cf. G. KOEPEL 1969, 193, for the *verbatim* quote *supra*, at n. 200, in Chapter I.1.1. For those reliefs of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, cf. *supra*, at n. 359, in Chapter II.3.3., and here **Fig. 46**.

he had returned from the East, where he had already been hailed as emperor on July 1st, AD 69 by the troops stationed at Alexandria.

**Whereas the Senate had only "conferred all the usual powers on Vespasian" (documented by the *lex de imperio Vespasiani*, CIL VI 930) on 21st/22nd December 69, that is to say, a day after Vitellius' death<sup>455</sup>. For a discussion of the fact that Vitellius had already died on 20th December 69, and that the Senate could only meet on 22nd December; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III., at point 1.).**

Spinola's new addition to all this previous knowledge consists in the following observation.

He has alerted me to the possible meaning of the gesture, which, on Frieze B, Vespasian makes with his right hand. The emperor lifts it and lays it on the left shoulder of the togate youth standing in front of him (in reality, Vespasian's right hand does not touch the youth's shoulder, but from a distance, it seems as if it does - for a good photograph, cf. R. NEUDECKER 2009, 356, Fig. 2).

Other scholars assume that Vespasian is greeting the youth in front of him (cf. *infra*) - I believe that both is true. Since Spinola takes it for granted that Frieze B shows the original portrait of that emperor and, therefore, Vespasian and Domitian (see also below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*), he believes that Vespasian's gesture means that he thus bestows the (future) reign of the Empire on his younger son Domitian. Which, if true, would mean that Frieze B shows not only the very moment of the investiture of the Emperor Vespasian himself - as has already earlier been observed by many scholars - but at the same time the (future) investiture, or the "legittimazione" (so Spinola) of Domitian. Before commenting on Spinola's hypothesis, I should like to add some important observations by Simon (1963) that I had previously (in my *Vorlesung* of 2009) overlooked.

Simon has actually provided answers for those questions that have been asked above: why does the togate young Domitian - if it is him, who is represented in Frieze B - wear this particular kind of shoes, and why is

<sup>455</sup> G.E.F. CHILVER and B.M. LEVICK 1996, 1590 (the passage is quoted *verbatim* in more detail *supra*, n. 171, in Chapter I.1.); cf. *supra*, n. 412.

For the *lex de imperio Vespasiani* (CIL VI 930) and the procedure of the investiture of a Roman emperor, and especially of Vespasian, cf. D. MANTOVANI 2009, *passim*; cf. p. 27; "I poteri conferiti da Senato e popolo erano quelli che Augusto aveva accumulato nel corso della sua vita; a partire probabilmente da Caligola nel 37 d.C. furono appunto conferiti in blocco all'inizio del regno. ... Anche a proposito di Vespasiano, Tacito (*Hist.* 4,3,3) attesta che il Senato, all'indomani della morte di Vitellio, avvenuta il 20 o 21 dicembre 69, >decretò a Vespasiano tutte (le prerogative) consuete per i principi< (*Romae senatus cuncta principibus solita Vespasiano decernit*). Possiamo perciò concludere che tale senatoconsulto fu poi approvato dal comizio (in una data imprecisabile, ma difficilmente da collocare oltre il febbraio 70), che lo trasformo in *lex*. Come avveniva di solito, la *lex* fu incisa nel bronzo ed esposta alla conoscenza del pubblico, verosimilmente in più copie. Una tavola di una di queste copie destinate alla pubblicazione - anzi, di una copia particolarmente sontuosa, per spessore e scrittura - è quella oggi esposta nella Sala del Fauno dei Musei Capitolini". - Cf. p. 25, Fig. "1. La *lex de imperio Vespasiani* nella Sala del Fauno. Roma, Musei Capitolini". See also J. POLLINI 2012, 421-422, Fig. IX.13. To this I will come back *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.)

Cf. C. HÄUBER 2014a, 152-153 (on the complex events at Alexandria in AD 69, orchestrated by the *Praefectus Aegypti*, Ti. Iulius Alexander, and on the special high Nile flood in AD 70): since Vespasian was the first Roman emperor, who was *not* related to any of his divinized predecessors, he chose "l'investiture égyptienne" as pharaoh of Egypt (so E. ROSSO 2007, 127), that took place at Alexandria in Egypt. These events occurred according to some prior to the acclamation of Vespasian as *imperator* (in the sense of 'Roman emperor') by the troops stationed at Alexandria on July 1st, 69 AD (Tacitus, *Hist.* 4,81), although this is contradicted by Suetonius (*Vesp.* 7,1), who asserted that Vespasian learned of the victory of M. Antonius Primus at Cremona, when he [*i.e.*, Vespasian] left the Temple of Sarapis at Alexandria; cf. G. HÖLBL 2004, 530-531; *id.* 2005, 327, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II.a*) - and the victory at Cremona occurred only in December of 69; cf. G.E.F. CHILVER and B.M. LEVICK: "Vespasian (Titus Flavius (RE 206) Vespasianus), emperor AD 69-79 ... , in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 1590, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d*). See also L. BRICAULT and R. VEYMIERS 2018, 141 with n. 79, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.c*).

For Tacitus' account, Vespasian's trip to Alexandria and his actions there, for example for "Vespasian's Serapis miracles" and their meaning, see now in great detail T. LUKE 2018; cf. p. 209 (for "Vespasian's Serapis miracles", quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter IV.1.).

Cf. A. HEINEMANN 2018, 236: "The summer Vespasian entered Alexandria and was hailed emperor (and, by consequence, pharaoh), a particularly bountiful Nile flood occurred (or, rather, was said to have occurred)". With n. 102, providing references. Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II.a*).

For Vespasian, cf. also *supra*, ns. 171, 189, in Chapter I.1., ns. 195, 198, 200, 201, in Chapter I.1.1., and n. 229, in Chapter I.2., at ns. 404, 412, 413, in this Chapter, and at n. 476, in Chapter VI.3.

For Vespasian's recognition by the Roman Senate as Roman emperor on 21st/22nd? December AD 69, D. KIENAST, W. ECK and M. HEIL 2017, 101.



the scene, depicted in Frieze B, located at Rome, instead of at Beneventum, where Domitian actually met with his father Vespasian for the first time in AD 70 ?

Simon<sup>456</sup> wrote: "Das wichtigste Ereignis des Frieses [*i.e.*, Frieze B] ist aber nicht die Rückkehr des Vespasian, sondern die Begegnung mit seinem jüngeren Sohn Domitian, der ihm als Togatus gegenübertritt [this is precisely, what already BIANCHI BANDINELLI 1946-48, 259, had written, quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter IV.1.]. Für ihn ist die Frisur, die in zwei Wellenreihen das Antlitz rahmt, bezeichnend. Seine Züge sind weich und knabenhaft. Eigentlich müßte er den heimkehrenden Vater begrüßen, aber dieser hebt merkwürdigerweise vor seinem [page 10] Sohn die Hand zum Gruß. Im Hintergrund flankieren die Genien des Senats und des römischen Volkes diesen Jüngling, so daß er als Hauptgestalt wirkt.

**Dargestellt ist zwar die Rückkehr des Vespasian im Jahre 70 nach Chr. aber in der Art, wie Domitian sie gesehen wissen wollte. Das Relief ist eine spätere Rekonstruktion jenes Ereignisses aus seiner Sicht:** Rom war im Jahre vorher, dem berühmten Vierkaiserjahr, Kriegsschauplatz gewesen. Der achtzehnjährige Domitian hatte sich dort aufgehalten und angeblich den >Kampf um das Kapitol<, den er später in einem Epos schilderte, mitgekämpft. Die einfachen militärischen Schuhe, die Domitian und der Genius senatus im Fries tragen, spielen vielleicht darauf an. **Am 1. Januar 70 n. Chr. war der Prinz [*i.e.*, Domitian] praetor urbanus geworden und so der höchste Beamte in der Stadt, denn die Konsuln Vespasian und Titus waren im Krieg. Als solcher tritt er dem ankommenden Vater [*i.e.*, Vespasian] gegenüber, und zwar wahrscheinlich am pomerium, der rituellen Stadtgrenze, die vielleicht durch den etruskischen Altar unter dem Fuß des Genius populi Romani angedeutet ist. Bis zu dieser Grenze reichte die Befehlsgewalt des von außen kommenden Imperators [*'imperator'* here meant in the sense of 'magistrate, endowed with imperium'<sup>457</sup>, in this specific case the *imperator*/ victorious general Vespasian]. Domitian behauptete später im Senat, er habe seinem Vater und seinem Bruder [*i.e.*, Titus] das imperium [here in the sense of 'the reign as emperor'] gegeben (Sueton, Dom. 13) und im Jahre 94 sagte der Dichter Martial von ihm (9, 101, 14 ff.): >Er führte als Knabe für seinen Juppiter den ersten Krieg und obwohl er bereits die Zügel der julischen Kaisermacht in seinen Händen hielt, übergab er sie und war der dritte in dem Erdkreis, der doch ihm gebührt hätte<. Domitian als Begründer der flavischen Dynastie ist der eigentliche Inhalt des Frieses [*i.e.*, Frieze B; my emphasis]"**

For the events on the Capitoline Hill on 18th/ 19th December 69, the >Kampf um das Kapitol<, to which Simon (1963, 10) in the above-quoted passage refers, cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III.; at point 1.): and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I*.

Concerning Simon's (1963, 10) assertion that Domitian had allegedly written an epos >Kampf um das Kapitol<, I found, after this Chapter was written up to this point, that, according to Eric M. Moormann (2022, 150 with n. 96), Domitian, before himself becoming emperor, had actually written some literary texts. Moormann writes: "But there might be personal involvement as well, that is, Domitian's own keen interest in literature. As we know, he organized literary competitions and wrote some works before he became an emperor" [with n. 96: "See, for example, Coleman (1986); Nauta (2002) 328 ..."], quoted in more detail and discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*).

<sup>456</sup> cf. E. SIMON 1963, 9-10.

<sup>457</sup> cf. Peter Sidney DEROW: "*imperium* ...Viewed generally, *imperium* represents the supreme [page 752] authority of the community in its dealings with the individual, and the magistrate in whom *imperium* is vested represents the community in all its dealings. In practical terms, *imperium* may be seen as the power to give orders and to exact obedience to them (cf. *imperare*, to command). It was symbolized by the fasces borne by the lictors, of which the dictator had 24, the consul 12, and the praetor 6, to which was added the axe when the magistrate left the precincts of the city ...It [*imperium*] was voted to succeeding emperors [*i.e.*, after Augustus] at their accession by the senate ... though ratification of the senate's decree by a *lex curiata* remained a formal requirement [mentioning the "*lex de imperio Vespasiani*"; for that, cf. *supra*, n. 171, in Chapter I.1.] ...", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 751-752; C. HÄUBER 2006, 40 n. 1; C. HÄUBER 2009a, 314 with ns. 40, 41, 44; C. HÄUBER 2014a, 619, 622 with ns 118, 119. For *imperium*, see also *supra*, n. 199, in Chapter I.1.1.

Cf. J. POLLINI 2018, 213: "... the Latin military term *imperator* (commander in chief) [with n. 18, providing a reference]"

For Domitian's own literary texts; cf. also *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section *II.*; in Chapter *I.1.*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.1.a*). Rose Mary Sheldon, when correcting the final version of *Appendix I.d.1.a*), has added the following comments: "On Domitian writing a poem on the fall of the Capitol: Martial 5.5.7. He also wrote a poem on the capture of Jerusalem (Val. Flaccus, *Argon.* 1.10-12). Secondary reference to Domitian's poem: Brian Jones, *Domitian* [1993], p. 12".

As mentioned before, we should ask ourselves, whether on that very day, which is pictured on Frieze B (here **Fig. 2**; provided, the represented *adventus* ceremony had taken place at all - which was *not* the case !), Vespasian proceeded any further from the point, where he is depicted on this panel, or in other words: whether he entered the City of Rome. Not only, because his *imperium* reached only up to the *pomerium*, as observed by Simon (1963, 10) in her just quoted account, but also because he, being a victorious general, who wished to be granted a triumph for his Great Jewish War by the Senate, had to stay outside the *pomerium* until, on the basis of this decision by the Senate, the actual triumphal procession could begin. In this specific case, the Senate granted all three of them - Vespasian and Titus for their victories in the Great Jewish War - and Domitian for his contemporary actions at Rome (and/ or for his military 'adventure' in Gaul and Germany in AD 70?) - three separate triumphs (Josephus, *BJ* 7.5.3), which they decided to celebrate together: this happened in June of 71 AD<sup>458</sup>.

For discussions of all that; cf. *infra*, in the Chapters *V.1.i.3.*); *V.1.i.3.a*); in *The major results of the book on Domitian*; and in *The visualization of the major results of this book on our maps*; see also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study of the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...; Introduction*; Section *I.*; and at *Appendix I.c*)).

Fehr has summarized the various interpretations of Vespasian's gesture on Frieze B by earlier scholars. He himself is of the opinion that the original state of Frieze B had represented Domitian instead (whose head was later recut into a portrait of Vespasian), who was represented in the course of endowing the togate youth, standing in front of him, with a *mandatum*<sup>459</sup>.

As already said, I myself, like Filippo Magi, identify the togate youth on Frieze B as a portrait of Domitian (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12**). So also Heinrich Fuhrmann, Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli, Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee, Giuseppe Lugli, Erika Simon (1960; 1963 - but see SIMON 1985, both accounts quoted *verbatim supra*, at **n. 181**, in Chapter *I.1.*), Mason Hammond, George Maxim Anossov Hanfmann, Georg Daltrop, Elisabeth Keller, Gerhard Koepfel (1969 - but see KOEPEL 1984; both accounts are quoted *supra*, at **n. 416**), Diana E.E. Kleiner, Hugo Meyer, Stefan Pfeiffer, John Pollini, Barbora Chabrečková, and Rose Mary Sheldon (for all of them, cf. *supra*, in Chapter *I.1.*)<sup>460</sup>, Claudia Valeri and Giandomenico Spinola (cf. *supra*, at

<sup>458</sup> cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 179; cf. *supra*, at **ns. 195, 196**, in Chapter *I.1.1*. For the suggestion that Domitian was granted his separate triumph because of his military 'adventure' in AD 70, cf. *infra*, at *Appendix I.c*).

<sup>459</sup> B. FEHR 1998, 727-728 with ns. 50-55; p. 728: "Wenn die vorgeschlagene Deutung zutrifft, so sehen wir Domitian [*i.e.* Vespasian] bei der Delegation einer seiner Aufgaben, die ihm durch das Projekt des Tempelneubaues [*i.e.*, the re-erection of the (fourth) Temple of *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus*, which had again been destroyed in 80 AD, after Domitian's father Vespasian had rebuilt it shortly after its destruction in 69 AD, cf. *op.cit.*, pp. 724, 727] zugefallen sind, an einen hierfür kompetenten Mitbürger [*i.e.*, the togate youth] ..."; pp. 721-724 (for his identification of the here-so-called *Genius Populi Romani* on Frieze B with the god Terminus); p. 723: "Das von Ovid und Tibull gezeichnete Bild des Gottes glaube ich auf Relief B in dem unbeweglich [with n. 24: "Terminus' Bein auf Relief B soll möglicherweise wirklich als steif im anatomischen-pathologischen Sinne verstanden werden ..."] wie der Grenzpfahl an seinem Platz verharrenden, lanzenbewehrten 'Postensteher' wiederzuerkennen, dessen von Getreideähren, Trauben, Feigen, Mandeln usw. überquellendes Füllhorn - ein häufiges Attribut der Göttin Pax - den reichen Ertrag seiner friedensstiftenden Wacht birgt"; pp. 723-724 with ns. 26, 27, quoting E. SIMON 1985, 551f., for the identification of the here-so-called *Genius Senatus* on Frieze B as Numa Pompilius, a suggestion, which he himself follows; p. 724: "Numa soll, neben vielen anderen kultischen Institutionen, sowohl das Fest der Terminalia - nach einigen auch den Kult des Terminus - wie auch, der Mehrzahl der Quellen zufolge, das Priestertum der Vesta geschaffen haben [with n. 28, providing references]". Cf. *supra*, at **ns. 181, 182**, in Chapter *I.1.*; see also Chapter *I.1.1*.

<sup>460</sup> cf. *supra*, **n. 10** (for G. LUGLI); **n. 59** (for S. PFEIFFER 2009); **n. 72** (for J. POLLINI 2017b); **n. 73** (for B. CHABREČKOVÁ 2017); **n. 74** (for R.M. SHELDON 2023, in press); **n. 112** (for H. FUHRMANN 1940; and 1941); **ns. 113, 117** (for F. MAGI 1939; 1945); **n. 18** (for M. Hammond 1953); **ns. 118, 176** (for J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1946; 1957); **ns. 119; 181**, in Chapter *I.1.* [and **n. 456** in this Chapter] (for E. SIMON 1960; 1963); **n. 120** (for G.M.A. HANFMANN 1964 and G. DALTRUP 1966); **ns. 121, 177** (for E. KELLER 1967); **ns. 122, 173** (for G. KOEPEL 1969); **n. 129**, in Chapter *I.1.* [and **n. 394** in this Chapter] (for D.E.E. KLEINER 1992); **n. 130** (for H. MEYER 2000. As already mentioned above, H. MEYER was of the opinion that the extant portrait of the young Domitian on Frieze B had been recut from a portrait of King Tiridates).

*Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*; and below in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*), and Giandomenico Spinola (in this Chapter; and below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*).

I thus follow Toynbee (1957), who explained the fact that the young Domitian is wearing on Frieze B the 'simple *calcei*' differently from Simon in her just quoted account of 1963. Toynbee (1957) and Simon (1960 and 1963) are so far the only scholars to assume in the case of Domitian's 'wrong shoes', that this odd iconographic detail may be explained with Domitian's *deliberate* decision. - It is, of course, also possible that those 'wrong shoes' were simply an error on the side of the artist, who carved them (cf. *supra*, at **ns. 144, 156**, in Chapter *I.1.*, and *infra*, in Chapter *V.1.h.1.*).

As we shall see below (cf. *infra*, at Chapter *V.1.h.1.*), Stephanie Langer and Michael Pfanner (2018, 60 with n. 52) have observed that Marianne Bergmann's (1981) very influential hypothesis has been rejected. According to this hypothesis, which has been followed by many scholars (cf. *supra*, at Chapter *I.1.1.*), the emperor on Frieze B had originally been Domitian, whose head was allegedly reworked into the extant portrait of Vespasian. The scholars who, according to Langer and Pfanner (2018, 60, n. 52), have refuted either McCann's hypothesis (1972) that the head of Vespasian has been re-cut from the portrait of Trajan, or Bergmann's hypothesis (1981), that the head of Vespasian has been reworked from the portrait of Domitian, are: Gauer (1973, 350), Darwall-Smith (1996, 172), and Varner (2004, 119f. n. 62).

By the way, Simon assumed this in the case of both 'wrong shoes', represented on Frieze B. As mentioned before<sup>461</sup>, to my knowledge, Simon (1960, and in the above-quoted account of 1963; cf. *supra*, at **n. 456**) is so far the only scholar, who has suggested that also the *Genius Senatus* on Frieze B has deliberately been represented as wearing the 'wrong shoes'.

According to Toynbee (1957), Domitian, by choosing to be represented with 'equestrian shoes' on Frieze B, wanted to stress that he held the title *Princeps Iuventutis*, for whom the wearing of those shoes was appropriate. If so, this would mean that Domitian wanted to be characterized as the *Princeps Iuventutis*, or in other words, as "the heir presumptive to the Empire" (J.M.C. TOYNBEE)<sup>462</sup>. Toynbee's observation leads us to the next Chapters, cf. *infra*, Chapter *IV.1.*, and to *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini : La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*).

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<sup>461</sup> cf. *supra*, at **n. 155**, in Chapter *I.1.* For the relevant *verbatim* quotes from SIMON 1960 and 1963, cf. *supra*, **n. 175**, in Chapter *I.1.*, and above, at **n. 456**.

<sup>462</sup> J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 8, with n. 11, providing references (the complete quote is to be found *supra*, at **n. 176**, in Chapter *I.1.*, and at **205**, in Chapter *I.1.1.*

**IV. Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Fig. 2) and the Obeliscus Pamphilius/ Domitian's obelisk (Fig. 28)**

On 7th September 2021 Franz Xaver Schütz and I have published an earlier version of this Chapter on our Webserver as a Preview for this *Study* on Domitian, which was updated on 6th October 2021:  
Online at: <<https://FORTVNA-research.org/FORTVNA/FP3.html>>.

**Chapter IV.1. A letter by Giandomenico Spinola concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1; 2) and the Obeliscus Pamphilius/ Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28)**

I have asked Giandomenico Spinola to summarize for me what we had discussed on September 24th, 2018, while standing in front of the Cancellaria Reliefs. He was kind enough to write me all this in an Email on October 15th, 2018, that I may publish here with his kind consent. See below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*.

As already discussed above (cf. *supra*, at Chapter III.), and written by himself in this letter, Spinola, in my opinion correctly, identifies the emperor on Frieze B from the very beginning as Vespasian, and the togate youth, standing in front of him, as Domitian. According to Spinola, the gesture, the Emperor Vespasian is making on this panel with his right hand, means that the emperor thus endows his son Domitian with the "legittimazione" (so G. SPINOLA, *i.e.*, the 'legitimation') to become his successor as emperor (to this I will come back below; see also *infra*, at Chapters V.1.i.3.); VI.3.); and at *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

**As Spinola himself has written to me in this E-mail of October 15th, 2018  
(see below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*),  
his interpretation of Vespasian's gesture is by no means new**

This idea was first published by Heinrich Fuhrmann (1940, Sp. 471-472; *id.* 1941, Sp. 544-545, both quoted *verbatim infra*); but only Fuhrmann (1941, Sp. 544-545, n. 3) mentioned Magi (1939) in his footnote 3.

Already Fuhrmann (1940) had followed Magi's (1939, 205) identification of the emperor on Frieze B, and of the togate youth, standing in front of him, with Vespasian and Domitian (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figures 14** [Vespasian]; **12** [Domitian]), but he did not give Magi (1939) credit for those identifications; cf. Magi (1939, 205, quoted *verbatim supra*, **n. 112**, in Chapter I.1.). In addition, Fuhrmann (1940, Sp. 472) asserted (erroneously) that "S. Fuchs" had (allegedly) been first to identify the emperor on Frieze B with Vespasian, which had (allegedly) before been identified with Tiberius; but Fuhrmann did not provide a reference for "S. Fuchs". Fuhrmann (1941) rejected Magi's (1939) likewise (correct) identification of the represented scene on Frieze B as Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in AD 70.

Of all later scholars, who followed Fuhrmann's (1940, Sp. 472) (erroneous) assertion concerning Siegfried Fuchs's (alleged) first identification of the emperor on Frieze B with Vespasian, only Hugo Meyer provided a reference to the relevant article: 'Siegfried Fuchs 1938', but that has turned out to be wrong; cf. Hugo Meyer (2011, 175, n. 5, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter I.1., at Section: *The Siegfried Fuchs Saga*).

Note that the article in question by Siegfried Fuchs ("Ein neues Bildnis des Kaisers Tiberius") had already been published in 1937, but the author did not (and could not) mention the Cancellaria Reliefs in his text at all, simply because those panels should only be found in 1938 (cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.1., **ns. 5; 113**; and at Section: *The Siegfried Fuchs Saga*).

Magi (1945, 111, quoted *verbatim* below, at **n. 463**) mentioned Fuhrmann's article (1940) in his bibliography on p. XV, and suggested a similar interpretation concerning the gesture, made by Vespasian with his right

hand, as Fuhrmann (1940). But Magi (1945, 111) did not quote Fuhrmann (1940) in his text, nor did he mention that he (possibly independently of Fuhrmann) had had the same idea as Fuhrmann (1940).

Instead of assuming that we should accuse Magi of plagiarism concerning this point, as has already happened in connection with the here-so-called '*Siegfried Fuchs Saga*', I rather ask myself, whether concerning *this* hypothesis something similar could have happened as in the case, mentioned by Hugo Meyer (2011, 175; cf. *supra*, n. 99, in Chapter I.1., quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 374, in Chapter II.4.). Both Hugo Meyer himself (2000) and Horst Herzog (2001) had published contemporaneously, but independently of each other, the (erroneous) idea that it was Nero, who had commissioned the Cancellaria Reliefs.

The Section '*The Siegfried Fuchs Saga*' (cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.1.) is dedicated to the (alleged) fact, asserted by Fuhrmann (1940, Sp. 472) that Siegfried Fuchs had been first to recognize Vespasian on Frieze B. And because Magi (1945, 111) did not mention this (alleged) observation by Siegfried Fuchs in his account, Andreas Rumpf (1955-1956, 112, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 113, in Chapter I.1.) and Hugo Meyer (2011, 175 with n. 6) have 'between the lines', but erroneously reproached Magi for plagiarism concerning this point.

**To this I should like to add something else: because neither Rumpf (1955-1956, 112), nor Meyer (2011, 175 with n. 6) discussed Fuhrmann (1941), they did not know Magi's article (1939), which Fuhrmann (1941) quotes in his footnote 3. Had they read all this, they could just as well have reproached Fuhrmann for plagiarism, because Fuhrmann (1940) repeated Magi's (1939) ideas, without giving Magi credit for them.**

**It may well be that Heinrich Fuhrmann knew both, Siegfried Fuchs and Filippo Magi, very well, and used to discuss with both their research projects. This could (in theory) explain, why Fuhrmann (1940) mentioned Siegfried Fuchs's current research on Tiberius, and Magi's findings concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs, but the way Fuhrmann has done this has unfortunately created a lot of confusion.**

Magi's own hypothesis (1945, 111), which concerns the meaning of the gesture, Vespasian is making on Frieze B with his right hand, was, in its turn, followed by Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli (1946-48, 259, quoted *verbatim infra*), and by George Maxim Anossov Hanfmann ([1964] 108; *non vidi*), but Hanfmann's suggestion has been rejected by Gerhard Koeppel (1969, 172, quoted *verbatim infra*). - To later scholars, who likewise followed Magi's (1945, 111) relevant hypothesis, I will come back below.

At a later time (but in modified form) this idea was formulated by Anne Marguerite McCann (1972; cf. *supra*, n. 114, in Chapter I.1.). As we have seen above, McCann's hypothesis concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs has been refuted, because she (erroneously) dated them to the Hadrianic period. McCann was the first scholar to suggest that also the portrait of Vespasian on Frieze B had been reworked (exactly like the original head of Domitian on Frieze A (**Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6**), whose face had been recut into the portrait of Nerva), suggesting that the alleged original portrait of the emperor of Frieze B (**Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 14**) had represented Trajan, which was later recut into one of Vespasian.

Heinrich Fuhrmann (1940, Sp. 471) wrote: "Der ältere Mann [*i.e.*, Vespasian on Frieze B] hält wie segnend seine rechte Hand gegen den Jüngling hin". Cf. Sp. 472: "**Wohl als erster hat S. Fuchs** [for him, cf. *supra*, ns. 5; 113; 191, in Chapter I.1.] **in dem Kopf des älteren Togatus statt eines alten Tiberius das Porträt des Kaisers Vespasian erkannt**. Der jüngere Togatus kann daher nur einer der beiden Söhne dieses Kaisers, Titus oder Domitian sein. Der Vergleich des Kopfes mit den Bildnissen dieser beiden ergibt, daß dieser jüngere Togatus der jugendliche Domitian ist [with n. 2, providing references]. **Für die Deutung der dargestellten Situation ergibt sich** in Hinsicht auf die Anwesenheit der Roma und der Vestalinnen und unter Berücksichtigung der Tatsache, daß Domitian zur Rechten des Vaters und gleichsam im Zentrum der Gesamtdarstellung steht, **daß der geschilderte Vorgang nur als Einsetzung des Domitian zum Nachfolger des Kaisers durch diesen selbst in Gegenwart der Vestalinnen, des Genius Populi Romani und des Genius Senatus vor Roma verstanden werden kann** [with n. 3: "Domitian hat sich immer als der wahre Nachfolger gegenüber dem älteren Bruder Titus gefühlt"; my emphasisi]".

As we have seen above, Fuhrmann's assertion concerning the alleged observations by Siegfried Fuchs (1938) are not true; cf. Siegfried Fuchs (1937), discussed *supra*, at n. 113, in Chapter I.1.

Cf. Fuhrmann (1941, Sp. 544-545): "Zu den großen historischen Reliefs, die wahrscheinlich dem Schmuck der von Domitian auf das prächtigste neu ausgestatteten Porta Triumphalis angehörten, aber nach seiner Ermordung beseitigt wurden [with n. 2: "AA 1940, 466ff.], wird eine kurze Notiz der Fundumstände sowie eine Beschreibung unter Beifügung zweier Umrißzeichnungen gegeben, die die Plattenfolge der beiden Reliefs verdeutlichen [with n. 3, **quoting F. MAGI 1939**; quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 112, in Chapter I.1.]. Wohl nicht haltbar ist die Beziehung des einen Reliefs [*i.e.*, Frieze B] auf die Ankunft des Vespasian im Jahr 70 und dessen Empfang durch Domitian und damit die Deutung als *adventus*. Das verbietet die Ökonomie der Darstellung. Denn sie macht nicht Vespasian, sondern sinnfällig greifbar den jungen Domitian zum Mittelpunkt der Handlung und der Darstellung. Auch ist Vespasian nicht in der für die *adventus* üblichen militärischen Tracht des imperator, sondern in der Toga dargestellt. **Es kann sich nur um die symbolische Bezeichnung des Domitian als den wahren Nachfolger durch den Vater handeln**, zumal die Handlung in Gegenwart der Vestalinnen sich vollzieht, bei denen die römischen Kaiser ihre letztwilligen Verfügungen niederzulegen pflegten. **Kaum anders als in dieser Richtung kann die Deutung gesucht werden, die Zeugnis für die bestimmte Auffassung des Domitian über die Thronfolge und sein Anrecht auf den Thron ablegt, der doch bekanntlich Titus geradezu die Verfälschung des väterlichen Willens vorgeworfen und sich als wirklichen Nachfolger immer betrachtet hat**", with n. 1: "Sueton v. Dom. 2,3 [my emphasis]".

Langer und Pfanner (2018, 63, in the text of their Abb. 14) interpret Fuhrmann's above-quoted passages as follows: "Abb. 14 Deutungen Relief B: Auswahl der Interpretationsvorschläge", at: "Fuhrmann 1940/1941 / **Inthronisation des Domitian** / Domitian (Fig. 12) wird durch seinen Vater Vespasian (Fig. 14) in Gegenwart des Genius Senatus (Fig. 11), des Genius Populi Romani (Fig. 13), der Vestalinnen (Fig. 3-7) und Roma (Fig. 2) als Kaiser eingesetzt" (the passage in bold has been highlighted like this by the authors themselves).

For Langer and Pfanner's (2018, 63, with their Fig. 2) numbering of the represented figures on Frieze B; cf. the caption of here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing** (we have followed their numbering on this illustration).

Magi (1945)<sup>463</sup> wrote: "E il gesto del braccio del padre e della mano accostata alla spalle è indubbiamente gesto di saluto paterno e affettuoso. Chi si irrigidisse in una posizione che si direbbe <<attenti>>, senza slancio filiale, senza calore d'affetto, in un atteggiamento che vuole essere studiatamente di freddo ossequio è lui, **il figlio, sicché a ben guardare è proprio la sua figura che finisce, senza parere, per assumere la massima importanza nell'intera composizione**: è il personaggio che raccolta in se stesso, fra tutti gli altri che fanno qualcosa o fanno coppia o gruppo, non fa niente, non ha niente, non si muove, ma sta solo, con mal celato orgoglio sulle labbra e sicura coscienza di sé nello sguardo.

Finisce così che è quasi il padre a rendergli omaggio, di maniera che la situazione si capovolge, e questo omaggio egli lo riceve in presenza di Roma e delle Vestali, del Senato e del Popolo, della Vittoria e dei littori. **Ecco dunque una, e certo la più importante, delle ragioni politiche di questo rilievo. Mettersi in tale rapporto col padre, col fondatore della dinastia flavia al suo ingresso imperiale nell'Urbe, da prevalere sul fratello maggiore d'età ma assente, scavalcandolo quasi, mediante una presunta diretta successione, come già aveva tentato di fare alla morte del padre impugnandone il testamento e reclamando per sé immediatamente il trono** [with n. 1, quoting: "Suet. *Domit.* 2,3"]. Ciò non gli riuscì d'ottenere, com'è noto, e con mal animo dovette sopportare i due anni di regno del fratello [*i.e.*, of Titus] [with n. 2, providing references; my emphasis]".

Koeppel (1969, 172) wrote under the headline: "Das Relief B von der Cancellaria mit dem *Adventus* des Vespasian", "... Die Hauptfigur des Reliefs ist nicht Vespasian, sondern Domitian [with n. 157, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 173, in Chapter I.1.]. Cf. p. 174: "Domitian, der die Stadt [*i.e.*, Rome] für seinen Vater [*i.e.*,

<sup>463</sup> F. MAGI 1945, 111; cf. *supra*, n. 194, in Chapter I.1.1., for further quotations from MAGI, that relate to Vespasian's *adventus* in 70 AD.

Vespasian] gehütet hat, übergibt Vespasian bei seiner Ankunft das Imperium [with n. 164]". Cf. his n. 164: "Suet. Domitian 13,1; Mart. IX 101, 13ff.; Bianchi Bandinelli, BullCom, 72, 1946-48, 259; Simon ... [1960], 153. - **Man darf nicht so weit gehen, hier die Darstellung des staatsrechtlichen Aktes der Einsetzung des Domitian als Nachfolger Vespasians zu sehen (so G.M.A. Hanfmann ... [1964] 108).** Die Ikonographie des Adventus ist klar. Hauptthema der Darstellung muß deshalb der Adventus sein. Inwiefern hinter dieser Adventus-Darstellung andere Gedanken stecken, ist eine zweite Frage. Wenn die Adventus-Ikonographie auch den Regierungsantritt verdeutlichen kann, so ist hier der des Vespasian gemeint, nicht der Domitians, denn der Sohn des Kaisers steht an der Spitze der Empfangenden [my emphasis]".

Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli (1946-48, 259) wrote: "Anche sul soggetto del rilievo B l'accordo è quasi completo: l'unico *adventus* di Vespasiano da imperatore è quello del 70; **ma mi par giusto vedere come scopo principale del rilievo, più che la celebrazione di quel ritorno, l'incontro con il giovane Cesare [i.e., Domitian] e dare a questo incontro il significato di una designazione alle successione.** Sappiamo che, storicamente, l'incontro fra Vespasiano e Domiziano avvenne a Benevento; mentre il rilievo trasporta l'avvenimento a Roma, come è mostrato dalla presenza delle cinque Vestali (la sesta non poteva esserci, perché il culto non poteva essere abbandonato) e dall'immagine di Roma seduta e appoggiata alla lancia. Ma non siamo di fronte a una cronaca illustrata, bensì come sempre nella scultura storica romana, di fronte alla trasfigurazione di un avvenimento storico entro una determinata tradizione iconografica, che l'artista usa come un canovaccio sul quale innestare le proprie variazioni, e in vista di una contingente situazione politica che andava manifestata [my emphasis]".

McCann (1972, 275), concerning the meaning of this gesture, made by the emperor on Frieze B with his right hand, had suggested exactly the same as Hanfmann [1964], only that she identified the two protagonists on Frieze B not as Vespasian and Domitian, as Bianchi Bandinelli [1946-48], Hanfmann [1964], and Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli and Mario Torelli [1976, quoted *verbatim infra*] had done or should do, and Rita Paris (1994b), Stefan Pfeiffer (2009; for both see below), Spinola and I myself still do, but as Trajan and Hadrian instead: "While a missing link in the reconstruction of the original iconography of Frieze B remains the identification of the emperor ... in the light of the historical and numismatic evidence discussed is it not probable that Frieze B commemorated the world Hadrian's right to the imperial office through his adoption by Trajan? The original of the head of Vespasian would therefore have been Trajan who is shown with his hand upon his selected successor".

**For more scholars, who have followed Magi's relevant opinion that Vespasian on Frieze B with the gesture of his right hand legitimizes the young togate youth Domitian's reign as emperor, cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 62 with n. 59; quoted in more detail *verbatim infra*, in Chapter V.1.h).**

Of those scholars, whom they list in their footnote 59, I had so far overlooked the following:

"J. Béranger ... [i.e., here J. BÉRANGER 1964] 81; B. Andreae, *Römische Kunst* (Freiburg i. Breisgau 1973<sup>3</sup>) 193 ... W. Kuhoff ... [i.e., here W. KUHOFF 1993] 77f. Anm. 103, quoted *verbatim infra*; LIMC V (1990) 500 Nr. 21. 502 s. v. Honos (C. Lochin); and N. H. Ramage ... [i.e., here N.H. RAMAGE and A. RAMAGE 1996] 144".

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 25) quote in their bibliography Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli and Mario Torelli (1976 *ARTE ROMANA scheda* 105, quoted in part *verbatim infra*), but they do not mention this account in their list of scholars who follow Magi's interpretation of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (here **Fig. 2**): as a matter of fact, Bianchi Bandinelli and Torelli, in their interpretation, went even further than Magi did.

Thanks to Franz Xaver Schütz, I have finally been able to consult the work of Bianchi Bandinelli and Torelli (1976) - but only after I had (almost) finished writing this entire book.

And although Langer and Pfanner (2016, 26) quote in their bibliography Rita Paris (1994b, 80-83, Figs. 6; 7a-c, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a)), and on p. 27 Stefan Pfeiffer (2009, 62), in their just-quoted list of scholars, who follow Magi's interpretation of Frieze B, they too leave out the work of Paris (1994b) and Pfeiffer (2009).

Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli and Mario Torelli (1976 ARTE ROMANA, *scheda* 105) wrote:

"Nel secondo rilievo (B [= here **Fig. 2**]) ... è raffigurata una scena incentrata sul giovane Domiziano e su Vespasiano. All'estremità sinistra presso **una statua seduta della dea Roma**, è un gruppo di cinque Vestali accompagnate dal littore che spettava a queste sacerdotesse; all'estremità destra si colloca invece Vespasiano vestito di ampia toga ma a capo scoperto, incoronato da una Vittoria volante e seguito da un littore e da un *apparitor* con rotolo, mentre al centro Domiziano giovane, anch'egli in toga e sovrastato dal *Genius Senatus* e dal *Genius Populi Romani*, **è accompagnato da un littore e da due altre figure che si dirigono verso il gruppo delle Vestali (littori oppure apparitores)**. L'interpretazione di entrambe le scene è controversa. Nel rilievo B è forse da vedere l'*adventus* di Vespasiano, accolto dal figlio Domiziano **in veste di praetor urbanus e di servator Urbis (dove i littori alle sue spalle e Roma con le vestali): il suo gesto è di ossequio filiale, come quello delle Vestali, giuridicamente filiae del pontifex maximus Vespasiano. L'allusione sarebbe in tal modo chiara: Domiziano salvata Roma, la riconsegnerebbe al padre, prefigurando così i propri meriti per la successione e di vero fondatore della dinastia** [my emphasis]".

I have highlighted those passages which differ not only from Magi's hypotheses, but also from those of most other scholars.

Some of these 'highlighted ideas' go back to Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee (1957), whom Bianchi Bandinelli and Torelli (1976) themselves did not quote, but even Toynbee had copied those ideas from Hugh Last (1948), without quoting *him* (!).

I, therefore, repeat here what was quoted in more detail above, in Chapter I.1.1.:

Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee (1957, 5-6) wrote about Frieze B (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**): "Finally, in the foreground [on Frieze B] ... we see the young Domitian, togate and slightly whiskered, turned three-quarters towards his father [*i.e.*, Vespasian] ... it would seem that Domitian was publicizing here his own version ... of his situation as Caesar in Rome at the time of his father's accession, as the recipient of congratulations on the 'vice-regency' exercised by him in the capital while Vespasian was still absent in the East. Thus the scene portrays the first public occasion on which Domitian, as a youth of nineteen, played a significant part in the crucial hour of the founding of the Flavian dynasty. It is almost an illustration of the saying which Suetonius attributes to him: *patri se et fratri imperium dedisse, illos sibi reddidisse*' (note 1) [with my note 208]".

'In my **note 208**, I write: "J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 5-6. In her n. 1 on p. 6, she quotes: "Suetonius, *Domit.* 13". TOYNBEE, *op.cit.*, does not say that already H. LAST 1948, 12, had suggested the latter: "There is much that might be added about this panel [*i.e.*, Frieze B], for instance it invites consideration of the passage in which Suetonius (*Dom.* 13,1) asserts of Domitian that *principatum ... adeptus, neque in senatu iactare dubitavit et patri se et fratri imperium dedisse, illos sibi reddidisse ...*'. This was also discussed by M. BERGMANN 1981, 19-20; and by H. MEYER 2000, 136: "Die alte Deutung des Frieses B ist gewiß zutreffend, sagt doch Sueton: >>Als [Domitian] dann zur Herrschaft gelangt war, hatte er die Stirn, vor dem Senat zu prahlen, er sei es gewesen, der seinem Vater wie seinem Bruder den Thron gegeben, sie hätten ihm diesen nur zurückgegeben<< [with n. 431: "Suet. *Dom.* 13.]" - For that very influential idea, cf. also *supra*, at n. 456, in Chapter III."'.

Toynbee's above-quoted passage (1957, 5-6) is also quoted and discussed *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III., at point 2.).



Pfeiffer (2009, 62; already quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter II.3.1.c) is the most recent scholar, who has followed Magi's (1939; *id.* 1945) opinion that Vespasian on Frieze B with the gesture of his right hand legitimizes the young togate youth Domitian's reign as emperor:

"Eines der beiden Reliefs [*i.e.*, Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs] zeigt auf jeden Fall Domitian mit Vespasian. Vater und Sohn werden von Minerva, Rom und den Genien von Senat und Volk Roms begleitet. Auf diese Weise ist nicht nur die Legitimation der Herrschaft des Domitian durch seinen Vater verkündet ...".

The most recent scholar, who has followed Magi's interpretation (1939; *id.* 1945) of frieze B in a publication, is to my knowledge Pollini (2017b). He identifies on pp. 116, 118, the emperor on Frieze B with Vespasian, and on p. 118 n. 96 the togate youth on Frieze B with Domitian, "who greets his father [Vespasian]".

Only after having written this, did I have the chance to read the publications by Barbora Chabrečková (2017), and Rose Mary Sheldon (2023, in press; Chapter 7; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Sections I. and II.; and ns. 73; 74, in Chapter I.1.). Exactly like Pollini (2017b) also the latter two scholars follow Magi's (1945) identification of Vespasian and Domitian on Frieze B (cf. here Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing, figures 14 [Vespasian]; 12 [Domitian]), but *without* quoting Magi (1945) for those hypotheses.

*A comparison of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Fig. 2) with the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) shows that both propagate the same message*

Now, if Spinola is right with his hypothesis that Frieze B from the very beginning has been conceived of as showing Vespasian and Domitian, the message, this frieze contains - according to Spinola, the "legittimazione" of Domitian as emperor by his father Vespasian, indicated by the gesture Vespasian makes with his right hand - seems to have striking similarities with the political message of another monument, likewise commissioned by Domitian: the Obeliscus Pamphilius/ Domitian's obelisk, which is mounted on top of Gianlorenzo Bernini's famous 'Fountain of the Four Rivers' on Piazza Navona at Rome<sup>464</sup> (cf. here Fig. 28).

Fig. 28. The Obeliscus Pamphilius/ Domitian's obelisk. From the Iseum Campense. On display on top of Gianlorenzo Bernini's 'Fountain of the Four Rivers' in the Piazza Navona at Rome. From: C. Häuber (2017, 156, Fig. 5.5.2). Photos: F.X. Schütz (5-IX-2019). Courtesy F.X. Schütz. Photo: Cesare D'Onofrio (1921-2003). From: G. Simonetta, L. Gigli and G. Marchetti [2004] 122, Fig. 8. The caption reads: "La fontana dei Quattro fiumi, ripresa zenitale dall'alto della chiesa di Sant'Agnese". Courtesy: L. Gigli. Photo: L. Gigli (December 2003). Courtesy: L. Gigli.

Fig. 101.a. Cf. G.B. Cipriani (1823, with Tav. 1; 2), his discussion and etchings of the 12 (Egyptian) obelisks in Rome. The caption of his Tav. 1 reads: "Dodici Obelischii Egizj, che si osservano rialzati ad ornamento della Città di Roma, posti secondo ordine della loro rievazione". The caption of his Tav. 2 reads: "Fusti dei dodici Obelischii dei Egizj, che si osservano rialzati ad ornamento della Città di Roma, posti secondo il grado della loro altezza". Cipriani's etchings of those 12 obelisks are measured: the tallest one is the Lateran Obelisk. Cipriani has also discussed and drawn Domitian's obelisk, which he refers to in his text and on his plates as: "Agonale di Piazza Navona", see his Tav. 1; Tav. 2 (in both Domitian's obelisk is the fifth from left).

For a discussion of the book by Giovanni Battista Cipriani (1823); cf. below, at *The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?*

<sup>464</sup> cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, Fig. 5.2 on p. 156, pp. 153-168.

In the hieroglyphic inscriptions of his obelisk, the "legitimacy"<sup>465</sup> of Domitian's reign is stressed. Jean-Claude Grenier<sup>466</sup>, commented on these inscriptions as follows: 'The first three sides [of Domitian's obelisk] glorify only Domitian *dominus et deus*: the proclamation of his divine birth and thus his predestination to exercise the supreme power like the great pharaohs of the past, an attestation of his legitimacy to be the heir to Vespasian at the head of the Empire'.

After I finished writing this Chapter, I had the chance to read the accounts by the scholars, who contributed to the Proceedings of the Iseum Campense Conference in Rome of May 2016, of whose findings I will quote in the following the passages that relate to Domitian's obelisk discussed here. All of these authors discuss this obelisk in context with the Iseum Campense, which Domitian had just restored after the great fire of AD 80, and for which, in my opinion, the emperor had commissioned this obelisk (probably shortly after his accession to the throne in AD 81; cf. *supra*, n. 466). For the recent controversy concerning the original location of this obelisk; cf. *infra*, in Chapters IV.1.1.a) - IV.1.1.h).

Katja Lembke (2018, 32) writes: "It is a much discussed and unfortunately unprovable hypothesis that the obelisk Pamphilj, placed today on Piazza Navona, stood at its centre. However, like a majority of recent scholars, I am still in favour of this view (fig. 6) [with n. 18, providing references in favour of this view]. It was imported from Egypt carrying hieroglyphic inscriptions that contain the titles of Domitian".

Laurent Bricault and Richard Veymiers (2018, 151-152) write: "À Rome, l'obélisque aujourd'hui visible sur la Piazza Navona, dont le programme iconographique et hymnique met principalement en scène Domitien et Isis, avait dû être dressé à l'intérieur, sinon à proximité du sanctuaire isiaque du Champs de Mars [with n. 161], sensiblement à la même époque, pour en célébrer la refondation [with n. 162, providing references]".

In their n. 161, they write: "On le situe le plus souvent au centre de la cour d'entrée du sanctuaire (... [*i.e.*, here K. LEMBKE 1994b], 25 e 29)". - For that assumption, which in my opinion is true, cf. *infra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.c).

Eric M. Moormann (2018, 171-172) writes: "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 Pamphilus*, 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 Domitien apparently did not object to [with n. 65]. However, this Egyptian text will not have played a great role in conveying [page 172] 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* [with n. 66, providing references]. The monument does not give us reason to detect a specific *aegyptophilia* of the emperor, but it rather is, again, a

<sup>465</sup> cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 163.

<sup>466</sup> cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 159, 160-161, 164, where scholars are quoted, who discuss this passage of the hieroglyphic inscription on Domitian's Obelisk. The here quoted line is my own translation of J.-C. GRENIER 2009, 238, a passage, in which he commented on the hieroglyphic texts, written on Domitian's Obelisk (for those texts, cf. *infra*, n. 467): "I primi tre lati sono per la sola gloria di Domiziano *dominus et deus*: proclamazione della sua nascita divina e dunque della sua predestinazione a esercitare il potere supremo come i grandi faraoni del tempo passato, attestazione della sua legittimità a essere l'erede di Vespasiano alla testa dell'impero ...".

Cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 21: "In one of the inscriptions on his Obelisk, written in hieroglyphs, Domitian formulates his hope that his contemporaries as well as posterity will always remember the achievements of his family, the Flavian dynasty, especially their benefactions for the Roman People. Domitian stresses that his family managed to consolidate the state, which had severely suffered from those 'who reigned before' (i.e., the Julio-Claudian dynasty)".

Cf. pp. 159, 163-164 (certain details in the contents of the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Domitian's obelisk allow the assumption that it was erected at the beginning of his reign, that is to say, shortly after AD 81).

Cf. pp. 20, 134, 142, 164-168, 171, 174-177 (for the building *Divorum*, erected by Domitian and dedicated to the two *Divi*, his father and brother, *Divus Vespasianus* and *Divus Titus*, for the difficulty to reconstruct its ground-plan, and for its meaning).

Cf. pp. 165-169 (for the benefactions of the emperors of the Flavian dynasty for the Roman People, as mentioned in the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisks, as well as for those buildings, which they erected all over the City of Rome); cf. p. 165 for the translation of the passage of one of these hieroglyphic texts, in which is explicitly stated, that Domitian's family members (i.e., Vespasian and Titus) had managed to consolidate the state, which had severely suffered from those, 'who reigned before'.

form of imitating Augustus [with n. 67]. The interpretation of things 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".

In his **note 65**, Moormann writes: "J.-C. Grenier, *LTUR* III (1996) 356-57, esp. 356. See on this obelisk as a monument from the *Iseum* [Campense], i.a. ... [*i.e.*, here K. LEMBKE 1994b], 69-70 ... [*i.e.*, here S. PFEIFFER 2010a], 281-83 ... Albers 2013, 154; ... [*i.e.*, here F. COARELLI 2009b], 94; ... [*i.e.*, here J.-C. GRENIER 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** [my emphasis] ... The sobriquet *Obeliscus Pamphilius* was coined in the title of the homonymous publication by Athanasius Kircher (Rome 1650)".

**Moormann's (2018, 172) just-quoted judgement concerning Domitian's obelisk as belonging to 'things Roman' is quite the opposite of what Emanuele Ciampini writes, who in our discussions on the subject has corrected my calling Domitian's obelisk 'Egyptianizing' (because manufactured in the Roman period), since in his opinion it is Egyptian; I myself follow now Ciampini's judgement (cf. *infra*, in Chapter VI.3.). To the controversy concerning the question, for which context Domitian had commissioned his obelisk, the Iseum Campense or the *templum gentis Flaviae*, I will come back below; cf. *infra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.**

Stefan Pfeiffer (2018, 181, in his Section "1. Domitian, an Isiac") writes:

"This section examines researchers' main arguments for suggesting a special relationship between Domitian and the Egyptian cults ... [in the following providing a list of these arguments by other scholars] ...

6. Hence, we arrive at the most important lines of reasoning:

a) Domitian restored the *Iseum* and *Serapeum* on the *Campus Martius*, which became one of the largest precincts of the area [with n. 15] ...

c) Inside the Isis precinct, Domitian was represented as pharaoh in the form of a statue. Furthermore, the well-known Pamphili obelisk, which probably belonged to the Iseum Campense, shows that he deliberately wanted to be regarded as pharaoh [with n. 19].

Having collected these main scholarly arguments, I do not intend to prove them wrong. Instead, I attempt to approach the same material from another perspective". In his **notes**, Pfeiffer provides references.

Pfeiffer (2018, 188), in his Section "1.6. The Iseum Campense", in which he describes his own opinion, writes:

"Last but not least, the most important object connected with Domitian's affinity to Egyptian religion is the Pamphili obelisk, which was eventually erected in front of the temple of Isis [with n. 76]. Its inscriptions and depictions present Domitian as Egyptian pharaoh, beloved and elected by Isis and other Egyptian gods [with n. 77, with references]. Even the dynasty itself is mentioned [78, with references]. It is possible that Domitian knew the meaning of the inscriptions and was informed about the pictorial representations on the pyramidion, which only could be seen from a bird's eye view [with n. 79, with a reference]. **However, it would be premature to conclude that Domitian had a religious policy in mind to make himself pharaoh in Rome, based only on this singular representation.** Furthermore, neither Egyptians nor Romans could read these hieroglyphic inscriptions [with n. 80, providing a reference]. **More conclusive evidence is needed to demonstrate that Domitian really wanted to be pharaoh; and if this is not possible, one could interpret the obelisk's inscriptions as a representation of Domitian as expressed by Egyptian priests, who attributed Domitian the power of a pharaoh**[h] [my emphasis]".

In his **note 76**, Pfeiffer writes: "... [*i.e.*, here K. LEMBKE 1994b], 40; attribution to the *templum gentis Flaviae*: e.g. Grenier 1999, 229 (does not appear in the bibliography [?]); ... [*i.e.*, here F. COARELLI 2009b], 94 (does not appear in the bibliography [?])".

Concerning the question of who might have been the *spiritus rector* of Domitian's Obelisk, I myself, contrary to Pfeiffer (2018, 188), quoted above, follow Emanuele M. Ciampini (cf. below, at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini : La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*), who suggests that the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk were composed by Egyptian specialists, at the order of, and in close cooperation with, Domitian.

There are two prerequisites for my relevant assumption,

a) contrary to J.-C. Grenier (1996; 1999; 2009) and F. Coarelli (2009b; 2014; discussed *infra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.), I am convinced that Domitian commissioned the Pamphili Obelisk for the Iseum Campense, which he restored after the great fire of AD 80;

b) I suggest in this *Study*, that one passage of one of the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Domitian's obelisk says *expressis verbis*, what in my opinion Domitian has ordered his artists to express on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs: I follow in this respect the relevant interpretation by Magi (1939; 1945), who suggested that the Emperor Vespasian on Frieze B, with the gesture of his right, expresses the legitimation of his younger son Domitian to reign as emperor, who is standing in front of him.

Cf. *infra*, in Chapters V.1.h.1.); V.1.i.3.); VI.3.). - As we have seen above, not only Paris (1994b, 82, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a), but also Pfeiffer himself (cf. *id.* 2009, 62, quoted *verbatim supra*) follow this interpretation of Frieze B, suggested by Magi.

To the remark by Pfeiffer (2018, 188): "However, it would be premature to conclude that Domitian had a religious policy in mind to make himself pharaoh in Rome, based only on this singular representation [*i.e.*, Domitian's obelisk, here Fig. 28; my emphasis]", I should like to add an observation.

Tacitus (*Hist.* 3,74) describes the cult-statue of Jupiter in Domitian's temple of Iuppiter Custos. This temple was dedicated by Domitian on the *Capitolium*, and possibly even in the *area Capitolina*, that is to say, within the *temenos* of the (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus (built anew by Domitian; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.4.*)), as a thanksgiving for his escape from the *Capitolium* on 19th December AD 69, during the civil war. Interestingly, the cult-statue of this Jupiter temple was represented seated, with a portrait statue of Domitian on his lap. Domitian was thus interpreted as the son of the supreme Roman god Jupiter, and that in a statue-group that was certainly ordered by himself. Of course all Roman emperors since Augustus had claimed to be the son of Jupiter, but Domitian's here mentioned iconography was something completely new (for a discussion, cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.*).

It is impossible not to understand this iconography as Domitian's claim of the 'doppelte Sohnschaft' 'double sonship', as the pharaohs of Egypt had done, as well as Alexander the Great and Augustus, all of whom had thus legitimized their reigns as kings of Egypt. For Alexander and Augustus, Pfeiffer (2010b, 45-50, 60-61) has himself studied this phenomenon and its meaning (cf. *infra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.a)). See also Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi (2013, 39 with n. 71; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix III.*).

In the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Domitian's obelisk, basically the same claim is formulated, here Domitian states to be the son of the supreme Egyptian god, Re-Harakhte. The underlying religious beliefs, that are thus expressed in these inscriptions, were acted out in sacred performances, the 'royal rituals' (some of which took place at the structures called *mammisis* in Egypt), which had the function to visualize the legitimation of the (new) king (cf. *infra*, in Chapters IV.1.1.d); IV.1.1.e)).

I therefore do not agree with Pfeiffer (2018, 188), that Domitian's obelisk is the only monument at Rome known to us which documents Domitian's relevant thoughts. At the same time, the iconography of Domitian's cult-statue in his Temple of Iuppiter Custos, with himself, sitting on Jupiter's lap, refers also to a legend, told about the later Augustus, when he was a child. The iconography, chosen by Domitian for the

cult-statue of his Temple of Iuppiter Custos had therefore again a political meaning, which has great similarities with the contents of the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Domitian's obelisk. Cf. Suetonius (*Aug.* 94,8, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d*).

Besides, Domitian was the first Roman emperor to be represented as wearing a cuirass decorated with the she-wolf, suckling Romulus and Remus. As Claudio Parisi Presicce (2000, 28, 29, 39, cat. no. 13 [= here **Fig. 6, right**]) has shown, 'the *lupa* and the twins on those cuirasses symbolize the claim of Rome to eternal power and divine mission, and that it was the task of the Roman emperor to fulfill this obligation' (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.*)).

As is well known, this was precisely one of the foremost obligations, the fulfillment of which was also expected of an Egyptian pharaoh (for a detailed discussion of that; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II.c*)).

And Trevor Luke (2018, 207) writes: "Thanks to Domitian's restoration and building projects on the Campus Martius, the presence of *aegyptiaca* in 88 was more pronounced than ever before. The pyramidion of the Pamphili Obelisk provides a stunning example of how far this Egyptian expression of Domitianic imperial ideology could reach in its portrayal of Domitian as a pharaoh receiving the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt from goddesses [with n. 77, quoting: Bülow Clausen 2015, 147]".

Cf. Luke (2018, 209): "The fire that ravaged Rome in A.D. 80 gave Domitian the opportunity to indulge his love of *aegyptiaca* by restoring and rebuilding the Iseum Campense. Particularly through the Pamphili obelisk Domitian expressed a distinctly Egyptian theological vision of his imperial ideology in the depiction of him in a close relationship with the gods of Egypt, being crowned as pharaoh by them [with n. 94, providing references, quoting *inter alia* E.M. CIAMPINI 2004; E.M. CIAMPINI 2005; this article is quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.d)]. It is likely the case that these efforts coincided with Domitianic cultivation of the stories of Vespasian's Serapis miracles, which similarly depicted the usurper-emperor [*i.e.*, Vespasian] receiving royal tokens and interacting with the god Serapis [with n. 95, providing a reference]. Viewed synoptically, these structures, images, and narratives represent the crystallization of a memory - the memory of the momentous, and divinely mandated, connection between Egypt and the founding of the Flavian dynasty - at the Campus Martius".

For "Vespasian's Serapis miracles", cf. *supra*, n. 455, in Chapter III., and *infra*, in volume 3-2. at *Appendix II.a*).

Like Trevor Luke (2018, 209), I have studied the publication by Emanuele Marcello Ciampini (2004)<sup>467</sup> on the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's Obelisk, and especially the inscription on its east side. In the following quotation, I have left out Ciampini's drawing of the relevant hieroglyphic inscription and his transliteration of this Egyptian text, but quote only his Italian translation of it:

"Lato verso Corso Rinascimento (est)

*Pyramidion* - Domiziano di fronte [corr.: fronte] a Mut, seguito da un'altra figura

H. 22 Horo: Quello per il quale dei e uomini fanno lode;

H. 23. quando riceve la regalità da suo padre **Vespasiano il dio**,

H. 24. dal fratello maggiore **Tito il dio**, mentre il suo ba si muove verso la volta celeste;

H. 25. le Due Signore: il forte, il campione, il muro efficace della terra intera;

H. 26 Falco d'oro: grande di forza che compie atti utili, signore delle feste giubilari come Ptah-Tatenen, sovrano come Ra;

H. 27. re dell'Alto e Basso Egitto, signore delle Due Terre, erede efficace, amato degli dei dell'Egitto **Autokrator**,

H. 28. figlio di Ra, signore delle Corone **Cesare Domiziano Augusto**, amato di Ptah e Iside, viva come Ra!"

<sup>467</sup> E.M. CIAMPINI 2004, 162-165.

(the passages in bold have been highlighted like this by the author himself).

This section of one of the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Domitian's obelisk thus means, as already mentioned in the introductory *Chapter* of this *Study* (cf. *supra*, at *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*; see also below, at *Chapter: The major results of this book on Domitian*): the *Autokrator* [emperor] *Caesar Domitianus Augustus* has received his reign from his father, *Divus Vespasianus* and from his brother, *Divus Titus*.

**The meaning of Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs (cf. here Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing) - if at all correctly interpreted by Spinola (cf. *supra*, in Chapters III.; IV.1.) and here by myself - and the meaning of the above quoted passages of the hieroglyphic inscriptions on Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) have so far not been compared with each other, but this short note hopefully marks the beginning of an inquiry into this direction.**

But also with this assumption I was wrong: after this Chapter IV. was written, I had the chance to read Wolfgang Kuhoff's account (1993). In his interpretation of Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs, he follows Magi and in the pertaining footnote, he refers to the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk (!).

**Kuhoff (1993, 77 with n. 103) writes: "Der seinem Bruder im Prinzipat gefolgte Domitian war von seinem Vater als *Caesar* ins Herrscherkollegium aufgenommen worden und blieb nach Titus Thronbesteigung unbestrittener Nachfolgekandidat [with n. 102, providing references for Domitian as *Caesar*]. Im Nachhinein stilisierte er sich zwar schon für das Jahr 69 als verkannter Anwärter für das Kaisertum, doch war dies nur Ausdruck eines Wunschdenkens [with n. 103]".**

In his n. 103, Kuhoff writes: "**Das hierfür bedeutungsvolle Adventus-Relief vom römischen Palazzo della Cancelleria ... [summarizing in the following some of its controversial interpretations]. Mir selbst erscheint immer noch die bisherige Interpretation als die überzeugendste. Daß sich Domitians Vorstellungen von seiner Rolle als wahrer Nachfolger Vespasians auch in ungewöhnlicher Form artikulieren konnten, zeigt Jean-Claude Grenier, Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de l'obélisque Pamphili. Un témoignage méconnu sur l'avènement de Domitien, MEFRA 88, 1987, 937-961 [my emphasis]**".

Note that "l'avènement" means 'to ascend to the throne'.

I had come to my own conclusions concerning this point, as summarized above, when Emanuele Marcello Ciampini was so kind as to send me the text that he has dedicated to the subject discussed here. See below, at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini : La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*.

**Chapter IV.1.1. The Obeliscus Pamphilius/ Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) - that was commissioned for the Iseum Campense, not for the Templum Gentis Flaviae**

As already said above, especially fruitful for this book on Domitian has turned out the fact that the organizers of the Iseum Campense Conference at Rome in May 2016, Miguel John Versluys, Kristine Bülow Clausen and Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi, had invited me to attend, since without the help of the scholars, I met there, I would definitely have been unable to solve many of the problems discussed here.

Generating *measured* maps takes a long time, and because I needed the maps, drawn for my talk at this Conference, for the book on the *Campus Martius*, which Franz Xaver Schütz and I wished to dedicate to Eugenio La Rocca, I have published my paper already in this *Study* on Augustus and the *Campus Martius* (2017), instead of in the Proceedings of that Conference (2018).

(Cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 153-174, Fig. 5.5.2. [= here **Fig. 28**] and the maps Fig. 3.7. on p. 69 [= here **Fig. 59**]; Fig. 3.7.1 on p. 71 [= here **Fig. 60**], and Fig. 3.7.1.1 on p. 73. See also Häuber (forthcoming, *Collection of Papers Read*: the paper read at the Iseum Campense Conference 2016).

**Fig. 59. Map of the *Campus Martius*. C. Häuber & F.X. Schütz, "AIS ROMA". From: C. HÄUBER 2017, 69, Fig. 3.7. In the meantime it has been updated and has now the following title: Map of the *Campus Martius* at Rome in the Imperial period, showing also adjacent areas, and comprising the current layout of the city, 2023.**

For an explanation of the cartographic details of this map; cf. Häuber (2017, 68).

**Fig. 60. Map of the Iseum Campense. C. Häuber & F.X. Schütz, "AIS ROMA". From: C. HÄUBER 2017, 71, Fig. 3.7.1 (detail of the map here Fig. 59).**

For an explanation of the cartographic details of this map; cf. Häuber (2017, 70).

*Chapter IV.1.1.a) A summary of the hypotheses of J.-C. Grenier and F. Coarelli, according to whom Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) was not commissioned for the Iseum Campense, but instead for the Templum Gentis Flaviae. With a discussion of the contents of the reliefs on the pyramidion of Domitian's obelisk and of the contents of its hieroglyphic inscriptions*

After my talk at the Conference on the Iseum Campense on 25th May 2016, I was fortunate to make the acquaintance of the Egyptologist Alessandro Roccati, with whom I started an E-mail-correspondence. Roccati then helped me in my attempt to solve a great problem that I came across again the following year, namely the controversy concerning the question of whether or not Domitian had commissioned the Obeliscus Pamphilius/ Domitian's obelisk for the Iseum Campense. - This obelisk is today mounted on top of Gianlorenzo Bernini's famous 'Fountain of the Four Rivers' on Piazza Navona at Rome (cf. here **Fig. 28**). Already for my publication of 2017, I had tried to solve this problem, since Jean-Claude Grenier and Filippo Coarelli had suggested that Domitian's obelisk was instead originally created and erected at the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* on the Quirinal.

Cf. Jean-Claude Grenier (1996, 357; *id.* 2009, 234-239 [cf. *id.* 1987, 937-961, for the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Domitian's Obelisk]; F. COARELLI 1996, 108; *id.*, in: F. COARELLI 2009a, 451, cat. no.: "43 frammento della *Forma Urbis Romae* [*i.e.*, the Severan Marble Plan] con l'Iseo e il Serapeo"; COARELLI 2009b, 94; *id.* 2014, 194-207).

In his last relevant publication, Grenier (2009, 237-238) provided a summary of his earlier observations, but, as we shall see below, he had also changed his mind in many respects, when compared with his publication of 1987: "È ben radicato nell'opinione corrente che questo obelisco [*i.e.*, Domitian's obelisk, here **Fig. 28**] non poté essere eretto che in un contesto egittizzante. Perciò lo si attribuisce ai più significativi edifici >>egizi<< di Roma: l'*Iseum* e il *Serapeum* del [page 238] Campo Marzio che, senza dubbio, furono risistemati sotto Domiziano per cancellare i danni subiti nell'incendio dell'80 che aveva devastato tutta la zona (D.C. LXVI 24,2). **Questa ipotesi è rafforzata dal fatto che un frammento della *Forma Urbis* [*i.e.*, the Severan Marble Plan] mostra che, molto probabilmente, un obelisco si innalzava effettivamente nello spazio che separa il *Serapeum* dall'*Iseum*: se ne riconosce la posizione nel piccolo quadrato inciso al di sopra della seconda A della parola SERAPAEVM [see below, and *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.c]. E c'è un generale accordo nell'ammettere che quest'obelisco non può essere altro se non quello di Domiziano, tenendo conto del suo carattere >>isiaco<<.**

**Questo punto di vista mi sembra difficilmente condivisibile.**

Tralasciamo il fatto che un altro obelisco poteva essere eretto in questo luogo ...

Insistiamo sul presunto carattere >>isiaco<< del nostro obelisco che è in genere chiamato in causa per giustificare la sua collocazione nell'ambito dell'*Iseum* e del *Serapeum*. **Non capisco dove esso si trovi. Iside è**

**più che discreta nelle scene del *pyramidion* e, obiettivamente, ci si può chiedere se essa vi compaia davvero, a meno di non pensare che essa faccia sistematicamente propri, in questo caso, attributi di altre dee (Oadjet, Nekhbet, Hathor) o della regina-madre. Per quel che riguarda i testi, certamente per due volte Domiziano è chiamato >>amato di Iside<<. Raro qui e usuale altrove, questo epiteto non basterà, secondo me, a fare di questo obelisco un monumento >>isiaco<<. Basterà ricordare che Domiziano poteva a buon diritto definirsi >>amato di Iside<< e ricordare questo legame per una ragione personale precisa: bloccato sul Campidoglio in fiamme durante l'assalto dei partigiani di Vitellio, riuscì a sfuggire >>travestito<< da sacerdote della dea (salvato certamente più dalla testa rasata per l'occasione che dal indossare una veste di lino) (Suet. *Dom.* 1; Tac. *Hist.* III,74,1). Ma se si fosse davvero voluto ricordare e celebrare questo episodio per consacrare l'obelisco a Iside, il redattore di questi testi sarebbe stato obbligato certamente a comporre e farvi comparire un inno alla dea, che proclamasse con insistenza le sue virtù protettrici e salvifiche.**

**Ora, obiettivamente, i testi dell'obelisco non potrebbero essere più chiari: sono, nel loro insieme, privi di qualunque preoccupazione >>isiaca<<. I primi tre lati sono per la sola gloria di Domiziano *dominus et deus*: proclamazione della sua nascita divina e dunque della sua predestinazione a esercitare il potere supremo come i grandi faraoni del tempo passato, attestazione della sua legittimità a essere l'erede di Vespasiano alla testa dell'impero. Il quarto lato precisa il carattere esclusivamente solare del monumento dedicato a Ra-Harakhte e canta la gloria della *gens Flavia*.**

Più che qualsiasi altro, un contesto monumentale a forte destinazione ideologica sembrerebbe essere stato particolarmente indicato ad accogliere questo obelisco: **il complesso del *Templum Gentis Flaviae* eretto sul Quirinale alla fine del regno di Domiziano. Innalzato sul luogo della casa natale di Domiziano (Suet. *Dom.* 1), era certamente circolare in quanto immagine del cielo e dell'eternità ciclica (Mart. IX,1,8; 3,12; 34,2 e Stat. *Silv.* IV.3.18-19): come indicava il suo nome, esso era dedicato al culto della *gens Flavia* in quanto tomba dinastica: le ceneri di Vespasiano e di Tito vi erano state deposte (Mart. IX,34,7 e Stat. *Silv.* V,1,240-241) ed esso ospitava quelle di Domiziano che qui furono mischiate a quelle della beneamata Giulia, la figlia di Tito (Suet. *Dom.* 17 e 22). Ci sono qui tanti elementi quanti se ne ritrovano riflessi nella natura stessa dell'obelisco, monumento solare simbolo dell'eternità ciclica, e nel contenuto dei suoi testi, che glorificano da una parte la nascita e la dignità imperiale di Domiziano, dall'altra il ricordo dei sovrani della *gens Flavia*.**

Questa proposta di collocare l'obelisco nell'ambito del *Templum Gentis Flaviae* sembra supportata dal fatto che sia stato scelto proprio questo obelisco da Massenzio per decorare la *spina* del circo della sua villa sulla via Appia. Nella sua nuova collocazione, esso continuò a rivestire il ruolo che Domiziano gli aveva assegnato nell'ambito del *Templum Gentis Flaviae*: conservare una dimensione cosmica in un complesso monumentale che voleva essere, l'affermazione e la glorificazione di una nuova dinastia [my emphasis; to the relevant passages I will come back below]".

***The hypotheses, published by Grenier (2009). With discussions of the contents of the reliefs on the pyramidion of Domitian's obelisk and of the contents of its hieroglyphic inscriptions (cf. here Fig. 28)***

To the small square, which is incised on the Severan Marble Plan on the piazza between the *Iseum* and the *Serapeum* (cf. here Fig. 78), I will likewise come back below. As Grenier (2009, 238) observed in the just quoted passage, many scholars have so far identified this square with the socle of Domitian's obelisk. - I hope to demonstrate in this Chapter, that their assumption is actually true. Grenier (*op.cit.*) was right: on the Severan Marble Plan the lettering is indeed: SERAPAEUM; cf. *LTUR* I (1993, Figs. 122; 122a); Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi (2013, 178, Fig. 5). On Guglielmo Gatti's plan of the area (cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.c) and here Fig. 78), the lettering has been 'turned around' in order to be legible, and reads: ISEVM ET SERAPEVM.

**To Grenier's statement (2009, 238): "Iside è più che discreta nelle scene del *pyramidion* e, obiettivamente, ci si può chiedere se essa vi compaia davvero, a meno di non pensare che essa faccia sistematicamente propri, in questo caso, attributi di altre dee (Oadjet, Nekhbet, Hathor) o della regina-madre" - two objections can be made :**



1.) Grenier's assertion, according to which: '[the presence of] Isis is more than moderate' in the scenes of the *pyramidion* of Domitian's obelisk, is not true. On the contrary, she is even herself represented, as we shall see below. Therefore it is not necessary to ask ourselves, as Grenier did, whether -

2.) Isis could possibly be equated in these scenes on the *pyramidion* of Domitian's obelisk with the goddesses, whom Grenier mentions: Wadjet, Nekhbet and Hathor, or with Grenier's "regina-madre".

With the latter remark, Grenier hinted obviously at scholars like Michel Malaise (1972a, 204-205), whose relevant opinion, as we shall see below, Grenier had in his earlier article rejected; cf. Grenier (1987, 957-958, with n. 40, quoted *verbatim infra*); or for example Katja Lembke (1994b, 212, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.c)), who is also of the opinion that on all four scenes of this *pyramidion* Isis turns to Domitian, thus equating these goddesses with Isis; or to Emanuele Ciampini (2005, 399, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.d)), who calls these goddesses the 'divine mothers of Domitian'. Besides, as we shall see below, according to some scholars, Grenier's "regina-madre" actually was likewise Isis.

For good photographs of the four sides of the *pyramidion* of Domitian's obelisk, cf. Grenier (2009, 236, Fig. "2. I quattro lati del *pyramidion* che coronava l'obelisco di Domiziano. Città del Vaticano, Musei Vaticani". - On top left: south side, on top right: west side, on bottom left: east side, on bottom right: north side). This large fragment of the *pyramidion* was later found than the shaft of the obelisk that in 1648 was re-erected on Bernini's fountain in Piazza Navona. Some more fragments of this *pyramidion*, comprising also some hieroglyphs, were found in the excavation of 1960, conducted on the *spina* of the *Circus* of Maxentius at his *Villa* on the Via Appia.

**Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio (2006, 58, in her description of the sculptures and monuments that were found on the *spina* of the *Circus* of Maxentius at his *Villa* on the Via Appia), writes about the various parts of Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28):**

"6) obelisco in granito rosa, d'epoca romana, fatto trasportare da Massenzio dall'Iseo e Serapeo Campense domiziano dell'anno 81 o da altro luogo: il Grenier ha recentemente avanzato l'ipotesi di una provenienza dalla *domus* ["et le *templum*", so J.-C. GRENIER 1996, 357] *Gentis Flaviae* sul Quirinale (Grenier, 'L'obelisco' [*i.e.*, here J.-C. GRENIER 1999] 225-234). L'obelisco, caduto probabilmente a causa del terremoto del 365 descritto da Ammiano Marcellino (26.10.15-19) o di quello del 443, venne trasportato a piazza Navona nel 1648 sotto Innocenzo X. Il *pyramidion* dell'obelisco, rinvenuto più tardi e acquistato dal card.[inale] Borgia alla fine del Settecento, dopo la dispersione della collezione Borgia nel 1814 venne venduto al Vaticano, dove ancora si conserva (Calza [*i.e.*, here R. CALZA 1976] 168-170, nn. 12, 13a-b); alcuni frammenti, recuperati negli scavi del 1960, anche con geroglifici, sono conservati presso l'Antiquarium Comunale (cassa 307/236, nn. 3-10) (Ioppolo [*i.e.*, here G. IOPPOLO 1988] 126-130, figs. 21-25). La platea dell'obelisco era larga m 4,73 x 6,21, in posizione centrale sulla *spina* tra le due mete. L'altezza totale dell'obelisco, a seguito di nuove misurazioni effettuate nel 1995, è di m 16,38 m".

### *The 'royal rituals' represented on Domitian's obelisk*

The goddesses Wadjet, Nekhbet and Hathor (but not the "regina-madre"), all mentioned by Grenier (2009, 238), who are represented in the scenes on the *pyramidion* of Domitian's obelisk, have been studied in detail by Emanuele M. Ciampini (2005). These goddesses appear in the scenes on the *pyramidion* of the obelisk and are explicitly mentioned in one section of its hieroglyphic texts, and refer to the sacred dramas, performed at the structures called *mammisis* ('the houses of birth' [of the pharaoh]) in Egypt.

Ciampini (2005, 399) writes that the *raison d'être* of *mammisis* was the demonstration of the "legitimization of the king", which is why the appearance of these goddesses on Domitian's obelisk fulfills the same function. Jean-Claude Goyon (1988) calls the sacred dramas, performed at the *mammisis* and elsewhere the 'royal

rituals'. In their entirety, these rituals could last from the end of March until mid-July. They began with the enactment of 'the birth of the divine child', the (new) king of Egypt, and ended with his coronation as pharaoh, which occurred at the festival of Egyptian New Year. Those rituals were performed every year; in those years, in which a new pharaoh was not crowned, they served the reigning king as "the repeated confirmation of his royal power"; cf. Jean-Claude Goyon (1988, 33; cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.e)). Emanuele M. Ciampini refers to such a ceremony as "rituale di conferma del potere regale alla Festa del Nuovo Anno"; cf. *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini* in this volume: *La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*.

Both subjects, the birth of the divine child Domitian and his coronation as pharaoh, appear therefore not by chance likewise in the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk (*infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.d)), as well as in the scenes on the *pyramidion* of this obelisk (cf. *supra*, and *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.c)).

**Because Grenier (2009, 234, 237, 238) mentions in his descriptions of the scenes on the four sides of the *pyramidion* of Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) the following points a)-c), which are all related to the 'royal rituals'. These facts made me at first wonder, why Grenier did not himself arrive at the obvious conclusion that Isis is actually *very much* present on Domitian's obelisk.**

The difference between his interpretation, as compared to that of those scholars, who I am myself following here, is clear, when we look at point *b*). But let's first of all look at all three points:

*a*) these specific goddesses (Wadjet, Nekhbet and Hathor; but not Grenier's "regina-madre"), whom Grenier (2009, 238) mentions in the above quoted passage, in which he summarizes his descriptions of the four scenes, represented on the *pyramidion* of Domitian's obelisk, were all important actors in the 'royal rituals', performed at the *mammisis* in Egypt;

*b*) Grenier (2009, 234), in his description of the scene on the *pyramidion* on the west side of the obelisk, mentions in the centre the enthroned Domitian. Behind him stands in his opinion the god Amun: "progenitore dei faraoni a partire dal Nuovo Regno, che, secondo il dogma della trasmissione della dignità regale prendeva il posto del sovrano regnante nel momento dell'unione con la regina. Nella logica di questo dogma avremmo qui dunque un Vespasiano-Ammon e una Flavia Domitilla-regina che trasmettono al figlio la dignità regale rappresentata dalla doppia corona che ella gli offre. Ammon presenta il viso di Maat, simbolo dell'Armonia Universale, e mostra così che il frutto della loro unione si inserisce nell'ordine cosmico";

*c*), in the scene of the *pyramidion* on the north side of the obelisk appears the god Thot, about whom Grenier (2009, 237) writes: "uno degli attori divini fondamentali nei riti legati alla trasmissione del potere regale" (quoted in more *detail infra*), that is to say, one of the 'fundamental divine actors' in the 'royal rituals', as Grenier himself says.

Grenier (2009, 234), in the above-quoted point *b*), refers to the ritual of 'the birth of the divine child', performed at the structures called *mammisis*, with which the 'royal rituals' began that culminated in the coronation of this new king. By applying this to Domitian, Grenier thus follows what we know about the dogma of the 'doppelte Sohnschaft' ('double sonship', by other scholars referred to as theogamy; cf. *infra*). This was not only claimed by the kings of Egypt of the pharaonic period, but also by Alexander the Great and by Augustus and served the function of legitimizing their reigns as rulers.

**In the following, I allow myself a digression on the dogma of the 'doppelte Sohnschaft' ('double sonship'.**

Tonio Hölscher (2009b, 59-60) writes about Alexander the Great: "In Ägypten hatte der Gott Ammon ihn [Alexander] bei seinem Besuch des Orakels in der Oase Siwa als seinen Sohn anerkannt. Damit trat Alexander in die ägyptische Tradition des Herrschers als eines unmittelbaren Gottessohnes ein. Der Pharaon war Sohn

des Sonnengottes, gezeugt von Amun Re in Gestalt des regierenden Königs mit dessen Gemahlin. Daraus resultierte die Ebenbildlichkeit zwischen dem Gott und dem von ihm gezeugten neuen Herrscher. Die Theologie der Herrschaft hatte die Identität von Gott und Herrscher zur Grundlage, aus der das göttliche Wesen des neugeborenen Nachfolgers erwuchs. Gleichzeitig aber wurde an der Vaterschaft des regierenden Königs festgehalten. Damit kam es zu dem Phänomen der doppelten göttlich-menschlichen Herkunft, die dem königlichen Nachfolger die unverbrüchliche Legitimität verlieh".

For the dogma of the 'doppelte Sohnschaft' ('double sonship'), cf. Häuber (2014a, 717, 733 with n. 53, providing references); for "Maat, simbolo dell'Armonia Universale", as Grenier (2009, 234), referred to this Egyptian all-embracing ethic doctrine; cf. Häuber (2017, 166, 376-377, 418-423). According to Egyptian theology, the establishment and maintenance of Ma'at was the most important obligation of the king, it not only guaranteed the life and welfare of the king's subjects, but even the survival of the entire cosmos; for Alexander the Great's and Augustus' 'double sonship', cf. Häuber (2017, 570, 572-578), where I have discussed the relevant studies by Stefan Pfeiffer (2010b, 45-50, 60-61).

According to this dogma of the 'doppelte Sohnschaft', the (new) king of Egypt had mortal parents, the reigning king of Egypt and his queen. But in the moment of the conception of the new king, the god Amun [or Re-Harakhte] took the place of his mortal father. According to Grenier (2009, 234), therefore: "Vespasiano-Ammone e ... Flavia Domitilla-regina" transferred the 'dignity of kingship' on their son Domitian.

I myself follow instead scholars like Goyon (1988; cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.e) and Ciampini (2004 and 2005; cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.d)), who interpret the 'royal rituals' at the structure called *mammisis* differently than Grenier (*op.cit.*). Goyon (1988, 34) mentions the fact that in reality the queen of the reigning king (*i.e.*, Grenier's "regina-madre") conceives the 'divine child' and gives birth to it. Cf. Goyon's Fig. 9 (= here **Fig. 79**): "The birth of the child-god Harpre ("Horus-the-Son") before Amun-Re, the goddess Nekhbet, and Cleopatra VII ... [*i.e.*, the second figure from right]". - To this I will come back below, at Chapter IV.1.1.e), and here **Fig. 79**.

But Goyon (1988, 34) quotes also the texts which accompany the relevant scenes, representing the birth of the divine child (the future king): "Although we cannot state the precise dates assigned to the festivities, due to the lack of documents, they followed one another in a logical order, from 28 Pharmouthi to the fateful date of the coronation: the first day of the month of Thot (mid-July). When Re himself had announced the coming to the world of the heir by saying "Isis has brought into the world her Horus ...", the renewed king regained his efficacy, and Ma'at, momentarily menaced, continued to rule the universe". - With the latter remark, Goyon referred to the fact that these ceremonies were celebrated every year; in those years, in which not a new pharaoh was crowned, they served the reigning king as "the repeated confirmation of his royal power"; cf. Goyon (1988, 33; cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.e)). And Emanuele M. Ciampini refers to such a ceremony as "rituale di conferma del potere regale alla Festa del Nuovo Anno"; cf. *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini* in this volume: *La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*).

Ciampini (2005, 399) writes that Horus (*i.e.*, the king) is the son of Osiris, and that the new king is born as the son of the divine couple (Isis and Osiris). On p. 400, Ciampini, by explaining the gradual development of the various 'royal rituals' over time, mentions the fact that: "(Amon-Rê decides to have a son, his incarnation as human father of [the] king, conception and birth of pharaoh)", but does not mention the queen of the reigning king at all in this context. Ciampini speaks only of Isis as the mother of the king, and of his 'divine mothers' (cf. pp. 399-400). The reason being that according to the hieroglyphic texts accompanying the relevant representations in the structures called *mammisi*, which Ciampini refers to (which differ from Goyon's examples, his Figs. 8-10, here illustrated as **Fig. 79**), the king's mother, who gives birth to him and raises him, is identified as the goddess Isis herself.

Capriotti Vittozzi provides an interesting example for the 'application' of the old dogma of the 'double sonship', called theogamy by her, that caused the famous scandal under Tiberius in AD 32 and the destruction of the Temple of Isis, where that scandal had occurred. Some scholars, including Capriotti Vittozzi (2013) herself, believe (in my opinion erroneously) that the temple in question was the Iseum Campense. For a detailed discussion; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix III*).

Capriotti Vittozzi (2013, 38-39) writes: "A incentivare l'avversione imperiale [*i.e.*, of Tiberius] per quella che veniva considerata una pernicioso superstizione, intervenne un pubblico scandalo che ci viene narrato da Flavio Giuseppe [with n. 70]: un cavaliere romano che si era proposto di sedurre una virtuosissima nobildonna, dopo inutili tentativi vi era riuscito lasciandole credere che si stesse intrattenendo con il dio Anubi. Scoperto l'inganno, il marito di lei era ricorso all'imperatore. [page 39] È interessante notare che l'intrigo fosse stato ordito sulla trama di un'antica tradizione egizia, quella della teogamia, per la quale un dio visitava la regina dando vita al futuro sovrano".

In her note 70, Capriotti Vittozzi writes: "*Ant. Iud.* XVIII, 3,4".

Let's now return to the hypotheses, published by Grenier (2009). With discussions of the contents of the reliefs on the pyramidion of Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) and of the contents of its hieroglyphic inscriptions.

I have mentioned above this point *b*), because from this passage, Grenier (2009, 234), is clear, why the author (2009, 238) could assert that Isis is not present neither in the four scenes of the *pyramidion* of Domitian's Obelisk, nor in the hieroglyphic texts on the four sides of this obelisk. Grenier mentioned "il dogma della trasmissione della dignità regale" in this context at all, because he identified the figure behind Domitian as Amun, who appears in the scene on the *pyramidion* of the west side of Domitian's obelisk; so also Katja Lembke (1994b, 40, quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.c)). Given the fact that the scenes on the *pyramidion* of Domitian's obelisk are badly preserved, other scholars are of the, as I believe, correct opinion that this figure is not identifiable at all. - To this "dogma della trasmissione della dignità regale", enacted in the 'royal rituals', I will come back below (cf. *infra*, at Chapters IV.1.1.d); IV.1.1.e)).

Ciampini (2004, 165) writes:

"Lato verso la chiesa di S. Agnese [*i.e.*, west]

Pyramidion / Domiziano di fronte a Nekhbet e seguito da un'altra figura [this is the figure that according to Grenier 2009, 234, represents Amun]".

Also still another subject of the hieroglyphic inscriptions on Domitian's obelisk, that Grenier mentions elsewhere in the above quoted passage, turns out to be a theme that was enacted in the 'royal rituals', *inter alia* at the structures called *mammisis*. Grenier (2009, 238) writes: "I primi tre lati [of the hieroglyphic inscriptions on Domitian's obelisk] sono per la sola gloria di Domiziano *dominus et deus*: proclamazione della sua nascita divina e dunque della sua predestinazione a esercitare il potere supremo come i grandi faraoni del tempo passato, attestazione della sua legittimità a essere l'erede di Vespasiano alla testa dell'impero. **Il quarto lato precisa il carattere esclusivamente solare del monumento dedicato a Ra-Harakhte** [my emphasis]". Add to this Grenier's translation (2009, 237) of a section of the hieroglyphic inscription on the fourth side of Domitian's Obelisk: "IV - lato nord verso il Tevere ... **Egli ha eretto questo obelisco** in granito son le sue mani (?) **per suo padre Ra-Harakhte** ... [my emphasis]".

The claim of the king of Egypt to be the son of Re-Harakhte was also enacted in those 'royal rituals' that were connected *inter alia* with the structures called *mammisis* in Egypt (cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.d)).

Ad 2.) These parallels to *mammisis* in Egypt in the scenes on the *pyramidion* of Domitian's Obelisk and in the relevant sections of the hieroglyphic texts of the obelisk (cf. E.M. CIAMPINI 2005) prove that Isis is - already

indirectly - present here: despite the assertions to the contrary by Grenier (2009, 238). - Apart from the fact that Isis is also 'herself' represented in one of these scenes (cf. *infra*).

And that because of the following reasons: the "regina-madre" and the 'divine child Domitian', whom Grenier (2009, 238) mentioned separately in the above quoted passage, belong together: in the rituals at the *mammisis* in Egypt, in which 'the birth of the divine child' was enacted in sacred dramas, it was *not* the real "regina-madre", who gave birth to the 'divine child', the new king - having been impregnated by her husband, the reigning king of Egypt - but instead the goddess Isis herself, who was believed to have been impregnated by the god Re-Harakhte. - To all this I will come back in detail below (cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.d)).

Ad 1.) As already mentioned, contrary to Grenier's assertion, Isis is in the opinion of other scholars also 'herself' present in one of the four scenes on the *pyramidion* of Domitian's obelisk. Cf. Grenier's translation (2009, 237) of the hieroglyphic text on the north side of the obelisk:

#### "IV - lato nord (verso il Tevere)

Scena del *pyramidion*. Domiziano al centro è rivolto verso sinistra (senso di lettura del testo), la testa adorna dello *pschent*, le mani, chiuse, sono alzate e la sinistra tiene uno scettro. Davanti a lui, una dea acconciata con il *basileion*, nella gestualità della protezione (mano levata aperta). Dietro di lui, il dio Thot con testa di ibis (uno degli attori divini fondamentali nei riti legati alla trasmissione del potere regale) sembra fare lo stesso gesto".

For the *basileion*, one of the most typical attributes of Isis, cf. Gemma Sena Chiesa (1997, 152; C. HÄUBER 2014a, 156 with ns. 53, 56, Fig. 7).

But see Alfred Grimm (1997) 128:

"... Domiziano arredò il santuario di Iside e Serapide [*i.e.*, the Iseum Campense] con numerosi monumenti egizi ed egittizzanti, tra i quali anche l'obelisco che oggi si trova in piazza Navona e che raffigura l'incoronazione del principe **da parte della dea Iside** [my emphasis]".

Ciampini (2004, 159) writes:

"Lato verso il Tevere (nord)

Pyramidion / Domiziano mentre **offre a Iside**: dietro l'imperatore è Thot [my emphasis]".

Capriotti Vittozzi (2013, 127, in her Chapter: "I luoghi 'egizi' di Roma") writes:

"**Altre interessanti considerazioni riguardano il ruolo di Iside nell'obelisco di Domiziano, la quale appare come elargitrice di regalità e, in tal senso, in relazione con Ptah** [with n. 11]: ciò lascia intravedere una precisa citazione dell'ambiente menfita, che peraltro era l'antica capitale dove avveniva tradizionalmente l'incoronazione [my emphasis]".

In her **note 11**, Capriotti Vittozzi writes: "Ciampini 2004, 165".

See also Capriotti Vittozzi (2014, 243-246, quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.d)), where she likewise discusses the "ruolo di Iside nell'obelisco di Domiziano".

Also Laurent Bricault and Richard Veymiers (2018, 151) write:

"À Rome, l'obélisque aujourd'hui visible sur la Piazza Navona, dont le programme iconographique et hymnique met principalement en scène Domitien **et Isis** ... [my emphasis]".

**To conclude. The analysis of the above-quoted passages from Grenier (2009, 238, 234) has shown, why, in the author's opinion, Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) was not commissioned for the Iseum Campense, but rather for the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. He did this by (in my opinion erroneously) asserting, that Isis is not present either in the scenes on the *pyramidion* of Domitian's obelisk, or in its hieroglyphic texts.**

Grenier mentioned his relevant opinion in his discussions of the following two figures that appear in the scenes on the *pyramidion*:

a) the "regina-madre", whose function in the 'royal rituals' he explained by applying the meaning of those sacred performances to Domitian, but note that Grenier did not say, in which scene of the *pyramidion* in his opinion the "regina-madre" is represented (to this I will come back below); and -

b) the figure of Amun, whom Grenier recognized in the scene of the *pyramidion* on the west side of Domitian's obelisk. But note also that none of the other here discussed scholars identify Grenier's alleged "regina-madre" as such.

As already mentioned, Grenier's interpretation (2009) of the 'royal rituals', performed *inter alia* at the *mammisis* in Egypt, differed greatly from those of Goyon (1988) and Ciampini (2004; 2005), whom I am following here (cf. *infra*, at Chapters V.1.1.d); V.1.1.e)).

**Let's now turn to Coarelli (2014, 204-207, with Figs. 50-52), who discusses the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* and explains, why he follows Grenier in attributing Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) to this building.**

Cf. Coarelli (2014, 204: "L'edificio così ricostruito ci restituisce un'immagine plausibile del *templum gentis Flaviae*: una struttura che riuniva in sé, per la prima volta, le caratteristiche e le funzioni di tipi edilizi in precedenza distinti: il sepolcro e il tempio dinastico.

Resta da chiarire il motivo per cui esso viene ancora citato nei Cataloghi Regionari di età costantiniana, quando ormai doveva essere scomparso per far luogo alle Terme di Diocleziano (Anch'esse menzionate nello stesso documento) [my emphasis]".

Cf. Coarelli (2014, 204-207): "**Va tenuto conto, a questo proposito, di un detta-** [page 205] **glio emerso dalle esplorazioni recenti [with n. 474], di cui non si è tenuto alcun conto: il fatto cioè che i resti dell'edificio spiccano a un livello più alto rispetto a quello delle successive terme. Questo dato ammette un'unica soluzione, che infatti è stata proposta, con prudenza, dai responsabili dello scavo: mentre la grande platea porticata venne certamente soppressa dall'edificio successivo, che ne prese il posto, la costruzione centrale, e cioè il nucleo essenziale del complesso, venne risparmiato, poiché veniva a cadere in un'area libera entro il recinto delle terme.** L'ovvia conclusione è che il complesso domiziano sopravvisse anche in seguito, ciò che consente di spiegare la sua menzione, insieme alle terme, nei Cataloghi Regionari. Una sua distruzione totale infatti sarebbe difficile da spiegare, in un'epoca in cui la memoria dei Flavi (escluso ovviamente Domiziano) continuò a vivere, e questo almeno fino all'età di Costantino. Non va dimenticato, che quest'ultimo apparteneva alla *gens Flavia*, e d'altra parte sarebbe difficile immaginare che la costruzione a *Hispellum* di un *templum Flaviae gentis* non abbia tenuto conto dell'omonimo modello domiziano [with n. 475].

**Un ultimo dato emerge dagli studi di J.-P. [corr.: J.-C.] Grenier [with n. 476], dai quali risulta l'estraneità dell'obelisco panfilio di piazza Navona, opera di Domiziano, all'Iseo del Campo Marzio (con il quale esso veniva in genere collegato, ma senza argomenti cogenti). In effetti, nel testo geroglifico è praticamente assente ogni allusione ai culti egiziani, mentre è palese l'insistenza sugli aspetti dinastici della *gens Flavia*, che vengono più volte ribaditi. Per questo, Grenier propone di attribuirlo al *templum gentis Flaviae*.**

Un elemento che sembra confermare l'identificazione è l'apparente disponibilità dell'obelisco subito dopo la distruzione di gran parte del tempio per la realizzazione delle Terme di Diocleziano, e quindi immediatamente prima della sua nuova sistemazione nel Circo di Massenzio. **Ma il fatto più interessante,**

**giustamente sottolineato da Grenier, è che tale collocazione mirava a ricostituire, nella nuova sede, un contesto del tutto analogo a quello originario: l'obelisco veniva infatti a trovarsi in prossimità del sepolcro detto di Romolo che in realtà era, nelle intenzioni, il mausoleo dinastico destinato a Massenzio e alla sua famiglia. Ora, come abbiamo visto, questo costituisce il primo di una serie di sepolcri analoghi, realizzati in età costantiniana. Ma l'archetipo, come sappiamo, è da riconoscere proprio nel *templum gentis Flaviae*, con il quale si era realizzata per la prima volta la sintesi tra tomba e tempio dinastico. Le motivazioni ideologiche di un tale connubio corrispondono in effetti alle esigenze della politica 'monarchica' di Domiziano.**

L'abbandono di questo modello, in seguito alla condanna del suo creatore [*i.e.*, Domitian], renderà improponibile ogni tentativo analogo nel periodo successivo: Nerva infatti sarà sepolto nel Mausoleo di Augusto e i corpi degli imperatori successivi, con la nota eccezione di Traiano, verranno ospitati nel nuovo Mausoleo di Adriano. Solo con Massenzio il tentativo sarà rinnovato, e con un certo successo, come sappiamo. **La voluta conservazione del monumento domiziano all'interno delle terme (realizzate dal padre di Massenzio, Massimiano Erculeo) e il trasferimento dell'obelisco costituiscono certamente operazioni collegate:** in ogni caso, tali da confermare l'ipotesi che vi riconosce l'avvenuto recupero di un modello già antico in funzione di un nuovo esperimento dinastico [my emphasis].

In his n. 474, Coarelli writes: "CANDILIO 2000-01, p. 552, nota 32".

In his n. 475, he writes: "GASCOU 1967".

In his n. 476, he writes: "GRENIER 1999; GRENIER 2009".

As already written elsewhere; cf. Häuber (2017, 158-164, for a summary, cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.h)), I do not follow the hypotheses presented here by Coarelli and Grenier, which I have discussed on the basis of their following publications (cf. J.-C. GRENIER 1996, 357; *id.* 2009, 234-239; F. COARELLI 1996, 108; *id.*, in: F. COARELLI 2009a, 451, cat. no.: "43 frammento della *Forma Urbis Romae* [*i.e.*, the Severan Marble Plan] con l'Iseo e il Serapeo"; *id.* 2009b, 94; *id.* 2014, 194-207).

And that for the following reasons (I repeat below the relevant sections of Coarelli's text):

1.) Contrary to Coarelli's assertion (2014, 205) that: "nel testo geroglifico [of Domitian's obelisk] è praticamente assente ogni allusione ai culti egiziani", I follow those scholars, who have documented just the contrary. Their observations are summarized below (cf. *infra*, at Chapters IV.1.1.c); IV.1.1.d)).

**This means that Grenier's and Coarelli's main argument, which is the reason, why they both do not attribute Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) to the Iseum Campense, is actually not true.** - But there are more reasons that speak against their hypotheses (cf. also *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.h)).

2.) Contrary to Coarelli (2014, 205-207), I cannot see that: "il fatto più interessante, giustamente sottolineato da Grenier, è che tale collocazione [*i.e.*, of Domitian's obelisk] mirava a ricostituire, nella nuova sede [*i.e.*, at the *Villa* of Maxentius on the *Via Appia*], un contesto del tutto analogo a quello originario: l'obelisco veniva infatti a trovarsi in prossimità del sepolcro detto di Romolo".

### *The display of Domitian's obelisk at the Villa of Maxentius on the Via Appia*

Domitian's obelisk at the *Villa* of Maxentius on the *Via Appia* did *not* stand 'close to the sepolcro detto di Romolo', also known as 'Tempio di Romolo', as asserted by Coarelli (2014, 205-207), who follows, in this respect, Grenier, but was instead on display on the *spina* of the *Circus* of Maxentius, which is far away from this mausoleum.

Maxentius, in my opinion, had thus created with Domitian's obelisk on the *spina* of his *Circus* one of several *Architekturkopien* of the obelisk, that Augustus had erected on the *spina* of the *Circus Maximus*, and which at Maxentius' time was still in place (cf. here **Fig. 58**, label: CIRCUS MAXIMUS). - This was one of the two Egyptian obelisks, which Augustus was first to bring from Egypt to Rome; it is the one now standing on the Piazza del Popolo.

On the *Villa* of Maxentius on the Via Appia, Domitian's obelisk, and on the hypothesis that attributes it to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; cf. Amanda Claridge (1998, 338; cf. p. 337, "Fig. 166. Villa and Circus of Maxentius. Site plan", labels: "MAUSOLEUM; Circus; Spina": cf. pp. 211, 350, Fig. 174, number 15 [with the earlier, wrong location of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* at the site of the *domus* of Domitian's paternal uncle, Flavius Sabinus]; cf. *ead.* 2010, 427; cf. p. 427, "Fig. 203. Villa and Circus of Maxentius. Site plan", labels: "MAUSOLEUM; Circus; Spina"; cf. pp. 237, 392, Fig. 180, number 15 [with the earlier, but wrong location of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* at the site of the *domus* of Domitian's paternal uncle, Flavius Sabinus]); and G. Pisani Sartorio (2006, 49-59, esp. p. 58, quoted *verbatim supra*.

Concerning the different locations of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, I have written elsewhere:

"cf. Coarelli: "Gens Flavia, Templum", in: *LTUR* II (1995) 368-369. In this entry, Coarelli identified the *domus*, where Domitian was born, and thus the future site of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, with the *domus* of Domitian's paternal uncle, Flavius Sabinus, an opinion, which he would later correct [see below]. See for further references *LTUR* V (1999) 262"; cf. Häuber (2017, 160).

For the Caserma dei Corazzieri (next to the Church of S. Susanna), where Coarelli had earlier (but erroneously) assumed the *domus* of Flavius Sabinus (a suggestion, which I myself have at first followed), I anticipate in the following, what was written for Chapter *V.1.i.3.a*):

'For this coin; cf. Paris (1994b, 26 Fig. 14: "Sesterzio di Domiziano (95/96 d.C) con raffigurazione di edificio decastilo [= here **Fig. 30**]". For the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano", which, in her opinion, shows a procession in front of a 'tempio decastilo'; cf. Paris 1994b, 28, Fig. 16: "Il rilievo del Museo Vaticano e quello del Museo Nazionale [Romano] ricongiunti in un calco del Museo della Civiltà Romana" (cf. here **Fig. 31**). Cf. her Figs. 17-19 on p. 29, and Figs. 1-2 on p. 32. **Note that Paris (1994b) (erroneously locates the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* at the site of a *domus*, which has (erroneously) been identified by Filippo Coarelli ("Gens Flavia, Templum", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 368, who refers to: M. TORELLI: "Domus: T. Flavius Sabinus", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 102-103) with an architecture, excavated underneath the Caserma dei Corazzieri on Via XX Settembre, 12, close to the Church of S. Susanna on the Quirinal; cf. Häuber (2009, 312 with n. 20). For the excavation of this rich *domus*; cf. Häuber (2014a, 808 with ns. 9, 10) [my emphasis]'**

For the correct locations of the *domus* of Flavius Sabinus and of the *domus* of Vespasian/ the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; cf. now Coarelli (2014, 71, 255-256, 263, 271-274, 277, 280-281). For a discussion of the correct location of the *domus* of Flavius Sabinus; cf. *infra*, in Chapter *V.1.i.3.a*). But note that Diane Atnally Conlin (2021, 158, Fig. 7) still believes that Domitian erected the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* at the site of the *domus* of his uncle Flavius Sabinus, where Domitian was allegedly born.

Cf. here **Figs. 58; 59**, labels: COLLIS QUIRINALIS; Servian city Wall; S. Susanna; Caserma dei Corazzieri; site of DOMUS; ALTA SEMITA / Via del Quirinale / Via XX Settembre; Via Firenze; site of DOMUS : T. FLAVIUS SABINUS / DOMUS : NUMMII; Piazza S. Bernardo; Va Torino, Baths of DIOCLETIAN; site of DOMUS : VESPASIAN / TEMPLUM GENTIS FLAVIAE

For the idea that Maxentius' re-use of Domitian's obelisk on the *spina* of his *Circus* may be regarded as an *Architekturkopie* of Augustus' obelisk on the *spina* of the *Circus Maximus*, cf. Häuber (2017, 37, Fig. 1,2, pp. 162, 599. Cf. pp. 19, 113 n. 63, pp. 424-426, for the Egyptian obelisk now on the Piazza del Popolo. Cf. pp. 382-384, for the other comparable *Architekturkopien*).



Only after this Chapter was written, did I read the first publication by Grenier (1987) on the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk. I was hoping to find there, which figure in the scenes on its *pyramidion* the author might have referred to in the above quoted passage (cf. J.-C. GRENIER 2009, 238), as the "regina-madre". To my great surprise, Grenier (1987) did not identify any of the female figures in the scenes on the obelisk's *pyramidion* as the "regina-madre", in addition to this, he was of almost exactly the same opinion concerning the interpretations of the iconographic details of these scenes as Ciampini (2005; cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.d)).

Grenier (1987, 952) wrote about the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk and the scenes of its *pyramidion* :

"De même, sur la face I, la séquence bien connue vautant les mérites du pharaon constructeur ne saurait être ici employée fortuitement: <<Il a relevé ce qui était tombé en ruine et il a rempli ce qu'il a trouvé vide en augmentant e qui existait déjà, attentif à faire pour le mieux>>.

(I,7)

Compte tenu du contexte, il est licite de voir là une allusion aux travaux entrepris par Domitien pour reconstruire les édifices du Champ de Mars détruits par l'incendi de l'an 80 au nombre desquels se trouvait justement l'ensemble de l'Iseum et du Serapeum où se dressait l'obélisque [with n. 33, providing references]".

Cf. Grenier (1987, 955): "... rien ne vient indiquer que ce monument [*i.e.*, Domitian's obelisk] témoigne d'une dévotion particulière pour les divinités alexandrines en particulier [with n. 38] ... la déesse à qui, on le sait, il [*i.e.*, Domitian] devait la vie (cf. l'épisode fameux du jeune Domitien échappant à ses assassins lors de l'assaut du Capitole en 69, en se réfugiant dans le temple capitolin d'Isis comme le rapportent TACITE, *Hist.*, III, 74, 1 et SUÉTONNE, *Dom.* 1,4 [cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.b-I.d*]).

Grenier (1987, 957-958, with n. 40, Figs. 5-8) comments on the scenes represented on the *pyramidion* of Domitian's obelisk as follows: "... dans lesquelles on a reconcé à l'iconographie traditionnelle du Pharaon adorant le démiurge solaire pour évoquer la cérémonie même du couronnement royal: remise des couronnes et du symbol royal par excellence, l'emblème de Maât évoquant l'harmonie du monde que le nouveau souverain avait la charge de entretenir [with n. 40]".

In his 40, Grenier wrote: "**Le caractère exceptionnel de ce pyramidion a été remarqué par tous mais ici encore on peut se demander si le contenu <<isiacque>> de ces scènes n'a pas été exagérée il s'il convient d'identifier systématiquement à Isis tous les déesses qui y apparaissent (cf. p. ex. [par exemple] MALAISE, *Inventaire* [*i.e.*, here M. MALAISE 1972a], p. 204-205). Il me semble que reconnaître Isis (Fig. 5), Hathor e Quadjet (?) (Fig. 6); Mout (Fig. 7) et Nekhbet (Fig. 8) serait plus vraisemblable et rendrait mieux compte de la nature de ces scènes ... [my emphasis]**".

*Chapter IV.1.1.b) My first attempt to find arguments in support of the hypothesis that Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) was commissioned for the Iseum Campense*

I repeat in the following a passage written for Chapter II.3.1.c).

'In my effort to find proofs for the assumption that Domitian's obelisk was indeed commissioned by the emperor for the restored Iseum Campense, I have compared the claims made in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of this obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) that concern the benefactions of the Flavian dynasty for the Roman People, as well as the claims made in these texts that concern the benefactions of Domitian himself, especially his provision of the Roman People with bountiful food - with those building, surrounding the obelisk, which Domitian himself had actually commissioned, for example the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*'.

For those claims, cf. Grenier (2009, 237: concerning the claims made in the hieroglyphic inscriptions on Domitian's obelisk on behalf of the Flavian dynasty), and Häuber (2017, 165: concerning the claims made in the hieroglyphic inscriptions on Domitian's obelisk on behalf of Domitian)

As a prerequisite of the just described 'urbanistic comparison' of Domitian's Obelisk within its real surroundings, I have assumed that this obelisk was indeed standing on the square between the *Iseum* and the *Serapeum*, where it has been located by many scholars (cf. the maps, here **Figs. 60; 78**). As I hope to demonstrate here (cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.h)), Domitian had indeed commissioned the Obeliscus Pamphilius for precisely that location. For my earlier studies concerning this subject (cf. *supra*, n. 466 in Chapter IV.1., and C. HÄUBER 2017, 158-167, Fig. 5.5.2. [= cf. here **Fig. 28**] and the maps Fig. 3.7. on p. 69 [= here **Fig. 59**]; Fig. 3.7.1 on p. 71 [= here **Fig. 60**], and Fig. 3.7.1.1 on p. 73 [= here **Fig. 61**]).

**Chapter IV.1.1.c) Further research that was undertaken to clarify the question, whether or not Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) was commissioned for the Iseum Campense and G. Gatti's (1943-1944) correct reconstruction of the central Campus Martius (cf. here Fig. 78)**

In 2017 the book by Hugo Brandenburg on 'Constantine's Basilica of Saint Peter at Rome' appeared. In it he mentions the fact that artworks could not be removed from 'pagan' temples until the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century (cf. H. BRANDENBURG, *Die Konstantinische Petersbasilika am Vatikan in Rom. Anmerkungen zu ihrer Chronologie, Architektur und Ausstattung* 2017).

Brandenburg (2017, 70), in his discussion of the question, whether or not ancient *spolia* could possibly have been re-used for the construction of Constantine's new Basilica of Saint Peter, writes: "Öffentliche Bauten einschließlich der Tempel, denen man Material in den entsprechenden Maßen und vielleicht auch Anzahl als Spolien hätte entnehmen können, standen nicht zur Verfügung, da sie in gutem Bauzustand waren und bis in die Mitte des 5. Jh. als *ornamenta urbis* unter Schutz standen [with n. 203]".

In his **note 203**, Brandenburg writes: "Schutz der öffentlichen Bauten und Tempel z.B. Cod. Theod. IX, 17, 2 von März des Jahres 349; XVI, 10, Ian. 29 vom Jahr 399; zur Bewertung dieser Bauten als *ornamenta urbis* s.[iehe] A. Geyer, *Ne ruinis urbis deformetur*. Ästhetische Kriterien in der spätantiken Baugesetzgebung: *Boreas* 16, 1993, 63-77; C. J. Goddard, The evolution of pagan sanctuaries in late antique Italy: M. Ghilardi, C. J. Goddard, P. Porena (Hrsg.), *Les cités d'Italie tardo antique (IVe-VIIe siècle)*, Rom 2006, 281-308; Bosman 2013, 77".

Brandenburg's just-quoted statement opened the following interrelated questions:

- 1.) how could Maxentius have removed Domitian's obelisk from the Iseum Campense? - Provided it stood there at all;
- 2.) provided this sanctuary was still 'operating' as such at that time;
- A 3.) problem lies in the fact that in the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk no mention is made - as in such texts on other obelisks - where the obelisk had been erected in antiquity.

To begin with the second question posed above, we do not know precisely, until when the cult at the Iseum Campense survived. Still after the restoration in AD 195/196 or between 198 and 209 by Septimius Severus and Caracalla (cf. C. HÄUBER 2014a, 74 with n. 231 [a comparison of all Egyptian sanctuaries at Rome with each other]; 724), we have further information concerning its existence. Filippo Coarelli (1996, 107) writes: "Ulteriori restauri vennero forse realizzati da Settimio Severo e Caracalla (iscrizione letta, ma non trascritta: *NSc* 1925, 239; quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.2.*) e da Alessandro Severo (*Hist. Aug. Alex.* 26.8). Il santuario è ancora menzionato in Porph. *Plot.* 10 e in Lyd. *mens.* 4.148". That is to say, the Iseum Campense is still mentioned by: Porphyry, *Vita Plotini* and Lydus, *De mensibus*.

Cf. Andrew Smith ("Porphyry (AD 234-c.[irca] 305), scholar, philosopher, and student of religions. He was born probably at Tyre; originally bore the Syrian name Malchus; studied under Cassius Longinus at Athens; became a devoted disciple of Plotinus with whom he studied in Rome [263-268 AD] ... ", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> [1996] 1226. Cf. L. M. WHITBY: "Lydus, i.e. John the Lydian, civil servant at Constantinople and Greek author (AD 490-c.[irca] 560) ... *De mensibus* discusses the Roman calendar ...", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> [1996] 899).

**For the fact that the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk do not contain, as other such texts, explicit indications to the location where this obelisk was erected, cf. Katja Lembke (1994b, 41 with n. 117) :**

**"Keine Gründe für die Aufstellung werden dagegen auf dem römischen Obelisken angegeben [i.e., in the inscriptions, written in hieroglyphs on Domitian's obelisk; my emphasis]. Bei genauer Betrachtung ergeben sich allerdings einige Hinweise:**

1. Auf der heutigen Westseite ist die Kindheit des Pharaos [i.e., of Domitian] geschildert, die mit der Inthronisation endet.
2. Mehrmals (Nord- und Ostseite) ist von der Krönung Domitians als Nachfolger Vespasians die Rede.
3. Das Pyramidion trägt auf allen Seiten eine Darstellung der Begegnung Domitians mit Göttern. Anhand der Attribute ist die Vermutung naheliegend, hierin eine Schilderung der Herrschaftsübergabe zu sehen".

Interesting in the context discussed here are also the following observations by Lembke (1994b, 212):

"Der Domitiansobelisk ist aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach zunächst im Iseum Campense aufgestellt worden. Folgende Argumente unterstützen diese Annahme:

1.) **In den Darstellungen auf dem Pyramidion wird jeweils Domitians enge Beziehung zu Isis thematisiert, die dem Princeps auf allen vier Seiten zugewendet ist, so daß die Errichtung in einem Heiligtum der ägyptischen Götter nahe liegt. Außerdem spricht die Inschrift der Nordseite von dem Wiederaufbau und der Erweiterung eines (oder mehrerer) Gebäude. Auch wenn konkrete Hinweise fehlen, kann man diese Aussage auf den Wiederaufbau des Iseum Campense nach dem Brand d. J. [des Jahres] 80 beziehen ... [my emphasis]**".

Lembke (1994b, 40) has made, in addition to this, more important observations concerning the *pyramidion* of Domitian's obelisk: "Nähere Aufschlüsse ermöglicht das Pyramidion. Auf den vier Seiten ist jeweils Domitian mit Herrscherinsignien in Begleitung zweier Götter dargestellt. **Vor ihm steht jedes Mal Isis;** weitere Götter sind Thot, Uto (?), Horus und Amun-Re. **Im Zentrum steht also Domitians enge Bindung an Isis. Außerdem aber tragen die Gottheiten Insignien, die auf ein konkretes Ereignis anspielen: die Inthronisation Domitians als ägyptischer Pharaos.** Die verschiedenen Gesten und Symbole, die ihm die Götter überreichen (w3ś-Szepter, Kronen, Statuetten der Maat, Uräus), sind Teil des ägyptischen Herrscherbildes. Ebenfalls in diesen Kontext gehören die Kronen Domitians (Doppelkrone, Kompositkrone, hprś-Krone), die sowohl die Herrschaft von Ober- und Unterägypten als auch den göttlichen Aspekt des Königtums darstellen.

**Wichtig ist in diesem Zusammenhang, daß nicht Pharaos Domitian agiert und als Träger der Verantwortung für die irdische Gerechtigkeit den Göttern das Symbol der Maat übergibt, sondern als Empfänger göttlicher Gaben in Erscheinung tritt. Damit wird ihm [i.e., Domitian] die Ordnung gleichsam als Attribut verliehen und verliert ihren Aspekt als Leistung des Pharaos. In Ägypten dagegen "kann sich Ma'at aus eigener Kraft nicht halten und bedarf des Königs zu ihrer Fortsetzung. Nicht die Ma'at fundiert den Staat, sondern der Staat fundiert die Ma'at" [with n. 113; my emphasis]**".

In her **note 113**, Lembke writes: "J. Assmann, *Ma'at* (1990) 201. Ihm verdanke ich ebenfalls den Hinweis auf dieses Phänomen". - Cf. the comments by Häuber (2017, 166).

**On the 4th of May 2018, I met again with Alessandro Roccati in Rome. This time we discussed the controversy concerning the context, for which Domitian had commissioned his obelisk, in addition to this I asked him, whether there is a chance to find out, when studying its hieroglyphic texts, for which context Domitian's obelisk had been made.**

He told me that the hieroglyphic inscriptions on obelisks actually always contain such information, which is why the Pamphili Obelisk, if indeed erected at the Iseum Campense, should contain clear hints at the goddess Isis. - A fact, although J.-C. Grenier (2009, 238), as well as Coarelli (2014, 205, both quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.a)) have explicitly denied this, is actually the case, as other scholars have observed (cf. K. LEMBKE 1994b, 40-41, quoted *verbatim supra*. See also E.M. CIAMPINI 2004, 159, 165, H 30; *id.* 2005, 399-402, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.d)).

Roccati mentioned to me the relevant studies of the Egyptologist Emanuele Marcello Ciampini and kindly contacted him for me. Fortunately on 11th May 2018, I had also the chance to meet with Emanuele Ciampini himself in Rome. Personally I am unable to read hieroglyphs, and Ciampini was kind enough to present me with his book, in which he has translated these Egyptian texts of Domitian's Obelisk into Italian (cf. E.M. CIAMPINI 2004).

**When I discussed my above-posed three questions (*i.e.*, 1.); 2.); 3.)) with Ciampini on 11th May 2018 in Rome, he was of the opinion that Maxentius, being after all the emperor, could anyway act in this respect as he wished, even provided the cult at the Iseum Campense was still performed at that stage.**

**Also Hugo Brandenburg and Angelika Geyer, with whom I had the chance to discuss these questions on 13th May 2018 in Rome, were likewise of the opinion that Maxentius, who reigned from 306-312, did remove Domitian's obelisk to his Villa on the Via Appia. A fact, which, in Brandenburg's and Geyer's opinion does not preclude the assumption that originally this obelisk may have belonged to the Iseum Campense; cf. *supra*, in Chapter Introductory remarks and acknowledgements.**

Concerning the fact that Maxentius had moved Domitian's obelisk to the *spina* of his *Circus* at his *Villa* on the Via Appia, we have *a*) the reports since the 15<sup>th</sup> century, that the obelisk was found there, and *b*) the actual proof of this tradition, since fragments of the *pyramidion* of this obelisk have been excavated on the *spina* of this *Circus* in 1960; cf. Pisani Sartorio (2006, 58, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.a)).

Cf. Ciampini (2004, 157): "**Osservazioni:** All'inizio del IV sec.[olo] l'obelisco venne rimosso dalla sua collocazione originaria per essere eretto nella Villa di Massenzio sull'Appia Antica; dove andò a decorare la spina del circo; da qui fu poi spostato nella sua attuale collocazione sulla fontana dei Quattro Fiumi per volontà del pontefice Innocenzo X (1648). Il monumento è attualmente privo della parte superiore del *pyramidion*, un suo frammento è conservato nel Museo Gregoriano Egizio. I testi furono redatti e incisi a Roma e costituiscono una notevole testimonianza dell'adozione, da parte di Domiziano, di culti egiziani" (the emphasis is that of the author).

Of a very different opinion was J.-C. Grenier (1996, 357): "Nos sources ne mentionnent pas cet obélisque. Sa localisation première est problématique. **La tradition historiographique le situe dans l'espace séparant l'Iseum Campense du Sérapeum en le reconnaissant sur la FUR [*i.e.*, the *Forma Urbis Romae*, meaning the Severan Marble Plan] (recomposition [V.] Lundström [1929]; cf. [G] Gatti [1943-44], 121) dans le petit carré gravé au-dessus du deuxième A de SERAPAEV[M]. Cette opinion se heurte à plusieurs objections. L'ensemble voué par Domitien sur le Quirinal à la sacralisation de sa propre naissance et de sa famille (la *domus* et le *templum gentis Flaviae* ...) conviendrait mieux à la nature de cet obélisque telle que la révèlent ses inscriptions; cela permettrait aussi de justifier le choix de Maxence qui fit transporter et ériger cet obélisque dans sa *villa* de la *via Appia* dont l'ensemble flavien du Quirinal semble constituer un lointain mais évident archétype idéologique (Grenier à paraître [*i.e.*, here J.-C. GRENIER 1999]) [my emphasis]"**

To the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* I will come back below (cf. *infra*, at Chapters IV.1.1.h); and V.1.i.3.a)).

Guglielmo Gatti (1943-1944, tav. 4 = here Fig. 78) has reconstructed the ancient topography of the central Campus Martius by integrating the relevant fragments of the Severan Marble Plan into the then current paper cadastre. On his relevant map appears the ground-plan of the *Iseum* and the *Serapeum* to the south of it (cf. here Fig. 78); between those two sanctuaries, the Severan Marble Plan shows a piazza. As Grenier (1996, 357) writes in the above-quoted passage, it has been observed that on the Severan Marble Plan is marked a small square on this piazza, which has tentatively been identified by many scholars as the socle of Domitian's obelisk.

**Fig. 78. G. Gatti, reconstruction of the Central Campus Martius, based on the fragments of the Severan Marble plan, with the *Iseum* and the *Serapeum* and the piazza in between them. G. Gatti (1943-1944, 121, tav. 4; after: *LTUR* III [1996] Fig. 69). Note that on Gatti's plan the sanctuary is labelled: ISEVM ET SERAPEVM, whereas on the Severan Marble Plan, the sanctuary is labelled: SERAPAEVM (cf. *LTUR* I [1993] Fig. 122a).**

For Guglielmo Gatti's reconstruction of the central *Campus Martius*, comprising the *Iseum* and of the *Serapeum* and the piazza in between them; cf. Gatti (1943-1944, 121, Fig. 12, tav. 4 = here Fig. 78). The correctness of Gatti's entire reconstruction of the central *Campus Martius* has been challenged by Alessandra Ten (2015), whereas I myself have confirmed Gatti's reconstruction; cf. Häuber (2017, 133-134, 141-144, 203-218); this was followed by Alexander Heinemann (2018, 221 with n. 31). So now also Francesca De Caprariis ("VRBS e pianta marmorea; trenta anni dopo", 2022).

For a detailed discussion; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *A Study on the Consequences of Domitian's assassination; Introduction*; at Section X. *Further new research on the Precinct of Diva Matidia: C. Parisi Presicce's (2021) identification of my Temple of Diva Sabina? with a Temple of Diva Plotina. With related research and with The Contribution by John Bodel: The Label Inscribed on Fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan.*

**Gatti's reconstruction (here Fig. 78) shows that on the Severan Marble plan there is marked a small square on the piazza between his *Iseum* and his *Serapeum*, which also in my opinion represents the socle of Domitian' obelisk. This assumption has been rejected by Grenier (1996, 357, quoted above, and in *id.* 2009, 238, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.a)), and most recently by Filippo Coarelli (2019b, 74 with n. 55):**

**"Al centro dell'area [*i.e.*, on the piazza of the Iseum Campense] sono indicate due piccole costruzioni, di pianta rispettivamente circolare e quadrata: nella prima si è identificata una fontana (in cui poteva essere collocata la grande pigna bronzea vaticana, che proviene da questa zona); nella seconda la base di un obelisco, correntemente identificato (ma certamente a torto) con quello Panfilio di Piazza Navona [with n. 55; my emphasis]".**

In his note 55, Coarelli writes: "Iversen 1968, pp. 78-80. Alcuni autori accettano ancora questa identificazione, ormai definitivamente confutata da J.-C. Grenier (Grenier 1996). È importante anche segnalare a questo proposito che nel breviarium dei Cataloghi regionari (Nordh 1949, pp. 57 s.), dove sono segnalati tutti gli obelischi maggiori (5 nella Notitia, 6 nel Curiosum, evidentemente redatto dopo il 354, data della sistemazione nel Circo Massimo dell'obelisco lateranense [cf. here Fig. 101]) non ne è menzionato nessuno nell'Iseo campense [my emphasis]". - This is also quoted *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section VII.

Because the Emperor Maxentius reigned from AD 306-312, and we know that he had ordered the transportation of Domitian's obelisk to his *Villa* on the Via Appia, where it was erected in his lifetime on the *spina* of his *Circus* (cf. *supra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.a)), it is quite understandable that 'no obelisk is mentioned in this list for the Iseum Campense, which was compiled after AD 354', as Coarelli observes. - Besides, as I hope to demonstrate in this Chapter IV., contrary to what Coarelli (*op.cit.*) asserts, Domitian had certainly commissioned his obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) for the Iseum Campense.

Cf. R.P. Davis: "Maxentius (*RE* 1), Marcus Aurelius Valerius (b.[orn] c.[irca] AD 283), son of Maximian ... Constantine ... (312) ... marched on Rome and defeated Maxentius's forces ... at Saxa Rubra; Maxentius was drowned near the Mulvian bridge ...", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 940. Cf. Häuber (2017, 161).

For the history of the Obeliscus Lateranense (cf. here **Fig. 101**) in Roman times; cf. Häuber (2017, 113 with n. 64, pp. 162, 424, n. 214, pp. 427-428 [on p. 427 is stated that the Lateran Obelisk was brought by Constantius II 'before AD 357 to Rome'; cf. p. 162, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section VII.], **Fig. 101**). As we have seen above, Filippo Coarelli (2019b, 74 with n. 55) writes that the Lateran Obelisk was erected in the *Circus Maximus* in AD 354.

As already mentioned, others suggest that the Lateran Obelisk (cf. here **Fig. 101**) was erected in the *Circus Maximus* in AD 357 instead.

Cf. *infra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11)*. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette; at Part II. *Ancient Rome's new commercial river part, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalìa) and of the Horrea Aemilia. With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?*

I have intentionally not drawn this incised small square, which the Severan Marble Plan marks on the piazza in the Iseum Campense, in my own maps (cf. here **Figs. 59; 60**), given the fact that we integrate into our maps only features, whose nature, location, and dimensions are precisely known, information, which in the case of this cartographic detail is unfortunately lacking.

In the course of the discussion with Ciampini on 11th May 2018, and by looking at my map of the Iseum Campense (cf. here **Fig. 60**), I mentioned to Ciampini also the 'new' ancient road, that I could integrate into my maps of the area.

Cf. Häuber (2017, 144-145, Chapter: 'A "new" ancient road, the "Via Petrarca"/ Clivus Salutis?, the Sepulcrum of the Sepronii, the villa or horti of Scipio Africanus maior on the Collis Latiaris, and the consular auspices taken there, which preceded the elections at the Saepia'. See also here **Fig. 60**, labels: ISEUM; SERAPEUM; Arco di Camilliano; "VIA PETRARCA"/ CLIVUS SALUTIS ?).

Already Ferdinando Castagnoli (1985, 319 n. 22) and Carla Alfano (1992, 11 with ns. 3, 4) had discussed this road, but it had not been mapped so far, although great parts of it have been excavated. It was described by Petrarca (20.7.1304-18.7.1374), which is why I have called it "Via Petrarca" on my maps. This road, as the poet tells us, led from the Quirinal to the Tiber, passing through the Arco di Camilliano to the east of the Iseum Campense, as Petrarca explicitly wrote, and therefore certainly between the areas of the former ancient temples of Isis and Serapis. Alfano (*op.cit.*) has therefore convincingly suggested that this road was older than both temples and that its existence was the reason why these two 'halves' of the same sanctuary are divided by this piazza. If so, it follows, that this piazza was a public square. - To the Arco di Camilliano I will come back below (cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.g)).

Alfano (1992, 11 with ns. 3, 4) does not discuss the hypothesis of Anne Roulet (1972, 27, Fig. 352), which I find equally convincing. According to Roulet (*op.cit.*), the two 'halves' of the Iseum Campense - Iseum in the north and Serapeum in the south - may not be explained by the pre-existing "Via Petrarca", as I assume here, following Alfano. Roulet (1972, 27) rather argues that the architects of the Iseum Campense followed a typology that was typical of such sanctuaries; she observes for example that the sanctuary at Memphis has a similar hemicycle (as the Serapeum at the Iseum Campense), and that the Serapeum C at Delos has such a "central courtyard"; cf. Roulet (1972, 25 with n. 7, Fig. 350, p. 27). Roulet's relevant observations have been followed by Coarelli (2019b, 76 with n. 58, Fig. 16).

**Chapter IV.1.1.d) E.M. Ciampini (2005) has observed that the contents of the hieroglyphic inscriptions and of the representations on the pyramidion of Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) are closely related to the structures called *mammisis* in Egypt. The (new) king of Egypt was legitimized by the 'royal rituals', which were performed there and elsewhere. With the article of Emanuele M. Ciampini (2005) and with The first Contribution by E.M. Ciampini**

Given the fact that the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Domitian's obelisk (cf. *supra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.a)) mention, as we have seen above, *a*) the goddess Isis and her close relationship with Domitian, and *b*) the birth of the divine child Domitian and his coronation as pharaoh, I asked Emanuele Ciampini, whether or not that could be compared with the famous rituals connected with buildings called *mammisis* ('birthhouses of the king') in Egypt.

The only publication on ">>the house of birth<< (*mammisi*)" (so J.-C. GOYON 1988, 33), known to me, that made me ask Ciampini this question, is that by Jean-Claude Goyon (1988, 32-37) which will be quoted below (cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.e)).

"Certo", Ciampini replied, adding to this that he himself had made this observation long ago, and that he has also published it (cf. E.M. CIAMPINI 2005), namely that the scenes on the *pyramidion* of Domitian's Obelisk, as well as sections of its hieroglyphic texts contain contents that clearly relate to the ceremonies performed at *mammisis* and elsewhere (*i.e.*, the 'royal rituals') and thus to the legitimation of the (new) king. After our discussion, Ciampini sent me this article, which I publish here with his kind consent.

**Emanuele M. Ciampini (2005, 399-402, in his article "The Pamphili Obelisk: Two Notes on Pharaonic Elements in Domitian Ideology") writes :**

"Religious elements are clear evidence of relations between Rome and Egypt; in the first century B. C., the Iseum Campense became the greatest temple dedicated to Isis outside the land of the Nile, decorated with statues and material brought from ancient towns such as Heliopolis and Sais. In addition to genuine Egyptian materials, we find also a monument like the obelisk Pamphili or Pamphilus [with n. 1], whose texts have been composed in Rome from Egyptians who were still able to express the forms of pharaonic semantic [with n. 2].

#### **Divine mothers of Domitian**

Like pharaonic ones, the Pamphili Obelisk celebrates Domitian as the legitimate pharaoh, son of deities to whom the monument was dedicated. The inscriptions show the Emperor as son of the solar deities, such as Rê-Harakhti, while a female role is played by goddesses like Isis, Hathor, Wadjet, Mut, and Nekhbet. The same we find on the pyramidion [with n. 3], the power and the divine nature of the pharaoh as child-god was embodied in it, showing in this way the deep relation between Roman and Ptolemaic ideology.

The role of the goddesses is pointed out by an inscription which states: "The two Ladies (Uadjet and Nekhbet, patronesses of Lower and Upper Egypt) give their breast to his (Domitian's) mouth, the two Nurses are on his bands, and the Hathors play the tambourine around him. It is given to him the great duty (the kingship) that the Lady of mankind (Hathor) has created, while her ureus is on her head [with n. 4]. Here are stressed some key-figures for kingship: at first Isis as actress in the myth of Osiris, whose death is a topic in the growth of royal models and for the unity of the country, as shown by Graeco-Roman tradition in which the relics of the god are buried in the 42 Egyptian districts [with n. 5]; then her role can be related with the transmission of father's power to his son Horus. In the text it can be noted that a group of goddesses are related to the legitimation of the king: Hathor, Mut and above all Nekhbet and Uadjet are expression[s] of kingship which is the focus of *mammisis*, the structure where, since the Late Period, the king [was] born as a son of the divine couple, or as the son of the great goddess.

This role of some goddesses as mothers of the king is a late theology elaboration, whose growth can be dated to the Ptolemaic period, even if its origin is surely earlier (see below); some texts of *mammisis* show such a situation, the structure of the birth in Dendera, where the dynastic deities Nekhbet and Uadjet are at

both sides of Isis nursing the king. Here the divine mother [*i.e.*, Isis] says: "I suckle my baby, in order that he would vindicate his father; I nourish him as king, son of the king of Lower and Upper Egypt" [with n. 6]; Uadjet answers to her, [page 400] "I am the beautiful nurse of the fair baby, the nurse of the august child; I am behind you (Isis), embracing your body", while Nekhbet states, "I am the beautiful nurse who suckles her son without being tired, day and night" [with n. 7].

This scene is flanked by the solar god, Rê-Harakhti who gives a palm-branch to the child suckled by Hathor, saying, "I establish to you (Hathor?) endless jubilees, for hundreds of thousands of cycle of solar disc", and Hathor answers, "Oh Rê-Harakhti, I have nursed your heir as beautiful child, I renew him as your majesty" [with n. 8].

**Here we find the same actors of the Domitian[ic] text, and we have to note the figure of Rê-Harakhti who plays a central role in the legitimation of the Emperor.**

Graeco-Roman tradition about divine mothers can be traced back to the New Kingdom, when the mature state was able to create a complex model of legitimization. **During the Eighteenth Dynasty a mythological elaboration was composed about the Divine Birth of the Pharaoh:** in the funerary temple of queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (west Thebes) and in the temple of Luqсор, dated to Amenhotep III, scenes and texts describe the divine origin of the king who is son of the Theban god Amon-Rê, lord of the Karnak temple and chief of the gods.

**This myth is an elaboration of Theban theologians who created a narration in which, through different episodes (Amon-Rê decides to have a son, his incarnation as human father of [the] king, conception and birth of pharaoh), the ideology stresses the legitimization of the living ruler.** With Amon-Rê, many gods act in the choral narration elaborated by the Theban clergy; among them we note **the couple Uadjet and Nekhbet, dynastic patronesses and mothers of the king who confirm his power by means of milk: with it they suckle the young king, giving to him the divine nature of ruler;** at the same time their milk is a topic in the resurrection of the dead pharaoh since the Pyramids Texts (third millenium B.C.) [with n. 9]. Thus suckling is an expression of the royalty of the triumphant king [with n. 10].

**In the Amenhotep III version of the Divine Birth (Luqсор temple) the king is nursed by two cows that say: "We nourish you as king of Upper and Lower Egypt, you being alive and your heart happy on the throne of Horus; may you conduct the livings and rule over the two lands in triumph, like Rê for ever"** [with note 11]. **In the southern rooms of the same temple, Amenhotep III is followed by two goddesses, the first is Mut, while the name of the second, now destroyed, can be reconstructed by a fragmentary epithet as Wadjet** [with n. 12]; according to the text, they give to him access in the temple of father Amon and endless years. **Thus, it is confirmed the divine nature of kingship, related with the deities who symbolize here the two halves of the country.**

The "ka" called Flavii

**Kingship's legitimization is a topic in the Pamphili Obelisk, becoming part of the propaganda relating to the predestination of the Emperor. This aspect, whose echo seems [to be] recognizable in the coronation ritual just exposed, is joint with patterns of an ancient royal tradition; in it the power of the king comes from the divine father and from that element which embodies the abstract concept of kingship. The texts call this personification "royal ka", [the] expression of pharaoh's legitimization since his birth.** This doctrine can be traced back at least to the XVIII [th] dynasty, when Theban kings stressed the relationship with their father Amon-Rê, as shown in the Divine Birth [*i.e.*, the *mammisi*] just noted. This conception is the core of the decoration of [the] Luqсор temple, which can be considered a kingship's shrine. The renewal and legitimization of royal power was described in the decoration of the temple dated to Amenhotep III; during the ritual the union of the king with his "royal ka" who ties the living ruler with his ancestors; in them the Egyptian tradition saw the royal past of the present king, as shown in the funerary ritual performed [page 401] in honour of ancient pharaohs. **Past and present of kingship are identified with Osiris, which is the dead king, and Rê-Harakhti, the solar deity as expression of living power grown up by ancestors. With the accession to the throne, the human pharaoh becomes the temporary incarnation of an eternal concept; owning the "royal ka", he is legitimated as king of Lower and Upper Egypt, son of the Creator god** [with n. 13].



Echoes of these conceptions seem to be heard on the monument of Domitian [*i.e.*, Domitian's Obelisk], on which we read: "he has raised up this obelisk in true granit [!] for his father Rê-Harakhti, so that mankind can see the monument made, and the names of kings of Lower and Upper Egypt who were on the throne of Horus could be established, and the world could be healthy at the time of that dynasty whose name is Flavi" [with n. 14], while another text evidences the relations of Domitian with his ancestors: "he takes the kingship from his father Vespasian the god and from his brother Titus the god" [with n. 15]. Both sentences tie the living ruler with the ancient kings of Lower and Upper Egypt, and with the father and brother who had taken the imperial power before him; in this doctrine the sun god Rê-Harakhti plays the role of the kingship's source, the same we have just noted in one scene of the mammisis in Dendera (see above).

All these elements are grouped on an obelisk, that is a monument which since the third millenium B.C. celebrates the bond of pharaoh with the solar god; thus the obelisk confirms the power of Domitian as pharaoh and ruler of the whole Empire. In the first century propaganda, Egyptian patterns can be used in imperial ideology, becoming part of a wider program in which old elements are transformed according to the necessities of specific forms of kingship.

Such a situation makes the Egyptianizing tendencies of the Emperor a coherent expression of pharaonic ideology in the inscriptions of the obelisk: Domitian uses a classical phraseology with some lexicographical nuances, which stress this attitude, such as the pharaonic titulary. Indeed, he [*i.e.*, Domitian] is one of the few Roman emperors to have the complete series of five names; but it is striking that his whole pharaonic titulary is attested only on Italian obelisks (Rome and Benevent) [with n. 16].

One of the texts just noted makes a clear connection among monuments, ancient kings of Lower and Upper Egypt, and the Flavii dynasty; thus the obelisk is conceived as something which renders the names of the Emperor everlasting, creating a strong connection between past and present, which is the pharaonic model of divine rule and the Domitian[ic] power which is extended over the world. Also noteworthy is the particular use of the word "ka", which has been noted to play a central role in the royal doctrine; according to the late use of the Egyptian language, it can be considered a synonym for "name" [with n. 17], and the text of Domitian shows clearly its correspondence with "gens", a concept in which the relation of a single with his family group is expressed.

This particular use of the word covers two different semantic fields: on the one hand it is related to the family's name, and more generally, with the ancestors of the living ruler; on the other hand, it can denote the same family, that is the "gens", in which it may be reflected the Egyptian concept of kingship. The mention of Vespasian and Titus in the last text [*i.e.*, on the fourth side of Domitian's obelisk] may offer an element of Roman interpretation of the Egyptian royalty; the origin of Domitian's power, according to this inscription, is the kingship of the imperial ancestors who were the owners of a divine authority before him. The superhuman nature of the Emperor is stressed by the epithet "the god" which follows the names of Vespasian and Titus; the divine kingship, embodied by the living pharaoh, makes him after the death a form of solar god [with n. 18].

The legitimization in Domitian's inscriptions uses an imperial interpretation of pharaonic elements; we have just seen the use of the term "ka" which expresses the core of the divine kingship, but the same can be said for another Egyptian pattern. In the royal funerary belief of the New Kingdom the ka of the father is shown introducing the dead king to the deities: in the tomb of Amenhotep III (valley of the kings, Thebes west) the "royal ka" of the king's father Thutmosis IV is depicted with the son, greeted by the sky-goddess Nut [with n. 19] [page 402]; in this situation we find the elements noted in the ideology of Domitian, that is the ruler and the ancestor who gives him the power and the legitimization as heir [with n. 20].

The attitude of Domitian toward Egyptian traditions may reflect the diffusion of Isiac cult in the Empire; at the same time, his legitimization uses phraseology partially coherent with ancient forms, as shown by the central role of Isis and other divine mothers [with n. 21]. The use of Egyptian models could be related with the growth of a pharaonic titulary of the Roman rulers, as shown since Augustus, when the royal Egyptian names used to be considered a way to express the role of the Emperor as manifestation of the supreme power (see the use of Autokrator in the so-called coronation name) [with n. 22]. The divine nature of the Emperor is celebrated in the Egyptian temples where he is an image of the gods [with n. 23];

**however, we have to note that the imperial ideology in Egypt has particular forms;** evidence of this can be recognized in the chapel of the imperial insignia installed in the Luqsor temple, the same which we have just seen as kingship shrine of the New Kingdom [with n. 24]. **In the roman interpretation which stresses the divine nature of the ruler, we note the ideological elaboration of Domitian: in using ancient forms of legitimization, the Emperor chose to raise up a single obelisk, celebrating in this way his divine nature according to pharaonic patterns** [with n. 25; my emphasis]".

In his **notes**, Ciampini writes:

- 1 K. Lembke, *Das Iseum Campense. Studien über den Isiskult unter Domitian. Archäologie und Geschichte*, Band 3 (Heidelberg 1994) 20-21.
- 2 Texts: J.-Cl. Grenier, *Les Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de l'Obélisque Pamphili, Un témoignage méconnu sur l'avènement de Domitien. Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome - Antiquité. Tome 99.2*, 1987, 93-961. - Lembke (note 1) 210–215 (55) Taf.15-17. - E.M. Ciampini, *Gli obelischi iscritti di Roma*. (Rome 2004).
- 3 Grenier (note 2) 958 n.40.
- 4 Grenier (note 2) 945; Ciampini (note 2) 167.
- 5 H. Beinlich, *Die Osirisreliquien. Zum Motiv der Körperzergliederung in der altägyptischen Religion. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 42* (Wiesbaden 1984).
- 6 Fr. Daumas, *Les Mammisis de Dendera* (Le Caire 1959) 128 (10-11) pl. LX, II.
- 7 Daumas (note 6) 128 (12-13; 14-15).
- 8 Daumas (note 6) 128 (3-4; 7-8) pl. LX, I.
- 9 For the royal suckling see W. Seipel, *Säugen*. In: W. Helck/W. Westendorf (Hrsg.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie V* (Wiesbaden 1987) 340.
- 10 J. Leclant, *Sur un contrepoids de menat au nom de Taharqa. Allaitement et 'apparition' royale*. In: *Mélanges Mariette. Bibliothèque d'Étude 32* (Le Caire 1961) 263-266.
- 11 H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs. Studien zur Überlieferung eines altägyptischen Mythos. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 10* (Wiesbaden 1964) 30 (text XII Lc; scene 12) and note (a). A similar scene can be recognized in Graeco-roman mammisis: Daumas (note 6) 6 (12-13; 14-15); the cows are here identified with Hesat and Sekhather.
- 12 H. Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo - Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 18* (Mainz am Rhein 1977) 44 Taf. 74 (scene XVIII, 37).
- 13 On [the] meaning of [the] «royal ka» in the Egyptian doctrine of the New Kingdom see L. Bell, *The New Kingdom «Divine» Temple: the example of Luxor*. In: B.E. Schafer (Hrsg.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (London, New York 1997) 137-144.
- 14 Grenier (note 2) 939.
- 15 Grenier (note 2) 943.
- 16 J.-Cl. Grenier, *Le protocole pharaonique des empereurs romains. Analyse formelle et signification historique*. In: *Revue d'Égyptologie 38*, 1987, 82 note 2.
- 17 P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon. A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu. Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta 78* (Leuven 1997) 1079; it is to note here that the «ka» is related with the royal name since the New Kingdom texts; the ambivalence seems to be often conscious in ptolemaic period.
- 18 Bell (note 13) 144.
- 19 E. Hornung, *Tal der Könige. Die Ruhestätte der Pharaonen* (Zürich, München 1982) 14.
- 20 It is to note that legitimation and condition of heir are the focus even in the Osirian succession, see above.
- 21 L. Kákosy, *Probleme der Religion im römerzeitlichen Ägypten*. In: W. Haase/H. Temporini (Hrsg.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt. Teil II: Principat. Band 18 Religion - 5. Teilband* (Berlin, New York 1995) 1915–1916. - G. Hölbl, *Altägypten in Römischen Reich. Der Römische Pharaon und seine Tempel I. Römische Politik und altägyptische Ideologie von Augustus bis Diocletian, Tempelbau im Oberägypten* (Mainz am Rhein 2000) 35.

- 22 J.-Cl. Grenier, Traditions pharaoniques et réalités impériales: le nom de couronnement du Pharaon à l'époque romaine. In: L. Criscuolo/G. Geraci (Hrsg.), *Egitto e Storia antica dall'ellenismo all'età araba. Bilancio di un confronto. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale. Bologna 31 agosto - 2 settembre 1987* (Bologna 1989) 403-420.
- 23 See his connection with apotropaic deities such as Tutu: D. Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt. Assimilation and Resistance* (Princeton 1998) 120.
- 24 M. el-Saghir/Cl. Galvin/M. Reddé/H. el-Sayed/G. Wegner, *Le champ romain de Louqsor (avec une étude des graffites gréco-romains du Temple d'Amon)*. *Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 83 (Le Caire 1986) 31.
- 25 For the original position of [the] obelisk in the temple see Lembke (note 1) 25 (plan). On the theological implications of a single obelisk see now L. Bell, *Divine Kingship and the Theology of the Obelisk Cult in the Temples of Thebes*. In: H. Beinlich/Arno Egberts/R. Gundlach/D. Kurth/St. Wenig (Hrsg.), *5. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung. Würzburg, 23.-26. September 1999. Ägypten und Altes Testament* 33.3 (Wiesbaden 2002) 17-46.

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**To the following passage of Ciampini's (2005, 400) above-quoted text, I should like to add a comment :**

**"The "ka" called Flavii**

Kingship's legitimization is a topic in the Pamphili Obelisk, becoming part of the propaganda relating to the predestination of the Emperor. This aspect, whose echo seems [to be] recognizable in the coronation ritual just exposed ...".

Since I had not understood, why the text immediately preceding this section could possibly refer to a "coronation ritual", I asked Ciampini for advice. He kindly explained to me that in the just-quoted passage, he referred back to the paragraphs before, in which the goddesses are suckling the king: *this* is the allusion to the coronation ritual.

The relevant passages in Ciampini (2005, 400 with ns. 9, 11) read: "During the Eighteenth Dynasty a mythological elaboration was composed about the Divine Birth of the Pharaoh ... This myth is an elaboration of Theban theologians who created a narration in which ... (Amon-Rê decides to have a son, his incarnation as human father of [the] king, conception and birth of pharaoh), the ideology stresses the legitimization of the living ruler. With Amon-Rê, many gods act in the choral narration elaborated by the Theban clergy; among them we note the couple Uadjet and Nekhbet, dynastic patronesses and mothers of the king who confirm his power by means of milk: with it they suckle the young king, giving to him the divine nature of ruler ... In the Amenhotep III version of the Divine Birth (Luqsor temple) the king is nursed by two cows that say, "We nourish you as king of Upper and Lower Egypt, you being alive and your heart happy on the throne of Horus; may you conduct the livings and rule over the two lands in triumph, like Rê for ever".

**Only after having written this Chapter, did I find that also the Egyptologist Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi (2013, 101, in her Chapter: "Aspetti egizi dell'immagine imperiale") has addressed this specific feature in the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) :**

"Particolare interesse riveste un frammento, oggi al Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze [with n. 3], ritrovato nell'area dell'Iseo Campense, raffigurante il sovrano allattato dalla vacca divina (fig. 47): questa immagine, tradizionale in Egitto, introdusse a Roma un aspetto peculiare della regalità divina faraonica, riecheggiando rituali tipici dell'incoronazione, come appunto l'allattamento da parte della dea a segnare la

nascita del sovrano alla nuova vita regale: questo tema trova corrispondenza nell'obelisco di Domiziano [with n. 4] (fig. 48) ".

In her **note 3**, Capriotti Vittozzi writes: "Inv. 5419. Lembke 1994a [*i.e.*, here K. LEMBKE 1994b], 227-228 [Kat. E "18. Hathorhuh mit säugendem Haremhab (Taf. 36) ... Datierung: Neues Reich, 18. Dynastie, Haremhab (1333-1306 v. Chr.)]".

In her **note 4**, she writes: "Cap. 15.3".

**Capriotti Vittozzi** (2013, 162 in her Chapter: "15.3. L'obelisco di Domiziano") writes:

"Inoltre, come sottolineato da E.M. Ciampini [with n. 24], l'identità faraonica di Domiziano è espressa attraverso le scene del *pyramidion*, dove si definisce la sua nascita divina, grazie alla presenza di divinità femminili, mentre il testo parla dell'allattamento divino, un passaggio ben conosciuto nei riti di incoronazione [with n. 25]".

In her **note 24**, Capriotti Vittozzi writes: Ciampini 2005".

In her **note 25**, she writes: Leclant 1959 e Leclant 1960".

**Capriotti Vittozzi** (2013, 127, in her Chapter: "I luoghi `egizi' di Roma") writes:

"Altre interessanti considerazioni riguardano il ruolo di Iside nell'obelisco di Domiziano, la quale appare come elargitrice di regalità e, in tal senso, in relazione con Ptah [with n. 11]: ciò lascia intravedere una precisa citazione dell'ambiente menfita, che peraltro era l'antica capitale dove avveniva tradizionalmente l'incoronazione".

In her **note 11**, Capriotti Vittozzi writes: "Ciampini 2004, 165".

Capriotti Vittozzi (2013) discusses Domitian's obelisk also on pp. 41, 86, 87, 93-94, 99, 112, 113, 161-162, 167.

**See also Capriotti Vittozzi** (2014, 243-246, with ns. 26-36, Fig. 10.2), **where she *inter alia* summarizes Ciampini's above quoted article of 2005.**

**Capriotti Vittozzi** (2014, 245) writes: "... The divine descent of the Pharaoh [*i.e.*, of Domitian] is identified in connection to (the royal status of) Vespasian and Titus [with n. 26]. In addition, the divine birth of Domitian is expressed by the presence of maternal divinities (including Isis) in both the text and the images of the *pyramidion*. In his turn E. Ciampini has noted the relationships between the role of the goddesses on the obelisk of Domitian and Ptolemaic texts, in particular those from the *mammisi* at Dendera [with n. 27]. The scene of divine breastfeeding, described in the text on the obelisk [with n. 28], is closely associated with royalty, not only in regard to the divine birth, but also in regard to its role in the coronation rites [with n. 29]. The attention paid on the obelisk to the royal status of Domitian and his predecessors, expressed according to tradition but in a rather unusual way, can also be noted in the particular choice to designate the *gens* of the Emperor with the Egyptian term *ka* [with n. 30]".

In her **note 26**, Capriotti Vittozzi writes: "Grenier ... [*i.e.*, here J.-C. GRENIER 1987], 949. The scholar recognises [!] an explicit mention of specific dynastic events".

In her **note 27**, she writes: "Ciampini ... [*i.e.*, here E.M. CIAMPINI 2005] 399-400".

In her **note 28**, she writes: "Grenier ... [*i.e.*, here J.-C. GRENIER 1987], 945, Ciampini ... [*i.e.*, here E.M. CIAMPINI 2004], 167 (H.32)".

In her **note 29**, she writes: "J. Leclant ... [*i.e.*, here J. LECLANT 1951] 123-127; id. ... [*i.e.*, here J. LECLANT 1959], 69-71, Id. ... [*i.e.*, here J. LECLANT 1960] 135-145, Id. ... [*i.e.*, here J. LECLANT 1961] 251-284".

In her **note 30**, she writes: "Grenier ... [*i.e.*, here J.-C. GRENIER 1987], 939, "Ciampini ... [*i.e.*, here E.M. CIAMPINI 2005] 400-402".

In his first *Contribution* to this volume ("*La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*"), Ciampini deals in more detail with the subject 'legitimation of the (new) king', which is discussed in three passages of the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk that are already mentioned in his above quoted article of 2005.

The 'royal rituals', described by Ciampini (2005), which the priests began in the structures called *mammisis* by the enactment of the birth of the divine child (*i.e.*, the new king), culminated in the coronation of the (new) pharaoh that occurred at the festival of Egyptian New Year. Those rituals were performed every year; in those years, in which not a new pharaoh was crowned, they served the reigning king as "the repeated confirmation of his royal power"; cf. Jean-Claude Goyon (1988, 33; cf. *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.e)). And Emanuele M. Ciampini refers to such a ceremony as "rituale di conferma del potere regale alla Festa del Nuovo Anno"; cf. below, at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini : La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*.

For the 'royal rituals', cf. also *infra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.e), and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix II. *Again on the Egyptianizing marble relief allegedly from Ariccia at the Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps (Fig. 111) - a representation of the Egyptian festival of New Year?*

*Chapter IV.1.1.e) J.-C. Goyon (1988) on the 'royal rituals', performed at the structures called mammisis, and P.G.P. Meyboom (2016) on the festivals connected with the Nile flood and on the 'royal rituals' at the festival of New Year*

Fig. 79. Drawings after scenes in structures called *mammisis* ('house of birth') in Egypt. From: J.-C. Goyon (1988, 34-35, Figs. 8-10; drawings).

The caption of his Fig. 8 in J.-C. Goyon (1988, 34) reads: "A scene from the *mammisi* at Philae. Here the divine child is nursed, modeled by the god Khnum, given years of life by the god Thoth, and, at the right, offered a pectoral by Augustus in his role as pharaoh. (Adapted from Champollion 1935: pl. LXXVI, 1)".

The caption of his Fig. 9 in J.-C. Goyon (1988, 35) reads: "The birth of the child-god Harpre ('Horus-the-Son') before Amun-Re, the goddess Nekhbet, and Cleopatra VII. The winged scarab above the child is identified as the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the solar god Khepri, who appears each morning and is identified with Harpre, the son of Amun. The scene is from the destroyed *mammisi* of Armant. (Adapted from Lepsius 1849-59, pt. IV: pl. 60, a)".

The caption of his Fig. 10 in J.-C. Goyon (1988, 35) reads: "Divine nurses from the destroyed *mammisi* of Armant. (Adapted from Lepsius 1849-59, pt. IV: pl. 59, c)".

The caption of his Fig. 12 in J.-C. Goyon (1988, 37) reads: "Procession from the Temple of Horus at Edfu. The train of priests, led by the pharaoh, carries divine images of the Living Falcon and the falcon-headed Horakhty ("Horus-of-the-Two-Horizons"). (Adapted from Chassinat 1960b: pl. CLIV)".

Jean Claude Goyon (1988, 32-33) writes:

*"Horus-King and the Triumph of the Falcon King*

The adaption of the sacerdotal functions that had already been germinating, as we have just seen, toward the end of the first millennium at Thebes, was to become the rule in Ptolemaic temples. Thus it is that at Edfu, for example, at the time of the great annual ceremonies, where the titular royal person (a Ptolemy whose throne name we know and whose effigy we may have on coins, but who never ventured, so deep into the

south) would traditionally have presided and conducted the holy office, a sacerdotal delegate, often the local high priest, took the place of the sovereign and assumed the rank and function of "Priest of the King". This indicates even more clearly the transformation that had taken place in the theological expression of the royal function, although formal appearances were scrupulously kept up in the temple reliefs. There the only names mentioned or images depicted are those of the ruling king, of divine pedigree, who had been crowned King of Egypt in Memphis. We have seen above that the pharaoh-Horus, embodying the principle of the maintenance of Ma'at, was recognized and universally accepted, whatever his name, not because of who he was but for the sake of the fundamental principle of social harmony. By stressing this idea and making use of the imagery of Horus, a vehicle at once of the divine (son of Osiris) and the royal (pharaoh, "Horus of the Living", Horus of Gold"), the priests of the third century B. C. concentrated in the representation of the Falcon of Horus and its Living Image, the Sacred Falcon, all the properties inherent in the concept of pharaonic royalty; that is, **the intrinsic association described above between Power and the Sacred**. While the Delta was becoming Hellenized, the South was revitalizing the royal elements of the Heliopolitan doctrine in order to give them a liturgical vigor never before attained.

The walls of the Ptolemaic temples of Edfu and Philae have preserved almost completely the reliefs and texts of the great royal liturgies celebrated in honour of the Living Image, the Living Falcon or the "Animal Sacred to Horakhty". The Living Raptor, whom the vital energy of the great solar king Horus animated, was chosen from among all those of his species housed in the aviary of the temple, and during his lifetime was the incarnate Horus and the earthly royal principle. All the solemn liturgies of the annual royal cycle, celebrated on the day forecast by the calendar of festival (based on an ancient Heliopolitan model), associated the living Sacred Falcon with the statue of the god-king in the temple.

**Thus, around the second century B.C., when the construction of the royal temples of the South was practically finished - and in a region completely cut off from the turbulent political world of the distant Ptolemies of Alexandria the ceremonies of the royal cult, the annual highpoints of the exaltation of the monarchic principle, unrolled in their entirety within the walls of the temple, away from impure contact with the profane world. Only the final phase of the great festivities of the cycle of renewal of royal power at the New Year brought to the people the glorious sight of their god-king.**

**The cycle harmonized with the astral year; the rites were integrated with the cosmic rhythms and their symbolism was inspired by those rhythms. Weaving their way to the calendar, the rites celebrated the essential acts and events of the endlessly renewed life of the king of the world. The liturgical dramas devoted to the divine birth of Horus-king, to his coronation, his accession, then to the repeated confirmation of his royal power (assuring the perennial nature of the reign) made up the central episodes of the religious year.** The clergy based their work on the ancient rituals that came from Heliopolis, where they had been codified well before the time of the pyramids and piously preserved in the sacred archives; the clergy then drew up new copies, completed them and brought them to light to form the *ordo* of the ceremonies. **And, under the guidance of the priest of the king, the priesthood carried out, with faith and the greatest possible pomp, the celebration of the rituals [my emphasis]."**

For "the intrinsic association described above between Power and the Sacred", mentioned by Goyon (1988, 33), see his Section: "The Creation of the World and the Royal Function"; cf. Goyon (1988, 29-30; *id.* 1989, 33-34. The English version of his text is quoted *verbatim* in C. HÄUBER 2014a, 733-734 with n. 56).

Immediately after that, Goyon (1988, 33-34) continues:

*"The Royal Rites*

The liturgies of Horus-king (some of whose celebrations are described below) most often began, at Edfu at least, **at the end of the fourth month of that long Egyptian spring, the season of Peret (28 Pharmouthi in the Coptic calendar, or about the end of March). In the >house of birth< (*mammisi*), a special building in the forecourt of the temple, was celebrated the mystery of the divine birth of Horus the heir, legitimate king of the universe, successor to Osiris, the paradigm for all kings.** Since Dynasty XVIII a myth of the miraculous birth of the earthly king had been known. **In this myth, the creator-god Amun magically took the place of the bodily father, the reigning king, in order to impregnate the queen, a mother sanctified by**

**the divine contact, who would bring the royal child into the world when her time was come.** It was this same myth, adapted to fit the legend of Osiris, that was an underlying theme of Ptolemaic times. **The mother is Isis: queen, wife of Osiris, rendered pregnant by him after his temporary resurrection; and the longed-for son is Horus, but a Horus perceived as the symbol of the universal king** (CATS. 100, 101).

[p. 34] It is he whose coming birth is announced by the priestly actors of the liturgy when playing the roles of the divinities involved in the sacred drama; divinities present in the form of their small, portable statues. **While the theogamy and the conception of the god-son (denoted modestly by the image of the potter-god Khnum fashioning the body of the child on his wheel [cf. his Fig. 8 = here Fig. 79]) were recalled in secret, the announcement was solemnly made to Isis that she would bring forth into the world the king of Egypt.** After being brought to childbed, the mother of the savior-god, under the protection of the genies of birth (Bes, Hytyt) and of the Seven Hathors, the good fairies of universal happiness, gave birth to the divine offspring. **The wondrous child, recognized by his father the god, began his life, then, as a royal infant suckled by divine wet nurses** (Figs. 8-10 [= here Fig. 79]).

The entire ritual play was recast with reference to the old myth of the birth of Horus in the papyrus thickets of the Delta, in the secrecy of the swamps of Khemmis near Buto (CAT. 13). Because of this, the focal point of these ceremonies was the presentation, against the backdrop evocative of the Delta marshland, of the effigy of the falcon-god wearing the Crown of Upper and Lower Egypt (Fig. 11). **The symbolism of the scene, moreover, was twofold: if it effectively evoked the presentation to the universe of the newly appeared king, it was also intended to recall the mode of the appearance of the king of the universe at Creation.** The falcon was also the first living incarnation of Re-Horakhty taking possession of the world that his divine Word had just caused to surge forth from the watery chaos. **Once again, Light had been revealed and was guaranteeing life.**

**Birth and the creation of the world, these were the *idée-forces* behind the celebration of the main mystery of the royal plays of the year.** It was then necessary to move on to the acts of the reign. Although we cannot state the precise dates assigned to the festivities, due to the lack of documents, they followed one another in a logical order, **from 28 Pharmouthi to the fateful date of the coronation: the first day of the month of Thot (mid-July).**

When Re himself had announced the coming to the world of the heir by saying "Isis has brought into the world her Horus ...", **the renewed king regained his efficacy, and Ma'at, momentarily menaced, continued to rule the universe** [my emphasis]. - With the latter remark, Goyon (1988, 34) referred to the ceremony in those cases, when the already reigning king was the subject of those 'royal rituals'. Immediately after that, Goyon (1988, 34-37) continues: **"Nevertheless, it was still necessary to confirm the divine decisions about the future of the reign, and to do so at the occasion of the New Year. With the rising of Sothis (Sirius), harbinger of the approach of the Nile flood, the ritualists would prepare for the most important of the ceremonies of the annual *ordo*: the confirmation of Horus' inheritance and the festivals of coronation, coinciding with the New Year (1 Thot, around July 20).** The astrologer-priest having announced the arrival of the new water, the people impatiently waited for [p. 35] the miracle of Egyptian agriculture to renew itself, while from the first hint of dawn on New Year's Day an intense activity animated the temples devoted to Horus throughout the South. The liturgy that was beginning would involve the presence of the two holy symbols of royalty: the divine statue of Horus and his Living Image, the Sacred Raptor (Fig. 12 = here Fig. 79). All the rites, concurrently or consecutively, through the twenty days of the festivities would concern them. Early in the morning of the Egyptian New Year's Day, a procession was organized to bring the actors, adorned and anointed for the festival, to the places of celebration. First it would cross the threshold of the Holy of Holiest; then it traversed the vestibule, the hypostyle, and the pronaos to reach the court. In the greatest [p. 36] purity the procession would make its way to the site of the "Pavilion of Bestowing the Inheritance". There, after the sacrament of anointing and the performance of prophylactic acts against "the dangers of the year", Horus-king and his Living Image would watch each other being presented with the emblems of the confirmation of the inheritance, while the lector-priest and choir chanted the verses of the great hymn "The Adoration of Horus Whose Inheritance Is Confirmed".

When the officiating priest had anointed the image of the royal falcon and the head of the Living Falcon, he pronounced the solumn salutation:

Hail to thee, Horus son of Osiris!

May thou be protected! May thou be protected!

Though art the eldest son of Onnophris,

Adoration to thee, Horus Triumphant! - four times - [with n. 1].

Then the acolytes would proceed to release the first set of messenger birds, who would fly forth to announce to the whole world that the king lived and reigned under the ultimate guarantee of the Creator.

Immediately afterward began the coronation ceremonies. Solemly, a priest playing the role of Thot proclaimed Horus king by intoning the powerful words of the "Royal Decree Spoken by Re-Horakhty", conferring on the son of Osiris the government of the earth. Sometimes Isis and Nephthys (personified by female members of the clergy, as at Philae) took up in turn the essential words of the decree, proclaiming them very loudly so that the world of man on the outside could not be in ignorance of their significance. The people, excluded from the secrecy of these rites, were never ignorant of their meaning and were living through the drama of waiting. Inside the sacred precinct, the divine stolist (priests charged with anointments and with dressing the divine statues) would now bring the Crown, the Red of the North and the White of the South; the scepters and weapons; and would consecrate them for the statue of Horus and for his Living Image who accompanied him. All this time a choir had been chanting the litanies for the protection of the Year, while the sacrament of anointing the statue of Horus was being carried out using a scented chrisem called "the greatest rejoicing" (*hekenu*).

Simultaneously, the Living Falcon was also receiving a similar anointment and was being offered the consecrated jewelry, the scepters, and the solar bouquets of Heliopolis, all symbols of the universal life of which he was to become the guarantor.

"Thy Ma'at is with thee, O Living Image, Living Falcon, and thou art its lord ... [with n. 2]".

When these sacramental words had been pronounced, the principal date of 19 Thot had arrived, a date which had to coincide with the announcement to the world of men of the consummation of the supreme act for the safeguarding of life. Then, from the aviaries of the temple were brought the messenger birds who would carry the message of salvation to the four cardinal points of the universe. After having received the anointment that sanctified their mission, a falcon (embodying a replica of the Living Falcon of the Year), an ibis, a vulture, and finally another falcon (incarnating Horus son of Osiris), successively took wing. Accompanying their departure the liturgical choir chanted once again the verse of the "Decree of Re", giving to Horus dominion over the Egyptian world and its people. This was made necessary by the fact that the *actual* king, guarantor of Ma'at, was, from this instant on, the Living Image, the Sacred Raptor of [p. 37] the Year. It mattered little that, at the appropriate points in the sacramental phrases, the name of the Ptolemy reigning in Alexandria was inserted; it was only pronounced following the evocation of the Sacred Animal of Horakhty. This animal alone played a real role and was, as far as the people of Egypt were concerned, the godking living on earth. And that is why this sacred hawk, in the company of the processional of Horus of Edfu or Philae, would be shown to the people amid a great concourse of joy and of chants invoking grace [cf. his Fig. 12 = here Fig. 79].

In later days at Edfu and Philae (around the first century B.C.), when the pylons had been built, the procession would form in the Court of Festivals to proceed to the Balcony of Appearances of the Falcon. Formerly constructed for the festival in the front area of the temple, it was now simply a balcony built in the passage over the central door between the two wings of the pylon on the south face of the building (Fig. 1), the side that opened to the world of men. The pylon itself was a symbolic representation of the ancient Egyptian conception of the horizon: a cross-section of the two cliffs bordering the Nile on the east and west. At the center of the pylon, the top of the axial gateway formed a special terrace where the divine effigy and its living counterpart could make their appearance. This appearance was the equivalent of showing the sun inscribing its course over the land of Egypt and of confirming to the assembled through the renewal of this priceless gift of the light of life. Such a transmission, through such a liturgy, proved beyond a doubt to even the least aware peasants of Upper Egypt gathered for the festival that their world could endure, that it was constantly being protected and recreated because, as had happened since the



**very beginning of their memories, the king and the god (closely united in the veneration of Egypt), were working together to give Egypt life [my emphasis]"**.

In his **note 1**, Goyon wrote: "Brooklyn Papyrus 47.218.50, XVI, 4-5".

In his **note 2**, he wrote: "Alliot 1954, vol. 2: 661".

At the end of his article, Goyon (1988, 39) provided a:

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#### **Let's now return to the discussion of Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28).**

Now, since the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk, refer to Domitian's birth as the divine child and to his coronation as pharaoh (cf. K. LEMBKE 1994b, 41, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.c); J.-C. GRENIER 2009, 238, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.a); E.M. CIAMPINI 2005, 399-402, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.d)), it is indeed obvious that Domitian and his Egyptian consultants thus hinted at the rituals performed at the structures called *mammisis* in Egypt, where the birth of the king of Egypt by his divine mother, the goddess Isis, was enacted by priests. The hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk refer also to the other 'royal rites', described by Goyon (1988, 33-34) in the passages quoted above, which culminated in the coronation ceremony of the pharaoh that occurred on the festival of Egyptian New Year. The latter ceremonies are also discussed by Paul G.P. Meyboom, whose relevant observations are quoted in the following Chapter, as well as *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix. II. Again on the Egyptianizing marble relief allegedly from Ariccia at the Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps - a representation of the Egyptian festival of New Year?*

#### ***P.G.P. Meyboom (2016) on the festivals connected with the Nile flood and on the 'royal rituals' at the festival of New Year***

Paul G.P. Meyboom (2016, 57-58) writes about a ritual, with which the beginning of the Nile flood was celebrated, as follows: "Some other interesting examples of a chest being carried in a procession may be found in the Graeco-Roman period. Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 39, describes a procession in which a chest

plays an important part; 'On the night of the nineteenth day (of the month Athyr) they go down to the sea and the stolists and priests take out the sacred box, which has a golden casket inside it. Into this they pour some drinking water which they have brought with them, and the people present shout: "Osiris has been found!"'

**The meaning of this rite was that the finding of fresh water indicated that the Nile flood, which was considered to be the [page 58] efflux of Osiris' body, had begun [with n. 94, providing references] ...**

**Osiris, a mythical Pharaoh, was killed by his brother Seth. Isis, his wife, searches in mourning for his remains. This stage of the myth represents the period in which the Nile has become dry, Egypt is suffering from the summer heat and drought, and the vegetation is dead. Isis finds Osiris' remains floating in the water. This symbolises the arrival of the new Nile water in June. Isis has Osiris's limbs attended to, embalmed and mummified (see fig. 81). In the course of this procedure she unites herself with him and from their union Horus, the new Pharaoh, will be born.** In the Graeco-Roman period the union of Isis and Osiris symbolises the fertilisation of the land of Egypt by the water of the Nile during August and September, as is explained in a famous passage by Plutarch *De Iside et Osiride*, 38: ... Just as they view the Nile as the efflux of Osiris, thus they hold the earth to be the body of Isis, not the whole earth, but as much as the Nile goes over, fructifying it and uniting with it; and from this union they assume Horus to be procreated.

The mummification of Osiris effects his resurrection and his mummy is placed in a funerary chapel where he becomes king of the realm of the dead. **This symbolises the revival of the vegetation in November and December, as a result of the inundation [with n. 96, providing references; my emphasis]".**

Concerning one detail of the above-mentioned rituals, Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi (2013, 56, in her Chapter: "II: Iside e la su cerchia; 2.2.4. Il Nilo") writes: "Nel mito, il cofano contenente il corpo di Osiride, era stato gettato nel fiume [*i.e.*, the Nile] e questo stesso venne riconosciuto come derivante dagli umori cadaverici del dio".

Cf. Meyboom (2016, 68): "Because of the relationship between Isis and Osiris with the inundation, the Pharaohs, who were representatives of the gods, traditionally played an important role in the ceremonies connected with the inundation. This role was taken over by the Ptolemies and their queens [with n. 155]. Their presence at these ceremonies is well attested. In a relief at Dendera they are taking part in the procession of the feast on the first day of the germination season which immediately follows the Khoiak festival (see fig. 93) [with n. 156]. The Ptolemaic king and queen became equated with Osiris and Isis by their Egyptian subjects and with Dionysus and Aphrodite by their Greek subjects. Dionysus was equated by the Greeks in Egypt with Osiris-Sarapis, both being gods of the rebirth of nature [with n. 157]". - In his **notes 155-157**, Meyboom provides references.

Cf. Meyboom (2016, 72-74): "The Khoiak festival, however, was not the only festival connected with the inundation. The course of the flood was marked by several other festivities [with n. 177]. In the first place **the beginning of the flood, which ideally coincided with the rise of Sothis and the beginning of the new year on the 19th of July, was marked by important ceremonies in which the sovereigns (or their representatives) also participated (see figs. 71, 73, 93) [with n. 178]. Another feast took place when the flood had reached a height sufficient to offer the prospect of a successful crop. This height, sixteen cubits,** was indicated on the Nilometers by a mark called the *semeion*, and one of the names given to the feast, **at least in the Roman period, was the Semasia.** Depending on the speed and the volume of the flood, the mark was reached at the end of August at Assuan, and [page 73] ten days later in the Delta. **When the mark was reached the signal was given to cut the dikes which had blocked the irrigation canals and the inundation could spread over the countryside.** This signal was rapidly spread throughout the country, a process which, in the Roman period was symbolically represented by the figure of the Semasia, a young woman on a galloping horse, holding a palm-branch (fig. 94). **The occasion was celebrated with ceremonies and festivities in which the sovereigns again participated [with n. 179]. Everyone had a holiday and all along the Nile, especially near the temples of Isis and Osiris, there were banquets and revels, eating and**

drinking, dancing and boating (see figs. 47, 96). The lotus, which had germinated in the soil when the Nile started to rise, began to blossom. This was the first sign of the rebirth of the vegetation and consequently became a symbol for it [with n. 180] ...

Moreover, besides the feasts for the beginning of the inundation and celebrating the high flood, there was yet another important feast which in the later Ptolemaic period [when the Nile mosaic at Praeneste was created, the main focus of Meyboom's book] fell in the inundation period. The beginning of the new year, the first day of the month of Thot, originally fell on the 19th of July, the day when Sothis rose and ideally the Nile flood began. In the course of more than a thousand years this date had rotated through the [page 74] year and around the middle of the second century B.C. it fell in September. At the time of the calendar reform of Augustus it fell on the 29th of August, and the beginning of the new year remained fixed on that day from then on. The 29th of August happened to be roughly the date when the necessary height of the flood was reached at Assuan and therefore actually coincided with the Semasia ... Thus in the course of time the connection which traditionally existed between the Nile flood and the beginning of the new year was more or less reestablished [with n. 183].

The sovereigns had traditionally played the main part in the ritual connected with the beginning of the new year. Like Horus, the Pharaoh triumphed over Seth, avenging his father Osiris (cf. fig. 93), and succeeded to his throne and sailed triumphantly down the flooded Nile. Because of this mythological and ritual background the feast of the new year was the ideal occasion for coronations and coronation jubilees. The same idea of the triumphant sovereign was associated with the Khoiak festival, at the conclusion of which the Djed pillar was erected, which again symbolised the triumph of Horus and the rebirth of Osiris (see fig. 81, above centre). For this reason the feast of the Djed pillar was even considered to be an alternative beginning for the new year [with n. 184]. In all events we find the Pharaoh closely associated with both the beginning of the new year, the coronation jubilee of the Pharaoh, the inundation and the rebirth of the vegetation [my emphasis]". - In his notes 177-184, Meyboom provides references.

*Chapter IV.1.1.f) What consequences has the fact, that the contents of Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) refer to mammisis, in regard to our question, for which location this obelisk was commissioned?*

In the course of our discussion on 11th May 2018, by looking at the assumed location of Domitian's obelisk on this public square between the Iseum Campense and the Serapeum (cf. here Figs. 60; 78), Emanuele M. Ciampini mentioned to me that in Egypt the structures called *mammisis* are always to be found *outside* the temple - as also stated in the above quoted passage by Jean-Claude Goyon (1988, 33; cf. *supra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.e)), who refers to it as: "a special building in the forecourt of the temple" (a text, which, of course, I had not with me, when Ciampini and I discussed the matter).

Ciampini and I have therefore come on 11th May 2018 to the following conclusions:

a) Already the facts that Isis appears in the scenes on the *pyramidion* of Domitian's obelisk (cf. E.M. CIAMPINI 2004, 159, and here Fig. 28), and that Domitian is explicitly called "amato di Iside" in the hieroglyphic texts of the Obeliscus Pamphilius (cf. J.-C. GRENIER 2009, 238; E.M. CIAMPINI 2004, 165, H 30), is enough to attribute this obelisk rather to the Iseum Campense than to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* - in the iconography of which Isis is conspicuously absent;

b) The scenes on the *pyramidion* and one section in the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) refer to the rituals performed at the structures called *mammisis* in Egypt, in which, among other ceremonies, the birth of the divine child, the future king of Egypt by his divine mother Isis was enacted; these rituals culminated in the coronation of the new pharaoh at the festival of New Year. On the *pyramidion* of Domitian's obelisk his coronation as pharaoh is actually represented, apart from the fact that it is described in the hieroglyphic texts of this obelisk. This additional information, which the scenes and the hieroglyphic inscriptions on Domitian's obelisk contain, may be regarded as another support of this idea.

Our conclusions thus support the idea of identifying the small square, which is marked on the Severan marble plan on the piazza between the *Iseum* and the *Serapeum* (cf. here **Fig. 78**), as a representation of the socle of Domitian's Obelisk at its original position.

As mentioned above, many previous scholars had assumed that Domitian's obelisk was commissioned for the Iseum Campense, and precisely for the just mentioned location (cf. here **Fig. 78**). Also several contributors to the Proceedings of the Iseum Campense Conference at Rome in May 2016 are of this opinion (quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter IV.1.), and, most recently, Eric M. Moormann (2021, 46 with n. 18), Miguel John Versluys (2021, 170-171, Fig. 3), Olaf E. Kaper (2021, 183 with n. 13), and Nathalie de Haan and Eric M. Moormann (2021, 86, with Figs. on pp. 83, 86).

So also Emanuele Ciampini (cf. E.M. CIAMPINI 2004, 157): "**Provenienza**: area compresa tra l'Iseo e il Serapeo di Campo Marzio [the emphasis is that of the author]"; and below, at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini : La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*. - To this I will come back below, in Chapter IV.1.1.h).

**Chapter IV.1.1.g) The controversy concerning the "ARCUS AD ISIS" that is visible on a relief from the Tomb of the Haterii (cf. here Figs. 89; 90): it cannot be identified with the Arco di Camilliano to the east of the Iseum Campense, but stood instead near the Temple of Isis et Serapis in Regio III. With a summary of Domitian's 'pharaonic project', called 'Colosseum city'**

The "ARCUS AD ISIS", which is visible on the relief from the Tomb of the Haterii depicting six buildings in Rome (cf. here **Figs. 89; 90**), is identified by many scholars with the Arco di Camilliano (also called 'Arco di Camigliano') to the east of the Iseum Campense. So first Heinrich Brunn (*AdI* 1849, 363-410; *MonInst* 5, tavv. 6-8, quoted after F. COARELLI: "Arcus ad Isis", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 97, Fig. 52; cf. F. CASTAGNOLI 1941, 59; R. TURCAN 1983, 24 (cf. L. BRICAULT and R. VEYMIERS 2018, n. 139, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g*)); K. LEMBKE 1994b, 20-21, 178-179, cat. C. 3, pl. 3,3; and M.C. LAURENTI: "Iseum: Arco di Camigliano", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 110, Figs. 70; 71. Cf. C. HÄUBER 2014a, 783 n. 1 [with ample bibliography]; cf. p. 794: it may have been created under Domitian, and if so, it documents what this part of Rome looked like under Domitian). Most recently, Claudio Parisi Presicce (2021a, 53; *id.* 2023, 110, quoted *verbatim infra*) takes for granted that the "ARCUS AD ISIS", represented on the relief from the Tomb of the Haterii, belonged to the Iseum Campense.

Cf. here **Figs. 59-61**, labels: CAMPUS MARTIUS; ISEUM; Arco di Camilliano; SERAPEUM.

Claudio Parisi Presicce ("The Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus", 2021a, 53) writes about the Arco di Camilliano, which he identifies with the "ARCUS AD ISIS" on the relief from the Tomb of the Haterii (here **Figs. 89; 90**) :

**"Under Domitian, in Rome the practice to frame the archway with a pair of columns set against the pillars, came into being, as is testified by the Arch of Titus at the foot of the Palatine (Levick, fig. 1) and the four-sided Arch of Domitian that features on the reliefs of Marcus Aurelius. The Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus [cf. here Fig. 121] displayed, for the first time in Rome, the type with four entirely round columns on the front sides - two on the outside and two in the middle between the central major passage and the two lateral ones - completely detached from the body of the structure. This scheme, which is also visible in the Arch of the Iseum Campense, probably Domitianic, and reproduced on the relief of the Tomb of the Haterii (Moormann, fig. 2), would become standard in the three-arched arches of the middle Empire [my emphasis]"**.

See the Italian version of Parisi Presicce's essay ("L'Arco di Tito nel Circo Massimo", 2023, 110), in which he has repeated this statement: **"È con Domiziano che si diffonde a Roma l'uso dell'inquadramento del fornice con una coppia di colonne addossate ai piloni, come testimoniato dall'Arco di Tito ai piedi del Palatino e dall'arco quadrifronte di Domiziano raffigurato nei rilievi di Marco Aurelio. Nell'Arco di Tito al Circo Massimo è attestato per la prima volta a Roma il tipo con quattro colonne a tutto tondo sulle fronti, due alle estremità e altre due al centro tra il fornice maggiore e i due laterali, completamente distaccate dal corpo della struttura. Lo schema è presente anche nell'arco dell'Iseo Campense, probabilmente domiziano, riprodotto nel rilievo della tomba degli Haterii e diverrà canonico negli archi trifornici del medio impero [my emphasis]"**.

**As I hope to have demonstrated elsewhere, the "ARCUS AD ISIS" - on architectural grounds - cannot possibly be identified with the Arco di Camilliano, nor with any of the other arches in the vicinity of the Iseum Campense; cf. Häuber (2014a, 788).**

*The "ARCUS AD ISIS" stood at the site of the Porta Querquetulana in the Servian city Wall*

**Other scholars locate the "ARCUS AD ISIS" (here Figs. 89; 90) near the sanctuary Isis et Serapis in Regio III. So for example Gösta Säflund (1932, 202), who was first to locate it at the site of the former archaic city gate Porta Querquetulana within the Servian city Wall. I have followed him, but assume the Porta Querquetulana at a different site than Säflund.**

I myself take the "ARCUS AD ISIS" for a replacement of the archaic *Porta Querquetulana* within the Servian city Wall, and thus as an entrance gate both to the sanctuary *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III* (as its name implies), and to the 'Colosseum city'. As Fred S. Kleiner (1990, 129, n. 12; cf. C. HÄUBER 2014a, 786 with n. 40) has convincingly suggested, the Roman Senate had erected the "ARCUS AD ISIS" in honour of Vespasian.

Before Säflund, already some antiquarians of the 19<sup>th</sup> century had located the *Porta Querquetulana* at the same site as I do now again. Prerequisites for my re-location of this archaic gate in the Servian city Wall were the observation by Clementina Panella (1996b, 35-36, with ns. 9-11, Figs. 59; 60 [with drawing of my road 'L']; cf. pp. 63-65 with ns. 71-73, Fig. 147 after p. 158) that the modern Via Labicana follows an archaic road, and my own reconstruction of the Servian city Wall on the *Mons Oppius* and on the Caelian; cf. Häuber (1998, 111 n. 158; *ead.* 2001, 81-83; *ead.* 2006, 45, for my location of the *Porta Querquetulana* at this site); Häuber and Schütz (2004, 100-102, with ns. 158-160, Abb. II.19 [for Panella's excavation of this road, *i.e.*, my road 'L', and our relevant discussion with Clementina Panella in May of 2000]; cf. pp. 61-108, Teil II.1., for my reconstruction of the Servian city Wall on the Oppian and Caelian), and Häuber (2014a, 23 with ns. 161, 162 [for C. PANELLA's 1996b findings concerning my road 'L']; cf. pp. 251-289: Appendix I. The reconstruction of the Servian city Wall on the Oppian and Caelian; for the *Porta Querquetulana*; cf. p. 274 with ns. 218, 219, p. 351 with n. 40, pp. 790-791 with n. 95).

Cf. here **Fig. 72**, labels: MONS OPPIUS; [road] L; COLOSSEUM; modern Via Labicana; LUDUS MAGNUS; REGIO III; Vigna XII Apostoli/ Reinach; ISIS ET SERAPIS REGIO III / FORUM: PETRONIUS MAXIMUS; ISIS ET SERAPIS; "Porticus with Piscina"; FORUM: PETRONIUS MAXIMUS; "MINERVA MEDICA" / FORTUNA VIRGO; Round Nymphaeum / FONS MUSCOSUS; Nymphaeum; School; Via P. Verri; Nymphaeum Piazza Iside; LUCUS QUERQUETULANAE VIRAE; Servian city Wall; PORTA QUERQUETULANA/ ARCUS AD ISIS; Via Gregoriana / Merulana (1575); VIA IN FIGLINIS / ancient Via Merulana / Vicolo di S. Matteo; Via Pasquale Villari; 58a-d "Terme di Filippo"; [58] a; [58] b; [58] c; 58d S. Matteo in Merulana; SS. Pietro e Marcellino; [roads] U; V; Viale Manzoni; Retaining wall; HORREA ?; MONS CAELIUS.

In my list of ancient buildings within the *Horti* of Maecenas that comprises 58 structures, the "Terme di Filippo" have the catalogue numbers 58a - 58d; the ground-plans of these structures were drawn after Giambattista (G.B.) Nolli's Large Rome map (1748). The reason being that this originally very large structure

at Nolli's time consisted of five separate ruins. For my catalogue of ancient structures in the *Horti* of Maecenas; cf. Häuber (2014a, 16-17).

Besides, already Antonio Maria Colini (1962), in his publication with Lucos Cozza on the *Ludus Magnus*, had observed that the modern Via Labicana followed an archaic road. I have written elsewhere: "The ground floor of the substructure on Via Villari [*i.e.*, the "Terme di Filippo"] was probably level with the ancient road underneath modern Via Labicana. The ancient name of this road is unknown. It follows an archaic road, as observed for its western part by Clementina Panella [with n. 545]. This fact was already known to Antonio Maria Colini [with n. 546], but has been overlooked by most recent commentators [with n. 547]"; cf. Häuber (2014a, 107).

In my **note 545**, I write: "Cf. *supra*, p. 23 ns. 161, 162".

Cf. **note 546**: "Colini, in Id., Cozza 1962, pp. 90, 118, n. 7".

Cf. **note 547**: "Cf. Häuber 2005, p. 16 with n. 33".

But not only the fact that the ancient road underneath the modern Via Labicana / Viale Manzoni was archaic allows the assumption that the archaic city gate *Porta Querquetulana* had crossed this road somewhere : even the precise former location of this city gate is still visible at the Church of SS. Pietro e Marcellino, thanks to the 'topographical pattern' obtuse angle of a road, immediately followed by a fork or 'street fan' of ancient roads.

Concerning this point, I have written elsewhere: "**A number of 'topographical patterns' indicate that there had been a gate in the Servian city wall at the ancient road underneath modern Via Labicana**, [the first 'topographical pattern' being the obtuse angle of the modern Via Labicana] **immediately to the west of the former old church of SS. Pietro e Marcellino** [which was accommodated within the city gate *Porta Querquetulana*] (map 17 [= here **Figs. 71; 72**], labels: modern Via Labicana; SS. Pietro e Marcellino, the ground-plan of the old church is indicated with a red area, the ground-plan of the modern church, to the east of the old one, is drawn with thin black lines). **These 'topographical patterns' are: the abrupt obtuse angle** [with n. 174] **made by modern Via Labicana at this point and the former 'street fan'** [with my note 175] **which had issued at this point; the combination of both is especially indicative. This is still partly visible on Nolli's map (map 1) and even in the photogrammetric data of the Comune di Roma (now: Roma Capitale; maps 3; 15-17 [= here **Figs. 71; 72**], labels: modern Via Labicana; Viale Manzoni, the dotted green line marked "U", leading north-eastwards to the *Via in Figlinis* and to the later phase of the same road, called ancient Via Merulana or Vicolo di S. Matteo, and the dotted line marked "V", leading south-east). Seen under the perspective that there had been a city gate at this site, the sanctuaries under scrutiny here [*i.e.*, the Temple of *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III*, the Temple of *Fortuna Virgo* and the Temple of *Dea Syria*] represent, taken together with this city gate, yet another 'topographical pattern'. All the 'topographical patterns' named here are quite frequent in Rome and in other towns (also post-antique ones) which had a city wall [my emphasis]". Cf. Häuber 2014a, 25).**

In my **note 174**, I write: "For the strategic properties of this feature at ancient city gates, cf. HÄUBER, SCHÜTZ 2004, pp. 95-96 with ns. 122-124 (with references), figs. II.17; II.17.A".

Cf. **note 175**: "Cf. HÄUBER, SCHÜTZ 2004, p. 95 with n. 118, fig. II.17".

For the "ARCUS AD ISIS", the Egyptian sanctuary *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III* and adjacent shrines, the Nymphaeum at Piazza Iside, the *lucus* of the *Querquetulanae Virae*, the Servian city Wall with the *Porta Querquetulana*, and the "Terme di Filippo"; cf. Häuber (1998, 111 n. 158 [on the replacement of the *Porta Querquetulana* by the "ARCUS AD ISIS"]; C. HÄUBER and F.X. SCHÜTZ 2010, 85, Fig. 1, label: PORTA QUERQUETULANA/ ARCUS AD ISIS?; C. HÄUBER and F.X. SCHÜTZ 2004, 97; C. HÄUBER 2014a, 51-75 [on the Egyptian sanctuary *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III*, the "Porticus with Piscina"]; pp. 75-80 [on two Nymphaea and the *Fons Muscosus*]; pp. 80-83 [on the building in Vigna Reinach]; pp. 83-84 [on the Nymphaeum at Piazza Iside and the "Terme di Filippo", an ancient substructure on Via Pasquale Villari,

built by Maecenas in his *Horti*, and on the still visible 'fan of roads', which had led to the city gate *Porta Querquetulana*. For the "Terme di Filippo" see also pp. 93-94, 163-167, 347-352]; pp. 95-106 [for the Forum of Petronius Maximus]; pp. 106-110 [for the *Lucus Querquetulane Virae*, the *Porta Querquetulana* and the Nymphaeum at Piazza Iside]; pp. 110-134 [for the Tempel of Fortuna Virgo and the Servian city Wall]. See also for the "ARCUS AD ISIS": pp. 153, 167, 170, 181, 228, 274 ns. 218, 219; Appendix VIII: pp. 415-417 [for the reliefs from the tomb of the Haterii, *inter alia* the "ARCUS AD ISIS"; p. 415 n. 6 [here the important observations concerning the reliefs from the tomb of the Haterii by G. SPINOLA 2012 are mentioned]; p. 480, Figs. 116; 117a [= here Figs. 89; 90]; Fig. 117b, p. 511; Chapter B 19.): pp. 634-643; Chapter B 31.): pp. 783-791; p. 783 with n. 1 [bibliography on the "ARCUS AD ISIS"]; Chapter B 32.): pp. 792-798).

For our re-location of the *Porta Querquetulana* suggested here; cf. also Lucrezia Spera ("Introduzione topografica", 2015, 9 with n. 37). Spera discusses all the buildings, to which also this *Chapter* is dedicated (cf. here Figs. 71; 72), and comments on all our relevant hypotheses that Franz Xaver Schütz and myself have presented before Häuber 2014a.

In their reviews of Häuber 2014a, Eric M. Moormann (2015a, 261) and Pierre Gros (2016, 351-352) have followed my reconstruction of the course of the Servian city Wall on the *Mons Oppius* and on the Caelian as well as my suggestion to locate the "ARCUS AD ISIS" at the site of the *Porta Querquetulana* within the Servian city Wall. James C. Anderson Jr. (2016, 288) acknowledges "the exact course of The Servian Wall in the area", and Mario Torelli (2016, 2013) follows my "ricostruzione del percorso delle mura serviane tra l'Auditorium di Mecenate e Porta Capena". Also T.P. Wiseman (2021, 12 with n. 19) follows my reconstruction of the Servian city Wall between the *Porta Esquilina* and the *Porta Capena*.

For the Arco di Camilliano (also 'Arco di Camigliano'), which is often (erroneously) identified with the "ARCUS AD ISIS" (here Figs. 89; 90), and for the "ARCUS AD ISIS" itself; cf. also Häuber (2017, 20, 28, 54, 62, 68, 70; pp. 72-73, Fig. 3.7.1.1; pp. 128, 132, 133, 134, 138; p. 139, Fig. 5,4 = here Fig. 89, pp. 142-144, 145, 153; pp. 171-172: "The Arco di Camilliano and G. Gatti's mosaico"; pp. 173, 174, 324, 325, 327. 328). - For the "Haterii Mausoleum"; cf. also Barbara E. Borg (2019, 253-255), suggested date: second quarter of the II. century AD.

To the tomb of the Haterii, and especially to the relief (here Figs. 89; 90), I will come back below, in Chapter IV.1.1.h), and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.g).

Fig. 89. Marble relief from the tomb of the Haterii, with representations of six buildings in Rome. Città del Vaticano, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano (inv. no. 9997). From: C. Häuber (2014a, 480, Fig. 116). Suggested date: between the late Flavian period and 120 AD; cf. Häuber (2014a, 415, 170 with n. 178; cf. p. 794: it may have been created under Domitian, and if so, documents what this part of Rome looked like at his time).

Cf. C. Parisi Presicce, M. Munzi and M.P. Del Moro (2023, 94, *opera* no. 39): "Rilievo con rappresentazione di cinque edifici urbani, tra cui un anfiteatro a tre ordini identificato con l'Anfiteatro Flavio non ancora completato da Domiziano e due archi con titoli (CIL VI 19151) *Arcus ad Isis // Arcus in sacra via summa*. Marmo giallo. Alt. cm 42,8; largh. cm 162,9; prof. cm 23,8 120 d.C. ca., reimpiego di una base. Da Roma, via Labicana (odierna via Casilina), località Centocelle, sepolcro degli *Haterii*: maggio 1848. Depositato nel Museo Lateranense: 20 aprile 1849; venduto dal Capitolo Lateranense: 30 aprile 1853, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano Ex Lateranense, inv. 9997".

Fig. 90. Same as Fig. 89. Detail with the "ARCUS AD ISIS". From: C. Häuber (2014a, 480, Fig. 117a).

Domitian restored also the huge substructure that flanked this former city gate *Porta Querquetulana*/ "ARCUS AD ISIS" on its outside to the north, and built a second one to the south. The multi-storeyed substructure to the north of the city gate was called by the antiquarians of past centuries "Terme di Filippo", on its roof

terrace stood, in my opinion, the Temple of Minerva Medica, built, together with this substructure, by Maecenas, but it functioned at the same time as an elaborate staircase that gave not only access to this temple, but also to the (later) sanctuary of *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III*; in addition to this, it (possibly) accommodated shops for luxury goods.

For this substructure and the Temple of Minerva Medica, built by Maecenas within his *Horti*; which stands in Via Pasquale Villari; cf. now Häuber (forthcoming, Laocoon, Chapter IV.2.8.).

The city gate *Porta Querquetulana/ "ARCUS AD ISIS"* had in part survived in the buildings of the former old Church of SS. Pietro e Marcellino, which were documented on Giambattista Nolli's map of 1748, from where we have copied them into our maps. To the south of this city gate Domitian built anew a huge structure, by which he extended the plateau of the Caelian. Only recently excavated, it has been interpreted as accomodating *Horrea* (?).

**This important part of the Flavian 'nuova urbs' (a name for it suggested to me my Richard Neudecker many years ago), was begun by Vespasian, who started building the Colosseum (who also finished the Temple for *Divus Claudius* on the Caelian; cf. Suet., *Vesp.* 9), which was completed by Domitian. I have written elsewhere:**

"Already Stefania Adamo Muscettola [with n. 25] had observed: ``... e se Gerusalemme è stato l'Azio dei Flavi, Iside ha svolto un ruolo analogo a quello di Apollo''. The treasure of the temple at Jerusalem, which is mentioned here between the lines, and Vespasian's own drastic financial laws can explain how the Flavian emperors managed to spend so much money on building".

Cf. Häuber (2014a, 153 with n. 25). In my **note 25**, I wrote: "Adamo Muscettola 1994, p. 87; cf. Häuber 2009, p. 312 with n. 36".

For the fact that Vespasian had started building the Colosseum; cf. Rossella Rea ("Amphitheatrum", in *LTUR* I [1993] 31): "Iniziato da Vespasiano (Suet. *Vesp.* 11.1), inaugurato da Tito (Suet. *Tit.* 7.3) ...".

To this I will come back below; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*); and at *Appendix IV.d.3.*). See also *Appendix IV.d.4.a) Domitian's building project 'Colosseum City'*.

Only after this Chapter was written so far, did I learn from Laurent Bricault and Richard Veymiers (2018, 141, with n. 87) that Vespasien issued coins with the legend: *Roma resurge(n)s* (cf. below, in Chapter IV.1.1.h, and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II.a)*).

The part of Rome discussed here covered those areas of Nero's *Domus Aurea* that were built on the *Mons Oppius* and on the Caelian and the valley in between them, where today the modern Via Labicana runs, and extended for almost 1 kilometre from the Colosseum eastwards towards this gate in the Servian city Wall. By building the aforementioned huge substructures on either side of the city gate *Porta Querquetulana/ Arcus ad Isis*, Domitian certainly added to the grandiose appearance of the entrance to this entirely new city quarter.

**Fig. 72. The 'Colosseum city' between the Colosseum and the *Porta Querquetulana/ "ARCUS AD ISIS"* within the Servian city Wall, one part of the 'Flavian *nuova urbs*', begun by Vespasian and completed by Domitian. C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz, "AIS ROMA". From: C. Häuber 2014a, map 3 (updated 2023 as here Fig. 71, detail).**

For an explanation of the cartographic details of this map; cf. Häuber (2014a, 873-874), and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.*).



For a discussion of the topography of this entire area, 'The Colosseum city'; cf. Häuber (1998, 111 n. 158; *ead.* 2009, 312-314 with n. 32, Fig. 2; *ead.* 2014a, 105 [for the old and the new Church of SS. Pietro e Marcellino]; cf. 153 with n. 26 [the east-west extension of the 'Colosseum city', measured with the "AIS ROMA" from the west side of the Colosseum to the *Porta Querquetulana/Arcus ad Isis*, is circa 920 m]; cf. pp. 153, 383, 552, 553-554 [for the Temple of *Divus Claudius* and two of its possible cult-statues (?), that of Messalina (?)/Agrippina *minor* and of Claudius' son Britannicus (?)] - to those two statues I will come back below]; cf. pp. 154, 166 [for Maecenas's Temple of Minerva Medica on the roof terrace of the "Terme di Filippo"], cf. pp. 180-181, 347, 350; and pp. 401-414: Appendix VII The finds recorded by Pirro Ligorio (1513/14-1583) in this area, and especially pp. 412-414 (on the *Summum Choragium, Castra Misenatium; Ludus Magnus, Armamentaria*; p. 413 with n. 96, for the most recent location of the *Ludus Dacicus* to the west of the *Castra Misenatium* (*i.e.*, both to the north of the modern Via Labicana); Chapter B 31.): p. 783 with n. 1 [bibliography]). - I myself have not drawn the *ludus Gallicus* on our maps because, apart from the fact that it is listed in one of the Constantinian Regionary Catalogues within the Augustan *Regio II*, its precise location is unknown. Carlo Pavolini ("Ludus Gallicus", in: *LTUR III* [1996] 196) tentatively suggests that it stood in the vicinity of the *Ludus Matutinus*.

Cf. Häuber (2014a, **maps 3** [= here **Figs. 71; 72**]; **17**, labels: MONS OPPIUS; COLOSSEUM; MONS CAELIUS; TEMPLUM: DIVUS CLAUDIUS; [road] L; modern Via Labicana; site of LUDUS MATUTINUS; LUDUS MAGNUS; site of LUDUS DACICUS; site of CASTRA MISENATIUM; ARMAMENTARIA?; SUMMUM CHORAGIUM?; MONETA/ HORREA?/ S. Clemente; ISIS ET SERAPIS REGIO III; Via Pasquale Villari; 58a-d "Terme di Filippo"; Temple: MINERVA MEDICA; Servian city Wall; PORTA QUERQUETULANA/ ARCUS AD ISIS; SS. Pietro e Marcellino [the ground-plan of the old church and its adjacent convent, copied after Nolli's map of 1748, are drawn as red areas, being ancient structures, built into the ancient city gate, the ground-plan of the modern church, to the east of the old church, is drawn with thin black lines]; Retaining wall; HORREA?. See also C. HÄUBER 2017, 166-167, 324, 337); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.a*) *Domitian's building project 'Colosseum City'*.

For the transformation of Nero's *Domus Aurea* into the here-so-called Flavian 'Colosseum city'; cf. Eric M. Moormann (2018, 163-166, Section: "From Golden House t); cf. p. 165 (on the Temple of *Divus Claudius*); and pp. 165-166 (on Domitian's *Meta Sudans*. For that; cf. also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix V.*; Section V.). See now also Moormann (2021, 44; *id.* 2023, 57).

**For the four *ludi*, which belonged to the 'Colosseum City'; cf. now Werner Eck ("Zur Entstehung der kaiserlichen Gladiatorenschulen in Rom: Der *Ludus Dacicus*", 2020).**

My thanks are due to Hans Rupprecht Goette for providing me with this article.

Eck (2020) does not address the recent topographical discussion of the entire area comprising those *ludi*, which is why he has overlooked that the *ludus Dacicus* is not any more located at the site, where he suggests (*i.e.*, to the south of the *Amphitheatrum Flavium*/ the Colosseum, and thus to the south of modern Via Labicana); cf. Eck (2020, 64-65 with n. 33; cf. p. 60 n. 18). Currently, the *ludus Dacicus* is located to the north of the modern Via Labicana instead; cf. most recently Häuber (2014a, 413 with n. 96, summarized above), and here **Figs. 71; 72**.

Eck (2020, 59), after an analysis of the relevant ancient sources, comes to the convincing conclusion that of those four *ludi*, two, the *ludus Magnus* and the *ludus Matutinus*, had existed as an institution already under Nero. In the following, Eck (2020, 59) discusses also the assertion of the Chronographer of AD 354, according to whom Domitian had built all four *ludi*.

Cf. Eck (2020, 59): "In der wissenschaftlichen Diskussion haben dabei Aussagen des Chronographen von 354 die wesentliche Rolle gespielt. Denn dort wird unter dem Jahr 94 von der kaiserlichen Bautätigkeit unter Domitian folgende lange Liste vorgelegt [with n. 17]: *multae operae publicae fabricatae sunt: atria vii, horrea*

*piperataria ubi modo est basilica Constantiniana et horrea Vespasiani, templum Castorum et Minervae, portam Capenam, gentem Flaviam, Divorum (sc. porticus), Iseum et Serapeum, Minervam Chalcidicam, Odium, Minuciam veterem, stadium, et thermas Titianas et Traianas, amphitheatrum usque ad clypea, templum Vespasiani et Titi, Capitolium, senatum, ludos IIII, Palatium, metam sudantem et Panteum.*

Interessant ist in unserem Zusammenhang nur die Angabe *ludos IIII*. Vier *ludi*, Gladiatorenschulen, werden hier mit Domitian verbunden. Die einzelnen Namen werden an dieser Stelle nicht angegeben".

In his **note 17**, Eck writes: "*Chronographus anni CCCLIII*, in *Chronica minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII*, hg. TH. MOMMSEN (= M.G.H. Auctores Antiquissimi 9), Berlin 1892, 14".

See for the Chronographer of AD 354 more recently: Michele Renée Salzman (*On Roman Time. The codex-calendar of 354 and the rhythms of urban life in late antiquity*, 1990).

**For the (erroneous) assertion of the Chronographer of AD 354 that Domitian restored the "senatum" (i.e., the Curia Iulia); cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.c), and for his (correct) assertion that Domitian built "thermas Titianas et Traianas" (i.e., the Baths of Trajan); cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.4.c).**

**In the following, Eck (2020, 60-67) summarizes the scholarly discussion on the *ludus Dacicus* and explains why he believes that only Trajan could have built this *ludus*.**

Cf. Eck (2020, S. 67, the abstract of this article):

"In der Kaiserzeit wurde die Ausbildung von Gladiatoren bald in kaiserliche Regie übernommen. Im 2. Jh. existierten in Rom vier *ludi*: *ludus Magnus*, *ludus Matutinus*, *ludus Dacicus* und *ludus Gallicus*. Umstritten ist aber, wann sie eingerichtet wurden. Nach dem Chronographen von 354 soll Domitian *ludos IIII* errichtet haben. Obwohl diese Aussage nicht selten von der Wissenschaft übernommen wurde, ist sie unzutreffend. Sicher ist, dass eine spätestens unter Nero bereits zwei kaiserliche Gladiatorenschulen in Rom existierten: der *ludus Magnus* und der *ludus Matutinus*. Das hatte man schon bisher partiell auch gesehen, doch die beiden anderen sollen weiterhin auf Domitian zurückgehen. Doch ein *cursus honorum* eines Claudius Ilus zeigt, dass der *ludus Dacicus* auf die Zeit Traians zurückgeht [emphasis by the author]".

It would be interesting to create a '3D' model of the sanctuary *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III* and its surrounding buildings, comprising the 'Colosseum city', in order to better understand their impact on the city scape. Franz Xaver Schütz has made a first attempt into this direction, cf. Franz Xaver Schütz (2014; and *id.*: in *FORTVNA PAPERS* vol. I, *forthcoming*; C. HÄUBER 2014a, **map 4**, cf. pp. 154, 873-874).

**Most recently, Gian Luca Gregori and Valerio Astolfi (2023, 161) have studied the area that I refer to as Colosseum city'.**

**Contrary to Eck (2020, 60-67), quoted above, they confirm that the *Ludus Magnus* had indeed been built by Domitian, but, as so many other Domitianic buildings, it had later been 'usurped' by Trajan. The same is, by the way, also true for the near-by Baths of Trajan, which, exactly like the Forum of Trajan, had been started by Domitian, and the Moneta, which, moved to the site of the later Church of S. Clemente by Domitian, should later likewise be 'usurped' by Trajan :**

"La medesima operazione di appropriazione da parte di Traiano [as in the case of Domitian's *Mega-Forum* that became the *Forum Traiani*] potrebbe riconoscersi nel complesso termale della *regio III* (colle Oppio), che secondo le fonti letterarie sarebbe stato edificato da Domiziano [with n. 21]. Nonostante la pressoché totale assenza di documentazione archeologica relativa a una fase domiziana, le terme di Traiano si inserivano in uno stratificato paesaggio urbano marcatamente flavio, nel segno di una eccezionale continuità urbanistica con l'ultimo della dinastia. Ancora più problematica risulta l'interpretazione della completa ricostruzione del

*Ludus Magnus*. Il complesso, edificato da Domiziano nell'ambito della riqualificazione della stessa regio III, venne interamente ricostruito da Traiano ad una quota superiore di m 1,50, ricalcando, tuttavia, la struttura domiziana, di cui si conservano tracce nei livelli di fondazione ...

Anche la zecca di Stato, trasferita da Domiziano nell'area oggi occupata dalla chiesa di S. Clemente, fu ridedicata da Traiano, come documenta l'epigrafe su di un blocco di marmo pavonazzetto, riutilizzata poi come architrave di una porta della chiesa [with n. 24; my emphasis]"

In their **note 21**, Gregori and Astolfi write: "Anderson 1983, pp. 102-104; Packer 1997, pp. 3-4".

In their **note 24**, they write: "Lawlor 1992; Coarelli 2019 [*i.e.*, here F. COARELLI 2019a], p. 101".

**Apropos, "Nonostante la pressoché totale assenza di documentazione archeologica relativa a una fase domiziana", concerning the Baths of Trajan on the Mons Oppius, as stated by Gregori and Astolfi (2023, 161), quoted above.**

**Precisely that has in the meantime been provided** - by James C. Anderson Jr. ("The Date of the Thermae Traiani and the Topography of the Oppius Mons", 1985); and by Rabun Taylor, Edward O'Neill, Katherine W. Rinne, Giovanni Isidori, Michael O'Neill and R. Benjamin Gorham ("A Recently Discovered Spring Source of the Aqua Traiana at Vicarello, Lazio", 2020); cf. below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

**In the following, I repeat a passage, written for *supra*, Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*. I hope that in future studies these new observations, comprised in publications which reached me too late to be integrated into my text, can be added to the subjects discussed in this Chapter :**

Patrizio Pensabene ... sent me on 25th March 2023, in addition to this, two of his recent publications; cf. Pensabene and Javier Domingo ("Capitolo I L'area della Basilica e del Convento e il Tempio di Claudio", in: Franco Astolfi and Alia Englen: *Caelius II Tomo 2 Pars Superior La Basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo e il Tempio di Claudio*, 2022), as well as the article by Pensabene, which has been published in the same volume ("5. Recupero e riuso dell'antico nei SS. Giovanni e Paolo: gli elementi architettonici", 2022).

... **Patrizio Pensabene and Javier Domingo (2022) discuss in their article not only the Temple of the divinized Claudius, but also the enormous "aula absidata" as they refer to it, called by other scholars the *Augusteum*, that was located in the southern portico, surrounding the *Claudianum*, which is represented on the Severan Marble Plan.**

**For this *Augusteum*, where she suggests that the statues discussed by her were possibly on display (or alternatively within the *Claudianum*); cf. Emilia Talamo (in: E. LA ROCCA *et al.* 2011, 230-231, cat. no. "3.7 Statua di Agrippina minore come orante", Roma; Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini (inv. no. 1882), "Grovacca del Wadi Hammamat (Egitto) [my emphasis]"; this torso is restored with a plaster cast of the statue's head in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek at Copenhagen; cf. p. 232, cat. no. "3.8 Statua di fanciullo togato", Britannicus?, Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi (inv. no. 1914). As already mentioned above, I myself wonder, whether the head of this statue actually belongs to the statue; cf. Häuber (2014a, 395-399).**

We have also heard above, that John Pollini has now dedicated a study to the portrait-type of Claudius's son Britannicus ("New Observations on the imperial reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias and the portraiture of Claudius, Britannicus, and the young Nero", 2021). But Pollini (2021) does not consider in his article the "Statua di fanciullo togato", Britannicus?, Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi (inv. no. 1914)", discussed by Talamo (2011).

According to Pensabene and Domingo (2022, 54) this enormous "aula absidata"/ the *Augusteum*, located in the southern portico, surrounding the *Claudianum*, accommodated a cult of members of the Flavian dynasty, and that Vespasian, who had built this phase of the *Claudianum*, thus had aimed to 'add' a cult of his own dynasty to that of the Iulio-Claudians. **Pensabene and Domingo (2022, 54) suggest that the statues of**

**Claudius's family (thus referring to the just-mentioned portrait-statues of Agrippina *minor* and of the presumed Britannicus ?), were possibly on display within the Temple of *Divus Claudius*:**

"... la definizione dell'ampliamento del recinto porticato della piazza [surrounding the *Claudianum*] nella fase vespasiana, ha consentito di approfondire la funzione di alcune strutture segnalate dalla FUR [*i.e.*, the Forma Urbis Romae, the Severan Marble Plan] sul portico del lato sud, in particolare quella di un'enorme aula absidata molto probabilmente destinata al culto dei membri della famiglia flavia, che si aggiunse a quella dei giulio-claudi le cui statue dovevano forse trovarsi nel tempio centrale".

**We have also heard above that Thorsten Opper (2021, 128 Fig. 144 "Statua of Agrippina performing a sacrifice") suggests that this portrait-statue is carved from basanite (*basanites*) instead.**

Pensabene and Domingo (2022), who have studied the fragmentary architectural marbles from both the *Templum Pacis* and the Vespasianic phase of the *Claudianum*, convincingly stress the great similarities of both buildings. **The great "aula absidata"/ the *Augusteum* in the southern portico surrounding the *Claudianum*, actually occupied the same position as the Temple of Pax within the *Templum Pacis* (for both cf. here Fig. 58).** Finally I found also Pier Luigi Tucci's most recent article on the *Templum Pacis* ("Il Tempio della Pace : ricostruzioni e istruzioni per l'uso", 2022), which, in my opinion, should be considered in this context as well.

In future studies all these above-summarized new observations concerning the *Claudianum* and the *Templum Pacis* will hopefully be considered *together*. And provided, this could actually become a new research project, also the above-mentioned new findings by Francesco Paolo Arata should be considered as well. Arata (2012) has discussed an excavation at the Casina Salvi on the western slope of the Caelian, where Domitianic foundations were found, which Arata (convincingly) attributes to the pillars of Domitian's branch of the *Aqua Claudia*, built by the emperor from the Caelian to the Palatine in order to provide his Palace '*Domus Flavia*'/ *Domus Augustana* with water. As Arata is able to demonstrate, the building history of the *Aqua Claudia* on the Caelian is closely related to the building history of the *Claudianum*.

In addition to this, we should not forget what Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani has recently reminded us of. In his review of Pier Luigi Tucci's book on the *Templum Pacis* (2017), **Santangeli Valenzani observes** (2018, quoted *verbatim* in more detail *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.4.b): **"that in some cases the book [*i.e.*, P.L. TUCCI 2017] has already been outdated by the results of the latest research ... [listing in the following some examples for this fact]. Naturally these lacunae cannot be attributed to Tucci (except for the choice of publishing a monograph on a monument that is still being excavated) [my emphasis]"**.

For discussions of all above-mentioned subjects; cf. above, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III.; at point 3.); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.4.b) *Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the Templum Pacis, and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum; and in Appendix VI.; at Section XII.*

**Chapter IV.1.1.h) The new findings by B.E. Borg (2019) concerning the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* support the hypothesis suggested here that Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) was commissioned for the *Iseum Campense*. With some observations concerning the Temple of *Divus Traianus* at *Italica*, and concerning the *Marble Forum* at the *Colonia Augusta Emerita (Mérida)* in Spain. With The Contributions by Eric M. Moormann, Mario Torelli, and Walter Trillmich, with The second Contribution by Jörg Rüpke**

On 2nd May 2018, I had the chance to attend the talk by Barbara E. Borg at the British School at Rome on the subject: "Reviving tradition in Hadrianic Rome: from incineration to inhumation", in which she also discussed the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. On 3rd May 2018, I met with Borg at the British School at Rome, who was about to finish her book *Roman Tombs and the Art of Commemoration*, which has appeared in the

meantime (cf. B. E. BORG 2019), and in which she has published her findings presented in this talk. On 3rd May 2018, Borg was so kind, as to discuss the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* with me in Rome and to send me a printout of her text on the "*Templum Gentis Flaviae*".

**Domitian built the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* on the Quirinal, at the site of his father Vespasian's *domus*, where he himself was born (Suet., *Dom.* 1; cf. *Dom.* 15), and where later the Baths of Diocletian were erected.**

**Concerning the date of the construction of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, Filippo Coarelli (2009b, 94 with n. 311) suggests: 'not before AD 94'; cf. Häuber (2017, 162).**

But see Coarelli (2014, 196): "Dunque il tempio [*i.e.*, the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*] è menzionato esclusivamente nel libro IX [*i.e.*, of Martial], pubblicato tra la metà del 93 e la metà del 94 d.C., ciò che costituisce un decisivo *terminus post quem non*: la frequenza con cui esso appare in questi anni fa pensare che la costruzione fosse recente. Un'altra indicazione [concerning the date of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*] si può trarre dalla data della morte di Giulia di Tito (89 d.C.), **la prima che fu deposta: se ciò avvenne immediatamente dopo, potremmo attribuire allo stesso anno l'inaugurazione del monumento, che comunque sarà da fissare al più tardi, nel 92-93 [my emphasis]**".

Of the architecture of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* only scarce remains have been found in excavations, in addition, some architectural fragments and some relief fragments, all carved in Pentelic marble. Also the head of its colossal acrolithic cult-statue of *Divus Titus* (here Fig. 53) has been identified. And, as was earlier (but erroneously) believed, possibly also the head of its colossal acrolithic cult-statue of *Divus Vespasianus*. I am referring to the colossal head of Vespasian at Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (MAN) (alleged inv. no. 1889, in reality without inventory number).

As we shall see below, this head of Vespasian (MAN, alleged inv. no. 1889), according to Giuseppe Fiorelli, had (allegedly) occurred at the same site as the portrait of Titus (here Fig. 53). Note that the portrait of Vespasian in question is of a different style and of smaller proportions than the portrait of Titus (here Fig. 53). So far the marble quality of those two heads has not been described, nor tested.

**For the (alleged) find of "una testa colossale di Vespasiano, scoperta nel corso dei lavori di costruzione del Ministero delle Finanze, che già [Rodolfo] Lanciani (*BCom* 1873, 229) aveva collegato con il tempio [*i.e.*, the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; my emphasis]"; cf. Filippo Coarelli ("Collis Quirinalis", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 183).**

**But note that Lanciani (*BullCom* 1, 1873-73, 229) here announced instead the find of the colossal portrait of Titus (here Fig. 53). Lanciani was, therefore, first to suggest that the find of this colossal portrait of - obviously - *Divus Titus* - allowed the conclusion that in the area in question, as he expressed himself, 'should be located the *Domus* [of Vespasian], located in *Regio VI, ad malum Punicum*, which later Domitian had turned into the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*':**

"*Gentem Flabiam*. Questa indicazione dei cataloghi dee [deve?] probabilmente riferirsi alla casa posta *regione Urbis sexta ad malum Punicum ... quam postea (Domitianus) in templum gentis Flaviae convertit* [with n. 2]. Ora nelle fondamenta del nuovo palazzo del ministero delle finanze, presso l'angolo del recinto serviano, ove apparvero avanzi della porta Collina, è tornata alla luce **una testa colossale di Tito Flavio Vespasiano**; scoperta che ci permette assegnare il posto definitivo della *Gens Flavia*, e del luogo detto ad *malum Punicum* nella topografia della sesta regione [my emphasis]".

In his **note 2**, Lanciani quoted: "Svet. *Domit.* 1".

As I should only realize much later, already Paolo Sommella (2022, 261) has mentioned the fact that Lanciani had identified the area, where the colossal head of Titus (here Fig. 53) had come to light, as that of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

**Even later than that did I realize that among the recent scholars, who discussed the subject, it has been first Maria Cristina Capanna (2008, 177) to map the findspot of this head of Titus (cf. her Fig. 1, label: 5), and to identify this portrait as belonging to one of the cult-statues of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.**

Capanna (2008, 177) writes: "4. **A meno di 150 m dalla posizione dei resti** [of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, excavated by D. CANDILIO within the Baths of Diocletian; cf. her Fig. 1, label: B, and her Figs. 3; 4], **in occasione dei lavori di costruzione del Palazzo delle Finanze, venne rinvenuta una testa colossale di Tito (Fig. 1.5), che possiamo ipotizzare fosse appartenuta a una delle statue di culto del tempio** [with n. 1; my emphasis]".

In her note 1, Capanna writes: "**La testa fu rinvenuta sopra uno dei tratti di basolato della strada che limitava a N[ord] le Terme di Diocleziano. Si ipotizzò, in base alle abrasioni documentate, che fosse stata fatta rotolare per spostarla dal luogo di rinvenimento ad altro, a fini di riutilizzo come materiale edilizio; il tentativo di trasporto fallì probabilmente per il gran peso della scultura dalle notevoli dimensioni: CARNEVARI 1874-75; CAR II I 15; POLLA 1979, p. 37. La testa è conservata al Museo Nazionale di Napoli ed è in corso di studio da parte di E. La Rocca (informazione di A. Carandini)** [my emphasis]".

Cf. *Carta Archeologica di Roma, Tavola II* (1964) 239, II I no. 15: "Via Pastrenga - Ministero delle Finanze. Sterri per le fondamenta a) strada selciata [providing references]. b) Testa colossale marm.[orea] di Tito ... b) *Relazione 1871-72, 42; MemLinc 1874-75, 433*".

**Let's now turn to the colossal head of Vespasian in Napels (MAN, alleged inv. no. 1889), which, according to Fiorelli's (as we now know wrong assertion), was found in the area of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.**

See Coarelli (2009b, 93 with n. 298, for a colossal portrait of Vespasian which, in Coarelli's opinion, who [erroneously] believed it belonged to the former collection Farnese, was found in the *Horti Farnesiani* on the Palatine. This is the head COARELLI 2009a, 495, cat. no. 98: "Ritratto colossale di Vespasiano, Provenienza sconosciuta", Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (MAN) [alleged inv. no. 1889, in reality without inventory number] [E. ROSSO]; from Emmanuelle Rosso's account is clear that this portrait did *not* belong to the former collection Farnese).

According to Eugenio La Rocca (2009, 225 with n. 21) Giuseppe Fiorelli, "allora direttore generale per le antichità del Ministero della Istruzione Pubblica", had decreed in 1876 that the colossal head of Titus (here Fig. 53), which, in 1873, had been excavated in the area of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, was 'exchanged for' "alcuni frammenti degli *acta fratrum Aroalium*", and brought to Napoli under the pretext that the colossal head of Vespasian, MAN [alleged inv. no. 1889], had earlier been found in the same area. Which, if true, could have meant that this portrait of Vespasian had belonged to the cult-statue of Vespasian in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

This whole procedure had caused a scandal at the time; cf. La Rocca (2009, 225 with n. 21; and *id.* 2020b, *passim*). As La Rocca (2009; 2020b) likewise found out, the provenance of this portrait of Vespasian (MAN [alleged inv. no. 1889]), is unknown, therefore, this head was certainly not found near the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. La Rocca is also able to prove that the inventory number '1889' of this portrait of Vespasian at the MAN is based on an error. In reality this portrait has no inventory number at all; cf. La Rocca (2020b, 371, note 16). To this I will come back below.

La Rocca (2020b, 369, 371-378) discusses in great detail the scandal, caused by Giuseppe Fiorelli's decision to send the colossal head of Titus (here **Fig. 73**) to Naples, but does not mention Rodolfo Lanciani's above-quoted announcement of the find of this portrait of Titus in the (*BullCom* 1, 1873-73, 229).

Nathalie de Haan and Eric M. Moormann (2021, 82) seem to refer in their text to the (false) information by Fiorelli, mentioned above, that in the area of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* were found two colossal portraits of the divinized Vespasian and Titus: the head of Titus (here **Fig. 53**), which they do not explicitly mention, and a colossal portrait of Vespasian. De Haan and Moormann (2021, 82) illustrate on the same page *the other* famous colossal portrait of Vespasian at the MAN Napoli (inv. no. 6068), ex collection Farnese, tentatively suggesting that this portrait could have belonged to the cult-statue of *Divus Vespasianus* in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. De Haan and Moormann rightly stress the fact that only divinized persons could be buried in the area in question, because the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* stood within the *pomerium* (the sacred boundary of the City of Rome), which, when the city walls were first built, had run parallel to the Servian city Wall. For the *pomerium*; cf. *supra*, n. 199, in Chapter I.1.1.).

For the topographical position of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, in relation to the Servian city wall; cf. here **Fig. 58**, labels: COLLIS QUIRINALIS; Servian city Wall; S. Susanna; Caserma dei Corazzieri; site of DOMUS; ALTA SEMITA; site of DOMUS : T. FLAVIUS SABINUS / DOMUS : NUMMII; Baths of DIOCLETIAN; site of DOMUS : VESPASIAN / TEMPLUM GENTIS FLAVIAE;

De Haan and Moormann (2021, 82) write: ".. de *Templum Gentis Flaviae* ('de tempel voor de familie van de Flaviërs'). Dit bestond uit een vierkant terrein met een tempel, een park en de grafmonumenten voor Vespasianus en Titus, die hier als vergoddelijkten personen vereerd werden. **Alleen als vergoddelijkte konden zij hier in hun urnen worden beïjgezet, omdat doden normaal gesproken buiten de stadsmuren werden begraven ... In dit gebied kwamen bovendien twee kolossale portretkoppen van de vereerde keizers [i.e., of Vespasian and Titus] aan het licht, die tot de cultusbeelden in de tempel zelf kunnen hebben behoord** [my emphasis]".

The caption of de Haan's and Moormann's illustration on p. 82 reads: "Kolossaal portret van Vespasianus, mogelijk afkomstig uit de *Templum Gentis Flaviae* en onderdeel van het cultusbeeld van Vespasianus in de tempel zelf © Napels, Museo Archeologico Nazionale [inv. no. 6068]".

This portrait of Vespasian at Napoli (MAN inv. no. 6068), from the collection Farnese, has so far not been attributed to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. Because a photo of this head (MAN inv. no. 6068) and three photos of the above-mentioned portrait of Vespasian, Napoli (MAN, alleged inv. no. 1889), are published in Coarelli's (2009b) catalogue *Divus Vespasianus* on the same page, my guess is that this fact may have caused de Haan's and Moormann's (2021, 82) relevant confusion; cf. Filippo Coarelli (2009a, 495, cat. nos. 97 and 98).

For the portrait of Vespasian at Napoli (MAN inv. no. 6068), ex collection Farnese, has so far been suggested a provenance from the Baths of Caracalla and its identification with the head of the cult-statue in Domitian's Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*. Concerning this portrait, I anticipate in the following a passage, written for *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.*), where I have discussed the old tradition that this head was found in the Baths of Caracalla:

'Now, interestingly, Filippo Coarelli suggests instead that this colossal portrait of Vespasian at Naples (MAN inv. no. 6068) should be regarded as the head of the cult-statue of Vespasian at the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*; cf. Coarelli (2009b, 77, with n. 90, Fig. 14). Emmanuelle Rosso (cat. no. 97 "Testa colossale del *Divus Vespasianus*", Naples, MAN inv. no. 6068, in: F. COARELLI 2009a, 495) writes: "Benché l'appartenenza della testa alla collezione Farnese sia accettata, il luogo preciso di ritrovamento rimane problematico: la provenienza dalle Terme di Caracalla talvolta ipotizzata, è probabilmente da scartare ... [discussing further suggestions]", but note that Emmanuelle Rosso does not discuss Vincent (1981). - For a discussion of the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*; cf. *supra*, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*'.

Of a very different opinion than Coarelli (2009b, 77, with n. 90. Fig. 14) was Eugenio La Rocca (2009, 225, n. 21), who, discussing the colossal portrait of Vespasian at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale [MAN] at Naples (ex collection Farnese, inv. no. 6068), informed us that: "... Si crede che la testa colossale Farnese inv. 6068 provenga, insieme con un altro ritratto colossale di Antonino Pio inv. 6078 (= Ruesch 1911, pp. 248 sg., n. 1029, fig. 63), dalle Terme di Caracalla: Vincent 1981, p. 338".

Cf. R. Vincent, "Les collections Farnèse, Les antiques, in: Le palais Farnèse, a cura dell'École française de Rome, 1.2 (1981), pp. 331 sgg."

**But see now La Rocca (2020b, 371 with n. 16, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.c.2.), who states that the colossal portrait of Vespasian in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale at Naples (inv. 6068) was certainly *not* found in the Baths of Caracalla (!).**

Most recently, the colossal head of Vespasian in Naples (MAN, inv. no. 6068) has been discussed in the exhibition catalogue, edited by Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi and Maria Paola Del Moro (*Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore*, 2023, 155, *opera* no. 75).

Note that the artworks on display in this exhibition are referred to in this catalogue as '*opere*'.

The caption reads:

"[Opera] 75. Testa-ritratto colossale di Vespasiano su busto moderno

Marmo

Alt.[ezza] cm 192; largh[ezza]. cm 95

**Da Roma, Foro Romano, tempio dei divi Vespasiano e Tito (?): 1540-1550 (?)**

Roma, Collezione Farnese, Roma: 1566

Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 6068 [my emphasis]".

**To this caption, I should like to add some comments :**

- a*) after what was said above, this portrait of Vespasian (Naples, MAN inv. no. 6068) was certainly not found in "Roma, Foro Romano", as stated in this caption; the provenance of this head is unfortunately unknown;
- b*) the temple, to which this portrait is tentatively attributed in this caption: "tempio dei divi Vespasiano e Tito (?)" was only dedicated to the *Divus Vespasianus*, but not to the *Divus Titus*.

We will find this wrong assumption, mentioned under point *b*), also in the article by Eugenio La Rocca (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 122, 131, 135, 137, quoted *verbatim* and discussed *infra*).

**For further discussions of both colossal portraits of Vespasian at Naples (MAN):**

Cf. below, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**) ...; at Part I. *The statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori* (cf. here **Fig. 11**), the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524; cf. here **Fig. 29.1**), and the cult-statue of *Divus Vespasianus* in the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great).

#### **For the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* and the finds attributed to it**

Cf. also Coarelli (2009a, 496-497, cat. no. 99: "Ritratto colossale di Tito, Napoli, MAN [inv. no. 11089; 152 cm high = here **Fig. 53**] [E. LA ROCCA, who tentatively identifies this head as that of the cult-statue of *Divus Titus* in Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; this suggestion he has now confirmed in: E. LA ROCCA 2020b; so also L. KOSMOPOULOS, in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 125 with n. 32]; M.C. CAPANNA



2008; E. LA ROCCA 2009, 225 with ns. 19, 21, p. 230 writes that the portrait of Titus was a colossal acrolithic statue; cf. COARELLI 2009b, 94, with n. 322; C. HÄUBER 2014a, 165 n. 144; *ead.* 2017, 163; COARELLI 2014, 200 Fig. 50; E.M. MOORMANN 2018, 169-170; B.E. BORG 2019, 244-251, Figs. 4.20; 4.21; 4.22, especially p. 245 with n. 197; E.M. MOORMANN 2021, 46 with n. 17, who quotes C. HÄUBER 2021 [*i.e.*, this publication], and follows my view concerning the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* presented here; cf also below, at *The Contribution by Eric M. Moormann : Can We Reconstruct the Templum Gentis Flaviae?*. So also E.M. MOORMANN 2023, 59 with n. 18, who quotes for my relevant hypothesis: HÄUBER 2020 [*i.e.*, this publication]).

The colossal head of Titus (here **Fig. 53**) was also on display in the recent exhibition on Domitian, together with some architectural marbles from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. In this catalogue, the objects on display in this exhibition are referred to as 'opere'. Cf. Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi and Maria Paola Del Moro (2023, 153, *opera* no. 69).

The caption reads:

"[Opere] **69-74. Templum Gentis Flaviae**

[Opera] **69. Testa-ritratto colossale di Tito**

Marmo

Alt. cm 160, con base cm 217; diam. cm 103;

base cm 95 x 79

95 d.C. ca.

Da Roma, Quirinale, via Pastrengo: 1872

Portato a Napoli: 1875

Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli,

inv. 110892 [my emphasis]".

**The iconographies of all above-mentioned sculptures have no relation whatsoever with Isis or any other Egyptian divinity.**

#### **Was the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* built by members of the Haterii family?**

We have discussed in the previous Chapter (cf. *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.g)) one of the reliefs from the famous tomb of the Haterii, with representations of six buildings in Rome (cf. here **Figs. 89; 90**). I myself follow those scholars, who date this tomb between the late Flavian period and 120 AD; cf. Häuber (2014a, 415, 170 with n. 178). Barbara E. Borg (2019, 253 with n. 225), suggests instead the following date: "first quarter of the second century". Barbara E. Borg (2019, 255, Chapter: "4 Straddling Borderlines: Divine Connotations in Funerary Commemoration", Section: "Haterii Mausoleum") suggests the interesting hypothesis that members of the Haterii family may actually have been involved in building the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*:

**"He [*i.e.*, the tomb's founder, with n. 227] must have been in the building industry and, as a further relief from the tomb suggests in depicting a number of public buildings [= here **Figs. 89; 90**], [with n. 228] the Haterii were probably working as *redemptores*, contractors of building projects and construction work, for the emperor and the state. [with n. 229] While the father of the tomb's founder was an ex-slave, he was no imperial freedman but was probably freed by Q. Haterius Antoninus (*cos.* 53), a grandson of the Augustan orator. Antoninus is also known from brick stamps and so was in the building industry himself. The fact that he was closely related to a number of important individuals of his time, and that he was first cousin of both Valeria Messalina and Nero, will certainly have helped his freedmen to enter into important and lucrative businesses. [with n. 230] Having been involved in imperial Flavian building projects, the Haterii would doubtless have been close to the *familia caesaris*, and very aware of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* as well as Priscilla's mausoleum [which Borg discusses as well]. We may even speculate that they were directly involved in the building of the *Templum* [my emphasis]".**

For the "Mausoleum of Priscilla"; cf. Borg (2019, 251-253): according to her, this was the first private tomb to copy the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

In her **note 227**, Borg writes: "For a different but unconvincing view, see below at n. 255".

In her **note 228**, she writes: "Sometimes called the 'Via Sacra panel' after the inscription on a triumphal arch: Sinn and Freyberger, *Grabdenkmäler* [i.e., here F. SINN and K.S. FREYBERGER 1996] II, 63-76 cat. 8 pls. 20-4. The buildings are normally identified as Flavian, though no agreement has been reached as to their identity. **Freyberger and Zitzl** ('*Bautenrelief*' [i.e., here K.S. FREYBERGER, C. ZITZL and C. ERTEL 2016a]) **recently identified the buildings on the relief with the Arcus ad Isis of the Isium Metellinum on the via Labicana, the amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, an Augustan triumphal arch at the top end of the Scalae Caci in front of the temple of Magna Mater, the monumental entrance to the Augustan Templum Urbis Romae, the temple of Jupiter Stator and the Fornix Fabianus - all buildings erected and/ or restored under Augustus and connected with his victory at Actium. Should these identifications be correct, the authors are probably right to read the relief as an allusion to the founder of the Haterii's patron family, Q. Haterius Agrippa, a friend of Augustus and likely involved in his Actian victory, but through historic buildings that were destroyed in the fire of 64 CE and renovated or replaced under the Flavians [my emphasis]**".

In her **note 229**, Borg writes: See Martin, *Jurists* [i.e., here S.D. MARTIN 1989], 52-62, esp. 59, on Q. Haterius Tychicus as *redemptor operum publicorum*; Kolb, *Bauverwaltung* [i.e., here A. KOLB 1993], esp. [pecially] 130, 316-18; Kolb, *Rom* [i.e., here F. KOLB 1995], 473; Sinn and Freyberger, *Grabdenkmäler* [i.e., here F. SINN and K.S. FREYBERGER 1996] II, 22-6. For another *redemptor* depicting a crane as indication of his profession, see a relief in Capua: *ibid*, 56 with n. 63".

In her **note 230**, she writes: "As noted by the authors in n. 226". - Cf. her **note 226**: "**For a tentative reconstruction [of the tomb of the Haterii], cf. Hesberg, 'Profumo'** [i.e., here H. v. HESBERG 2002], 42-4 figs. 12a-c; for the relief, see Sinn and Freyberger, *Grabdenkmäler* [i.e., here F. SINN and K.S. FREYBERGER 1996] II, 51-59 cat. 6 pls. 11-16 [my emphasis]".

**To two of her notes; cf. Borg (2019, 255, ns. 228 and 230), I should like to add some comments.**

In her **note 228**, Borg mentions the hypotheses, suggested by Freyberger, Zitzl and Ertel (2016a. See also the publication by the same authors, 2016b). I too have discussed the interpretation of these authors of the relief with representations of six buildings in Rome, the 'Bautenrelief' (here **Figs. 89; 90**).

Cf. Häuber (2017, 21, 276-277, 283, 325-337), where I have come to the following results:

1.) Contrary to Freyberger, Zitzl and Ertel (2016a and 2016b), I hope to have shown that all the buildings, visible on the relief here **Figs. 89; 90** were built *anew* in the Flavian period.

2.) I agree with Freyberger, Zitzl and Ertel (2016a and 2016b) that the "ARCUS AD ISIS", the building at the far left of this relief (cf. here **Figs. 89; 90**), stood on the ancient road underneath the modern Via Labicana. But the sanctuary of Isis, to which this arch led, was certainly not the *Isium Metellinum* (as Freyberger, Zitzl and Ertel 2016a and 2016b suggest), which stood on the Caelian, but instead the sanctuary *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III* on the *Mons Oppius* (for that; cf. *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.g)). - For a discussion of Freyberger's, Zitzl's and Ertel's (2016a and 2016b) erroneous hypothesis to locate the *Isium Metellinum* there; cf. Häuber (2017, 337).

3.) The second building from left on the relief here **Fig. 89** is certainly not "the amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus", as Borg writes in her **note 228**, thus referring to the relevant suggestion by Freyberger, Zitzl and Ertel (2016a and 206b), but, as was previously always taken for granted, and likewise confirmed by Giandomenico Spinola (2012, 346, at cat. no. "VI.11 Bassorilievo con raffigurazione di edifici (sepolcro degli Haterii)" = here **Fig. 89**), the Colosseum.

Cf. Häuber (2017, 325-328 [for the Amphitheatre of T. Statilius Taurus and its correct location]; pp. 328-337 [for the identification of the amphitheatre on **Fig. 89** with the Colosseum]; cf. pp. 332-334 [for the discussion of FREYBERGER *et al.* 2016b, 378-379 of Dio Cassius 62.18.2, and the new translation of Suet. *Vesp.* 9.1, suggested by FREYBERGER *et al.* 2016b, 380 with n. 69. See also pp. 723-724, T.P. WISEMAN's comments on this alleged "'doubled accusative'", claimed by FREYBERGER *et al.* 2016b, and with correct translations of Dio Cassius 62.18.2 and of Suet. *Vesp.* 9.1]).

But because on the relief **Fig. 89** the Colosseum is only 3 storeys high, this is a clear indication of the date of this relief - and by implication of the whole tomb of the Haterii, since only Domitian would add a 4th storey to the Colosseum. Hence my suggestion to date the tomb of the Haterii 'between the late Flavian period and 120 AD'; cf. Häuber (2014a, 170 with n. 178). For Domitian's addition of the 4th storey to the Colosseum; cf. the Chronographer of AD 354.

As was already quoted in more detail above (cf. *supra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.g), Werner Eck mentions the buildings at Rome, which this late antique author has attributed to Domitian.

Cf. Eck (2020, 59): "In der wissenschaftlichen Diskussion haben dabei Aussagen des Chronographen von 354 die wesentliche Rolle gespielt. Denn dort wird unter dem Jahr 94 von der kaiserlichen Bautätigkeit unter Domitian folgende lange Liste vorgelegt [with n. 17]:

... *amphitheatrum* [*i.e.*, the *Amphitheatrum Flavium*/ the Colosseum] *usque ad clypea* ...".

In his **note 17**, Eck writes: "*Chronographus anni CCCLIII*, in *Chronica minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII*, hg. TH. MOMMSEN (= *M.G.H. Auctores Antiquissimi* 9), Berlin 1892, 14".

For Domitian's additions to the Colosseum: cf. Rossella Rea ("Amphitheatrum", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 31, with n. 52 = a drawing of here **Fig. 89**).

4.) The relief here **Fig. 89** does not show the monumental entrance to "the Augustan Templum Urbis Romae", as Borg writes in her **note 228**, thus referring to the relevant suggestion by Freyberger, Zitzl and Ertel (2016a and 206b). The authors (erroneously) assume the *Templum Urbis Romae* at the site of the (later) *Templum Pacis*. For a discussion; cf. Häuber (2017, 276-277, 283).

5.) for a detailed discussion of the tomb of the Haterii, and of the various interpretations of its reliefs, which was overlooked by Borg (2019, 255); cf. Häuber (2014a, 153, 167, 170, 181, 228, 274 ns. 218, 219; **Appendix VIII**: pp. 415-417; p. 415 n. 6 [here the important observations concerning the reliefs from the tomb of the Haterii by G. SPINOLA 2012 are mentioned]; p. 480, Figs. 116; 117a; 117b, p. 511; chapter **B 19.**): pp. 634, 642; chapter **B 31.**): p. 783 with n. 1 (bibliography); pp. 784-787, p. 788 with n. 70; pp. 789-791; chapter **B 32.**): pp. 792-796, 798).

In her **note 230**, Borg refers back to her **note 226**. And there she mentions "a tentative reconstruction" of the tomb of the Haterii by Henner von Hesberg (2002).

**To this, I should like to add the following comment :**

**When we consider the new findings related to the reliefs from the tomb of the Haterii, published by Giandomenico Spinola (2012, 345-346, cat. no. "VI.11 Il Sepolcro degli Haterii", and on p. 346, at cat. no. "VI.11 Bassorilievo con raffigurazione di edifici (sepolcro degli Haterii)" = here Fig. 89), von Hesberg's (2002) reconstruction of the tomb proves to be impossible; cf. Häuber (2014a, 170, n. 178, p. 415 with ns. 1, 6).**

**Let's now return to the colossal portrait of Vespasian in Napoli (MAN, with the alleged inv. no. 1889)**

After this Chapter IV. had been written up to this point, I received from Eugenio La Rocca his article ("La testa colossale di Tito nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli: uno scandalo agli albori dell'unità d'Italia", 2020b), which is dedicated to the colossal head of Titus (here Fig. 53).

La Rocca (2020b) confirms his earlier suggestion to identify this head of Titus as that of the cult-statue of *Divus Titus* in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. La Rocca (2020b) discusses also the head of Vespasian in the same museum, which is likewise colossal, but of smaller proportions than the head of Titus (here Fig. 53), and was certainly not found near the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. This is the above-mentioned head at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale (MAN) Napoli with the (alleged) inventory number 1889. As La Rocca (2020b, 371, n. 16: "Bernoulli 1891, p. 23, n. 13 («...im Hof links vom Vestibule, am Boden stehend [1889]»)») found out, in reality this number refers instead to the year ('1889') when this portrait was described by Johann Jacob Bernoulli, who mentioned this fact in his publication of 1891. To La Rocca's (2020b; and *id.* 2023) further findings related to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, I will come back below.

**Did Domitian bury in his *Templum Gentis Flaviae*  
also his mother and his sister, Flavia Domitilla *maior* and *minor* ?**

This fact is not explicitly recorded by our literary sources; cf. for those Filippo Coarelli ("Gens Flavia, Templum", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 368-369). Cf. p. 368: "È il *sacrarium* dedicato da Domiziano alla sua *gens* divinizzata, che servì anche da mausoleo: vi furono probabilmente collocate, togliendole dal *mausoleum Augusti*, le ceneri di Vespasiano e di Tito .... e certamente di Iulia, figlia di Tito (*PIR* F 426), che più tardi vennero mescolate con quelle dello stesso Domiziano (Suet. *Dom.* 17) ..."; cf. Coarelli 2009b, 94 with n. 309.

See also Grenier (2009, 238, already quoted *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.a): "esso [the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*] era dedicato al culto della *gens Flavia* in quanto tomba dinastica: le ceneri di Vespasiano e di Tito vi erano state deposte (Mart. IX,34,7 e Stat. *Silv.* V,1,240-241) ed esso ospitava quelle di Domiziano che qui furono mischiate a quelle della beneamata Giulia, la figlia di Tito (Suet. *Dom.* 17 e 22)"; Coarelli ("Gens Flavia, Templum", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 368); Eugenio La Rocca (2009, 228 with n. 45); Häuber (2017, 167); Barbora Chabrečková (2017, 40); Maria Paola Del Moro (2021, 185 with n. 2); Eric M. Moormann (2021, 46 with n. 16; *id.* 2023, 59 with n. 17); and many more scholars; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III.; at point 5.). For this prudent and faithful act of his nurse Phyllis, who had educated both Domitian and Iulia Titi (Suet., *Dom.* 17; cf. *Dom.* 22); cf. Häuber (2017, 167); and *infra*, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*. Iulia Titi was first to be buried in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; cf. Filippo Coarelli (2014, 196, quoted *verbatim supra*). My thanks are due to John Bodel for telling me by Email of 15th February 2022 that Iulia Titi, too, was divinized.

For the portrait of *Diva Iulia Titi* in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, where she was possibly represented with the (nude) body-type of the 'Venus Medici' or of the 'Venus Capitolina'; cf. Barbara E. Borg (2019, 284-285 with n. 379):

**"The first person buried in it [*i.e.*, in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*] was Iulia Titi [cf. here Fig. 55.1] (Suetonius, *Dom.* 17) and it is possible that she was honoured there with a portrait *in formam deorum*. A statue of her in the guise of Venus is attested by Martial (*Ep.* 6.13). As Annetta Alexandridis observes, it is the first time that an association with Venus is explicitly related to the woman's beauty and desirability, while under the Julio-Claudians the association with Venus Genetrix and the dynastic aspect were to the fore. Two replicas of a head with Venus coiffure in the style of the Capitoline or the Medici Venus that are likely to portray Iulia suggest that the body type that became the most popular choice for our private matrons [whose funerary monuments- and statues B.E. BORG is studying in her book of 2019] was equally inspired by her model [*i.e.*, that of the cult-statue of *Diva Iulia Titi* in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*]. [with n. 379; my emphasis]"**.

In her **note 379**, Borg writes: "Alexandridis, *Frauen*, 86, 173 cat. 147-8 pls. 31.3-4 (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 657 (IN 793); Vatican, Musei Vaticani, Braccio Nuovo 71 (formerly 78)). Cf. Mikocki, 'Ritratto', 385 n. 27; D'Ambra, 'Calculus', 222. The only extant portrait potentially of a nude empress as Venus is a statue in Dresden that may represent Lucilla (Fittschen, *Bildnistypen*, 78 no. 1), but has recently been identified as a private individual (Sinn, 'Verwandelte Götter', who establishes that the head belongs to the statue)".

For the two statue-types 'Venus Medici' and 'Venus Capitolina', mentioned by Borg (2019, 284-285); cf. Häuber (2014a, 644-648, Chapter: "B 20.) *The Medici Venus in the Uffizi at Florence and the statue of 'Germanicus' or 'Marcellus' in the Louvre at Paris*").

**Concerning Suetonius's (Dom. 22) reproach that Domitian had caused the death of his beloved niece Iulia Titi, Rose Mary Sheldon (Guarding the Caesars. Roman Internal Security under the Flavian Dynasty, 2023, in press; Chapter VII: "Domitian: Reigning in Rome"; Section: "Domitian as Emperor") writes:**

"Domitian's attitude later in his reign may have gotten worse because of the stress of the job and external events. Certainly, one of the things that may have affected Domitian's state of mind was the death of his niece, Julia, sometime between 87 and 90. [with n. 265] Domitian was absent from Rome for most of the year taking care of the revolts and wars on the frontier. If he received news of Julia's death under these circumstances, he would have certainly been affected. Julia was one of the few people for whom he felt any affection. They had grown up together and in the absence of their respective parents, may have grown close. Although her death may have caused him pain, the lurid story about her death being caused by Domitian forcing her to abort his child is probably a scandalous fabrication - what Jones calls 'standard vituperation'. [with n. 265]".

In her **note 265**, Sheldon writes: "On her death see Suet, *Dom.* 22. The traditional date of her death is assigned to 89 by most scholars. Julia is mentioned in the *vota* of the Arval Brethren for 3 January 87 (*CIL* 6.2065), but she is absent from those of 3 January 90, (*CIL* 6.2067). She appears as *diva* on coins of 90 during Domitian's fifteenth consulship".

In her **note 266**, she writes: "Jones (1992), 39, citing evidence from Martial, calls the abortion story a "farrago of nonsense." Southern (1997), 109 and n. 23. Foubert (2021), 97-100".

For one of Domitian's *aurei*, issued in AD 90 and representing Iulia Titi, which Sheldon (2023, in press) mentions in her above-quoted **note 265**; cf. Barbora Chabrečková (2017, 40, Fig. XII). Before that, in AD 88, Domitian had issued *aurei*, representing his wife Domitia Longina and Iulia Titi, both of them identified as "AVGVSTA", which have been discussed and illustrated by Lien Foubert ("Imperial Women and the Dynamics of Power. Managing the Soft Power of Domitia Longina and Julia Titi", 2021, 98, with Fig.).

Let's now return to Domitian's mother and sister.

Already Eugenio La Rocca (2009, 228) has suggested that we should suppose that, in addition to the already known members of his family, either Domitian's mother or sister, or both of them, were *buried* in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* as well: "Si deve supporre che ivi fossero anche le urne ... di una o di ambedue le donne con il nome Flavia Domitilla, la moglie († ante 69 d.C.) [with n. 52] e la figlia († ante 69 d.C.) [with n. 53] di Vespasiano, una delle quali divinizzata da Tito più o meno contemporaneamente al padre [with n. 54] ...".

In his **notes 52-54**, La Rocca provides references and further discussion. In his **note 54**, he says that scholars tend to believe that of those two ladies rather Flavia Domitilla *minor* had been divinized.

Dietmar Kienast, Werner Eck and Matthäus Heil (2017, 104), on the other hand, state that it is debated whether Domitian's coins, showing *Diva Domitilla Augusta*, represent the emperor's mother or rather his homonymous sister. Cf. p. 102 (on Vespasian): "Eine Tochter FLAVIA DOMITILLA (s.[iehe] unten)".

Cf. p. 103: "Flavia Domitilla die Ältere Geburtsdatum unbekannt ... ca. 39 Heirat mit Vespasian; vor 1. Juli 69 Gest.[orben]; 80 Memorialprägung mit Carpentum für Domitilla; nach 90? Consecratio als DIVA DOMITILLA AUGUSTA (?)". Cf. p. 104: "... RIC II 124 Nr. 69 ff. RIC II<sup>2</sup> 275 f. Nr. 146 u.[nd] 157. (**DIVA DOMITILLA AUGUSTA. Umstritten ist, ob diese Münzen der D.[omitilla] oder ihrer Tochter gehören**) und RIC II Nr. 153 f. RIC II<sup>2</sup> 214 Nr. 262 f. (Memoriae Domitillae [my emphasis])".

More recently, La Rocca (2014b, 136) has expressed his conviction that Domitian's mother, Flavia Domitilla *maior*, was actually buried in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. In his discussion of the tomb next to Mausoleum of Augustus, built for the children of Germanicus, he writes: "In fact, the so-called *ustrinum* of Piazza San Carlo al Corso, often confused with the Strabonian *καύστρον*, has been identified by S. Panciera with a funerary monument annexed to the Mausoleum. It was destined for the children of Germanicus and Agrippina *maior*, who for various reasons did not have the honour of being buried in the great dynastic monument [*i.e.*, the *Mausoleum Augusti*]. **This funerary monument**, perhaps built upon the initiative of Agrippina *minor*, almost certainly between 49 and 59, **hosted for a limited time (and before Domitian built the *templum gentis Flaviae*) his mother's ashes** and those of other relatives of Titus ... [my emphasis]", quoted in more detail and with references in Häuber (2017, 555, Chapter; *THE MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI* (Figs. 1.9; 3.5 [= here Fig. 58]; 3.7. [= here Fig. 59]; 3.8); Section: *The tomb next to the Mausoleum built for the children of Germanicus* (cf. Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.8).

Cf. here Fig. 59, labels: CAMPUS MARTIUS; VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso; S. Carlo al Corso; Tomb for the children of Germanicus; MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI.

Domitian's sister, Flavia Domitilla *minor*, has been identified with a portrait-type that is known from several marble portraits; alternatively, this portrait-type has also been identified with Domitian's and Flavia Domitilla *minor*'s homonymous mother, Flavia Domitilla *maior*. Personally, I side with those scholars who identify these marble portraits in the round with Domitian's sister, because they clearly show a young woman. - But the problem remains that those portraits have been identified on the basis of the above-mentioned coins, of which we ignore, whether they show Domitian's mother or his sister. Since both women had died before Vespasian became emperor, we don't have portrait-types of those ladies dating to Vespasian's reign.

The reasons, why I am suggesting that Domitian could have dedicated cult-statues of Flavia Domitilla *maior* and of Flavia Domitilla *minor* in his *Templum Gentis Flaviae* are:

- a) Only Domitian commissioned the portrait-type discussed here (cf. here Figs. 54; 55), which is identifiable because of coins, issued under his reign, that represent *Diva Domitilla Augusta* (but it is debated, whether those coins show Domitian's mother or his sister); it is likewise debated, whether or not both ladies have been divinized at all (but see below);
- b) because one of the marble replicas of this portrait-type has colossal size (cf. here Fig. 55), I wonder, whether Domitian could have made the, in my opinion very obvious, decision to commemorate also his mother who died prematurely, and sister by not only burying both of them in his *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, but also by dedicating cult-statues of both of them there.

If so, this temple tomb would not only have comprised cult-statues of two *Divi*, Domitian's natural father and brother *Divus Vespasianus* and *Divus Titus* (cf. here Fig. 53), but, in addition to this, also two cult-statues of *Divae*, Domitian's natural mother and sister, Flavia Domitilla *maior* and Flavia Domitilla *minor* (cf. here Figs. 54; 55). - We know also that a third *Diva*, Domitian's niece Iulia Titi, was actually buried in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* and had a cult-statue there.

I have borrowed from Flavia Coraggio the information concerning Flavia Domitilla *minor* and the portrait-type, which has been identified with her, in my above-mentioned points *a*) and *b*); cf. Flavia Coraggio ("9. Ritratto di Flavia Domitilla Minore su busto moderno, detta Messalina", in: Salvatore Settis and Carlo Gasparri 2020, 152, cat. no. 9 = here **Fig. 54**). In this catalogue-entry, Coraggio writes: "Il ritratto coincide con quello apparso su alcune emissioni monetali di aurei e denari conati durante il principato di Domiziano con legenda *Diva Domitilla Augusta*".

Of this marble portrait at the Museo Torlonia (inv. no. MT 527) the provenance is unknown. Coraggio (2020) mentions also the colossal replica of this portrait-type in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek at Copenhagen (cf. here **Fig. 55**). For this colossal portrait, which is broken off a statue; cf. also Vagn Poulsen (1974 II, 44-45, cat. no. 9, *Diva Domitilla*, Pl. XVI-XVII). Poulsen (1974) reported that earlier this portrait had been identified with Domitian's mother, but he himself likewise identified the represented woman with Flavia Domitilla *minor*; also of this portrait the provenance is unknown. As also stressed by Coraggio (2020) in her discussion of this portrait-type in general, the left profile of this marble head of Flavia Domitilla *minor* in Copenhagen (cf. here **Fig. 55**) shows striking similarities with portraits of her brother Domitian.

Seen from the front, the facial traits of the portrait of Flavia Domitilla *minor* (here **Fig. 55**) show, in my opinion, great similarities with those of Iulia Titi, to the effect that Flavia Domitilla *minor* here is almost as pretty as her niece Iulia Titi in one of her portraits (cf. here **Fig. 55.1**). For the portrait of Iulia Titi I am referring to; cf. Filippo Coarelli (2009a, 416, cat. no. 12 "Busto di Giulia di Tito", Roma Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps [inv. no. 8638, ex collection Ludovisi [E. ROSSO]). For the same portrait of Iulia Titi; cf. Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992), 179, Fig. 147 [= here **Fig. 55.1**]. "Portrait of Julia Titi, ca. 80-81. Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme. Photo: DAIR 57.618".

As we have seen above, the divinized Iulia Titi was buried in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* too, and there was also a statue of her in this temple tomb. If my hypothesis is true, the portraits of both ladies, dedicated by Domitian in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (of the divinized Iulia Titi and of the likewise divinized? Flavia Domitilla *minor*) could (in theory) have been carved by the *same* artist.

**Fig. 53. Colossal head of *Divus Titus*, marble (the marble has so far not been tested). H 1,52 m. Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (inv. no. 110892). Found at Rome "in 1873 in via Pastrengo during the excavations for the construction of the Ministry of Finance" (so E. La Rocca 2020b, 379), close to the north-west corner of the Baths of Diocletian. We owe to R. Lanciani (1872-1873, 229), to M.C. Capanna (2008, 177 with n.1), and to E. La Rocca (2009; 2020b) the identification of this portrait of Titus with the cult-statue of *Divus Titus* in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. From: E. La Rocca (2020b, Figs. 4-7).**

**Fig. 54. Portrait of Flavia Domitilla *minor* on modern bust, marble. H. 0,75, of the head 0,32 m. Roma, Museo Torlonia (MT 527). Cf. S. Settis and C. Gasparri (2020, 152, cat. no. 9, F. CORAGGIO). Photos: © Fondazione Torlonia.**

**Fig. 55. Colossal portrait of Flavia Domitilla *minor*, marble. H. 0,61 m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek (inv. no. 3186). F.S. Johansen (1995, 40-41 Nr. 9). Photos: Courtesy H.R. Goette.**

**Fig. 55.1. Colossal portrait of Iulia Titi, marble. H. 0,83, of the head 0,47 m. Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps (inv. no. 8638). Cf. D.E.E. Kleiner (1992, 179, Fig. 147); F. Coarelli (2009a, 416, cat. no. 12 (E. Rosso). Photo: D-DAI 57.618.**

The colossal portrait of Flavia Domitilla *minor* at Copenhagen (here **Fig. 55**) comprises part of the neck, and is only 0,61 m high (the head of *Divus Titus* (here **Fig. 53**) from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, likewise comprising part of its neck, is 1,52 m high), which is why this portrait of Flavia Domitilla *minor* certainly did not belong to the here tentatively-assumed cult-statue of *Diva Flavia Domitilla minor* in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

But, although I do not know those two heads from autopsy, to judge from the above-quoted illustrations, the renderings of the eyes and of the hair of the head of *Divus Titus* in Naples (here **Fig. 53**) and of that of Flavia Domitilla *minor* in Copenhagen (here **Fig. 55**) show great similarities.

Perhaps there is also something else which could support the idea that the head of Flavia Domitilla *minor* in Copenhagen was copied after the cult-statue of *Diva Flavia Domitilla minor* in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* assumed here. Whereas her portrait in the Museo Torlonia (here **Fig. 54**) shows her facial traits rendered rather unflattering and, therefore, possibly realistically, the portrait in Copenhagen (here **Fig. 55**) is clearly idealized, as Coraggio suggests:

**"L'accentuato naturalismo di questa effigie [here Fig. 54] potrebbe dipendere da un prototipo eseguito in vita, mentre la versione idealizzata, che negli esemplari a tutto tondo è in un caso (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek [here Fig. 55]) di dimensioni superiori al vero, ne costituirebbe la redazione postuma, celebrativa degli onori conferiti da Domiziano alla congiunta [my emphasis]"**.

#### **Domitian's sister *Diva Flavia Domitilla minor* was indeed buried in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae***

In the following, I repeat a passage from Rose Mary Sheldon's book (2023, in press), which was already quoted in more detail *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; in Section *II.*, because she suggests that: "The cult [of the Flavian *gens*] included most members of the Flavian *gens* including *Diva Domitilla* Vespasian's daughter". If true, this would, by implication, mean that Domitian's sister, *Diva Flavia Domitilla minor*, had also a cult-statue at the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

**"Rose Mary Sheldon (*Guarding the Caesars. Roman Internal Security under the Flavian Dynasty*, 2023, in press; Chapter 7; Section: "Imperial Cult") writes :**

**"... As Pontifex Maximus, he [*i.e.*, Domitian] had general oversight of the Roman state religion, and his attention to religion apparently surpassed the previous Flavians. He took his duties seriously and seems to have performed them conscientiously. [with n. 102] His interest in religion was far more than casual politics. The imperial cult was a means of underlying power for all emperors [with n. 103]. The imperial cult implied the divine right to rule ...**

**Scott believed that Domitian was responsible for the establishment of the Flavian cult throughout the Roman world, and that worship was kept going until the close of the second century in spite of the fact that Domitian suffered *damnatio memoriae*. [with n. 104] The Flavian *gens* had its own temple in Rome and its own cult with priests to observe worship. There is considerable epigraphic evidence for the activities of the priests of the Flavian cult. [with n. 105; my emphasis]"**.

In her **note 102**, Sheldon writes: "Murison (1999), 219; Scott (1975), 61; Rhodes (2014), 88-89".

In her **note 103**, she writes: "See Sheldon (2018), 41. Lendon (1997), 10 on the part the cult played in helping the emperor to rule. On the cult under the Flavians, see Fishwick (2009), 344-47. On the cult under Domitian, see Chabrečková (2017), *passim*; Fernandez Uriel (2016), 97-101".

In her **note 104**, she writes: "The cult included most members of the Flavian *gens* including *Diva Domitilla Vespasian's daughter*: *ILS 6692* and Julia: *ILS 6487* [my emphasis]"

In her **note 105**, she writes: "Epigraphical evidence from the empire: Scott (1936), 79-82. The very abundance of inscriptions causes problems with terminology. There were *sodales Flaviales*, *sodales Flaviales Titiales* and *seviri Flaviales*. It is not known whether these represented successive amalgamations of the college of priests as first Vespasian and then Titus were deified or whether they were different colleges all observing worship at the same time"'.  
"



When I asked Rose Mary Sheldon, whether the information about "*Divia Domitilla* Vespasian's daughter" in her **note 104** was her own finding, she was kind enough to answer me by E-mail on 26th April 2023, that this is not the case: she found this information in the publications, mentioned in her **note 103**, quoted above.

Reading the master thesis of Barbora Chabrečková (2017), which is fortunately published on the Internet, I found the answer to my question.

Discussing the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, Chabrečková (2017, 40) writes: "**The temple became a tomb for possibly up to five members of the Flavian family, who were either buried there directly, or their ashes were moved to the site later. The structure was often associated with the concept of Flavian heaven by ancient authors and the five deified Flavian *divi*, namely Vespasian, Titus, Domitilla, Domitian's son, and finally Titus' daughter Julia, were considered its stars** (Scott 1975, 69-71). **The only not-deified member of the family, whose remains were deposited there, was Domitian himself** [my emphasis]."

In the following, Chabrečková mentions Suetonius's (*Dom.* 17) account, from which we learn that also Domitian was buried in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. This fact is discussed *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section *III.*; at point 5.) and *infra*, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

For Domitian's son, Titus Flavius Caesar?; cf. now also Simone Pastor ("Esercizi e trasmissione del potere: l'ascesa della *gens Flavia*, l'*imperium* di Domiziano e il principe *polokrátor*", 2023). According to Dietmar Kienast, Werner Eck and Matthäus Heil (2017, 112) after the death of Domitian's young son followed his "Consecratio als DIVUS CAESAR".

**In his most recent discussion of Flavia Domitilla *maior* and *minor*, Eugenio La Rocca (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 131-132) writes:**

"Tito aveva già divinizzato, oltre che il padre, la sorella Flavia Domitilla, [page 132] morta intorno al 69, prima che Vespasiano fosse acclamato imperatore. A sua volta, Domiziano promosse la *consecratio* del fratello Tito, e in seguito del suo unico figlio maschio, morto in tenera età, prima della sua ascesa al trono, e di Giulia, la figlia di Tito, morta probabilmente l'89 [with n. 55]. **È possibile, malgrado non ci siano prove certe, che anche un'altra Flavia Domitilla, la moglie di Vespasiano e madre di Tito e di Domiziano, morta anch'ella intorno al 69, fosse stata divinizzata: resta però una certa confusione tra le due *Flaviae Domitillae*, madre e figlia** [my emphasis]."

In his **note 55**, La Rocca writes: "La Rocca 2009a, pp. 282-283".

Let's now return to our main subject.

See on the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* most recently, E.M. Moormann (2020, 274); Moormann (2021, 46 with n. 17); Moormann (2022, *passim*), quoted *verbatim* in detail *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*); and Moormann (2023, 58-60 with ns. 16-21); Paolo Liverani (2021, 87-88 with n. 20; cf. *id.* 2023, 118-119 with n. 20 [the Italian version of his article of 2021]); Diane Atnally Conlin (2021, 158, Fig. 7, who is still of the (erroneous) opinion that Domitian built the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* "on the spot of his uncle's house in which Domitian had been born"). See also Nathalie de Haan and Eric M. Moormann (2021, 82); and below, at *The Contribution by Eric M. Moorman : Can We Reconstruct the Templum Gentis Flaviae?*

Cf. Daniela Candilio (1990); (1990-1991 [1994]); Candilio (1995); Candilio (1999); Candilio (2000-2001, 552, n. 32); Rita Paris (1994a); Paris (2009. For her reconstructions of two of the marble reliefs of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; cf. *infra*, at Chapter *V.1.i.3.a*), and here **Figs. 33; 34**). Paris (1994b, 26-33, esp. p. 28 with n. 11: "La documentazione iconografica") follows Mario Torelli (1987, 564-567, Fig. 2: "immagine del calco ricostruito nel Museo della Civiltà Romana"), in suggesting that the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* is represented on one of the

*sestertii*, issued by Domitian in AD 95/96 (cf. here **Fig. 30**), and on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. below, at Chapter *V.1.i.3.a*); *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.3.*); *Appendix IV.c.2.*) and here **Fig. 31**). Of the same opinion like Paris (1994b) concerning Torelli's (1987) above-mentioned hypothesis had at first been also Filippo Coarelli ("Gens Flavia, templum", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 368-369, with Figs. 11 [*corr.*: 12 = here **Fig. 30**]; 180-182 [here **Fig. 31**], quoted *verbatim* below, at *Note by the editor Chrystina Häuber to Mario Torelli's Contribution on the Templum Gentis Flaviae*. Cf. *LTUR* V (1999) 262 [with further references]). For Coarelli's current opinion (published 2012), concerning the *sestertius*, issued by Domitian (here **Fig. 30**); cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Sections *II.* and *XII.* To the publication on the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* by Eugenio La Rocca and Lorenzo Kosmopoulos (2023), I will come back below. Lorenzo Kosmopoulos (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS, 2023, 130-131, quoted *verbatim infra*) discusses also the coin here **Fig. 30**.

For the coin (here **Fig. 30**); cf. Rita Paris (1994b, 26 Fig. 14: "Sesterzio di Domiziano (95/96 d.C) con raffigurazione di edificio decastilo". For the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (here **Fig. 31**), which shows in Paris's opinion a procession in front of a 'tempio decastilo'; cf. Paris 1994b, 28, Fig. 16: "Il rilievo del Museo Vaticano e quello del Museo Nazionale ricongiunti in un calco del Museo della Civiltà Romana". Cf. Paris's Figs. 17-19 on p. 29, and Figs. 1-2 on p. 32.

**Stephanie Langer and Michael Pfanner (2018, 142-157, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.3.*)), who date the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (here **Fig. 31**) to the Claudian period, are instead of the convincing opinion that this relief fragment shows a *sacrifice* in front of this decastyle temple.**

**Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.3.*); I. S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018) date the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" to the Claudian period.**

Of the authors, whose essays are presented in the exhibition-catalogue *Domiziano Imperatore. Odia e amore* (2023), also Agnese Pergola discusses ("Il dono Hartwig", 2023, 140 with n. 17); she attributes those reliefs and architectural fragments to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. Pergola (2023, 141 with ns. 24-27, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter *V.i.1.3.a*)) discusses, in addition to this, Mario Torelli's suggestion (1987, 564-568) to identify the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* on Domitian's coin (here **Fig. 30**) and on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (here **Fig. 31**). She addresses the possible consequences of these hypotheses, but does not follow them.

Cf. Filippo Coarelli: "Gens Flavia, Templum", in: *LTUR* II (1995) 368-369 (with wrong identification with the *domus* of Domitian's paternal uncle, Flavius Sabinus, an opinion, which he would later correct; cf. *LTUR* V [1999] 262); Coarelli (1999a, 183); Coarelli (2009b, 93-94); Coarelli 2014 (194-207; pp. 204-207 are quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter *IV.1.1.a*)); Jean-Claude Grenier (1996, 357, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter *IV.1.1.c*)); Grenier 1999 (225-234); Grenier (2009, 238, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter *IV.1.1.a*)), Amanda Claridge (1998, 338; cf. pp. 211, 350, Fig. 174); Claridge 2010 (427; cf. pp. 237, 392, Fig. 180); Kim Hartswick (2004, 143-146); Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio (2006, 58, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter *IV.1.1.a*)).

**Cf. Eugenio La Rocca (2009; cf. pp. 225-228, for the previous wrong location of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* at the site of the *domus* of Flavius Sabinus; cf. p. 228, for an analysis of Domitian's highly innovative idea to combine for the first time a building dedicated to the imperial cult with the actual tombs of the venerated *Divi* within the same structure, and that within the *pomerium* [!]; cf. p. 230); and Barbara E. Borg (2019, quoted *verbatim infra*).**

**Especially interesting in the context discussed here are Borg's (2019) observations concerning Coarelli's and Grenier's hypothesis that the temple tomb within the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* had a round ground-plan. Contrary to Coarelli (2014, 194, esp. pp. 204-207) and Grenier (2009, 238, both quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter *IV.1.1.a*)), Borg (2019, 249) does *not* reconstruct this temple tomb with a round ground-plan, but assumes a rectangular plan, and because she compares Coarelli's reconstruction of the temple tomb within the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* with all extant similar structures - that were all inspired by the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* - her conclusions are very convincing.**

To Borg's discussion of Coarelli's reconstruction of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, I will come back below. La Rocca (2020b, 369 with n. 9), who himself does not discuss Borg (2019), is likewise of the opinion that the temple tomb proper within the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* did not have a round ground-plan. La Rocca's relevant findings, published in his articles (2020b; and 2023), are discussed in detail below. See also *infra*, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here Fig. 10).

### **Borg (2019) herself does not discuss Grenier's idea concerning the Obeliscus Pamphilius**

Grenier had actually been first to suggest that the Obeliscus Pamphilius was commissioned for the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. - So Coarelli (2014, 205 with n. 476, where he quotes J.-C. GRENIER 1999; 2009), but already Coarelli (1996, 108) had referred to Grenier (1996, 357), where the latter had published this idea for the first time.

**Whereas Borg (2019) studies especially the temple tomb within this building, I myself have come across Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae* because of its porticos, since those too have likewise proved to be very influential for later similar projects.**

See Häuber (2014a, 165 n. 144); Häuber (2017, 159-164) for a discussion of Grenier's and Coarelli's hypotheses concerning the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; cf. pp. 244-288, Chapter: "The Temple and Precinct of Matidia and the "Tempio di Siepe", the *Templum Pacis*, the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, Hadrian's Library at Athens and Plato's Academy at Athens"; esp. pp. 287-288: "The Precinct of Matidia and its relation to the buildings discussed in this section". I have discussed these institutions in context of Hadrian's *Athenaeum* at Rome; cf. pp. 22, 23, 250, Fig. 5.9 [Hadrian's *adlocutio* relief at the Palazzo dei Conservatori], pp. 505, 515-517, 521, 523). For Hadrian's 'Library' at Athens; cf. Eberhard Thomas (2015). Also Marco Galli (2017, 92-100) has studied Hadrian's *Athenaeum* at Rome and compares (on pp. 104-106) Hadrian's 'Library' at Athens with the *Forum Pacis* at Rome. For the *Templum Pacis*; cf. also Pier Luigi Tucci (2017), and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*)).

For a comparison of the *Templum Pacis* with the Vespasianic phase of the *Claudianum* on the Mons Caelius; cf. now Patrizio Pensabene and Javier Domingo (2023).

**Eugenio La Rocca (2009, 224) has already mentioned the fact that Hadrian's 'Library' at Athens has great similarities with Hadrian's Temple of *Divus Traianus*, which the emperor built at Italica, where he himself (although this has now been doubted) and Trajan were born. Hadrian's 'Library' at Athens, in its turn, is not only based on the gymnasium of Plato's academy at Athens, but also on Vespasian's *Templum Pacis* (also called *Forum Pacis*) at Rome and on Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.**

For Andrea Carandini's (2019, 20-21: § 18) assertion that Hadrian was not born in Italica, but in Rome; cf. *infra* in volume 3-2. at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...; Introduction*; at Section XI. *New research on Trajan and Hadrian*.

I have elsewhere stated: "E. La Rocca (2009, 224), in his discussion of the architectural remains of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, writes: '... **Da questa eclettica congerie di prototipi si sviluppa in età flavia, proprio con il *Templum Pacis*, una pianta con esedre di media grandezza, ma non tutte della medesima misura, comunque regolarmente cadenzate lungo il perimetro della corte porticata** [with n. 17]. **Questo nuovo ruolo delle esedre risulta perfezionato nell'edificio sottostante le terme di Diocleziano** [*i.e.*, the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*], con l'alternanza regolare tra esedre semicircolari ed esedre quadrangolari, anche se tra i due tipi di esedre le misure non coincidono. **Il nuovo ed elegantissimo modello, con qualche ulteriore aggiustamento, sarà adottato qualche decennio dopo in ambiente provinciale, sia nella Biblioteca di Adriano ad Atene** [with n. 18], **sia nel Traiano di Italica** [my emphasis]". In his ns. 17-18, La Rocca (2009, 231) provides references. Cf. Häuber 2017, 277.

Summarizing the relevant findings of the excavator of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, Daniela Candilio, La Rocca (2009, 224) writes: "Se collocate a distanza regolare, e ammettendo che su ogni lato ci fossero due esedre

semicircolari ed una quadrangolare al centro, si potrebbe stabilire un rapporto tra larghezza e lunghezza di 2:3, presunto, certo, ma convincente. **In tal caso la *quadriporticus*, i cui lati lunghi sarebbero stati paralleli alla *alta Semita*, avrebbe raggiunto la considerevole misura di 123 x 83 metri circa, complessivamente di poco inferiore alla piazza del *Templum Pacis* (110 x 105 metri).**

In quanto al nucleo cementizio in via Vittorio Emanuele Orlando [cf. his Figs. 1 (= here **Fig. 57**); 2], la sua misura di 47 metri circa da sola non è sufficiente per stabilirne né la reale grandezza né l'orientamento. **Qualora proporzionato al perimetro porticato, si sarebbe trattato in origine di un podio della consistente misura di 70 x 47 metri circa: ed è la proposta avanzata da Daniela Candilio. L'edificio soprastante, verosimilmente un tempio, sarebbe stato gigantesco ... Ma non necessariamente il tempio doveva essere pari di misura al podio ... La pianta che si può proporre in base agli scarsi resti, qualora si fosse trattato di un podio unico al centro della *quadriporticus*, sembra essere simile, nelle grandi linee, a quella del cd. [cosiddetto] Traiano di Italica [cf. his Fig. 3] nel quale, all'interno di un quadriportico simile (120 x 93 metri circa) con esedre sporgenti circolari (diametro esterno 12 metri; diametro interno 8,40 metri, pari a 4,20 metri di raggio) e quadrangolari, ma della medesima lunghezza, emerge su podio un grande tempio ottastilo (42 x 28 metri circa) che domina con la sua mole lo spazio circostante** riempito da file di statue su basi [with n. 9]. La misura dei due porticati sembra coincidere, ma sulla misura e la morfologia del tempio romano, in base a quanto detto, la discussione deve obbligatoriamente restare aperta [my emphasis]". - In his **note 9**, La Rocca provides references.

La Rocca (2009, 228-230, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI*; at Section *XII*.) discusses also the hypothesis, according to which Domitian's *sestertius* (here **Fig. 30**) represents the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

### The Temple of *Divus Traianus* at Italica in Spain

On 2nd July 2018, Oliva Rodríguez Gutiérrez gave a talk at the Archäologisches Institut der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (LMU) München, with the title: "Italica, die Stadt des Scipio Africanus, Trajan und Hadrian", that I was lucky enough to attend. Rodríguez Gutiérrez has excavated herself at Italica, and on 4th July 2018 she was so kind as to discuss with me in Munich the Temple of *Divus Traianus* at Italica, which she had shown in her talk. This temple was built by Hadrian, together with an entire new city quarter.

**This means that scholars, who wish to study the porticoes of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* at Rome, of which only scarce archaeological remains have been found in excavations, can travel to Athens or to Italica, in order to compare those remains with its *Architekturkopien* there.**

Rodríguez Gutiérrez was also so kind as to provide me with further information on 20th August 2019 concerning her own work at Italica and concerning its *Traianeum*. For the *Traianeum* at Italica; cf. Pilar León Alonso (1988); and Oliva Rodríguez Gutiérrez, Jesús Rodríguez Medina, Francisco S. Pinto Puerto, and Roque Angulo Fornos (2016). For comparisons of Hadrian's *Traianeum* at Italica with Hadrian's 'Library' at Athens; cf. Aldo Corcella, Maria Chiara Monaco, and Elsa Nuzzo 2013, 121, 137; Maria Chiara Monaco, Aldo Corcella and Elsa Nuzzo (2014, 53-54). - Only after having finished writing this Chapter *IV.*, did I find the following publications on Italica. These scholars discuss the results of their recent research, *inter alia* concerning the *Traianeum*: Pilar León (2020), Luisa Alarcón and Francisco Montero-Fernández (2020), Carlos Márquez Moreno and Juan de Dios Borrego de la Paz (2020), Yolanda Peña Cervantes and Clara Tello Martín (2020), and Alejandro Jiménez Hernández and Immaculada Carasco Gómez (2020).

La Rocca (2009, 224) observes that the Temple of *Divus Traianus* at Italica "domina con la sua mole lo spazio circostante [my emphasis]". This is also due to the fact that this temple has been erected at the top of a hill. - We may, therefore, ask ourselves, provided the Temple of *Divus Traianus* at Italica copied the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* at all, whether this was an integral part of this *Architekturkopie*. I am saying this, because Domitian's temple tomb for his dynasty, which has been excavated at the Baths of Diocletian, stood on a higher level than the *quattroporticus* surrounding it.

This has been observed by Filippo Coarelli (cf. *id.* 2014, 204-205 with n. 474, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.a)), and again below. Now, if that were true, this could explain, why Domitian's *sestertius* (cf. here Fig. 30) - in case it represents the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* at all - gives the impression that this temple stands at an elevated site when compared to its surrounding precincts.

**Filippo Coarelli (2014) provides an explanation for the irritating fact that both, the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* and the Baths of Diocletian, are mentioned in the Constantinian Regionary Catalogues. This was already quoted above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.a)), but because it has been neglected by a recent commentator, I repeat it here again:** Cf. Coarelli (2014, 204: "L'edificio così ricostruito [*i.e.*, the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*] ci restituisce un'immagine plausibile del *templum gentis Flaviae*: una struttura che riuniva in sé, per la prima volta, le caratteristiche e le funzioni di tipi edilizi in precedenza distinti: il sepolcro e il tempio dinastico.

Resta da chiarire il motivo per cui esso viene ancora citato nei Cataloghi Regionari di età costantiniana, quando ormai doveva essere scomparso per far luogo alle Terme di Diocleziano (Anch'esse menzionate nello stesso documento)".

Cf. Coarelli (2014, 204-205):

**"Va tenuto conto, a questo proposito, di un detta- [page 205] glio emerso dalle esplorazioni recenti [with n. 474], di cui non si è tenuto alcun conto: il fatto cioè che i resti dell'edificio spiccano a un livello più alto rispetto a quello delle successive terme. Questo dato ammette un'unica soluzione, che infatti è stata proposta, con prudenza, dai responsabili dello scavo: mentre la grande platea porticata venne certamente soppressa dall'edificio successivo, che ne prese il posto, la costruzione centrale, e cioè il nucleo essenziale del complesso, venne risparmiato, poiché veniva a cadere in un'area libera entro il recinto delle terme. L'ovvia conclusione è che il complesso domiziano sopravvisse anche in seguito, ciò che consente di spiegare la sua menzione, insieme alle terme, nei Cataloghi Regionari [my emphasis]"**.

For the fact that the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* and the Baths of Diocletian are both mentioned in the Constantinian Regionary Catalogues, see Domenico Polombi: "Fig. 84. *Regiones quattuordecim*. Planimetria generale", label: *Regio VI. Alta Semita* Continet ... 9. Gentem Flabiam. 10. Thermas Diocletianas", in: *LTUR IV* (1999) 518. For the precise date of the Constantinian Regionary Catalogues; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section VII.

The scholar, who does not address the just quoted explanation by Filippo Coarelli (2014, 204-205) concerning the fact that both the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* and the Baths of Diocletian are mentioned in the Constantinian Regionary Catalogues, is Paolo Liverani (2021, 87-88):

"The body of evidence we have examined up to this point constitutes the most important part of our documentation. Few other examples can be briefly considered, but they are less meaningful because of their fragmentation and lack of precise context. **In 1901, a series of sculptural fragments was found during the building of the northern portico of Piazza della Repubblica in Rome, on the site of the great exedra of the Baths of Diocletian.** They were stolen by the workers and arrived on the antiquarian market, where Paul Hartwig acquired most of the marbles, donating them to the National Museum of Rome (**Conlin, fig. 7**). Some other fragments ended up in the Kelsey Museum of the University of Michigan. All of them were assigned to the Domitianic period on stylistic grounds and attributed to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. Impressive structures - datable to the Domitianic period on the basis of brickstamps were found at various times under the areas occupied by the Planetarium, Via Parigi and Via Vittorio Emanuele Orlando, close to the findspot of the sculpture[s]. **The remains included a precinct and a podium that some scholars identified as the *Templum*.** [with n. 20] **The hypothesis is not without its problems because the Regionary catalogues – a list of monuments of Rome organized by the urban *regiones* (districts) and dating to the early fourth century CE – mention both the *Templum* and the Baths of Diocletian, but in this case it is difficult to imagine how the temple could have remained visible inside the area of the baths, which were**

**built much later.** Be that as it may, the sculptural fragments suggest that we should reconstruct an enclosure with a series of figures such as caryatids on the outside and **with two relief panels**, [page 88] **one depicting a sacrifice in front of a temple** [cf. here Fig. 34], **the other the Emperor Vespasian among soldiers and other figures** [cf. here Fig. 33; my emphasis]".

See now Liverani (2023, 118-119), the Italian version of this text.

In his **note 20**, Liverani writes: "Candilio 1990-91; Paris 1994 [*i.e.*, here R. PARIS 1994a]; La Rocca 2009; Coarelli 2014, 194-207. See Eric Moormann in this volume".

For "Conlin, fig. 7", mentioned by Liverani (2021, 87), quoted above; cf. Diane Atnally Conlin ("Master and God: Domitian's Art and Architecture in Rome", 2021, 157, Fig. 7).

The caption of Conlin's Fig. 7 reads: "Relief fragment from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* representing a soldier. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 310257 (courtesy of Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e per il Turismo - Museo Nazionale Romano)". - On this and four other fragments has been based the reconstruction drawing of the panel which represents, in my opinion, Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome of October AD 70; cf. here Fig. 33. For the two relief panels from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, mentioned by Liverani (2021, 88): "one depicting a sacrifice in front of a temple, the other the emperor Vespasian among soldiers and other figures"; cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.a) and here Figs. 34; 33).

Similarly as Liverani (2021, 87-88), Eugenio La Rocca (2020b, 369 with n. 9), although being aware of Coarelli's (2014, 204-205) above-quoted relevant hypothesis, does not believe that the temple tomb proper of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* could have survived within the Baths of Diocletian, arguing that the late antique sources (*inter alia* the Constantinian Regionary Catalogues), which have been interpreted by Coarelli (*op. cit.*) in this way, do not explicitly call the building they refer to as '*templum*'. La Rocca's (2020b; and *id.* 2023) relevant findings are discussed in detail below.

**And Diane Atnally Conlin (2021, 158) even suggests that the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* may have been destroyed shortly after Domitian's death:**

**"The exact date of the destruction of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* is unknown, but it seems likely the structure did not exist for long after the rise of Rome's next great imperial builder, Trajan [my emphasis]".**

But there are even more buildings that may somehow have been related to Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. I cannot study those comparisons here in depth myself, but wish at least to mention them.

As was already quoted above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.a)), Coarelli (2014, 204-207) has rightly remarked: "sarebbe difficile immaginare che la costruzione a Hispellum di un *templum Flaviae gentis* non abbia tenuto conto dell'omonimo modello domiziano [with n. 475, quoting: GASCOU 1967]". - Note that Hispellum (modern Spello) is a town located in Umbria in Italy.

For the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* at Spello; cf. now Eugenio La Rocca (2023, 124 with n. 26).

### **The Marble Forum at the *Colonia Augusta Emerita* (Mérida) in Spain**

Much better known than Hispellum (now Spello) in Italy is the so-called Marble Forum at the *Colonia Augusta Emerita* (Mérida) in Spain.

Cf. for example Walter Trillmich (1990; 1992; 1994; 1995; 1996; 1997; 2002-2003; 2004 [*non vidi*]; cf. J.L. DE LA BARRERA and W. TRILLMICH 1996); José María Álvarez Martínez and Trinidad Nogales Basarrate 1990; José Luis de la Barrera (2000); Trinidad Nogales Basarrate (2008); Rocío Ayerbe Vélez, Teresa Barrientos Vera

and Félix Palma García (eds. 2009); Vibeke Goldbeck (2015; 2017; 2020; 2021); Antonio Peña Jurado (2009; 2017); and Nicole Röring (2020).

The chronology of this building is debated. The marble decoration that was applied to an (earlier) building at Mérida, which is therefore now called 'Marble Forum', was according to Trillmich (2004) created in the Neronian period.

**Antonio Peña Jurado (2017, 206-208) has recently suggested that the Marble Forum is datable in the Flavian period instead, and that this building was dedicated to the imperial cult. It was, in his opinion, either a Temple for *Divus Vespasianus* or a *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, which is why I mention the Marble Forum at Mérida here.**

**Interesting in the context of this *Study* is the, at least to me so far unknown, fact that at this Marble Forum togate marble statues were excavated, which are missing their heads, and that one of them, which Peña Jurado (2017, 206-207 with ns. 56, 57) discusses, looks very much like the togate youth (figure 12) on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Fig. 2; Fig. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 12), in my opinion Domitian.**

**Because Peña Jurado (2017) refers in a footnote to Trillmich's (2004) dating of the Cancellaria Reliefs to the Neronian period, I repeat in the following, what was already said above (cf. *supra*, at n. 130, in Chapter I.1.):**

'Hugo Meyer [with n. 130] is so far the only scholar to have (in my opinion erroneously, cf. *supra*, at Chapter II.4.) suggested that also the head of the togate youth on Frieze B was recut in antiquity: in his opinion, this head was first a portrait of king Tiridates of Armenia [with n. 131], that was later recut into the still extant portrait of the young Domitian. According to Hugo Meyer, Tiridates was shown in the moment of receiving his diadem by the Emperor Nero, whose head was later reworked into a portrait of Vespasian [with n. 132]'.

Cf. my **note 130**: "For the assertion that the extant portrait of the young togate Domitian on Frieze B had been recut from the original portrait of Tiridates, cf. H. MEYER 2000, 134-138, Figs. 229; 251; 252; 256-259. This was refuted by M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 59-60 with ns. 417, 419. Cf. *supra*, at Chapters II.4.; and VI.1'.

**Hugo Meyer's dating of the (alleged original) togate youth on Frieze B (in my opinion Domitian) in the Neronian period, has been followed by W. TRILLMICH 2004, 334-335, quoted after A. PEÑA JURADO 2017, 206-207 with ns. 56, 57. A. PEÑA JURADO himself, following E. BAUMER 2007, dates the Cancellaria Reliefs to the Flavian period) [my emphasis]'.**

Cf. my **note 131**: "For Tiridates, cf. M.S. DROWER and B.M. LEVICK: "Tiridates (4) (*RE* 6), brother of Vologeses I of Parthia, who set him on the throne of Armenia (AD 54). He fled before the Romans and was temporarily displaced by Tigranes (4) V, but was reinstated by Vologeses. By a compromise with Cn. Domitius Corbulo, Tiridates agreed to journey to Rome and receive the crown of Armenia ceremonially from Nero (AD 66) ...", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 1531. The authors quote Tac. *Ann.* 12ff.; Joseph. *BJ* 7.244-51. It is unfortunately unknown how old Tiridates was in AD 66".

Cf. my **note 132**: "H. MEYER 2000, 131-132, with n. 416, Figs. 243; 242".

Since I could not find Walter Trillmich's publication of 2004, I called him in Wien and discussed the matter with him in an E-mail correspondence. On 15th April 2020, I sent him a detailed summary of the results of this *Study*, in which I have followed those scholars, who date the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2**) to the Flavian period. The relevant hypotheses are explained in the following Chapters of this *Study* :

Cf. *supra*, at Chapter II.4 (cf. here **Fig. 1.1**), where I hope to have shown that Hugo Meyer's (2000, 131-132, Figs. 243; 242) hypothesis, according to which the emperor on Frieze A (**figure 6**): Domitian (now Nerva; cf.

here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6**) has been reworked from a portrait of Nero, cannot possibly be true. I also summarized my Chapters *V.1.h.2.*; *V.1.i.3.*; *V.1.i.3.a.*), in which I hope to have demonstrated that the head of the emperor on Frieze B (**figure 14**) was from the very beginning Vespasian, as first suggested by Filippo Magi (1939, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 112, in Chapter *I.1.*; cf. *id.* 1945; cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 14**), not Nero, as likewise (erroneously) asserted by Hugo Meyer (2000, 131-132, with n. 416, Figs. 243; 242; cf. *supra*, n. 132, in Chapter *I.1.*), or for example Domitian, as (erroneously) asserted by Marianne Bergmann (1981, 23-24, Taf. 11; 12; 9, p. 25; cf. *supra*, n. 115, in Chapter *I.1.*; cf. also at Chapters *I.1.1.*; and *V.1.h.2.*)).

Finally, I have explained to Walter Trillmich our visualization 'in situ' of the Cancellaria Reliefs, as attached to the opposite and parallel walls in the bay of an arch (cf. the Chapters *I.2.1.b*); *I.3.2.*; *V.1.d*); *V.2.*, and here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; and Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**). In this visualization, the Emperor Domitian (now Nerva) (**figure 6**) on Frieze A stands at almost the same position as, on the opposite and parallel wall, the togate youth (**figure 12**) on Frieze B. Provided **a**) our assumption is true that the Cancellaria Reliefs actually decorated the opposite, parallel walls in the bay of an arch, and **b**), provided our visualization is correct, these facts support the hypothesis suggested here that the togate youth on Frieze B has correctly been identified by Magi (1939, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 112, in Chapter *I.1.*; cf. *id.* 1945) with the young Caesar Domitian, who, in his capacity as *praetor urbanus*, receives Vespasian in an *adventus*-ceremony at Rome that purportedly took place in October of AD 70.

As likewise already suggested by Magi (1945), but first by Heinrich Fuhrmann (1940, Sp. 471-472; *id.* 1941, Sp. 544-545), and by many later scholars (all quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter *IV.1.*), the gesture, made by Vespasian with his right hand towards his son Domitian, means the "legittimazione" of Domitian's (future) reign as emperor. So Giandomenico Spinola (cf. *supra*, at n. 455, in Chapter *III*. See also below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*).

The truth is that Vespasian actually arrived at Rome in the first half of October of AD 70, coming back from the Great Jewish War. Our literary sources describe in great detail Vespasian's arrival at the *Urbs*, but not such an *adventus*-ceremony (cf. *infra*, at Chapter *V.1.i.3.*)). Vespasian came back to Rome at that stage for the first time since he was emperor, and is, therefore, crowned on Frieze B by *Victoria* (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 16**) with a *corona civica* for two reasons: this ceremony means the investiture of Vespasian as the new emperor; cf. Gerhard Koeppel (1969, 193, quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 200, in Chapter *I.1.1.*), at the same time Vespasian receives with the *corona civica* the highest possible decoration for a military victory, because, like only Augustus before him, so Pliny (*HN* 16,3, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter *V.1.i.3.a.*), and here **Fig. 35**), Vespasian had succeeded to put an end to a civil war; cf. Rita Paris (1994b, 81-82, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter *V.1.i.3.a.*)).

Walter Trillmich was kind enough to answer me by E-mail on 25th April 2020, and on 28th April 2020, he has allowed me to publish here the relevant passage of his E-mail.

See below, at *The Contribution by Walter Trillmich on the headless marble togati found in the so-called Marble Forum at Mérida in Spain, one of which looks like the togate youth on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs* (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12**) - who represents, in my opinion, Domitian.

In his *Contribution*, Trillmich follows our visualization 'in situ' of the Cancellaria Reliefs, as attached to the opposite and parallel walls in the bay of an arch (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**), and comes to the following conclusions. If indeed the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2**) should be "genuin flavisch" ('genuinely Flavian'), as Trillmich writes, two questions still remain: who at Augusta Emerita (Mérida), in the Flavian period, could have had an interest in commissioning this copy of the program of the Forum of Augustus at Rome? And how can we explain the similarities of the togate statues at Leptis Magna, Cerveteri and Baia, which Trillmich regards as securely dating to the Claudian period, with the togate statues at Mérida?



I myself have neither been to Italica or Mérida, nor do I know the togate statues at Leptis Magna, Cerveteri and Baia, which Trillmich has mentioned to me in those telephone conversations and in his *Contribution*. But I think it is clear from what I have learned through the correspondence with him that those sculptures - and of course also the buildings, for which they were commissioned - should all be studied *together*.

**Eric M. Moormann, whom I had also asked for advice, was kind enough to send me on 28th April 2020 his review of Vibeke Goldbeck's book (2015), that Trillmich mentions in his *Contribution*, and which provides a good summary of the problems connected with the subject discussed here:**

"Chapter C III on the provinces in the Spanish peninsula presents the most rewarding set of cases, since it contains **the stupendous case of Emerita Augusta, modern Mérida ... where sculptural elements of the décor of the Foro de Marmol' were recognized by Maria Floriani Squarciapino in the 1970s as copies of the figures from the Forum Augustum**. Goldbeck makes clear that there are some conspicuous differences between Rome and Mérida, partly due to the placement of the forum within the grid-shaped town (esp.[ecially] absence of absidal exedrae), partly on the basis of other factors, so that this complex is - like most others - an example of 'Umbildung' rather than copying. **A problem is the chronology of these interventions, for which the Julio-Claudian and Flavian era have been proposed. Goldbeck prefers a Claudian or Neronian date and points to the workmanship of artists who also worked at Baiae. Although I agree with her, I am not convinced by her arguments that a complete take over of an Augustan programme as well as precisely copying of elements of the Forum Augustum were not envisaged (p. 79): this cannot be used as a sound argument to reject a Flavian dating [my emphasis]**". Cf. p. 285: "The 'Auswertung' (part D) brings together the results of the many local explorations ... **The questions put in the introduction now return with possible answers: where (western part of the Roman empire), who (local elites, connected with Rome), what (never entire Forum Augustum, but motifs, mainly the Ammon and Medusa *protomi*), when (mainly third quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD), and why (relationship with local elites and the central power, not an order of the emperor) [my emphasis]**". - Cf. Moormann (2016, 284, 285).

On 30th April 2020 an E-mail by Hans Rupprecht Goette reached me, whom I had likewise asked for advice concerning the date of the togate statues from the Marble Forum at Mérida. He alerted me to the publications by Trillmich (1990) and Nogales Basarrate (2008), and answered my question by writing that also in his opinion the marble *togati* from the Marble Forum at Mérida are datable to the Flavian period.

### **The most recent research on the Marble Forum at Mérida**

When this volume was about to be sent to the press, I found the following publications that will, therefore, only be discussed in detail *infra*, in volume 3-2:

Nicole Röring ("Von einer Basilika (?) zu einem rezipierten Augustusforum. Das Marmorforum von Mérida", 2020). In Röring's opinion, two very different buildings had stood at this site: first an Augustan building (probably a Basilica), which was later replaced by the much larger 'Marmorforum'.

Röring (2020, 249-250) provides a summary of the sculpture decoration of the Marble Forum, which clearly copied that of the Forum of Augustus at Rome; she also mentions the hypotheses concerning the dating of the sculptural decoration of this Marble Forum to the Claudian and Flavian periods, respectively:

"Nicht nur die Dekoration der Attika mit alternierend angebrachten Clipei und Karyatiden [with n. 5] lässt sich auf das [page 250] stadtrömische Vorbild beziehen, sondern ebenso die Gestaltung der Portikus mit den Statuennischen in den Portikusrückwänden und den dort aufgestellten Skulpturen der Duces, belegt durch immerhin sechs Togastatuen, und der Könige von Alba Longa - zumindest eines Teils von ihnen - stellen ein deutliches Zitat des Augustusforums in Rom dar.

Walter Trillmich ist es gelungen, in der lange Zeit für eine Darstellung der jagenden Diana gehaltenen Skulptur im spanischen Nationalmuseum für Archäologie in Madrid einen jungen Mann in

phrygischer Tracht zu erkennen und ihn als Ascanius zu interpretieren [with n. 6]. Während der Grabung konnten zudem ein Hüfttorso [with n. 7] sowie ein Oberkörper eines alten bärtigen Mannes wiedergewonnen werden, in denen W. Trillmich den aus dem brennenden Troja fliehenden Aeneas mit seinem Vater Anchises auf den Schultern und Ascanius an seiner Hand sah [with n. 8]. Ein Sensationsfund war entdeckt: die mythologische Gruppe des Aeneas, weswegen eine starke Affinität zum Augustusforum nicht mehr zu leugnen war ...".

In her **note 5**, Röring writes: "J. L. de la Barrera bearbeitete die gesamte Marmorausstattung unter stilistischen Gesichtspunkten zur zeitlichen Einordnung und datiert diese in claudische Zeit, s.[iehe] de la Barrera 2000, während A. Peña bei seiner Bearbeitung der Architekturteile und Skulpturen für eine Datierung in die flavische Zeit plädiert, vgl. [vergleiche] Peña 2009, 525-621; Peña 2017, 205-207".

In her **note 6**, she writes: "Trillmich 1992, 35".

In her **note 7**, she writes: "Alvarez - Nogales 1990, 337. W. Trillmich bemerkte schon 1987, dass es sich bei dem Torso vielleicht um einen Rest der Aeneas-Gruppe handeln könnte, s.[iehe] Trillmich 1990, 313."

In her **note 8**, she writes: "Trillmich 1994, 83".

But contrary to what I had hoped, Röring (2020) does not provide new information concerning the so far excavated parts of the building itself, that would allow a precise dating of this later phase, when, for example, those headless marble *togati* were created that interest us here, which had belonged to its marble decoration. According to Röring (2020, 264), this 'transformation' of the previous Augustan building into the larger Marble Forum had started in the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

In addition to this, I have found three more recent publications by Vibeke Goldbeck on the subject ("Architekturkopien? Terminologische Überlegungen zur Rezeption von Bauwerken und ihrer Ausstattung bei den Römern. Untersucht am Beispiel des Forum Augustum und der Porticus ad Nationes", 2017). Goldbeck herself quotes also another of her earlier publications ("Die Porticus ad Nationes des Augustus", 2015a); Vibeke Goldbeck ("Die Rezeption der stadtrömischen Monumente des Augustus im Imperium Romanum", 2020); and Vibeke Goldbeck ('Monuments Abroad' - Zur Rezeption kaiserlicher Monumente im Imperium Romanum", 2021). The publications by Vibeke Goldbeck (2015; 2015a; 2017; 2020; 2021) have been discussed in detail by David Ojeda ("A Porticus ad Nationes in Italica", 2023). My thanks are due to Hans Rupprecht Goette for sending me this article; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*.

For some remarks on all those above-mentioned new publications; cf. below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; below, at *The Contribution by Walter Trillmich on the headless marble togati found in the so-called Marble Forum at Mérida in Spain, one of which looks like the togate youth on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs*; and for a detailed discussion; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.*

### Let's now return to Barbara E. Borg's new findings concerning Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

Borg (2019, 245) writes: "Archaeological remains of the complex [*i.e.*, the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*] are difficult to interpret ... New excavations in the area and underneath the western part of the Baths of Diocletian conducted in the 1980s and 1990s have brought to light parts of a **public building that consisted of a rectangular *opus caementicium* podium surrounded by a courtyard and portico with alternating rectangular and semi-circular *exedrae* of about 123 x 83 m**, built of travertine blocks and *opus latericium* (Figure 4.22) [with n. 196]. **Daniela Candilio has already proposed that the remains must belong to the Templum Gentis Flaviae. Their size, Domitianic date (confirmed by brick stamps), location, as well as a colossal, 1.5 m tall head of Titus and a smaller but still colossal head of Vespasian found in the vicinity** [with n. 197, providing references], **would surely be consistent with such a view** [my emphasis]".

In her **n. 196**, Borg quotes: "Esp.[ecially] *NSc* (1990-01), 165-83 (D. Candilio); *NSc* (2000-01) 443-53 (D. Candilio); La Rocca [*i.e.*, here La ROCCA 2009].

**Coarelli** (2014, 194-207, with Fig. 52 on p. 203: "*Templum gentis Flaviae*: ricostruzione dell'ambiente sotterraneo") **reconstructs the temple tomb within the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* with a round ground-plan.**

**Concerning Coarelli's relevant proposal, Borg (2019, 249-250) writes:**

"The proposal, intriguing as it may be, is riddled with difficulties. Not only is Coarelli's burial chamber strikingly different from the circular corridors of Augustus' mausoleum, it is not entirely clear whether Agrippa's Pantheon featured a roof or was open to the sky [with n. 206], and while it certainly had dynastic connotations and possibly associations of apotheosis, it was clearly not a straightforward temple to the imperial *divi* and *divae*. Moreover, like the late antique circular temple tombs, its overall plan, including the important front porch, requires elongated rather than square foundations. **What is more, not a single curvilinear element has so far been found on site, and even Coarelli's concrete foundations are rectilinear**, while those of the Pantheon *rotunda* as well as those of the late antique mausolea are circular. As some temple tombs and other large brick tombs make clear, semi-interred burial chambers often exist beneath the actual temple structure, and the niche excavated underneath the via Vittorio Emanuele Orlando (Fig. 4.22) could just as well belong to a rectangular interior space [with n. 207].

**So far, I cannot see any evidence for a round building. A rectangular podium temple surrounded by a portico would fit with the rectangular features discovered so far, and this would in any case be the most likely shape** [with n. 208] ... [page 250] Despite the uncertainties involved, there can be no doubt that the Flavian complex had many features in common with our temple tombs. Like the *Templum*, temple tombs are often located within a precinct, and they may have shared its podium temple design. At an ideological level, they were intended to honour the deceased members of an entire *gens* - and only this *gens* [with n. 211]. **Moreover, the *Templum* was erected over the house where Domitian was born (Suetonius, *Dom.* 1.1.9). While private temple tombs could not be erected within the *pomerium* [as is the case of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*], they were often situated at the entrance to, or even very closely integrated into, villa buildings [with n. 212]. Functionally, it is important to note that the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* was the first temple for imperial cult that also served as a tomb, and the first imperial tomb that comprised cult for the *divi* and *divae* [with n. 213]. The erection of the first private temple tombs [also discussed by her] shortly after it [*i.e.*, the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*] was dedicated thus strongly suggests that they were inspired by the imperial model [my emphasis]".**

In her notes 206-208, 211-213, Borg provides references and further discussion.

In her note 208, Borg writes: "For a hypothetical reconstruction [of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*], see Capanna 'Tempio della Gente Flavia' and 'Alta Semita' [*i.e.*, here M.C. CAPANNA 2008; 2012]), who does not, however, explain the shape of the preserved parts of the *caementicium* podium. Some have argued that the appearance of the *Templum* can be gleaned from a relief [cf. here Fig 31] and a coin [cf. here Fig. 30]. The two fragments of the relief show a procession in front of a decastyle temple. Its tympanum depicts Mars and Rhea Silvia as well as the she-wolf with the twins (Torelli, 'Culto imperiale' [*i.e.*, here M. TORELLI 1987], 564 fig. 2; Paris (ed.), *Dono Hartwig* [*i.e.*, here R. PARIS 1994a], 28-30 figs. 16-19, 32-3 figs. 1-2; Davies, *Death and the Emperor* [*i.e.*, here J.P.E. DAVIES 2000]; 157-8; Leithoff, *Vergangenheit* [*i.e.*, here J. LEITHOFF 2014], 190-2 with n. 826 fig. 15). Yet the relief is most likely Trajanic rather than Flavian, as the original portraits in the background and the draping of the togas demonstrate, and the alleged provenance from the Forum of Trajan would further support such a date (Goette, 'Disiecta membra' [*i.e.*, here H-R. GOETTE 1983]). The coin is a Domitianic *sestertius* of 95/96 showing a decastyle temple within a courtyard framed by aedicula niches, either within a surrounding wall or, perhaps more likely, above some terrace walls (Torelli, 'Culto imperiale' [*i.e.*, here M. TORELLI 1987], 566-7; Paris (ed.), *Dono Hartwig* [*i.e.*, here R. PARIS 1994a], 26-8 fig. 14; Gazda *et al.* (eds.), *Images of Empire* [*i.e.*, here E.K. GAZDA, A.E. HAECKL and R. PARIS 1996], 19; Leithoff, *Vergangenheit* [*i.e.*, here J. LEITHOFF 2014], 191 fig. 10). However, the identification largely rests on the observation that there were few if any other decastyle buildings at the time, a relatively weak argument to support such a wide-ranging interpretation, and other suggestions for identification have been made (contra

e.g. Coarelli, 'Flavi' [*i.e.*, here F. COARELLI 2009b], 94; La Rocca, 'Templum' [*i.e.*, here E. La ROCCA 2009], 228-30; Leithoff, *Vergangenheit* [*i.e.*, here J. LEITHOFF 2014], 191-2 fig. 10)".

**As we have just seen, also Borg (2019, 249 n. 208) discusses Domitian's coin (cf. here Fig. 30) and the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here Fig. 31), a fact that I had previously overlooked. Mario Torelli (1987) was of the opinion that both represent the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.**

But whereas I myself follow Torelli's (1987) suggestion here, Borg (2019, 249 n. 208) rejects this hypothesis. Although all this will be discussed in detail below, let me anticipate here already a few facts: it is not (quite) true, what Borg (2019, 249 n. 208) writes, that "the identification largely rests on the observation that there were few if any other decastyle buildings at the time".

What Torelli (1987, 564567, Fig. 2 [= here Fig. 31]) suggested was, that the coin (here Fig. 30) and the relief (here Fig. 31), represent the *same* building; and because of the date 95/96 AD of Domitian's *sestertius* (here Fig. 30), Torelli came to the conclusion that the coin and the relief represent the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

Borg (2019, 249 n. 208) follows Hans Rupprecht Goette's (1983) dating of the "Rilievo Vaticano" (here Fig. 31, below) in the Trajanic period. Goette (1983, 245 with n. 27, p. 246), in his turn, had based his relevant hypothesis *inter alia* on the alleged findspot of the "Rilievo Vaticano" in the Forum of Trajan. This assumption was not true, as already stated by Torelli (1987, 504 n. 6, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.g.3.)).

Goette (1983) does not discuss Domitian's coin (cf. here Fig. 30), whereas Coarelli (2009b, 94; see also F. COARELLI 2012, 574 with n. 432) and La Rocca (2009, 228-230), to whom Borg likewise refers, discuss Domitian's coin (here Fig. 30) in this context, which in their opinion does not show the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. But Coarelli (2009b; 2012) and La Rocca (2009) do *not* consider the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (here Fig. 31) in their reasonings.

For a detailed discussion of Coarelli's (2012) and La Rocca's (2009) relevant opinions; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in Appendix VI.; at Section XII.

**Borg (2019, 249 n. 208) does not consider the possible meaning of the representation in the tympanon of the depicted temple (cf. here Fig. 31, above). I myself follow Stephanie Langer and Michel Pfanner (2018, 142-157) in assuming that, what we witness on the relief Fig. 31, is not a procession, as previously believed (followed by Borg 2019, 249 n. 208), but rather a sacrifice. This means, as has also been stressed by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 154), that the emperor, performing this ritual in front of this shrine, is closely related to the myth represented in the tympanon of this temple: this pediment depicts the foundation myth of Rome, and precisely the birth of Romulus.**

**We must, therefore, ask ourselves: who *other* than the Flavians, and especially: *who other than Domitian*, could propagate themselves/ himself as the new founders or founder of Rome?**

**To this I will come back below, when we discuss Eugenio La Rocca's (2020b, 369, n. 9) observations concerning the temple tomb proper within the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, as well as Claudio Parisi Presicce's (2000, 28) observations concerning the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (here Fig. 31).**

**To conclude this point.** I myself, therefore, suggest that it is tempting to believe that the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (here Fig. 31) originally represented Domitian (whose head was restored by Bertel Thorvaldsen [19.11.1770-24.3.1844] with a portrait of Trajan carved by himself), because it was (erroneously) believed at that stage that the relief had been found in the Forum of Trajan.

See for all that, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 144-145 with n. 20 and Abb. 51, documenting the restorations of the "Rilievo Vaticano", here **Fig. 31, below**), who report some interesting information.

The *Commissione Consultativa di Antichità e Belle Arti* of the Vatican had in 1816 decided that the Vatican Museums should only acquire artworks *without* restorations. The Vatican Museums acquired the relief (cf. here **Fig. 31, below**) in 1823, and in the *Registro Generale* is stated that it is *without* restorations. - Ironically, this relief is in reality heavily restored - by Thorvaldsen, who had himself created those restoration, and was at the time a member of the *Commissione Consultativa di Antichità e Belle Arti* (!).

What we see on this relief is, in my opinion, Domitian, who is sacrificing in front of his newly erected *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

I also believe that this relief was meant to represent a very specific ceremony, namely Domitian's dedication of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, See below, as well as *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix I.g.3.*); at Section IV.

**For a detailed discussion of Domitian's sestertius (here Fig. 30) and the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (here Fig. 31); cf. also below, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a); infra, in volume 3-2, in Appendix I.g.3.); at Sections I. -V.**

Let's now return to the hypotheses, suggested by Grenier and Coarelli.

**I myself have elsewhere discussed the relevant hypotheses concerning the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, suggested by Grenier (1996; 2009) and Coarelli (1996; 2009b; cf. HÄUBER 2017, 159-163); this can be summarized as follows.**

As we have seen above (cf. *supra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.a)), both Grenier and Coarelli are of the (in my opinion erroneous) opinion that neither the scenes on the *pyramidion* of Domitian's Obelisk, nor its hieroglyphic texts contain any references to Isis, which could explain its erection at the Iseum Campense. These texts stress instead in the authors' opinion the achievements of the Flavian dynasty - true is that these texts among others also stress the accomplishments of the Flavian dynasty - and this is why their conclusion to attribute this obelisk to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* sounds from their point of view understandable.

In addition to Grenier's and Coarelli's (2009, 205) first wrong assumption - the alleged lack of references to Isis in the scenes on the *pyramidion* of Domitian's obelisk, as well as in its hieroglyphic texts, Grenier (2009, 238, quoted *verbatim supra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.a)), and Coarelli (2014, 194-207; the relevant passages from pp. 204-207 are quoted *verbatim supra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.a)) add the further (wrong) assumption of a round ground-plan for the temple tomb within the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, which in their opinion further supports their attribution of Domitian's obelisk to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. And that because of the following reasons -

*a)* They argue with the assumption that Maxentius, by building the mausoleum for his son Romulus at his *Villa* on the Via Appia, had chosen as the model for this round mausoleum the alleged round temple tomb of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; and -

*b)* Because Maxentius definitely re-erected Domitian's obelisk on the *spina* of his *Circus* at the same *Villa*, Grenier and Coarelli came to the conclusion that Maxentius must also have removed this obelisk from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

Note that the basis of point *b)* are the following assumptions.

Coarelli reminds us of the fact that it was Maximianus Herculeus, the father of Maxentius, who had started building the Baths of Diocletian at the site, where the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* was standing. And because both, the Baths of Diocletian and the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* are still mentioned in the Constantinian Regionary Catalogues, Coarelli (2014, 204-205, 207) convincingly concludes, that the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* survived within these baths. He, therefore, suggests that only the erection of this huge bath complex

'around' the temple tomb of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (in the course of which its pertaining porticos were destroyed) had enabled Maxentius to remove Domitian's obelisk to his own *Villa* - that in Coarelli's opinion had been standing within the building complex of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

As already quoted before (cf. *supra*, at Chapter IV.1.), Moormann (2018, 171, in his **note 65**) comments on the hypothesis of Coarelli and Grenier to attribute Domitian's obelisk to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, as follows:

"... **Coarelli 2009** [*i.e.*, here F. COARELLI 2009b], 94; **J.-C. Grenier** ... [*i.e.*, here J.-C. GRENIER 2009] 234-39 and **Coarelli 2014**, 205-7: **they see it** [*i.e.*, Domitian's obelisk] **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** ... [my emphasis]". Cf. now Eric M. Moormann (2021, 46 with n. 18. He again rejects the just mentioned view of J.-C. GRENIER 2009, 234-238 and F. COARELLI 2014, 205-207, quoting for his own view also me: C. HÄUBER 2017, 158-164, but without listing this publication in the bibliography of the volume). See now Moormann (2023, 59-60, with n. 19; *i.e.*, the Italian translation of his essay of 2021), where he again quotes "Häuber 2017, pp. 158-164", but this time this publication appears in the bibliography of the volume (!).

I myself have argued elsewhere as follows; cf. Häuber (2017, 163):

if indeed Domitian's obelisk (cf. here **Fig. 28**) had been commissioned for the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, why on earth did the emperor order this 'Egyptian' feature for this building complex, the complete architecture of which, comprising the iconographies of its sculpture and relief decoration (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.a), and here **Figs. 33; 34**), is Roman in style and iconography, considering at the same time that the contents of the *pyramidion* and of the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Domitian's obelisk, especially its praise of the Flavian dynasty, could just as well have been expressed in a Latin inscription, which would be much more appropriate in such a context?

In addition to that, I wrote: "Although Grenier's [2009, 204-238] and Coarelli's [2014, 194-207] hypotheses just-mentioned [and here again summarized] are at first glance very impressive indeed, I would be much more convinced of their reconstructions, had Maxentius placed Domitian's obelisk right in front of the so-called Mausoleum of Romulus (*i.e.*, Maxentius' dynastic tomb) - as Augustus had done in the case of his *Mausoleum* ... The fact that Maxentius did something else opens the chance to wonder, whether the situation may be interpreted differently" (cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 162).

**To conclude this point. Borg's (2019) new findings concerning the building type of the temple tomb within the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, who was able to prove that it did not have a round ground-plan, adds to the critique of the suggestions made by Grenier and Coarelli to attribute Domitian's obelisk (cf. here **Fig. 28**) to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. Her findings thus support at the same time the hypothesis suggested here that Domitian commissioned the Pamphili Obelisk for the Iseum Campense instead.**

Considering the new findings by Borg (2019) and those mentioned above concerning the *Traianeum*, built by Hadrian at Italica, it is now worth while to reconsider the hypotheses concerning the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, mentioned above. I am referring to Paris (1994b, 26-33, esp. p. 28 with n. 11: "La documentazione iconografica"), who followed in this respect Mario Torelli (1987, 564-567) in suggesting that the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* is represented on one of the *sestertii*, issued by Domitian in AD 95/96 (cf. here **Fig. 30**), and on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here **Fig. 31**), of which the relief fragment at the Museo Nazionale Romano (here **Fig. 31, above**) shows an "edificio decastilo e frontone"; cf. Paris (1994b, 32, Fig. 1). - Because in both cases the building, identified by Torelli and Paris with Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, has a *rectangular* ground-plan.

As I only realized after I had written this, Borg herself (2019, 249 n. 208, quoted *verbatim supra*) does not believe that Domitian's *sestertius* (here **Fig. 30**) and the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (here **Fig. 31**) represent the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* at all.

**But we should not forget that other scholars do not reconstruct the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* as a decastyle temple, but rather as an octastyle temple.**

**Cf. Eric M. Moormann (2018, 170 with n. 154) : "There are various reconstructions of the complex that consist of a decastyle or an octastyle temple surrounded by a porticus [with n. 54; my emphasis]".**

In his **note 54**, Moormann writes: "Capanna 2008 gives the various possibilities and pleas in favour of an octastyle temple". - To this discussion I will come back below, in Chapter *V.1.i.3.a*). As we have seen above, also Borg (2019, 249 n. 208) has mentioned Capanna's (2008; 2012) reconstruction of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

To some of the subjects, discussed in this Chapter *IV*. are also dedicated other parts of this *Study*:

Further for the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, Domitian's *sestertius* (cf. here **Fig. 30**) and the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here **Fig. 31**); cf. *infra*, at Chapter *V.1.i.3.a*) *The reconstruction by R. Paris (1994b) of two of the marble reliefs of the Templum Gentis Flaviae: 'Vespasian's adventus into Rome in October of AD 70' (cf. here Fig. 33), and 'Sacrifice in front of the Temple of Quirinus on the Quirinal' (cf. here Fig. 34). With some observations concerning Domitian's sestertius, issued in AD 95/96 (cf. here Fig. 30), the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here Fig. 31), and the aureus of Augustus, minted in 12 BC, showing the door of the (real) House of Augustus on the Palatine, decorated with the corona civica and laurel trees (cf. here Fig. 35); cf. infra, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.g.3.) A sestertius, issued by Domitian in AD 95/96 (cf. here Fig. 30), and the Flavian date of the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here Fig. 31), both of which possibly represent Domitian's Templum Gentis Flaviae. With The first Contribution by Claudia Valeri; *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.g.3.); at Section *V*. A marble fragment of a state relief (cf. here **Figs. 32.A-E**), found in the Forum Romanum and published by H.R. Goette (1983), who attributes it to the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here **Fig. 31**); *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.g.4.) Domitian's sacellum of Iuppiter Conservator, his Temple of Iuppiter Custos, and his (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus (cf. here **Fig. 83**). With The first Contribution by Peter Herz; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at: Appendix *IV.c.2.*) *The Ogulnian monument (a statue group representing the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, standing underneath the sacred fig tree ficus Ruminalis), and the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus on a headless cuirassed statue of a Flavian emperor (Domitian?) in the Vatican Museums (cf. here Fig. 6, right) and on Hadrian's cuirassed statue from Hierapydna at Istanbul (cf. here Fig. 29). Exactly like the statue of the ficus Ruminalis on the Anaglypha Hadriani (cf. here **Figs. 21; 22**), the lupa and the twins on those cuirasses symbolize Rome's claim to eternal power and divine mission, and that it was the task of the Roman emperor to fulfill this obligation (cf. C. Parisi Presicce 2000, 28, 29). With a discussion of the meaning of the lupa and the twins on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here **Fig. 31, above**), and with The second Contribution by Claudia Valeri.**

After they were written, I sent all the text passages of this *Study*, related to Domitian's *sestertius* (cf. here **Fig. 30**), to the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here **Fig. 31**), and to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* to Mario Torelli, with whom Franz Xaver Schütz and I visited on 29th November 2019 at Perugia to discuss those matters with him. Mario Torelli wrote me by E-mail of 18th July 2020 his comments, which I may publish here with his kind consent. See below, at *The Contribution by Mario Torelli on the Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

#### ***Eugenio La Rocca's (2020b) new findings concerning the Templum Gentis Flaviae***

***At the very end of this Chapter, I will, in addition to this, comment on some more observations concerning the Templum Gentis Flaviae, made by Eugenio La Rocca and Lorenzo Kosmopoulos (2023)***

After having finished writing this Chapter *IV.1.1.h*) the new article by Eugenio La Rocca (2020b) on the subject reached me. As already mentioned above, La Rocca (2020b, 367-369 with ns. 8, 9) confirms his earlier findings concerning this colossal portrait of Titus (here **Fig. 53**) by providing detailed information about

where it was found and by attributing it to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, the location of which within the area of the Baths of Diocletian he maintains as well (cf. his Fig. 10 = here Fig. 57).

After discussing the available archival material, La Rocca marks the precise findspot of this head of Titus (here Fig. 53) on his plan Fig. 8 [= here Fig. 56], label: 2: it was found in 1873, on the pavement of the ancient road that followed the Baths of Diocletian on its north-western side (today: Via Pastrengo). In his note 9, La Rocca (2020b) rejects Filippo Coarelli's (2014) reconstruction of the temple tomb proper within the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, which, according to Coarelli, had a round ground-plan. But note that La Rocca has overlooked the fact that Barbara E. Borg (2019) had already before him refuted Coarelli's 'round' reconstruction of the temple tomb of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (for a detailed discussion of Coarelli's and Borg's relevant hypotheses; cf. *supra*).

**Then, La Rocca (2020b, 369, n. 9) adds previously not considered information concerning the meaning of the term *templum*, and applies that to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, concluding that - as I should like to add: under 'normal' circumstances - the temple tomb proper of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* could not possibly be regarded as a *templum*. The reason being, in La Rocca's opinion, that this building was not only a temple for the imperial cult, but served at the same time as a tomb for members of the *gens Flavia*, arguing that, by definition, tombs were not located within an inaugurated space and could, therefore, not be *templa*.**

Since I am not an expert in this field myself, I have asked John Bodet, Barbara E. Borg and Jörg Rüpke for advice. See below, at *The second Contribution by Jörg Rüpke: Tempel-Gräber*, which he sent me on 22nd October 2021.

Also Barbara E. Borg was kind enough to answer my relevant question, on 14th and 20th September 2021. But because Franz Xaver Schütz and I had published the title of this book on 7th September 2021 on our Webserver (in which all *Contributors* to this volume are mentioned), I could unfortunately not ask Borg any more for permission to publish her answer as a *Contribution* to this book, since I received her answer only after the 7th of September. But one thing is clear: when reading Borg's publication discussed here, she has addressed precisely the same complex of problems, which, independently of her, also La Rocca (2020b, 369, n. 9), has observed. See especially Borg (2019, 191-290, Chapter "4 Straddling Borderlines: Divine Connotations in Funerary Commemoration"), which I had not read in its entirety at that point, and that she was kind enough to send me now.

Barbara Borg was kind enough to write me by E-mail of 20th September 2021 that I may mention here our relevant correspondence.

In addition, La Rocca (2020b, 369, n. 9) doubts (*contra*: F. COARELLI 2014) that the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* could possibly have survived, once the Baths of Diocletian were erected, arguing with the considerable size of this monument, and the fact that neither the Constantinian Regionary Catalogues, nor the Chronographer of AD 354 call it *templum*: "Curiosum, Notitia e Cronografo del 354 citano esclusivamente *gentem Flaviam* (o *Flabiam*) senza il termine *templum*". La Rocca is, of course, aware of the fact that, according to Coarelli, not the surrounding porticoes of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, but only the temple tomb proper, which originally stood on a square within those porticoes, could actually have survived until late antiquity. According to Coarelli's (2014) hypothesis, the Baths of Diocletian, 'surrounding the temple tomb', were planned in such a way that the temple tomb turned out to stand in one of the very large courts of those baths.

**Fig. 56. Archaeological plan of the area of the Baths of Diocletian. Cf. C. Pietrangeli 1977, tav. 2 (drawing: C. Buzzetti and E. Gatti). From: E. La Rocca (2020b, Fig. 8): "1. Area dove era ubicato il *templum gentis Flaviae*; 2. Il luogo dove è stata rinvenuta la testa colossale di Tito [cf. here Fig. 53]; 3. Edificio in laterizio dove è stato rinvenuto il mosaico con tiaso marino e le tre Grazie; 4. Il luogo dove sono stati rinvenuti i rilievi Hartwig [for those; cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.a), and here Figs. 33; 34]"**



**Fig. 57. Archaeological plan of the Baths of Diocletian (detail). Cf. C. Pietrangeli 1977, tav. 3, with additions by E. La Rocca. From: E. La Rocca (2020b, Fig. 10: detail of his Fig. 9). The caption of his Fig. 10 reads: "Dettaglio della pianta a fig. 09. Con una linea rossa è segnalato il perimetro della recinzione del *templum gentis Flaviae* (da Pietrangeli 1977, tav. 3, con aggiunte dell'a.[utore])".**

La Rocca 2020b, 367-369 with ns. 8, 9) writes about the colossal portrait of Titus (cf. here **Fig. 53**):

"Dai pochi dati disponibili si evince che la testa [of Titus; cf. here **Fig. 53**] sia stata rinvenuta sul lastricato della strada che costeggiava il fianco nord-occidentale delle terme di Diocleziano (figg. 2, b; 8 [= here **Fig. 56**], n.[numero] 2), non lontano da un complesso monumentale in opera laterizia di buona qualità ... databile tra l'età di Traiano e quella dei primi imperatori Antonini ... La testa di Tito (figg. 4-7 [= here here **Fig. 53**]) che, per la sua colossalità, non è ragionevole che provenga da una sede lontana, come giustamente avevano rilevato già Rosa e Brizio [1873], doveva essere pertinente a una delle principali [page 369] statue di culto del *templum gentis Flaviae*, la cui ubicazione nell'area in seguito occupata dalle terme di Diocleziano (fig. 8 [= here **Fig. 56**], n.[numero] 1), e nelle cui vicinanze furono trovati i rilievi Hartwig (fig. 8, n.[numero] 4 [= here **Fig. 56**]), risulta ipotesi ben motivata. Più precisamente, il *templum* doveva essere nel luogo in cui a più riprese, nell'area adiacente alla chiesa di San Bernardo, ai lati di via Vittorio Emanuele Orlando, furono ritrovate le fondazioni di un edificio demolito proprio per far spazio alle terme [with n. 8] (fig. 9). Poco si può dire della sua struttura, sebbene a grandi linee si possa intuire quale fosse il perimetro della sua recinzione [with n. 9] (fig. 10 [= here **Fig. 57**])".

For the "rilievi Hartwig", mentioned above by La Rocca (2020b, 369), which scholars attribute to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.a), and here **Figs. 33; 34**.

**In his note 8, La Rocca writes :**

"Candilio 1990-1991, pp. 165-183, spec.[ialmente] p. 175 ss. figg. 9-12; La Rocca 2009c [*i.e.*, here E. LA ROCCA 2009], pp. 224-225, 228-230, figg. 1-2; Coarelli 2014, pp. 197-200, figg. 48-49".

**In his note 9, La Rocca writes :**

"Che il tempio [*i.e.*, the temple tomb proper of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*] fosse a pianta circolare (come hanno suggerito Jordan, Hülsen 1907, p. 426; Lugli 1938, p. 319; Scott 1936, p. 67; Ward-Perkins 1981, p. 77; e Coarelli 2014, pp. 200-204), è solo una suggestiva ipotesi priva, purtroppo, di un valido sostegno archeologico. Reputo invece poco verosimile che la struttura principale dell'edificio, sebbene priva della sua recinzione, fosse stata inglobata nelle terme. Continua a lasciarmi perplesso l'impatto causato all'interno delle terme da un monumento che, a giudicare dalle fonti superstiti, non era certamente di misura ridotta. Curiosum, Notitia e Cronografo del 354 citano esclusivamente *gentem Flaviam* (o *Flabiam*) senza il termine *templum*, che invece è adottato per altri *templa* della regio VI: il *templum Salutis et Serapis* e il *templum* dei Quirini (c'è una divergenza solo nella citazione del *templum Florae* che nel *Curiosum* è citato come *Floram*). Rimando ora a Cavallero 2019, pp. 199-220, su una maggiore precisazione del significato di *templum*, la cui incomprendibile da parte mia e di altri, secondo Coarelli, avrebbe prodotto una serie di equivoci a catena. Il problema è che, malgrado la sicurezza di Coarelli in merito, il vocabolo latino non è così limpido come lui vorrebbe. Varr., *l.l.*, 7, 8, lo definisce come «*locus augurii aut auspicii causa quibusdam conceptis verbis definitus*». In regola generale, gli edifici sacri, salvo rare eccezioni, erano costruiti su un suolo inaugurato, cioè libero da ogni servitù, da ogni diritto di possesso o di proprietà detenuto da entità demoniche o da altre divinità che non fossero quelle alle quali gli edifici stessi, innalzati nei limiti del *templum*, erano consacrati. C'è quindi da dubitare, per quanto si sappia, che l'area di un monumento funerario fosse inaugurata (Marquardt 1892, p. 176). Così, il *templum gentis Flaviae*, in quanto anche sepolcro dei Flavii, non risponde molto bene ai requisiti di un *templum*. Della singolarità del *templum gentis Flaviae*, tempio della *domus divina* e contemporaneamente sepolcro, si era reso conto Jean-Claude Richard (Richard 1966, pp. 133-135), che scorgeva nell'iniziativa di Domiziano un passo avanti nella strategia del culto imperiale, con il passaggio non solo verso la

dichiarazione della natura divina di tutti i membri della famiglia, per il solo fatto di essere sepolti a fianco dei parenti che avevano ricevuto l'onore della *consecratio*, ma anche verso l'amplificata funzione dell'edificio, che non è più solo un monumento funerario, ma luogo di culto degli imperatori Flavii divenuti divi e dei loro parenti divinizzati, come non era avvenuto con il mausoleo di Augusto, né sarebbe avvenuto con il mausoleo di Adriano. Ambedue queste strutture erano, infatti, esclusivamente luoghi di sepoltura, non luoghi del loro culto divino, che era altrove. Anche l'opinione di Richard, tuttavia, dovrà essere rettificata in base a una più approfondita analisi di un altro significato del termine *templum*, di cui abbiamo un'eloquente traccia in Virgilio. Didone aveva eretto nella neo-fondata Cartagine un *templum* nel quale erano deposte le ceneri del marito Sicheo (Verg., *Aen.*, IV, 457-458). Nel commento a questo verso, Nonio Marcello (VI, 92, p. 743 L.), annota: *templum et sepulcrum dici potest veterum auctoritate*. C'è quindi un significato del termine *templum*, adottato in base alla *auctoritas veterum*, che non coincide con quello vulgato di luogo inaugurato. Non diversamente, anche se con minore evidenza, nel suo commento al medesimo brano, Servio (*ad Aen.*, IV, 458), adopera sovente il termine *templum* come il più idoneo a identificare il monumento eretto da Didone al marito Sicheo. Non è un esempio isolato. Nella poesia a carattere funerario è frequente il riferimento alle dimore dell'Ade come *templa*. Nell'iscrizione romana di Bassa, morta a dieci anni (CIL, VI, 7898, 8-9), si dice: *... at saevos Pluto rapuit me ad infera templa*. E in quella del piccolo P. Aelius Pius, anch'essa romana (CIL, VI, 10794, 9): *... set non hic manis nec templa achirus(i)a visi(t)*. In un'iscrizione funeraria di Ostia (CIL, XIV, 480, ll. 7-8) il monumento funerario è detto *aedes* e *novissima templa* per i Mani e per le ceneri del defunto e dei suoi discendenti: *... hanc aedem posuit struxitque novissima templa manibus et cineris posteriisque meis*. Come si può vedere da questi pur limitati esempi, si deve essere prudenti prima di sostenere che la recente discussione sugli edifici del culto dinastico a Roma si sia arenata per un'incomprensione del reale significato del termine *templum*, che in età imperiale non ha una sola accezione".

**Let's now discuss La Rocca's statement (2020b, 369, n. 9): he regards Domitian's idea to combine in his *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, a temple, dedicated to the divinized members of his family, with the family tomb, as a concept that, 'under normal circumstances', would have been prohibited by Roman sacred law.**

In the meantime has appeared the article "Il *templum gentis Flaviae*" by Eugenio La Rocca and Lorenzo Kosmopoulos (2023), in which La Rocca (2023, 134-137) repeats the thoughts, first published in La Rocca 2020b, 367-369 with ns. 8, 9), that are discussed here. To the latter article; I will come back below.

**Amanda Claridge, with whom I discussed this subject in a telephone conversation on 7th September 2021, had an excellent idea which she kindly shared with me: such 'temple tombs' as the one within Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, are by no means without precedent, since founders were usually honoured this way: 'and the Flavians were founders too', Amanda added.**

Amanda Claridge was kind enough to write me by E-mail of 25th September 2021 that I may mention here our relevant conversation.

**As an example for such a founder's tomb, Amanda Claridge mentioned to me a tomb in the Triangular Forum at Pompeii which has recently been identified as the tomb of the founder of the city - but which I myself do *not* know. 'That sounds like the tombs of the founders of Greek colonies', I replied. Amanda agreed, adding to this that Pompeii had anyway great similarities with those Greek colonies.**

The oldest part of Pompeii is located in the city's 'REGIO VII', immediately adjacent to which in the east was built the Triangular Forum, that belongs to 'REGIO VIII'. For plans that show Pompeii's development over time; cf. Joanne Berry (1998, 14-31, Figs. 11-21), with a summary of the city's history by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, who mentions on p. 21: "the sanctuary, probably of Minerva and Hercules in the Triangular Forum". See for the Triangular Forum also Wilhelmina F. Jashemski (1993, 224), her cat. no. "460. VIII.vii.30 The Triangular Forum Figs. 255, 256". In this Triangular Forum stands the so-called Doric Temple mentioned by Wallace-Hadrill.

See for a plan of Pompeii in which its 'REGIONES' are marked, Jashemski (1993, 2, Fig. 1), labels: REG. VII; REG. VIII; FORO TRIANGOLARE (the location of the Doric Temple in the Triangular Forum is indicated: it is oriented towards the sea). The caption of Jashemski's Fig. 1 reads: "Plan 1 Pompeii. When Fiorelli became the director of the excavations in 1860 he divided Pompeii into nine regions, and assigned a number to each insula (or block) in each region, as well as to each entrance in each insula".

That a tomb in front of the Doric Temple in the Triangular Forum at Pompeii may be identified as that of the founder of the city is not only understandable because of its location within the oldest part of the city. In addition to this, the oldest architectural finds from the area prove that this oldest part of Pompeii's history is indeed closely connected with the contemporary Greek colonies, as Amanda Claridge had mentioned to me. Or should we even say: because of this tomb of a founder, the oldest part of Pompeii should be identified *as* a Greek colony? See for that, Nicholas Purcell ("Pompeii"; in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> [1996] 1214): "The oldest architecture fragments from the Doric Temple ... belong to the Greek milieu around the Campanian *apoikiai* of the 6th cent.[ury] BC (see APOIKIA) ...".

The article '*apoikia*' in the same lexicon leads us then to what I said in my response to Amanda Claridge in our conversation. I myself had referred to the findings of my colleague Roald Docter (2013, 170-171), who, choosing the example of the Greek colony Megara Hyblaia, has described the entire process of founding a Greek colony in the period in question: with the founder Lamis, who after his death was honoured with a *heroon* at Megara Hyblaia. And, as I should like to add, we may assume that his *heroon* had been erected very closely to the tomb of the founder Lamis.

**The other observation of Amanda Claridge, according to which 'the Flavian emperors were founders too', is likewise true.**

I, therefore, anticipate a passage that was written for *infra*, in volume 3-2. in *Appendix VI.*; at Section II.):

'Erika Simon (1963, 727-728) dated the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here **Fig. 31**) to the Flavian period, recognized in the originally represented emperor Domitian (currently restored with a portrait of Trajan), and was of the opinion that this relief, exactly like Domitian's *sestertius* (cf. here **Fig. 30**), shows the '*Domus Tiberiana*' on the Palatine, as rebuilt by Domitian. **Simon therefore believed that the scene in the pediment of this temple (Fig. 31, above [in my opinion the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*!]) fitted very well Domitian's self-presentation, 'who felt [himself] to be the new founder of Rome'** [cf. also *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.a; my emphasis)]'.

**For a discussion of the fact that Domitian propagated himself to be the new founder of Rome and, therefore, the new Romulus; cf. *supra*, in Chapter Preamble; Section III.; at point 4.). As mentioned above, in my conclusions concerning the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here **Fig. 31**), which I regard as a representation of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, I myself stress Domitian's identification with Rome's founder Romulus.**

If my hypotheses are true, Domitian commissioned this relief, in which he is shown sacrificing in front of his *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, in the tympanon of which, certainly not by chance, is represented Rome's foundation myth : the birth of Romulus. Since the contemporaries knew that Domitian was born in the *domus* of his father Vespasian, at the site of which now stood Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (cf. Suet, *Dom.* 1; cf. *Dom.* 15), the tympanon relief of this temple referred directly to Domitian. In addition, I tentatively suggest that what we witness on this relief (here **Fig. 31**) is the dedicatory ceremony of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

In the following, I anticipate a passage that was written for *infra*, volume 3-2, *Appendix I.g.3.*); at Section IV.:

'Provided *a*) that the Flavian date, suggested here for the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here **Fig. 31**) is true, and *b*) that this relief and Domitian's *sestertius* (here **Fig. 30**) represent the same building, Domitian's emulation of Romulus [discussed earlier in *Appendix I.g.3.*); at Section IV., in context with the tympanon of

the Temple of Quirinus, which is visible on one of the reliefs from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; cf. here **Fig. 34**] provides another strong argument in support of Torelli's hypothesis to see in both, the reverse of Domitian's *sestertius*, and the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano", representations of Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

As we have seen above, Stephanie Langer and Michael Pfanner (2018, 151 with Abb. 55) suggest two different reconstructions concerning the sacrifice, which is visible on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here **Fig. 31, below**). If we follow Erika Simon (1963, 727, 728) and Langer and Pfanner (2018, 154 with Abb. 55: their reconstruction on the left hand side; cf. their Abb. 53), the emperor is to be identified with their figure 5 on the relief (now with restored head of Trajan), who sacrifices not with *capite velato*.

I also follow Langer and Pfanner (2018, 154) with their following statement : "Es scheint daher verlockend, die Thematik des Giebelfeldes [*i.e.*, of the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano"; cf. here **Fig. 31, above**] mit der Handlung des Opfernden [cf. here **Fig. 31, below**] direkt in Verbindung zu bringen". To this we may add Claudia Valeri's observation, her point 4.; cf. below, at *The first Contribution by Claudia Valeri on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano"* (cf. here **Fig. 31**): "The real protagonist of the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" is the represented temple [my emphasis]".

Provided, the hypotheses suggested here are true, *a*) that figure 5 (now with restored head of Trajan) on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here **Fig. 31, below**) is the emperor, *b*) that he was shown in the act of sacrificing, *c*) that this emperor was originally Domitian, and *d*) that the represented temple is the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, it is in my opinion *e*) in addition to this tempting to believe that the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" showed Domitian in the act of dedicating that temple, in front of which he is shown as sacrificing: namely *the Templum Gentis Flaviae*'.

In order to illustrate the importance of 'Rome's foundation story' for the Flavian dynasty in general, and for Domitian in particular, I anticipate in the following a passage, written by Claudio Parisi Presicce (2000, 25-28), that is quoted *verbatim* in more detail *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.*) :

'Claudio Parisi Presicce (2000, 25-30) analyses the iconography of the *lupa*, suckling Romulus and Remus, over time and in all *media*. He convincingly suggests that the Flavian emperors adopted this iconography, related as it was to Rome's destiny and to her eternity, in order to legitimize their reign, and discusses in this context the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here **Fig. 31**). He further identifies a torso of a cuirassed statue in the Vatican Museums (cf. here **Fig. 6, right**), which is decorated with this motive, as a possible portrait of Domitian, who, if true, was thus first to adopt this iconography for himself in a cuirassed statue :

"Dopo una lunga assenza dai conii monetali per tutta l'età giulio-claudia, con la sola ... [page 27] eccezione di alcuni sesterzi neroniani, **la lupa che allatta i gemelli ricompare sui rovesci degli aurei di Tito e dei denari coniatati a Roma da Domiziano, poco tempo prima della morte dell'imperatore Vespasiano avvenuta nel 79 d.C. (cat. n. 24 y)**. In esergo è raffigurata una barchetta, che richiama il cesto nel quale furono abbandonati i fanciulli. La piccola imbarcazione diventa il simbolo del salvataggio miracoloso, poichè è grazie a essa che Romolo e Remo giunsero sulla riva del Tevere. **La scena venne raffigurata su un rilievo marmoreo di provenienza ignota (cat. n. 9) pertinente a un fregio monumentale, solo in parte conservato, che in base alla modanatura può essere datato in età flavia e che, ipoteticamente, abbiamo attribuito alla decorazione architettonica del Tempio di Vespasiano e Tito** [he thus refers to the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus* ...], eretto a ridosso delle costruzioni del Tabularium [*i.e.*, the building here referred to as 'Tabularium'] verso il Foro Romano [page 28]. **Con la dinastia flavia saliva al potere una famiglia di origine italica, proveniente dalla Sabina, che riuscì a ripristinare il precedente sistema dinastico ereditario soltanto dopo una guerra civile che, tra il 68 e il 69 d.C., vide salire sul trono imperiale, in un clima di forti tensioni militari, prima Galba poi Otone e Vitellio. Il recupero della leggenda dei fondatori di Roma è in relazione con la volontà di legittimare, attraverso l'appropriazione dei simboli legati al destino di Roma e alla sua eternità, l'esercizio**

**del potere, non fondato al momento della nuova pacificazione sulla filiazione sanguigna, ma sul merito e sulla investitura divina**

**Se il tempio decastilo raffigurato nel rilievo diviso tra i Musei Vaticani e il Museo Nazionale Romano (cat. n. 3 [i.e., the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano"; cf. here Fig. 31]) va identificato, secondo la proposta di Mario Torelli, con il *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, avremmo la testimonianza di un vero e proprio programma di appropriazione da parte di Domiziano del ciclo figurativo relativo alla nascita di Roma. L'imperatore flavio [i.e., Domitian] o suo fratello Tito, stando alla recente datazione del torso loricato conservato ai Musei Vaticani (cat. n. 13 [cf. here Fig. 6, right ...), fu il primo a scegliere l'immagine della lupa con i gemelli come tema decorativo della propria corazza [my emphasis]"**.

Claudio Parisi Presicce's (200, 28) just-quoted observation that, provided the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (here Fig. 31) should indeed represent the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, "avremmo la testimonianza di un vero e proprio programma di appropriazione da parte di Domiziano del ciclo figurativo relativo alla nascita di Roma", leads us to an observation by Clementina Panella.

**Panella (2009, 290-292) has actually suggested long ago that the Flavian emperors have propagated themselves 'as heirs of the founders of the *Urbs*', Romulus and Remus, and as heirs of the founder of the Principate, Augustus'.**

The following is a quote from *infra*, volume 3-2:

*Appendix VI.; Section XII. Let's now return to our discussion of the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano", which shows Mars and Rhea Silvia and the she-wolf, suckling Romulus and Remus, and thus 'Rome's foundation-story':*

**"Only after having written this down, did I realize the following. Clementina Panella (2009, 290-292) has found in her excavations at the north-east corner of the Palatine the Flavian shrine of the (old) Temple of *Divus Augustus*, built after the original Claudian shrine had been destroyed by fire. In her discussion of this find, Panella suggests something similar as I have done above [in my discussion of the relief here Fig. 31], but with much more confidence.**

The following first paragraph is a quote from *infra*, volume 3-2, *Appendix V.*; at Section *I.*, where this passage is quoted in more detail and discussed in its wider topographical context:

'... the (old) temple of the deified Augustus is also tentatively marked in our map: the small temple at the north-east-corner of the Palatine, excavated by Clementina Panella and her *équipe*, together with the two fountains called *Meta Sudans*.

Cf. here Fig. 73, labels: PALATIUM; META SUDANS [the smaller one is the *Meta* of the Augustan period; the larger one is the Flavian *Meta*]; CURIAE VETERES ?/ SACRARIUM, AEDES DIVI AUGUSTI ?; C; F. Note that Panella found two shrines (both facing east): the Claudian temple ("C"), after being completely destroyed by fire, was in the Flavian period replaced by shrine "F" (to the north of the latter); cf. Panella (2009, 290-291, figs. 4; 5).

**As our lettering on Fig. 73 indicates, it is debated, whether those two temples belonged to the *Curiae veteres*, or should rather be identified with the (old) temple of the deified Augustus'.**

**Panella (2009, 290-292), who in this article identifies the area around the two shrines, which she has excavated, with the *Curiae veteres* - as also Filippo Coarelli (2012, 108) - and the shrine(s) themselves with the (old) temple of the deified Augustus, writes about the motivation of the Flavian emperors, to restore this archaic sanctuary :**

"[page 292] ... I dati che abbiamo raccolto ci hanno portato a collegare tali memorie a Romolo (*Curiae veteres, pomerio*) e ad Augusto (*sacrarium e Meta Sudans*) ... In tale contesto una ricostruzione flavia si inquadra perfettamente nel programma edilizio attuato da questa dinastia, volto a chiudere la parentesi giulio-claudia e a presentare i nuovi imperatori in veste di eredi dei padri fondatori (della città [*i.e.*, Romulus and Remus] e dell'impero [*i.e.*, Augustus]) affidando il messaggio della continuità ai "segni" delle architetture [my emphasis]"

Whereas Domitian, as stated above, thus styled himself 'only' (like Romulus) as the new founder of Rome, and all three Flavian emperors as 'heirs of the founders of Rome, Romulus and Remus, and of the founder of the Principate, Augustus' (as C. PANELLA 2009, 292 writes), Vespasian, in addition to this, proclaimed himself as the founder of a new dynasty. To this we will now turn.

I, therefore, repeat also another passage that was written for a different part of this *Chapter* (cf. *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.g):

"Only after this Chapter was written so far, did I learn from Laurent Bricault and Richard Veymiers (2018, 141, with n. 87) that Vespasien issued coins with the legend: *Roma resurge(n)s* (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II.a*) [my emphasis].

The following passage from Bricault and Veymiers (2018, 141, with ns. 85-88) is quoted in more detail *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II.a*:

'This *sestertius* ([of Vespasian] cf. here **Fig. 113**) was issued "... probablement en mars ou avril 71 ... **Les trois émissions de bronzes, et notamment de sesterces, pour l'année 71 sont les plus importantes du principat** [*i.e.*, of Vespasian], tout au moins s'agissant de la variété des types de revers employés [with n. 86]. Si certains revers reprennent des types utilisés précédemment par Galba (*Libertas ; Ara Providentiae*), ou s'en inspirent (**La Roma resurge(n)s de Vespasien** répondant à la *Roma renasce(n)s* de Galba) [with n. 87], **d'autres intègrent des types totalement neufs** (*Roma septicolis* [= here **Fig. 112**] ; *Iseum Campense* [= here **Fig. 113**]). **Les thématiques mises en avant dans ce programme numismatique sont claires. Elles traverseront tout le principat. Il est question de victoire** (*Mars Victor ; Victoria Augusti ; Iudaea Capta*), **de paix rétablie et de liberté retrouvée en harmonie avec le Sénat** (*Pax Augusta ; Pax orbis terrarum ; Libertas restituta ; Fortuna redux ; Concordia Senatui ; SPQR adsertori libertatis publicae*), **d'une dynastie nouvelle** (*Titus et Domitianus Caesares ; Principes iuventutis*), **de la résurrection de Rome après l'épisode néronien et la guerre civile** (*Roma resurge(n)s*), **autant de messages annonciateurs d'un nouvel âge d'or** [with n. 88; my emphasis]"

I also anticipate another passage, likewise quoted in more detail *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II.a*):

"[Alexander] Heinemann (2018, 237) mentions Vespasian's *sestertius* [cf. here **Fig. 112**], which shows the *Dea Roma* seated on the Seven Hills of Rome, accompanied by the *lupa* with Romulus and Remus and the Tiber:

"In ideologically appropriating the Tiber flood [of AD 69] as a divine admonishment to re-establish order, Vespasian could rely on a precedent both prominent and convenient. In 27 B.C., on the day after Augustus had taken the name we call him by, the Tiber had flooded the Campus Martius, and at the time seers had hastened to proclaim the incident a great and positive portent blessing the recent political events [with n. 108]. **Some confirmation that a similar appropriation actually took place after A.D. 69 may be gleaned from an issue of sestertii** coined shortly after Vespasian's arrival at Rome, bearing the unique image of Roma resting on the seven hills and flanked by the Tiber and the *lupa* with Romulus and Remus [with n. 109] ... In the mythical past, the rising waters had washed the city's founder onto the slopes of the Palatine; in A.D. 69 - so contemporaries could construe it - they had heralded the arrival of Vespasian, the founder of a new dynasty, who was to restore the city to its previous grandeur, rebuild the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and extend the city's pomerium [my emphasis]"

See now also the subtitle of the volume accompanying the exhibition on Domitian at Leiden, edited by Aurora Raimondi Cominesi, Nathalie de Haan, Eric M. Moormann and Claire Stocks (2021): *God on Earth: Emperor Domitian. The re-invention of Rome at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD* (my emphasis).

See here Fig. 112. *Sestertius*, issued by Vespasian in AD 71, Rome. With the *Dea Roma* on the reverse, seated on Rome's 'seven hills', thus referring to the *Septimontium* festival, which Vespasian had revived. Cf. A. Fraschetti ("Montes", in: *LTUR* III (1996) 285, Fig. 186: "Sesterzio di Vespasiano del 71 d. C. *RIC* II, 69 N. 442"). From: The British Museum. Obverse: IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG P M T P P P COS III; reverse: S C ROMA; *RIC* 2.1, 108, p. 67: "Roma seated right on the seven hills; to left wolf and twins; to right, River Tiber". © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Online at: <[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1872-0709-477](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1872-0709-477)> [last visit: 7-V-2023].

For further discussion of the coin here Fig. 112; cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.2.).

*Let's now turn to Eugenio La Rocca's and Lorenzo Kosmopoulos's (2023)  
observations concerning the Templum Gentis Flaviae*

*The erroneous assumption that Domitian had dedicated the temple in the Roman Forum to Divus Vespasianus and to Divus Titus*

Eugenio La Rocca (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 122, 131, 135, 137) takes for granted that the temple, erected in the *Forum Romanum*, was dedicated to *Divus Vespasianus* and to *Divus Titus*. This is certainly not true. I am mentioning this here, because La Rocca builds on this (erroneous) assumption a far reaching hypothesis.

For a discussion of this old, but erroneous hypothesis; cf. below, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11) ...*; at Part I. *The statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (cf. here Fig. 11), the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524; cf. here Fig. 29.1), and the cult-statue of Divus Vespasianus in the Temple of Divus Vespasianus. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great). I anticipate in the following a passage from this Chapter:*

**'But there are [in the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*], apart from the base of the cult-statue of Vespasian, no traces of a base for a portrait of Titus ... Some late antique sources assert that the temple was later also dedicated to Titus (an assumption that, in theory, could have been caused by the presence of a cult-statue of Titus in the *cella* of this temple). This is, according to Stefano De Angeli (LTUR V [1999] 124), not true:**

"Tramite l'*Itin. Eins.* (IX sec.[olo] d.C.) ci è nota per intero l'iscrizione (CIL VI 938 = ILS 255: DIVO VESPASIANO AVGVSTO SPQR . IMPP . CAESS . SEVERVS ET ANTONINVS PII FELIC AVGG RESTITVER), ora limitata alle sue sole otto lettere finali, che occupava la grande tavola epigrafica della trabeazione, realizzata in occasione del restauro severiano databile tra il 200 e l 205. La chiara ed esclusiva indicazione di Vespasiano mostra che il tempio fu dedicato fin dall'origine, e anche in seguito, solo a quest'ultimo e non fu mai dedicato, o ridedicato, anche al fratello Tito, come, sulla base d alcune fonti tarde e secondarie, che lo vindicano come *templum Vespasiani et Titi* (*Chronogr. a.* 354; *Cur. Reg. VIII:* 115 s. con n. 7 VZ I, non tuttavia la *Not.*, 174 VZ 1) si è spesso ipotizzato o sostenuto (De Angeli [*Templum Divi Vespasiani*, 1992], 160 s.)".

Of the same opinion is Coarelli (2009b, 77-77, with ns. 87-88), who argues with the observation that the extant statue base of the cult-statue of Vespasian could not possibly have accommodated two cult-images.

**For the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus***; cf. Stefano De Angeli (1992; cf. *id.*: "Vespasianus, Divus, Templum", in: *LTUR V* [1999] 124-125, Figs. 69-71; I, 64-65, 129; II, 152; IV, 84, 109) ...'.

**La Rocca (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 122) mentions in the following passage the alleged fact that in the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus* in the Roman Forum was also worshipped *Divus Titus* :**

"In un altro epigramma [of the poet Martial] lo stesso Giove, dall'alto, vedendo i *Flavia templa*, ride confrontandoli con il suo ben più misero - anche se falso - sepolcro sul monte Ida a Creta (*mendacia busti Idaei*), e ironizza con gli altri dei sulla differenza tra i due *monumenta*, e quindi sulla maggiore importanza di essere il padre dell'imperatore [with n. 14]. Sebbene Turcan sia scettico nel riconoscere nell'edificio domiziano il *templum gentis Flaviae* per il collegamento di Giove al solo Vespasiano [with n. 15], al contrario il paragone con il *bustum Idaeum* parla in favore della congettura, visto che il *templum*, da quanto si desume da Svetonio, era adoperato anche come sepolcro della *gens Flavia*. Evidentemente, Vespasiano è menzionato da solo come il capostipite tra i *divi* della *gens*; **d'altronde il tempio affacciato sul foro Romano era dedicato a lui e al figlio Tito, che nell'epigramma non è menzionato** [my emphasis]".



In his **note 14**, La Rocca writes: "Mart. 9, 3, 12 (con qualche dubbio); 9, 34, 1-2, 7-8".

In his **note 15**, he writes: "Turcan 2000, pp. 19-20".

Next, La Rocca (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS, 2023, 131) asserts that Domitian dedicated the temple in the *Forum Romanum* to both his divinized father and brother, *Divus Vespasianus* and *Divus Titus* :

"Il *templum* (o, come lo chiama Stazio, *sacraria*) *gentis Flaviae* voluto da Domiziano è coerente con la sua visione politica. La sua famiglia non aveva una solida tradizione gentilizia, né aveva capostipiti divini come quella giulio-claudia. Per poter fondare una dinastia imperiale, Domiziano poteva contare sia sul suo costante riferimento a Giove, di cui si presentava come emissario in terra [with n. 53], sia, in primo luogo, sulla divinizzazione del padre e del fratello, ai quali dedicò un tempio unico nel Foro Romano e due piccoli templi affrontati nella *porticus Divorum* in Campo Marzio ... [with n. 54; my emphasis]".

In his **note 53**, La Rocca writes: "Fishwick 2009, pp. 344-347; Escámez De Vera 2016, pp. 5-6, 67-87. Per la monetazione, vd. [vedi] nota 18".

In his **note 54**, he writes: "Habicht 1972, p. 93".

See also Eugenio La Rocca (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 135), where he again repeats the (erroneous) assertion that the temple in the *Forum Romanum* was dedicated to both divinized predecessors of Domitian: *Divus Vespasianus* and *Divus Titus* :

"E. Bickerman aveva pienamente ragione nell'osservare che il *templum gentis Flaviae*, in quanto santuario del culto gentilizio della *gens Flavia*, rientrasse meglio nell'ambito dei *sacra privata*, laddove il tempio di Vespasiano e Tito nel Foro Romano, o i templi degli *imperatores divi* rientravano nell'ambito dei *sacra publica* [with n. 87]. Ma due elementi ostano alla piena ricezione di questa ipotesi: a) la sua definizione di *templum*; b) la sua probabile collocazione all'interno del pomerio [my emphasis]".

In his **note 87**, La Rocca writes: "Bickerman 1972, p. 18".

Finally La Rocca (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 137) writes :

"La presenza attiva dei *sodales Flaviales et Titiales*, documentati fino al 238 d.C., indica che il culto dei primi due imperatori flavii era ancora in vigore nella prima metà del III secolo, ma non necessariamente doveva avere come suo centro il *templum gentis Flaviae*, vista la presenza di un tempio dedicato ai *divi Vespasiano e Tito nel Foro Romano* [my emphasis]".

To La Rocca's (2023, 137) just quoted passage, I should like to add some comments:

What La Rocca (2023, 137) in the just-quoted sentence asserts, is not (quite) true, since we know that *Divus Titus* was not worshipped in the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus* in the Roman Forum.

La Rocca (*op.cit.*) is, of course, right in observing that 'the presence of the *sodales Flaviales et Titiales* is documented until AD 238'. The context, in which we should consider the extraordinary success of this specific imperial cult was Domitian's own precarious situation, and the measures which he took, as so many of his political decisions, turned out to be extremely successful.

As already said above, Rose Mary Sheldon has analysed Domitian's relevant decisions in great detail.

Cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*, at Section II. *Conclusions: Domitian's representations of his military successes and his claims to be of divine descent and to possess a divine nature*, where Sheldon's observations are quoted and discussed. I, therefore, repeat here one passage of her account *verbatim* :

**'Also Sheldon (2023, in press) addresses Domitian's relationship with the divine, by analysing his promotion of the imperial cult all over the Roman Empire. She suggests that Domitian needed this for his claim to imperial legitimacy. Domitian's promotion of the imperial cult explains at the same time his bad relationship with the Senat.**

Rose Mary Sheldon (*Guarding the Caesars. Roman Internal Security under the Flavian Dynasty*, 2023, in press; Chapter 7; Section: "Imperial Cult") writes:

**"Scott believed that Domitian was responsible for the establishment of the Flavian cult throughout the Roman world, and that worship was kept going until the close of the second century in spite of the fact that Domitian suffered *damnatio memoriae*. [with n. 104; my emphasis] The Flavian *gens* had its own temple in Rome and its own cult with priests to observe worship. There is considerable epigraphic evidence for the activities of the priests of the Flavian cult. [with n. 105]"**.

In her **note 104**, Sheldon writes: "The cult included most members of the Flavian *gens* including *Diva Domitilla* Vespasian's daughter: *ILS* 6692 and Julia: *ILS* 6487".

In her **note 105**, she writes: "Epigraphical evidence from the empire: Scott (1936), 79-82. The very abundance of inscriptions causes problems with terminology. There were *sodales Flaviales*, *sodales Flaviales Titiales* and *seviri Flaviales*. It is not known whether these represented successive amalgamations of the college of priests as first Vespasian and then Titus were deified or whether they were different colleges all observing worship at the same time".

***The Templum Gentis Flaviae is still mentioned in late antique sources; and considerations, why Domitian may have erected this building***

Next, La Rocca (in: LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULO 2023, 123-124) analyses the late antique sources which prove that the *Templum Genis Flaviae* still existed at that time.

He suggests (on p. 124) that, still in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, near the site of the former *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, the cult of the *gens Flavia* may still have been performed, and adds to this a suggestion, when Domitian may have erected his *Templum Gentis Flaviae* :

**"Evidentemente, nel nevralgico momento, in cui Costantino introduceva il cristianesimo come religione di Stato, era ancora contemplata una sorte di celebrazione della famiglia imperiale che, sebbene fosse assai limitatamente conforme agli schemi della tradizione, consentiva tuttavia la nomina di *pontifices* a questo scopo. Entro questa cornice, la possibilità che a Roma, nel IV secolo, si conservasse ancora un luogo di culto, ancorché ridotto, della *gens Flavia* nelle vicinanze dell'antico *templum* non è affatto da respingere, anche se ci dovrebbe domandare cosa fosse avvenuto nei decenni anteriori alla presa del potere di Costantino, nel periodo in cui il culto dei primi imperatori risulta in buona parte archiviato [with n. 27]"**.

**To La Rocca's (2023, 124) just-quoted last sentence, I should like to add a comment :**

We shall see below that La Rocca (2023, 124) reminds us also of the fact that Constantine the Great has actually 'adopted himself' and his sons into the Flavian dynasty. Elsewhere (2023, 137), La Rocca states that it is so far unknown, when the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* has been destroyed. Adding to that information La

Rocca's (2023, 124) just-quoted remark: "ci dovrebbe domandare cosa fosse avvenuto nei decenni anteriori alla presa del potere di Costantino", I can only agree with La Rocca's (2023, 124) following statement:

**"Entro questa cornice, la possibilità che a Roma, nel IV secolo, si conservasse ancora un luogo di culto, ancorché ridotto, della gens Flavia nelle vicinanze dell'antico *templum* non è affatto da respingere".**

**But with one important difference: contrary to La Rocca (2023, 124), I believe that nothing speaks against the assumption that the cult of the gens Flavia was still performed at the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* itself.**

**This has also been suggested by Filippo Coarelli (2014, 204-205, quoted *verbatim supra*; and already in: *LTUR* II [1995] 368, quoted *verbatim infra*), whom I am following here; and, as we shall see below, likewise by Maria Cristina Capanna (2008, 178).**

To La Rocca's (2023, 124) further remark: "ci dovrebbe domandare cosa fosse avvenuto nei decenni anteriori alle prese del potere di Costantino", I will come back below.

**Earlier on the same page, La Rocca (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 124) has explained how Constantine the Great had 'adopted himself' and his sons into the Flavian dynasty: "... perché Costantino e i suoi figli si erano creati una fittizia discendenza dagli imperatori flavii per il tramite di Claudio il Gotico [with n. 24; my emphasis]".**

We shall learn below that already Septimius Severus, for exactly the same reasons, had 'adopted himself' into the Antonine dynasty.

Cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.b) *The Cancellaria Reliefs under Nerva - as reconstructed by S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018) and my own comments on their conclusions. With some remarks on the efforts of Septimius Severus to legitimize his reign.*

**In the case of Constantine, the period in question, namely La Rocca's (2023, 124) "decenni anteriori alle prese del potere di Costantino", has recently been studied in great detail by Oliver Schmitt :**

Cf. Schmitt (*Constantin der Große (275 337) Leben und Herrschaft*, 2007, 84-94: "Kapitel 3. Von Naissus nach Nikomedia: Constantins Familie, Jugend und beruflicher Werdegang"; cf. pp. 95-170: "Kapitel 4. Jeder gegen jeden: Der Zusammenbruch des diocletianischen Herrschaftssystems"; cf. pp. 171-213: "Kapitel 5. Es kann nur einen geben: Constantin, Licinius und der Kampf um die Alleinherrschaft").

For discussions of Oliver Schmitt's observations, and further for Constantine the Great: cf. below, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11) ...*; at Part I. *The statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (cf. here Fig. 11), the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524; cf. here Fig. 29.1), and the cult-statue of Divus Vespasianus in the Temple of Divus Vespasianus. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); and at Part II. *Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalìa) and of the Horrea Aemiliana. With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?**

**And concerning "Claudio il Gotico", mentioned by La Rocca (2023, 124) in the just-quoted passage, I anticipate in the following a passage, written for another Chapter.**

See below, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus (cf. here Fig. 10); at Part II. The Capitoline Triad in statuette format at Guidonia Montecelio (Roma), Museo Civico Archeologico 'Rodolfo Lanciani' (cf. here Fig. 13) and the colossal statue of Jupiter at the Hermitage (cf. here Fig. 10) :*

“As far as I know, a cult-statue of a temple was in antiquity *a*) only restored, when the original sculpture had been destroyed, and *b*) in the case of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* we are not informed by our literary sources or any other evidence that one or all of its original cult-statue(s) had been replaced at a later stage. **What we do hear is that under Claudius Gothicus, who was Roman emperor in AD 268-270, the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* seems to have been restored. See Filippo Coarelli (“Gens Flavia, Templum”, in: *LTUR* II [1995] 368), who writes: “Sembra che un restauro [of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*] si debba a Claudio il Gotico (*Hist. Aug. Claud.* 3.6; cfr. *trig. tyr.* 33.6: *extat etiam domus pulcherrima (Censorini), adiuncta Gentibus Flaviis, quae quondam Titi principis fuisse perhibentur*). Il tempio esisteva ancora nel IV sec.[olo], dal momeno che è citato dai Cataloghi Regionari (*Reg. VI*) ... [my emphasis]”**

**Also in my opinion, the literary sources, quoted by Coarelli (*op. cit.*) prove that the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* still existed at this late time.** For Claudius Gothicus; cf. John Frederic Dobson (“Claudius [RE 82] [II] Gothicus, Marcus Aurelius, emperor AD 268-70”, in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> [1996] 340 [my emphasis])’.

**Immediately after the above-quoted passage, La Rocca (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 124) suggests when the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* may have been completed :**

**“In quanto alla cronologia del monumento voluto da Domiziano, una datazione *ante quem* per il suo completamento è offerta proprio dalla morte dell'imperatore, il 18 settembre 96 d.C., perché le sue ceneri furono mescolate dalla sua nutrice Filide con quelle della nipote Giulia, la figlia di Tito, morta intorno all'89 d.C. Comunque, già al momento della redazione del IX libro degli *Epigrammi* di Marziale (completato verosimilmente tra la fine del 94 e i primi mesi del 95, ma con alcune composizioni scritte anche nel 93 d.C.) [with n. 28] e del V libro delle *Silvae* di Stazio [with n. 29], che tuttavia fu pubblicato postumo, qualche tempo dopo il 96, l'edificio doveva essere già costruito e in piena funzione. Si potrebbe immaginare che l'idea di un *templum* - o *sacraria* - dedicato alla sua *gens* sia venuto a mente a Domiziano dopo la morte di Giulia, e quindi che i lavori di costruzione fossero iniziati qualche tempo dopo l'89 [my emphasis]”.**

In his **note 24**, La Rocca writes: “Van Dam 2007, pp. 88-102, 115-118. Paschoud 2011, pp. 262, 283”.

In his **note 27**, he writes: “Vd. [vedi] *infra*, pp. 131-138”.

In his **note 28**, he writes: “Friedländer 1886, pp. 61-62; Gsell 1894, p. 114; Friedlander [*corr.*: Friedländer] 1910, pp. 100 ss.; Friedlander [*corr.*: Friedländer] 1921, pp. 290 ss.; Heraeus 1925, p. LXVIII; Sullivan 1991, pp. 42 ss.; Leberl 2004, p. 301”.

In his **note 29**, he writes: “Come ho detto, non credo che le poesie del IV libro abbiano riferimenti specifici al *templum gentis Flaviae*. Comunque il IV libro è stato pubblicato nell'estate del 95: Frère 1961<sup>2</sup>, p. XXI”.

**Let's now turn to Lorenzo Kosmopoulos's observations concerning the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, one part of the first passage is also quoted *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI*; at Section *XII*. (cf. *id.*, in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 127) :**

**“Come ha recentemente osservato P. Sommella [2022], nell'ipotizzare la presenza di un simile ingombro all'interno del recinto delle terme, come si osserva piuttosto bene in una pianta generale in cui è stata inserita la proposta di ricostruzione del *templum gentis Flaviae* dovuta a Filippo Coarelli (fig. 2 [= here Fig. 56a]), non si sono neppure tenuti in considerazione i modi di allestimento dei ponteggi esterni, dello spostamento delle macchine costruttive e dei carri che trasportavano i materiali edilizi per erigere strutture con altezze di circa 35 metri, tanto più in quanto, con la presenza in situ del *templum*, sarebbero venuti a mancare gli spazi necessari per la circolazione dei mezzi di trasporto intorno al compatto nucleo centrale delle terme. La scelta di realizzare un complesso termale con un “ostacolo” così monumentale per la stessa fruibilità delle terme risulterebbe del tutto anomala, e comunque priva di qualunque confronto [with n. 39].**

**Il dibattito sul monumento coinvolge in particolare il suo aspetto originario. Ferma restando che i resti archeologici devono porsi come linee guida della ricerca, al momento la struttura in cementizio superstite del podio, rinvenuta solo parzialmente, non è utile a presupporre né una forma rettangolare, che resta comunque la più logica, né una forma circolare del monumento [with n. 40, with references and further discussion; my emphasis]". - See also Kosmopoulos's further discussion of this point (cf. *id.* 2023, 129).**

In his **note 39**, Kosmopoulos writes: "Non è sufficiente correlare la conservazione della struttura [*i.e.*, the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*] con la "rievocazione" della *gens Flavia* avvenuta in epoca tardoantica, **senza considerare che, in tal senso, avrebbe avuto più senso spostare la costruzione del complesso termale più a nord-est** [my emphasis]".

**To Kosmopoulos's (2023, 127) just-quoted passage, I should like to add some comments.**

Also after reading now myself the account by Paolo Sommella (2022), to which Lorenzo Kosmopoulos (*op.cit.*) has alerted me, I maintain my above-mentioned judgement: I believe that nothing speaks against the assumption that the cult of the *gens Flavia* was still performed until the 4<sup>th</sup> century at the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* itself. I follow with this assumption Filippo Coarelli ("Gens Flavia, Templum", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 368; and *id.* 2014, 204-205, both quoted *verbatim supra*).

Also to Kosmopoulos (2023, 127, n. 39) just-quoted footnote, I should like to add a comment.

**I have, therefore, added Kosmopoulos's plan (his Fig. 2 [= here Fig. 56a]) to my already existing Fig. 56. Cf. Fig. 56. Archaeological plan of the area of the Baths of Diocletian. Cf. C. Pietrangeli 1977, tav. 2 (drawing: C. Buzzetti and E. Gatti). From: E. La Rocca (2020b, Fig. 8): "1. Area dove era ubicato il *templum gentis Flaviae*; 2. Il luogo dove è stata rinvenuta la testa colossale di Tito [cf. here Fig. 53]; 3. Edificio in laterizio dove è stato rinvenuto il mosaico con tiaso marino e le tre Grazie; 4. Il luogo dove sono stati rinvenuti i rilievi Hartwig [for those; cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.a), and here Figs. 33; 34]".**

**Fig. 56a. The same archaeological plan, with additions by L. Kosmopoulos. Cf. Kosmopoulos (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 126, Fig. 29). The caption reads: "L'area occupata dal *templum gentis Flaviae* (in rosso), secondo l'ipotesi ricostruttiva del podio di Filippo Coarelli, nell'ambito delle terme di Diocleziano. 2: luogo in cui è stata trovata la testa colossale di Tito [cf. here Fig. 53]; 3: ambiente absidato con il mosaico marino (elaborazione di L. Kosmopoulos su disegno di Carlo Buzzetti, e con aggiunte da Coarelli 2014a, fig. 52 e da La Rocca 2021, fig. 8)".**

Looking at the illustrations here Figs. 56; 56a, the ground-plan of the Baths of Diocletian, as we know it, could not possibly have been 'moved' from its current location 'more to the north-east', as Kosmopoulos (2023, 127, n. 39) nevertheless suggests: "che, in tal senso, avrebbe avuto più senso spostare la costruzione del complesso termale più a nord-est".

And that for the following reason: as Kosmopoulos's own plan (here **Fig. 56a**) indicates, 'moving the Baths of Diocletian to the north-east' would have resulted in the destruction of the "AGGER".

A '3D'-reconstruction of the entire area could certainly illustrate this point much better than the plans here **Figs. 56; 56a**. The *Agger* was not only huge and very high, it served also as an important recreation area for the People of Rome; cf. T.P. Wiseman ("A stroll on the rampart", 1998a); although it is so far unknown, whether or not that was still true in the time of Diocletian. See also Maddalena Andreussi ("Murus Servii Tullii"; Mura Republicane", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 319-324, Figs. I 67; 209-211).

In my opinion, Kosmopoulos (*op.cit.*) is right in basing his relevant reasoning on the tacit assumption that, of course, also Diocletian intended to build his 'third *Kaiserthermen*' on at least the same grandiose scale as the

two already existing 'Kaiserthermen': the Baths of Trajan (that had already been planned and begun by Domitian; cf. below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.c*)), and the Baths of Caracalla.

Which means that Diocletian, in order to avoid the 'obstacle' of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* 'within his Baths' did not even consider the obvious alternative : to erect much smaller baths at this site, to the east of the pre-existing *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (!).

***Architectural marbles, that possibly belonged to the Templum Gentis Flaviae, which have been integrated into the decoration of the Baths of Diocletian***

**Lorenzo Kosmopoulos** (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 129, with "Fig. 5. Terme di Diocleziano, mensola decorata con la raffigurazione di un'aquila ...") **then turns to architectural marbles, which he tentatively attributes to the Templum Gentis Flaviae: "Un'altra considerazione deve essere riservata alle grandi mensole con aquile che stringono fulmini con gli artigli, impiegate nella natatio delle terme di Diocleziano [with n. 49] (fig. 5)".**

Because those architectural marbles have been integrated into the decoration of the *natatio* of the Baths of Diocletian, Kosmopoulos (2023, 130) concludes: **"il loro riutilizzo dimostrerebbe la distruzione del templum forse proprio in occasione della costruzione delle terme [with n. 50; my emphasis]"**.

In his **note 49**, Kosmopoulos writes: "Candilio 1993, pp. 39-41, figg. 19-21. Si segnalano a tal proposito come confronto le cornici con mensole decorate con aquile, reimpiegate nell'arco di Costantino e riferite stilisticamente all'età domiziana (Pensabene 1999, pp. 26-28, 40). **Inoltre, deve essere menzionata la presenza di sei blocchi di ulteriori cornici mensolate con aquile** che stringono fulmini con gli artigli, **conservate alle terme di Diocleziano (MNR I, 8, 1, pp. 88-92, n. II, 17 [B. Pettinau]) (qui fig. 6)**. Anche in questo caso le cornici mostrano motivi ornamentali e lavorazioni contestualizzabili in epoca tardo-flavia, come dimostrato dai fedeli confronti avanzati con il Foro di Nerva e il Foro di Cesare ricostruito in età traiana (Leon 1971, p. 126). **Il loro rinvenimento a Roma "presso Piazza Indipendenza" potrebbe suggerire una loro originaria collocazione proprio nel templum gentis Flaviae, prima di essere riutilizzati in un monumento tardo-antico (le limitrofe terme di Diocleziano?): Carandini, Carafa 2012, p. 460 [M. C. Capanna; my emphasis]"**.

In his **note 50**, he writes: "Il profilo rettilineo delle mensole [*i.e.*, their Figs. 5; 6], ritenuto non idoneo per l'inserimento in un edificio circolare (Tartaro 2017, p. 35), in realtà non è un elemento che può essere preso in considerazione, soprattutto per le rilavorazioni diocleziane attestata in seguito al riutilizzo dei frammenti (Magnani Cianetti 2014, p. 365)".

**Also La Rocca (in: E. La ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS, 134) mentions those architectural marbles :**

"... mentre la sovrabbondante presenza di aquile [on the relief from the Tomb of the Haterii; cf. their Fig. 4] potrebbe riferirsi a una sorta di *ascensio ad astra*, secondo schemi ben presenti nelle rappresentazioni di apoteosi imperiali, **forse documentata anche nel templum gentis Flaviae, qualora si possano attribuire all'edificio le mensole con aquile riadoperate probabilmente nella natatio delle terme di Diocleziano e quelle rinvenute in piazza dell'Indipendenza** [with n. 75: "Vd. [vedi] nota 49 (figg. 5-6) [my emphasis]"

**As likewise quoted below (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section XII.), Lorenzo Kosmopoulos has most recently discussed the various interpretations of the building, visible on Domitian's *sestertius* (here Fig. 30). Finally, Kosmopoulos addresses the question, whether or not Domitian had commissioned his obelisk (here Fig. 28) for his *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.**

Cf. Kosmopoulos (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 130-131): "E se resta ancora in sospeso l'interpretazione dell'immagine su un sestertio domiziano di cui sono conosciuti solo tre esemplari (fig. 7 [= here Fig. 30]), ma che, per la presenza di recinti chiusi, non risponde bene allo schema degli edifici templari entro porticati, solitamente raffigurati su monete con la corte aperta [with n. 51; page 131] l'ipotesi di Mario Torelli, poi ripresa da Rita Paris, non può essere esclusa *a priori* esclusivamente sulla base di una presunta ricostruzione circolare dell'edificio [my emphasis]."

Per quanto riguarda l'obelisco panfilio di piazza Navona, benché possa essere effettivamente suggerita una sua originaria collocazione nel *templum gentis Flaviae* [with n. 52], la sua nuova sistemazione lungo la spina del circo affiancato al mausoleo di Romolo, il figlio di Massenzio, lungo la via Appia, non è argomento che permetta di desumerne l'originario utilizzo domiziano. Malgrado la correlazione tra circo e mausoleo, l'obelisco nella sua nuova sede svolgeva ormai una funzione differente rispetto a quella, presumibile, davanti alla fronte del *templum*, se fosse stata emulata la soluzione adottata per i due obelischi collocati all'ingresso del mausoleo di Augusto [my emphasis]."

Also Eugenio La Rocca (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 138; cf. *infra*) considers the possibility that Domitian's obelisk (here Fig. 28) could have belonged to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

In his note 51, Kosmopoulos writes: "Torelli 1987, pp. 564-567; Paris 1988 [corr.: 1994b], pp. 26-31, fig. 14; Candilio 1990-1991, pp. 179-181; *contra*: Coarelli 2009b, pp. 85, 94; Coarelli 2012, p. 474. Da ultimo sulle varie interpretazioni della moneta vd. [vedi] Restaino 2021, p. 216, nota 117; Sommella 2022, pp. 261-262".

In his note 52, he writes: "Grenier 1999; Grenier 2009, p. 238".

**As we have just seen, Kosmopoulos (2023, 131) believes that Domitian's obelisk (here Fig. 28) may indeed originally have been erected at his *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. Together with the Egyptologist Emanuele M. Ciampini, I myself hope to have demonstrated in this *Study*, that Domitian had instead commissioned his obelisk for his newly restored Iseum Campense.**

Already in my earlier discussion of this subject (2017, 153-167, where, on pp. 160-163, I have in part argued exactly like L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 131; summarized *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.a); and in this Chapter IV.1.1.h)), I have come to the conclusion that Domitian had not commissioned his obelisk (here Fig. 28) for his *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, but instead for his Iseum Campense, which the emperor had restored after the sanctuary's destruction in the great fire of AD 80.

For discussions of the relevant research of the Egyptologist Emanuele M. Ciampini and myself; cf. *supra*, in this Chapter IV.1; IV.1.1; IV.1.1.a)-IV.1.1.d); and IV.1.1.h); and below, at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini: La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*.

**At the very end of his article, Eugenio La Rocca (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 138), after having discussed the problems, which, in his opinion, are connected with the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, comes to the following conclusions :**

"Sono alcune delle tante contraddizioni che interessano questo monumento indecifrabile [*i.e.*, the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*] ... Si può solo affermare, a conclusione, che le vicende del complesso domiziano non possano essere discusse se non restando nel campo delle ipotesi. È evidente che si è davanti a "un'aporia archeologica" - e il *templum gentis Flaviae* ne rappresenta forse uno dei casi più controversi -, in quanto non tutte le analisi e le proposte di ricostruzione finora suggerite conducono verso una soluzione definitiva, e tantomeno univoca [my emphasis]."

**Contrary to La Rocca's (2023, 138) just quoted opinion, I do not believe that the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* is a "monumento indecifrabile", nor that this is a case of "un'aporia archeologica".**

I rather believe that La Rocca's (2023, 138) final conclusion is the result of two wrong, as well as of one further assumption, that seems at first glance to be unfounded:

a) Already in his earlier article, La Rocca (2020b) had declared that he regards Domitian's idea to combine in his *Templum Gentis Flaviae* a temple, dedicated to the divinized members of his family, with the family tomb, as a concept that, 'under normal circumstances', would have been prohibited by Roman sacred law. Also La Rocca (2023, 135) explicitly asserts that the meaning of the term *templum* was "codificato"; and on p. 136, he mentions "il sistema religioso romano". - In reality, all this is not true;

b) The temple in the *Forum Romanum*, begun by the Emperor Titus and finished by the Emperor Domitian, was only dedicated to *Divus Vespasianus*, and not, in addition to this, to *Divus Titus*, as erroneously asserted by La Rocca;

c) The marble *mensole*, discussed by La Rocca and Kosmopoulos (2023, their Figs. 5; 6), with representations of an eagle, should be tested (but see below). I do not know those architectural marbles from autopsy.

These *mensole* were, according to La Rocca (2023, 134), probably integrated as *spolia* "nella *natatio* delle terme di Diocleziano", whereas other copies were "rinvenute in piazza dell'Indipendenza". In my opinion, only provided those *mensole* were carved in Pentelic marble, we should then consider the possibility that they may have belonged to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*;

ad a): La Rocca repeats in his article of 2023 the same judgements concerning this subject as in his earlier article (of 2020b, 367-369, with ns. 8, 9), quoted *verbatim* and discussed above, in this Chapter IV.1.1.h).

When first reading La Rocca's (2020b) earlier article, I had asked the religious historian Jörg Rüpke for advice, who was kind enough as to answer my relevant questions on 22nd October 2021; he has also allowed me to publish here his E-mail as his second *Contribution* to this volume.

See below, at *The second Contribution by Jörg Rüpke: Tempel-Gräber*, who writes: "... **Ich selbst habe kürzlich in einem Aufsatz** (Jörg Rüpke, "Gifts, votives, and sacred things: Strategies, not entities", *Religion in the Roman Empire* 4.2, 2018, 207-236) **darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass wir viele religiöse Begriffe missverstehen, wenn wir sie als abschließend definierte Termini eines kohärenten Sakralrechts interpretieren. Dieses existiert ebenso wenig wie Mommsens Staatsrecht** [my emphasis]".

Reading this passage from Rüpke's second *Contribution*, we can, therefore, deduce that La Rocca's (2023) problems with Domitian's concept of his *Templum Gentis Flaviae* are based on some erroneous assumptions.

According to La Rocca (2023, 136), Domitian's creation of his *Templum Gentis Flaviae* may in every respect be regarded as an "*unicum*". - As we shall see in a minute, also this is not (quite) true.

The *Templum Gentis Flaviae* stood at the site of the *domus* of Domitian's father Vespasian, where Domitian was born. This *domus* stood, of course, within the *pomerium* of Rome, because otherwise this property would not have been referred to as Vespasian's '*domus*'.

To explain Domitian's relevant choices, I repeat in the following the ideas of my late friend Amanda Claridge, which were in detail explained above, in this Chapter IV.1.1.h).

**Amanda Claridge, with whom I discussed this subject in a telephone conversation on 7th September 2021, had an excellent idea which she kindly shared with me: such 'temple tombs', as the one within Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, are by no means without precedent, since founders were usually honoured this way: 'and the Flavians were founders too', Amanda added. Amanda Claridge was kind enough to write me by E-mail of 25th September 2021 that I may mention here our relevant conversation.**



The Flavians were not only founders, as Amanda had reminded me, we know also that both Vespasian and Domitian had been eager to propagate these facts themselves. All this has, therefore, been documented in detail above, in this Chapter IV.1.1.h).

As already said there: **Whereas Domitian, as stated above, thus styled himself 'only' (like Romulus) as the new founder of Rome, and all three Flavian emperors as 'heirs of the founders of Rome, Romulus and Remus, and as heirs of the founder of the Principate, Augustus' (as C. PANELLA 2009, 292 writes), Vespasian, in addition to this, proclaimed himself as the founder of a new dynasty.**

To create an 'heroon' of this kind at or next to the house and tomb (!) of such a founder (as Vespasian was), was indeed typical, as also mentioned to me by Amanda Claridge; cf. the examples, likewise mentioned above in this Chapter IV.1.1.h).

Admittedly, those *historical* examples belong to the remote past - possibly not by chance this choice of Domitian has similarities with his other decision, namely to compare himself with the *mythical* founder of Rome, Romulus.

Consequently, La Rocca's (2023, 136) statement, that Domitian's concept of his *Templum Gentis Flaviae* was an "*unicum*", is, in a certain sense even true: namely when we consider as comparisons *only* buildings, as La Rocca does, which were erected in Domitian's own time, the imperial period;

ad b): Because we know that *Divus Titus* was *not* worshipped together with *Divus Vespasianus* in the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus* in the *Forum Romanum*; and that the cult of the Flavians was kept going until (at least) the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, the old assumption that *Divus Titus* (and *Divus Vespasianus*) were worshipped in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, is sound.

**The second part of La Rocca's relevant hypothesis (2023, 137), in which he asserts that the cult of *Divus Vespasianus* and *Divus Titus* was not necessarily performed until AD 238 at the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, can, therefore be refuted :**

"La presenza attiva dei *sodales Flaviales et Titiales*, documentati fino al 238 d.C., indica che il culto dei primi due imperatori flavii era ancora in vigore nella prima metà del III secolo, **ma non necessariamente doveva avere come suo centro il *templum gentis Flaviae*, vista la presenza di un tempio dedicato ai divi Vespasiano e Tito nel Foro Romano** [my emphasis]";

ad c): Lorenzo Kosmopoulos and Eugenio La Rocca (2023, 129-130, 134, their Figs. 5; 6, quoted *verbatim supra*) have added to the discussion on the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* these "cornici mensolate con aquile" (L. KOSMOPOULOS), some of which were possibly integrated as *spolia* (cf. their Fig. 5) into the decoration of the *natatio* of the Baths of Diocletian.

Kosmopoulos (2023, 129 n. 49) writes: "Inoltre, deve essere menzionata la presenza di sei blocchi di ulteriori cornici mensolate con aquile ... (qui fig. 6) ... **Il loro rinvenimento a Roma ``presso Piazza Indipendenza`` potrebbe suggerire una loro originaria collocazione proprio nel *templum gentis Flaviae*, prima di essere riutilizzati in un monumento tardo-antico (le limitrofe terme di Diocleziano?): Carandini, Carafa 2012, p. 460 [M. C. Capanna]; my emphasis**".

Note that neither La Rocca or Kosmopoulos in their joint essay (2023) discuss the article by Maria Cristina Capanna (2008), to which I will come back below.

**Pursuing this suggestion of Maria Cristina Capanna (2012, 460) further, Kosmopoulos and La Rocca (*op.cit.*) now argue that, provided, these architectural marbles had indeed been part of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, this would strongly support the (old) hypothesis, according to which the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* had been destroyed, when the Baths of Diocletian were being built. So for example Daniela Candilio (in: *LTUR* V [1999] 53).**

Note that Kosmopoulos and La Rocca suggest this, although the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* is still mentioned in the Constantinian Regionary Catalogues (!). - But see below.

Note also that the Baths of Diocletian were begun in AD 298 by Maximian, the father of Maxentius (and the father-in-law of Constantine the Great !), whereas the arrival of the Lateran Obelisk (here **Fig. 101**) in Rome in AD 357 provides a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the Constantinian Regionary Catalogues, in which this obelisk is mentioned (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section VII.).

For the date of the Baths of Diocletian, I repeat in the following a passage, written in Häuber (2017, 161) :

"Cf. R.P. Davis: "**Maximian (Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus (RE 1) Born c.[irca] 250, the son of shopkeepers near Sirmium, he rose through the ranks of the army. An excellent general, he was called by his old comrade-in-arms Diocletian to assist him as his Caesar (21 July 285), with responsibility for Italy, Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Britain ... After fighting in Spain in autumn 296, Maximian crossed to Africa to deal with a revolt by the Quinquegentanei and other Mauretanian tribes; c.[irca] 299 he entered Rome in triumph, and there he began the building of the baths of Diocletian ...**", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 940-941 [my emphasis]".

Daniela Candilio writes instead that, according to the "iscrizione dedicatoria" (*CIL* VI 1130 = 31242), Maximian had already started building the Baths of Diocletian in AD 298; cf. *LTUR* (V [1999] 53).

**Kosmopoulos writes about these achitectural marbles (2023, 130; their Figs. 5; 6): "il loro riutilizzo dimostrerebbe la distruzione del *templum* forse proprio in occasione della costruzione delle terme [my emphasis]"; and La Rocca (2023, 138) concludes: "La demolizione del corpo principale [*i.e.*, the temple tomb proper within the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*] potrebbe essere comprovata dalle mensole con aquile riadoperate nelle terme, la cui misura è consona a un imponente edificio templare (fig. 5) [my emphasis]".**

**But note that the so far known architectural fragments, that have convincingly been attributed to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, are all carved in Pentelic marble; cf. Rita Paris (1994b, 75, quoted *verbatim infra*).**

In my opinion, it would, therefore, have been advisable to ask the responsables of the Museo Nazionale Romano to test the marble of those architectural fragments, which La Rocca and Kosmopoulos have discussed in their article (of 2023; their Figs. 5; 6), before building on this idea such a far reaching hypothesis (but see below).

Cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.a) The reconstruction by R. Paris (1994b) of two of the marble reliefs of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*: '*Vespasian's adventus into Rome in October of AD 70*' (cf. here **Fig. 33**), and '*Sacrifice in front of the Temple of Quirinus on the Quirinal*' (cf. here **Fig. 34**).

In the following, I, therefore, anticipate a passage from Chapter V.1.i.3.a):

**"Of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* ... only some Domitianic structures have been found in excavations within the Baths of Diocletian on the Quirinal/ the Museo Nazionale Romano, few architectural fragments, as well as fragments of at least three reliefs, all carved in Pentelic marble ... The head of the colossal acrolithic cult-statue of *Divus Titus* (here **Fig. 53**) has likewise been identified; but so far the marble of this head has not been tested.**

Paris (1994b, 75) explains, why the fragments, which are now distributed in two different museums [*i.e.*, the Museo Nazionale Romano at Rome and the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology at Ann Arbor], belong together, and from which material they were carved : "... **i frammenti dovevano appartenere ad un complesso di committenza imperiale, come attestano il raffinatissimo livello di lavorazione e l'uso del pregiato marmo pentelico, impiegato, in età flavia, anche per l'Arco di Tito, per il restauro domiziano del Tempio di Giove Ottimo Massimo e per il Tempio del divo Vespasiano ... I frammenti non sono ricomponibili tra loro, ad eccezione del torso loricato di Ann Arbor con la testa di soldato di Roma [see the colour photograph on the cover of this catalogue, R. PARIS 1994a, in which both fragments are joined, and here **Fig. 33**; my emphasis]"**".

The architectural fragments from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, both those kept at Rome and at Ann Arbor, have been discussed by Rita Paris (1994b) and Elaine Gazda (1994) in the exhibition-catalogue 'Dono Hartwig', edited Rita Paris (1994a). **All those fragments were again on display in the exhibition 'Divus Vespasianus'; cf. the catalogue of this exhibition, edited by Filippo Coarelli (2009a).**

See in this catalogue Rita Paris (2009, 462-466, cat. nos. 52-59; p. 468, cat. nos. 62; 63), and Elaine Gazda (2009, 466, cat. no. 60; p. 467, cat. no. 61, and p. 469, cat. no. 64). **In all those 13 catalogue-entries the marble of those architectural fragments is defined as being carved in "marmo pentelico".**

In the recent exhibition *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore* in Rome some of the fragments of the 'Dono Hartwig', kept at the Museo Nazionale Romano, have again been on display. Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi and Maria Paola Del Moro (2023, 12) mention in the pertaining catalogue that they had chosen for their exhibition the "opere 69-74" for the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; cf. p. 153, *opera* 69: this is the colossal portrait of *Divus Titus* (cf. here **Fig. 53**); cf. p. 154, *opere* 70-74: these are the chosen fragments of the 'Dono Hartwig'.

**Note that in the caption of the illustration of those opere 70-74 from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, that were on display in this exhibition on Domitian, the marble of those architectural marbles is defined as "Marmo pentelico".**

Cf. *Cat. Domiziano Imperatore: odio e amore* (2023, 153:

"[Opere] 69-74. **Templum Gentis Flaviae**" ...;

cf. p. 154:

"[Opere] 70-74. **Dono Hartwig**

**Marmo pentelico**

Terminato nel 95 d.C. ca [circa].

Da Roma, Quirinale, piazza dell'Esedra (attuale piazza della Repubblica), terme di Diocleziano, esedra portico nord [cf. here **Fig. 56**]: 1901

Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo ... [my emphasis]".

**In order to give the reader the chance, to understand my above-made comments on Eugenio La Rocca's final conclusion (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 138), I quote in the following the relevant passages from his account *verbatim*.**

**La Rocca (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 134-135) writes about the term *templum* :**

**"Svetonio è il solo a definire il monumento domiziano [i.e., the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*] *templum*, mentre Stazio, che scriveva al momento della sua costruzione, lo designa come *sacraria*. Ambedue i termini sembrano, almeno in [page 135] apparenza, poco adatti per un edificio utilizzato anche come mausoleo funerario della *gens Flavia*, almeno secondo il sistema religioso romano. Il *templum* era un luogo pubblico, inaugurato a seguito di auspici, e consacrato dai pontefici [with n. 77; my emphasis]".**

In his **note 77**, La Rocca writes: "Così afferma, con precisione Gell., XIV, 7, 7: *in loco per augures constituto quod templum appellaretur*". Inoltre: Varro l.l. 7, 8 (*locus augurii aut auspicii causa quibusdam conceptis verbis definitus*"); Serv. Dan. *Aen.* 1, 446".

**La Rocca (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 135) asserts that the meaning of the term *templum* was "codificato" in Roman sacred law : "E. Bickerman aveva pienamente ragione nell'osservare che il *templum gentis Flaviae*, in quanto santuario del culto gentilizio della *gens Flavia*, rientrasse meglio nell'ambito dei *sacra privata*, laddove il tempio di Vespasiano e Tito nel Foro Romano, o i templi degli**

*imperatores divi* rientravano nell'ambito dei *sacra publica* [with n. 87]. **Ma due elementi ostano alla piena ricezione di questa ipotesi: a) la sua definizione di *templum*; b) la sua probabile collocazione all'interno del pomerio.**

**Si deve però ricordare che, oltre a quello codificato [with n. 88], c'era un altro significato del termine *templum* ... [my emphasis]**".

In his **note 88**, La Rocca writes: "Sul tema era già intervenuto Castagnoli 1984, pp. 3-20. Da ultimo: Cavallero 2019, pp. 199-220; La Rocca 2020 [*i.e.*, here E. LA ROCCA 2020b, quoted *verbatim supra*, in this Chapter IV.1.1.h)], p. 369, nota 9".

La Rocca (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 136) writes that Domitian's design of his *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, combined with the chosen site of this building within the *pomerium* of Rome, was an *unicum* that was not conform with "il sistema religioso romano":

"In somma, tutto farebbe pensare che la struttura costruita da Domiziano per la sua *gens* fosse un *unicum* non corrispondente a nessuno dei generi contemplati dal diritto pontificale, e privo di ulteriori confronti tra i monumenti pubblici a Roma stessa, perché il sistema religioso romano rifiutava, a livello ufficiale, una contaminazione tra i templi destinati ai *divi* e i mausolei che contenevano le loro spoglie mortali. Se l'edificio rientrava tra i *sacra privata*, avrebbe potuto essere qualcosa di simile a un mausoleo cui era aggiunto uno spazio per il culto dell'intera *gens*: forse come le tombe a tempio che, basate probabilmente sul modello del *templum gentis Flaviae*, avevano tuttavia carattere privato.

Ma qualunque fosse lo statuto del monumento, **l'altro vero problema resta la sua collocazione all'interno del pomerio, proprio in quanto svolgeva anche una funzione sepolcrale** [my emphasis]

La Rocca (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 137) mentions some late antique literary sources which, commenting on the fact that Trajan was buried within the Column of Trajan, assert that Trajan was thus (allegedly) first to be buried "*intra Urbem*". La Rocca asks, whether this allows the conclusion that at the time in question the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* had already lost its original function :

"Se così fosse, l'insistenza di alcune fonti tarde nell'affermare che Traiano, le cui ceneri erano custodite nel basamento della colonna Traiana, fosse il primo a essere sepolto *intra Urbem* [with n. 96], appare poco motivata, se non erronea. Non sappiamo, purtroppo, quale fosse la fonte di Eutropio che, per primo, ha parlato della sepoltura di Traiano nella colonna, ma si può immaginare che, al momento in cui era stata diffusa questa informazione, il *templum gentis Flaviae* non svolgesse più le sue funzioni originarie; anzi, che le ceneri dei Flavii e le statue che conteneva fossero state già trasferite altrove [with n. 97].

**Quando però sia avvenuta la demolizione dell'edificio [*i.e.*, the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*] non può essere stabilito.** Nerva o uno dei suoi successori potrebbero essere intervenuti per ridimensionare la portata dirompente del progetto di Domiziano, che in effetti non è stato riproposto da nessun altro imperatore romano. L'edificio circolare posto alla sommità del mausoleo di Adriano, secondo la convincente proposta di Paolo Vitti [with n. 98], potrebbe aver svolto una funzione culturale, ma assai verosimilmente a carattere funerario, non per celebrare l'imperatore e la moglie in quanto *divi* - Adriano e Sabina avevano altrove il loro tempio -, oppure per celebrare la *gens Antonina* [my emphasis]

In his **note 96**, La Rocca writes: "Così Eutr., 8, 4, 2, ma l'informazione è ripetuta, senza alcuna variazione, in Hier. *chron. a. Abr.*, 2132; Prosp., *Chron. (H.G.H., A.A. IX, p. 421, 580)*, e con qualche modifica in *Chron. Gall. ad a. 511 (M.G.H., A.A. IX, p. 640, 349)*. Cassio Dione, invece, dice solo che le ceneri di Traiano furono deposte nella sua colonna: Cass. Dio 69, 2, 3 (così anche Ps. Aur. Vict. *epit. Caes. 13*; Cassiod. *Chron. ad a. 766*). Sull'argomento, vd. [vedi] le osservazioni di La Rocca 2021, p. 95".

In his **note 97**, he writes: "La Rocca 2009a, p. 289. Coarelli 2014a, pp. 204-205, respinge questa possibilità, riaffermando la presenza del *templum* all'interno delle terme, e appellandosi a una "incomprensione" del termine *templum* in età imperiale, da cui sarebbe sorto un equivoco sul quale si sarebbe arenata la discussione sugli edifici di culto dinastici".

In his **note 98**, he writes: "Vd. [vedi] nota 61".

**To La Rocca's above-quoted remark (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 137): "... non per celebrare l'imperatore e la moglie in quanto *divi* - Adriano e Sabina avevano altrove il loro tempio", I should like to add a comment :**

Since La Rocca has already hinted at this in an earlier publication, he obviously refers in this passage again to the *Hadrianeum*.

Eugenio La Rocca (2014b, 140 with n. 72) writes: "... **the temple of the deified Hadrian (and, most likely), Sabina) is situated south of the Via Recta ...** [with n. 72; my emphasis]", quoted in Häuber (2017, 585).

In his **note 172**, La Rocca (2014b, 140) does not quote François Chausson (2001) for his just-quoted statement, but he lists Chausson's publication (2001) in his bibliography. When reading Chausson's (2001, 357) own account, it becomes clear that La Rocca's (2014b, 140) phrase may actually be regarded as a summary of Chausson's relevant statement (!).

**Also in this case, La Rocca (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 137) does not provide a reference for his remark, that "... in quanto *divi* - Adriano e Sabina avevano altrove il loro tempio".**

I nevertheless allow myself to explain La Rocca's (2023, 137) statement as follows :

**Several scholars have recently suggested that the *Hadrianeum*, mentioned in the *Historia Augusta* (*Pius* 8,2) as one of the buildings of Antoninus Pius, was instead already erected by Hadrian, to worship his divinized wife *Diva Sabina* there. Others believe that Antoninus Pius did not dedicate the *Hadrianeum* already in AD 145, as recorded in the *Historia Augusta* (*Verus* 3), but only in AD 150-151, because of coins, Antoninus Pius had issued in that year, and on which the *Hadrianeum* is (allegedly) represented.**

Contrary to Mafalda Cipollone (1982; and *ead.* 1996), Alessandro Vella (2015), Maria Teresa D'Alessio (2017; 2019), Andrea Carandini (2019) and Maria Cristina Capanna (2019) regard the date of those coins, '150-151', as the correct date of the dedication of the *Hadrianeum*.

And apart from Vella (2015), who doubts that the temple of the Piazza di Pietra may be identified with the *Hadrianeum*, recorded by the *Historia Augusta*, these other authors believe that this is indeed the *Hadrianeum*. Also I myself believe that this is true (cf. here **Figs. 58-60; 66**).

**In addition to discussing those recent hypotheses in my own text, I have asked the numismatist Angelo Geißen for advice, who was kind enough to study for me the coins, issued by Antoninus Pius in 150-151 AD. Those *sestertii* are believed by some of the just-mentioned scholars to show the *Hadrianeum*.**

**And because some of those coins represent two cult-statues in the *cella* of the represented temple, this is taken by those scholars for the proof, that, in the *Hadrianeum*, *Diva Sabina* was worshipped together with *Divus Hadrianus*. But see below, at Angelo Geißen's second *Contribution* to this book on Domitian, in which those *sestertii*, issued by Antoninus Pius in AD 150-151, are also illustrated.**

**Maria Teresa D'Alessio (2014; 2017; 2019); Andrea Carandini (2019) and Maria Cristina Capanna (2019) believe that the *Hadrianeum*, that we know today, was already built by Hadrian. Analysing their hypotheses, I have come to the conclusion that, in reality, there are no proofs that the *Hadrianeum* was already built by Hadrian.**

Concerning the latter point, also Claudio Parisi Presicce and Massimo Baldi (2023, in press) are of the same opinion as I myself. I am suggesting this here, because from 5th January 2023 onwards, I have consulted on several occasions the following advertisement on the Website of the publisher 'L'ERMA' di Bretschneider, that concerns the book, written by Claudio Parisi Presicce and Massimo Baldi (2023, in press):

"Hadrianeum. Il progetto architettonico e le fasi costruttive.

**Il Tempio di Adriano si trovava nella zona sacra del Campus Martius, Il tempio, molto probabilmente, fu iniziato durante il principato di Adriano, per accogliere le spoglie della moglie Vibia Sabina morta nel 136, ma la vera e propria costruzione si deve al suo successore, Antonino Pio. Venne terminato intorno al 145. La versione più condivisa dagli studiosi è che venne eretto in onore dell'imperatore Adriano, divinizzato dopo la sua morte.**

I resti furono inglobati nell'edificio che fu costruito sulle sue rovine nel XVII secolo dall'architetto svizzero-italiano Carlo Fontana. L'edificio era in principio una dogana vaticana e, dal 1831, fu adibito a sede della Borsa Valori a Roma. Si stagliano nella piazza, ancora visibili, undici delle tredici colonne originarie del lato nord. Per molti secoli è stato erroneamente identificato come il Tempio di Nettuno.

**Il tempio era posto nella Regio IX. in Campo Marzio, in relazione con l'adiacente Tempio di Matidia, dedicato dall'imperatore alla suocera, Salonina Matidia. Quest'area fu intensamente edificata e abbellita proprio da questo imperatore e, successivamente riservata ai funerali imperiali [my emphasis]."**

**After studying those of the above-mentioned publications, that were so far available to me, I myself have likewise come to the conclusion that there is no evidence, which could prove that, at the *Hadrianeum*, *Diva Sabina* was worshipped together with *Divus Hadrianus*.**

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

*Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?) ... With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz, with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz, with The Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen;*

*Introduction; at Section XIV. Further new research: F. Chaussou's (2001) idea that the Hadrianeum was possibly dedicated to Divus Hadrianus and to Diva Sabina, and recent discussions of this hypothesis. With The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen : Zum 'Hadrianeum' auf Münzen des Antoninus Pius.*

**Apropos, *Hadrianeum*: I ask myself, whether we still have remains of the cult-statue of *Divus Hadrianus* from the *Hadrianeum*.**

See below, at:

*A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11) ...; at Part I. The statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (cf. here Fig. 11), the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524; cf. here Fig. 29.1), and the cult-statue of Divus Vespasianus in the Temple of Divus Vespasianus. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great).*

The introduction to this Chapter reads: '**In the following will be discussed the colossal acrolithic statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) at the Palazzo dei Conservatori (here Figs. 11; 11.1) ... So far we do not know, for which context this colossal portrait of Hadrian had been created, but it is tempting to ask, whether this could have been the cult-statue of *Divus Hadrianus* in the *Hadrianeum*, built by Antoninus Pius [my emphasis].'**

I am aware of the fact that the *Hadrianeum* is still mentioned in the Constantinian Regionary Catalogues; cf. Mafalda Cipollone (1996, 7). By nevertheless tentatively suggesting this, my idea has in one respect similarities with La Rocca's and Kosmopoulos's hypothesis (2023, 130, 138), according to which the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* could have been destroyed when the Baths of Diocletian were built, although both authors know perfectly well that also that building is still mentioned in the Constantinian Regionary Catalogues and

in another late antique source. In my opinion, in the case of my own hypothesis, only new evidence and/ or new ideas to interpret the known evidence, can help us to find out the truth concerning this matter.

Let's now return to our main subject.

**La Rocca (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 138) refers again to the "mensole con aquile" (their Fig. 5), which have been integrated into the Baths of Diocletian.**

**Because La Rocca attributes these reliefs to the temple tomb proper within the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, he suggests that their integration into the Baths of Diocletian could possibly prove the destruction of this temple tomb on the occasion, when those baths were being built. In addition to this, La Rocca considers also the possible meaning of Domitian's obelisk (here Fig. 28), provided that had belonged in the precinct of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* :**

"La demolizione del corpo principale [*i.e.*, the temple tomb proper within the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*] potrebbe essere comprovata dalle mensole con aquile riadoperate nelle terme, la cui misura è consona a un imponente edificio templare (fig. 5). Se pertinente al recinto del *templum gentis Flaviae*, l'obelisco di piazza Navona documenta il seguente trasferimento di un altro suo essenziale elemento simbolico lontano dalla *regio VI*, nel circo di Massenzio, figlio, appunto, di Massimiano, il quale fece largo uso di materiali di spoglio da edifici crollati o fatiscenti, come nella sua basilica costruita nel taglio della Velia".

**After having finished writing this discussion of the joint essay by Eugenio la Rocca and Lorenzo Kosmopoulos (2023), I have fortunately read again the article by Maria Cristina Capanna ("Il Tempio della Gente Flavia sul Quirinale. Un tentativo di ricostruzione", 2008), which has been overlooked by La Rocca (2020b), and by La Rocca and Kosmopoulos (2023).**

I say 'fortunately', because Capanna (2008, 177) provides the information concerning those 'mensole con aquila', which is missing in the joint essay of Eugenio La Rocca and Lorenzo Kosmopoulos (2023). According to Capanna, these architectural marbles are likewise carved in "marmo (pentelico come i rilievi Hartwig [cf. here Figs. 33; 34])" (!) : "7.) Nella facciata della *natatio* delle Terme [*i.e.*, The Baths of Diocletian] sono utilizzate cornici e mensole che per tipo di marmo (pentelico come i rilievi Hartwig) soggetto [with n. 3] ed elementi decorativi possono essere ricollegate all'edificio sacro/sepolcro domiziano [*i.e.* the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; with n. 4; my emphasis]".

In her **note 3**, Capanna writes: "Si tratta di mensole figurate con aquila che stringe il fulmine. Sull'aquila come simbolo di Vittoria, potere imperiale e divinizzazione si veda CANDILIO 1994 [*i.e.*, here D. CANDILIO 1990-1991 [1994]], p. 182, nota 36".

In her **note 4**, she writes: "CANDILIO 1990; EADEM 1994 [*i.e.*, here D. CANDILIO 1990-1991 [1994]]".

**And concerning the possible survival of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* within the Baths of Diocletian, when those were being built, Capanna (2008, 178) believes that the temple tomb proper was preserved inside those baths :**

**"Il tempio rimase in vita anche con la costruzione delle Terme di Diocleziano, quando venne abolito solamente il portico (Fig. 4). Infatti il tempio continua a essere menzionato dalle fonti letterarie di IV. sec.[olo] d.C. [with n. 1; my emphasis]".**

In her **note 1**, Capanna writes: "*Notitia urbis Romae regionum XIII*, VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI 1940, pp. 171-172; *Curiosum urbis Romae regionum XIII*, VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI 1940, pp. 107-109; *Chronographus anno 354*, VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI 1940, p. 275".

**Chapter V. Summary of the publications by S. Langer and M. Pfanner 2018, M. Wolf 2018, and K.S. Freyberger 2018, concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs and the architectural fragments found together with them, which appeared when that part of this Study was almost finished, which is dedicated to the Cancellaria Reliefs**

**V.1. Summary of the publication by S. Langer and M. Pfanner 2018 concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs, and comparisons of their conclusions with my own**

"Grundsätzlich stehen sich bei den Cancellariareliefs zwei Positionen gegenüber: auf der einen Seite Deutungsansätze, die auf diverse historische Ereignisse rekurrieren und auf der anderen Seite solche, die den symbolisch-allegorischen Charakter betonen. Meist jedoch werden diese beiden Aspekte miteinander vermischt oder nach Bedarf ausgeblendet ... Die genannten Parameter machen es [a] schier unmöglich, eine der vorhandenen Deutungen zu verifizieren (s. Abb. 13 und 14) oder [b] eine seriöse neue Deutung vorzulegen"

*Stephanie Langer and Michael Pfanner*

See Stephanie Langer and Michael Pfanner (2018, 73-74, chapter "2.9.5 Deutung und Interpretation der Reliefs"), quoted in more detail *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.1.).

Personally, I do not subscribe to the assertions of Langer and Pfanner (2018, 74), that it is *a*) 'nearly impossible to verify the hypotheses', published by those scholars, to whom they refer - who are identical with those, discussed in this *Study* - nor am I convinced, that it is *b*) likewise 'nearly impossible to present [oneself] a serious new interpretation' [of the Cancellaria Reliefs], since I have tried to do both in this *Study*.

Six conclusions, at which Langer and Pfanner (2018) arrive in their publication, are identical with those suggested in this *Study* by myself:

- 1.) the Cancellaria Reliefs were in their opinion commissioned by Domitian (cf. pp. 59, 73, 84; see here *supra*, n. 75, at Chapter I.1.);
- 2.) the monument or building, to which they belonged, may have been a "Bogenarchitektur" (cf. p. 84; see here *supra*, at Chapters I.3.2.; II.3.1.-II.3.; cf. II.3.3.a);
- 3.) they interpret Frieze A as a *profectio* of Domitian from Rome (now Nerva; cf. pp. 76, 80, 82, 83, 84; see here *supra*, at Chapters I.1.; III.);
- 4.) and Frieze B as an *adventus* into Rome (cf. pp. 78, 80, 82, 83, 84; see here *supra*, at Chapters III.; IV.1.; V.1.h); V.1.i.3.)), although they also say (cf. p. 80) that the identifications of those friezes as a *profectio* and an *adventus* are not certain;
- 5.) they are of the opinion that the Domitianic monument or building, to which the Cancellaria Reliefs belonged, was destroyed, together with those panels, when these were taken off this structure (cf. p. 82; see here *supra*, at n. 292, cf. ns. 261, 297, in Chapter I.3.2.);
- 6.) finally they tentatively suggest that it could have been Nerva, who ordered the destruction of the Domitianic monument or building, which comprised the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. p. 82; see here *supra*, at ns. 350, 352, in Chapter II.3.2.; compare Chapters II.3.3.; V.1.c); and V.1.i.3.)).



Concerning all other topics, discussed by Langer and Pfanner (2018), they have arrived at different interpretations than I myself in this *Study*.

These great differences between their hypotheses, compared with my own, are based on three facts: Langer and Pfanner (2018) are:

*a)* interested in different aspects of the overall subject than I myself. Pfanner alone had already previously an acknowledged expertise concerning all technical questions related to those panels, as known from his earlier publications (1981; 1983); in this publication, both scholars together are not so much interested in recent studies related to the stratigraphy and to the topography of the area, where the Cancellaria Reliefs were found; nor in the question, whether some details of the compositions of both friezes, or of other choices made by the artists, may be explained by the observance of Roman law; or by the observance of certain prescriptions of 'pagan' religions - whereas for me, concerning those four points, just the opposite is true;

*b)* Langer and Pfanner (2018, 59) follow, contrary to myself, Marianne Bergmann (1981), in assuming that the head of the togate youth on Frieze B is not a portrait, and that the extant head of the emperor on Frieze B, which shows a portrait of Vespasian, has been reworked, and that it was allegedly first a portrait of another emperor, 'most probably of Domitian' (cf. Langer and Pfanner 2018, 73), that was recut at the order of Nerva into a portrait of Vespasian;

*c)* Langer and Pfanner (2018, 83) assume, like Marianne Bergmann (1981) before them, that 'for Nerva no military activities of greater importance are recorded'.

Because of the differences, mentioned under points *a)* - *c)*, the following hypotheses, formulated by Langer and Pfanner (2018) and myself, are incompatible: those concerning the stratigraphy and topography of the area, where those panels were found; those concerning the history of the Cancellaria Reliefs under Nerva; those concerning the reconstruction of the length of Frieze B; and those concerning the emperor on Frieze B and the togate youth standing in front of him. The latter hypotheses lead, in their turn, to different conclusions, what the scene on Frieze B may represent.

Langer and Pfanner (2018) interpret altogether five figures differently than Filippo Magi (1945) had done. - I myself, on the contrary, identify all 34 figures of both Cancellaria Reliefs exactly as Magi had suggested it. - The only difference between the overall hypotheses concerning both friezes, suggested by Magi (1945) and myself is the fact that, contrary to him, I do not interpret Frieze A as an *adventus*, but rather as a *profectio* (cf. *supra*, at Chapter III.).

See for their numbering of the figures on Frieze A and B, Langer and Pfanner (2018), 19, "Abb. 2". Compare the caption of here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing** (we have copied their numbering of those figures).

The five figures on the Cancellaria Reliefs, which Langer and Pfanner (2018) identify differently than is suggested here, are the following:

1.) They identify **figure 9** on Frieze A as "Roma/Virtus", who is here identified as the *Dea Roma* (cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.2.);

2.) on Frieze B, they identify **figure 11** as "Genius Senatus [?]" (although elsewhere in the text they refer to this figure as *Genius Senatus*), who is here identified as *Genius Senatus*;

3.) they identify on Frieze B **figure 12** as "Junger Mann in Toga", who is here identified as a portrait of the young Domitian;

4.) they identify on Frieze B **figure 13** as "Genius Populi Romani [?]" (although elsewhere in the text they refer to this figure as *Genius Populi Romani*), who is here identified as *Genius Populi Romani*;

5.) and they identify on Frieze B **figure 14** as "Vespasian", which in their opinion was originally a portrait of Domitian, who is here regarded as having been a portrait of Vespasian from the very beginning.

For my own discussions of **figures 11, 12, 13, and 14**; cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.1.

But before studying the interpretations that Langer and Pfanner (2018) suggest for those five figures in more detail, let me first mention some other of their conclusions, which differ from my own.

#### ***V.1.a) The stratigraphy of the site, where the Cancellaria Reliefs were excavated, the topography of the entire area, and the date of the dismantling of these panels***

The bibliography of Langer and Pfanner (2018, 21-27: "Literatur") is very impressive and comprises many more works than my own; I have greatly profited from it myself and have given them credit, whenever I have found a reference through them. - I too have titles in my bibliography, which they have overlooked though. - In theory, the bibliography of Langer and Pfanner concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs, taken together with my own (listed *supra*, at **ns. 4-74** in Chapter I.1.), covers (almost) all relevant publications, especially because it comprises also publications after 2018, when Langer and Pfanner's account was published.

Langer and Pfanner (2018) are predominantly interested in the technical side of the Cancellaria Reliefs and in the art- historical and historical discussions of them, also seen in the context of other Roman state reliefs; in this *Study*, I have in fact discussed at length two earlier publications by Pfanner (1981 and 1983) on those subjects. The attempts in recent publications to reconstruct the stratigraphy of the excavation, in the course of which those panels were found, on the other hand, nor those contributions, that aim at reconstructing the topography of the entire area, have not so much attracted their interest.

Among the works cited in the bibliography of Langer and Pfanner (2018, 27; cf. p. 18 n. 1) are the two volumes, edited by Christoph Luitpold Frommel and Massimo Pentiricci (2009), but Langer and Pfanner cite only pp. "55-62, fig. 28", which is § 8 of the publication by Pentiricci (2009): "L'officina marmoraria presso il sepolcro di Irzio e i rilievi della Cancellaria" (quoted among other passages by PENTIRICCI 2009 in part *verbatim supra*, in Chapter I.3.1.), as well as pp. 71-80, but Langer and Pfanner do not even discuss these small sections of Pentiricci's very important work in their own text.

In his contributions to those two volumes, Pentiricci (2009) covers all the subjects, discussed by Langer and Pfanner (2018) themselves (cf. below, at *Bibliography*). - Apart from the fact that those two volumes comprise *inter alia* also very detailed contributions by Andrea Carignani (2009) and Maddalena Cima (2009), dedicated to the ancient architectural fragments and sculptural finds, excavated underneath the Palazzo della Cancellaria and in the adjacent areas. In the volume, in which the article by Langer and Pfanner (2018) has been published, have likewise appeared a short contribution to those fragments by Markus Wolf, and a very short note related to them by Klaus Stefan Freyberger (cf. *infra*, Chapters V.2; and V.3.). Neither Langer and Pfanner, nor Wolf or Freyberger consider the sculptural finds from the area, which turn out to be decisive in the attempts to date the moment, until when the 'Second sculptor's workshop' was still active, where the Cancellaria Reliefs were found (cf. *supra*, at Chapters I.3.1.; I.3.2.; and *infra*, at Chapter V.1.a.1.).

Therefore, the discussion of Langer and Pfanner (2018, 20, quoted *verbatim* below) concerning the circumstances, under which the Cancellaria Reliefs were found, as well as concerning the topography of the area, and the dismantling of those reliefs, was written without considering the most recent attempt to

reconstruct the stratigraphy of the relevant site by Pentiricci (2009), nor by considering the recent publications by many other scholars, in which the topography of the entire area of this part of the *Campus Martius* has been analysed and reconstructed in great detail - and that diachronically (cf. *supra*, **ns. 45, 57, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 72, 74**, in Chapter *I.1.*).

With few exceptions: of the publications just mentioned (cf. *supra*, **n. 57**, in Chapter *I.1.*), Langer and Pfanner (2018, 28) quote in their bibliography: "M. G. Cimino - M. Nota Santi (Hrsg.), *Corso Vittorio Emanuele II tra Urbanistica e Archeologia. Storia di uno Sventramento* (Neapel 1998) 104 Abb. oben, 158 f. 169 fig. 20.2". On p. 18 n. 1, they quote the contribution to this volume by Pentiricci (1998), and in their n. 8 another contribution to this volume by Sommella and Migliorati (1998) on the stratigraphy of the area, but not the most recent contributions on the subject, mentioned here, in which the publications that they themselves quote, together with a great amount of further new data, that have been found in the meantime, *inter alia* by conducting new excavations, have been discussed in their relevant contexts.

Among the works missing in the bibliography of Langer and Pfanner (2018) are for example the volumes edited by Fedora Filippi (2010) and Filippi (2015; for both, cf. *supra*, **n. 66**, in Chapter *I.1.*), and that, although the contribution by Wolf on the architectural fragments, found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs, which is published together with Langer and Pfanner (2018) in the same volume (*i.e.*, here M. WOLF 2018, cf. *infra*, Chapter *V.2.*), had first appeared in Filippi (2015; cf. M. WOLF 2015; *supra*, **n. 71**, in Chapter *I.1.*). Neither consider Langer and Pfanner (2018) in their discussion the excavations underneath the Museo Barracco, where ancient structures were found, that have been discussed together with the relevant finds of ancient structures underneath the Palazzo della Cancellaria and elsewhere in the *Campus Martius* (cf. *supra*, **n. 66**), in Chapter *I.1.*).

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 20, in their chapter **2.1**) write concerning the stratigraphy and the topography of the site, where the Cancellaria Reliefs were excavated:

"Der Fundlage zufolge waren die Cancellariareliefs gemeinsam mit anderen Architektur- und Relieffragmenten bei dem Grabmal des Aulus Hirtius abgestellt und die Arealfächen schließlich zugeschüttet worden. Dass es sich dabei um ein länger genutztes Materiallager einer in unmittelbarer Nähe liegenden Marmorwerkstatt gehandelt hat, ist eine unbewiesene Vermutung [with n. 5]. Auch der Zeitpunkt der Aufschüttung bleibt unbekannt. Nach Magi [with n. 6] könnte der Bodenhorizont über den Reliefplatten durch eine Niveauerhöhung des Marsfeldes unter Kaiser Hadrian bedingt sein, was aber weder stratigraphisch noch durch die Inschriften an der Umfassungsmauer eindeutig bestätigt wird [with n. 7]. Neuere Untersuchungen im südlichen Marsfeld ermöglichen ebenfalls keine Präzisierung [with n. 8].

Der Zeitpunkt der Plattendeportation wäre von großem Interesse, da man dann wüsste, wie lange sich die Reliefs am Bau befanden bzw. [beziehungsweise] wann der Bau selbst abgerissen wurde (s. Kap. **2.9.6**). Auch die Inschriften an der Umfassungsmauer bieten keinen Anhaltspunkt. Mit ihrer höchst unsicheren Datierung ins frühe 2. Jh. n. Chr. durch Degrassi besteht nur ein vager Terminus post quem [with n. 9]".

In their **note 5**, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 20) write: "Interpretation als Marmorlager vgl. u. a. [vergleiche unter anderem] Magi 1945, 134. Handelte es sich tatsächlich um das Depot einer Bildhauerwerkstatt, wäre das Grabmal zu diesem Zeitpunkt nicht mehr gepflegt worden".

Their latter remark is, of course, true and the consequences of it not exactly edifying, considering the fact that this was the state funeral of the *consul* Aulus Hirtius, who had only died in 43 BC (cf. *supra*, **ns. 9, 66**, in Chapter *I.1.*, and **ns. 325, 326**, in Chapter *II.1.e*). But since there was nothing comparable to our current 'Superintendencies', let alone concepts like 'Cultural Heritage' in ancient Rome, it could even happen that the tomb of a great historical figure such as L. Cornelius Sulla in the central *Campus Martius* ended in oblivion, the remains of which were only much later and only by chance re-discovered and restored - by none less than the Emperor Caracalla ! (cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 479, 583 n. 306).

In their **note 7**, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 20) write: "Es fehlt in jedem Fall eine eindeutige Datierungsgrundlage: vgl. [vergleiche] Bergmann 1981, 25 Anm. 28, Pfanner 1981, 517".

In their **notes 6-9**, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 20) provide references, but they have completely neglected those recent works (cf. *supra*, **ns. 45, 57, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 72, 74**, at Chapter I.1.), in which the questions, posed by them in the above quoted passage, have been discussed in great detail (cf. also *supra*, at Chapters I.3.1; and I.3.2.).

That Langer and Pfanner (2018, 20 with n. 5) doubt that the Cancellaria Reliefs were found in the deposit of a sculptor's workshop, is from their point of view understandable. - Since they have not consulted the relevant publications, they do not discuss a marble relief, aptly called "rilievo di prova" by Tonio Hölscher - a 'test relief', because it comprises two measuring points (cf. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 58, with Fig. 23, n. 49; quoted *verbatim supra*, at **n. 289**, cf. at **ns. 290-292**, at Chapter I.3.2.), whose article Langer and Pfanner (2018, 27) themselves quote in their bibliography. This relief was excavated underneath the Palazzo della Cancellaria, was also studied by Frommel (1991; cf. *supra*, **n. 45**, in Chapter I.1.), Pentiricci (2009; cf. *supra*, **n. 61**, in Chapter I.1., and at Chapter I.3.1.), Cima (2009; cf. *supra*, **n. 63**, in Chapter I.1., and **n. 286**, in Chapter I.3.2.). Although Langer and Pfanner 2018, 18 n. 1, quote Cima's contribution in this note, they do not discuss it in their text), and Thuri Lorenz (2009; cf. *supra*, **n. 65**, in Chapter I.1.), and proves beyond any doubt that Magi, who was first to suggest this, was right with his judgement, that the Cancellaria Reliefs were found in a deposit of an *immediately adjacent* sculptor's workshop. So also Carignani and Spinola (cf. *supra*, **ns. 64, 76**, in Chapter I.1., and **n. 287**, in Chapter I.3.2.), who like Pentiricci (2009; cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.3.1.), report on many more unfinished sculptures and architectural fragments, found at the 'First sculptor's workshop' and at the 'Second sculptor's workshop' underneath the Palazzo della Cancellaria. Pentiricci (2009, 62 n. 441) mentions in this context, in addition to this, a large excavated area that was covered with chips of marble- and travertine working: "Altre tracce relative all'attività della bottega possono essere considerate alcuni strati di scaglie di marmo e travertino". The relevant passage is quoted in more detail *verbatim supra*, at Chapter I.3.1.

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 59) write: "Offensichtlich unter Domitian entstanden [*i.e.*, the Cancellaria Reliefs], scheinen sie nach dessen Ermordung 96 n. Chr. von seinem Nachfolger Nerva für die eigene Selbstdarstellung beansprucht worden zu sein. Später - der Zeitpunkt bleibt unbekannt - sind sie beim Abbruch des Bauwerkes, an dem sie angebracht waren, stark beschädigt worden. Die vollständig erhaltenen Platten wurden ebenso wie die zerstörten Platten am Grab des Aulus Hirtius im südlichen Teil des Marsfeldes abgestellt und wohl im 2. Jh. n. Chr. mit Erde bedeckt".

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 81) write: "Gerne wüsste man, wie lange dieser >Cancellaria-Bau< stand und wann die Platten abgenommen und am Hirtiusgrab abgestellt wurden. Die Fundumstände am Palazzo della Cancellaria liefern dafür keine Anhaltspunkte [with n. 149]".

Cf. their **note 149**: "Ob der Abriss des Gebäudes bereits unter Nerva, unter Trajan oder noch später erfolgte, muss dahingestellt bleiben. Da dieses Gebiet in hadrianischer Zeit intensiv bebaut wurde, könnte es sein, dass die Platten spätestens zu dieser Zeit dort abgelegt wurden, womit wir einen *terminus ante quem* hätten. Da die Datierung der Bodenschichten über dem Hirtiusgrab nach wie vor unsicher ist, kann die Deponierung allerdings auch später sein. Vgl. auch Kap. 2.1" (cf. the relevant passage from their p. 20 in their "Kap. 2.1", quoted *verbatim supra*).

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 81-82) continue immediately after that:

"Auch die perfekt erhaltene Marmoroberfläche, die keine Verwitterungsspuren aufweist, kann nicht als Indiz für eine kurze Anbringungsdauer dienen, falls die Reliefs im Innenraum oder geschützt angebracht waren [page 82]. Wann die Platten vom Bau abgenommen worden sind, wissen wir nicht [with n. 150]. Die Umarbeitung zum Nervakopf war auf jeden Fall unbefriedigend [for that, cf. also their p. 59], denn man sah

nach wie vor die Domitianslocken und vor allem die unschöne Kante zwischen Nervagesicht und Domitiansfrisur (s. Abb. 20c). **Vielleicht ordnete deshalb schon Nerva selbst an, die Platten abzunehmen, was mit dem Abbruch des gesamten Monuments einherging. Das legt der bautechnische Befund nahe, der näher erläutert werden muss** (s. Abb. 29).

Die Reliefs waren einst mit Hilfe von Wolfslöchern [*i.e.*, lewis holes] versetzt worden (s. Abb. 29b, f und g). Diese Methode hat den Vorteil, dass man die Werkstücke direkt absetzen kann und die Gurte, die ansonsten den Stein umschlingen, nicht mühsam mit Hilfe von Hebeln und unter der Gefahr von Kantenbeschädigungen entfernen muss (s. Abb. 29). Beim Ausbau der Cancellariaplatten benutzten die Bauleute nun die vorhandenen Wolfslöcher, denn dadurch ersparten sie sich die Mühe, die Platten hochzuhebeln, von der Wand zu rücken und mühsam mit Gurten zu umfassen. Sie riskierten freilich, dass die Reliefs bei dieser wohlfeilen und kommoden Bergungsmethode zu Bruch gingen, da ihr Querschnitt nach der erfolgten Relieferung am Bau geschwächt war (s. Abb. 29b). Tatsächlich weisen nicht wenige der Platten just an den Hebelöchern die befürchteten Risse und Brüche auf (s. Pfeilmarkierung auf Abb. 29c und d).

Das geschilderte Vorgehen beim Abbau führt zu weitreichenden Folgerungen. Mit den Reliefs wurde nicht besonders sorgsam umgegangen - das zeigt auch das brutale Ausspitzen und Aufbrechen der Dübel- und Klammerlöcher. Ihren Bruch nahmen die Steinmetzen aus arbeitsökonomischen Gründen in Kauf. **Eine Zweitverwendung der Reliefs war folglich nicht vorgesehen.** Die Rückseiten waren höchstens noch als Verkleidungs- oder Bodenplatten geeignet [with n. 151]. Aus dem erschlossenen Arbeitsablauf beim Rückbau der Reliefs ergibt sich eine durchaus interessante Konsequenz. **Um die Klammer- und Dübellöcher frei zu legen und die Cancellariareliefs mit dem Wolf abzuheben, d. h. um an die Ober- und Nebenseiten der Reliefs zu gelangen, muss vorher der komplette Oberbau des Monuments samt seitlich anschließenden Blöcken rückgebaut worden sein. Das bedeutet nichts anderes als den Abbruch der gesamten Wand und somit wohl auch des Gebäudes!**

Die technischen Beobachtungen zu den Reliefs erlauben inhaltliche Rückschlüsse auf die Art des Monuments. Da die Reliefs zuerst am Bau verblieben, muss es sich um ein Denkmal oder Gebäude gehandelt haben, das nicht alleinig und speziell auf Domitian gemünzt war, sondern bei dem mit Hilfe von Umarbeitungen, Umgestaltungen o. ä. [oder ähnlich] der Bezug zu Domitian eliminiert werden konnte [with n. 152; my emphasis]. In their **notes 150-152**, Langer and Pfanner (2018) provide references and further discussion.

Cf. their **note 151**: "Dies lässt vermuten, dass die Platten nicht weit durch die Stadt an ihren Ablageort beim Hirtiusgrab transportiert worden sind. Folglich könnte es sich um ein Gebäude auf dem südlichen Marsfeld handeln, zumal dort Domitian eine intensive Bautätigkeit entfaltet hatte. Zur Lokalisierung des ehemaligen >Cancellaria-Baus< s. hier die Beiträge von Wolf und Freyberger im Annex". Cf. *infra*, Chapters V.2.; and V.3.

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84) write:

"Die Art des Monuments: Die Friese dienten als Verkleidung eines Ziegel-oder Natursteinbaus. Ob als Pendants oder zu einem größeren Zyklus gehörig, ist unbekannt. Da das Monument nach der *damnatio memoriae* Domitians vorerst stehen blieb und nur die Kaiserköpfe umgearbeitet wurden, handelte es sich kaum um ein Bauwerk, das ausschließlich auf Domitian gemünzt war. Mitaufgefundene Architekturteile sind flavisch und könnten als Teil einer Bogenarchitektur zu einem auf dem südlichen Marsfeld gelegenen Cancellaria-Monument gehört haben ...".

Langer and Pfanner (2018) write elsewhere on p. 84:

"Geschichte der Friese und des Monuments: **Irgendwann später wurden die Reliefplatten lieblos abgenommen. Sie gingen dabei zu Bruch und waren, abgestellt am Grabmal des Aulus Hirtius, nicht für eine Wiederverwendung vorgesehen. Im selben Zug brach man, wie der technische Befund an den Platten belegt, das gesamte Monument ab** [my emphasis]."

**V.1.a.1.) My own comments on the passages, quoted from Langer and Pfanner (2018) in Chapter V.1.a), and the 'First sculptor's workshop' and the 'Second sculptor's workshop' underneath the Palazzo della Cancelleria**

The conclusions, at which Langer and Pfanner (2018) have arrived concerning those three subjects in the above quoted passages - concerning the stratigraphy and topography of the site, where the Cancelleria Reliefs were excavated, and concerning the date of the dismantling of these panels (cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.1.a)) - differ greatly from my own. These points will be discussed in the following.

See also the different scenarios concerning the subject 'the Cancelleria Reliefs under Nerva', that have been developed by Langer and Pfanner (2018; cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.b)) and by myself (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.c)).

Since 23th March 1981 (cf. C. HÄUBER 2014a, pp. XVII, 2, 13-14; and *supra*, at Chapter *Dedication*), I have been trying to understand the meaning of ancient sculptures, found at Rome, by studying the relevant old excavation reports, and have also myself directed excavations to better understand such complex enterprises - as a matter of fact, that kind of research is clearly my own main interest. The basis for that was my interest in art, which is why I have studied first art and especially sculpture; another subject that interests me are ancient 'pagan' religions, which is why I have also studied theology.

To get a better idea about the Cancelleria Reliefs, I have, therefore, read the recent publications related to the topography of the entire area, comprising that underneath the adjacent Museo Barracco (cf. *supra*, at Chapters I.1.-II.4.), which is important for the following reason: there ancient structures have been excavated that belonged to ancient buildings, remains of which have also been unearthed underneath the Palazzo della Cancelleria (cf. *supra*, n. 66 in Chapter I.1.).

For the following, see the maps here **Figs. 58; 59**, labels: CAMPUS MARTIUS; EURIPUS; Palazzo della Cancelleria; SEPULCRUM: AULUS HIRTIUS; Cancelleria Reliefs; Palazzo Le Roy/ Farnesina ai Baullari/ Muso Barracco.

Among those ancient structures is the *Euripus*, a very wide open canal, bordered by two parallel walls, which is running for circa 800 documented metres from west to east through the entire *Campus Martius*, and on top of which both Renaissance Palazzi were built, that are now known as the Palazzo della Cancelleria and the Museo Barracco. Fedora Filippi (2010, 59-63, Figs. 33; 34, quoted verbatim *supra*, n. 293, in Chapter I.3.2.). See for a good summary of those excavations, Maria Teresa D'Alessio (2017, 505: 2.6.4, p. 506 with n. 248, p. 515: 2.8.2., p. 520; cf. *supra*, n. 72, in Chapter I.1., quoted verbatim *supra*, n. 326, in Chapter II.1.e).

Fedora Filippi (*op.cit.*) has studied the excavations of those sections of the *Euripus* that are located within the areas of the Palazzo della Cancelleria and of the Museo Barracco. At one stage in antiquity precisely that part of the *Euripus* had to be rebuilt at a higher level, a procedure, undertaken together with the second levelling of the terrain of this area of the *Campus Martius*, which is datable to the second century AD. Since the Cancelleria Reliefs occurred in the deposit of the 'Second sculptor's workshop', immediately to the *north* of this part of the *Euripus*, that is to say, within the area that, together with this section of the 'original' *Euripus* was covered at that stage, those recent findings are decisive for a understanding of the stratigraphy of the findspot of those panels. Besides, in the early Flavian period, the terrain in this area had already been levelled for the first time: but only that area which was located immediately to the *south* of the *Euripus* (cf. *infra*).

Concerning the stratigraphy and the topography of the area, I follow therefore those aforementioned recent scholars: the area of the deposit of the 'Second sculptor's workshop', where the Cancelleria Reliefs were excavated, was either covered, as Magi had suggested, by circa AD 120 at the latest (cf. MAGI 1945, 140; cf. *supra*, at n. 141, in Chapter I.1., quoted verbatim in n. 255, in Chapter I.3.1.), followed by Pentirici (2009, 162 with n. 97, p. 205 with n. 31, quoted verbatim *supra*, in Chapter I.3.1.), or by circa AD 150 at the latest. Pentiricci (2009) bases his conclusion ('by circa AD 120') on his new findings concerning the stratigraphy of the area, and on the analyses of all related architectural and archaeological finds; in his opinion the latest

find that may be attributed to the 'Second sculptor's workshop', is the above-mentioned "rilievo di prova", which Pentiricci dates to the Hadrianic period (cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.3.1; and at n. 292, in Chapter I.3.2.).

Carignani and Spinola (2009; cf. *supra*, n. 76, in Chapter I.1., and n. 287, in Chapter I.3.2.), who arrive at the later date for the covering of the 'Second sculptor's workshop' (i.e., 'by circa AD 150'), have studied the architectural and sculptural fragments, excavated underneath the Palazzo della Cancellaria that are kept at the Musei Vaticani. They discuss *inter alia* an unfinished female head (another proof that this was the area of a sculptor's workshop; note that the authors mention many more of such proofs; cf. *supra*, n. 76, in Chapter I.1., and n. 287, in Chapter I.3.2., their cat. no. 2), found underneath the Palazzo della Cancellaria. Carignani and Spinola (2009) themselves do not explicitly attribute this (now lost) head to the here existing 'Second sculptor's workshop'. This 'Second sculptor's workshop' was located *to the north* of the *Euripus*, and within the area of this enterprise also the Cancellaria Reliefs were excavated.

The sculptor's workshop in question had a long history. Its original location had been close by, immediately to the *south* of the *Euripus*, but still within the area of the Palazzo della Cancellaria. In order to more easily distinguish it from the site, where the Cancellaria Reliefs were excavated (i.e., the here-so-called 'Second sculptor's workshop'), I call its original location the 'First sculptor's workshop'. The first location of this enterprise has been found in the course of the excavations underneath the Palazzo della Cancellaria (for the following, cf. Pentiricci 2009, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter I.3.1.). When the area immediately to the south of the *Euripus* had been covered in the course of the first levelling of the terrain in the early Flavian period, this 'First sculptor's workshop' had been moved to the area immediately to the *north* of the *Euripus*, to become the 'Second sculptor's workshop', the site of which, immediately to the east of the tomb of Aulus Hirtius, was still within the area of the Palazzo della Cancellaria, as described by Pentiricci (2009).

The location of this 'Second sculptor's workshop' is labelled on Pentiricci's accompanying plan (cf. M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 139 "Fig. 33. Periodo 3 - Planimetria generale dei ritrovamenti (dis.[egno] G. Schingo)"). On this plan are marked the tomb of Aulus Hirtius and the *Euripus*, with the two parallel walls to the south of it, both structures are not labelled. To the north of the *Euripus* and to the east of the tomb of Hirtius, we find the labelling: officina marmoraria; cf. p. 138ff.: "L'officina marmoraria". In this chapter, Pentiricci (2009) mentions that in the relevant excavation, unfinished architectural fragments and chips of working travertine and marble had been found. To these finds, Pentiricci (2009, 62 n. 441), refers also in his Chapter "§ 8 L'officina marmoraria". The relevant passage is quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter I.3.1. The "officina marmoraria" is also marked on the plan that accompanies the text of Pentiricci (2009, 151, Fig. 60).

For the *Euripus* and the two parallel walls to the south of it, cf. Magi (1945) 38, reproduced in Langer and Pfanner (2018, 21, Abb. 3b, labels: SEPOLCRO DI AULO IRZIO; EURIPO; MURO CON CORNICI DI MARMO; MURO IN BLOCCHI DI TUFO).

There, at the 'Second sculptor's workshop', the Cancellaria Reliefs were excavated, because that enterprise disappeared in the course of the second levelling of the terrain, which covered the area of the 'original' *Euripus* itself - immediately to be substituted by a section of the new *Euripus*, built at the relevant higher level - as well as the area immediately to the north of the 'original' *Euripus* (cf. F. FILIPPI 2010, 59-63; cf. *supra*, n. 293, in Chapter I.3.2.).

Because of those new findings, we can be sure that either about AD 120 or else about AD 150 at the latest, the area of the tomb of Aulus Hirtius, comprising the Cancellaria Reliefs, that "were found leaning against the walls of the republican Tomb of Aulus Hirtius" (cf. Diana E.E. KLEINER 1992, 191), had disappeared in the course of the second levelling of the terrain, ordered by Hadrian, or else slightly later.

That Hadrian levelled large areas of the *Campus Martius*, was of course also previously known. Most famous have become two details of this enterprise, the scope of which was to prevent damages caused by the frequently occurring Tiber floods, 1.) the find of a *cippus* of Hadrian's *pomerium* between Via del Campo

Marzio and Via della Torretta in 1930. Circa 3 m underneath this *cippus* was excavated at exactly the same site a *cippus* of Vespasian's *pomerium* (CIL VI, 31538 a-c) - both *cippi* having the same number - which means that Hadrian had raised the entire terrain in question by circa 3 m; 2.) to protect the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, a wall had been erected around it in the second century; from the top of this wall, people could still view the friezes which decorate its perimeter wall. Besides, Edmund Buchner had found in his excavation, conducted in the Via di Campo Marzio in the summer of 1979, *twelve* superimposed levels of the ancient road underneath the modern one (!).

For the find of a *cippus* of Hadrian's *pomerium* right on top of a *cippus* of Vespasian's *pomerium* in Via del Campo Marzio/ Via della Torretta (cf. *supra*, n. 199 in Chapter I.1.1.; and C. HÄUBER 2017, 351 n. 136 [with the recent discussion of these finds]; cf. p. 357 n. 155 [with the discussion by Mario Torelli of the wall, built around the *Ara Pacis Augustae*; cf. p. 398. Cf. M. TORELLI: "Pax Augusta, Ara", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 70-74, esp. p. 74. For the twelve superimposed levels of the ancient street, excavated by himself underneath the Via del Campo Marzio, and mentioned by E. BUCHNER 2000; quoted *verbatim* in: C. HÄUBER 2017, 430]; for the site of this excavation, cf. E. BUCHNER 1982, 58, Abb. 1, the site on the Via del Campo Marzio is marked: I [= E. BUCHNER 1980, 356, Abb. 1]. Cf. HÄUBER 2017, 353-361 [for the Tiber floods, documented in antiquity and in the post-antique period, that had covered the area of the *Campus Martius*]).

Let's now return to our main subject.

Also other scholars, as for example Langer and Pfanner (2018, 20, quoted *verbatim* above) believe that the date of this (second) levelling of the terrain could help us to understand, how long the Cancelleria Reliefs or the monument or building comprising them, could possibly have existed, before those panels were dismantled, or else before the entire structure comprising those panels was destroyed, and consequently those panels and some remaining architectural fragments of the same structure were brought to the tomb of Aulus Hirtius - a location, which Langer and Pfanner (2018, 20) themselves do not identify as the deposit of a sculptor's workshop though, as we have seen above.

Personally, I believe that already Nerva had ordered the destruction of the monument or building to which the Cancelleria Reliefs belonged (cf. *supra*, at Chapters II.3.2.; and II.3.3., and *infra*, at Chapter V.1.c)); as we have just seen above, also Langer and Pfanner (2018, 82) tentatively suggest the same.

If that should be true, this would mean that those slabs had been stored at this deposit of the 'Second sculptor's workshop' since quite some time before the entire material kept there disappeared, in the course of covering also the area of the 'original' *Euripus* itself with a layer of earth, as well as the area immediately to the north of this 'original' phase of the *Euripus*.

If true, this would prove at the same time, that the owner of the Cancelleria Reliefs had not found any other use for the Cancelleria Reliefs in the meantime.

Not by chance, as I believe. Given the dates ca. AD 120 or AD 150 at the latest for the second levelling of the terrain in question, and considering at the same time that Antoninus Pius did not build very much at Rome (cf. *supra*, at n. 363 in Chapter II.3.3.a), only Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian could (in theory) have had the chance to re-use those panels, none of whom, in my opinion - and that for very different reasons - could have had an interest in doing so. In my relevant reasonings, I have argued with the contents, visualized by those friezes, as well as with the represented ages of the emperor and the togate youth on Frieze B (in the case of Nerva; cf. *supra*, at ns. 351, 352, in Chapter II.3.2.), as well as with the fact that the emperor and the togate youth on Frieze B have not been represented according to a hierarchy of scale (in the cases of Trajan and Hadrian; cf. *infra*).

**Since I myself follow those scholars, who identify the togate youth on Frieze B with Domitian, and thus with a member of the Imperial family, the scale, at which this young man has been represented, does not provide any problem, in case the hypothesis should be true, according to which the togate youth is indeed a portrait of Domitian. - On the contrary, in that case, his scale would rather corroborate this idea.**



Concerning this point, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 78) write about the togate youth on Frieze B:

**"In der römischen Repräsentationskunst begegnet der Kaiser für gewöhnlich nur besonderen Personen auf solcher Augenhöhe. Dazu gehören Götter, Personifikationen, Mitglieder der kaiserlichen Familie oder fremdländische Potentaten" (to this I will come back below, at Chapter V.1.h.1.)).**

We would have a problem with the scale of the togate youth on Frieze B, provided those scholars, comprising Langer and Pfanner (2018) themselves are right (cf. *infra*, at Chapters V.1.h); and V.1.h.1.)), who believe, that this young man is *not* a member of the Imperial family, but rather an allegorical representation, a 'normal' Roman citizen, an *eques*, or a magistrate. Which, if true, would mean that also later emperors could have thought of re-using Frieze B for the illustration of a historical event, in which the togate youth would again be a man, who is *not* a member of the Imperial family. But because on the state reliefs, commissioned by Trajan and Hadrian (cf. *supra*, at ns. 359-362, in Chapter II.3.3.) comparable men, the emperor and for example *Dea Roma* (cf. here Fig. 91) are *all* represented according to a hierarchy of scale, Frieze B, provided its interpretation by those scholars should be true, could *not* possibly have been re-used again by those emperors (but see below). - Apart from the fact that both Cancellaria Reliefs had anyway been heavily damaged in the course of dismantling them from the monument or building, to which they had belonged, or else in the course of destroying the entire structure, comprising those panels - and especially so Frieze B (cf. *supra*, at Chapters II.2.; II.3.; II.3.2.; II.3.3.). - So now also Langer and Pfanner (2018, 82, 84; both passages are quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter V.1.a).

Only after this Chapter was written, have I been alerted to the reconstruction by Rita Paris (1994b) of the marble relief of Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, which represents 'Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in October of AD 70' (cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a) and here Fig. 33). Contrary to what I have just said above, this relief proves that already Domitian had ordered state reliefs, on which the represented figures are designed according to a hierarchy of scale. Both the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* and the Cancellaria Reliefs are datable to the end of Domitian's reign. - If all that should be true, the extraordinary scale of the togate youth on Frieze B (cf. here Fig. 2, when compared with that of Vespasian, standing in front of him) is another means of indicating that this young man can be nobody else than Vespasian's younger son, Caesar Domitian.

*V.1.b) The Cancellaria Reliefs under Nerva - as reconstructed by S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018) and my own comments on their conclusions. With some remarks on the efforts of Septimius Severus to legitimize his reign*

Connected with these two aforementioned topics - the stratigraphy and topography of the area in question (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.a)) - is another one, that of trying to understand, how the Cancellaria Reliefs have been used after Domitian's assassination (he died on 18th September AD 96; cf. *supra*, n. 304, in Chapter II.1.a).

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 73) write: "Die Umarbeitung des Domitian scheint eine Interpretation zusätzlich zu verkomplizieren. Für die Entscheidung Nervas, sich nur in Fries A darstellen zu lassen, in Fries B aber Vespasian einzusetzen, gibt es verschiedene Erklärungsversuche. Entweder ist in Fries B eine Szene dargestellt, die Nerva nicht für sich in Anspruch nehmen konnte oder wollte, oder Nerva bezog sich bewusst auf Vespasian, wobei das Eine das Andere nicht ausschließt [with n. 91, providing references and further discussion]".

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 83): "Für die Kaiserbildnisse auf den Cancellariareliefs bedeutet dies: Die Umarbeitung der beiden Kaiserköpfe [*i.e.*, of Domitian: on Frieze A and allegedly also on Frieze B] im Rahmen der *damnatio memoriae* zerstörte nicht die kollektive Erinnerung an den 'schlechten' Kaiser, sondern

hielt sie geradezu aufrecht, denn jeder Zeitgenosse wusste, dass hier ja früher Domitian dargestellt war [with n. 159]". - To both assumptions, here made by Langer and Pfanner, I will come back below.

Immediately after that, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 83) continue: "Das Besondere an den Cancellariareliefs ist vielmehr, dass sich darüber hinaus nichts an den Figuren und Handlungen änderte und die Reliefs sogar an ihrem angestammten Ort verblieben".

Cf. their **note 159**, in which Langer and Pfanner (2018, 83) make an important observation concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs: "**Diese Form der Umarbeitung in einem narrativen Kontext ist nur bei den Cancellariareliefs erhalten. In den übrigen bekannten Fällen der monumentalen Staatsreliefs wird der Kaiser komplett entfernt und sein Name eradiert: vgl. Geta am Bogen des Septimius Severus und Commodus auf einem Relief im Konservatorenpalast. Vgl. zuletzt F. Krüpe, Die Damnati memoriae. Über die Vernichtung von Erinnerung. Eine Fallstudie zu Publius Septimius Geta (198-211 n. Chr.) (Gutenberg 2011) [my emphasis]**".

In addition to this, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 82, 84, both passages quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter *V.1.a*)) suggest that, after Domitian's death the monument or building, to which the Cancellaria Reliefs belonged, was not immediately destroyed, since this structure had presumably served a more general purpose than predominantly celebrating Domitian.

This idea had already been voiced by Marianne Bergmann (1981, 25 with n. 28, quoted *verbatim supra*, at **n. 252**, in Chapter *I.3.*), followed by Hölscher (2009a, 54-56, quoted *verbatim supra*, at **n. 253**, in Chapter *I.3.*).

What the possible motivation concerns, that may have led Nerva (for him, cf. *supra*, **n. 322**, in Chapter *II.1.e*.) to order the recutting of the face of Domitian on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs into a representation of his own, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 83) stress the shortness of Nerva's reign, and state that for him no military activities of greater importance are recorded:

"Die extrem kurze Regierungszeit Nervas lässt einen daran zweifeln, dass auf Relief A ein konkretes historisches Ereignis gemeint ist, zumal die Umarbeitungen gleich nach dem Sturz Domitians ausgeführt oder wenigstens geplant worden sein müssen. **Der hochbetagte Nerva regierte knapp 13,5 Monate (18.9.96-27.1.98 n. Chr.) und war zum Schluss seines Lebens krank [with n. 160, providing references]. Für ihn sind keine militärischen Aktionen von größerer Tragweite überliefert [my emphasis]**".

Of the latter opinion had already been Marianne Bergmann (1981, 31; quoted *verbatim supra*, **n. 338**, in Chapter *II.3.*).

As a consequence of this (in my opinion erroneous assumption, cf. *infra*, at Chapter *V.1.c*)), Langer and Pfanner (2018, 83) therefore develop the idea that such state reliefs did not serve predominantly the function of celebrating the historic actions of the emperor, who commissioned the work, but - because they believe that Nerva did not have anything of the kind to celebrate - that such state reliefs glorified instead predominantly certain virtues of emperors, in the specific case of Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs *virtus* and *victoria*, 'that were among the primary virtues of the *princeps*' (so Langer and Pfanner (2018, 83), which results in their further assumption that such reliefs could easily be re-used by other emperors.

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 83) write: "Ist auf Relief A tatsächlich eine *profectio*, also ein Aufbruch, gemeint, könnte dieser immerhin von Nerva geplant gewesen sein. Die hier dargestellten *virtus* und *victoria* gehörten zu den Primärtugenden des Prinzeips und passten somit immer zum neuen Kaiser. Bei der viel diskutierten Frage zum historischen Background der monumentalen römischen Staatsreliefs könnte das Cancellariare Relief A als Kronzeuge dafür herhalten, dass die ideologische Botschaft und der allegorisch-symbolische Gehalt wichtiger gewesen sind als die konkrete historische Handlung".

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 62; cf. pp. 73, 83, 84) cannot explain, why Nerva had allegedly chosen to order the reworking of the (alleged) original portrait of the Emperor Domitian on Frieze B into a portrait of his "Vorvorgänger, Kaiser Vespasian [pre-predecessor Vespasian']".

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 62) write: "Für den Großteil der hier aufgezeigten Probleme gibt es mit dem heute zur Verfügung stehenden methodischen Instrumentarium der Klassischen Archäologie keine zufriedenstellende Lösung. Dabei ist für die Reliefs ein entscheidender Punkt mehr oder weniger in den Hintergrund geraten: nämlich die Tatsache der Umarbeitung als solcher und das erstaunliche Phänomen, dass Nerva sich auf seinen Vorvorgänger, Kaiser Vespasian, bezieht".

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 83-84): "**Warum Nerva auf Relief B den Domitian zu einem Vespasian, einem seiner Vorvorgänger (reg.[iert] 69-79 n. Chr.), und nicht zu seinem eigenen Porträt umgearbeitet hat, wissen wir nicht.** Vielleicht was das Geschehen (*adventus?*) beim besten Willen nicht mit Nervas Vita kompatibel oder Nerva wollte unbedingt einen Vespasian. **Wie dem auch sei - Tatsache ist, dass Vespasian, der Stammvater der flavischen Dynastie, dargestellt ist, und dass ihn Nerva groß in Szene setzte. Dieser eindeutige Rückbezug auf die flavische Dynastie, der bisher in der Forschung unterging, ist vielleicht der historisch interessanteste Aspekt der Cancellariareliefs** [with n. 161; my emphasis].

Der dynastische Gedanke ist bei allen antiken Potentaten und Herrscherhäusern von entscheidender Bedeutung [with n. 162]. Mit echter oder vermeintlicher Genealogie, die gar bis auf die Götter zurückgeht, legitimieren sie ihren Herrschaftsanspruch. Die julisch-claudischen Kaiser, die Flavier (*templum gentis Flaviae!*), die Adoptivkaiser Trajan, Hadrian und die Antoninen, die Severer usw. propagieren alle ihre Familiendynastie. Nerva kam unvermittelt an die Macht und konnte keine dynastische Legitimation vorweisen. Er musste vor allem eine Herrschaftskontinuität gewährleisten, zumal es zu Beginn seiner Regierungszeit gewisse Schwierigkeiten gab, u. a. [unter anderem] mit den Prätorianern, denen er sich mutig entgegengestellt haben soll [with n. 163].

**Die durchaus überraschende Darstellung des Vespasian, eines längst verstorbenen Kaisers, auf Fries B ließe sich also dahingehend erklären, dass Nerva bewusst an die flavische Dynastie anknüpft. Domitian setzte die gute Herrschaftstradition seines Vaters Vespasian und seines Bruders Titus nicht fort und wurde folgerichtig eliminiert. Bildlich wird dies durch die Umarbeitung mehr als sinnfällig, indem Nerva auf Fries A den Platz von Domitian einnimmt und damit zum >ideellen Sohn< des Vespasian wird. Er korrigiert die Fehlentwicklung Domitians und garantiert für die Fortsetzung der guten flavischen Tradition** [with n. 164]. Eine Le-[page 84] gitimation und Kontinuität der Herrschaft kann man kaum besser und prägnanter zum Ausdruck bringen! Die Cancellariareliefs sind das einzige historische Zeugnis, das diesen Gedanken Nervas manifestiert [with n. 165; my emphasis].

In der Regierungszeit des Nerva dürfte jedem klar gewesen sein, dass auf den Reliefs ursprünglich Domitian dargestellt gewesen ist. Die Umarbeitung beider Friese benutzte Nerva geschickt zur Herrschaftsstabilisierung. **Den Bildinhalten wurde dabei ein spezifisch dynastischer Gedanke hinzugefügt, in dessen Mittelpunkt der >Rollentausch< von Domitian und Nerva innerhalb der flavischen Dynastie stand. Dies gelang einzig und allein durch die Umarbeitung zweier Köpfe, welche die Erinnerung an Domitian und sein Ende latent wachhielten und zugleich Nervas Qualitäten besonders hervorhoben** [my emphasis]. In their notes 161-165, Langer and Pfanner (2018) provide further discussion and references.

**Since I do not agree with Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84) concerning three remarks in their last paragraph, quoted above, I do not subscribe to their here summarized entire scenario :**

1.) I do not follow Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84; cf. their p. 83, for another similar passage, quoted *verbatim supra*), in assuming that 'during Nerva's reign all beholders of the Cancellaria Reliefs should have known that originally Domitian had been represented on those panels'.

I rather believe that those reliefs have never been visible to the public, simply because they had still been unfinished, when Domitian died. I have therefore suggested that the structure in question, to which the Cancellaria Reliefs belonged, was still a building site, and that therefore those friezes, possibly the horizontal

panels in the bay of an arch (cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.3.), were not visible from outside the fence, that surrounded this building site (cf. *supra*, at n. 342, in Chapter II.3.1.a).

Also Giandomenico Spinola (see below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*) writes that the building, to which the Cancellaria Reliefs belonged, was not finished in Domitian's lifetime.

Besides, the reworking of the Cancellaria Reliefs, commissioned by Nerva, had not even gotten so far, as to complete his own portrait on Frieze A. In my opinion, Nerva's portrait on Frieze A has not been finished, because even before that could be accomplished, Nerva himself had ordered the destruction of the Domitianic structure containing the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. *supra*, at Chapters II.3.2.; II.3.3.; II.3.3.a), and *infra*, at Chapter V.1.c)).

**That it may have been Nerva, who had ordered the destruction of the monument or building, that contained the Cancellaria Reliefs, has also tentatively been suggested by Langer and Pfanner themselves (cf. *id.* 2018, 82, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter V.1.a). If true, the public has indeed never seen the Cancellaria Reliefs.**

2.) Neither do I follow the assertion of Langer and Pfanner (2018, 83-84; cf. their pp. 62, 73 and 83, for other similar passages, quoted *verbatim supra*), according to which 'two heads' were reworked on the Cancellaria Reliefs (*i.e.*, the head of Domitian on Frieze A into Nerva, and the alleged original head of Domitian on Frieze B into the extant portrait of Vespasian (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.h.2.)).

3.) Nor do I follow the assertion of Langer and Pfanner (2018, 83-84), according to which Nerva, by reworking the Cancellaria Reliefs, 'added a specific dynastic thought' to them. - The reason being that I, contrary to Langer and Pfanner (*op.cit.*), do not believe that the extant head of the emperor on Frieze B (*i.e.*, of Vespasian; cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 14**) is the result of the recutting of an allegedly original portrait of Domitian into the head of the founder of the Flavian dynasty, that had been ordered by Nerva (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.h.2.)).

On 7th March 2020, I had the chance to discuss with Eugenio La Rocca in Rome the just mentioned assertion of Langer and Pfanner (2018, 83-84), according to which Nerva, by reworking the Cancellaria Reliefs, 'added a specific dynastic thought' to them by (allegedly) ordering the reworking of the (alleged) original head of Domitian on Frieze B into the extant portrait of Vespasian (cf. here **Fig. 2; Fig. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 14**). La Rocca agreed with me that this assumption is not convincing.

*In the following, I allow myself a digression on Septimius Severus'  
'self-adoption' into the Antonine dynasty*

Although, because Langer and Pfanner (2018, 83-84) themselves believe that the portrait of Vespasian on Frieze B is the result of Nerva's commission to recut the alleged original portrait of Domitian, I find it very well understandable - when seen from their perspective - why the authors suggest that Nerva 'added a specific dynastic thought' to the Cancellaria Reliefs. It is enough to remember the example of Septimius Severus (emperor AD 193-211), to which we will now turn.

**Exactly because of his lack of legitimation, Septimius Severus, in AD 195, "proclaimed himself son of the deified Marcus [Aurelius] and brother of the deified Commodus, both of which he needed as legitimation for his reign. In 195, he consequently began to use the title *pius* on coins".**

Achim Lichtenberger (2011) has aptly described the whole procedure as Septimius Severus' "Selbstadoption" ('self-adoption') into the Antonine family. Certainly not exactly an easy task, 'since Severus had first to "force through" [so Itta Gradel 2004] the deification of Commodus'.

All quotes are from Häuber (2014a, 707 with ns. 131-135; cf. I. GRADEL: "Heroization, Apotheosis", in: *ThesCRA II* (2004) 191, 198; A. LICHTENBERGER 2011, 48, 64, 97, 322, 386).

In addition to this, Severus modeled his own portraits on those of his 'father', *Divus Marcus Aurelius*, and also on those of his 'brother', *Divus Commodus*. Severus modeled another one of his portrait-types on Serapis, because Serapis was "il vero e proprio dio di legittimazione dei Severi" (so Alfred Grimm 1997), and even ordered creations of images of gods, the faces of which were similar to his *own* portrait.

**In short, Severus used for this 'self-advertisement campaign' the usual combination of appropriately applied astrology (of which he was a great expert himself), coins, the public dedications of large sculpture groups all over the Roman Empire (that contained portraits of his family), and religion.**

**Severus likewise dedicated portrait groups of his *domus divina*, including *Divus Commodus*, thus using "the power and persistent influence of images that act as a stabilizing force for governments" - so Herwig Maehler 2003 (referring with this statement to Octavian/ Augustus, who initially had the same problem of legitimization as Septimius Severus).**

See Herwig Maehler (2003, 215, quoted *verbatim* in: C. HÄUBER 2014a, 695 with n. 2; cf. pp. 726-727 with ns. 56, 58 [for Severus' portraits modeled on those of Marcus Aurelius and on those of Commodus]; cf. p. 722 [for Severus' 'Serapis portrait-type']; cf. p. 682 with n. 105 [for A. GRIMM 1997, 132]; cf. p. 688 with n. 172 [for images of Sol resembling the portrait of Severus]; cf. p. 720 with n. 288 [for Severus, being an expert on astrology]; cf. pp. 678-679, 682, 687-688 [for Severus' dedications of large statue groups, comprising portraits of himself and of his family ]; cf. p. 227 with n. 261 [for Severus' dedications of statue groups of his *domus divina*]).

For Septimius Severus 'self-acclaimed ancestry'; cf. also Susann S. Lusnia (2004, 517, 526, 533, 538-541, quoted *verbatim* in: C. HÄUBER 2014a, 688, note 167); below, at *The fourth Contribution by Peter Herz* in this volume ("Wann wurde Trajan von Nerva adoptiert?"); *supra*, at Chapter V.1.b); and *infra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11)*. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part II. *Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalvia) and the Horrea Aemilia*. With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?

**But contrary to Nerva, Severus' relevant aims are undeniable. By applying all 'public relation tricks' and 'mass media', known in antiquity, he had cleverly orchestrated the above-mentioned extraordinary wide range of activities, that were supposed to support his invented claims. - It is those activities that are very well documented by our visual and literary sources.**

Besides, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84) themselves write in the above-quoted passage, that:

"Die Cancellarieliefs sind das einzige historische Zeugnis, das diesen Gedanken Nervas manifestiert" ('the Cancellaria Reliefs are the only historical evidence that manifests this thought of Nerva').

Provided, Nerva had indeed in mind to 'adopt himself into the Flavian dynasty', as Langer and Pfanner suggest, he could have done all sorts of things to make people believe that such alleged family bonds actually existed: but the complete lack of any kind of relevant 'evidence' speaks against this idea.

Let's now return to our main subject.

Langer and Pfanner (2018) write elsewhere on p. 84:

**"Deutung: Die Darstellungen sind singulär und nicht abschließend geklärt. Fries A thematisiert vermutlich den Auszug (*profectio*) aus Rom mit Betonung des militärischen Aspekts und der kaiserlichen Tugenden *virtus* und *victoria*, Fries B die Ankunft (*adventus*) in Rom und die Begegnung mit den wichtigsten stadtrömischen Repräsentanten unter Heraushebung des zivilen Aspekts inklusive der *virtutes pietas* und *concordia* [my emphasis]"**.

For their latter observation, that Frieze B represents the: "*virtutes pietas* und *concordia*", Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84) do not themselves provide a reference. I agree with their statement, but for reasons, to which they themselves object. These two virtues are mentioned by Pfeiffer (2009, 62), in his discussion of Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs, whom Langer and Pfanner (2018, 27) themselves quote in their bibliography, but do not discuss in this context. - But, Pfeiffer (*op.cit.*), in my opinion rightly, comes to this conclusion, because he follows Magi (1939; 1945) in assuming that Frieze B showed from the very beginning Vespasian, who with the gesture of his right hand gives the togate youth Domitian the legitimation to reign as emperor (for a discussion; cf. *infra*, at Chapter VI.3).

Pfeiffer (2009, 62) writes:

**"Neben die von Domitian besonders geschätzten Gottheiten Jupiter und Minerva trat der Kult der eigenen Vorfahren, der dem Kaiser vor allem aus legitimatorischen Gründen wichtig war. Er bemühte sich, seiner eigenen Dynastie Frömmigkeit (*pietas*) zu erweisen und sie auf diese Weise mit dem julisch-claudischen Kaiserhaus gleichzusetzen. Bildlich vor Augen führen uns die *pietas*-Politik gegenüber dem Vater die beiden in der archäologischen Forschung bezüglich ihrer Interpretation mehr als umstrittenen sogenannten Cancelleria-Reliefs (vgl. zuletzt Henderson 2003). Sie sind nach ihrem Fundort im Garten des Palazzo della Cancelleria Apostolica benannt. **Eines der beiden Reliefs [i.e., Frieze B; cf. here Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing] zeigt auf jeden Fall Domitian mit Vespasian. Vater und Sohn werden von Minerva, Rom und den Genien von Senat und Volk Roms begleitet. Auf diese Weise ist nicht nur die Legitimation der Herrschaft des Domitian durch seinen Vater verkündet, sondern auch der *consensus universorum*, die Zustimmung zu seiner Herrschaft durch die Götter und die Untertanen [my emphasis]**". - This passage was already quoted above (cf. *supra*, at Chapter II.3.1.c)).**

Langer and Pfanner (2018) write elsewhere on p. 84: "Okkupation durch Nerva und der dynastische Gedanke: Nach der Ermordung Domitians ließ Nerva die Kaiserköpfe umarbeiten. Die Reliefszenen gelten jetzt für Vespasian bzw. Nerva. Reale Ereignisse seiner kurzen Regierungszeit von nur 13,5 Monaten können sich kaum in der Darstellung niedergeschlagen haben. **Die Einbindung Vespasians bezeugt den Wunsch Nervas nach politischer Kontinuität und die Anbindung an die flavische Dynastie. Den >schlechten Sohn< Domitian ersetzt in Realität und Bild der >gute Sohn< Nerva [my emphasis]"**.

In their final statement, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84-85) write:

Die Cancelleriareliefs sind ein Paradigma für die Bildsprache des sog. historischen Reliefs und für das Wesen der *damnatio memoriae* und des Prinzipats.

Nur hier wird der Kaiser im Kontext eines vielfigurigen Reliefs umgearbeitet. Dabei genügt die Transformation des Kaiserkopfes. Alles andere bleibt gleich. Der neue Kaiser vollbringt dieselben Handlungen wie sein Vorgänger und lässt sich von denselben Personen und Göttern flankieren. Er macht es jetzt freilich richtig! Sein Handeln sowie die Institution des Kaisertums werden als solche nie in Frage gestellt. **Im Bild tritt die Historie gegenüber den allgemein gültigen Aussagen zu den Kaisertugenden zurück, denn die Reliefbilder gelten genauso für den neuen *princeps***. Die Umarbeitung tilgt nicht das Andenken des gestürzten Herrschers, sondern ist vielmehr eine immanente bzw. permanente Erinnerung und Warnung, was einem >schlechten< Kaiser passieren kann und wird [my emphasis]"

Their just quoted sentence (cf. Langer and Pfanner 2018, 84-85):

"Im Bild tritt die Historie gegenüber den allgemein gültigen Aussagen zu den Kaisertugenden zurück", appears similarly in an already earlier quoted passage (cf. Langer and Pfanner 2018, 83):

"... Bei der viel diskutierten Frage zum historischen Background der monumentalen römischen Staatsreliefs könnte das Cancellariare Relief A als Kronzeuge dafür herhalten, dass die ideologische Botschaft und der allegorisch-symbolische Gehalt wichtiger gewesen sind als die konkrete historische Handlung [my emphasis]".

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84-85; cf. p. 83), in the just quoted sentence from their final passage (which I have slightly changed in my following English translation, by using some words from their similar passage on p. 83), thus express their opinion, that:

'in the image the concrete historical action has less importance than the generally valid statements concerning the imperial virtues, because the relief images are equally valid for the new *princeps*' - meaning with 'the new princeps' the Emperor Nerva.

What Frieze A concerns, I can follow the conclusion of Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84-85), because of the following reasons. Nerva ordered his artists to re-use Frieze A for his own purpose - obviously, without any problems (one of the reasons for that has already been observed by Pentiricci 2009, 57; quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 133, at Chapter I.1.).

And that, although Nerva himself definitely did *not* have Minerva as his personal patron goddess - whereas Domitian did (cf. *supra*, at n. 240, in Chapter I.2.). This means, although it had been one of Domitian's very 'personal' choices, to have Minerva placed by the artists at this very privileged position immediately in front of him on Frieze A (cf. *supra*, at n. 239, in Chapter I.2.), Nerva, having 'usurped' Domitian's own place on Frieze A, obviously did not mind of being now himself 'paired' with this specific goddess as his personal companion.

This fact therefore seems to prove the conclusion, at which Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84-85) have arrived, namely that it is not so much the 'real personal relationship' of Domitian with Minerva, what counts on Frieze A, but rather 'abstract' concepts of imperial virtues, such as *pietas* (as I would suggest in Domitian's case, in relation to the gods, represented *inter alia*, but foremost by his personal patron goddess Minerva), and - *consequently* - *victoria*, since Minerva is one of his divine *comites* (together with Mars; cf. *supra*, n. 227, in Chapter I.2.), who will guide him to his victory. Apart from the fact that there is also *Dea Roma*, likewise shown 'next to Domitian', but on his 'other' side, who represents, in my opinion, together with the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani*, Domitian's (now Nerva's) faithful and solid 'home base' at Rome (cf. *supra*, at n. 234, in Chapter I.2.). - Or *virtus* and *victoria*, as Langer and Pfanner (2018, 83) themselves suggest, as being the principal imperial virtues, visualized on Frieze A.

That Domitian had ordered his artists to lay stress on his *pietas* in Frieze A, I have already suggested above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.2.1.a), and *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.b), Section III.), because Domitian is holding a *rotulus* in his left hand, an observation which I allow myself to repeat here again:

'I believe that this *rotulus* contains Domitian's *vota*, that he will fulfill, provided the gods, to whom he has prayed - presumably Jupiter - should grant him the desired victory in the war to which he is leaving. Not by chance, Domitian has ordered his artists to represent Vespasian on Frieze B as being accompanied by a man in his entourage who carries likewise a *rotulus* (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 17**). The *rotulus*, carried for Vespasian on Frieze B certainly contains Vespasian's relevant *vota*, which he, since Jupiter has already granted him the desired victories, will now certainly fulfill in due course. Thus, by representing those *rotuli*, Domitian has ordered his artists to lay great stress on propagating that Vespasian and he himself show *pietas* towards the gods.

I have obviously followed with these suggestions Erika Simon, whose entry on the Cancellaria Reliefs I had consulted several times, looking for something else.

When I went back to it, I found more material; cf. Simon (1963, 9), who wrote about **figure 17** on frieze B):

"Den Zug beschließt eine Gestalt in doppelt geschürzter Tunika, wohl ein Kultdiener. Die Schriftrolle in seiner Linken enthält vielleicht ein Verzeichnis der gelobten Opfer, die der Feldherr bei seiner Rückkehr einzulösen hatte. Denn hier handelt es sich um eine Rückkehr (reditus), eine feierliche Ankunft (adventus) des Kaisers in Rom". And on the *rotulus*, held by Domitian (now Nerva) on frieze A, Simon (1963, 10) wrote: "Die Rolle in seiner [*i.e.*, Domitian's, now Nerva's] beringten Linken weist wohl wie bei der Gestalt in B auf Opfer hin, die pro reditu gelobt worden waren".

Although, as already mentioned, I do not agree with Langer and Pfanner (2018, 45-46; cf. p. 83), who refer to the amazon-like figure on frieze A as "Roma/Virtus" (for that interpretation of this figure, cf. *supra*, n. 221, in Chapter I.2.), but identify her rather with *Dea Roma* (cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.2.).

Therefore, it is in my opinion not the alleged "Roma/Virtus" of Langer and Pfanner (2018, 45-46), who is the decisive *personal companion* of Domitian (now Nerva) on Frieze A, but Minerva. - Consequently, in my opinion, not '*virtus* and *victoria*' are literally represented on Frieze A, as asserted by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 83: "Die hier dargestellten *virtus* und *victoria*"), since, contrary to their own assumption, the allegorical representations *Virtus* and *Victoria* are not *both* present on Frieze A. I, therefore, rather maintain my own suggestion, made above, that Frieze A visualizes the most important aspect of the one *virtus*, expected on principle from a Roman emperor : his '*invincibility*' (cf. *supra*, at n. 282, in Chapter I.3.2: C. HÄUBER 2017, 22, 520-521). - See also John Pollini (2017b, 124, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*)).

Because of this, I have written above: "*consequently - victoria*", because in this complex construction of a Roman emperor's *virtus*, only his *virtus* -

in the case of Domitian on Frieze A, his *pietas* in regard to the gods, expressed on Frieze A especially by Domitian's relation to Minerva, his personal patron goddess, who is therefore characterized by means of the composition as being '*closest*' to him -

can help him to successfully strive for and finally attain *victoria*, or '*invincibility*' - but not without decisive and ultimate divine interference !

Because *victoria* could only be granted by the gods. - As already mentioned above: '*At Jupiter's orders and under his guidance the Romans fought their wars, and to him they consequently attributed their military victories*' (cf. *supra*, at n. 431, in Chapter III.).

But of course also the god Mars on Frieze A has a strong relation to the *virtus* of the represented Emperor Domitian (now Nerva), as Henderson (2003, 251) observes: "... but the massive god of war pledges that *manliness (uirtus)* brings Roman success".

Or in other words: on Frieze A, a *profectio*, Minerva, Mars and *Victoria* '*promise*' Domitian (now Nerva) *victoria*, whereas an *adventus*, for example that of Vespasian (here **Fig. 2**), according to this -

quasi-theological, as one might call it -

way of thinking, may be regarded as the visual '*proof*' that the emperor in question has already demonstrated his *invincibility*, and thus his *virtus*. An emperor, represented in such *adventus*-scenes, could therefore be characterized as being closely connected with the supreme god.



As already quoted before (cf. *supra*, n. 361, in Chapter II.3.3.) John Pollini interprets such an *adventus*-scene as follows:

"In sculptural panels in the attic, or uppermost part of this arch [of Trajan at Beneventum], Jupiter in the company of other important state gods extends his thunderbolt (fig. II.39b) to Trajan, his viceregent on earth (fig. II.39c - a gesture of divine approbation to rule and to conquer on behalf of the Roman People" (cf. J. POLLINI 2012, 105, with Figs. II.39b-c [cf. here Fig. 46]).

I have elsewhere regretted the following fact:

"Roman 'pagan' religion was not codified, nor was the complex rôle of the Roman emperor", and find that it is tempting to regard the above-mentioned construction of the emperor's *virtus*, in its distinct reciprocity with the gods, as part of the 'theology of the rôle of the Roman emperor', especially, when we consider that some scholars have already coined the term: ">theology< of the imperial cult" (cf. for both quotes, C. HÄUBER 2014a, 728, 720 with n. 284, providing references).

As I have only realized after this Chapter was written, already Tonio Hölscher (2009b, 59-60, quoted in more detail *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.) writes about Alexander the Great: "**Die Theologie der Herrschaft** hatte die Identität von Gott und Herrscher zur Grundlage" (my emphasis).

Coming back to the overall content of Frieze A, as suggested by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 83), this panel definitely comprises a political message, which may indeed be expressed by quoting the *different virtues*, expected from an emperor, as the authors themselves suggest, or rather by quoting the *different aspects* of his one *virtus*, as I believe (cf. *supra*, at n. 282, in Chapter I.3.2.).

And these general, abstract messages could have been adopted by any emperor, so for example also by Nerva, of course, as Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84-85) rightly observe. I therefore certainly agree with Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84-85), that such state reliefs propagated 'imperial virtues' (cf. *supra*, at n. 282, in Chapter I.3.2.).

Apart from that, I have pursued a totally different train of thought in this *Study* than Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84-85), by trying to find the *individual* motivations of each of those emperors, which could explain their decisions concerning the messages of their state reliefs, and in my opinion, those choices refer without exception to events in their own *vita*, be they real or invented.

As also observed by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 73, 83-84) in two above-quoted passages, from which emerge that in their opinion Nerva, at one stage, had probably in mind to re-use Frieze B for the representation of an event in his own *vita*.

Cf. *supra*, at Chapter II.3.1. (referring back to Chapters II.1.c); and II.3.2., summarized in Chapter II.3.3.a)), where I have discussed exactly the same thought.

Contrary to that, the last passage of Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84-85) shows that the authors are of the opinion that, when analysing such examples of state art, the 'personal historical actions' of the relevant Roman emperors, who commissioned those works, appear to be less important than the main message of such reliefs: 'that the emperor is virtuous'.

Personally I therefore do not subscribe to the interpretation of state reliefs, and in particular of the Cancellaria Reliefs, as suggested by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84-85). Because, when compared with their own conclusion, which I have translated above, I rather believe that quite the *opposite* is true, namely the following: 'in Roman state art, such as the Cancellaria Reliefs, the individual concrete historical action of the represented emperor has - in my opinion - *more* importance than the generally valid statements concerning the imperial virtues, that are likewise implicitly represented on such reliefs'.

Only after I having finished writing this Chapter, have I been alerted by Franz Xaver Schütz to Volker Michael Strocka's publication of 1972, whom Langer and Pfanner (2018) do not discuss. Strocka's introductory remarks on state reliefs ('historische Reliefs') express in much more detail, what I have tried to express with my above-formulated sentence.

Strocka's (1972, 147) writes:

**"Wer die sogenannten « historischen Reliefs » römischer Staatsdenkmäler nur als monumentale Wiedergaben historischer Ereignisse zu deuten versucht, gerät bald in Schwierigkeiten ... Es sollte ihn stören, dass auf dem Cancellariare Relief A [cf. here Fig. 1] bloss der Kopf der Hauptperson verändert werden musste, um die Platten für den Nachfolger Domitians [*i.e.*, Nerva] verwendbar zu machen ...**

**Wenn in Staatsreliefs bestimmte Szenen, etwa Opfer, immer wieder ganz ähnlich vorkommen, scheint es nicht um das einmalige Ereignis zu gehen, sondern um das wiederholte. Solcher Allgemeinheit widersprechen die Genauigkeit in Einzelheiten und die Bestimmbarkeit von Hauptpersonen und verschiedenen Rängen nur scheinbar. Man hat den Eindruck einer sorgfältigen Inszenierung, die das Allgemeine und das Konkrete auf eine besondere Art miteinander verbinden möchte. Folgende Hypothesen drängen sich dazu auf :**

**Die Einzelheiten in einem Monumentalrelief offiziellen Inhalts haben - dem Protokoll eines Staatsaktes vergleichbar - genaue Bedeutung. Wie dort die Zeremonie, erstrebt die Darstellungsform Wirkung nicht bloss um ihrer selbst willen, sondern in der Absicht, den politischen, oft zugleich religiösen Gehalt des realen Vorgangs verbindlich und möglichst einprägsam darzustellen. Dabei bedient sie sich der in der politischen Bildpropaganda - besonders auf Münzen - geläufigen, genau bezeichneten Formeln, die eindeutig und leicht erkennbar sein sollen ... Wenn Idealfiguren oder selbst Götter in der realen Szene auftreten, legen sie die Interpretation erst recht fest. Die allegorische Figur als verkörperte Bedeutung verhindert gerade, die ganze Darstellung nur realistisch zu verstehen ... [my emphasis]"**

Now, I agree completely with Strocka (1972, 147), what his observation concerning Frieze A is concerned.

But Frieze B of the Cancellaria Relief (here **Fig. 2**) is a completely different matter. Because here all the details of the panel that scholars have found so difficult to explain, reflect, in my opinion, the specific situation of Vespasian, when he arrived at Rome in the first half of October in AD 70 (his wearing of civilian garb, the fact that he is not accompanied by his soldiers, and that *Victoria* is crowning him with the *corona civica*). To the effect that none of his successors could possibly have 'usurped' this Frieze to illustrate his own achievements - as Nerva had managed to do without any problems in the case of Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs. For a detailed discussion of these characteristics of Frieze B; cf. *infra*, at Chapters *V.i.1.3.*); and at *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

Contrary to Strocka (1972, 147) I am in the context discussed here personally not interested in the wide range of different perspectives under which such state reliefs could be read, but am only interested in one of these, also addressed by Strocka, namely the question, which historical events are possibly represented on state reliefs, such as the Cancellaria Reliefs. And after what was said above, I am, contrary to Langer and Pfanner (2018, convinced that it must be possible to find out, which precise events the emperors, who commissioned such state reliefs, had wanted their artists to visualize with each of them. Also Strocka (1972, 147) expresses the opinion that the intention was to illustrate specific events during their reigns, but he stresses at the same time very convincingly that this was certainly *not* the only motivation to create such reliefs.

**Contrary to Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84; cf. *infra*, at Chapter *V.1.i.1.*): "Deutung: Die Darstellungen sind singulär und nicht abschließend geklärt ...")**, I believe that it is also possible in the case of the Cancellaria Reliefs to find out, which events they were commissioned to illustrate.

That a Roman emperor presented himself on principle as being virtuous (in state art and elsewhere) is another matter, that tacitly assumed presupposition was - in theory - the *conditio sine qua non* for his position, which, at least at that time, was not questioned, as Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84-85) rightly observe.

The simple fact that the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans, apart from creating such state reliefs, developed the medium 'iconographic portrait' - that, at least in Egypt and Rome, appeared also in state art - proves in my opinion beyond any doubt that sovereigns of (Western) antiquity, such as Roman emperors, wanted to be *personally* remembered through their state art, which they commissioned, and precisely through the 'concrete individual historical actions', that were after all 'documented' by such works. This was, in my opinion - contrary to what Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84-85) suggest - the *raison d'être* of such state art.

The title of Augustus' relevant autobiographical text was certainly not by chance '*res gestae*'. Augustus did not even specify in the title of his book that the subject of his text were, of course, *his own* achievements.

Another indication for the correctness of my assertion is, in my opinion, the fact, stressed by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 78-79; quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.1.) themselves, that for example on the always multifigured Roman state reliefs, (almost) all other humans, allegorical representations, and even the gods, are shown as looking *in the direction* of the emperors (cf. here Figs. 1; 2; figs. 1 and 2 drawing).

As already said before, the above-quoted final conclusion, at which Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84-85; cf. p. 83) arrive concerning Roman state art in general, and the Cancellaria Reliefs in particular, which I have slightly changed in my following English translation, by using some words from their similar passage on p. 83), thus express their opinion, that:

'in the image the concrete historical action has less importance than the generally valid statements concerning the imperial virtues, because the relief images are equally valid for the new princeps' - meaning with 'the new princeps' the Emperor Nerva who had ordered to rework Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs in order to show one of his own achievements.

This statement by Langer and Pfanner does not sound, as if it makes much sense to pursue such studies any further - especially the question, which importance on such state reliefs the representations of 'the individual historical actions' of those emperors may have had. But I wonder, whether the conclusions of Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84-85) could have been formulated in this respect more 'positively', had the authors themselves been able to suggest, *what exactly* the Cancellaria Reliefs visualize.

#### *The interpretation of the Cancellaria Reliefs by Joachim Raeder (2010)*

When the manuscript of this volume was about to be sent to the press, I finally read the text, which Joachim Raeder (2010, 141) has written about the Cancellaria Reliefs, whose interpretations of both panels could not be more different than my own, above-summarized conclusions:

"Auf beiden ursprünglich jeweils über 6 Meter langen und 2.06 Meter hohen Reliefbändern ist die Figur des Kaisers durch seine individuelle Physiognomie als *einzig* historisch handelnde Person hervorgehoben - in den zeremoniell repräsentativen Vorgang einer *profectio* (Aufbruch zu einer [kriegerischen] Unternehmung außerhalb Roms) und eines *adventus* (feierliche Rückkehr und Einzug des Kaisers in Rom) gestellt. Der Herrscher ist von Göttern und göttlichen Personifikationen, die die götternahe Stellung des Princeps, die überzeitliche Ordnung des Staatswesens oder abstrakt - ideelle Leitvorstellungen zum Ausdruck bringen, begleitet und umgeben; ihm sind Lictoren, Praetorianer und Vestalinnen zur Seite gestellt, die die magistratische, militärische und pontifikale Amtsgewalt des Kaisers verkörpern. Jeglicher

ereignisgeschichtlicher Bezug ist in der Darstellung unterdrückt, um den Kaiser als Repräsentanten eines Herrscherideals und als Garanten für das Glück und das Wohlergehen des Imperiums in seiner Sieghaftigkeit und Allgegenwart ausgestattet mit *virtus* und *auctoritas* zeigen zu können. Die Allgemeingültigkeit dieses 'Herrscherlobes' ermöglichte nach der *damnatio memoriae* des Domitian die Umarbeitung des Kaiserporträts in beiden Friesteilen, ohne Bedeutungsverlust konnte das Bildnis des Domitian in das des Nerva (Fries A) (Abb. 229c) bzw.[beziehungsweise] das des Vespasian (Fries B) (Abb. 229d) verändert werden".

See for Raeder's (2010) discussion of the Cancellaria Reliefs also *supra*, in Chapter I.1.1.; and *infra*, in Chapter V.1.h.2.), where I reject his above-quoted hypothesis; and in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

### To conclude this point.

As we have heard above, already Volker Michael Strocka's (1972, 147) had made the following important observation:

"Wer die sogenannten « historischen Reliefs » römischer Staatsdenkmäler nur als monumentale Wiedergaben historischer Ereignisse zu deuten versucht, gerät bald in Schwierigkeiten ... Es sollte ihn stören, dass auf dem Cancellarielief A [cf. here Fig. 1] bloss der Kopf der Hauptperson verändert werden musste, um die Platten für den Nachfolger Domitians [*i.e.*, Nerva] verwendbar zu machen ...".

But as far as I know, it was first Joachim Raeder (2010, 141), who has defined the wider context of Strocka's observation, by suggesting:

a), that the Cancellaria Reliefs do not praise specific historic events in Domitian's reign, but b) rather imperial virtues; and that those panels could c), therefore, easily be re-used by Nerva.

A comparison of Joachim Raeder's (2010, 141) just-quoted conclusions with the conclusions, at which Langer and Pfanner have arrived, that have been discussed in great detail above (cf. *id.* 2018, 83, 84-85, Section: "2.9.6. Die Geschichte der Cancellarieliefs"; and Section "2.10. Zusammenfassung"), shows the following.

Concerning the just-mentioned points a), b) and c), that Raeder (2010, 141) was first to formulate this way, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 83-85) have come to exactly the same conclusions as Raeder (2010, 141) before them. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 83-85) quote on p. 27 Raeder's account in their bibliography, but do not quote Raeder for these observations, neither in their text, nor in their footnotes.

### V.1.c) The Cancellaria Reliefs under Nerva - as reconstructed by myself in this Study

Concerning the point discussed here, I myself have followed Erika Simon (1985, 554-555, quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 352, in Chapter II.3.2.), whose article Langer and Pfanner (2018, 25) likewise quote in their bibliography. Contrary to Langer and Pfanner (2018, 83, quoted *verbatim supra*, at Chapter V.1.b)), who stress the shortness of Nerva's reign, and state that for him no military activities of greater importance are recorded, Simon (*op.cit.*) had instead suggested that Nerva's decision to commission the reworking of Frieze A in order to celebrate his own achievements, was based on one - at least for him - important historical fact.

The following is a short summary of my Chapter II.3.2., and of the text at n. 363 in Chapter II.3.3.a).

Under Nerva, in October of AD 97, the governor of Pannonia had been victorious in a campaign against the *Suebi*, a war which according to the Roman way of thinking was won by the reigning emperor himself, as

Simon (1985, 554-555) not only convincingly suggests, but which is proven by the fact that the governor of Pannonia had sent Nerva, as a token of his victory, a crown of laurel leaves, which Nerva, in a solemn ceremony, dedicated in late October or at the beginning of November AD 97 to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus in his temple on the Capitoline.

Simon herself (1985, 554-555) had still suggested the wrong date for the above-mentioned ceremony: '27th October AD 97', which is superseded now. See below, at *The fourth Contribution by Peter Herz : Wann wurde Trajan von Nerva adoptiert?*

**This victory in the *bellum Suebicum* earned Nerva the title *Germanicus*, and as a consequence of this, his official titulature was changed accordingly by adding 'imperator II' to it (for that title, cf. *supra*, n. 351, in Chapter II.3.2.).**

Arthur Stein (1900; cf. *supra*, n. 343, in Chapter II.3.1.a)), after discussing Nerva's adoption of Trajan, wrote that 'because at the same time Nerva received the news concerning a victory won in Pannonia over the *Suebi*, he adopted the victorname *Germanicus*, which also Trajan received', and elsewhere, 'After he [Nerva] had received in 97 the honorary title *Germanicus* and had been hailed as Imperator ... his full name and title at the end of his reign was *Imp. Nerva Caes. Aug., Germanicus, pontifex maximus, tribuniciae potestatis II, imp. II, cos. IV, pater patriae*, cf. *CIL V 4314*'.

Erika Simon (1985, 554-555, quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 352, in Chapter II.3.2.), who quoted for this information Pliny's *panegyricus* of Trajan, described to following meaningful events:

'As I have already explained before, Frieze A [of the Cancellaria Reliefs] shows a ritual that has repeatedly been conducted by emperors since Augustus (*res gestae* 4): the dedication of laurel as sign of a victoriously ended campaign to Iuppiter Capitolinus. This ceremony is not only recorded for Nero and Domitian [with n. 58], but also for Nerva after the *bellum Suebicum*, which the governor of Pannonia had victoriously ended [with n. 59]: on 27th October 97, the same day, on which Nerva adopted Trajan, *in absentia* of the latter, in a solemn ceremony on the Capitol, he [Nerva] laid the laurel, sent from Pannonia, on the lap of [the cult-statue of] Iuppiter Capitolinus. This action, as Pliny reports in his *panegyricus* [of Trajan], was regarded as a good omen for the adoption of Trajan, that was executed on the same day'.

Thus, according to Simon's (1985, 554-555), as we now know, (erroneous) assertion, Trajan was adopted on 27th October AD 97 by Nerva, as his son, co-Emperor and successor (cf. *supra*, n. 322, in Chapter II.1.e), and n. 350, in Chapter II.3.2.). Trajan, who received the title Caesar as a consequence of his adoption (cf. *supra*, n. 323, in Chapter II.1.e)) was not present at this ceremony on the Capitol; he was the governor of Upper Germany at that stage. Shortly afterwards, in November of AD 97, the Senate bestowed on both Nerva and Trajan the title *Germanicus* for this victory over the *Suebi* (cf. *supra*, n. 344, in Chapter II.3.1.a)). - In my opinion, Trajan received the title *Germanicus* as a result of his adoption by Nerva.

Because I myself, contrary to Marianne Bergmann (1981, 31; quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 338, in Chapter II.3.1.a)) and Langer and Pfanner (2018, 83) - thus following Simon (1985, 554-555) - suggest that Nerva's idea to have himself represented in a *profectio* (*i.e.*, on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs; cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6**), was at least in so far based on fact that Nerva had officially won a war, I have therefore developed the following scenario.

But note that Simon (1985, 554-555) was of the opinion that Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs shows the *adventus* of Nerva after his victory in the *bellum Suebicum*, and that Nerva is shown as going to the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline to dedicate his laurel wreath to him, which *Victoria*, on the far left of the frieze, is carrying for Nerva. Contrary to Simon, I believe instead that Frieze A shows Nerva's *profectio* to the *bellum Suebicum*.

First of all I have, of course, asked myself, whether or not it is conceivable that this Domitianic monument or building could have survived Domitian's assassination and following *damnatio memoriae*, because by October 97, when Nerva may have learned about his victory in the *bellum Suebicum*, had already past 13 months since Domitian's death. But considering the facts that the Domitianic building, to which the Cancellaria Reliefs belonged, was definitely not yet finished, as proven by these panels, which had been carved *in situ* (cf. *supra*, in Chapter II.1.a)), and considering at the same time that the Domitianic Arch on the Palatine / the Arch of *Divus Vespasianus* ? (cf. here Figs. 8.1; 58; 73) and the *Equus Domitiani* on the Roman Forum that, contrary to what one might expect, were by no means completely destroyed after Domitian's *damnatio memoriae*, I think that also this 'Cancellaria building', could have survived until October AD 97.

The reason for my assumptions are:

a) that this was still a building site with a fence around it, and

b) that I tentatively suggest that the Cancellaria Reliefs should be identified as the two horizontal panels in a (triumphal) arch (cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.3.; and *infra*, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*), which, because *in situ*, and invisible because of the fence around the building site, may therefore have survived, although I suggest that the togate youth on Frieze B represents the young Domitian (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.h.1.)).

We ignore, when exactly in October 97 Nerva received the news of his victory in Pannonia, we only know the approximate date for the two important ceremonies on the Capitoline mentioned above that were the immediate consequence of this: late October or the beginning of November AD 97. Arthur Stein (1900; cf. *supra*, at n. 343, in Chapter II.3.1.a)) who had discussed these events, wrote that the arrival of the news of Nerva's victory in the *bellum Suebicum* and Trajan's adoption occurred 'at the same time', that this victory earned Nerva the honorary title *Germanicus*, and 'that also Trajan received this title' - a way of formulating this latter fact, which already seems to imply that Trajan received the title *Germanicus* later than Nerva. John Brian Campbell (1996; cf. *supra*, at n. 342, in Chapter II.3.1.a); cf. n. 322, in Chapter II.1.e)) is more outspoken: "His [*i.e.*, Nerva's] own title *Germanicus*, granted for a minor victory over the Germans in Bohemia [*corr.*: Pannonia], was conferred to Trajan".

I, therefore, assume that the time span between those two dates - the arrival of the news that Nerva had won a victory over the *Suebi*, and the actual date of those two ceremonies on the Capitol was very short, and have come to the following conclusions.

**In my opinion, Nerva could only have started to have the monument, containing the two Cancellaria Reliefs, re-modeled into a building that celebrated his own achievements. - If true, this assumption could explain, why the reworking of Nerva's portrait on Frieze A was left unfinished (cf. *supra*, at ns. 92, 136, in Chapter I.1.). We know that at the end of AD 97, Nerva's political situation was precarious, and that only his clever idea to adopt Trajan had saved him (cf. *supra*, n. 322, in Chapter II.1.e), and at ns. 350; 351, in Chapter II.3.2.).**

**Because of Nerva's adoption of Trajan as his son, co-Emperor and successor (which occurred between late October and the beginning of November AD 97), the overall situation had obviously changed dramatically. It seems, therefore, to have been a logical consequence that the Senate in November of AD 97 declared officially not only Nerva as the victorious commander of the *bellum Suebicum*, but contemporaneously bestowing the title *Germanicus* on Nerva and Trajan for this same victory.**

I have, therefore, suggested above (in Chapter II.3.2.; cf. Chapters II.3.3.; II.3.3.a)), that Nerva, as soon as he had adopted Trajan, had ordered to interrupt the 're-working' of the Domitianic building that contained the Cancellaria Reliefs into one that celebrated his own achievements, perhaps in order to wait until Trajan returned to Rome, to discuss with him the matter in person. But we know also that Nerva died only three

months after he had adopted Trajan, and that 'father and son', Nerva and Trajan, never saw each other again, since Trajan only returned to Rome in AD 99.

**But, as already said above (cf. *supra*, at n. 363, in Chapter II.3.3.a), there is even more to consider.**

Frieze B could not even have been used by Nerva as an *adventus* of himself, should he actually at first have had in mind to re-use this Domitianic structure, possibly a triumphal arch, as one that celebrated his own victory in the *bellum Suebicum* - and only *his* victory.

The reason being that Vespasian on Frieze B is clad as a civilian, is crowned by *Victoria* not with a laurel wreath, but with an oak wreath, and because he is not accompanied by his army. - As we will learn below from Rita Paris (1994b, 81-82, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a) and here **Fig. 33**), the 'worst' insurmountable fact, why Nerva could not possibly use Frieze B for himself, turns out to be the *corona civica*, with which *Victoria* is crowning this homecoming emperor - Vespasian (cf. here **Fig. 1 and 2 drawing, figures 14** [Vespasian]; **16** [*Victoria*]). Because by choosing precisely that crown, Vespasian was honoured for having ended a *civil* war.

**Therefore Frieze B was perfectly tailored to Vespasian's real situation at the represented moment in AD 70 (cf. *infra*, in Chapters V.1.i.3.); and V.1.i.3.a)), whereas none of his successors could possibly have re-used this panel for one of his own 'normal' military *adventus* into Rome, because the iconography, depicting "an emperor, who comes back from an 'ordinary' victorious campaign" differs considerably from that.**

I have also suggested that Nerva, as a result of his adoption of Trajan as his son, co-Emperor and successor (between late October and the beginning of November AD 97), or at the latest, as a result of the decision of the Roman Senate to grant the title *Germanicus* to himself (Nerva) and to Trajan for this *bellum Suebicum*, may have realized the following problem. The re-worked Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs, celebrating the *profectio* to this (finally victorious) war, should, of course, show the two co-Emperors and officially declared 'co-victors' of that war leaving *together* for this campaign - not only Nerva. And because the Cancellaria Reliefs are much too thin to allow a second emperor to be integrated into Frieze A, it may have been Nerva himself, who ordered the destruction of this Domitianic building which contained the Cancellaria Reliefs.

As we have already seen above, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 82, 84) also suggest that it may have been Nerva, who ordered the destruction of the Domitianic monument or building that contained the Cancellaria Reliefs, but because of very different reasons.

Now, if it is true that Nerva had ordered the reworking of the face of Domitian on Frieze A into a portrait of himself as soon as he, Nerva, had received the news to have won the *bellum Suebicum*, this would have made a lot of sense, because Domitian had fought - successfully - against the same Germanic people. It has even been suggested that the original version of Frieze A had represented Domitian's *profectio* to precisely that war (cf. *supra*, **ns. 345, 346**, in Chapter II.3.1.a)).

If indeed Nerva had at first in mind, to convert this originally Domitianic monument or building, to which the Cancellaria Reliefs belonged, into one, that celebrated his own martial prowess, this fact could be regarded as the decisive argument in support of the here formulated hypothesis, according to which the structure in question may be identified as one of Domitian's lost (triumphal) arches. That arch, provided the inscription *PP FECIT* (CIL VI, 40543) belonged to the same arch, Domitian had obviously built himself (cf. *supra*, **n. 81** and at **n. 82** in Chapter I.1., and in Chapters II.3.1.; and V.3.).

With this idea, to attribute the Cancellaria Reliefs to one of Domitian's (lost) arches, I follow Pentiricci (2009; cf. *supra*, **n. 263**, in Chapter I.3.2., and *infra*, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian* cf. here **Figs. 1**

**and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**. Cf. also *supra*, at Chapter I.3.; at n. 363 in Chapter II.3.3.a); and below, at Chapter V.1.d).

*V.1.d) The reconstruction, in my opinion erroneous, of the length of Frieze B by S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018) (cf. here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing) and the correct reconstruction of the length of Frieze B by F. Magi, whom I am following here (cf. here Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; and Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'). With a discussion of how many Vestal Virgins we might expect to appear at public ceremonies, such as the one shown on this panel, and with The first Contribution by Jörg Rüpke*

As a result of their relevant research, Langer and Pfanner (2018) suggest a different reconstruction of Frieze B than Filippo Magi (1945).

Our **Figs. 1; 2** show the photographs of the Musei Vaticani, that in their turn show the Cancellaria Reliefs as reconstructed by Filippo Magi (1945); and our **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**, and our **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'** are based on the reconstruction drawings of the Cancellaria Reliefs by Filippo Magi (1945) in the same publication, in which Frieze B is assumed to have been circa 6,06 m long.

Langer and Pfanner (2018) reconstruct the length of Frieze B as being much longer. They argue with the technical properties of slabs B1 and B2 of Frieze B, as well as with the way that one figure is represented on those slabs, and therefore postulate another slab to be inserted in between slabs B1 and B2. Their technical arguments sounded at first glance convincing to me, and I am happy to admit that this kind of research, in which already Pfanner (1981; 1983) alone was a noted authority, and now also Langer and Pfanner (2018) seemed at first glance to be great experts, is something that interests them obviously much more than me.

For the following, cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**, on which the slabs of both Friezes and the represented figures are numbered exactly as on Langer and Pfanner (2018, 19, Abb. 2).

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 73) write: "Außerdem fehlt an beiden Friesen jeweils mindestens eine Platte: die linke Abschlussplatte A1 [cf. here **Fig. 1**] und der Bereich zwischen den erhaltenen Platten B1 und B2 [cf. here **Fig. 2**], deren Darstellung nicht oder nur ansatzweise rekonstruiert werden kann. Zwischen B1 und B2 waren eventuell eine weitere Vestalin und noch andere Figuren dargestellt".

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 76): "In der linken Friesenhälfte [of Frieze B] bewegt sich eine Gruppe von fünf Vestalinnen (**Figur 3-7**) nach rechts, die dem Betrachter teilweise den Rücken zuwenden [with n. 115, with references]. Da zwischen den Platten B1 und B2 eine weitere Platte von unbekannter Ausdehnung fehlt, waren ursprünglich wohl alle sechs Vertreterinnen dieser Priesterschaft und eventuell weitere Figuren dargestellt [with n. 116, with further discussion, referring *inter alia* back to their chapter 2.6.]. Begleitet werden sie vom Lictor curiatus (**Figur 1**) der den Vestalinnen für ihre Auftritte in der Öffentlichkeit beigegeben war [with n. 117, with references]. Er trägt als Insignie zwei gebogene Langstöcke in der Linken und einen kurzen Stab in der Rechten [my emphasis]".

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 29, in their chapter 2.6.):

"Relief A ist nicht vollständig erhalten ... Vom angeblich vollständig erhaltenen Relief B auf die Breite des Reliefs A zu schließen, ist höchst spekulativ, zumal die Breite von B unsicher ist (Abb. 2 [compare here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**] und 5b) ...

Relief B weist größere Fehlbereiche auf. Auch ist es nicht, wie bisher angenommen, in seiner gesamten Breite erhalten, da zwischen B1 und B2 mindestens eine Platte fehlen muss. Folgende Argumente sprechen dafür (s. Abb. 7a und 7b):



**Die Rekonstruktion von Magi ist falsch. Gewand und Fuß der Vestalin Figur 5 müssten sich laut Magi unten auf Platte B2 fortsetzen, was sie jedoch nicht tun. Es sind nur 5 Vestalinnen vorhanden, obwohl 6 zu erwarten wären. Es gibt zugegebenermaßen Darstellungen mit 5 und weniger Vestalinnen** [with n. 18, providing references], was bei der additiven und aufzählenden Aufreihung der Cancellariareliefs eher befremdlich wirkt, wie andere Forscher mit Recht bemerkten [with n. 19, with further discussion].

**Einen eindeutigen Hinweis liefern die Stoßfugen von B1 und B2. Bei B1 verläuft die Fuge schräg, bei B2 senkrecht. Die beiden Platten stoßen also nicht aneinander, außer man nimmt an, dass die Stossfuge innerhalb ihres Verlaufs abknickte, wofür es keinen Hinweis gibt.** Vielmehr verlaufen in einem solchen Fall beide Stoßfugen schräg und somit parallel wie beim Stoß der Platten B2 und B3. Relief B war also insgesamt länger. **Wie viele Meter oder Platten zu ergänzen sind, lässt sich nicht feststellen, auch nicht, welche weiteren Personen neben der zu erwartenden 6. Vestalin standen** [with n. 20, with further discussion]. Da die erhaltenen B-Platten alle ungefähr gleich lang sind, könnte man eine fehlende Platte von ca. 1,50-1,60 m Breite annehmen [my emphasis]".

At first I did not understand the latter remark by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 29), concerning the joints of the slabs B1 and B2 of Frieze B, to which they refer in the just quoted passage (cf. their Abb. 7a on p. 30) - that I repeat here, therefore, again:

**"Einen eindeutigen Hinweis liefern die Stoßfugen von B1 und B2. Bei B1 verläuft die Fuge schräg, bei B2 senkrecht. Die beiden Platten stoßen also nicht aneinander, außer man nimmt an, dass die Stossfuge innerhalb ihres Verlaufs abknickte, wofür es keinen Hinweis gibt** [my emphasis]".

I have, therefore, asked Giandomenico Spinola and Claudia Valeri for another appointment in front of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs. On 9th May 2019, I fortunately had the chance to discuss this problem together with both of them in front of the original panels.

What Langer and Pfanner (2018, 29; cf. p. 30, their Abb. 7a) intend to say, is illustrated on their Abb. 7a: the joint on the right hand side of slab B1 is not cut perpendicularly to the bottom edge of slab B1, whereas the joint on the left hand side of slab B2 is cut perpendicularly to the bottom edge of slab B2, which is why Langer and Pfanner - understandably from their point of view - conclude that those two slabs cannot have abutted. They therefore postulate another slab that should be inserted in between the slabs B1 and B2 (cf. Langer and Pfanner 2018, 31, Abb. 7b).

But Langer and Pfanner do not consider in their reasoning that *a*) of the joint on the left hand side of slab B2 only a very small section is still preserved (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**, the arrow marked "c" points at it), nor have the authors *b*) understood, why the right hand side joint of slab B1 is cut in this peculiar, not perpendicular, way.

Before discussing this specific argument in more detail, let me alert you to the fact that Langer and Pfanner (2018, 29) in the above quoted passage, mention three observations, which have led them to postulate an additional slab between the slabs B1 and B2 on Frieze B:

- 1.) the difference of the joints of slabs B1 and B2;
- 2.) the representation of the Vestal Virgin **figure 5** on the slab B1 and (allegedly also on slab B2); and -
- 3.) the assumption that Frieze B should represent all six, instead of only the 5 Vestal Virgins that are visible on the slabs B1 and B2.

Giandomenico Spinola, who on 9th May 2019 layed down on the ground, in order to look at the relevant slabs of Frieze B also from underneath and behind, and by lighting them with a lamp, made the most crucial

observation concerning my relevant question. After him, I myself and Claudia Valeri have also looked at those slabs from underneath and behind.

The joint on the right hand side at the bottom of slab B1 is cut in an obtuse angle to the surface of the relief, contrary to the joint on the left hand side at the bottom of the adjacent slab B2, and for example the joint on the lefthand side of slab A2, which are both cut in right angle to the surface of the reliefs in question (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**: B1 -arrow "a" points at the joint at the bottom of the slab; B2 - arrow "c" points at the joint at the bottom of the slab; A2 -the arrow points at the joint at the bottom of the slab).

This obtuse joint (marked "a") at the bottom of slab B1 accommodated a repair, which is now lost, as Spinola has convincingly suggested to me; a fact that was previously unknown. The joint on the right hand side of slab B1, that is to be found above this former repair - where this joint is cutting (almost) perpendicularly through the mantle of the Vestal Virgin **figure 5** on frieze B (see here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**: arrow "b" points at the middle of this joint) - is likewise carved in right angle to the surface of the relief.

From this latter observation follows, what the ideal properties of both slabs B1 and B2 should have been like: had it been possible to carve the joint on the right hand side of slab B1, marked "b" on **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**, all the way down to the bottom of slab B1, this joint would definitely have abutted the joint on the left hand side of slab B2, which on **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing** is marked "c", because both joints would have been cut in right angle to the surface of the reliefs in question. - But only, provided the joint on the right hand side of slab B1 would have been cut perpendicularly to the bottom edge of this slab, of course. This was unfortunately not done, as we have seen, possibly because the marble of slab B1 was faulty. But because we know that the reliefs, decorating the slabs of Frieze B had actually been carved *in situ* at their relevant monument, as Pfanner himself has found out (cf. *supra*, at Chapter *II.1.a*), one thing is clear: the slab, which abutted the joint on the right hand side of slab B1 *had definitely been* adjusted accordingly.

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 52-53) themselves write that the marble of slab B1, into which this Vestal Virgin **figure 5** has been carved, is also at other points faulty, which is why our assumption of an ancient repair in slab B1 sounds all the more convincing. Langer and Pfanner have overlooked our just described large repair (marked "a"), although they themselves have observed two small ancient repairs on slab B1. - To those repairs I will come back below.

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 52-53) write about **figure 5** on slab B1: "**Figur 5: Vestalin** (Taf. 10, 1; Abb. 7a) Erhaltungszustand: Hals und Kopf fehlen komplett ... Die weibliche Figur ist in Rückansicht dargestellt und wendet den Kopf nach rechts ... Die von Magi rekonstruierte Armhaltung - angewinkelt und vor den Körper geführt - kann aus dem Faltenverlauf am Rücken nicht abgeleitet werden (s. Abb. 2 [= compare **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**]). Es ist nicht auszuschließen, dass der rechte Arm erhoben war ... Bildhauerische Fehler/Ungenauigkeiten: Plattenfuge verläuft ungünstig und schneidet die Schulter knapp ab. - Materialfehler (s. Abb. 17). Marmor ähnlich brüchig wie bei **Figur 1** und **3** ... Figur ragt ca. 1,5 cm über die Vorderkante der Reliefrahmung hinaus. - Zur fehlenden Anschlussplatte s.[iehe] Abb. 7a".

Langer and Pfanner's assertion (2018, 53): "Die von Magi rekonstruierte Armhaltung - angewinkelt und vor den Körper geführt - kann aus dem Faltenverlauf am Rücken nicht abgeleitet werden (s.[iehe] Abb. 2 [cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**]). Es ist nicht auszuschließen, dass der rechte Arm erhoben war", - is not true, since neither the folds of the *tunica*, nor those of the mantle the Vestal Virgin **figure 5** is wearing, contradict Magi's reconstruction drawing of this figure. Therefore we can conclude that the Vestal Virgin **figure 5** copies almost exactly the Vestal Virgin **figure 3**, only that the former is seen from the back, and the latter from the front. The only difference being that **figure 3** looks to her left, whereas **figure 5** looks to her right, because both look in the direction of the Emperor Vespasian. Also the Vestal Virgins **figures 4, 6** and **7** repeated the same model, to the effect that all 5 Vestal Virgins have the same proportions - which is highly improbable, given the fact that the youngest priestesses were only between five and ten years old. - To this I will come back below.

In this respect, the Vestal Virgins - all six of them ! - have been 'realistically' represented on the altar proper of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, whom Eugenio La Rocca (1983, 52) has described as follows:

"La processione sull'altare

... Meglio conservato è il fregio piccolo al livello della mensa sacrificale. Sulla guancia settentrionale interna si riconoscono facilmente le vestali a capo coperto, in ordine decrescente di età [the smallest first Vestal Virgin, at the head of the procession, right behind the *apparitores*, has the proportions of a small girl, the tallest sixth Vestal Virgin those of a mature woman], con due *apparitores* - funzionari addetti all'accompagnamento - e da un *lictor vestalium*". Cf. the caption of the accompanying illustration: "Altare. Guancia settentrionale - decorazione interna". - For this relief; cf. also Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 90, Fig. 72).

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 70, in their Chapter: "2.9.3 Planung, Entwurf, Ausführung der Reliefs - Bildhauertechnik und Unfertigkeiten") write about the above-mentioned small repairs on slab B1 of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs:

"Die Materialfehler in der Platte B1 reparierten die Handwerker mit gekonnten Anstückungen (Vierungen), Dübeln, Kittungen und Überarbeitungen (s. Abb. 17)".

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 68), caption of their: "Abb. 17. Relief B: Technische und Bildhauerische Auffälligkeiten ... Zeichnung und Rekonstruktion nach F. Magi ... a+b) antike Anstückungen c) vermutlich älterer Riss d) Falten nachgearbeitet". The letters "a" and "b" are marked on **figure 1** on slab B1 of Frieze B, the *lictor curiatus* of the Vestal Virgins (cf. Langer and Pfanner 2018, 50: "**Figure 1: Apparitor/Lictor curiatus** [?] [my emphasis]"; cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 1**), the letter "c" is marked on the Vestal Virgin **figure 5** on slab B1, and the letter "d" is marked on the Vestal Virgins **figures 3 and 5** on slab B1.

Now, since the artists decided to add the above-mentioned repair to slab B1 (marked "a" on here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**), this must have been done in the course of fixing the still undecorated slabs on the monument in question (cf. *supra*, at Chapter II.1.a)). Unfortunately of slab B2 almost the entire joint on the left hand side of this slab is missing - apart from the very small section of this joint (marked "c" on **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**).

I have discussed the above quoted hypothesis of Langer and Pfanner with Giandomenico Spinola and Claudia Valeri on 9th May 2019 in front of the relevant slabs: on the basis of our own observations in front of the original panel just described, we have come to the conclusion that, in our opinion, it is perfectly possible that the artists - although the joint on the right hand side of slab B1 (marked "b" on **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**) is not cut perpendicularly to the lower edge of slab B1 - could have prepared the lefthand side joint of slab B2 (the small section of which is marked "c" on **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**) in such a way that both joints abutted.

**Thanks to our observations, made by studying the original panels B1 and B2, we were thus able to refute Langer and Pfanner's above-mentioned 1.) argument, which they have adduced to support their hypothesis that between the slabs B1 and B2 of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs should be inserted an additional slab.**

As we have seen above, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 29) mention also another observation, which, together with the just discussed argument concerning the different joints on slabs B1 and B2, as well as with a third argument (*i.e.*, the assumption that Frieze B should represent all six, instead of only the 5 Vestal Virgins that are visible on the slabs B1 and B2), has caused their conclusion that between slabs B1 and B2 of Frieze B should be inserted an additional slab. They write: "**Die Rekonstruktion von Magi ist falsch. Gewand und Fuß der Vestalin Figure 5 müssten sich laut Magi unten auf Platte B2 fortsetzen, was sie jedoch nicht tun** [my emphasis]". ('Magi's reconstruction is wrong. The garment and foot of the Vestal Virgin **Figure 5** [on frieze B] should continue, according to Magi, at the bottom on slab B 2, but that is not the case').

Since it did not occur to me to doubt this - very important - point of Langer and Pfanner's argument, I had at first come to the following conclusion: it is, therefore, in my opinion in theory conceivable that the artists simply forgot to carve the relevant details of the Vestal Virgin **figure 5** on slab B2 of Frieze B, since Langer and Pfanner (2018) themselves have mentioned many similar mistakes on both panels of the Cancellaria Reliefs. - To those mistakes I will come back below.

Then I realized that the relevant assertion of Langer and Pfanner (2018, 29) is wrong: by comparing the actual state of the relevant detail of Frieze B, which is illustrated on their Abb. 7a (cf. here **Fig. 2**), and which they compare on this illustration with the relevant detail of Magi's reconstruction drawing of Frieze B (cf. MAGI 1945, "Tav. Agg. D 2. Interpretazione del fregio B"; cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**), it becomes clear that at the bottom of slab B2 appears the tip of the right foot of the Vestal Virgin **figure 6**, *who faces the beholder*: she is shown as wearing shoes, exactly like the Vestal Virgin **figure 3** on slab B1 and the Vestal Virgin **figure 7** on slab B2 - note that all three of them are facing the beholder. Whereas of the Vestal Virgin **figure 5** - as asserted by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 29) - we cannot even expect to see any of her feet at the bottom of slab B2, because this figure, as they themselves write (cf. Langer and Pfanner 2018, 52-53, quoted *verbatim supra*), turns her back to the beholder (!).

Then I checked, whether the above quoted assertion by Langer and Pfanner's (2018, 29) is true: "Die Rekonstruktion von Magi ist falsch. Gewand und Fuß der Vestalin **Figure 5** müssten sich laut Magi unten auf Platte B2 fortsetzen, was sie jedoch nicht tun [my emphasis]". ('Magi's reconstruction is wrong. The garment and foot of the Vestal Virgin **Figure 5** [on Frieze B] should continue, according to Magi, at the bottom on slab B 2, but that is not the case').

**This assertion of Langer and Pfanner (2018, 29) is not true: Magi does not say that 'the garment and foot of the Vestal Virgin figure 5 continues at the bottom on slab B 2'. He indeed mentions a garment and a foot at the bottom of slab B2, but he does not say that they belong to the Vestal Virgin figure 5: they are rather the only remains of the Vestal Virgin figure 6 (cf. here Fig. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6, the small remains of the garment and the right foot of this Vestal Virgin are immediately adjacent to the arrow marked "c").**

**In the following, I quote Magi's description of the 5 Vestal Virgins on Frieze B.**

Magi (1945, 27: "Descrizione del fregio B") describes the Vestal Virgin **figure 3** (cf. here **Fig. 2** and **Fig. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 3**), who is almost completely preserved. He describes her attire and her specific head-dress, comprising her shoes: "... piedi, che appaiono calzati con morbidi calzari con bassa suola (senza rovescio per quanto se ne vede)".

Cf. Magi (1945, 28), where he describes the Vestal Virgins **figures 4, 5, 6** and **7** on Frieze B:

"A questa Vestale [*i.e.*, **figure 4**] ne segue un'altra, vista di dorso [*i.e.*, **figure 5**], con gli occhielli della fascia [*i.e.*, one part of the specific head-dress of these priestesses] sulla spalla sinistra, sopra il mantello, il quale lascia scoperta qui pure la spalla destra. Il braccio sinistro appare piegato, la gamba sinistra un poco arretrata sporge tra le numerose pieghe della tunica. Con ogni probabilità la testa di questa Vestale, che manca, era rappresentata di profilo a destra, come lo era per quanto risulta dal colle che resta, la testa della Vestale raffigurata nel fondo tra le due ora descritte [*i.e.*, **figure 4**], col corpo di fronte come la prima [*i.e.*, **figure 3**]. Lungo il collo, anche qui, i due occhielli della fascia. In basso si vede parte della sua tunica [*i.e.*, of **figure 4**] fra quelle delle altre due [*i.e.*, **figure 3** and **figure 5**].

**La grave lacuna della lastra B2 lascia, di una quarta Vestale [*i.e.*, **figure 6**] situata sul fondo, un tenue avanzo in basso, la parte inferiore della tunica e il piede destro [my emphasis]; una quinta sacerdotessa [*i.e.*, **figure 7**] chiude il gruppo a destra, conservata (e non completamente) dalle anche in giù. Essa ripete la posizione della prima e con la quarta [*i.e.*, **figures 3** and **figure 6**], essa pure col corpo di prospetto, doveva rivolgere a destra, come le altre, il volto e lo sguardo".**

After having sent them in the meantime my updated manuscript, that comprised now all relevant additions, Giandomenico Spinola and Claudia Valeri were so kind, as to make on 19th September 2019 for the last time an appointment with me in front of the Cancellaria Reliefs, in order to discuss again our results obtained. On that occasion, Giandomenico Spinola accompanied me to these panels. We discussed the peculiarities of both panels observed at our previous meetings, and he was so kind as to photograph all these details for me; those photographs are kept in my archive. On that occasion, Spinola was able to further confirm Magi's observation concerning the right foot of the Vestal Virgin **figure 6** on frieze B by realizing that her large toe is visibly indicated under the soft leather of her shoe. This proves Magi right (1945, 27-28, quoted *verbatim supra*) that what we see of this figure is her right foot and that this Vestal Virgin faced the beholder (cf. **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6** on slab B2).

Let's now summarize, what was said above concerning Langer and Pfanner's point 2.).

**Langer and Pfanner (2018, 29, quoted *verbatim supra*) have misunderstood two things:**

a) Langer and Pfanner (erroneously) assert that according to Magi on slab B2 continues the garment and the foot of the Vestal Virgin **figure 5**, who is depicted on slab B1, but that this is in their opinion not true (cf. **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 5** on slab B1). As we have seen above, Magi (1945, 27-28) does *not* say anything like that. Besides, an assumption of the kind would be impossible, because the foot, which is visible on slab B2, belongs to a Vestal Virgin, who *faces* the beholder, whereas the Vestal Virgin **figure 5** is seen *from behind*;

b) Langer and Pfanner do not understand Magi's (1945, 28) description of the Vestal Virgin **figure 6** (cf. **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6** on slab B2): Magi describes in fact a foot and a garment of a Vestal Virgin on slab B2, but he does not attribute them to the Vestal Virgin **figure 5** on slab B1, as Langer and Pfanner erroneously assert, but, correctly, to the Vestal Virgin **figure 6** on slab B2.

**As we have seen above, this (erroneous) observation concerning the Vestal Virgin figure 5 (and concerning the Vestal Virgin figure 6) is the 2.) reasons, why Langer and Pfanner (2018) postulate an additional slab between slabs B1 and B2. But because it is based on a misunderstanding of Magi's text, combined with wrong observations at the Vestal Virgins figures 5 and 6 themselves, also their second argument can be refuted.**

As already mentioned above: `Langer and Pfanner (2018, 70, in their Chapter: "2.9.3 Planung, Entwurf, Ausführung der Reliefs - Bildhauertechnik und Unfertigkeiten") have documented some faulty areas on the slab B1 of Frieze B. Cf. p. 68, their "Abb. 17. Relief B: Technische und Bildhauerische Auffälligkeiten ... Zeichnung und Rekonstruktion nach F. Magi ... a+b) antike Anstückungen c) vermutlich älterer Riss d) Falten nachgearbeitet". The ... letter "c" is marked on the Vestal Virgin **figure 5** on slab B1, and the letter "d" is marked on the Vestal Virgins **figures 3 and 5** on slab B1.

When looking again at this faulty slab B1 together with Giandomenico Spinola on 19th September 2019, Spinola pointed at the faults marked "c" and "d" on the Vestal **Virgin figure 5**, which have been documented by Langer and Pfanner on their Fig. 17. Those faults or oriented perpendicularly to the lower edge of the slab, which is why Spinola pointed out to me that they must have been the reason why it had become necessary to add the repair, which is marked with the lettering "a" on **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**.

**To conclude: Langer and Pfanner (2018, 29-31; cf. their Abb. 7a; 7b) have adduced three arguments in support of their hypothesis, according to which an additional slab should be inserted between slabs B1 and B2 of Frieze B: 1.) concerning the different joints on the slabs B1 and B2; 2.) concerning the representation of the Vestal Virgin figure 5 on slab B1 and (allegedly) on slab B2; and 3.) concerning the assumption that all 6 Vestal Virgins should be represented on Frieze B, instead of only 5.**

Because of our own observations in front of the original, and after the first two arguments of Langer and Pfanner have been discussed and refuted above, I anticipate here that also Langer and Pfanner's third argument - according to which all six Vestal Virgins should be represented on Frieze B - is not true, since we know from ancient literary sources and representations that at such public ceremonies not necessarily all 6 priestesses participated. To this I will come back below.

**The above-quoted hypothesis of Langer and Pfanner (2018, 29-31; cf. their Abb. 7a; 7b) can therefore be refuted.**

This means that consequently Magi's reconstruction of the length of Frieze B proves to be correct (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs 1 and 2 drawing**), and this fact proves in its turn that also our visualization of both friezes (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**), when attached as horizontal panels to opposite walls in the bay of an arch, is based on correct assumptions (cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.3.2.).

**Let's now turn to the above-mentioned mistakes that have been observed on both panels of the Cancellaria Reliefs.**

The figures represented on both panels of the Cancellaria Reliefs contain many mistakes of all kinds, as Langer and Pfanner (1918, *passim*) themselves have meticulously documented for all 34 figures represented, and for all the technical details of both friezes (for those, cf. their chapters 2.6 and 2.7; cf. *supra*, n. 134, in Chapter I.1.), which they have studied and documented with many illustrations. Langer and Pfanner (2018, Chapter: "2.8. Beschreibung der Reliefs", pp. 42-59), in their descriptions of the 34 figures on both friezes, have even a rubric: "Bildhauerische Fehler/Ungenauigkeiten". See also their chapter 2.9.3 on pp. 65-71 (for a quotation, cf. *infra*), as well as the relevant observations, made by Langer and Pfanner (2018), that are quoted *verbatim supra*, at Chapter I.2.1.c), and *infra*, at Chapter V.1.e).

In the following, I will mention some mistakes, made by the artists who sculpted Frieze B, that have been discussed by Langer and Pfanner themselves.

Langer and Pfanner (2018, pp. 51-52, Frieze B: "**Figur 2: Dea Roma** [my emphasis]") have observed that the *Dea Roma* on frieze B does not have a left arm (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.e)).

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 55, Frieze B): "**Figur 11: Genius Senatus** [?] ... Die Beine sind im Verhältnis zum Oberkörper überlängelt und unproportioniert, die Füße dagegen zu klein und insgesamt zu weit nach rechts gerückt (s. Abb. 10, vgl. auch Kap. 2.9.3 und 9.5) [my emphasis]".

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 56-57, Frieze B): "**Figur 13: Genius Populi Romani** [?] ... Die männliche Figur im Hintergrund ist nach rechts ausgerichtet und steht mit dem linken Bein auf einem schemelartigen Gebilde ... Das rechte Bein, das auf der Standfläche des Reliefs stehen müsste, ist nicht sichtbar [my emphasis]".

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 58-59, Frieze B): "**Figur 17: Rotulus-Träger** (Taf. 12,2; Taf. 42,5; Taf. 44; Abb. 12)

Erhaltungszustand: Kopf und Hals fehlen ... Beschreibung: Der frontal stehende Mann ist nach links ausgerichtet. Die angespannte Sehne seines Halses belegt die ursprüngliche Kopfwendung zu seiner Rechten. Das linke Bein fungiert als Standbein, das rechte ist leicht angewinkelt nach links ausgestellt. Der linke Arm ist vor dem Oberkörper angewinkelt, in der Hand hält er eine Schriftrolle (*rotulus*). Der Oberkörper und die Hüfte sind überbreit. An den Füßen trägt er die einfachen *calcei*.

Die Gewandung ist in der römischen Kunstgeschichte singulär und auch literarisch nicht belegt: Sofort ins Auge sticht das in der Mitte vorhangartig geteilte Gewand unterhalb der Gürtung. Denkt man sich dieses weg, so trüge der Mann die übliche gegürtete *tunica* mit halblangen Ärmeln, wie wir sie von

unzähligen Darstellungen her kennen. Das geteilte Gewandstück kann nicht der untere Teil der *tunica* sein, da diese oberhalb der Gürtung dann ebenfalls geschlitzt sein müsste und das darunter liegende Gewand übrig bliebe. Für das Phänomen gibt es keine andere Erklärung als folgende: Es handelt sich entweder um einen gravierenden Planungs- oder Ausführungsfehler oder um eine nachträgliche Abänderung. Der Bildhauer kombinierte offensichtlich zwei verschiedene Kleidungsstücke, nämlich eine *tunica* und einen mittig geschlitzten Mantel und >kreierte< somit ein neues Kleidungsstück ...".

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 66, Chapter 2.9.3), comment on the vexed problem of the 'wrong shoes' (cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.1.), that concerns some of the figures that appear on both friezes, as follows: "Fehler finden sich oft bei den Schuhen (A: **Figuren 2, 3, 7, 8, 12, 15, 16, 17**; B: **Figuren 8?, 12, 14, 15, 17**; s.[iehe] dazu jeweils im Kapitel 2.8 unter "Technisches"): Sei es, dass sie vergessen und nachträglich eingeritzt wurden, oder dass es Verwechslungen mit der anschließenden Figur gab ... [my emphasis]". - To this I will come back below (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.h.1.); and in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*).

Another mistake I have found on Frieze A related to the discussion (cf. *supra*, n. 453, in Chapter III.), is whether or not the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* bid farewell to Domitian (now Nerva). To be precise: at least the *Genius Senatus* on Frieze A bids farewell with his lifted right hand; the right arm of the *Genius Populi Romani* (**figure 13**) is lifted like that of the *Genius Senatus*, but the artists have forgotten to represent his right hand, as they have with so many other details on both friezes. - This missing right hand of the *Genius Populi Romani* on Frieze A has even been overlooked by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 48) (!).

As already mentioned above, the observations of Langer and Pfanner (2018) concerning the technical properties of the slabs B1 and B2, which is why they postulate an additional slab in between B1 and B2, sounded at first glance convincing to me. - Although not being, as already mentioned, an expert in this specific field myself.

Before my third visit of the originals on 9th May 2019, I had therefore come to the following conclusion:

Nevertheless there is perhaps an important reason that might speak against the reconstruction of Frieze B, as suggested by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 73, 76, 29), who add an additional slab between the existing ones B1 and B2 (see their Fig. 7b on p. 31), with which they suggest to fill their newly created 'gap' within the represented scene, and where, in their opinion, the 'so far missing sixth Vestal Virgin', plus possibly further figures, were represented.

Being, on principle, greatly interested in 'pagan' religions, although not specifically an expert in the 'college of the Vestal Virgins', I find the following remark by Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli (1946-48, 259, that was already quoted *supra*, at Chapter IV.1.), very convincing:

**"Anche sul soggetto del rilievo B l'accordo è quasi completo: l'unico *adventus* di Vespasiano da imperatore è quello del 70 ... Sappiamo che, storicamente, l'incontro fra Vespasiano e Domiziano avvenne a Benevento; mentre il rilievo trasporta l'avvenimento a Roma, come è mostrato dalla presenza delle cinque Vestali (la sesta non poteva esserci, perché il culto non poteva essere abbandonato) ... [my emphasis]".**

Asking Jörg Rüpke for advice, he was kind enough to write me on 4th April 2019 the following answer by E-mail, which he has also kindly allowed me to publish here.

See below, at *The first Contribution by Jörg Rüpke on the question, how many Vestal Virgins we might expect to appear at public ceremonies, such as the one shown on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs*; cf. here **Fig. 2**.

For the *Virgines Vestales*, cf. also Angelika König and Ingemar König (1991, 120-123); cf. p. 123: "Im Tempel [*i.e.*, of Vesta] gab es kein Standbild der Vesta, er war der Aufbewahrungsort des Palladiums, eines

weiblichen Idols mit Speer und Schild, das Aeneas aus Troja mitgebracht haben soll, sowie der *mola salsa*, des Blutes des >>Oktoberrosses<<, der Asche der verbrannten Kälber und des Bohnenstrohs. Das heilige Feuer, das jedes Jahr am 1. März neu entfacht werden mußte [with n. 228], brannte offenbar außerhalb des Tempels, da es von außen gut sichtbar war [with n. 229] und der Innenraum mit nur 5 m Durchmesser für ein großes loderndes Feuer wohl zu eng war".

In their **note 228**, König and König quote: "Ovid, *Fasti* III 143ff."; in the **note 229**, they quote: "Dionysios Hal., *Antiquitates*, II 66,2".

**After this Chapter was written up to this point, I had on 9th May 2019 another meeting with Giandomenico Spinola and Claudia Valeri in front of the original panel (cf. *supra*; our first meeting in front of the reliefs was on 24th September 2018, the second on 8th March 2019). As a result of this third meeting, we were able to disprove the new reconstruction of Frieze B by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 29-31, Abb. 7a; 7b), who have postulated an additional slab for Frieze B between the slabs B1 and B2.**

This fact has also consequences for the answer to the question, how many Vestal Virgins may have been represented on Frieze B:

a) As already mentioned above, at the same time could be observed that Magi's reconstruction of the length of Frieze B (cf. here **Fig. 2**) proves to be correct;

b) The latter fact is the basis of the tentative visualization of the Cancellaria Reliefs as two opposite horizontal panels in the bay of an arch, as suggested by Franz Xaver Schütz and myself. Our reconstruction (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**) is a visualization of the relevant idea, which was suggested by Massimo Pentiricci (2009; cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.3.), that thus seems to be further supported;

c) Provided our reconstruction of both friezes 'in situ' should turn out to be regarded as true, it would follow that only five Vestal Virgins were represented on frieze B, as suggested in Magi's reconstruction (cf. F. MAGI, 1945, Tav. I; cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.1., and visible on here **Fig. 2; and Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**).

**To conclude, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 29 with ns. 18, 19, quoted *verbatim supra*) mention themselves the fact that there are representations of the Vestal Virgins which comprise less than all six priestesses.**

**And Jörg Rüpke has written me on 4th April 2019 in an E-mail (quoted in its entirety below, at *The first Contribution by Jörg Rüpke on the question, how many Vestal Virgins we might expect to appear at public ceremonies, such as the one shown on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs*):**

**"Kurzum, denkbar ist die Pflicht, dass eine stets Feuerwache hatte ... " ('In short, it is conceivable that eine [*i.e.*, one Vestal Virgin] had always to stay behind [when the other priestesses left the sanctuary] to watch the fire [in the Temple of Vesta] ...').**

**From all this follows that also the 3.) argument, adduced by Pfanner and Langer, according to which the Cancellaria Reliefs should have represented all six Vestal Virgins instead of the still extant five, is not true. Therefore their hypothesis, according to which an additional slab should be inserted between B1 and B2, can be refuted.**

**Let's look now at our reconstruction in more detail (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**).**



According to this visualization, which shows Frieze A and B *'in situ'*, as attached to parallel, opposite walls in the passageway of an arch, Domitian (now Nerva) on Frieze A (**Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6**) and the togate youth on frieze B (**Figs. 1 and 2 drawing, figure 12**), are placed at almost the same positions within their relevant friezes, in addition to this, they are the protagonists of those two processions that move, opposite each other, and *'together with, and in the same direction as the beholder, who passes under a [presumed] bay of this arch'*. Because of those two facts, these two protagonists may be regarded as the most important figures on both panels.

Next, we should investigate, whether or not this new information can help us to better understand the meaning of those panels. At first glance, the following seems to be clear: provided *a*) the Cancellaria Reliefs had actually been the horizontal panels in the bay of an arch, and *b*) the almost precisely opposite positions of Domitian (now Nerva) on Frieze A and of the togate youth on Frieze B were actually intended by the artists, who created those panels, we can deduce the following:

1.) The length of Frieze B, despite the assertion to the contrary by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 29, 31 Abb. 7b), has been correctly identified by Magi (1945, Tav. I, cf. *supra*, in Chapter *I.1.*), which is why our **Fig. 2**, a photograph of Magi's reconstruction, shows the correct length of Frieze B. And when that should be true, it follows that also our reconstruction is correct (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**), which is based on Magi's (1945) own reconstruction drawings of the Cancellaria Reliefs.

2.) Our reconstruction (here **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**) shows something else: the missing part of Frieze A appears to have been much smaller than hitherto believed (see for example the reconstruction drawing of frieze B by E. SIMON 1960, 139-145 with Fig. 4; cf. *supra*, n. 427, in Chapter *III.*; and the reconstruction by S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 31 Abb. 7b, p. 73, quoted *verbatim supra*). According to our own reconstruction, there is only space enough to complete the lictor and the figure of *Victoria* (i.e., in the nomenclature of S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 19, "Abb. 2": "**Figur 1**"; and "**Figur 2**" (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 1** and **figure 2**). By looking at the other far end of Frieze A, at its right end side, here too Langer and Pfanner's "**Figur 17**" has been *'squeezed'* into a very small space - the same may have been true for the lictor (**figure 1**) and the *Victoria* (**figure 2**) on Frieze A.

Cf. S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018, 42, Frieze A): "**Figur 1: Lictor** ... Erhaltungszustand: Erhalten sind Teile des Gewandes, das linke Bein und ein Teil der *fasces*, Bereich der *fasces* über dem Beil ist ausgebrochen ... Beschreibung: Die Reste gehören zu einem nach links ausschreitenden Lictor, der mit *tunica*, *sagum* und *calcei* bekleidet ist. Über der linken Schulter trägt er die mit Lorbeer bekrönten *fasces*, in die das Beil eingesteckt ist ... [my emphasis]". Cf. p. 42: "**Figur 2** [on Frieze A]: **Victoria** ... Erhaltungszustand: Erhalten sind die linke Schulter, ein Teil der Gewanddrapierung und der linke Flügel. Beschreibung: Die Reste gehören zu einer nach links fliegenden Victoria, deren linker Arm am Körper angelegt und von einem Gewand, wohl einer *tunica* [?], bedeckt ist (s. auch die Rekonstruktion von Magi, hier Abb. 2 [cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**; my emphasis])". Cf. p. 50: "**Figur 17** [on Frieze A] ... **Stehender Mann**, der nach links ausgerichtet ist. Der Oberkörper ist in Dreiviertelansicht angegeben, der Kopf und die Beine im Halbprofil. Er ist mit *paenula*, *focale* und *tunica* bekleidet ... An den Füßen trägt er die *caligae* ... An der rechten Schulter lehnt *das pilum*, dessen kugelförmiges Gewicht und pyramidenförmige Zwingen summarisch im Flachrelief angelegt sind ... [my emphasis]".

3.) If all that should be true, there seem to be some *'rules'* that characterize the Cancellaria Reliefs. There were 17 figures all told on both friezes (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**), as first suggested by Bianchi Bandinelli (1946-48, 259; cf. *supra*, n. 88, in Chapter *I.1.*); the emperors on both friezes have four lictors each (on Frieze A: **figures 1; 3; 7; 8**, on Frieze B: **figures 8; 9; 10; 15**); to both emperors belongs a *rotulus*. Domitian (now Nerva) on Frieze A carries it himself in his left hand, whereas for Vespasian a *rotulus* is carried by a man of his entourage (**figure 17** on Frieze B). Both *rotuli* contain the *vota* of these emperors, made by them to the gods, praying them to be granted a victory in the war, to which Domitian on Frieze A is shown as leaving, whereas in Vespasian's case on Frieze B this victory has already been granted - according to Simon

(1963, 9, 10) these were the *vota* taken by the commander of an army *pro reditu* (cf. *supra*, in Chapters I.2.1.a); V.1.b); and *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.); the *Dea Roma* appears on both friezes (on Frieze A: **figure 9**; on Frieze B: **figure 2**; cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.2.). This is also true for the *Genius Senatus* (on Frieze A: **figure 11**; on Frieze B: **figure 11**), as well as for the *Genius Populi Romani* (on Frieze: A: **figure 13**; on Frieze B: **figure 13**; for all those details, cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.; and *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.)); and the main figures of both friezes (Frieze A: **figure 6**; Frieze B: **figure 12**) stood almost opposite each other - provided, the Cancellaria Reliefs were in fact the horizontal panels on opposite walls in the bay of an arch (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2, Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**).

These two main figures on Frieze A and B head the processions that on both panels 'move forward together with the beholder who passes under the bay of this arch', where the Cancellaria Reliefs were presumably attached. In addition, both protagonists are shown as standing at the *pomerium* of Rome. But whereas the Emperor Domitian (now Nerva) on Frieze A (**figure 6**) is shown as standing immediately outside the *pomerium*, and will soon separate from the *Dea Roma* (**figure 9**), who is standing immediately inside the *pomerium*, the togate youth on Frieze B (**figure 12**) is represented as standing immediately inside the *pomerium* and as receiving, at the *pomerium*, the Emperor Vespasian (**figure 14**), who is standing immediately outside the *pomerium* (!). - What sounds like a mere tongue-twister or as a joke, turns out to be the results of complex legal and religious prescriptions, which, at the represented moment, were valid for the individuals involved, and that have all been faithfully observed by the artists, who designed both Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.)).

**And because many scholars have described Domitian as an emperor, who took legal and religious prescriptions very seriously (cf. *supra*, in Chapter Preamble; Section III.; at point 5.)), the Cancellaria Reliefs can, in my opinion, illustrate this peculiarity of his character in perfect fashion.**

But there is still another interesting parallel between the compositions of Frieze A and B, since both can be regarded as examples of 'perfect timing' in ceremonies, in which many individuals are involved (cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.2.1.).

On Frieze A, the Emperor Domitian (now Nerva), together with the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani*, had, shortly before, obviously been waiting for someone for quite some time already. All of a sudden the last member of Domitian's party has arrived, the *Dea Roma*, who hastened to join her waiting partners, and, as soon as she arrived, had touched Domitian at his left elbow. As a result, Domitian, by lifting his right arm and hand, now starts the *profectio*-ceremony, and at this sign, Minerva and Mars, his divine *comites*, who precede him to this war, 'storm away' to the theatre of Domitian's campaign. Next Domitian himself will follow them, together with his large train of soldiers, who march behind him. On Frieze B is shown a similar kind of perfect timing. The togate youth, together with his long procession of all conceivable representatives of the City of Rome, has arrived at the *pomerium* of Rome at exactly the same time as Vespasian, who, from the opposite direction, has come there together with his entourage. -

**At this very moment appears *Victoria* to crown Vespasian with the *corona civica*, a ritual that symbolizes the investiture of the new Emperor Vespasian (cf. *supra*, in Chapter III.; and *infra*, in Chapters V.1.i.3.); and VI.3.); and in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*).**

**In addition to this, this iconographic detail shows, as Rita Paris (1994b, 81-82, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a)) has observed, that Vespasian is decorated with the highest ranking decoration for military victories that was only granted Augustus and Vespasian because both, by means of their victories, had been able to put an end to civil wars.**

Both processions, headed by these two main figures on Frieze A and B, must therefore visualize important *gestae* of these two protagonists.

As has been developed in more detail above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.b)), it is at least in my opinion obvious, that such scenes, as those represented on the Cancellaria Reliefs, must be the *raison d'être* of state art, because it was after all precisely through such works, that the 'concrete individual historical actions' (an expression, borrowed from Langer and Pfanner (2018, 83, 84-85; cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.b), quoted again below), performed by the protagonists, who commissioned these works, were 'documented' for public viewing.

Concerning this point, I am thus of a very different opinion than Langer and Pfanner (*op.cit.*) themselves. In the following I repeat, what was already quoted and written above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.b)).

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84-85): "Im Bild tritt die Historie gegenüber den allgemein gültigen Aussagen zu den Kaisertugenden zurück [my emphasis]". So also similarly in another passage; cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 83): "Bei der viel diskutierten Frage zum historischen Background der monumentalen römischen Staatsreliefs könnte das Cancellariare Relief A als Kronzeuge dafür herhalten, dass die ideologische Botschaft und der allegorisch-symbolische Gehalt wichtiger gewesen sind als die konkrete historische Handlung [my emphasis]".

'Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84-85; cf. p. 83), in the just quoted sentence from their final passage (which I have slightly changed in my following English translation, by using some words from their similar passage on p. 83), thus express their opinion, that:

'in the image the concrete historical action has less importance than the generally valid statements concerning the imperial virtues, because the relief images are equally valid for the new *princeps*' - meaning with 'the new princeps' the Emperor Nerva'.

Being of the opinion that the emperor on Frieze B was from the very beginning Vespasian, I have, contrary to all previous scholars, tried to find out, whether or not there are iconographic details on Frieze B that might prove beyond any doubt that Vespasian is in fact the person, with whom the peculiar iconography of this frieze may be explained, and I believe to have found such proofs (cf. above, and *infra*, in Chapters V.1.i.3.); V.1.i.3.a); and VI.3.).

Now, if we believe for a moment that my hypothesis is true, that Frieze B showed from the very beginning Vespasian, and considering the (currently almost) undisputed fact that the Cancellaria Reliefs were commissioned by Domitian, it seems in my opinion also reasonable to follow Magi in identifying the togate youth, standing in front of Vespasian, with Domitian (cf. *supra*, n. 112, in Chapter I.1.). - I myself (cf. *supra*, at n. 117, in Chapter I.1.) have already earlier followed Magi's identification of the togate youth with Domitian - for different reasons - but perhaps my new arguments in favour of the identification of Vespasian on Frieze B as the original portrait of the represented emperor, can help other scholars to accept this idea, who so far did not identify the togate youth with Domitian.

I therefore suggest that both panels of the Cancellaria Relief, when *in situ* on opposite walls in the bay of this - presumed - arch, showed the beholder, among many other things (cf. *infra*, in Chapter VI.3.), that Domitian is the ideal sovereign, whose actions are perfect, both *domi* and *militiae*. Frieze B presents the *gestae* of the young Caesar Domitian, performing his duty - *domi* - as *praetor urbanus*, by heading a long procession of representatives of the City of Rome, who receive in an *adventus*-ceremony the new Emperor Vespasian at the *pomerium* of Rome, where, contemporaneously, Vespasian has arrived with his entourage. Frieze A presents the *gestae* of Domitian, now himself emperor, who has just transgressed the *pomerium* of Rome, performing his duty as emperor - *militiae* - since after the *profectio*-ceremony, that we witness on Frieze A, he will be leaving, together with his entire army, for a military campaign (for that hypothesis, cf. *supra*, at ns. 248, 249, in Chapter I.2.1.b).

By writing: 'considering the (currently almost) undisputed fact that the Cancellaria Reliefs were commissioned by Domitian', I am referring to my E-mail discussion with Walter Trillmich in March of 2020

concerning the headless togate statues, found at the Marble Forum at Mérida in Spain, the dating of which is controversial (cf. *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.h); and below, at *The Contribution by Walter Trillmich* in this volume). One of these togate statues has striking similarities with the togate youth (**figure 12**, in my opinion Domitian) on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs.

**V.1.e) The hypothesis of S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018) concerning the alleged 'footstool' on Frieze B, on which the Genius Populi Romani sets his left foot**

In the following are listed some figures on both Cancellaria Reliefs, discussed by Langer and Pfanner (2018; cf. their p. 19, "Abb. 2" [cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing.**]), to which I will come back below, and who are also mentioned elsewhere in this *Study*:

cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 44-45), Frieze A: "**Figur 6: Nerva, früher Domitian**"; for a discussion of the pose of the emperor and of the gesture of his right hand, cf. p. 60 with n. 56;  
cf. pp. 45-46, Frieze A: "**Figur 9: Roma/Virtus**"; p. 46: "Die Göttin macht trotz ihrer eindeutig weiblichen Formen einen virilen Eindruck. Den unterstreichen der prononcierte Adamsapfel ..." ('Adam's apple');

cf. p. 47, Frieze A: "**Figur 11: Genius Senatus ... Der Kopf der Büste auf dem Zepter ist abgeschlagen, der untere Teil des Zepters stark bestoßen** (s. Abb. 9) ... An den auffallend kleinen Füßen sitzen die doppelt geschnürten *calcei senatorii* ... Seit der grundlegenden Publikation von F. Magi hat das Knotenzepter mit der aufsitzenden Büste immer wieder besonderes Interess auf sich gezogen (s.[iehe] auch hier Kap. 2.9.5). Das Zepter dekorieren regelmäßig verteilte Ast-Augen. Ein Metallschuh schützt die untere Spitze. Oben endet das Zepter in einem halbrunden Knauf oder einer Weltkugel [?]. Das Gesicht der Männerbüste, bekleidet mit *tunica* und *toga* - ist vermeintlich vollständig zerstört. Jedoch sind Teile der rechten Gesichtshälfte, des Ohres und der Haare erhalten (s. Abb. 9). Die Haarsträhnen sind über dem Ohr nach vorne gestrichen, die Wange ist glatt und es gibt keine Löckchen vor dem Ohr. Die Beschädigung lässt auf gezielte Abschlüge und anschließende Überarbeitung schließen. An der Gewandfalte rechts über dem Köpfchen sieht man eine flache quadratische Erhebung"; cf. pp. 75-76 (in chapter 2.5.9): "Besonderes Augenmerk zog seit Magis Publikation des Knotenzepter des Genius Senatus auf sich, das mit einer Porträtbüste bekrönt ist (s. Abb. 9) [with n. 106, providing references]. Es geht dabei immer um die Frage, ob es sich um Iupiter oder den Kaiser handelt. **Das Köpfchen ist absichtlich zerstört worden, wie die glatten, und teilweise überarbeiteten Schlagflächen, die sich in dieser Art nirgendwo sonst an den Cancellariareliefs finden, nahe legen. Erhalten ist der Ansatz einer bartlosen Wange, so dass es nicht Iupiter sein kann, der zudem keine *tunica* und *toga* tragen würde. Es muss also Domitian dargestellt sein [with n. 107, providing references: but this interpretation is not generally accepted]. Dazu passen die über den Ohren nach vorn gestrichenen Haarsträhnen und die fehlenden Löckchen vor dem Ohr. Das Büstenköpfchen wurde nach der *damnatio memoriae* Domitians offenbar bewusst und brutal abgeschlagen.** Für die flache quadratische Erhebung, die der Togafalte rechts über dem Köpfchen anliegt (s.[iehe] Taf. 8,2 und 48,1), gibt es keine einleuchtende Erklärung. Entweder handelt es sich um eine unfertige Partie, wogegen aber eher die sorgfältige Bearbeitung spricht, oder der Mann trug einen Kopfschmuck - welcher Art auch immer. Dann könnte es sich um einen penibel abgearbeiteten Stützsteg handeln, der die These der bewussten Zerstörung und anschließenden Überarbeitung untermauern würde. Feilich säße der Steg ziemlich weit außerhalb der Kopfmitte [my emphasis]".

**For the sceptre, held by the Genius Senatus of Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs; cf. also Anne Wolfsfeld (2014, 201-202), whom Langer and Pfanner (2018, 75-76 with ns. 106, 107) themselves do not discuss.**

Anne Wolfsfeld (2014, 201-202) writes about the sceptre, held by the *Genius Senatus* on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs:

"Nach fehlenden glyptischen Zeugnissen unter Nero, Vespasian und Titus haben **sich sicher zwei mit Domitian zu identifizierende, rundplastisch gearbeitete Panzerbüstchen erhalten. Das eine ist nach der spätantiken Umarbeitung erneut an der Hinterkopffrisur zu erkennen (Abb. 9)**, [with n. 103] **das andere weist trotz der summarischen und groben Ausarbeitung die frisurtechnischen und physiognomischen Merkmale Domitians auf.** [with n. 104] **Allerdings handelte es sich hier nicht um Kameen höfischer Funktion. Eine Verwendung [page 202] der beiden Büstchen als Zepterbekrönung scheint am plausibelsten; ein solches Zepter mit Büstenbekrönung ist beispielsweise an 'Cancellaria-Relief A' in der Hand des Genius Senatus nachgewiesen.** [with n. 105] **Aufgrund des wertvollen Materials und der prominenten Platzierung auf einem mitgeführten Zepter musste es sich demnach um Loyalitätsbezeugungen gegenüber dem Princeps handeln, die Teil magistratischer Insignien waren [my emphasis]**".

In her **note 103**, Wolfsfeld writes: "Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, Nr. 248 (Bekrönung des *bâton cantoral* der Sainte-Chapelle). Vollenweider u.[nd] Avisseau-Broustet (2003) 203f. Nr. 260 Taf. 134f.; Dahmen (2001) 169 Nr. 85 Taf. 85; zur Umarbeitung s.[iehe] Varner (2004) 125. 268 Nr. 5.31; Bergmann u.[nd] Zanker (1981) 409f. Nr. 48 Abb. 6a-b".

In her **note 104**, she writes: "Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, Inv. B 11318. Vollenweider u.[nd] Avisseau-Broustet (2003) 133 Nr. 156 Taf. 93; Meißner (1998) 119f. Nr. VIII.3; Megow (1987) 220f. Nr. A 109 Taf. 37,2; s.[iehe] ein weiteres, wohl als Domitian zu identifizierendes, aber fragmentarisches Panzerbüstchen aus Chalzedon in Florenz, Museo degli Argenti, Inv. 454. Galletti (2006) 199 Kat. A 26".

In her **note 105**, she writes: "Zu 'Cancellaria-Relief A' s.[iehe] beispielsweise Magi (1945) Taf. 3; zur Frage der Funktion s.[iehe] Panella (2011 [*i.e.*, here C. PANELLA 2011b]) 255; Bergmann u.[nd] Zanker (1981) 410; Meißner (1991) 120; Megow (1987) 220f."

Let's now continue with our main subject, the list of some figures on both Cancellaria Reliefs, discussed by Langer and Pfanner (2018).

Cf. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018, 51-52), Frieze B: "**Figur 2: Dea Roma** ... Der zugehörige linke Arm fehlt"; cf. p. 52, Frieze B: "**Figur 3: Vestalin** (Taf. 10,1; Taf. 34; Taf. 50,3) [the figure is almost completely preserved]"; cf. p. 52, Frieze B: "**Figur 4: Vestalin** (Taf. 10,1) Erhaltungszustand: Der Kopf fehlt komplett ... Anschluss der unteren Chitonfalten im Verhältnis zu Figur 3 und 5 etwas verunklärt ...";

cf. pp. 52-53, Frieze B: "**Figur 5: Vestalin** (Taf. 10, 1; Abb. 7a) Erhaltungszustand: Hals und Kopf fehlen komplett ... Die weibliche Figur ist in Rückansicht dargestellt und wendet den Kopf nach rechts ... [p. 53] Die von Magi rekonstruierte Armhaltung - angewinkelt und vor den Körper geführt - kann aus dem Faltenverlauf am Rücken nicht abgeleitet werden (s. Abb. 2 [= here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**]). Es ist nicht auszuschließen, dass der rechte Arm erhoben war ... Bildhauerische Fehler/Ungenauigkeiten: Plattenfuge verläuft ungünstig und schneidet die Schulter knapp ab. - Materialfehler (s. Abb. 17). Marmor ähnlich brüchig wie bei **Figur 1** und **3** ... Figur ragt ca. 1,5 cm über die Vorderkante der Reliefräumung hinaus. - Zur fehlenden Anschlussplatte s.[iehe] Abb. 7a";

cf. p. 53, Frieze B: "**Figur 6: Vestalin** (Taf. 10,2; Taf. 35; Abb. 7a) Erhaltungszustand: Die Figur ist nahezu vollständig verloren. Erhalten ist nur noch ein kleiner Rest des unteren Gewandbereiches und ein Fuß [*i.e.*, her right foot]. Dieser ist von der Plattengrenze angeschnitten und beschlagen ...

Beschreibung: Die weibliche Figur - ziemlich sicher eine weitere Vestalin - ist frontal dargestellt und trägt den langen Chiton sowie Schuhe aus weichem Leder. Sie schloss entgegen der Rekonstruktion Magis nicht direkt an **Figur 5** an (vgl. Kap. 2.6 und Abb. 7a [quoted *verbatim* and discussed *supra*, in Chapter V.1.d]) ... Bildhauerische Fehler/Ungenauigkeiten: Der Fugenverlauf ist sehr ungünstig, er schneidet den rechten Fuß knapp ab";

cf. p. 53, Frieze B: "**Figur 7: Vestalin** (Taf. 10,2; Taf. 35; Taf. 36,3) Erhaltungszustand: Es fehlen der Oberkörper und große Teile der Hüfte ... Beim Bruch am Übergang zur **Figur 8** blieb ein Grat stehen, der sich über die senkrechten Falten des *sagum* [of the lictor **figure 8**] legt. Folglich befand sich hier eine plastische Erhebung, die am ehesten zum ausgestreckten Arm der Vestalin ergänzt werden kann. Magis

Rekonstruktion mit gesenktem linken Arm ist deshalb kaum richtig (s. Abb. 2 [cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**]);

cf. p. 55, Frieze B: "**Figur 11: Genius Senatus** [?] ... Die Beine sind im Verhältnis zum Oberkörper überlängelt und unproportioniert, die Füße dagegen zu klein und insgesamt zu weit nach rechts gerückt (s. Abb. 10, vgl. auch Kap. 2.9.3 und 9.5) ... an den Füßen trägt er die einfachen *calcei*";

cf. pp. 55-56, Frieze B: "**Figur 12: Junger Mann in Toga** ... Der jugendliche Mann mit Idealgesicht dominiert die Szene und ist deutlich größer als die anderen Figuren im Vordergrund und nahezu gleichgroß wie der Kaiser ... An den Füßen trägt er die einfachen *calcei*" cf. p. 65 with n. 66, Fig. 15 (for a discussion of this judgement of their figure 12, in my opinion a portrait of Domitian; cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.h.1.);

cf. pp. 56-57, Frieze B: "**Figur 13: Genius Populi Romani** [?] ... Die männliche Figur im Hintergrund ist nach rechts ausgerichtet und steht mit dem linken Bein auf einem schemelartigen Gebilde ... Das rechte Bein, das auf der Standfläche des Reliefs stehen müsste, ist nicht sichtbar "; cf. pp. 73, 84;

cf. p. 57, Frieze B: "**Figur 14: Vespasian** ... Den rechten Arm hebt er bis in Höhe der Schulter von Figur 12, ohne diese zu berühren ... Ob die Hand etwas hielt oder welchen Gestus sie vollzog, ist nicht eruierbar ... An den Füßen trägt er die *calcei senatorii* ... Der Kopf ist nur in der Halspartie original, Gesicht und Haar sind sicher umgearbeitet. Dies beweist vor allem der neu eingearbeitete Kehlkopf, der die frühere Halsfalte abschneidet (vgl. Abb. 22-24 und Kap. 2.9.4); cf. pp. 72-74, with Figs. 22-24 (for a discussion of this judgement of their figure 14, in my opinion from the beginning a portrait of Vespasian; cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.h.2.);

cf. p. 58, Frieze B: "**Figur 16: Victoria** ... Die Figur ist nahezu vollständig verloren, lediglich das rechte Bein, ein Teil des linken Fußes, ein Rest des linken Oberarmes samt Gewand sowie der vordere Teil des Eichenkranzes sind erhalten [my emphasis]".

As already mentioned, I myself identify the amazon-like figure on Frieze A, their "**Figur 9: Roma/Virtus** [my emphasis]", contrary to Langer and Pfanner (2018, 45-46), with the *Dea Roma* instead (cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.2.). As for their above quoted statement that, in their opinion, this figure makes a "viril" ('male') impression, 'which is stressed by its pronounced 'Adam's apple', I have studied this detail on 8th March 2019 in front of the original relief, together with Giandomenico Spinola and Claudia Valeri. The figure does not have an 'Adam's apple' ("Adamsapfel", in Italian: 'pomo d'Adamo'). Claudia Valeri convincingly suggested on that occasion the following to me: the artist had obviously in mind to create "Venusring" at the figure's neck, a distinct 'female' feature that was supposed to underscore the beauty of the represented female, but did not exactly succeed in doing so convincingly. - To 'Adam's apples' I will come back below (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.h.2.)).

Contrary to myself, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 56, 62, 65, 69, 73, 77, 84) do not suggest an identification of this alleged "Schemel" or "Hocker" ('footstool') on Frieze B, also referred to as "Postament" ('pedestal') by them, and consequently do not suggest an explanation for its meaning. The reason for that being that they interpret the existence of this feature as a "Fehler" ('mistake'), as a "Füllstück" ('an object in order to fill a gap'), or as a "Notlösung" (an 'expedient').

Interestingly, this alleged "Notlösung" in their opinion (cf. their pp. 64-65) is a result of the decision of the artists to arrange the figures on Frieze B in two registers that are not standing on the same ground-line, as the figures on Frieze A do, but to lift the register of the figures in the background so-to-say to a higher ground-line than those in the foreground.

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 62) write: "Die Tatsache, dass die beiden Genien im Hintergrund von **Figur 12** in einigen Details von den Genien des Senates und Volkes in Fries A abweichen, hat zu weiteren Irritationen geführt. Besonders problematisch erscheint das Objekt, auf das der jüngere Genius seinen Fuß stellt. Es wird als Altar, Grenzstein bzw. Cippus, Schemel, Grundstein, Architektursurrogat u. ä. [und ähnlich] interpretiert. Dementsprechend variieren die Deutungen von Fries B und zeugen von erstaunlicher Kombinationsfähigkeit, Spitzfindigkeit und Phantasie, ohne zu einem Konsens zu führen (vgl. [vergleiche] die Aufstellung Abb. 14) [my emphasis]".

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 64-65, Chapter 2.9.2: "Stilistisches, Künstlerisches und Komposition"):

"Der grundsätzlich andere Reliefaufbau ist für den Gesamteindruck entscheidender als die eher marginalen stilistischen und künstlerischen Unterschiede. Bei A stehen die Figuren eng zusammen und sind bis zu drei Reihen in die Tiefe gestuft [with n. 64, with further discussion]. Bei B stehen die Personen weiter auseinander, die Hintergrundfiguren werden in die Höhe gestaffelt.

Bei A wird Tiefenräumlichkeit durch Überschneidung der Figuren und mit Hoch- und Flachrelief erreicht. Der Raum über den Köpfen bleibt leer, lediglich die *fasces* und Speere sowie die schwebende Victoria nutzen den Luftraum. Bei Fries B rücken die Hintergrundfiguren nach oben und besetzen die obere Relieffläche. Die Wahl dieses Kompositionsprinzips ist nicht glücklich, denn es stellt dem >entwerfenden Meister<, den es wahrscheinlich in dieser Form gar nicht gab (s. Kap. 2.9.3), vor nahezu unlösbare Probleme. Die erhöht auf einem Thron sitzende Roma erhält ein weiteres undefinierbares Podest; der Unterkörper des Genius Senatus (**Figur 11**) wird grotesk überlängt, der Genius Populi Romani (**Figur 13**) steht unvermittelt auf einem >Hocker< und wirkt wie verkrüppelt [my emphasis]".

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 69, Chapter 2.9.3, the context are mistakes made by the artists on both Cancellaria Reliefs):

"Ominöser und folgenschwerer ist der Fall bei der viel diskutierten Dreiergruppe des Genius Senatus, Populi Romani und des jungen Togatus (**Figuren 11-13**) auf Relief B, die dem Kaiser gegenübertreten. Es gibt auffallend viele kleinere Fehler im Bereich der Schultern, der Füße, des Haarbandes, des Speeres und Backenbartes. Gravierender ist die missglückte Ausführung der beiden Genien im Hintergrund (zu den Fehlern s. Abb. 10-11 und 17). Ihre Platzierung und Proportionierung kann nicht das Ergebnis einer sorgfältigen Planung, geschweige eines ausgearbeiteten Modells sein. Als Erklärung bleibt, dass sie ohne passende Vorlage >spontan< oder nachträglich eingefügt wurden. In diesem Fall ist auch eine Umarbeitung oder Planänderung nicht ganz auszuschließen, wofür vor allem der merkwürdig abgearbeitete Gewandzipfel des Genius Populi Romani sprechen könnte (s.[iehe] Taf. 40,7). Jedenfalls sollte der >Fußschemel< inhaltlich nicht überbewertet werden, denn es könnte sich bei ihm lediglich um ein Füllstück handeln, damit nämlich der Fuß des Genius nicht in der Luft schwebt [mit Anm. 71, with further discussion, referring to their Chapter 2.9.5; my emphasis]".

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 73, Chapter 2.9.5): "Hinzu kommt, dass sich einzelne Figuren oder Antiquaria jeglicher Deutung entziehen ... Ebenso gibt es für den >Schemel< unter dem Fuß des Genius Populi Romani auf Fries B keine sichere Bestimmung".

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 77): "Bei den bisherigen Deutungsversuchen für den jungen Genius (**Figur 13**) spielte das Postament, auf das er seinen Fuß setzt, eine besondere Rolle und wurde abwechselnd als Altar, Grenzstein, Cippus, Grundstein, Architektursurrogat oder Statuenbasis bezeichnet. Dementsprechend finden sich Benennungen als Genius Populi Romani, Honos, Terminus oder als Statue (vgl. Abb. 14). Möglicherweise wird die Bedeutung des Postamentes überschätzt, denn das auf einen Fels oder einen Gegenstand aufgesetzte Bein ist ein gängiges Statuenmotiv, ohne dass sich mit diesem immer eine spezielle Bedeutung verbinden ließe [with n. 126, providing a reference].

Es gibt freilich eine noch banalere Erklärung. Bei dem Postament handelt es sich schlicht um ein Füllelement, da ansonsten das Bein des Genius Populi Romani grotesk überlängt gewesen wäre (s. Abb. 11 und Kap. 2.9.3)".

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84): "Bei der Reliefierung am Bau führten mangelnde Planung und Koordination zu zahlreichen Fehlern. Rätselhafte Details, wie z. B. der "Schemel" beim Genius Populi Romani des Frieses B sind eher eine technische Notlösung denn von inhaltlicher Bedeutung".

**V.1.f) My own hypothesis concerning the alleged 'footstool' of S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018) on Frieze B, on which the Genius Populi Romani sets his left foot - it is a cippus of the pomerium-line of Rome**

Following earlier scholars, Langer and Pfanner's alleged "Schemel" or "Postament" on Frieze B is here instead interpreted as a *cippus* of the *pomerium*-line of Rome, the sacred boundary of the city (cf. *supra*, at **ns. 400, 416**, in Chapter III., and **n. 468**, in Chapter VI.). Since Langer and Pfanner (2018, 80) likewise (at least tentatively) interpret the scene visible on Frieze B as an *adventus*, and likewise state that on this panel two groups of people and personifications are meeting that come from opposite directions, one of them comprising the official representatives of the City of Rome, the other an emperor, it follows already that those two parties most probably meet at the *pomerium* of the City of Rome - because those features of the composition of Frieze B are the most important characteristics of an *adventus*.

Besides, the figures that were chosen for Frieze B, in combination with the entire composition of this panel, definitely prove the assumption that we are witnessing an *adventus*. This is clear because of the following details, which Langer and Pfanner (2018) themselves describe: the authors likewise identify the person, who is coming from the right, as an emperor, who is crowned by *Victoria*. They likewise identify the amazon-like figure on the left as *Dea Roma*, they identify the five Vestal Virgins on the left as such, and the two representations of Genii on the left as *Genius Senatus* and *Genius Populi Romani*. Langer and Pfanner (2018) also explain that the latter figures move from left to right in order to meet this emperor. They do not discuss the fact that all these 'representatives of the City of Rome', who move from left to right, are usually confined to the City of Rome, and they do not discuss, why the party, who comes from the left, stands still at this point, nor why the emperor stands still at this point, and why he is shown as wearing a *tunica* and *toga*, although he is crowned by *Victoria*. The artists of this panel could not possibly convey all these details, but they are known, and are of the greatest importance to our understanding of the represented scene (to all this I will come back in detail *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.)).

To understand such scenes, we need to know the following: up to the *pomerium*-line, the sacred boundary of Rome (and not beyond), the mythical 'representatives' of the City of Rome were allowed to move: *Dea Roma*, as well as the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani*. This is also true of the human Vestal Virgins, who likewise belonged to the representatives of Rome, as well as their lictor (leaving aside for a moment the togate youth, who is heading this entire procession) - all of whom appear on Frieze B on the left, and all these figures come from *inside* the city up to the *pomerium*. Also the magistrate *praetor urbanus* was confined to the City of Rome, his competence likewise did not reach beyond the *pomerium* (personally I identify the togate youth on Frieze B with the *praetor urbanus*. To this I will come back below; cf. *infra*, at V.1.h.1.).

Up to the *pomerium*-line (and not beyond), but coming from *outside* the city, was for example allowed to move a magistrate with *imperium*, who had left Rome for a military campaign and was now coming back as a victorious general. The same was true for an emperor, who had left Rome for a military campaign and was coming home after his victory in this war. This victorious magistrate with *imperium* or the victorious emperor would usually *not* enter the city and thus transgress the *pomerium*-line at the moment of his *adventus* at (but not yet into !) Rome, since a victorious general had the obligation to wait until the Senate would grant him a triumph. - Only on the day of his triumphal procession, this magistrate or emperor would then be allowed, together with his army, to transgress the *pomerium*-line (cf. *supra*, at **n. 247**, in Chapter I.2.1.a), at **ns. 248; 249**, in Chapter I.2.1.b), and at **n. 250**, in Chapter I.2.1.c)). To the specific example of Vespasian on Frieze B, I will come back below (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.)).

As a consequence of this well known Roman law, Koepfel (1969, 188; cf. *supra*, **n. 361**, in Chapter II.3.3) had suggested to interpret the scene pictured on the right hand side panel in the attic ('city side') of Trajan's Arch at Beneventum (her **Fig. 46**) as follows: it shows one of Trajan's *adventus* at Rome (after a victorious campaign; for Trajan, cf. *supra*, **n. 323**, in Chapter II.1.e)). Two togate men are receiving Trajan (who is likewise clad in a *toga*), who, according to Koepfel, may be identified with the two *consules*, who have come



to tell Trajan that the Senate has already granted him to celebrate a triumph; Koepfel believed that Trajan is shown on this panel as standing just outside the *pomerium* of Rome.

I, therefore, maintain my earlier judgement that all the above-mentioned details, represented on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs, may be explained with the assumption, that those two groups are meeting at the *pomerium* of Rome. And that the strange object, on which the *Genius Populi Romani* sets his foot, is therefore a *cippus* that marks the *pomerium*-line (for those *cippi*; cf. *supra*, n. 199, in Chapter I.1.1.).

**V.1.g) The gestures that the two emperors on both friezes (cf. here Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing) perform with their right hands**

As we have seen above, in Chapter V.1.e), Langer and Pfanner (2018) do not suggest, what the gestures that the emperors on both friezes perform with their right hands, may mean. For Domitian's gesture, cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 44-45, 60 with n. 56), for Vespasian's gesture, cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 57-58, 78).

**Concerning Domitian (now Nerva) on Frieze A (here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6), Langer and Pfanner (2018, 60) write:**

"Vielfältig bleiben die Interpretationsansätze bezüglich des Handgestus und der Körperhaltung des Kaisers [on Frieze A: Domitian, now Nerva], dessen wie eingefrorene Haltung als krasser Gegensatz zu den eilenden Göttern ringsum empfunden worden ist. Die Interpretation als Zögern, Verweigerung, vornehme Zurückhaltung, ängstliches oder theologisch zu begründendes Zurückschrecken oder schlicht künstlerisches Unvermögen des ausführenden Bildhauers hat die Deutung der Gesamtszene ebenso nachhaltig beeinflußt wie die Rekonstruktion des linken Plattenabschlusses [with n. 56, providing references]".

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 74-75): "Fries A ... Im Gegensatz dazu steht der Kaiser (**Figur 6**) anscheinend ruhig da. In der Forschung unbestritten ist, dass er *tunica*, *paludamentum* und die einfachen *calcei* als Reisekleidung trägt und in der linken Hand eine Schriftrolle (*rotulus*) hält, ohne dass man deren genaue Bedeutung wüsste [with n. 100]. Der rechte Arm ist ausgestreckt, die Handfläche geöffnet. Der Gestus wird gedeutet als Gruß- oder Adorationsgestus (E. Simon), oder als Machtgestus (G. M. Koepfel) [with n. 101]. Die Haltung des Kaisers mit ausgestrecktem Arm und leicht seitlich gestelltem Bein mutet merkwürdig [with n. 102] an und gab zu vielerlei Spekulationen Anlaß: Es handle sich um das Resultat eines künstlerischen Unvermögens des Bildhauers; die Haltung zeige ein Zögern des Kaisers, das sich aus einer religiösen Scheu, ängstlichen Zurückweichung oder einer formellen Ablehnung der Macht begründet; Domitian breche ungern zu einer militärischen Unternehmung auf und gebe einer diplomatischen Lösung des Konfliktes den Vorzug [with n. 103].

In der Tat ist die ruhige Haltung des Kaisers inmitten der eilenden Götter auffällig. Wahrscheinlich gäbe es dazu aber gar keine alternative Darstellungsweise, denn der Kaiser >eilt und rennt< grundsätzlich nicht, wie die gesamte bildliche Überlieferung belegt. Freilich deuten Beinstellung und Armhaltung eine Vorwärtsbewegung an, die aber der kaiserlichen *dignitas* angemessen ist [with n. 104]". In their **notes 100-104**, Langer and Pfanner (74-75) provide references and further discussion.

**Concerning the (alleged) Domitian on Frieze B, in reality Vespasian (here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 14), Langer and Pfanner (2018, 78) write :**

"Aus der Szene selbst lassen sich kaum Hinweise auf die Identität des Mannes [*i.e.*, of the togate youth, their **figure 12**] ablesen. Begleitet von zwei Genien tritt er dem Kaiser gegenüber, dessen Handhaltung den Eindruck eines freundlich vertrauten, vielleicht auch ehrenden Umgangs erweckt. Die Bedeutung der Geste bleibt unklar: Möglicherweise handelt es sich um einen Gruß- oder einen Übergabe- oder eine besondere

Form des Macht-Gestus [with n. 131, providing references and examples, how this gesture has been interpreted]".

For my own interpretation of the gesture, which Domitian (now Nerva), is making on Frieze A, I follow Koeppel (1969), who suggested that Domitian (now Nerva) performed the gesture *ingens dextra*.

For a disussion; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section *III.*, at point 2.); *supra*, at n. 222, in Chapter *I.2.*, at ns. 246; 247, in Chapter *I.2.1.a*), and at n. 383, in Chapter *III.*).

For the interpretation of the gesture, which Vespasian is making with his right hand, I follow those scholars, beginning with Heinrich Fuhrmann (1940, Sp. 471-472; *id.* 1941, Sp. 544-545, both quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter *IV.1.*), and Filippo Magi (1945, 111, quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 463, in Chapter *IV.1.*), who have suggested that Vespasian thus declares Domitian as his successor as emperor (cf. also *infra*, in Chapter *VI.3.*), as well as Giandomenico Spinola, who, on 24th September 2018, when we were discussing the Cancellaria Reliefs standing in front of those panels, has explained to me that Vespasian thus expresses Domitian's "legittimazione" as (future) emperor. Spinola was kind enough to write me this in an E-mail of 15th October 2018, that I may publish here with his kind consent (cf. *supra*, at n. 420, in Chapter *III.*; and below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*).

***V.1.h) The hypotheses of S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018) and myself concerning the togate youth on Frieze B (cf. here Fig. 2; in my opinion Domitian), and the allegedly recut portrait of Vespasian on Frieze B (cf. here Fig. 2; in my opinion from the beginning Vespasian)***

The overall judgement concerning the represented scene on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs, at which Langer and Pfanner (2018) arrive, may thus be added to the interpretations of this panel, that have been summarized above, in Chapters *I.1.*; and *I.1.1.*

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 62) comment the relevant hypotheses, of which seven have been summarized in Chapter *I.1.1.*, as follows:

"Während sich die Forschungsgemeinde bei Fries A auf die zwei großen Interpretationslinien *profectio* und *adventus* festgelegt hat, wirft Fries B deutlich mehr Probleme auf. **Dabei hat die Erkenntnis, dass das Porträt des Vespasian wahrscheinlich Resultat einer Umarbeitung ist, nicht zu einer konsensfähigen Lösung, sondern zu wilden Spekulationen geführt.**

Vor den Arbeiten von McCann und Bergmann zu Beginn der 1970er Jahre bestand eine weitgehende Einigkeit darüber, dass hier Domitian (**Figur 12**) auf Vespasian (**Figur 14**) trifft und dem Vater im Beisein der wichtigsten Personifikationen seinen Herrschaftsanspruch abringt [with n. 58, with further discussion.]. Diese Deutung wurde in leichten Variationen u.a. von Magi, J.M.C. Toynbee, J. Béranger, H. Fuhrmann, E. Simon, E. Keller und B. Andreae vorgetragen und schien so schlüssig, dass sie noch bis in die 1990er Jahre - unter Ausblendung der Umarbeitung - vertreten wird [with n. 59; my emphasis]". - Part of this passage has already been quoted *supra*, n. 281, in Chapter *I.3.2.*

In their **note 59**, Langer and Pfanner write: "Magi ... [*i.e.*, here F. MAGI 1939] 205f.; Toynbee 1957, 4; J. Béranger ... [*i.e.*, here J. BÉRANGER 1964] 81; Fuhrmann ... [*i.e.*, here H. FUHRMANN 1940]) Sp. 472; H. Fuhrmann, AA 1941, 545; Simon ... [*i.e.*, here E. SIMON 1960]) 151-154; E. Simon ... [*i.e.*, here E. SIMON 1963] 8 f.; Keller 1967, 211-215; B. Andreae, *Römische Kunst* (Freiburg i. Breisgau 1973<sup>3</sup>) 193. Weitere Autoren, welche die Deutung von Magi favorisieren: W. Kuhoff ... [*i.e.*, here W. KUHOFF 1993] 77f. Anm. 103; LIMC V (1990) 500 Nr. 21. 502 s. v. Honos (C. Lochin); N. H. Ramage ... [*i.e.*, here N.H. RAMAGE and A. RAMAGE 1996] 144".

As mentioned before (cf. *supra*, in Chapter IV.1): although Langer and Pfanner (2018, 26) quote Rita Paris (1994b, 80-83, Figs. 6; 7a-c, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a)) and on p. 27 Stefan Pfeiffer (2009, 62) in their bibliography, in their just quoted list of scholars, who follow Magi's interpretation of Frieze B, the relevant accounts of both scholars are missing.

As discussed above, Anne Marguerite McCann (1972; cf. *supra*, ns. 111, 114, in Chapter I.1., and at n. 371, in Chapter II.4.) was first to suggest that the head of Vespasian on Frieze B had been recut from the portrait of another emperor (in her opinion, from a portrait of Trajan). Beginning with Marianne Bergmann (1981; cf. *supra*, n. 115, in Chapter I.1.), who was first to suggest that the extant portrait of Vespasian was allegedly recut from an original portrait of Domitian, there were already earlier seven scholars, who had followed Bergmann's hypothesis.

As mentioned before, those seven scholars, discussed in Chapter I.1.1., who followed Bergmann's relevant assertion, are my personal choice, in reality many more have followed her relevant idea.

Bergmann (1981) had assumed that five figures, represented on both Cancellaria Reliefs, should be interpreted differently than suggested by Magi. Those are not exactly the same five figures, which Langer and Pfanner (2018) interpret differently as I do here, and that have been mentioned above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1), but three of them are the same as already suggested by Bergmann (1981): the figures of Langer and Pfanner (2018): "Roma/Virtus" on Frieze A, as well as: "Junger Mann in Toga", and: "Vespasian" (allegedly reworked from 'most probably a portrait of Domitian') on Frieze B.

Interestingly all seven scholars (cf. *supra*, n. 128, in Chapters I.1.; see also Chapter I.1.1.), who had already earlier followed Bergmann's hypothesis, only followed her in the assumption concerning the alleged recut portrait of 'Domitian'/Vespasian, whereas the other four figures, which Bergmann interpreted differently than Magi, are interpreted differently by all those seven scholars. The same is true for Langer and Pfanner (2018).

For a discussion; cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1). Langer and Pfanner (2018) follow Bergmann (1981) in so far, as out of the five figures, which Bergmann interprets differently than Magi (1945), Langer and Pfanner interpret likewise three differently than Magi, but they do not follow Bergmann's interpretations of all those three figures, but likewise only in the case of 'Domitian'/Vespasian on Frieze B.

Compared with those other seven followers of Bergmann's judgement (cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.1.1.), the hypothesis of Langer and Pfanner (2018) has most similarities with the proposals, published by Koepfel (1984) and Pentiricci (2009); but note that Langer and Pfanner (2018, 27) themselves, although listing the monumental publication by Christoph Luitpold Frommel and Massimo Pentiricci (2009) in their bibliography, do not discuss Pentiricci's relevant hypothesis at all. Exactly like Bergmann (1981) herself, neither Koepfel (1984), nor Pentiricci (2009) could explain the function of 'this young man in a toga' (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12**, in my opinion Domitian) on Frieze B, and as a consequence of this, they could neither explain, exactly like Bergmann herself, what Frieze B might represent.

**From his earlier discussion of Frieze B (i.e., here Koepfel 1969; cf. *supra*, at n. 200, in Chapter I.1.1., and at n. 416, in Chapter III.), Koepfel (1984) maintained his suggestion that Frieze B represents an *adventus*, although, as we shall see in a minute - under 'normal' circumstances - precisely that proves to be impossible (cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.h.1)).**

**This is also what Langer and Pfanner (2018, 80) suggest: Frieze B shows in their opinion an *adventus*, although they say that this assumptions is not certain.**

**Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 80): "Sieht man Relief A und Relief B als Pendants, so würden sie sich bei der Deutung als *profectio* und *adventus* und der Betonung der militärischen und zivilen Aspekte perfekt ergänzen. Da wir aber den ursprünglichen Baukontext und die Anzahl der Reliefs nicht kennen, bleibt diese verlockende und immer wieder favorisierte Version hypothetisch [my emphasis]".**

**V.1.h.1.) The passages of Langer and Pfanner (2018), in which they discuss the togate youth on Frieze B (in my opinion Domitian; cf. here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12)**

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 62, 65, 73, 78) state at the same time that it is, in their opinion, impossible to identify their **figure 12**, "**Junger Mann in Toga** [my emphasis]", the togate youth on Frieze B, whom I, following Magi, like other scholars, and exactly like Giandomenico Spinola and Claudia Valeri, identify as a portrait of the young Domitian.

Cf. *supra*, at *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*; in Chapter I.1; at n. 455, in Chapter III.; below, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*.

Some of the passages, quoted in the following, have already been quoted before.

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 62) write: "**Nach McCann [1972] und Bergmann [1981] war man mit dem grundlegenden Problem konfrontiert, dass Domitian bzw. Vespasian auf einen jungen Mann (Figur 12) treffen, der ihnen gleichberechtigt gegenübertritt und für den sich bisher keine plausible Benennung findet. Unklar ist, ob es sich um eine Personifikation, einen Genius oder eine historische Persönlichkeit handelt. Erst jüngst legte G. Petruccioli eine der beliebten historischen Kombinationen vor, denen ein gewisser Charme nicht abzusprechen ist. Er vermutet in dem Jüngling einen designierten Nachfolger Domitians namens T. Flavius Vespasianus (vgl. die Aufstellung Abb. 14). Ähnlich hatte bereits 1982 H. W. Ritter in Figur 12 den Lucius Iulius Vestinus, einen Günstling Vespasians aus dem Ritterstand, vermutet [my emphasis]**".

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 62) apply in the above quoted passage the German term "Jüngling" to the togate youth on Frieze B, a word, that has been used in relevant German scholarship since the 19<sup>th</sup> century to describe ancient young men. Personally, I side with Johanna Fabricius (2000, 39 with n. 1; cf. C. HÄUBER 2014a, 766 n. 210), who has demonstrated the following: the term is not only anachronistic, but has in fact a very different meaning. Therefore its usage in ancient contexts, such as the one discussed here, is not appropriate.

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 64): "Bei der Beurteilung des Stils [of the Cancellaria Reliefs] darf man den künstlerischen Stellenwert der sog.[enannten] entwerfenden Meister nicht überbewerten. Der rationalisierte römische Produktionsbetrieb mit den individuellen Vorgehen der Bildhauer und Steinmetzen sowie deren rigorose Spezialisierung schufen eigene Gesetzmäßigkeiten.

Das zeigt augenfällig das nahezu identische Aussehen nebeneinander liegender Köpfe, die von ein- und demselben Steinbildhauer gemacht worden sein müssen ... [after describing this at some heads on Frieze A, they discuss this phenomenon also for Frieze B].

Dasselbe Phänomen der geklonten Kopfreihen findet sich auf Fries B. Unabhängig von Geschlecht und Status oder von ihrer göttlichen bzw. [beziehungsweise] menschlichen Natur sind die Köpfe der **Figuren 1, 2 und 3** wie aus einem Guss; auch die Köpfe des Liktors (**Figur 10**) und des jugendlichen Togatus (**Figur 12**) könnten ähnlicher kaum sein (s. Taf. 50 ) [with n. 63"]. Cf. their **note 63**: "Die Tatsache, dass beide Köpfe so offensichtlich von der Hand eines Künstlers stammen und ihnen jeder individuelle Zug gleichsam fehlt, spricht auch gegen die Deutung des jungen Togatus als historische Persönlichkeit. Siehe dazu näher Kap. 2.9.3 [my emphasis]".

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 65, Chapter 2.9.3: "Planung, Entwurf, Ausführung der Reliefs - Bildhauertechnik und Unfertigkeiten"):

"Der umstrittene und mit Kaiser Vespasian korrespondierende Mann (**Figur 12**) auf Relief B hat denselben Kopftypus wie der Lektor (**Figur 10**) neben ihm (s. Taf. 50,4,5). Es handelt sich bei ihm also weder um ein Porträt noch um eine besonders zu charakterisierende typische Person, denn sonst hätte man seine Gesichtszüge und Haargestaltung nicht dem ausführenden Steinbildhauer überlassen, der ihm das

Standardgesicht eines Liktors gab [with n. 66, with further discussion]. Folglich ist am ehesten ein anonymer Beamter oder Amtsdienner gemeint oder eine - ansonsten kaum oder nicht genormte - Personifikation, die keiner typischen Gesichtsscharakterisierung bedarf (zur Deutung s. hier Kap. 2.9.5) [my emphasis]".

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 73): "Hinzu kommt, dass sich einzelne Figuren oder Antiquaria jeglicher Deutung entziehen. Man denke an den jungen Togatus (**Figur 12**) vor Vespasian, bei dem bisher nicht klar ist, ob es sich um eine historische Person oder um eine Personifikation handelt [my emphasis]".

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 78:Chapter 2.9.5): "**Der junge Mann (Figur 12)** ist die mit Abstand rätselhafteste Figur des gesamten Reliefs [i.e., of Frieze B]. Nahezu so groß wie der Kaiser fehlen ihm Attribute, die auf seine Identität oder Funktion hinweisen. Er trägt *tunica, toga* und die einfachen *calcei*. Bei den dichten, s-förmigen Locken über der Stirn handelt es sich um die in neronisch-flavischer Zeit beliebte Modefrisur *coma in gradu formata*. **Versuche, im Gesicht individuelle Merkmale zu finden (z. B. Magi, Ritter, Petruccioli, s. Aufstellung Abb. 14), sind verlockend, zumal jugendliche Porträts meist nur gering ausgeprägte individuelle Züge aufweisen und die auffällige Größe der Figur dafür sprechen könnte.**

Vergleicht man das Gesicht jedoch mit denen von Soldaten, Liktoeren und Ministranten auf den Cancellariereiefs und vielen anderen Staatsreliefs, wird schnell eines deutlich: Der Mann hat ein typisches Ideal- bzw. >Allerweltsgesicht< mit stilisiertem Wangen- und Kinnbart und geschönten Zügen ohne individuelle Merkmale [with n. 129]. Die Ähnlichkeit zu Figur 10 ist eklatant, eine Argumentation mit den Figurengrößen an den Cancellariereiefs unmöglich. Nicht zu vergessen ist der Fakt der Umarbeitung. Würde es sich um eine historische Persönlichkeit handeln, wäre es nicht ohne Weiteres möglich gewesen, Figur 14 in einen Vespasian umzuwandeln. Der jugendliche Mann muss eine Person darstellen, der man sowohl Domitian als auch Vespasian gegenüberstellen konnte, ohne Fehl- und Missdeutungen bei den zeitgenössischen Rezipienten zu provozieren.

Folglich ist keine konkrete historische Persönlichkeit gemeint, sondern die Personifikation eines Standes-, einer Alters- oder einer Berufsgruppe. Die Benennung als Nerva, Domitian [mit Anm. 130] oder als Lucius Vestinus bzw. der designierte Thronnachfolger T. Flavius Vespasianus ist aus den bekannten porträttypologischen Gründen methodisch ausgeschlossen (s. Abb. 14). Vor allem letzterer hätte mit dem Porträt Domitians ebenfalls umgearbeitet werden müssen.

Aus der Szene selbst lassen sich kaum Hinweise auf die Identität des Mannes ablesen. Begleitet von zwei Genien tritt er dem Kaiser gegenüber, dessen Handhaltung den Eindruck eines freundlich vertrauten, vielleicht auch ehrenden Umgangs erweckt. Die Bedeutung der Geste bleibt unklar: Möglicherweise handelt es sich um einen Gruß- oder einen Übergabe- oder eine besondere Form des Macht-Gestus [with n. 131]. In der römischen Repräsentationskunst begegnet der Kaiser für gewöhnlich nur besonderen Personen auf solcher Augenhöhe. Dazu gehören Götter, Personifikationen, Mitglieder der kaiserlichen Familie oder fremdländische Potentaten.

Für diese Figur wird die Benennung als Magistrat, als *praefectus urbi* [with n. 132], als *eques*, als Genius des *ordo equester* [with n. 133], als Juventus [with n. 134], d. h. [das heißt] als die Personifikation der römischen Jugend, als *Sodalis Titialis* und selbst als *civis Romanus* [with n. 135] diskutiert. Aufgrund der Singularität von Figur und Szene lässt sich keiner der Vorschläge beweisen [my emphasis]".

In their notes 129-135, Langer and Pfanner provide references.

Seven of the hypotheses concerning the identification of the togate youth (here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12**), just mentioned by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 78) have also been discussed above (plus the hypothesis of M. BERGMANN 1981), in my Chapters *I.1.*; and *I.1.1.*, and will again be discussed below. Contrary to Langer and Pfanner, who state, that 'those hypotheses cannot be proven', I have arrived at a different conclusion. Five out of the eight hypotheses, which I have analysed, have already been refuted by other scholars, one of those five hypotheses I have refuted myself. We shall see below, that even six out of those eight hypotheses have been refuted by other scholars, and that I myself have now come to the conclusion that also the remaining two hypotheses should be refuted. - To that I will come back below and *infra*, in Chapter *V.1.h.2.*).

Immediately after that, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 78) continue: "Für den Vertreter des Ritterstandes könnte sprechen, dass er [*i.e.*, the togate youth **figure 12**] in Begleitung des Genius Populi Romani und des Genius Senatus auftritt. Der Kaiser würde also den Repräsentanten des römischen Volkes begegnen, wobei er den Ritterstand - aus welchen Gründen auch immer - hervorhobe [with n. 136, providing further discussion and references]. Es handelt sich um eine unbelegte Hypothese, denn wir kennen keine Ikonographie einer Personifikation des römischen Ritterstandes [my emphasis]".

**Since Langer and Pfanner (2018, 80, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter V.1.h)) suggest that Frieze B shows an *adventus*, their interpretation, albeit suggested tentatively - because they cannot define the function of the togate youth (figure 12) - turns out to be impossible, although they themselves have not realized the inherent problem.**

The reasons for that are rather complex.

The appropriate magistrates to welcome an emperor into Rome in a solemn *adventus*-ceremony, were in theory, as far as we can judge from other state reliefs, which have been interpreted accordingly, the *consules* (cf. *supra*, n. 361, in Chapter II.3.3.), the *praefectus urbi* (cf. *supra*, at ns. 172, 182-189, in Chapter I.1., at ns. 355; 357-360, in Chapter II.3.3., and at ns. 388, 417, in Chapter III.) or the *praetor urbanus* (cf. *supra*, at ns. 172, 181, 185, in Chapter I.1., at n. 202, in Chapter I.1.1., and at n. 456, in Chapter III.) See for the examples '*consules*' and '*praefectus urbi*' two reliefs at the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum; cf. *supra*, in Chapter II.3.3., and here **Fig. 46**), all of these magistrates were members of the Roman Senate, who should definitely be represented as wearing the *calcei senatorii*.

This togate youth (cf. here **Fig. 2**; **Fig. 1 and 2 drawing**; **figure 12**) on Frieze B does *not* wear those boots, as we have seen above (cf. *supra*, n. 172, in Chapter I.1; the problem involved is discussed in detail in Chapter I.1.), and as Langer and Pfanner (2018, 55-56) themselves state (cf. *supra* and *infra*). We can rule out that this figure of a togate youth could possibly represent the *praefectus urbi*, since we know that the man, who held that office "was always a senator ... usually a senior ex-consul", as stated by Theodore John Cadoux and R.S.O. Tomlin (cf. *supra*, at n. 183, in Chapter I.1.), who was therefore definitely much older than this youth.

Again considering his age, the togate youth cannot be a *consul* either, because according to the *lex Villia annalis* (passed in 180 BC) those had to be 43 years old; cf. Ekkehard Meinhardt (1963, 215; C. HÄUBER 1998b, 683, n. 45). The just mentioned Republican "age limits" for all offices, *inter alia* that of the *consules*, "were often disregarded as imperial relatives and protégés were signalled by the bestowal upon them of the consulship"; cf. Peter Sidney Derow (1996, 384). But one of the above-mentioned reliefs, the right panel in the attic of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum ('city side'; cf. here **Fig. 46**) represents adult men, not youths like **figure 12** on Frieze B (*i.e.*, in my opinion a portrait of Domitian who, at the historical moment in October 70, which Frieze B purportedly represents, was eighteen years old). According to Gerhard Koepfel (1969, 188), his Fig. 15, this relief at the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, which he compared with the togate youth and Vespasian on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2**; **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**; **figure 12** [togate youth, in my opinion Domitian]; **14** [Vespasian]) shows the two *consules*, who have come to the *pomerium* of Rome to tell Trajan (who, as a victorious general, stands of course outside the *pomerium*) that the Senate has granted him the celebration of a triumph (cf. *supra*, at n. 361, in Chapter II.3.3.; cf. Chapter II.3.3.a)).

With his above-quoted remark that the traditional age limit for the consulship was disregarded in the Imperial period, Derow was certainly right, as also the age shows, at which Titus (at 30?) and Domitian (at 19) first became *consul*.

Vespasian (born 17th November 9 AD) became "cos. I suff." from 1st November-31st December 51 AD (at the age of 42); cf. Dietmar Kienast, Werner Eck and Matthäus Heil (2017, 101, 102); his son Titus (born 30th December 39 AD?) became "cos. I" on 1st January (until the end of June) 70 AD (at the age of 30?); cf. Kienast, Eck and Heil (2017, 105); his son Domitian (born 24th October 51 AD) became "cos. suff." for the first time in March-June AD 71 (at the age of 19); cf. Kienast, Eck and Heil (2017, 109, 110).

I will discuss below a *praefectus urbi* (Domitian's paternal uncle Flavius Sabinus) who provides a good example for the usual age of such magistrates; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.a*).

**This means, provided we maintain, like Langer and Pfanner (2018) suggest, that Frieze B shows an *adventus*, that the togate youth must be the current *praetor urbanus* - but this assumption proves to be impossible, because the togate youth is wearing the 'wrong shoes' for that kind of office.**

**If, on the other hand, we decide for a moment to deny the importance of the iconographic detail of his alleged 'wrong' shoes in this context, we are then forced to abandon much of the scholarship that was produced since Andreas Rumpf (1955-56) and Marianne Bergmann (1981) (for a detailed discussion, cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.1.) - a heretic idea that we perhaps better abandon immediately.**

**Although even Marianne Bergmann (1981, 31) herself had questioned her own hypothesis concerning the senatorial shoes at the very end of her relevant reasoning (cf. *supra*, at n. 193, in Chapter I.1.) (!).**

Also Langer and Pfanner 2018 (76-77 with ns. 121-123), have discussed the problem of the 'wrong shoes', the *Genius Senatus* on Frieze B is wearing, a problem, to which I have dedicated above Chapter I.1. Langer and Pfanner 2018 (76-77 with ns. 121-123) have come to the same conclusion as myself that this may simply be a mistake (discussed *supra*, at ns. 144, 156, in Chapter I.1., quoting in their n. 123 the relevant findings of Birgit Bergmann [2010a] and of Ulla Kreilinger [1996]; quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 193, in Chapter I.1.).

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 66, in their Chapter 2.9.3), comment on this vexed 'shoe problem' as follows: "Fehler finden sich oft bei den Schuhen (A: **Figuren 2, 3, 7, 8, 12, 15, 16, 17**; B: **Figuren 8?, 12, 14, 15, 17**; s.[iehe] dazu jeweils im Kapitel 2.8 unter "Technisches"): Sei es, dass sie vergessen und nachträglich eingeritzt wurden, oder dass es Verwechslungen mit der anschließenden Figur gab ... Der Befund könnte mit den prinzipiellen Unfertigkeiten im Fußbereich zusammen hängen und damit, dass die Schuhspezialisten zum Schluss in Zeitnot gerieten und deswegen ungenau arbeiteten. **Die fehlenden *calcei senatorii* des *Genius Senatus* auf Relief B sind also vielleicht nur eine Unachtsamkeit** [my emphasis]".

In the case of the togate youth, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 66, their "Figur 12") do not explicitly say, which kind of "Fehler" ('mistake') in their opinion the artists have made in regard to *his* shoes, nor do they discuss elsewhere any possible consequences that his wearing of those 'simple *calcei*' may have for our reasoning, whom he might represent. But if we follow their just quoted argument that the choice of the 'wrong' shoes for the *Genius Senatus* may be regarded as an error, this should in theory also be true in the case of the shoes, the togate youth is wearing.

Be all that as it may!

Personally, I have followed above in this respect a suggestion made by Toynbee (1957, 7-8, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 176; cf. n. 186, in Chapter I.1.): only when we assume that the *praetor urbanus*, represented on Frieze B, is to be identified with the man, who held this office in AD 70 (*i.e.*, Domitian, who was since 1st January 70 *praetor urbanus consulari potestate*; cf. *supra*, n. 189, in Chapter I.1.), do we have a chance to explain, why the togate youth on Frieze B - deliberately - has been represented as *not* wearing the senatorial boots, but instead the simple *calcei*, that were usually worn by *equites*. Because of the following reasons: Domitian held also since 21st December 69 the title *Princeps iuventutis*, which meant nothing less than being officially declared to be 'the heir presumptive to the Empire' (cf. *supra*, n. 462, at Chapter III.). For the young men so honoured, their close connection with the *equites* was typical. Consequently, for the men holding this title, the wearing of those shoes was appropriate (cf. *supra*, ns. 205, 206, in Chapter I.1.1.), and *infra*, in Chapter VI.3.).

**And, as already likewise said above - only, provided the togate youth on Frieze B may be identified as the man, who held the office *praetor urbanus* at the represented historical moment - may we conclude that the scene represents an *adventus*.**

The reasons for that being that the other two magistrates, who could in theory likewise have received an emperor in an *adventus*-scene, cannot possibly be identified with the togate youth; *a*) because the youth is too young to be the *praefectus urbi* (cf. *supra*, at n. 183, in Chapter I.1.), nor can he be *b*) a *consul*, because (apart from his much too young age) on such reliefs the two *consules* are usually represented together (cf. *supra*, at ns. 360; 361, in Chapter II.3.3., and here Fig. 46).

Now, since Langer and Pfanner (2018) assume that this togate youth on Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs originally stood in front of the Emperor Domitian (whose portrait, in their opinion, has been recut into that of Vespasian), the assumption to recognize in the togate youth *likewise* Domitian, who would thus stand in front of their 'Domitian', the emperor, is of course impossible.

**Or in other words: as already stated at the very beginning of this summary** (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.; cf. Chapter V.1.h)), **the main difference between the interpretation of Frieze B, as suggested by Langer and Pfanner (2018) and my own is, whether we believe that Vespasian's portrait is the result of re-cutting the original head of Domitian (as they do), or rather that Vespasian's head on Frieze B is the original portrait (as I do).** - This leads us to the portrait of Vespasian.

As already said before, personally I do not agree with Marianne Bergmann and those seven scholars (discussed *supra*, in Chapter I.1.1.), who had so far followed her hypothesis, according to which the head of Vespasian has been reworked from another, allegedly pre-existing portrait of Domitian. These altogether eight hypotheses, that were published in the course of 28 years (1981-2009), are, in my opinion, not convincing, because of the following reasons. I repeat in the following, what was already written above:

**In the cases of three of these hypotheses, the authors were themselves unable to say, what the scene on Frieze B may represent, and in the cases of the other five hypotheses, those have been refuted by other scholars.**

**By studying those eight hypotheses, I had overlooked that not only five out of those eight hypotheses have been refuted by other scholars, but even six, namely also the hypothesis, published by Marianne Bergmann (1981) herself (!). The latter fact has been observed by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 60 with n. 52).**

The scholars, who have refuted either McCann's hypothesis (1972) that the head of Vespasian has been re-cut from the portrait of another emperor (in McCann's opinion: Trajan), or Bergmann's hypothesis (1981), that the head of Vespasian has been reworked from the portrait of Domitian, are: Gauer (1973, 350), Darwall-Smith (1996, 172), and Varner (2004, 119f. n. 62).

On 19th September 2019, I discussed again with Giandomenico Spinola the findings summarized here concerning the togate youth (in our opinion the young Domitian), in front of the original Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs. Spinola was so kind as to take photographs of the relevant details of this panel for me, which are kept in my archive.

**V.1.h.2.) The passages of Langer and Pfanner (2018), in which they discuss the emperor on Frieze B (in my opinion from the beginning Vespasian; cf. here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 14), who, in their opinion, was first Domitian, whose portrait was later recut into that of Vespasian**

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 57-58), describing Frieze B, write: "**Figur 14: Vespasian** ... Der Kopf ist nur in der Halspartie original, Gesicht und Haar sind sicher umgearbeitet. Dies beweist vor allem der neu eingearbeitete Kehlkopf, der die frühere Halsfalte abschneidet (vgl. [vergleiche] Abb. 22-24 und **Kap. 2.9.4** [my emphasis]"; cf. pp. 72-74, with Abb. 22-24.



Langer and Pfanner (2018, 60) write:

"Mit der Frage der Datierung untrennbar verbunden bleibt der zweite Forschungsschwerpunkt, die Umarbeitung der Kaiserporträts. Bereits bei Auffindung der Reliefs erkannte Magi, dass auf Fries A das Porträt des Domitian in das des Nerva umgearbeitet worden war [with n. 46: quoting F. MAGI 1945, 60-69]. Das Kaiserportrait auf Fries B hingegen beurteilte er als originalen Vespasian, der auf seinen ihm gegenüber tretenden Sohn Domitian trifft".

Cf. their **note 47**: "**Die fehlende logische Stichhaltigkeit fiel Magi offenbar nicht auf, denn es muss als unwahrscheinlich betrachtet werden, dass Domitian auf Fries A umgearbeitet worden ist, auf Fries B hingegen nicht** [my emphasis]".

From their point of view, what Langer and Pfanner (2018, 60 n. 47) write in this footnote is understandable, since they tacitly assume that Nerva's artists had enough time to rework also the - in my opinion two portraits - of Frieze B. But contrary to Langer and Pfanner (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.b)), who erroneously believe that Nerva himself did not pursue any important military activities at all, I myself suggest something else (for the following, cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.c)).

According to my hypothesis, Nerva had only ordered the re-working of the Cancellaria Reliefs, as soon as he had won his *bellum Suebicum* - we know that news concerning this victory reached Nerva in October of AD 97. Therefore, Nerva's artists had, in my opinion, not even started to rework the portraits of Frieze B, when he himself gave orders to interrupt those works. I believe Nerva did this either as a result of the fact that he had adopted Trajan as his son, co-Emperor and successor (between the end of October and the beginning of November of AD 97), or else at the latest in November of AD 97, as a result of the fact that at that time the Senate bestowed the victor name *Germanicus* on both Nerva and Trajan for the same victory in this *bellum Suebicum*. I also suggest that because of one of these reasons, or else of both, Nerva finally ordered himself the destruction of the monument that contained the Cancellaria Reliefs.

For a detailed discussion of this point, cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.c); and below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*).

Elsewhere on the same page, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 60), after mentioning the relevant hypothesis of McCann (1972), write:

"**M. Bergmann erkannte die naheliegende Lösung, nämlich die Umarbeitung des Vespasian aus einem Domitian ...** [with n. 51, quoting M. BERGMANN 1981, 19-32]. **Allerdings muss konstatiert werden, dass es bisher keinen eindeutigen Beweis für die Kaiserumarbeitung auf Relief B gab, weswegen diese nicht ganz zu Unrecht immer wieder angezweifelt wurde** [with n. 52; quoted in more detail *supra*, n. 115, in Chapter I.1; my emphasis]".

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 72):

"**Auf Abb. 21 und 22 ist der Befund des Porträts [of Vespasian on Frieze B] dokumentiert. Dass der Kopf sicher umgearbeitet wurde, beweist die durch die Eintiefung des neuen Kehlkopfes abgeschnittene Halsfalte des Vorgängers (s. Abb. 23a), ferner der Knickpunkt am Hals mit Unterbrechung der Halsschlagader (s. Abb. 23b-c). Der untere Teil des Halses sowie die Brustpartie gehören damit wohl zum Vorgänger (s. Abb. 22, Nr. 7), ebenso die Bossenlinie vor dem Gesicht (s. Abb. 22, Nr. 6). Das Ohr dürfte insgesamt leicht überarbeitet worden sein, so dass auch der Übergang zur Wange nicht so unorganisch wirkt wie beim Nerva (s. Abb. 22, Nr. 3): Der breite Rand am Reliefgrund (Nr. 2) und der abgeschlagene Gewandsaum (Nr. 8) stammen von eben dieser Umarbeitung, ebenso wie die merkwürdige Abarbeitung auf der Kalotte (Nr. 10) (s. Abb. 22, Nr. 2, 8, 10). Insgesamt ist dem Bildhauer die Umarbeitung perfekt gelungen** [my emphasis]".

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 73):

"Die Identität des Vorgängerporträts lässt sich aufgrund des Befundes nicht lüften ... **Seit dem Aufsatz von M. Bergmann von 1981 hat sich die Deutung als Domitian weitgehend durchgesetzt** [with n. 89. quoting: "McCann 1972, 249-276; Bergmann 1981, 19-32"]. **Dafür spricht nicht nur die ähnliche Machart wie bei Relief A, sondern auch die Tatsache der Umarbeitung an sich. Da Relief A und B aufgrund von Stil, Technik, Material, Maßen und Fundkontext eindeutig zusammengehören, ist es nach wie vor am wahrscheinlichsten, dass Domitian auf beiden Reliefs abgebildet war. Die Cancellariareliefs sind folglich unter Domitian entstanden** [my emphasis]". - To this I will come back below.

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 74, "Fig. 23 Relief B, **Figur 14 (Vespasian): Am Hals blieben Reste des Vorgängers (Domitian?) stehen (Gipsabguss)** [my emphasis]).

Langer and Pfanner's Fig. 23 contains the letterings "a," "b", and "c". The relevant captions read: "a) Halsfalte vom ursprünglichen Portrait, durch die Einarbeitung des Kehlkopfes unterbrochen, b) 'Knickpunkt' am Hals: unten ursprünglicher Hals, oben zurück gearbeiteter Hals (gestrichelt ursprünglicher Verlauf), c) Halsschlagader des ursprünglichen Portraits wird durch die Überarbeitung unterbrochen [my emphasis]".

Langer and Pfanner (2018) thus themselves suggest that the head of Vespasian proves to be reworked because of a different reason than those assumed by McCann (1972) and Marianne Bergmann (1981). Similarly as in the above-mentioned discussion (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.e)) of their "**Figur 9: Roma/Virtus** [my emphasis]" on Frieze A (cf. Langer and Pfanner 2018, pp. 45-46), which allegedly has an "Adamsapfel", and therefore makes in their opinion a 'male' impression, in the case of Vespasian they concentrate on his "Kehlkopf" as well as his 'larynx', or 'Adam's apple' (called in Italian: 'pomo di Adamo'). As we have seen above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.e)), Langer and Pfanner's figure of "Roma/Virtus" (here interpreted as the *De Roma* instead; cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.2.), despite their assertion to the contrary, does *not* have an 'Adam's apple'.

The terms larynx ('Kehlkopf') and Adam's apple ('Adamsapfel') are synonyms: one part of the larynx ('Kehlkopf') of men can protrude, a phenomenon which is called Adam's apple ('Adamsapfel') - this is what the authors of the below quoted German lexicon entries write about both subjects.

Cf. *Die Zeit Das Lexikon in 20 Bänden*, vol. 01 A-Bar (Hamburg 2005) 65, s.v. "Adamsapfel, hervortretender Teil des Schildknorpels am Kehlkopf, beim Mann stärker ausgebildet". Cf. vol. 07 (Hamburg 2005) 527 s.v. "Kehlkopf (Larynx), beim Menschen und den lungenatmenden Wirbeltieren der Luftröhre vorgelagertes Organ zur Stimmbildung. Das Knorpelgerüst besteht aus Kehildeckel-, Schild-, Ring- und zwei Stell- (Gießbecken-)Knorpeln [with drawing, in which these details are labelled]. Der Schildknorpel kann bei Männern als >>Adamsapfel<< vorspringen".

The "**Halsfalte vom ursprünglichen Portrait** [my emphasis]" ('a wrinkle in the neck of the previous portrait'), which Langer and Pfanner (2018, 72, 74) mention also in their caption of their Fig. 23 under "a)", runs on their Fig. 23 parallel to Vespasian's right Sternocleidomastoid muscle (in German: 'Kopfnicker'). As we have seen above, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 57) assert that the larynx, that in their opinion was newly created for the portrait of Vespasian, has 'cut threw' this wrinkle, which (*i.e.*, this wrinkle), in their opinion, must consequently be the remains of the alleged earlier portrait, the existence of which they therefore postulate (among other reasons, cf. their points "b)" and "c)", mentioned in the caption of their Fig. 23).

Apart from the fact that I could not verify any of their relevant assertions in front of the original Frieze B (cf. *infra*), I find it also on principle much easier to assume, that this larynx was from the very beginning there, where we see it now, since there is no alternative space, where we could assume *another* larynx. - Besides:

Langer and Pfanner (*op.cit.*) do not discuss the question, where the larynx of the - in their opinion alleged earlier portrait of the original emperor - may have been located. Since there is obviously no trace of such an 'original', earlier larynx - assuming at the same time that also that alleged original emperor must likewise have been endowed with a visible larynx, namely an Adam's apple - it is, in my opinion, much easier to conclude that 'Vespasian's larynx' that we see now, is the larynx of the 'original' portrait of the emperor. Provided this assumption should be true, it follows, of course, that Vespasian is that original emperor.

In front of the original, I have observed on 24th September 2018 that Vespasian's left Sternocleidomastoid muscle (*Musculus sternocleidomastoideus*, in German: 'Kopfnicker'), is slightly protruding, caused by the fact that Vespasian turns his head to his right in order to look at the togate youth (in my opinion Domitian), who is standing to his right (*i.e.*, in reality in front of, or opposite of Vespasian); what is visible at this point is actually Vespasian's left carotid artery (*arteria carotis*, in German: 'Halsschlagader'), to which also Langer and Pfanner (2018, 72, 74, and in the caption of their Fig. 23, at "c") refer, which the artist has represented as crossing diagonally, from top left to bottom right, over Vespasian's left Sternocleidomastoid muscle.

Cf. J. BARCSAY (1973, 238): "8. Kopfnicker (Tafel XCVIII, A) (*Musculus sternocleidomastoideus*)".

The date of this book shows, when and why I bought it: I have studied sculpture from 1969-1972 with the sculptor Kurt Sandweg at the Kunstseminar of the Universität Duisburg, and passed the 1. State Exam in Art there in November of 1972.

After reading the account by Langer and Pfanner (2018), I met again on 8th March 2019 with Giandomenico Spinola and Claudia Valeri in front of the original Cancellaria Reliefs, in order to investigate *inter alia* the figure of Vespasian.

We looked especially at Vespasian's head, face, neck, his larynx ('Kehlkopf') and at both his Sternocleidomastoid muscles ('Kopfnicker'), as well as at his left carotid artery (his 'linke Halsschlagader'), and, by looking at the original, could not find that Langer and Pfanner's above-quoted (as we shall see below: alleged) observations could convince us of their assertion that the portrait of Vespasian - that Spinola, Valeri and I take for the original head of the emperor on Frieze B - has been reworked. The areas of the traces "a)", "b)" and "c)", discussed by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 77, at their fig. 23) - as not otherwise expectable - look *different* at the original than on the author's Fig. 23 that reproduces a plaster cast.

**In agreement with Spinola and Valeri, I maintain therefore my earlier opinion that the head of the emperor of Frieze B was from the very beginning the still extant portrait of Vespasian.**

**In addition to this, I am wondering, similarly as in the case of the research conducted by Hugo Meyer (2000; cf. *supra*, in Chapter II.4.), who had based his hypothesis concerning the togate youth on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs on observations at a plaster cast of this head alone, why such far reaching hypotheses, as the one formulated by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 74, Fig. 23), that was just discussed, were documented by these authors with photographs showing a plaster cast; cf. the caption of their Fig. 23).**

**Apart from the fact that neither Hugo Meyer, nor Langer and Pfanner have mentioned the dates, when all these hypotheses have been carefully verified by studying these ideas in front of the original reliefs.**

On 9th May 2019, I fortunately had another time the chance to discuss the Cancellaria Reliefs with Giandomenico Spinola and Claudia Valeri in the Vatican Museums. This visit became necessary, because I wanted to verify again the assertions by Langer and Pfanner (2018) in front of the original reliefs, and wished to discuss them with those colleagues - now that I had in the meantime studied the complete account by Langer and Pfanner (2018) in depth.

**One of the details I intended to study again in front of Frieze B was the neck of the emperor on Frieze B. As we have seen above, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 57-58, 72-74) have come to the conclusion that the extant head of Vespasian must be reworked because they assert that Vespasian's larynx cuts through a wrinkle at the represented men's neck, an alleged fact, which, in their opinion, proves that this wrinkle belongs to a presumed earlier portrait, and that Vespasian's larynx, and consequently his entire portrait, must have been sculpted at a second moment. But Langer and Pfanner base this conclusion on a wrong observation: in front of the original is clearly visible - with and without the aid of a lamp - that the wrinkle in question was instead cut *after* the larynx was sculpted.**

Thus the only proof that Langer and Pfanner could adduce to prove their hypothesis, according to which the extant portrait of Vespasian is allegedly the result of a reworking process, turns out to be *not* existing. Instead of proving their hypothesis, the just described actual situation proves instead beyond any doubt that the extant portrait of Vespasian is the original head of the emperor on Frieze B. I have observed this myself and Giandomenico Spinola and Claudia Valeri are of the same opinion.

Consequently, also concerning the head of Vespasian on Frieze B, Magi's observations (1939; 1945) were correct, who was already of the opinion that the emperor on Frieze B was from the beginning Vespasian.

**To conclude. The ninth hypothesis, which may be added to the eight hypotheses, studied above (*supra*, in Chapter I.1.1.), that published by Langer and Pfanner (2018), is based, as we have just seen, exactly like the other eight, on the same wrong assumption, which was first suggested by Bergmann - that the head of Vespasian on Frieze B was recut from a portrait of Domitian.**

But, as we have just seen, Langer and Pfanner (2018) follow at the same time the critiques of McCann's and Bergmann's relevant hypotheses, formulated by Gauer (1973), Darwall-Smith (1996) and Varner (2004).

This is why Langer and Pfanner (2018, 74, Fig. 23) themselves suggest that the reworking of the emperor's head on Frieze B is provable because of certain traces at Vespasian's neck, which they have observed at a plaster cast of Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs, and that may be interpreted as remains of an earlier portrait ('most probably of Domitian'; cf. LANGER and PFANNER 2018, 73), which, in their opinion, had been recut into that of Vespasian. As we have seen above, the latter assertions are not true.

Therefore I agree with those scholars, who have already refuted six out of the altogether eight hypotheses summarized above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.1.1.), and because the other two hypotheses, discussed in Chapter I.1.1., are likewise based on Bergmann's wrong assumption (1981), according to which the portrait of Vespasian was recut from an alleged original portrait of Domitian, I myself refute also those other two hypotheses. These two hypotheses are those published by Gerhard Koepfel (1984, 7, 31-33) and Massimo Pentiricci 2009, 57-58, with ns. 409-414. For both; cf. *supra*, n. 128, in Chapters I.1.; cf. also at Chapter I.1.1.).

**Finally I find also the ninth hypothesis discussed here, relating to the same subject, that published by Langer and Pfanner (2018), not convincing, which is likewise based on Marianne Bergmann's (1981) wrong assumption that the portrait of Vespasian was recut from another portrait, 'most probably of Domitian', as Langer and Pfanner write. To this I should like to add now that I likewise do not find the tenth hypothesis convincing, which relates to the same subject, that suggested by Joachim Raeder (2010, 141, discussed *supra*, in Chapters I.1.1.; V.1.b), because also Raeder follows Bergmann's wrong assumption that the extant portrait of Vespasian was recut from the (alleged) original portrait of Domitian.**

Provided, the assumption of Filippo Magi (1939; *id.* 1945; cf. *supra*, n. 112, in Chapter I.1.), of many subsequent scholars, and now of Spinola, Claudia Valeri and myself should be true that the head of Vespasian on Frieze B has *not* been reworked, but has already been sculpted at the order of Domitian in the first carving phase of this panel, it is also reasonable to conclude that Domitian had decided to let himself portray as the togate youth, standing in front of Vespasian.

As we have seen above, also Langer and Pfanner (2018, 73) themselves write:

**"Da Relief A und B aufgrund von Stil, Technik, Material, Maßen und Fundkontext eindeutig zusammengehören, ist es nach wie vor am wahrscheinlichsten, dass Domitian auf beiden Reliefs abgebildet war [my emphasis]". - Although they themselves believe, of course, that it is the figure of the emperor on Frieze B (i.e., in reality Vespasian), who should 'originally' have represented Domitian.**

If my hypothesis should be true, we, therefore, see on Frieze B the young Caesar Domitian, in his capacity as *praetor urbanus*, the artists possibly allude at the same time at his title *Princeps iuventutis* by the 'wrong', simple *calcei* he is wearing (considering that, as *praetor urbanus* being a member of the Senate, he should wear the *calcei senatorii*), and that despite of the fact that many of the scholars, who have been discussed in this *Study*, deny that his face is a portrait at all.

For more arguments that, in my opinion, support my relevant hypotheses, see the Chapters V.1.i.3.); V.1.i.3.a); and VI.3.

On 19th September 2019, I discussed again with Giandomenico Spinola the findings summarized here concerning the emperor on Frieze B (in our opinion from the beginning Vespasian), in front of the original Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs. Giandomenico Spinola was so kind as to take photographs of the relevant details of this panel for me, which are kept in my archive.

**In my opinion, the solution to the whole problem discussed here has been provided long ago by Rita Paris (1994b) thanks to her correct interpretation of an iconographic detail that has so far not been considered in this context: the *corona civica*, with which *Victoria* is shown as crowning the emperor on frieze B (cf. here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 14 [Vespasian]; 16 [Victoria]).**

In the following, I anticipate, what I wrote for Chapter V.1.i.3.):

**'Only after this Chapter was written, did I read the reference by Barbara Borg (2019, 245 with n. 194, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a)) to the reconstruction of one of the three marble reliefs from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* by Rita Paris (1994b) and arch. Gloria Marconi (1994).**

**Exactly as Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Fig. 2), this relief (cf. here Fig. 33, reconstruction drawing by Marconi), shows Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in October of AD 70. Of this relief, Vespasian's head is preserved, whom *Victoria* has already crowned with the *corona civica*, and Paris (1994b, 81-82, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a) is able to explain convincingly, why Vespasian is shown as having been honoured with precisely *that* wreath: a decoration with the *corona civica* was the highest ranking decoration for a military victory, only granted Augustus and Vespasian, because thanks to their military campaigns they had been able to put an end to *civil wars*.'**

If true, this observation by Rita Paris (1994b) can prove beyond any doubt that the head of the emperor on Frieze B was from the beginning a portrait of Vespasian.

**V.1.i) The hypotheses of S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018) and myself concerning the design, manufacture, and meaning of both friezes of the Cancellaria Reliefs, the structure, to which they may have belonged, and the reason, why this structure was destroyed**

**V.1.i.1.) The hypotheses of S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018) concerning the design, manufacture, and meaning of both friezes of the Cancellaria Reliefs, the monument or building to which they may have belonged, and the reason, why this structure was destroyed**

Some of the passages by Langer and Pfanner (2018), quoted in the following, have already been discussed above.

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 31, Chapter: "2.7 Bautechnischer Befund"):

"Die Ausarbeitung der Reliefs fand am Bau statt, denn man traf auf die Wolfslöcher 3 der Platte A2 und 1 der Platte B1 (s. Abb. 29) [cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**]; cf. p. 40: "Ebenso wie bei den Reliefs erfolgte die Ausführung der Rahmen und Kymatien am Bau, wie u. a. [unter anderem] die knapp angeschnittenen unteren Dübellöcher zeigen (s. Dübel 4 und 5 bei Platte B1).

Zusammenfassung: laut dem technischen und architektonischen Befund lässt sich für die Cancellaria-Platten folgendes Schicksal rekonstruieren:

Obwohl die Platten des Frieses A und B gewisse Unterschiede zeigen, sind sie in ihrer Machart und Herstellungsgeschichte so ähnlich, dass die Zusammengehörigkeit zum selben Bauwerk außer Frage steht"; cf. p. 41 (after meticulously describing all these technical details): "... Gänzlich misslungen ist das untere Kyma, das ebenso wie die seitlichen und oberen Rahmen jeder Maßgenauigkeit und Steinmetzkunst spottet (s. Abb. 8c und 8e-g). Diese eklatanten Ausführungsmängel und Unsauberkeiten sind auf das unsystematische Verdübelungssystem, auf fehlende Planung und eine mangelnde Bauüberwachung zurückzuführen, wie es ähnlich bei den Reliefs selbst zu beobachten ist (s.[siehe] Kap. 2.9.3)";

**Langer and Pfanner (2018, 59) write:**

**"2.9 Auswertung: Mit den Reliefs vom Palazzo Cancellaria in Rom liegen zwei Highlights der Römischen Kunst vor, die sich seit ihrer Auffindung 1937 und 1939 immer wieder der wissenschaftlichen Annäherung entziehen [with n. 39, providing references; my emphasis]."**

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 69, Chapter: "2.9.3 Planung, Entwurf, Ausführung der Reliefs - Bildhauertechnik und Unfertigkeiten"; "Technik, Unfertigkeiten und Organisation"):

"Die Reliefs weisen allerorten unterschiedliche Bearbeitungsstadien auf. **Endgültig vollendet mit geglätteten Gesichtern wie bei der Minerva (Figur 5) des Relief[s] A (s.[siehe] Taf. 21,1.2) und fein geschliffener Hintergrundfläche wie bei der Victoria (Figur 16) des Reliefs B (s.[siehe] Taf. 42,1 und Abb. 17) sind sie nirgends.** Der Befund spricht für das gleichzeitige und eher unsystematische Vorgehen von vielen Leuten und Spezialisten überall an den Friesen ..."; cf. p. 70: "Neben den unübersehbaren Unfertigkeiten sind viele Partien perfekt und detailliert ausgearbeitet ... **Die Webstruktur des Gewandes der Vestalin (Nr. 5) [on frieze B] ist fein angedeutet (s.[siehe] Taf. 3,1). Die Helme von Mars (Figur 4) und Minerva (Figur 5) auf Relief A und der Dea Roma (Figur 2) auf Relief B (s.[siehe] Taf. 20,1-2; Taf. 21,1-2; Taf. 33,1-2) sind wahre Prachtstücke ...[my emphasis]**"; cf. elsewhere on p. 70: "Die Diskrepanz der bildhauerischen Technik bei den Reliefs ist unübersehbar. **Einerseits werden Details mit größtem Aufwand akribisch ausgearbeitet, andererseits gibt es zahlreiche Unfertigkeiten und Fehler. Als wahrscheinlichste Erklärung bietet sich ein abruptes oder überhastetes Abbrechen der Arbeiten an, das einhergeht mit dem Einsatz parallel arbeitender Arbeitsgruppen und Spezialisten sowie einer prinzipiell schlechten Bauüberwachung und Koordination. Der technische Baubefund führte übrigens zu ganz ähnlichen Schlussfolgerungen (s. Kap. 2.7) [my emphasis]**".

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 73-74, Chapter: "2.9.5 Deutung und Interpretation der Reliefs"):

"Grundsätzlich stehen sich bei den Cancellariareliefs zwei Positionen gegenüber: auf der einen Seite Deutungsansätze, die auf diverse historische Ereignisse rekurrieren und auf der anderen Seite solche, die den symbolisch-allegorischen Charakter betonen. Meist jedoch werden diese beiden Aspekte miteinander vermischt oder nach Bedarf ausgeblendet. Einig sind sich die meisten Forscher hingegen, dass es sich bei den Reliefs um Pendants handeln muss, worauf eine Vielzahl der Deutungen beruht [with n. 93: "Zuletzt - beidemal überzeugend und in sich schlüssig ... (quoting: T. HÖLSCHER 2009a and D. BOSCHUNG 2012)"; for a discussion of T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, cf. *supra*, at Chapter III.]

Die genannten Parameter machen es [a] schier unmöglich, eine der vorhandenen Deutungen zu verifizieren (s. Abb. 13 und 14) oder [b] eine seriöse neue Deutung vorzulegen [my emphasis]."

As already mentioned before (cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.1.), I do not subscribe to the latter assertions of Langer and Pfanner (2018, 74), that it is a) 'nearly impossible to verify the hypotheses', published by those scholars, to whom they refer - who are identical with those, discussed in this *Study* - nor am I convinced, that it is b) likewise 'nearly impossible to present [oneself] a serious new interpretation' [of the Cancellaria Reliefs], since I have tried to do both in this *Study*.

Immediately after that, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 74) continue: "Im Folgenden wird deshalb lediglich versucht, auf Grundlage des Befundes Sicheres hervorzuheben, Abwegiges auszuschließen und Wahrscheinliches zu untermauern. Interessante neue Aspekte wie die politischen Intentionen Nervas und die Relevanz des Baukontextes werden im Kapitel 9.6 behandelt".

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 76): "Die Deutung als Aufbruch Domitians in den Krieg bzw. als *profectio* steht und fällt mit dem fehlenden linken Relieftteil. Sollte sich hier, wie schon verschiedentlich vorgeschlagen, ein Tempel, eine entgegenkommende Figurengruppe oder eine wartende Gottheit befinden, dann wäre die Möglichkeit für zahlreiche weitere Interpretationen gegeben (s. Abb. 13). Die Aneignung des Reliefs durch Nerva und die damit verbundene Umarbeitung bringt neue Aspekte, die in Kapitel 2.9.6 behandelt werden".

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 78-79): "Zusammenfassung: Auf Relief B trifft der Kaiser auf eine Gruppe von Personen, die bis auf Figur 12 [*i.e.*, the togate youth, here interpreted as Domitian] mehr oder weniger eindeutig benennbar sind, nämlich Dea Roma, die Vestalinnen, ein Lictor curiatus, der Genius Senatus und der Genius Populi Romani. Fünf bis sechs Liktoren bzw. Amtsdienere begleiten ihn und die Victoria bekränzt ihn. Die Begegnung der zwei Gruppen spricht für eine *adventus*-Szene (s. Abb. 27). Wie bei Relief A schauen alle erhaltenen Figuren, ausgenommen eines einzelnen Mannes (Lictor Nr. 9) auf den Kaiser. Er wird ebenso von Personifikationen gerahmt, wobei die Dea Roma, obwohl an den linken Bildrand gerückt, in einem deutlichen Bezug zu ihm steht (s. Abb. 27 und 28). Komposition, Bewegungs- und Blickrichtungen der Figuren beziehen sich - ein typisches Element des römischen Staatsreliefs! - ausschließlich auf den Kaiser.

**Die Tatsache, dass die Identität des jungen Mannes (Figur 12) vor dem Kaiser nicht gelüftet werden kann, macht jede Deutung der Szene unsicher (s. Abb. 14). Augenfällig ist der zivile Charakter der Szene. Der Kaiser ist mit der *toga* bekleidet, es fehlen Soldaten und bezeichnende militärische Elemente. Die Bekrönung mit einem Eichenlaubkranz durch Victoria ist nicht zwingend und exklusiv als militärische Auszeichnung zu verstehen [with n. 138] [my emphasis]."**

Cf. their **note 38**: "Bergmann a. O. Anm. 123 [*i.e.*, here B. BERGMANN 2010a] 146f. [my emphasis]."

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 80):

**"Sieht man Relief A und Relief B als Pendants, so würden sie sich bei der Deutung als *profectio* und *adventus* und der Betonung der militärischen und zivilen Aspekte perfekt ergänzen. Da wir aber den ursprünglichen Baukontext und die Anzahl der Reliefs nicht kennen, bleibt diese verlockende und immer wieder favorisierte Version hypothetisch [my emphasis]."**

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 80-81, Chapter 2.9.6): "Der ursprüngliche Baukontext lässt sich annähernd fassen (s. Abb. 30). Die relativ dünnen Marmorplatten dienten als Verkleidung, während der Kern des Baues aus Ziegeln oder weniger wertvollen Steinen wie Travertin, Tuff o. ä. [oder ähnlichem] bestand. Die Anschlussblöcke müssen ebenfalls aus massivem Stein, vermutlich Marmor, gewesen sein. Darauf weisen die typischen Dübel- und Klammerlöcher an den Ober-, Unter- und Nebenseiten hin. Die Reliefs standen mit ihrer Profilierung einige Zentimeter gegenüber der Wandfläche vor. Sie waren wahrscheinlich so hoch

angebracht, dass man die unsauber ausgeführte obere Profilkante nicht sehen konnte (Abb. 30c und Taf. 18,2.3).

Die Art des Baus kann trotz zahlreicher Vorschläge nicht bestimmt werden. Alle die in diesem Zusammenhang genannten Bauten Domitians sind spekulativ [with n. 142].

**Die bei den Ausgrabungen am Hirtiusgrab zusammen mit den Cancellarieliefs gefundenen Architekturteile und Inschriftenfragmente dürften domitianisch sein und könnten vom selben Bauwerk stammen (vgl. [vergleiche] Beitrag und Rekonstruktionsvorschlag Wolf und Freyberger, hier im Annex [cf. here *infra*, at Chapters V.2.; and V.3.]), aber auch dies ist hypothetisch. Die dünnen Reliefplatten sprechen nicht unbedingt für die Anbringung an einem Triumphbogen, denn beim Titus- und Trajansbogen wurden nur massive Steinblöcke verwendet [with n. 143, providing a reference; my emphasis].**

The latter remark repeats an opinion, already voiced by Pfanner (1983, 51). This has been rejected by Pentiricci (2009, 61-62, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 264), whose important work on the Cancellaria Reliefs neither Langer and Pfanner (2018), nor Wolf (2018), or Freyberger (2018) have discussed.

In their **note 142**, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 81) write: "Zur Lokalisierung des Monumentes vgl. u. a. [vergleiche unter anderem] folgende Vorschläge: als Triumphbogen durch Fuhrmann ... [*i.e.*, here FUHRMANN 1940] Sp. 468-476; Pallottino a. O. (Anm. 40 ["M. Pallottino, Roma 19, 1941, 370f."]) 370f.; Toynbee ... [*i.e.*, here J.M.C. TOYNBEE, *JRS* 36, 1946] 188 f. [*corr.*: 179-180]; F. Magi, *BCom* [*i.e.*, *BullCom*] 67, 1939, 205f.; als *Porta Triumphalis* durch R. Bianchi Bandinelli - M. Torelli, *L'Arte dell'Antichità Classica* II (Turin 1976) Nr. 105; als *Templum/Porticus Divorum* durch Last ... [*i.e.*, here H. LAST 1948]) 14; Darwall-Smith 1996, 159. 176f.; Rumpf 1955/56, 117; als *Domus Aurea* durch Herzog 2001, 147; als *Villa Publica* durch Baumer 2007, 104 f.; als Hercules-Tempel an der *Via Appia* durch Simon ... [*i.e.*, here E. SIMON 1960]) 156".

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84):

**"2.10. Zusammenfassung: Bei den Cancellarieliefs handelt es sich um ein vieldiskutiertes Hauptmonument der römischen Staatskunst, das 1937-39 unter dem Palazzo della Cancelleria in Rom entdeckt und durch Filippo Magi im Jahre 1945 publiziert wurde. Auf Relief A begleiten den Kaiser diverse Götter, Personifikationen, Liktoren und Soldaten, auf Relief B ist er umgeben von Vestalinnen, Göttern, Personifikationen und Liktoren [my emphasis]."**

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 82) write:

**"Die Cancellarieliefs und die Politik Nervas: Die Deutung der Reliefs für die domitianische Zeit bleibt ungeklärt, auch wenn für Relief A eine *profectio* und der militärische Aspekt und für Relief B ein *adventus* und der zivile Charakter am plausibelsten sind [my emphasis]."**

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84):

**"Deutung: Die Darstellungen sind singulär und nicht abschließend geklärt. Fries A thematisiert vermutlich den Auszug (*profectio*) aus Rom mit Betonung des militärischen Aspekts und der kaiserlichen *virtus* und *victoria*, Fries B die Ankunft (*adventus*) in Rom und die Begegnung mit den wichtigsten stadtrömischen Repräsentanten unter Heraushebung des zivilen Aspekts inklusive der *virtutes pietas* und *concordia* [my emphasis]."**

As already said above (cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.1.b)), for their latter observation, that Frieze B represents the "*virtutes pietas* und *concordia*", Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84) do not themselves provide a reference.



I agree with their statement, but for reasons, to which they themselves object. These two virtues are mentioned by Pfeiffer (2009, 62, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter V.1.b)), in his discussion of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs, whom Langer and Pfanner (2018, 27) themselves quote in their bibliography, but do not discuss in this context. - But, Pfeiffer (*op.cit.*), in my opinion rightly, comes to this conclusion, because he follows Magi (1939; 1945) in assuming that Frieze B showed from the very beginning Vespasian, who with the gesture of his right hand gives the togate youth Domitian the legitimization to reign as Emperor.

Concerning the destruction of the Cancellaria Reliefs, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 81) write:

"Gerne wüsste man, wie lange dieser >Cancellaria-Bau< stand und wann die Platten abgenommen und am Hirtiusgrab abgestellt wurden. Die Fundumstände am Palazzo della Cancellaria liefern dafür keine Anhaltspunkte [with n. 149]". Cf. their **note 149**: "Ob der Abriss des Gebäudes bereits unter Nerva, unter Trajan oder noch später erfolgte, muss dahingestellt bleiben. Da dieses Gebiet in hadrianischer Zeit intensiv bebaut wurde, könnte es sein, dass die Platten spätestens zu dieser Zeit dort abgelegt wurden, womit wir einen *terminus ante quem* hätten. Da die Datierung der Bodenschichten über dem Hirtiusgrab nach wie vor unsicher ist, kann die Deponierung allerdings auch später sein. Vgl. auch Kap. 2.1.". - For a discussion of the relevant passages of their Chapter 2.1, cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.a).

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 82):

"Wann die Platten vom Bau abgenommen worden sind, wissen wir nicht [with n. 150]. Die Umarbeitung zum Nervakopf war auf jeden Fall unbefriedigend, denn man sah nach wie vor die Domitianslocken und vor allem die unschöne Kante zwischen Nervagesicht und Domitiansfrisur (s.[iehe] Abb. 20c). **Vielleicht ordnete deshalb schon Nerva selbst an, die Platten abzunehmen, was mit dem Abbruch des gesamten Monuments einherging. Das legt der bautechnische Befund nahe, der näher erläutert werden muss** (s. Abb. 29; my emphasis)".

Cf. their **note 150**: "Dagegen Simon, in: Helbig<sup>4</sup> I (1963 [*i.e.*, here E. SIMON 1963]) 9: Die Reliefs seien nach der *damnatio memoriae* [of Domitian] abgenommen worden, da das gesamte Gebäude zerstört worden sei [my mphasis]".

Cf. Erika Simon (1963, 9): "Die Übereinstimmung beider Friese [*i.e.*, of the Cancellaria Reliefs, here **Figs. 1; 2**] in Marmor, Stil und Maßen sowie ihre einheitliche Rahmung machen es sicher, daß sie als Gegenstücke an demselben Bauwerk saßen. Dieses ist uns unbekannt, doch dürfte es eine persönliche Stiftung des Domitian gewesen sein, die wie er selbst der *damnatio memoriae* verfiel. Die Reliefs wurden abgenommen und aufbewahrt und unter Nerva ein zweites Mal verwendet".

This passage was already quoted above (cf. *supra*, n. 257, in Chapter I.3.2.).

Concerning the design of both friezes, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 64-65, Chapter 2.9.2: "Stilistisches, Künstlerisches und Komposition") write:

"Der grundsätzlich andere Reliefaufbau ist für den Gesamteindruck entscheidender als die eher marginalen stilistischen und künstlerischen Unterschiede. Bei A stehen die Figuren eng zusammen und sind bis zu drei Reihen in die Tiefe gestuft [with n. 64, with further discussion]. Bei B stehen die Personen weiter auseinander, die Hintergrundfiguren werden in die Höhe gestaffelt.

Bei A wird Tiefenräumlichkeit durch Überschneidung der Figuren und mit Hoch- und Flachrelief erreicht. Der Raum über den Köpfen bleibt leer, lediglich die *fasces* und Speere sowie die schwebende Victoria nutzen den Luftraum. Bei Fries B rücken die Hintergrundfiguren nach oben und besetzen die obere Relieffläche.

Die Wahl dieses Kompositionsprinzips ist nicht glücklich, denn es stellt dem >entwerfenden Meister<, den es wahrscheinlich in dieser Form gar nicht gab (s. Kap. 2.9.3), vor nahezu unlösbare Probleme. Die erhöht auf einem Thron sitzende Roma erhält ein weiteres undefinierbares Podest; der Unterkörper des Genius Senatus (**Figur 11**) wird grotesk überlängt, der Genius Populi Romani (**Figur 13**) steht unvermittelt auf einem >Hocker< und wirkt wie verkrüppelt [my emphasis]".

*V.1.i.2.) My own hypothesis concerning the statue-type (?) of the Dea Roma on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Fig. 2): it is reminiscent of Vespasian's coins commemorating his revival of the archaic festival of the Septimontium (cf. here Fig. 112)*

Many scholars, who tried to explain, why the Vestal Virgins occupy such a prominent place, as well as so much space on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs, have discussed the fact that Domitian was very much interested in the cult of these priestesses (cf. *supra*, ns. 267, 272, in Chapter I.3.2.).

It has also been observed that the iconographies of the *Dea Roma* on Frieze A and B differ from each other (cf. *supra*, n. 181, in Chapter I.1.). Langer and Pfanner (2018, pp. 51-52, Frieze B: "Figur 2: Dea Roma") have, in addition to this, observed that the *Dea Roma* on Frieze B does not have a left arm, as she should, of course.

Stefan Pfeiffer (2018, 189, Chapter: "The themes of Domitian's self-presentation"), writes concerning Domitian's relation to the Vestal Virgins:

**"3. Domitian's attempt to improve Roman morality, the *correctio morum*, which he fostered by taking *contra mores* the censorship for lifetime, became almost equally important as *virtus militaris* [with n. 95]. As *pontifex maximus*, he took harsh measures against obscene Vestal virgins [with n. 96; my emphasis].**

4. Domitian tried to establish a symbolic relation to Augustus, as evident from his *correctio morum* and the saecular games he held [with n. 97]". In his notes, Pfeiffer provides references. This point was already quoted and discussed above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter II.3.1.c)).

For Domitian's *correctio morum*, mentioned above by Stefan Pfeiffer (2018, 189); cf. also Eve D'Ambra (1993), and Zarah Newby (2016, 67-68, quoted already *verbatim supra*, in Chapter II.3.1.c), and in more detail *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.a)).

**Most of these facts concerning the representation of the *Dea Roma* on Frieze B, and especially the just quoted observation by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 65), that the *Dea Roma* on Frieze B, strangely enough, is positioned at an elevated position in regard to the figures, depicted on this frieze in the foreground, can, in my opinion, be explained by the assumption that the artists, who designed Frieze B, wished to remind the beholder of an iconography of the *Dea Roma* that at Rome and elsewhere was closely connected with the festival of the *Septimontium*, and thus with Vespasian and Domitian.**

This (statue?-)type of the *Dea Roma* appears for example on a *sestertius*, struck under Vespasian in AD 71 (cf. here **Fig. 112**). It shows the *Dea Roma* seated, as if on a throne, and seen in her right profile, armed with a helmet and holding a sceptre, in a pose and iconography very similar to her representation on Frieze B, but not elevated by means of a pedestal, on which her throne is set, as on Frieze B, but instead on top of, and leaning against 'the seven hills of Rome'.

**Fig. 112. Sestertius, issued by Vespasian in AD 71, Rome. With the *Dea Roma* on the reverse, seated on Rome's 'seven hills', thus referring to the *Septimontium* festival, which Vespasian had revived. Cf. A. Fraschetti ("Montes", in: *LTUR* III (1996) 285, Fig. 186: "Sesterzio di Vespasiano del 71 d. C. *RIC* II, 69 N. 442"). From: The British Museum. Obverse: IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG P M T P P P COS III; reverse: S C ROMA; *RIC* 2.1, 108, p. 67: "Roma seated right on the seven hills; to left wolf and twins; to right, River Tiber". © The Trustees of the British Museum.**

Online at: <[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1872-0709-477](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1872-0709-477)> [last visit: 7-V-2023].

Again, as in Vespasian's *sestertius* with the representation of his Temple of Isis at The Iseum Campense in Rome (here **Fig. 113**), Vespasian on his *sestertius* here **Fig. 112**, by means of his *aegis*, is equated with Jupiter, and that in a very peculiar iconography. Vespasian is wearing Jupiter's *aegis* similarly as Minerva does on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 5**), but without attaching it to a garment or a cuirass, it rather seems, as if the *aegis* were part of his own body. For a discussion of this iconographies and of the coin here **Figs. 112 and 113**; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II.a*).

For the coin here **Fig. 112**; cf. also Laurent Bricault and Richard Veymiers (2018, 141, 143), and Alexander Heinemann (2018, 237, with n. 109, offering different interpretations of the meaning of its reverse that should, of course, likewise be considered), both quoted and discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II.a*).

Vespasian, as was typical of him, had revived the archaic festival of the *Septimontium*, celebrated on 11th December, which was later especially lavishly endowed by Domitian (Suet., *Dom.* 4.5). On the Esquiline was found in 1509 near the "Sette Sale" a marble altar 'of archaic shape', dedicated to Jupiter. The area in question belonged to the *Mons Oppius*, and, in my opinion, to the *lucus Fagutalis* (cf. *infra*), where Iuppiter Fagutalis was venerated. The inscription (*CIL* VI, 369) says that the Emperor Vespasian dedicated this altar 'on behalf of the pontifical college', and the formula implies that Vespasian as *pontifex maximus* himself acted in the dedication ceremony. It is tempting to envisage Vespasian's dedication of this altar in connection with his newly revived festival of the *Septimontium*. When considering the fact that the Vestal Virgins belonged to the *pontifical college* (cf. below, at *The first Contribution by Jörg Rüpke*), which means that Vespasian had acted in the dedication ceremony in the *lucus Fagutalis inter alia* on behalf of the Vestal Virgins, and considering at the same time the peculiar arrangement on Frieze B, where the *Dea Roma*, sitting so-to-say on the 'seven hills of Rome' being surrounded by the Vestal Virgins (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 2 [Dea Roma]; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7 [Vestal Virgins]**), it is tempting to believe that Domitian and his artists, with their design of these features of Frieze B had intended to remind the beholder of some important religious ceremonies at the festival of the *Septimontium*, at which Vespasian and the Vestal Virgins had acted together.

The term '*Septimontium*' did not derive from *septem* and *montes*, as has been thought, but from *saepti* and *montes* (thus meaning 'hills, enclosed by walls'), because it probably celebrated the historical event of the *synoikismos* of several previously independent archaic settlements within the area of what is nowadays Rome - each protected by their individual walls - to become the City of Rome.

**Later the festival '*Septimontium*' was understood as celebrating the 'seven hills of Rome', so also at Vespasian's time, when a statue of the *Dea Roma* was dedicated at the city of Corinth, as we learn from Filippo Coarelli (1999a, 268). We know from other sources that in the Roman Provinces, the cult of the *Dea Roma* was closely connected with the imperial cult. - To this I will come back below.**

In the dedicatory inscription of this statue of the *Dea Roma* at Corinth, the 'seven hills of Rome' are listed. - We ignore, whether this statue of the *Septimontium-Dea Roma*, that was dedicated at Corinth, and probably also elsewhere in the Roman Empire, followed the specific (statue-)type, that appears also on Vespasian's *sestertius* of AD 71 (here **Fig. 112**). If so, the assumption that the representation of the *Dea Roma* on Frieze B (here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 2**) is influenced by this iconography of the goddess, could explain, why some scholars believe that what we see on that panel is not the goddess 'herself', but rather a statue representing her (cf. *supra*, n. 422, in Chapter III.).

As mentioned before, I follow Magi (cf. *supra*, n. 162, in Chapter I.1.), in assuming that the amazon-like figures on Frieze A and B should both be identified as the *Dea Roma* (for discussions, cf. *supra*, at Chapters I.1.; and I.2.). I hope to have already proven in Chapter I.2. that the amazon-like figure on Frieze A (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 9**) may indeed be identified with the *Dea Roma*. If my hypothesis should be true that the representation of the amazon-like figure on Frieze B is modeled after the iconography of the *Dea Roma* that appears also on Vespasian's *sestertius* here **Fig. 112** - which in its turn is related to the *Septimontium* festival - that would prove that this figure on Frieze B represents the *Dea Roma* as well. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 51, on frieze B, "**Figur 2: Dea Roma**"), in my opinion correctly identify this figure as the *Dea Roma*, whereas on p. 76 they write: "Im Hintergrund thront die mit Speer und Helm gerüstete Roma/Virtus (**Figur 2** [on Frieze B]) und blickt auf das Geschehen in der rechten Frieshälte [my emphasis]".

**In their just quoted passage, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 76) thus observe, as already other scholars in the past, that the artists of Frieze B (cf. here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing, figures 2 [*Dea Roma*]; 14 [Vespasian]) have stressed by means of the composition, that the *Dea Roma* on Frieze B and the emperor (in my opinion from the beginning Vespasian) are characterized as having a very strong relationship with each other.**

Provided this assumption should be true, the 'larger left half' of Frieze B, which, in my opinion, is dedicated to the City of Rome (cf. *supra* at n. 249, in Chapter I.2.1.b), shows already, as if in a vision, the future blessings of Vespasian's reign, so to say his 'Regierungsprogramm' (the 'program of his future government') - a reign that in a certain sense only starts at this very moment, since Frieze B visualizes *inter alia* the investiture of the new Emperor Vespasian (to this hypothesis I will come back below, at Chapter V.1.i.3.).

If so, this 'sermon in stone' (so George Maxim Anosov Hanfmann 1975 in a different context; cf. *supra*, n. 207, in Chapter I.1.1.), as we might likewise call Frieze B, tells us, that Vespasian's reign will be characterized by the restoration and the duly observation of the important cults of the City of Rome, as well as by the revival of old festivals, such as the archaic *Septimontium*. The cults, supported by Vespasian, comprised that of the *Dea Roma*, who at that time was also venerated in the Roman provinces, for example at Corinth - and we may wonder, whether the cult-image of the *Dea Roma* there was represented according to the same statue-type that is possibly also represented on Frieze B.

The revival of the *Septimontium*, that Vespasian had himself commemorated with his coin issued in AD 71 (cf. here **Fig. 112**), showed definitely the *Dea Roma* in an iconography which resembles her image on **Frieze B**.

Alternatively, because Domitian commissioned the Cancellaria Reliefs long after Vespasian's death, he may have ordered his artists to describe in this 'sermon in stone' - Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs - the just mentioned blessings of the reigns of the two Flavian emperors, who had preceded him. As we have seen above, precisely that is formulated *expressis verbis* in the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk

Cf. here **Fig. 28**; cf. *supra*, at Chapter IV.1. See also below, at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini : La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*).

As I have written elsewhere: "In one of the inscriptions on his Obelisk, written in hieroglyphs, Domitian formulates his hope that his contemporaries as well as posterity will always remember the achievements of his family, the Flavian dynasty, especially their benefactions for the Roman People"; cf. Häuber (2017, 21; cf. pp. 165-169); cf. *supra*, at n. 466, in Chapter IV.1.

Emanuele Ciampini writes in this *Study* (cf. below, at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini : La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*) that the contents of these hieroglyphic texts on Domitian's obelisk have been composed in close collaboration with Domitian. Ciampini suggests that these texts prove the presence of Egyptian specialists at Rome, who were not only able to write hieroglyphic texts in the same impeccable quality as in pharaonic times in Egypt, but who, at the same time, aptly created that amalgam of

self-presentation, which is typical of Domitian. This self-presentation is manifest both in Domitian's many building projects in Egypt, as well as in his Egyptian projects at Rome, and, as Ciampini observes; in the relating hieroglyphic texts, Domitian and his Egyptian consultants combined thoughts, based on Egyptian theology, with those of the Roman principate.

For the archaic festival of the *Septimontium*, celebrated on 11th December 'on the seven hills of Rome', that was revived by Vespasian and celebrated with special expenditure by Domitian, cf. F. Coarelli (1999a, 268):

"... nel frattempo la festa [*i.e.*, the *Septimontium*] era diventata pubblica, forse a partire dell'età flavia. Infatti, sotto domiziano sono ricordate celebrazioni particolari del S.[*Septimontium*] (Suet. *Dom.* 4.5); inoltre, in una moneta di Vespasiano del 71 d.C. (*RIC*, II, 69 N. 442) appare la rappresentazione di Roma seduta sui sette colli (il cui nome è, analogamente, iscritto sul basamento di una statua di Corinto, rappresentante l'*urbs* divinizzata; v.[edi] *LTUR* III, 287)".

Cf. Augusto Frascetti ("Montes", in: *LTUR* III, 1996, 285 [for the "grandissima celebrazione del *Septimontium* a opera di Domiziano"]; cf. p. 287 and his Fig. 186 [for the coin, struck by Vespasian in AD 71: Fig. "186. *Montes*. Sesterzio di Vespasiano del 71 d. C. *RIC* II, 69 N. 442 ... [cf. here **Fig. 112**]).

For the *Septimontium*; cf. Lawrence Richardson Jr. (1992, 349 *s.v.* *Septimontium* [1]; cf. pp. 349-350 *s.v.* *Septimontium* [2] [Fig. 75]; and C. HÄUBER 2014a, 120 with n. 670 [with references], cf. pp. 135, 167, 234, 363, 365, 388 [for one of the archaic sanctuaries, the *lucus Iovis Fagutalis*, located on the eastern part of the *Mons Oppius*, in the area of the "Sette Sale", that lay on the procession route of the festival of the *Septimontium*. The *lucus Fagutalis* was a sacred grove, where a single beech tree, sacred to *Iuppiter Fagutalis*, was worshipped; cf. C. HÄUBER 2014a, 366-367. Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix 1.a*); Sections V. and XI.); cf. p. 181 with n. 295, 366 with ns. 107-110, p. 367 with n. 115 [for the 'altar of archaic form', dedicated to Iuppiter (*CIL* VI, 369), found in 1509 near the "Sette Sale", presumably within the *lucus Iovis Fagutalis*, dedicated by the Emperor Vespasian on behalf of the pontifical college. The formula of the inscription implies that Vespasian himself as *pontifex maximus* acted in the ceremony, and it is tempting to envisage his dedication in connection with the festival of the *Septimontium*].

For the cult of the *Dea Roma*; cf. C. HÄUBER 2005, 26-27 [for the famous dedications of the Republican period on the *Capitolium* by cities and sovereigns of Asia Minor to *Dea Roma*, Iuppiter Optimus Maximus and the *Populus Romanus*]; cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 341 n. 94 [for a discussion of the close connection of the cult of *Dea Roma* and Augustus in Asia Minor]). Some of these monuments, exclusively dedicated to the *Populus Romanus*, were found on the Quirinal, and Coarelli (2014, 107-112, esp. pp. 110ff., Figs. 30-32) convincingly suggests that the findspot of these inscriptions, Palazzo Barberini, may therefore be identified as the site of the Temple of Quirinus.

For a discussion of the locations, suggested for the Temple of Quirinus; cf. Coarelli (2014, 83-112, Chapter: "III Culti"; Section: "1. Quirinus"; cf. *id.*: "Quirinus: Aedes", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 185-187, esp. p. 186, Fig. 74 = here **Fig. 34**. For the Temple of Quirinus; cf. also *infra*, in Chapter *V.1.i.3.a*) and here **Fig. 34**).

Coarelli (2014, 295 with n. 173) convincingly rejects the location of the Temple of Quirinus at a site within the gardens of the Palazzo del Quirinale, as suggested by Andrea Carandini (2007; cf. F. COARELLI 2014, 87-93, with Figs. 16; 17: Carandini's map of the area and his reconstructed ground-plan of the Temple of Quirinus). See also the map of the area by Maria Cristina Capanna (2012, 454), in which the Temple of Quirinus is likewise assumed at this site. Coarelli (2014, 300 with Fig. 107 and ns. 180, 181) refutes also this hypothesis.

As Coarelli is able to show, at the latter site, within the gardens of the Palazzo del Quirinale, stood instead the *domus* of C. Fulvius Plautianus, which is proven by *fstulae aquariae*; cf. Coarelli (2014, 92-93 with ns. 41-46, p. 295 with ns. 174-176, p. 298; cf. pp. 294-311; *Carta Archeologica di Roma* II [1964] 232-234, II H 140, s)), and probably already the *domus* of T. Pomponius Atticus, which stood 'on the Quirinal, between the Temples of Salus and Quirinus'; cf. Coarelli (2014, 271; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c*)). For Coarelli's own reconstructed ground-plan of the Temple of Quirinus (in the area of Palazzo Barberini), cf.

Coarelli (2014, 98, Fig. 21). For the location of the *domus* of C. Fulvius Plautianus at the site here indicated; cf. also the map published by Carlo Pietrangeli (1977; cf. C. COARELLI 2014, 16-17), label: DOMVS FVLVII PLAVTIANI.

Cf. here **Figs. 58; 59**, labels: QUIRINAL; Servian city Wall; PORTA SALUTARIS; COLLIS SALUTARIS; Palazzo del Quirinale; Site of AEDES: SALUS; ALTA SEMITA; Via del Quirinale; DOMUS: T. POMPONIUS ATTICUS ?/ C. FULVIUS PLAUTIANUS; PORTA QUIRINALIS; COLLIS QUIRINALIS; Palazzo Barberini; Site of AEDES: QUIRINUS.

For the above-mentioned Jupiter altar (*CIL* VI, 369), found in 1509 near the "Sette Sale" (in my opinion within the *lucus Iovis Fagutalis*), and, "di forma arcaica", as Filippo Coarelli was so kind as to tell me on December 1st, 2010 (cf. C. HÄUBER 2014a, 366 n. 109), see Serafino Ricci (1891, 198): "due pezzi di marmo, nell'uno era scolpita una fiamma con questa parola, *Jovi*, nell'altra il titolo [*CIL*, VI, 369] (in parte antica) IOVI (in parte postica) IMP. CAESAR.VESPASIANUS. AVG. PER COLLEGIVM PONTEFICVM FECIT".

Coarelli (2009b, 69) writes: "L'attenzione [di Vespasiano] riservata alla religione tradizionale, anche nei suoi aspetti più arcaici, è confermata da altri documenti, come la dedica di un altare da parte di Vespasiano, coadiuvato dal collegio dei pontefici [with n. 29: "*CIL* VI, 369".] a uno *Iuppiter*, che per il luogo di ritrovamento (l'Esquilino, in prossimità delle Terme di Traiano) dovrebbe identificarsi con l'antichissimo *Iuppiter Fagutalis*". Cf. Coarelli (2009a, 510), at cat. no. "114 Iscrizione relativa al restauro della *vinea publica* (*CIL* VI, 933, AD 75; F. COARELLI)", found on the *Via Ardeatina* outside the *Porta Ardeatina* in the Aurelian Walls, where he mentions the inscription *CIL* VI, 369, again (cf. C. HÄUBER 2014a, 367, n. 115).

This Jupiter altar (*CIL* VI, 369), "di forma arcaica", has unfortunately not been discussed by Fabio Giorgio Cavallero (2018).

Coarelli (2019a, 334-338, Chapter: "VII La *Praefectura Urbis*"; Section: "2. *Velia, Carinae, Fagutal*") summarizes the recent discussion concerning the *Fagutal*. Following Á. Fridh (1987), Coarelli (2019a, 335 with n. 145) observes that '*Fagutal*' was not a name of a hill - as most recent scholars have taken for granted, myself included - but that it was only the name of the *lucus Fagutalis*. As before (cf. F. COARELLI 2001), Coarelli (2019a, 337), locates the *lucus Fagutalis* "con tutta probabilità in un area prossima alle Sette Sale" - it was according to Varro (*Ling.* 5,50) the first *sacrarium* of the Esquiline, which the *Argei* visited on their procession.

Cf. our updated map here **Fig. 71**, labels: ESQUILINE; MONS OPPIUS; LUCUS FAGUTALIS; "Sette Sale". To this I will come back below (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.a*); at Sections V. and XI.).

**Apropos, the above-mentioned fact that, 'in the Roman Provinces, the cult of the *Dea Roma* was closely connected with the imperial cult'.**

**After this Chapter was written so far, Rose Mary Sheldon was kind enough to send me Chapter 7 of her book on Domitian (2023, in press), in which she discusses Domitian's promotion of the imperial cult (comprising the cults of *Divus Vespasianus* and *Divus Titus*) all over the Roman Empire, which, in the provinces, was closely connected with the cult of the *Dea Roma*.**

Considering the fact that, in my opinion, Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs, when regarded in retrospect, shows the investiture of Domitian as (future) emperor by his father, *Divus Vespasianus*, I find it also tempting to explain the representation of the *Dea Roma* on Frieze B with Domitian's activities to promote the cults of *Divus Vespasianus* and *Divus Titus*. To support this hypothesis, I repeat in the following a passage from Sheldon's book that was already quoted in more detail *supra* (comprising the footnotes), in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III., at point 3.):

Rose Mary Sheldon (*Guarding the Caesars. Roman Internal Security under the Flavian Dynasty*, 2023, in press; Chapter 7; Section: "Imperial Cult") writes:

**"Part of the Senate's disdain for the Flavians concerned their lack of heralded ancestry. Vespasian could not change his lineage or rewrite his family history ...**

**Domitian now had two deified emperors in his family tree and could compensate for his family's lack of nobility by promoting their achievements and honoring them with religious piety ... Domitian used the imperial cult to lay claim to imperial legitimacy, despite the disregard of many in the Senate. [with n. 95] ...**

**Domitian did not institute a new role for the imperial cult. He simply connected it to his own imperial fortune. He used it and emphasized it in ways that reflected his own unique position as an emperor who was the son of an emperor and a brother of an emperor seeking the legitimacy denied him by the old vanguard within the Senate ...**

The imperial cult was a means of underlying power for all emperors [with n. 103]. **The imperial cult implied the divine right to rule ...**

Scott believed that Domitian was responsible for the establishment of the Flavian cult throughout the Roman world, and that worship was kept going until the close of the second century in spite of the fact that Domitian suffered *damnatio memoriae*. [with n. 104] ...

**mbbbbDomitian's attention to the Flavian family most certainly included the intention of raising his own status as emperor ...**

This was a masterstroke. By using the imperial cult as a means to secure a recognized legitimacy, Domitian was able to place the Senate in a dilemma. Since the cult was attached in practice to the local religions throughout the empire and to the goddess Roma herself, at least in theory, the Senate could not disregard it [my emphasis]". - In her notes, Sheldon provides references and further discussion.

V.1.i.3.) *My own hypotheses concerning the design, manufacture, and meaning of both friezes of the Cancellaria Reliefs, the structure to which they may have belonged, and the reason, why this structure was destroyed*

*After this Chapter was written, I realized that the findings summarized here are complemented by observations, made by R. Paris (1994b) and J. Pollini (2017b). The hypotheses, published by these scholars are, therefore, presented in the followed Chapters V.1.i.3.a) and V.1.i.3.b)*

*“Neben die von Domitian besonders geschätzten Gottheiten Jupiter und Minerva trat der Kult der eigenen Vorfahren, der dem Kaiser vor allem aus legitimatorischen Gründen wichtig war. Er bemühte sich, seiner eigenen Dynastie Frömmigkeit (pietas) zu erweisen und sie auf diese Weise mit dem julisch-claudischen Kaiserhaus gleichzusetzen. Bildlich vor Augen führen uns die pietas-Politik gegenüber dem Vater die beiden in der archäologischen Forschung bezüglich ihrer Interpretation mehr als umstrittenen sogenannten Cancellaria-Reliefs (vgl. zuletzt Henderson 2003). Sie sind nach ihrem Fundort im Garten des Palazzo della Cancellaria Apostolica benannt. Eines der beiden Reliefs zeigt auf jeden Fall Domitian mit Vespasian. Vater und Sohn werden von Minerva, Rom und den Genien von Senat und Volk Roms begleitet. Auf diese Weise ist nicht nur die Legitimation der Herrschaft des Domitian durch seinen Vater verkündet, sondern auch der consensus universorum, die Zustimmung zu seiner Herrschaft durch die Götter und die Untertanen”.*

Stefan Pfeiffer (2009, 62).

Only after I had thought to have finished writing this *Study*, did I find this passage in Stefan Pfeiffer's book on the Flavian emperors (2009, 62, quoted in more detail *supra*, in Chapters II.3.1.b); and II.3.1.c)), who, concerning Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs, has come to almost the same conclusions as I myself.

For the following summary of my own hypotheses, see also *supra*, at n. 363, in Chapter II.3.3.a), and *infra*, at Chapter VI.3.

**I myself interpret the two Cancellaria Reliefs, as indicated in the captions of here Figs. 1 and 2. Frieze A showed, in my opinion, in its Domitianic carving phase the *profectio* of Domitian to one of his victorious military campaigns (in my opinion that of AD 89; cf. *supra*, n. 232, in Chapter I.2.; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.f). Frieze B showed from the very beginning what we still see today: the *adventus* of Vespasian at Rome in the first half of October AD 70, his decoration with the *corona civica* for having ended the civil war, and his investiture as the new Roman emperor; at the same time this panel visualized the legitimation of Domitian's reign (cf. *supra*, in Chapters IV.1.; and V.1.h.1.). See for this interpretation Giandomenico Spinola (personal communication; cf. *supra*, at Chapter III; see also below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*), whom I am following here. See also below, at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini : La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*), both discussed *infra*, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.**

**I believe that Nerva, as a consequence of his victory in the *bellum Suebicum* in October of AD 97 had decided because of this fact to order the reworking of those panels into representations of his own achievements; that Nerva possibly himself ordered the interruption of those works shortly after he had adopted Trajan (*i.e.*, in late October or beginning of November 97 AD), and that he, for the same reason, possibly later ordered the destruction of the monument or building that contained those panels (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.c)). According to this scenario, Nerva had, therefore, only the time to start the reworking of Frieze A: this panel was, in my opinion, supposed to visualize Nerva's *profectio* to his *bellum Suebicum* (cf. *supra*, in Chapters II.3.1.a); II.3.2.; V.1.b); V.1.c).**



In addition to this, I further tentatively suggest that Domitian had commissioned the Cancellaria Reliefs for one of his (triumphal) arches at Rome, 'which were of very great number' (so Dio Cassius 68,1,1; cf. *supra*, n. 83, in Chapter I.1.), and precisely either for the *Arcus Divi Vespasiani* ? on the Palatine, or rather for the Arch of Domitian on the Palatine, assumed by Filippo Coarelli (2009b; *id.* 2012) at the main entrance of his *Domus Augustana* (for both; cf. *infra*, at Chapters *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and at *The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps*; and here Fig. 58), where these reliefs had been the horizontal panels in one of its passageways (cf. *supra*, in Chapters I.3.; and V.1.d), and here Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'). I also believe that this presumed fact could have been the very cause, why Nerva had decided to 'usurp' the scene, shown on Frieze A, for the glorification of his own victory in the *bellum Suebicum*. I suggest this also because Nerva resided now himself in Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, the 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana*.

That Frieze A shows Domitian's (now Nerva's) *profectio* is in my opinion certain because of the following reasons.

Contrary to Langer and Pfanner (2018, 76), quoted already above: "Die Deutung als Aufbruch Domitians in den Krieg bzw. als *profectio* steht und fällt mit dem fehlenden linken Relieftteil", I do not believe that 'we could only be sure that Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs shows indeed a *profectio*, provided we knew what was represented on the missing part of the panel's far left', as they state (cf. here Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing, and *supra*, in Chapter V.1.d)).

When we see on Frieze A a Roman emperor (who is recognizable as such by the four lictors, who accompany him, two of them precede him) - Domitian (now Nerva) - who, in addition to his lictors, is also preceded by the Roman war-god Mars, and Domitian's personal patron goddess Minerva, who, like Mars, is rushing forward, but turns her head around to Domitian in a gesture that clearly urges him to follow her; an emperor, who is at the same time accompanied by 'the Senate and the Roman People', who bid farewell (cf. *supra*, at n. 453, in Chapter III.), and not only by those, but also by *Dea Roma* herself, who 'pushes' him forward; and most importantly, an emperor, who is followed by his armed soldiers - I believe that these iconographic details should suffice, to identify the represented scene as this emperor's *profectio* from Rome.

My own interpretation is, of course, greatly influenced by the fact that I identify the amazon-like figure on Frieze A, who 'pushes' Domitian forward, as the *Dea Roma* (cf. *supra*, in Chapters I.2.; I.2.1.), whereas Langer and Pfanner (2018, 45-46) interpret this figure (in my opinion erroneously) as "Roma/Virtus" instead. Because this figure is *Dea Roma*, she is obliged to stay within the confines of Rome, whose city goddess she is.

Cf. *supra*, at n. 245, in Chapter I.2.1., at n. 247, in Chapter I.2.1.a), at ns. 248; 249, in Chapter I.2.1.b), and at n. 250, in Chapter I.2.1.c).

What we witness here is, therefore - quite 'literally' visualized by Domitian's artists, who created Frieze A - 'Domitian's (now Nerva's) departure from Rome'. If that is true, which I think it is, the only iconographic details we further need to know is, how Domitian himself is dressed: he is wearing the 'simple *calcei*', the typical footgear of soldiers, and the *paludamentum*, the mantle that denotes the commanding general of an army, which is likewise shown on Frieze A - his armed soldiers are following Domitian (now Nerva). Among those men is Domitian's *armiger*, who carries Domitian's arms for him. The fact that Domitian takes his arms with him on his way to a military campaign, thus indicates that the emperor is prepared to personally fight together with his soldiers (so D. BOSCHUNG 2012, 44, quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 250, in Chapter I.2.1.c)).

Decisive in this context are observations made by Paolo Liverani (2014, 26 with n. 72 and his Fig. 26), who is thus, in my opinion, able to prove beyond any doubt that Frieze A shows indeed a *profectio*. Langer and Pfanner (2018) themselves have not discussed the publication by Liverani (2014).

The following passage is a quote from my own text (cf. *supra*, at Chapter III.):

‘That the emperor (*i.e.*, Domitian, now Nerva) on Frieze A is definitely shown in a *profectio*-, and *not* in an *adventus*-scene, has in the meantime been proven by Paolo Liverani. Liverani has realized and documented with a colour photograph that the *lictor*, walking right in front of him, was clad in a red *sagum* (cf. **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 3**), which automatically means that the emperor was actually clad in the *paludamentum* - because that was coloured purple. In addition to this, Liverani with the following observations makes it clear that ‘wearing the *paludamentum*’ does not only mean that the emperor is shown in his ‘travelling costume’, as this detail has been interpreted by Kleiner and Hölscher (cf. *supra* [at ns. 443, 445, in Chapter III.]), but rather that wearing the *paludamentum* means *a*) that the scene represented takes place outside the *pomerium* of Rome, and *b*) that this garment is the “segno della potestà militare” (P. LIVERANI; cf. *infra*) of the represented protagonist.

To this I should like to add that the soldiers, following Domitian (now Nerva) on Frieze A, are armed, as we have seen above (cf. *supra*, n. 381, in Chapter III.) and the detailed discussion *supra*, in Chapter I.2.1.)’.

Liverani (2014, 26 with n. 72 and Fig. 26; cf. *supra*, at n. 448, in Chapter III.) writes:

"In altri contesti dobbiamo considerare che anche clienti e *apparitores* erano tenuti a uniformare il tipo e il colore delle loro vesti con quelle indossate dal patrono o dal magistrato che accompagnavano. Per esempio sappiamo che il littore di un magistrato dotato di *imperium* indossava fuori dal pomerio il *sagum*, un mantello corto, di colore rosso in quanto faceva riferimento al *paludamentum* purpureo del magistrato da cui dependeva, *segno appunto della potestà militare* [my italics]. Questo fatto è testimoniato dalle fonti scritte [with n. 72, providing references], ma si può facilmente riscontrare anche sul littore che precede Domiziano [now Nerva] nel rilievo di *profectio* [*i.e.*, Frieze A] della Cancelleria (fig. 26 [cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 3**]). Un simile elemento apporta ulteriori utili elementi alla discussione, sempre vivace, sulla interpretazione dei rilievi, riconfermando una volta ancora la collocazione della scena al di fuori del pomerio".

As already stated above in relation to Frieze B (cf. *supra*, in Chapter III.), the following is certainly true for both friezes:

**Besides, precisely the missing of characteristic architectural features, in the case of Frieze B for example a city gate - for the *pomerium*-line, which at the time coincided with the Servian city Wall (cf. *supra*, n. 199, in Chapter I.1.1.), makes interpreting the Cancelleria Reliefs so hard, but perhaps the simple fact that the slabs used for those panels are so thin, can explain the relevant decisions of the artists involved.**

**I am nevertheless convinced, contrary to Langer and Pfanner (2018, 80, 82, 84, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter V.1.a), that what the artists have actually represented on Frieze B is sufficient to identify the represented scene as an *adventus*.**

**The following scenario is, of course, dependent of my assumption that the emperor on Frieze B was from the very beginning Vespasian.**

**In my opinion, the artists - in lack of ‘telling’ architectural backdrops on Frieze B - have, exactly as on Frieze A, also on Frieze B relied on the assumption that the beholders are able to recognize the represented protagonists; their attires, as well as that of the represented gods, allegorical representations, and accompanying humans, comprising their equipments; and that the beholders know exactly the spatial limitations, prescribed either by law and/ or religion, that are typical of all the figures shown.**

The artists have thus defined on both friezes, by means of the choices of appropriate gods, personifications and humans, as well a by certain choices of their compositions, *where* precisely these scenes take place. In the case of Frieze A the decisive elements, apart from recognizing that the main protagonist, as defined by his

lictors, is an emperor, are *a*) his facial traits, which identified this emperor as Domitian, and *b*) his attire, which told the beholder: Domitian is represented here as standing 'outside the *pomerium*', the sacred boundary of Rome, or within the area *militiae*. This definition of the represented locale on Frieze A is in a certain sense repeated, but at the same time more precisely defined by the specific positioning of the *Dea Roma* on this relief - right next to the emperor, but on that side of the panel, where also the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* are standing: because *Dea Roma*, according to sacred law, and/ or according to the construction of this city-goddess, exactly like the *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* standing next to her, on such representations is usually confined to stay 'inside the *pomerium* of her city'.

This means: where Domitian (now Nerva) on Frieze A is supposed to be, is not 'somewhere' outside the *pomerium* of Rome, but because the artists have placed the *Dea Roma* immediately beside him, the emperor obviously stands 'just outside the *pomerium*' (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing, figure: 6** [Domitian]; **9** [*Dea Roma*]).

As we have already heard above, also Marion Meyer (2006, 134), who likewise interprets the scene on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs as a *profectio*, has suggested the same interpretation of this specific detail: "Der Kaiser erscheint hier nicht im Panzer [as on the relief of the "Parthermonument" at Vienna, which she is discussing in this article; cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.2.1.b)], aber bereits im Paludamentum, also nach Ablegen der Toga an der Pomeriumsgrenze [with n. 86]. Virtus [here interpreted as *Dea Roma* instead] unterstützt ihn, im wörtlichen Sinne, und die kriegerischen Gottheiten Minerva und Mars geleiten ihn. Victoria fliegt ihm voraus [with n. 87]". In her notes, Meyer provides references.

**This strict application of sacred and/ or civil law, in my opinion, was also the decisive factor for the design of Frieze B. Trying to read, so to say, the represented scene on a 'secular' level alone, the feeling remains, that those two processions, which move from opposite directions towards an intended meeting point - the meeting clearly being the main purpose of the whole procedure - do not only come to a halt to allow the two main protagonists to greet each other.**

**There is certainly more that can be said about the locale represented on Frieze B.**

The point, where these two parties are *meeting* on Frieze B, regarded from the perspective of sacred law, is exactly the same, where, on Frieze A, Domitian (now Nerva) and *Dea Roma* are shown as (soon) *separating* from each other: the *pomerium* of Rome.

For the problem to assume on Frieze A the *pomerium*-line between Domitian (now Nerva) and the *Dea Roma*, see the discussion *supra*, at n. 250, in Chapter I.2.1.c): because of the presence of the armed soldiers at the right hand end of frieze A, we should under normal circumstances assume that the entire scene represented on Frieze A is located *outside* the *pomerium*. Although I am fully aware of this problem, I have come to the conclusion in Chapter I.2.1.c) that Domitian (now Nerva) and the *Dea Roma* on Frieze A are represented as *separating* from each other at Rome's *pomerium*.

Let's now turn to Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2**). As we have already heard above (cf. *supra*, at n. 411, in Chapter III.), we know from literary sources that Domitian, in the autumn of AD 70, had first met his father Vespasian at Beneventum - after four years of separation (to this I will come back below). Nevertheless Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs stages this first meeting of father and son at Rome, and we shall discuss in the following Domitian's reasons for this decision.

That in the case of Frieze B the two protagonists are *meeting* at the *pomerium* on the other hand, is shown in my opinion, precisely as on Frieze A, by certain iconographic details of the represented emperor, here Vespasian, and by the figures immediately next to him. One of these figures is *Victoria*, the others are the togate youth, the *Genius Populi Romani*, and the lictor (cf. **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 15**), who is following behind Vespasian. Vespasian, exactly as Domitian on frieze A, is denoted as the emperor by the four lictors,

who are accompanying him, three of them precede him, the fourth follows behind him. Vespasian's lictors (here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 8, 9, 10, 15**) are discussed *supra*, in Chapter I.2.1.c).

At first glance, we could think the following. The fact that *Victoria* appears on Frieze B at all and crowns Vespasian with a wreath, means that the artists thus refer to the Great Jewish War, which, if true, would automatically lead to the assumption that Vespasian's here depicted arrival (at Rome, as we shall see in a minute) could only be that of the first half of October AD 70, since *Victoria* could only have crowned him *after* those victories. - Provided we would witness here a 'normal' military *adventus*, in which a victorious general is received at Rome, whom *Victoria* should crown with a laurel wreath. But here, things are obviously different from the usual *adventus*-procedure, as we shall see in the following.

To understand Frieze B, we need to know that Vespasian's relevant victories had been the reason, why first the troops stationed at Alexandria had hailed him - on 1st July AD 69 - as the new emperor, whereas "he obtained his recognition as emperor from the Senate" as Rose Mary Sheldon writes (2007, 141, quoted in more detail *supra*, n. 412; cf. at n. 455, both in Chapter III.). Nota bene, at that stage, Vespasian was still at Alexandria. See also *supra*, in Chapter Preamble; Section III., at point 1.), where has been discussed that Vitellius died on the 20th December AD 69, and that Vespasian can only have obtained his recognition by the Senate on 22nd December.

But, as has rightly been observed, Vespasian on Frieze B is *not* accompanied by his soldiers, with whom he has fought those victorious campaigns (to this I will come back below). This seems at first glance very odd, especially when we consider the sheer size of the army that Nero had entrusted to Vespasian in AD 67 in order to start a new campaign in a conflict, that was to become known as the 'Great Jewish Revolt' or War (AD 66-73). I repeat in the following, what Rose Mary Sheldon (cf. *supra*, n. 404, in Chapter III.) writes about the enormous size and the various components of Vespasian's army.

Sheldon (2007, 139) writes about the beginning of Vespasian's campaign: "The Jewish military victory over the Twelfth Legion gave new hope to the extremist cause in Jerusalem ... When news of the defeat reached Nero, he did not choose a negotiated settlement with the rebels. The emperor appointed a veteran commander, Vespasian, to prepare a new campaign. In 67 CE, Vespasian was dispatched with sixty thousand men; he was joined by his son Titus, who marched a legion from Alexandria [with n. 60]".

In her **note 60**, Sheldon writes: "The army of Vespasian consisted of three distinct legions: the Fifth, the Tenth and the Fifteenth. There were also twenty-three auxiliary cohorts, six *alae* of cavalry and the auxiliary troops of King Agrippa, King Antiochus of Commagene, Soemus of Emesa and Malchus of Arabia (Josephus, *BJ* 3.64-9; *Vita* 26-30)".

Interestingly, when Vespasian had come back to Rome in October of AD 70 for the first time as emperor - an event which Frieze B, in my opinion, purports to 'document' - the Great Jewish War was by no means already finished (it should last until AD 73; cf. *supra*, ns. 404, 412, in Chapter III.). - As we shall see below, this historical fact explains, why Frieze B is such an unusual *adventus*.

Although I am pretty aware of the fact that *Victoria* is crowning Vespasian with the 'wrong' wreath, since this wreath of oak leaves denotes Vespasian not as a victor, but as the reigning emperor (cf. *supra*, at n. 386, in Chapter III.), and has been interpreted as symbolizing Vespasian's investiture as the new emperor (cf. *supra*, n. 454, in Chapter III., quoted *verbatim* again below), the fact that *Victoria* appears here at all is in my opinion decisive.

**So, in a certain sense, *Victoria* on both friezes is the main figure - at least she sets the tone.**

As already quoted in more detail above, Stefan Pfeiffer (2018, 189; quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter I.2.1.a), and again in Chapter I.3.2.), who has analysed the themes of Domitian's self-presentation, has come to a conclusion that supports the just formulated observation:

"1. It was a key issue for Domitian to show his *virtus militaris* and his victoriousness [with n. 85, providing a reference]".

This fact, 'that *Victoria* sets the tone on both friezes of the Cancellaria reliefs', is, by the way, the reason, why I follow here Massimo Pentiricci's above quoted suggestion that the 'martial theme' of both Cancellaria Reliefs is enough to postulate that they were the horizontal panels in the bay of one of Domitian's many lost (triumphal) arches: "È, a ben vedere, lo stesso tema dei rilievi [*i.e.*, the Cancellaria Reliefs], la virtù militare del principe, a rendere poi del tutto plausibile l'ipotesi <<arco>> quale monumento di appartenenza" (cf. *supra*, n. 283, in Chapter I.3.2.).

Pentiricci is right, because on both friezes of the Cancellaria Reliefs the lictors are sufficient to denote the emperors as such. Or, in other words, if the intention had actually been to show on Frieze B the subject: 'Vespasian arrives at Rome in a mere civilian *adventus*', as has been suggested by Toynbee (1957, 4-5 with n. 1 on p. 5, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter I.1.1., and by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 79, quoted *verbatim infra*), there would have been no need to represent *Victoria* in the act of crowning Vespasian.

Marion Meyer (2006, 133-134), in her discussion of the two allegorical personifications that appear in her opinion on frieze A, *Victoria* and *Virtus* (*i.e.*, the figure, that is here interpreted as *Dea Roma*; cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 9**), writes:

"Über das Verhältnis der beiden Personifikationen zum Kaiser läßt sich folgendes sagen ... Weder *Victoria* noch *Virtus* ist unerläßlich [with n. 73, providing references]. **Victoria wird allerdings häufig dargestellt. Sie ist der Grund für den Triumph, und das wird im Bild gezeigt ...** [my emphasis]".

The almost completely destroyed *Victoria* on Frieze B, and the wreath, she is holding above Vespasian's head, together with the entire procession of the representatives of the City of Rome, headed by the togate youth, who has come to receive Vespasian, therefore define the locale, where this scene takes place, as Rome, and provides us at the same time with a precise date: Currently it is assumed that Vespasian arrived at Rome, coming back there from Alexandria and from his victories in the Great Jewish Revolt, 'in the first half of October 70 AD' (cf. *supra*, n. 195, in Chapter I.1.1.).

When we assume that Frieze B documents (in part) the real historic events, we must assume the following. The position, where the Emperor Vespasian is shown as standing on Frieze B, for legal reasons, must be an area outside the *pomerium*, and therefore outside the City of Rome. This assumption is corroborated by an iconographic detail, that was already mentioned above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter III.):

Elisabeth Keller (1967, 211; cf. *supra*, n. 415, in Chapter III.) wrote in this context, referring to Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs: "Vespasian hat schon beim Betreten Italiens die Toga angelegt, hat in Benevent seinen Sohn begrüßt und ist nun in Rom selbst angekommen. Noch befindet er sich außerhalb des Pomeriums, wie die Beile an den Fasces der Liktoren zeigen". This is corroborated by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 57-58, Abb. 12, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 250, in Chapter I.2.1.c); cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 15**, the lictor, who is following behind Vespasian).

Vespasian on Frieze B is thus deliberately shown as still standing *outside* the City of Rome, that is to say, within the area *militiae*. Vespasian's *imperium* (exactly as that of any magistrate *cum imperio*) that he had received in AD 67 from Nero with the command to conduct this war, would have ended precisely at the sacred boundary of Rome (cf. *supra*, at n. 456, in Chapter III.).

But following Nero's death, the following had happened, as Rose Mary Sheldon (2007, 141) writes:

"The death of this emperor [Nero, in AD 68] meant that Vespasian's commission as general had expired, and accordingly he discontinued his military activities [conducted by himself in the Great Jewish War since AD 67, a revolt, which should last until AD 73]. He obtained his recognition as emperor from the Senate and the troops in the West in December 69, and he entered Rome in ... [early October of] 70 CE. He left his son Titus to finish the Jewish campaign". Cf. *supra*, n. 412., in Chapter III.

As a result of Vespasian's recognition as emperor by the Senate [on 22nd] December 69, *imperium* had been voted to him, this time by the Senate, but, that had only happened at a second moment. Because on 1st July AD 69 at Alexandria (cf. *supra*, n. 455, in Chapter III.) the soldiers stationed there had already hailed Vespasian as the new emperor. Therefore it were first these soldiers, who had conferred *imperium* on Vespasian. Dario Mantovani (2009, 26-27) explains this whole complex procedure in detail (the context are the notes taken by the *Fratres Arvales*):

"I diari della loro attività annuale [of the Arval brethren], in parte conservati su epigrafi, descrivono i sacrifici offerti dagli Arvali in occasione di determinati atti connessi all'investitura dei nuovi imperatori oppure li commemorano negli anniversari ... Riducendole all'essenziale, emergono due momenti cruciali nell'*iter* di investitura: la seduta in cui il Senato saluta con l'appellativo *imperator* il nuovo princeps; poi, i *comitia ob tribuniciam potestatem*, ossia un'assemblea popolare riunita per votare una legge che attribuiva al nuovo principe la potestà tribunizia (condizione che gli donava la inviolabilità tipica del tribuno e il potere di porre il veto agli atti di tutti i magistrati).

È quest'ultima la notizia cruciale ...

Più incerto è se la *lex regia* votata nei *comitia ob tribuniciam potestatem* contenesse anche il conferimento del potere militare, l'*imperium* in senso tecnico. Secondo una teoria formulata del grande storico tedesco Theodor Mommsen, l'*imperium* veniva conferito al princeps non per legge, ma in forza dell'acclamazione dei soldati (confermata dal Senato), che lo salutavano *imperator*".

That Vespasian saw these events as described above, is clear from the fact that he chose as his *dies imperii* not 21st [or 22nd] December AD 69, but instead 1st July AD 69 (cf. D. KIENAST, W. ECK and M. HEIL 2017, 101, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 171, in Chapter I.1.). And Guy Edward Farquhar Chilver and Barbara M. Levick (1996, 1590; quoted in more detail *supra*, n. 171, in Chapter I.1.). write: " ... The senate immediately conferred all the usual powers on Vespasian, though he dated his tribunician years from 1 July, negating the acts of senate and people and treating his legions as an electoral college ...".

But like a magistrate *cum imperio*, who was coming back from a victorious military campaign, Vespasian (in theory ! - see below) had to stay outside the *pomerium* (cf. *supra*, n. 199, in Chapter I.1.1.) until the Senate would grant such a victorious general a triumph, as it also did in the case of Vespasian for his victories in the Great Jewish Revolt (cf. *supra*, n. 198, in Chapter I.1.1., and at n. 458, in Chapter III.). The reason being, that, when a magistrate *cum imperio* transgressed the *pomerium*, he automatically lost his *imperium*, that is to say, his command over his troops. - And without his *imperium*, he could, of course, not lead his troops in the triumphal procession he desired.

**Laurent Bricault and Richard Veymiers (2018, 140) have explained this procedure in the case of Titus, Vespasian's elder son, together with whom - and additionally with Domitian - Vespasian would organize a common triumph in June of AD 71, in which they celebrated their victories in the Great Jewish Revolt (the context is the night before the triumphal procession, which Vespasian and Titus, together with their entire victorious army, spent on the *Campus Martius*, in the vicinity of the *Iseum Campense*, after Titus and the entire army had just returned back to Rome after this war):**

"Passer la nuit sur le Champ de Mars convenait en outre particulièrement bien à Titus, qui fraîchement revenue à Rome, devait, conformément à la tradition républicaine demeurer à l'extérieur du *pomerium* avant son triomphe, sous peine de perdre son *imperium* [with n. 73]".

In their **note 73**, Bricault and Veymiers write: "*Un usage toutefois non respecté par Vespasien, qui, depuis son retour à Rome en octobre 70, avait déjà franchi la limite du pomerium à plusieurs reprises ...*" (my italics). We will see below, when discussing Flavius Josephus's account (BJ 7,4,1), that Bricault and Veymiers are right.

On the other hand, the formulation by Bricault and Veymiers (*op. cit.*): "Vespasien ... avait déjà franchi la limite du *pomerium* à plusieurs reprises", means, of course, at the same time that, during this period between October of AD 70 and June 71, Vespasian, in their opinion, had stayed most of the time 'outside the *pomerium*'. If so, this means that Vespasian cannot possibly have put up residence in the imperial Palaces on the Palatine. We know by chance that Vespasian preferred living in the *Horti Sallustiani* to residing on the Palatine. It has been suggested that emperors preferred the *Horti Sallustiani* to their other residences at Rome because of their vicinity of the barracks of the Praetorian guards, but in the case of Vespasian, who stayed at those *Horti* throughout his entire reign, the reason may well have been that he had moved there already in October of AD 70, *because they were located outside the pomerium*.

For the preference of the emperors of the *Horti Sallustiani*, because those were near the *Castra Praetoria*, cf. Henry Broise and Vincent Jolivet (1996, 68): "Plutarco (*Luc.* 39.2) li [*i.e.*, the *horti Luculliani*] considerò i più bei giardini imperiali, ma gli imperatori preferirono sempre ad essi i prossimi *horti Sallustiani*, più vicini ai *castra Praetoria*".- I thank Vincent Jolivet for writing me this reference. For Vespasian's preference of the *Horti Sallustiani*, cf. Häuber (2009, 312).

As I only see now, Rodolfo Lanciani had offered a different explanation for Vespasian's predilection for the *Horti Sallustiani*. In his 'Notes from Rome' to *The Athenaeum* of "August 9th, 1902 Vol. 3902, 197-8", he wrote:

"Well known is the partiality of the Emperor Vespasian for the gardens of Sallust, the casino of which he inhabited for a number of years, while the damages caused to the imperial State residence on the Palatine by Nero's fire [*i.e.*, AD 64] were being repaired". Cf. Anthony L. Cubberley (1988, 365-368, the quote is from p. 367). But we know also that Vespasian actually built palatial structures on the Palatine; cf. Irene Iacopi and Giovanna Tedone (2009), and most recently, Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt (2020, published posthumously).

Let's now return to our main subject.

As mentioned several times in this *Study* before, there are some problems though: the emperor on Frieze B is characterized with iconographic details that seem to preclude that the thus characterized man can possibly be meant as someone, who, coming back from a victorious military campaign, is shown in an appropriate (military) *adventus*-ceremony.

Heinrich Fuhrmann (1941, Sp. 544; quoted already *verbatim* in more detail *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.) had been of the opinion that this panel cannot be identified as Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in AD 70:

Referring to the publication of Magi (1939), he wrote: "Wohl nicht haltbar ist die Beziehung des einen Reliefs [*i.e.*, Frieze B] auf die Ankunft des Vespasian im Jahr 70 und dessen Empfang durch Domitian und damit die Deutung als *adventus*. Das verbietet die Ökonomie der Darstellung. Denn sie macht nicht Vespasian, sondern sinnfällig greifbar den jungen Domitian zum Mittelpunkt der Handlung und der Darstellung. Auch ist Vespasian nicht in der für die *adventus* üblichen militärischen Tracht des *imperator*, sondern in der Toga dargestellt ...".

Also Hölscher (2009a, 57) writes in a passage that was already quoted above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.2.1.c):

"Anche qui [*i.e.*, on Frieze B] è quindi rappresentato un *adventus*, per cui i littori hanno scuri nei *fasces*, ma stavolta l'arrivo è di altra natura rispetto al fregio A: l'imperatore non torna da una campagna militare e non viene seguito da soldati, mentre Vittoria lo incorona non con lo corona del vincitore, ma con la corona *civica*".

And, as we have already heard above, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 79) write in their:

"Zusammenfassung: ... Die Tatsache, dass die Identität des jungen Mannes (**Figur 12** [cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**: in my opinion Domitian]) vor dem Kaiser nicht gelüftet werden kann, macht jede Deutung der Szene unsicher (s. Abb. 14). Augenfällig ist der zivile Charakter der Szene. Der Kaiser ist mit der *toga* bekleidet, es fehlen Soldaten und bezeichnende militärische Elemente. Die Bekränzung mit einem Eichenlaubkranz durch Victoria ist nicht zwingend und exklusiv als militärische Auszeichnung zu verstehen [with n. 138; my emphasis]". Cf. their n. 38: "Bergmann a. O. Anm. 123 [*i.e.*, here B. BERGMANN 2010a] 146f."

**The arguments against the assumption, that Frieze B shows a (military) *adventus*, are therefore three:**

- a) the emperor is not wearing military garb, but instead *tunica* and *toga*;**
- b) he is not accompanied by his soldiers;**
- c) *Victoria* crowns him with the 'wrong' wreath, since a victor should be crowned with a laurel wreath instead.**

To illustrate point c), I repeat here again a passage of my own text in Chapter III.:

'Hölscher [2009a, 56-57; cf. *supra*, n. 385, in Chapter III.] observes that *Victoria* does not crown the emperor [on Frieze B] with a *corona triumphalis* (*i.e.*, a laurel wreath), but with a *corona civica* (made of oak leaves); the far left border of this wreath, with clear indication that it is made of oak leaves, is visible immediately behind Vespasian's head. Hölscher therefore does not believe that the represented emperor (in his opinion originally Domitian, whose head has been recut into that of Vespasian) can possibly be meant as coming back to Rome after a victorious military campaign. As I have remarked elsewhere [2009b, 170; *supra*, n. 386, in Chapter III.], the *corona civica*, with which *Victoria* is crowning Vespasian, identifies this figure on Frieze B as the reigning emperor'.

**These iconographic features of Frieze B, that seem at first glance to be mistakes, in my opinion, are instead meaningful details that have all been represented intentionally.**

Because I follow Spinola (cf. *supra*, in Chapter III. See also below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*), in assuming that the emperor represented on Frieze B was from the very beginning Vespasian, who is arriving at Rome, only one such occasion is conceivable: that of the first half of October AD 70, as had already been suggested by Magi (1939; cf. *supra*, ns. 112, 192, in Chapter I.1., at n. 194, in Chapter I.1.1.; as well as by F. MAGI 1945).

Provided, we assume for a minute that Vespasian *is* the originally intended emperor of Frieze B, we will realize, that in his case, and only in his case, we happen to know, that points **a)** and **b)** - namely, that at the represented moment he is clad as a civilian, and that he is not accompanied by his soldiers - are historical facts, whereas **c)** - the crowning with an oak wreath - denotes Vespasian as the new emperor, which is likewise a historical fact.

Of course, contemporaries would have known that Vespasian in October of AD 70, when he indeed arrived for the first time at Rome since he was emperor, had come back from a victorious campaign. - So, in a certain sense, the scene, represented on Frieze B, was both: the visualization of the investiture of Vespasian as the new emperor at this very moment, *and* Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome after victorious campaigns - which in his specific case were the very reason, why he had become emperor in the first place.



**Only after this Chapter was written, did I read the reference by Barbara Borg (2019, 245 with n. 194, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a)) to the reconstruction of one of the three marble reliefs from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* by Rita Paris (1994b) and arch. Gloria Marconi (1994).**

**Exactly as Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Fig. 2), this relief (cf. here Fig. 33, reconstruction drawing by Marconi), shows Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in October of AD 70. Of this relief, Vespasian's head is preserved, whom *Victoria* has already crowned with the *corona civica*, and Paris (1994b, 81-82, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a) is able to explain convincingly, why Vespasian is shown as having been honoured with precisely *that* wreath: a decoration with the *corona civica* was the highest ranking decoration for a military victory, only granted Augustus and Vespasian, because thanks to their military campaigns they had been able to put an end to *civil wars* (!).**

From Paris (1994b, 82), I have also learned that my assumption *b*) is perhaps not (quite) true: Vespasian had actually arrived at Rom in October of AD 70, together with parts of his army (so R. PARIS 1994b, 82 n. 33, quoting Tac., *Hist.* 4,51,2. - Although, when checking this reference, I found that Tacitus doesn't say anything like that).

Paris (1994b, 82) suggests that this (presumed) fact has also been represented on the relief of Vespasian's *adventus* of AD 70, which once belonged to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (cf. here Fig. 33) and shows a soldier accompanying Vespasian. And, as I only realize now, this may also be hinted at by Dio Cassius (65,10,1), in his account of Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome:

"On reaching Rome he [*i.e.*, Vespasian] bestowed gifts upon both soldiers and the populace [my emphasis]" (translation: Earnest Cary 1917).

We do not know whether these soldiers were those stationed at Rome, who, together with almost the entire populace, had come to welcome Vespasian (as we will learn below from Flavius Josephus *BJ* 7,4,1), or rather members of Vespasian's army, who had come back together with the emperor from Judaea and Egypt (although Dio Cassius does not mention any soldiers as accompanying Vespasian before, as we shall see below, where this passage, describing Vespasian's journey home is quoted in more detail). The soldiers at the time stationed at Rome were for example those of the *cohortes urbanae*, who were under the command of the *praefectus urbi* (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.a*). In December of AD 69 those under the command of Vespasian's brother, the *praefectus urbi* Flavius Sabinus, had declared for Vespasian. On the occasion of his *adventus* into Rome in October 70, Vespasian will also have met the soldiers of M. Antonius Primus and of Mucianus, all of whom had supported his cause since AD 69 (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.c*); and *Appendix I.d*)).

**If, on the other hand, the soldiers, on whom Vespasian bestowed gifts when arriving at Rome, were, in addition to this, members of his own army, who had accompanied him on his way back to Rome, this would open the question, why on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs they do *not* appear.**

Concerning the represented scene on Frieze B we know the following:

according to Dio Cassius 65,10, Vespasian, as soon as he had landed in Italy at Brundisium (Brindisi) in AD 70, had changed from military into civilian garb - this is at least how Toynbee (1957, 4-5 with n. 1 on p. 5; cf. *supra*, at n. 201, in Chapter I.1.1.) and Keller (1967; cf. *supra*, n. 415, in Chapter III., quoted again above), in my opinion convincingly, have interpreted this passage; Dio Cassius tells us also that Vespasian went from Brindisi to Rome.

**This means, by the way, that Vespasian has come down the *Via Appia*, and that, therefore, Frieze B is set at the *Porta Capena* in the Servian city Wall (cf. here Fig. 58) - without picturing this gate.**

As is well known, at the represented time, the *pomerium* still ran parallel with the Servian city Wall. We must consider this important fact when assuming that Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs (here **Fig. 2**) stages Vespasian's *adventus* ceremony at the city gate *Porta Capena*. For a discussion of this point; cf. *infra*, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

That Vespasian is shown on Frieze B as wearing a *tunica* and a *toga* at the represented moment, is therefore historical, as well as the fact that he came to Rome in the first half of October AD 70; even the most bewildering feature of Frieze B is true: we also know that Vespasian came back to Rome *without* his army (but see now above and *infra*, at Chapter *V.1.i.3.a*)).

We have already seen above, why: Titus, at the end of AD 69, had been given the "Oberbefehl" ('supreme command'; cf. *supra*, n. 413, in Chapter *III*.) of Vespasian's army in the Great Jewish Revolt, obviously as a consequence of the fact that Vespasian had obtained [on 22nd] December AD his recognition as emperor by the Senate (discussed above). Vespasian himself then decided to leave Alexandria for Rome, and from Flavius Josephus we learn, that Titus, together with this victorious army, would return to Rome only in AD 71 (cf. *supra*, n. 201, in Chapter *I.1.1.*). As we shall see below, all that is also described or at least hinted at by Dio Cassius.

The only iconographic detail of Frieze B, which is *not* true, is the following: we do not hear that Vespasian had made his first appearance at Rome as the new emperor by means of such a formal *adventus*-ceremony, as it appears on Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs. The 'invention' of this kind of *adventus* of Vespasian was, therefore, obviously an idea that we must attribute to Domitian; and we shall see below that only he could have had an interest in the complex iconography, that was chosen for this panel.

We must, of course, ask ourselves, whether or not Vespasian, when he arrived at Rome at that moment in October of 70, had entered the city at all, since he was at that stage negotiating with the Senate about a triumph for his suppression of the Great Jewish Revolt, which the Senate actually granted and that was celebrated in June of AD 71 (cf. *supra*, ns. 198, 199, in Chapter *I.1.1.*, and at 458), in Chapter *III*.). But how on earth could *this* information, namely that Vespasian did *not* enter the City of Rome at this very moment, be expressed on Frieze B, without representing a city gate? - If that is, what the artists, who designed Frieze B, had wanted to visualize at all?

Here I allow myself to anticipate something: in my opinion, the composition of Frieze B seems to indicate that Vespasian did *not* transgress the *pomerium* at that specific moment, since he is shown as standing stationary, or in other words: the composition chosen by the artists does not give a hint at Vespasian's possible intention to go any further (in reality, as was already said above, and as we shall also see below, Vespasian on that day *had* actually entered the City of Rome). Before discussing that point in more detail, let's listen to the literary sources, that report on Vespasian's journey from Alexandria to Rome, where Vespasian arrived, as we know now, 'in the first half of October AD 70' (cf. *supra*, n. 195, at Chapter *I.1.1.*).

**Dio Cassius (65,9-10, in the translation of Earnest Cary 1917) writes about Vespasian's journey from Alexandria to Rome in AD 70:**

"[9,1] He [Vespasian] sent a despatch to Rome rescinding the disfranchisement of those who had been condemned by Nero and succeeding rulers for acts of *maiestas* as they were called. This order applied to the living and to the dead alike ... [9,2a] He soon restored order in Egypt and sent thence a large supply of grain to Rome. He had left his son Titus at Jerusalem to storm the place, and was waiting for its capture in order that he might return to Rome with him. But as time dragged on and the siege continued, he left Titus in Palestine and took passage himself on a merchantman; in this manner he sailed as far as Lycia, and from there he proceeded by land and partly by sea to Brundisium.

[9,3] Vespasian had later come to Rome, after meeting Mucianus and other prominent men at Brundisium and Domitian at Beneventum ... [then follows Dio's description of Domitian's (alleged) bad behaviour prior

to and after this meeting of father and son at Beneventum] Vespasian now proceeded to humble this son's [*i.e.*, Domitian's] pride, but greeted all the rest, not as an emperor, but as a private citizen; for he was mindful of his own past fortune.

[10,1] On reaching Rome he bestowed gifts upon both soldiers and the populace".

**Flavius Josephus (*BJ* 7,2; 7,4,1, in the translation of H. St. Tackerey 1928) writes about Vespasian's departure from Alexandria and his reception in Italy and at Rome in October of AD 70 the following:**

"[7,2,1] Now at the time when Titus Caesar was assiduously besieging Jerusalem, Vespasian, embarking on a merchant-vessel, crossed from Alexandria to Rhodes. From there he sailed on triremes; and touching at all towns on his route, being everywhere received with ovations, he passed over from Ionia to Greece, and thence from Corcyra to the Iapygian promontory, whence he pursued his journey by land".

Cf. *BJ* 7,4,1: "Meanwhile, Titus Caesar, having received news of the eagerness with which all the Italian cities had greeted his father's approach, and that Rome in particular had given him an enthusiastic and splendid reception experienced heart-felt joy and satisfaction at this most agreeable relief from anxiety on this behalf. For even while Vespasian was still far off, all the Italians were paying respect to him in their hearts as if he were already come, mistaking, in their keen desire, their expectation of him for his actual arrival, and exhibiting an affection for him free of constraint. For to the Senate, mindful of the calamities undergone in the changes of their rulers, nothing was more desirable than to gain once more an emperor adorned with the gravity of years and finest fame for military achievements, whose exaltation they were assured would make only for the welfare of his subjects. The people, too, exhausted by civil disorders, were still more eager for his coming, expecting now at last to obtain permanent release from their miseries, and confident that security and prosperity would again be theirs. But above all the army had their eyes on him; for they knew best the magnitude of the wars that he had won, and, having had proof of the inexperience and cowardice of the other emperors, longed to be rid of such deep disgrace and prayed that they might be granted him who alone would both bring them salvation and add lustre to their arms. Amidst such feelings of universal goodwill, those of higher rank, impatient of awaiting him, hastened to a great distance from Rome to be the first to greet him. Nor indeed, could any of the rest endure the delay of meeting, but all poured forth in such crowds - for to all it seemed simpler and easier to go than to remain - that the very city then for the first time experienced with satisfaction a paucity of inhabitants; for those who went outnumbered those who remained. But when he was reported to be approaching and those who had gone ahead were telling of the affability of his reception of each party, the whole remaining population, with wives and children, were now waiting at the road-sides to receive him; and each group as he passed, in their delight at the spectacle and by the blandness of his appearance, gave vent to all manner of cries, hailing him as >benefactor<, >saviour< and >only worthy emperor of Rome<. The whole city, moreover, was filled, like a temple, with garlands and incense. Having reached the palace, though with difficulty, owing to the multitude that thronged around him, he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving for his arrival to the household gods. The crowds then betook themselves to festivities and, keeping feast by tribes and families and neighbourhoods, with libations prayed God [!] that Vespasian might himself long be spared to the Roman empire, and that the sovereignty might be preserved unchallenged for his sons and their descendants throughout successive generations. And, indeed, the city of Rome, after this cordial reception of Vespasian, rapidly advanced to great prosperity".

Flavius Josephus (*BJ* 7,4,1) thus describes in great detail, with how overwhelming enthusiasm Vespasian had been welcomed, first in Italy, and then in the City of Rome. Compared with his description of Vespasian's 'real' arrival at Rome in October of AD 70, Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs is lifeless and cold. Josephus also describes that Vespasian went straight away to the Imperial Palace on the Palatine (although the author himself elsewhere seems to contradict this assertion; cf. *BJ* 7,4,4, discussed in the following). - In 'reality' therefore, Vespasian's arrival at Rome was very cheerful and pretty chaotic, and (seemingly) definitely a civil *adventus*.

We know from Josephus' own writings, which have been discussed by T.P. Wiseman (2013, XI-XIII, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 201, at Chapter I.1.1.), that he, although in the meantime among Vespasian's favourites (so T.P. WISEMAN 2013, XIII), was not present at Vespasian's arrival at Rome in October of AD 70, since he had stayed all the time with Titus in Jerusalem, who only came back to Rome in AD 71, together with the entire victorious army, and accompanied by Flavius Josephus, thanks to whom we are very well informed about the following events, for example the triumph at Rome of June AD 71.

The emperor, whose 'home' had actually been the Imperial Palace on the Palatine, comprising its 'household gods', to whom according to Flavius Josephus (*BJ* 7,4,1) Vespasian prayed, when returning to Rome in early October of AD 70 - in AD 67, when Vespasian received the command to start a new military campaign to end the Great Jewish Revolt - was of course Nero, who had also given Vespasian this command.

**Lorenz Baumer (2007, 105) has commented on Flavius Josephus (*BJ* 7,4,4) as follows:**

"Der detaillierte Bericht über die Rückkehr der beiden Flavier [thus referring to Vespasian and Titus in June of AD 71. This is not true: only Titus came back in AD 71, Vespasian was already in Rome since October of AD 70; cf. *supra* and *infra*] aus dem jüdischen Krieg ist auch in anderer Hinsicht aufschlussreich, denn er schildert, wie Vespasian und Titus nach dem *adventus* auf dem Marsfeld - und somit außerhalb des Pomeriums - auf die Gewährung des Triumphs durch den römischen Senat warteten [with n. 70]".

In his **note 70**, Baumer writes: "Flavius Josephus, *Der Jüdische Krieg (de bello Judaico)* VII 4.4 ...". - For the events, described by Flavius Josephus in this passage, see the following and *supra*, at n. 198., in Chapter I.1.1.

Vespasian, after his return to Rome in October of AD 70, transgressed the *pomerium* - together with his sons Titus and Domitian - on the day of their common triumph in June of AD 71. The Senate had granted Vespasian, Titus and Domitian to celebrate three separate triumphs, Vespasian and Titus for their victories in the Great Jewish War, and Domitian for his actions at Rome during the absence of Vespasian and Titus. - For the siege of the *Capitolium* and Domitian's escape from there on 19th December AD 69, cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III.; at point 1.); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.*). For the reason, why Domitian was granted this separate triumph, cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.a).

Nevertheless, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian had decided to celebrate one triumph *together* (so Josephus, *BJ* 7,5,3; cf. *supra*, at n. 458, in Chapter III., and *infra*, at n. 477, in Chapter VI.3.). But only after the Senators, with whom Vespasian and Titus had met on the morning of their triumph at the *Porticus Octaviae* - on purpose chosen for that meeting, because located outside the *pomerium* - had announced them officially that the Senate had granted them to celebrate their triumph(s). Vespasian, together with Titus and Domitian, as well as the entire victorious army, that had fought in the Great Jewish War, had then started their triumphal procession by entering the City of Rome through the *Porta Triumphalis*, thereby transgressing the *pomerium* (cf. Flavius Josephus, *BJ* 7,4,4. For detailed discussions; cf. Häuber (2017, 178-202); *infra*, in Chapters *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...; Introduction*; at Section I.

Nota bene, this description of the situation, as described by Flavius Josephus (*BJ* 7,4,4) of the day in June 71, when Vespasian, Titus and Domitian celebrated their common triumph, sounds, as if Vespasian had not yet transgressed the *pomerium* of Rome since his arrival in October 70. In reality, as we have seen above, that was *not* true. Or in other words: this description sounds, as if not only Titus, but also Vespasian had only recently come back from this war - *together with Titus*.

That Vespasian and Titus, together with their entire army, had spent the night before their triumph in June of AD 71, in the vicinity of (other scholars erroneously suggest: at) the *Iseum Campense*, as we are informed by Flavius Josephus, is also of importance for the controversial discussion, when the *Iseum Campense* was

founded, because for example Jon Albers (2013, 245) and quite a few other scholars still assumes a foundation date 'after AD 80'. This is surprising, given the fact that Flavius Josephus (*BJ* 7,5,4) mentions this sanctuary in the context of this triumph of June AD 71 as already existing. For a discussion; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix III. When was the Iseum Campense first built?*

Talking about 'reality' is, of course, an euphemism in the context of Josephus' description of Vespasian's arrival at Rome in October of AD 70. Josephus, contrary to Dio Cassius, was a contemporary of Vespasian, and he even knew him personally very well, so in theory his texts are the much more preferable sources. But Josephus, one of the former leaders of the Great Jewish Revolt, belonged now to Vespasian's entourage and wrote his history about the 'Jewish War' at Vespasian's and Titus' commission (cf. *supra*, n. 201, in Chapter I.1.1.). So what we do have in Josephus' account of Vespasian's enthusiastic reception at Rome in October of AD 70, if not 'reality', is certainly Vespasian's and Titus' version of the story, and that differs greatly from how Domitian ordered his artists to describe the same event on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs.

Rose Mary Sheldon (2007, 129) therefore in my opinion correctly refers to him as: "The collaborationist historian Josephus ...".

**Besides, if we ourselves could choose at which occasion we would rather have been personally present: at Vespasian's arrival at Rome, as described by Flavius Josephus, or at the formal event, as it appears on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs, the decision between those two alternatives is certainly easy.**

As mentioned before, Irene Bragantini (2018, 243-247; cf. *supra*, at Chapter II.3.1.c)) has aptly compared Domitian's reception of Vespasian at Beneventum in AD 70 with Augustus' famous description of a delegation, led by the *consul*, who had come all the way down to Campania to greet him there, when he returned from Spain and Gaul, the *ire obviam*, an unprecedented honour, as Augustus stated in his *Res Gestae* (12). I am quoting this passage here, because Bragantini refers in this context to the above-quoted text by Josephus (*BJ* 7,4,1) that, commissioned by Vespasian and Titus, and finished in AD 81, thus tells us, as we have seen above, how Vespasian and Titus had wanted these events to be published (cf. *supra*, n. 201, in Chapter I.1.1.). Bragantini's (2018) now convincingly interprets, which importance these events may have had for *Domitian*.

### *The two obelisks, found at Beneventum*

The context of Bragantini's (2018) below quoted passage is her discussion of the two obelisks, found at Beneventum, the hieroglyphic texts of which record the dedication in AD 88/89 of a Temple of Isis there, by a Rutilius Lupus, who should later become the prefect of Egypt. The Temple of Isis at Beneventum, of which no remains are known, the question, whether or not Domitian was personally involved in its construction, as well as these two obelisks, are hotly debated issues.

In the same volume, dedicated to the Iseum Campense, not only Bragantini has studied the Egyptian sanctuary at Beneventum, but also Stefan Pfeiffer (2018, 181, point 5., cf. pp. 186-187). Pfeiffer (2018, 186) writes that interestingly, "The Isis temple in Beneventum [with n. 60, providing references] was built in A.D. 88/89 to honour Domitian's victories over the Dacians and Chatti". - So, in theory, this Temple of Isis at Beneventum and the monument, to which the Cancellaria Reliefs once belonged, may have been dedicated because of the same reason.

Laurent Bricault and Richard Veymiers (2018, 151) write about this subject: "En novembre 89, le Prince [*i.e.*, Domitian], rentré à Rome, célèbre un double triomphe sur les Chattes et les Daces [with n. 159, quoting Suet., *Dom.* 6; cf. *supra*, n. 232, in Chapter I.2.]. Le sanctuaire isiacque qui est alors construit à Bénévent se pare de deux obélisques de granit couverts de hiéroglyphes en l'honneur de l'empereur victorieux placé sous la protection d' <<Isis la grande, mère des dieux, Sôthis, régente des étoiles, maîtresse du ciel, de la terre et des

enfere>> [with n. 160, quoting: "RICIS 505/0801-0802"; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at n. 546, in *Appendix II.c*)]. In their notes, Bricault and Veymiers provide further references.

Bragantini (2018, 246-247) writes: "... it was undoubtedly in the interest of a member of the local elite to win the favour of Domitian: but what reason could have led Rutilius Lupus to offer this dedication, and what could have been the >>reasons of Domitian<< that he adduced? [with n. 13]. As others have already stressed [with n. 14], Beneventum must have been of particular importance to the emperor [*i.e.*, Domitian], who in A.D. 70 met his father there, on Vespasian's return to Rome from Egypt to receive the imperial powers [with n. 15, quoting: "Cass. Dio 65.93-10."].

Josephus' description of the expressions of jubilation with which the people greeted Vespasian on his journey to Rome to take power retained 'triumphal overtones' [with n. 16, quoting: "Joseph., *BJ* 7.68-71".], which recalled the Hellenistic rituals of *apantesis*. These have been described as 'encounters organised between the arriving king and the population of the city, who would come out to welcome him beyond the bastions ...' [with n. 17]. Josephus' information, that 'those that enjoyed any remarkable dignities [...] made haste to meet him at a very great distance' from Rome [with n. 18, quoting: "Joseph., *BJ* 7.4.1 (transl. W. Whiston 1960)."], could hardly have helped but evoke the precedent of the exceptional honour paid to Augustus on his return from Spain and Gaul, when *Ex senatus auctoritate pars praetorum et tribunorum plebi cum consule Q. Lucretio et principibus viris mihi missa est in Campaniam, qui honos ad hoc tempus nemini praeter me est decretus* [with n. 19, quoting: "*Res Gestae* 12."].

If one bears in mind that Augustus provided frame of reference of Domitian, which he invoked, sometimes by contrast, by stressing his opposition to or difference from this formidable model, we might wonder whether - by enhancing the value of the place where he met his father [*i.e.*, Vespasian] (certainly a meeting that by its nature would have possessed an official character, if not that of a 'private triumph') as the starting point for Vespasian's triumphal journey - Domitian intended to allude to the ceremony of *ire obviam* recalled in the *Res gestae*, so invoking the honour 'never before granted to others' of Augustan memory). We could therefore interpret this dedication at Beneventum as representing Domitian's purpose of perpetuating the memory of that 'triumphal arrival', and thus also accomplishing for this same purpose the celebration of the dynasty that was a fundamental necessity for him".

In her notes, Bragantini provides references and further discussion.

But note that the: "starting point for Vespasian's triumphal journey", as Bragantini (2018, 247) writes, was by no means only at Beneventum, where he had first met his son Domitian, but already ca. 250 km further down the *Via Appia* at Brindisi, where Mucianus and other dignitaries had come to meet with Vespasian (cf. Dio Cassius 65,9,3, quoted above). For this meeting of Domitian with his father Vespasian at Beneventum; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section *III.*; at point 2.)

Also Luigi Prada ("Obelisk honoring Emperor Domitian and Isis", 2018) interprets the two obelisks at Beneventum and their meaning for Domitian very differently than Bragantini (2018, 246-247, in her above-quoted passage). My thanks are due to Emanuele M. Ciampini for sending me Prada's article.

**Let's now return to our question:**

**how could the fact be visualized on Frieze B that the two protagonists of both groups, who are meeting on Frieze B, Vespasian coming from the right, Domitian coming from the left (cf. here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures: 14 [Vespasian]; 12 [Domitian]), are currently standing stationary in front of each other on either side of the *pomerium*-line - without representing a city gate?**

**Very easily.**

The most important figure on Frieze B, as in the case of Frieze A, is the emperor, at first glance at least. As in Frieze A, the emperor is defined by his facial traits and by his four lictors. Next, as in Frieze A, come the garments of the emperor Vespasian - he is wearing a *tunica* and a *toga*. Vespasian, to arrive at his current position, where we see him on Frieze B, has obviously moved by coming from the right, he is now standing

still, whereas 'at the same time', *Victoria* is crowning him. Vespasian's just described 'movement' means, that he has just arrived from somewhere. The figures on the 'left hand half' of Frieze B show that he has arrived at Rome. Since *Victoria* crowns him at exactly that moment, when the procession of the official representatives of Rome, who have come to receive him, have actually reached Vespasian, it is obvious, that the - historical - moment in early October of 70 AD is represented, when Vespasian came back to Rome for the first time since "he had obtained his recognition as emperor from the Senate", as Rose Mary Sheldon writes (cf. R.M. SHELDON 2007, 141, quoted already above and in more detail *supra*, n. 412, in Chapter III.).

Or in other words, as already suggested by earlier scholars (cf. *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.), what we witness on Frieze B is Vespasian's investiture as the new emperor. I repeat here again in my own English translation the relevant observation by Gerhard Koeppel (1969, 193; cf. *supra*, at n. 454, in Chapter III.), who wrote the following:

'Frieze B [cf. here Fig. 2] of the Cancellaria Reliefs and the lower *adventus* of Trajan's Arch at Beneventum [cf. his Figs. 14 and 15 = here Fig. 46, and *supra*, in Chapter II.3.3.] both represent the beginning of the reign of a new emperor, in [a way by] which the approval of the Senate and the Roman People have been expressed'.

But there is more. Both groups, who meet on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs, have something in common: because of the constructions of the personalities of the represented figures - (on principle in the case of the *Dea Roma*, as well as in the cases of the allegorical representations *Genius Senatus* and *Genius Populi Romani*), or, because of their offices (in the case of the represented humans: the emperor - in theory - in his current situation, whereas on principle in the cases of the *praetor urbanus* and of the Vestal Virgins) - their actions are spatially defined in regard to the sacred boundary of the City of Rome, the *pomerium*, which in reality was marked by *cippi*.

Interestingly, the relevant spatial limitations of both groups were not the same: one group was only allowed to stay outside the *pomerium* (therefore called *militiae*), the other group was confined to the area within the *pomerium* (therefore called *domi*; cf. for all that *supra*, n. 199, in Chapter I.1.1.).

Because of such legal prescriptions, all those figures on Frieze B, who belong to the party, that has moved from left to right to this meeting with Vespasian, cannot move anywhere else, than where they appear on Frieze B: but contrary to Vespasian, they are all confined to stay *within* the *pomerium*-line of Rome. According to religious prescriptions or to Roman law, they are staying within the area *domi*: the *Dea Roma*, the Vestal Virgins, the *Genius Senatus*, the *Genius Populi Romani* - and even the magistrate, who is heading this long procession, the *praetor urbanus*, namely the togate youth, whom I identify with the young Domitian.

That the togate youth must be the *praetor urbanus*, is clear from yet another prescription: it was, of course, also defined, who was allowed at all to receive a new emperor in an *adventus*-ceremony into Rome, or rather, who could head the procession of the official representatives of the City of Rome, as shown on Frieze B: either the two *consules*, or the *praefectus urbi*, or the *praetor urbanus*. - At least those are the magistrates, with whom the relevant men, who appear on comparable state reliefs, have so far been identified (cf. *supra*, in Chapter II.3.3., with here Fig. 46; and in Chapter V.1.h.1.), as well as *infra*, in Chapter VI.3.).

Because of his age, of those three different magistracies, the togate youth could only hold the office *praetor urbanus* (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.h.1.)) - and the legal competence of the *praetor urbanus*, as already the name of this office indicated, was precisely restricted to the City of Rome *within* its sacred boundary, the *pomerium* (cf. *supra*, n. 185, in Chapter I.1.). Apropos the represented age of this magistrate on Frieze B. Concerning this point; cf also *infra*, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

Besides, if it is true, as suggested here, that the Emperor Vespasian was from the very beginning represented on Frieze B, who is shown as arriving at Rome in the first half of October AD 70, it follows that the togate youth, who receives him, and who, because of the aforementioned reasons, must be identified as the current

*praetor urbanus*, is definitely Domitian, since we know that Domitian held the office *praetor urbanus* since 1st January of AD 70 (cf. *supra*, at n. 189, in Chapter I.1.). To this I will come back below.

**Note also that only Domitian could have had an interest in ordering such a rather stiff representation of Vespasian's *adventus* at Rome as Frieze B (cf. here Fig. 2), and that for the following reasons:**

a) Domitian does not only himself appear together with Vespasian as one of the two protagonists of this panel, but even as the "heimliche Hauptfigur" of this frieze, as Marianne Bergmann has rightly observed (cf. *supra*, n. 191, in Chapters I.1.; cf. Chapter I.3.2.).

And provided, our visualization of the two Cancellaria Reliefs '*in situ*' should be regarded as proof that these two reliefs were indeed two horizontal panels in the passageway of an arch (cf. *supra*, in Chapters I.3.2.; and V.1.d), and here **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, '*in situ*'**, the young togate Domitian is not only the 'secret main figure' on Frieze B, but definitely the main figure;

b) in addition to this, Vespasian with the gesture of his right hand expresses the legitimation of Domitian as the (future) emperor, as (convincingly) suggested to me by Giandomenico Spinola (personal communication; cf. *supra*, at Chapters III.; and IV.1.; see also below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*), whom I am following here;

c) neither Dio Cassius (65,9-10), nor Flavius Josephus (7,2,1; 4,1), in their above-quoted accounts, although both authors describe Vespasian's 'real' arrival at Rome in October of AD 70, and Flavius Josephus even in great detail, mention Domitian in this context at all (!).

**The reason for point c) was probably the fact, that Vespasian and his entourage, comprising Domitian, coming up from Beneventum, had arrived at Rome in the first half of October AD 70 - together.**

When we ask ourselves, what may actually have happened that day when Vespasian arrived at Rome in the first half of October AD 70, and if we imagine that these proceedings could have been represented in a state relief similar to Frieze B, the following seems to be possible. Domitian, if at all represented on such a relief, in reality should have appeared in that procession that 'moves from right to left' on Frieze B, and is shown as walking *behind* Vespasian.

At best, Domitian could have been positioned *beside* Vespasian. - Thus in theory comparable to Hadrian in regard to Trajan on the above-mentioned panel of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, as has been suggested by Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 228, Fig. 193), and by Andreas Schmidt-Colinet (2005, 110-111, Abb. 9a; cf. for both, *supra*, at n. 361, in Chapter II.3.3.), and here **Fig. 46**). But, as already mentioned there, other scholars have not followed Kleiner and Schmidt-Colinet in identifying this man with Hadrian.

Although we must consider that neither Dio Cassius, nor Flavius Josephus, in their accounts of the 'real' historical arrival of Vespasian at Rome in October of AD 70, mention Domitian.

**What we can completely rule out on the other hand, after reading Dio Cassius' and Flavius Josephus' descriptions of this historical moment, is that Domitian, in his capacity as *praetor urbanus*, could possibly have headed on that day a procession of - human - representatives of the City of Rome, 'moving from left to right' on such a panel as Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Fig. 2), thus officially *receiving* Vespasian at Rome's sacred boundary, the *pomerium*, coming from *inside*. - Because, in reality, Domitian arrived at Rome *together with* Vespasian, both coming from *outside* (!).**



When we ask ourselves, what else Domitian may have had in mind, when he ordered Frieze B, it seems useful to remember what Gerhard Koeppel (1969, 172-174) wrote (the passage is quoted in more detail *supra*, in Chapter III.):

"Das Relief B von der Cancellaria mit dem Adventus des Vespasian ... In Wirklichkeit hat Domitian seinen Vater nicht in Rom sondern in Benevent empfangen. Das Relief steht also im Widerspruch zur literarischen Überlieferung. **Aber wir dürfen in diesem Fries keinen Bericht des Ereignisses sehen, sondern vielmehr eine Propaganda, die sich als solche auch in den literarischen Quellen feststellen läßt: Domitian, der die Stadt für seinen Vater gehütet hat, übergibt Vespasian bei seiner Ankunft das Imperium ...** [my emphasis]".

To conclude this point. The artists, who designed Frieze B (here Fig. 2), by representing Vespasian, the togate youth Domitian, the *Genius Populi Romani* and an object, on which this Genius sets his left foot, show two protagonists, who meet precisely at that spatial boundary, the *pomerium* of Rome, by which for both their current competences are legally defined, and which neither one is allowed to transgress - at least, as long as both want to act in the relevant capacities, for example enjoy certain privileges that come with their current offices :

a) the Emperor Vespasian, who comes back from a victorious military campaign, and is now in the course of negotiating with the Senate to be granted a triumph, stands outside the *pomerium* of Rome, within the *area militariae*, exactly as also a magistrate *cum imperio* should do under similar circumstances. - Provided, this magistrate or Vespasian do not want to lose their right to celebrate their desired triumphs;

b) whereas the magistrate *praetor urbanus*, who has come 'from within the City of Rome to its sacred boundary, the *pomerium*', in order to receive Vespasian, stands within the *area domi*, likewise exactly as he should do. - Of course, a man, who held the office *praetor urbanus*, could leave the City of Rome, as for example Domitian did, who was *praetor urbanus* since 1st January of AD 70, when he went down in AD 70 to meet his father Vespasian at Beneventum. But outside the *pomerium* of Rome, the *praetor urbanus* could not act in the capacity of his office, that is to say, outside the sacred boundary of Rome, he could not possibly receive an emperor in a solemn *adventus*-ceremony.

That all these prescriptions have been observed, the artists on Frieze B, in my opinion, indicate by simply showing the figures of the togate youth and of Vespasian as standing opposite each other, by defining them as heading two processions that have come to this meeting from opposite directions, as well as by locating the object, on which the *Genius Populi Romani* sets his left foot, precisely between Vespasian's right foot and the left foot of the togate youth. - The specific positionings of the togate youth, of Vespasian, of the *Genius Populi Romani*, and of the lictor, who follows behind Vespasian (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing, figure 15**), and the additional presence of *Victoria*, are decisive here. Because the lictor **figure 15**, carrying an axe in his rods, provides the information: Vespasian stands outside the *pomerium*. The representatives of Rome on the lefthand 'half' of Frieze B, who have come to receive Vespasian, indicate, that Vespasian is shown as arriving at Rome. The latter information, together with the fact that *Victoria* is crowning Vespasian at this very moment with the *corona civica*, are enough to tell the beholder the date of the historical event: the first half of October AD 70, but not as yet the precise locale, where the entire scene is set.

On Frieze A, Domitian's (now Nerva's) *paludamentum* gave already the same generic information: the emperor is meant as being 'outside the *pomerium*'. The positioning of the *Dea Roma* provides on Frieze A the information that the Emperor Domitian stands precisely 'just outside the *pomerium*' (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 6** [Domitian, now Nerva]; **9** [*Dea Roma*]); on Frieze B this information is provided by the *Genius Populi Romani*. Because the beholder of Frieze B knew that also the *Genius Populi Romani*, precisely as the *Dea Roma* on Frieze A, was confined to the area within the sacred boundary of Rome, the object, on which the *Genius Populi Romani* sets his left foot, and by implication, the site, where the togate youth is standing immediately to the left of this object, must therefore be meant as being located *inside* the *pomerium*.

And because Vespasian and the togate youth are positioned immediately in front of each other, they must, by definition, stand on either side of the *pomerium*-line (see also *supra*, in Chapter V.1.d)).

It is, therefore, in my opinion, reasonable to follow Simon (1960; 1963) and Koeppel (1969), who realized that we witness on Frieze B Vespasian's *adventus* of AD 70 at the "Pomeriumsgrenze" of Rome, and who have consequently suggested that the object, on which the *Genius Populi Romani* sets his left foot, must, therefore, be one of the *cippi* that marked the *pomerium*-line of Rome. - Because that object has been placed by the artists precisely *between* the two protagonists of those two parties, who are meeting on Frieze B, in order to perform together an *adventus*-ceremony.

Cf. Simon (1960, 152ff.), followed by Koeppel (1969, 172 n. 159; cf. *supra*, n. 416, in Chapter III.); cf. Simon (1963, 9-10; quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 456, in Chapter III.).

If indeed the focus on Frieze B is on this object between the two protagonists, which is here interpreted as one of the *cippi*, marking the *pomerium*-line, it is tempting to remember the famous *clausula* V of the *lex de imperio Vespasiani* (CIL VI 930), which gave him the right to enlarge the *pomerium* - a chance, which Vespasian actually took (cf. *supra*, n. 199, in Chapter I.1.1.).

Dario Mantovani (2009, 24) comments on the *clausula* V of the *lex de imperio Vespasiani* as follows:

"La clausola V dà a Vespasiano il potere di ampliare il tracciato del pomerio, quando lo ritenga conforme all'interesse pubblico. Il pomerio era uno spazio che veniva tracciato tutt'intorno al circuito delle mura cittadine, al di qua e al di là di esse. Delimitato da cippi e purificato secondo il rito augurale, in questo spazio non si poteva né costruire (nella parte all'interno delle mura) né coltivare o seppellire (nella porzione del pomerio esterno delle mura); esso segnava anche il limite di validità degli auspici urbani, così che il magistrato che partiva per la guerra doveva prendere gli auspici fuori del pomerio. Il potere di estendere il circuito del pomerio - che la legge regia [as for example the *lex de imperio Vespasiani*] appunto attribuisce all'imperatore - tradizionalmente spettava al generale che avesse conquistato nuovo territorio situato nella penisola italiana". - For another quotation from D. Mantovani 2009, cf. *supra*, n. 455, in Chapter III.

**Of course, also concerning the precise location of the *pomerium*-line in relation to the Servian city Wall, there is no *consensus*. Contrary to the just quoted passage from Mantovani (2009, 24), Coarelli (2009b, 70) defines its location as follows. The context of this passage are the efforts to reconstruct the enlargement of the *pomerium* of Rome by Claudius and its enlargement by Vespasian :**

"Nella totale assenza di altre testimonianze antiche, gli unici dati suscettibili di fornire informazioni sulla seconda [*i.e.*, the enlargement of the *pomerium* by Vespasian] si possono ricavare solo dal confronto tra le due linee pomeriali [*i.e.*, that of Claudius and Vespasian], ricostruibili, pur con difficoltà non indifferenti, in base ai cippi superstiti. A tale scopo, sarà fondamentale tener conto, come non sempre è avvenuto, della direzione cui era rivolta l'iscrizione incisa sul cippo, quando è nota. Come hanno visto già i primi studiosi che si sono occupati dell'argomento, questa si leggeva sulla faccia rivolta verso l'interno dell'*urbs*, conferma evidente del fatto che il pomerio è da identificare con la linea >>interna<< alle mura, come ha dimostrato André Magdelain [with n. 39]".

In his **note 39**, Coarelli writes: "Magdelain 1976".

If the object visible on Frieze B is correctly identified here as a *cippus* of the *pomerium*-line, and provided it was indeed the intention of Domitian/ his artists, by so prominently positioning this *cippus* in their composition, to remind the beholder of Vespasian's right to enlarge the *pomerium* - this may be regarded as another hint at the fact that Vespasian is meant here at his historical arrival at Rome in the first half of October of AD 70 - and that this, what we see, is in fact an *adventus* after a victorious military campaign. Because we know that the Senate endowed only those victorious generals with the right to enlarge the *pomerium*, who had considerably enlarged the size of the area of the *Imperium Romanum*.

As already mentioned several times above (cf. *supra*, in Chapters I.2.1.a); and V.1.b)), there is also another iconographic detail, which proves that Vespasian is *not* shown in a mere civilian *adventus*, as has been suggested by Toynbee (1957, 4-5 with n. 1 on p. 5, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter I.1.1.), and by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 79, quoted *verbatim supra*), but instead as coming back from a victorious campaign. This the artists indicate by means of the *rotulus*, carried for Vespasian on frieze B by a man of his entourage (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 17**).

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 74, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter V.1.g)), according to whom its precise meaning is allegedly unknown, although they likewise quote Simon (1963) in their bibliography, whose interpretation I have followed here without at first realizing this fact.

I repeat in the following, what was already said in Chapter V.1.d:

`to both emperors on the two friezes of the Cancellaria Reliefs belongs a *rotulus*. Domitian (now Nerva) on Frieze A carries it himself in his left hand (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 6**), whereas on Frieze B for Vespasian a *rotulus* is carried by a man of his entourage (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 17**). Both *rotuli* contain the *vota* of these emperors, made by them to the gods, praying them to be granted a victory in the war, to which Domitian on Frieze A is shown as leaving, whereas in Vespasian's case on Frieze B this victory has already been granted - according to Simon (1963, 9, 10) these were the *vota* taken by the commander of an army *pro reditu*'.

**Decisive in this context is the observation by Rita Paris (1994b, 81-82, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a)) that the *corona civica*, with which *Victoria* on Frieze B (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 16**) is shown in the course of crowning Vespasian, was the highest decoration, a general could receive as recognition of a military victory: it had in fact only been granted Augustus and Vespasian, because both, by conducting their wars, had managed to put an end to *civil* wars.**

Paris' (1994b, 81-82) observation thus proves:

a) that the emperor on Frieze B was from the very beginning Vespasian, and -

b) that what we see on this panel is indeed the *adventus* of the Emperor Vespasian in the first half of October of AD 70, who comes back to Rome after his victorious military campaigns in Judaea, and who is crowned by *Victoria* at this very moment with the *corona civica* for having ended the civil war of 68/69.

As already said above, we know that in theory various magistrates could receive an emperor in an *adventus*-ceremony: the two *consules* together, the *praefectus urbi* (for both cf. *supra*, in Chapter II.3.3., and here **Fig. 46**), and the *praetor urbanus*; cf. Erika Simon (1963, 10, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter I.1.). Since the togate youth on Frieze B is acting alone and because of his age, he cannot be a *consul*, nor can he be the *praefectus urbi* because of his age (cf. *supra*, in Chapters V.1.h.1.); and V.1.h.2.); and *infra*, in Chapter VI.3.; in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.a*)).

If we, therefore, believe that the togate youth on Frieze B must be the *praetor urbanus*, the togate youth receiving Vespasian in this *adventus*-ceremony may be identified with the young Caesar Domitian, who held the office *praetor urbanus* since 1st January of AD 70.

**If so, Domitian is thus only recognizable on Frieze B because of his age, and a combination of his action - he heads the receiving party in an *adventus*-ceremony - with the specific topographical context, where his action is staged, the meaning of which has just been analysed above.**

Although the fact remains that the head of the togate youth, **figure 12** on Frieze B (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**), has not been destroyed, which is why some scholars have suggested that, therefore, it cannot

possibly be identified as a portrait of Domitian, which should have been destroyed after the emperor's *damnatio memoriae*, of course. Whereas I myself have developed a scenario to explain this fact (cf. *supra*, in Chapter *II.3.1.a*), with reference to Chapter *II.3.2*), John Henderson offers a different solution to this problem, which does not contradict my suggestion, since both hypotheses could be regarded as complementing each other.

**Henderson (2003, 246) writes:** "On Relief 'B', we recognise the features of dear old Vespasian in the front-rank figure to right who is being crowned by a Victory launch. **And we wonder if (we can ever decide if) the young man he is paired with has an individualised, or blankly idealising, visage** [with n. 54]: **a youthful Domitian, or some worthy public servant?** A Domitian, some agree (*never*, in any event, a square-jaw Titus) - a princeling Domitian re-imag(in)ed in a two decades retrospect from the meat of his reign, and hence a Domitian unlike his former self? So Magi reckoned, and 'A' is thus pinpointed as the start or finale of some (major? enough to call for massive sculpture ...) campaign under Domitian's auspices, while 'B' must B [*corr.*: be] a contemporaneous resuscitation of an occasion way back in Vespasian's era - bringing together father and (second) son. If Nerva displaced the head on Domitian's neck in 'A', **perhaps the dead and damned Domitian escaped defacement in 'B' precisely because he looks (so) little like Domitian?** [my emphasis]".

In his **note 54**, Henderson writes: "His [*i.e.*, of **figure 12**] eyes bigger and deeper than the lictors' [*i.e.*, of **figures 1** and **10**], his face *more* individualised than theirs, at least (Simon [1960] 134; Bonanno [1976] 56)". - Note that Anthony Bonanno (1976, 56-57) mentions more arguments than the one, quoted by Henderson, which have led him to identify this head as a portrait of Domitian.

Whereas the context of **figure 12** on Frieze B, the represented age and the typical coiffure and facial traits had led many earlier, and currently still some scholars (all discussed in Chapter *I.1.*) to follow Magi in identifying this togate youth with Domitian (cf. F. MAGI 1939, *supra*, **n. 112**, in Chapter *I.1.*; and *id.* 1945) -

*inter alia* Fuhrmann (1940; 1941; cf. *supra*, **n. 113**), Toynbee (1946; 1957; cf. *supra*, **n. 118**), Lugli (1946; cf. *supra*, **n. 10**), Bianchi Bandinelli (1946-48; cf. *supra*, **n. 112**), Bendinelli (1949; cf. *supra*, **n. 16**), Hammond (1953; cf. *supra*, **n. 18**), Simon (1960; 1963; cf. *supra*, **n. 119** [and **n. 456**, in Chapter *III.*], Hanfmann (1964; cf. *supra*, **n. 23**), Béranger (1964, cf. *supra*, **n. 24**), Daltrop (1966; cf. *supra*, **n. 120**), Keller (1967; cf. *supra*, **n. 121**), Koeppel (1969; cf. *supra*, **n. 122**), Andreae (1973, cf. *supra*, **n. 31**), Bandinelli and Torelli (1976; cf. *supra*, **n. 32**), Bonanno (1976; cf. *supra*, **n. 32**), Lochin (1990, cf. *supra*, **n. 46**), Kleiner (1992; cf. *supra*, **n. 129** [and **n. 394**, in Chapter *III.*]), Kuhoff (1993, cf. *supra*, **n. 47**), Paris (1994b; cf. *supra*, **n. 47**); Ramage and Ramage (1996; cf. *supra*, **n. 49**), Hugo Meyer (2000; cf. *supra*, **n. 397** - but H. MEYER, although recognizing in the extant portrait of the togate youth Domitian, erroneously thought that this portrait had been recut from an alleged original portrait of King Tiridates; cf. *supra*, **n. 130**), Pfeiffer (2009; cf. *supra*, **n. 59**), Pollini (2017b; cf. *supra*, **n. 72**), Chabrečková (2017; cf. *supra*, **n. 73**), Sheldon (2023, in press; cf. *supra*, **n. 74**), Claudia Valeri and Giandomenico Spinola (cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*), Giandomenico Spinola (cf. *supra*, in Chapter *III.*; and below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*), and myself,

- the situation had changed - but obviously not for all following scholars, as the above-quoted list shows - as soon as Andreas Rumpf (1955-56; cf. *supra*, **n. 172**, in Chapter *I.1.*) had realized that Domitian, as the *praetor urbanus*, should wear the *calcei senatorii*, instead of the simple *calcei*, as the togate youth on Frieze B actually does. Rumpf therefore rejected Magi's identification of the togate youth with Domitian. Rumpf was followed by Marianne Bergmann (1981; cf. *supra*, at **ns. 168-170**, in Chapter *I.1.*) who in her turn was followed in this respect by many other scholars (cf. *supra*, **n. 128**, in Chapters *I.1.*; see also Chapters *I.1.1.*; and *V.1.h.1.*). Rumpf (*op.cit.*), in addition to this, had argued that the face of the togate youth is not a portrait. This was likewise followed by Bergmann (*op.cit.*), and she in turn was followed by many subsequent scholars (cf. *supra*, **n. 128**, and in Chapters *I.1.*; *I.1.1.*; *V.1.h.1.*; *V.1.i.1.*; and *VI.1.*).

But as we have also seen above (cf. *supra*, at n. 193, in Chapter I.1., and in Chapter V.1.h.1.)), it may well be that the artists, by showing the togate youth on Frieze B with these shoes, simply made a mistake. Although I have myself likewise discussed this possibility (cf. *supra*, at ns. 144, 156, in Chapter I.1.), I have followed Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee (1957; cf. *supra* at n. 205, in Chapter I.1.1., and at n. 469, in Chapter VI.) in suggesting that Domitian and/ or his artists had deliberately decided to show the togate youth Domitian on Frieze B with these simple *calcei*, because the wearing of those shoes was appropriate for members of the *ordo equester*.

The reason being that Domitian since 21st December of AD 69 held also the title *Princeps iuventutis*, a position always closely related with the *ordo equester*, which is why in this case his wearing of those shoes could be appropriate. The reason, why I am following Toynbee (1957, 8 with n. 11, quoted *verbatim infra*, at n. 205, in Chapter I.1.1.) in this respect, is the fact that she observed that the *Princeps iuventutis* was the 'heir presumptive to the Empire' (for that hypothesis, and its possible consequences, cf. *infra*, in Chapter VI.3.).

**I myself have, therefore, followed the relevant hypotheses of Simon (1960; 1963) and Koeppel (1969), in assuming that on Frieze B the young Caesar and praetor urbanus Domitian and Vespasian are shown in Vespasian's adventus at Rome of the first half of October AD 70, which is staged at the pomerium.**

And that, although I am fully aware of the fact that on Frieze B Vespasian's two lictors (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 8 and 9**, who are not entirely preserved), could in theory have been represented with the axes attached to their rods, exactly as Vespasian's lictor **figure 10** on Frieze B. Note that these three lictors (**figures 8-10**) are positioned on Frieze B within that area, which is here interpreted as being located 'within the *pomerium*', an area, where lictors usually should *not* be shown with their axes attached to their rods. Although there is another state relief, in which exactly the same mistake has likewise been observed, the famous Extispicium Relief in the Louvre (cf. here **Figs. 16-18**).

For that mistake; cf. *supra*, n. 144, in Chapter I.1.; and for the Extispicium Relief; cf. below, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.3.*); and at *Appendix I.g.4.*

Note also that Vespasian's fourth lictor (**Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 15**), who follows behind Vespasian, is correctly shown with the axe attached to his rods, because he stands outside the *pomerium*. For a detailed discussion of all the problems involved, cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.2.1.c), with n. 250).

***Nerva's re-use of the Domitianic monument or building that comprised the Cancellaria Reliefs.***

The following is a short summary of my Chapter II.3.2., and of the text in Chapter II.3.3.a).

I suggest that Nerva may only have had a couple of days (or weeks?) time to rework the Domitianic monument or building, that contained the Cancellaria Reliefs, into one that celebrated his own achievements (cf. *supra* at n. 352, in Chapter II.3.2., and at n. 363, in Chapter II.3.3.a)); that, therefore, the recutting of Domitian's face on Frieze A into the portrait of Nerva (cf. here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6**) was not yet finished, when those works were interrupted; and that a possibly planned reworking of the (as I believe) *two* portraits on Frieze B (that of the togate youth/ Domitian and that of Vespasian; cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 12** [Domitian]; **14** [Vespasian]) had not even been started (cf. *supra*, in Chapters II.1.c); and II.3.1.), which is why we cannot know, what Nerva may have planned in this respect.

When Nerva, in October of AD 97, decided to have his face recut from that of Domitian on Frieze A, he had, in my opinion, in mind to re-work Frieze A into the *profectio* of himself to his *bellum Suebicum* in AD 97. If indeed the relevant Domitianic structure was a (triumphal) arch, precisely this fact could have alerted Nerva to 'usurp' Frieze A to be re-used as the representation of himself at the *profectio* to this war, perhaps even because also Domitian had victoriously fought against the *Suebi* (cf. *supra*, ns. 345, 346, in Chapter II.3.1.a)).

Whereas I myself am of a different opinion, some scholars have actually suggested that the original phase of Frieze A could have represented Domitian's *profectio* to *this* war, in AD 92 (cf. *supra*, at n. 232, in Chapter I.2.) - but that is, of course, only an unproven hypothesis. - To this I will come back below (cf. *infra*, in Chapters VI.3.; and at *The major results of this book on Domitian*).

The governor of Pannonia had won the *bellum Suebicum*, and sent a laurel wreath, the token of this victory, to Nerva, who, as the emperor, had officially won this war, and therefore added the title *imperator II* to his official title. In addition to this, Nerva celebrated in late October or at the beginning of November AD 97 his victory in the *bellum Suebicum* by dedicating in a solemn ceremony this laurel wreath to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus in his temple on the Capitol, and adopted Trajan, in the course of the same ceremony on the Capitol, as his son, co-Emperor and successor (cf. *supra*, n. 352, in Chapter II.3.2.). Because the Senate granted *both* Nerva and Trajan in November of 97 the victortitle *Germanicus* for this *bellum Suebicum* (cf. *supra*, ns. 322, 323, in Chapter II.1.e)), I suggest that Nerva *a*) either already because of his adoption of Trajan, or *b*) at the latest because he and Trajan received the title *Germanicus* for this same victory, may have ordered the interruption of the re-working of the Domitianic structure, to which the Cancellaria Reliefs belonged, until he could discuss the matter with Trajan in person; but we know also that 'father and son', Nerva and Trajan, would never see each other again before Nerva died.

Finally I have suggested that it may have been Nerva, who ordered the destruction of the Domitianic structure that contained the Cancellaria Reliefs, but for a different reason than that suggested by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 82, 84, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter V.1.a). In my opinion, Nerva may have done this, as soon as he realized that on Frieze A should not only be celebrated his own (*i.e.*, Nerva's) *profectio* to the *bellum Suebicum*, but, of course, also that of his son, co-Emperor and 'co-victor' of this war, Trajan. If Nerva had indeed planned to 'add Trajan' to Frieze A, his artists would have told him, or he himself could have realized, that the addition of the latter to Frieze A was impossible, because the slabs of Frieze A are much too thin to allow the additional carving 'of a second emperor' (cf. *supra*, at n. 363, in Chapter II.3.3.a); and below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*).

**V.1.i.3.a) The reconstruction by R. Paris (1994b) of two of the marble reliefs of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*: 'Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in October of AD 70' (cf. here Fig. 33), and 'Sacrifice in front of the Temple of Quirinus on the Quirinal' (cf. here Fig. 34). With some observations concerning Domitian's sestertius, issued in AD 95/96 (cf. here Fig. 30), the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here Fig. 31), and the aureus of Augustus, minted in 12 BC, showing the door of the (real) House of Augustus on the Palatine, decorated with the *corona civica* and laurel trees (cf. here Fig. 35)**

Domitian built the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* on the Quirinal, at the site of his father Vespasian's *domus*, where he himself was born (Suet. *Dom.* 1; cf. *Dom.* 15), and where later the Baths of Diocletian were erected (cf. *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.h); cf. Chapter IV.1.1.a)). We shall hear below (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.c)), 'the story, told by Tacitus (*Hist.* 3,86) at the very end of his account ... [of Domitian's escape from the *Capitolium* on 19th December AD 69], that Domitian [on 21st December 69] was first hailed as Caesar by the Flavian leaders and their soldiers, and then escorted to the *domus* of his father Vespasian, must have been an overwhelming experience for the young man'. - And I imagine that this was one of the reasons for Domitian to erect the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* right there.

Cf. Figs. 58; 59, labels: Servian city Wall; Baths of DIOCLETIAN; Museo Nazionale delle Terme; site of DOMUS : VESPASIAN; site of TEMPLUM GENTIS FLAVIAE.

The important findings of Rita Paris concerning the relief here Fig. 33 (cf. R. PARIS 1994b, 81-83, Figs. 6; 7a-c), have already been mentioned several times above (cf. *supra*, in Chapters *Preamble*; Section III.; at point 3.; at I.2.1.c); I.3.2.; II.3.1.c); II.3.2; II.3.3.; IV.1.1.h); V.1.d); and at V.1.i.3.)).

Of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (cf. *supra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.h)) only some Domitianic structures have been found in excavations within the Baths of Diocletian on the Quirinal/ the Museo Nazionale Romano, few architectural fragments, as well as fragments of at least three reliefs, all carved in Pentelic marble.

Two of these reliefs (cf. here Figs. 33 and 34) will be discussed in the following; of the third relief remains only one fragment, which is why no reconstruction drawing of it could be made. The head of the colossal acrolithic cult-statue of *Divus Titus* (here Fig. 53) has likewise been identified, but so far the marble of this head has not been tested. For marble portraits of Domitian's sister, Flavia Domitilla *minor* (cf. here Figs. 54; 55), who was likewise buried in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; cf. *supra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.h).

The measured reconstruction drawings of its architecture and of those two reliefs, published in the catalogue, edited by Rita Paris (1994a and in her publication of 2009), were made by arch. Gloria Marconi.

Cf. Paris (1994b, 84-83); Marconi (1994, 84-91, Tav. I-V; Tav. IV = here Fig. 34; Tav. V = here Fig. 33); Paris (2009, pp. 460-461, with reconstruction drawing of Vespasian's *adventus* by arch. Gloria Marconi [1994] on p. 461 = here Figs. 33; 34; cf. pp. 462-468, cat. nos. 52-63 - the architectural and sculptural fragments, that can be attributed to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* and on which Marconi's measured reconstruction drawings were based).

Fig. 33. Reconstruction drawing of a relief that once belonged to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. Represented is Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in October of AD 70. From: R. Paris (1994b, 91: "Tav. V. Proposta di ricostruzione parziale della scena con rilievo storico". Drawing: "arch. Gloria Marconi").

Fig. 34. Reconstruction drawing of a relief that once belonged to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. Represented is a sacrifice in front of Augustus' Temple of Quirinus on the Quirinal. From: R. Paris (1994b, 90: "Tav. IV. Proposta di ricostruzione parziale della scena con sacrificio, davanti al Tempio di Quirino". Drawing: "arch. Gloria Marconi").

**Fig. 30. Sestertius of Domitian, issued AD 95/96, representing a decastyle temple, which M. Torelli (1987) has identified with the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. BMC, p. 406, n. 12, R.H. Darwall-Smith (1996, 281, Plate XVIII, Fig. 30). From W. Haberey (1960, Taf. 42, Abb. 1: "Bronzemedaille des Domitian vom Jahre 95-96 n. Chr. aus Grab I"). Cf. R. Paris (1994b, 26, Fig. 14). From: E. Nash (1961, 371, Fig. 452: "Sestertius of the 17th consulate of Domitian (95/96 A.D.)".**

Rita Paris (1994b, 26, Fig. 14) writes: "Sesterzio di Domiziano (95/96 d.C.) con raffigurazione di edificio decastilo". This building has been identified by M. Torelli (1987, 564-567, Fig. 2) as the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. This was *inter alia* followed by Rita Paris (1994b, 28 with n. 11), and Claudio Parisi Presicce (2008, 28, quoted *verbatim* below and discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.*). This is now also considered as a possibility by Lorenzo Kosmopoulos (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPoulos 2023, 130-131, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.h). Robin Haydon Darwall-Smith (1996, 192), whom I do not follow here, suggests instead that this coin represents the east façade of Domitian's '*Domus Flavia*' on the Palatine.

For those different suggestions to identify the building, which is represented on the reverse of his coin; cf. also *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix I.g.3.*); and in *Appendix VI.*; at Sections II.; XII..

**Through a remark by Barbara E. Borg (2019, 245 with n. 194), I have been alerted to Rita Paris' publications discussed here:**

**"The so-called 'Dono Hartwig', fragments of architectural ornaments, figures supporting an entablature and relief sculpture, which were found in 1901 during building works for the northern part of the semi-circle of buildings surrounding the Piazza della Repubblica, are generally accepted as belonging to the *Templum* [*Gentis Flaviae*], even though their precise arrangements and display context are still unclear [with n. 194]. The reliefs depict Vespasian and probably his sons in an *adventus* scene as well as a sacrifice, and thus use imagery that we find on state monuments [my emphasis]"**

In her **note 94**, Borg writes: "Gazda *et al.* (eds.) Images of Empire [1996]; Paris, 'Sculpture' [*i.e.*, here R. PARIS 2009], with reconstruction drawing and cat. 52-64; Leithoff, *Vergangenheit* [2014], 192-194, fig. 16".

Borg's last remark made me very curious, but the relief in question (cf. here **Fig. 33**) does not show Vespasian and *both* of his sons in an *adventus* scene, as she suggests (cf. B.E. BORG 2019, 245), since Paris (1994b, 82), whose account will be quoted *verbatim* in the following, is certainly right in interpreting this scene as Vespasian's *adventus* of October of AD 70, when he was received only by Domitian, whereas Titus was still fighting in Jerusalem. Paris herself, who compares the relief here **Fig. 33** with Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2**), suggests that the represented locale is supposed to be Beneventum, whereas in both cases this scene is certainly meant to take place at Rome. - To this I will come back below.

The two ('faceless') figures on the reconstruction drawing of this relief, to whom Borg refers (cf. here **Fig. 33**), are immediately flanking Vespasian on either side. They are conjectural, since no relief fragments suggest their existence, and Paris (1994b, 82) does not even mention them in her discussion of this reconstruction drawing, quoted below.

Gloria Marconi, the author of this drawing, does not mention these figures either; she (1994, 84 with n. 1, Tav. I- V) describes in detail, how she has arrived at her reconstruction drawings, for example Tav. II: "Proposta di ricostruzione del prospetto dell'edificio", and Tav. III: "Assonometria della proposta ricostruttiva". She calculated all the measurements of that part of this building she was able to reconstruct by basing herself on the extant architectural fragments and on the indications given by Vitruvius (*de Architettura*) concerning the proportions of comparable architectural ornaments. Vitruvius' guidelines were also the basis for Marconi's calculations of the heights of the individual figures that appear on the pertaining marble reliefs (cf. her Tav. IV; V [= here **Fig. 34** and **33**]).



The two 'faceless' figures, mentioned above, flanking Vespasian on **Fig. 33** on either side, seem to have been added to this reconstruction drawing in order to arrive at the same width as the reconstruction drawing of the other relief that shows a sacrifice (cf. here **Fig. 34**), and of which only two fragments have survived. Interestingly, all four male figures of Vespasian's entourage on **Fig. 33** are much smaller than the emperor. The male figures of this panel are actually represented in three different scales: 1.) the tallest figure is Vespasian, 2.) the *Genius Populi Romani* and the two 'faceless' figures flanking Vespasian are smaller than the emperor, 3.) the soldier, an adult man, is even smaller than those. He reaches Vespasian only up to his chest, as if he were a child.

**This application of a 'hierarchy of scale' - if indeed part of the original composition of the relief Fig. 33, as is reasonable to assume - thus already appears in a relief, commissioned by Domitian. Above, we had arrived at the conclusion that this peculiar way of visualizing the greater importance of the emperor had only begun - in state art - with the reliefs that decorate Trajan's Arch at Beneventum. Also to these reliefs belongs a panel, in which adult males, comprising the Emperor Trajan, are represented in three different scales (cf. *supra*, in Chapter II.3.3, see also here Fig. 46). Paris (1994b, 75-83, in her Chapter: "Proposta di interpretazione e di ricostruzione") describes her proposal to reconstruct the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. Her reconstructions, drawn by arch. Gloria Marconi, were based on the architectural and relief fragments, found at a site within the Baths of Diocletian.**

The architectural fragments and the reliefs, which can be attributed to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, are today kept in the Museo Nazionale Romano at Rome and at the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology at Ann Arbor in Michigan (U.S.A.). After the destruction of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, these fragments were for the first time together on display at the Museo Nazionale delle Terme, *Palazzo Massimo alle Terme*, in the exhibition, the catalogue of which was edited by Paris (1994a).

**Ancient *testimonia* that may illustrate the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*: Domitian's *sestertius*, issued in AD 95/96 (cf. here Fig. 30) and the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here Fig. 31); and the different locations that have been suggested for this building : at the *domus* of Flavius Sabinus, which, in its turn, has been assumed at different places, and at the *domus* of Vespasian at the site of the later Baths of Diocletian**

As already mentioned above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.h), Paris (1994b, 26-33, esp. p. 28 with n. 11: "La documentazione iconografica") follows Mario Torelli (1987, 564-567, Fig. 2: "immagine del calco ricostruito nel Museo della Civiltà Romana"), in suggesting that the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* is represented on one of the *sestertii*, issued by Domitian in AD 95/96 (cf. here **Fig. 30**), and on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here **Fig. 31**). For this coin; cf. Paris (1994b, 26 Fig. 14: "Sesterzio di Domiziano (95/96 d.C) con raffigurazione di edificio decastilo [cf. here **Fig. 30**]".

**For the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano", which, in her opinion, shows a *procession* in front of a 'tempio decastilo'; cf. Paris 1994b, 28, Fig. 16 : "Il rilievo del Museo Vaticano e quello del Museo Nazionale [Romano] ricongiunti in un calco del Museo della Civiltà Romana" (cf. here **Fig. 31**). Cf. her Figs. 17-19 on p. 29, and Figs. 1-2 on p. 32.**

Note that Paris (1994b) (erroneously) locates the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* at the site of the *domus* of Flavius Sabinus, which has (erroneously) been identified by Filippo Coarelli ("Gens Flavia, Templum", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 368, who refers to: M. TORELLI: "Domus: T. Flavius Sabinus", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 102-103) with an architecture, excavated underneath the Caserma dei Corazzieri on Via XX Settembre, 12, close to the Church of S. Susanna on the Quirinal.

**Note also that Stephanie Langer and Michael Pfanner (2018, 142-157; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.g.3.)) are instead of the convincing opinion that this relief fragment (cf. here Fig. 31) shows a *sacrifice* in front of this decastyle temple (!).**

Cf. Paris (1994b, 21-25: "La localizzazione del monumento", especially p. 25 with n. 12 - for the (erroneous) location of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* at the *domus* of Flavius Sabinus and the identification of both with the building, found underneath the Caserma dei Corazzieri). For further discussion of the two locations that have been suggested for the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; cf. *supra*, in Chapters IV.1.1.a); and at IV.1.1.h).

**In the meantime, Filippo Coarelli (2014, 281) suggests another location for the *domus* of Flavius Sabinus: at the same site, where the late antique *domus* of the Nummii should be built, which stood to the south of Via XX Settembre, opposite the Church of Santa Susanna, and between Via Firenze and Via Torino.**

Also Maria Torelli has hinted at the earlier part of the extremely complicated history of scholarship concerning this subject; cf. below, at the *Contribution by Mario Torelli on the Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

To facilitate the reader an easier understanding of the relevant scholarly debate, I have added to Torelli's *Contribution* a 'Note by the editor'. There I have summarized Maria Cristina Capanna's "*Ipotesi A*" concerning the location of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, in which she explains in detail that part of the discussion, at which Torelli has hinted in his text. See Capanna (2008, 173, 174, Fig. 1. The caption reads: "Le ipotesi A e B sul Quirinale"). According to Capanna's "*Ipotesi A*" (2008, 175, Fig. 1) the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* stood within the "Area tra le attuali via del Quirinale, via delle Quattro Fontane, via di S. Vitale, Via Genova" (cf. here **Fig. 59**).

This was the (wrong) location assumed for the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* by Rodolfo Lanciani (III 1990, 209; *id.* III, 194), because he located the Vigna Sadoletto at this site, where, in 1521, the inscription (CIL VI 29788 = ILS 5988) had occurred, which mentions the *domus* of Flavius Sabinus. For this old (but erroneous) location of the Vigna Sadoletto and, therefore, of the *domus* of Flavius Sabinus; cf. also Mariette de Vos (1996, 82).

See for this wrong location of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* also Lanciani, *FUR*, foglio 16, labels: COLLIS QUIRINALIS; ALTA SEMITA [today: Via del Quirinale]; Via Quattro Fontane; VIGNA DEL CARD[inale] SADOLETO; TEMPLVM GENTIS FLAV.[iae]; Vacca m.[emoria] 37.38; DOMVS FLAVIORUM; AD MALVM PVNICVM.

But note that Filippo Coarelli (2014, 247-256 with ns. 29, 30); see below) has now been able to demonstrate that the Vigna Sadoletto was instead located circa 400 m to the north-east, near the Church of S. Susanna.

Only after finishing writing my *Note by the editor* to Mario Torelli's *Contribution*, did I find that also Eugenio La Rocca (2009, 225-228) had addressed this subject. I have, therefore, quoted La Rocca (2009, 225-228) in my *Note*. But only now have I realized that already La Rocca (2009, 225 with n. 32, providing references) has addressed the fact that the Vigna Sadoletto had earlier been assumed at a wrong location. La Rocca (*op.cit.*) has, therefore, arrived at the convincing conclusion that the *domus* of Flavius Sabinus stood at the site of the (later) *domus* of the Nummii Albini (!). And, when reading now again Capanna's article (2008, 174, Fig.1, pp. 176, 177, at point "5."), did I notice that, in the course of explaining her "*Ipotesi B*" (which is the correct location of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*), she had likewise already marked on her plan Fig. 1 the *domus* of Flavius Sabinus at the correct site, next to the *domus* of the Nummii (!). See also Andrea Carandini (2007, *Illustrazioni*, "4. Ricostruzione del Quirinale e del Tempio di Quirino. A. Carandini con M.C. Capanna (prima del Georadar, 2007)", label: Privata T. Flavi Sabini; CIL VI 29788; CIL VI 334"; cf. p. VII: "Indice delle illustrazioni a cura di Maria Cristina Capanna; I grafici sono di Maria Cristina Capanna".

But note that most of this was also already known to Fabrizio Pesando ("Malum Punicum, ad", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 208-209), only that I had so far managed to overlook this fact.

For the correct locations of the *domus* of Flavius Sabinus, of the *domus* of Vespasian and of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; cf. here **Figs. 58; 59**, labels: COLLIS QUIRINALIS; Servian city Wall; S. Susanna; Caserma dei Corazzieri; site of DOMUS; ALTA SEMITA / Via del Quirinale / Via XX Settembre; Via Firenze; site of DOMUS : T. FLAVIUS SABINUS / DOMUS : NUMMII; Piazza S. Bernardo; Via Torino; VICUS LONGUS; Baths of DIOCLETIAN; site of DOMUS : VESPASIAN / TEMPLUM GENTIS FLAVIAE.

Cf. Federico Guidobaldi ("Domus: Nummii", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 146-147, Figs. 43; 44); p. 146: "Scavata a più riprese a partire del 1877, ma soprattutto negli anni 1883-1886, e poi nel 1893 su un area relativamente vasta centrata sullo sbocco di Via Firenze su Via XX Settembre (sito della Chiesa di S. Caio) ed estesa a SO [sud-ovest] nell'angolo del Ministero della Difesa e a NE [nord-est] in corrispondenza della chiesa metodista [of Saint Andrew; cf. *infra*] e della case Vismara, Mariani e Scafati (*Regio VI*) ...". In the following, Guidobaldi explains in detail that this site has been identified as that of a *domus* of the Nummii because of the find of relevant inscriptions.

See also Werner Eck's remark (1997, 190, n. 150) concerning this *domus* of the Nummii: "Vielleicht 200jährige Persistenz der Familie an diesem Ort").

For the "chiesa metodista", mentioned by Guidobaldi (1995); cf. Eugenio La Rocca (2009, 225 with n. 31, providing references), who writes that this Church was dedicated to "Saint Andrew".

Thanks to the essay by Serena Guglielmi ("Il Quirinale dei Flavi tra *Horti* e *Domus*", 2023, 28 with n. 23, quoted *verbatim infra*) have I now - finally - and right in time been alerted to the fact that also Coarelli (2014, 281) does not identify any more the *domus* of Flavius Sabinus with that *domus*, which has been excavated at the Caserma dei Corrazzieri. I myself had followed Coarelli's (erroneous) identification of those finds with the *domus* of Flavius Sabinus in my earlier *Study*; cf. Häuber (2017, 160); and still in one of the Previews of this book on Domitian, published on our Webserver on 7th August 2022 (last update: 19th May 2023):

"Chrystina Häuber, korrigierte und erweiterte Karte **Map 3** aus C. HÄUBER 2014, jetzt **Fig. 71**'. Dazu einige Textpassagen aus *Appendix I.* aus FORTVNA PAPERS III zur Lokalisierung des *Lucus Fagutalis* und des *mundus*, sowie zur Flucht Domitians vom *Capitolium* am 19. Dezember 69 n. Chr. / corrected and updated **Map 3** from C. HÄUBER 2014, now **Fig. 71**'. With some text passages from *Appendix I.* in FORTVNA PAPERS III concerning the location of the *Lucus Fagutalis* and the *mundus* and concerning Domitian's escape from the *Capitolium* on 19th December AD 69".

Cf. <[https://fortvna-research.org/maps/HAEUBER\\_2022\\_map3\\_Forum\\_Romanum-Oppius.html](https://fortvna-research.org/maps/HAEUBER_2022_map3_Forum_Romanum-Oppius.html)>.

I will now correct this cartographic error concerning the location of the *domus* of Flavius Sabinus on all our maps that will be published *infra*, in volume 3-2.

For the correct locations of the *domus* of Flavius Sabinus and of the *domus* of Vespasian/ the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; cf. now Coarelli (2014, 71, 255-256, 263, 271-274, 277, 280-281).

**After discussing the *domus* of the Nummii, Coarelli (2014, 280-281) writes that at the same site had earlier stood the *domus* of Flavius Sabinus :**

"È comunque possibile dimostrare che quella [*i.e.*, *domus*] appartenuta ai Nummii era stata preceduta da un'altra *domus*, nella quale è possibile identificare quella di T. Flavius Sabinus, il fratello di Vespasiano: **Elemento determinante è la scoperta, avvenuta in 1893, nel corso della costruzione della chiesa metodista, lungo la via XX Settembre, di una fistula iscritta con il nome del personaggio: TI FLAVI SABINI** [with n. 117]. Il luogo è indicato con grande precisione: "Alla distanza di m. 18 dalla via Firenze, entro l'area dello stesso fabbricato e alla profondità di m. 1,50". **Questa possibilità è confermata dal ritrovamento, nel 1521 di un cippo (oggi perduta) relativo alla stessa proprietà** [with n. 118]: **la provenienza di questo dalla Vigna Sadoletto aveva indotto a collocare la scoperta all'altezza di S. Andrea, a 400 m circa dal luogo di ritrovamento della fistula. In realtà, come abbiamo visto in precedenza** [thus referring back to page 272], **la vigna va situata molto più ad est, non lontano dalla chiesa di S. Susanna: in perfetta corrispondenza con il luogo di ritrovamento della fistula. In conclusione, la casa di Flavio Sabino veniva a trovarsi esattamente nel luogo occupato in seguito dalla *domus* dei Nummii** [my emphasis]".

In his **note 117**, Coarelli writes: "'N<sup>o</sup>Sc' 1893, p. 418; *CIL* XV 7451".

In his **note 118**, he writes: "CIL VI 29788 = ILS 5988: ``*Inter duos / parietes / ambitus privat(us) / Flavi Sabinf* [corr.: *Sabini*; see below, the quote from p. 272]``. Cfr. *sopra*". - **Coarelli thus refers back to his research on the correct location of the Vigna Sadoletto on pp. 247-256 with ns. 29, 30.**

Coarelli (2014, 272, Section: "2) *Le domus dei Flavi*") writes: "La posizione precisa della *domus* [of Flavius Sabinus] si può ricostruire in base a due documenti epigrafici: una fistula scoperta nell' area della chiesa metodista, all'angolo tra via XX Settembre e via Firenze [with n. 88], e un cippo in travertino, trovato nella vigna Sadoletto nel 1521 [with n. 89] con l'iscrizione *inter duos parietes ambitus privat(us) Flavi Sabini* [my emphasis]". In the following, Coarelli refers again to the previous, but erroneous location of the Vigna Sadoletto. In his **notes 88 and 89**, Coarelli provides references.

**See also Coarelli (2014, 272-274) for his earlier, but erroneous identification of the *domus* found at the Caserma dei Corazzieri with that of Flavius Sabinus, for the correct location of this *domus*, and for the location of the *domus* of his brother Vespasian/ the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* :**

"La presenza, sull'altro lato della via XX Settembre (all'interno della Caserma dei corazzieri), di una ricca casa di età neroniano-flavia, dotata di raffinati mosaici parietali, mi aveva indotto inizialmente a proporre l'identificazione con la *domus* di Flavio Sabino [with n. 93], e di conseguenza [cf. Figs. 95; 96 on p. 273] a collocare nella stessa zona anche il *templum gentis Flaviae*, eretto da Domiziano nel luogo ove era nato [with n. 94]. Tuttavia, due argomenti decisivi obbligano a rinunciare all'ipotesi: in primo luogo, la posizione dei resti della casa sul lato settentrionale dell'*alta Semita*, opposto rispetto a quello dove sono apparsi ambedue i [page 273; page 274] documenti epigrafici menzionati [*i.e.*, CIL XV 7451, and CIL VI 29788 = ILS 5988]; ma soprattutto, la posizione ormai accettata del *templum gentis Flaviae* in una zona posta a circa duecento metri più ad est, compresa tra l'ex Planetario, S. Bernardo alle Terme e Piazza della Repubblica.

L'errore nasceva dalla confusione tra la casa di Flavio Sabino (che probabilmente ne era entrato in possesso prima del 51 d.C.) [with n. 95] e quella di Vespasiano, certamente vicine tra loro, ma distinte. Ora, come sappiamo, il *templum gentis Flaviae* era stato costruito da Domiziano nel luogo dove era nato [with n. 96], e quindi in corrispondenza della casa di Vespasiano, dove questi si era trasferito prima del 51 d.C. dalla sua precedente dimora, situata presso il *Septizodium* (forse un precedente dell'edificio severiano) [with n. 97]. A questa casa vanno dunque attribuiti i resti di murature in opera reticolata di età giulio-claudia, sui quali il tempio è costruito [with n. 98].

**Siamo così in grado di riconoscere anche la posizione relativa delle due case, quella di T. Flavius Sabinus e di Vespasiano, che erano in effeffi adiacenti: il limite orientale della prima (analogo a quello della casa dei Nummii: v.[edi] sotto [cf. pp. 277-281]) era la strada antica, corrispondente all'attuale via Torino, che si staccava dall'*alta Semita* all'altezza di S. Susanna, e nella quale si deve probabilmente riconoscere il possibile *vicus ad malum Punicum*, che sappiamo collegato alla stessa chiesa [with n. 99]. Immediatamente al di là di questa via, di cui si conserva parte del basolato, veniva a trovarsi la casa di Vespasiano [my emphasis]**".

In his **note 93**, Coarelli writes: "COARELLI 1984 [*i.e.*, here F. COARELLI 1984a], pp. 147-155: posizione condivisa da M. Torelli, in *LTUR* II, pp. 102s."

In his **note 94**, he writes: "Così anche TORELLI 1987. Per la vera posizione del tempio, si veda sopra, cap.[titolo] II [cf. pp. 194-207, Section: "18. *Templum gentis Flaviae*"]".

In his **note 95**, he writes: "Certamente non dopo il suo consolato (suff.), di data incerta, ma certamente anteriore a quello del fratello, che è del 51: *PIR* F 352".

In his **note 96**, he writes: "Suet., *Dom.* 1.1".

In his **note 97**, he writes: "Suet., *Tit.* 11. Coarelli 2009 [*i.e.*, here F. COARELLI 2009b], pp. 93 s.; LA ROCCA 2009, pp. 224-233".

In his **note 98**, he writes: "CANDILIO 1990-91 [*i.e.*, here D. CANDILIO 1990-1991 [1994]; CANDILIO 2000-2001]".

In his **note 99**, he writes: "*LTUR* III [s. v. *Malum Punicum*, ad], pp. 208 s. (F. Pesando)".

**See also Coarelli (2014, 277) for the fact that the area of the Caserma dei Corazzieri does not belong to the Horti Sallustiani :**

After discussing the *domus* underneath the Caserma dei Corazzieri: "Si deve escludere l'identificazione, proposta in un primo tempo [with n. 107], con la *domus* di Flavio Sabino. Errata è anche l'attribuzione agli *horti Sallustiani*, che si trovavano più a est [corr.: ad ovest; cf. here Figs. 58; 59], e che comunque difficilmente avranno incluso al loro interno una casa urbana, in gran parte inserita all'interno della mura [my emphasis]".

In his **note 107**, Coarelli writes: "Cfr. supra, nota 93".

For Flavius Sabinus and his *domus* on the Quirinal; cf. further *infra*, in volume 3-2. at *Appendix I.a*); and *Appendix I.d*).

**The *domus* at the Caserma dei Corazzieri can thus not be identified with the *domus* of Flavius Sabinus, and it is likewise not located within the Horti Sallustiani**

**Eugenio La Rocca (2020a, 49) dates the mosaics, found at the *domus* of the Caserma dei Corazzieri to the time of Vespasian :**

"Sul mosaico di Hylas il fondale scenico era distinto lateralmente in tre registri, mentre l'edicola centrale, un irreal monoptero non concluso anteriormente, retto in primo piano da candelabri e coronato con acroteri raffiguranti centauri marini, prendeva tutta l'altezza della parete. Le edicole, a *tholos* senza copertura, con colonne ioniche e colonne vegetali, sono leggerissime. In una sorta di *horror vacui*, tutti gli spazi entro le edicole e sulla parete sono coperti da pinakes, da figurine umane e animali, da festoni e elementi decorativi a carattere prevalentemente vegetale di vario genere. **Il mosaico è stato giustamente datato in età vespasiana per il confronto con la parete stuccata della palestra delle terme Stabiane a Pompei, con la quale divide la tendenza verso un decorativismo spinto e un affastellamento di elementi di maniera** [my emphasis]". - La Rocca discusses those mosaics also on p. 17 (with n. 8, quoting M. DE VOS 1997, 57-96), pp. 38, 39 48-49, 76.

Most recently, Serena Guglielmi ("Il Quirinale dei Flavi tra Horti e Domus", 2023, 25-28) has discussed the *domus*, excavated at the Caserma dei Corazzieri, who believes that it had been commissioned by Vespasian. In her opinion, this *domus* stood in the Horti Sallustiani, and that those Horti had been created by the historian Gaius Sallustius Crispus.

"La presenza di una dimora di famiglia spiega forse la predilezione di Vespasiano per la zona del Quirinale, tanto che da imperatore preferiva soggiornare su questo colle. "Viveva poco nel *Palatium*, mentre passava la maggior parte del tempo nei cosiddetti giardini sallustiani, dove riceveva chi voleva" [with n. 12]. Gli *horti* di Sallustio, costruiti nel I secolo a.C. dal celebre storico Caio Crispo Sallustio, occupavano una vasta area sulla sommità del Quirinale compresa tra le odierne via Salaria, via Venti Settembre e le Mura Aureliane [with n. 13]. La residenza, passata nel demanio imperiale sotto Tiberio, fu molto amata dagli imperatori, forse per la bellezza dei suoi giardini, **ma forse soprattutto per la** [page 26] **sua posizione strategica nei pressi delle mura cittadine**, da dove si poteva controllare il più importante accesso in città da settentrione [with n. 14]. **Vespasiano vi si stabilì per lunghi soggiorni, ricevendo qui gli amici e tutti coloro che passavano nella zona** [with n. 15].

Tracce tangibili dell'intervento di quest'ultimo [*i.e.*, Vespasian] sugli *horti Sallustiani* sono state individuate nell'area della attuale via Lucullo, dove tra il 1951 e il 1952 furono scoperti i resti di un criptoportico decorato con pitture, costruito nella seconda metà del I secolo d.C. [with n. 16]. È forse questo il luogo dove Vespasiano era solito passeggiare, una delle attività quotidiane da lui predilette, come ci racconta Svetonio [with n. 17]. **Sempre all'operato** [page 27] **di questo imperatore** [*i.e.*, Vespasian] **potrebbe**

essere attribuita la decorazione a mosaico di un ninfeo parzialmente messo in luce nel 1965 all'interno della caserma dei Corazzieri presso l'odierna via Venti Settembre [with n. 18] (fig. 2) ...

Allo stesso complesso va con ogni probabilità attribuito il mosaico policromo esposto in mostra (fig. 3) [with n. 19]: formato da paste vitree, calcari e conchiglie, il frammento fu scoperto nel 1869 tra i resti di un edificio che giaceva presso il "vicolo sterrato", corrispondente all'attuale Salita di S. Nicola da Tolentino [with n. 20], area che ricade nello stesso isolato della caserma dei Corazzieri.

Vespasiano, come noto, era nato nelle vicinanze di Rieti: fu forse l'origine sabina dei Flavi a determinare la scelta del Quirinale quale luogo di abitazione della famiglia? Secondo la tradizione, i primi occupanti dell'altura furono i Sabini di Tito Tazio: vivere sul "colle dei Sabini" potrebbe essere stata una scelta ben precisa e di rottura con il precedente regime dei Giulio-Claudi [with n. 21].

Sappiamo da Tacito che anche Tito Flavio Sabino, fratello maggiore di Vespasiano, possedeva una *domus* sul Quirinale [with n. 22]. Due documenti epigrafici [page 28] giunti fino a noi - una condotta d'acqua in piombo con impresso il nome del proprietario e un cippo di confine con l'iscrizione "Inter duos parietes ambitus privat(us) Flavi Sabini" - hanno permesso di localizzare la casa nell'area compresa tra le attuali via Firenze e via Torino [with n. 23] (fig. 1).

La residenza è stata spesso confusa con quella del fratello Vespasiano, sebbene sia oggi certo che si tratti di due edifici distinti, tra loro non troppo lontani [with n. 24; my emphasis].

In her note 12, Guglielmi writes: "Cass. Dio 66, 10, 4".

In her note 13, she writes: "Il termine *horti* denota dei possedimenti posti in ambito urbano, ai margini del centro, dei veri e propri giardini domestici nei quali si poteva godere della amenità della vita di campagna rimanendo nelle vicinanze della vita politica ed economica. Sull'argomento vd. [vedi] Cima, Talamo 2008, con bibliografia precedente. Per gli *horti di Sallustio* cfr. Innocenti, Leotta 2004 e Talamo 2008 [corr.: E. TALAMO 1998] [my emphasis]."

In her note 14, she writes: "Cima, Talamo 2008, pp. 112-113".

In her note 15, she writes: "Cass. Dio 66, 10, 4".

In her note 16, she writes: "Innocenti, Leotta 2004, p. 187, con bibliografia precedente".

In her note 17, she writes: "Suet. *Vesp.* 21".

In her note 18, she writes: "LTUR III, s.v. *Horti Sallustiani: Ninfeo o Terme*, pp. 82-83 [M. De Vos]. De Vos 1997".

In her note 19, she writes: "Musei Capitolini, Antiquarium, inv. AC 4941. Per il mosaico vd. [vedi] Salvetti 2003 e Salvetti 2013, pp. 108-112".

In her note 20, she writes: "Questa via è considerata da alcuni studiosi il limite occidentale degli *horti Sallustiani*. La questione topografica dell'area è complessa e ancora oggi non è possibile determinare un confine preciso degli *horti Sallustiani* fra largo S. Susanna e piazza Barberini; diverse sono le opinioni: secondo M. De Vos e C. Salvetti, l'area del monastero di S. Susanna ricadeva in antico nella zona occupata dagli *horti Sallustiani* (De Vos 1997 e Salvetti 2003). Anche in Capanna 2012, pp. 461-462, tavv. 182-183, il ninfeo con decorazione parietale scoperto presso la caserma dei Corazzieri è considerato un nucleo di rappresentanza degli *horti*. Diversa l'opinione di F. Coarelli, il quale attribuisce le testimonianze archeologiche situate nell'area della chiesa di S. Susanna a una o più *domus* aristocratiche, da mettere forse in relazione con la *domus Gabinii*, padre di S. Susanna (Coarelli 2014a [i.e., here F. COARELLI 2014], pp. 274-277). Vd. [vedi] anche Innocenti, Leotta 2004, p. 191 [my emphasis]."

In her note 21, she writes: "De Vos 1997, p. 98".

In her note 22, she writes: "Tac. *hist.*, 3, 69".

In her note 23, she writes: "Si tratta della condotta in piombo CIL XV 7451, scoperta nel 1893 negli scavi per la costruzione della chiesa metodista di Saint Andrew, all'angolo tra via Venti Settembre e via Firenze (Nsc 1893, p. 418) e del cippo di travertino CIL VI 29788, oggi perduto, trovato nel 1521 nella vigna del cardinale Jacopo Sadoletto. Per questa *domus* cfr. La Rocca 2009a, pp. 278-280 e Coarelli 2014b [i.e., here F. COARELLI 2014a], pp. 271-274.

In her note 24, she writes: "Coarelli 2009b [i.e., here F. COARELLI 2014a], p. 93".

**To the above-quoted passage from Serena Guglielmi (2023, 25-28) I should like to add some comments :**

I myself, like Coarelli (2014, 277, quoted *verbatim supra*), do not believe that the *domus* at the Caserma dei Corazzieri stood in the *Horti Sallustiani*; consequently, I do not believe that Vespasian may have commissioned this *domus*.

Guglielmi (2023, 25, n. 13) defines the meaning of the term '*horti*' as follows: "**Il termine *horti* denota dei possedimenti posti in ambito urbano, ai margini del centro, dei veri e proprio giardini domestici nei quali si poteva godere della amenità della vita di campagna rimanendo nelle vicinanze della vita politica ed economica [my emphasis]**".

Here, neither Guglielmi's description of the character, or of the locations of the *Horti* in Rome is very precise, although elsewhere, see Guglielmi (2023, 26), she herself writes about the *Horti Sallustiani*: "**sua posizione strategica nei pressi delle mura cittadine [my emphasis]**".

The latter is indeed the most characteristic feature of the luxurious *Villas* at Rome, which the Romans called '*Horti*': they were *not* located "in ambito urbano", as Guglielmi (2023, 25, n. 13) asserts, but were in reality 'suburban' estates, since (normally) they were built *outside* the Servian city Wall (cf. here **Figs. 58; 71**). One very well known exception from this rule being the *Horti* of Maecenas, one part of which lay also *inside* the Servian city Wall. For the *Horti* of Maecenas; cf. Häuber (1983; 1990; 1991; 1996; 2011; 2014a; online at <[https://FORTVNA-research.org/horti/horti\\_maecenatiani.html](https://FORTVNA-research.org/horti/horti_maecenatiani.html)>); Wiseman (2016) and Coarelli (2019c).

Equally surprising is another exception from this rule. We know that T. Pomponius Atticus lived in his *domus* on the Quirinal, which was, of course, located within the Servian city Wall (cf. here **Figs. 58; 59**; cf. *infra*). Atticus had inherited this property from his maternal uncle, and although Cornelius Nepos, in his biography of Atticus (*Att.* 25.13.1-2), called this property a '*domus*', he mentioned that it comprised a huge park, called "*silva*"; cf. Filippo Coarelli (2014, 268-271, esp. p 268 with n. 68, Section: "1) *La domus di Attico*").

**Let's now apply what was said above to our example discussed here: see the maps Häuber ("Gli *horti* in età flavia", 2009, 313, Fig. 1 [= M. CIMA and E. TALAMO 2008, 112, Fig. 3], and here Fig. 58), in which it is plain to see that the *domus* of the Caserma dei Corazzieri stood *within* the Servian city Wall, whereas the *Horti Sallustiani*, like (almost) all other *Horti* in Rome, were built *outside* the Servian city Wall.**

**Compare the plan of the area, published by Serena Guglielmi (2023, 26, Fig. 1), in which she has marked with a red dot the location of the *domus* at the Caserma dei Corazzieri, and to which she has added the lettering: Horti Sallustiani? See also the following near-by letterings on her plan: Largo Santa Susanna; Piazza S. Bernardo. The caption of her Fig. 1 reads: "Planimetria del Quirinale con l'indicazione delle *domus* dei Flavi (elaborazione grafica S. Guglielmi)".**

Because in Latin the term '*horti*' is also the plural of '*hortus*' ('[market] garden'), T.P. Wiseman (1992, 72, with n. 5) has rightly observed: "**'Gardens' is really a misnomer, what *horti* meant, in the Rome of the late Republic and early Principate, was a luxury *villa* on the edge of the city [in his note 5, he provides references; my emphasis]**".

The two hypotheses, that the *domus* at the Caserma dei Corazzieri stood in the *Horti Sallustiani*, and that it was built by Vespasian, which Guglielmi (2023, 26-27) now repeats, were first suggested by Mariette de Vos (1996; 1997). But both hypotheses have already been refuted a long time ago, as I have mentioned elsewhere.

Cf. Häuber (2014a, 808 with ns. 9, 10): "**The group of the nymphs and Hylas on our relief (fig. 147) shows similarities with the mosaic found in a Flavian *domus* on the Quirinal at the Caserma dei Corazzieri, which was published by Mariette de Vos [with n. 9]. She suggests that this *domus* stood within the *Horti Sallustiani*, and assumes that it was built by the emperor Vespasian [with n. 10; my emphasis]**".

In my **note 9**, I write: "M. De Vos, s.v. *Horti Sallustiani: Ninfeo o Terme*, in *LTUR*, III, 1996, pp. 82-83, fig. 53; *Ead.* 1997, pp. 57-98, figs. 97, 114-118, 123 (followed by Capanna 2012, pp. 457, 461, fig. 165, Tav. 182 G; 183); cf. Ling 2000; Bragantini 2001".

Cf. **note 10**: "Both hypotheses have been refuted; cf. for a summary of the discussion, Häuber 2009, p. 312 with n. 20 [my emphasis]".

Cf. Häuber ("Gli *horti* in età flavia", 2009, 312 with n. 20):

**"In questi *horti* [i.e., the *Horti Sallustiani*] venne eretto soltanto un nuovo edificio in età flavia (al quale appartiene il Criptoportico fig. 1, n. 18) [with n. 20] ...[my emphasis]"**.

In my **note 20**, I write: "Cfr. Innocenti, Leotta 2004, p. 187, n. 9 a fig. 1 (una seconda struttura, p. 187, nota 193, ha una fase di età flavia): Moormann 2004, p. 2. **De Vos 1996b** [i.e., here M. DE VOS 1996], **p. 82; De Vos 1997, pp. 93-98, attribuisce la "residenza tardorepubblicana" della Caserma dei Corazzieri, via XX Settembre 12, agli *Horti Sallustiani* che Vespasiano avrebbe eretto in età flavia** (cfr. Ling 2000, pp. 543, 546 sgg.). **Contra: Innocenti, Leotta 1996; Innocenti, Leotta 2004, p. 191; Hartswick 2004, p. 144; Talamo 1998; Talamo 2008.** Torelli 1995 e Coarelli 1995e [= "Gens Flavia, Templum", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 368-369, Figs. 180-181] identificano questa *domus* con la casa del fratello di Vespasiano (*T. Flavius Sabinus*), la casa natale di Domiziano, sul luogo della quale questi avrebbe fatto erigere il *Templum Gentis Flaviae* [my emphasis]".

In addition to this, Guglielmi (2023, 25) follows the old, but likewise erroneous opinion that the *Horti Sallustiani* were founded by the historian Gaius Sallustius Crispus (1). To this we will now turn.

**The *Horti Sallustiani* were not founded by the historian Gaius Sallustius Crispus (1), as taken for granted by Serena Guglielmi (2023, 25), but instead by his adoptive son, Gaius Sallustius Crispus (2).**

Cf. Häuber ("Gli *horti* in età flavia", 2009, 314):

**"Come costruttore [with n. 56] degli *Horti Sallustiani* si cita spesso lo storico C. Sallustio Crispo (1) [with n. 57]. Poiché Cesare [with n. 58] possedette gli *horti* [with n. 59] di Porta Collina e Sallustio (1) fu suo partigiano, molti studiosi presumono che quest'ultimo ne abbia acquistato gli *horti* alla sua [i.e., Caesar's] morte. Cesare dovette avere qui i suoi *horti*, nei pressi di templi già esistenti della *Fortuna Publica* e di *Venere Ericina* [with n. 60]. Anche alcuni complessi architettonici [with n. 61] e scultorei [with n. 62] vengono attribuiti a lui [i.e., to Julius Caesar]. Così si pensa a proposito del sito dei resti architettonici di piazza Sallustio (fig. 1, n. 13), che in quest'ottica sarebbero il palazzo residenziale adrianeo degli *Horti Sallustiani* e dove dovette trovarsi in quest'ottica anche il palazzo residenziale degli *horti* di Cesare o di Sallustio (1) [with n. 63]. Al contrario, Monika Frass [with n. 64] propone che Sallustio (1) abbia ricevuto gli *horti* poi collegati al suo nome da Cesare come *praemium belli*.**

**Al riguardo, tuttavia, Nicholas Purcell [with n. 65] chiarisce come la relazione di Sallustio (1) con gli *Horti Sallustiani* sia basata sull'errata interpretazione di una fonte [with n. 66], e che come fondatore di tali *horti* si possa ricorrere soltanto all'omonimo pronipote ed erede, C. Sallustio Crispo (2) [with n. 67]. A ragione, Purcell [with n. 68] avverte inoltre come la presunta evidenza degli *horti* di Cesare presso Porta Collina si basi sull'errata interpretazione di un passo di Dione Cassio (XLII, 26, 3 sgg.; del 48 a.C.). Tale passo viene sempre messo in relazione con una notizia di Obsequens (LXXI; del 17 a.C.) riguardante un *prodigium* in *horti Caesaris ad portam Collinam*. Qui tuttavia, Obsequens con "Caesar" non intende Giulio Cesare in persona, quanto piuttosto l'"imperatore", cioè Augusto. Poiché dunque gli *Horti Sallustiani* furono fondati al più presto da Sallustio (2) rimane da chiarire a chi siano da imputare le architetture tardorepubblicane e il loro allestimento nell'area degli *Horti Sallustiani* (*supra*, fig. 1), attualmente ascritti a Cesare o a Sallustio (1) [my emphasis]".**



In my **note 56**, I write: "Così Castagnoli 1972, pp. 384 sgg.; Coarelli 1996c [*i.e.*, here F. COARELLI 1996, 55]; Talamo 1998, p. 116; Talamo 2008, pp. 30, 115; Hartswick 2004, pp. 8-10; Innocenti, Leotta 1996; Innocenti, Leotta 2004, p. 193; Moormann 2004, p. 1; Macaulay 2006, p. 518".

Cf. **note 57**: "OCD<sup>3</sup> (1996) 1348-1349 s.v. *Sallust (Caius Sallustius (RE 10) Crispus)* 86-35 a.C. (Pelling)".

Cf. **note 58**: "OCD<sup>3</sup> (1996) 780-782 s.v. *Iulius (RE 131) Caesar (1), Caius*, 100-44 a.C. (Badian)".

Cf. **note 59**: "Così Platner, Ashby 1929, p. 265 s.v. *Horti Caesaris (1)*; Castagnoli 1972, p. 384; Richardson 1992, p. 197 s.v. *Horti Caesaris (1)*; Coarelli 1996c [*i.e.*, here F. COARELLI 1996, 55]; Talamo 1998, pp. 114 sgg.; Talamo 2008, pp. 29 sgg., 33, 115; Frass 2006, p. 288. *Contra*: Grimal 1984, pp. 131 sgg.; Grimal 1990, p. 135; Purcell 2001, p. 555; Innocenti, Leotta 2004, p. 193; Hartswick 2004, pp. 8-10, note 65-76".

Cf. **note 60**: "Così Talamo 1998, pp. 135-138, in part.[icolare] pp. 141-148".

Cf. **note 61**: "Così Talamo 1998, p. 134; Talamo 2008, p. 120, sostruzione tardorepubblicana, via Lucullo (cfr. qui fig. 1, n. 17). **De Vos 1996b** [*i.e.*, here M. DE VOS 1996], **p. 82; De Vos 1997, pp. 93-98, attribuisce la ``residenza tardorepubblicana`` della Caserma dei Corazzieri agli horti**; Innocenti, Leotta 2004, pp. 183-184, 193 (sui muri tardorepubblicani all'interno degli *horti*) [my emphasis]".

Cf. **note 62**: "Così Talamo 1998, p. 141; Talamo 2008, p. 127 (sulle statue dei Galati come parte del programma scultoreo di Cesare)".

Cf. **note 63**: "Così Talamo 1998, pp. 133 sgg.: cfr. Talamo 2008, pp. 120, 122, 125. Innocenti, Leotta 2004, pp. 150, 184, 194, fig. 1 suppongono invece che tutte le architetture residenziali di tutte le fasi degli *Horti Sallustiani* siano in Via Sicilia".

Cf. **note 64**: "Frass 2006, p. 320 e cfr., p. 288".

Cf. **note 65**: "**Purcell 2001, p. 555, nota 39, che segue tra l'altro Syme 1964, p. 283; cfr. Frass 2006, p. 322, nota 1850** [my emphasis]".

Cf. **note 66**: "Cfr. Frass 2006, p. 320, nota 1839, sullo Pseudo-Cicerone, in *C. Sallust 7 (= Invectiva in Sallustium Crispum)*".

Cf. **note 67**: "OCD<sup>3</sup> (1996) 1349 s.v. *Sallustius (RE 11) Crispus, Caius* (Momigliano *et al.*), morto nel 20 d.C.; Frass 2006, p. 322".

Cf. **note 68**: "Cfr. **Purcell 2001, p. 555 nota 40: ``Contra Talamo [1998] 115: D.C. [*i.e.*, Dio Cassius] 42.26.2, recording *keraunoi* falling on the Capitol, on the `temple of Fortuna called public' and on the gardens of Caesar - certainly three separate places, not two``. Ma tutto ciò non è contrario al fatto che qui si intendano gli *Horti* di Cesare in Trastevere** [my emphasis]".

#### **Post scriptum to the finding that the historian Gaius Sallustius Crispus was not the founder of the Horti Sallustiani**

Already Sir Ronald Syme (1964) had realized that the founder of the *Horti Sallustiani* cannot possibly have been the historian Gaius Sallustius Crispus (1). Nicholas Purcell was kind enough to disclose this fact to me in January of 1983. He had invited me to give a talk at St. John's College in Oxford ("Maecenas, Sallust and Lamia : Imperial Gardens and Roman Art", 21st January 1983). In addition, Nicholas had provided me for my talk with his unpublished manuscript "*Horti of Rome*", in which he comments on the relevant scholarly discussion in great detail, and from which he generously allowed me to quote. I have, of course, waited until Nicholas Purcell (2001, 555) had published all this important information about the *Horti Sallustiani* himself, before I summarized his findings in the above-quoted passage; cf. Häuber (2009, 314). On 10th February 2012, I have published this information about the *Horti Sallustiani* online; cf. Häuber (2012a).

Let's now return to our discussion of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

Whereas the identification of the building underneath the Caserma dei Corazzieri with the *domus* of Flavius Sabinus seemed earlier to be convincing, this could not possibly be at the same time the former location of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, because Domitian erected that building at the site of the *domus* of his father Vespasian (Suet., *Dom.* 1; cf. *Dom.* 15).

Rita Paris (1994b, 23 with n. 5) mentions also: "L'esistenza di resti di età domiziana sotto l'aula ottagonale delle Terme di Diocleziano (nota come Planetario), ha fatto avanzare l'ipotesi che parte del grande complesso del *Templum Gentis Flaviae* dovesse trovarsi sul lato sud dell'*Alta Semita*, e fosse stata demolita per far posto all'imponente costruzione [of the Baths of Diocletian] iniziata nel 298 e terminata intorno al 305 d.C." [with n. 5, quoting D. CANDILIO 1990-1991: "Indagini archeologiche nell'aula ottagonale delle Terme di Diocleziano"].

**Daniela Candilio's (1990-1991 [1994]; ead. 1995; ead. 1999; ead. 2000-2001) attribution of those Domitianic structures to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, which she has excavated at the Baths of Diocletian, has in the meantime become the *communis opinio*.**

As I only realized after this Chapter was written, this assumption is not true; cf. Paolo Liverani (2021, 87-88; cf. now *id.* 2023, 118-119, the same passage in the Italian version of this essay), quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.h).

**Is the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* indeed represented on Domitian's *sestertius* (here Fig. 30) and on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (here Fig. 31) ?**

Because I believe that Borg (2019, 249, quoted *verbatim supra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.h)), is able to demonstrate that the temple tomb proper of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* was *not* erected on a round ground-plan, as suggested by J.-C. Grenier (2009, 238) and Filippo Coarelli (2014, 204-207), both quoted *verbatim supra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.a), but instead on a rectangular plan, I believe that we should re-consider the above-mentioned hypothesis by Mario Torelli (1987, 564-567, Fig. 2), followed by Paris (1994b, 28 with n. 11), who has suggested that the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* is represented on one of the *sestertii*, issued by Domitian in AD 95/96 (cf. here Fig. 30), and on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano". For Domitian's *sestertius*; cf. Paris (1994b, 26, Fig. 14; and for the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano", p. 28, Fig. 16, p. 32, Figs. 1; 2 [= here Fig. 31]). Concerning the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano", see also Claudio Parisi Presicce (2000, 28, quoted *verbatim infra*).

See most recently on both subjects, Lorenzo Kosmopoulos (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOILOS, 2023, 130-131): "E se resta ancora in sospeso l'interpretazione dell'immagine su un sesterzio domiziano di cui sono conosciuti solo tre esemplari (fig. 7 [= here Fig. 30]), ma che, per la presenza di recinti chiusi, non risponde bene allo schema degli edifici templari entro porticati, solitamente raffigurati su monete con la corte aperta [with n. 51; page 131] l'ipotesi di Mario Torelli, poi ripresa da Rita Paris, non può essere esclusa a priori esclusivamente sulla base di una presunta ricostruzione circolare dell'edificio".

This passage was already quoted, together with Kosmopoulos's **note 51**, *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.h).

But we should not forget that other scholars do not reconstruct the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* as a decastyle temple, but rather as an octastyle temple; cf. Maria Cristina Capanna (2008), as observed by Eric M. Moormann (2018, 170 with n. 154, quoted *verbatim* and discussed *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.h).

**In our attempt to decide, whether or not the decastyle temples, visible on Domitian's *sestertius* (here Fig. 30) and on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (here Fig. 31) are representations of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* at all, we should consider a new, important observation. We owe this finding to Eric M. Moormann, who has formulated it in his *Contribution* to this volume, that is dedicated to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. But Moormann's observation is, of course, also decisive for the question discussed here :**

**Eric M. Moormann ("Can We Reconstruct the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*?) writes :**

**"The discussion on the number of columns of the temple's façade for instance (cf. Capanna [2008]) remains futile as long as no precise measures of either columns or podium have come to light [my emphasis]"**.

For the context of his just-quoted conclusion; cf. below, at Eric M. Moormann's *Contribution* to this volume.

Fig. 30. *Sestertius* of Domitian, issued AD 95/96, representing a decastyle temple, which M. Torelli (1987) has identified with the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. BMC, p. 406, n. 12, R.H. Darwall-Smith (1996, 281, Plate XVIII, Fig. 30). From W. Haberey (1960, Taf. 42, Abb. 1: "Bronzemedaille des Domitian vom Jahre 95-96 n. Chr. aus Grab I"). Cf. R. Paris (1994b, 26, Fig. 14). From: E. Nash (1961, 371, Fig. 452: "Sestertius of the 17th consulate of Domitian (95/96 A.D.)".

Fig. 31. "Rilievo Terme Vaticano".

Above: Photo of the reconstruction of this relief in the Museo della Civiltà Romana at the EUR (inv. no. 3725), created in plaster on the basis of both fragmentary reliefs that are kept in the Museo Nazionale Romano and in the Vatican Museums. From: R. Paris (1994b, 28, Fig. 16: "Il rilievo del Museo Vaticano e quello del Museo Nazionale Romano ricongiunti in un calco del Museo della Civiltà Romana").

In the middle: Fragmentary marble relief, Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome (inv. no. 165), representing a decastyle temple in the pediment of which appears 'Rome's foundation story'. Photo; D-DAI Rom Photo Parker (PK) 2283: "Sculpture - Alto rilievo representing the Temple of Romulus; now in a stone-mason's yard in Via Alessandrina".

There is a plaster cast on display at the Museo Gregoriano Profano of this relief in the Museo Nazionale Romano, placed above the original fragment, owned by this collection.

Below: Fragmentary marble relief, Città del Vaticano, Museo Gregoriano Profano (inv. no. 9506), with an emperor (whose head is restored with a portrait of Trajan), accompanied *inter alia* by two lictors, shown in the act of sacrificing. Both fragments belong together. The fact that these lictors carry fasces to which no axes are attached means that the temple stands within the *pomerium*; cf. S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018, 142-157), whose further suggestion I likewise follow that this relief does not represent a procession, as hitherto believed, but rather a sacrifice. Cf. R. Paris (1994b, 32, Figs. 1; 2). I have numbered the six figures on the relief myself, following S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018, 147, Abb. 53). Many scholars take for granted that the "Rilievo Vaticano" was found in the Forum of Trajan. This assumption is not true, as already stated by M. Torelli (1987, 504 n. 6, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.g.3)).

For the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" see also Claudio Parisi Presicce (2000, 35, cat. no. 3) :

"Rilievo raffigurante una processione davanti a un tempio con la lupa che allatta i gemelli nel frontone (ricostruzione con calchi integrati [= here Fig. 31])

Da origine marmorea in due pezzi al Museo Nazionale Romano (inv. 165) e ai Musei Vaticani (inv. 1146)

Larg.[hezza] cm 165, alt.[ezza] cm 220

**Epoca flavia**

Roma, Museo della Civiltà Romana, inv. 3725

Il rilievo è stato ricomposto nel calco da due frammenti originali: la parte superiore, nota fin dal Cinquecento attraverso alcuni disegni, è stata acquistata sul mercato antiquario dal Museo Nazionale Romano; **l'altra, rinvenuta alla fine del XIV secolo durante la costruzione della chiesa di Santa Eufemia nell'ara del Foro Traiano, è conservata ai Musei Vaticani** [as already said above, this alleged provenance is not true] (Museo Gregoriano Profano, già Lateranense).

La testa detta di Traiano e quella del personaggio collocato davanti alla colonna angolare del tempio sono state restaurate da Thorvaldsen.

La lastra conservata raffigura due togati e quattro littori in processione davanti a un grandioso tempio con dieci colonne scanalate in facciata. Il frontone è decorato con scene relative alle origini di Roma. Nella metà destra del timpano sono raffigurti l'incontro amoroso tra Marte e Rea Silvia e il ritrovamento di Romolo e Remo, allattati alla lupa.

Nell'edificio, identificato inizialmente con il Tempio di Venere e Rom, costruito dall'imperatore Adriano, è stato recentemente riconosciuto il *Templum Gentis Flaviae* [my emphasis]"

Parisi Presicce provides an ample annotated bibliography to this relief, of which I quote here only the following: "Originale: E. Petersen, Due pezzi di rilievo riuniti, in *RM*, X, 1895, pp. 244-251, tav. V (epoca adrianea; Tempio di Venere e Roma); P. Hommel, *Studien zu den römischen Figurengiebeln der Kaiserzeit*, Berlin 1950 [1954], p. 41 ss., Fig. 7 (epoca flavia); E. Simon, in Helbig<sup>4</sup>, I [1963], pp. 727-729, n. 1013 (testa restaurata come Traiano, ma in origine Domiziano, decapitata in antico per la *damnatio memoriae*) .... M. Torelli ... [*i.e.*, here M. TORELLI 1987], pp. 563-567, fig. 2 (*Templum Gentis Flaviae*) ... Calco: ... *Museo della Civiltà Romana, Catalogo*, 1982, p. 678, n. 27 (sala LVI) [my emphasis]".

**Claudio Parisi Presicce (2000, 28) judges the meaning of the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (here Fig. 31) convincingly as follows :**

Con la dinastia flavia saliva al potere una famiglia di origine italica, proveniente dalla Sabina, che riuscì a ripristinare il precedente sistema dinastico ereditario soltanto dopo una guerra civile che, tra il 68 e il 69 d.C., vide salire sul trono imperiale, in un clima di forti tensioni militari, prima Galba poi Otone e Vitellio. Il recupero della leggenda dei fondatori di Roma è in relazione con la volontà di legittimare, attraverso l'appropriazione dei simboli legati al destino di Roma e alla sua eternità, l'esercizio del potere, non fondato al momento della nuova pacificazione sulla filiazione sanguigna, ma sul merito e sulla investitura divina.

**Se il tempio decastilo raffigurato nel rilievo diviso tra i Musei Vaticani e il Museo Nazionale Romano (cat. n. 3 [*i.e.*, the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano"; cf. here Fig. 31]) va identificato, secondo la proposta di Mario Torelli, con il *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, avremmo la testimonianza di un vero e proprio programma di appropriazione da parte di Domiziano del ciclo figurativo relativo alla nascita di Roma. L'imperatore flavio [*i.e.*, Domitian] o suo fratello Tito, stando alla recente datazione del torso loricato conservato ai Musei Vaticani (cat. n. 13 [cf. here Fig. 6, right ...), fu il primo a scegliere l'immagine della lupa con i gemelli come tema decorativo della propria corazza [my emphasis]".**

In the context of the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (here Fig. 31) we should, in my opinion, also consider the here-so-called "Rilievo Foro Romano" (here Figs. 32.A-E):

**Figs. 32.A-E. Marble fragment of a state relief, the here-so-called "Rilievo Foro Romano". Rome, Forum Romanum, near S. Maria Antiqua. This is at least, where H.R. Goette saw this fragment in 1981; cf. Goette (1983). A-C: photos of this fragment. From Goette (1983, 241, Abb. 1-3. The caption reads: "Relieffragment. Rom, bei S. Maria Antiqua". Photos A-C: Courtesy H.R. Goette. D: measured reconstruction drawing, combining the "Rilievo Vaticano" (cf. here Fig. 31. below) and the "Rilievo Foro Romano" (cf. here Fig. 32.A). From Goette (1983, 243, Abb. 5. The caption reads: "Rekonstruktionszeichnung der Relieffteile 1 [= here Fig. 31.below; Fig. 32.A] und 4 [= here Fig. 31.below]". E: measured reconstruction drawing of the entire togate man, incorporating the fragment. From Goette (1983, 243, Abb. 6. The caption reads: "Rekonstruktion der ganzen Figur mit Fragment Abb. 1 [= here 32.A]". Drawings D-E: M. Reinhold. From: Goette (1983, 239, Abbildungsnachweis).**

For a detailed discussion of the fragment "Rilievo Foro Romano"; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix I.g.3.*); at Section V.

**Already Erika Simon (1963, 727-728) has compared the temple, visible on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here Fig. 31, in the middle) with Domitian's *sestertius* (cf. here Fig. 30). She stated that the frieze, to which those fragments, showing overlifesize figures and being more than 4 m high, belonged to one of the largest Roman state reliefs so far known, and stressed the great similarities of the *lictors* on this panel with those on Frieze A of the Cancelleria Reliefs (cf. here Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing). She provided also other comparisons to support her dating of the relief (cf. here Fig. 31, below) into the Flavian period. Simon observed that the provenance 'Forum of Trajan' for the (lower) fragment in the Vatican Museums is only alleged, and that this (wrong) information had led Thorvaldsen to restore the missing head of the**

emperor (according to Simon originally Domitian) with a portrait of Trajan. The author explained the relief scene, referring to the foundation myth of Rome, that appears in the pediment of this temple [cf. here Fig. 31, above and in the middle], and suggested that this was very well fitting Domitian's self-presentation 'who felt [himself] to be the new founder of Rome. The just-mentioned passages are quoted *verbatim* in the following.

Cf. Simon (1963, 727-728):

"Der Fries, von dem die beiden zusammengehörigen Fragmente stammen, muß ursprünglich über 4 m hoch gewesen sein. Er zählt mit seinen überlebensgroßen Figuren, die von korinthischen Säulen und einem Giebel noch weit überragt werden, zu den größten historischen Reliefs, die uns erhalten sind ... Mit flavischer Kunst wurde zuletzt auch die Archi- [page 728] tekur mit ihrem reichen ornamentalen und figürlichen Schmuck verbunden. **In der Mitte des Giebels liegt schlafend die Vestalin Rhea Silvia** [this figure is reminiscent of the statue called 'Sleeping Ariadne' in the Vatican Museums]. **Auf sie schwebt Mars vom Himml nieder (nur Beine und Lanze sind erhalten). Links davon säugt die Wölfin die Zwillinge Romulus und Remus, die Frucht ihrer Verbindung. Zwei Hirten [to the left of the *lupa*] weichen erregt vor diesem Wunder zurück. In der Giebelecke lagern Tiere ihrer Herde, Widder und Schaf.** Das Gebäude hatte zehn Säulen an der Front, von denen die fünf links von der halb geöffneten Flügeltür alle erhalten sind. Die sechste ganz an der Kante wurde wohl mit Recht schon zur Längsseite gerechnet, die ebenfalls dargestellt war, wie man aus der Angabe des Daches schließen kann. **Auf der Giebelsima wächst ein Geschlinge aus Lotos und Palmetten wie bei den Tempeln im Fries der "Ara Pietatis" (Villa Medici). Im Gegensatz zu jenem claudischen Denkmal sind aber die Menschen in ein "richtiges" Größenverhältnis zur Architektur gebracht, ähnlich wie bei dem Altar aus dem Vespasianstempel von Pompeji. All dies spricht für eine Datierung in flavische Zeit ... Nun erscheint auf einem Sesterz des Domitian vom Jahre 95/96 nach Chr. [cf. here Fig. 30] ein monumentales Gebäude mit Giebel und zehn Säulen an der Front, das sich auf einer reich verzierten doppelt gestuften Terrasse erhebt. Es wurde von E. Nash als der domitianische Neubau der Domus Tiberiana gedeutet. Sein sakrales Aussehen braucht, zumal bei Domitian, nicht zu verwundern, nachdem schon das Haus des Iulius Caesar mit einem Giebel geschmückt gewesen war (Sueton, Caes. 81). In unserem Fries [cf. here Fig. 31, above] ist vielleicht derselbe großartige Palast [*i.e.*, Domitian's *Domus Tiberiana*] gemeint. Sein Giebelschmuck, die römische Gründungssage, die am Palatin spielte, würde zu Domitians palatinischer Behausung trefflich passen, fühlte er sich doch als Neugründer Roms. Man wunderte sich immer, daß die Liktores in dem Fries keine Kränze tragen, obwohl doch wegen des Tempels ein Opferzug gemeint sein müsse. Wenn ein kaiserlicher Palast dargestellt ist, sind wir nicht an die Annahme eines Opfers gebunden ... [my emphasis]".**

In her bibliography, Simon wrote:

"Benndorf-Schöne [1867] 13 Nr. 20. Petersen, Röm. Mitt. 10 (1895) 96. 244 ff. Taf. 5. P. Hommel [1950], Studien zu den röm. Figurengiebeln der Kaiserzeit 41 ff. Taf. 7 (**mit Datierung in flavische Zeit**). Domus Tiberiana: Nash I [1961] 365 ff. Sesterz des Domitian [cf. here Fig. 30]: Nash-Cahn, Antike Kunst I (1958) 24 ff. Nash, Arch. Class. II (1959) 234 ff. Taf. 78. Dazu jetzt Haberey, Bonn. Jahrb. 160 (1960) Taf. 42,1 (Bronzemedaille des Domitian, 95/96 nach Chr. mit drei Figuren im Giebel). Altar aus dem Vespasianstempel Pompeji: Scott Ryberg, Mem. Am. Acc. 22 (1955) 82 ff. Abb. 38a. Zu den Reliefs der Ara Pietatis an der Gartenfront der Villa Medici und im Nuovo Museo Capitolino, Sala VII 15 s. Nash I 74 ff. mit Lit. [my emphasis]".

For the 'Sleeping Ariadne' in the Vatican Museums; cf. Werner Fuchs: "Statue der schlafenden Ariadne", in: *Helbig*<sup>4</sup> I (1963) 109-110 no. 144 (inv. no. 548): "... Ariadne schläft. Der Betrachter weiß: sie ist von Theseus verlassen und harret der Epiphanie des Gottes, der sie erwählt [*i.e.*, Dionysos]".

For the "Rilievi con scene di sacrificio dell'Ara Pietatis Augusti, Villa Medici, nei calchi del Museo della Civiltà Romana", mentioned by Simon (1963, 728) in the context of the relief here Fig. 31; cf. also Paris (1994b,

78, Fig. 4a-b, p. 79), who regards these reliefs as the closest parallels to those of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (cf. here **Figs. 33; 34**), which she herself discusses.

**Both, Domitian's *sestertius* of 95/ 96 (cf. here Fig. 30), and the fragmentary Domitianic state relief "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here Fig. 31) show a temple with ten columns in the front, which is built on a rectangular ground-plan.** For discussions of both; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.3.*); *Appendix IV.c.2.*); and *Appendix VI.*; at Sections *II.*; *XII.*

There are also discussed the idea of Nash and Simon (both *op.cit.*) that the building represented on Domitian's *sestertius* (cf. here **Fig. 30**) should be identified with the *Domus Tiberiana* on the Palatine. *Appendix I.g.3.*) is dedicated to Domitian's *sestertius* (cf. here **Fig. 30**), and to the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here **Fig. 31**), which, in my opinion, is datable to the Flavian period; with a discussion of Stefanie Langer and Michael Pfanner's (2018, 142-157) account, who date the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" to the Claudian period instead.

*Let's now turn to Rita Paris's observations (1994b), made  
while studying the reliefs from the Templum Gentis Flaviae*

Rita Paris (1994b, 75-83) discusses also two large reliefs, first the relief, illustrated in the drawing: "Tav. IV. Proposta di ricostruzione parziale della scena con sacrificio, davanti al Tempio di Quirino" (cf. here **Fig. 34**), then the relief: "Tav. V. Proposta di ricostruzione parziale della scena con rilievo storico" (cf. here **Fig. 33**), which she was able to reconstruct thanks to comparisons with Frieze A and B of the Cancelleria Reliefs (cf. her **Figs. 6; 7a-c**; and here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**).

Paris (1994, 9, in her Chapter: "La Storia dei frammenti, 1900-1994") writes:

"Nel 1901 il professor Hartwig acquista sul mercato nove esemplari di sculture e ne fa dono al Museo Nazionale Romano (fig. 1). Da allora questi oggetti sono noti come "dono Hartwig".

Le notizie sul loro rinvenimento si ricavano dalla prima presentazione completa che ne fece lo stesso Hartwig. In poche righe si dice che **i frammenti sono venuti alla luce in occasione dei lavori per la sistemazione della piazza dell'Esedra (ora piazza della Repubblica), corrispondente alla grande esedra delle Terme di Diocleziano, in particolare presso il portico nord della piazza** [with n. 1]. In un elenco degli oggetti entrati nel Museo Nazionale Romano (anni 1900-1904), nella sezione 'Doni', i frammenti sono accuratamente descritti e indicati come provenienti **dallo scavo delle "fondazioni di quella parte del Palazzo e del Portico dell'Esedra in Piazza Termini, che fu costruita ultima e precisamente nella primavera del 1901"**. Le sculture, trafugate dagli operai, "andarono disperse pel mercato antiquario; e fu cura e merito del dr Hartwig di rintracciarli, riconoscerli e studiarli" [with n. 2].

**Altri frammenti, rinvenuti presumibilmente nello stesso luogo, furono acquistati dal professor Kelsey tra la fine del 1900 e l'inizio del 1901 e sono confluiti nelle collezioni del Museo di Ann Arbor, nel Michigan** (per questi si rimanda *infra* p. 93 e sgg. [cf. E.K. Gazda 1994]).

Cf. p. 11: "Nell'ultimo quindicennio gli esemplari conservati ad Ann Arbor sono stati riconosciuti pertinenti allo stesso complesso degli esemplari romani, come si dirà in seguito [with n. 4]. **Il marmo, i dettagli della lavorazione, oltre alle notizie della provenienza sono già prove sufficienti a ricondurli allo stesso contesto dei frammenti romani. Una ulteriore conferma è data dalla evidente possibilità di assemblaggio del torso del soldato di Ann Arbor con la testa di soldato a Roma** [see the colour photograph on the cover of this catalogue, R. PARIS 1994a, in which both fragments are joined, and here **Fig. 33**].

**Anche se per il ritratto dell'imperatore Vespasiano le notizie di provenienza sono più generiche (cat. n. 12 [cf. here Fig. 33]), non vi sono dubbi sulla sua appartenenza allo stesso complesso degli altri esemplari: la testa presenta chiaramente dettagli di lavorazione simili alle altre teste ed ha le stesse tracce di malta degli altri frammenti.**

La storia degli studi dei frammenti Hartwig ha circa un secolo di età [with n. 5]. Dopo la prima edizione, dovuta allo stesso Hartwig, con le ipotesi interpretative dei singoli elementi, **l'interesse degli studiosi si è concentrato quasi esclusivamente sul frammento con la raffigurazione del tempio di Quirino sul Quirinale** [with n. 6; for that relief, cf. pp. 39-41: Il Tempio di Quirino", cf. p. 41, Fig. 4; cf. pp. 52-53, cat. no. 5; cf. p. 90, Tav. IV = here **Fig. 34**; my emphasis]".

In her **note 1**, Paris writes: "Hartwig [1904], p. 26".

In her **note 2**, she writes: "ACS, AA. BB. AA., III vers. busta 83, fasc. 156-3, allegati busta 3, fasc. 13; sulla costruzione del Palazzo si veda *infra* p. 97 e sgg.". Cf. Antonio Federico Caiola (1994, 97-117: "Occasioni per la 'Piazza di Termini'", with Figs. 1-29).

In her **note 4**, she writes: "Köppel 1980".

In her **note 5**, she writes: "Per la bibliografia completa si rinvia a Köppel 1980; Köppel 1984, pp. 59-61; ArchRoma [1990], p. 117 (R. Paris)".

In her **note 6**, she writes: "Per la bibliografia completa si rinvia a Köppel 1984, pp. 59-61 e Paris 1988, p. 37, nota 1".

Paris (1994b, 75) explains, why the fragments, which are now distributed in two different museums, belong together, and from which material they were carved: "... **i frammenti dovevano appartenere ad un complesso di committenza imperiale, come attestano il raffinatissimo livello di lavorazione e l'uso del pregiato marmo pentelico, impiegato, in età flavia, anche per l'Arco di Tito, per il restauro domiziano del Tempio di Giove Ottimo Massimo e per il Tempio del divo Vespasiano ...**

**I frammenti non sono ricomponibili tra loro, ad eccezione del torso loricato di Ann Arbor con la testa di soldato di Roma** [see the colour photograph on the cover of this catalogue, R. PARIS 1994a, in which both fragments are joined, and here **Fig. 33**; my emphasis]".

**Before turning to the relief here Fig. 33, with Vespasian's *adventus*, I wish to summarize some observations concerning the other relief (here Fig. 34). It shows a sacrifice in front of the Temple of Quirinus, which has convincingly been located by Filippo Coarelli at the site of the Palazzo Barberini.**

For a discussion of the locations, suggested for the Temple of Quirinus; cf. Coarelli (2014, 83-112, Chapter: "III I Culti", Section: "1. Quirinus").

Coarelli (2014, 87-93 with Figs. 16; 17) discusses also Andrea Carandini's (2007) location and reconstruction of the ground-plan of the Temple of Quirinus, both of which Coarelli, in my opinion convincingly, rejects. Coarelli (2014, 91-92 with Figs. 105; 106; pp. 294-311, Section: "7. La domus di C. Fulvius Plautianus) locates instead at the site, where Carandini (2007) assumes the Temple of Quirinus, in my opinion convincingly, the *domus* of C. Fulvius Plautianus, the "potentissimo *praefectus praetorio* di Settimio Severo e suocero di Carracalla", as Coarelli writes (2014, 92 with n. 42, providing a reference). This *domus* occurred in the course of building the "traforo Umberto I" in 1900-1902; cf. Coarelli (2014, 91 with n. 40, providing a reference). The identification of this *domus* is certain because of two "fistule aquariae iscritte", found *in situ*; cf. Coarelli (2014, 92 with n. 41).

In his **note 41**, Coarelli writes: "AE 1902, 190; 1903, 45, 125, 126. *LTUR* II, p. 106 (W. ECK)".

See also Coarelli ("Quirinus: Aedes", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 185-187, esp. p. 186, Fig. 74). The illustration Fig. 74 in Coarelli (1999) is a reproduction of Rita Paris (1994b, 90 Tav. 4 = here **Fig. 34**). The temple of Quirinus, represented on this relief, is according to Coarelli (1999, 185; *id.* 2014, 96-102, Figs. 22-25) the shrine as restored by Augustus in 16 BC; cf. *supra*, at Chapter *V.1.i.2.*)).

For the *domus* of T. Pomponius Atticus; cf. Coarelli (2014, 87, 256, 263, 268-270-271, 285, 314, 323) which was located on the Quirinal, 'near the Temple of Salus and not far from the Temple of Quirinus', and which Coarelli, therefore, on pp. 270-271, convincingly assumes to be north of the road *Alta Semita*.

Cf. here **Figs. 58; 59**, labels: QUIRINAL; Servian city Wall; COLLIS SALUTARIS; PORTA SALUTARIS; site of AEDES : SALUS; ALTA SEMITA; Palazzo del Quirinale; site of DOMUS: C. FULVIUS PLAUTIANUS; site of DOMUS : T. POMPONIUS ATTICUS; PORTA QUIRINALIS; COLLIS QUIRINALIS; PALAZZO BARBERINI: site of AEDES : QUIRINUS.

See also Andrea Carandini (2007, *passim*, and *Illustrazioni*, "4. Ricostruzione del Quirinale e del Tempio di Quirino. A. Carandini con M.C. Capanna (prima del Georadar, 2007)", who locates the Temple of Quirinus instead within the gardens of the Palazzo del Quirinale.

**Coarelli (2014, 96-97) writes about the Temple of Quirinus and the reason, why Domitian ordered a representation of this temple for the marble decoration of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* :**

"In questa fase [*i.e.*, augustea], piuttosto che in quella precedente, dovuta a Cesare [with n. 61], il tempio [of Quirinus] conobbe un notevole ampliamento, assumendo la forma di periptero dorico, che conosciamo da uno dei rilievi Hartwig [with Fig. 21 and n. 62; cf. here **Fig. 34**] ... [page 97] Sappiamo da Cassio Dione [with n. 66] che l'edificio possedeva 76 colonne, numero che veniva interpretato come una prefigurazione degli anni di vita di Augusto. Si doveva quindi trattare di un diptero ottostilo, con quindici colonne sui lati [with n. 67] e almeno un frontone con sculture rappresentanti l'apoteosi di Romolo-Quirino, come si può dedurre da una sua riproduzione antica, da tempo identificata in una dei rilievi detti Hartwig [with n. 68 and Figs. 22-25].

**Prima di esaminare questo rilievo, che rappresenta certamente il tempio ricostruito da Augusto nel 16 a.C. [with n. 69], si deve sottolineare che la sua realizzazione è da attribuire alla rilevanza che Quirino assume nel periodo flavio, quando l'antica tradizione paretimologica, che spiegava il nome del dio con la sua provenienza da Cures o con il nome sabino della lancia (*curis*) [with n. 70], viene rivisitata in funzione delle origini sabine della nuova dinastia [*i.e.*, the Flavian dynasty; my emphasis]."**

In his **note 61**, Coarelli writes: "Un rifacimento (o quanto meno un restauro) fu certamente realizzato dopo l'incendio del 49 a.C. Cass. Dio 41.14.2-3. Qui venne collocata nel 45 a.C. la statua di Cesare: Cass. Dio 43.45.2-3; Cic., Att. 12.45.2; Att. 13.28.3".

In his **note 62**, he writes: "Cfr. nota 68".

In his **note 66**, he writes: "Cit. a nota 61. Sui problemi che pone il testo per la ricostruzione del tempio, cfr. GROS 1976, pp. 115-119".

In his **note 67**, he writes: "GROS 1976, cit.".

In his **note 68**, he writes: "Si tratta di una serie di frammenti che provengono certamente del *templum gentis Flaviae*: si veda sotto".

In his **note 69**, he writes: "HARTWIG 1904; PETERSEN 1904; HOMMEL 1954, pp. 9-22; GROS 1976, pp. 115-119; HÖLSCHER 1988, pp. 377 s.; KOEPPPEL 1980; KOEPPPEL 1984; TORELLI 1987, pp. 563-582; PARIS 1988; PARIS 1994[a]; WISEMAN 1995, pp. 146-149; CAPPELLI 2000[b]; PARIS 2009".

In his **note 70**, he writes: "Cures: Varro, *l.l.* 5.51; Ov., *fast.* 2.480. *Curis*: Ov. *fast.* 2.477; Paul. Fest. 49 L.; Plut., *Rom.* 29; Serv., *Aen.* 1.292. Cfr. sopra, note 3-4".

I agree with Coarelli's just-quoted interpretation concerning the importance of the god Quirinus for the Flavian dynasty. On the other hand, I follow also those scholars, who have suggested that Augustus and Domitian compared themselves with Romulus (cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section *III.*; at point *4.*); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*). If true, it follows that this claim may have been an even stronger motivation for Domitian to order a representation of the Temple of Quirinus/ Romulus on the marble decoration of his *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. - And if so, then both panels together (here **Figs. 33; 34**) praised



Vespasian, who - supported by his sons and co-regents, Caesar Titus in Jerusalem, and Caesar Domitian in Rome - had won his important victories that enabled him to (re-)found the City of Rome. Those achievements in their turn had made Vespasian, or rather the entire Flavian dynasty, comparable to Romulus; cf. *supra*, in Chapters II.3.1.c); and IV.1.1.h); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI*. And because already Augustus had regarded himself as the new Romulus, this explains why he restored the Temple of Quirinus on the Quirinal in the first place. Cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III.; at point 4.); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI*.; at Section III.).

**Let's now turn to the relief here Fig. 33, Vespasian's *adventus* from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.**

The reconstruction drawing of the relief of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, representing Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in October of AD 70, which interests us here because of its similarities with Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (compare here **Figs. 33** and **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**), is based on five relief fragments, which are kept in the Museo Nazionale Romano in Rome and at the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology at Ann Arbor, Michigan.

To my assertion that this relief (**Fig. 33**) shows Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in October of AD 70, I will come back below.

Cf. Paris (1994b, 91, Tav. V = here **Fig. 33**), from left to right we see:

1.) Paris (1994b, 56-57: "**Frammento di rilievo con testa di soldato** cat. n. 7", Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. n. 310257).

To this fragment belongs:

2.) Elaine K. Gazda (1994, 64-65: "**Frammento di rilievo con torso loricato** cat. n. 11", Kelsey Museum of Archaeology inv. n. 2431 h. max. cm 23 ...

Acquistato da F.W. Kelsey, nel febbraio 1901, da F. Romano, il caposquadra di una nuova costruzione vicino al Grand Hotel, presso le Terme di Diocleziano ...

Il frammento di torso conserva una porzione della parte superiore del petto, la mano destra, il polso, la spalla e la parte superiore del braccio di un soldato. Otto fasce, a basso rilievo, della sua lorica segmentata si chiudono dal centro del collo con motivo alternato. Restano due segmenti dallo spallone destro e uno dal sinistro. Intorno al collo indossa un *focale*. **La mano destra del soldato afferra una lancia segnata da un solco a spirale. Vicino al polso si vede il pomo del suo gladio** [my emphasis] ...

**Köppel ha dimostrato che questo frammento si congiunge, all'altezza del collo, con la testa di soldato Hartwig (cat. n. 7).** Egli ricostruisce l'altezza originaria della figura di circa cm 115-120, leggermente inferiore a quello dell'altro soldato [cf. cat. no. 10, which, according to R. PARIS 1994b, 80, does not belong to the relief here **Fig. 33**]. Ambedue le figure dovevano appartenere ad una scena di *adventus*.

Bibliografia

Köppel 1980, pp. 15, 17 e p. 21, n. 5, fig. 5; Köppel 1984, p. 14 e pp. 56-67, cat. 25, fig. 36 [my emphasis]".

Note that arch. Gloria Marconi (1994, Tav. V = here **Fig. 33**), in her reconstruction drawing of this armed soldier, has recomposed both abutting fragments, but has neither reconstructed the lance of this soldier in its entirety, nor his sword.

3.) E.K. Gazda (1994, 66-67: "**Frammento di rilievo con testa dell'imperatore Vespasiano** cat. n. 12", Kelsey Museum of Archaeology inv. n. 2430)".

4.) Paris (1994b, 58-59: "**Frammento di rilievo con testa femminile** cat n. 8", Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. n. 310258)".

5.) Paris (1994b, 60-61: "**Frammento di rilievo con profilo di testa virile** cat n. 9", Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. n. 310259)".

As far as I can see, none of the recent scholars, who have studied the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**), have discussed Rita Paris' relevant ideas (although S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 26, list the publication 'R. PARIS 1994b' in their bibliography). As has already been stressed in several Chapters above, Paris's observations are crucial for our understanding of the Cancellaria Reliefs, which are the main focus of this *Study*. And that for the following reason.

Paris convincingly interprets the relief with "scena con rilievo storico" from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (cf. here **Fig. 33**) as Vespasian's *adventus* of AD 70, and offers an excellent explanation for the fact that the emperor is wearing the *corona civica*. As we have seen above (cf. *supra*, at Chapters III; and V.1.i.3.), on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs, which shows the same *adventus* of Vespasian, *Victoria* is shown in the act of crowning the Emperor with precisely this wreath of oak leaves.

Paris (1994b, 81-83), in her description of the relief here **Fig. 33**, quoted *verbatim infra*, stresses that the decoration with this specific wreath was *a*) regarded by Pliny (*HN* 16,3) as "l'emblema più fulgido del valore militare" ('the most splendid symbol of military prowess'), highly superior to the decorations with all other known crowns granted for military victories, and *b*) that Vespasian had been honoured this way because, by conducting his victorious campaigns, he had put an end to the civil war of AD 68-69. - Exactly as Augustus before him, who had received the *corona civica* for likewise having ended a civil war.

**This iconographic detail of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs - Victoria's crowning of Vespasian with the *corona civica*** (cf. here **Figs. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures: 14 [Vespasian]; 16 [Victoria]**) - **thus further supports the hypothesis of those scholars, whom I am following here, according to which the portrait of the emperor on Frieze B was from the very beginning Vespasian** (cf. *supra*, in Chapters I.1.; III., V.1.h.2.); and V.1.i.3.)).

Paris (1994b, 80-83, in her Chapter: "**Proposta di interpretazione e di ricostruzione**") discusses her reconstructions of the reliefs once belonging to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, and Domitian's actions in Rome in AD 69-70, as follows :

"All'altra scena [cf. her Tav. V = here **Fig. 33**] (e ad un altro pannello) dovevano appartenere i frammenti con le teste ideali (cat. nn. 8 e 9), il ritratto di Vespasiano (cat. n. 12) e il soldato (cat. 7).

Queste teste si sono conservate completamente staccate dal fondo del rilievo a cui appartenevano, tranne il soldato del Museo Nazionale Romano [*i.e.*, her cat. no. 7] che conserva a sinistra e a destra del capo parte di una muratura isodoma simile, ma non uguale, a quella che si vede sul frammento con il tempio [*i.e.*, on the other panel; cf. her Tav. IV = **Fig. 34**]. Poichè non è possibile ritenere che questo soldato appartenga alla stessa raffigurazione del tempio, si deve concludere che anche questa scena era ambientata dinanzi ad un edificio. È probabile che le due scene rappresentassero due momenti di una stessa circostanza (la parte commemorativa e quella del sacrificio) e che fossero ambientate all'incirca nello stesso luogo.

Se questi frammenti appartenevano tutti ad un'unica scena [cf. here **Fig. 33**] si può suggerire una lettura da sinistra a destra nel seguente ordine: testa di soldato con parte di torso loricato (altezza della figura m 1,20 [*i.e.*, her cat. no. 7]), testa dell'imperatore Vespasiano (altezza della figura m 1,40 [*i.e.*, her cat. no. 12]), testa ideale femminile (altezza della figura m 1,12 [*i.e.*, her cat. no. 8]), testa ideale maschile (altezza della figura m 1,28 [*i.e.*, her cat. no. 9]).

Come si è già osservato non è possibile inserire, tra questi personaggi, il soldato di Ann Arbor [cf. E.K. GAZDA 1994, 62-63, cat. no. 10], per cui si ricostruisce un'altezza dell'intera figura di m 1,45, che sembra

sproporzionata rispetto a quella degli altri personaggi e addirittura maggiore di quella dell'imperatore. L'imperatore doveva essere, all'incirca, al centro della raffigurazione e presenta il [p. 81] volto leggermente ruotato verso la sua sinistra: nella sua figura era il fulcro della scena. Il militare si trova dietro di lui mentre i due personaggi ideali gli si fanno incontro. **Non si può ricavare, dal poco che si conserva, se le figure fossero statiche o in movimento; la loro disposizione, tuttavia, suggerisce piuttosto una posizione statica, ma di accoglienza che si spiegherebbe in una scena di *adventus* o meglio di *reditus*.**

La comprensione e la parziale ricostruzione della scena è resa possibile dall'analisi di frammenti e dai confronti iconografici con altri rilievi di carattere storico-narrativo (fig. 6 [*i.e.*, Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs; cf. here **Fig. 1; Figs 1 and 2 drawing**]). La testina femminile [*i.e.*, her cat. no. 8] non può essere interpretata se non come una Vittoria, al cui tipo iconografico corrisponde per l'acconciatura e la ghirlanda sui capelli. Questa personificazione è frequente, accanto all'imperatore, nelle raffigurazioni che alludono ad episodi militari e trionfi. Considerando che le dimensioni sono alquanto inferiori a quelle di Vespasiano (come si trova anche ad esempio sul pannello dell'Arco di Tito [cf. here **Fig. 120**]), si può ipotizzare che la figura fosse leggermente sollevata da terra, alle spalle dell'imperatore, come sul rilievo della Cancellaria [*i.e.*, on Frieze B; cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 16**] e sul pannello dell'Arco di Traiano a Benevento [with n. 23].

La testa giovanile di profilo [*i.e.*, her cat. no. 9], in basso rilievo, rappresenta, con ogni probabilità, il *Genius Populi Romani*, il nume tutelare del popolo romano, raffigurato per lo più in un aspetto giovane, in contrapposizione al *Genius Senatus*, più anziano e barbato [with n. 24; cf. her Fig. 7 b; *i.e.*, the head of the *Genius Senatus* of Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs; cf. here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 11**].

Il volto è molto simile a quello dello stesso personaggio su una delle lastre dei rilievi domiziani del Palazzo della Cancellaria (fig. 7c [*i.e.*, the head of the *Genius Populi Romani* of Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs; cf. here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 13**]).

L'elemento fondamentale per la comprensione del significato della scena è la *corona civica*, di foglie di quercia, sul capo dell'imperatore. Nella ritrattistica a tutto tondo sono noti due ritratti di Vespasiano con la corona di quercia sul capo: una del Museo Nazionale Romano [with n. 25], l'altro della Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek [!] di Copenaghen [with n. 26].

Si legge in Plinio che "Con le foglie di queste piante sono fatte le corone civiche, l'emblema più fulgido del valore militare e ormai da tempo anche della clemenza imperiale, da quando cioè per l'empietà delle guerre civili, il non aver uc- [p. 82] ciso un cittadino cominciò a sembrare un merito. Sono più importanti, queste, delle corone murali e vallari e di quelle d'oro, che pure hanno maggiore valore venale; sono superiori anche alle corone rostrate ... (Augusto) a sua volta ricevette quella civica dal genere umano" [with n. 27]. Le poche parole rendono l'idea dell'importanza di questo riconoscimento, *ob cives servatos*, conferito in un'età repubblicana a chi avesse salvato un concittadino, in determinate circostanze, divenuto poi, con Augusto prerogativa imperiale.

Gli autori antichi sono generosi di citazioni riguardo a questa onorificenza che diviene il simbolo della clemenza e della benemerenzza dell'imperatore [with n. 28]. Lo stesso Augusto ricorda: "Per questa mia benemerenzza con decreto del Senato ebbi l'appellativo di Augusto, la porta della mia casa fu pubblicamente ornata di alloro e sull'entrata fu affissa una corona civica " [with n. 29; cf. here **Fig. 35**]. Da allora l'immagine della *corona civica* si ritrova frequente sulle emissioni monetali degli imperatori successivi, con la legenda *ob cives servatos*.

**Questo elemento consente di avanzare una ipotesi riguarda al momento storico a cui si riferisce la scena rappresentata.**

**La guerra civile che tra il 68 e il 69 d.C. ha visto governare prima Galba poi Otone e Vitellio, in un clima di tensione come quello che si era creato per analoghe situazioni, allo scorcio dell'età repubblicana, si risolve con la proclamazione di Vespasiano a imperatore e il ripristino del precedente sistema dinastico ereditario.**

Gli eventi si sono svolti mentre Vespasiano si trovava in Egitto per combattere la guerra giudaica, con accanto il figlio Tito. Già il 1° luglio del 69 viene acclamato imperatore dagli legionari d'Egitto e questo giorno sarà poi considerato il suo *dies imperii*; segue poi il giuramento delle legioni d'Oriente.

A Roma, nella casa del fratello di Vespasiano, il *praefectus urbi* T. Flavio Sabino, il Senato, le cohorti urbane e quelle dei vigili rivendicano l'impero per Vespasiano. Subito dopo, durante l'assalto del

Campidoglio, Flavio Sabino muore, dopo aver tentato una resistenza, mentre Domiziano riesce a salvarsi fuggendo.

Il 21 dicembre Muciano entra a Roma e Vitellio viene ucciso.

**Flavio Giuseppe registra nei giorni tra il 18 e il 21 dicembre del 69 che "il popolo acclama Vespasiano come imperatore facendo Domiziano le funzioni di capo dello Stato"** [with n. 30].

Sedate le lotte in città, resta da reprimere l'insurrezione di *Civilis*, in Germania, a cui fa fronte Muciano con Domiziano, quale *praetor urbanus*.

Al suo ritorno in Italia, nell'ottobre del 70 d.C., Vespasiano, che aveva lasciato il figlio Tito a compiere l'ultimo atto della guerra giudaica, la conquista di Gerusalemme, "preceduto da una tale e così grande fama, celebrò il trionfo sulla Giudea e aggiunse altri otto consolati al precedente" [with n. 31]. **La lastra B dei rilievi della Cancelleria** [cf. here Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing] **rappresenta probabilmente questo ritorno di Vespasiano, accolto a Benevento da Domiziano che riconsegna al padre Roma, preparando così la propria successione.**

Il ruolo di Domiziano è stato fondamentale in assenza del padre. Le notizie riportate dalle fonti sono tuttavia poco clementi nei confronti di alcuni suoi comportamenti. "Titolo e dimora di Cesare [*i.e.*, the 'Domus Tiberiana' on the Palatine; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.d); and Appendix I.e) and here Figs. 123; 124] aveva ricevuto Domiziano; che non dedito ancora a cure di governo, si comportava da figlio dell'imperatore con stupri e adulterii" [with n. 32]. E ancora "Vespasiano attento all'Italia e alle cose di Roma, apprende voci sfavorevoli riguardo a Domiziano; dicevano che egli oltrepassava i limiti imposti all'età e le prerogative di figlio: affida dunque a Tito la parte più valida dell'esercito perché portasse a compimento la guerra giudaica" [with n. 33].

Ma, ufficialmente, Vespasiano si rivolge a Domiziano dicendo "Ti ringrazio, figlio, di avermi permesso di tenere la carica e di non avermi usurpato il trono" [with n. 34].

**La raffigurazione sui bassorilievi** [of the Cancelleria Reliefs] **si deve referire pertanto alla vittoria sulla guerra civile e al ripristino della pace dovuti a Vespasiano, con un ruolo fondamentale svolto da Domiziano. Egli infatti è l'unico membro della famiglia flavia presente a Roma nel momento più drammatico della guerra civile e, poi, come reggente della carica paterna, su cui, nonostante la giovane età, ha gravato, se pur formalmente, l'onere del governo.**

Nonostante la sottile polemica delle fonti, eco dell'atteggiamento della classe senatoria nei confronti del giovane Domiziano, questi si rivela invece rispettoso dell'*auctoritas* paterna e della *pietas* filiale. [p. 83].

**Come Augusto, anche Vespasiano - e per lui Domiziano - ha salvato la patria dalle guerre civili. La conquista dell'imperium è stata assicurata esclusivamente attraverso la vittoria militare, nello stesso modo in cui si era fondata la legittimità del principato di Augusto** [my emphasis]."

In her **note 23**, Paris writes: "G. Köppel, *Roman Historical Representation*, ANRW, XII, 1, 1982, p. 519, tav. III,5".

In her **note 24**, she writes: "E. Rink, *Die bildlichen Darstellungen des römischen 'Genius'*, Giessen 1933".

In her **note 25**, she writes: "Inv. 128571 (da Minturno); G. Daltrop-U. Hausmann-M. Wegner, *Die Flavier*, Berlin 1966, pp. 12-13, tav. I, a-b".

In her **note 26**, she writes: "Inv. 1979 (acquistata a Roma nel 1903) V. Poulsen, *Les Portraits Romains*, II, Copenhagen 1974, pp. 38-40, tavv. III-IV".

In her **note 27**, she writes: "Plinio, *Nat. Hist.* 16, 3".

In her **note 28**, she writes: "Cassio Dione LIII, 16; Valerio Massimo II, 8, 7; Seneca *Clem.* I, 26, 5; Svetonio, *Claud.* XVII; Appiano, II, 106-441".

In her **note 29**, she writes: "*Res Gestae divi Augusti*, 34, 2".

In her **note 30**, she writes: "Flavio Giuseppe, *Bell. Iud.* IV, 11, 4".

In her **note 31**, she writes: "Svetonio, *Vesp.* VIII".

In her **note 32**, she writes: "Tacito, *Hist.* IV, 2, 1".

In her **note 33**, she writes: "Tacito, *Hist.* IV, 51, 2". - Paris pertaining text passage sounds, as if Tacitus here says that Vespasian turned back to Rome with a substantial part of his army, but Tacitus (*Hist.* 4,51,2) doesn't say anything like that.

In her **note 34**, she writes: "Cassio Dione, epitome libro LXV, 2, 3".

For further discussion of Domitian's activities in Rome (AD 69-70), to which Rita Paris (1994b, 80-83) in her above-quoted passage refers; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section *III.*, at point 2.).

**Also T.P. Wiseman (2019, 9, Chapter: "Understanding Augustus"; Section: "1.2. The young Caesar" [*i.e.*, Octavian/ Augustus]) has studied Augustus' *Res Gestae* (34,2), discussed by Rita Paris (1994b, 82), in her above quoted account, as well as the meaning of the *corona civica*, Octavian/Augustus had received :**

"Figure 3 [= here **Fig. 35**]. The 'civic crown' of oak-leaves: *aureus* of 12 BC. 'In my sixth and seventh consulships [28-27 BC], after I had extinguished the civil wars, although I had power over everything by universal consent I transferred the republic from my power into the control of the Senate and People of Rome. In return for my action I was named Augustus by a resolution of the Senate, the doorposts of my house were publicly decorated with laurels, and a civic crown was fixed above my door' (Augustus *Res gestae* 34.1-2); for 'civic crown' (*corona ciuica*) the Greek version of the text has 'the oak wreath which is given for saving citizens'.

The obverse of the coin shows AVGUSTUS DIVI F(*ilius*), Augustus the son of the deified Caesar; on the reverse, the doorway has laurels on either side and the oak wreath above, with the legend OB C(*ives*) S(eruatos), 'for saving citizens' [all translations: T.P. WISEMAN]. L. CANINIUS GALLVS was the magistrate responsible for minting the coinage. *RIC I*<sup>2</sup> Augustus 419. Sutherland 1984.74. © The Trustees of the British Museum. "All rights reserved".

**Fig. 35. *Aureus* of Augustus, mint of Rome, 12 BC. Showing the doorway of the (real) House of Augustus on the Palatine, with the *corona civica* above the door and two laurel trees on either side. Cf. T.P. Wiseman (2019, 9, Fig. 3). *RIC I*<sup>2</sup> Augustus 419. Sutherland 1984.74. © The Trustees of the British Museum.**

**The meaning of those two laurel trees that flanked the (real) House of Augustus on the Palatine on either side, has been explained by Henner von Hesberg (2006b, 353-354) in his description of the decoration of the Mausoleum of Augustus:**

"Die Statue des Augustus auf der Spitze des Monuments war das älteste Bildwerk am Mausoleum. Im Jahre 27 v. Chr. kamen die vom Senat verliehenen Ehrenzeichen - die Lorbeerbäume neben dem Eingang und der 'Tugendschild' (*clipeus virtutis*) mit der entsprechenden Inschrift - hinzu. Obwohl sie von ihrer Bedeutung her in Widerspruch zur Bedeutung der Anlage standen - **Lorbeerbäume bezeichneten traditionsgemäß das Haus des Pontifex Maximus**, aber nicht sein Grab -, wurden die Ehrenzeichen hier wiederholt (Abb. 43 und 46) [my emphasis]". For the context; cf. Häuber (2017, 488).

For the Mausoleum of Augustus most recently; cf. Henner von Hesberg ("Das Augustus-Mausoleum in Rom und die Verehrung der römischen Herrscher", 2021), and Alfred Schäfer ("Symbols of Power. The Tombs of Roman Rulers and Roman Victory Monuments", 2021).

**But the *corona civica* that appears on Augustus's *aureus* (cf. here **Fig. 35**) has still another meaning, as observed by Hans Rupprecht Goette (1984) in the course of his discussion of different wreaths that appear on three *Dreifussbasen* ('marble bases for tripods').**

Goette (1984, 585-586) writes:

"Eine sehr verwandte Dreifußbasis im Thermenmuseum in Rom (Abb. 11-13) führt uns nun zu einer anderen Form des Kranzes, nämlich zum **Eichenkranz** [with n. 33] ...

Die dritte Seite (Abb. 13) gibt einen **Eichenkranz wieder, auf dem ein Adler mit geöffneten Schwingen zu erkennen ist**. Die Tänie erinnert stark an die beiden anderen Drei- [page 586] fußbasen, ähnlich flattert sie in der Luft. Jedoch hält sie eben nicht eine *corona spicea* zusammen, sondern eine **corona civica** [my emphasis]".

Cf. Goette (1984, 588):

"Es stellt sich die Frage, was konkret mit dem Bild des Adlers mit Kranz ausgesagt werden sollte, aus welchen Traditionen es stammt.

Zuerst taucht es in der römischen Kunst 27 v. Chr. auf Münzrückseiten auf, die die Verleihung der *corona civica ob cives servatos* und die des Augustus-Titels an Octavian propagieren [with n. 51]. Der Eichenkranz spielte dabei auf die *virtus* des Kaisers an, die der ihm verliehene Schild neben der *pietas*, *clementia* und *iustitia* als Kardinaltugend an erster Stelle nannte, und fast zur gleichen Zeit - wohl nicht zufällig - schreibt Horaz in seinen berühmten Römeroden, die die Zeitgenossen an die alten Werte erinnern sollten, die folgenden Verse (III 2, 21ff.) :

*virtus recludens in meritis mori  
caelum negata temptat iter via  
coetusque vulgaris et udam  
spernit humum fugiente penna.*

Die Tugend entreißt also die Menschen, die *virtus* besitzen, dem Los der Sterblichkeit, sie trägt sie in göttliche Sphären auf den Schwingen des Göttervogels empor und läßt sie am göttlich-unsterblichen Leben teilhaben. Dieser ursprünglich stoische Gedanke liegt auch dem Gedicht II 20 zugrunde, in dem Horaz schildert, wie er selbst einst in der Gestalt eines Adlers oder - für Dichter häufiger gebraucht - eines Schwanes die Erde verlassen wird. In der augusteischen Kunst verkörpert die *corona civica* also den Aspekt der *virtus*, die zur Unsterblichkeit führt [my emphasis]".

In his **note 33**, Goette writes: "Rom, Thermenmuseum Inv. 212207: P. Rendini in: A. Giuliano (Hrsg.), Museo Nazionale Romano. Le sculture I 2 (1981) 233 ff. Nr. 31 Abb".

In his **note 51**, he writes: "Brit. Mus. Cat. Mattingly, Coins I 106 Nr. 656-658; P.C. Kent - B. Overbeck - A.U. Stylow - A. und M. Hirmer, Die römische Münze (1973) Taf. 34, 135; V. v. Gonzenbach, Stockholm Studies in Classical Archaeology. Opuscula 5, 1968, 92 Abb. 12,2; Alföldi ... [i.e., here A. ALFÖLDI 1973] 9f. 13 ff. Taf. 2, 1-4; J.-B. Giard, Catalogue des monnaies de l'empire romain I (1976) 144 f. Nr. 911 f. Taf. 35, 911 f. ...".

### Conclusions

First of all we are extremely lucky that Paul Hartwig and Francis W. Kelsey were both not only interested in the marble fragments discussed here, but had also managed to buy them in 1900-1901 on the art market and thus rescued them by donating them to public museums - and also that the above-mentioned scholars, who have studied the iconographies and historical meanings of these remains since then, have come to such excellent results. Especially Gerhard Koepfel (1980; *id.* 1984) who recognized that the head of the soldier in the Museo Nazionale Romano (cf. *supra*, cat. no. 7) belongs to the torso in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology (cf. *supra*, cat. no. 11), see the reconstruction drawing here **Fig. 33**.

We are likewise extremely fortunate that Daniela Candilio (1990-1991 [1994]; *ead.* 1995; *ead.* 1999; *ead.* 2000-2001) has excavated architectural remains of the Domitianic period within the Baths of Diocletian/ the Museo Nazionale Romano, that she has (convincingly) identified as belonging to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (for the location of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; cf. the plans here **Figs. 56; 57**); that arch. Gloria Marconi (1994) has created measured reconstruction drawings on the basis of the extant architectural and relief fragments of this building; and that these fragments, as well as these reconstruction drawings have been discussed in detail in the exhibition catalogue, edited by Rita Paris (1994a), by herself and by her co-authors, especially Elaine K.

Gazda (1994), by Filippo Coarelli (1996; 2014), and by Paris (2009b); as well as in the exhibition catalogue, edited by Coarelli (2009a), in which he himself and his co-authors, especially Eugenio La Rocca (2009; cf. now also E. LA ROCCA 2020b), have, in addition to this, discussed the structures, excavated by Candilio, as well as the head of the pertaining colossal acrolithic cult-statue of *Divus Titus* (cf. here **Fig. 53**). See now also the discussion of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* by Barbara E. Borg (2009), Eric M. Moormann (2021; 2023), Paolo Liverani (2021; 2023), as well as Eugenio La Rocca and Lorenzo Kosmopoulos (2023). For all that; cf. *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.h).

As a result of all these efforts, as rightly stated by Borg (2019, 245 with n. 194), in her summary quoted at the beginning of this *Chapter*: 'the so-called *Dono Hartwig*, fragments of architectural ornaments, figures supporting an entablature and relief sculpture, which were found in 1901, are generally accepted as belonging to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*'.

Although, when reading the summary of the scholarly debate on the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* in Chapter IV.1.1.h), we will find that not all recent scholars judge the situation so positively as Borg does. Nevertheless, when compared with the *status quaestionis* concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs, the results obtained in the discussion of 'the so-called *Dono Hartwig*' may indeed be regarded as quite an achievement.

Of the two reconstructed reliefs once belonging to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, we have looked in this Chapter in more detail at that panel, which represents Vespasian's *adventus* of AD 70 (cf. here **Fig. 33**), whereas the other relief (cf. here **Fig. 34**) was only shortly mentioned. This relief (**Fig. 33**), although only five small fragments of it have survived, proves again to be one of those innovative creations, which seem to be so typical for the Domitianic period. And that for the following reasons.

Paris (1994b, 82), in her above quoted account, states:

**"La lastra B dei rilievi della Cancellaria [cf. here Fig. 2] rappresenta probabilmente questo ritorno di Vespasiano [i.e., "nell'ottobre del 70 d.C."], accolto a Benevento da Domiziano che riconsegna al padre Roma [i.e., "le funzioni di capo dello Stato"], preparando così la propria successione [my emphasis]"**.

I agree with Paris (1994b, 82) that the relief from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (cf. here **Fig. 33**), like Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2**), represents Vespasian's *adventus* of October AD 70.

But I follow in this *Study* those scholars, who are instead of the opinion that the 'historical event', purportedly represented on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**), is supposed to take place at Rome (cf. *supra*, in Chapters I.1.; III.; IV.1.; V.1.i.3.); and below, in Chapters *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and in *The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps*).

This is clear because neither the *Dea Roma*, nor the Vestal Virgins, or the *Genius Populi Romani*, and the *Genius Senatus*, all of whom appear on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs, can possibly ever leave the City of Rome. Nor can the *praetor urbanus* Domitian, who heads the just described procession that moves towards Vespasian (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 12**), act in this capacity outside the *pomerium* of Rome - one of the privileges of the man, who held this office, was to receive a new emperor in an *adventus*-ceremony.

Because of this known spatial restriction of the Vestal Virgins, these likewise spatially defined constructions of the *Dea Roma* and of these two *Genii*, and because of exactly the same spatial restriction that defines the actions of the *praetor urbanus*, we can be sure that all the just mentioned figures, represented on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 12**), are meant as staying 'within the sacred boundary of Rome, the *pomerium*'; this area is called *domi*. At the same time we need to consider that in an *adventus*-ceremony the arriving victorious general and his entourage, in the case of Frieze B Vespasian (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 14**), is confined to remain in the complementary area, defined by the *pomerium*-line, which is, therefore, called *militiae*.

Such a victorious general, who comes from the opposite direction to this meeting point than the party, who is receiving him, is thus obliged to stay outside the *pomerium* of Rome until the Senate has granted him a triumph, which he will then celebrate together with his victorious army. We can, therefore, conclude for Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs: the *Dea Roma*, the Vestal Virgins and the two *Genii*, together with the young Caesar und *praetor urbanus* Domitian, are the official representatives of the City of Rome, who have all come to the *pomerium*-line of Rome to receive Vespasian in this *adventus*-ceremony at precisely that point (for all that cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.)).

***The innovative ideas of Domitian's artist, who created one  
of the panels of his Templum Gentis Flaviae (cf. here Fig. 33)***

What then are the innovative ideas that characterize the relief here **Fig. 33** from Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, which represents Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in the first half of October AD 70?

1.) As was already mentioned above: the application of a 'hierarchy of scale', which is therefore proven to have already started under Domitian, a fact which was previously unknown. Or rather: this innovation was earlier (erroneously) attributed to Trajanic/ Hadrianc art (cf. above, and *supra*, in Chapter II.3.3., and here **Fig. 46**: the reliefs from the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum);

2.) Vespasian in the relief from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (here **Fig. 33**), who is accompanied by an entourage, 'faces' the beholder, who thus becomes himself or herself one part of the receiving party. There is no better way to 'integrate' a beholder into a composition than by this seemingly simple decision.

After having finished writing this Chapter, I realized that also Paolo Liverani (2021, 88-89; cf. *id.* 2023, 120) has observed that Domitian was first to order state reliefs, *in which the figures are facing the beholder*. But before quoting Liverani's account, let me anticipate a passage from Chapter V.1.i.3.b); Section I. Introduction.

There I have quoted Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 183) who, as far as I can see, was first to observe in her discussion of the Nollekens Relief (here **Fig. 36**) that here 'the emperor [Domitian] and his companions are almost frontal':

'Already Diana E.E.Kleiner (1992, 183) wrote about this panel [*i.e.*, the Nollekens Relief, here **Fig. 36**]: "Also from Domitian's Palace is the so-called **Nollekens Relief** ... known only through drawings (for example, fig. 153), but **it appears to have been manufactured while Domitian was emperor. It depicts a sacrifice that is in the tradition of earlier sacrifice scenes such as those in the Louvre Suovetaurilia Relief** (see fig. 117 [cf. here **Fig. 25**]), **but with two noticeable differences. The figures of the sacrificant - probably the emperor - and his companions are almost frontal, and the human emperor interacts with divinities and personifications (Roma or Virtus and the Genius Senatus); such interactions would become one of the hallmarks of Domitianic art** [my emphasis]".

Let's now turn to the observations, made by Paolo Liverani (2021, 88-89), who, after a discussion of the Nollekens Relief (here **Fig. 36**), mentions fragments of (one or several?) marble state relief(s), found at Domitian's Villa, called *Albanum*, and in which in the case of two of the extant fragments the represented figures face likewise the beholder:

**"More fragments pertaining to great friezes are preserved in the Antiquarium of Villa Barberini at Castel Gandolfo, discovered at various times in the area of the *Albanum Domitiani*, the huge imperial villa situated a few kilometers from Rome along the Via Appia. Some of these marbles were already documented in Piranesi's etchings, others came to light during the works converting Villa Barberini to a papal residence in the thirties of the past century ...**



In the second group are other fragments of reliefs: [with n. 24] a badly damaged portrait of Domitian, originally crowned by a Victory, the shoulder of a togate figure and the bust of a soldier wearing a sophisticated type of cuirass: a mail shirt with small feather-like scales attached to the rings. Both the portrait of the Emperor and the bust of [the] soldier present themselves in a frontal position, an uncommon characteristic in the relief of the first century, highlighting the importance of the figure portrayed in [page 89] the act of addressing the beholder. Unfortunately, we cannot propose any hypothesis about the iconography or the context of the reliefs, but it is clear that the villa had strong public connotations. On its grounds was a theatre for public celebrations and artistic performances, and the fragments just described demonstrate the presence of one or more buildings exalting the military virtues and the victories of the Emperor, according to schemata and iconographies already known from the other triumphal monuments of the same Emperor [my emphasis].

For this just-quoted passage; cf. now Liverani (2023, 120; *i.e.*, the same passage in the Italian version of Liverani's essay of 2021).

In his **note 24**, Liverani writes: "Liverani 1989, 17-18, nn. 1.3".

Let's now return to our main subject.

Next it seems, as if Domitian or his artists had heard the critique of modern commentators concerning Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**), since relief **Fig. 33** has, compared with this panel, two advantages: *a*) it is easily recognizable that **Fig. 33** is a military *adventus* (or a *reditus*, as R. PARIS 1994b, 81, suggests), because Vespasian is accompanied by an armed soldier; *b*) the locale where the scene takes place is defined by the architecture that appears in the background.

Paris (1994b, 81) identifies the allegorical representation of a young man (her cat. no. 9, of whose head we see on this relief the left profile), as the *Genius Populi Romani*; on the reconstruction drawing here **Fig. 33** he is endowed with a *cornucopia*. Consequently, also this *adventus* relief, which once belonged to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, was meant as representing Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in October of AD 70. The coiffure of this youth; cf. Paris (1994b, 60-61) is not entirely preserved and differs from that of the *Genius Populi Romani* on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs; cf. Paris (1994b, 80-81, Figs. 6; 7c [cf. here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 13**]). But because this head of a youth certainly belongs to an allegorical figure, I follow for the time being Paris (*op.cit.*) in identifying this young man as the *Genius Populi Romani*. Provided this is true, it is reasonable to assume that it should be possible to identify the architecture in the background of this *adventus* scene. And that because of the following reasons.

As we have heard above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter II.3.2.) Vespasian was in AD 70 61 years old. We see him on the relief **Fig. 33**, arriving at Rome, having come down the *Via Appia* all the way from *Brundisium* (Brindisi), that is to say, a march (?) of 500 kilometres. I, therefore, believe that the architecture behind the head of the soldier (cf. R. PARIS 1994a, cover; *ead.* 1994b, 56-57, Tav. 5 [= here **Fig. 33**]) should be the *Porta Capena* within the Servian city Wall, from which the *Via Appia* issued.

Cf. here **Fig. 58**, labels: Servian city Wall; PORTA CAPENA; VIA APPIA.

The next innovative idea of Domitian's artists, who created the relief here **Fig. 33**, was to have the figures of the soldier and of the *Genius Populi Romani* - who flank Vespasian on either side - face each other. In a 'classic' *adventus* scene, the soldier and Vespasian would belong to the *area militiae*, and the *Genius Populi Romani* to the *area domi* (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.)).

Here this scheme has been abandoned: the old protagonists are still the same, but in this composition they appear like 'attributes' of the main figure: Vespasian. He is shown as already wearing the *corona civica*, but *Victoria*'s head is much smaller than Vespasian's, which is why Paris's assumption - based on the relevant

detail of frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2**) - namely, that Victoria has just crowned Vespasian, is convincing. Therefore, in **Fig. 33**, *Victoria's* head appears next to Vespasian's head. The resulting reconstruction drawing gives the impression that the crowning ceremony has happened shortly before, and the *Porta Capena* in the background (in case it is indeed represented here) shows that this coronation ritual has taken place at Rome.

The details: *Porta Capena*, the crowning with the *corona civica*, and the armed soldier on **Fig. 33**, tell the beholder that the scene represents Vespasian, who just comes back to Rome in AD 70 from his victories in Judaea, by which he has ended the civil wars. Whereas the *Genius Populi Romani* not only defines the locale as 'Rome', but adds to this the information that the Roman People are present at this *adventus*-ceremony, and that they receive Vespasian into the City of Rome.

The relief (**Fig. 33**) thus expresses much of the same content as Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2**). Because the relief from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* is not completely preserved, we cannot know, how many figures had originally belonged to it, and, as a consequence of this, what else was propagated with this relief. It is for example conceivable that also Domitian was represented on this relief. But one thing is clear: the entourage of the central group 'Vespasian and *Victoria*' consisted either of only two further individuals, or else of four, as indicated in this reconstruction drawing. This rather 'static' reconstruction of the original composition, may, as Paris (1994b, 81) herself writes, be due to the scarcity of the remaining fragments, nevertheless the composition of **Fig. 33** is reminiscent of one of Domitian's coin images, that has already been mentioned before in a different context. The figures represented on this coin are Domitian in the centre, flanked by Minerva and *Victoria*, that is to say, this group consists of only three figures.

Nevertheless is certainly true what was said above about this coin image, when compared with Frieze A of the Cancelleria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 1**), which comprizes 17 figures:

''On the reverse of a *sestertius* of AD 92-94, where Domitian appears as a victorious, cuirassed general, he is flanked by two representations: 'his' personal patron goddess Minerva (left), who has obviously led him to this victory, and *Victoria* (right), who is crowning him with a laurel wreath. In a certain sense, we can regard such coin images as quintessential abbreviations of the multifigured scene, represented on Frieze A of the Cancelleria Reliefs - or vice versa''.

Cf. *supra*, at n. 241, in Chapter I.2.. The same is true for the relief from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (cf. here **Fig. 33**), with its only three or at the most five figures, when we compare that with Frieze B of the Cancelleria Relief (here **Fig. 2**) with its 17 figures.

**As already mentioned, some fragments of the 'Dono Hartwig' have also been on display in the recent exhibition *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore* in Rome. In the accompanying catalogue, Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi and Maria Paola Del Moro (2023, 12) mention for the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* the following "opere 69-74", which they could show : p. 153, "opera 69", is the colossal portrait of Titus (cf. here **Fig. 53**); p. 154, "opere 70-74", are the fragments of the 'Dono Hartwig' that were on display.**

Among the authors, whose essays are published in this catalogue, also Agnese Pergola discusses ("Il dono Hartwig", 2023, 140 with n. 17). Like Rita Paris (1994b), whom I myself have followed in this *Chapter*, Pergola attributes those reliefs and architectural fragments to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. Pergola (2023, 141 with ns. 24-27) mentions, in addition to this, Mario Torelli's hypotheses (1987, 564-568) to identify the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* on Domitian's coins (cf. here **Fig. 30**) and on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (here **Fig. 31**), which I myself have likewise followed in this *Study*. Pergola addresses the possible consequences of Torelli's hypotheses, but does not herself follow them.

In her analysis of the reliefs pertaining to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, Pergola (2023, 140) comments on the relief here (**Fig. 33**, representing the *adventus* of Vespasian into Rome): "Qui doveva essere visibile anche la

raffigurazione dell'imperatore Vespasiano [with n. 16], la cui testa laureata [!] è riconoscibile in un frammento conservato nel museo di Ann Arbor".

In her **note 16**, Pergola writes: "Paris 1994a, pp. 66-67".

Note that Vespasian on the relief (here **Fig. 33**) is, of course, not crowned with a laurel wreath, but with the *corona civica*, as Pergola (2023, 142) herself later writes.

**Pergola (2023, 141) addresses Torelli's hypotheses, according to which the building, visible on Domitian's coins (here Fig. 30) and on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (here Fig. 31) should be identified with the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. But her comments and the caption of her Fig. 3, which illustrates the upper part of the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano", show that she herself does not follow Torelli's hypotheses :**

"Del *templum gentis Flaviae* non esistono documenti iconografici certi, tuttavia vi sono alcune ipotesi identificative da tenere in considerazione: l'importanza del monumento ha fatto ipotizzare che esso sia stato rappresentato sui conii monetali di età domiziana, in particolare su un sestertio del 95-96 d.C. raffigurante un imponente complesso articolato in tre corpi di fabbrica [with n. 24]. L'interessante proposta, avanzata da Mario Torelli, è supportata dalle fonti dell'epoca (Marziale e Stazio), che negli stessi anni esaltano la grandiosità di questa nuova costruzione domiziana, e dalla datazione del tempio stesso [with n. 25]. A questa moneta Torelli ha aggiunto anche un altro documento iconografico che, tuttavia, è molto dibattuto sia dal punto di vista dell'interpretazione iconografica che della datazione. Si tratta di un noto rilievo, diviso tra il Museo Nazionale Romano e i Musei Vaticani [with n. 26] e in parte rilavorato in epoca moderna, con la raffigurazione di una processione dinanzi ad un tempio decastilo identificato dal Torelli con quello della *gens Flavia* [with n. 27] (fig. 3). Se si dà credito a questa interpretazione allora il volto del personaggio a destra in primo piano dovrebbe essere identificato con quello dell'imperatore Domiziano che, già in antico, fu eraso in seguito alla *damnatio memoriae* che subì dopo la sua morte (Cass. Dio 68, 1, 1).

**The caption of Pergola's (2023, 141, Fig. 3) reads :** "Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme. Frammento di rilievo con rappresentazione di un tempio, inv. 165 (Su concessione del MiC – Museo Nazionale Romano)".

I do not know this fragmentary relief in the Museo Nazionale Romano from autopsy, because it is currently not accessible, as I was kindly informed by Dott.ssa Carlotta Caruso by E-mail of November 29th 2019, when I had asked her to grant me and Claudia Valeri the permission to study this relief; cf. *supra*, in *Chapter Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*. Previously, this relief was indeed on display at the Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, as Stephanie Langer and Michael Pfanner (2018, 142) at their cat. no. 12, write: "bis vor kurzem im Palazzo Massimo"; but currently this is not true.

But see now *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*: Carlotta Caruso of the Museo Nazionale Romano was kind enough to answer my relevant question by E-mail of 24th October 2023. The "Rilievo Terme" is indeed back again in the Palazzo Massimo, it is not on display, but kept in a deposit.

In her **note 24**, Pergola writes: "Torelli 1987, pp. 564-568".

In her **note 25**, she writes: "Marziale ne parla in particolar modo nel libro XI degli *Epigrammata*, mentre numerosi riferimenti al monumento si trovano nei libri IV e V delle *Silvae* di Stazio".

In her **note 26**, she writes: "Cappelli 2000 [*i.e.*, here R. CAPPELLI 2000c]".

In her **note 27**, she writes: "Torelli 1987, p. 564".

**Concerning the relief from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* with Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome (here Fig. 33), Pergola (2023, 142) follows Rita Paris interpretation (1994b, quoted *verbatim* above in this *Chapter*) :**

"Ad altra scena [cf. here **Fig. 33**] si devono attribuire i restanti frammenti di rilievo storico secondo una lettura che muove da sinistra verso destra e che vede nell'ordine: la testa di soldato con parte del torso loricato (fig. 4), la testa dell'imperatore Vespasiano, le teste ideali femminile e maschile. Queste ultime due

sono state interpretate come una Vittoria e il *Genius Populi Romani* che si ritrovano spesso in questo tipo di raffigurazioni, grazie anche ai confronti con noti rilievi storici romani [with n. 33]. La presenza della corona civica sulla testa dell'imperatore permette di avanzare una ipotesi circa l'identificazione della scena: la vittoria sulla guerra civile e il ripristino della pace grazie a Vespasiano con il figlio Domiziano che svolse un ruolo fondamentale. Domiziano, infatti, fu l'unico membro della famiglia imperiale a trovarsi a Roma mentre il padre era impegnato in Egitto per combattere la guerra giudaica insieme al figlio Tito e a dover governare come reggente durante il momento più drammatico della guerra civile rivelandosi un buon governatore rispettoso dell'autorità paterna, nonostante le fonti non siano state lusinghiere nei suoi confronti [with n. 34]".

In her **note 33**, Pergola writes: "Paris 1994b, pp. 80-81".

In her **note 34**, she writes: "Tac. *hist.* 4, 2, 1; 51, 2".

**V.1.i.3.b) J. Pollini's discussion (2017b) of the allegedly 'lost' Nollekens Relief (cf. here Fig. 36), which he compares with the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing) and Domitian's 'Domus Flavia' / Domus Augustana. With The Contribution by Amanda Claridge**

### Chapter V.1.i.3.b); Section I. Introduction

"The presence of the goddess Roma in Martial's *adventus* scene is mirrored in the Nollekens Relief. A sacrifice related to a triumph would have been an appropriate subject to decorate a stately space in Domitian's Domus Flavia. Military victories leading to triumphs were a basis for deification after death, as in the case of Domitian's father and brother, even if for Domitian the outcome turned out to be different".

John Pollini (2017b, 126).

With "Martial's *adventus* scene", Pollini (2017b, 126) refers to Martial's epigram (8, 65), which he discusses on p. 125.

On 8th February 2023, Franz Xaver Schütz and I have published an earlier version of this Chapter on our Webserver as a Preview for this *Study* on Domitian:

Online at: <<https://FORTVNA-research.org/FORTVNA/FP3.html>>.

**Fig. 36. The Nollekens Relief, on display above the fire place in the White Hall of the Gatchina Palace near St. Petersburg, marble, 88 x 139 cm. F. Bianchini (1738, 68) found this relief in 1722 in the 'Aula Regia' of Domitian's 'Domus Flavia'; cf. S. Cosmo (1990, 837 Fig. 8 [= here Fig. 39]). J. Pollini (2017b, 120, 124; cf. p. 98, Fig. 1. We have copied from this illustration Pollini's numbering of the represented figures) suggests that it shows the togate *triumphator* Domitian, sacrificing in AD 89 just outside Domitian's *Porta Triumphalis*; after which, the Emperor would begin his (last) triumphal procession. Photograph, taken in 1914, when the relief was still preserved in its restored state of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Courtesy John Pollini.**

The caption of Pollini's Fig. 1 reads: "Photograph taken in 1914 of the Nollekens Relief ... [the author provides a reference for that on p. 107 with n. 47]. Note that only the heads of **nos. 6** [*i.e.*, of Domitian], **8** [*i.e.*, of the *Genius Senatus*] and **10** [*i.e.*, of a boy ministrant] in the foreground and of all the background figures are ancient [my emphasis]".

Pollini (2017b, 97) begins his article as follows:

"Mainstream classical scholarship has long considered as lost a Roman 'historical' relief, excavated in the earlier part of the 18th c.[entury] in the Palace of Domitian on the Palatine hill [with n. 1]. Showing an emperor sacrificing, it is known as the Nollekens Relief after Joseph Nollekens, an accomplished British sculptor who came to possess it in the 18th c.[entury]. Besides being a sculptor and painter, he was a sculptural restorer and dealer active between 1761 and 1770 in Rome [with n. 2], where he worked in the workshops of the sculptural restorer Bartholomeo Cavaceppi and in his own studio [with n. 3]. The relief has been known chiefly from two engravings and a pen-and-watercolor drawing, all produced in the 18th c.[entury], but rather than being lost the relief has been hiding in plain sight in the Gatchina Palace near St. Petersburg [where it has been continuously on display since the 1770s/ early 1780s]".

In his **notes 1-3**, Pollini provides references and further discussion.

Concerning the sculptural decoration of Domitian's 'Aula Regia' at the 'Domus Flavia' on the Palatine, Pollini (2017b) is able to make an important contribution by presenting in great detail the so-called Nollekens Relief, which was found there by Francesco Bianchini in 1722 (cf. *id.* 1738, 68, quoted *verbatim infra*) - a fact which Pollini himself ignores though. As Pollini is able to demonstrate, already in the later 18<sup>th</sup> century the relief had allegedly disappeared. Silvano Cosmo (1990, 837, cf. his plan Fig. 8 [= here **Fig. 39**]) has found out and documented in plan where exactly within Domitian's Palace Bianchini had 'excavated'. - To this I will come back below (cf. *infra*, in Chapter *V.1.i.3.b*); at Section *II.*).

The Nollekens Relief was previously only known from non-photographic images of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which Pollini (2017b, Figs. 2-4) also illustrates and discusses, whereas he is first to publish photographs of the Nollekens Relief (cf. J. POLLINI 2017b, Frontispiece, and Figs. 1; 10-12; 16). Among those, one is especially important (his Fig. 1 [= here **Fig. 36**]), because it was taken in 1914, when the portrait head of Domitian, appearing on this relief (cf. **figure 6**), was still preserved; this head is now lost. The relief itself, possibly broken into six fragments when found, had been restored in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and was greatly damaged in World War II and after that. Pollini was also able to find out that a plaster cast of the relief had been produced when it was in Russia, but the whereabouts of the cast is unknown.

Pollini (2017b) has meticulously traced the vicissitudes of the relief summarized above (here **Fig. 36**) since its 'excavation' and its alleged disappearance soon afterwards. Gerhard Koeppel (1984, 65; cf. *id.* 1985, 146, n. 20) was told that the relief has been on display since the 18<sup>th</sup> century at the Gatchina Palace near St. Petersburg. After Koeppel's first discussion of the relief (1984), "O. Neveroff" kindly informed him that the relief was by no means lost, but instead on display in this collection, as Koeppel reported. In the course of his correspondence with his Russian colleagues, Koeppel had also received two photographs of the relief from them, and mentioned this fact also in his "Nachtrag" (1984, 65; cf. *id.* 1985, 146, n. 20). But Koeppel himself never published those photographs, and even his information that the relief had been in the Gatchina Palace since the 18<sup>th</sup> century has been neglected by almost all subsequent scholars. Cf. Pollini (2017b, 97, n. 1, pp. 106-107 with ns. 43-46, who quotes G. KOEPEL 1984, 46-49, 65; *id.* 1985, 146, n. 20).

**Pollini (2017b, 115-118) provides detailed comparisons of the Nollekens Relief relief with the Cancelleria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing). His observations refer to many subjects which are of interest in this Study, which is why they have been quoted several times (cf. especially *infra*, in volume 3-2, in Appendix IV.c.1.); and in Appendix VI.; at Section I.).**

**Francesco Bianchini found the Nollekens Relief in 1722, while 'excavating' in the Orti Farnesiani, and precisely within Domitian's Palace on the Palatine. As usual with such early finds, it is crucial to clarify 1.) to exactly which area an 'excavator' at a given time may have had access; and 2.) within which ancient building this 'excavation' was conducted.**

**According to Silvano Cosmo's plan (in his article: "Aspetti topologici e topografici degli Orti farnesiani come premessa alla conservazione ambientale" 1990, Fig. 8 [= here Fig. 39]), who has successfully undertaken both kinds of research in order to draw this plan, Bianchini 'excavated' exclusively at the 'Aula Regia' and the immediately adjacent halls called 'Basilica' and 'Lararium', all three located within the 'Domus Flavia' (cf. also *infra*, in volume 3-2, in Appendix VI.; at Section I.).**

Since on 25th, 26th February, 3rd and 4th March 2020 I have been given access to Bianchini's book (1738) in the Library of the British School at Rome, I could verify Cosmo's cartographic information, given on his Fig. 8: he marks on his plan the areas, where precisely Francesco Bianchini and Pietro Rosa had excavated; cf. his labels: "scavi p. rosa 1861-1864; scavi f. bianchini 1720-26". By reading now Bianchini's book (1738, 50, 68, quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter *V.1.i.3.b*); Section *III.*) myself, I realized that he describes explicitly that he 'excavated' within these three halls, and that he found the Nollekens Relief (his Tab. VI.; cf. here **Fig. 36**; cf. his plans Tab. II. and VIII. [= both here **Fig. 8**]) in that hall within the 'Domus Flavia', which was already then (and is still now) called 'Aula Regia'.

Fig. 39. S. Cosmo's plan of the (former) Orti Farnesiani on the Palatine in Rome. From S. Cosmo: "Aspetti topologici e topografici degli Orti farnesiani come premessa alla conservazione ambientale" (1990, 837, Fig. 8). He marks on his plan of the Orti Farnesiani, where Francesco Bianchini and Pietro Rosa had excavated.

Fig. 8). The caption of his figure reads: "Il giardino di Napoleone III (1861 - 1870) Dis.[egno] S. Cosmo". Cf. T.P. Wiseman (2019, 123, Fig. 59: "The Farnese gardens ...").

Cosmo marks on this plan the areas, where exactly within the Orti Farnesiani Francesco Bianchini and Pietro Rosa had excavated, see his labels: scavi p. rosa 1861-64; scavi f. bianchini 1720-26. Cosmo marks also the boundary between the Orti Farnesiani on the Palatine and the adjacent property to the south-west, which at Bianchini's time had been the property of the "Conti Spada", as Bianchini (1738, see the lettering on his plan Tab. VIII [= here Fig. 8]) had also himself indicated on his plan. Cosmo has documented the consecutive owners of this property. See the letterings on his plan: spada 1689-1746 / p. magni 1746-1776 / rancoueil 1776-1816 / c. mills 1816-1849 / smith 1849-1856 /suore della visitazione 1856.

Pollini (2017b, 101-102, 113, 124), who has overlooked Cosmo's account, (erroneously) suggests that Bianchini found the Nollekens Relief elsewhere within the *Domus Augustana*, but where Bianchini has not 'excavated'. - To all this I will come back below (cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section II.).

As will be quoted in detail in the following, Pollini provides a thorough analysis of the scene represented on the Nollekens Relief (Fig. 36): the togate *triumphator* Domitian, who is depicted as sacrificing at an altar, accompanied by the *Dea Roma*, the *Genius Senatus*, the two *consules*, two of his *lictors* and one soldier, a *tibicen*, and interestingly also by two "young sacrificial attendants, *ministri* ... *paedagogiani* (servile pages)" from his own household; cf. Pollini (2017b, 113).

When I sent this *Chapter* to Rose Mary Sheldon, asking her to revise my English, I had added at this point:

[I need to check, whether Domitian himself was possibly himself consul in AD 89 ! - meant as a explanation to Rose Mary that I still needed to do this]. Rose Mary was kind enough to answer this question for me by E-mail, adding the following remark: "Domitian was consul every year of his reign except 89, 91, 93, 94 and 96. Pat Southern [1997], Domitian, p. 35". - See also Dietmar Kienast, Werner Eck, Matthäus Heil (2017, 110): from AD 70-95, Domitian held the consulship 17 times (!). For a coin, issued during Domitian's 17th consulship; cf. here Fig. 30.

As we shall see below, Pollini (2017b, 120 with n. 106; cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.b); Section IV.) suggests that the Nollekens Relief shows Domitian sacrificing in AD 89. Pollini himself has not realized that, because of the representation of both *consules* (figures 7 and 9) on the Nollekens Relief, this is in theory actually possible, because - as we have seen above - in that year Domitian did not *himself* hold one of the consulships. To this I will come back below (cf. *infra*, at Chapter VI.3; *Addition: My own tentative suggestion, to which monument or building the Cancellaria Reliefs may have belonged, and a discussion of their possible date*).

The Emperor Domitian [on the Nollekens Relief] is crowned with a laurel wreath, and the *fasces* of his two paludate *lictors* (with axes attached to their rods !) are likewise adorned with laurels. Pollini, therefore, convincingly suggests that Domitian is shown in the course of performing this sacrifice just outside the *Porta Triumphalis*, that was built anew by the emperor, and that immediately after that will begin Domitian's triumphal procession. In Pollini's opinion (2017b, 120 with n. 106, referring to Suet., *Dom.* 6,1), the sacrifice depicted on the Nollekens Relief, must refer to Domitian's last triumph of AD 89 (for that; cf. *supra*, n. 232, in Chapter I.2., and *infra*, in Chapter VI.3.; *Addition: My own tentative suggestion, to which monument or building the Cancellaria Reliefs may have belonged, and a discussion of their possible date*). Pollini also suggests, where in reality Domitian has conducted this sacrifice, which is represented on the Nollekens Relief. - To this I will come back below (cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section IV.).

Already Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 183) wrote about this panel: "Also from Domitian's Palace is the so-called Nollekens Relief, which was found east of the state dining hall, the Coenatio Jovis. It is today lost and known only through drawings (for example, fig. 153), but it appears to have been manufactured while Domitian was emperor. It depicts a sacrifice that is in the tradition of earlier sacrifice scenes such as those in the Louvre Suovetaurilia Relief (see fig. 117 [cf. here **Fig. 25**]), but with two noticeable differences. The figures of the sacrificant - probably the emperor - and his companions are almost frontal, and the human emperor interacts with divinities and personifications (Roma or Virtus and the Genius Senatus); such interactions would become one of the hallmarks of Domitianic art". - The latter is for example also true of Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.2., and here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**), and Kleiner's observed frontality of the figures on the Nollekens Relief is also true of the relief from Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, which depicts Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in AD 70 (cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.a) and here **Fig. 33**).

To Kleiner's "Coenatio Jovis" (also referred to as: *Cenatio Iovis*; Triclinium (cf. here **Figs. 8; 8.1**, label: "TRICLINIUM"; **Fig. 58**, label: "TRICLINIUM"; **Figs. 108-110**); and Banquet hall), I will come back below; cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section II.

Pollini (2017b, 101) writes: "we know that **the reliefs** were found in the general vicinity of the Aula Regia in the Domus Flavia (fig. 6) ... the excavations were ``within the Farnese Gardens'', created in 1550 by Alessandro Farnese on the N[orth] side of the Palatine, where indeed part of Domitian's Palace is located [with n. 12, providing a reference; my emphasis]". - With "the reliefs", Pollini refers to the Nollekens Relief (*i.e.*, F. BIANCHINI 1738, Tab. VI.; cf. here **Fig. 36**) and to another one, found by Bianchini together with it (cf. J. POLLINI 2017b, 104-105, his Fig. 5 = F. BIANCHINI 1738, Tab. VII. [= here **Fig. 37**]); this relief is obviously now lost.

**Fig. 37. The other fragmentary marble relief, found by Francesco Bianchini in 1722 within the 'Aula Regia' of the 'Domus Flavia', shows four female representations or divinities in Greek dress. From F. Bianchini (1738) Tab. VII.: "Fragmentum anaglyphi repertum in Palatio Caesarum intra Hortos Farnesianos MDCCXXII Hieronymus Rossi incid.". Cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.**

Cf. Pollini (2017b, 120): the emperor, depicted on the Nollekens Relief (cf. here **Fig. 36: figure 6**), is Domitian. Cf. p. 124: the represented sacrifice "would allude to the sacrifice performed at the Porta Triumphalis, thereby recalling triumph" (for a more detailed quotation of this passage; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*)).

Cf. Pollini (2017b, 97-99): the Nollekens Relief is on display in the White Hall of the Gatchina Palace near St. Petersburg (cf. his Figs. 10; 11). Cf. pp. 97-99: in this article, Pollini "examines the history of this relief, its discovery and restoration in the 18th c.[entury], its purchase by the Russian noble Ivanovich Shuvalov, and its vicissitudes during World War II and afterwards. Also presented and discussed is the evidence for the condition of the relief in 1914 and subsequently. The 1914 photograph (fig. 1, with my numbering of figures [= here **Fig. 36**]) allows us to compare it with the three earlier non-photographic illustrations (figs. 2-4) in order to address questions about restoration and other details of [page 99] it. The history of the relief and its supposed disappearance in the later part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century are important for the history of collecting and the display of classical antiquities".

After having finished writing this *Chapter*, I received on 22nd April 2020 Paolo Liverani's forthcoming essay ("Historical reliefs and architecture") that has in 2021 appeared in the essay volume, edited by Aurora Raimondi Cominesi *et al.* (2021), and on 30th April 2020, Liverani has kindly granted me the permission to quote *verbatim* from this text. Concerning the Nollekens Relief, Liverani (2021, 88) writes:

"Another interesting document is the so-called Nollekens Relief, representing an imperial sacrifice (fig. 4), [with n. 21] ... In the middle Domitian is shown sacrificing on a little altar, to the right is the Genius of the Roman Senate and the personification of Rome with a young assistant for the sacrifice (*camillus*). To the left



are two lictors carrying the fasces with axes, a flute player and a second *camillus*. **Pollini**, who rediscovered the lost relief, **interprets the scene in connection with the triumph and considers it as the sacrifice performed by the Emperor in front of the Porta Triumphalis before entering the city. Setting aside some minor problem of his reconstruction connected with this gate, [with note 22] the triumphal connotation is based on weak evidence and must remain hypothetical. What appears interesting is the survival of Domitian's portrait in the imperial palace on the Palatine after his *damnatio memoriae*, but, unfortunately, we do not know the exact find spot and cannot solve the riddle [my emphasis]**".

In his **note 21**, Liverani writes: "Pollini 2017 ... [*i.e.*, here J. POLLINI 2017b]".

In his **note 22**, he writes: "Pollini seems to be not aware of the discussion about the position of the Porta Triumphalis after the extension of the pomerial limits". - For a discussion of this subject; cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section IV.

Liverani (2021, 88) identifies the represented figures on the Nollekens Relief exactly like Pollini (2017b) himself, but he leaves out the figures in the background (cf. here **Fig. 36: figure 3**, a soldier, and **figures 7 and 9**, two togate men), whom Pollini, in my opinion convincingly, interprets as the *consules*.

**And because we have seen above that in AD 89 Domitian did not himself hold one of the consulships, the appearance of the two *consules* on the Nollekens Relief supports at the same time Pollini's suggested date for the scene depicted on the Nollekens Relief: AD 89 (!).**

Even so, it is interesting that Liverani has not realized that the figures, which he *has* mentioned, are positioned according to strict observations of their relevant spatial restrictions: the right-hand half of the relief represents the area *domi* (with the *Dea Roma* and the *Genius Senatus*, figures who, according to their relevant constructions, are constrained to remain within the *pomerium* of Rome; not by chance the *consules* appear on that side of the relief), the left-hand half of the relief represents the area *militiae* instead (here we see the two paludate lictors, having axes attached to their rods, their *fasces* are adorned with laurels, as well as one soldier). - The soldier is, of course, of special importance, when we try to find out, what the scene might represent. For a detailed description of the two lictors and the soldier; cf. Pollini (2017b, 115, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.).

In the following, I repeat what was already written above (cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.2.1.c):

'It is interesting to compare in the just discussed context the solution, found by the artists who designed the Nollekens Relief (cf. ... here **Fig. 36**). Here the two paludate lictors, who accompany Domitian, and one soldier (**figures 1, 4 and 3**) represent the area *militiae*. All three of them are standing just outside the *pomerium* and appear on the left hand 'half' of the panel - as they should. Whereas those figures, who represent the area *domi*: the *Dea Roma*, the *Genius Senatus* and the two *consules* (**figures 11, 8, 7 and 9**) are standing on the 'right' hand half of the panel - as also they should. The emperor himself thus stands at the *pomerium*-line - as he likewise should, provided we follow Pollini's interpretation. According to his hypothesis, Domitian is performing the sacrifice at (or in front of) the *Porta Triumphalis*. Only after its completion, Domitian will transgress the *pomerium*-line (by passing through his newly built *Porta Triumphalis*), and thus begin his triumphal procession, accompanied by his army and his lictors, who, at the represented moment, are still waiting outside the *pomerium*. And, as soon as the procession will have marched through the *Porta Triumphalis*, it will be solemnly received by the entire populace of Rome, indicated by the city's representatives on the right hand 'half' of the relief.'

Domitian thus stands on the Nollekens Relief at the *pomerium*-line. This the artists, who created the relief, have shown by the distribution of the figures (apart from the two boy ministrants and the flute player) who surround the emperor. In addition to this, Domitian is wearing a *toga*, is crowned with a laurel wreath, and is shown in the act of sacrificing. And because I believe (because of the presence of the two *consules*) that

Pollini is right in suggesting that the scene, visible on the Nollekens Relief, shows an event of AD 89, I therefore wonder what *else* this panel could represent, than what Pollini (2017b) himself suggests.

In addition to the above-mentioned details of the Nollekens Relief itself, which Liverani (2021) has not considered in his reasoning, he ignores the fact that Francesco Bianchini (1738, 68) found the Nollekens Relief within the 'Aula Regia' (cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section II.). And because Bianchini documented in great detail the marble decoration of this hall (cf. F. BIANCHINI 1738, Tab. III.; IV. [= here Fig. 9]; cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.), we know also that the major theme of the 'Aula Regia' was the celebration of Domitian's military victories, cf. Eugenio Polito (2009, 506, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.).

See now for the above-quoted passage from his earlier article Liverani (2023, 119-120 with ns. 21, 22; *i.e.*, the Italian version of his essay of 2021).

**To conclude.** Pollini's (2017b) himself ignores the fact that the Nollekens Relief was actually found within the 'Aula Regia'. Considering not only what was said above about the iconography of the Nollekens Relief itself, but also that the overall theme of this magnificent hall was the praise of Domitian's military victories, which the emperor had celebrated with triumphs, I therefore maintain my earlier judgement. Namely that Pollini's interpretation of the Nollekens Relief, according to which it shows Domitian sacrificing in AD 89 at the *Porta Triumphalis* before beginning his (last) triumphal procession, is sound.

**Before discussing in the following Section, where Francesco Bianchini 'excavated' the Nollekens Relief, I allow myself a digression on the 'excavator', Francesco Bianchini.**

**Paolo Liverani (2000, 67) has characterized Francesco Bianchini as follows:** "Dopo un secolo e mezzo Clemente XI Albani (1700-21) torna a interessarsi alle antichità e nel 1703 nomina mons.[ignore] Francesco Bianchini Commissario alle Antichità di Roma. Si tratta di un uomo i cui interessi abbracciano matematica, astronomia e archeologia e con una vasta rete di conoscenze in tutta Europa. Costui allestisce il «Museo Ecclesiastico», un esperimento di breve vita che durerà solo fino al 1716, ma di grande valore [with n. 14]. Il criterio con cui vengono scelti i materiali è di carattere filologico e storico, senza nessuna concessione estetica. Vengono privilegiati i documenti iscritti che abbiano rilevanza cronologica (per es.[empio] le iscrizioni consolari), senza limitarsi all'antichità, ma comprendendo anche documenti medievali con una modernità di visione assolutamente stupefacente".

In his **note 14**, Liverani writes: "C. Hülsen, Il «Museo Ecclesiastico» di Clemente XI Albani, BullCom 1890, 260-77; Pietrangeli, cit. a nota precedente [= C. Pietrangeli, I Musei Vaticani. Cinque secoli di storia (1986) 3-27]; F. Uglietti, Un erudito veronese alle soglie del Settecento, Mons. Francesco Bianchini 1662-1729 (1986) 61-63; C. M. S. Johns, Papal Art and Cultural Politics. Rome in the Age of Clemens XI (1993) 33-8".

**Chapter V.1.i.3.b); Section II. The Nollekens Relief was found in the 'Aula Regia' within the 'Domus Flavia'**

In order to be able to understand the following discussion of the topography of Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, I suggest that the reader consults all relevant maps simultaneously.

Cf. here **Figs. 58; 71; 73**, labels: PALATIUM; Arch of DIVUS TITUS; VICUS APOLLINIS ?/ "CLIVUS PALATINUS"; ARCUS DOMITIANI / DIVI VESPASIANI ?; Temple of IUPPITER INVICTUS ? or of : IUPPITER STATOR ? IUPPITER VICTOR ? IUPPITER PROPUGNATOR ?; "DOMUS FLAVIA"; "BASILICA"; "AULA REGIA"; "LARARIUM"; "PERISTYLE"; "TRICLINIUM"; DOMUS AUGUSTANA; "Porta principale"; Arch of DOMITIAN ?; Cancellaria Reliefs ?; Vigna Barberini; DI(aeta) (a)DONAEA; site of Nero's CENATIO ROTUNDA; S. Sebastiano; "AEDES ORCI"; SOL INVICTUS ELAGABALUS; IUPPITER ULTOR; CURIAE VETERES?". - For those toponyms; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix V.*; at Sections IV. and VII.

See also Silvano Cosmo's plan of the Orti Farnesiani (1990, 837, Fig. 8 [= here **Fig. 39**]); Francesco Bianchini's plan (1738, his Tab. VIII. [= here **Fig. 8**]) of Domitian's Palace on the Palatine (online at: <<https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bianchini1738/0001/image>>); the map SAR 1985, labels: 64: *Domus Flavia*: "Basilica"; 65: *Domus Flavia*: "Aula Regia"; 66: *Domus Flavia*: "Lararium" (the relevant detail of this map is reproduced in: *LTUR* IV [1999] fig. 6, *s.v.* Palatium, but without the numbering of the single structures); Amanda Claridge's plan of the Imperial Palace (1998, 132-133, Fig. 54, p. 135, p. 137, Fig. 57: "Domitian's Palace. Reconstruction of the great Banquet Hall and its fountain courts"; *ead.* 2010, 145-156, esp. pp. 146-147, Fig. 55, p. 148): "'Aula Regia' or Audience Chamber", p. 150, Fig. 57: "Domitian's Palace. Reconstruction of the great Banquet Hall and its fountain courts"; Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt and Natascha Sojc (2009, 268-279, Figs. 1-8); Filippo Coarelli (2012, 2-3, Fig. 1 [= SAR 1985], p. 116, Fig. 29, p. 288, Fig. 88, p. 447, Fig. 153; and the plan published by John Pollini (2017b, 101, Fig. 6): "Plan of Domitian's palace (R. Mar ... [*i.e.*, here R. MAR 2009] fig. 3, slightly altered by author)", in which the 'Aula Regia' is labelled: "Salón de trono", the 'Basilica': "Bas.", the 'Lararium': "Lar.", the entrance to those three halls in the west: "Ingreso", and the larger entrance to the 'Aula Regia' in the north: "Ingreso ceremonial". Pollini's just-mentioned 'slight alteration' in Mar's plan (2009, Fig. 3) of Domitian's Palace consists in the fact that he marks the small hall immediately to the east of the 'Aula Regia' with the lettering: "Lar.[arium]"; and Daniela Bruno ("Region X. *Palatium*", 2017, ill. 13 *Palatium, domus Augustiana*, AD 117-138, Reconstruction by D. Bruno, illustration by inklink). Cf. most recently: Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt (2020); Natascha Sojc (2021); Aurora Raimondi Cominesi and Claire Stocks (2021; *ead.* 2023); Aurora Raimondi Cominesi (2022); and Jens Pflug (2022), all of whom are discussed below in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and Roberta Alteri (2023, 31, Fig. 1); to her observations I will come back below, at the end of Section III. of this Chapter V.1.i.3.b).

For summaries of this research; cf. below, at Chapters *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and at *The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps*.

**This leads us to one of the problems that are connected with Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, which was called *Domus Augustana* in antiquity : the parts discussed here, of which the Palace consists, are unfortunately *not* called by all modern commentators by the same (modern) names.**

From Bianchini's (1738) account and his own plan (his Tab. II [= here **Fig. 8**]), to be discussed below, it is clear that he excavated at the 'Basilica', 'Aula Regia' and 'Lararium' of the 'Domus Flavia'. I follow with this nomenclature of those halls Bianchini (cf. here **Fig. 8**), which is repeated on the map SAR 1985 (cf. *supra*). But note that Bianchini (1738, caption of his Tab. III., quoted *verbatim infra*) erroneously believed that the Domitianic Palace, excavated by him, should be identified with the 'Domus Tiberiana'. In Cosmo's plan (cf. here **Fig. 39**) the area, where Bianchini excavated, is correctly indicated. Ricardo Mar (2009, 256, Fig. 3: label: "Larario", p. 257, Fig. 4, label: "Larario/Tempio") calls another part of the Palace 'Lararium', namely the large eastern peristyle. As we shall see in the following, Pollini (2017b, 103) refers to this structure erroneously as to the "'Adonea Peristyle'". - To the real 'Adonisgarden' in Domitian's Palace I will come back below.

**When discussing with Amanda Claridge the research presented here in 2020, I asked her for advice concerning reconstructions of Domitian's Palace on the Palatine.**

Because at that time I knew only Sheila Gibson's reconstruction drawing of the 'Triclinium'/'Coenatio Iovis'/ Banquet Hall, published by Amanda in her Rome guide; cf. Claridge (1998, 137, Fig. 57; *ead.* 2010, 150, Fig. 57: "Domitian's Palace. Reconstruction of the great Banquet Hall and its fountain courts"), Peter Connolly's (8th May 1935 - 2nd May 2012) coloured reconstruction drawing; cf. Peter Connolly and Hazel Dodge (1998, illustration on pp. 222-223, figure without number. Its caption reads: "Ein Querschnitt durch die rekonstruierte Aula Regia, das Peristyl und *triclinium* der Domus Flavia. Das Dach der Aula Regia wird heute von Experten viel diskutiert - hier wurde es aus Holz rekonstruiert"), and the illustration, published by Daniela Bruno (2017, ill. 13: "*Palatium, domus Augustiana*, AD 117-138", "Reconstruction by D. Bruno, illustration by inklink"). In none of these reconstructions the architectural marbles, found within these Halls

of Domitian's Palace, have been integrated as individual drawings in the way as Gordon Leith had done this in his reconstruction drawings of those Halls in 1913 (cf. here **Figs. 108-110**), to which we will turn below.

Interestingly, of Connolly's just-mentioned coloured reconstruction drawing exists now a version that shows the same image 'back to front'; cf. Aurora Raimondi Cominesi and Claire Stocks (2021, 106, Fig. 2: "Reconstruction of the Domus Flavia on the Palatine (akg-images / Peter Connolly)". Note that the Italian version of their article [2023] does not contain this illustration any more).

This fact is recognizable, when we compare with this image the true locations of the 'Basilica', 'Aula Regia', 'Peristyle' and 'Triclinium' / 'Coenatio Iovis' / Banquet Hall on any plan of Domitian's Palace; cf. for example in Natascha Sojc (2021, 132, Fig. 2), Roberta Alteri (2023, 31, Fig. 1), and here **Figs. 8.1; 58**.

In the following, I repeat a passage, written for *supra*, Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*:

In the course of this discussion, Amanda Claridge was kind enough to alert me to 'the reconstruction drawings [of Domitian's Palace on the Palatine] (here **Figs. 108-110**) of the architect Gordon Leith (1885-1965 [whose name Amanda at first did not remember, nor the date of his scholarship]) from South Africa, who had in 1913 a scholarship at the British School at Rome. As Amanda would later confirm ... Gordon Leith had only received a scholarship for one academic year (*i.e.*, from October until June ... Amanda ... had seen his drawings at the British School, where they had been on display, and which, as she recalled, in the 1980s or 1990s had been donated to the Superintendency of the State on the Palatine.

At that stage of our discussion it seemed impossible to trace the architect and his drawings. I myself, although having spent much time at the BSR since late December of 1980, did not remember these drawings, which is why, without Amanda's help, I would never have been able to identify them (!).

The reason being that neither the name of this man, nor the time of his scholarship at the British School were known, and that although Valerie Scott, the Librarian of the BSR, and the archivist Alessandra Giovenco had supported Amanda's relevant research in all possible ways. In the end, Amanda found out by chance that, already a long time ago, four of those drawings have been published by Maria Antonietta Tomei (*Scavi Francesi sul Palatino : le indagini di Pietro Rosa per Napoleone III (1861-1870)*, École française de Rome 1999, figs 225, 228, 229, and 230), who mentions the information that Amanda had in vain been looking for : the name of the architect, Gordon Leith, and the date of his drawings, 1913. But Amanda told me also that she knew that Gordon Leith had created many more of these drawings.

My thanks are due to Francesca Deli, Assistant Librarian of the BSR, for scanning for me in Tomei's publication Gordon Leith's extraordinary reconstruction drawings of Domitian's Palace on the Palatine (cf. here **Figs. 108-110**)'.

See the *Contribution* by Amanda Claridge in this volume: *A note for Chrystina Häuber: Drawings of the interior order of the Aula Regia of the Palace of Domitian on the Palatine, once in the British School at Rome*.

**Why I am telling you all this at the beginning of this Chapter? Because we shall look below at Francesco Bianchini's (1738) documentation of architectural marbles from the 'Aula Regia', and will hear the judgements of recent scholars concerning the sculptural decoration of this hall. We shall also realize that Gordon Leith, with his reconstruction drawings of Domitian's Palace (here Figs. 108-110), has provided a very interesting contribution to this discussion; cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.**

All this information taken together may be useful for new efforts to reconstruct the interior order of the 'Aula Regia'. Contrary to Bianchini's own reconstruction of the 'Aula Regia' (cf. *id.* 1738, his Tab. II. [= here **Fig. 8**]) and to Gordon Leith's reconstruction of the 'Aula Regia' (1913; here **Fig. 108**), in both of which the interior order of this hall has only one colonnade, we know now that "columns in front of the niches [in the 'Aula Regia'] ... were surmounted by further colonnades, taking the ceiling about 30 m (100 RF [*i.e.*, Roman Feet]) above the floor"; cf. Amanda Claridge (1998, 135; *ead.* 2010, 148). Peter Connolly; cf. Connolly and Dodge

(1998, illustration on pp. 222-223) had already considered this information in his reconstruction (which shows three superimposed colonnades); and of course also Sheila Gibson; cf. Claridge (1998, 137, Fig. 57; *ead.* 2010, 150, Fig. 57); and Daniela Bruno (2017, ill. 13).

Bianchini's plan of the *'Aula Regia'* (1738, Tab. II [= here **Fig. 8**]) shows in the middle of his measured ground-plan of the *'Aula Regia'* a reconstruction of the colonnade of the interior order, using for this reconstruction precisely drawn architectural fragments that were found within the *'Aula Regia'*. But because Bianchini does not explain this reconstruction in his text, it is impossible to know, from this etching alone, whether the relevant parts of this reconstruction : column base, column shaft and architrave, had actually belonged *together*. Even if that had been the case, it is for us likewise impossible to know, whether Bianchini's reconstruction belonged to the lower or rather to (one of) the upper colonnade(s) of the interior order of the *'Aula Regia'*. - Provided it is true, what all three : Sheila Gibson in her reconstruction of the interior order of the *'Triclinium'* / *'Coenatio Iovis'* / Banquet Hall; cf. Claridge (1998, 137, Fig. 57; *ead.* 2010, 150, Fig. 57), Peter Connolly and Daniela Bruno in their reconstructions of the interior order of the *'Aula Regia'* have assumed : namely that in both halls the column shafts of the first two superimposed colonnades had (almost, or even exactly) the same heights, whereas in Gibson's and Connolly's reconstructions of the *'Aula Regia'* and of the *'Triclinium'* the third superimposed colonnade is not as high as the two lower ones; cf. Claridge (1998, 137, Fig. 57; *ead.* 2010, 150, Fig. 57); Connolly and Dodge (1998, pp. 222-223); see also Bruno (2017, ill. 13).

In Chapter *V.1.i.3.b*); at Section *III.*, we will, in addition to this, learn from François de Polignac (2009, 507) that of the interior order of the *'Aula Regia'* some fragments are still preserved of both the architrave of the lower colonnade and of the first superimposed colonnade, both of which, in his opinion, were decorated with friezes showing "peopled scrolls", of which he is able to illustrate one badly damaged fragment. Unfortunately, de Polignac (2009, 507) does not discuss Bianchini's (1738, Tab. II [= here **Fig. 8**]) just-mentioned reconstruction in this context.

By reading de Polignac's text, it seems nevertheless to be obvious that one of de Polignac's (2009) colonnades of the interior order of the *'Aula Regia'* is precisely that, which also Bianchini (1738, Tab. II [= here **Fig. 8**]) has reconstructed. And one thing is definitely clear: Gordon Leith (1913) has integrated exactly the same fragments of architraves with "peopled scrolls", and/ or the reconstruction drawings of them, all mentioned by de Polignac (2009), into one of his own reconstruction drawings. But Leith has not integrated his resulting reconstruction of this architrave into his drawing of the *'Aula Regia'*, where these fragments of friezes with "peopled scrolls" were actually found, but instead into his reconstruction of the *'Triclinium'* (here **Fig. 110**) (!).

After having anticipated these results, let's approach this complex subject in the following together, step by step.

For the following discussion; cf. here **Figs. 8.1; 58; 73**, labels: PALATIUM; "DOMUS FLAVIA"; "BASILICA"; "AULA REGIA"; "LARARIUM"; "PERISTYLE"; "TRICLINIUM".

**Pollini** (2017b, 101-103, in his Section: "**Bianchini and the place of discovery**" [*i.e.*, of the **Nollekens Relief, and of the other relief**; cf. here **Figs. 36; 37**]) writes:

"From Bianchini's discussion of the location of his excavations, we know that the reliefs were found in the general vicinity of the *Aula Regia* in the *Domus Flavia* (fig. 6)". He also mentions the colossal basalt statues of Hercules and Bacchus/Dionysus with Pan (now in Parma's Galleria Nazionale) that once decorated niches in the *Aula Regia* [with n. 11]. He indicates that the excavations were "within the Farnese Gardens", created in 1550 by cardinal Alessandro Farnese on the N[orth] side of the Palatine, where indeed part of Domitian's Palace is located [with n. 12]. **This is further confirmed by the captions to the plates (VI-VII) illustrating both reliefs** [with n. 13]. **Both were probably found in or near the *Horti Adonii* or *Adonea*, in an area that**

separates the "private sector" (Domus Augustana) from the "state sector" (Domus Flavia) of the palace, and just northeast of the grand *triclinium* of the latter [with n. 14]. This garden peristyle appears to [page 102] refer to the area just southeast of the Aula Regia, still within the Farnese Gardens, and facing those of the Villa Spada, so designated by Bianchini in the 1738 publication [with n. 15]. The Villa Spada, formerly known as the Villa Mattei, later became the Villa Mills and is shown on P. Rosa's 1868 plan (fig. 7). Rosa excavated and re-excavated where Bianchini had dug, marked on the former's plan by the dark areas along the E[ast] edge of the "state sector". On that plan my dotted ellipse marks the general area in which Bianchini indicates the two [page 103] reliefs were found. The *Adonea* (correctly located in Rosa's plan) most likely refers to the great peristyle of the Domus Augustana (henceforth the "Adonea Peristyle" [my emphasis]).

Cf. the caption of Pollini (2017b, 102): "Fig. 7. Rosa's excavation on [the] Palatine (1868). Dotted ellipse indicates general area in which Bianchini found the two reliefs [*i.e.*, the Nollekens Relief and the other relief; cf. here Figs. 36; 37] (M.A. Tomei in Hoffmann and Wulf [*i.e.*, here A. HOFFMANN and U. WULF-RHEIDT] 2014 [*corr.*: 2004] fig. 25) [my emphasis]".

Note that in Pietro Rosa's plan (1868) the area in question is (erroneously) labelled as follows: HORTI ADONEA?

Note also that Pollini's 'dotted ellipse', which he added to Rosa's plan, covers part of the area of Rosa's "PERISTILIUM" and of the "HORTI ADONEA?". Bianchini cannot possibly have found these two reliefs within this 'dotted ellipse', because he did not 'excavate' this area at all.

For the area, where Bianchini had actually 'excavated' (only within the "BASILICA", the "AULA REGIA" and the "LARARIUM" of the *Domus Flavia*); cf. Bianchini's own report and his own plans : Bianchini (1738, 48-68, Tab. II; Tab. VIII [= both here Fig. 8]). This has been summarized *infra*, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*, and will be discussed in detail below.

Cf. the caption of Pollini (2017b, 102): "Fig. 8. Reconstruction of *sacrarium* (form of superstructure of tempietto unknown) in the Adonea Peristyle (M.A. Tomei ... [*i.e.*, here M.A. TOMEI 2009] fig. 6)".

With this caption of his Fig. 8, Pollini gives the impression that the identification of this part of Domitian's Palace (*i.e.*, the eastern peristyle) as the "Adonea Peristyle" could possibly be Maria Antonietta Tomei's hypothesis : but when reading Tomei's article (2009) and Pollini's above-quoted account, it becomes clear that this is Pollini's own (erroneous) identification.

In his **note 11**, Pollini writes: "These two figures were sent to Parma in 1724; Bianchini ... [*i.e.*, here F. BIANCHINI 1738] 54 and 58; P. Zanker ... [*i.e.*, here P. ZANKER 2004] 99, fig. 142".

See for those colossal statues of Dionysos and Hercules also R. MAR (2009, 253, Fig. 2 [Dionysos], p. 259, Fig. 5 [Hercules]); and below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*, with further references. Those statues were carved from basanite (*basanites*), not basalt, as Pollini (*op.cit.*) erroneously asserts.

In his **notes 12-14**, Pollini (2017b) does not discuss the contributions to the volume *Gli Orti Farnesiani sul Palatino*, edited by Giuseppe Morganti (1990), of which especially the article by Silvano Cosmo (1990) is of importance in the context discussed here; cf. below, and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section I.

In his **note 15**, Pollini writes: "For the location of the *Horti Adonii* and the Villa Spada, see Bianchini [*i.e.*, here F. BIANCHINI 1738] 36, 44, 68, *et passim*, pl. VIII [= here Fig. 8] (in the middle of the plan and at the bottom just to the left of the excavated Aula Regia and its two flanking halls). **These gardens are better represented in [Pietro] Rosa's 1868 plan, reproduced in ...** [*i.e.*, here A. HOFFMANN and U. WULF-RHEIDT 2004] 16, fig. 25 (= my fig. 7). Cf. also R. Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae* (Rome, repr. 1990) sector [*i.e.*, fol.] 29. Bianchini (*ibid.* 48) mentions the gardens of the Villa Spada located in this area. In Bianchini's words the reliefs were found "dentro gli Orti Farnesi, accanto la facciata del giardino Spada". In the late 19th c.[entury], Ch. Hülsen (... [*i.e.*, here C. HÜLSEN 1895] 252-83) tried to identify the possible findspot of the Nollekens

**Relief, placing it east of Domitian's *Cenatio Iovis* in the Domus Flavia, in roughly the same area as I do [my emphasis]**".

The "*Cenatio Iovis*", mentioned by Pollini (2017b, 102, n. 15), is marked on the plan by Mar (2009, 256, Fig. 3 = J. POLLINI 2017b, 101, Fig. 6). Cf. the map SAR 1985: "67", where this structure is called: *Domus Flavia*: "Triclinium" instead. Cf. here Figs. 58; 73, labels: "DOMUS FLAVIA"; "TRICLINIUM". On Claridge's plan of Domitian's Palace (1998, 132-133, Fig. 54; *ead.* 2010, 146-147, Fig. 55) this structure is labelled: "Banquet hall" (cf. also A. CLARIDGE 1998, 137, Fig. 57; *ead.* 2010, 150, Fig. 57, the caption reads: "Domitian's Palace. Reconstruction of the great Banquet Hall and its fountain courts").

**As correctly indicated by Pollini (2017b, 102, n. 15), his passage: "dentro gli Orti Farnesi, accanto alla facciata del giardino Spada", is actually a *verbatim* quote from Bianchini (1738, 48). But note that Bianchini does by no means say on his page 48, nor anywhere else, anything which could justify Pollini's conclusion that "In Bianchini's words the reliefs were found" - "accanto alla facciata del giardino Spada".**

**We can therefore conclude that Pollini's (2017b, 102, n. 15) interpretation of Bianchini (1738, 48) is wrong, and that fact in its turn has resulted in Pollini's (erroneous) indication of the findspots of the Nollekens Relief (and of the other relief, found together with it; cf. here Figs. 36; 37) on Pollini's Fig. 7: 'in or near the Horti Adonea', and precisely within the area indicated by his 'dotted ellipse'.**

**In reality, Bianchini (1738, 64, Tab. V.) is quite outspoken in his description of the findspot of the Nollekens Relief (cf. here Fig. 36): this and the 'other relief' (cf. here Fig. 37) were found within the 'Aula Regia'.**

First, Bianchini (1738, 64) describes the architecture of the 'Aula Regia', ending on pp. 64-66 with the following phrase: "Rimangono ancora in molti siti di questa sala [*i.e.* the 'Aula Regia'] le incrostature di marmi nobili segati in grosse tavole, che la vestivano : e la ossatura, per così dirla , delle pareti è formata tutta di mat- [page 66] mattoni ...".

In the following (on pp. 66-68), Bianchini allows himself a digression on the numerous brick stamps found there, which were produced in *figlinae*, owned by family members of Domitian called 'Flavia Domitilla'. Bianchini observes that there were altogether four ladies carrying that name, and is especially interested in those, who were active in the *figlinae* business. As a result of this inquiry, Bianchini attributes the construction of the 'Aula Regia' to Domitian, because many of these brick stamps were found there.

Then Bianchini returns to his discussion of the finds, excavated within the 'Aula Regia'. Cf. Bianchini (1738, 68): "Qualunque delle suddette Flavie Domitille fosse la padrona di Felice, che lavorò que'mattoni ; appartiene sempre alla età del suddetto Principe [*i.e.*, Domitian] : **e dimostra, che questi saloni ( giacchè ne' prossimi ancora al maggiore** si ritrovano in opera dentro le arcate delle volte simili suggelli di quel Felice ) siano fabbricati da Domiziano. **Si è ricavato altresì il medesimo tempo della struttura** [*i.e.*, of the 'Aula Regia'] **da un basso rilievo qui ritrovato, ove Tito** [*i.e.*, in reality Domitian] **fratello di Domiziano rappresentasi in atto di sacrificare** [*i.e.*, the Nollekens Relief; cf. here Fig. 36], **di cui qui** [cf. on the border: "Tav. VI."] riporto la figura ; con l'altro frammento di una tavola simile [*i.e.*, the other relief = here Fig. 37], **in cui vedesi un** [cf. on the border: "Tav. VII."] **sacrificio fatto da femmine : la quale può credersi che rappresentasse il sacrificio alla Buona Dea solito farsi dalla moglie del Pontefice Massimo quali furono dell'Imperatore Domiziano Giulia di Tito, e Domizia** [my emphasis]".

Pollini (2017b, 100-101) does not discuss Bianchini's above-summarized passage (1738, 64-68) in its entirety. He, therefore, overlooks the true meaning of what Bianchini writes on p. 68 ("**questi saloni ... al maggiore ... Si è ricavato altresì il medesimo tempo della struttura**"), namely that both reliefs had occurred within that grand structure he describes in detail on pp. 64-68: the 'Aula Regia'.

But Pollini (2017b, 100-101) provides an English translation of that part of the quote from Bianchini (1738, 68), which I have written above in bold, and adds useful comments: "The dating of the building [*i.e.*, of the 'Aula Regia'] is also established by the fact that found here was a bas-relief [*i.e.*, the 'Nollekens Relief'] in which Titus, brother of Domitian, is represented in the act of sacrificing, a figure which I show here (pl. VI = fig. 2 here [cf. here Fig. 36]); with [regard to] the other fragment of a similar panel, in which a sacrifice by females is to be seen (pl. VII = fig. 5 here [= here Fig. 37]), the latter [relief] can be understood as representing the sacrifice to the Bona Dea, usually performed by the wife of the Pontifex Maximus, [but] who were [in the case] of the emperor Domitian, Iulia Titi [daughter of Titus] and Domitia [wife of Domitian] [with n. 8; page 101].

Contrary to Bianchini's comment, the headless female figures in the second relief have nothing to do with a sacrifice since no altar or sacrificial accouterments [!] are depicted, nor is there anything to indicate that the niece or wife of Domitian appears; rather, the presence of a bare-breasted female would suggest that the figures are personifications or divinities [with n. 9]. The bare-breasted figure in the center appears to carry in her right hand a small pouch (if indeed the engraver has represented this object correctly [with n. 10]).

In his **note 8**, Pollini writes: "Since Iulia Titi was never the wife of Domitian, the sense of the last phrase is better conveyed by the Latin [*i.e.*, by the Latin version of F. Bianchini's 1738 text, printed opposite the Italian text] ('quo loco habuit Domitianus Iuliam Titi ac Domitiam')."

In his **note 9**, he writes: "The upper torso of one of the other three figures is substantially preserved and shows that the breasts were draped".

In his **note 10**, he writes: "Engravers often misrepresented objects they did not understand, as in the case of the sacrificial 'pitcher' carried by the boy ministrant in the Nollekens Relief (see below)".

**To Pollini's own interpretation of the 'other relief' (cf. here Fig. 37), I will come back below (cf. *infra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.)**

Pollini also suggests, where precisely in Domitian's Palace the Nollekens Relief (cf. here Fig. 36) could have been on display. Since he has not realized that Bianchini (1738, 68) actually says that both reliefs were found within the 'Aula Regia', the suggestions he makes for the display of the Nollekens Relief could only be true, provided at least that that relief had occurred in a secondary context.

Let's first of all read what Pollini writes about the presumed state of the Nollekens Relief, when that was found in 1722. Pollini (2017b, 112-113, Section: "Analysis of the condition of the Nollekens Relief") writes: "Also skillfully masked in the 18th c.[entury] were the repairs [page 113] to the relief of not only restored elements but also original parts, including the ancient heads of nos. 6 [Domitian], 8 [*Genius Senatus*], and 10 [boy ministrant], **which were presumably found separated at the time of excavation, when the relief itself may have been found in as many as 6 pieces** (along all of the principal cracks). (If the relief were not broken when first discovered, then we would have to presume that it suffered some serious mishap thereafter) [my emphasis]."

Let's now turn to Pollini's suggestions about where the Nollekens Relief could have been on display within Domitian's Palace.

Cf. Pollini (2017b, 103, Section: "Bianchini and the place of discovery"): "The imperial sacrifice on the Nollekens Relief would have been appropriate for display in a state room of the Domus Flavia. One possibility is the adjacent room on the E[ast] side of the Aula Regia (Salon du [!] trono) (fig. 6). This room (which Bianchini called the 'Lararium' [cf. here Figs. 8; 8.1, label: "LARARIUM"; Figs. 58; 73, labels: "DOMUS FLAVIA"; "LARARIUM"]) apparently had an altar (later demolished) revetted with marble and set against the middle of its back S[outh] wall [with n. 19] ... The depth of each of the 5 niches is suitable at 1.18 m [with n. 21]. Another possible location for the Nollekens Relief is in the area of the great colonnaded vestibule to the southeast [with n. 22], next to the 'Lararium', or in one of the suites of rooms between the two parallel peristyles of the Domus Flavia and the Domus Augustana (fig. 6) [with n. 23]."



In his notes 19, 21-23, Pollini provides references and further discussion.

**The correct findspot of the Nollekens Relief, as indicated by Bianchini (1738, 68) in the above-quoted passage, was already known to Silvano Cosmo. I therefore anticipate in the following a passage, written below** (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section I.): 'When we compare Silvano Cosmo's plan (1990, 837, Fig. 8 [= here Fig. 39], illustrated by T.P. WISEMAN 2019, 123, Fig. 59) with the relevant detail of G.B. Nolli's map (cf. C. KRAUSE 1990, 122, Fig. 1), also illustrated by T.P. Wiseman (2019, 43, Fig. 16), it turns out that Bianchini had 'excavated' in the so-called *Aula Regia* and in the immediately adjacent halls '*Basilica*' and '*Lararium*', both within the '*Domus Flavia*'; cf. here **Figs. 58; 73**, labels: "DOMUS FLAVIA"; "BASILICA"; "AULA REGIA"; "LARARIUM". - For the modern name '*Aula Regia*'; cf. Claridge (1998, 132-133, Fig. 54, p. 135; *ead.* 2010, 146-147, Fig. 55, p. 148): "'Aula Regia' or Audience Chamber". See also the map SAR 1985, labels: 64: *Domus Flavia*: "*Basilica*"; 65: *Domus Flavia*: "*Aula Regia*"; 66: *Domus Flavia*: "*Lararium*".

**As we have seen above, Pollini (2017b, 101) suggests instead that the Nollekens Relief (and the other relief, found by Bianchini together with it) were found in or near the *Adonea*, an ancient toponym, which Pollini (erroneously) locates within the *Domus Augustana*. There are several problems connected with Pollini's just quoted hypothesis, that will be discussed in the following.**

Francesco Bianchini's own measured plan of Domitian's Palace, where he had found the Nollekens Relief (cf. *id.* 1738, his Tab. VIII. [= here Fig. 8]), is drawn to "Scala Pedum Romanorum Mille", and is dated 1728. Note that in the plans of Bianchini (1728, published 1738) and of Pietro Rosa (1868 = Pollini's Fig. 7) north is approximately in the middle of the bottom of their plans. - For the problem involved; cf. below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian* and here Fig. 8.1, with its relating caption.

By writing: "... Both [reliefs] were probably found in or near the *Horti Adonii* or *Adonea*, in an area that separates the 'private sector' (Domus Augustana) from the 'state sector' (Domus Flavia) of the palace, and just northeast of the grand *triclinium* of the latter [my emphasis]" - Pollini (2017b, 101) refers to Pietro Rosa's plan of 1868, in which Rosa has tentatively located the: "HORTI ADONEA?" precisely there, where Pollini locates the *Horti Adonea* in this passage.

**Bianchini (1738, 68; cf. his plan Tab. VIII. [= here Fig. 8]) does not write that the Nollekens Relief was found "in or near the *Horti Adonii* or *Adonea*", as Pollini (2017b, 101) asserts. On the contrary, Bianchini makes clear by the lettering on his plan Tab. VIII, that the area, identified by him as the *Adonea*, belonged to the Orti of the Conti Spada. Note that Bianchini (1738) and Rosa (1868) locate the *Adonea* at the same site within Domitian's Palace.**

In addition to this, Bianchini (1738, 68; cf. his plan Tab. VIII. [= here Fig. 8]) writes explicitly that the Nollekens Relief and the other relief were found in that hall of the Palace, where also "the colossal basalt statues of Hercules and Bacchus/Dionysus with Pan (now in Parma's Galleria Nazionale)" were excavated, as Pollini writes (cf. *id.* 2017b, 101, n. 11, quoting for that, F. BIANCHINI 1738, 54 and 58). - And that hall is located within the '*Domus Flavia*', and was by Bianchini himself (cf. his plan Tab. II. [= here Fig. 8]) and is still today referred to as '*Aula Regia*'.

**The captions of the illustrations of both reliefs; cf. Bianchini (1738, Tab. VI.: the Nollekens Relief (cf. here Fig. 36): and Tab. VII.: 'the other relief' = here Fig. 37) add to this *expressis verbis* that the area in question, where Bianchini found those two reliefs, belonged to the Orti Farnesiani.**

See the caption of the etching of the Nollekens Relief; cf. Bianchini (1738, Tab. VI.; cf. here Fig. 36):

"1. Imp. Titus coronatus et velatus sacrificat super aram ... [follows the description of the other figures that appear on this relief] Anaglyphum marmoreum repertum anno MDCCXXII in Palatio Caesarum intra Hortos Farnesianos Hieronymus Rossi incid."

See also the caption of 'the other relief'; cf. Bianchini (1738, Tab. VII. [= here Fig. 37]): "Fragmentum anaglyphi repertum in Palatio Caesarum intra Hortos Farnesianos MDCCXXII Hieronymus Rossi incid."

Whereas Bianchini (1738) indicates with the lettering on his plan Tab. VIII. [= here Fig. 8]) that the area, (erroneously) identified by him - by Pietro Rosa (1868) and by Pollini (2017b) - as the *Adonea*, belonged to the Orti of the Conti Spada: "Pars Mediana Palatii Caesarum Continet Theatrum Tauri et Hortos Adonios ubi hodie Horti Co : Spada".

Note that underneath this lettering (*i.e.*, in reality to the north of it), Bianchini has drawn the ground-plan of the relevant garden. And underneath the drawing of this garden (*i.e.*, in reality to the north of it) appears his lettering: "ADONEA sive Horti Domitiani Augusti [my emphasis]".

When looking for the first time at Bianchini's (1738, Tab. VIII. [= Fig. 8]) 'Adonis garden' in Domitian's Palace, I had the impression of knowing this garden already, and therefore read his detailed explanations, given in the letterings on his plan Tab. VIII. : only to find out that Bianchini did not draw the flower beds and a central pool of his *Adonea* after some real ancient architectural finds seen by him at this site. His layout of the *Adonea* is instead inspired by the garden, represented on the Severan Marble Plan, which already Giovan Pietro Bellori had correctly identified as 'Domitian's garden of Adonis'. The garden, which appears on these fragments of the Severan Marble Plan, has now been identified with the excavated garden on the large terrace (measuring circa 135 × 165 m = 19.000 square metres) of that part of Domitian's Palace, which is located at the north-east corner of the Palatine, in the area of the (former) Vigna Barberini. - To all this I will come back below. Bianchini (1738) comments on his representation of the *Adonea* in the caption of his plan Tab. VIII. [= here Fig. 8] as follows: "Indicationes adhibitae ad Ichnographiam partis Orientalis Palatii Caesarum quae et DOMVS AVGVSTANA ... Κ Ψ Φ Horti Adonii expressi in Vestigio Veteris Romae ['*Vestigio Veteris Romae*' is the title of Giovan Pietro Bellori's book of 1673, which will be discussed below], ubi à Domitiano exceptum Apollonium Thyanaeum [?] scribit Philostratus, observante in Notis Belloris : à quo eoru structura juxta morem Assyrium erudite explicatur".

**Bianchini (1738, 68; cf. his plan Tab. VIII. [= here Fig. 8]) mentions the find of the Nollekens Relief (F. BIANCHINI 1738, Tab. VI. [= here Fig. 36]) and that of 'the other relief' (F. BIANCHINI 1738, Tab. VII. [= here fig. 37]) within the 'Aula Regia', that is to say that "sala", which is correctly indicated on Cosmo's plan (1990, 837, Fig. 8 [= here Fig. 39]) as the area, where Bianchini had 'excavated'.**

Cf. the map SAR 1985, label: 65: Domus Flavia: "Aula Regia" (for the relevant detail of this map: LTUR IV [1999] fig. 6, *s.v.* Palatium); cf. Claridge (1998, 132-133, Fig. 54, p. 135; *ead.* 2010, 146-147, Fig. 55, p. 148): "'Aula Regia' or Audience Chamber".

### *Domitian's 'Adonis Garden', the Adonaea*

That part of Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, which Francesco Bianchini (1738, plan Tab. VIII. [= here Fig. 8]) and Pietro Rosa (1868 [= J. POLLINI 2017b, Fig. 7]) identified with Domitian's *Adonea*, whom Pollini (2017b) now follows, is not any more regarded as such. The *Adonaea* were instead a garden on the huge (in part) artificial terrace, built by Domitian within his Palace at the north-east corner of the Palatine, known from fragments of the Severan Marble Plan which carry the inscription *DI(aeta) (a)DONAEA*. Later this terrace was occupied by the Vigna Barberini.

**With the identification of the ancient garden at the Vigna Barberini with Domitian's *Diaeta Adonea*, I follow Filippo Coarelli (2009b; 2012; 2017), and I hope to have found further arguments that support his hypothesis (cf. *infra*).**

Cf. Coarelli (2009b, 90-91, Figs. 32; 33: "Frammento della pianta marmorea severiana con *Adonaea*. Lo stesso con la ricostruzione teorica del portico e l'aggiunta del frammento con la scritta *DIA*"; cf. F. Coarelli, in: F. COARELLI 2009a, pp. 438-439. cat. no. 29). See most recently and very detailed for this hypothesis: Filippo

Coarelli (2012, 497- 512, Chapter: "La Formazione dei Palazzi Imperiali; Section: "10. Il complesso di Vigna Barberini"; esp. pp. 515-530; at number 5.).

Of the same opinion is Maria Antonietta Tomei (2009, 288). - See now also Eric M. Moormann (2018, 172, n. 67), and Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt (2020, 186).

**I have elsewhere summarized the recent findings concerning Domitian's 'Adonis Garden' within his Palace on the Palatine; cf. Häuber (2014a, 301-302; see also p. 684) :**

**"The excavations in the Vigna Barberini on the Palatine (map 3 [= here Fig. 71], labels: PALATIUM; Vigna Barberini) have shown that the rectangular terrace which enlarged the plateau of the hill was finished under Domitian as part of his palace [with n. 107]. So far only one third of the building has been uncovered; the substructures of its north wing may have accommodated the *Tabularium principis* [with n. 108]. In the large garden of this building occurred several rows of half *amphorae* embedded in the soil, but upside down. According to Françoise Villedieu [with n. 109], this unusual practice checked the growth of those plants.**

**The excavators do not follow Giovan Pietro Bellori [with n. 110], who was first to identify this building with the *aule Adonidos* [with n. 111], a building in the Palatine palace where Domitian sacrificed to Minerva and received Apollonius of Tyana (Philostratus, VA 7, 32) [with n. 112]. Philostratus says that this place 'was bright with baskets of flowers, such as the Syrians at the time of the festival of Adonis make up in his honour' [with n. 113]. This old hypothesis was based on the fact that the fragments nos. 46a-d of the Severan marble plan [with n. 114] show a large garden, the lettering of which Coarelli [with n. 115] reconstructs as *Di(aeta)* [page 302] (*a*)DONAEA. These fragments do not show adjacent structures, which is why the location of the represented building is controversial [with n. 116].**

**Coarelli [with n. 117] believes that these half-*amphorae* prove his identification of this building as the *Diaeta Adonaea*. I follow him, since, in my opinion, there is no alternative on the Palatine (maps 3 [= here Fig. 71]; 6, labels: DI(aeta) (a)DONAEA; S. Sebastiano; 'AEDES ORCI' [with n. 118]; SOL INVICTUS ELAGABALUS; IUPPITER ULTOR; Vigna Barberini); also Maria Antonietta Tomei, who has studied the gardens within the various *domus* and imperial palaces on the Palatine for many years, shares this opinion [with n. 119].**

**Linda Farrar, taking it for granted that this building is, in fact, the *Adonaea*, comments on these finds from the perspective of garden studies; in my opinion, her observations corroborate Coarelli's hypothesis:**

**"The pots had been set in the ground into a bed of marble chippings and because they were placed so close together, the pots may have served as receptacles for plants associated with the cult of Adonis. A wider spacing would indicate permanently planted pots of flowers or shrubs instead ..."**

**And on the *Diaeta Adonaea* of the Severan marble plan Farrar remarks: "... An elongated rectangular feature across the centre of the garden could be a *euripus*, and the series of irregularly shaped boxes that surround it may be flower beds. However, four blocks, each of four lines (with serifs) have remained a puzzle; these perhaps detail benches or beds upon which the pots containing 'Adonis Gardens' could have been placed. After the plants had died, they could then have been thrown into water, in this case the *euripus*, to complete the full ritual" [with n. 120; my emphasis].**

In my **note 107**, I quote: "M.A. Tomei and F. Villedieu have recently excavated at its north-east corner a structure which they identify as the *coenatio rotunda* in the *Domus Aurea* (Suet., *Nero* 31); cf. Carandini *et alii* 2011, p. 143. They [*i.e.*, A. CARANDINI *et al.* 2011, 143] themselves interpret this structure as a "torre-tempietto" instead and identify the *coenatio rotunda* with the octagonal room within the 'Esquiline Wing' of

the *Domus Aurea* [cf. here **Fig. 71**, labels: MONS OPPIUS; DOMUS AUREA]; cf. p. 145, fig. 11; Carandini, Carafa 2012, Tav. 110-112".

Cf. **note 108**: "Coarelli 2009b, p. 78 with ns. 104, 105; cf. **Villedieu 2009**, pp. 246-247; **according to her the size of the terrace measured c. 135 × 165 m / 19.000 square meters** [my emphasis]". - **For the *Tabularium Principis*, which was certainly accommodated within this substructure; cf. now F. COARELLI 2012, 533-538, Chapter: "V La Formazione dei Palazzi Imperiali"; Section: "11. Tabularium Principis"; discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.b.2.).**

Cf. **note 109**: "Cf. Villedieu 2001, p. 98; Coarelli 2009b, p. 91 with n. 277".

Cf. **note 110**: "Bellori 1673, pp. 47-48, ``TABVLA XI Donea. Adonea, sive Adonidis Aula'', who bases his correct identification on ancient literary sources (I had the chance to consult this book at the British School at Rome, BSR); cf. the commentary on this work by Muzzioli 2000; Beaven 2010, p. 330 with n. 25".

Cf. **note 111**: "So Sulze 1940, p. 513 (without providing a reference)".

Cf. **note 112**: "Richardson Jr. 1992, pp. 1-2 figs. 1; 2".

Cf. **note 113**: "Translation: Farrar 1998, p. 185 with n. 51; cf. Frass 2006, p. 282".

Cf. **note 114**: "Cf. M. Royo, *s.v.* Adonaea; *s.v.* Adonis, Aula; Ἀδώνιδος αὐλή, in *LTUR*, I, 1993, pp. 14-16; 16, figs. 1; 2".

Cf. **note 115**: "Coarelli 2009b, pp. 90-91; F. Coarelli, in Coarelli 2009a, pp. 438-439, cat. no. 29".

Cf. **note 116**: "M. Royo, *s.v.* Adonaea; Adonis, Aula; Ἀδώνιδος αὐλή, in *LTUR*, I, 1993, pp. 14-16; 16, figs. 1; 2".

Cf. **note 117**: "Coarelli 2009b, pp. 90-91; F. Coarelli, in Coarelli 2009a, pp. 438-439, cat. no. 29".

Cf. **note 118**: "C. F. Coarelli, *s.v.* Orcus, Aedes, in *LTUR*, III, 1996, p. 364".

Cf. **note 119**: "Tomei 2009, p. 288, cf. *passim* (referring to earlier studies)".

Cf. **note 120**: "Farrar 1998, p. 185 with ns. 51-55 (with references); cf. p. 7 (with fig.); cf. for the relevant rituals also Marzano 2008, pp. 3-4 with ns. 6, 7, fig. 3".

**To my above-quoted note 109, I should like to add a list of publications on the *cenatio rotunda* in Nero's *Domus Aurea*, which has now been identified with the structure, excavated at the (later) Vigna Barberini.**

Cf. Françoise Villedieu (2010; *ead.* 2011a; *ead.* 2011b; *ead.* 2012; *ead.* 2015a; *ead.* 2015b; *ead.* 2016, 107, n. 2; *ead.* 2021 [with complete bibliography]); Filippo Coarelli (2012, 418 with n. 220, p. 504 with n. 529, p. 509 with n. 540); *id.* 2015; *id.* 2021), and Edoardo Gautier di Confiengo (2021), the findings of which the author was kind enough to share with me. Gautier di Confiengo (2021) and Eric M. Moormann (2020b, 19-23), to which Gautier di Confiengo has alerted me as well, compare Nero's *cenatio rotunda* on the Palatine also with the octagonal room within the 'Esquiline Wing' of the *Domus Aurea*. Both of which had approximately the same dimensions : diameter circa 16 m, but the 'Esquiline Wing' of the *Domus Aurea* on the *Mons Oppius* was, as Moormann (2020b, 21) writes: "situato in una parte secondaria ed intima della residenza", whereas the *cenatio rotunda* of the Vigna Barberini, given its location within Nero's *Domus Aurea* located on the Palatine, that served the emperor's official functions like receptions, was obviously "una struttura per i banchetti di stato ufficiale"; cf. Moormann (2020b, 21 with n. 19, providing references). See also Thorsten Opper (*Nero the man behind the myth*, 2021, p. 215: Chapter: "The new Apollo", p. 224: Section: "Post-fire reconstruction"; p. 225, "Fig. 169b Map showing the expansion of imperial palace buildings and monumental squares after the fire of AD 64, labels: 3b ["Cenatio Rotunda?"]; 5b ["Esquiline building"]".

Edoardo was, in addition to this, kind enough to send me the '3D'-reconstructions of the *Domus Aurea*, created by Marco Fano and published by Clementina Panella (2013, 101, Fig. 122, p. 113, Fig. 136).

The caption of Panella's Fig. 122 reads: "Ricostruzione 3D del paesaggio della *Domus Aurea* vista da Est. (Elab.[orazione] Marco Fano)". The caption of her Fig. 136 reads: "Ricostruzione 3D dell'atrio vestibolo e dello *stagnum* guardando verso il Palatino/Velia. (Elab.[orazione] Marco Fano)".

Into these two reconstructions, Panella's Figs. 122 and 136, is also integrated Nero's *cenatio rotunda* on the Palatine. For a plan, into which both Nero's *cenatio rotunda* on the Palatine and the octagonal room within the 'Esquiline Wing' of the *Domus Aurea* on the *Mons Oppius* are likewise integrated; cf. Villedieu (2010, 1090,

Fig. 1.: "Vestiges du palais de Néron ...", who refers to her n. 2 for the cartographic sources of her plan. Interestingly, Villedieu's location of Nero's *cenatio rotunda* within the area of the (later) Vigna Barberini differs from that of the location of this structure, as assumed on Marco Fano's '3D'-reconstructions of the *Domus Aurea*, published in Panella (2013). Fano's location of Nero's *cenatio rotunda* on the Palatine was also marked on a plan, that had been added as a loose sheet to the exhibition-catalogue on Nero, edited by Maria Antonietta Tomei and Rossella Rea (*Nerone*, 2011), and has the following title: "Nerone Nero 12.04.-18.09.2011 Il Percorso della Mostra The Exhibition Itinerary", label 7: "coenatio rotunda".

In our maps, I have followed the location of the *cenatio rotunda*, as suggested by Villedieu (2010, Fig. 1).

Cf. here **Figs. 58; 71; 73**, labels: PALATIUM; DI(aeta) (a)DONAEA; S. Sebastiano; "AEDES ORCI"; SOL INVICTUS ELAGABALUS; IUPPITER ULTOR; site of Nero's CENATIO ROTUNDA; Vigna Barberini; MONS OPPIUS; DOMUS AUREA.

To all this, I should like to add another comment: Françoise Villedieu has now published a new reconstruction of the sanctuary of *Sol Invictus Elagabalus* within the former Vigna Barberini (cf. *ead.*, "Le sanctuaire de *Sol Elagabalus* sur le Palatin : quelques détails sur la construction", 2022).

**Also to my above-quoted note 117, I should like to add a comment: J.-C. Grenier and F. Coarelli (1986) have suggested that the Antinous Obelisk stood originally in the Vigna Barberini, on the tomb of Antinous.**

Jean-Claude Grenier and Filippo Coarelli (1986) and Coarelli (2012, 497- 512, Chapter: "La Formazione dei Palazzi Imperiali; Section: "10. Il complesso di Vigna Barberini"; esp. pp. 530-532; at number 6.), have assumed the tomb of Antinous and the original location of the Antinous Obelisk (here **Figs. 101.a; 101.1**) at the above discussed *Diaeta Adonaea* on the Palatine. Later, Grenier (2008) has suggested, followed by Coarelli (2012), that the tomb of Antinous and the Antinous Obelisk could alternatively have stood in the *Horti Domitiae*; the owner of this estate was the natural mother of the Emperor Hadrian. There Hadrian should later also erect his own Mausoleum (here **fig. 58**). I myself have instead suggested (in 2017, repeated in this *Study*) that the real tomb of Antinous stood at Antinoopolis in Egypt, and that, therefore, the Antinous Obelisk can only have stood on a cenotaph of Antinous, which may have stood in the *Horti Domitiae*. Whereas Coarelli (2017, 669) has rejected my relevant hypothesis, the Egyptologist Richard Bruce Parkinson (2019, 220, with n. 99) has followed it.

For a discussion of all that; cf. below, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here **Fig. 29**); at *The research published in my earlier Study (2017): on the tomb of Antinous at Antinoopolis, on his (alleged) tomb at Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli, on his cenotaph at Rome, and on the two pertaining Antinous Obelisks.*

### **Chapter V.1.i.3.b); Section III. Does the design of the Nollekens Relief reflect the topographical context, for which Domitian had commissioned it?**

Pollini (2017b, 113, Section: "An emperor sacrificing") describes Domitian's figure on the Nollekens Relief in detail: "As the primary and **tallest figure**, the emperor [Domitian; **no. 6**] is shown in the middle, sacrificing over a small altar laden with offerings and decorated with ox-heads and garlands. He wears the noble and voluminous toga; this is probably the *toga picta*, the embroidered purplish toga of the *triumphator*, and would originally have been painted. The emperor's head [at least on the photo here **Fig. 36**] is well preserved and shows no evidence of recutting. Under his veil he wears a laurel crown, the tips of which appear to be broken off. The other figures probably also wore laurel crowns at the sacrifice, with the exception of the helmeted female personification (**no. 11** [i.e., the *Dea Roma*]) [with n. 63]. On the emperor's feet are *calcei*

*patricii*, the high double-knotted red shoes of the patriciate [with n. 64]. The location of the altar and the turn of his [*i.e.*, Domitian's] body suggest that the emperor was pouring a libation from a *patera*, evidently correctly re-created by the restorer. **In his other hand, the emperor holds a large book scroll of a type not generally known in antiquity; ancient book scrolls held by Roman magistrates, by contrast, were typically very small** [with n. 65; my emphasis]".

In his **notes 63-65**, Pollini provides references and further discussion.

In his **note 65**, Pollini writes: "See, e.g., the scroll held by Gaius Caesar on the so-called Sandaliarius Altar from Rome, now in the Uffizi Gallery and the "Tiberius Relief" on loan to the Getty Villa Museum. For the former, see ... [*i.e.*, here J. POLLINI 1987] 33-34, pl. 14.1; for the latter ... [*i.e.*, here J. POLLINI 2012] 97, fig. II.31a".

As on Frieze A of the Cancelleria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6**), Domitian holds, in my opinion, also on the Nollekens Relief (cf. **Fig. 36: figure 6**) a *rotulus* in his left hand.

**Pollini (2017b, 113) does not explain the just-mentioned iconographic feature 'book scroll', nor does he, in this case, draw comparisons between the Nollekens Relief and the Cancelleria Reliefs.**

Concerning the *rotulus*, held by Domitian (now Nerva; cf. here **Figs. 1; 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6**) himself on Frieze A of the Cancelleria Relief, and concerning the *rotulus*, carried for Vespasian by one of the men of his entourage on Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 2; 1 and 2 drawing: figure 17**), I myself have followed the interpretation, given by Erika Simon (1963, 9, 10, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapters I.2.1.a), and V.1.b), and *infra*, at Chapter VI.3.), and repeat it here again: 'to both emperors on the two friezes of the Cancelleria Reliefs [cf. here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs 1 and 2 drawing**] belongs a *rotulus*. Domitian (now Nerva) on Frieze A carries it himself in his left hand, whereas for Vespasian a *rotulus* is carried by a man of his entourage. Both *rotuli* contain the *vota* of these emperors, made by them to the gods, praying them to be granted a victory in the war, to which Domitian on Frieze A is shown as leaving, whereas in Vespasian's case on Frieze B this victory has already been granted - according to Simon (1963, 9, 10) these were the *vota* taken by the commander of an army *pro reditu*'. To this I will come back below.

Pollini (2017b) describes also the other 10 figures that appear on the Nollekens Relief in detail. I will only mention them shortly. For the following, see the numbering of these figures on here **Fig. 36**. As we have already heard above, the Emperor Domitian is **figure no. 6** on this relief.

Cf. Pollini (2017b, 113, Section: "Cult personnel"): the **figure no. 5** in the background is a *tibicen*, **nos. 2 and 10** are "young sacrificial attendants, *ministri*". They are precisely "paedagogiani (servile pages)", and belong to Domitian's household. Cf. pp. 114-115 (Section: "Lictors and a soldier"): two lictors (**nos. 1 and 4**) with "*fasces laureati* which imperial *fasces* bore usually on the occasion of a triumph [with n. 76; page 115] ... Both lictors wear low, common-style shoes (*calcei*) appropriate for freedmen, the class to which most lictors belonged [with n. 78]. Both are *paludati*, wearing not a civic toga but a tunic and a military cloak, fastened with a round *fibula*. **The same type of tunic and military cloak fastened with a *fibula* is worn over the shoulders of the background figure (no. 3), but he bears no *fasces* over his left shoulder and because of his beard** [with n. 79] **is probably a Roman soldier of a stock type** [my emphasis]".

In his **notes 76, 78-79**, Pollini provides references.

Pollini (2017b, 115, n. 79) writes:

"Traces of the beard of this figure [**no. 3, i.e.**, of the soldier] are barely visible in the present relief (fig. 12 [*i.e.*, the Nollekens Relief, cf. here **Fig. 36**, illustrating with this photograph its current, badly damaged state]). For the bearded soldiers in the 1st. c.[entury] A.D., see A. Bonanno, *Portraits and other heads on Roman historical relief up to the age of Septimius Severus* (BAR S6; Oxford 1976)".

*In the following, I allow myself a digression on the fact that wearing a beard could identify a man as a soldier - as for example Hadrian in all his portrait-types (cf. here Figs. 3; 29)*

Hans Rupprecht Goette (*Schwertbandbüsten der Kaiserzeit. Zu Bildtraditionen, Werkstattfragen und zur Benennung der Büste Inv. 4810 im Museum der bildenden Künste in Budapest und verwandter Werke. 1. Die Schwertbandbüste Inv. 4810 im Museum der Bildenden Künste*, 2021, 22-23) writes about the fact that wearing a beard may characterize a represented man as a soldier: "Daraus mag man schließen, daß der Portrait-Typus Δο [cf. here **Fig. 3**] des Hadrian bereits sehr viel älter war. Einen historischen Anlaß für ein Bildnis des Hadrian mit jugendlichen Zügen und einer militärisch attributierten Büste oder Gestalt könnte seine Auszeichnung durch Traian gewesen sein, die während des dakischen Feldzuges 105/106 stattfand. Er war damals zum *legatus leg. I Minerviae* ernannt worden [with n. 63]. Bedeutend war zudem die damalige Übergabe eines Siegelringes, die traditionell seit Beginn des Prinzipats, also schon unter Augustus und dann immer wieder durch weitere Kaiser - bei der hier genannten Übergabe soll es sich um ein Siegel des Nerva gehandelt haben, der es demnach bereits seinem Nachfolger Traian überge- [page 23] ben hatte -, als Zeichen der Ernennung zum Caesar verstanden werden konnte [with n. 64]. Freilich scheint auch in jenen früheren Jahren das Alter Hadrians (mehr als 30 Jahre) zu der im Bildnistypus dargestellten jungen Erscheinung nicht recht zu passen - wenn denn der ›schütterer‹ und daher als ›jugendlich‹ verstandene Bart überhaupt auf geringes Alter hinweisen soll. Denn es ist zu bedenken, daß damals (um 106 n. Chr.) bei Traian selbst noch die Unbärtigkeit modisch war; ein Bart wird in flavischer und traianischer Zeit vor allem in militärischen Zusammenhängen gezeigt - sei es bei Soldaten auf Staatsreliefs, sei es auch bei einigen Schwertbandbüsten [with n. 65]. Der noch nicht die Wangen, die Oberlippe und das Kinn vollständig bedeckende Bart Hadrians beim Bildnis im Typus Δο sollte deshalb wohl nicht ausschließlich als Zeichen seines Alters oder seines ›Nachfolgeanspruchs‹ im Sinne Linferts [1976] [with n. 62] interpretiert werden - beides mag durchaus mitschwingen. Wichtiger ist, daß sich hierin ein Hinweis auf den erfolgreichen Militär spiegelt, als der Hadrian nach der Verleihung der *dona militaria* wahrgenommen werden konnte und wohl auch sollte. Dies wurde ihm bei seiner auf das Heer gestützten Herrschaftübernahme im Sommer 117 n. Chr. nochmals nützlich".

For Goette's (2021, 22-23) above-quoted passage, discussed in more detail and comprising the quotation of his footnotes; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at:

*A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination .... Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva, and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron (Δο) (cf. here **Fig. 3**). With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz, with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz, with The Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen; at Chapter VI.2. Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron Δο (here **Fig. 3**), and at Chapters VI.2.1.-VI.2.4.*

For Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron Δο (here **Fig. 3**); cf. also below, at *The first Contribution by Angelo Geißen: Bemerkungen zur frühen Münzprägung Hadrians in Alexandria*; at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); and at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

**Only after this Chapter had already been published on our Webserver, have I been alerted to the article by Andreas Schmidt-Colinet ("Des Kaisers Bart. Überlegungen zur Propagandageschichte im Bildnis des römischen Kaisers Hadrian", 2005).**

In his English *abstract*, Andreas Schmidt-Colinet (2005, 342-342) writes:

"Differently from all his predecessors, the roman emperor Hadrian (117-134 [corr.: 138] A. D.) did wear a beard. This iconographical change usually is explained as an expression of the philhellenism of this emperor. That means, in adopting the beard of the greek philosophers Hadrian created the image of an intellectual

(`Zeitgesicht´). But, combining archaeological evi- [page 343] dence with written antique [corr.: ancient] sources it can be shown, that Hadrian does not wear the beard of greek philosophers but the beard of roman soldiers or officers, which he had wearred [corr.: worn] already before he became emperor. That means, the beard can be explained as an expression of military virtues and as the emperor's *hommage* [corr.: *homage*] to the roman army. Thus, the portrait of the emperor is an expression of his loyalty to the soldiers. It was this loyalty that Hadrian had to proove [corr.: prove] and to demonstrate especially because of his declared realistic policy of peace. Nevertheless, the `intellectuals´ could understand the beard of the emperor soon as an expression of his philhellenism and with this as part of the image of an intellectual".

Cf. Rainer Gries and Wolfgang Schmale (2005, 342-343: Chapter: "Zusammenfassungen in englischer Sprache - English Summaries"; Section: "Propaganda mit menschlichem Antlitz": "Andreas Schmidt-Colinet (Vienna) Des Kaisers Bart Überlegungen zur Propagandageschichte im Bildnis des Kaisers Hadrian").

Like many scholars before him, Schmidt-Colinet (2005) asks, why, after all his predecessors had been represented clean-shaven, Hadrian decided to be the first emperor wearing a beard. Contrary to those scholars, Schmidt-Colinet does not believe that Hadrian wanted to appear as a *graeculus*, and that for two reasons. Schmidt-Colinet (rightly) suspects that Hadrian was *a*) already wearing this kind of beard before he went to Greece; and *b*) the kind of beard Hadrian was wearing throughout his reign was not the long beard, worn by Greek philosophers (cf. A. SCHMIDT-COLINET' 2005, 102-104, his Abb. 5; 6), but instead the short-cut beard of Roman soldiers. For such beards of Roman soldiers, Schmidt-Colinet (2005, 112-114, Abb. 10a; 10b) illustrates the two bearded soldiers on Frieze A of the Cancelleria Reliefs: his Fig. 10a shows Domitian's bearded *armiger* (cf. here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 14**), and his Fig. 10b shows Domitian's bearded *primipilus* (cf. here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 8**).

**Schmidt-Colinet (2005), therefore, in my opinion convincingly, concludes that the Emperor Hadrian, by wearing in all his portraits this kind of short-cut beard, wanted to be characterized `as a soldier´.**

For the `soldier's beard´, Hadrian was wearing as emperor; cf. here **Fig. 29**, his portrait from Hierapydna at Istanbul. As we shall see below, also Schmidt-Colinet (2005, 115, Abb. 11) refers to this statue.

Schmidt-Colinet (2005, 95, Abb. 1a-b) begins his discussion of the question, why the Emperor Hadrian was represented bearded, with the first portrait-type created for him as emperor, called "Stazione Termini". Schmidt-Colinet ignores Hadrian's above-mentioned portrait-type *Delta Omikron Δο* (here **Fig. 3**), which, in my opinion, shows Hadrian as a circa 20 years old man. This first portrait-type of Hadrian represents the future emperor bearded (and endowed with a baldric !), and, as we have seen above, Hans Rupprecht Goette (2021, 22-23), therefore, rightly observes that already this portrait-type characterized Hadrian `as a soldier´.

Schmidt-Colinet (2005, 107) states that, according to his knowledge, there is so far no proof that Hadrian was already bearded before becoming emperor, although it is commonly assumed that he was wearing a beard since he had been an officer. To this Schmidt-Colinet adds that it would be interesting to know, whether or not Hadrian had decided to wear a beard before his first documented stay in Greece in AD 112: "In der Forschung wird allgemein angenommen, dass Hadrian bereits als Offizier vor seinem Regierungsantritt einen Bart getragen hat, was aus verschiedenen Gründen wahrscheinlich, aber schwer zu beweisen ist. Interessant wäre insbesondere zu wissen, ob Hadrian den Bart bereits trug, bevor er in unmittelbare Berührung mit dem Griechentum kam. Auch dies kann nur wahrscheinlich gemacht, aber nicht bewiesen werden. Der früheste eindeutige Beleg für Hadrians unmittelbaren Kontakt zu Griechenland ist sein inschriftlich für das Jahr 112 n. Chr. belegtes Archontat in Athen [with n. 24]".

In his **note 24**, Schmidt-Colinet writes: "FgrHist 2 B, 257 p. 1184: Felix Jacoby, Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker II B. 1929, 1184 Nr. 257 XXV; vgl. [vergleiche] Niemeyer, Hadrians Bart [1983], 42".

Anthony R. Birley (1996, 662) wrote about Hadrian: "In 112 he was archon at Athens, where he was honoured with a statue; its inscription (*ILS 308* = Smallwood [1966] 109) confirms the career in the SHA".



Concerning the questions, posed in Schmidt-Colinet's (2005, 107) above-quoted passage, it is now possible to answer them thanks to research summarized in this *Study* that was focused on Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ), here **Fig. 3**.

It is true, what Schmidt-Colinet assumed, that Hadrian, already as an officer, was wearing a beard. This assumption is proven by Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ), here **Fig. 3**. Also Colinet's second question can be answered thanks to this research: Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ), here **Fig. 3** definitely shows him *before* Hadrian's first documented sojourn in Greece in AD 112..

See again *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*; at Chapter VI.2. *Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron  $\Delta o$*  (here **Fig. 3**), and at Chapters VI.2.1.-VI.2.4.

Cf. Chapter VI.2.1. *H.R. Goette's (2021) discussion of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ )* (cf. here **Fig. 3**); cf. also the above-quoted passage from Goette (2021, 22-23): he suggests that Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron  $\Delta o$  (here **Fig. 3**) was created to commemorate the fact that in AD 106, during the Second Dacian War, the Emperor Trajan presented Hadrian with the signet ring, which he himself had received from Nerva on the occasion of his adoption by him [in late October or at the beginning of November of AD 97].

Cf. also Chapter VI.2.3. *My own interpretation of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ )* (cf. here **Fig. 3**). I believe that Hadrian looks in this portrait-type like a man who is circa 20 years old; he was an officer at that stage and his wearing of a baldric indicates that this portrait-type shows Hadrian in this capacity. I, therefore, suggest that this portrait-type was created at an unknown date to commemorate one or both interrelated events in Hadrian's military career in November of AD 97, when he was 21 years old. Either Hadrian's *Parforceritt* from Moesia *Inferior* to Mogontiacum (cf. here **Fig. 77**), in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva (this portrait-type may also have hinted at Hadrian's *adoption manquée* - his own 'missed' adoption: by Trajan, immediately before Nerva had adopted Trajan in late October or at the beginning of November of AD 97); and/ or the beginning of the resulting 20 year-long cooperation with Trajan (that ended with his adoption? by Trajan, and with his own accession: on the 9th and 11th August of AD 117, respectively).

For Hadrian's *Parforceritt* from Moesia *Inferior* to Mogontiacum (Mainz); cf. below, at *The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Zur kartographischen Visualisierung historischer Landschaftselemente zwischen Rhein und Schwarzem Meer von Augustus bis Hadrian* (cf. here **Fig. 77**).

Cf. also Chapter VI.2.4. *A. Claridge (2013) has identified the head of the "Stonethrower" in the battle Scene LXXII on Trajan's Column* (here **Figs. 4; 4.1**) as a copy of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ). I myself do not follow Claridge's identification of her "Stonethrower" with Hadrian, represented in his Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) portrait-type (here **Fig. 3**), but instead those scholars, who identify this man with a slinger from the *Baleares*. But Claridge's observation opens the question, why on earth Hadrian was presented in his first Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) portrait-type (here **Fig. 3**) with a kind of beard and a hair-cut that looks exactly like those of the slingers from the *Baleares*, of whom four appear on the Frieze of Trajan's Column (cf. here **Figs. 4; 4.1; 4.2; 4.3**).

For a short summary of all that; cf. below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

**As a result of his research, Schmidt-Colinet (2005, 114-115, with Abb. 11: "Hadrian, Panzerstatue aus Hierapydna, Istanbul, Archäologisches Museum ...") comes to the following conclusions :**

"Versteht man also die Ikonographie des Bartes Hadrians im Zusammenhang mit den Nachrichten in der antiken Lebensbeschreibung des Kaisers sowie im aktuellen politischen Kontext, so ergibt sich eine ganz klare Botschaft: **Hadrian hat den kurz gehaltenen "Kriegs-" oder "Soldatenbart", den er wahrscheinlich**

als ranghoher Offizier bereits vor seinem Regierungsantritt getragen hat, auch als Kaiser beibehalten ... [page 115] ... Vor diesem Hintergrund werden nun auch andere archäologische Zeugnisse verständlich, die für diesen "Friedenskaiser" sonst eigentlich ganz widersinnig erscheinen müssen: Dies sind zum einen die zahlreichen für Hadrian in den Provinzen errichteten Ehrenbögen, deren Charakter als Triumphbögen zum Teil eindeutig inschriftlich belegt ist. [with n. 34] **Zum anderen sind so auch die gerade für Hadrian besonders zahlreich überlieferten Panzerstatuen zu verstehen (Abb. 11 [cf. here Fig. 29]),** [with n. 35] **die diesen Kaiser eben im militärischen Kostüm zeigen. Besonders aufschlussreich erscheint in diesem Zusammenhang schließlich auch die erstaunliche Tatsache, dass gerade von diesem "friedfertigen Kaiser" mehr Panzerbüsten (Abb. 12) überliefert sind, als von allen übrigen römischen Kaisern [my emphasis]."**

In his **notes 34 and 35**, Schmidt-Colinet provides references and further discussions.

For Hadrian's above-mentioned cuirassed portrait-type, Schmidt-Colinet's Abb. 11, which is known from almost 30 replicas; cf. below, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here Fig. 29).

**Based on the recent research on Hadrian's first portrait-type *Delta Omikron Δο* (here Fig. 3), which is summarized in this *Study*, and Schmidt-Colinet's (2005) just-quoted observations referring to the portrait-types, which Hadrian commissioned when he was himself emperor, I have arrived above at the following conclusion, which I repeat here again (cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*) :**

"The Emperor Hadrian thus turns out to have presented himself since his first portrait-type 'as a soldier' (cf. here Fig. 3), and throughout his reign as (the first) 'Soldatenkaiser' (cf. here Fig. 29) - as I myself should like to call him therefore (avant la lettre obviously, and, as we should also add, with very different coiffures than the later real 'Soldatenkaiser')."

For the term 'Soldatenkaiser'; cf. Matthias Haake ("Zwischen Herrschertypus und Epochenbegriff. Eine begriffsgeschichtliche und wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Archäologie des Burkhardtschen Pseudoneologismus 'Soldatenkaiser'", 2022)".

Let's now return to our main subject.

Pollini (2017b, 115, Section: "Comparison with the Cancelleria Reliefs") writes:

"The sacrificial ceremony with paludate lictors should in the Nollekens Relief be understood as taking place outside the *pomerium* [with n. 80]". Cf. p. 117: "Similarly in the Nollekens Relief the elderly bearded and long-haired **figure (no. 8)** beside the emperor is identifiable as a personification of the Senate [with n. 87; my emphasis] ... Cf. p. 117: "Very similar to the Roma on both Cancelleria Reliefs is the foreground figure at right in the Nollekens Relief (**no. 11**) [my emphasis]". Cf. p. 118: "To the left and right of the personified Senate, **two figures in the background, nos. 7 and 9, are distinguished by their togas ... they are undoubtedly the two consuls** [my emphasis]". Cf. p. 118: "In the Nollekens Relief, the sacrifice performed by a togate emperor, accompanied by lictors in military dress bearing *fasces laureati*, which are found in the context of imperial triumphs, may bear reference to an actual sacrifice in a liminal space at the old entrance to the *pomerium* by the Porta Triumphalis, through which *triumphatores* passed (see below)".

To this I should like to add that the **figure** in the background, **no. 7**, is indeed wearing a *toga*, the lower seam of which, as well as its *lacinia* are visible at the bottom of the relief, immediately above the lettering "7". This *consul* is, therefore, obviously wearing a similar *toga* as Domitian (**figure 6**), who is standing right in front of him. Of the *toga* of the other *consul*, **figure no. 9**, we see the folds of the *umbo* on his left shoulder. For the names of the different parts of the *toga*, for example *lacinia* and *umbo*; cf. H.R. Goette (1990, 3, Fig. 2).

Cf. Pollini's (2017b, 124, Section: "Triumphal imagery and the scene of sacrifice in the Nollekens relief):  
"Though no trace of paint remains in the Nollekens Relief, the purple of Domitian's toga embroidered with gold would have made him stand out all the more from the other participants in the sacrifice [with n. 116]. **The small altar is shown in the relief, laden with offerings and without any sacrificial animals in evidence, would not have been used for the culminating sacrifice to Jupiter on the Capitoline, which was a bloody sacrifice [with n. 117]. Instead, it would allude to the sacrifice performed at the Porta Triumphalis, thereby recalling Domitian's triumph [my emphasis]**".

In his notes 116 and 117, Pollini provides references and further discussion.

**Let's now turn to 'the other relief' (cf. here Fig. 37), found by Bianchini in 1722 within the 'Aula Regia', together with the Nollekens Relief (cf. here Fig. 36).**

Cf. Pollini (2017b, 99): "Another Roman relief, with a mythological subject (fig. 5 [= here Fig. 37]), was excavated with the Nollekens Relief, but has never been discussed. This led me to question of where within Domitian's Palace the relief might originally have been displayed, and to suggest new ways to identifying certain areas of the palace, their use, and significance".

Cf. Pollini (2017b, 104, Section: "The other relief"):

"The subject of females in Greek dress (fig. 5 [= here Fig. 37]) might have been more appropriate for an area more personal to the emperor, such as the Adonea Peristyle. This was where Domitian once had a private meeting with the philosopher Apollonius of Tyana (Philost. 7.32) [with n. 24]. Apollonius was brought to Domitian as he was sacrificing to his patron goddess Athena/Minerva in the open 'courtyard of Adonis' ... The meeting may have taken place in either of the adjacent suites of rooms. **Because an association with Adonis would be appropriate for Venus and the three Graces, they are quite possibly the females represented in the relief [with n. 27; my emphasis]**".

In his notes 24 and 27, Pollini provides references and further discussion.

This fragmentary relief (cf. here Fig. 37) shows four female representations or divinities in Greek dress and has certainly contained more figures originally. Personally I therefore do not follow Pollini's interpretation of the relief, as representing Venus and the *three* Graces, nor as an appropriate decoration for this presumed 'Adonisgarden'.

And that for the following reasons, *a*) this relief was *not* found 'in or near' that part of Domitian's Palace, which Pollini (2017b, 101-102) identifies with the *Adonea*; and *b*) that part of Domitian's Palace, which Pollini identifies with the 'Adonisgarden', can certainly not be identified with the *Adonea* (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section II.).

**In order to answer the question, posed in the title of this Section : Does the design of the Nollekens Relief reflect the topographical context, for which Domitian had commissioned it? - we need to study Francesco Bianchini's account (1738) in more detail.**

Since I have asked myself, whether or not the area immediately surrounding the 'Aula Regia' of Domitian's 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana* could possibly be reflected in the specific design of the Nollekens Relief (cf. here Fig. 36), and considering at the same time the construction date of Domitian's Palace on the Palatine (AD 81 until around 92; cf. J. POLLINI 2017b, 120), I have studied below the temple podium right in front of the 'Domus Flavia', following those scholars, namely Filippo Coarelli (1996, 143, Fig. 97) and Vincenzo Graffeo and Patrizio Pensabene (2014; *id.* 2016-2017), who attribute it to the Temple of Iuppiter Invictus.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Sections IV.; VII.-X.

For the date of Domitian's Palace; cf. also Françoise Villedieu (2009, 246): "Domiziano era già diventato imperatore quando furono completati i lavori e la data del 92 suggerita dalle fonti per segnare la fine della costruzione del Palazzo Imperiale ...". - Unfortunately she does not quote those "fonti".

Provided this identification of the Temple of Iuppiter Invictus is correct (which I think it is), it is tempting to believe that Domitian, before leaving for this military campaign, had prayed to this Jupiter, asking him to grant him the victory. From this war Domitian has now returned victoriously, as the Nollekens Relief (cf. here **Fig. 36**) 'reports'. Provided it is likewise true that what we see in the Nollekens Relief is Domitian's sacrifice which preceded his (last) triumph, celebrated in AD 89, as Pollini (2017b, 120, 124) suggests. Consequently, the *rotulus*, Domitian is holding in his left hand on the Nollekens Relief, would probably contain his vows, which he had made *pro reditu* before leaving for this military campaign. These vows, Domitian will now fulfill in due course, since Iuppiter Invictus has not only granted him this victory, but has also 'brought him back'. Apart from celebrating Domitian's 'invincibility', the Nollekens Relief thus shows at the same time the emperor's *pietas* in regard to his guardian god, Iuppiter Invictus.

**That the 'Aula Regia', where the Nollekens Relief was found, celebrated Domitian's triumphs (only a specific one, or all of them, for example also that of AD 89?), and obviously also his contribution to Vespasian's victory in the civil wars of AD 68-69, is also indicated by other items of the exuberant decoration of this hall with relevant marble reliefs, as documented by Francesco Bianchini and Giovanni Battista Piranesi.**

**The above-quoted scholars, who discuss Domitian's Palace on the Palatine (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b; at Section II.), for example Claridge (1998, 132-133, Fig. 54, p. 135; *ead.* 2010, 146-147, Fig. 55, p. 148), Mar (2009, 255-261, Figs. 2-5), Coarelli (2012, 494-495), Pollini (2017b), Wulf-Rheidt (2020), Sojc (2021), Raimondi Cominesi and Stocks (2021; *ead.* 2023), Raimondi Cominesi (2022), or Alteri (2023) do not mention the fact that the marble decoration of the 'Aula Regia' referred also, or rather: predominantly, to Domitian's military victories. - To this I will come back below, in Chapter *The major results of his book on Domitian*.**

**Cf. Eugenio Polito (2009, 506) on the findings of those scholars, who studied the marble reliefs of the 'Aula Regia' that celebrate Domitian's military victories, for example the famous 'trophies Farnese' at Palazzo Farnese (cf. here Fig. 5.1) :**

**"109 Frammento di fregio con catasta d'armi dall'Aula Regia della Domus Flavia**

Da Roma, Palatino (scavi condotti da Pietro Rosa per conto di Napoleone III, 1861-1870)

Marmo lunense

Alt.[ezza] cm 24; largh.[ezza] cm 44; spess.[ore] cm 13 ...

Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma, Palatino, Magazzini del Criptoportico, inv. 379583  
90 d.C. circa

**Nella sontuosa decorazione della sala del trono di Domiziano, nota convenzionalmente come Aula Regia, spiccano i resti di un fregio appartenente al colonnato ad avancorpi che scandiva le pareti: la testata di ciascun avancorpo recava nel fregio una Vittoria intenta a ornare un trofeo emergente da una catasta di armi barbariche [*i.e.*, F. BIANCHINI 1738, 54, quoted *verbatim infra*, his Tab. IV. = here Fig. 9]. I due blocchi meglio noti, provenienti dagli scavi settecenteschi del Bianchini (1738, pp. 50-54 [quoted *verbatim infra*]), sono oggi conservati a Palazzo Farnese, dove occupano il centro delle due composizioni di marmi che ornano le nicchie della loggia terrena [cf. here Fig. 5.1]. Proprio in ragione di tale collocazione prestigiosa, questi straordinari esempi della scultura architettonica di età flavia sono entrati nella letteratura archeologica e storico-artistica con il nome convenzionale di "Trofei Farnese" (Durry 1921; [von] Blanckenhagen 1940, pp. 64-69, figg. 52-55, tavv. 17-18; Pensabene 1979). Altri elementi della stessa decorazione, inviati a Napoli insieme al resto della collezione farnesiana, ebbero invece minor fortuna**

(Durry 1935; [von] Blanckenhagen 1940, pp. 65, 68, 94-96, fig. 56, tav. 19 e fig. 88, tav. 32; Pensabene 1979, p. 77, fig. 12; Gasparri 2007, p. 174, nn. 217-218.

La tematica bellica era completata da splendide basi di colonna, il cui plinto era decorato con cataste di armi simili a quelle del fregio: ne resta traccia in un'incisione riprodotta dal Bianchini e in altri documenti grafici settecenteschi, che mostrano appunto una di queste basi, verosimilmente appartenente a una delle colonne che sorreggevano gli avancorpi (Bianchini 1738, p. 52 [quoted *verbatim infra*], tav. III [= here Fig. 9]; cfr. [De] Polignac 2000, pp. 645 sg., fig. 13) e apparentemente perduta. Durante gli scavi ottocenteschi condotti da Pietro Rosa vennero alla luce due ulteriori frammenti dei fregi con Vittorie e trofei: uno con una catasta d'armi, che qui si espone in rappresentanza dell'intera decorazione, l'altro con il resto di un trofeo, oggi irreperibile, ma testimoniato da fotografie d'epoca (Durry 1921, p. 307, fig. 2, fr.[ammento] D; cfr. Tomei 1999, p. 352, fig. 259), forse proprio quello che sormontava la catasta d'armi dell'altro frammento. Il frammento conservato fu verosimilmente ridotto a una sottile lastra e regolarizzato nei margini per consentirne l'inserimento in una dei pilastri ideati da Rosa ed eretti di fronte al Casino Farnese sul Palatino, oggi smontati: nonostante il cattivo stato della superficie, la notevole qualità tecnica (sia pure apparentemente inferiore a quella dei Trofei Farnese) e la peculiarità dell'iconografia bastano comunque a suggerire livello e natura della decorazione della sala del trono imperiale.

Il florilegio di armi barbariche rappresentate nel fregio appartiene al tipico repertorio convenzionale dell'epoca imperiale, destinato a evocare il dominio universale piuttosto che specifiche vittorie. I segmenti di fregio con Vittorie e trofei sono una delle testimonianze più significative di quella smania autocelebrativa che i contemporanei stigmatizzavano in Domiziano (Suet. *Dom.* XIII.7; cfr. D.C. LXVIII.1.1), e che lo avrebbe portato a disseminare Roma di monumenti evocanti i successi militari familiari e personali attraverso la raffigurazione delle armi conquistate: ne restano esemplari spettacolari, quali i trofei oggi affacciati sulla balaustrata della piazza del Campidoglio, noti come "Trofei di Mario" (Tedeschi Grisanti 1977), o i pilastri decorati sulle quattro facce da armi, conservati nel vestibolo degli Uffizi a Firenze, ma provenienti da Roma (Crous 1933), ma anche indizi non sottovalutabili di monumenti perduti, come quello del rilievo degli *Haterii*, sul quale l'arco definito *arcus ad Isis* reca un fregio con armi (LTUR I, p. 97, fig. 52).

#### Bibliografia

Durry 1921, pp. 305 sg., fig. 1, fr.[ammento] C [my emphasis]". - To Eugenio Polito's (2009, 506) above-quoted account I will come back below (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*)).

Polito (2009, 506) mentions in the above-quoted passage the indeed (probably) Domitianic relief from the tomb of the *Haterii*; cf. Häuber (2014a, 794). This relief represents six buildings in Rome, among others the "ARCUS AD ISIS", which the Senate had dedicated to Vespasian to celebrate his victories in the Great Jewish War (cf. *supra*, in Chapters IV.1.1.g); and Chapter IV.1.1.h), and here **Figs. 89; 90**).

For the Domitianic marble trophies, (erroneously) called "Trofei di Mario", likewise mentioned by Polito (2009, 506); cf. Häuber (2014a. 77 note 257, pp. 301, 326-327, esp. p. 327 with ns. 365, 366, providing references): "Pirro Ligorio [with n. 365] had already recognized that the two colossal Domitianic marble trophies, until 1590 decorating the *Nymphaeum Alexandri* [likewise called "Trofei di Mario"] on the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II [on the Esquiline in Rome] and then moved to the balustrade of the Piazza del Campidoglio, had been erroneously identified since the Middle Ages as the trophies erected by C. Marius [with n. 366]".

The marble relief, illustrated by Polito (2009, 506: "109 Frammento di fregio con catasta d'armi dall'Aula Regia della *Domus Flavia*") in the above-quoted account, has again been on display in the exhibition *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore*; cf. Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi, and Maria Paola Del Moro (2023, 48, opera no. 22):

"[Opera] 22. Frammento di fregio con catasta d'armi

Marmo lunense

Alt. cm 24; largh. cm 44; prof. cm 13

90 d.C. ca.

Da Roma, Palatino, Aula Regia della *Domus Flavia*,

scavi condotti da Pietro Rosa per conto  
di Napoleone III: 1861-1870  
Roma, Parco Archeologico  
del Colosseo, Museo Palatino,  
inv. 379583".

**In the following, I quote François de Polignac's (2009, 507), already mentioned description of an architectural marble, found within the 'Aula Regia'. This fragment of a frieze, representing "peopled scrolls", belonged to an architrave (of which also other remains are known) was found within the 'Aula Regia'.**

**De Polignac attributes this fragment to the "fregio maggiore" of the "primo ordine", the lower colonnade of the interior order of the 'Aula Regia'. This architrave has also been documented by reconstruction drawings. De Polignac describes, in addition to this, two large fragments of an architrave in the Museo Archeologica Nazionale di Napoli (ex collection Farnese) with a very similar frieze of "peopled scrolls". These fragments were likewise found on the Palatine, and de Polignac attributes them to the "fregio minore" (i.e., the "secondo ordine", the upper colonnade) of the interior order of the 'Aula Regia'. Cf. François de Polignac (2009, 507), cat. no.**

#### **"110 Frammento di fregio architettonico**

Da Roma. *Domus Flavia*. Scavi Farnese 1724-1730

Marmo

Alt.[ezza] cm 65; largh.[ezza] cm 120; spess.[ore] cm 30

Soprintendenza Speciale per i beni Archeologici di Roma, Palatino.

Magazzino del Criptoportico. Ambiente V B. inv. 414259/12536

Età flavia, regno di Domiziano

(81-96 d.C)

Questo tipo di fregio, cosiddetto "Peopled Scrolls", con putti o eroti stanti in piedi e circondati da animali affrontati (cervi, tori, pantere ...) tra cespugli e racemi d'acanto, è molto diffuso nell'arte flavia. Si vedono a destra i due piedi di un putto quasi interamente sparito. L'animale nell'atto di saltare verso sinistra tra racemi d'acanto è molto probabilmente un cervide, caratterizzato dalla coda corta. Una parte dell'architrave, conservata, presenta un listello e astragali al disotto del fregio. Da un disegno molto accurato che l'architetto Charles-Louis Clérisseau (Auteuil 1721 - Parigi 1820) fece di questo pezzo (Ermitage, Gabinetto dei Disegni, Collezione Clérisseau, inv. 2160) possiamo vedere che un uccello, oggi poco riconoscibile, figura sul fogliame all'estremità sinistra, davanti al cervide. Questo frammento è particolarmente interessante per la sua provenienza. Come dimostra il disegno di Clérisseau appartenente a un gruppo ben individuato di studi che l'artista francese fece negli anni 1750-1760 dei pezzi architettonici della *Domus Flavia*, scoperti nel corso degli scavi Farnese sul Palatino (1724-1730) e allora raccolti negli Orti Farnesiani sul Palatino, il fregio faceva parte della decorazione architettonica del palazzo di Domiziano, e più precisamente dell'Aula Regia, dalla quale provenono quasi tutti i frammenti rinvenuti nel corso di tali scavi. Le dimensioni e la tipologia dei frammenti permettono di riconoscere un elemento del "fregio maggiore" che correva lungo le pareti dell'Aula in corrispondenza col primo ordine di colonne e di avancorpi riconosciuto come "Trofei Farnese" [cf. here Fig. 5.1], sopra i quali si alzava un secondo ordine.

Molti degli elementi architettonici della *Domus Flavia* furono trasferiti a Napoli all'inizio dell'Ottocento con la collezione Farnese : il nostro è uno dei pochissimo rimasti sul Palatino. Anche se sono di un tipo e di misure leggermente diversi, due grandi frammenti di fregi, oggi visibili nelle collezioni del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli e anch'essi provenienti dal Palatino (Blanckenhagen, fig. 80, tav. 28 [corr.: 29]; Toynbee, Ward Perkins, p. 15, tav. VIII.1) rappresentano un'altra variante dello stesso motivo e potrebbero corrispondere al "fregio minore", in corrispondenza con l'ordine superiore.

Clérisseau disegnò anche una restituzione di questo frammento, con l'erote alato in posizione frontale a destra, a sinistra, l'uccello su un cespuglio d'acanto (Ermitage, Gabinetto dei Disegni, Collezione Clérisseau,

inv. 2146). Una copia della sua restituzione fu acquistata dall'architetto inglese James Adam (Soane's Museum, *Collezione J. Adam*, vol XXVI, n. 102).

Il contesto del rirovamento e la qualità dell'esecuzione, che suscitò grande interesse negli artisti di ambiente neoclassico confermano la datazione del frammento al regno di Domiziano.

#### *Bibliografia*

[von] Blanckenhagen 1940, p. 65, I. 1f Tav. 20, fig. 58; Toynbee, Ward Perkins 1950, p. 11, tav. IX.3; Schörner 1995, p. 172, n. 227a, tav. 63.2".

Cf. Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen (21st March 1909 Riga - 6th March 1990 New York City).

The complete reference to the above-quoted architectural fragment is: von Blanckenhagen (1940, 64: "Kapitel V. Ornamente der Aula Regia des Domitianspalastes auf dem Palatin";

p. 65: "I. Domitianische Bestandteile

Historisch gesicherte Fragmente"

(then follows a list of these architectural fragments, all of which von Blanckenhagen illustrates).

After his points a) and b): he adds: "An diese, durch Waffendetails datierte und den Grabungsbericht Bianchinis für die Aula gesicherte Fragmente schließen sich als weitere Bestandteile durch Form und Größe an: ...

f) Friesstück, Fragment einer Platte; Teil einer Ranke mit Tier, "Peristyl", Taf. 20 Abb. 58 [= here **Fig. 4.1.2**] des Flavierpalastes. Photo Dr. Fuhrmann".

For the fragment (here **Fig. 4.1.2**); cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section *III.*; at point 5.) and *infra*, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

**As already mentioned above, I imagine that Gordon Leith (1913) has created the reconstruction of the interior order of the 'Triclinium' (here Fig. 110) as follows. He has drawn the extant fragments of the "fregio maggiore" and of the "fregio minore", as de Polignac (2009, 507) refers to the friezes of the architraves of the "primo ordine" and the "secondo ordine" of the interior order of the 'Aula Regia', both of which were, in his opinion, decorated with "peopled scrolls". Gordon Leith may also have copied the reconstruction drawings of the "fregio minore" of the interior order of the 'Aula Regia'. Finally he has integrated the resulting reconstruction of an entire colonnade into his reconstruction of the 'Triclinium' (cf. here Fig. 110) (!).**

**Bianchini (1738, 50-54) described the unique size and decoration of the 'Aula Regia':**

"... Fu intrapreso di scoprire il di dentro delle muraglie circa l'anno 1720 ; e si riconobbero in quel recinto tre vaste Sale [*i.e.*, the 'Basilica', the 'Aula Regia' and the 'Lararium'; cf. here **Figs. 8; 8.1; 58; 73; 108**] : la principale [*i.e.*, the 'Aula Regia'] delle quali è nel mezzo , ed essendo scoperta interamente , fece vedere una delle più magnifiche strutture , che siano state finora vedute . La pianta [cf. on the border: "Tav. II." = here **Fig. 8**] , che qui ne apporto fedelmente formata sulle misure che possono riscontrarsi nè muri stessi oggidì liberati dall'ingombro delle ruine ; dimostra che stendevasi per lunghezza cento cinquanta piedi Romani , che sono 200 palmi in circa d'Architetto ; e per larghezza piedi cento , cioè palmi 132. Supera perciò di palmi in larghezza la nave maggiore della Basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano : il che basta a formare qualche idea della magnificenza di sua struttura . Il vasto sito di questo ampio Salone è così distribuito in grandi nicchie maestosamente cavate nelle pareti , e distinte l'una dall'altra per colonne proporzionate a così gran tratto ; che , siccome in ampiezza non vi ha salone , che lo superi ; così in simmetria e magnificenza non vi ha struttura, che lo agguagli ... L'ingresso principale situato nel mezzo della facciata conserva per di dentro la distribuzione delle nicchie indicate . Le due Colonne, che [page 52] che distinguono la nicchia dell'ingresso dalle vicine ; sono di giallo antico , scannellate , alte palmi 28 dall' imo scapo alla cimasa , e grosse a proporzione di quell'altezza , cioè palmi 3 ¼ . Erano sostenute da Basi di marmo Greco detto saligno , le più ricche di ornamenti , che siano mai state osservate . Ne apportiamo qui la figura [cf. on the border: "Tav. III." = here **Fig. 9**] , che dimostra il dado inferiore , o sia plinto , tutto ricoperto da spoglie militari , a guisa di trofei giudiciosamente adattate a quel sito , e scolpite , quanto finamente potrebbero formarsi in cera . Gli altri membri della base ricevono con pari giudizio e delicatezza ornamenti proprj e corrispondenti :

perciocché il toro inferiore è composto da una corona civica nobilmente fasciata nelle sue frondi di quercia e ghiande da una benda , che le circonda e tiene raccolte . La scozia inferiore è coronata da gentili legature di fogliami di acanto , parte raccolti nel boccio , parte sparsi nel calice , tutte vagamente intrecciate . Gli astragali vengono ricoperti da frondi d'olmo , sottilmente escavate a forza di trapano in tutto il giro . La scozia superiore è vestita di fogli d'ellera [*corr.* edera ?] tramezzata con le sue bacche . Ed il toro superiore da un altro ordine di foglia di acanto , sostenute al di sotto con altre lisce , che mirabilmente si accordano . Corrispondente al lavoro delle basi vedesi quello de' capitelli, dell'architrave , del fregio , e della cornice : tut-te [page 54] te scolture de'migliori maestri delle secolo più colto, che fu quello de'dodeci primi Cesari : essendo formate , come appresso vedremo , in tempo di Domiziano . A fine di dare un saggio di tutti questi ornamenti, si rappresenta quella parte di Fregio [cf. on the border: "Tav. IV. = here **Fig. 9**], che soprastava ad uno de' capitelli delle colonne ; nella quale vedesi una Vittoria alata coronare un trofeo composto di spoglie militari con altre appiedi elegantemente intrecciate : tra le quali si possono riconoscere le proprie ancor de' Germani da' berrettoni tessuti di fiocchi , o di lana o di capelli , ad uso della nazione [the emphasis was made by the author himself]".

The caption of Bianchini's plan of the 'Aula Regia' (cf. *id.* 1738, Tab. II. [= here **Fig. 8**]) reads: "Ichnographia Basilicae Palatinae sive Aula Regiae a Domitiano Principe in Palatio Caesarum instauratae nuper verò detectae intra Hortos Farnesianos anno MDCCXXIV".

The illustration (here **Fig. 8**) shows Bianchini's measured ground-plan of the 'Aula Regia', with indication of a scale. On the left hand side (*i.e.*, in reality in the north) appears the main entrance to this hall, marked with the letters "a" and "b", which is flanked by the bases of the columns "c" and "c", one of which is described in Bianchini's above-quoted text and illustrated on his Tab. III (= here **Fig. 9**). Next to the letterings "h" and "i", which appear close to the entrance leading there, is written: "Aditus ad Hortos Adonios, a Domitiano frequentatos". Compare here **Fig. 8.1**, which shows Bianchini's plan Tab. II integrated into our map **Fig. 58**, in order to demonstrate that Bianchini's original plan is not oriented according to 'Grid North' as the current cadastre and as our maps, which are based on the photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale that comprise the cadastre. For a discussion; cf. below, at *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

The caption of Bianchini (1738, Tab. III. [= here **Fig. 9**]) reads: "Bases antiqui operis è candido marmore elegantissimae sculptae , quae in Basilica praecipuâ , sive Aulâ Regiâ Domûs Tiberianae , in Palatio Caesarum à Domitiano instauratâ fulciebant columnas ad ejus ingressum interiùs sitas è flavo marmore probatissimo (vulgo Giallo antico) , assurgentes ad altitudinem pedum XVIII , ibidem reperta cum columnis anno MDCCXXIV . Figura ad mensuram p[r]ototypi exacta unius basis dimidium fideliter rappresentat Balthassar Gabbuggiani delin. et sculp."

Note that in the above-quoted caption of his Tab. III (= here **Fig. 9**), Bianchini (erroneously) identifies that part of Domitian's Palace, to which the 'Aula Regia' belongs, as the 'Domus Tiberiana', which, in reality, is located elsewhere (at the north-west corner) of the Palatine; cf. here **Figs. 58; 73**, labels: PALATIUM; "DOMUS TIBERIANA".

The caption of Bianchini (1738, Tab. IV. [= here **Fig. 9**]) reads: "Trabeatio, di cuius zophoro dictum est pag: 55, item ostiorum maxime aule ornamenta".

As we have seen in the above-quoted passage, Bianchini (1738, 50-54) was especially interested in the weapons appearing on the marble reliefs, he discussed (cf. his Tab. III; IV. [= here **Fig. 9**]), attributing the represented trophies, *inter alia* woolen caps, to Germanic Peoples. Given the extremely high quality of those marbles, it is certainly worth while to study this topic in depth. - As I should only later realize, Joachim Raeder (2010, 141, quoted in more detail *verbatim infra*, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*) seems so far to be the only scholar, who has identified those weapons ("die auf die Dakerkriege Domitians verweisen"), but he does not explain, how he has arrived at this judgement.



Some of the reliefs representing trophies, 'excavated' and documented by Bianchini (1738) in the 'Aula Regia', are still extant and on display in the cortile of Palazzo Farnese at Rome, the famous 'Farnese trophies' (cf. here Fig. 5.1). They were also drawn by Giovanni Battista Piranesi; cf. Patrizio Pensabene (1979). Cf. M. DURRY 1921; P.H. von BLANCKENHAGEN 1940; and C. GASPARRY 2007, summarized by E. POLITO 2009, 509, quoted *verbatim supra*).

**Bianchini (1738, 50-52) described and illustrated (cf. his Tab. II; III. [= here Figs. 8; 9]) also the fact that the bases of those two marble columns, flanking the main entrance to the 'Aula Regia' (here Figs. 8; 8.1), were decorated with trophies and with the *corona civica*. This iconographic detail may perhaps be read as Domitian's claim to have had an important part in his father Vespasian's victory in the civil war of AD 68/69. Rita Paris (1994b, 82-83, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a)), actually gives Domitian credit for that. - So now also Agnese Pergola (2023, 142, likewise quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3a)).**

To this I will come back below (cf. *infra*, in Chapter VI.3.; *Addition: My own tentative suggestion, to which monument or building the Cancellaria Reliefs may have belonged, and a discussion of their possible date*). For a possible different reason, that could explain, why the *corona civica* was represented on those two marble column bases in Domitian's 'Aula Regia', which flanked the main entrance to this 'reception hall' (here Figs. 8; 8.1; 9); cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in Appendix VI.; at Section III.

In order to be able to understand the scenario developed here, we must remember the fact that the ground-plan of the *domus* 'pubblica' of Augustus was certainly much smaller than the ground-plan of Domitian's (later) *Domus Flavia*/ *Domus Augustana*. Apart from that, this hypothesis has two more prerequisites:

provided: *a*) Augustus' *domus* 'pubblica' (as Coarelli (2012, 397-399, 415-416) refers to the here-so-called (real) House of Augustus), had actually stood at the site of Domitian's (later) 'Domus Flavia'/ *Domus Augustana*, and that its entrance had been oriented to the north, as Coarelli (*op.cit.*) suggests; and *b*) that Domitian's *Aula Regia*' (the reception hall !) in his 'Domus Flavia'/ *Domus Augustana* (here Figs. 8; 8.1; 58; 73) had been erected at the precise site of Augustus's *domus* (with its *vestibulum* !) - as I myself suggest here.

If my just-mentioned points *a*) and *b*) are true, those marble column bases in the 'Aula Regia' of Domitian's Palace, which were decorated with a *corona civica* (cf. here Figs. 8; 9), may have reminded the visitors of Augustus's *real corona civica*: because that had been on display in the *vestibulum* of this *domus* of Augustus, above the doorway of the *domus* (here Fig. 35).

For Augustus' *corona civica*; cf. also *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a).

**Bianchini (1738, p. 52, quoted *verbatim supra*, at the discussion of his Tab. III [= here Fig. 9]) called those above-mentioned column bases: "Basi di marmo Greco detto saligno , le più ricche di ornamenti, che siano mai state osservate [my emphasis]", which, according to Eugenio Polito (2009, 506) do not exist any more.**

Fortunately, Paolo Liverani (1989, 36, cat. no. 15: "base di colonna", inv. no. 36402) publishes a marble column base from the theatre at Domitian's Villa, called *Albanum* at Castel Gandolfo, on display in the *Antiquarium di Villa Barberini a Castel Gandolfo*, which is likewise very richly decorated, *inter alia* also with a *corona civica*, illustrating this column base with a photograph. Liverani himself does not compare this column base with those from the 'Aula Regia' (cf. here Fig. 9), discussed here.

For Domitian's *Albanum*; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.4.b) *Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the Templum Pacis, and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum.*

**This opulent marble decoration in the 'Aula Regia', celebrating Domitian's victories, served an important purpose. By borrowing Pollini's (2017b, 126) thoughts, expressed in the final passage of his article: "... Military victories leading to triumphs were a basis for deification after death", which I chose as the epigraph of this chapter, I suggest the following :**

Domitian's '*Domus Flavia*'/ *Domus Augustana* with its '*Aula Regia*' right opposite the Temple of Iuppiter Invictus, decorated as it was with the Nollekens Relief (here **Fig. 36**), which, together with the other above-mentioned items of its 'triumphal' decoration (cf. here **Fig. 9**), celebrated Domitian's 'invincibility' - had been orchestrated by Domitian in order to pave the way for his own divinization after his death.

**Only after having finished writing this Chapter did I realize that Antony Augoustakis and Emma Buckley (2021, 160-161) have expressed in a different context precisely the same thought as Pollini (2017b, 127) in the just-quoted passage by discussing Silius Italicus (*Pun.* 3.607-629) :**

**"Silius Italicus, author of the seventeen books *Punica*, does not even directly address the Emperor in the poem, but - via the prophetic voice of Jupiter - also praises Domitian as distinguished poet and warrior, as part of the larger praise of the Flavian dynasty. [with n. 11; my emphasis]**

This extract gives a flavour of the encomium [with n. 12; follows the quotation of Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 3.612-629, in Latin and in English translation, ending with the following passage, and adding to this their own comments] :

**... Then, son of gods and father of gods to be [i.e., Domitian], rule the lands blessed with paternal sway. The house of heaven will receive you in old age and Quirinus will yield his throne to you, as your father and brother place you in their midst : and the temple of your starry son will gleam next to you [my emphasis]. Voiced by the king of the gods and arbiter of fate, who maps Rome's rise to greatness ... to Domitian's eventual apotheosis, these words are not just embedded panegyric of an emperor, impressive though he is in eloquence and ability to bring peace. Rather, Silius makes Domitian's accomplishments, future military victories, and eventual apotheosis the climax and *telos* of all Roman history, an up-to-date iteration on an ideology of epic first programmed by Virgil for Augustus [with n. 13; my emphasis]"**.

In their **notes 11-13**, Augoustakis and Buckley provide references and further discussions.

Let's now return to the Nollekens Relief.

In order to fully understand the meaning of the Nollekens Relief (here **Fig. 36**) and that of the 'other relief' (here **Fig. 37**) in its original context, we should, of course, study Domitian's entire masterplan (or possibly even the *Gesamtkunstwerk*) of his '*Domus Flavia*'/ *Domus Augustana*, an analysis which I cannot possibly provide here. At least some crucial details of the overall picture have already been discussed in this *Study*. We have for example heard below (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*), that Domitian had intentionally built his Palace at the site of the hut of Faustulus, where Romulus was raised, and where, therefore already Augustus (and later Nero) had chosen to reside - and that the latter fact had been immortalized by the name of Domitian's Palace : *Domus Augustana*. See also *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section *III.*, at point **4.**).

Neither should we forget that some monuments functioned as a kind of prelude to his stately home :

Domitian's Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia* (cf. here **Figs. 120; 58**), the Domitianic Arch, which stood opposite the façade of the '*Domus Flavia*', and the Temple of Iuppiter Invictus, immediately adjacent to this arch (cf. below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Sections *IV.*; *VII.-X.*).

The Temple of Iuppiter Invictus had stood at this site since the Republican period, but my guess is that Domitian or his architect Rabirius had cleverly integrated it into the overall statement of this *Gesamtkunstwerk* that aimed, of course, also at commemorating those of his family, but predominantly his own achievements. In addition to this, it is tempting to follow Filippo Coarelli (2012, 283) in assuming that

this Domitianic Arch was dedicated to *Divus Vespasianus*. See for a *verbatim* quotation and discussions below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*, at Section VII.

If true, and considering at the same time that this Arch of *Divus Titus* and this presumed Arch of *Divus Vespasianus* stood on the road that visitors to Domitian's Palace were obliged to take, the choices to erect these two arches there were at the same time a clear statement that his own reign was based on that of his two immediate predecessors, *Divus Vespasianus* and *Divus Titus*, as already stated by Coarelli (2012, 483, quoted *verbatim infra*, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*). If this arch in front of the '*Domus Flavia*'/ *Domus Augustana* was indeed dedicated to *Divus Vespasianus*, we may also wonder, what content Domitian might have chosen for the marble decoration of that monument.

**Fig. 120. The Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia* in Rome. Cf. Paolo Liverani (2021, 83): "We can exemplify what is at stake by examining the decoration on the Arch of Titus ... a monument whose construction was planned by the Roman Senate shortly before the premature death of Titus, but which had to be built and finished under his brother and successor, Domitian". Cf. Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 183): "The inscription on the attic of the Arch of Titus indicates that the monument was erected by the senate and people of Rome in honour of the divine Titus, son of the divine Vespasian".**

For discussions: cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III., at point 2.); below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.f*).

The passageway of the Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia* is decorated with two famous relief panels, the "spoils scene" and the "triumph relief", and at the apex of the vault of this arch there is a relief representing "the apotheosis of Titus"; cf. Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 187, Fig. 155, p. 188, Fig. 156, p. 189, Fig. 157). On the 'spoils scene' stands at the far right an arch (*i.e.*, the *Porta Triumphalis*), through which the triumphal procession is marching, This arch is crowned by what seems to be statue groups. The centre of those statues is occupied by Domitian on horseback, accompanied to his left by his walking personal patron goddess Minerva, both are flanked on either side by the triumphal quadrigas of Vespasian and Titus, each of which pulled by four horses; cf. Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 185, Fig. 155).

Photos: Courtesy Franz Xaver Schütz (4-IX-2019). Cf. now Liverani (2023, 115) for the above-quoted passage (*i.e.*, the Italian version of his essay of 2021).

For further discussion; cf. below, at n. 477, in Chapter VI.3.; in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.f*).

For my hypothesis that the Cancellaria Reliefs (here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**) could have decorated this Arch of Vespasian, or rather the third arch, which Coarelli (2009b, 88; *id.* 2012, 283, 481-483, 486-491) assumes at the "Porta principale" of Domitian's Palace *Domus Augustana* (here **Figs. 8.1; 58**), which, according to Coarelli, was dedicated to Domitian himself:

Cf. *infra*, at Chapter VI.3. *Summary of my own hypotheses concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs presented in this Study; Addition: My own tentative suggestion, to which monument or building the Cancellaria Reliefs may have belonged, and a discussion of their possible date; at Chapters The major results of this book on Domitian; at point 4.); at The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps; and infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.f*).

**Post scriptum. Some observations concerning Domitian's Palace on the Palatine '*Domus Flavia*'/ *Domus Augustana* by Roberta Alteri ("La reggia del Dominus et deus sul Palatino: cenni sul linguaggio architettonico", 2023)**

Alteri's essay (2023) is published in the exhibition-catalogue *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore*, edited by Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi and Maria Paola Del Moro (2023), which reached me only after I had finished writing the entire manuscript of the first volume of this *Study* on Domitian.

Concerning Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, Alteri adds further information that was so far in part unknown to me, which is why I quote in the following the relevant passages from her text.

**Roberta Alteri (2023, 29-30) writes about Domitian's Palace on the Palatine :**

**"Il palazzo di Domiziano** si configurava pertanto come un grandioso complesso architettonico nel cuore dell'*Urbs*, **degno di un *dominus et deus***, che si sviluppava verticalmente fino a 50 metri di altezza ed era percepito dai suoi abitanti *"par domus est caelo"* (Mart. 8, 36, 12). La facciata principale era prospiciente alla cd. [cosiddetta] *Area Palatina* [with n. 5], raggiungibile [page 30] **salendo il cd.** [cosiddetto] **Clivo Palatino che, ai piedi dell'Arco di Tito, si staccava perpendicolarmente dal tracciato della Sacra Via** per risalire le pendici settentrionali del colle. Questo, fiancheggiato da *tabernae* con portici sulla fronte, passava al di sotto di **un altro arco ad unico fornice, fatto erigere dallo stesso Domiziano, forse come accesso monumentale alla sua residenza** [with n. 6]. **Non è escluso che l'ingresso del palazzo fosse nella zona della cd.** [cosiddetta] *No man's land* [with n. 7].

La cd. [cosiddetta] *Domus Flavia* si articolava intorno a un grande peristilio con portico su quattro lati, provvisto di una vasca centrale ottagonale [*i.e.*, the labyrinth fountain; cf. here Fig. 8.2] inquadrata in un rettangolo, ricostruibile, almeno per tre lati, con due ordini sovrapposti [with n. 8], **mentre il lato sud era aperto verso il Triclinio, un enorme ambiente con abside e con triplo ordine corinzio** di colonne libere con fusti monolitici in granito del Foro, collocate a ridosso della parete. A nord del peristilio si aprivano le grandi aule destinate alle udienze: **L'Aula Regia al centro**, la Basilica, e il Larario. **L'Aula Regia in particolare, a pianta rettangolare con nicchie sui quattro lati e un'abside al centro del lato di fondo, destinata verosimilmente all'imperatore, è stata ricostruita con tre ordini di colonne sovrapposte** che sostenevano trabeazioni sporgenti e rientranti [with n. 9] ...

Il complesso palaziale si articolava pertanto in giganteschi ambienti ... Questi ...rientrano in un più ampio e unitario programma ornamentale e definiscono il *decor* ... ispirato al noto gigantismo domiziano e rispondente alla funzione dei singoli spazi [with n. 14; my emphasis]".

Cf. p. 34: **"Questa ricchezza e particolarità delle varianti presenti nella residenza domiziana assurgeranno a modello e diventeranno prototipo delle botteghe dei periodi successivi, che ripeteranno lo stile di Domiziano, specialmente quello palaziale, ancora nel II e nel III secolo d.C.** [with n. 21; my emphasis]".

In her **note 5**, Alteri writes: "Qui forse si radunava la clientela dell'imperatore per la cerimonia della *salutatio matutina*: Cassatella 1986, p. 523; *LTUR* I, 1993, p. 119, s.v. *Area Palatina*, [M. Torelli]; Mar 2009".

In her **note 6**, she writes: "Coarelli 2009b, p. 88; Mar 2009, p. 258; Coarelli 2012, p. 482".

In her **note 7**, she writes: "Finsen 1969, pp. 9-10; Wulf-Rheidt, Sojc 2009, p. 269".

In her **note 8**, she writes: "Gibson, Delane [*corr.*: DeLaine], Claridge 1994, pp. 67 ss.; **Caprioli 2021, p. 81 propone la ricostruzione del primo ordine con fusti in portasanta e pavonazzetto e capitelli compositi, e del secondo con capitelli compositi e corinzi** [my emphasis]".

In her **note 9**, she writes: "**Caprioli 2021, p. 80: il primo ordine presentava fusti in giallo antico e pavonazzetto, il secondo fusti in giallo antico e capitelli compositi, il terzo fusti in granito grigio del Foro su cui poggiavano probabilmente capitelli corinzi** [my emphasis]".

In her **note 14**, she writes: "Sull'argomento vd. [vedi] Caprioli 2021, pp. 71-93. **I frammenti di decorazione architettonica della *Domus Augustana* sono stati oggetto di un lungo lavoro di analisi e studio, ancora in corso, da parte del professor P. Pensabene e della dottoressa F. Caprioli** [my emphasis]".

In her **note 21**, she writes: Pensabene, Caprioli 2009; Caprioli 2021".

**To the above-quoted passages from Roberta Alteri's article (2023), I should like to add some comments :**

a) Concerning Domitian's Palace, Alteri (2023, 29) addresses the old, but, as she rightly states, erroneous division of this Palace, which in antiquity was referred to as *Domus Augustana*, into an (alleged) public part in the west, called '*Domus Flavia*' and an (alleged) private part in the east, called *Domus Augustana*. The term

'*Domus Flavia*' is post-antique. For detailed discussions of this subject; cf. above in this Chapter V.1.3.b); at Section II.; and below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

Although the term '*Domus Flavia*' is definitely wrong, I myself still label on our maps (cf. here **Figs. 8.1; 58; 73**) the relevant part of Domitian's Palace with this term, but write it with inverted commas: "DOMUS FLAVIA", in order to indicate "that this is the so-called *Domus Flavia*". The reason being that the term '*Domus Flavia*' is still used by scholars, even by those, who know that it is wrong.

b) Alteri herself (2023), by choosing this title for her account (see also a passage on her p. 29, quoted *verbatim* above), still follows the ancient reproach, according to which Domitian had demanded to be addressed in public as '*dominus et deus*'. As we have seen above, in Chapter *Preamble*; at Section II., it has, in my opinion, been demonstrated by several scholars that this reproach is unfounded.

c) For the two arches, mentioned by Alteri (2023, 30): the Arch of *Divus Vespasianus*?, as suggested by Filippo Coarelli (2009b; 2012), standing in front of the façade of the '*Domus Flavia*', and the Arch of Domitian, which likewise according to Coarelli (2009b; 2012) stood at the "Porta principale" of Domitian's *Domus Augustana*/ the *No man's land* (here **Figs. 8.1; 58; 78**); cf. above, in this Section III. of Chapter V.1.i.3.b); and below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; at point 4.) Filippo Coarelli's (2009b, 88; *id.* 2012, 283, 286-291, 481-483) suggestion that Domitian could have dedicated the Arcus Domitiani on the Palatine to his father, Divus Vespasianus; and at *The Arcus Domitiani/ of Divus Vespasianus ?*, the Arch of Domitian at the main entrance of his Palace on the Palatine, the *Domus Augustana*, and Domitian's (alleged) Temple of Iuppiter Propugnator, the Temple of Iuppiter Invictus in front of his *Domus Augustana*.

d) For the large labyrinth fountain in the '*Peristyle*' of the '*Domus Flavia*'; cf. here **Figs. 8.1; 8.2: 58; 73**; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III., at point 4.); and below, at *The second Contribution by Eugenio La Rocca: Una nota sul labirinto del Palatino*.

e) Alteri (2023, 31 n. 14) mentions still ongoing and in part unpublished research on the architectural fragments, found in Domitian's *Domus Augustana*, that has been conducted since a long time by Patrizio Pensabene and Francesca Caprioli.

My thanks are due to Patrizio Pensabene for writing me by E-mail of 25th March 2023, that his book on the Flavian Palaces on the Palatine, that he has written together with Francesca Caprioli (*Par domus est caelo*, 2023), is in the press. The title of their book is a line by Martial (8,36,12), which refers to Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, and that has also been mentioned by Alteri (2023, 30).

#### **Chapter V.1.i.3.b); Section IV.). *The Nollekens Relief, Domitian's sacrifice at his Porta Triumphalis, and the controversy concerning the location of this building***

In my opinion, Pollini (2017b, 120 with n. 106) convincingly suggests that the Nollekens Relief (here **Fig. 36**) represents Domitian sacrificing in AD 89 immediately outside the *Porta Triumphalis*. Like Pollini (*op.cit.*), I assume that Domitian did that at the *Porta Triumphalis*, built anew by the emperor, and that Domitian would have started this triumph (which turned out to be his last) immediately after this ceremony.

The location of Domitian's *Porta Triumphalis* is hotly debated. Ignoring the recent discussion of the various locations of the *Porta Triumphalis* over time, Pollini (2017b, 120-126, Section: "Triumphal imagery and the scene of sacrifice of the Nollekens relief", with Figs. 19-23) follows Filippo Coarelli's (1968, 68, 79-83, 86; cf. *id.* 1988, 363, 372, 381, 400-402, 443-450, 451-452, 454-459; *id.* 2003, 374) erroneous location of the Imperial *Porta Triumphalis* between and to the south of the two Republican Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta in the *Forum Boarium*; cf. Pollini (2017b, 121, Fig. 20).

Filippo Coarelli's (wrong) location of Domitian's *Porta Triumphalis* at the "Area sacra di S. Omobono" was also followed by Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli and Mario Torelli (1976, *ARTE ROMANA*, *scheda 2*, who quote F. COARELLI 1968 for this hypothesis); they have attributed the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**) to this presumed *quadrifrons* (cf. their *scheda 105*).

Within the 'Area sacra di S. Omobono' have been excavated two Republican Temples of Fortuna and of Mater Matuta. At the site in question, Domitian's *quadrifrons* (*i.e.*, his *Porta Triumphalis*) was not found, as asserted by Coarelli, but instead six pillars of a *via tecta*; cf. Richard Neudecker (1990, 176 with ns. 13, 14). Neudecker has also pointed out that the reliefs, illustrated by Coarelli in this context (1988), do not show exclusively the imperial *Porta Triumphalis*, as asserted by Coarelli, but in reality different arches. Pollini (2017b, Figs. 21-23) follows also in this respect Coarelli (1988) by illustrating the same reliefs again, erroneously asserting that they all show Domitian's *Porta Triumphalis*. At the same time, Pollini follows Coarelli's likewise erroneous identification of the Temple of Fortuna at the Forum Boarium with that of Fortuna Redux, which, as we know, stood next to Domitian's *Porta Triumphalis*.

Coarelli's relevant hypotheses have been refuted, apart from Neudecker (1990) also by myself; cf. Häuber (2005, 51-55, Section: "III.4. The *Porta Triumphalis*") [with my reconstruction of the Republican *Porta Triumphalis/ Porta Carmentalis*], esp. p. 53 with ns. 385-390 [discussion of Coarelli's wrong location of Domitian's *Porta Triumphalis*, also on Coarelli's wrong identification of the Temple of Fortuna Redux], p. 55 with n. 412). See also Häuber (2017, 111-112 n. 56, pp. 168, 178-202, esp. p. 200 [with a summary of the most recent discussion concerning the various locations of the *Porta Triumphalis* and concerning the suggestion that the Arco di Portigallo could be identified as a *pomerium*-gate and/ or as Domitian's *Porta Triumphalis*; a hypothesis which I myself do not follow], Section: "The *pomerium* of Claudius and some routes possibly taken by Vespasian, Titus and Domitian on the morning of their triumph in June of AD 71", discussing *inter alia* G. FILIPPI and P. LIVERANI 2014-2015 relevant findings). For further discussion of the course of the *pomerium*; cf. Häuber (2017, 583-584, n. 306).

**Personally I refrain from trying to suggest a location for Domitian's *Porta Triumphalis*.**

Cf. here **Figs. 58; 73**, labels: CAPITOLIUM; Servian city Wall; PORTA CARMENTALIS; Republican PORTA TRIUMPHALIS [this is my own reconstruction of the Republican *Porta Triumphalis*]; VICUS IUGARIUS; Area sacra S. Omobono; S. Omobono; A; B [these letters mark the Republican Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta : Temple A is attributed to Fortuna, Temple B to Mater Matuta]; FORUM BOARIUM.

The *via tecta* between the Republican temples is indicated by the short dark blue line (*i.e.*, an ancient road), oriented from north to south, which appears between the ground-plans of both temples (drawn red, to indicate ancient buildings).

For the above-mentioned sanctuary of Fortuna and Mater Matuta at the *Forum Boarium* most recently, cf. Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio and Paola Virgili (2020; cf. p. 166, Fig. 1: illustrating a plan of these two Republican temples and the single archaic temple, excavated underneath the eastern shrine). The two authors, who have both excavated at this sanctuary, do not mention in their article Coarelli's hypotheses discussed here concerning Domitian's *Porta Triumphalis*. And when meeting with Giuseppina Sartorio on 22nd February 2020 in Rome, she was kind enough to explain to me that she herself is likewise of the opinion that Coarelli's relevant assertions are not true.

Paolo Liverani (2021, 88), in his discussion of Pollini's article (2017b), does not mention in this context that in several of his earlier publications, he had suggested that Domitian's *Porta Triumphalis* should be identified with the former Arco del Portogallo. This fact he has mentioned earlier in this essay; cf. Liverani (2021, 84, with ns. 10-12). For a discussion of Liverani's relevant hypothesis; cf. Häuber (2017, summarized above).

See now Liverani (2023, 116117 with ns. 11-13; *i.e.*, the Italian version of his essay of 2021).

**V.2. Summary of the publication by M. Wolf (2018) concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs and the architectural fragments found together with them**

In the following I repeat my texts that were written for the Chapters *II.3.1.b)* and *VI.3.*

The publication of Markus Wolf (2018) turns out to be the German original of his Italian article of 2015; the illustrations are the same, whereas the text and the notes are slightly different, but the publication of 2018 comprises two more illustrations: his Abb. 31 shows the court of the Palazzo della Cancellaria and his Abb. 32 the tomb of Aulus Hirtius.

Cf. Markus Wolf (2018, 90-94, Abb. 33-40 (all relevant architectural fragments that were found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs that are the basis of his two reconstructions); cf. his Abb. 42: "Erster Rekonstruktionsvorschlag des >>Cancellaria-Bogens<< als freistehendes Bogenmonument ..."; cf. his Abb. 43: "Zweiter Rekonstruktionsvorschlag, des >>Cancellaria-Bogens<< als Eingangsbogen ...". In neither one of these publications (2015; 2018), Wolf refers to his other publication. He has overlooked the discussion of Massimo Pentiricci (2009) concerning the question to which kind of monument or building the Cancellaria Reliefs may have belonged, nor does Wolf mention the Arch of Titus in the *Circus Maximus* as a possible comparison (cf. the new reconstruction of this Arch of Titus by Marialetizia Buonfiglio 2017 and her colleagues, here **Fig. 121**, and *supra*, at Chapter *I.3.2.*), which, in my opinion, is the most obvious arch that we should compare with the ">>Cancellaria-Bogen<< als freistehendes Bogenmonument", as Wolf (2018, 93) himself refers to his **1.** reconstruction.

This Arch of Titus was built by the Roman Senate in AD 81 as main entrance to the *Circus Maximus* (cf. here **Fig. 121**). It is much larger than Domitian's Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia* (cf. here **Fig. 120**). For an arch of the size of this Arch of Titus in the *Circus Maximus* we can imagine horizontal panels for its central bay that must have had the proportions of the Cancellaria Reliefs. Even provided those were not only 6,06 m long, as suggested in Magi's reconstruction, which you see here in **Figs. 1 and 2**, and in our tentative reconstruction (here **Figs. 1; 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**), but instead 7,05 m long, as suggested by Wolf (2018, 94), who follows the new, but in my opinion erroneous, reconstruction of the Cancellaria Reliefs by Langer and Pfanner (2018; cf. *supra*, at Chapter *V.1.d*). This Arch of Titus in the *Circus Maximus* was thus presumably built at about the same time as Domitian's Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia*, which was erected 'after AD 81' (cf. *supra*, at **n. 244**, in Chapter *I.2.*). Cf. Paolo Liverani (2021, 83), quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter *V.1.i.3.b*); Section *III.*, at the caption of **Fig. 120**, the Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia*.

As we have seen above, Wolf (2015) has made the first two reconstructions that are based on the Cancellaria Reliefs and on the architectural fragments, that were found together with those panels (for his reconstructions, as published by M. WOLF 2015, cf. *supra*, at **ns. 75-81**, in Chapter *I.1.*, and at **ns. 284; 298**, in Chapter *I.3.2.*, and at **n. 363**, in Chapter *II.3.3.a*), and *infra*, at Chapter *VI.3.*).

Concerning the question, whether or not the Cancellaria Reliefs and the architectural fragments, found together with them, had belonged to the same structure, Wolf (2015 and 2018) has come to exactly the same conclusion as I myself - although for very different reasons. Wolf (2015; cf. *supra*, at **ns. 75-81**, in Chapter *I.1.*, and at **ns. 284; 298**, in Chapter *I.3.2.*) calls his **2.** reconstruction: "un'entrata con volta a botte in un edificio domiziano con colonne addossate" ('an arched entrance to a Domitianic building with engaged columns', which he, in his second publication (cf. M. WOLF 2018, 95) refers to as: 'eine gewölbte Eingangssituation in einem domitianischen Großbau mit vorgestellten Säulen'. According to Wolf (2015; cf. *supra*, at **n. 79**, in Chapter *I.1.*) the passageway, to which the soffit blocks belonged that were found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs, was ca. 5,10 m wide.

As we can see in both of his publications (cf. M. WOLF 2015; 2018), to Wolf's **2.** reconstruction, which he has based on these architectural fragments, comprising the architrave block carrying the inscription *PP FECIT* (*CIL VI, 40543*; cf. *supra*, **n. 81**, in Chapter *I.1.*), the Cancellaria Reliefs do *not* belong. The reason being that

the arch, which this architecture comprises, is not deep enough to accommodate reliefs as horizontal panels that have the length of the Cancelleria Reliefs.

Markus Wolf (2015) calls his **1.** reconstruction, that contains the Cancelleria Reliefs, an "arco onorifico isolato" (cf. *supra*, n. 79, in Chapter I.1.), whereas in his publication of 2018, he refers to it as a "freistehendes Bogenmonument" (2018, 95, caption of his Abb. 42). But because of its inscription *PP FECIT*, which in his **1.** reconstruction belongs in Wolf's opinion, together with the Cancelleria Reliefs, to the same 'free standing arch monument', he comes in both publications to the final conclusion that the structure in question should *not* be regarded as a honorific arch.

Wolf (2018, 93-94; cf. C. WOLF 2015, 319-320) writes: "Die Inschrift des römischen >>Cancelleria-Bogens<< [...] p(ater) p(atriciae) fecit deutet auf eine kaiserliche Stiftung des [page 94] Monumentes hin. Es kann sich demnach nicht um einen Ehrenbogen zu Ehren eines Kaisers gehandelt haben, vielmehr um einen vom Kaiser, also Domitian, gestifteten Bau [with n. 15]". In his n. 15, Wolf writes: "Freundlicher Hinweis von W. Eck und H. v. Hesberg".

Wolf (2015; 2018) comes in both publications to the conclusion that of his two reconstruction, the **2.** one - which does *not* contain the Cancelleria Reliefs - is in his opinion preferable, although his **1.** reconstruction (that of the freestanding arch containing the Cancelleria Reliefs) should be considered as an option as well.

In his second publication Wolf (2018, 94-96 with ns. 16-17; cf. M. WOLF 2015, 319-320 with n. 10) writes:

"Denkbar wäre auch, daß alle betrachteten Elemente nicht von ein-und demselben Monument stammen. Die Friesplatten mit den Cancelleria-Reliefs sind mit circa 7.05 m im Vergleich mit dem Titusbogen [on the *Velia*] verhältnismäßig lang für ein Bogenmonument. Als Alternative zu einem echten Bogenmonument soll hier daher eine neutralere Variante einer gewölbten Eingangssituation in einem domitianischen Großbau mit vorgestellten Säulen vorgeschlagen werden, wie wir sie in einer ähnlichen Weise vom Domitiansstadion kennen, dort allerdings in einer etwas kleineren korinthischen Ordnung, die vor die mit ionischen Halbsäulen gegliederte Fassade hervortrat [with n. 16]. Die aufgenommenen Bauglieder können in diesem zweiten Rekonstruktionsvorschlag zu derselben, den Zugang flankierenden Säulenstellung ergänzt werden, vielleicht ohne Postament und Attika (Abb. 43). Der mit den Soffittenplatten gewölbte Durchgang kann weniger tief gewesen sein, **und die langen Reliefs [i.e., the Cancelleria Reliefs] fallen in diesem Vorschlag heraus. Die kaiserliche Stifterinschrift im Gebälkfries würde besser zu diesem zweiten Rekonstruktionsvorschlag eines Eingangsbogens in einen domitianischen Großbau passen als zu einem freistehenden, echten Bogenmonument** [with n. 17]. **Aber beide Möglichkeiten sind zu diskutieren.** Es handelt sich um zwei Versuche und Vorschläge der Arbeit mit den erhaltenen Architekturfragmenten von der Cancelleria [my emphasis]".

In his **note 16**, Wolf writes: "A. M. Colini, Stadium Domitiani (Roma 1998 [ristampa anastatica of the book, first published in 1943]) 31 Abb. 12 Taf. XV.XVII.XXIV".

In his **note 17**, he writes: "Freundlicher Hinweis von W. Eck und H. v. Hesberg".

Concerning the possible location of the monument or building, to which the Cancelleria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**) may have belonged, Wolf (2018, 91) writes: "**Im Folgenden soll ... versucht werden, auf der Grundlage einer neuen Bauaufnahme dieser Bauglieder Vorschläge für die Rekonstruktion eines Monumentes mit einem Bogen aus domitianischer Zeit zu machen, das wohl auf dem Marsfeld stand** [with n. 1]".

In his **note 1**, Wolf does not suggest a more precise hypothesis (than "wohl auf dem Marsfeld") concerning 'the location of the former Cancelleria Building', but acknowledges only the help of those scholars, who have supported his work. Cf. Wolf (2015, 317 with n. 1), where he did not as yet suggest that this monument 'probably stood on the *Campus Martius*'. - To this I will come back below (cf. *infra*, at Chapter VI.3.).



Wolf (2018, 91-93) discusses in detail the architrave block, found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs, which carries the inscription *PP FECIT* (CIL VI, 40543; cf. *supra*, n. 81, in Chapter I.1.; and below in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*) and provides comparisons for it. He does not compare this architrave block with the dedicatory inscription of Domitian's Temple of Minerva at Domitian's *Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium*, that was already mentioned above (cf. *supra*, at Chapters II.3.1.b); II.3.1.c)), which was likewise written on the architrave. Also on stylistical grounds this architrave block, carrying the inscription *PP FECIT*, has been compared with "*Le Colonnacce*" at Domitian's *Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium*.

Cf. Klaus Stefan Freyberger (2018, 97; cf. *infra*, at Chapter V.3.). For Domitian's *Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium*; cf. below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.a-f); and Appendix IV.d.4.b).

I repeat in the following, what I wrote for Chapter II.3.1.b):

‘The Temple of Minerva at Domitian's *Forum* at Rome was a temple located within a larger building, that was only finished and dedicated by Nerva. Heinrich Bauer and Chiara Morselli [with n. 349], in their discussion of the *Forum Nervae*, write: "L'iscrizione di Nerva, che occupava non solo il fregio [of the Temple of Minerva] ma anche l'architrave levigato, tramandataci quasi interamente, sostituiva probabilmente quella di Domiziano ed è databile al 97/98 d.C. [CIL VI 953 = 31213] ...". Cf. H. Bauer and C. Morselli: "Forum Nervae", in: *LTUR* II (1995) 307-311, Figs. 115, 147, 148’.

For a reconstruction in "3D" of Domitian's *Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium*; cf. Alessandro Viscogliosi (2009, 203, Fig. "1. Foro Transitorio, veduta ricostruttiva verso il tempio di Minerva (Inklink)". In this reconstruction, the façade of the Temple of Minerva is visible, showing the above quoted inscription on its architrave '*in situ*'; cf. p. 206, Figs. "5. Foro Transitorio, >le Colonnacce<"; cf. p. 207, Figs. "7-9. Foro Transitorio, interpretazione delle fasi (Viscogliosi); pianta della prima e della seconda fase (da Viscogliosi 2008)".

### **V.3. Summary of the publication by K.S. Freyberger (2018) concerning the architectural fragments found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs**

In the following I repeat what was written for Chapter II.3.1.b). Klaus Stefan Freyberger discusses in his account all those architectural fragments, found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs, that are also the basis of the two reconstructions by Markus Wolf (2018, 90-94, Abb. 33-40 [illustrations of the relevant architectural fragments, found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs]; cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.2.). For discussions of those architectural fragments, cf. also *supra*, n. 76, in Chapter I.1.; as well as at Chapters I.3.; I.3.1.; I.3.2.; II.3.1.b); V.2.

Freyberger (2018, 97) writes: "**Das korinthische Pilasterkapitell folgt in dem Aufbau der Dekorelemente und der plastischen Modellierung, der Machart, entsprechenden spätdomitianischen Kapitellen der Domus Flavia auf dem Palatin in Rom, wofür die Kapitelle im Paedagogium und im Westperistyl des Kaiserpalastes die besten Vergleichsbeispiele bieten** [with n. 1; my emphasis].

In his **note 1**, Freyberger writes: "... [*i.e.*, here K.S. FREYBERGER 1990] 13-20 Nr. 6.21 Taf. 2c; 3a".

For Freyberger's "Westperistyl" of the '*Domus Flavia*'; cf. the map SAR 1985: it is the peristyle immediately to the south of: "65": "Domus Flavia: "Aula Regia". On the southern slope of the Palatine of this map is also marked: "69: Paedagogium".

Cf. here **Figs. 8.1; 58; 73**, labels: PALATIUM; "DOMUS FLAVIA"; DOMUS AUGUSTANA; "PERISTYLE".

For the "Pilasterkapitell", mentioned by Freyberger (2018, 97); cf. Markus Wolf (2018, 92, *supra* at Chapter V.2.: "Abb. 33 Pilasterkapitell PK1", cf. p. 93: "Abb. 34 Pilasterkapitell PK1 ... [drawing]").

Elsewhere, Freyberger (2018, 97) writes:

**"An den Kassetten des Soffittenblocks finden sich Dekorelemente wie der Eier- und Perlenstab, die eine spätromianische Datierung befürworten. Vergleichbar sind der Eierstab mit seinen langen Eiern, den U-förmigen Schalen und den Pfeilspitzen sowie der dick umrandete Pfeifenstab mit den entsprechenden Motiven an Gebälken im Flavierpalast [with n. 3] und an den Kassetten des Titusbogens in Rom [with n. 4]. Die Übereinstimmungen in den gezeigten Vergleichen legen nahe, dass alle Bauglieder in dem letzten Jahrzehnt des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. von einer stadtrömischen Werkstatt hergestellt wurden, die auch für das Kaiserhaus auf dem Palatin tätig war [my emphasis]."**

In his **note 3**, Freyberger writes: "[C.] Leon 1971 ... 120.132-134. 264. 267. 273 Taf. 45,1-3; 46,1"

In his **note 4**, he writes: "[M.] Pfanner 1983, 30-33 Taf. 25-30; 99,6".

For the "Soffittenblock", mentioned by Freyberger (there were in fact found more than one of these architectural fragments); cf. M. Wolf (2018, 93, *supra* at V.2.: "Abb. 35 Soffittenblock S 1" and "Abb. 36 Soffittenblock S 1 ... [drawing]"; p. 94: "Abb. 37 Soffittenblock S 2" and "Abb. 38 Soffittenblock S 2 ... [drawing]").

**In his final conclusion, Freyberger (2018, 97) thus dates all these architectural fragments to the late Domitianic period, and attributes them to a workshop that was also active at Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, the *Domus Flavia* [ / *Domus Augustana*].**

In addition to this, Freyberger (2018, 97) compares on stylistical grounds the architrave block, carrying the inscription *PP FECIT*, that was found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs, with "*Le Colonnacce*" at Domitian's *Forum* / *Forum Nervae* / *Forum Transitorium*.

**Freyberger's contribution (2018, 97) thus supports the hypothesis suggested here (cf. *supra*, at Chapters II.3.1.b); II.3.1.c); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.a-f); and Appendix IV.d.4.b)) that the Cancellaria Reliefs can be compared with Domitian's *Forum* / *Forum Nervae* / *Forum Transitorium*. And that for the following reasons:**

- 1.) The inscription *PP FECIT* (CIL VI, 40543; cf. *supra*, n. 81, in Chapter I.1.), that was found in the same area as the Cancellaria Reliefs, is inscribed, exactly like the dedicatory inscription of Domitian's Temple of Minerva within Domitian's *Forum* / *Forum Nervae* / *Forum Transitorium* on an architrave block (for a discussion of such architrave blocks, carrying dedicatory inscriptions, cf. M. WOLF 2018, 91-93, *supra* at Chapter V.2.);
- 2.) The architrave block, carrying the inscription *PP FECIT*, that was found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs, has been compared on stylistical grounds by Freyberger (2018, 97) with "*Le Colonnacce*" at Domitian's *Forum* / *Forum Nervae* / *Forum Transitorium* (cf. here **Fig. 49**).

For a reconstruction in "3D" of Domitian's *Forum* / the *Forum Nervae*, cf. Alessandro Viscogliosi (2009, 203, Fig. "1. Foro Transitorio, veduta ricostruttiva verso il tempio di Minerva (Inklink)". In this reconstruction, the façade of the Temple of Minerva is visible, showing the above-quoted dedicatory inscription on its architrave 'in situ'; cf. p. 206, Figs. "5. Foro Transitorio, >le Colonnacce<"; cf. p. 207, Figs. "7-9. Foro Transitorio, interpretazione delle fasi (Viscogliosi); pianta della prima e della seconda fase (da Viscogliosi 2008)".

## VI. Final Conclusions concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs

Since I have so far not myself thoroughly studied the Cancellaria Reliefs, I wish to end my observations with Diana E.E. Kleiner's<sup>468</sup> final remark in her discussion of these Friezes:

"The jury is still out, so to speak, on the Cancellaria Reliefs, but it becomes increasingly apparent that the careful study of the heads of the main protagonists on state reliefs for evidence of reworking will have as critical an effect on their interpretation as the study of reworked heads has already had on understanding the chronology and political iconography of imperial portraiture".

Since I wrote this, I have had the chance to study on four occasions the heads of Vespasian und of the young Domitian on Frieze B, standing in front of the original, and, as a result of this, am now even more convinced than before that Magi, many other later scholars, as well as Claudia Valeria and Giandomenoco Spinola (cf. *supra*, at *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*), and Giandomenico Spinola (cf. *supra*, at Chapter III. See also below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*) are right by assuming that those heads have *not* been reworked and that they, from the very beginning, have represented Vespasian and the young Domitian respectively (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: Figures 14 [Vespasian]; 12 [Domitian]**).

In the Sommersemester of 2009<sup>469</sup>, when introducing my students to the scholarly discussion of the Cancellaria Reliefs, I had addressed them as follows:

"10.) Dia - Detail des Cancellariareliefs A mit Portrait Nervas, Vat. Mus. [with note 511].

Ich zeige Ihnen hier und im Folgenden die beiden sog.[enannten] Cancellariareliefs, Relief A und B. Es handelt sich um zwei Marmorreliefs, die ursprünglich offenbar zusammengehört hatten, und deren Hauptperson jeweils Kaiser Domitian gewesen war. Auf dem hier im Ausschnitt gezeigten Relief A wurde in der Antike das Portrait Domitians in ein Nervaportrait umgearbeitet, auf dem Relief B wurde aus dem Domitiansbildnis<sup>470</sup> ein Vespasiansportrait. Aber selbst das ist umstritten, so wurde neuerdings behauptet, dass der Domitianskopf auf dem Relief A ursprünglich ein Nerobildnis gewesen sei, was jedoch mit guten Gründen abgelehnt worden ist [with note 512].

Die Entscheidung, ob diese Reliefs in nderonischer oder flavischer Zeit gearbeitet wurden, ist nicht unerheblich, denn es handelt sich um Teile eines bedeutenden Baudenkmals, an dem Klassische Archäologen ja auch gerne Stiluntersuchungen vornehmen möchten. Bei einem Deutungsversuch müsste es eigentlich gelingen, sowohl für die ursprüngliche Bedeutung dieser Reliefs einen Lösungsvorschlag zu bieten, als auch für die Bedeutung ihrer umgearbeiteten Zustände. Es gibt zahlreiche Versuche, und das Ganze ist so etwas wie der ultimative Test für die Gelehrsamkeit eines Kandidaten - vergleichbar dem Singen eines hohen C, das Sopranistinnen, die Opernstar werden und bleiben wollen, mühelos produzieren müssen. Falls Sie auf einen Schlag berühmt werden möchten, wären diese Reliefs, vorausgesetzt, Sie könnten die skizzierten Probleme lösen, genau das richtige Studienobjekt.

Aber Spaß beiseite ... [‘but joking apart ...’].

There is a German saying: "aus Spaß wurde Ernst", which means: 'it began as a joke and then became serious' - this did not happen to my students, as anticipated, but obviously to myself ...

More than ten years later, I have now again tried to judge the ever growing amount of scholarship focussing on the Cancellaria Reliefs, that is (only in part) summarized in this *Study*.

<sup>468</sup> D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 192.

<sup>469</sup> C. HÄUBER 2009b, 168 with ns. 511, 512 (providing references).

<sup>470</sup> with this assumption I had at that time followed T. HÖLSCHER 2009a (cf. *supra*, at Chapter III.); as explained in this *Study*, I have in the meantime changed my mind.

When asking myself, what that has done to *me*, I can only say to have definitely reached my limits, and there are two things that have surprised me most. The first kind of unexpected experiences concerned some of the hypotheses that have been published on the subject, the second resulted from a comparison of these Roman state reliefs with some portraits of politicians, made by the Italian sculptor Pietro Canonica in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the following, the Chapters VI.1. and VI.2. are dedicated to those 'two kinds of my unexpected experiences', while writing this *Study*, whereas in Chapter VI.3. are summarized my own hypotheses presented here.

### **VI.1. Summary of the hypotheses that have been published on the Cancellaria Reliefs by other scholars**

The Cancellaria Reliefs have been discussed since 1938 (cf. *supra*, ns. 4-6, 145, in Chapter I.1.). They have inspired, in the following 85 years until now, a large number of scholars to bring together an incredible amount of observations, historical knowledge and antiquarian *Gelehrsamkeit*.

These scholarly texts, regarded as a whole, are in themselves, as far as I am concerned, already a delight to read - although not all of them, as I must also confess. At the same time, those scholars, who so far published their opinions concerning these friezes, come from different disciplines and have applied a wide spectrum of methodological approaches. When regarded as a whole, their findings therefore provide an ideal case study for teaching purposes. Despite those very different expertises, which are manifest in this rich body of scholarship, this has not prevented some of these authors to judge other scholars' conclusions in a way, as if commanding also themselves the same kind of knowledge or experience.

The tones of these texts, again regarded as a whole, thus comprise every conceivable nuance between scholarly modesty and arrogance. What is positive in the case of the latter scholars, to whom I am referring here, is the fact that they still definitely read those other scholars' work, which they were criticizing. Really alarming is, in my opinion, something else: in some cases the authors discussed here knew exactly of the existence of related scholarly work, but did not discuss its results in their own accounts - seemingly especially in those cases, when those other scholars are of a different opinion than they themselves. Social sciences and/ or philosophy are not exactly those disciplines, in which I can say something really informed myself, but while reading this entire amazing scholarly production, I found especially these ethic aspects in themselves worth while to be further studied.

When it comes to the results concerning my own field of study, the scholarly findings related to the Cancellaria Reliefs reach from the seemingly simple, but in reality very important observation that these friezes were carved *in situ*, that is to say, when they were already attached to their monument, to the equally convincing conclusion that their *classical* style does not necessarily mean that they were carved in the Hadrianic period (as has been suggested). This style has rather deliberately been chosen due to the fact that the slabs are so thin that the artists could not possibly have carved 'typically *baroque* Flavian reliefs' (as suggested by P.H. von BLANCKENHAGEN 1940) out of them; as for example those of the Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia*; cf. here **Fig. 120**). Other findings consist in (at times) far reaching considerations concerning the historical events, that are supposed to have been represented on these Friezes in their (alleged) different carving phases.

Especially interesting are the facts that the heads of the emperors on both friezes and the head of the togate youth on Frieze B have been identified very differently, and that many scholars believe that the portraits of the two emperors (here **Figs and 2 drawing: figure 6** on Frieze A, and **Fig. 14** on Frieze B) have been recut from portraits of other emperors; in addition, it has been suggested that also the head of the togate youth (**Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12** on Frieze B) has been reworked. So far no consensus has been reached concerning the interpretations of the actions of both emperors, nor concerning the gestures, that both are making with their right hands. Also the shoes, worn by the bearded Genius (**Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure**

11), and by the togate youth on Frieze B, have attracted much interest. Other lively discussions tried to answer the questions, whether Frieze A shows a *profectio* or rather an *adventus*, and what Frieze B might represent.

The extant portrait of the emperor on Frieze A (*i.e.*, of Nerva; **Fig.1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6**) was first identified as being that of Domitian. Then it was observed that the head of this emperor was originally a portrait of Domitian, the face of which had later been reworked into a portrait of Nerva. Some scholars, who likewise recognized Nerva in this portrait, believed that his portrait was already created in the first carving phase of Frieze A. Other scholars have suggested that, before being recut into a portrait of Nerva, the head of the emperor on Frieze A had originally been a portrait of Hadrian, or, that this head had at first been a portrait of Nero, then of Domitian, and finally of Nerva. What the emperor on Frieze B is concerned, it has been suggested that its extant head was from the beginning a portrait of Vespasian, other scholars believe that this head had previously been a portrait of Trajan, Domitian or Nero (here listed in the chronological order of the relevant publications).

Compared with all other 33 figures, that appear on both Cancellaria Reliefs (which comprise 17 figures each), the togate youth on Frieze B is by far the most controversial one, since scholars disagree, whether the represented youth should be identified as a portrait, or else as an 'ideal' figure. One scholar has even suggested that this figure belongs to an alleged *interim* sphere between human beings and 'ideal' figures, that is allegedly typical of Roman state reliefs. Those scholars, who took the represented youth for a portrait, identified him as Domitian (although one scholar believed that the extant portrait of Domitian had been reworked from the alleged original head of King Tiridates), Nerva, and Hadrian.

The togate youth on Frieze B is wearing the 'simple *calcei*', instead of the *calcei senatorii*, which he should wear as *praetor urbanus*, an office that Domitian held at the historical moment that, according to Magi (1939; 1945; cf. *supra*, n. 112, at Chapter I.1.), is represented on Frieze B (*i.e.*, Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in the first half of October AD 70). Therefore, it has been suggested that this youth cannot be identified with Domitian, as Magi had likewise suggested, since these shoes characterize the represented man as being of equestrian rank. The scholar (cf. *supra*, n. 172; cf. n. 125, both at Chapter I.1.), who first observed those 'wrong shoes', worn by the togate youth - ('wrong', when assumed that this figure represents Domitian) - has, therefore, identified this youth as the allegorical representation of the *Ordo Equester*. This assumption has been refuted, because the representation of the *Ordo Equester* should instead be shown as wearing the *trabea*, that is to say, the garment which was typical of the equestrian order. And, as has been rightly observed by other scholars, the iconography of this allegorical representation (*i.e.*, the *Ordo Equester*) is unknown (cf. *supra*, ns. 156, 172, at Chapter I.1.).

Further eight scholars (discussed *supra*, n. 128 in Chapter I.1., and in Chapters I.1.; and I.1.1.), have supplied additional identifications for the togate youth on Frieze B (here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12**):

1.) the first scholar, who suggested that the extant portrait of Vespasian on Frieze B was recut from an (alleged) original portrait of Domitian, identified the togate youth, standing in front of 'Domitian'/Vespasian, as an 'ideal' figure, whose function cannot be defined, because this youth, in the opinion of this author, is neither of senatorial rank (because of the 'simple shoes' he is wearing), nor of equestrian rank (because he is not wearing a golden ring). This scholar doubted also that three other figures on Frieze B, the here-so-called *Genius Senatus* (referred to as unidentified bearded *Genius* instead), and the here-so-called *Genius Populi Romani* (referred to as *Honos* instead), and the here-so-called *Dea Roma* (referred to as unidentified seated amazon-like goddess instead), may be identified as such. To the effect, that this author is unable to suggest, where the scene on Frieze B is staged, and what it may represent. - Those identifications of these three figures on Frieze B (*Genius Senatus*, *Genius Populi Romani*, *Dea Roma*), that I am following here, had likewise first been suggested by Filippo Magi (1939; 1945; cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.1.).

Of those scholars, who have discussed the assumptions of the first author, I have chosen seven, who have suggested the following identifications for the togate youth on Frieze B:

- 2.) as the *equus* L. Iulius Vestinus, who is entrusted by 'Domitian'/ Vespasian with the *restitutio Capitolii* (i.e., of the third Temple of *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus*, built by Vespasian, after the second temple had been destroyed on 18th/ 19th December AD 69), in a ceremony that took place on the Capitoline on 21st June 70;
- 3.) as an unknown man, shod with *calcei*, who is standing in front of the Emperor 'Domitian'/ Vespasian. This scholar cannot define the function of this unknown man. Therefore the author, apart from suggesting that the scene on this panel shows an *adventus*, cannot say, what precisely Frieze B may represent;
- 4.) as an anonymous *equus* of the *gens Flavia*, whom 'Domitian'/ Vespasian, as *pontifex maximus*, by the gesture of his right hand, installs as an 'anonymous representative' of a new priesthood of the imperial cult, the *Sodales Flaviales Titiales*;
- 5.) as a magistrate of equestrian rank, who is shown, together with 'Domitian'/ Vespasian, in the ceremony of the *consecratio* of the Temple of *Fortuna Redux*, that took place on the *Campus Martius* (after Domitian's victory in the Sarmatian War in 93 AD);
- 6.) as a magistrate, who receives from 'Domitian'/ Vespasian the order, to build the fourth Temple of *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (after the third temple, built by Vespasian, had been destroyed in 80 AD);
- 7.) as the *praefectus urbi*, who welcomes 'Domitian'/ Vespasian at his *adventus* into Rome in AD 81. As already discussed above, the assumption that the togate youth could be the *praefectus urbi*, is impossible<sup>471</sup>.
- 8.) one scholar states that the togate youth is much debated, but does not define his function, nor does he himself suggest, what Frieze B might represent.

In my opinion, none of these eight hypotheses may be regarded as a convincing explanation of the scene, represented on Frieze B. In the case of three of these just mentioned eight hypotheses, the authors have themselves stated to be unable to say, what Frieze B may represent, the other five hypotheses have been refuted by other scholars. As I only found out when writing Chapter *V.1.h.1.*), even six out of these eight hypotheses have been refuted by other scholars (cf. *supra*, at Chapter *V.1.h.1.*)).

Still another scholar believed that also the head of this togate youth on Frieze B has been reworked: in his opinion, this head was originally a portrait of King Tiridates, recut into the extant portrait of the young Domitian. Also this hypothesis has been refuted (cf. *supra*, at Chapter *I.1.*)).

Consequently, it has been suggested that the emperor, who first commissioned the Cancellaria Reliefs, was either Nero, Domitian, or Hadrian (here listed in the chronological order of those emperors), and that the friezes had been reworked under Nerva - the latter assumption is proven beyond any doubt by his extant portrait on Frieze A (cf. *supra*, at Chapter *I.1.*)).

After this Chapter was written, appeared the publication by Stephanie Langer and Michael Pfanner (2018) on the Cancellaria Reliefs; their hypotheses concerning the togate youth and the emperor on Frieze B are summarized above (cf. *supra*, at Chapters *V.1.h.*); *V.1.h.1.*); and *V.1.h.2.*)).

For summaries of the scholarship related to the Cancellaria Reliefs, written by other scholars, see also *supra*, n. 133, at Chapter *I.1.*

## ***VI.2. Comparison of these Roman state reliefs with some portraits of politicians, made by Pietro Canonica***

In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Italian sculptor Pietro Canonica (1869-1959) received a wide range of commissions from reigning monarchs, their relatives, and by other prominent individuals all over Europe

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<sup>471</sup> cf. *supra*, at ns. 182-189 in Chapter *I.1.*; cf. at Chapter *I.1.1.* For the office *praefectus urbi*; cf. also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.a.*

and abroad<sup>472</sup>. At the orders of these people, Canonica created sculptural portraits of these sovereigns and/or of their relatives, also of over lifesize proportions, sometimes integrated into large, multifigured

<sup>472</sup> In this and the next note will be quoted the relevant accounts by Bianca Maria Santese 2017b and Carla Scicchitano 2017, both of whom do not only identify the individuals, whom Pietro Canonica has portrayed, but who explain also who these people were, as well as how the artist was related to them. After quoting some introductory remarks by Santese 2017b about Canonica's early years that led him very quickly to international fame, I have compiled in the following a list of Pietro Canonica's portraits, comprising reigning monarchs of the period, members of their families, as well as other representatives of the European aristocracy of the time; their names are emphasized.

B.M. SANTESE (2017b, 13, with n. 1), begins her Chapter: "Pietro Canonica, scultore, musicista, pittore. Un artista completo", with a quotation from Canonica's *Memorie*. In her note 1, she writes: "P. Canonica, *Ricordi della mia vita*, s.d. (ca. 1945-1949), da qui citate come *Memorie*, raccolte e poi trascritte da Maria Assunta Riggio, seconda moglie dell'artista, p. 3 (Archivio Museo Canonica)". See also Santese (2017b, 42, in her Chapter: "Da Gallinara a studio e residenza di artista: genesi di un museo"): "Canonica decise infatti di contrarre un secondo matrimonio con Maria Assunta Riggio, giovane studiosa che gli fu accanto già dagli anni '40 come sua assistente, e che curò la redazione delle *Memorie* scritte sulla base dei ricordi del Maestro [with n. 19: "Certificato di matrimonio ..."]."

Cf. B.M. SANTESE 2017b, 15-16: "Nel 1887 [when Canonica was eighteen years old] ottenne la prima commissione per realizzare quattro statue per la Chiesa di San Lorenzo e Maria Addolorata a Villanova ... Nel 1891 espose alla Triennale di Milano e all'Esposizione di Palermo, dove gli venne assegnata la medaglia d'argento, e due anni dopo [*i.e.*, 1893] partecipò al Salon di Parigi con una nuova versione in marmo di *Dopo il voto*, opera che rivelò la sua perizia tecnica ed anche la sua capacità di interpretare i più profondi sentimenti dell'animo umano. Ottenne la menzione onorevole e la definitiva affermazione a livello internazionale, sancita dall'acquisto dell'opera da parte del collezionista Goupil. **Grazie all'amicizia con le nobildonne Letizia e Matilde Bonaparte**, che lo introdussero negli ambienti artistici parigini, l'artista entrò in contatto con Anatole France, Edmonde de Goncourt e August [!] Rodin, ed aprì un piccolo studio anche a Parigi [with n. 6: "*Memorie* pp. 31-35"; my emphasis] (Fig. 4: "Dopo il voto. Gesso. Calco dell'originale in marmo. 1893").

**Da quel momento partecipò con successo alle maggiori esposizioni nazionali ed internazionali (Venezia, Milano, Torino, Palermo, Monaco, Dresda, Londra e Parigi), e le sue frequentazioni con l'alta aristocrazia europea, entusiasta del gusto raffinato e idealizzante di questo scultore, gli aprirono le porte delle corti inglesi, francesi, tedesche e polacche, dove venne ospitato in ville e regali [page 16] castelli** [with n. 7: "*Memorie* pp. 50-55 e pp. 67-70"; my emphasis]. Innumerevoli sono i volti aristocratici che videro espressa nel marmo la loro più secreta interiorità: ritratti palpitanti ed incisivi, eseguiti con una perizia tecnica rara e una grande sicurezza nel modellato". Cf. p. 16: "In questo periodo [1899] l'artista ottenne numerosi riconoscimenti da parte della critica e dell'alta aristocrazia del tempo. Strinse amicizia con la **duchessa di Genova, Elisabetta di Sassonia, con sua figlia, la regina Margherita, moglie di Umberto I, e con gli altri membri della famiglia reale** [with n. 9; my emphasis] (Fig. 5: "Elisabetta di Sassonia con la figlia regina Margherita a Stresa in lutto dopo l'assassinio di Umberto I"). Cf. her note 9: "Con la duchessa di Genova Canonica instaurò un rapporto di vera amicizia, che lo portò ad essere suo ospite nella villa di Stresa [on the Lago Maggiore] per ben 17 anni, nei periodi estivi. Qui Canonica incontrò **re Umberto**, alla vigilia dell'attentato che lo uccise, e proprio a Stresa l'artista ha eretto un monumento in suo onore nel 1901. *Memorie*, pp. 39-44. A Stresa Canonica fu sempre legato, ottenne la cittadinanza onoraria nel 1952 e dispose una donazione di opere che, dopo varie trasversie, nel 2011 hanno trovato degna collocazione in una sala del palazzo comunale. Ravera 2004; Burba 2012 [my emphasis]".

Cf. B.M. SANTESE 2017, 17: "Nel 1901 la Biennale di Venezia lo vide [*i.e.*, Canonica] partecipare con le *Comunicande*, e nel 1902 trionfò con le esposizioni alla Royal Academy di Londra e Berlino, dove entrò in contatto con i **duchi di Portland** e, introdotto a Buckingham Palace, eseguì tra gli altri i busti di **Edoardo VII**, della **Regina Alexandra** e della **Principessa Victoria** [my emphasis]". Cf. pp. 17-19 with n. 14, Fig. 8, portrait of **Donna Franca Florio** (1904-07) [in my personal opinion the most stunning of Pietro Canonica's portraits]; cf. p. 19, portrait of **Emily Doria Pamphilj** (1904), Fig. 9. Cf. p. 23: "Nel primo dopoguerra non tralasciò l'attività di ritrattista e mantenne stretti contatti con l'aristocrazia italiana ed europea. Nel contempo iniziò una proficua attività con i nuovi paesi emergenti, gli Stati nati dal disfacimento degli imperi. Ha compiuto infatti importanti missioni internazionali in Turchia, in Iraq e in Egitto, realizzando ritratti e monumenti per **Kemal Atatürk**, per il **re Faysal** e per il **re Fuad** [with n. 21, providing further discussion; my emphasis] (Figg. 15 e 16)". Cf. the caption of her Fig. 15: "Monumento a Kemal Atatürk. Istanbul 1928". Cf. the caption of her Fig. 16: "Monumento a re Faysal. Esterno della fonderia di Vetralla, con Thaon di Revel. 1933". - The photo shows Thaon di Revel standing immediately in front of the equestrian statue of King Faysal, thus demonstrating that the equestrian statue was clearly over lifesize. Cf. p. 23: "In piena II guerra mondiale si recò [*i.e.*, Canonica] in **Romania**, nel 1943, dove realizzò i **ritratti dei reali**, e trattò per concludere una pace separata con le Alleati, ma la sua missione diplomatica fallì [with n. 23: "*Memorie*, pp. 148-152"; my emphasis] (Fig. 17)". Cf. the caption of her Fig. 17: "**Michele di Romania** in posa davanti al modello eseguito da Pietro Canonica. Sinaia. 1943 [my emphasis]". Cf. pp. 29-30 in her section: "Collaboratori e allievi": in connection with the commission to create equestrian statues of the "**Granduca Nicolaj Nicolajevich**" and of "**zar Alessandro II**", Csar **Nicolaus II of Russia** presented Canonica with a "splendido esemplare di cavallo Orloff" [my emphasis].

Cf. C. Scicchitano (2017, 57, who writes in her Chapter: "Primo itinerario: le sale espositive"): "Tra i ritratti, genere in cui Canonica eccelleva, sono alcuni tra i marmi più belli, prevalentemente personaggi femminili, spesso di nobile rango. **Importanti elementi della collezione ritrattistica sono anche le opere in marmo e gesso che raffigurano personaggi della nobiltà italiana e internazionale, una rappresentanza del Gotha del tempo:** papi e cardinali, re e regine, donne e uomini illustri, scienziati e pensatori". In the following, I quote from her list. Cf. p. 58: "**Donna Franca Florio**" (1904-1907); "**Elena d'Orleans duchessa d'Aosta**" (1904); "**Contessa Maria Mazzoleni Bruschi Falgari** (1920). La nobildonna, ironica e colta, conobbe Canonica negli anni '90, e lo introdusse nei circoli aristocratici di Torino e Roma". Cf. p. 60: "**Principessa Emily Doria Pamphilj**" (circa 1920). Cf. p. 64: "**La presa di Smirne, Monumento a Kemal Atatürk**" (1932); "**Monumento a Simon Bolivar** (1954) Gesso patinata a bronzo". Cf. p. 70: "**Emanuele Filiberto duca d'Aosta**" (1934-1936); "**Michele di Romania** (1943)"; "**Elena, regina di Romania**" (1943). Cf. p. 72 (in the section "Sala V Deposito delle opere"): "La sala infatti raccoglie una sessantina di opere, per la gran parte non presenti nelle sale espositive, un'interessante

monuments, that were put on display on public squares in the countries, reigned by those sovereigns. Several of these portraits/ monuments were completely destroyed<sup>473</sup> in the course of revolutions that resulted

galleria di ritratti di personaggi illustri e di bozzetti e modelli. Tra questi citiamo i busti di *Amedeo Avogadro*, *Giovanni Paisiello*, *re Faysal*, *Ismet Pacha*, *Pio XI*, i rilievi per *Enrico Castelnuovo* e per *Manzoni e Rosmini*, **i tondi in bassorilievo per i monumenti di Atatürk**, i ritratti di *Ida Einaudi* e di *Maria Assunta Riggio*, e di molti altri personaggi illustri (Fig. 16)"; Cf. the caption of her Fig. 16: "**Ritratto di Faysal**. Modello in gesso. 1932". Cf. p. 74: "**Principessa Clotilde di Savoia Bonaparte**" (1912). Cf. p. 76: "Sala VII Questa è la sala della ritrattistica per eccellenza, una galleria di personaggi che rappresentano il Gotha del tempo: re e regine, nobili e nobildonne, uomini illustri, papi, scienziati e pensatori immortalati da Canonica con la consueta abilità tecnica e raffinata capacità di introspezione psicologica. Troviamo i **re Vittorio Emanuele III**, **Edoardo VIII** [corr: VII] **d'Inghilterra** e **Fuad d'Egitto**, **i papi Benedetto XV** e **Pio XII**, e ancora personaggi come Guglielmo Marconi, Luigi Einaudi, Sidney Sonnino, Riccardo Selvatico, Tommaso Vallauri e **Ataturk** ...". Cf. p. 76: "**Elisabetta di Sassonia duchessa di Genova** (1900). Gesso patinato rosso. Calco dell'opera in marmo. Roma, Palazzo del Quirinale. L'Opera fu commissionata all'artista dalla duchessa che la regalò alla figlia regina Margherita. Le pose furono eseguite a Stresa, nella villa sul Lungolago, dove l'artista fu ospite della duchessa per diciassette anni durante l'estate"; "**Vittorio Emanuele III re d'Italia**" (1936); "**Margherita di Savoia regina d'Italia**" (1903); "**Monumento a Ismail Kedivè** (1938): Gesso patinato. Bozzetto dell'Originale in bronzo (alto 5 metri) posto all'ingresso del Consolato italiano di Alessandria d'Egitto. Disperso"; "**Fuad I re d'Egitto** (1929). Gesso patinato rosso. Modello originale per l'opera in marmo ... Dispersa"; "**Principessa Victoria d'Inghilterra**" (1903); "**Alexandra, Regina d'Inghilterra**" (1903). Cf. p. 77: "**Edoardo VII, re d'Inghilterra**" (1903); "**Benedetto XV**" (1928); "**Cardinale Pietro Gasparri**" (1929); "**Principessa Von Bethamann Holweg Armin**" (1903); "**Contessa Von Garnier**" (1903). Dispersa"; "**Principessa Anna Von Pless** (1903-04). Dispersa"; "**Principessa Irina Jussopoff Romanoff** (1910). Ubicazione sconosciuta"; "**Granduchessa Maria Paulovna Vladimiro di Russia** (1909). Gesso patinato. Calco dell'opera in marmo. La granduchessa era presidentessa dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di S. Pietroburgo e introdusse Canonica, conosciuto a Parigi, alla corte imperiale dello zar Nicola II, suo nipote". Cf. p. 79: "**Virginia Agnelli Bourbon del Monte** (1914-1919). Modello in gesso. La nobildonna era la moglie di **Giovanni Agnelli, fondatore della FIAT**"; "**Ritratto di Pio XII**" (1939); "**Principesse Elisabetta e Olga Nikolaewna di Grecia**" (1910); "**Amedeo duca d'Aosta**" (1901); "**Principe Adalberto di Savoia**" (1900). Cf. p. 80: "**Principessa Violette Murat** (1906) ... dispersa"; "**Vittorio Emanuele e Maria Pia di Savoia**" (1938); "**Luigi Einaudi** (1948). Gesso patinato a bronzo. Modello originale per l'opera in bronzo. **Il presidente della Repubblica** [Italiana] ebbe cordiali rapporti di amicizia con Canonica e nel 1950 lo nomina Senatore a vita". Cf. p. 81: "**Principessa Giulia di Gangi**" (1939); "**Kemal Atatürk** (1927). Gesso patinato a bronzo. Modello per l'opera in marmo. Fu la prima opera realizzata da Canonica per il presidente della nuova **Repubblica Turca**, che in seguito gli commissionò altri quattro monumenti celebrativi. Nel Deposito è conservato anche il ritratto di **Ismet Pascià**, suo braccio destro, che gli successe nella presidenza [my emphasis]". Cf. p. 83: "**Sidney Sonnino**. Ministro del Regno (1923). Gesso patinato a bronzo. Modello per l'opera in marmo. Palazzo Montecitorio, Roma. **Fu un importante uomo di Stato, più volte ministro. Strinse con gli inglesi il patto di Londra, che impegnò l'Italia all'entrata in guerra nel primo conflitto mondiale** [my emphasis]".

<sup>473</sup> cf. B.M. SANTESE 2017, 19-20: "Nel 1911 lo **Zar Nicola II** gli [*i.e.*, Pietro Canonica] commissionò vari ritratti della famiglia imperiale e l'esecuzione dei monumenti equestri al **granduca Nicolaj Nicolajewitch**, a glorificazione della guerra russo-turca e ad **Alessandro II**, ucciso in attentato nel 1881, promotore di importanti anche se tardive riforme [with n. 17; my emphasis]". Cf. the caption of her Fig. 10: "Inaugurazione del Monumento al granduca Nicolaj Nicolajewich a Piazza Manejanja S. Pietroburgo. 1914". - This photo shows a group of people gathering in front of the monument, who thus demonstrate that the granduca Nicolaj Nicolajewitch and his horse were clearly represented over lifesize.

Cf. B.M. SANTESE 2017, 20: "L'esperienza russa sarà indimenticabile per Canonica, e ne sono testimonianza i numerosi ritratti fotografici e i cimeli conservati nella sua casa e le accorate parole di ammirazione e di rimpianto che riporta nelle sue *Memorie* [with n. 18, with further discussion, quoting Canonica's *Memorie*, pp. 71-99] (Fig. 10)".

Cf. C. Scicchitano 2017, 61: "**L'affermazione di Canonica come ritrattista e autore di opere monumentali si consolidò presso la corte degli zar avendo scolpito per lo zar Nicola II e la zarina Alexandra Feodorovna numerosi ritratti dei membri della famiglia imperiale e di esponenti della nobiltà russa. Lo zar commissionò all'artista anche due grandi opere celebrative: il monumento al granduca Nicolaj Nicolajewich e il monumento allo zar Alessandro II.** Entrambe queste opere furono distrutte negli anni della rivoluzione russa e ne resta testimonianza soltanto grazie ai due grandi modelli originali esposti in questa sala [*i.e.*, sala II] e alle foto storiche custodite nell'Archivio del Museo [my emphasis]". Cf. p. 61: "**Alexandra Feodorovna, zarina di Russia**" (circa 1910). Gesso patinato. Modello originale per l'opera in marmo (S. Pietroburgo, Museo di Paulovsk); "**Monumento allo zar Alessandro II di Russia** (1914). Gesso patinato. Modello dei tre lati del basamento per l'originale in bronzo, mai inaugurato per l'inizio degli eventi bellici. Nel rilievo sono raffigurate le più importanti riforme operate da Alessandro II: l'abolizione della servitù della gleba, la riforma del codice civile e della scuola. Distrutto [my emphasis]".

Apropos, "l'abolizione della servitù della gleba", mentioned by C. Scicchitano 2017, 61, in German called "Leibeigenschaft", and in English: "in bondage". A special kind of this deplorable legal status, the "Schuldenknechtschaft", or "schiavitù per debiti (*nexum*)" of people in ancient Rome, and the date, when that was abolished, will be discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2. at *Appendix IV.b*); and *Appendix IV.c*).

C. Scicchitano 2017, 61, continues immediately after that: "**Nicola II, zar di Russia** (1910). Gesso patinato. Modello per l'opera in marmo. Disperso". Cf. p. 62: "**Alessandro II, zar di Russia** (1913). Gesso patinato a bronzo. Studio per il monumento equestre in bronzo. Disperso"; "**Nicolaj Nicolajewich** (1911). Gesso patinato a bronzo. Studio per il monumento equestre in bronzo per la piazza Manejanja di S. Pietroburgo. Distrutto nel 1917"; "**Alessio Romanoff di Russia** (1910). Gesso patinato. Calco dell'opera in marmo. Disperso"; "**Granduchessa Victoria Melita Kirillo di Russia e figlio** (1908). Gesso patinato. Gesso per l'opera in marmo. Dispersa (Fig. 8)". Cf. p. 64: "**Monumento a Nicolaj Nicolajewich** (1912) Gesso patinato a bronzo. Modello in scala ridotta per il monumento equestre in bronzo per la piazza Manejanja di S. Pietroburgo (Inaugurato nel 1914 e distrutto nel 1917)". Cf. p. 65: "**Monumento a Faysal I re dell'Iraq** (1932-33). Gesso. Modello del monumento equestre in bronzo situato a Bagdad. Unica documentazione del monumento distrutto durante la rivoluzione irachena del 1958. L'opera fu realizzata e fusa nella fonderia annessa alla villa di Canonica a Vetralla



in the fall of those individuals, often already shortly after the completion of those sculptures. Many other of Canonica's works, commissioned by these people, are since those political changes lost.

I mention Pietro Canonica's work in the context of this *Study* on the Cancellaria Reliefs and the other projects of Domitian at Rome because of the following reasons.

Let me first of all repeat, what was written above in Chapter VI. *Final Conclusions concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs*:

'... More than ten years later, I have now again tried to judge the ever growing amount of scholarship focussing on the Cancellaria Reliefs, that is (only in part) summarized in this *Study*. When asking myself, what that has done to *me*, I can only say to have definitely reached my limits, and there are two things that have surprised me most. The first kind of unexpected experiences concerned some of the hypotheses that have been published on the subject, the second resulted from a comparison of these Roman state reliefs with some portraits of politicians, made by the Italian sculptor Pietro Canonica in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the following, the Chapters VI.1. and VI.2. are dedicated to those 'two kinds of my unexpected experiences', while writing this *Study*, whereas in Chapter VI.3. are summarized my own hypotheses presented here'.

There were three reasons, why Canonica's oeuvre has interested me in the context of the Cancellaria Reliefs:

1.) one monarch (Czar Nicholas II of Russia) and his Czarina, who had both ordered portraits from Pietro Canonica, were, exactly like Domitian, murdered and, as a consequence of this, many monuments, either commissioned by them, or representing them (*inter alia* works by Canonica), were destroyed. Therefore we could say that Nicholas II and his entire family, like Domitian, had suffered some kind of *damnatio memoriae*;

2.) all the reigning sovereigns, for whom Canonica had created his sculptures, taken together, by the sheer size of their commissions, can actually be compared with a Roman emperor, such as Domitian, and the sculptors who worked for him and that *a*) because of the great importance as well as the wide range of orders, Canonica had received from those people. Especially the sometimes multfigured monuments, comprising the over life size portraits of these individuals, can very well be compared with the state reliefs, commissioned by Domitian, such as the Cancellaria Reliefs (and the monument or building, to which they belonged); and *b*) because of the high artistic quality of Canonica's works.

Although points 1.) and 2.), which concern Canonica's sculptures, are thus comparable with the Cancellaria Reliefs, commissioned by Domitian, my point 3.) defines a great difference between the two subjects, and that is precisely what had surprised me:

3.) Canonica's works in question, contrary to the Cancellaria Reliefs, were *completely* destroyed. - Only by writing this Chapter down, have I realized the obvious reason for that. To this I will come back below.

But before telling you my conclusion, let's first of all turn to two of Canonica's sculptures that belong to the major subjects of his artistic production: *a*) portraits of aristocrats and other sovereigns in Italy, all over Europe and abroad (mostly created before World War I), some of them over life size and integrated into multfigured monuments, and *b*) 'Monumenti ai Caduti' of World War I, erected in several towns in Italy.

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dove re Faysal soggiornò. Durante le sedute di posa si legò all'artista di profonda amicizia testimoniata da preziosi doni (Fig. 10: "Foto del monumento a Faysal sulla piazza di Baghdad ca. 1935 distrutto nel 1958"). Cf. p. 68: "La Rivista di S. Stefan. Monumento al granduca Nicolaj Nicolajevich 1911-1913. Gesso patinato a bronzo. Modello per il lato anteriore del basamento del monumento in bronzo dedicato al granduca Nicolaj Nicolajevich (1831-1891) a glorificazione della guerra russa turca (1877-78). L'opera, fuso in un unico blocco e finita nell'autunno del 1913, fu spedita via mare da Savona in Russia. Collocata nella piazza Manejnaja di Pietroburgo, sormontata dal monumento equestre, fu inaugurata solennemente alla presenza dello zar Nicola II il 13 gennaio 1914. Distrutta nel corso della Rivoluzione Russa, nel 1917, è documentata da una serie di foto storiche dell'Archivio Canonica [my emphasis]".

Cf. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 83 with n. 159 (quoted *verbatim supra*, at Chapter V.1.a)), for Roman Emperors (Geta and Caracalla), the portraits of whom on state reliefs, as a consequence of their *damnatio memoriae*, had been completely destroyed.

Since 1927, that is to say for the 32 last years of his life, Pietro Canonica lived in the *Fortezzuola* at Villa Borghese on the road now called 'Viale Pietro Canonica' (cf. here **Fig. 41**), which accommodates the 'Museo Pietro Canonica a Villa Borghese Museo e casa d'artista'. In front of the museum is on display one of his bronze sculptures, the 'portrait' statue of the mule Scudela, which the artist integrated into various of his 'Monumenti ai Caduti' of World War I.

**Fig. 41. Pietro Canonica (1869-1959), 'Monumento all'Umile Eroè' ('monument of a modest hero'; 1937), bronze. Statue of a mule, which is part of his 'monumento agli Alpini'. This monument is on display in front of the Fortezzuola at the Villa Borghese in Rome, which accommodates the Museo Pietro Canonica. (Photos: F.X. Schütz 03-IX-2019).**

Cf. also below, at *The first Contribution by Laura Gigli concerning Pietro Canonica's statue of the mule Scudela*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.1.) Statue of the mule Scudela. Pietro Canonica's 'Monumento all'Umile Eroè' (1937), ('monument of a modest hero'; cf. here Fig. 41), on display in front of the 'Museo Pietro Canonica a Villa Borghese' in Rome.*

Bianca Maria Santese (2017, in her Chapter: "Da Gallinara a studio e residenza di arista: genesi di un museo") describes the history of the *Fortezzuola*, beginning with the Borghese family, whose members used this building in very different ways. Cf. p. 38: "Dopo l'apertura al pubblico della Villa, nel 1903", the Comune di Roma had installed "uffici amministrativi" there, "Infine nel 1919 un rovinoso incendio danneggiò i locali, causandone l'abbandono [with n. 5].

*Genesi di un museo*

Solo nel 1927 l'Amministrazione Comunale diede alla Fortezzuola una nuova destinazione, concedendola in uso allo scultore Pietro Canonica per abitazione e studio, in cambio del restauro della struttura e della donazione delle opere che avrebbe raccolto in quegli spazi opportunamente ristrutturati [with n. 6, providing references]".

^ In her **note 5**, Santese writes: "Ricordiamo che nel 1901 Villa Borghese fu acquisita dallo Stato italiano e nel 1903, ribattezzata Villa Umberto, fu ceduta al Comune di Roma, ad eccezione del Casino Nobile, l'attuale Galleria Borghese, e di un'area destinata all'Istituto Nazionale di Agricoltura, oggi CNEL".

**Close to the museum Pietro Canonica, in the Valle Belle Arti, and precisely at the Piazzale Simon Bolívar, stands one of Pietro Canonica's other works, the equestrian bronze statue of Simon Bolívar (cf. here Fig. 40), which was cast in Canonica's own "fonderia" at Vetralla in 1934 (cf. B.M. SANTESE 2017b, 23).**

To give an example of the importance of Pietro Canonica's portrait commissions, I will discuss in the following his equestrian statue of Simon Bolívar, which is on display on a public square. This was also true of some of Canonica's now destroyed works, which represented portraits of sovereigns or other individuals, whose memory had later been damned. In 1960 was created an ensemble of the two major liberators of South America in the Valle Belle Arti at Rome by placing the equestrian statue of Bolívar, after a major restoration, again at its original site, but now opposite that of José de San Martín, whose equestrian statue was only erected there in 1957.

**Fig. 40. Pietro Canonica (1869-1959), equestrian statue of Simon Bolívar, bronze (1934). Since 1960 (again) on display on the Piazzale Simon Bolívar, the terrace in the Valle Belle Arti underneath the British School at Rome, opposite the equestrian statue of José de San Martín, which appears on the photos illustrated here in the foreground, seen from behind. The latter was erected in 1957 on the square now called Piazza José de San Martín, the terrace, which is located below the Via Omero in the Valle Belle Arti, and opposite the Piazzale Simon Bolívar (Photos: F.X. Schütz 18-IX-2019).**

**Fig. 43. Map of the Valle Belle Arti in Rome and of the adjacent Villa Borghese. OSM (Open Street Map, detail). Last visit: 5th October 2019.**

The inscriptions on the monument to José de San Martín read:

on the front of the pedestal:

"JOSE  
DESANMARTÍN  
LIBERTADOR DE LA ARGENTINA  
CHILE Y PERU"

and on a bronze plaque underneath it:

LAS EMBAJADAS ARGENTINAS ACREDITADAS ANTE  
EL GOBIERNO DE ITALIA Y LA SANTA SEDE AL  
LIBERTADOR GENERAL DON JOSÉ DE SAN MARTIN  
EN EL BICENTENARIO DE SU NASCIMENTO

and on the back of the pedestal:

"GLI ITALIANI  
D'ARGENTINA  
ALLA CITTÀ DI ROMA".

On the east side of the pedestal of the monument to Simon Bolívar there is the signature of the artist:

"P. CANONICA".

The dedicatory inscription is to be found below:

"LE NAZIONI BOLIVARIANE  
BOLIVIA COLOMBIA EQUATORE  
PANAMA PERU VENEZUELA  
QUESTA STATUA DEL LIBERATORE  
SIMON BOLÍVAR OFFRONO A ROMA MADRE  
IN MEMORIA DEL GIURAMENTO  
CHE EGLI PRONUNZIO SUL MONTE SACRO MCMXXXIV".

The inscription on the west side of the pedestal describes the *gestae* of Simon Bolívar:

"NACQUE IL 24 Luglio 1783 IN CARACAS  
NEL 1805 IN COSPETTO DELL'URBE GIURÒ  
DI LIBERARE L'AMERICA LATINA E DI CUSTODIRNE L'INDIPENDENZA  
COME UN LUMINOSO ASILO DELL'UMANITÀ A GLORIA DELLA STIRPE  
IL VOTO COMPI  
IN QUINDICI ANNI DI GESTA EROICHE E DI  
ABNEGAZIONE".

Later was added a bronze inscription to Bolívar's monument, which is placed in front of the statue, underneath its pedestal:

"IL 19 APRILE 1960 FU QUI  
DEPOSITATA LA TERRA DEI  
CAMPI DI BATTAGLIA SU CUI  
TRIONFARONO GLI ESERCITI  
BOLIVARIANI NELLA LORO  
LOTTA PER LA LIBERTÀ".

Sylvia Diebner (2018, 80-88) has studied the history of the 'Valle Belle Arti', and of the buildings which are the reason, why this entire new city quarter was called this way. Her text is published in German and Italian, and I will quote in the following from the Italian version. Of all the buildings, Diebner discusses, I can only single out in this context the nine foreign "Istituti di Cultura", also called academies, which were created in this process. - The Austrian institution was the focus of the publication, for which Diebner was asked to write her contribution.

Three of these academies are located to the north of the Viale delle Belle Arti, on the roads now called Viale Bruno Buozzi and Via Antonio Gramsci, respectively. From west to east they are: 'l'Istituto Austriaco di Cultura a Roma', 'l'Istituto Giapponese di Cultura' and the 'British School at Rome'. To the south of the Viale delle Belle Arti was erected the 'Accademia di Romania in Roma', which stands to the west of the Piazza José de San Martín. To the south and above that terrace, on the road now called Via Omero, are to be found from west to east: 'l'Accademia di Danimarca', 'l'Istituto Svedese', the 'Reale Istituto Neerlandese', 'l'Accademia Belgica', and 'l'Accademia d'Egitto'. In addition to these nine academies, this area is characterized by seventeen monuments of important foreign personalities - all male, as I should like to add. Not by chance, the Valle Belle Arti has, therefore, recently been called the '*memorial garden* of the Valle Giulia', as Diebner (2018, 87) writes. Diebner explains the meaning of the monuments, dedicated to Simon Bolívar and to José de San Martín (cf. here **Fig. 41**), two of altogether six "eroi latinoamericani" (so S. DIEBNER 2018, 88), who have been honoured in this area with statues, in the context of all the other sculptures and inscriptions that have been dedicated to foreigners in the Valle Belle Arti and in the adjacent Villa Borghese.

Diebner (2018, 87-88, in her Chapter: "Valle Giulia durante gli anni del Governatorato di Roma (1925-1944)", in the section: "Valle Giulia: la politica estera sotto forma di statue") writes about these monuments, dedicated to foreigners:

"Nella zona di Valle Giulia e dell'adiacente colle di Villa Borghese, se si escludono i circa duecento busti del Pincio e del Gianicolo, si contano complessivamente diciassette statue offerte in dono dalle diverse nazioni. Questo insieme di statue non è da attribuire a una sistematica operazione decorativa delle zone lasciate libere dalle opere di costruzione. Tutte le personalità raffigurate avevano, infatti, un legame con Roma anche se ciò potrebbe non essere subito chiaro per il visitatore di oggi, magari per mancanza di conoscenze storiche. Prima di addentrarsi in **questo memorial garden di Valle Giulia, come è stato recentemente definito**, occorre ricordare il passaggio al demanio di Stato, avvenuto nel 1930 [corr: 1903; cf. Diebner's German text on page 76 and *supra*], di Villa Borghese insieme al suo vasto parco popolato di statue. Si pensa che l'amministrazione della città volesse così riproporre, nella zona adiacente a Valle Giulia, l'idea di erigere delle statue anche per personalità di fama internazionale, come per fare quasi da specchio al Pincio, nel quale, come nel parco Borghese, si ergevano busti e statue raffiguranti le maggiori personalità politiche e culturali italiane.

Poiché alla base dell'edificazione di tutti questi monumenti vi sono motivazioni legate alla politica estera, sembra opportuno descrivere queste opere non in ordine cronologico, bensì a seconda del rapporto intrinseco instauratosi tra i personaggi rappresentati e la città di Roma o l'Italia. È **interessante notare la fitta**

schiera di monumenti dedicati ai liberatori del Sudamerica, che sono espressione probabilmente dei complessi legami dell'Italia con l'America Latina e che acquistano, dunque, valenza ideologica. L'emigrazione di massa, soprattutto del ceto contadino, interessò in misura maggiore l'America. In alcuni comuni di lingua spagnola e di fede cattolica romana si [page 88] registrò nel tardo XVIII e nel XIX secolo un aumento consistente della comunità di immigrati italiani. Circa 600.000 immigrati in età lavorativa scelsero l'America Latina come meta. Dei 14 milioni di emigrati che abbandonarono l'Italia, tra gli anni '70 dell'Ottocento e la prima Guerra mondiale, il 25 % emigrò in Sudamerica. Il più delle volte queste donazioni all'Italia sotto forma di statue furono dettate dalla volontà di rafforzare i continui rapporti reciproci. In Valle Giulia si contano, a ogni modo, non meno di sei statue a grandezza naturale dedicate a eroi latinoamericani.

Tra tutti probabilmente il più famoso è il "libertador" del Sudamerica, **Simón Bolívar** (1783-1830). Tra il 1811 e il 1821, costui riuscì a unire l'attuale Venezuela e la Colombia in un unico Stato indipendente, di cui egli divenne il primo presidente; negli anni successivi riuscì ad annettere anche la parte nord del Perù alla Gran Colombia, l'attuale Ecuador. Nel 1851 il governo peruviano affidò allo scultore italiano **Adamo Tadolini** (1788-1868) l'incarico di realizzare una statua equestre dell'eroe. Questa stessa statua sembra aver ispirato la realizzazione di un'altra statua eretta nel 1934 a Roma dallo scultore **Pietro Canonica**, dono da parte di tutte le sei nazioni che raggiunsero la propria libertà grazie a Bolívar ovvero: Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, Perù e Venezuela. È interessante, inoltre, notare il fatto che la statua fu eretta in una data che non ricorda in alcun modo Bolívar, bensì alla presenza di Mussolini per i festeggiamenti dell'anniversario ufficiale di Roma, il 21 aprile dello stesso anno. Nel 1960 poi - dopo una completa opera di pulizia della statua - il monumento fu eretto nel giorno del centocinquantenario dell'indipendenza del Venezuela, quindi con una successiva variazione dei rapporti politici, di nuovo a Valle Giulia sulla terrazza sottostante la British School.

Tre anni prima [*i.e.*, 1957] era stata eretta una statua di bronzo, antistante all'Accademia di Romania, raffigurante il primo combattente per la libertà dell'America latina, **José de San Martín** (1778-1850), che nell'iscrizione sul piedistallo viene definito il "libertador de la Argentina, Chile y Peru". **La statua fu realizzata su iniziativa e con il finanziamento della comunità italiana dell'Argentina a opera dell'artista italiano Silvio Olivo** che si ispirò chiaramente alla statua di Lima raffigurante de San Martín vittorioso sulle truppe reali in Cile e Perù, avendo assicurato così nel 1817 l'indipendenza di quello che sarebbe più tardi diventato lo Stato argentino [my emphasis]. Cf. p. 89: "Probabilmente fu la statua eretta in onore di **Simon Bolívar** ad aver incoraggiato gli altri Stati, le altre città o i gruppi di emigranti italiani attivi dal punto di vista politico-culturale a donare anche loro alla città di Roma dei monumenti raffiguranti i propri eroi [my emphasis]".

Carla Scicchitano (2017, 64) writes about a plaster model of Pietro Canonica's statue of Simon Bolívar at the Museo Pietro Canonica: "**Sala III ... Monumento a Simon Bolivar**. 1954. Gesso patinato a bronzo. Modello per la replica del monumento in bronzo e granito (Popayan, Colombia). L'opera originale fu realizzata da Canonica nel 1933, donata dalle nazioni bolivariane al Comune di Roma nel 1934. La sua collocazione attuale a Valle Giulia avvenne il 19 aprile 1960, in occasione della celebrazione del cinquantenario [!] anniversario dell'indipendenza del Venezuela".

Cf. Bianca Maria Santese (2017b, 27), who writes about Pietro Canonica:

"Attivo fino agli ultimi giorni della sua vita, morì a Roma l'8 giugno 1959. I suoi funerali furono celebrati alla presenza delle massime autorità dello Stato nella Basilica di S. Maria degli Angeli, e dal 1977 le sue spoglie riposano nella chiesetta dell'Immacolata a piazza di Siena, nell'amata Villa Borghese [with n. 27]".

In her **note 27**, Santese writes: "Archivio Museo Canonica".

This "chiesetta dell'Immacolata", mentioned by Bianca Maria Santese (2017b, 27), was erected in the Villa Borghese, immediately adjacent to the north-west of the Casina di Raffaello. From the entrance porch of the church, looking in a north-westerly direction, is visible Pietro Canonica's statue of the mule Scudela (cf. here **Fig. 41**), which was erected in front of the museum dedicated to Canonica.

Immediately after that, Bianca Maria Santese (2017b, 27) continues: "A Pietro Canonica in vita non mancarono né successo né riconoscimenti ufficiali: ha ricevuto onorificenze da tutte le nazioni e istituzioni per cui ha lavorato, nel 1929 fu nominato Accademico d'Italia, nel 1930 Accademico di S. Luca e nel 1950, per i suoi *altissimi meriti artistici*, fu nominato Senatore a vita da Luigi Einaudi [with n. 28] (fig. 22). Nonostante i tanti successi e riconoscimenti, dopo la morte la sua fama si affievolì, e fu relegato, con una discutibile *damnatio memoriae*, ai margini della vicenda artistica tra Otto e Novecento [with n. 29]".

In her **note 28**, Santese writes: "Amicizia e stima da parte del Presidente [*i.e.*, of Italy: Luigi Einaudi] sono confermate da diverse foto che li ritraggono insieme [with Pietro Canonica] e in particolare da una sua foto con dedica regalatagli in occasione del suo [*i.e.*, Canonica's] novantesimo compleanno [*i.e.*, her Fig. 22]".

In her **note 29**, she writes: "La storiografia artistica degli anni '50 e '60 del Novecento 'dimenticò' molti dei protagonisti della vicenda artistica tra la fine dell'Ottocento e la prima metà del Novecento, spesso considerati epigoni decadenti della tradizione ottocentesca, o (a seconda dei casi) artisti di 'regime'. L'attenzione si concentrò piuttosto sugli artisti della grande Avanguardia novecentesca, spesso ignorati o emarginati dai regimi totalitari tra le due guerre. Anche la carica di Accademico d'Italia rivestita con orgoglio da Canonica fin dal 1929, ha certamente contribuito a creare un clima di 'sospetto' intorno a Canonica, travolto, suo malgrado e nonostante il suo dichiarato antifascismo, nelle 'epurazioni' ideologiche del secondo dopoguerra. Simoncelli, 2009".

Interestingly, the artist Pietro Canonica has thus himself suffered a kind of *damnatio memoriae* after his death, as Bianca Maria Santese (2017b, 27) observes. But that was not the reason, why I decided to discuss his work in the context of this *Study*, but rather something else. - Although I was glad to have the chance to discuss this matter with Eugenio La Rocca on 17th September 2019 in Rome. La Rocca, who knows Pietro Canonica's work well, did not agree with the idea that the artist might be regarded by some art critics as one of the above-mentioned "artisti di 'regime'" of his time. He added that Canonica is a good sculptor and that, in 200 years time, his work will probably be much more acknowledged than today.

Compared with the dramatic vicissitudes of some of Pietro Canonica's portraits of sovereigns, who suffered *damnatio memoriae* (Czar Nicholas II of Russia suffered the damnation of his memory together with his entire family) soon after Canonica had sculpted their monuments, to the effect that these works were *completely* destroyed, it is remarkable that the Cancelleria Reliefs - like many other Roman marble reliefs or sculptures in the round comprising portraits of emperors and/ or of members of their families - have *not* been destroyed after the fall of that emperor (or that member of his family), who had commissioned them in the first place.

These Roman portraits were instead reused again, at the orders of the succeeding emperor(s), by recutting the portrait(s) of those individuals. And that, although I would have thought that any Roman emperor had much more financial means, marble and artists at his disposal than any of those aforementioned politicians of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the specific case of the Cancelleria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2**), the order to recut the portrait(s) of these friezes, had certainly occurred after the fall of one emperor and his subsequent *damnatio memoriae*: Domitian, or, as has also been suggested, after the fall of even two emperors: Nero and Domitian.

Apropos: 'These Roman portraits were instead reused again'. There is, of course, a fundamental difference between any Roman emperor until about the third century AD - so for example Domitian - and Czar Nicolaus II of Russia, who commissioned Pietro Canonica with some of the sculptures, that have been discussed in this Chapter.

I have already mentioned above an observation by Rose Mary Sheldon (quoted in more detail *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.i*)) that can explain, why Pietro Canonica's above-mentioned portraits of monarchs, whose memory was damned, were completely destroyed, whereas the portraits of Roman emperors, who likewise *suffered damnatio memoriae*, were simply recut - and can therefore fortunately still be studied by us today (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2**).

Rose Mary Sheldon (2018, 202) writes:

"... There were too many tasks to accomplish and too many people to watch. Still, the empire continued. Perhaps that is the biggest mystery of all: that despite having the highest rate of attrition of any monarchy in the world, the Roman Empire survived another three centuries ... [*i.e.*, after Augustus' death; my emphasis]".

The answer to the above posed question is, therefore, very simple: contrary to the political situation of Czar Nicolaus II of Russia, with Domitian's assassination, the Roman principate had not come to an end.

For the artist Pietro Canonica and for his statue of the mule Scudela; cf. also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.1.*

**VI.3. Summary of my own hypotheses concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs presented in this Study; Addition: My own tentative suggestion, to which monument or building the Cancellaria Reliefs may have belonged, and a discussion of their possible date**

As explained in detail in this *Study*, I myself believe, like Giandomenico Spinola (cf. *supra*, at Chapter III. See also below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*), that the Cancellaria Reliefs were commissioned by Domitian and that they originally showed on Frieze A a *profectio* of the Emperor Domitian, and that Frieze B shows the togate youth (in my opinion Domitian; cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12**), receiving his father, the Emperor Vespasian (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 14**), 'after Vespasian's victories in the East, that were the foundation, on which he built his dynasty' (for that, cf. *infra*). Represented is Vespasian's *adventus* as the new emperor into Rome in October of AD 70; the fact that *Victoria* is crowning Vespasian with the *corona civica* means that this is the very moment of the investiture of the new Emperor Vespasian.

But in the first place, the *corona civica* was granted *ob cives servatos*, as rightly observed by Rita Paris, who therefore convincingly concludes that Vespasian is honoured with this wreath, which was the highest possible decoration for a military victory, because he had managed to end the civil war. - Like Augustus before him, who had received the *corona civica* because of the same reason (cf. *ead.*, 1994b, 81-82, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a), and here **Fig. 35**).

I also follow Spinola's hypothesis that the gesture, made by Vespasian with his right hand, means the "legittimazione" (so Spinola) of Domitian as (future) emperor by his father, the Emperor Vespasian. In addition, I follow Toynbee (1957)<sup>474</sup> in assuming that Domitian's wearing of the 'simple, equestrian shoes' on Frieze B was intentional (for the meaning of this decision, cf. *infra*).

I thus follow scholars, whose hypotheses have been abandoned by most scholars since a very long time, after Anne Marguerite McCann (1972; cf. *supra*, n. 114, in Chapter I.1., who voted for Trajan) and Marianne Bergmann (1981; cf. *supra*, n. 115, in Chapter I.1.), in my opinion erroneously, had both asserted that the extant head of Vespasian on Frieze B had (allegedly) been recut from the portrait of another emperor. As a consequence of Bergmann's hypothesis, who suggested that this alleged original emperor on Frieze B should be identified with Domitian, she herself (cf. *supra*, at n. 128, in Chapter I.1.), and many scholars following her, had, of course, abandoned Filippo Magi's idea (1939; 1945; cf. *supra*, ns. 112, 117, at Chapter I.1.), to recognize in this togate youth the young Domitian (for detailed discussions, cf. *supra*, n. 128, at Chapter I.1., and in Chapters I.1.1; V.1.h.1.); V.1.i.1.); V.1.i.3.); VI.1.).

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<sup>474</sup> J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 7-8 (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 176, in Chapter I.1.).

In order to support my identification of the togate youth on Frieze B as the young Domitian (here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12**), I have - following suggestions by Toynbee (1957) and Simon (1960; 1963) - concentrated on the context, in which this figure is shown on this panel, and on the 'wrong' shoes, he is allegedly wearing (provided he were Domitian: who, holding the office *praetor urbanus* at the represented moment (*i.e.*, the first half of October in AD 70), was entitled to wear the *calcei senatorii*, resulting in the assumptions that he is shown as the current *praetor urbanus* and at the same time as the *princeps iuventutis* (as likewise first suggested by Toynbee; to this I will come back in detail below).

**Contrary to previous scholars, I have also tried to figure out, how the artists had managed to indicate the locale where Frieze A and B are staged, without the aid of architectural backdrops, as are normally typical of state reliefs, for example arches, that in *adventus*-scenes visualize a gate in the Servian city Wall (cf. here Fig. 91). The reason being that the slabs of the Cancelleria Reliefs are obviously too thin to allow such additional carvings.**

**Assuming that the artists have instead chosen and positioned the figures represented on both panels according to the spatial restrictions that those individuals had to observe, I believe to have found such further information which both friezes contain.**

**Since the reliefs show a *profectio* and an *adventus*, the 'invisible' boundary that dictates the movements of all represented figures, is the *pomerium* of Rome.**

This assumption, already suggested by many previous scholars, could be proven, because I was able to identify the amazon-like figure on Frieze A as the *Dea Roma* (cf. *supra*, at chapters I.2; V.1.b); V.1.d); V.1.i.2.)), whereas many other recent scholars have identified her as *Virtus* or as *Roma/Virtus* instead (cf. *supra*, at Chapters I.1.; I.2.); V.1.b)). Then trying to find out, whether or not the artists had designed the composition of Frieze B in similar fashion, I found out that the topographical situation, pictured on Frieze B, corroborates the suggestion, made by Toynbee (1957) and Simon (1960; 1963), to recognize in the togate youth the *praetor urbanus* of the represented historical moment, because that magistrate could only act in this capacity *inside* the *pomerium*.

**In order to verify Toynbee's (1957) and Simon's (1960; 1963) hypotheses, I had asked two questions:**

- 1.) which Roman magistrate could in theory have received a home coming emperor in an *adventus*-ceremony?; and -**
- 2.) under which conditions could the magistrate in question act in this ceremony?**

The answer to the 1.) question was: the magistrates in question, who have been represented in this capacity on state reliefs are for example the two *consules* and the *praefectus urbi*. Both are, for example, represented on two different reliefs of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum (cf. *supra*, at Chapter II.3.3., and here **Fig. 46**).

Because of his age, the togate youth on frieze B cannot possibly be neither a *consul*, or a *praefectus urbi* (cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.1.h.1.)). But because Toynbee (1957) and Simon (1960; 1963) 1,) correctly (as we know now) assumed that Frieze B shows Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in October of AD 70; and 2.) because they knew that the young Caesar Domitian was *praetor urbanus consulari potestate* since 1st January AD 70 (cf. *supra*, at n. 189, in Chapter I.1.; cf. at Chapters V.1.h.1.); V.1.i.3.)), Toynbee and Simon (both *op.cit.*), in my opinion convincingly, identified the togate youth with Domitian. To the accounts of Toynbee (1957) and Simon (1960; 1963) I will come back below in more detail.

**But Toynbee (1957) and Simon (1960; 1963) themselves did not address my 2.) above-asked question: the consequences of the spatial restriction, under which a 'praetor urbanus' (as already his name implied) had to operate in the capacity of his office: namely only *within* the *pomerium* of Rome (cf. *supra*, n. 185, in Chapter I.1.; and in Chapter V.1.i.3.)).**



**To have considered this simple fact in my discussion of Frieze B is my own contribution to this debate, and I hope that my 'topographical' approach to this panel has helped to solve the vexed problem, 'whom on earth the togate youth on Frieze B might represent'.**

In addition to this, Franz Xaver Schütz and I have made a visualization of the Cancellaria Reliefs as the horizontal panels in the bay of one of the arches, built by Domitian (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**; *supra*, at Chapters *I.3.*; *I.3.2.*; *V.1.d.*; *V.1.i.3.*) and *infra*, at Chapters *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and at *The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps*).

This has resulted in the following observations. When both friezes are attached to opposite walls in the passageway of an arch and viewed together - as in our 'in situ'-visualization - the togate youth on Frieze B results as standing almost precisely opposite the figure of the Emperor Domitian (now Nerva) on Frieze A (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figures 12** [togate youth/ Domitian]; **6** [Domitian/ Nerva]). This visualization demonstrates, in addition to this, that Domitian and the togate youth are heading processions that move in the same direction as the beholder, who passes under this arch.

**In my opinion these two facts support my hypothesis to identify the togate youth with the young Caesar Domitian.**

In the case of the emperor, represented on Frieze B (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 14** [Vespasian]), I have pursued the following avenue of research, which differs from that of all previous recent scholars. I have tried to find out whether the iconographical details, represented on Frieze B, could possibly support Filippo Magi's (1939; 1945) assumption that the represented emperor on this frieze had been Vespasian from the very beginning. In my opinion, this is actually the case (for the following, cf. *supra*, at Chapters *V.1.i.2.*; *V.1.h.2.*; *V.1.i.3.*; *V.1.i.3.a.*)).

One result of my relevant research refers to the figure of the *Dea Roma* on Frieze B (here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 2**): this representation of the goddess follows the iconography of the *Dea Roma* that Vespasian chose for a *sestertius*, issued in AD 71 (cf. here **Fig. 112**), which commemorated his revival of the archaic festival of the *Septimontium*, which was henceforth again celebrated at Rome, and especially lavishly by Domitian (cf. *supra*, at Chapter *V.1.i.2.*)). This finding proves that the amazon-like figure on Frieze B actually represents, as correctly suggested by Magi (1939; 1945; cf. *supra*, **n. 112**, in Chapter *I.1.*), not *Virtus*, as some scholars assume, but instead the *Dea Roma*.

Magi (1939, *quoted verbatim supra*, **n. 112**, at Chapter *I.1.*, and 1945, cf. *supra*, at **n. 192**, in Chapter *I.1.*, and at **n. 194**, in Chapter *I.1.1.*), had likewise - correctly - suggested that Frieze B represents Vespasian's *adventus* at Rome in (the first half of) October of AD 70 (as we know now). Scholars have rejected this hypothesis (cf. *supra*, at Chapter *V.1.i.3.*)) on the following three grounds:

- a) Vespasian is wearing a *tunica* and a *toga*, which they do not regard as appropriate for a general, who comes back from a victorious military campaign;
- b) Vespasian is not accompanied by soldiers, which in their opinion is not appropriate for a (military) *adventus*; and
- c) *Victoria* crowns Vespasian with a *corona civica*, instead of with a *corona triumphalis*, which they would regard as appropriate for a victorious general, who is shown in an *adventus*-ceremony. - But see below.

**As I hope to have demonstrated above (cf. *supra*, at Chapter *V.1.i.3.*)), all three points a)-c) faithfully record the real historical situation of the first half of October AD 70, when Vespasian came back to Rome for the first time since he had obtained his recognition as the Roman emperor by the Senate.**

At the same time Vespasian came back for the first time after his victories in the Great Jewish War. Dio Cassius writes that Vespasian was clad in *tunica* and *toga* already when he had arrived at Brindisi (and *ergo* also, when he arrived at Rome), and we know from Dio Cassius and from Flavius Josephus that Vespasian did not come back together with his victorious army. The reason being that Titus was still fighting with this army the Great Jewish War at that stage, who came only back to Rome (together with this army) in AD 71.

**Also the choice of the artists, who decided to show *Victoria* on Frieze B in the act of crowning Vespasian with the *corona civica*, is correct: this crown denotes the reigning emperor and, as correctly interpreted by earlier scholars, this detail of Frieze B therefore visualizes the investiture of the new Emperor Vespasian.**

After this Chapter was written, I learned from Rita Paris (1994b, 82), that my above-mentioned point *b*) is not (quite) correct: contrary to my assertion, Vespasian was actually accompanied by part of his army, when he came back to Rome in October of AD 70. - To this I will come back below.

**The three points a)-c) listed here therefore do not fit for any other historical personality and event than for Vespasian in the first half of October AD 70, when he, coming back from his victories in the East, arrived at the first time (as the new emperor) at the City of Rome.**

Rita Paris (1994b) has added to all this the most important observation that **Vespasian is crowned with a *corona civica* by *Victoria* because he had managed to end the civil war**, since this crown was granted *ob cives servatos*. - Like Augustus before Vespasian, who had received the *corona civica* because of the same reason: "... questo riconoscimento, *ob cives servatos*, conferito in un'età repubblicana a chi avesse salvato un concittadino, in determinate circostanze, divenuto poi, con Augusto, prerogativa imperiale"; cf. Paris (1994b, 82; cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.a), and here Fig. 35).

**Of course no other emperor (after Augustus) than Vespasian could therefore have been crowned by *Victoria* with a *corona civica* because of that reason.**

Given the fact that the composition of Frieze B was designed a long time after the historical event, it may well be that the represented scene comprises 'glimpses in the future'. I have suggested this for two iconographic features:

*a*) in the case of the choice of the statue-type(?) of the *Dea Roma* on Frieze B, which should only appear on a *sestertius*, issued by Vespasian in AD 71 to commemorate the fact that he had revived the archaic festival of the *Septimontium* at Rome (cf. *supra* at Chapter V.1.i.2.) and here Fig. 112);

*b*) in the case of the *cippus*, on which the *Genius Populi Romani* on Frieze B sets his left foot. If that object (by the way the only one, represented on both friezes, which indicates the locale, where the scene takes place) is here correctly identified as a *cippus* that marks the *pomerium*-line, this may have two further consequences. Because, if so, this could be understood as a further hint at:

1.) the identity of the represented emperor, namely again Vespasian, because we know from the *V. clausula* of the *lex de imperio Vespasiani* (CIL VI 930), that Vespasian was given the power to enlarge the *pomerium*, if he should find such an operation useful - and which Vespasian actually did;

2.) this *cippus* of the *pomerium*-line, at the same time, may have been chosen to show the beholder something else: the represented scene must be (in a certain sense) a military *adventus* of Vespasian because, according to Roman law, only a victorious general, who had enlarged the area of the Imperium Romanum, was granted the power to enlarge the *pomerium* of Rome at all (cf. *supra*, n. 199, in Chapter I.1.1., and at Chapter V.1.i.3.)).

Besides, as already mentioned several times above (cf. *supra*, at Chapters I.2.1.a); and V.1.b)): Vespasian is *not* shown in a mere civilian *adventus*, as has been suggested by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 79, quoted *verbatim*

*supra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.)), and by other scholars, but instead definitely as coming back from a victorious campaign. This the artists indicates by means of the *rotulus*, carried for Vespasian by **figure 17** on Frieze B. Besides, also Domitian/ Nerva on Frieze A carries such a *rotulus*, both of which recent scholars have mentioned, but were unable to explain.

I repeat in the following, what was already said in Chapters I.2.1.a); V.1.b); and V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.):

`to both emperors on the two Friezes of the Cancellaria Reliefs belongs a *rotulus*. Domitian (now Nerva) on Frieze A carries it himself in his left hand (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2: figure 6**), whereas on Frieze B for Vespasian a *rotulus* is carried by a man of his entourage (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 17**). Both *rotuli* contain the *vota* of these emperors, made by them to the gods, praying them to be granted a victory in the war, to which Domitian on Frieze A is shown as leaving, whereas in Vespasian's case on Frieze B this victory has already been granted - according to Simon (1963, 9, 10) these were the *vota* taken by the commander of an army *pro reditu*'.

As mentioned several times before, I follow Magi (cf. *supra*, n. 162, at Chapter I.1.) also in assuming that the amazon-like figures on Frieze A and B should both be identified as the *Dea Roma*. The discussion of the *Dea Roma* on Frieze B in Chapter V.1.i.2.) was already mentioned above, the identification of the amazon-like figure on Frieze A, who is certainly not *Virtus*, let alone *Roma/Virtus*, but the *Dea Roma*, is discussed *supra*, in Chapters I.1.; I.2.; I.2.1.

As I hope to have shown above (cf. *supra*, at Chapters I.1.; I.3.; I.3.2.; V.1.d)), a number of deliberate choices for the composition of Frieze B define the young Domitian, not the Emperor Vespasian, as the most important figure of the entire scene. This had first been suggested by Magi (1939)<sup>475</sup>, followed by many other scholars, for example by Bianchi Bandinelli (1946-48): Domitian is heading the representatives of the City of Rome towards their meeting with Vespasian. We know that the scene, as depicted on Frieze B, is not historical in so far as there are no literary sources, which describe such a ceremony. What we do have is the information that Vespasian, after landing in Brindisi, had arrived at Rome 'in the first half of October 70 AD' (cf. *supra*, at n. 195, in Chapter I.1.1.), and that Domitian had gone from Rome all the way down to Beneventum to welcome Vespasian there. Cf. *supra*, in Chapter Preamble, Section III.; at point 2.); and at n. 208, in Chapter I.1.1., and at ns. 415, 456, in Chapter III.).

When we compare those historical facts with the represented scene on Frieze B, it becomes clear - as of course noted by all previous scholars since Magi himself, who believed that Frieze B shows Vespasian's *adventus* of October AD 70 - that this is not a correct illustration of 'annals' of some sort, but rather the idealised representation of the young Domitian performing his professional duty in an important state ceremony, the *adventus* of a new emperor. Such a protocol could exclusively be fulfilled by the man, who held one of the highest ranking offices at Rome, an office, which was only subordinate to that of a consul. As pointed out by Simon (1963; quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 181, in Chapter I.1.), these choices of the composition may therefore be read as a means of defining the rôle of the *praetor urbanus*, who, as chief magistrate currently present at Rome, held the appropriate office at Rome, to welcome a new emperor in an *adventus*-ceremony.

Simon (1963; cf. *supra*, at n. 181, in Chapter I.1.), was of the opinion that the *praetor urbanus*, depicted on Frieze B, at the represented moment was the chief magistrate currently present at Rome, arguing that both

<sup>475</sup> F. MAGI 1939, 205 (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 112, in Chapter I.1.); F. MAGI 1945, 111 (quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 463, in Chapter IV.1.); followed by the following scholars: H. FUHRMANN 1940, Sp. 472; H. FUHRMANN 1941, Sp. 544-545; R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI 1946-48, 259 (all three quoted *verbatim supra*, at Chapter IV.1.); J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 5-6 (quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 208, in Chapter I.1.1.), E. SIMON 1963, 9 (quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 456, in Chapter III.); G. KOEPPPEL 1969, 172 (quoted *verbatim supra*, at Chapter IV.1.); R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI and M. TORELLI 1976, ARTE ROMANA, scheda n. 105 (quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter IV.1.) wrote something slightly different than Magi (whom they otherwise follow in many respects): on Frieze B "è raffigurata una scena incentrata sul giovane Domiziano e su Vespasiano"; cf. S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 55-56, Frieze B: "Figur 12" (cf. *supra*, at Chapters V.1.e); and V.1.h.1.)).

*consules*, Vespasian and Titus, were away, conducting wars. I have only much later realized, that Titus was *not consul* at that stage, although it is true that he was away conducting a war (cf. *supra*, n. 413, in Chapter III.). But there is another fact that may have had importance here: not a single *consul* would usually have received an emperor in an *adventus*-ceremony, but instead both *consules*, at least on the representation known to us this is the case (cf. *supra*, at ns. 360, 361, in Chapter II.3.3., and here Fig. 46).

**This observation, if true, may be regarded as another argument in favour of the assumption that the togate youth on Frieze B (here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 12) may be identified as the current *praetor urbanus*.**

We know also, that Domitian held the position *praetor urbanus* since 1st January 70 (cf. *supra*, at n. 189, in Chapter I.1.).

**In theory, apart from the *consules* and the *praetor urbanus*, also the *praefectus urbi* could have received an emperor in an *adventus*-ceremony, but this office was always held by a senator, usually a senior *ex-consul*.**

Cf. *supra*, at n. 183, in Chapter I.1., at ns. 360, 361, in Chapter II.3.3, and here Fig. 46, and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.a)).

**Therefore, the togate youth on Frieze B is much too young for that office. See also the discussion of this point below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.**

Because of his office *praetor urbanus*, Domitian was a member of the Senate, and therefore entitled to wear the *calcei senatorii*. Domitian's choice (in case that is true), not to wear those boots on Frieze B, but instead the 'equestrian shoes' may mean that Domitian wanted at the same time to be characterized on Frieze B as the *Princeps Iuventutis* (for whom the wearing of those shoes was appropriate), a title Domitian held since 21st December AD 69. With these assumptions, I likewise follow Toynbee (1957; cf. *supra*, at ns. 189, in Chapter I.1., and at n. 204, in Chapter I.1.1.). The title *Princeps Iuventutis* meant nothing less than that Domitian was 'the heir presumptive to the Empire' (so J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 8 with n. 11, quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 205, in Chapter I.1.1, and at n. 469, in Chapter VI.).

As I have only realized after writing this Chapter, it has also been suggested by Langer and Pfanner (2018; discussed *supra*, in Chapter V.1.h.1.)), that this wearing of the 'wrong' shoes on the part of the togate youth, may simply be explained by a mistake, made by the artists (so S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 66. Cf. pp. 76-77 with ns. 121-123, quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 193, at Chapter I.1., for other similar mistakes, which the authors have observed on the Cancelleria Reliefs). - Independently of Langer and Pfanner (2018), I have myself come to the same conclusion (cf. *supra*, at ns. 144, 156, in Chapter I.1.; with detailed discussion).

**Frieze B 'documents' Domitian's first important public appearance at Rome (that we know of), since he had received the title *Princeps Iuventutis*. The latter hypothesis, if true, would mean that Domitian chose to appear on Frieze B 'as the heir presumptive to the Empire' (so J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 8 with n. 11).**

**Provided this assumption is correct, this would corroborate Giandomenico Spinola's hypothesis (personal communication; cf. *supra*, at ns. 420, 455, in Chapter III. See also below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancelleria Reliefs*), according to which, also on Frieze B, Vespasian, with the gesture of his right hand, expresses in person and in a public ceremony, the "legittimazione" of Domitian as future emperor, a gesture which in a certain way 'acts out' publicly in the first half of October AD 70, what had already been legally defined the year before, on 21st December AD 69, when Domitian received the title *Princeps Iuventutis* - but that had happened in absence of his father, the Emperor Vespasian, and *not* in a formal public ceremony. -**

For the circumstances, under which Domitian had received this title, which are reported by Tacitus (*Hist.* 3,86); cf. *supra*, at Preamble; Section III., at point 1.); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.c).

**If that entire scenario should be true, I also suggest, that the intended political message of Frieze B has similarities with a section of the hieroglyphic inscription on Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28), the original text of which had presumably been composed by Domitian himself, or rather by his Egyptian consultants, in close collaboration with him.**

Cf. *supra*, at Chapter IV.1.; and below, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini : La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*.

**In the passage of this Egyptian inscription, to which I refer, Domitian states that he has received "la regalità da suo padre Vespasiano il dio" (translation: E.M. CIAMPINI 2004, 163. The emphasis is that of the author; cf. *supra*, n. 467, at Chapter IV.1.).**

**In his text, which the Egyptologist Emanuele Marcel Ciampini was so kind as to write for this Study (cf. *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini: La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*), we learn that there is not only in one passage of the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk a reference to the legitimization of Domitian's reign and to his own divine nature - as I, being not an Egyptologist myself, had suspected (cf. *supra*, at Chapter IV.1.) - but in fact in three different passages of those inscriptions.**

**Ciampini (cf. *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini: La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*) has analysed these three passages and formulates their common message as follows, they have : "un chiaro intento politico: legittimare la dinastia, e nel caso particolare Domiziano, attribuendogli una natura divina che gli deriva dall'essere discendente diretto degli dei" (i.e., from his father, *Divus Vespasianus*, and his brother, *Divus Titus*; my emphasis).**

This proves, of course, the great importance of the theme 'legitimation' within the entire complex of messages, Domitian wanted to convey with the hieroglyphic texts of his obelisk: not only the 'legitimation of Domitian's reign', as in Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs, but the 'legitimation' of the entire Flavian dynasty.

This is, by the way, likewise hinted at on Frieze B: by the fact that Vespasian is crowned by *Victoria* (for this specific crown, and the meaning of this gesture, cf. *supra*, ns. 385, 386, in Chapter III., and at Chapters V.1.i.3.); V.1.i.3.a)). In addition to this, those hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk stress Domitian's 'own divine nature', as Ciampini writes (cf. below, at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini: La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*).

This latter claim could not be visualized on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs, in which both Domitian and Vespasian are represented, since there Vespasian is shown in his *adventus* into Rome in the first half of October AD 70, when he was still alive. But Vespasian on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs, stands, of course, for all that, what Domitian claims to possess in the three passages of the hieroglyphic texts of his obelisk, discussed by Ciampini. In these texts, Domitian does not refer to the past, as in both Friezes of the Cancellaria Reliefs, but he describes his current situation: both his father Vespasian and his elder brother Titus are dead by now and divinized.

When we apply to the scenes represented on the two Cancellaria Reliefs, what we have just learned from Ciampini about the hieroglyphic texts on Domitian's obelisk (cf. *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini : La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*), we can now much better understand the political messages of those reliefs. - As we have heard above, the represented scene on Frieze A had shown in its first carving phase a *profectio* (others believe: an *adventus*) of Domitian that had, in the opinion of those scholars, either occurred in 83 or in 92(-93) AD (cf. *supra*, at n. 84, in Chapter I.1., and at n. 232, in Chapter I.2.).

I myself suggest something else. I, therefore, repeat here what was written for the Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*:

As we shall see, the fact that Domitian ordered a female representation of the *Piroustaë* (cf. here Fig. 49) to appear in the sculptural decoration of his *Forum/ the Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium* at Rome, finally allows us to answer the question, for which of his military campaigns Domitian was actually leaving on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 6: Domitian, now with the facial traits of Nerva).

The reason being that recent scholars have shown that the Cancellaria Reliefs have been created by the same workshop that was also active in Domitian's *Forum/ the Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium* and in Domitian's Palace on the Palatine '*Domus Flavia/ Domus Augustana*. For that; cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.3.; and below, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*, at point 2.).

In my opinion what this panel A of the Cancellaria Reliefs shows is Domitian's *profectio* in Rome in the spring of AD 89 to Pannonia. This campaign resulted in victories that he would celebrate with his last triumph at Rome over the Chatti and the Dacians, in November/ December of the same year.

Cf. below, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Section II. *Conclusions: Domitian's representations of his military successes and his claims to be of divine descent and to possess a divine nature*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.e*); and *Appendix IV.d.2.f*).

The latter fact, in its turn, provides a *terminus post quem* for the date, at which Domitian may have commissioned the Cancellaria Reliefs (i.e., 'post AD 89').

This means that Domitian had commissioned the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing) much later than his obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28), which was carved at the very beginning of his reign, that is to say probably shortly after AD 81 (cf. *supra*, n. 466, at Chapter IV.1).

Vespasian on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs is shown as coming back to Rome as the new emperor after victories, that were the reason why he had been hailed as emperor by the legions stationed at Alexandria (on 1st July of AD 69), and had later received his recognition as the new Roman emperor by the Roman Senate (on the 21st or rather on the 22nd December of AD 69).

For the precise date (22nd December AD 69); cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III., at point 1.). See also *supra*, at n. 222, in Chapter I.2., at n. 455, in Chapter III., and in Chapter V.1.i.3.)).

Only thanks to those victories, Vespasian had become the founder of the Flavian dynasty, of course. Finally, Vespasian's victories and his good government as emperor had secured him, after his death, his apotheosis, divinization and consequently a state cult (cf. *supra*, n. 171, in Chapter I.1.). The same procedure was repeated in the case of Domitian's elder brother Titus, who became emperor after Vespasian's death, his apotheosis, divinization, and state cult followed in due course (for the cult of *Divus Titus*, cf. E. SIMON 1985, 545 with n. 17, p. 549 with n. 27, quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 181; cf. ns. 182, in Chapter I.1., and at n. 413, in Chapter III.), so that Domitian could claim in the hieroglyphic inscriptions on his obelisk to be a descendent of two *Divi*, namely of his divinized father Vespasian, and of his divinized brother Titus. For that; cf. below, at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini : La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*.

The historical events summarized here had all already happened, when Domitian, now himself emperor, commissioned Frieze B (and A) of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1; 2), as well as his obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28).

As rightly pointed out to me by Giandomenico Spinola on 24th September 2018, in the course of our discussion in front of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.), Domitian's elder brother Titus is conspicuously absent on Frieze B of those panels (Titus was, of course, in the East at the represented moment in the first half of October AD 70, still fighting the 'Great Jewish War'<sup>476</sup>), whereas in the hieroglyphic

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<sup>476</sup> for the 'Great Jewish War', cf. *supra*, Chapter I.1., ns. 171, 189; Chapter I.1.1., ns. 195, 198, 200, 201; Chapter I.2., n. 229; and Chapter III., ns. 404, 412, 413, 455.

inscriptions on Domitian's obelisk, Titus is given due credit (cf. *supra*, at Chapter IV.1; see also *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini : La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*).

When we compare Domitian's idea, *not* to choose a historical situation for Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs, in which, apart from Vespasian and himself, also Titus could have appeared, with his choice to depict exclusively Titus, that we observe in the 'triumph relief' in the bay of Domitian's Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia* (cf. here **Fig. 120**), both decisions seem to follow the same policy. As Diana E.E. Kleiner<sup>477</sup> has realized, on the 'triumph relief' of this Arch of *Divus Titus*, which shows the triumph of AD 71, only Titus is shown in a triumphal quadriga, whereas Vespasian and Domitian are missing. And that, although in reality all three of them had celebrated this triumph together (cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.), both Vespasian and Titus riding in their own triumphal quadrigas, accompanied by Domitian on horseback. Elsewhere, on the 'spoils relief', the other horizontal panel in the bay of this Arch of *Divus Titus*, this has actually been represented. The attic of the arch (*i.e.*, the *Porta Triumphalis*), that stands at the far right of this relief, and through which the triumphal procession is marching, is crowned by what seem to be statue groups (cf. here **Fig. 120**) - as has been noted by many scholars: in reality, a triumphal arch, carrying the statues of the three *triumphatores* Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, could, of course, only have been erected *after* the triumphal procession had taken place.

For a discussion of the Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia*, its topographical context, and its resulting meaning for Domitian; cf. Filippo Coarelli (2009b, 88; 2012, 283, 481-483, 486-491), and Paolo Liverani (2021, 83-84 with n. 4; cf. *id.* 2023, 115-116, the Italian version of his essay), all of which is quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

Let's now return to the 'spoils relief' of the Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia*. The centre of those statues, which are standing on the attic of the *Porta Triumphalis* at the far right of this relief (cf. here **Fig. 120**) is occupied by Domitian on horseback. He is accompanied to his left by his walking personal patron goddess Minerva, and both are flanked on either side by the triumphal quadrigas of Vespasian and Titus, each of which pulled by four horses.

**Michael Pfanner<sup>478</sup> has rightly stressed the fact that the overall theme of Domitian's Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia* was not Titus' victory, but his apotheosis. But, as Emmanuelle Rosso has likewise rightly observed : the prerequisite for the apotheosis of a Roman emperor, was, of course, victory:**

**"le triomphe était le préalable nécessaire à l'apothéose [my mphasis]"**.

<sup>477</sup> D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 188-189 with Fig 156 (cf. pp. 183-191, Figs. 154-157): on the 'triumph relief' in the central bay of the Arch of Titus on the *Velia* at Rome, that was erected by Domitian, only Titus is depicted as riding in a triumphal quadriga in the triumph of AD 71, whereas Vespasian and Domitian are absent, although in reality all three of them had celebrated this triumph together.

Cf. V.M. Strocka (1972, 147): "Wer die sogenannten « historischen Reliefs » römischer Staatsdenkmäler nur als monumentale Wiedergaben historischer Ereignisse zu deuten versucht, gerät bald in Schwierigkeiten ... Er muss sich fragen, warum in dem Triumphrelief des Titusbogens allein Titus auf der Quadriga gezeigt wird, obwohl er, wie wir von Flavius Josephus wissen, im Triumph des Jahres 71 hinter seinem Vater Vespasian den zweiten Platz einnahm".

For the triumph of AD 71, cf. *supra*, n. 198, in Chapter I.1.1.

For the arch, represented on the 'spoils relief', cf. D.E.E. KLEINER 1992, 187: "The Spoils relief (see fig. 155) ... the attic of the relief arch is crowned with four figures, three of which are Domitian, Titus, and Vespasian; the fourth and only female figure is probably Domitian's patron goddess, Minerva. The four figures are accompanied by nine horses. One horse belongs to Domitian and the other eight pull the chariots of Vespasian and Titus".

Cf. M. PFANNER 1983, 91: "Auf dem Bogenmonument des Beutereliefs sind Vespasian und Titus in der Quadriga und Domitian auf dem Pferd dargestellt (s. Taf. 56,4.5 [on this illustration, all these figures are clearly visible. The identification of the female figure, accompanying Domitian, as his patron goddess Minerva, is certainly correct, because she is clad in a long garment]) [with n. 19]], quoted in more detail *verbatim supra*, n. 244, in Chapter I.2..

<sup>478</sup> cf. M. PFANNER 1983, 99. For the above-quoted observation by E. ROSSO, cf. *ead.* 2007, 138; C. HÄUBER 2014a, 719 mit Anm. 279; further for apotheosis, cf. pp. 707-708, with ns. 132-144. Similarly as E. ROSSO 2007, 138, also J. POLLINI 2017b, 126, quoted *verbatim supra*, as epigraph of Chapter V.1.i.3.b); Section I. Introduction.

Also M. PFANNER 1983, 98, in discussing the keystones of the Arch of Titus on the *Velia*, which represent *Virtus* on the 'country side' and *Honos* on the 'city side', remarks: "**Virtus befindet sich auf der kriegerischen Landseite, Honos auf der friedlichen Stadtseite: Die Virtus auf dem Felde ist Voraussetzung für den Honos zu Hause** [my emphasis]" (!).

Considering, what was said above, it is interesting to note that on Domitian's monuments at Rome the three Flavian emperors were neither always depicted together, let alone twice in the same iconographies, and that in the relief decorations of some of these buildings stress was obviously laid on only one of the three men. This great diversity of Domitian's relevant iconographies can best be explained by the sheer number of his new commissions at Rome, many of which, for example his notorious arches, were presumably erected at the same time. In theory, only when all these new public buildings at Rome, with their new political iconographies, were viewed together, would thus have become intelligible for Domitian's contemporaries, that their overall political message was always the same and very simple.

Provided, the portraits of Frieze B (cf. here **Fig. 2**) showed already from the very beginning Vespasian and Domitian, and that the interpretation of this panel suggested here should prove to be correct, we can conclude the following. Frieze B seems to fit nicely to Domitian's usual way of representing the achievements of his dynasty, as already observed in different contexts by Emmanuelle Rosso:

"Ainsi, les honneurs posthumes décernés aux deux premiers Flaviens divinisés [the Emperors *Divus Vespasianus* and *Divus Titus*] `rejouent` sans cesse la victoire fondatrice du nouveau pouvoir"<sup>479</sup>.

But that was only part of the message, conveyed on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs: that concentrated on the figure of Vespasian, who is crowned by *Victoria*, and which is confined to the `smaller half` of this panel (cf. here **Fig. 2**). Domitian has used this part of the message as a basis to build upon this his own image, which occupies the `larger half` of Frieze B. Here we see the young Caesar Domitian, acting as an ideal politician *domi*, in his capacity as *praetor urbanus*, welcoming his father Vespasian in an *adventus-ceremony*, that had been invented in this specific way by Domitian, who thus mixed historical facts with his own political messages.

What we see is Vespasian's arrival at Rome in AD 70 - which is a historical fact - who is shown as coming back after his victories in the East. A scene, which visualizes not only the investiture of Vespasian as the new Roman Emperor, but also the legitimation of Domitian as future emperor (for a detailed discussion, cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.). At the same time, the scene on Frieze B, in which *Victoria* crowns Vespasian with the *corona civica*, stresses the fact that Vespasian, like Augustus before him (cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.a), and here **Fig. 35**), had been granted this highest decoration for a military victory, because he had ended a *civil* war; cf. Paris (1994b, 81-82, quoted *verbatim supra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.a)).

**As we have seen above, the latter interpretation of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs: - to read it as the legitimation of Domitian's reign, expressed by the gesture that Vespasian is making with his right hand - had already been suggested 83 years ago by Fuhrmann (1940, Sp. 471-472; and again *id.* 1941, Sp. 544-545; cf. *supra*, n. 7, both accounts are quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter IV.1.).**

Also Magi (1945, 111, quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 463, in Chapter IV.1.) had suggested this. Magi (1945, 111), in his turn, was followed by Bianchi Bandinelli (1946-48; cf. *supra*, n. 11, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter IV.1.), Toynbee (1957, 5-6 with n. 1; cf. *supra*, n. 21, quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 208, in Chapter I.1.1.), and Hanfmann (1964; cf. *supra*, n. 23; all discussed also in Chapter I.1.), by Bianchi Bandinelli and Torelli (1976, ARTE ROMANA, *scheda* 105, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter IV.1.), Paris (1994b, 82, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a)), by Pfeiffer (2009, 62, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter II.3.1.), and now by Spinola (cf. *supra*, in Chapters III.; IV.1., and below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*), and by myself -

- only to be rejected by Koepfel (1969, 172, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter IV.1.), who, arguing that Frieze B shows predominantly the *adventus* of Vespasian, and therefore his investiture as the new Roman emperor (G. KOEPEL 1969, 193, quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 200, in Chapter I.1.1. - with the young Domitian merely

<sup>479</sup> E. ROSSO 2007, 140; cf. C. HÄUBER 2014a, 787 with n. 45.



heading the receiving party of the representatives of the City of Rome, as not otherwise expectable in such *adventus*-ceremonies).

Although Koepfel (*op.cit.*) had himself admitted in this context, that there could also have been transmitted some other messages on Frieze B (here Fig. 2), only that he himself, dedicating this article to *prospectio*- and *adventus*-scenes, had no personal interest in pursuing this idea at this very moment.

**Since we can now take into consideration also the contents of the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Domitian's obelisk (here Fig. 28) in our relevant reasonings, it is about time, to investigate this question further.**

Because in those inscriptions, Domitian and his Egyptian consultants expressed very clearly in 'outspoken' texts, what precisely of his relationships with Vespasian and Titus was of importance to Domitian's own political situation at the specific moment, when his obelisk was erected. - As we have heard above (cf. *supra*, n. 466, in Chapter IV.1.), Domitian had presumably commissioned this obelisk at the very beginning of his reign, that is to say, shortly after AD 81.

**Those circumstances may be characterized as follows: Domitian's only legitimation to reign as Roman emperor lay in the basic fact of being related to his two direct predecessors as emperors, his now divinized natural father Vespasian, and his natural, now divinized brother Titus respectively.**

This must also have been the reason, why Domitian layed in all his public buildings so much stress on his direct family bonds with those two emperors. Not by chance, but instead because of this very reason, Domitian even erected a huge new building in the *Campus Martius*, called *Divorum*, which he dedicated to *Divus Vespasianus* and to *Divus Titus*

Cf. *supra*, n. 466, in Chapter IV.1.; the other comparable buildings erected by Domitian in honour of Vespasian and Titus are mentioned below by (Pfeiffer 2018, 189).

Already the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk express this by praising the entire *gens Flavia*, that in these texts is equated with the dynasty of the Ptolemaic kings, who had reigned over Egypt, simply by using the phraseology of some of their documents, in which the same subject is discussed: the legitimization of a (new) king (cf. below, at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini : La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*). - Thus at the same time cleverly diverting from Domitian's in reality presumably not exactly 'easy' political situation at the beginning of his reign - 'uneasy', by judging from the fact that Domitian and his consultants had obviously decided to '>>rejoue<< sans cesse la victoire fondatrice du nouveau pouvoir', as Emmuelle Rosso has aptly described Domitian's relevant policy (cf. *supra*, at n. 479).

The just-mentioned difficulties (not only at the beginning) of Domitian's reign have now been discussed in great detail by Rose Mary Sheldon (*Guarding the Caesars. Roman Internal Security under the Flavian Dynasty*, 2023, in press; Chapter 7; Section: "Imperial Cult"). For a relevant quotation from her text; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; at Section II.

**Stefan Pfeiffer (2018, 189, Chapter: "The themes of Domitian's self-presentation"), who has not discussed the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk in this context, has arrived at the same conclusions concerning Domitian's relations with Vespasian and Titus as myself in the above written paragraph :**

"2. Domitian had a special interest in showing his close connection to his dynasty, which legitimized his rule [with n. 93]. He erected several buildings that were related to Vespasian and Titus, the *templum gentis Flaviae* [with n. 94], the *porticus Divorum*, the *templum Divi Vespasiani*, and the arch of Titus". In his notes, Pfeiffer provides references. This passage has already been discussed above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter II.3.1.c)).

On Frieze A of the Cancelleria Reliefs, Domitian, now himself emperor, appears in another event seen in retrospect, leaving for one of his victorious military campaigns. Frieze A thus shows Domitian likewise as the ideal sovereign, this time *militiae* (for Domitian's capacities *domi* and *militiae*, as glorified on both panels,

Cf. *supra*, at n. 248 in Chapter I.2.1.b); see also *supra*, at Chapters V.1.d); and V.1.i.3.); and below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

But the Cancelleria Reliefs do not only praise Domitian's own excellent *gestae*, they comprise also important statements concerning the Flavian dynasty as a whole - in this respect they have similarities with the hieroglyphic texts on Domitian's obelisk. Although these hieroglyphic texts go in this respect much further, by stating that the Flavian emperors had managed to consolidate the state after 'those who had reigned before', thus referring to the 'bad' emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, as well as by mentioning the great benefactions, brought about by the Flavian emperors for the Roman People (cf. *supra*, n. 466, in Chapter IV.1.; and in Chapter V.1.i.3.)).

Of this complex catalogue of virtues of the Flavian emperors, as described in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Domitian's obelisk, Domitian had decided to have his artists visualize on both friezes of the Cancelleria Reliefs the most important proofs of the *virtus* of a Roman emperor: invincibility, proven by his military victories. In the case of Frieze B and Vespasian, his victories had been the basis for the foundation of the Flavian dynasty, in the case of Frieze A and Domitian, his victory is the basis of the endurance of the Flavian dynasty, and in both cases these victories are at the same time the guarantee for the "*Aeternitas imperii*" (so A. LICHTENBERGER 2011 in a different context; cf. *supra*, at n. 246, in Chapter I.2.1.a), the 'eternity of the Roman Empire', and thus of the welfare of the Roman People and of all the other subjects, a Roman emperor had to care for.

As we have seen above, in Chapter V.1.i.3.), Flavius Josephus (*BJ* 7,4,1, in the translation of H. St. Tackerey 1928), ended his enthusiastic description of Vespasian's overwhelming reception at the City of Rome in October of AD 70 with a formulation that sounds at least in part very similarly:

"... The crowds then betook themselves to festivities and, keeping feast by tribes and families and neighbourhoods, with libations prayed God that Vespasian might himself long be spared to the Roman empire, and that the sovereignty might be preserved unchallenged for his sons and their descendants throughout successive generations. And, indeed, the city of Rome, after this cordial reception of Vespasian, rapidly advanced to great prosperity".

As mentioned above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.)), where the entire passage (*BJ* 7,4,1) is quoted, Flavius Josephus wrote his Book on the 'Jewish War', which he finished in 81, at the order of Vespasian and Titus (cf. *supra*, n. 201, in Chapter I.1.1.). - This means that the above-quoted passage had certainly been approved by Vespasian himself, or else by Titus.

As I have only realized at a second moment, this is another proof that Vespasian strived to emulate Augustus, since I have written elsewhere; cf. Häuber (2017, 380, 526): '... this is precisely the hope expressed by Ovid ... a remark related to the consecration of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*: "You priests, add incense to the flames at the rites of Peace, and let the white victim fall, its brow well soaked. Ask the gods, who incline to pious prayers that the house [meaning the *Domus Augusta*, the family of Augustus] which guarantees her may last long years with Peace" (Ovid, *Fasti* 1.719-22, translation: T.P. and Anne Wiseman 2011)'.  
Cf. the "Comments" by T.P. Wiseman (p. 722 in the same volume). This was already quoted above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter II.3.1.c)).

Considering at the same time the sheer lengths of those two panels, I follow Massimo Pentiricci in assuming that the Cancelleria Reliefs may have been the horizontal panels in the bay of a Domitianic (triumphal) arch

(cf. *supra*, n. 78, in Chapter I.1., and ns. 270; 283, in Chapter I.3.2.). - But as we shall see below, it is possibly more prudent to assume a honorific arch.

The contents of both friezes and the lengths of those panels, taken together, are in my opinion enough to assume this, apart from some considerations concerning the compositions of both friezes (cf. *supra*, in Chapters I.3.2.; V.1.d) and here **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**), which seem to prove that the Cancellaria Reliefs were designed to be viewed, when mounted opposite each other on parallel walls, that is to say in the bay of an arch.

Especially, when we compare the Arch of Titus, built by the Roman Senate in AD 81 as main entrance to the *Circus Maximus*, that has recently been reconstructed in '3D' (cf. here **Fig. 121**), and which was much larger than Domitian's Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia* (cf. here **Fig. 120**). For an arch of the size of this Arch of Titus in the *Circus Maximus* we can imagine horizontal panels for its central bay that must have had the proportions of the Cancellaria Reliefs. Even provided those were not only 6,06 m long, as suggested in Magi's reconstruction which you see here in **Figs. 1 and 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**, and in our tentative reconstruction (here **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**), but instead 7,05 m long, as suggested by Wolf (2018, 94; cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.2.). Wolf (*op.cit.*) follows the new, but in my opinion erroneous, reconstruction of Langer and Pfanner (2018; cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.1.d)). This Arch of Titus in the *Circus Maximus* was thus presumably built at about the same time as Domitian's Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia*, which was erected 'after AD 81' (cf. *supra*, at n. 244, in Chapter I.2.)

For the Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia*; cf. now Paolo Liverani (2021, 83-84; *id.* 2023, 115-116, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*, at point 5.)).

As mentioned before (cf. *supra*, at n. 363, in Chapter II.3.3.), it is, in my opinion, not even necessary to assume that all the other architectural fragments, found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs in the same deposit of the 'Second sculptor's workshop' (for that, cf. *supra*, at Chapters I.3.1.; and V.1.a.1.)) underneath the Palazzo della Cancellaria in the *Campus Martius* in Rome, or in its vicinity, had actually belonged to the same monument or building as those panels: for example the curved soffit blocks, the columns, or the architrave block, carrying the inscription *PP FECIT*, all of which are datable in the late Domitianic period and could in theory have belonged to an arch.

For discussions of those architectural fragments, cf. *supra*, at Chapters I.1.; I.3.; I.3.1.; I.3.2.; II.3.1.b); V.2.; V.3.).

Because *a*) this 'Second sculptor's workshop' had clearly specialized on the re-use of the marble decorations of public buildings, and *b*) because so many Domitianic arches were destroyed at the same time, as Dio Cassius (68,1,1; cf. *supra*, n. 83, at Chapter I.1.) has asserted, all those Domitianic architectural fragments plus the Cancellaria Reliefs, that were found together, if at all belonging to arches, had not necessarily belonged to the *same* arch.

I am not saying that studying all those architectural fragments, as well as the reconstructed stratigraphy of the area in question, where they occurred, as was done in this *Study*, was in any way superfluous: on the contrary, the work of those scholars, who have dedicated so much time and energy on studying those monuments, the stratigraphy, the related ancient architectures and archaeological finds, as well as the topography of the area, whose work I have summarized above (cf. *supra*, at Chapters I.1.-II.4.), is the basis, on which we can now build an informed reconstruction of the topographical situation of the entire area of the Palazzo della Cancellaria and the adjacent Museo Barracco over time. And that in its turn enables us to reconstruct the history of the lifetime of the Cancellaria Reliefs in antiquity with much more confidence. That I, contrary to other scholars, as a result of studying the just mentioned research, have come to the conclusion that the Cancellaria Reliefs did *not* necessarily belong to the same building or monument as any one(s) of those architectural fragments, found together with those panels in this deposit of the 'Second sculptor's workshop', does not, of course, diminish the great importance of that entire research.

Already Markus Wolf (2015; the content of which is repeated only slightly changed in his publication of 2018), who has made the first two reconstructions that are based on the Cancelleria Reliefs and on the above-mentioned architectural fragments, that were found together with those panels, has come to exactly the same conclusion as I myself - although for very different reasons. Wolf (2015; cf. *supra*, at **ns. 75-81**, in Chapter *I.1.*, and **ns. 284, 298**, in Chapter *I.3.2.*; and at Chapters *II.3.1.*; and *V.2.*) calls his 2. reconstruction: "un'entrata con volta a botte in un edificio domiziano con colonne addossate" ('an arched entrance to a Domitianic building with engaged columns', which he, in his second publication (cf. M. WOLF 2018, 95) refers to as: 'eine gewölbte Eingangssituation in einem domitianischen Großbau mit vorgestellten Säulen'.

As we have seen in both of his publications (cf. M. WOLF 2015; and 2018), to Wolf's 2. reconstruction, which he has based on these architectural fragments, comprising the architrave block carrying the inscription *PP FECIT*, the Cancelleria Reliefs do *not* belong. The reason being that the arch, which this architecture comprises, is not deep enough to accommodate reliefs as horizontal panels that have the length of the Cancelleria Reliefs.

If, on the other hand, the inscription *PP FECIT* and the Cancelleria Reliefs *had* belonged to the same building or monument, and assuming at the same time that this inscription was commissioned by Domitian, this structure, possibly an arch, by judging from the content of this inscription, had clearly been erected by Domitian himself (cf. *supra*, **n. 81** and at **n. 83**, in Chapter *I.1.*); so also Wolf (2018, 94 with n. 15, quoted *verbatim infra*), concerning his 1.) reconstruction, an arch, which integrates the Cancelleria Reliefs as the horizontal panels into its central bay. Given Domitian's notorious "Bauwut"<sup>480</sup> ('building rage'), and 'the great number of arches, which he had built' (Dio Cassius 68,1,1), it seems even conceivable that he could have dedicated this triumphal arch *himself* - that celebrated on Frieze A after all one of his own victorious campaigns (!).

And that, although, under 'normal' circumstances, such an triumphal arch should have been *built and dedicated to him* at the order of the Roman Senate, as for example the arch of Trajan at Beneventum (cf. *supra*, **n. 360**, in Chapter *II.3.3.*, and here **Fig. 46**). Another example is the Arch of Titus in the *Circus Maximus* (cf. here **Fig. 121**; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *I.3.2.*), which was built by the Roman Senate in AD 81 as main entrance to the *Circus Maximus*. - Such dedications were at least 'officially' made by the Senate, as we learn from Eric M. Moormann in the case of the *Equus Domitiani* on the Roman Forum (cf. E.M. MOORMANN 2018, 168, quoted *verbatim supra*, **n. 267**, in Chapter *I.3.2.*).

#### **Unfortunately it is, as usual, not as easy as here just assumed (I am again not joking)**

Hans-Ulrich Cain was so kind, as to alert me to something that already Eric Moormann has hinted at in the above-quoted passage, which relates to the *Equus Domitiani*. According to Cain, such arches, and therefore also the arch, to which the Cancelleria Reliefs may possibly have belonged - are *not* triumphal arches, but instead honorific arches, that is to say, the 'official' dedicator was, of course, always the Senate, whereas in reality, the emperor provided the money needed.

Apropos Domitian's 'Bauwut' (cf. *supra*, at **n. 480**). I myself have borrowed above another expression from Eugenio La Rocca (2012, 68): "Il dittatore [Julius Caesar] era poi in procinto di avviare lavori faraonici", which La Rocca coined in describing Julius Caesar's ambitious building projects at Rome: "It therefore seems, as if Domitian ... commissioned new buildings at Rome at a truly 'pharaonic' scale'" (so C. HÄUBER 2017, 167; cf. pp. 158-168; cf. *supra*, in **n. 228**, in Chapter *I.2.*). As mentioned before : when I wrote this, I was not aware of the fact that already Mario Torelli (1987, 575, quoted *verbatim supra*, **n. 228**, in Chapter *I.2.*) had referred to Domitian's building project on the *Capitolium*, as to "il faraonico programma".

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<sup>480</sup> so S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 41 with n. 23 (with reference).

**Domitian actually was Pharaoh of Egypt - and we will hear below that building was one of the foremost obligations of the Egyptian king: 'This ethic system [*i.e.*, Ma'at] governed all the actions of the [Egyptian] king - especially his building projects the realization of which, in grandiose manner, was the *raison d'être* of the Egyptian state, governed by the king'.**

Cf. *infra*, at n. 560, in volume 3-2, at Appendix. II.c) My own interpretation of the relief Fig. 111: datable in the Hadrianic period, and representing a sanctuary of Isis at Rome or elsewhere in Italy, it possibly shows the celebrations on the day of the Egyptian festival of New Year; and at Appendix IV.c.2).

Let's now return to the Cancelleria Reliefs.

Markus Wolf (2015) calls his 1. reconstruction, that comprises the Cancelleria Reliefs, an "arco onorifico isolato" (cf. *supra*, n. 79, in Chapter I.1.), whereas in his publication of 2018, he refers to it as a "freistehendes Bogenmonument" (2018, 95, caption of his Abb. 42). But because of its inscription *PP FECIT*, which in his 1. reconstruction belongs in Wolf's opinion, together with the Cancelleria Reliefs, to the same 'free standing arch monument', he comes in both publications to the final conclusion that the structure in question should *not* be regarded as a honorific arch - a conclusion, at which, as already said, I have myself arrived as well:

"Die Inschrift des römischen >>Cancelleria-Bogens<< [...] p(ater) p(atriciae) fecit deutet auf eine kaiserliche Stiftung des Monumentes hin. Es kann sich demnach nicht um einen Ehrenbogen zu Ehren eines Kaisers gehandelt haben, vielmehr um einen vom Kaiser, also Domitian, gestifteten Bau [with n. 15]". Cf. M. Wolf (2018, 93-94; and M. WOLF 2015, 319-320). In his n. 15, Wolf (2018) writes: "Freundlicher Hinweis von W. Eck und H. v. Hesberg".

Be all that as it may !

**VI.3. Summary of my own hypotheses concerning the Cancelleria Reliefs presented in this Study; Addition: My own tentative suggestion, to which monument or building the Cancelleria Reliefs may have belonged, and a discussion of their possible date.**

Almost throughout this *Study*, or, to be precise: until writing one of its latest parts (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); Section III.), I have refrained from trying to attribute the Cancelleria Reliefs to any of the buildings or monuments, commissioned by Domitian at Rome. Many relevant suggestion have been made so far.

Cf. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 81): "Die Art des Baus [*i.e.*, the monument or building, to which the Cancelleria Reliefs belonged] kann trotz zahlreicher Vorschläge nicht bestimmt werden. Alle die in diesem Zusammenhang genannten Bauten Domitians sind spekulativ [with n. 142]". In their note 142, they provide a list of those suggestions.

My own hypothesis, to attribute the Cancelleria Reliefs to one of Domitian's arches on the Palatine (to his Arch of *Divus Vespasianus*, or rather to the Arch of Domitian at the "Porta principale" of his *Domus Augustana*) has so far not been suggested. It is based of Filippo Coarelli's findings concerning those two arches (2009b, 88; *id.* 2012, 283, 481-483, 486-491).

Cf. below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; at point 4.).

Cf. here **Figs. 8.1; 58; 71; 73**, labels: PALATIUM; Arch of DIVUS TITUS; VICUS APOLLINIS ?/ "CLIVUS PALATINUS"; ARCUS DOMITIANI / DIVI VESPASIANI ?; Temple of IUPPITER INVICTUS ? or of : IUPPITER STATOR ? IUPPITER VICTOR ? IUPPITER PROPUGNATOR ?; "DOMUS FLAVIA"; "BASILICA"; "AULA REGIA"; "LARARIUM"; "PERISTYLE"; "TRICLINIUM"; DOMUS AUGUSTANA; "Porta principale"; Arch of DOMITIAN ?; Cancelleria Reliefs ?

At the very end of my discussion of the Cancellaria Reliefs, I should like to explain my own relevant hypothesis in more detail. The reason for my tentative suggestion, to which monument or building the Cancellaria Reliefs may have belonged, are some observations, that have previously not been considered in this context:

a) John Pollini (2017b; cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b)) is able to show that the Nollekens Relief (cf. here **Fig. 36**) has many similarities with the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**). Pollini (2017b), in my opinion convincingly, suggests (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section IV.) that the Nollekens Relief shows the *triumphator* Domitian sacrificing in AD 89 at his *Porta Triumphalis*, and that immediately after that the emperor would start his (last) triumphal procession;

b) The Nollekens Relief (cf. here **Fig. 36**) was excavated in 1722. From Francesco Bianchini's posthumous publication (1738) we learn that he found the Nollekens Relief (his Tab. VI.; cf. here **Fig. 36**) and another relief (his Tab. VII. [= here **Fig. 37**]) within the '*Aula Regia*' of Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, the '*Domus Flavia*'/ *Domus Augustana*. John Pollini (2017b) has not realized this important fact, but suggests for both reliefs a wrong findspot within Domitian's Palace, building on that alleged fact further (erroneous) hypotheses (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section II.). Bianchini (1738, 68) says explicitly that the reliefs here **Fig. 36** and **Fig. 37** were found in that hall of Domitian's Palace (called already by Bianchini '*Aula Regia*'), where also "the colossal basalt statues of Hercules and Bacchus/Dionysus with Pan (now in Parma's Galleria Nazionale)" were excavated, as Pollini writes (cf. *id.* 2017b, 101, n. 11, quoting for that, F. BIANCHINI 1738, 54 and 58). As discussed in detail above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.), Bianchini (1738, 50, 52, 54 with Tab. II.-IV. = here **Figs. 8; 9**) describes the architecture, size and decoration of the '*Aula Regia*', and provides a measured ground-plan of Domitian's entire Palace (his Tab. VIII. = here **Fig. 8**). His excellent etchings comprise also a measured ground-plan of the '*Aula Regia*' (his Tab. II. = here **Fig. 9**); an etching, illustrating an uniquely rich decorated marble column base (cf. his Tab. III. = here **Fig. 9**), belonging to a pair of giallo antico columns (cf. p. 50: "mai state osservate") that flanked the main entrance to the '*Aula Regia*' in the north (cf. here **Figs. 8; 8.1**), the plinth of which is decorated with trophies, as well as other finds from that hall (cf. p. 54): a detail of a marble entablature, decorated with a winged Victoria, who is crowning a trophy (illustrated on his Tab. IV. = here **Fig. 9**). Bianchini's illustrations (1738, Tab. III. and IV. = here **Fig. 9**) therefore show that at least one of the iconographic themes of the enormous '*Aula Regia*' was certainly the celebration of Domitian's military victories. According to Eugenio Polito (2009, 506, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.), this was the major subject of the '*Aula Regia*'.

For the '*Aula Regia*' and the colossal statues of Dionysos and Hercules; cf. also Ricardo Mar (2009, 255-261, Figs. 2-5). Those colossal statues were not carved from "basalt", or "greywacke", as is often erroneously asserted, but from "*basanites*"; cf. below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

For the modern denomination '*Aula Regia*'; cf. Amanda Claridge (1998, 132-133, Fig. 54, p. 135; *ead.* 2010, 146-147, Fig. 55, p. 148): "'Aula Regia' or Audience Chamber". See also the map SAR 1985, labels: 64: *Domus Flavia*: "*Basilica*"; 65: *Domus Flavia*: "*Aula Regia*"; 66: *Domus Flavia*: "*Lararium*".

For the following; cf. here **Figs. 58; 73**, labels: VELIA; Arch of DIVUS TITUS; VICUS APOLLINIS ?/ "CLIVUS PALATINUS"; PALATIUM; ARCUS DOMITIANI/ DIVI VESPASIANI ?; Temple of IUPPITER INVICTUS ? or of IUPPITER STATOR ? IUPPITER VICTOR ? PROPUGNATOR ?; "Porta principale"; Arch of Domitian ?; Cancellaria Reliefs ?; "DOMUS FLAVIA"; DOMUS AUGUSTANA: "BASILICA"; "AULA REGIA"; "LARARIUM"; "TRICLINIUM"; "PERISTYLE";

c) Klaus Stefan Freyberger (2018, 97; cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.3.) observes that the architectural fragments, found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**), were carved by a late Domitianic workshop that was also active in Domitian's '*Domus Flavia*'/ *Domus Augustana*. - To this I will come back below;

d) Filippo Coarelli (2009b, 88; *id.* 2012, 283; cf. pp. 481-483, 486-491) suggests that the *Arcus Domitiani* in front of the '*Domus Flavia*'/ *Domus Augustana* was "probabilmente dedicato a Vespasiano".

Cf. below, in Chapters *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and in *The visualization of the results of this book on our maps*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.f*); and in *Appendix VI.*; at Section VII. - Also to this I will come back below;

e) I follow Coarelli (1996, 143, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section VII.) in identifying the temple podium which stands immediately to the west of the *Arcus Domitiani* on the Palatine, and right in front of Domitian's '*Domus Flavia*'/ *Domus Augustana*, as that of Iuppiter Invictus. Coarelli himself (2012, 243, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section VII.) identifies it now with the Temple of Iuppiter Propugnator, but this identification turns out to be impossible, because the shrine of Iuppiter Propugnator is only documented for the Imperial period.

Patrizio Pensabene and Vincenzo Graffeo (2014; *id.* 2016-2017, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section X.), have in 2009-2013 re-excavated this temple podium, and have found out that there are in reality two different temple podia at this site; they tentatively attribute the eastern foundation to the Temple of Iuppiter Invictus.

Personally I am more confident than Pensabene and Graffeo themselves concerning their attribution of this podium to Iuppiter Invictus. Pensabene and Graffeo found, incorporated into this temple podium, which is datable to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, a Republican temple podium which has one or two building phases; these data fit the assumption to identify the shrine in question with that of Iuppiter Invictus.

This podium has also (but erroneously) been attributed to the Temple of Iuppiter Stator and to the Temple of Iuppiter Victor (for a discussion of all those hypotheses; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Sections III.-V.; VII.- X.).

Assuming for the time being that my identification of this temple podium as that of Iuppiter Invictus is correct, I have above tentatively suggested (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.) that the *rotulus*, which Domitian on the Nollekens Relief (cf. here **Fig. 36**) is holding in his left hand, contains his *vota pro reditu*, exactly like the *rotulus*, which Domitian (now Nerva) is holding on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs in his left hand (cf. here **Fig. 1**; **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6**).

In the following I summarize and repeat in part *verbatim*, what was written above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.): Since I have asked myself, whether or not the area immediately surrounding the '*Aula Regia*' of Domitian's '*Domus Flavia*'/ *Domus Augustana* could possibly be reflected in the specific design of the Nollekens Relief (cf. here **Fig. 36**), which, according to Pollini (2017b, 120, 124) shows Domitian, sacrificing immediately before his triumphal procession in AD 89; and considering at the same time the construction date of Domitian's Palace on the Palatine (AD 81 until around 92; cf. J. POLLINI 2017b, 120; F. VILLEDIEU 2009, 246, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.), which corroborates this date, I have studied below the temple podium right in front of the '*Domus Flavia*', following those scholars, who attribute it (tentatively) to the Temple of Iuppiter Invictus (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Sections III.-V.; VII.-X.).

Provided this identification of the Temple of Iuppiter Invictus is correct (which I think it is), it is tempting to believe that Domitian, before leaving for this military campaign, had prayed to this Iuppiter, asking him to grant him the victory. From this war Domitian has now returned victoriously, as the Nollekens Relief (cf. here **Fig. 36**) 'reports'. Provided it is likewise true that what we see in the Nollekens Relief is Domitian's sacrifice which preceded his (last) triumph, celebrated in AD 89, as Pollini (2017b, 120, 124) suggests. Consequently, the *rotulus*, Domitian is holding in his left hand on the Nollekens Relief, would probably contain his vows, which he had made *pro reditu* before leaving for this military campaign. These vows, Domitian will now fulfill in due course, since Iuppiter Invictus has not only granted him this victory, but has also 'brought him back'.

Apart from celebrating Domitian's 'invincibility', the Nollekens Relief (here **Fig. 36**) thus shows at the same time the emperor's *pietas* in regard to his guardian god, Iuppiter Invictus;

f) I follow Filippo Magi (1939; *id.* 1945; cf. *supra*, at n. 112, in Chapter I.1.) and many subsequent scholars, comprising Claudia Valeri and Giandomenico Spinola (cf. *supra*, at *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*; and *supra*, at n. 455, in Chapter III. See also *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*),

in assuming that the emperor on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2**) was from the very beginning Vespasian.

That Filippo Magi (1939; 1945) was right with his assumption that the head of Vespasian on Frieze B is the original portrait, has been proven by Rita Paris (1994b, 81-82, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b). She realized the meaning of the *corona civica*, with which *Victoria* is shown as crowning Vespasian (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 14** [Vespasian]; **16** [*Victoria*]): apart from Augustus, this highest decoration for a military victory was only appropriate in the case of Vespasian, because both emperors had been able to put and end to civil wars.

**Combining the above-mentioned points a)-f) with each other, has resulted in my tentative suggestion (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in Appendix VI.; at Section VII.) that the Cancellaria Reliefs may have decorated the passageway of the Arcus Domitiani/ Divi Vespasiani?, erected by Domitian in front of his `Domus Flavia`/ *Domus Augustana*.**

In the meantime, I have modified this just-quoted hypothesis. I attribute now those panels to one of Domitian's two arches on the Palatine: either to the *Arcus Domitiani*/ Arch of *Divus Vespasianus*?, or to the `Arch of Domitian`, which Coarelli (2012, 283; 481-483, 486-491) postulates at the "Porta principale" of Domitian's Palace called `Domus Flavia`/ *Domus Augustana*, and that Coarelli identifies also with the *Pentapylon*, known from the Constantinian Regionary catalogues.

For discussions; cf. below, in Chapters *The major results of this book on Domitian*; at point 4.); and at *The visualization of the results of this book on our maps*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.f).

Let me explain to you now this idea in more detail.

Only after Chapter V.1.i.3.b); Section III. was written, did I realize the potential of an observation, published by Klaus Stefan Freyberger (2018, 97), since it may in theory corroborate my hypothesis (cf. below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in Appendix VI.; at Section VII.), according to which the Cancellaria Reliefs could have decorated the Arch of Domitian/ *Divus Vespasianus* ? standing in front of the `Domus Flavia`/ *Domus Augustana*, or else the `Arch of Domitian` at the "Porta principale" of Domitian's `Domus Flavia`/ *Domus Augustana*.

See *supra*, in Chapter V.3. *Summary of the publication by K.S. Freyberger (2018) concerning the architectural fragments found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs*.

In the following I repeat, what was written concerning this point in Chapter V.3.:

`In his final conclusion, Freyberger [2018, 97] dates all these architectural fragments [found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs] to the late Domitianic period, and attributes them to a workshop that was also active at Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, the *Domus Flavia*[/ *Domus Augustana*].

In addition to this, Freyberger (2018, 97) compares on stylistical grounds the architrave block, carrying the inscription *PP FECIT*, that was found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs, with "*Le Colonnacce*" at Domitian's *Forum*/ *Forum Nervae*/ *Forum Transitorium*' (cf. here **Fig. 49**).

Provided the judgement of Freyberger (2018) concerning the architectural fragments, found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs, is true, the following interrelated conclusions seem to be possible:

1.) Freyberger (2018, 97) suggests that the architectural fragments, found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs, were carved by a workshop that was also active at Domitian's `Domus Flavia`/ *Domus Augustana*, and at Domitian's *Forum*/ *Forum Nervae*/ *Forum Transitorium*;



2.) Since Filippo Magi (1939), Bartolomeo Nogara (1939) and Antonio Maria Colini (1938 [1939]) until Massimo Pentiricci (2009; for all of them, cf. *supra*, n. 262, in Chapter I.3.2.), many scholars have suggested that the Cancellaria Reliefs and the architectural fragments, found together with them, have belonged to an arch, built by Domitian; but it was Markus Wolf (2015; 2018), who first visualized this hypothesis in two reconstruction drawings (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.2);

3.) if points 1.) and 2.) are true, the architectural fragments, found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs, and these panels themselves are therefore now datable: as we have heard above, the construction date of Domitian's Palace on the Palatine (*i.e.*, of the 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana*) was AD 81 until around 92; cf. Pollini (2017b, 120; and F. VILLEDIEU 2009, 246; cf. for both, *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.);

4.) if points 1.)-3.) are true, the Cancellaria Reliefs and the architectural fragments, found together with them, could, therefore, in theory have belonged to the Arch of Domitian/ *Divus Vespasianus?*, erected by Domitian in front of his 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana*, or alternatively to the 'Arch of Domitian', which Domitian had erected at the "Porta principale" of his Palace;

5.) if points 1.-4.) are true, and given the great similarities between the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**) and the Nollekens Relief (cf. here **Fig. 36**), as observed by Pollini (2017b, *passim*), and as also shown above, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b), these similarities could be explained by the assumption that *both* were part of Domitian's overall masterplan of the Palatine.

**This leads us to the question, whether or not this new information can help us to date the Cancellaria Reliefs more precisely than has hitherto been possible.**

Unfortunately the construction date of the 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana* (AD 81 until around 92) and Pollini's suggestion, according to which the Nollekens Relief (cf. here **Fig. 36**) refers to Domitian's last triumph in AD 89, does not help us to decide, to which of his military campaigns Domitian is shown as leaving on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 6**). As the caption of **Fig. 1** states, scholars have suggested: 'Profectio of Domitian in AD 83 or 92'. We are otherwise informed that Domitian celebrated a triumph over the Chatti in AD 83, one over the Dacians in AD 86, a double-triumph over Chatti and Dacians in AD 89, and an *Ovatio de Sarmatis* in AD 93 (for a discussion of all those wars and triumphs; cf. *supra*, at n. 84, in Chapter I.1., and at n. 232, in Chapter I.2.).

Because of the long time span, within which his Palace was built, both dates suggested for Domitian's *profectio* on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs, here **Fig. 1** (*i.e.*, AD 83 and 92), seem therefore still to be possible. But there are some other observations that we should likewise consider in this context.

According to Pollini (2017b, 120 with n. 106; cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section IV.), what we witness on the Nollekens Relief is a sacrifice, performed by Domitian in AD 89 at his *Porta Triumphalis*, after which the emperor would begin his (last) triumphal procession. This hypothesis is convincing, *inter alia* for a reason, not adduced by Pollini himself. As we have seen above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Sections I. and III.), Pollini (2017b, 118) identifies the two *togati* in the background of the Nollekens Relief (cf. here **Fig. 36: figures 7 and 9**) as the two *consules* of Rome. Because Pollini, in addition to this, suggests that the represented sacrifice takes place in AD 89, his interpretation turns out to be plausible, because 89 was one of the few years during his reign, in which Domitian had not *himself* taken over one of the consulships (the other years being: AD 91, 93, 94 and 96; cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section I.).

Throughout Chapter V.1.i.3.b), we have seen that the Cancellaria Reliefs and the Nollekens Relief show many similarities, but there are also important differences, and we should ask ourselves, whether or not those iconographic features can help us to date the Cancellaria Reliefs more precisely.

1.) the 34 figures that appear on the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**) were not designed according to a hierarchy of scale, whereas that is true for the figures of the Nollekens Relief (cf. here **Fig. 36**), and for the figures of the relief from Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae* showing Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in AD 70 (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a) and here **Fig. 33**);

2.) Diana E.E.Kleiner (1992, 183; cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section I.) observes that Domitian and his companions on the Nollekens Relief (cf. here **Fig. 36**) "are almost frontal". This is also true for the figures that appear on the relief from Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae* with Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in AD 70 (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a) and here **Fig. 33**), and likewise for some (but not for all) figures that appear on the Cancellaria Reliefs.

Provided the combination of the two iconographic characteristics, mentioned in points 1.) and 2.), became fashionable at some stage, the Nollekens Relief (cf. here **Fig. 36**) and the Relief from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (cf. here **Fig. 33**) could in theory have been carved *at a later moment* than the Cancellaria Reliefs.

If so, the date of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* ('not before AD 94', or 'in 92-93 at the latest'), could be regarded as a *terminus ante quem* for the Cancellaria Reliefs. But, even provided that were true, that would not help us to solve our inquiry, when precisely Domitian commissioned the Cancellaria Reliefs. Since, as we have seen above, scholars have anyway already suggested that Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**) represents a *profectio* of Domitian - either that of 83 or that of 92/93). - And after what was just discussed here, both these alternatives still seem to be possible.

For the just-mentioned dates of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, I repeat here, what was already written above: 'Concerning the first date of the construction of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, Filippo Coarelli (2009b, 94 with n. 311) suggests: 'not before AD 94'; cf. Häuber (2017 162)'. For the alternative date 'in 92-93 at the latest'; cf. Coarelli (2014, 196); both quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.h)

After this Chapter was written, I realized that a remark, written *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.), might support the opinion of those scholars who believe that Domitian on Frieze A was shown in his *profectio* of AD 92:

'When Nerva, in October of AD 97, decided to have his face recut from that of Domitian on Frieze A, he had, in my opinion, in mind to re-work Frieze A into the *profectio* of himself in AD 97 to his *bellum Suebicum*. If indeed the relevant Domitianic structure was a triumphal arch, precisely this fact could have alerted Nerva to 'usurp' Frieze A to be re-used as the representation of himself at the *profectio* to this war, perhaps even because also Domitian had victoriously fought against the *Suebi* (cf. *supra*, **ns. 345, 346**, in Chapter II.3.1.a)). The original phase of Frieze A may actually have represented Domitian's *profectio* to this war, in AD 92 (cf. *supra*, at **n. 232**, in Chapter I.2.) - but that is, of course, only an unproven hypothesis'. - To the question, to which war Domitian is possibly leaving on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 1**), I will come back below.

In the following I anticipate, what was written below (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section VII.):

'According to Coarelli (2012, 283) the *Arcus Domitiani* in front of the 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana* [on the Palatine] was "probabilmente dedicato a Vespasiano" - suggesting this *a*) because of the existence of Domitian's Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia* (cf. here **Fig. 120**), and *b*) because of the prescribed path a visitor to Domitian's Palace had to go, coming up from this Arch of *Divus Titus*, and passing underneath this presumed Arch of *Divus Vespasianus*. When we consider both points *a*) and *b*) together, and add to this *c*) that Vespasian was from the very beginning represented on Frieze B (cf. *supra*), it is tempting to believe, that the Cancellaria Reliefs (**Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**) could have decorated this Arch of *Divus Vespasianus*. If so, Domitian, by using the topographical situation as here described, would again have stressed the fact that his own principate was based on those of *Divus Vespasianus* and *Divus Titus*. This has, of

course, already Coarelli (2012, 483) himself suggested, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Chapters *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and at *The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps*.

Besides, the fact that the Cancellaria Reliefs and the Nollekens Relief are so similar - which was found within the 'Aula Regia' at the 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana* (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b; at Section II., and here **Fig. 36**), that is to say, at a very short distance to this Arch of Domitian/ *Divi Vespasiani*? - could thus also be explained'. - But, as already mentioned, in the meantime I have abandoned this first hypothesis to attribute the Cancellaria Reliefs to the *Arcus Domitianus*/ the Arch of *Divus Vespasianus*?: now I rather believe that the Cancellaria Reliefs decorated the Arch of Domitian at the "Porta principale", which Coarelli (2012, 2012, 283; 481-483, 486-491) assumes at the north side of Domitian's *Domus Augustana* (to this I will come back below).

Cf. here **Figs. 58; 73**, labels: Arch of DIVUS TITUS; PALATIUM; VICUS APOLLINIS?/ "CLIVUS PALATINUS"; ARCUS DOMITIANI/ DIVI VESPASIANI ?; "DOMUS FLAVIA"; "AULA REGIA"; DOMUS AUGUSTANA; "Porta principale"; Arch of DOMITIAN ?; Cancellaria Reliefs ?

**If indeed this Domitianic arch in front of Domitian's Palace was dedicated to *Divus Vespasianus*, this hypothesis could explain, why this arch was definitely *not* completely destroyed, as we have seen above. Cf. Alessandro Cassatella (1993, 92, Fig. 45; cf. *supra*, at n. 265, in Chapter I.3.2.), who writes:**

**"Le fondazioni dell'arco situate al termine del Clivo Palatino (livello superiore) furono scoperte da G. Boni e da lui attribuite ad una degli archi eretti da Domiziano in così alto numero ... Molti, ma non tutti come sembrano attestare successive emissioni monetali, furono demoliti per la *damnatio memoriae* dell'imperatore [*i.e.*, Domitian] (Cass. Dio 68.1). L'arco palatino, forse per la sua funzione di accesso alla piazza antistante la *domus Flavia* e di probabile limite tra aree pubbliche e di proprietà imperiale, sembra essere risparmiato dal momento che alcuni interventi sulle sue fondazioni risultano posteriori all'età di Traiano. La platea di fondazione è certamente successiva al portico ed al Clivo Palatino, ricostruiti dopo l'incendio del 64 d.C., ed orientata su di essi. Pertanto si è ritenuta probabile l'attribuzione della platea ad un arco di Domiziano ... [my emphasis]"**

The caption of Cassatella's Fig. 45 reads: "*Arcus Domitiani*. Pianta della fondazione del pilone O[vest]. Rilievo di A. Cassatella, 1983". - See also Cassatella 1986.

For the complex building history of this *Arcus Domitiani*; cf. also Françoise Villedieu (2009, 246, with Fig. 4).

**But that the Cancellaria Reliefs could possibly have decorated the *Arcus Domitiani*/ *Divi Vespasiani*? on the Palatine, is so far only my own, unproven hypothesis. Note that of this arch only its western pylon is preserved, which is why we do not know how wide the central passageway was.**

See Alessandro Cassatella ("*Arco di Domiziano sul Clivo Palatino*", 1986) and Maria Antonietta Tomei ("*Le indagini di G. Boni all'Arco di Domiziano: gli scavi e la storia della sistemazione del pilone sotto via S. Bonaventura*", 1997), both of which Amanda Claridge was kind enough to send me.

Only much later should I realize that already Filippo Coarelli (2012, 482, with n. 465, p. 484, Fig. 163) had illustrated Cassatella's plan and had integrated Cassatella's findings into his own reasonings.

Tomei (1997, 194-200) publishes *inter alia* Giacomo Boni's plans, who had re-excavated both piers of this arch in 1918. But because Boni's plans are *a*) not keyed to the cadastre of his time, and I do not own the relevant sheet of this paper cadastre anyway, which I should then first of all integrate into the photogrammetric data (containing the current cadastre), which are the basis of our maps, before I could integrate Boni's cartographic data; and because Boni found *b*) the eastern pier of this arch underneath the Via S. Bonaventura, of which I ignore, whether or not that was located at exactly the site of the current road of that name, and because *c*) these piers have several building phases, which means that the currently visible parts of the western pier do not date to the Domitianic period of this monument, I have refrained from integrating Boni's cartographic information into our maps **Figs. 58; 73**. By making this decision I am not saying that I

regard it as on principle impossible to integrate Boni's cartographic data concerning the two piers of Domitian's Arch into our maps.

On our maps **Figs. 58; 73**, the western pier of Domitian's Arch is located and drawn after the map *SAR 1985*; there it has the label 55: "Arch of Domitian": represented is its visible part, dating to a later period than the Domitianic phase of this arch. For the cartographic data integrated into our map, called in this publication 'Map 5'; cf. Häuber (2014a, 874-875).

When first drawing our map, which is here called **Fig. 73**, we had a similar cartographic problem in the south-western part of the Palatine in the area of the Temple of Magna Mater. This area we could only map after discussions with Patrizio Pensabene and Enrico Gallochio (on Nov. 30th 2010 and May 23rd 2011), who most generously shared all their findings with us and who provided us also with relevant plans; cf. Häuber (2015, 7 with n. 29; *ead.* 2014a, p. XXVI).

Because of these excellent experiences I rather wait until it is possible to discuss the problem, of how to locate those two piers of Domitian's Arch precisely, with those scholars, who have studied them in depth and, if possible, to look at the western pier together with them. Only after having also hopefully found additional cartographic information related to the time, when Boni had conducted his excavation, I would then proceed to integrate those piers into our own maps.

Consequently all my ideas suggested here concerning this Arch of Domitian should, of course, be regarded as preliminary.

**To the discussion of the *Arcus Domitiani/ Divi Vespasiani?*, I will come back below in more detail (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.f*); and at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*). And my idea to attribute the Cancellaria Reliefs either to this arch, or rather to the 'Arch of Domitian' at the "Porta principale" of Domitian's Palace 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana* is discussed below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.**

**In the following, I will summarize the opinion of other scholars concerning the monument or building that contained the Cancellaria Reliefs.**

We know from the publications by Markus Wolf, who has studied the late Domitianic architectural fragments, found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs, *inter alia* curved soffit blocks, that the pertaining passageway (of an arch?), to which they belonged, was circa 5,10 m wide (cf. *id.* 2015; 2018; quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 79, in Chapter *I.1.*; cf. also *supra*, in Chapter *V.2.*; and above in this *Chapter*). But it is, of course, not certain that the Cancellaria Reliefs and those soffit blocks had belonged to the *same* monument or building.

Besides, as already said above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter *I.3.2.*):

'Contrary to all earlier scholars, Pentiricci [with note 297] suggests, because of the presence of those Domitianic architectural fragments in the same area, that instead this *entire Domitianic monument or building*, together with the pertaining Cancellaria Reliefs, had been destroyed in the process'.

Cf. my **note 297**: 'M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 61 with ns. 428-431; p. 62 with ns. 440-442, p. 162 with n. 97, p. 204: "§ 3. La ristrutturazione urbanistica in età flavia (Periodo 3)"; cf. pp. 204-205: "L'officina marmoraria presso il sepolcro di Irzio" (quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter *I.3.1.*); cf. at n. 261, in Chapter *I.3.2.*

Also S. LANGER and M. PFANNER 2018, 82 (quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapters *V.1.a*); *V.1.i.1.*), who have not discussed M. PENTIRICCI 2009, suggest that the Cancellaria Reliefs and the monument or building, to which they belonged, were destroyed simultaneously'.

With "the same area", Pentiricci (*op.cit.*) refers to the deposit of the here-so-called 'Second sculptor's workshop, excavated next to the tomb of Aulus Hirtius underneath the Palazzo della Cancellaria; cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.3.1.; and in Chapter V.1.a.1.).

As already mentioned several times, also according to Langer and Pfanner (2018, 82), the monument to which the Cancellaria Reliefs had *actually* belonged, must have been completely destroyed in the course of dismantling those reliefs:

"Wann die Platten [*i.e.*, of the Cancellaria Reliefs; cf. here **Figs. 1; 2**] vom Bau abgenommen worden sind, wissen wir nicht [with n. 150]. Die Umarbeitung zum Nervakopf [of Domitian's portrait on Frieze A; cf. here **Fig. 1; Figures 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6**] war auf jeden Fall unbefriedigend, denn man sah nach wie vor die Domitianslocken und vor allem die unschöne Kante zwischen Nervagesicht und Domitiansfrisur (s. Abb. 20c). Vielleicht ordnete deshalb schon Nerva selbst an, die Platten abzunehmen, was mit dem Abbruch des gesamten Monuments einherging. Das legt der bautechnische Befund nahe, der näher erläutert werden muss (s. Abb. 29)". - Langer and Pfanner's note 150 is quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.1.).

But as likewise already mentioned above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.b)), we should also consider Langer and Pfanner's following observation:

'In addition to this, Langer and Pfanner (2018, 82, 84, both passages quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter V.1.a), and again below) suggest that, after Domitian's death the monument or building, to which the Cancellaria Reliefs belonged, was not immediately destroyed, since this structure had presumably served a more general purpose than predominantly celebrating Domitian.

This idea had already been voiced by Marianne Bergmann (1981, 25 with n. 28, quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 252, in Chapter I.3.), followed by Tonio Hölscher (2009a, 54-56, quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 253, in Chapter I.3.)'.

Finally I repeat also *verbatim*, what was already quoted *supra*, in Chapter V.1.a):

'Langer and Pfanner (2018, 82) write:

"Die technischen Beobachtungen zu den Reliefs erlauben inhaltliche Rückschlüsse auf die Art des Monuments. Da die Reliefs zuerst am Bau verblieben, muss es sich um ein Denkmal oder Gebäude gehandelt haben, das nicht alleinig und speziell auf Domitian gemünzt war, sondern bei dem mit Hilfe von Umarbeitungen, Umgestaltungen o. ä. [oder ähnlichem] der Bezug zu Domitian eliminiert werden konnte [with n. 152]". In their notes 151, 152, Langer and Pfanner (2018) provide references and further discussion.

Cf. their n. 151: "Dies lässt vermuten, dass die Platten nicht weit durch die Stadt an ihren Ablageort beim Hirtiusgrab transportiert worden sind. Folglich könnte es sich um ein Gebäude auf dem südlichen Marsfeld handeln, zumal dort Domitian eine intensive Bautätigkeit entfaltet hatte. Zur Lokalisierung des ehemaligen >Cancellaria-Baus< s.[iehe] hier die Beiträge von Wolf und Freyberger im Annex". - For the contributions by Wolf and Freyberger, mentioned in this note; cf. *supra*, in Chapters V.2.; V.3.

In the following I repeat, was written above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.2.):

'Markus Wolf (2018, 91) writes concerning this point: "Im Folgenden soll ... versucht werden, auf der Grundlage einer neuen Bauaufnahme dieser Bauglieder **Vorschläge für die Rekonstruktion eines Monumentes mit einem Bogen aus domitianischer Zeit zu machen, das wohl auf dem Marsfeld stand** [with n. 1; my emphasis]". - In his **note 1**, Wolf does not suggest a more precise hypothesis (than "wohl auf dem Marsfeld") concerning 'the location of the former Cancellaria Building', but acknowledges only the help of those scholars, who have supported his work. Cf. Wolf (2015, 317 with n. 1), where he did not as yet suggest that this monument 'probably stood on the *Campus Martius*'. Klaus Stefan Freyberger (2018; cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.3.), on the other hand, does not propose 'a location for the former Cancellaria Building' at all'.

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 84) write:

"Die Art des Monuments: Die Friese dienten als Verkleidung eines Ziegel-oder Natursteinbaus. Ob als Pendants oder zu einem größeren Zyklus gehörig, ist unbekannt. **Da das Monument nach der *damnatio memoriae* Domitians vorerst stehen blieb und nur die Kaiserköpfe umgearbeitet wurden, handelte es sich kaum um ein Bauwerk, das ausschließlich auf Domitian gemünzt war. Mitaufgefundene Architekturteile sind flavisch und könnten als Teil einer Bogenarchitektur zu einem auf dem südlichen Marsfeld gelegenen Cancellaria-Monument gehört haben ... [my emphasis]**".

Langer and Pfanner (2018) write elsewhere on p. 84:

"Geschichte der Friese und des Monuments: Irgendwann später wurden die Reliefplatten lieblos abgenommen. Sie gingen dabei zu Bruch und waren, abgestellt am Grabmal des Aulus Hirtius, nicht für eine Wiederverwendung vorgesehen. Im selben Zug brach man, wie der technische Befund an den Platten belegt, das gesamte Monument ab".

### **To conclude the discussion by other scholars concerning the monument or building that contained the Cancellaria Reliefs.**

I think it was worth while to read again the above-quoted opinions concerning the questions, 1.) to which kind of monument or building the Cancellaria Reliefs had belonged, and 2.) what may have happened to this structure in the time span between Domitian's death and the moment, when these panels and other remains of the (same?) monument or building ended up in the deposit of the 'Second sculptor's workshop' underneath the Palazzo della Cancellaria.

'Worth while', because it shows, in my opinion, that it is precisely this part of the history of the Cancellaria Reliefs, namely that of their pertaining 'Cancellaria Building', which is addressed in point 2., that is most difficult, or to be honest, currently impossible to reconstruct. The reason being very simple: because that building or monument, or at least those walls of this structure do not exist any more, to which the Cancellaria Reliefs were once attached.

By asserting this, I am thinking of the pioneering research Lucos Cozza has undertaken, "who studied and documented in 1948 in a measured plan the 'morphology of the ancient wall at the Templum Pacis in Rome", where the Severan Marble Plan had been on display; cf. Häuber (2015, 5 with n. 20, quoting L. COZZA, in: *Pianta marmorea* 1960, pp. 175-195, tab. LXI; and *inter alia* L. FERREA 2006, 45-46 with ns. 11, 12, Fig. 9). - For the installation of the Severan Marble plan at the *Templum Pacis*, cf. also *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix I.a*); at Section VII.

**For the Severan Marble Plan, Lucos Cozza has thus provided the scholarly community with precisely that kind of 'hard facts' which in the case of the Cancellaria Reliefs are (still) missing.**

**Let's now summarize the other results of this Chapter VI.3.; Addition: My own tentative suggestion, to which monument or building the Cancellaria Reliefs may have belonged, and a discussion of their possible date**

In this Chapter, I have *inter alia* analysed the discussion concerning the dates, suggested for the Cancellaria Reliefs. At the outset of this research, Giandomenico Spinola was kind enough to tell me that the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2**) belong to the late Domitianic period (cf. *supra*, at n. 75, in Chapter I.1., see also below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola*). In addition to this, we have learned in this Chapter that these reliefs were created by the same workshop, that was also active at Domitian's *Forum/ Forum Nervae/*

*Forum Transitorium*, and at Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, the '*Domus Flaviae*'/ *Domus Augustana*, for which we have the construction date 'AD 81 until around 92'.

After this Chapter was written up to this point, I realized that already Hans Wiegartz (1996, 172, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2. at *Appendix IV.d.2.a*)), was of the opinion that the sculptural decoration of Domitian's *Forum*/ *Forum Nerva*/ *Forum Transitorium* and the Cancellaria Reliefs were contemporary.

**In this part of this *Study*, which is dedicated to the Cancellaria Reliefs, I was thus unable to find a more precise date for the Cancellaria Reliefs. But fortunately also Domitian's building projects at Rome have been discussed in this volume.**

As we shall see below, Domitian's *Forum* and Domitian's Palace are, in addition to this, also therefore closely related, because both were according to Pierre Gros works of Domitian's architect Rabirius; cf. Gros (2009, 106; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.a*); *Appendix IV.d.2.f*).

**By looking in more detail at one of those structures, decorated with sculptures that were created by the same workshop that also made the Cancellaria Reliefs - namely Domitian's *Forum*/ *Forum Nerva*/ *Forum Transitorium* - was finally found such a possible date. I, therefore, suggest that on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6), Domitian is shown in the *profectio* to his (second) Dacian War in AD 89.**

Cf. below, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; at point 2.); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.f*) *Domitian's choice to represent the Pirousta* (cf. here Fig. 49) in his *Forum*/ *Forum Nerva*/ *Forum Transitorium* and the date of the Cancellaria Reliefs).

**If true, this fact may be regarded as a *terminus post quem* for the realization of the Cancellaria Reliefs.**

**To conclude Chapter VI.3. Summary of my own hypotheses concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs presented in this Study.**

As already said above, we have so far no information that could prove my hypotheses that are summarized in this Chapter VI.3.

But, since at least I myself believe in my hypotheses presented here, although still being unable to prove any one of them, I hope that this *Study* is nevertheless an appropriate text to be dedicated to my good friend Rose Mary Sheldon.

Not only because she, simultaneously with me, was writing a book on the Flavian emperors (that is now, in 2023, in press), but especially because she is a great expert in those military campaigns that both Cancellaria Reliefs were supposed to remind the People of Rome of, an enterprise (*i.e.*, the construction of the monument or building, to which those panels belonged), that sadly was never accomplished.

Thanks to scholars like Rose Mary, the scholarly community and anyone else, who is interested in ancient Roman *militaria*, will always remember those events, whereas the Cancellaria Reliefs were never finished and disappeared already in circa AD 120 at the latest, as suggested by Filippo Magi (cf. *supra*, at n. 141, in Chapter I.1., quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 255, in Chapter I.3.1.), followed by Massimo Pentiricci (cf. *supra*, at n. 285, in Chapter I.3.2.), or circa AD 150 at the latest, as suggested by Andrea Carignani and Giandomenico Spinola (cf. *supra*, n. 76, in Chapter I.1., and n. 287, in Chapter I.3.2.), that is to say, presumably only circa 30-60 years after the first carving of these panels had been started - being buried in a deposit of the '*Second sculptor's workshop*' underneath the Palazzo della Cancellaria in the course of levelling the relevant terrain in the *Campus Martius*.

Circa 1787 years after that - fortunately for us - the Cancellaria Reliefs were excavated (1937-1939) by Filippo Magi, who has also published them, first in a brilliant note (1939; quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 112, in Chapter I.1.), and then, only very few years after the excavation, in magisterial fashion in a monumental publication (1945)!



*A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus (cf. here Fig. 10)*

This *Study* has two Parts :

I. The wall painting 'Aldobrandini Wedding' in the Vatican Museums and the statuette of the 'Euripides' in the Louvre (cf. here Fig. 12), which has been discussed together with it.

II. The Capitoline Triad in statuette format at Guidonia Montecelio (Roma), Museo Civico Archeologico 'Rodolfo Lanciani' (cf. here Fig. 13) and the colossal statue of Jupiter at the Hermitage (cf. here Fig. 10)

*A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus (cf. here Fig. 10); Part I.*

*The wall painting 'Aldobrandini Wedding' in the Vatican Museums and the statuette of the 'Euripides' in the Louvre (cf. here Fig. 12), which has been discussed together with it*

Since in January of 2015, Hans Rupprecht Goette has kindly shared his observation with me that the famous, but alleged, statuette of Euripides in the Louvre (cf. here Fig. 12) was 'turned into' the Greek tragedian by restoring a (presumably headless) figure of an enthroned father god, I have pursued his findings further. In this article, Goette convincingly compares the figure's pose and garment *inter alia* with the seated Jupiter in representations of the Capitoline Triad (cf. *id.*, "From Father god to tragic poet ...", forthcoming).

**Fig. 155. Roman wall-painting, 'Aldobrandini Wedding'. Città del Vaticano, Musei Vaticani, Biblioteca (inv. no. 69631). From: C. Häuber (2014a, 831, Fig. 156. Cf. Appendix V; B 30).**

**Fig. 12. Statuette of the seated 'Euripides', marble. Paris, Louvre (MA 343). This figure represented originally Jupiter in the Capitoline Triad (cf. H.R. Goette: "From Father god to tragic poet ...", forthcoming).**

**Fig. 13. Statuette of the Capitoline Triad, marble. Guidonia Montecelio (Roma), Museo Civico Archeologico 'Rodolfo Lanciani' (inv. no. 80546). Cf. Z. Mari, in: F. Buranelli (2019, 73: "20. Triade Capitolina Fine del II-inizi III secolo. Scultura a tutto tondo in marmo lunense, quasi integra (parzialmente mancanti alcuni arti delle figure e attributi); lungh. cm 119, largh. cm 53, h. max. cm 80. Dal Comune di Guidonia Montecelio (Rm), loc. Tenuta dell'Inviolata - Quarto Campanile, Guidonia Montecelio, Museo Civico Archeologico 'Rodolfo Lanciani' (già nel Museo Nazionale di Palestrina fino al 2012). Inv. no. 80546. Furto 1992 (scavi clandestini), Guidonia Montecelio (Roma). *Recupero*: 1994, Livigno (Sondrio))".**

**Photo: Triade Capitolina, Museo Civico Archeologico Rodolfo Lanciani, Guidonia Montecelio Author: Sailko, CC BY 3.0 Deed (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/deed.en>).**

**Fig. 14. Reconstruction of the cult-statue of Zeus in his Temple at Olympia, one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient (Western) World, a chryselephantine statue made by Phidias (440-430 BC). Coloured lithography by Antoine Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy, from his book *Le Jupiter olympien* (1815). Cf. S. Faust (2022, 9-10, "Abb. 1 Zeus von Olympia, Rekonstruktion der Statue und des Tempelinnenraumes. Farbige Lithographie von A. C. Quatremère de Quincy. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg digital, Quatremère de Quincy, 1815, Frontispiz)".**

**Fig. 15. Marble portrait of Tiberius, from Cerveteri, Città del Vaticano, Musei Vaticani. From: C. Parisi Presicce (2006b, 144, 148, Fig. 49 (after: C. MADERNA 1988, 24 f., 166 f., cat. no. JT 4, Taf. 7).**

Concerning the painting called 'Aldobrandini Wedding', I have written elsewhere:

**"This wall painting [*i.e.*, the 'Aldobrandini Wedding'; cf. here Fig. 155] is datable in the Augustan period, was found in the *Horti* of Maecenas ... and was commissioned by Maecenas. It represents 'The Persuasion of Helen by Aphrodite' that may be read as the *conditio sine qua non* not only for the Trojan War, but also for the subsequent rise of Rome [with n. 150, providing a reference; my emphasis].**

Laocoon's death, the theft of the Palladion and Helen's abduction, seen under that perspective, are comparable to Virgil's *Aeneid*, in which "there is a strong narrative teleology, reaching beyond the events of the story to the future Rome" - and to Augustus, since: "The purpose of the *Aeneid* was commonly seen in antiquity as to praise Augustus (Servius, *Aen.* pref.)" [with n. 151]". Cf. Häuber (2014a, 626).

In my **note 151**, I wrote: "Both quotes are from D.F. FOWLER, P.G. FOWLER, s.v. Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro), in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 1606".

Cf. Häuber (2014a, 777-782, "B 30.) The 'Aldobrandini Wedding' wall painting in the Musei Vaticani - the 'Persuasion of Helen by Aphrodite'; cf. Fig. 156 on p. 831. For the findspot of this wall painting, which, in my opinion, was located within the *Horti* of Maecenas, outside the Servian city Wall, to the south of the *Porta Esquilina*, and to the south of the *Via Labicana-Praenestina*; cf. my map 3 [= here Fig. 71].

Cf. **Fig. 71**, labels: HORTI MAECENATIANI; Servian city Wall; PORTA ESQUILINA; VIA LABICANA-PRAENESTINA; XVIII; 42 Building Aldobrandini Wedding.

For discussions of my hypotheses (2014a) concerning the 'Aldobrandini Wedding'; cf. Eric M. Moormann (2015a, 263), and Frank G.J.M. Müller (2019, 69, 70-71), who rejects my identification of the protagonists of the painting with Helen and Paris. On pp. 73-104, he suggests "A New Interpretation": this is his 'old' interpretation, published in 1994, as he (2019, 73 with n. 1) himself admits. Müller (2019, 103, in his Chapter: "Summary") writes that the 'Aldobrandini Wedding' represents the protagonists of Euripides' tragedy "Hippolytos Stephanophoros": Hippolytos, Phaedra, and Aphrodite, "with the exception of Theseus".

Like other scholars; cf. Müller (2019, 105-128, in his Chapter: "Criticism"), also I myself (2014a, 779-780), have rejected Müller's (1994) hypotheses, but for very different reasons. Müller (1994) based his thesis, which he now repeats (in 2019), on two wrong assumptions, *a*) by assuming a wrong findspot for the wall painting 'Aldobrandini Wedding', and, *b*) by (erroneously) suggesting that the wall painting was found in the same area as the famous (but alleged) statuette of 'Euripides' in the Louvre (cf. here Fig. 12).

As Hans Rupprecht Goette found out, this ancient statuette (here Fig. 12) had only been 'turned into' a Euripides by Francesco Ficoroni, who ordered the addition of a modern copy of Euripides's portrait head to this seated figure (of Jupiter!), as well as Greek inscriptions, containing Euripides's name and a list of his works - by the way, a *very* successful operation.

As Hans Rupprecht Goette ("From Father god to tragic poet ...", forthcoming, with n. 10, his Fig. 8: the replica of the Capitoline Triad at Trier), is able to show, the iconography of this male figure (here Fig. 12) is that of Jupiter, represented enthroned in the Capitoline Triad, together with Juno (to his left) and Minerva (to his right). For another complete ensemble of these three divinities, showing Jupiter in a very similar pose and wearing his *himation* in exactly the same fashion as the 'Euripides' (here Fig. 12), see Goette ("From Father god to tragic poet ...", forthcoming, with n. 10), which is now kept in the Museo Civico Archeologico 'Rodolfo Lanciani' (inv. no. 80546) at Guidonia Montecelio (Roma; cf. here Fig. 13). This group was also published by Zaccaria Mari: "Triade Capitolina", in: Francesco Buranelli (2019, 13 [Jupiter alone], cf. pp. 72-73 [illustrating the entire Capitoline Triad]). Hans Rupprecht Goette has kindly allowed me to quote from his forthcoming text.

**Hans Rupprecht Goette ("From Father god to tragic poet ...", forthcoming) writes about Ficoroni's creation of this alleged Euripides (cf. here Fig. 12) :**

"Especially because of the list of plays next to the figure of Euripides the statuette - strangely a mixture of a high relief and a sculpture in the round - became famous. The fact that the head [of this alleged 'Euripides'] has been added (produced as a miniature replica after the inscribed herm of Euripides in the Farnese collection [with n. 7]) in the 18<sup>th</sup> century has been mentioned in most publications only in passing. Philologists and epigraphists were fascinated by the catalogue of plays reported next to the depiction of the poet [*i.e.*, the alleged Euripides; with n. 8] ... But when we look carefully at these inscriptions, several peculiarities strike us.

1. There is inconsistency in the form of the letters: the rounded E in the name on the plinth is different from all rectangular E in the catalogue of tragedies.
2. The first four letters of Euripides' name are inscribed on a surface that is clearly cut back in post-ancient times, so that the top corner of the plinth projects out more than the lower part, the surface plane is not vertically even but curves inwards at an oblique angle (Fig. 3).
3. The rest of the inscribed name is written with the same tool on a triangular marble piece of the plinth that was added during the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century restoration. This indicates that the whole name on the side of the plinth was added in modern times.
4. Moving on to the list of plays on the background (Fig. 7), we see that the title »Antigone« was written twice, in lines 6 and 12; »Archelaos« is missing in the alphabetical order; the title »Bellerophon« in line 15 is inscribed as »Βελλεροφόντης«, »Elektra« is omitted if the remains of »Herakles« - restored by others as »Kadmos« - at the break in line 26 were read correctly. In the right column we see »Kresphontes« and »Likyenios« misspelled.
5. The titles in the right column are incised into the marble in a position (*i. e.* pushed to the left) that the space for the letters takes advantage of the modern break of the stone in a way that the whole word could be inscribed.
6. And underneath »Orestes« there are no more titles listed although one would expect on the existing ancient surface more lines naming plays that would have been inscribed and partly lost on their right edge.

Again – as in the case of the name inscribed on the side of the plinth – we have to doubt the ancient origin of this list ... The poet [*i.e.*, 'Euripides', here Fig. 12] sits on a throne. That is surprising because this is not usual for depictions of a tragedian who usually sits on a klismos or a simple stool. The drapery with the rounded folds at the shoulder is unknown in depictions of Greek mortals [with n. 9]. The same is true for the restored sceptre or thyrsos in the right hand of the figure. All these iconographic details – the seat, drapery of the mantle, and the pose of the arms – are typical for a depiction of the god Zeus who must have been the original subject of this ›relief-statulette‹. But why then a ›relief background‹ behind the back of the throne? What function had this plate in the primary appearance of the small sculpture? The mixture of a statuette and a relief with inscriptions on the background – as it appears today after all the 18<sup>th</sup> century interventions – is unknown in Roman imperial sculpture. Searching for an explanation of this rare combination of an enthroned Zeus (or father god) with a high back of the seat and an additional ›background‹ we find depictions of the god accompanied on both sides by two more deities – Iuno and Minerva – constituting the group of the Capitoline Trias (Fig. 8) [with n. 10]; very similar and inspired by the trias of gods there are depictions of the group of Sarapis with other Egyptian goddesses [with n. 11] showing the bearded god seated on a throne in front of a marble plate in the back. The original fragment of the ›relief statuette of Euripides‹ in the Louvre must have been part of such a sculptural group of deities. Only by re-cutting,

restoring, and inscribing that fragment during the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the famous sculpture has been created".

In his **notes 7-11**, Goette provides references. In his **note 10**, he mentions the replica of the Capitoline Triad at Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum (inv. no. ST. 3196), which is illustrated on his Fig. 8, and the Capitoline Triad, now kept in the Museo Civico Archeologico 'Rodolfo Lanciani' at Guidonia Montecelio (Roma), illustrated here on **Fig. 13**.

**Hans Rupprecht Goette's (forthcoming) above-quoted new observations concerning the statuette of 'Euripides' in the Louvre (here Fig. 12) have an important effect. Because there is now no 'need' any more to conclude that the 'Aldobrandini Wedding' should represent one of Euripides's tragedies, by arguing with the (alleged) fact that this 'Euripides' was found in the same area as the 'Aldobrandini Wedding'. Like many other scholars, I have (2014a, 779-780) rejected Müller's hypothesis to recognize in the 'Aldobrandini Wedding' the protagonists of Euripides's "Hippolytos Stephanophoros". Müller (2019, 105-128, in his Chapter: "Criticism") does not discuss my objections to his theories.**

Cf. Häuber (2014a, 779-780, with ns. 24-29, for a discussion of F.G.M. MÜLLER 1994; cf. C. HÄÜBER 2015, 45-53: "Appendix A topographic error [*i.e.*, one of my own errors], the statuette of Euripides in the Louvre and the head of a boy wearing a cap in the Musei Capitolini, Centrale Monte Martini", esp. pp. 49-50, with ns. 206-216 - with further arguments against the hypotheses of Müller 1994, and with my discussion on the statuette of 'Euripides' with Hans Rupprecht Goette.

**In the following, I will summarize, why and how I have become involved in the discussions of Müller and Goette that revolve around the 'Euripides'-statuette in the Louvre and the 'Aldobrandini Wedding'.**

At the request of Frank G.J.M. Müller, I had in November of 2014 found out the real findspot of the 'Euripides' statuette (cf. here **Fig. 12**) by analysing Francesco Ficoroni's relevant report of 1790. I have, of course, informed Frank G.J.M. Müller of the results of my relevant research, and have immediately after that published them; cf. Häuber (2015, 45-53). Previously; cf. Häuber (1990, 93, with ns. 278-280, and 1991, 220-221, cat. no. 26), I had misunderstood one of Rodolfo Lanciani's handwritten schede in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, to the effect that I had suggested that this sculpture was found within the area of the *Horti* of Maecenas - this conclusion was definitely wrong.

**Based on Ficoroni's (1790) own very detailed report concerning this find, it was possible to identify the vineyard, where Ficoroni's alleged 'Euripides'-statuette (cf. here Fig. 12) had occurred; cf. Häuber (2015, 51): in antiquity this area was completely occupied by the 'Macellum Liviae' and by the adjacent *Campus Esquilinus*. The 'Macellum Liviae' was located immediately outside and to the north of the *Porta Esquilina* within the Servian city wall, and to the north of the *Via Labicana-Praenestina* and of the *Campus Esquilinus*. - This means that the 'Euripides'-statuette and the 'Aldobrandini Wedding' were certainly *not* found within the same area, because the *Horti* of Maecenas, where the 'Aldobrandini Wedding' came to light, were located to the south of the *Via Labicana-Praenestina* (as explained above).**

Cf. here **Fig. 71**, labels: Servian city Wall; PORTA ESQUILINA; VIA LABICANA-PRAENESTINA; CAMPUS ESQUILINUS; "MACELLUM LIVIAE".

Already this provenance of the statuette contradicts Ficoroni's assertion that a find from this area could possibly have been a statuette of Euripides, comprising a list of some of his works (such as here **Fig. 12**), which, if genuine, would have been the appropriate decoration of a library in some *domus*.

In January of 2015 started my discussion of the topography of the area with Hans Rupprecht Goette, who wanted to know the findspot of 'the head of a boy wearing a cap in the Musei Capitolini, Centrale Monte

Martini'. Hans alerted me also to other aspects of this 'Euripides' statuette, that were as yet unknown to me. With his kind consent I quoted in my text Goette's doubts concerning the identification of this statuette as Euripides, written me by Email of 24th January 2015: "... daß ich an der Deutung der Statuette als Euripides Zweifel habe a) wegen der Ikonographie und b) wegen der tiefgreifenden Überarbeitung, die bis zu den inschriftlichen Eintragungen reicht ...". Cf. Häuber (2015, 52 with n. 228, quoting Goette's Email).

Cf. now Goette ("From Father god to tragic poet ...", forthcoming). For the 'boy wearing a cap in the Musei Capitolini, Centrale Monte Martini'; cf. now Goette (2016), and for Francesco Ficoroni; cf. now Ronald T. Ridley (2017). Helke Kammerer Grothaus (2019, 258), in her review of Ronald T. Ridley's book (2017), refers to Goette's and Müller's research, with whom also she had discussed the matter, and declares the 'Euripides' as the result of the 'upgrading' restoration of a statuette of Zeus into one of the Greek poet that was created at the order of Ficoroni: "So fand der Ausgräber Giuseppe Mitelli auf dem Esquilin in der Region, die Ficoroni für den Palast des Titus hielt, 1702 eine Zeusstatuette, die er Ficoroni zum Kauf anbot ([R.T. RIDLEY 2017] S.[eite] 81, 115). Sie befindet sich heute als 'Euripides' im Louvre (MA 343; s.[iehe] F. De Ficoroni, *Le memorie ritrovate nel territorio delle prima e seconda Città di Labico*, Roma 1745, 104; Fundortangabe eventuell reine Fiktion). Offensichtlich wurde sie im Umfeld von Ficoroni verkaufswirksam angepasst (diesen Hinweis verdanke ich H.R. Goette, Berlin, und F.G.J.M. Müller, Amsterdam), die Anregung, in dem Euripides ein Produkt des sog.[enannten] *secolo delle manipolazioni* zu sehen".

**Discussing the matter with Eric M. Moormann in April of 2020, he alerted me to the fact that my suggestion to attribute a political meaning to the 'Aldobrandini Wedding'; cf. Häuber (2014a, 777-782), is a subject regarded by scholars specializing on Roman wallpaintings as highly controversial.**

He himself has recently summarized the relevant research; cf. Moormann (2013). Similarly Frank G.J.M. Müller (1994), in his book on the Boscoreale megalography, as Eric Moormann was kind enough to write me.

But considering the fact that, in my opinion, the 'Aldobrandini Wedding' was commissioned by Maecenas, a close friend of Augustus, I still wonder, whether Maecenas's situation should perhaps be judged differently than that of those men, who have been studied by Müller (1994) and Moormann (2013). Those men had not only lived one generation earlier, but also far away from Rome, in Campania.

Augustus and Maecenas, on the other hand, did not only live in "**Roma**. [L'arte romana] **nel centro del potere**", to borrow the title of Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli's famous book (1969). Augustus and Maecenas even were *themselves* the 'centro del potere'.

**Apropos my remark 'a very successful operation', with which I have referred to Ficoroni's 'creation' of the alleged 'Euripides' statuette (cf. here Fig. 12): Ficoroni's concept still worked in 2021.**

And that although all the arguments that preclude this identification have already been presented; cf. Häuber (2015, 45-53) and Helke Kammerer Grothaus's (2019, 258). In both publications reference was made to the relevant research of Hans Rupprecht Goette and Frank G.J.M. Müller, since both scholars had been kind enough to share their relevant findings with Kammerer Grothaus and myself ahead of their own publications, and had allowed us also to mention their results. To this I have myself added further considerations concerning the findspot of this statuette of 'Euripides' that corroborate Goette's own findings.

In a recently published article on portraits of Euripides, Ralf von den Hoff (2021, 40-41, with ns. 20-21) discusses also the statuette in the Louvre (cf. here **Fig. 12**), which he regards as a representation of Euripides and refers to as a "Relief". Von den Hoff suggests that in this sculpture the poet 'has been assimilated to Zeus, by the rendering of his garment and by the choice of the throne', interpreting both iconographic details "als überhöhende Bildformeln". In addition to this, von den Hoff (erroneously) believes that the inscriptions on this statuette are genuine; one of these inscriptions identifies this statuette as Euripides, the others are titles of Euripides's works. - I thank Hans Rupprecht Goette for the reference.

*A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus (cf. here Fig. 10); Part II.*

*The Capitoline Triad in statuette format at Guidonia Montecelio (Roma), Museo Civico Archeologico 'Rodolfo Lanciani' (cf. here Fig. 13) and the colossal statue of Jupiter at the Hermitage (cf. here Fig. 10)*

*"Il canto dei grilli fu improvvisamente sovrastato dal rombo di un Diesel, due fari squarciarono la notte, la macchina ruotò sui cingoli e si avviò sferragliando nella campagna deserta ...".*

Valerio M. Manfredi (1994, "Le inchieste del Colonnello Reggiani, p. 142: "Gli dei dell'Impero").

This is how Valerio Massimo Manfredi begins the story, in the course of which the driver of this Diesel that night, with some other men, 'excavates' the Capitoline Triad (here Fig. 13) discussed below. According to Manfredi's story (1994, 140-156; cf. p. 150 for the price: "Venti milioni di dollari"), this Capitoline Triad was supposed to be sold to an art collector in the United States for 20 million \$, but this sculpture was saved, and is now kept at Guidonia Montecelio (Roma), Museo Civico Archeologico 'Rodolfo Lanciani'.

In 1994, in the Castel Sant'Angelo at Rome, there was on display an exhibition that I have unfortunately not seen, but of which I was lucky enough to buy in October of 1994 the above-mentioned catalogue. It has the following title:

*Tesori Dal Buio 1994. Le inchieste del colonnello Reggiani di Valerio M. Manfredi.*

The catalogue was produced by the *Centro Europeo per il Turismo Sport e Spettacolo*. Giuseppe Lepore, *Presidente Centro Europeo per il Turismo*, writes in the 5th (!) preface of this catalogue (on p. 15):

"Le storie narrate da Valerio M. Manfredi su alcuni recuperi ancora pervasi di attualità e di mistero ci accompagneranno nella visita della Mostra ...". Whereas the many, and well known scholars of the COMITATO SCIENTIFICO (p. 6) of this exhibition and its catalogue, who have signed the INTRODUZIONE (pp. 17-19), do not mention Manfredi at all.

The motivation to organize this exhibition project (1994) and to ask Valerio M. Manfredi to write those stories is mentioned by the author of the first preface, Gen. C. A. Luigi Federici, *Comandante Generale dell'Arma dei Carabinieri* (pp. 7-8), who writes on p. 8:

**"Lo scopo primario [of this exhibition - and its catalogue] è comunque quello di restituire al pubblico godimento tanti capolavori che erano sprofondati, per fortuna temporaneamente, nel buio della clandestinità, e di far rivivere, attraverso alcuni episodi, le emozioni, già vissute dai Carabinieri nel corso delle inchieste [my emphasis]"**.

The text with the title *Le inchieste del colonnello Reggiani* was written for the catalogue *Tesori Dal Buio 1994* by the archaeologist and well known writer of historical novels Valerio Massimo Manfredi. All this I found out by reading a text about him in the Italian Wikipedia (cf. *infra*).

Not by chance this exhibition of 1994 marked the 25th anniversary of the foundation of a "Nucleo" of the *Comando Carabinieri Tutela Patrimonio Artistico* in 1969, as mentioned by Gen. C. A. Luigi Federici, the *Comandante Generale dell'Arma dei Carabinieri*, in his preface in the catalogue *Cat. Tesori Dal Buio 1994* (on p. 7).

In 2019, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the *Comando Carabinieri Tutela Patrimonio Artistico*, was organized the second exhibition of this kind, and Francesco Buranelli (the *Presidente della Commissione Permanente per la Tutela dei Monumenti Storici ed Artistici della Santa Sede*) was asked to curate this exhibition and its catalogue, as he himself has told me.

I therefore, I imagine something similar for the earlier exhibition in 1994 as well.

It was, therefore, obviously the *Comandante Generale dell'Arma dei Carabinieri*, Gen. C. A. Luigi Federici and his men, the organizers of the exhibition and its pertaining catalogue, the *Cat. Tesori Dal Buio 1994*, who had the excellent idea to ask Valerio M. Manfredi to collaborate in this project. Manfredi invented stories, how the famous artworks, on display in this exhibition, were either stolen in Italian museums, private collections or in Churches, or how such clandestine 'excavations' may have been conducted, in which those artworks were found, and how in all these cases the *Comando Carabinieri Tutela Patrimonio Artistico* prevented that those artworks from being sold to foreign countries.

**Valerio M. Manfredi's account (1994), *Le inchieste del colonnello Reggiani*, is a delight to read, and the characters of Colonnello Reggiani and his men, whom Manfredi invents for us, are so convincing that it is no wonder that many of Manfredi's other historical novels have become the basis of very successful movies and television series.**

The latter information I have likewise found in the Wikipedia article that I consulted. In this article appears under the headline: *Opere*, and there under: *Antologie di racconti*, the title: *Le inchieste del colonnello Reggiani*. But this is the title of a different book that Manfredi published in 2015.

Cf. Wikipedia: [https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Valerio\\_Massimo\\_Manfredi](https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Valerio_Massimo_Manfredi) [15082021].

The Capitoline Triad (cf. here **Fig. 13**) is illustrated in the catalogue *Tesori Dal Buio 1994* on p. 140.

The caption (of the Capitoline Triad; cf. here **Fig. 13**) reads:

"Triade Capitolina

(Giove, Giunone e Minerva)

II-III secolo d.C.

Marmo; cm 60 x 90 x 120

*Rinvenuta nel corso di uno scavo clandestino effettuato nell'area dell'Inviolata, in comune di Guidonia, è stata recuperata in località Stelvio, nel febbraio del 1994, dal Comando Carabinieri Tutela Patrimonio Artistico [the italics are those of the authors]".*

The report concerning this whole procedure by the *Comando Carabinieri Tutela Patrimonio Artistico* itself, which was published 25 years later, in 2019, sounds in some details different than Manfredi's invented story of 1994. But in both accounts this Capitoline Triad could only be saved for the same reason: when the sculpture was found by these clandestine 'excavators' - in Manfredi's story the driver of the above-mentioned Diesel and his companions - one arm was broken off the figure of Minerva (cf. here **Fig. 13**). And because that arm was secured by the *Comando Carabinieri Tutela Patrimonio Artistico* - in Manfredi's story an art dealer in Italy - and in reality a man handling stolen artworks in Switzerland, who was about to export the sculpture to the United States, could be forced to give the sculpture back.

See the catalogue accompanying the exhibition at Rome, Palazzo del Quirinale (Palazzina Gregoriana), edited by Francesco Buranelli (2019, 73, *L'Arte di Salvare l'Arte. Frammenti di storia d'Italia. Mostra organizzata in occasione del 50<sup>o</sup> anniversario del Comando Carabinieri Tutela Patrimonio Culturale 1969 - 2019* [the following text is the caption of an illustration of the Capitoline Triad here **Fig. 13**]) :

"STORIA INVESTIGATIVA DELLA TRIADE CAPITOLINA

*La cosiddetta Triade Capitolina costituisce uno dei recuperi più significativi effettuati dal Comando Carabinieri Tutela Patrimonio Culturale. Il gruppo scultoreo raffigurante le divinità tutelari di Roma antica, Giove, Giunone e Minerva, fu rinvenuto nel corso di scavi clandestini condotti da una banda di tombaroli nei pressi di Guidonia Montecelio (Roma) nel 1992. Il reperto fu illecitamente esportato in Svizzera e qui venduto ad un ricettatore, mentre nel frattempo erano già iniziate le indagini dei Carabinieri che avevano raccolto voci ricorrenti nell'ambiente dei trafficanti sul ritrovamento di un'importante scultura marmorea nell'area laziale. Nel 1993 fu così individuato uno dei tombaroli della banda che, messo davanti alle sue responsabilità, fornì una precisa descrizione dell'opera che permise ai Carabinieri di realizzarne una sorta di identikit, poi diffuso nell'ambiente antiquario per ostacolare la vendita del bene. La prosecuzione delle attività investigative consentì anche di individuare tutti i responsabili dello scavo e di sequestrare un frammento in marmo staccatosi dalla scultura durante le operazioni di scavo clandestino. Tale frammento, esibito come prova dai Carabinieri, fu fondamentale per bloccare una trattativa di vendita della Triade Capitolina già in corso tra il ricettatore svizzero in possesso della scultura ed un collezionista americano. Vista l'impossibilità di trovare compratori e la pressione investigativa esercitata dai Carabinieri, il bene venne finalmente rinvenuto in 1994 abbandonato dai ricettatori vicino al confine svizzero. La Triade Capitolina costituisce oggi uno dei tesori esposti nel Museo Archeologico 'Rodolfo Lanciani' a Guidonia Montecelio [the italics are those of the authors].*

Comando TPC [Comando Carabinieri Tutela Patrimonio Culturale]".

This Capitoline Triad (cf. here **Fig. 13**), which appears also on the cover of the catalogue *Cat. Tesori Dal Buio 1994*, is the only artwork, of those rescued by the 'Carabinieri dell'Arte' (so G. NISTRI 2019, 12), discussed in this earlier catalogue of 1994, that also appears in the second catalogue of 2019.

Cf. Giovanni Nistri, *Comandante Generale dell'Arma dei Carabinieri* (in: F. BURANELLI 2019, 13 [= here **Fig. 13**], photo of a detail of the Capitoline Triad, showing the figure of Jupiter); Francesco Buranelli (2019, 16); and Zaccaria Mari ("20. Triade Capitolina", in: F. BURANELLI 2019, 72-73, with an illustration of the group [here **Fig. 13**]). - Interestingly, in the catalogue of 2019, the earlier catalogue *Cat. Tesori Dal Buio 1994* is not mentioned, not even in Zaccaria Mari's bibliography on the Triade Capitolina, here **Fig. 13** (!).

One of the Capitoline Triads, compared by Hans Rupprecht Goette ("From Father god to tragic poet ...", forthcoming, with n. 10) with this 'Euripides' (cf. here **Fig. 12**), is the above-mentioned group in statuette format that was also published by Filippo Coarelli (in: F. COARELLI 2006a, 514, cat. 118:) "Gruppo in marmo della Triade Capitolina" (cf. here **Fig. 13**), which at the time (until 2012) was kept at Palestrina, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Prenestino (inv. no. 80546).

**Note that in this Capitoline Triad Minerva is enthroned to the right of Jupiter, or to the left of him, when we look at the group.**

Coarelli (*op.cit.*), who convincingly dates this Capitoline Triad (here **Fig. 13**) to the Antonine period, comments on this sculpture as follows: "**Il gruppo (l'unico esistente a tutto tondo) riproduce la Triade Capitolina, nella forma che essa presentava dopo il restauro realizzato da Domiziano dopo l'incendio dell'80, che conosciamo anche da monete del II secolo d. C.** [my emphasis]".



Contrary to what Coarelli asserts in this above-quoted passage, there exists also another version in statuette format of this Capitoline Triad: at Trier (Rheinisches Landesmuseum, inv. no. ST. 3196), mentioned by Goette ("From Father god to tragic poet ...", forthcoming, his Fig. 8, with note 10). - **Note that also in this Capitoline Triad Minerva is enthroned to the right of Jupiter.** Besides, already Domitian himself had issued coins (cf. *infra*, in Volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.1.*) and here **Fig. 83**), on which his (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus is represented, unfortunately on those coins the pediment of the temple with its sculpture decoration, which we know also from state reliefs (cf. *infra*), is not represented. - But Domitian should also issue coins, on which the cult-statues in his Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus actually appear (cf. *infra*).

This Capitoline Triad (here **Fig. 13**), previously at Palestrina, is now kept at Guidonia Montecelio (Roma), Museo Civico Archeologico 'Rodolfo Lanciani'. Interestingly it has there the same inventory number (80546) as previously in the museum at Palestrina (!). Cf. Zaccaria Mari ("Triade Capitolina", who dates it: "Fine del II-inizi III secolo", in: F. BURANELLI 2019, 72-73, cat. no. 20, cf. p. 13). Add to Mari's bibliography: *Tesori Dal Buio. Le inchieste del colonnello Reggiani di Valerio M. Manfredi* (1994, 141-156); Coarelli (in: F. COARELLI 2006a, 514, cat. 118; and Goette ("From Father god to tragic poet ...", forthcoming, with note 10).

Coarelli's above-quoted statement: "Il gruppo ... [*i.e.*, here **Fig. 13**] riproduce la Triade Capitolina, nella forma che essa presentava dopo il restauro realizzato da Domiziano dopo l'incendio dell'80", is corroborated by the representations of the Capitoline Triad that appear in the pediment of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus on the Extispicium Relief (cf. here **Figs. 16-18**), as well as on Marcus Aurelius's above-mentioned sacrifice panel (cf. here **Fig. 19**). For a detailed discussion of both reliefs; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.4.*)

**It seems to be certain that both the sculptural groups of the Capitoline Triad at Trier and at Guidonia Montecelio (Roma) (cf. here Fig. 13), as well as the two reliefs, Extispicium Relief (cf. here Figs. 16-18) and Marcus Aurelius's sacrifice panel (cf. here Fig. 19), all refer to Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus and its cult-statues.**

**Nevertheless Minerva and Juno do not always appear at the same positions in regard to Jupiter, whom they flank in these representations on either side. So far I cannot decide, which of the two positions of Minerva discussed here should be regarded as the correct one, although I tend to believe that the state reliefs - the Extispicium Relief (cf. here 16-18) and Marcus Aurelius's sacrifice panel (cf. here Fig. 19) should be correct in this respect, but see below.**

I had elsewhere hoped to demonstrate that the positioning of Minerva in the representation of the pediment of Domitian's Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus on Marcus Aurelius's sacrifice panel should be regarded as the correct side (to Jupiter's left, or, when looking at the relief, to the right of Jupiter, thus interpreting Livy [7,3,5] this way; cf. C. HÄUBER 2005, 18 with n. 45, p. 40 with n. 259; quoting *LTUR* I [1993] Fig. 3); cf. Francesco Paolo Arata (2009, 212, Fig.1) and here **Fig. 19**. Now I realize that Livy referred, of course, to the (second) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, whereas the temple, which appears on Marcus Aurelius's sacrifice panel, is Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Jupiter. For the (second) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, dedicated by Q. Lutatius Catulus (cf. *supra*, at n. 181, in Chapter *I.1.*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.c*); and *Appendix I.d*). But we shall see below, when discussing Stefano De Angeli's account (cf. *LTUR* III [1996] 149), that I was actually right with this assumption.

**On the Extispicium Relief, Jupiter and the two goddesses flanking him, were represented. But when looking at the extant drawings of this relief, I am unfortunately unable to distinguish Juno and Minerva from each other.**

The pediment of Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus is not extant any more on this relief, but it has been recorded by four Renaissance drawings; cf. A.J.B. Wace (1907, 240-

243), who discusses all four drawings, and on p. 240 the drawing in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Cod. Vat. Lat. 3439 f. 83), which he illustrates on his Pl. XX (= here Figs. 16; 17);

**On Marcus Aurelius's sacrifice panel (cf. here Fig. 19), Minerva appears to the left of Jupiter, that is to say, on the right hand side of the relief.**

**And in the Capitoline Triad in statuette format (cf. here Fig. 13), Minerva appears instead on the left hand side of the relief, to the right of Jupiter). Cf. Capitoline Triad, marble. Guidonia Montecelio (Roma), Museo Civico Archeologico 'Rodolfo Lanciani' (inv. no. 80546):**

**Photo: Triade Capitolina, Museo Civico Archeologico Rodolfo Lanciani, Guidonia Montecelio Author: Sailko, CC BY 3.0 Deed (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/deed.en>).**

**Fig. 16. A.J.B. Wace. Reconstruction drawing of the Extispicium Relief in the Louvre (MA 978), based on the extant fragments of this relief, and for the lost parts on Renaissance drawings. The relief shows a sacrifice in front of Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. From: A.J.B. Wace 1907, 238, Pl. XXIX. Cf. A. Claridge (1998, 238, Fig. 110; *ead.* 2010, 270, Fig. 113).**

**Renaissance drawing of the right-hand part of the Extispicium Relief in the Louvre (MA 978), on which in the background appears the façade of Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. Cod. Vat. Lat. 3439 F. 83. From. A.J.B. Wace 1907, 240, Pl. XX.**

**Fig. 17. Renaissance drawing of the right-hand part of the Extispicium relief in the Louvre (MA 978), on which in the background appears the façade of Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. Cod. Vat. Lat. 3439 F. 83. From: A.J.B. Wace 1907, 240 Pl. XX, detail: showing part of the pediment of Domitian's Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.**

**Fig. 18. Wace 1907, 239, with n. 8 = Extispicium Relief Cod. Coburgensis = E. Schulze 1873, tav. 57 = *LTUR* III, 438, Fig. 103.**

**Fig. 19. Marcus Aurelius, *Pietas Augusti*, marble relief, representing a sacrifice in front of Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo de' Conservatori, staircase (inv. no. 807/S). Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitonini, Neg. nos. d.13102; d. 13103. Photo: Pasquale Rizzo. © Roma, Sovraintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali. Cf. C. Parisi Presicce and E. Dodero (2023, 68, Fig. 4).**

**Fig. 10. Colossal acrolithic statue of Jupiter. St. Petersburg, Hermitage (inv. no. GP-4155), from Castel Gandolfo. Cf. C. Parisi Presicce (2006b, 146, Fig. 47, copied after M.B. PIOTROVSKIJ and O.J. NEVEROV 2003, fig. on p. 200).**

**<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/22.09.2020>.**

Interestingly, the pose as well as the rendering of the garment of the (alleged) Euripides (cf. here Fig. 12), who was originally a Jupiter, as in the Capitoline Triad (cf. here Fig. 13), as well as the representation of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus in the pediment of Domitian's (fourth) temple of the god on the Extispicium Relief (cf. here Fig. 16), and on Marcus Aurelius's sacrifice panel (cf. here Fig. 19), which likewise shows Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, is similar - but not identical - to that of the acrolithic statue of Jupiter (from Castel Gandolfo!) in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (cf. here Fig. 10), which Oskar Waldhauer (1928, 8, quoted *verbatim infra*) has convincingly dated to the Domitianic period. - To the just mentioned differences in the renderings of those garments I will come back below.

The statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage (here Fig. 10) was, after its excavation in its vicinity, on display at Palazzo Barberini (today: Castel Gandolfo) on Lake Albano, precisely where Domitian had built a luxurious

*Villa*, called *Albanum*. We also know that the cult-statue of Jupiter in Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus had colossal size and that the entire temple was lavishly decorated.

**Considering the Domitianic date of this statue of Jupiter (here Fig. 10), its colossal size, the decoration of the hall, where it is on display in the Hermitage, and thus 'the power of its placement' in this museum, this statue can perhaps give us an impression of what Domitian's cult-statue of Jupiter in his (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus may have looked like. - As we shall see below this is actually true.**

And that, although the left lower leg of this statue of Jupiter in St. Petersburg (here Fig. 10) is exposed, whereas in the figures of Jupiter of the replicas of the Capitoline Triad in statuette format (cf. here Fig. 13) - that have already been identified by other scholars as copies of Domitian's cult-statue of Jupiter in his (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus - also the god's left leg is completely covered. - My thanks are due to Eugenio La Rocca for alerting to this fact, to which I will come back below.

With the statement 'power of placement', I have allowed myself to paraphrase the title of Victoria Newhouse's book (*Art and the Power of Placement* 2005).

For Domitian's *Villa Albanum*, its huge extension (because created by integrating two previously different estates into its overall design), its exuberant decoration, and Domitian's possible intention to create with the design of his *Albanum* an allusion to the Acropolis at Athens.

Cf. Henner von Hesberg (2009, 326-333; cf. K. MANFRECOLA 2020; and H.R. GOETTE, "The Portraits of Aischylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Menander in Roman Contexts. Evidence of the Reception of the Theatre Classics in Late Republican and Imperial Rome", 2022. In this text, which will be discussed in detail *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*), Goette suggests that Domitian's *Albanum* was possibly "inspired by the topographical situation of the Athenian Acropolis with its south slope". The quote is from an E-mail by Hans Rupprecht Goette of 17th June 2022, with whom I could discuss the matter again). For the Theatre of Dionysos, erected on the southern slope of the Acropolis at Athens; cf. now Goette (2020a).

***Oskar Waldhauer (1928) convincingly dated the statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage (here Fig. 10) in the Domitianic period by comparing its head with those of portraits, inter alia the colossal portrait of Titus (here Fig. 53) in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale at Naples, which Eugenio La Rocca (2009; 2020) has identified as belonging to the cult-statue of Divus Titus in Domitian's Templum Gentis Flaviae at Rome***

But note that only much later should I find out that Waldhauer was even wrong in assuming that this statue of Jupiter (here Fig. 10) was found with its head (!). To this I will come back below. Following Oskar Waldhauer (1928), I had at first (but erroneously) assumed that the right hand of this statue of Jupiter at St. Petersburg (here Fig. 10) is preserved. As we shall see in the following discussion of extant representations of the god Jupiter, the way how this hand is rendered is crucial for the identification of its possible original.

**Oskar Waldhauer (1928, 5) judged the restorations of the statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage (cf. here Fig. 10) as being on the whole correct, although he admitted, by judging from the way its right hand is sculpted, that it certainly originally held a thunderbolt ("Blitzbündel"). Waldhauer discussed, on the one hand, the possibility that the prototype of this statue of Jupiter could have been a cult-statue, made in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC by Bryaxis himself, or else by 'the circle of Bryaxis', especially mentioning in this context the colossal acrolithic cult-statue of Sarapis at the god's Temple at Alexandria, which in the past has always been attributed to Bryaxis, but came on the other hand to the convincing conclusion that this statue of Jupiter should be regarded as an *original creation* - of the 'typically pompous style of the [Flavian] period, which copies Greek [sculptures], but in its calculated coldness is typically Roman'.**

**Waldhauer (1928, 4) wrote: "Erhaltung: Ergänzt von Pacetti die Nike in der rechten Hand erst in Leningrad hinzugefügt, Meister unbekannt; in der Sammlung Campana hielt die Rechte den Blitz ...**

**Antik sind: Kopf, Rumpf mit der rechten Schuler, beide Hände, die linke mit dem Gelenk, das linke Bein vom Knie bis zur Ferse, die vorderen Teile beider Füße ...".**

Cf. p. 5: **"Die erhaltenen Teile bezeugen die Richtigkeit der Ergänzung; jedoch muß in der Rechten, der länglichen Aushöhlung in der Handfläxhe nach zu urteilen, der Donnerkeil gelegen haben".**

Cf. p. 6: "Die Technik [= cf. p. 5 with n. 1: "Akrolith"] verbindet, wie bemerkt, den Zeus mit dem Otricolityps, das heißt mit einer Gruppe von Werken, die Amelung mit Bryaxis in Zusammenhang bringt [with n. 7; my emphasis]". Cf. p. 8: **"Zeitlich bestimmt werden diese durch datierbare Porträts wie zum Beispiel den Kopf der Domitia in der Ermitage 239 und den Tituskopf in Neapel [cf. here Fig. 53], Bernoulli II Taf. 1-8 ... Wenn die Möglichkeit einer Kopie nach einem Original des vierten Jahrhunderts aus dem Kreis des Bryaxis nicht gelegnet werden soll, so scheint eine andere Annahme die größere Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich zu haben: daß nämlich die Statue eine im wesentlichen originale Schöpfung eines Meisters flavischer Zeit ist, mit freier Benutzung griechischer Typen des vierten Jahrhunderts, ein guter Vertreter des pomphaften Stils der Epoche, der sich an Griechisches anschließt, in seiner berechneten Kühle aber rein römisch ist [my emphasis]".**

Concerning the various cult-statue(s) of Sarapis (and in the Roman period of Serapis) in his Temple at Alexandria, some recent scholars do not believe any more, as Waldhauer (1928, 4) took for granted, that these cult-images had anything to do with the artist of the fourth century BC, called Bryaxis; cf. Häuber (2014a, 725-726, 740).

Waldhauer (1928, 8) compared with the statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage the portrait of Titus [cf. here Fig. 53] "Bernoulli II Taf. 1-8". It seems that this is the portrait of Titus, discussed by Eugenio La Rocca (cat. no. "99 Ritratto colossale di Tito" [here Fig. 53], in: Filippo Coarelli 2009a, 497; cf. p. 496, illustrations of this head, and p. 225). La Rocca quotes for this portrait of Titus in note 1 of his catalogue-entry: "Inv. 110892: Bernoulli 1891, p. 33, n. 13, tav. VIII ...".

On 18th October 2020 I have asked Eugenio La Rocca in an Email correspondence for advice. We compared La Rocca's illustration of this head of Titus (cf. here Fig. 53), which shows it after its plaster restorations of the 19<sup>th</sup> century have been removed; cf. La Rocca (cat. no. "99 Ritratto colossale di Tito", in: F. COARELLI 2009a, 497), with its publication by Johann Jacob Bernoulli (II 1891, pl. 8), realizing that Bernoulli illustrates a photograph of the same portrait of Titus on his plate 8, which shows the head still *with* its plaster restorations. The difference between Waldhauer's and La Rocca's above-mentioned quotations could thus be explained: Waldhauer's formulation: "Bernoulli II Taf. 1-8" is wrong, since only Bernoulli's plate 8 (as correctly indicated by E. LA ROCCA, *op.cit.*) illustrates this portrait of Titus, whereas Bernoulli's plates 1-7 show *different* portraits.

Discussing the matter on 20th October 2020 in an E-mail correspondence also with Hans Rupprecht Goette, has resulted in some more findings, that I also find worth mentioning here.

First of all I should like to explain, why I date this portrait of Titus (cf. here (cf. here Fig. 53) Domitianic. As we have seen above, already Waldhauer (1928, 8) had been of the same opinion. I myself follow with this date La Rocca, who in his turn argues with this head's findspot - which allows its attribution to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. This is actually the case, in my opinion, since the provenance of this head of Titus is certain. As reported by La Rocca (cat. no. "99 Ritratto colossale di Tito", in: F. COARELLI 2009a, 497), this head of Titus was found in 1872 "durante i lavori per la fondazione del Ministero delle Finanze, nell'angolo tra via XX Settembre e via Pastrengo", with note 2, referring in this note to his article in this catalogue; cf. La Rocca (2009, esp. pp. 224-225 with ns. 19-20).

That the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* may indeed be assumed very close to the findspot of this head of Titus, namely within the adjacent Baths of Diocletian, has been discussed in detail above ; cf. *supra*, in Chapters IV.1.1.h); V.1.i.3.a), and here **Figs. 56; 57**; cf. *infra*). As has been overlooked by all recent scholars, this had already been suggested by Rodolfo Lanciani (cf. *BullCom* 1, 1872-1873, 229). There, Rodolfo Lanciani has announced the find of the colossal portrait of Titus (here **Fig. 53**), not a colossal head of Vespasian, as has erroneously been asserted. To my great surprise, Lanciani was thus first to identify the site, where this head of Titus had come to light, with the area of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. Cf. *supra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.h.

To be precise, La Rocca (2009, 224-225 with ns. 19-20) even argues 'the other way around': the fact that this colossal head of Titus was found at this site corroborates, in his opinion, the hypothesis, first suggested by Daniela Candilio (1990-1991; 1995; 1999; 2000-2001), and now (almost) *communis opinio*, that the architectural remains, excavated by her within the Baths of Diocletian, should be identified as belonging to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (cf. *supra*, at Chapters IV.1.1.h); and V.1.i.3.a)).

Next we could ask ourselves, whether or not this head of Titus could belong to a later phase of the sculpture decoration of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, which survived until late antiquity, since it is still mentioned in the Constantinian Regionary Catalogues. These catalogues are indeed Constantinian, because they are datable by the fact that they mention the Lateran Obelisk (cf. here **Fig. 101**), which was brought to Rome in AD 357; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section VII.). For the meaning of the fact that the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* and the Baths of Diocletian are mentioned *together* in the Constantinian Regionary Catalogues; cf. Filippo Coarelli (2014, 204, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.h), who comes, in my opinion, to the convincing conclusion that both existed at the same time - the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (*i.e.*, the temple tomb proper) literally within the area of the Baths of Diocletian, where remains of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* have been found by Candilio (*op.cit.*) in her excavations.

As far as I know, a cult-statue of a temple was in antiquity *a*) only restored, when the original sculpture had been destroyed, and *b*) in the case of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* we are not informed by our literary sources or any other evidence that one or all of its original cult-statue(s) had been replaced at a later stage. What we do hear is that under Claudius Gothicus, who was Roman emperor from AD 268-270, the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* seems to have been restored. See Filippo Coarelli ("Gens Flavia, Templum", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 368), who writes: "Sembra che un restauro [of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*] si debba a Claudio il Gotico (*Hist. Aug. Claud.* 3.6; cfr. *trig. tyr.* 33.6: *extat etiam domus pulcherrima (Censorini), adiuncta Gentibus Flaviis, quae quondam Titi principis fuisse perhibentur*). Il tempio esisteva ancora nel IV sec.[olo], dal momento che è citato dai Cataloghi Regionari (Reg. VI) ..."

Also in my opinion, these literary sources, *inter alia* concerning Claudius Gothicus, quoted by Coarelli (*op. cit.*) prove beyond any doubt that the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* still existed at this late time. For Claudius Gothicus; cf. John Frederic Dobson ("Claudius [RE 82] [III] Gothicus, Marcus Aurelius, emperor AD 268-70", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> [1996] 340).

**For the time being, I, therefore, believe that my above-suggested dating of the portrait of Titus in Naples (cf. here Fig. 53; MAN inv. no. 110892) to the Domitianic period sounds reasonable, also when considered in the context of those additional data.**

**After having written this down, I received the exhibition-catalogue, edited by Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi and Maria Paola Del Moro (*Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore*, 2023, 153, *opera* no. 69), in which this colossal portrait of Titus (Fig. 53) is likewise attributed to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, or in other words: it is interpreted as the cult-statue of *Divus Titus*, commissioned by Domitian.**

Note that in the above-quoted *lemma* in the *LTUR* II (1995, 368-369), Filippo Coarelli had still (erroneously) assumed the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* at the site of the *domus* of Domitian's paternal uncle, Flavius Sabinus, an opinion, which he would later correct; cf. Coarelli (1999a, 183), assuming the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* now at the site of Vespasian's *domus*, and both at the site of the (later) Baths of Diocletian. See also Coarelli (2009b,

93-94); Coarelli 2014 (194-207; pp. 204-207, quoted *verbatim supra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.a)); cf. Chapter IV.1.1.h). See also *LTUR* V (1999) 262.

Most recently, Eugenio La Rocca has published an article on this subject ("La testa colossale di Tito nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli: uno scandalo agli albori dell'unità d'Italia", 2020b). - My thanks are due to Hans Rupprecht Gotte for providing me with this reference, and to Eugenio La Rocca for sending me this article. See now also Eugenio La Rocca and Lorenzo Kosmopoulos ("Il *Templum Gentis Flaviae*", 2023). For a detailed discussion of their additional findings; cf. *supra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.h).

**After this Chapter was written up to this point, I realized that my above-made statement was certainly not true. In order to explain this error, I repeat here what I had written above:**

'Oskar Waldhauer (1928, 5) judged the restorations of the statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage (cf. here **Fig. 10**) as being on the whole correct, although he admitted, by judging from the way its right hand is sculpted, that it certainly originally held a thunderbolt ("Blitzbündel").'

Because, when this statue of Jupiter was found, its right hand (or even the entire right arm?) was actually lacking (!). From Anna Trofimowa's below-quoted account it is clear that the first restorer of this statue of Jupiter had been Vincenzo Pacetti. If we want to believe that Waldhauer was - somehow - nevertheless right with his judgement, we could for example suggest that Pacetti had seen some remains on the statue's right thigh which had led him to restore the statue's right hand as holding a thunderbolt.

Anna Trofimowa (2020, 77-78, writes in her article "Kopien der Victoria von Calvatone aus dem 19. und 20. Jahrhundert"), in which she discusses *inter alia* the statuette of *Victoria*, held by this statue of Jupiter in its right hand:

"Die Victoriastatuette des Augustus Campana wurde, vermutlich gleich nach dem Verkauf der Sammlung nach Rußland, durch eine andere ausgetauscht. Die neue Victoria (Abb. 5, 6) wurde wohl aus der gleichen Form gefertigt wie die Statuette in der Hand einer anderen kolossalen Skulptur in der Eremitage, des thronenden Jupiter (Abb. 7,8 [cf. here **Fig. 10**]) [with n. 11]. Diese Skulptur wurde in Castel Gandolfo bei Albano bei Ausgrabungen der Villa Domitians durch Thomas Jenkins gefunden. Das Gelände, auf dem sich in der Antike die Kaiservilla befand und nachfolgend die Villa Barberini erbaut wurde, wurde 1785 durch den berühmten Maler, Antikenhändler und Kunstsammler zum Zweck archäologischer Forschungen erworben. Nach Berichten von Giuseppe Antonio Guattani und Frédéric de Clarac [with n. 12] befand sich die Statue schon sehr bald nach ihrer Auffindung bei Vincenzo Pacetti (1746-1820), welcher die Restaurierung durchführte. Der Mantel [page 78] und **die Hand der Statue, die das Attribut hielt, wurden bei der Ausgrabung nicht gefunden**. Es war wohl Pacetti, der diese Teile ergänzte. Bereits restauriert gelangte der Jupiter in die Sammlung Campana und nahm 1850 einen Ehrenplatz in einer Nische an der Fassade der Villa des Marquis ein [with n. 13].

**Pacetti können alle wesentlichen, sehr organisch ausgeführten Ergänzungen der Kolossalstatue** [cf. here **Fig. 10**] **zugewiesen werden: Neu aus Marmor erschaffen wurden der Hinterkopf, der Bart und die Augenbrauen sowie die Arme vom Ellenbogen bis zu den Händen**. In Gips wurden der Mantel, das Zepter und der Adler ergänzt.

Über die Restaurierung der Jupiterstatue berichtete 1853 ausführlich Clarac [with n. 14]; ihr Aussehen in dieser Zeit ist in Fotografien der Jahre 1850 und 1855 überliefert [with n. 15]. Damals hielt Jupiter ein Blitzbündel in den Händen ... [my emphasis].

For this statue of Jupiter at the Hermitage here **Fig. 10**; cf. also Anna Alkseevna Trofimova (2017, 67-88 [Russian text], Abb. 6, a colour photograph of the "Jupiter-Saal", which is discussed in this text; cf. pp. 89-96 [German text]). I thank Hans Rupprecht Goette for the reference.

Let's now return to our main subject.

Since Waldhauer (1928, 4-8, Taf. 1) discussed this statue of Jupiter (cf. here **Fig. 10**) in great detail, comparing its iconography with (almost) all conceivable comparisons in Greek and Roman sculpture, and dating it convincingly to the Domitianic period, it is strange that he did not discuss in this context the two representations of the cult-statue of Jupiter in Domitian's Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus that were already known at his time. Nor did it occur to Waldhauer to compare the iconography of this statue of Jupiter with that of the replicas of the Capitoline Triad, discussed here, of which the copy now at Guidonia Montecelio (Roma), Museo Civico Archeologico 'Rodolfo Lanciani' (cf. here **Fig. 13**), was, of course, not as yet found. But, as we shall see below, copies of this Capitoline Triad were widely spread in the provinces of the Roman Empire, so therefore some of them were presumably already known at Waldhauer's time. In addition to this, A.J.B. Wace's article (1907) on the Extispicium Relief (cf. here **Figs. 16; 17**) was already published. - To this I will come back below.

*The four different Temples of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus,  
their cult-statues of Jupiter - and the copies of those cult-statues*

When reading Wace (1907, 243), it becomes clear that not only he himself was aware of the fact that the temple, appearing on the Extispicium Relief (cf. here **Figs. 16; 17**), was Domitian's Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. Also Otto Richter (1901, 126 with n 2), whom Wace quoted, and several scholars, who published their work in 1888 and 1889, whom Richter in his turn had discussed, knew that already perfectly well. Richter knew also already that Domitian's temple is likewise visible on Marcus Aurelius's above-mentioned sacrifice relief at the Palazzo dei Conservatori (cf. here **Fig. 19**. For this relief; cf. also H.R. GOETTE 1990, 50, Taf. 24, 1; *LTUR* I [1993] Fig. 1; F.P. ARATA 2009, 212, Fig. 1; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.4.*).

Wace himself (1907, 240, n. 2) mentioned the following earlier publications on the pediment of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus: "For previous discussions of the pediment, see Schulze, *Arch.[äologische] Zeit.[ung]* 1872, Brunn. *Kleine Schriften* i [*i.e.*, here H. BRUNN 1898 I], p. 105, Daremberg Saglio [*i.e.*, here C. DAREMBERG - E. SAGLIO 1887, *Dictionnaire des antiquités Grecques et Romaines ... I*, Pt. 2: C], *s.v. Capitolium*".

We may wonder, whether the cult-statue of Jupiter in Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus could have been a copy of the cult-statue of Vespasian's (third) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, which Vespasian had erected after the (second) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus had been destroyed by the fire on 18th/19th December AD 69 (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.*). - Already A.J.B. Wace (1907, 243), who based this assumption on a comparison of the representations of both temples on the relevant coins, had come to the conclusion that Domitian, at least with the design of the pediment of his own temple of Jupiter, had faithfully copied the pediment of Vespasian's (third) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. - To the relevant coins I will come back below.

**But, even provided that were true, we know now also through the research of Claudio Parisi Presicce and Alberto Danti (2016; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*, at Section II.; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.e.*)) that only Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus had the enormous size that previous scholars had attributed to *all four* temples of Jupiter that since the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC had been erected at the same site.**

Since Domitian's temple was much larger than the three previous ones, this could in theory mean that the decoration of the pediment of Domitian's Temple of Iuppiter Maximus Capitolinus (cf. the Extispicium Relief, here **Figs. 16-18**) could have been much more elaborate than any of the earlier three Jupiter temples.

Provided Domitian's (fourth) cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus was indeed a copy of Vespasian's (third) cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, we could also ask, whether this third Jupiter cult-statue was, in its turn, a copy of the cult-statue of the (second) temple, which Q. Lutatius Catulus had dedicated in 69 BC (cf. *supra*, n. 181, in Chapter I.1.). - As we shall see below, that was already the opinion of the scholars quoted by Martin Bossert (2000, 21 with n. 19, quoted *verbatim infra*). - My thanks are due to Hans Rupprecht Goette for providing me with a copy of this book.

Only provided the latter assumption were true, we can explain, why both the portrait-statues of Tiberius (cf. here **Fig. 15**) and of Claudius from Cerveteri in the Vatican Museums clearly follow the *same* statue-type of Jupiter as the colossal statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (here **Fig. 10**), comprising the facts *a*) that the right hand of this statue of Tiberius is sculpted in a way, that the emperor could have held a thunderbolt with it, and *b*), that in both statues the left knee and left lower leg are not covered by the represented male's garment.

*The colossal statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg is the most impressive one of 33 copies of a statue-type of Jupiter, in which the god holds the sceptre in his left hand.*

*This statue-type of Jupiter was also copied in mirror image: in these statues the god holds the sceptre in his right hand. Of that variant of this statue-type of Jupiter only 6 copies are known: the most impressive one being the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the Palazzo dei Conservatori*

Caterina Maderna (1988; cf. C. PARISI PRESICCE 2006b, 144-145, quoted *verbatim infra*), has found 33 copies of this version of this Jupiter statue-type, to which also the colossal statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (here **Fig. 10**) belongs. Also the above-mentioned portraits of Tiberius (cf. here **Fig. 15**) and Claudius belong to the same variant of this Jupiter-type. But due to the fact that they were meant to be on display together, they have deliberately been designed as pendants, which is why the pose of the legs of this statue of Tiberius (cf. here **Fig. 15**), when compared with the statue in the Hermitage (here **Fig. 10**), has been adapted accordingly. Of the mirror-image of this statue-type of Jupiter, on the other hand, to which the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine; cf. here **Fig. 11**) belongs, Maderna has found only six copies.

For the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine; cf. here **Fig. 11**); cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*); and below, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great).

Besides, the pose and the rendering of the garment of the statue of Tiberius (cf. here **Fig. 15**) are so similar to those of the statue of Zeus in his Temple at Olympia, which we know from coins and ancient descriptions, on which the reconstruction illustrated here is based (cf. here **Fig. 14**), that we could be tempted to believe that this portrait of Tiberius was copied *directly* after the cult-statue of Zeus Olympios.

For that cult-statue cf. below, in *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great ...* (cf. here **Fig. 11**); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*)).

But there are two great difference between those two sculptures: *a*) the attribute held by the represented figure in its right hand (in the case of Zeus Olympios the goddess Nike; cf. here **Fig. 14**; in the case of Tiberius a thunderbolt?, cf. here **Fig. 15**); *b*) the fact that in the statue of Zeus his left lower leg is completely covered by the god's *himation* - which is, by the way, also true for the 'Euripides' (cf. here **Fig. 12**), for the Jupiter in the Capitoline Triad (cf. here **Fig. 13**), and for the bronze statuette of he 'Capitoline Jupiter' in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (cf. here **Fig. 20.1**). - The lower leg of Tiberius's portrait-statue is instead exposed from the left knee downwards, exactly as in the statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage (cf. here **Fig. 10**). - To this iconographic feature I will come back below.



*Some of the copies of the variant of the Jupiter-type, to which the statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage belongs, and which hold the sceptre in their left hand, are characterized by an additional enigmatic iconographic feature: their exposed left knee and lower leg*

This iconographic feature - the exposed left knee and lower leg - already discussed by Waldhauer (1928, 6 with ns. 3, 4) for the statue in the Hermitage (cf. here **Fig. 10**), and in more detail by Parisi Presicce (2006b, 144, quoted *verbatim infra*), has a specific meaning.

**This iconographic detail (i.e., the exposed left knee and lower leg) proves, in my opinion, that indeed, as suggested above, Domitian's (fourth) cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus must have copied Vespasian's (third) cult-statue, and that Vespasian's cult-statue of Jupiter in its turn had copied the (second) cult-statue of Jupiter, dedicated by Q. Lutatius Catulus in 69 BC.**

Otherwise Tiberius's portrait-statue (cf. here **Fig. 5**), which for chronological reasons must copy Catulus' cult-statue of the (second) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, could not possibly resemble the cult-statue of Domitian's (fourth) temple - provided it is true, as is suggested here, that the statue in the Hermitage (here **Fig. 10**) copies the cult-statue of Domitian's temple.

The coins, issued by Vespasian, Titus and Domitian that represent Vespasian's (third) and Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, have been published by Samuele Ranucci (2009, 362, 364, Figs. 10-14): they show very different representations of the Capitoline Triad. Ranucci's illustrations of coins, issued by Domitian, which represent his Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus (Ranucci's Figs. 12 and 13), on the other hand, do resemble the representation of Domitian's Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus on the Extispicium Relief (cf. here **Figs. 16; 17**): the three cult-statues are visible within the temple, but unfortunately it is impossible to discern, which one of the two cult-statues flanking the central cult-statue of Jupiter is meant to be Minerva, and which one is supposed to be Juno.

See also Stefano De Angeli's discussion of the coins representing the second, third and fourth Temples of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. Cf. *id.*: "Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, Aedes (fasi tardo repubblicane e di età imperiale)", in: *LTUR* III (1996) 148-153, Figs. 99-102).

**As we shall see below, De Angeli in: *LTUR* III (1996, 149, 150) observed that already the cult-statue of Jupiter in Lutatius Catulus's (second) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus was represented seated, holding in his right hand a thunderbolt and in his left hand a lance [! - in reality, Jupiter's sceptre], and that on the left (i.e., to Jupiter's right), the god was flanked by the cult-statue of Juno, and on the right (i.e., to Jupiter's left) by the cult-statue of Minerva.**

As we have seen above, this arrangement of the three cult-statues, visible on the temple's pediment, is also true of the relief showing Marcus Aurelius sacrificing (here **Fig. 19**) in front of Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.

Stefano De Angeli (*LTUR* III [1996] 149) writes about the (second) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, built by Lutatius Catulus: "... la cella, tripartita, ospitava al centro il culto di Giove e a sinistra e a destra, rispettivamente quello di Giunone e Minerva [quoting literary sources]"; cf. p. 150: "Due diverse serie monetali di Vitellio del 69 a. C. [corr.: 69 d. C.] ... rappresentano altre raffigurazioni del tempio ... la rappresentazione al suo interno della statua di culto di Giove conferma la posizione seduta di quest'ultima e gli attributi del fulmine nella destra e della lancia [!] nella sinistra".

**Claudio Parisi Presicce (2006b, 144-145) does not realize that the right hand of the statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage (cf. here **Fig. 10**) has erroneously been restored as holding a statuette of Victoria. He nevertheless suggests that the statue-type of Jupiter discussed here copied the cult-image of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, but does not say, which one of the four cult-statues he refers to.**

I quote in the following the passages of Parisi Presicce (2006b), in which he discusses the statue-type of Jupiter, after which the statue in the Hermitage (cf. here **Fig. 10**) and the portrait-statue of Tiberius (cf. here **Fig. 15**) were copied. Parisi Presicce explains also the reason, why in some of these statues of Jupiter the left knee and lower leg of the god is exposed. Note that this iconographic feature occurs only on those more frequent copies of this Jupiter-type, which follow the same scheme as the statue of Jupiter at St. Petersburg (cf. here **Fig. 10**) - those are the statues, in which Jupiter holds the sceptre in his left hand.

Parisi Presicce (2006b) discusses also the mirror-image of the same statue-type, of which the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine; cf. here **Fig. 11**) is a replica.

Parisi Presicce (2006b, 144-145) writes:

"Il modello per lo schema iconografico della scultura marmorea colossale [*i.e.*, the portrait of Constantine, here **Fig. 11**] può essere individuato in una importante statua di culto della massima divinità di Roma antica, ossia un'immagine di Giove, verosimilmente l'agalma di Giove Ottimo Massimo Capitolino [with n. 24]. Questo tipo statuaria del dio con il busto ampiamente denudato e il ginocchio sinistro nudo, sebbene non molto frequente, si può rintracciare fin nelle province nord-alpine dell'impero [with n. 25]. Esso è noto anche attraverso una statuetta d'argento [with n. 26] e persino come raffigurazione monetale, in particolare su alcune monete e medaglioni di epoca costantiniana con dedica a Iuppiter Conservator [with n. 27] (fig. 46 a-b).

**La scultura più vicina all'immagine imperiale [*i.e.*, the portrait of Constantine, here **Fig. 11**] è quella colossale raffigurante il padre degli dei conservata all'Ermitage [*i.e.*, here **Fig. 10**] [with n. 28], anch'essa seduta sul trono e realizzata come acrolito, con le parti nude in marmo bianco e il panneggio in stucco dorato (fig. 47). **Rispetto al colosso costantiniano** (fig. 48 [cf. here **Fig. 11**]) **la posizione delle braccia e i relativi attributi sono invertiti**, con il globo sormontato da una Vittoria nella mano destra e lo scettro ad asta lunga retto con la sinistra. Il panneggio, invece, come nella statua di Costantino poggia sulla spalla sinistra e non copre, quindi, il braccio sul medesimo lato, che non è abbassato. È probabile che l'inversione nel ritratto imperiale [cf. here **Fig. 11**] fosse determinata dalla posizione della statua in relazione alla dislocazione dell'ingresso principale, non frontale, e al punto di vista privilegiato di chi, entrando nella basilica [of Maxentius], si dirigeva verso l'abside occidentale, che fungeva da cornice alla scultura [for my relevant comments; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*].**

**La volontà di realizzare la statua colossale [*i.e.*, of Constantine, here **Fig. 11**] con la parte nuda del torso sul lato destro e la porzione del petto, della spalla e del braccio coperti dal panneggio sul lato sinistro può spiegare la variazione rispetto al prototipo, che può essere ricostruito – come ha mostrato Caterina Maderna [with n. 29] - da quarantacinque statue analoghe di imperatori o personaggi di alto rango derivanti dal medesimo modello. Tra queste ripetono lo schema delle braccia presente nella statua dell'Ermitage trentatré esemplari, come per esempio le statue di Tiberio [cf. here **Fig. 15**] e di Claudio da Cerveteri, che mostrano una *variatio* nella posizione [page 145] speculare delle gambe – l'una avanzata e l'altra arretrata – dovuta verosimilmente alla loro dislocazione a pendants. Sei altri esemplari mostrano entrambi gli arti superiori abbassati e hanno la spalla e il braccio sinistri completamente coperti dalle pieghe del mantello, da cui fuoriesce soltanto la mano che regge un attributo. **Gli ultimi sei ripetono nell'atteggiamento delle braccia lo schema della statua costantiniana [*i.e.*, here **Fig. 11**], ma mostrano una disposizione del panneggio molto differenziata all'interno del gruppo. L'elemento più significativo dello schema iconografico è il ginocchio destro [corr.: sinistro] denudato, mentre il sinistro [corr.: destro] è coperto dal panneggio. Questa disposizione del mantello compare di rado, ma esprime un significato particolare, connesso con la divina *maiestas*. Il motivo iconografico, documentato da alcune delle statue imperiali sopra menzionate (fig. 49 [*i.e.*, the portrait of Tiberius, here **Fig. 15**]), soprattutto di epoca giulio-claudia, ha un'ascendenza molto antica, che risale al V secolo a.C. [with n. 30]. La matrice iconologica può essere verosimilmente rintracciata nella nascita di Dioniso dalla coscia di Zeus [with n. 31], che esprime l'autarchica capacità rigeneratrice del padre degli dei [my emphasis]."****

In his **note 25**, Paris Presicce writes: "Tre immagini di Giove con ginocchio nudo sono documentate da REINACH, *RSt*, I, n. 186; II, pp. 13, 190. Altri esemplari sono menzionati da E. ESPÉRANDIEU, *Recueil*

*général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule Romaine*, Paris 1907, III, n. 2347 (triade capitolina da Alise-Sainte-Reine); IX, p. 188, n. 6895 (frammento nel museo di Narbonne)".

In his **note 26**, he writes: "A.B. COOK, *Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion*, Cambridge 1914, II, fig. 699 (British Museum)".

In his **note 27**, he writes: "J. MAURICE, *Numismatique Constantinienne*, III, Paris 1912, p. 198, tav. VIII, 7; *RIC*, VII, p. 607, pl. 20, n. 42. Cfr. pure il medaglione bronzeo coniato a Roma con Costantino in trono come Giove: A. ALFÖLDI, in *JRS*, 37, 1947, p. 15, tav. I, 7 (Milano, Brera)".

In his **note 28**, he writes: "O. WALDHAEUER ... [*i.e.*, here O. WALDHAEUER 1928], p. 4 ss., fig. 1, tav. I (da Castel Gandolfo); M.B. PIOTROVSKIJ, O.J. NEVEROV, *Ermitage. Le grandi collezioni di un grande museo*, Mosca-San Pietroburgo 2003, p. 201, fig. a p. 200".

In his **note 29**, he writes: "C. MADERNA ... [*i.e.*, here C. MADERNA 1988], p. 24 s.; p. 166 s., n. JT 4, tav. 7, 1 (Tiberio); p. 167 s., n. JT 5, tav. 7, 2 (Claudio)".

In his **note 30**, he writes: "S. VLIZOS, *Der thronende Zeus. Eine Untersuchung zur statuarischen Ikonographie des Gottes in der spätklassischen und hellenistischen Kunst*, Rahden/Westf. 1999".

In his **note 31**, he writes: "Sulle raffigurazioni antiche del racconto mitico, molto rare e assenti nella pittura vascolare greca, A. GREIFENHAGEN, *Kindheitsmythos des Dionysos*, in *RM*, 46, 1931, pp. 27-43, tavv. I a-b, II a; E. CATANI, Un "tondo" figurato dal Museo Piersanti di Matelica e l'iconografia del mito greco della nascita di Dioniso dalla coscia di Zeus, in *AnnMacerata*, XVIII, 1985, pp. 219-256".

*Let's now turn to copies of the cult-statue of Jupiter in the Temple of  
Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus in the Roman Provinces*

Whereas Claudio Parisi Presicce (2006b, 144 with n. 25) reports the fact that the statue-type of Jupiter, discussed by him, has also been copied in the northern provinces of the Roman Empire., Martin Bossert (2000, 21-22, Taf 1-2, quoted *verbatim infra*), whom Parisi Presicce himself does not discuss, mentions still more copies of the same statue-type of Jupiter in France, but also in Hungary, even carved in colossal format.

Bossert's (2000) book is an important contribution to the study of a statue-type of Jupiter, which he refers to as "Iuppiter Capitolinus". It is that variant of the statue-type of Jupiter discussed here, in which the god holds the sceptre in his left hand, and of which the colossal statue in the Hermitage is the most impressive copy (cf. here Fig. 10). Bossert himself, in his very detailed discussion of this statue-type of Jupiter, does not mention the statue of Jupiter in St. Petersburg at all. Bossert (*op.cit.*) has likewise overlooked that this statue-type of Jupiter had also been copied in antiquity in mirror image, and that both variants of this statue-type have been defined and in great detail discussed by Caterina Maderna (1988).

The focus of Bossert's (2000) book is the find of fragments of a copy of his statue-type "Iuppiter Capitolinus" at Thun-Almendingen in Switzerland, a *civitas Helvetiorum* located in the Roman province *Germania Superior*. Bossert (2000) reconstructs this cult-statue by basing himself on the replicas of this statue-type, *inter alia* a statuette from the Via Appia Nuova in Rom (cf. here Fig. 20) - which holds the sceptre in his left hand, a thunderbolt in its right hand, and whose left knee and lower leg are exposed.

For this statuette of Bossert's statue-type 'Iuppiter Capitolinus' from the Via Appia Nuova at Rome; cf. M. Bossert (2000, 22 with n. 22, providing a reference, quoted *verbatim infra*, and his Fig. 14 [= here Fig. 20]).

Cf. Fig. 20. Marble statuette of M. Bossert's statue-type "Iuppiter Capitolinus". Rome, Via Appia Nuova. The caption of M. Bossert's *Abbildung 14*, which is illustrated here, reads: "Iuppiter Capitolinus von der Via Appia Nuova, Rom (Italien). Marmor, H[öhe] 80 cm".

Also Bossert (2000, 21, with n. 19) suggests that the statue-type of Jupiter, copied in the Capitoline Triad (cf. here Fig. 13), represents Domitian's cult-statue in his (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Capitolinus. In addition to this, Bossert assumes that the cult-images of the last three Temples of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, were *a*) based on the cult-statue of Zeus at Olympia (cf. here Fig. 14), and followed *b*) the same iconography (following with this assumption H. v. STEUBEN 1963, quoted in his n. 19, and quoted *verbatim infra*). Consequently, Bossert bases his reconstruction of the cult-statue of "Iuppiter Capitolinus" from Thun-Almendingen also on the bronze statuette of the Capitoline Triad, found at the Casa degli Amorini Dorati at Pompeii. For chronological reasons, the iconography of this Capitoline Triad was, in my opinion, either based on Catulus's (second) cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Capitolinus, or possibly rather on Vespasian's (third) cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Capitolinus.

Martin Bossert (2000, 21) writes about the variant of the statue-type of Jupiter (cf. here Fig. 10), discussed here, in which the god holds the sceptre in his left hand: "Wie die ikonographische Gegenüberstellung mit einem kolossalen Iuppiterkopf in Fréjus [*i.e.*, his Fig. 13] gezeigt hat, dürfte der Allmendinger Götterkopf (Kat. Nr. Ia-b, vgl. Taf. 1, Abb. 13) dem kapitolinischen Typus entsprochen haben [with n. 18].

Für das Kultbild in dem wieder aufgebauten, 82 n. Chr. von Domitian geweihten Tempel auf dem Kapitol beliess man auch nach den Bränden von 69 und 80 den in Anlehnung an den phidiasischen Zeus geschaffenen Statuentypus [with n. 19]: In der erhobenen Linken hält der thronende Gott ein Szepter, die gesenkte Rechte mit Blitzbündel hat er auf den rechten Oberschenkel gelegt, der Kopf ist entweder streng frontal oder leicht nach rechts gewandt. Ein Mantel verhüllt den Unterkörper; eine über Rücken und Schulter geführte Stoffbahn fällt als Zipfel über der linken Brust herab. Meist ist das linke Bein etwas vorgesetzt".

Note that in the above-quoted passage Bossert (2000, 21) says explicitly that the cult-statue of Jupiter in Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus deliberately copied the iconographies of the previous cult-statues of the (second) and the (third) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, that had basically been the same; all those temples of Jupiter had been erected at the same site. According to Bossert, this iconography is characterized by a special rendering of the god's garment, by the fact that Jupiter holds the sceptre in his left hand, and that his left foot is set a little bit advanced, when compared with the right foot. Bossert does not explicitly mention in this context those copies of this variant of this Jupiter-type that are additionally characterized by a bare left knee and a bare lower leg. - As for example his "Iuppiter Capitolinus" from the Via Appia Nuova at Rome, his Abbildung 14 (cf. here Fig. 20), on which he himself has based his reconstruction of the cult-statue of the "Iuppiter Capitolinus" at Thun-Almendingen.

Immediately after that, Martin Bossert (2000, 21-22) continues: "Nach dem berühmten Götterbild in Rom entstanden zahlreiche Darstellungen unterschiedlichen Formats und Materials in Italien und in den Provinzen. Häufig begegnen uns bildliche Wiedergaben der kapitolinischen Trias. Am eindrücklichsten ist wohl die überlebensgrosse Gruppe aus dem Kapitol von Scarbantia (Oedenburg - Sopron, Ungarn), mit über 3 m hohem thronendem Iuppiter. Zu den bekanntesten unter den kleinformatischen Gruppen zählt die bronzene aus der Casa degli Amorini dorati in Pompeji [page 22] [with n. 20]. Vor allem im niedergermanischen Gebiet finden sich wahrscheinlich einer keltischen Himmels- und Wettergottheit angeglichenen thronende Iuppiter auf sogenannten Juppitersäulen [with n. 21].

Die mit dem Iuppiterkopf Kat. Nr. Ia-b in der Grösse übereinstimmenden Körper- und Extremitätenfragmente Kat. Nr. Ic-g scheinen ikonographisch zu einer Sitzfigur des Iuppiter Capitolinus zu passen (vgl. Taf. 1-2). Die Bruchstücke Kat. Nr. Ic-d gehörten zu einem rechten wohl etwas angewinkelten Unterarm. Der Vergleich mit dem kapitolinischen Iuppiter von der Via Appia Nuova, in Rom (vgl. Abb. 14 [= here Fig. 20]), und dem in Neapel aufbewahrten aus der Casa degli Amorini dorati in Pompeji sowie andere Darstellungen dieses Statuentypus erlaubt wahrscheinlich die Ergänzung des weggebrochenen Attributs: Ein bis zum Ellenbogen oder sogar etwas darüber hinausreichendes Blitzbündel ruhte wohl auf Unterarm und Handfläche auf [with n. 22]. Miteinander verbinden lassen sich möglicherweise eine

linke Hand mit Stabrest (Szepter[?]) und ein linker(?) nach oben angewinkelter Unterarm (Kat. Nr. \*le-f) [with n. 23]. Fragment Kat. Nr. \* 1 g könnte von der rechten entblösten Brust stammen (Taf. 2) [with n. 24].

Das Götterbild dürfte ungefähr Lebensgrösse erreicht haben. Die Höhe des nach der Parallele in Fréjus ergänzten Kopfes lag bei rund 25 cm (vgl. Taf. 1 und Abb. 13) [with n. 25]. **Im Aussehen wird die Allmendinger Sitzfigur am ehesten den Iuppiterdarstellungen von der Via Appia Nuova, in Rom, und der Casa degli Amorini dorati, Pompeji, in Neapel, entsprochen haben (vgl. Taf. 1 und Abb. 14 [= here Fig. 20]).** Eine Gesamthöhe von rund 1,4 m ergibt sich nach den Proportionen der Neapler Bronze [with n. 26]. Nach Massen, technischen Merkmalen und überdurchschnittlich guter Qualität kann man dem wohl kapitolinischen Iuppiter (Kat. Nr. la-g) wahrscheinlich Thron I zuordnen (vgl. Kat. Nr. 29a-m), dessen Überreste zum grössten Teil, möglicherweise sogar ausschliesslich, aus demselben Fundkontext stammen [with n. 27]. Unterschiedliche Ausarbeitung an der Innenseite der Rückenlehne und Ansatz eines linken vorgesetzten Fusses am Schemel (Kat. Nr. 29m) stehen in Einklang mit der statuarischen Haltung vom Iuppiter Capitolinus (vgl. Taf. 20 und 22) [with n 28; my emphasis]".

In his **note 18**, Bossert writes: "Vgl. Kat. Anm. 1,5-6. - Vgl. Bauchhenss (Kat. Anm. 1,2 [Cf. note 2: "... G. Bauchhenss, in: LIMC VIII/1 (Zürich/Düsseldorf 1997), 481 Nr. 33".]), 481 Nr. 33 (Typus nicht mit völliger Sicherheit festlegbar)".

In his **note 19**, he writes: "Dazu H. Jucker, *Capitolium restitutum*. Jahrbuch des Bernischen Historischen Museums in Bern 39/40, 1959/60, 289ff.; **H. v. Steuben, in: Helbig<sup>4</sup> I (Tübingen 1963), 130f. und Nr. 176 [quoted verbatim infra; my emphasis];** H. Menzel, Zwei Bronzestuetten eines sitzenden Iuppiter. Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz 10, 1963, 192ff.; *CSIR Deutschland*, Bd. 2,1: Germania Superior. Alzey und Umgebung (Bonn 1975, Bearb. E. Künzl), 28 (zu Nr. 13); M. Maas, Griechische und römische Bronzewerke der Antikensammlungen, Bildhefte der staatl.[ichen] Antikenslg.[sammlung] und der Glyptothek München (München 1979), 34f. (mit Lit.); Bauchhenss/Noelke 1981, 380ff. - Vgl. [vergleiche] Kat. Anm. 1,5 [quoted verbatim infra]".

In his **note 20**, he writes: "Kolossale Gruppen von Oedenburg - Sopran und Steinamanger: Praschniker 1936/37, Illff.; 127ff. und Taf. 3. Beil. I; Bossert 1988, 120f. [= Bossert M. 1988 Ein thronender lebensgrosser Iuppiter aus dem gallorömischen Tempelbezirk von Thun-Allmendingen BE. AS 11/3, 11 3ff.] und Abb. 16,1. - Marmorrelief mit kapitolinischer Trias, Trier: R. Schindler, Führer durch das Landesmuseum Trier (Trier 1977), 28 und Abb. 74. - Casa degli Amorini dorati: Archäologischer Kalender 1975 (Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz) Blatt August (grosse Abb.); Krause 1983, 12; 15; 43 und Taf. 9,4 (weitere Lit.); - Allgemein: H. Sauer, Die kapitolinische Trias, Archäologischer Anzeiger 1950/51, 73ff.; B. H. Krause, Trias Capitolina. Ein Beitrag zur Rekonstruktion der hauptstädtischen Kultbilder und deren statuentypologischen Ausstrahlung im Römischen Weltreich (Diss. Trier 1981, Ms. [Manuskript] ungedruckt). - S. auch Kat. Anm. 1,5 [quoted verbatim infra]". - For the House of the Golden Cupids/ the Casa degli amorini dorati/ House of Cn. Poppaeus Habitus; cf. also W.F. Jashemski (1993, 158-163, Figs. 182-197, p. 398, who, although listing and illustrating its very rich decoration with sculptures, does not mention the Capitoline Triad, found there.

In his **note 21**, Bossert writes: "Zu Iuppitersäulen vgl. Bauchhenss/Noelke 1981, 269ff.; vgl. dort Taf. 55- 83".

In his **note 22**, he writes: "**Via Appia Nuova: vgl.** [vergleiche] **Krause 1983, 16; 46 und Taf. 13** [my emphasis]. - Casa degli Amorini dorati: s. Kat. Anm. 1,20 [cf. *supra*]. - Zur Ergänzung vgl. [vergleiche] ausserdem Reinach, *RSt* II (1904) 13,5.6.8; ebenda III (1904) 226,7 und zahlreiche Bsp. [Beispiele] in Kat. Anm. 1,20 [cf. *supra*]".

In his **note 23**, he writes: "Auf Aquarell (Burgener 1826, Bl. 7) möglicherweise von Aussenseite her gezeichnet. Abwinkelung zu der bei kapitolinischen Iuppiterfiguren einigermaßen passend, vgl. [vergleiche] Beispiele in Kat. Anm. 1,20-22 [cf. *supra*]".

In his **note 24**, he writes: "Vgl. [Vergleiche] Kat. Anm. I ,17 [cf. note 17: "Lohner 1831, 433 [= C.F.L. Lohner 1831, Römische Alterthümer, welche auf einer bey Allmendingen, Kirchgemeinde Thun, in die Thunallmend eingreifenden Wiese, im Spätjahr 1824 und Sommer 1825 ausgegraben wurden, in: Der Schweizerische Geschichtsforscher, Band 8, Heft 3. Bern, 430ff.]. Vgl. [vergleiche] aber Bauchhenss/Noelke 1981, Nr. 23 und Taf. 70,1; Nr. 41 und Taf. 74,1.]".

In his **note 25**, he writes: "Kopf in Fréjus (vgl. [vergleiche] Kat. Anm. 1,6 [quoted *verbatim infra*], bes. [besonders] Krause 1983, Taf. 11,4) wurde lebensgroßem Kopf Kat. Nr. Ia in den Massen angeglichen. Dabei ergibt sich nach dem Vergleichsbeispiel eine ergänzte Gesamthöhe von 25 cm".

In his **note 26**, he writes: "Größenvergleich nach Massen auf Kalenderblatt, s. Kat. Anm. 1,20 [cf. *supra*]: H des Kopfes dort 4,1 cm, H (ohne linken Arm) 22,3 cm, (inkl.[usive]) 22,7 cm. H des Kopfes von Kat. Nr. Ia nach Fréjus (Kat. Anm. 1,25 [cf. *supra*]) 25 cm:  $4,1 : 22,3 = 25 : X / X = (22,3 \times 25) : 4,1 = 135,9$  cm (errechnete Figurenhöhe ohne 1.[inkem] Arm). -  $4,1 : 22,7 = 25 : X / X = (22,7 \times 25) : 4,1 = 138$  cm (errechnete Gesamthöhe)".

In his **note 27**, he writes: "Siehe «Rekonstruktion» [cf. M. BOSSERT 2000, 21-22]".

In his **note 28**, he writes: "Vgl. Kat. Anm. 29,29-30 [cf. M BOSSERT 2000, 50-56, Kat. no. ]".

**In the above-quoted notes 19, 20 and 25, Bossert (2000) refers back to his notes 5 and 6 that belong to that Section of his text, in which he describes the head of the statue-type "Iuppiter Capitolinus", discussed by him.**

Cf. Bossert (2000, 20): "**Kat. 1a-b Gesichtsfragmente von Iuppiterkopf**

**Vor allem die erhaltenen Bartreste erlauben die Deutung und nähere Bestimmung des Kopfes: In der Mitte geteilter Kinnbart, aus zwei bis drei Lockenreihen gebildeter Wangenbart sowie ein Schnurrbart, der die Oberlippenpartie freilässt und dessen Spitzen zwischen Wangen und Kinnbart herabgeführt sind, kennzeichnen den Kopftypus des Juppiter Capitolinus** [with n. 5]. Diese Eigenheiten finden sich an einem kolossalen Iuppiterkopf in Fréjus [with n. 6], nach dem sich auch das Fehlende ergänzen lässt: Das ovale Gesicht mit kräftiger Stirn wurde von wallendem, über der Stirn anastoleartig aufstrebendem Haupthaar umschlossen (Taf. 1 und Abb. 13) [my emphasis]".

The caption of Bossert's Abb. 13 reads: "Kolossaler Iuppiterkopf von Fréjus (Frankreich). Marmor, H 40 cm".

In his **note 5**, Bossert writes: "Basel: Kaufmann-Heinimann 1977, 18 Nr. 1 und Taf. 1. -Avenches: Leibundgut 1976, 17 Nr. 1 und Taf. 1 (Blitzbündel oder Delphin in der Linken denkbar)".

In his **note 6**, he writes: "Zu Iuppiter Capitolinus vgl. Kat. Anm. 1,5-6.19-22 [cf. *supra*]".

**When we compare Bossert's (2000, 20) above-quoted description of the head of the statue-type "Iuppiter Capitolinus", discussed by him, with the head of the statue of Jupiter at St. Petersburg (cf. here Fig. 10), it is plain to see that the statue in the Hermitage has exactly the same type of coiffure and beard as Bossert's statue-type "Iuppiter Capitolinus". - This fact is indeed remarkable, because, as was already mentioned above: the statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage was found without its head (!). - To this I will come back belong.**

Because Martin Bossert (2000, 21, n. 19) has based his findings concerning the Jupiter statues of his 'Capitoline-type' on earlier scholars, for example, Hans von Steuben (1963), the findings of this scholar are quoted in the following as well.

**Hans von Steuben** ("Statue des Iuppiter Verospi" [in the Vatican Museums], in: *HELBIG*<sup>4</sup> I, 1963, 130-131, no. 176) wrote the following about the statue of the 'Iuppiter Verospi', and about the cult-statues of the last three Temples of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus: "Wohl in der Nähe der Kirche S. Agnese fuori Porta Pia gefunden. Dann im Palazzo Verospi nahe Piazza Colonna ... **Der Torso ließ erkennen, daß die Haltung der ganzen Figur einer Reihe anderer Iuppiterbilder entspricht, denen man bei der Ergänzung folgen konnte. Der Gott thront mit dem Szepter in der erhobenen Linken ... und dem Blitz in der auf dem Schenkel ruhenden Rechten. Er hat ein Bein etwas zurückgesetzt, die Füße schräg nach außen gerichtet.**

Sein Unterkörper ist in einen Mantel gehüllt, von dem ein Stück von hinten über die Schulter gezogen ist und in einem Zipfel auf die Brust fällt. Der Kopf ist leicht geneigt und nach rechts gewendet [page 131]. Dieser Typus ist oft zusammen mit Iuno und Minerva zur kapitolinischen Trias verbunden. Er geht auf das Kultbild im Iuppitertempel auf dem Kapitol zurück, das nach dem Brand des Jahres 85 v. Chr. für den von Catulus wiedererrichteten Tempel geschaffen und nach einem zweiten Brand 69 n. Chr. erneuert wurde. Nach Chalkidius (zu Platon, *Timaios* 440) war die Statue, mit der doch wohl die erste gemeint ist, ein Goldelfenbeinwerk des Apollonios. Sehr wahrscheinlich handelt es sich um denselben, im letzten Jahrhundert vor Chr. in Rom tätigen Meister, der auch den berühmten Torso vom Belvedere (Nr. 265) geschaffen hat ... [my emphasis]".

Stefano De Angeli ("Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, Aedes (fasi tardo repubblicane e di età imperiale)", in: *LTUR* III (1996) 151, suggests instead that the late-antique source, mentioned by von Steuben (*op.cit.*) refers to Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus: "... mentre una fonte tarda (Chalcid. ad Plat. *Tim.* 38), quasi certamente riferentesi alla statua domiziana, la [*i.e.*, the cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus] ricorda come un'opera dello scultore Apollonios (*RE* II Apollonios 122), realizzata verosimilmente nella tecnica crisoelefantina ... [my emphasis]".

**To conclude.** This short survey concerning a statue-type of Jupiter, in which certainly only a small part of the available scholarly discussion could be analysed, had one unforeseen result. This statue-type is of interest to both classical archaeologist - like myself - and to scholars specializing in *Provinzialrömische Archäologie* ('the archaeology of the Roman provinces'). None of the above-discussed scholars of either field provides the complete coverage of the publications that belong to the 'other' field - nor did they have that intention at all, since some of them did not even know that scholars of this 'other' discipline are interested in this subject as well.

I myself cannot possibly provide such a complete discussion of the relevant publications of both fields in this context, but can only hope that in the future the results of both disciplines will be researched and discussed *together*. One thing is already clear now: we have heard above that Caterina Maderna (1988) had found 45 replicas of this Jupiter-type, which she convincingly divided into two variants, comprising:

- 1.) 33 copies of a statue-type of Jupiter, in which the god is holding the sceptre in his *left* hand. - See the most impressive copy of this variant of this statue-type, the colossal acrolithic statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage (cf. here **Fig. 10**); and -
- 2.) 6 copies of a statue-type of Jupiter, in which the god is holding the sceptre in his *right* hand. - See the most prominent copy of this variant of this statue-type, the fragments of the colossal acrolithic statue of Hadrian (now: Constantine the Great) in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (cf. here **Figs. 11** and **11.1**: the digital reconstruction of this statue).

When we add to this the statues of Jupiter of his 'Capitoline-type', collected by Martin Bossert (2000), he traces many copies in the Roman provinces that we may add to those '45 copies', collected by Maderna (1988), whereas Bossert himself ignores the fact that those *other* '45 copies' exist at all.

**As we have seen above, Bossert himself discusses 'only' the 1.) of the above-mentioned variants of this statue-type of Jupiter, in which the god holds his sceptre in his left hand (cf. here Fig. 10).**

We knew already before from Caterina Maderna (1988) and Claudio Parisi Presicce (2006b), that this first variant of this statue-type of Jupiter was much more often copied than the second variant, but Bossert (2000) adds to the previously known ones many more copies of this statue-type. And because, according to Bossert, his 'Capitoline type', the iconography of which had been invented for the (second) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, was deliberately copied by the cult-statue of Jupiter in Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, this may be regarded as a very important result in the context of this *Study*.

*In the following, I allow myself a digression on the importance of the  
Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus for the indurance of the Roman Empire*

That the just-made assertion is true became evident, when the (second) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus had been destroyed on 18th/19th December. To illustrate his point, I repeat in the following in part a passage, written for *supra*, Chapter *Preamble*; Section II.: ``As Mario Torelli (1987, 578-579 ...) has rightly pointed out, it was not by chance that a temple of Iuppiter stood right in front of the façade of Domitian's `Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana* on the Palatine, the epithet of which is debated ... I am saying `not by chance' because, according to the belief of the Romans themselves, it was their god Jupiter, who granted them their victories (cf. *supra*, at n. 431, in Chapter III.): `At Jupiter's orders and under his guidance the Romans fought their wars, and to him they consequently attributed their military victories' ... Another fact should likewise be considered in this context, and we may wonder, which one of the two was more important. **Namely, that the welfare of the Roman state/ the Roman People could be regarded as directly depending on the most important `state god' of the Romans, as he is sometimes called, namely Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, and, by implication, on the physical state of his temple. That the latter was actually believed became evident when, during the civil war, in the course of the siege of the Capitolium by the Vitellians on 18th/ 19th December AD 69, the (second) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus was completely destroyed by fire ...**

As a result of this, "the Gauls mistakenly believe that the destruction of the [second] Temple of Jupiter [Optimus Maximus] portends the end of Rome [with n. 20; my emphasis]"; cf. Trevor Luke (2018, 198). In his **note 20**, Luke quotes for this statement Tacitus, *Hist.* 4,54. See also Flavius Josephus (*BJ* 7,4,2) for the uprising of some Germanic tribes in AD 70, likewise as a result of this civil war ...

Therefore, Vespasian hastened to restore this sanctuary by building the (third) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus ...

Ernst Schulze (1873, 1) has, therefore, aptly commented on this precarious situation as follows: "**Im Jahre 70 [corr.: 69] n. Chr., ging während des Kampfes des Sabinus gegen die Vitellianer dieser zweite Tempel in Flammen auf. Vespasian ließ es nach Wiederherstellug der Ordnung seine erste Sorge sein, den Tempel, das Unterpfand des Reiches, wiederherzustellen [it was Vespasian's first care to restore the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, the pledge of the Imperium Romanum']; my emphasis**".

In the great fire of AD 80 also this (third) temple of Jupiter perished. Domitian built the (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, and that, as we know now through the research of Claudio Parisi Presicce and Alberto Danti (2016; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.e*)), on a much larger scale than the first three temples, but at exactly the same site''.

Let's now return to our main subject.

**I myself follow Martin Bossert (2000, 21), who has based his account in part on the findings of Hans von Steuben (1963, 130-131), in assuming the following: one of the two variants of statues of Jupiter, discussed here, copies the cult-statue of Juppiter in Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. These are the statues and statuettes of the more often copied variant (cf. *supra*, at point 1.)), in which the god holds the sceptre in his left hand, and in which the god's left foot is set a little bit advanced, when compared with the right foot, as Bossert (2000, 21) writes. Of course not *all* of those many copies of this variant of the statue-type of Jupiter copy the cult-statue of Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, because *a*) some of those sculptures date clearly to an earlier time; and *b*) because Domitian had intentionally stressed the `continuity' of Rome's most important state cult by his decision to *maintain* the well known iconography of Jupiters's cult statue(s).**

When we apply Martin Bossert's above-quoted description of Domitian's (fourth) cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, the following sculptures, discussed here, copy Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus:



- a) the colossal, Domitianic marble statue of Jupiter, St. Petersburg, Hermitage (here Fig. 10);
  - b) the statue of Jupiter, represented in the pediment of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, visible on the Exispicium Relief (here Figs. 16-18);
  - c) the statue of Jupiter, represented in the pediment of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, visible on Marc Aurelius's sacrifice panel (here Fig. 19).
  - d) the Antonine marble statuette of the Capitoline Triad, Guidonia Montecelio (Roma), Museo Civico Archeologico 'Rodolfo Lanciani' (here Fig. 13).
- Depending on their date, the following sculptures, discussed here, could likewise copy Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus:

- e) the marble statuette of 'Euripides' in the Louvre (here Fig. 12);
- f) the marble statuette of Jupiter from the Via Appia Nuova (here Fig. 20);
- g) the bronze statuette at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (here Fig. 20.1).

*And what about the exposed left knee and lower left leg of the cult-statue of Jupiter Capitolinus ?*

Stefano De Angeli (in: *LTUR* III (1996, 149, 150) observed that already the cult-statue of Jupiter in Lutatius Catulus's (second) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus was represented seated, holding in his right hand a thunderbolt and in his left hand a sceptre. De Angeli (*op.cit.*) did not address the question, whether or not the second, third and the fourth cult-statues of Jupiter Capitolinus were represented with exposed left knee and left lower leg. Also Martin Bossert (2000, 21 with n. 19), and the scholars, whom he followed, had come to the conclusion that the iconography of Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus deliberately followed the iconographies of the second and third cult-statues of this Jupiter. Bossert too does not address the iconographic feature 'bare left knee and bare left lower leg' of some of the copies of this statue-type of Jupiter, although also the statuette from the Via Appia Nuova (here Fig. 20), that he himself has published, belongs to those replicas.

**But because we fortunately have for example the portraits of the Emperors Claudius and Tiberius (here Fig. 15) from Cerveteri in the Vatican Museums, portrayed in this Jupiter iconography, we can, in my opinion, with confidence conclude that the second, third and fourth cult-statues of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus represented the god with exposed left knee and left lower leg.**

If that were true, which I think it is, we must assume that my above-mentioned example f), the marble statuette from the Via Appia Nuova, shows Iuppiter Optimus Maximus correctly with bare left knee and bare lower left leg. Whereas my examples d), the Capitoline Triad (here Fig. 13), e) the statuette of 'Euripides' (here Fig. 12), and g), the bronze statuette in New York (here Fig. 20.1) repeat the cult-statue in this detail incorrectly by covering the god's left knee and left lower leg with his garment.

To this we may add that, according to Stefano De Angeli (in: *LTUR* III (1996, 149, 150), Minerva was seated to the left of Jupiter, or on the right hand side, when looking at those three cult-statues. We have seen above that this arrangement of the Capitoline Triad is correctly represented on the relief showing Marcus Aurelius (here Fig. 19) sacrificing in front of Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, whereas in the Antonine statuette of the Capitoline Triad (here Fig. 13), which likewise shows the cult-statues of Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Jupiter, Minerva appears on the 'wrong' side: to the *right* of Jupiter, or on the left hand side of the group (!).

As we have seen above, the colossal statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great; here Fig. 11) repeats the same statue-type of Jupiter in mirror image. Interestingly Claudio Parisi Presicce's digital reconstruction of this portrait of Constantine (here Fig. 11.1) shows that in this portrait, Hadrian's (now Constantine's) *right* knee and *right* lower leg are likewise exposed (!).

Cf. Claudio Parisi Presicce (2006b, 147, caption of Fig. 48; cf. p. 127, note \*: "Ricostruzione virtuale del colosso di Costantino realizzata da Konstantin-Ausstellungsgesellschaft Trier mbH, Musei Capitolini e ARCTRON<sup>3D</sup>").

**After having (for the first time) finished writing this Chapter, I received an E-mail by Hans Rupprecht Goette, the contents of which I have already summarized above, in Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*:**

'On 21st May 2021 Hans Rupprecht Goette was kind enough to alert me to a passage in the publication by Silvia Aglietti and Alexandra Busch (*Ager Albanus: von republikanischer Zeit zur Kaiservilla = Dall'età repubblicana alla villa imperiale. Albanum 1*, 2020), in which Massimiliano Papini ("I monumenti dell'AGER ALBANUS nella storia degli studi", 2021, 30 with Fig. 14 [= here **fig. 10.1**]) discusses the first find report of the statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage (cf. here **Fig. 10**): **according to this report, the statue was found without its head**. Papini's Fig. 14 is Plate 11 from the book by Giuseppe Antonio Guattani (*Monumenti antichi ovvero notizie sulle antichità e belle arti di Roma per l'anno 1805*, 1805), who published the first restoration of this statue of Jupiter (cf. here **Fig. 10.1**)'.

Hans Rupprecht Goette wrote me in his E-mail of 21st May 2021, in addition to this: "... auf S. 30 mit Abb. 14 schreibt er (M. PAPINI 2021) über die Grabung von Thomas Jenkins im Jahr 1785 in Castelgandolfo:

''... dal sito, presunta sede della villa di Clodio, proviene forse la statua colossale di Giove seduto in trono senza braccio destro e testa, acquistata prima da Giuseppe Valadier e Vincenzo Pacetti e infine approdata, tramite vari passaggi, nel 1861 alla Hermitage [with n. 110] (fig. 14) [my emphasis]''.

Abb. 14 gibt einen Stich der ergänzten Statue. In Anm. 110 steht: "G. A. Guattani, *Monumenti antichi* ... (Roma 1805) Tav. 11 [= here **Fig. 10.1**]".

**Although the statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg was found without its head and without its right hand (or without its right arm?), I maintain my hypothesis, suggested here, that it copied the statue of Jupiter in Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus and repeat in the following another (earlier) passage from above, Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*:**

''But, as I only found out later, when reading Anna Trofimowa's discussion of this statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage ("Kopien der Victoria von Calvatone aus dem 19. und 20. Jahrhundert", 2020, 78, on the modern statuette of Victoria this statue of Jupiter is holding in its right hand), the author states that, when this sculpture of Jupiter was excavated, its right hand had *not* been found ... My thanks are due to Hans Rupprecht Goette for sending me Trofimowa's article, to which I will come back below.

Because of its overall iconography, I nevertheless suggest that this statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (here **Fig. 10**) can give us an impression, what the (probably chryselephantine) cult-statue of Iuppiter may have looked like, which Domitian commissioned for his (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. - I maintain this view here, although according to the latest information concerning this point that I have been alerted to ... this statue of Jupiter had not only been found without its right hand (or its right arm ?), but also without its head (!), a fact which previously had not been realized; cf. Massimiliano Papini (2021, 30 with Fig. 14 [= here **Fig. 10.1**]). - My thanks are due to Hans Rupprecht Goette, who provided me also with this information.

The reason for my confidence (back in 2020) that the colossal statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage (here **Fig. 10**) actually copies Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus lay in the following facts. This statue (here **Fig. 10**) was found in Domitian's Villa, called *Albanum* and is datable in the reign of Domitian. Although only its headless torso had survived, when found, without its right hand (or right arm?), it can nevertheless with confidence be restored as a replica of Jupiter of this specific type. Its pose, left arm, and exposed left knee and lower leg, are exactly those of Domitian's cult-statue, represented in the

pediment of his temple - and that in its turn is known from the Renaissance drawings of the Extispicium Relief (cf. here **Figs. 16-18**). We learn from Anna Trofimowa (2020, 77-78) that the statue (here **Fig. 10**) had first been restored by Vincenzo Pacetti, holding a thunderbolt in its right hand: since its right thigh is ancient, my guess is that Pacetti had seen remains of this thunderbolt on the right leg of the god.

Fortunately, in July of 2023, I should find out something else: the 'Capitoline Jupiter' is also known through the bronze statuette in New York, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, datable to the 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, which Stephan Faust (2022, 22-24, Abb. 4 [= here **Fig. 20.1**]) has published, and that I did not know before. This bronze statuette preserves both hands of the god, comprising his attributes thunderbolt and sceptre, as well as his head, whereas the colossal marble statue at the Hermitage (here **Figs. 10; 10.1**) was found without its right hand (or without its right arm ?) and even without its head.

The iconography of this bronze statuette (here **Fig. 20.1**) is (almost) exactly the same as that of the marble statuette from the Via Appia Nuova in Rome (cf. here **Fig. 20**), with the great difference that this marble statuette shows the god with exposed left knee and lower left leg (here **Fig. 20**), whereas in the bronze statuette the left knee and lower left leg are completely covered by the god's garment. Because this statuette (here **Fig. 20.1**) is not precisely datable, we cannot know, whether it represents Domitian's (fourth) cult-statue of Jupiter, or rather the second or the third cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus'.

**Fig. 20.1. Bronze statuette representing the 'Capitoline Jupiter', datable to the 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. Cf. S. Faust (2022, 22-24, Abb. 4: "Bronzestatuette des Jupiter Capitolinus 1.-2. Jh. n. Chr., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Open Access/Public Domain [CCO] <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/246686>)".**

**Finally I quote in the following the text from the Website of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, that relates to the statue of Jupiter kept there (cf. here **Fig. 10**)**

**[https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/22.09.2020:](https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/22.09.2020)**

"Statue of Jupiter

Ancient Rome, End of the 1<sup>st</sup> century

The statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage collection is one of the largest sculptures from Classical Antiquity in any museum in the world. The statue was found during archaeological excavations at the villa of Emperor Domitian, who reigned from 81 to 96 AD. The colossal statue of the supreme god was made by a Roman sculptor of the Flavian era ...

The art of the Flavian period (69-96 AD) is a magnificent part of the world's heritage. The composition and manner of execution seen in the statue of Jupiter are reminiscent of **the lost statue of Zeus created by Phidias for the temple at Olympia [cf. here **Fig. 14**]. That work was considered one of the Seven Wonders of the World. Dio Chrysostom said in a famous speech that whoever "stood before this image would forget all the terrors and hardships that fall to our human lot"**. In this work the Roman sculptor combined marble with gilded wood and plaster to imitate a finish in gold and ivory.

Title:	Statue of Jupiter
Place:	Ancient Rome
Date:	End of the 1 <sup>st</sup> century
Material	Marble and bronzed plaster
Dimension:	347,0 cm
Acquisition date	Entered the Hermitage in 1862; originally in the Marquis Campana collection in Rome
Inventory Number	ГР-4155 [my emphasis]".

To the statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (cf. here **Fig. 10**), I will come back below (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*).

*Post scriptum.*

Only after I had finished writing the first volume of my *Study* on Domitian, did I receive the exhibition-catalogue edited by Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi and Maria Paola Del Moro (*Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore*, 2023), in which the article "Il Campidoglio di Domiziano" by Claudio Parisi Presicce and Eloisa Dodero has appeared. The term 'Domitian's Campidoglio' in the title of their essay is ambiguous by design (exactly as the term 'Capitolium' was in antiquity): because they talk about 'Domitian's Capitoline Hill' and about 'Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus'.

I quote in the following some passages from their article, *inter alia* because they add further information to subjects, that have also been addressed by my myself in this *Study*, but that was so far unknown to me.

**Claudio Parisi Presicce, Eloisa Dodero ("Il Campidoglio di Domiziano", 2023, 63-68) write :**

**"L'occasione di questo intervento [to erect the fourth Temple for Jupiter Capitolinus] è il devastante incendio dell'80 d.C., preziosa opportunità per l'imperatore [i.e., Domitian] "maniaco della costruzione" [with n. 6] di plasmare Roma a propria immagine e somiglianza. Plutarco, che ricorda di aver visto di persona ad Atene le colonne di marmo pentelico realizzate appositamente per il tempio capitolino, testimonia anche dell'esorbitante costo raggiunto dall'intera doratura del tempio, ben 12.000 [page 64] talenti [with n. 7]; Svetonio, pur riconoscendo all'imperatore l'intensa attività edilizia successiva all'incendio, ne critica la decisione di firmare tutte le opere a suo nome "senza alcuna menzione degli autori precedenti" [with n. 8] ...**

**Flavio Sabino, fratello di Vespasiano e [page 65] *praefectus urbi*, ritiratosi sul colle capitolino insieme al nipote Domiziano, appena diciottenne, e con le poche truppe fedeli, fu posto sotto assedio dalle forze meglio armate e preparate di Vitellio. Il Campidoglio, dunque, tra il 17 e il 18 dicembre del 69 cadde nelle mani dei vitelliani e Flavio Sabino, non avendo ricevuto in tempo i soccorsi, fu fatto prigioniero e giustiziato. Domiziano, invece, si rifugiò presso il guardiano di un tempio [with n. 9] e la mattina dopo sfuggì alla cattura "Isiaci celatus habitu" (travestito da sacerdote di Iside) [with n. 10], divinità egiziana alla quale era dedicato un luogo di culto eretto sul colle fin da epoca repubblicana, denominato *templum Isidis Capitolinae* ...**

**Cosa può aver lasciato nella mente del giovane Domiziano il ricordo della terribile notte tra il 17 e il 18 dicembre del 69, la violenza dell'incendio divampato, la morte dello zio Flavio Sabino, la salvezza nell' [corr.: dall'] *aedituus* di un santuario del colle, la fuga la mattina dopo confuso tra i sacerdoti di Iside? Il desiderio di ringraziare le divinità che lo avevamo [corr.: avevano] protetto ... [page 66] ...**

E anche in questo senso è stata letta la *restitutio* del Tempio di Giove Ottimo Massimo, l'unico intervento domiziano sul colle capitolino ricordato nel Cronografo del 354 d.C., che pure associa a Domiziano la lista più lunga tra quelle di epoca imperiale [with n. 29]. Al rifacimento domiziano del tempio sono stati associati numerosi frammenti in marmo pentelico della decorazione architettonica (fig. 2), che ci restituiscono un edificio gigantesco, con colonne di circa 1,80 m di diametro (di controversa interpretazione restano invece i numerosi lacerti in *opus coementicium* [corr.: *caementicium*] rinvenuti, anche di recente, nell'area capitolina) [with n. 30]. Dai coni monetali di epoca flavia (fig. 3), si ricava l'aspetto di un tempio esastilo sulla fronte (rispettoso, dunque, dell'impostazione tradizionale che non [page 67] poteva essere modificata), con colonne di ordine corinzio [with n. 31]. I coni monetali supportano anche l'appropriazione del tempio vituperata da Svetonio, raffigurando l'edificio con la scritta IMP. CAESAR sull'architrave [with n. 32], senza alcuna indicazione del nome della divinità, Giove, con cui, Domiziano amava identificarsi [with n. 33].

Come è noto, la decorazione frontonale e acroteriale è stata riconosciuta sul rilievo della *Pietas Augusti* (fig. 4 [cf. here **Fig. 19**]), riconducibile a un arco trionfale dedicato a Marco Aurelio e conservato dagli inizi del Cinquecento, insieme ad altri due rilievi provenienti dallo stesso contesto, a Palazzo dei

Conservatori in Campidoglio [with n. 34], e su disegni cinquecenteschi della parte superiore, oggi perduta, di un rilievo con *extispicium* [cf. here Figs. 16-18] – scena di sacrificio – del Museo del Louvre (dalla collezione Borghese) [with n. 35]. Da queste testimonianze indirette si ricava che il frontone mostrava al centro, sedute, le tre divinità venerate all'interno delle tre celle, *Iuppiter* al centro, con ai piedi un'aquila, affiancato da *Iuno* alla sua destra e *Minerva* alla sua sinistra ... [page 68] ...

La conoscenza dei tre simulacri all'interno delle celle del tempio si basa essenzialmente sul notevole gruppo scultoreo rinvenuto a Guidonia nel 1994 [with n. 38; cf. here Fig. 13], sulle fonti letterarie, sulle repliche frammentarie delle statue, in formato ridotto, tra cui la bella testa di Minerva in pentelico dei Musei Capitolini qui in mostra (opera n. 29), e sulle testimonianze iconografiche trasmesse da monete e rilievi [with n. 39]. Nella ricostruzione di Quinto Lutazio Catulo, successiva al distruttivo incendio dell'83 a.C., anche le antiche divinità in terracotta, risalenti alla fine dell'età regia - l'immagine di Giove era opera dello scultore Vulca di Veio - furono sostituite con nuove statue, un colosso forse crisoelefantino per il simulacro di Giove, simulacri di dimensioni verosimilmente inferiori, forse realizzati nella tecnica dell'acrolito, per Giunone e Minerva. Si suppone che le statue catuliane subirono danni più o meno gravi in seguito agli incendi che devastarono il Campidoglio in età augustea e successivamente nel dicembre del 69 e nell'80 d.C. È dunque nella sua versione domiziana che la triade capitolina potrebbe essersi conservata fino alla tarda antichità quando, in concomitanza o poco prima [with n. 40] delle spoliazioni del tempio, è possibile che anche i tre simulacri abbiano subito danneggiamenti, le prime trasformazioni [with n. 41; my emphasis]".

In their **note 6**, Pensabene and Dodero write: "Plut. *Publ.* 15, 5-6".

In their **note 7**, they write: "Plut. *Publ.* 15.4".

In their **note 8**, they write: "Suet. *Dom.* 5; per una panoramica sugli interventi flavii in Campidoglio vd. [vedi] da ultimo Arata 2009".

In their **note 29**, they write: "Su questo importante documento vd. [vedi] in particolare Anderson 1983".

In their **note 30**, they write: "Vd. [vedi] in particolare Danti 2016, pp. 215-217".

In their **note 31**, they write: "A titolo di esempio, un denario del British Museum (95-96 d.C.), *RIC* II<sup>2</sup>, p. 325, n. 815".

In their **note 32**, they write: "Darwall-Smith 1996, pp. 107-109; Coarelli 2009a, p. 81".

In their **note 33**, they write: "Mart. 9, 39, 1; 9, 91".

In their **note 34**, they write: "Musei Capitolini, inv. S 807, per cui vd. [vedi] Stuart Jones 1926, pp. 22-23, n. 4, tav. 12, fig. 1; La Rocca 1986 [*i.e.*, here E. La Rocca 1986a], p. 40 (M.L. Cafiero); Koeppel 1986, pp. 47-56, nn. 23-5; De Maria 1988, pp. 303-305, n. 88; Bober, Rubinstein 2010, pp. 212-213, n. 163, p. 216, n. 167, pp. 241-242, n. 191".

In their **note 35**, they write: "Inv. MA 978, MA 1089, sul rilievo vd. [vedi] in particolare Koeppel 1985, pp. 204-212, n. 50; Tortorella 1988; Fless 1995, p. 108, n. 29. Il frammento superiore, ora perduto, è ben documentato in disegni del Codex Coburgensis [cf. here Fig. 18] (metà XVI secolo, per cui vd. [vedi] Matz 1871, p. 467, n. 37) e del Codex Berolinensis (G.B. Dosio, anni centrali del XVI secolo, per cui Hülsen 1933, pp. 15-16, n. 67)".

In their **note 38**, they write: "Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Palestrina, inv. 80546, per cui vd. [vedi] tra gli altri Coarelli 2009a, p. 514, n. 118 (F. Coarelli), con datazione agli anni centrali del II secolo d.C. [my emphasis]".

In their **note 39**, they write: "Vd. [vedi] sulla questione in particolare Krause 1989".

In their **note 40**, they write: "Nell'età di Macrino o di Alessandro Severo la statua di Giove risulta essere stata colpita da un fulmine".

In their **note 41**, they write: "*Passio S. Callisti*, Mombritius I, 268".

**To the above-quoted passages from Parisi Presicce and Dodero (2023, 63-68), I should like to add comments to some of those parts, which I have emphasized :**

a) "tra il 17 e il 18 dicembre del 69".

This date, which Presicce and Dodero assume for the siege of the Vitellians of the Capitoline Hill, is wrong: their siege occurred instead from the 18th to the 19th December of AD 69.

For discussions; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; at Section II.; and in Section III.; at point 1.); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.c*) *The precise date of Domitian's escape from the Capitolium, M. Volusius' disguise as an Isis priest in 43 BC, and the hypothesis that because of this alleged precedent, Domitian's disguise on 19th December 69 as a priest of Isis should therefore be regarded as an invention*; and at *Appendix I.d*) *Domitian's escape from the Capitolium on 19th December AD 69, which happened on the festival of the Opalia, one day of the Saturnalia*;

b) "Domiziano, invece, si rifugiò presso il guardiano di un tempio [with n. 9] e la mattina dopo sfuggì alla cattura "Isiaci celatus habitu" (travestito da sacerdote di Iside) [with n. 10], divinità egiziana alla quale era dedicato un luogo di culto eretto sul colle fin da epoca repubblicana, denominato *templum Isidis Capitolinae*".

As already said above; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*, at Section II.; cf. Section III.; at point 1.): Presicce and Dodero do not address the question, where exactly on the Capitoline Hill Flavius Sabinus and his men (and Domitian) had found refuge on 18th December AD 69. Parisi Presicce and Dodero, therefore, do not suggest, the guardian of which temple on the Capitoline Hill had hidden Domitian. Finally, they convincingly assume that the garments, with which Domitian was disguised 'as an Isis priest' on the morning of 19th December AD 69, had been provided by the (priests of the) Temple of *Isis Capitolina* on the Arx;

c) "le tre divinità venerate all'interno delle tre celle [of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus], *Iuppiter* al centro, con ai piedi un'aquila, affiancato da *Iuno* alla sua destra e *Minerva* alla sua sinistra"; with their note 35.

As we have seen above in this *Chapter* (see also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.4.*) *Domitian's sacellum of Iuppiter Conservator, his Temple of Iuppiter Custos, and his (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here **Fig. 83**). With The first Contribution by Peter Herz), I have arrived at the same conclusion. But note that Parisi Presicce and Dodero base themselves on different publications, than those that I have consulted. All those publications discuss the Renaissance drawings, which document the Extispicium Relief in the Louvre at Paris (cf. here **Figs. 16-18**), when that still comprised the fragment with the representation of the pediment of Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus;

d) "La conoscenza dei tre simulacri all'interno delle celle del tempio si basa essenzialmente sul notevole gruppo scultoreo rinvenuto a Guidonia nel 1994 [with n. 38; cf. here **Fig. 13**]"'. In their **note 38**, Parisi Presicce and Dodero write: "Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Palestrina, inv. 80546, per cui vd. [vedi] tra gli altri Coarelli 2009a, p. 514, n. 118 (F. Coarelli), con datazione agli anni centrali del II secolo d.C.".

The Capitoline Triad (here **Fig. 13**) was not 'found at Guidonia in 1994', as Parisi Presicce and Dodero erroneously assert, nor is it on display at the "Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Palestrina". As discussed in this *Chapter*, and as stated in the caption of here **Fig. 13**, the following is true:

"Statuette of the Capitoline Triad, marble. Guidonia Montecelio (Roma), Museo Civico Archeologico 'Rodolfo Lanciani' (inv. no. 80546). Cf. Z. Mari, in: F. Buranelli (2019, 73: "20. Triade Capitolina Fine del II-inizi III secolo ...). Dal Comune di Guidonia Montecelio (Rm), loc. Tenuta dell'Inviolata - Quarto Campanile, Guidonia Montecelio, Museo Civico Archeologico "Rodolfo Lanciani" (già nel Museo Nazionale di Palestrina fino al 2012). Inv. no. 80546. Furto 1992 (scavi clandestini), Guidonia Montecelio (Roma). Recupero: 1994, Livigno (Sondrio))".

e) Parisi Presicce and Dodero write: "Nella ricostruzione di Quinto Lutazio Catulo [of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus], successiva al distruttivo incendio dell'83 a.C., anche le antiche divinità in terracotta, risalenti alla fine dell'età regia - l'immagine di Giove era opera dello scultore Vulca di Veio - furono sostituite con nuove statue, un colosso forse crisoelefantino".

Also I myself have studied the (second) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, dedicated by Q. Lutatius Catulus, as well as the question, which one(s) of the last three (of the altogether four) cult-statues of

the Capitoline Jupiter could have been created in chryselephantine technique, see above, in this *Chapter* (see also *supra*, at n. 181, in Chapter I.1.; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.c*); and *Appendix I.d*)).

f) At the beginning, and at the very end of their important article (not quoted above), Parisi Presicce and Dodero (2023, 63, 68) add very useful information that I myself have not addressed in this *Study* on Domitian at all: it relates to the different stages of the well-documented destruction of Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.

***A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great)***

With discussions of the following subjects: the inscription CIL VI 974 = 40524 (cf. here **Fig. 29.1**), belonging to a colossal statue of Hadrian; the question, where in Rome large blocks of Parian marble like those of the acrolithic statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great; cf. here **Fig. 11**) could have been available: at *La Marmorata* in the quartiere Testaccio; the '*Porticus Aemilia*' (erroneously located there, the building in question is in reality identifiable as *Navalia*); and the *Horrea Aemiliana*.

Unforeseen results of this *Study* consist in Part I. in new findings concerning the cult-statue of *Divus Vespasianus* in the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*, begun by the Emperor Titus and finished by the Emperor Domitian; and in Part II., in contributions to the questions, how the Emperor Domitian managed to provide the People of Rome with all goods needed, and how the emperor organized the supply of his many gigantic buildings projects at Rome with the appropriate building materials.

The motivation to write (Part I.) of this *Study* was at the beginning completely different: it was the result of studying the consequences of Augustus' doctrine (RG 13): *parta victoriis pax*. We owe to John Pollini (2017b, 124 with n. 118) an English translation of Augustus's famous line : 'peace through victory'. Cf. *supra*, in Chapter *What this Study is all about ?*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*). Writing these Chapters resulted in the following conclusion, which I then decided to study in detail:

**'At the time of Constantine the Great, these old Roman convictions were still alive'.**

This *Study* is divided into two Parts:

I. The statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (cf. here **Fig. 11**), the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524; cf. here **Fig. 29.1**), and the cult-statue of *Divus Vespasianus* in the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*. With *The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great)*

II. Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at *La Marmorata*. With discussions of the '*Porticus Aemilia*' (in reality identifiable as *Navalia*) and of the *Horrea Aemiliana*. With *The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung*; and with *The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?*

**To allow the reader an easier understanding of these very complex subjects, I anticipate in the following a summary of my own relevant results.**

This research started on 26th November 2019, when Hugo Brandenburg and Angelika Geyer were so kind as to present me with Brandenburg's book *Le prime chiese di Roma IV-VII secolo* (2013), in which Brandenburg discusses the colossal portrait of Constantine the Great in the cortile of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here **Fig. 11**). The research I conducted in order to understand this portrait of Constantine the Great has resulted in three separate, but interrelated monographs that have, in addition to this, provided new insights concerning Domitian. All three of them are, therefore, published in this book on Domitian:

*A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great);*

*A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus (cf. here Fig. 10); and -*

*A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna (cf. here Fig. 29).*



To allow the reader an easier understanding of the entire *Study* on the colossal statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great; here **Fig. 11**), I begin with a summary of its two parts:

**Hugo Brandenburg (2013, 16) summarizes the historical events that had led to the creation of this colossal portrait of Constantine the Great in the cortile of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Figs. 11; 11.1). In his conclusion, Brandenburg wrote that Constantine 'put himself under the protection of the god [of the Christians] to guarantee, according to Roman tradition, his victory [over Maxentius at the *Pons Milvius* in AD 312], as *imperator invictus*, and thus the prosperity of the Roman Empire'.**

At first, I was only interested in pursuing the doctrine of 'invincibility' over time, which was my inquiry at that very moment. And this, in its turn, was a result of studying Augustus' doctrine (*RG* 13): *parta victoriis pax*, because we owe to John Pollini (2017b, 124 with n. 118) not only a detailed discussion, but also an English translation of this famous line of Augustus: 'peace through victory'.

Cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*; and at *What this Study is all about*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*

And when I read Hugo Brandenburg's (2013, 16) above-quoted statement about Constantine the Great, and realized that '*At the time of Constantine the Great, these old Roman convictions were still alive*', I began to study also the *colossus* of Constantine (here **Figs. 11; 11.1**) itself.

This colossal portrait of Constantine the Great turned out to have originally been a portrait of Hadrian. This hypothesis has (in my opinion convincingly) been suggested by Cécile Evers (1991). It was first followed by Amanda Claridge (1998, 382; *ead.* 2010, 465, who does not provide a reference though - but who had discussed this fact with me in Rome, as soon as C. EVERS's article had appeared in 1991), and rejected by other scholars. I myself hope to add some new observations, which further support Evers's hypothesis. The same is definitely true in the case of Hans Rupprecht Goette's findings. For his new observations concerning the 'metamorphosis' from Hadrian's to Constantine's portrait here **Fig. 11**; cf. below, at *The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great)*.

Evers (1991) had further suggested that five inscriptions, found in the *Forum Romanum*, could (in theory) have belonged to this colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine; cf. here **Fig. 11**), among them the fragmentary inscription *CIL VI 974 = 40524* (cf. here **Fig. 29.1**). This inscription belonged to an honorary portrait-statue of Hadrian, dedicated by the Senate and the Roman People to commemorate Hadrian's victorious suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, as has (in my opinion convincingly) been suggested by Michaela Fuchs (2014, 130 with ns. 45-47, Abb. 8 [= here **Fig. 29.1**]).

According to Geza Alföldy (at *CIL VI* [1996] 40524; cf. here **Fig. 29.1**) and Michaela Fuchs (*op.cit.*), this inscription was not found in the Roman Forum, as assumed by Evers (1991), but instead close to, or within, the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*; the authors therefore assume that this statue of Hadrian was on display within the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*.

But note that neither Geza Alföldy (1996) or Michaela Fuchs (2014) suggest, which one of Hadrian's statue-types could have belonged to this honorary inscription (**Fig. 29.1**).

At first, I had followed Evers's (1991) hypothesis, according to which the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great; here **Fig. 11**) could have belonged to the inscription *CIL VI 974 = 40524* (here **Fig. 29.1**), and had, at the same time, considered Geza Alföldy's (at *CIL VI* 40524) and Michaela Fuchs's (2014, 130) conclusions that the statue, to which this inscription (here **Fig. 29.1**) belonged, was on display *within* the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*.

Consequently, I have next discussed, what kind of effect the erection of the colossal statue of Hadrian/ Constantine (here Fig. 11) in the *cella* of the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus* could have had on the pre-existing cult-statue of *Divus Vespasianus*. This research has led to the (for me) unforeseen result that the findspot of the colossal head of Vespasian in the Museo Archeologica Nazionale at Naples (MAN, inv. no. 6068) is unfortunately unknown. Some earlier and later scholars have (erroneously) believed that this colossal head of Vespasian had been excavated at the Baths of Caracalla. Whereas I at that stage had followed Filippo Coarelli's (2009b, 77, with n. 90, Fig. 14) attribution of this colossal head of Vespasian to the cult-statue of *Divus Vespasianus* in the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*; a hypothesis that in the meantime has likewise turned out to be erroneous.

Contrary to my first, above-mentioned hypothesis concerning the inscription (*CIL* VI 974 = 40524; here Fig. 29.1), I now suggest that it belonged to the original portrait-statue of Hadrian, of which almost 30 copies are known, among them the cuirassed statue of Hadrian from Hierapydna in Crete at Istanbul (cf. here Fig. 29).

Cf. below, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here Fig. 29); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.*

Consequently, I was at first unable to make a suggestion, for which context this colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine; cf. here Fig. 11) had originally been created (but now I ask, whether this could have been the cult-statue of *Divus Hadrianus* in the *Hadrianeum*, built by Antoninus Pius).

Studying this colossal statue of Hadrian/ Constantine the Great (here Fig. 11) had also another effect, since Claudio Parisi Presicce (2006b) has compared it with the statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (cf. here Fig. 10), which copies the same prototype of Jupiter as the Hadrian/ Constantine (here Fig. 11) in mirror image. This statue-type of Jupiter (here Fig. 10) (and its variants) was extremely successful in antiquity and has also been copied in statuette format as Capitoline Triad, together with Juno and Minerva (cf. here Fig. 13). I follow Filippo Coarelli (in: F. COARELLI 2006a, 514, cat. 118: "Gruppo in marmo della Triade Capitolina"), who has suggested that this Capitoline Triad in statuette format (cf. here Fig. 13) copies Domitian's cult-statues of his (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.

Most famous among these copies of this Capitoline Triad in statuette format is certainly the statuette of 'Euripides' in the Louvre at Paris (cf. here Fig. 12). As Hans Rupprecht Goette (forthcoming) has demonstrated, this was created at the order of Francesco Ficoroni by turning such a headless copy of Jupiter of a Capitoline Triad into the tragic poet. The colossal statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (here Fig. 10) is datable in the Domitianic period and was found at Castel Gandolfo, which in its turn was built at the site of Domitian's *Villa*, called *Albanum*.

I, therefore, suggest that this statue of Jupiter (cf. here Fig. 10) can give us an impression of the cult-statue of Jupiter in Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Capitolinus.

Cf. *supra*, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here Fig. 10).

Let's now return to our main subject.

Many earlier scholars, for example Heinz Kähler (1960, 391, at Tafel 264) have assumed that the colossal portrait-statue of Constantine the Great (cf. here Fig. 11) should be identified with the statue, seen by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 10,4,16), who had copied an inscription, set (and therefore presumably also composed) by the Emperor Constantine himself. Constantine had added this inscription to the statue, dedicated to him by the Senate after his victory over Maxentius. In this 'personal statement' by Constantine, the emperor claims that 'thanks to the salvation bringing sign, which is the true proof of *virtus*, I have saved and liberated Rome from the tyrant [*i.e.*, Maxentius], and thanks to my liberation, I have restored the Senate and the Roman People to their old image and to their old splendour'. - Note that Constantine, in addition to this, had ordered the sculptor that his portrait-statue should hold this 'salvation bringing sign' in its right hand. Note also that earlier scholars have identified this 'salvation bringing sign' with a cross.

Claudio Parisi Presicce (2005, 145 with ns. 32, 33; *id.* 2006b, 140), to whom we owe the most detailed discussions of the statue of Constantine (here Fig. 11), does not believe that this statue is the portrait of Constantine, described by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 10,4,16). - And I think he is right with this judgement.

But contrary to myself, Parisi Presicce (2005, 146, *verbatim* repeated 2006b, 149 with n. 38, p. 150 with n. 42) does not follow Evers (1991) in assuming that this portrait here Fig. 11) had originally represented Hadrian.

When we follow Parisi Presicce's (2006, 154) hypothesis that the Senate had commissioned the statue of Constantine (cf. here Fig. 11) to commemorate his victory over Maxentius, and assume at the same time that also the portrait-statue of Constantine, seen by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 10,4,16), was based on a Jupiter-type (because the statue held the enigmatic sign in its right hand, and a globe in its left), it follows that the Senate had honoured Constantine with two colossal statues for the same victory that were based on the *identical* version of a statue-type of Jupiter - a situation I myself find impossible to believe.

'Identical', because using for both statues the same, less frequently copied statue-type of a Jupiter, who holds the sceptre in his *right* hand, and the globe in his *left* hand, as Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 10,4,16) reports for *his* statue of Constantine, and as is also true for the extant colossal statue of Constantine (cf. here Figs. 11; 11.1).

But we should also consider in our reasoning that Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 10,4,16) writes that the statue of Constantine, which he described, was erected by the Senate 'a Roma nel luogo più pubblico di tutti'; cf. Parisi Presicce (2006b, 140 with n. 15).

This sounds as if *that* statue of Constantine was standing under the open sky, which is why, in my opinion, the colossal head of Constantine, found in 2005 in the Forum of Trajan (cf. here Fig. 47) could have belonged to the statue of Constantine, mentioned by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 10,4,16).

According to Klaus Fittschen (2014, 58), the head of Constantine, found in the Forum of Trajan (cf. here Fig. 47), had probably belonged to a cuirassed statue, an iconography that, as we learn from Eugenio La Rocca (2000, 24, with n. 68), is typical of Christian emperors. So, in case that actually was the statue described by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 10,4,16), it showed Constantine in precisely the same seated pose as the statue of Hadrian (now Constantine; cf. here Fig. 11), *but in a different iconography*: since, instead of representing Constantine *as Jupiter*, as in the *colossus* of Constantine, which was originally a portrait of Hadrian (cf. here Fig. 11), the statue seen by Eusebius (provided the head here Fig. 47 actually belonged to *that*) - very appropriately for this specific dedication - represented Constantine *as Christian emperor*.

The ten extant fragments of the colossal acrolithic statue of Hadrian (now Constantine; cf. here Fig. 11) have been tested: they are sculpted from Parian marble of the best quality, called *lychnites*; cf. Claudio Parisi Presicce (2006b, 152, n. 46); Donato Attanasio, Matthias Bruno and Walter Prochaska (2019, 204, with n. 91).

Claudio Parisi Presicce (2006b, 152) writes concerning this point:

"L'identificazione del marmo [of the fragments belonging to the acrolithic statue of Constantine, here Fig. 11], viceversa, ripropone nuovamente il problema dell'identificazione del soggetto raffigurato in occasione della sua prima lavorazione, dal momento che - per quanto finora è possibile sostenere - i blocchi di marmo pario possono essere stati portati a Roma non oltre l'età adrianea [my emphasis]".

Because Parisi Presicce (2006b, 152) does not provide a reference for the above-quoted statement, this has led to the question, discussed here, of exactly when in the imperial period large blocks of Parian marble of the best quality, called *lychnites*, could in theory have been available at Rome.

See the second part of this *Study*:

**II. Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalía) and of the Horrea Aemiliana. With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?**

This second part of this *Study* is dedicated to ancient Rome's new commercial river port on the Tiber, which is located today in the quartiere Testaccio. The subjects summarized in this Chapter are hotly debated, and I myself follow those scholars, who have come to the following conclusions.

This area is by most scholars (but in my opinion erroneously) identified with the *Emporium*. In post-antique times, this area was called *La Marmorata*, because enormous quantities of marble have come to light there, where they had been stocked in antiquity. In addition, this part is dedicated to the huge *Navalia* (shipdocks), which most scholars (but in my opinion erroneously) identify with the *Porticus Aemilia*.

I myself follow Lucos Cozza and Pier Luigi Tucci (2006; cf. P.L. TUCCI 2012), who have been first to suggest that the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata* were originally erected as shipyards for the maintenance of the ships of the *Navalia*, the port of Rome's warships. The *Navalia*, Rome's port of warships, as long as it was based at Rome, was, in Cozza's, Tucci's and my own opinion, always located in the southern *Campus Martius*. But when, at the end of the first century BC, Octavian/ Augustus had moved the *Navalia*, the port of Rome's warships, from Rome to Ravenna and to Misenum, the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata* were henceforth used commercially.

Also the *Horrea Amiliana* have been assumed in this area of the (alleged) *Emporium/ La Marmorata*. I myself follow instead those scholars, who assume the *Emporium* and the *Horrea Aemiliana* in Rome's old commercial river port, which was located immediately to the west of the *Forum Boarium*.

Apart from the buildings, which in antiquity were erected in Rome's new commercial river port at *La Marmorata*, also their functions will be addressed.

These buildings were used in order to supply Rome with all goods needed - as is also very impressively demonstrated by the near-by ancient dumping-ground, called Monte Testaccio, which is discussed as well. See also *The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz*, written to further illuminate the subjects, dealt with in this Chapter: "Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung". See also *The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz*, dedicated to the heaviest (documented) good, ever transported in antiquity on the Tiber: "Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano steht?"

Let's now turn to this *Study* itself.

**A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great);**

**Part I. The statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (cf. here Fig. 11), the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524; cf. here Fig. 29.1), and the cult-statue of Divus Vespasianus in the Temple of Divus Vespasianus. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great)**

In the following will be discussed the colossal acrolithic statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) at the Palazzo dei Conservatori (here **Figs. 11; 11.1**) and the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524; here **Fig. 29.1**), once belonging to an honorary statue of the Emperor Hadrian, dedicated to him by the Senate and the Roman

People to commemorate his victory in the Bar Kokba Revolt, as suggested by Géza Alföldy (1996, at *CIL* VI 974 = 40524 = here **Fig. 29.1**), Werner Eck (2003, 162-165), Michaela Fuchs (2014, 130-131, with ns. 45-47, Fig. 8 [= here **Fig. 29.1**]), and Caroline Barron (2018). By calling this portrait (here **Fig. 11**) 'Hadrian (now Constantine)', I anticipate here the final conclusion of my relevant research. So far we do not know, for which context this colossal portrait of Hadrian had been created, but it is tempting to ask, whether this could have been the cult-statue of *Divus Hadrianus* in the *Hadrianeum*, built by Antoninus Pius.

**Fig. 11.** Colossal acrolithic statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great). The ten extant fragments of it were carved from the best quality of Parian marble, called *lychnites*, and were found within and near the Basilica of Maxentius. Roma, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, courtyard. Photos: Courtesy H.R. Goette (HRG\_3320 f.): 7.2.2017, P3010567 (Unteransicht) und P3010577 am 1.3.2008, P3110473: 11.3.2011) and F.X. Schütz (06-III-2020).

**Fig. 11.1.** "Ricostruzione virtuale del colosso di Costantino realizzata da Konstantin-Ausstellungsgesellschaft Trier mbH, Musei Capitolini e ARCTRON<sup>3D</sup>"; cf. C. Parisi Presicce 2006b, 147, caption of Fig. 48; cf. p. 127, note \*). Courtesy C. Parisi Presicce.

**Fig. 29.1.** Fragmentary inscription (*CIL* VI 974 = 40524), marble, once belonging to an honorary statue of the Emperor Hadrian, dedicated to him by the Senate and the Roman People to commemorate his victory in the Bar Kokba Revolt (so W. ECK 2003, 162-165; M. FUCHS 2014; C. BARRON 2018); and according to G. Alföldy (at: *CIL* VI [1996] 40524, who restored the inscription as shown here) and M. Fuchs (2014, 130) erected within the *cella* of the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus* in the *Forum Romanum*. From: M. Fuchs (2014, 131, Fig. 8: "*CIL*, VI, Pars VIII, Fasc. II [1996], 40524". According to C. Barron (2018, who follows in this respect W. ECK 1999-2003), the honorary statue, to which this inscription belonged, stood "beneath (in front of?)" the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*, its inscription is kept in the Capitoline Museums, Rome (inv. no. NCE 2529), and is datable: "135 CE Sep 15th to 135 CE Dec 9th". C. Evers (1991, 797, n. 72), according to whom this inscription was found in the *Forum Romanum*, asks, whether it belonged to the colossal statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great), here Fig. 11. In my opinion, this dedication belonged to the honorary statue, after which Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna at Istanbul (here Fig. 29) and almost 30 replicas of this portrait were copied. See below, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here Fig. 29); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2*.

When we read Hugo Brandenburg's (2013, 16) below-quoted observations concerning the situation of Constantine the Great in AD 312, and compare that with John Pollini remarks on earlier emperors, who likewise conducted military campaigns (cf. *id.* 2017b, 54, 124, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*)), we can conclude the following. Also at the time of Constantine the Great peace still depended on the military victory of the charismatic leader, whose actions "for the benefit of Society", "the working of *Fortuna* through him", as Pollini (*op.cit.*) writes, were dependent of his personal *felicitas* and his *virtus*. In the case of Constantine the Great, however, 'invincibility' was not promised him, or granted, by one of the 'pagan' gods, as had usually happened before, but instead by the god of the Christians.

**Hugo Brandenburg (2013, 16, Chapter 2: "L'Età di Costantino") wrote about Constantine the Great's attitude to Christianity and about his victory at the Milvian Bridge :**

"Nel 311 Galerio, Licinio e Costantino emanano un editto che pone fine alla persecuzione dei cristiani iniziata da Diocleziano nel 303 e riconosce i cristiani come comunità religiosa [with n. 1]. Ciò non costituisce tuttavia un ritorno allo *status quo* esistente prima delle persecuzioni. **In Costantino il cristianesimo trova un attivo ed energico fautore**, che sostiene efficacemente sotto ogni aspetto la religione sino allora messa al bando, ponendosi sotto la protezione della divinità per preservare, seconda la tradizionale concezione romana, la propria vittoria nelle vesti di *imperator invictus*, e quindi la prosperità dell'impero.

Nel 312 Costantino attacca il coreggente e rivale Massenzio, che, fissata la propria residenza a Roma, era divenuto troppo potente e intralciava i suoi progetti egemonici. **Il giorno prima della battaglia decisiva** sulla via Flaminia, in località *Saxa rubra* presso il *pons Milvius* (attuale ponte Milvio) sul Tevere, a nord dell'antica città, **Costantino ha una visione: il sole coperto da una croce luminosa e le stelle che compongono le parole *in hoc signo vinces* ('con questo segno vincerai')**. In una seconda visione, la notte seguente, all'imperatore compare Cristo stesso, che gli ordina di collocare tale simbolo sugli scudi dei suoi soldati [with n. 2]. Queste visioni, che gli promettevano la vittoria, avrebbero evidentemente indotto Costantino ad attaccare il nemico pur disponendo di forze assai inferiori. **La vittoria ottenuta in battaglia lo convinse**, come i quattro imperatori della tetrarchia suoi predecessori, posti sotto la tutela di Giove e di Ercole, **di essere ormai sotto la protezione del Dio cristiano, che conferiva a lui invincibilità (*imperator invictus*) e all'impero integrità e prosperità**. Ciò lo indusse, condizionato dal comune sentire romano, a concedere la propria lealtà alla divinità che gli aveva promesso la vittoria e ad elargire favori e sostegno alla Chiesa cristiana [my emphasis]".

In his **note 1**, Brandenburg wrote: "Testo in LATTANZIO, *De mortibus persecutorum* 34, ed EUSEBIO, *Hist. Eccl.* 8,17".

In his **note 2**, he wrote: "EUSEBIO, *V. Const.* 1, 27-29; LATTANZIO, *De mortibus persecutorum* 44".

**The same author Eusebius, mentioned by Brandenburg (2013, 16, n. 2) in the passage just quoted, also copied an inscription, set (and therefore presumably also composed) by the Emperor Constantine himself. Constantine had added this inscription to a statue, dedicated to him by the Senate after his victory over Maxentius.**

Heinz Kähler identified the statue, described by Eusebius, with the famous colossal acrolithic statue of Constantine (his "Taf. 264" [cf. here **Fig. 11**]), found within and in the vicinity of the Basilica of Maxentius, the remaining ten marble fragments of which are on display in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori. This is not necessarily true, but I quote Kähler's account in the following nevertheless, because of this **'personal statement' by Constantine**, in which he claims that **'thanks to the salvation bringing sign [that his statue was holding in its right hand - which some earlier scholars have identified with a cross], which is the true proof of *virtus*, I have saved and liberated Rome from the tyrant [i.e., Maxentius], and thanks to my liberation, I have restored the Senate and the Roman People to their old image and to their old splendour'**.

Cf. Kähler (1960, 391): "Tafel 264. Kolossalkopf Kaiser Konstantins aus der Maxentiusbasilika. Rom, Palazzo dei Conservatori. Marmor [cf. here **Fig. 11**]

**Der 2,60 m [corr.: the head alone is 1,74 m high; cf. *infra*] hohe Kopf des Kaisers steht zusammen mit anderen Bruchstücken der Kolossalfigur, der rechten, einen Stab haltenden Hand** [but note: as we shall see below, this is the 'wrong' right hand], dem linken Knie und den beiden Füßen im Hof des Konservatorenpalastes in Rom. Sie wurden 1487 in den Ruinen der Maxentiusbasilika ausgegraben (Taf. 258). **Neuerdings wurden weitere Reste der Arme und Beine und vor allem ein großer Block mit der linken Brust der Bildstatue unweit des gleichen Baues gefunden** [cf. *infra*]. Die Fragmente gehörten zu der über 10 m hohen Sitzfigur des Kaisers, die der Senat nach der Schlacht an der Milvischen Brücke in der Westapsis der Maxentiusbasilika aufstellen ließ. Dies geschah zwischen 313 und 315. Mit ziemlicher Bestimmtheit darf angenommen werden, **daß die riesige Figur das gleiche Bildwerk ist, von dem Bischof Eusebius von Caesarea, Zeitgenosse Konstantins, Verfasser einer Kirchengeschichte und einer Lebensbeschreibung des Kaisers, berichtet. Wir erfahren durch ihn (h. e. [i.e., *Hist. Eccl.*] 10,4,16) Konstantin habe, als ihm der Senat nach dem Sieg über Maxentius eine große Statue auf dem allervolkreichsten Ort Roms aufstellen ließ, angeordnet, daß ihr das Zeichen in die Rechte gegeben werde, unter dem er gesiegt habe. Dazu habe er unter ihr folgende Inschrift anbringen lassen:**

“Durch dieses heilbringende Zeichen, welches der wahrhaftige Beweis der Virtus ist, habe ich Eure Stadt vom Joch des Tyrannen errettet und befreit, und durch meine Befreiungstat setzte ich Senat und Volk der Römer wieder in ihre alte Erscheinung und in ihren alten Glanz ein”.

Wenn es auch einstweilen unklar bleibt, wie das Zeichen aussah, das die Statue in ihrer Rechten hielt, und was es bedeuten sollte - die Christen konnten es offenbar nach Eusebius als christliches Symbol deuten, während die Heiden in ihm vielleicht ein Sonnenzeichen erkannten - so dürfte an der Datierung des Bildnisses, da das zehnte Buch von Eusebs [*corr.*: Eusebius] erweiterter und verbesserter Kirchengeschichte 315 erschienen ist, kein Zweifel bestehen [my emphasis].

When attending Heinz Kähler's (21. Januar 1905-9. Januar 1974) *Vorlesung*, called: *Kunst der Zeit Konstantins*, held at the Universität zu Köln in the *Wintersemester* of 1972/1973, I found it especially exciting that he himself had discovered another fragment of this acrolithic statue of Constantine, namely the statue's left breast and shoulder. This further acquisition has greatly helped to reconstruct the statue-type (of a seated Jupiter), on which this acrolithic sculpture (cf. here Figs. 11; 11.1) had been based.

Especially because we can, therefore, be sure that Constantine was *not* represented wearing a cuirass, as suggested in the first reconstruction of the statue by Petersen (1900); cf. Claudio Parisi Presicce (2006b, 136, quoted *verbatim infra*). - For the importance of this iconographic detail; cf. Eugenio La Rocca (2000, 24-25, likewise quoted *verbatim infra*).

I started listening to Kähler's (last) *Vorlesung* in October of 1972, immediately after having visited Rome for the first time in September, where I had been with my professors of the Art Seminar Duisburg, among others with Katja Marina ('Karina') Türr, one of Kähler's students. Compared with the art world, I found most of the university people at first rather stiff.

*But Heinz Kähler was different !*

Kähler's lectures were like artistic performances, not only due to his perfect delivery, but because he showed us only things he had studied and published himself and that he was greatly interested in.

**The best story that Kähler told us in his *Vorlesung* was about this fragment of the left chest and shoulder of the colossal statue of Hadrian (now Constantine), here Figs. 11; 11.1 :**

On a hot summer day, while wandering over the Palatine, Kähler had come to the visitors' platform on its north side and looked down on the *Forum Romanum* and on the area to the east of it, with the Basilica of Maxentius. It was late afternoon, very hot and he sat down and fell asleep. He dreamt to be at the Basilica of Maxentius, behind its western apse. There were some high plants and looking behind them, he saw a marble block of a chest, comprising a nipple, and understood in his dream that this fragment belonged to the colossal statue of Constantine. Once awake, he went down to the site he had seen in his dream, found the bushes and - there it was !

The site indicated by Kähler in his *Vorlesung*, where he had discovered this fragment of the left breast comprising a nipple of the colossal statue of Constantine, is that of the ancient road between the Basilica of Maxentius and the 'Temple of Romulus', the '*Vicus ad Carinas*'. - When I discussed the matter on 11th January 2020 with Eberhard Thomas, the former assistant of Heinz Kähler, who had likewise attended Kähler's *Vorlesung* of 1972/73, he very vividly remembered this story as well. To this I will come back below.

Cf. here Fig. 73, labels: FORUM ROMANUM; Basilica of MAXENTIUS; SACRA VIA; "VICUS AD CARINAS"; "Temple of Romulus".

In her discussion of this portrait of Constantine the Great (cf. here Fig. 11), Helga von Heintze (1966, 252-253) has mentioned the fragment, found by Kähler:

"... Die l.[inke] Brust und Schulter befinden sich noch auf dem Forum (Kähler, Jahrb. d. Inst. 67 [1952] [*i.e.*, here H. KÄHLER 1952] 1 ff. Abb. 16. 17) ...".

Helga von Heintze (1966, 252-253) continued:

"Die hier [in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori] aufgestellten Fragmente und eines, das erst 1951 auf dem Forum gefunden wurde und dort verblieben ist, gehören zu einer ko-[page 253] lossalen Sitzstatue Konstantins des Großen. Das fehlende Gewand wird aus Metall oder aus Stuck bestanden haben ... Über die Statue kann man aus den Fragmenten Folgendes schließen: Konstantin thronte in aufrechter Haltung, den Kopf leicht zu seiner linken Schulter gewandt, das linke Bein zurückgesetzt. **Der rechte Arm war waagrecht zur Seite gehoben, im Ellbogen gebeugt, die [rechte] Hand stützte sich auf ein Szepter oder eine Lanze, an der Handfläche sind oben und unten Auskehlungen zu erkennen. Das Szepter vermutete man in Form eines Kreuzes auf Grund einer bestimmten Interpretation der Eusebiusstelle (Hist. Eccl. 9,9,10-11) und des Münchener Silbermultiplums [so M. RADNOTI-ALFÖLDI 1963]. Doch wird man diese Annahme ablehnen müssen, da einmal auf der Münze nicht ein Kreuzzepter dargestellt ist und zweitens das Kreuz als christliches Symbol erst am Anfang des 5. Jhs. an Bedeutung gewinnt.** Da vom linken Arm nichts erhalten ist, können wir über seine Haltung nichts aussagen. Einen Panzer kann die Statue nicht getragen haben, da dieser eine Spur am rechten Oberarm hinterlassen hätte [to this we may add: also the fragment of the statue's left breast and shoulder prevents this assumption], wohl aber ein Paludamentum, das den Körper lose einhüllte [my emphasis]".

Cf Heintze (1966, 254: bibliography) writes: "... M. R. Alföldi [*i.e.*, M. RADNOTI-ALFÖLDI], **Die constantinische Goldprägung** [1963] 63 f. Abb. 293; 151 f. (zu Kreuzzepter) ... [my emphasis]".

Averil M. Cameron writes about the Christian historian Eusebius:

"Eusebius, of Caesarea (c.[*irca*] AD 260-339), prolific writer, biblical scholar and apologist, effective founder of the Christian genres of Church history and chronicle, and **the most important contemporary source for the reign of Constantine** ... From his election as bishop of Caesarea [in Palestine] c.[*irca*] 313 until his death in 339, [page 576] Eusebius played a significant role in the ecclesiastical politics in the eastern empire ... His *Life of Constantine*, left unfinished at his death, sought to create the impression of a harmonious and consistent imperial religious policy from the accession of Constantine (306) to the reign of his three sons, beginning in September 337 ...

**Eusebius' integrity as a historian has often been challenged**, and indeed the later part of his ten-book *Ecclesiastical History* (which may have been begun in the 290s but only reached its final form in 324-5) was successively extended and clumsily revised as immediate circumstances changed. The *Life of Constantine*, in four books, has seemed so suspect on the grounds of bias and inconsistencies that Eusebian authorship has been denied. **But the authenticity of the many documents cited or mentioned has been vindicated in one major case by the identification of the same text on papyrus, and modern scholarship is more willing than before to recognize the complexity of Eusebius's methods. The citation of documentary evidence marks both works off from secular historiography** ... [my emphasis]", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 575-576".

#### **Kähler's fragment of the left chest and shoulder of the acrolithic portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) refound**

For this fragment of the left breast and shoulder of the acrolithic portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great; cf. here Fig. 11); cf. now Claudio Parisi Presicce (2006b, 127, note \*), who writes that after Kähler



(1952) had described the fragment, nobody ever saw it again. This I can confirm, because when looking for the fragment on Easter 1975 at the site, which Kähler had indicated in his *Vorlesung* in 1972/73 (immediately to the west of the Basilica of Maxentius, at the 'Vicinus ad Carinas'; cf. here **Fig. 73**), I realized that it was not there any more. Parisi Presicce has been able to trace it at the Antiquarium of the Forum Romanum and has published photographs of it; cf. Parisi Presicce (2006b, 136-138, p. 139, Figs. 33-37. Cf. the caption of his Figs. 33-34: "Roma, Antiquarium del Foro. **Frammento di porzione del petto del colosso di Costantino, con il modellato del capozzolo** [my emphasis]").

**Interestingly, the findspot, which Kähler had told us in his *Vorlesung* of 1972/73 for the fragment of Constantine's left chest, Kähler (1952) himself has recorded for a *different* fragment of the same statue:**

Cf. Claudio Parisi Presicce (2006b, 135): "2. **Un breve tratto dell'avambraccio** [destro] lungo 72 cm, con resti della venatura nel modellato è stato ritrovato in anni più recenti ai piedi dell'abside occidentale della basilica [with n. 10]. Trasferito in deposito ai Musei Capitolini negli anni del Governatorato di Roma, si trova esposto insieme agli altri frammenti nel cortile del Palazzo dei Conservatori (MC, dep. 12) (fig. 29) [my emphasis]".

In his **note 10**, Parisi Presicce writes: "**H. KÄHLER** ... [*i.e.*, here H. KÄHLER 1952], p. 14, è l'unico che menziona il frammento, affermando che il rinvenimento avvenne "in den [corr.: dem] Raum zwischen der Basilika [of Maxentius] und den [corr.: dem] sogenannten Romulustempel" e "bei den Arbeiten anlässlich der Freilegung des Templum Pacis durch die Italiener" [my emphasis].

Cf. here **Fig. 73**, labels: FORUM ROMANUM; Basilica of MAXENTIUS; SACRA VIA; "VICUS AD CARINAS"; "Temple of Romulus"; TEMPLUM PACIS.

**On this fragment of Constantine's left chest (here Figs. 11; 11.1), Parisi Presicce (2006b, 136) writes instead:**

"D. **Una porzione del petto sinistro, alta cm 126 circa, con la spalla e l'attacco del braccio, è stata individuata nel 1951 ancora in situ** [with n. 11] e attualmente è conservata nel primo chiostro della chiesa di S. Francesca Romana, sede dell'Antiquarium del Foro Romano (figg. 33-36). **La sua attribuzione all'acrolito ha consentito di escludere che la statua colossale fosse loricata, come era stato affermato da Petersen nel 1900, riproposto nel 1932 da Minoprio con un primo tentativo di ricostruzione grafica** [with n. 12], ed escluso da Delbrueck nel 1933 [my emphasis]".

In his **note 11**, Parisi Presicce writes: "**H. KÄHLER** ... [*i.e.*, here H. KÄHLER 1952], p. 12 s., figg. 7-9 [my emphasis]".

In his **note 12**, he writes: "A. MINOPRIO, A Restoration of the Basilica of Constantine, Rome, in *BSR*, XII, 1932, pp. 10-13, tavv. XI, e VIII-IX. Una parziale ricomposizione dell'acrolito, basata sulle fotografie di molti frammenti, è stata pubblicata da B. ANDREAE ... [*i.e.*, here B. ANDREAE 1973], fig. 633. Una nuova ricostruzione grafica, rimasta inedita, è stata realizzata in occasione dell'intervento di restauro sulle sculture del cortile del Palazzo dei Conservatori eseguito nel 2000, durante il quale la società Modus di Paolo Rolli, su incarico della società Lattanzi, aggiudicataria dell'appalto, ha realizzato le riprese e la restituzione fotogrammetrica dei singoli frammenti. Una secondo tentativo di ricomposizione basato su uno schizzo schematico dei frammenti è stato pubblicato da J.G. DECKERS ... [*i.e.*, here J.G. DECKERS 2005], p. 168, fig. 5".

**These two fragments of the left breast and shoulder and of the right forearm of the colossal acrolithic statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great), which Kähler (1952) had described, have been integrated into the digital reconstruction of this statue of Constantine that was created for the exhibition *Konstantin der Große* at Trier (cf. A. DEMANDT and J. ENGEMANN 2007); cf. here **Fig. 11.1**.**

Let's now turn to the discussion of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) by other scholars (cf. here Fig. 11).

**Paul Zanker** (in: K. FITTSCHEN and P. ZANKER 1985 I, 147-152) Cat. no. 122 [cf. here Fig. 11] writes: "Kolossales Bildnis Constantins des Großen im 2. Bildnistypus. Frühconstantinisch. Taf. 151.152. Palazzo dei Conservatori, Cortile. Inv. 1622. H des Antiken ca. 2,97 m, **H Kinn-Scheitel 1,74 m** [my emphasis]".

Cf. p. 148: "Zum Aufstellungsort: **Kopf und Statuenfragmente stammen von einer kolossalen (ca. [circa] 10 m hohen) Sitzstatue**, die einst in der Westapsis der Maxentius- bzw. Constantinsbasilika errichtet war. Das bezeugt eindeutig eine von Buddensieg (a.O. [an angegebenem Ort; *i.e.*, here T. BUDDENSIEG 1962]) veröffentlichte Zeichnung des Francesco di Giorgio Martini, der offenbar im Jahre 1486 Zeuge von Ausgrabungen in der Basilika war. Die Errichtung der Statue steht im Zusammenhang mit einer Änderung der Baukonzeption. Das ursprünglich von Osten nach Westen orientierte Gebäude wurde während des Baus an seiner Südseite mittels einer Sälenvorhalle zur Sacra Via hin geöffnet und erhielt gleichzeitig an der Nordseite in der Achse zum neuen Eingang eine zusätzliche Apsis. **Die Westapsis ist unterkellert, woraus Kähler (a. O. 1952) überzeugend geschlossen hat, daß sie ursprünglich nicht als Aufstellungsort einer kolossalen Statue vorgesehen gewesen sein kann.** Wann die Planänderung der Basilika erfolgte, ist aber unbekannt. Man kann sie deshalb nicht als Argument für die Frühdatierung des Kolosses verwenden (Kähler) ...

Es ist zwar möglich, aber alles andere als sicher, daß die Statue mit der bei Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. 9,9,10-11) erwähnten, vom Senat am "alleröffentlichsten Ort" aufgestellten Statue ... identisch ist. In diesem Fall müßte man das von Eusebius genannte  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\iota\upsilon\ \tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\alpha\iota\omicron\nu\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  im Schema des Kreuzes in der rechten Hand ergänzen.

Nach Eusebius ließ Constantin selbst eine Inschrift unter diese Statue mit dem 'Kreuzzepter' setzen, in der er das heilbringende Zeichen und seine eigene *virtus* gemeinsam als Ursache seiner Siege nennt. Sollten wir es bei unserem Koloß tatsächlich mit den Resten dieser von Eusebius beschriebenen Statue zu tun haben, so bliebe jedoch trotz des 'heilbringenden Zeichens' **die entscheidende und in dieser Monumentalität gegenüber den bisherigen Kaiserbildnissen einzigartige Aussage der Statue: die übermenschliche, göttergleiche Potenz des neuen Herrschers** [my emphasis]". - To Zanker's last remark I will come back below.

In the following, Zanker (1985, 148-149) discusses the various hypotheses, already published at that stage, that this portrait of Constantine had been recut from an earlier one, adding himself some more observations which prove that this assumption is indeed true. I agree with Zanker (*op.cit.*) that this earlier portrait cannot possibly have been Maxentius, whose head has a very different shape, and whose very short, 'military' haircut we know from coins and portraits in the round, from which the rich curls of this Constantine portrait (cf. here Fig. 11) could not possibly have been re-cut. But I do not agree with Zanker that the mere proportions of this acrolithic statue allow only the conclusion that this statue represented, in its original state, a divinity.

From his perspective therefore understandably, Zanker (1985, 148-149) does not address the possibility that the aggrandizement, rightly observed by him in the above-quoted passage in the case of Constantine (by the mere choice to represent the man in such colossal proportions), was therefore not only true for Constantine, but already for the earlier emperor, which this colossal statue had represented (*i.e.*, in my opinion Hadrian).

In his discussion of the western apse of the Basilica of Maxentius, Zanker (1985, 148) follows the relevant conclusions of Kähler (1952), who had observed that underneath this apse there was a basement. And because the acrolithic portrait of Constantine (cf. here Fig. 11) was found within that apse, it is in my opinion clear, that, at the time of Maxentius, no such colossal statue had been planned to be erected there. Because of this additional reason, we can rule out with certainty that the head of this sculpture could originally have been a portrait of Maxentius.

But thanks to the discussion of the subject just mentioned with Eugenio La Rocca on 7th March 2020, I now realize that it is not necessarily as easy as that. Because, being an acrolithic statue, as La Rocca convincingly suggested to me, this colossal portrait of Constantine was *not* as heavy as a massive marble statue would have been.

Eugenio La Rocca (2000, 24-25) analyses the specific stylistic properties of those portraits that can with certainty be attributed to Constantine the Great. He, too, suggests that the iconography of the extant acrolithic portrait of Constantine at the Palazzo dei Conservatori (cf. here Fig. 11) may be explained with the assumption that this is the statue of the emperor mentioned by Eusebius. La Rocca adds more interesting information concerning the meaning of this statue, and (as we know now, erroneously) suggests that it was created by re-using parts from different statues, and lists the various opinions, whom this portrait head may originally have represented :

#### "6. L'imperatore cristiano

Le soluzioni adottate per l'immagine di Costantino sono in tal senso illuminanti. Senza poter stabilire una linea evolutiva coerente, si avverte nei suoi ritratti sicuri il passaggio dalle forme rigide e geometrizzanti di tradizione tetrarchica verso forme più naturalistiche, talvolta raddolcite, ispirate forse alle immagini di Augusto [with n. 163] ...

**La scelta di un'immagine giovanile e atemporale**, accurata nella definizione dei caratteri somatici salienti, eppure prodotta con una sempre maggiore semplificazione dei lineamenti che rasenta l'astrazione, **risultava quella vincente, in quanto sembrava caratterizzare meglio il *fundator quietis*, come recita l'iscrizione di dedica dell'arco a lui dedicato a Roma [i.e., the Arch of Constantine] dopo la vittoria su Massenzio ...**

La colossale statua marmorea dalla basilica di Massenzio (fig. 24) è ormai definitivamente attestata in una fase precoce del suo principato, nel periodo della sua breve permanenza a Roma dopo la battaglia di Ponte Milvio, quando furono celebrati i suoi *Decennalia* [with n. 167]. **Costantino non è raffigurato come un imperatore cristiano ma, secondo la tradizione consolidata, in una trasposizione eroica del tipo di Giove assiso, seminudo, con il mantello ricadente sulla spalla sinistra e intorno ai fianchi. Un medaglione di Gioviano nel quale l'imperatore è seduto su un trono con alta spalliera alla stregua di Giove, con una Vittoria al suo fianco, ed una prigioniera, personificazione di una popolazione barbarica sconfitta, in atto di supplica ai suoi piedi, può dare effettivamente un'idea del tipo, ma con una consistente variante: Gioviano [corr.: Constantine], come meglio si conviene a un imperatore cristiano, non è seminudo, ma loricato, con scudo di lato [with n. 168] (fig. 23). È verosimile che la statua colossale di Costantino sia stata ricavata da pezzi di più statue acrolitiche rimessi insieme con scarse correzioni, ad esclusione, evidentemente, della testa, che comunque è rilavo- [page 25] rata su un precedente ritratto [with n. 169]. Se la statua è stata dedicata dal Senato riconoscente dopo la battaglia di Saxa Rubra [i.e., against Maxentius], non ci si poteva attendere altro: un'immagine che equipara l'imperatore a un dio, tale da indurre rispetto e timore ...**

**Il fatto è che l'acrolito doveva raffigurare non il comandante vincitore, ma il *deus praesens*, e vi era quindi sviluppato al massimo grado il *decorum* consono ad un'immagine collocata nell'abside della più imponente basilica tardoantica ... [my emphasis]"**.

In his notes 163, 167 and 168, La Rocca provides references and further discussion.

In his note 169, he writes: "Non si è giunti a una posizione univoca circa l'imperatore raffigurato prima di Costantino. Harrison 1967, p. 92 ss., pensava che si trattasse di una statua di Traiano nel foro omonimo, sebbene testa e mano destra, di altro marmo, fossero un'aggiunta posteriore. Jucker 1963 [corr.: 1983], p. 54 ss., supponeva invece che per Costantino fosse stata rilavorata una statua colossale destinata a onorare Massenzio nella basilica stessa. Più di recente è stata avanzata la possibilità che la testa fosse pertinente a un acrolito di Adriano: Evers 1991, p. 794 ss., fig. 5-8 [my emphasis]"

La Rocca's (2000, 25) idea that the statue of Constantine (cf. here Fig. 11), represents the Emperor as "*deus praesens*", has now been followed by Claudio Parisi Presicce (2005, 147; cf. *id.* 2006b, 154).

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.c.2.); quoted also above, in Preamble; at Section II.

For the inscription FVNDA TORI QVIETIS in the passageway of the Arch of Constantine, which referred to Constantine's defeat of Maxentius at the *Pons Mulvius* in AD 3, and that La Rocca (2000, 24) has mentioned in the above-quoted passage; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III.; at point 5.); and below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

And, as already mentioned before, Amanda Claridge (2010, 465) has followed Evers's suggestion: "... (though the crease in the ear lobe suggests that the head was actually reworked from one of Hadrian)", thus referring to the relevant observations of Cécile Evers (1991), but without providing a reference. Note that already in the first edition of her Rome guide; cf. Claridge (1998, 382), the author had followed Evers's hypothesis, but in this text she had not as yet mentioned "the crease in the ear lobe". - This point is discussed in detail, *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix I.a*; at Section XIII.

**La Rocca's (2000, 24-25) analysis has shown that the statue-type used for this acrolithic portrait of Constantine (cf. here Fig. 11) was that of a seated Jupiter. This is understandable because whoever was represented in the original portrait: Trajan, Hadrian or Maxentius, none of them was a Christian.**

Since the time of Augustus, the reigning emperors had usually regarded themselves as the son of Jupiter, and some of them had even been equated with their supreme god.

For discussions of this point; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; at Section II.; below, at Chapter *The major results of his book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II.a*)).

Considering at the same time the possibility that this statue of Hadrian (now Constantine) here **Fig. 11**, actually *was* the portrait of Constantine described by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 10,4,16), Constantine's above-mentioned addition of his inscription to this portrait becomes all the more understandable. Because, as Constantine stated in this inscription, the choice of the 'salvation-bringing sign [that his statue was holding in its right hand - which some earlier scholars have identified with a cross]', which, as Eusebius reports, Constantine had ordered the artists to represent in the statue, had transformed this 'Jupiterlike' portrait of Constantine (cf. here **Fig. 11**) into something completely new.

**But as we shall see below, I myself follow now those scholars, who do *not* believe that the statue of Constantine (here Figs. 11; 11.1) was the one which Eusebius has described.**

When the manuscript of this volume was about to be sent to the press, Franz Xaver Schütz alerted me to the book by Klaus M. Girardet (*Der Kaiser und sein Gott. Das Christentum im Denken und in der Religionspolitik Konstantins des Großen*, 2010, 92), who has likewise come to the conclusion that the colossal statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great), here **Figs. 11; 11.1**, is *not* the statue described by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 10,4,16). To Girardet's observations concerning this colossal portrait of Constantine I will come back below.

**In the following, I will discuss Cécile Evers's (1991) hypothesis, according to which this portrait of Constantine (cf. here Figs. 11; 11.1) was originally a portrait of Hadrian (together with this portrait will also be discussed the inscription *CIL VI 974 = 40524*; cf. here Fig. 29.1, which C. EVERS 1991 has tentatively attributed to this portrait).**

Evers's hypothesis was first followed by Amanda Claridge (1998, 382; *ead.* 2010, 465, who did not provide a reference though), and we shall see below that Evers's hypothesis is now also followed by Hans Rupprecht Goette (cf. below, at *The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great)*), and by myself. After the accounts by Goette and myself were written, Hans fortunately found the article by Klaus Fittschen (2012), from which we learned that already Brigitte Ruck (2007, 242-243) and Klaus Fittschen (2010b, 1103; *id.* 2012b, 75 with n. 68) had followed Evers's (1991) relevant hypothesis (!).

When reading Kähler's account (1960, 381; quoted also *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix I.a*); at Section XIII.):

"Nach einem Brande im Jahre 307 ließ Maxentius an der Via Sacra, südöstlich des Forum Romanum, über den Trümmern zerstörter Kaufhäuser eine Basilika errichten",

- I had at first thought that this portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine; cf. here **Figs. 11; 11.1**) could have been commissioned by Hadrian for his Temple of Venus and Roma, which, destroyed in the same fire of AD 307, had been restored by Maxentius. But coins, issued by Antoninus Pius, record that portrait-statues of Hadrian and Sabina, which had actually been erected at this temple, were set on very high columns; cf. Alessandro Cassatella ("Venus et Roma, aedes, templum", in: *LTUR* V [1999] 121): "... **Alcuni conii di Antonino, datati al 140-144, raffigurano un tempio decastilo e due colonne con le statue di Adriano e Sabina** (*RIC* III, 110, Nn. 622, 623, 113 N. 651, 114 N. 664; [P.V.] Hill [1989], 16) ed indicherebbero il completamento dei lavori sotto questo imperatore ... [with Fig. 66] ... **Nel 307, distrutto da un incendio, venne** [*i.e.*, the Temple of Venus and Roma] **restaurato da Massenzio** [providing references; my emphasis] ...".

From the above-mentioned coins it is clear that this colossal, acrolithic portrait-statue of Hadrian (now Constantine), here **Fig. 11; 11.1**, was certainly not on display in front of the Temple of Venus and Roma, mounted on a high column, as visible on those coins. Simply because this portrait represented the emperor seated, was 10-12 m high, and had been fixed at several points to the wall(s) behind it. Acrolithic statues were constructions, which is why they could not be put on display under the open sky (cf. *infra*).

*Was the colossal statue of Hadrian (now Constantine), here Figs. 11; 11.1  
originally the cult-statue of Divus Hadrianus in the Hadrianeum ?*

**Franz Xaver Schütz suggests to me that the most obvious place, for which the colossal acrolithic portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine), here Figs. 11; 11.1, could have been created, is, of course, the Hadrianeum (also because in this case it would have stood in the *cella* of this temple). At first glance I agreed, but this attractive hypothesis is likewise impossible (as I at first thought), and that for the following reasons.**

The *Hadrianeum* is still standing, and when we follow at the same time those scholars, who assume that this portrait of Constantine (here **Figs. 11; 11.1**) is the one described by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 10,4,16), this would mean that the Senate had actually removed the cult-statue of *Divus Hadrianus* (for his divinization; cf. *supra*, n. 331, in Chapter II.2.), from his intact temple, the *Hadrianeum*. And that in order to rework the statue's face into a portrait of Constantine - a procedure, which I find impossible to believe.

As already quoted above, Hugo Brandenburg (2017, 70), in his discussion of the question, whether or not ancient *spolia* could possibly have been re-used for the construction of Constantine the Great's new Basilica of Saint Peter's, writes: "Öffentliche Bauten einschließlich der Tempel, denen man Material in den entsprechenden Maßen und vielleicht auch Anzahl als Spolien hätte entnehmen können, standen nicht zur Verfügung, da sie in gutem Bauzustand waren und bis in die Mitte des 5. Jh. als *ornamenta urbis* unter Schutz standen [with n. 203; quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.c)".

Besides, the *Hadrianeum* is mentioned in the Regionary Catalogues, which are datable to the Constantinian period; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section VII.

See also Amanda Claridge (2010, 225, with Fig. 94, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.*); Domenico Palombi ("Regiones quattuordecim", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] Fig. 84: "*Regio IX. Circus Flaminius* ... 15. (Hadrianeum)". For the *Hadrianeum*; cf. now also Claudio Parisi Presicce and Massimo Baldi (2023, in press).

**But, when I had finished writing this volume, I realized a curious fact, when looking again at the digital reconstruction of this colossal statue of Hadrian (now Constantine), here Fig. 11.1. Hadrian has been**

represented in this portrait with *bare feet*, as if he were a dead hero or a god. See for example the statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage (here Fig. 10), showing the god likewise with bare feet; this representation of Domitian's (fourth) cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus copies in mirror image that statue-type of Jupiter, of which the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine), here (Fig. 11; 11.1) is a replica.

Should we, therefore, conclude that the statue here Figs. 11; 11.1 was originally a representation of *Divus Hadrianus*?, or even the cult-statue of *Divus Hadrianus* in the *Hadrianeum*?

Given the enormous size of this acrolithic sculpture, it is anyway difficult to imagine a *different* purpose for it. But also the statue of Tiberius from Cerveteri (here Fig. 15), a replica of the same statue-type of Jupiter (as here Figs. 11; 11.1), is represented with bare feet (possibly because also this was a posthumous portrait?).

For all those sculptures, which copy the statue-type of Jupiter Capitolinus and its mirror-image; cf. *supra*, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here Fig. 10).

And, provided the statue (here Figs. 11; 11.1) was indeed originally the cult-statue of *Divus Hadrianus*, how could we explain that this colossal portrait, which had originally represented the dead Emperor Hadrian, being after all the cult-statue in the temple of this divinized emperor, could have been re-used to represent the *living* Emperor Constantine? - I cannot pursue all those questions in this context any more, but hope to have the chance to come back to them in the future.

For the fact that cult-statues were usually represented with bare feet; cf. Rosel Pientka-Hinz ("Die Herstellung von Kultbildern mit kostbarer Kleidung", 2018, 2): "Die Füße aber bleiben für gewöhnlich nackt". - I thank Franz Xaver Schütz for the reference.

Let's now return to our main subject.

I anticipate here also another fact, that we will learn below: this colossal statue of Hadrian (now Constantine), here Figs. 11; 11.1, is certainly not the famous statue of Constantine, described by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 10,4,16), because the statue of Constantine, which Eusebius saw, had been erected by the Senate 'a Roma nel luogo più pubblico di tutti'; cf. Parisi Presicce (2006b, 140 with n. 15). - Which means that *this* portrait of Constantine the Great cannot possibly have been an acrolithic statue.

Let's now turn to the fragmentary inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524; cf. here Fig. 29.1) that once belonged to an honorary statue of the Emperor Hadrian, dedicated to him by the Senate and the Roman People to commemorate his victory in the Bar Kokba Revolt (so convincingly M. FUCHS 2014. 130), and which according to Geza Alföldy (at: CIL VI 40524) and Michaela Fuchs (2014, 130) was erected within the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*.

Reading again the article by Michaela Fuchs 2014 (130, quoted *verbatim infra*), I found that she discusses an inscription (cf. here Fig. 29.1) that belonged, in her opinion, to a colossal honorary statue of Hadrian. This may be identified as a large victory monument, dedicated to Hadrian by the Senate and the Roman People, for having 'liberated Syria and Palestine' - that is to say, for his victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

For a discussion of the Bar Kokba Revolt; cf. *supra*, n. 216, in Chapter I.2.; below, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here Fig. 29); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.c.2.).

This fragmentary inscription (here Fig. 29.1) was found either within the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*, or in its vicinity. Geza Alföldy (at: CIL VI 40524) believed that this portrait of Hadrian was erected in the *cella* of the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*. Fuchs (2014, 130, with n. 47) follows him, not only because of the findspot of the inscription, but also because of its content: in this inscription Hadrian's military success is explicitly

compared with those of the *imperatores maximi* Vespasian and Titus, 'whom, with his victory, Hadrian has even surpassed'.

Michaela Fuchs (2014, 130) writes:

"Auch wenn Hadrian keinen Triumph feierte [*i.e.*, for his victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt], so hat der Senat den östlichen Erfolg des Kaisers doch auch in Rom - wenn auch sehr zurückhaltend - gewürdigt. Eine fragmentarische Inschrift (Abb. 8 [= here Fig. 29.1]) belegt, dass dem Kaiser ein großes Siegesdenkmal errichtet wurde [with n. 45], ohne dass sich über dessen Charakter Näheres aussagen ließe. Der 90 cm hohe Rest der Inschrifttafel könnte am ehesten zu einer Basis für eine kolossale Statue Hadrians gehört haben, die allem Anschein nach auf dem Forum Romanum im Tempel des Divus Vespasianus [with n. 46] aufgestellt war [with n. 47]. Das Fragment kam in oder nahe den Überresten dieses Gebäudes zutage, doch wird der Zusammenhang nicht nur durch den Fundort nahegelegt, sondern er wird auch aus dem Wortlaut der Inschrift ersichtlich. Der Senat und das Volk von Rom widmeten dieses Denkmal dem Kaiser, weil der dank des vorbildlichen Eifers des von ihm entsandten Heeres im Gefecht Syrien und Palästina befreit und dabei sogar die *imperatores maximi* (d. h. [das heißt] Vespasian und dessen Sohn Titus) übertroffen habe. Damit wird direkter Bezug auf den jüdischen Aufstand genommen, den gut 60 Jahre zuvor die Flavier niedergeschlagen hatten [my emphasis]".

The caption of Fuchs's "Abb. 8" reads: "CIL, VI, Pars VIII, Fasc. II, 40524 [= here Fig. 29.1]".

In her note 45, Fuchs writes: "CIL, VI, 974 = 40524; vgl. ECK 1999b, 310 mit Anm. 79; vgl. *ibid.* 313 mit Anm. 93".

In her note 46, she writes: "Zum Bau vgl. DE ANGELI 1992; COARELLI 2009 [*i.e.*, here F. COARELLI 2009b], 75-77".

In her note 47, she writes: "s. dazu auch G. ALFÖLDY, in CIL, VI, 40524".

Note that neither Geza Alföldy (at: CIL VI 40524), or Michaela Fuchs (2014, 130, with n. 47) address the questions, where exactly within the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus* the honorary statue of Hadrian, to which the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524) belonged, could have been on display, and whether or not there are architectural remains that may be interpreted as the base of this statue.

I have at first asked myself whether this colossal portrait of Hadrian, so far not identified (to which the inscription here Fig. 29.1 belonged), erected according to Geza Alföldy (at: CIL VI 40524 = 974) and Michaela Fuchs (2014, 130) within the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*, could have been the statue of Constantine discussed here (cf. here Fig. 11; 11.1), provided, the head of this sculpture had indeed first represented Hadrian. - As I only found out later, Cécile Evers (1991, 797, n. 72, quoted *verbatim infra*) had already asked this question, with the difference that she assumed that this inscription was found in the *Forum Romanum*.

But let me anticipate here that, after having finished writing the following Chapter (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, Appendix IV.c.2.), I have changed my mind and suggest now that this dedication (here Fig. 29.1) belonged to the original, after which Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna at Istanbul (cf. here Fig. 29) and the almost 30 replicas of this portrait of the emperor were copied.

Cf. below, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here Fig. 29).

Consequently, I was unfortunately at first unable to make a suggestion, for which context this colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine), here Fig. 11, had originally been created. - But see now above.

*A discussion of the question, whether the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine), here Figs. 11; 11.1, could have been on display within the cella of the Temple of Divus Vespasianus*

Although the extant marble fragments of this acrolithic portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine), here **Fig. 11**, may originally have belonged to different statues (but we shall see below that this old assumption is not true), the size of its head is crucial for the following reasonings. It is, in my opinion, impossible at first glance to imagine, where exactly this truly 'colossal' portrait could have been on display within the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*. Given the fact that the head of Constantine (cf. here **Fig. 11**) is 1,74 m high, whereas the (fragmentary) head of Vespasian (Naples, MAN, inv. no. 6068), which Filippo Coarelli (2009b, 77, with n. 90, Fig. 14) identifies as that of the cult-statue of *Divus Vespasianus* in this temple, measures only 75 cm; the latter cult statue stood within an *aedicula*. - But we shall learn below that Coarelli's assumption that this colossal portrait of Vespasian was found in the area of the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus* is certainly not true.

An acrolithic statue of the proportions of this Hadrian (now Constantine; cf. here **Fig. 11**), which was circa 10 m high, could, in my opinion, not possibly have been erected within the *cella* of the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*, unless the Senate and the Roman People, by commissioning this colossal portrait of Hadrian would have had the intention to 'dwarf' the already pre-existing cult statue of *Divus Vespasianus*. I am adding this reserve here, provided Filippo Coarelli's (2009b, 77) reconstruction of the cult-statue of *Divus Vespasianus* in the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus* should be true, according to whom this cult-statue was: "certamente ispirata a un tipo di Giove in trono, alta circa 5.50 metri (seduta 4.20)".

Claudio Parisi Presicce (2006b, 154) even suggests that the statue, here identified as Hadrian (now Constantine), was circa 10-12 m high. - Although admittedly the sheer proportions of this statue of Hadrian (cf. here **Figs. 11; 11.1**; if it is this what it was) could illustrate the content of the inscription (*CIL* VI 974 = 40524; here **Fig. 29.1** [provided, that inscription belonged to this portrait of Hadrian, now Constantine, as suggested by C. EVERS 1991, 797, n. 72]; cf. M. FUCHS 2014, 130), since the Senate and the Roman People here declare that Hadrian's victory in the same area of the Empire was even greater than those accomplished there by Vespasian and Titus.

*Concerning this colossal acrolithic portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine; cf. here Fig. 11) we should, therefore, also consider something else: the intended impact of its display*

A 10-12 m high statue within a room can be *very* impressive, depending on how it is orchestrated. When Hadrian was honoured with this portrait (cf. here **Fig. 11**), there existed already the marble *colossus* at the Forum of Augustus (in case that still survived), which, as relevant remains on the back wall of the lavishly decorated 'Sala' or 'Aula del Colosso' indicate, was at seven points fixed to it. The 'Aula' itself was part of the original plan of the *forum* and stood immediately to the west of the Temple of Mars Ultor. Only scarce remains of this *colossus* have survived, its base, which shows that the *colossus* was a standing statue, and which allows the reconstruction of the statue's pose (cf. M. SPANNAGEL 2017, 214, n. 61, Figs. 3-8; 13), as well as marble fragments, of a right hand which held a staff-like object, of a left hand, and of the *colossus's* head with its right eye. They allow the reconstruction of the height of this *colossus* (*i.e.*, more than 10 ½ m) but not of its subject, which is therefore debated. One thing is clear: the chronology of the 'Aula del Colosso' precludes the assumption that this could have been from the beginning a statue dedicated to *Divus Augustus*.

**It is not my intention here to come to a conclusion myself concerning this controversy, I mention this *colossus* only as a possible comparison - in case it still survived at Hadrian's time - that may have been regarded as a model for the installation of this portrait of Hadrian (cf. here Figs. 11; 11.1).**

Martin Spannagel (2017) discusses the complex debate on this *colossus*, but does not follow those, who identify it as a portrait of Augustus. So for example Eugenio La Rocca (1995b; and elsewhere), who believes



that the *colossus* was dedicated to the *Genius* of Augustus. Spannagel (2017) discusses also John Pollini's (2012) relevant account.

See John Pollini (2012, 23-25, 4278), who illustrates on his Plate III a reconstruction of this *colossus*, which shows the togate Augustus, holding a *lituus* in his right hand, and which is meant to represent the *Genius* of Augustus. The caption of Pollini's Plate III reads: "Reconstructed Hall of the Colossus in Forum of Augustus (*lituus* held by statue and restored painting incorrect in my opinion). Courtesy of the Sovraintendenza ai Beni Culturali del Comune di Roma, Archivio Museo dei Fori Imperiali". - Pollini's latter information, taken together with Spannagel (2017, 206 with n. 5), shows that this reconstruction visualizes Eugenio La Rocca's hypothesis, according to which this *colossus* represented the *Genius* of Augustus. - Spannagel (2017, 228-229, with n. 183) refutes the hypothesis that this reconstruction can possible represent the *Genius* of Augustus.

In his **note 183**, which refers to this coloured reconstruction drawing, Pollini's Plate III, Spannagel writes: "Zeichnung Inklink: Ungaro 2007, 147 Abb. 188; Ungaro 2008a, 412 Abb. 10; Meneghini 2009, 75 Abb. 77; Pollini 2012, 23 f. 186. 427 f. Taf. III (mit Kritik am Attribut des Lituus und an der Wiedergabe der in die Wand eingelassenen Gemälde); Meneghini 2015, 42 Abb. 43; zu Tracht und Attributen der Figur s.[siehe] auch Ungaro 2008b, 53 f. Auch die oben Anm. 106–108 angeführten Zeichnungen beruhen auf dieser Rekonstruktion".

Pollini himself (2012, 23-24) observes that the staff-like object in the *colossus's* right hand precludes the assumption that this statue could have represented the *Genius* of Augustus, since comparisons show that, in this iconography, Augustus should have held a *patera* or an *accerra* (a sacrificial bowl or an incense box) in his right hand. Pollini (2012, 24) himself rather believes that the right hand of this *colossus*, if representing Augustus, should have held a "ruler's staff or a spear", but imagines a semi-nude representation of *Divus Augustus* (illustrating as comparisons two portraits of Augustus), a suggestion which, because of the date of the 'Aula del Colosso' (cf. *supra*), is later (in theory) certainly possible, but not, when Augustus commissioned himself a *colossus* for this hall. Pollini (2012, 25) says also that this right hand, which held a staff-like object, could just as well have belonged to the cult-statue of Mars Ultor in his adjacent temple.

Spannagel, on the other hand (2017, 220 with n. 11, Abb. 15), believes that this *colossus* in the 'Aula del Colosso' at the Forum of Augustus was rather a portrait of Julius Caesar. His reconstruction drawing shows the cuirassed *Divus Iulius*, complete with *Sidus Iulium*, who raises his right arm. His *Divus Iulius* does not hold anything in his right hand, since this object could be, in Spannagel's opinion, a lance or a *lituus*, and instead of wearing a cuirass, he could just as well have been clad in a "Hüftmantel" - exactly as Pollini (2012, 24) intends to say, when writing that the *colossus* could have represented a 'seminude *Divus Augustus*'.

**Interestingly, Spannagel (2017) suggests that this was a marble *colossus* 'with a special effect': above Caesar's head there was, in his opinion, a perennial fire, which represented the *Sidus Iulium*, the comet that had appeared shortly after Caesar's assassination, which Augustus ordered to add to all of Caesar's portraits in the round, and which was represented in the shape of a star, also on Augustus's coins.**

Spannagel (2017, 239-244) argues that an architectural feature high up on the back wall of this 'Aula del Colosso', precisely where the head of this *colossus* must have been attached to the wall, allows the assumption of an installation that provided this 'fire' of the *Sidus Iulium* above the *colossus's* head. Another strong argument in favour of Spannagel's hypothesis (2017, 237-239) is the fact that - provided this *colossus* was *not* a portrait of *Divus Iulius* - a statue of Augustus's adoptive father would conspicuously have been missing in the entire building, since Caesar does not appear in the gallery of the *gens Iulia*, represented together with Aeneas, whose portraits Augustus had erected in his *forum*.

**Another interesting and hotly debated topic, summarized by Spannagel (2017), which I cannot address here in detail, is the question, whether the *colossus* in this 'Aula del Colosso' had been an object of veneration, and if so, how.**

Spannagel (2017, 205) writes in his Abstract: "The most spectacular monumental complex founded by Augustus in the city of Rome was the Forum Augustum with the temple of Mars Ultor. During the excavations started in 1924 there were found the base and some marble fragments of a colossus more than 10 ½ m high once standing in a separate room - the so-called Aula del Colosso - at the end of the left, northwestern part of the porticoes framing the area. Before discussing the identity of the god represented by this colossus I try to demonstrate that most of the modern plans of the Forum, influenced by the location of two columns erected after the excavation, show an intercolumnium too narrow in the centre of the façade of the Aula; in truth it may be supposed, as reconstructed by H. Bauer, to have been wider than the lateral ones. As to the meaning of the statue, I try to defend my opinion that it represented deified Caesar now called Divus Julius against E. La Rocca's theory, who interpreted it as a figure of the Genius of Augustus. As an additional argument for my assumption I propose that the connection between the colossus fixed at the enclosure wall of the Forum and an annex room behind it served for supplying the bright flame burning on the top of the star attached to the head of the colossus to show his divinity".

**Provided, this colossus was indeed a portrait of *Divus Julius*, as suggested by Spannagel (2017), that would be of interest also for other subjects discussed in this *Study*. Because, provided this 'Aula del Colosso' at the Forum of Augustus had developed into a very lively and important cult of *Divus Julius*, this could much better explain why later emperors, for example Domitian and Hadrian, had likewise built shrines for the divinized members of their families.**

Let's now return to our main subject.

**As already mentioned, the attribution of the head of Vespasian at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale at Naples (MAN, inv. no. 6068) to the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus* is obviously not true. To illustrate this point, I anticipate here the relevant discussion that was written for *infra*, volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.* :**

“After having written this *Chapter* up to this point, I found an information that possibly corroborates the above-mentioned tentative assumption that the sculpture decoration of the Baths of Caracalla could contain older pieces, for example portraits dating to the Flavian period.

Eugenio La Rocca (2009, 225, n. 21), who discusses the colossal portrait of Vespasian at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale [MAN] at Naples (ex collection Farnese, inv. no. 6068), informs us that: "... Si crede che la testa colossale Farnese inv. 6068 provenga, insieme con un altro ritratto colossale di Antonino Pio inv. 6078 (= Ruesch 1911, pp. 248 sg., n. 1029, fig. 63), dalle Terme di Caracalla: Vincent 1981, p. 338".

Cf. R. Vincent, "Les collections Farnèse, Les antiques, in: Le palais Farnèse, a cura dell'École française de Rome, 1.2 (1981), pp. 331 sgg."

Now, interestingly, Filippo Coarelli (2009b) [whom I had followed in my above-summarized reasonings concerning a display of the colossal statue of Hadrian, now Constantine, here **Figs. 11; 11.1** within the *cella* of the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*] suggests instead that this colossal portrait of Vespasian at Naples (MAN inv. no. 6068) should be regarded as the head of the cult-statue of Vespasian at the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*.

Cf. Coarelli (2009b, 77, with n. 90, Fig. 14). Emmanuelle Rosso (cat. no. 97 Testa colossale del Divus Vespasianus", Naples, MAN inv. no. 6068, in: F. COARELLI 2009a, 495) writes: "Benché l'appartenenza della testa alla collezione Farnese sia accettata, il luogo preciso di ritrovamento rimane problematico: la provenienza dalle Terme di Caracalla talvolta ipotizzata, è probabilmente da scartare ... [discussing further suggestions]", but note that Emmanuelle Rosso does not discuss Vincent (1981)

In the context discussed here, we may therefore keep in mind the possibility that this (or another portrait of Vespasian?) was actually found at the Baths of Caracalla.

Even later than that, I realized that Eugenio la Rocca, in his most recent discussion of the colossal portrait of Vespasian in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale at Naples (inv. 6068), states that this head was certainly *not* found in the Baths of Caracalla''.

Cf. La Rocca (2020b, 371 with n. 16, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.*).

As discussed above, in Chapter *IV.1.1.h*), this colossal portrait of Vespasian (MAN Napoli, inv. no. 6068) has most recently (but erroneously) been attributed by Nathalie de Haan and Eric M. Moormann (2021, 82) to Domitian's *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; I repeat in the following the relevant passage from Chapter *IV.1.1.h*):

''Nathalie de Haan and Eric M. Moormann (2021, 82) seem to refer in their text to the (false) information by Fiorelli, mentioned above, that in the area of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* were found two colossal portraits of the divinized Vespasian and Titus: the head of Titus (here **Fig. 53**), which they do not explicitly mention, and a colossal portrait of Vespasian. De Haan and Moormann (2021, 82) illustrate on the same page the other famous colossal portrait of Vespasian at the MAN Napoli (inv. no. 6068), ex collection Farnese, tentatively suggesting that this portrait could have belonged to the cult-statue of *Divus Vespasianus* in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*''.

Let's now return to the discussion of the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine), here **Figs. 11; 11.1**.

If there *was* space enough in the *cella* of the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus* to accommodate a statue with proportions like that of Hadrian (now Constantine), here **Figs. 11; 11.1**, and the Senate and the Roman People had actually ordered to erect this honorary statue for Hadrian right there, the effect would probably have been similar to that of Pheidias's statue of Zeus in his Temple at Olympia, one of the 'Seven Marvels of the ancient [western] World', about which Strabo (8,353-54) wrote:

"The greatest [of the offerings in the Temple of Zeus] was the xoanon of Zeus made by Pheidias of Athens, son of Charmides. Made of ivory, it was so big that, although the temple itself was very large, the artist seem to have failed to hit the right proportions; for although the god is represented as seated, he almost touches the peak of the roof, and so gives the impression that if he stood up he would unroof the temple ... [translation: A. STEWART]".

The statue of Zeus was, of course, not made of ivory, as Strabo asserts, but instead created in chryselephantine technique; cf. Andrew Stewart (1990 I, 259, T[ext] 49). For the 'Seven Marvels of the ancient [western] World'; cf. Kai Brodersen (2007, 58-69, Chapter: "5. Die Statue des Zeus von Olympia"). - To this statue of Zeus (here **Fig. 14**) I will come back below.

**To be able to judge the matter, we should consider the (so far unknown) proportions of the cult-statue of the seated *Divus Vespasianus* in the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*.**

See for example the reconstruction drawings of the temple *cella* by A.N. Normand; cf. Coarelli (2009b, 76, Figs. 12; 13). This cult-statue of Vespasian was, according to Coarelli (2009b, 77):

"certamente ispirata a un tipo di Giove in trono, alta circa 5.50 metri (seduta 4.20)" - as visible on the reconstruction drawings by A.N. Normand. As already mentioned above, Coarelli's (2009b, 77 with ns. 90-96, p. 76, Figs. 12; 13) reconstruction of the height: "circa 5.50 metri (seduta 4.20)" of this cult-statue of *Divus Vespasianus* is based on the colossal head of Vespasian (Naples, MAN, inv. no. 6068). But this portrait of Vespasian, as far as we know now, and contrary to Coarelli's assumption, was *not* found near the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*.

**Besides, there are no remains that could be interpreted as the base of an additional colossal statue within the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*, at least nothing of the kind has been mentioned so far in the literature,**

quoted below. But there are, apart from the base of the cult-statue of Vespasian, no traces of a base for a portrait of Titus either. Some late antique sources assert that the temple was later also dedicated to Titus (an assumption that, in theory, could have been caused by the presence of a cult-statue of Titus in the *cella* of this temple).

This is, according to Stefano De Angeli (*LTUR* V [1999] 124), not true :

"Tramite l'*Itin. Eins.* (IX sec. d.C.) ci è nota per intero l'iscrizione (*CIL* VI 938 = *ILS* 255: DIVO VESPASIANO AVGVSTO SPQR . IMPP . CAESS . SEVERVS ET ANTONINVS PII FELIC AVGG RESTITVER), ora limitata alle sue solo otto lettere finali, che occupava la grande tavola epigrafica della trabeazione, realizzata in occasione del restauro severiano databile tra il 200 e l 205. La chiara ed esclusiva indicazione di Vespasiano mostra che il tempio fu dedicato fin dall'origine, e anche in seguito, solo a quest'ultimo e non fu mai dedicato, o ridedicato, anche al fratello Tito, come, sulla base d alcune fonti tarde e secondarie, che lo vindicano come *templum Vespasiani et Titi* (*Chronogr. a.* 354; *Cur. Reg. VIII:* 115 s. con n. 7 VZ I, non tuttavia la *Not.*, 174 VZ 1) si è spesso ipotizzato o sostenuto (De Angeli [*Templum Divi Vespasiani*, 1992], 160 s.)".

Of the same opinion is Coarelli (2009b, 77-77, with ns. 87-88), who argues with the observation that the extant statue base of the cult-statue of Vespasian could not possibly have accommodated *two* cult-images.

**For the Temple of Divus Vespasianus;** cf. Stefano De Angeli (1992; cf. *id.*: "Vespasianus, Divus, Templum", in: *LTUR* V [1999] 124-125, Figs. 69-71; I, 64-65, 129; II, 152; IV, 84, 109); Filippo Coarelli (2009b, 75-77, Figs. 8 (ground-plan); 9-11; 12; 13: "Tempio di Vespasiano, sezione trasversale ricostruita, con edicola della statua di culto (disegno di A.N. Normand); Tempio di Vespasiano, sezione longitudinale ricostruita (disegno di A.N. Normand)"; 14: "[Drawing of the restored] Testa colossale di Vespasiano. Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Collezione Farnese (da *Real Museo Borbonico*)"; Fig. 15. Cf. p. 495, cat. no. 97 "[Derestored] **Testa colossale del Divus Vespasianus** Da Roma, già collezione Farnese. **Marmo Alt.[ezza] parte antica cm 90; alt.[ezza] testa cm 75 Mancano la metà superiore della calotta cranica (derestaurata) ... Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 6068 ...** (Emmanuelle Rosso) [my emphasis]".

**After this Study was written, I had the chance to read again the article by Cécile Evers (1991).**

She suggests (on p. 798) a possible display of this presumed portrait of Hadrian (cf. here **Fig. 11**) at the Temple of Venus and Roma, referring to the fact that this temple had been destroyed by fire in 307 (like now independently of her also myself; cf. *supra*), or else (on p. 797 with n. 72), that one of the inscriptions dedicated to Hadrian which according to her were found in the *Forum Romanum* - mentioning *inter alia* the above-discussed fragmentary inscription (*CIL* VI 974 [= *CIL* VI 40524 = here **Fig. 29.1**]) - could have belonged to this colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine; cf. here **Fig. 11**).

**But let me anticipate an observation to be discussed below: this portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine), here Figs. 11; 11.1, could not possibly have been on display somewhere in the Forum Romanum, that is to say, under the open sky (because it was an acrolithic statue, that is to say, a construction).**

Evers (1991, 797) writes: "Où Constantin a-t-il pu se procurer une gigantesque statue d'Hadrien? Les possibilités sont, à vrai dire nombreuses. Après sa mort, on lui aurait érigés un immense quadrigé, probablement sur son mausolée [with n. 71, providing references]. **Si nous cherchons plutôt dans les environs de la basilica nova [i.e., the Basilica of Maxentius], différents emplacements privilégiés viennent à l'esprit. Le Forum lui-même a livré cinq attestations épigraphiques de statues d'Hadrien** [with n. 72] ... [my emphasis]".

In her **note 72**, Evers writes: "N<sup>Sc</sup> 1899, p. 77; C. HÜLSEN, *RM*, 6, 1891, p. 86; *CIL VI 974* [= 40524 = here **Fig. 29.1**]; 1854, 3754, 31302; LAHUSEN ... [*i.e.*, here G. LAHUSEN 1983], p. 21, n. 121; BOATWRIGHT ... [*i.e.*, here M.T. BOATWRIGHT 1987], p. 104 et n. 16 [my emphasis]".

Note that Evers (1991, 797 with n. 72) only mentions that those inscriptions were found in the *Forum Romanum*, without addressing the question, how we should imagine the display of those statues of Hadrian.

Evers (1991, 794-795), after a discussion of the coiffure of the portrait of Constantine (cf. here **Fig. 11**), comes to the following conclusion :

"H. Jucker en déduisant que Constantin avait dû remployer une statue de [page 795] Maxence, probablement destinée au même monument. Cependant, comme P. Zanker l'a fait remarquer, les longues mèches sinueuses surmontant l'oreille droite (fig. 5 [cf. here **Fig. 11**]) et les petites mèches sur la tempe gauche [with n. 59] (fig. 7 [cf. here **Fig. 11**]) ne correspondent pas à celles des portraits connus de Constantin et doivent donc appartenir à la chevelure du personnage précédent, qu'il estime, vu la taille, être une divinité. Maxence, en tout cas, lui paraît exclu vu la forme de sa tête e sa coiffure [with n. 60].

Je suggérerais pour ma part une troisième solution. Une observation attentive de cette œuvre [*i.e.*, here **Fig. 11**] à la lumière rasante m'a convaincue du fait que le personnage originel était barbu. De plus, outre les quelques mèches citées plus haut, nous bénéficions de deux indices physiognomiques heureusement conservés : les oreilles et le nez. Les premières ne semblent pas avoir été retravaillées ; quant à l'appendice nasal, plutôt volumineux, il indique une taille minimale originelle. **Ces oreilles, grandes, charnues, aux lobes pourvus d'un pli en forme de fourche, sont parfaitement reconnaissables : il s'agit, sans conteste, de celles de l'empereur Hadrien, fidèlement reproduites sur tous ses portraits en ronde-bosse** [with n. 61]. Le nez, moyennant une reprise à hauteur de sa base, correspond parfaitement à celui de l'empereur [with n. 62]. **Mais l'argument décisif réside naturellement dans l'indice capillaire : les boucles surmontant l'oreille droite de Constantin sont celles du type III - << Rollockenfrisur >> - d'Hadrien** [with n. 63] (**fig. 8 et 8**). Pour obtenir la frange de petites mèches symétriquement dirigées vers le centre du front, le sculpteur n'a eu qu'à tailler la moitié des << Rollocken >>. Cette opé- [page 796] ration était également nécessaire pour dégager le haut front du colléage de Licinius [*i.e.*, Constantine the Great] [with n. 64; my emphasis]".

In her **note 59**, Evers writes: "Voir les photographies dans JUCKER ... [*i.e.*, here H. JUCKER 1983], fig. 16-17, o 56-57 ; DELBRÜCK ... [*i.e.*, here R. DELBRÜCK 1933], pl. 39".

In her **note 60**, she writes: "ZANKER ... [*i.e.*, here P. ZANKER 1985], I, p. 149. **Je vois assez mal à quelle statue de culte on pourrait attribuer ces mèches.** En dernier lieu, sur Maxence, voir mon article : *Considérations sur l'iconographie de Maxence. À propos d'une nouvelle réplique au Kestner-Museum de Hanovre, dans Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte* (sous presse) [my mphasis]".

In her **note 61**, she writes: "**Les oreilles sont un élément d'identification aussi sûr que les empreintes digitales. Pour celles d'Hadrien : WEGNER ...** [*i.e.*, here M. WEGNER 1939], II, 3, p. 104 ; FITTSCHEN ... [*i.e.*, here K. FITTSCHEN 1977], n. 8, p. 74; ID. ... [*i.e.*, here K. FITTSCHEN and P. ZANKER 1985], I, p. 44, Beil.[age] 27 c-d, 28 d, 23 c-d, etc. **Cette fourche sur le lobe est un critère très pertinent car elle est rarissime sur les portraits d'autres personnages** [my emphasis]".

In her **note 62**, she writes: "Parmi les rares œuvres où celui-ci est entièrement conservé, voir la tête colossale provenant du Château Saint-Ange (Musei Vaticani, Sala Rotonda, Inv. n<sup>o</sup> 543) : G. LIPPOLD ... [*i.e.*, G. LIPPOLD 1936] pl. 43".

In her **note 63**, she writes: "Sur ce type iconographique voir WEGNER ... [*i.e.*, M. WEGNER 1939], p. 13-15 ; Kl. FITTSCHEN ... [*i.e.*, here K. FITTSCHEN 1984], p. 197-207, pl. 56-64 b ; ID. ... [*i.e.*, here K. FITTSCHEN and P. ZANKER 1985], I, n<sup>o</sup> 49 (dernière liste de répliques, d'où il faut soustraire la tête de La Canée [n<sup>o</sup> 15])".

In her **note 64**, she writes: "Front sur lequel il avait fallu empiéter pour sculpter la zone oculaire".

**For the Licinius, mentioned by Evers (1991, 796 with n. 64); cf. Raymond Peter Davis:**

"**Licinius** (*RE* 31a), **Valerius Licinianus**, the Roman emperor **Licinius**, born of peasant stock in (new) Dacia perhaps in the 260s AD, became a close friend and comrade-in-arms of Galerius, who at Carnuntum (308), when Diocletian refused to leave retirement, created him a second Augustus ... Rather than attack Maxentius in Italy, Alexander in Africa, or Constantine in Gaul, Licinius undertook the administration of the diocese ... of Pannonia ... Against Maximinus, he formed an alliance with Constantine I. At Milan (February 313) he married Constantine's half-sister Constantia. His conference with Constantine was interrupted when Maximinus invaded Europe. Licinius defeated him near Adrianople, taking over his Asiatic territories. Licinius and Constantine were now the only claimants to the empire ... For obscure reasons he quarrelled with Constantine (8 October 316) at Cibalae and then at Campus Adriensis ... After Cibalae, Licinius made the *dux limitis* ... Valens emperor, but Valens was executed before Licinius negotiated peace with Constantine early in 317. Licinius agreed to surrender all European territory except the diocese of Thracia. On 1 March 317 he made his infant son and namesake Caesar, and Constantine gave this title to his sons Crispus and Constantine II. Knowing that Constantine would never be happy until he was sole ruler, and suspecting that his own Christian subjects were disloyal, he embarked on a perfunctory persecution. The uneasy peace was broken when Constantine attacked in 324, won a decisive battle at Adrianople (3 July) and besieged Licinius in Byzantium. Licinius put up his *magister officiorum* Martinianus as emperor. Byzantium fell, and at Chrysopolis Licinius was defeated (18 September). He and Martinianus surrendered, and were sent to Thessalonica, where they were accused of plotting and executed in spring 325. Licinius' son was granted his life but executed in 326 ...", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 856.

For Licinius; cf. now Oliver Schmitt (*Constantin der Große (275-337) Leben und Herrschaft*, 2007, pp. 171-213: "Kapitel 5. Es kann nur einen geben: Constantin, Licinius und der Kampf um die Alleinherrschaft").

**Marianne Bergmann (1997, 142-143) writes about Hadrian's portraits of the 'Rollockentypus', mentioned by Evers (1991, 795, with n. 63) in her above-quoted passage:**

"Umso mehr überrascht ein Typus, der sog.[enannte] Rollockentypus [with n. 26] (Abb. 6,3) der sich aufgrund der Binnenordnung der Typen ans Ende [page 143] einer frühen Gruppe setzen läßt. Bei diesem Typus hat Hadrian plötzlich Falten und eine angespannte Mimik. Es ist versucht worden, diesen Energiegestus mit der Programmatik außenpolitischer Aktivitäten in Verbindung zu bringen [with n. 27]. Das scheint mir nicht naheliegend".

In her **note 26**, Bergmann writes: "Wegner ... [*i.e.*, here M. WEGNER 1940] 13 ff. Taf. 10.11a; Fittschen/Zanker ... [*i.e.*, here K. FITTSCHEN and P. ZANKER I 1985] 49 Nr. 49 Taf. 54.55 mit Replikenliste".

In her **note 27**, she writes: "Fittschen/Zanker ... [*i.e.*, here K. FITTSCHEN and P. ZANKER I 1985] 51".

**Let's now turn to Hadrian's "fourche sur le lobe", mentioned by Evers (1991, 795), in her above-quoted passage, also called the "crease in the ear lobe", the "disegno del padiglione auricolare", or the "charakteristische Falte in den Ohrläppchen", which is typical of all his portrait-types.**

Evers herself (1991, 795, n. 61) calls this characteristic feature of Hadrian's ears: "Cette fourche sur le lobe", whereas Amanda Claridge (2010, 465), as we have seen above, refers to it as: "the crease in the ear lobe". Both are talking about the colossal portrait of Constantine (cf. here **Fig. 11**), which in their opinion was *inter alia* therefore originally a portrait of Hadrian. Claudio Parisi Presicce (2005, 146 with n. 39; repeated *verbatim* in C. PARISI PRESICCE 2006b, 150 with n. 42), who rejects Evers's hypothesis, calls the feature in question: "il disegno del padiglione auricolare".

### Hadrian's portrait-type called Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ )

That this peculiar feature of his ear lobes is indeed *the* characteristic of all portraits of Hadrian in the round, has not only been observed by the scholars, whom Evers (1991, 795 with n. 61) has herself quoted, but also by Marianne Bergmann (1997) in her discussion of Hadrian's portrait-type called Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) (cf. here **Fig. 3**), which has most recently been studied by Hans Rupprecht Goette (2019). Goette has alerted me to this portrait-type as soon as he had realized that this *Chapter* is dedicated to Hadrian's efforts to legitimize his reign at the beginning of his principate. At first I thought that the creation of this portrait-type is apparently the very first proof for the fact that Hadrian actually felt that need himself. Bergmann (1997) and Goette (2019) suggest that in reality this portrait-type of Hadrian has retrospectively been taken up at the end of Hadrian's life by basing it on coin-types, issued in AD 117 at Alexandria.

For Hadrian's portrait-type called Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ), see now also Goette (*Schwertbandbüsten der Kaiserzeit. Zu Bildtraditionen, Werkstattfragen und zur Benennung der Büste inv. 4810 im Museum der bildenden Künste in Budapest und verwandter Werke*, 2021).

As we shall see below, these coins, issued in AD 117 at Alexandria, were according to Angelo Geißen issued at the order of Hadrian himself, who, after Trajan's death on 11th August of AD 117 had been hailed as Roman Emperor

Cf. *infra*, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and at *The Contribution by Angelo Geißen: Bemerkungen zur frühen Münzprägung Hadrians in Alexandria*, with here **Fig. 137**; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*). Post Scriptum: *Hadrian's situation in AD 117-118. With The first Contribution by Angelo Geißen: Bemerkungen zur frühen Münzprägung Hadrians in Alexandria*.

One of the four known replicas of the portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) was found at Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli, another replica is kept in the Prado at Madrid (cf. here **Fig. 3**). Because this portrait-type differs greatly from all other previously known ones, despite the provenance of the first known of these heads from one of Hadrian's own properties, scholars at first doubted that this portrait could possibly represent Hadrian.

Cf. Marianne Bergmann (1997, 143 with n. 32). Only this "charakteristische Falte in den Ohrläppchen", as Bergmann describes the crease in the ear lobes of the head from the Villa Hadriana (cf. here **Fig. 3**), a feature, also known from the other heads of the portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ), and from all other previously known portraits of Hadrian, convinced scholars in the end that this head (cf. here **Fig. 3**) represents Hadrian.

That this is true, is proven by the coin-types issued at Alexandria in AD 117, representing a portrait-type of Hadrian, which Bergmann (1997, 145 with Fig 10) defines as his "Caesartypus". These coin images have, in her opinion, great similarities with Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron. I will come back to Bergmann's and Goette's discussions of this portrait-type of Hadrian below, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

See also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

Or: *The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva, and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) (cf. here **Fig. 3**). With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz, with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz, with The first Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen; at Chapters VI.2.; VI.2.1.-VI.2.3.; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*). Post Scriptum: *Hadrian's situation in AD 117-118. With The first Contribution by Angelo Geißen: Bemerkungen zur frühen Münzprägung Hadrians in Alexandria*.*

For earlier discussions of Hadrian's portrait of the type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ), found at Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli, here not mentioned so far; cf. Häuber (1988, 50 with n. 69, Abb. 14: "Bildnis Kaiser Hadrians in der Villa Hadriana, Tivoli"). In my note 69, I wrote: "Aufnahme: G. Fittschen-Badura. J. Bracker, AntPl VIII (1968) 75ff. Abb. 11-13; J. Raeder ... [*i.e.*, here J. RAEDER 1983] 89 ff. Kat. I 88 Villa Adriana Museum Inv. Nr. 2260". - Hans Rupprecht Goette has alerted me now to Donato Attanasio, Matthias Bruno and Walter Prochaska (2019, 194-195), who refer to this portrait-type as to "Hadrian *renatus* or  $\Delta\omicron$  portrait type (cat 131, fig. 15a) and cat. 12, fig. 15b)".

**Evers (1991, 795) has arrived at her conclusion that the colossal portrait of Constantine (cf. here Figs. 11; 11.1) had originally represented Hadrian for the following reasons :**

a) following Paul Zanker (1985 I, 149, cat. no. 122, quoted *verbatim supra*), Evers suggests that the curly coiffure of this portrait of Constantine the Great (cf. here **Fig. 11**) does not occur at any of the known portraits of Constantine, which is why it must belong to the original portrait of Hadrian. Evers also follows Zanker concerning his observation that the shape of this head of Constantine and its coiffure rule out the possibility that the original portrait could have represented Maxentius;

b) because at close inspection she found out that the man, whom this portrait had originally represented, was bearded;

c) because of the remains of some curls of Hadrian's characteristic << Rollockenfrisur >> at both of Constantine's temples;

d) because of the shape of Constantine's nose; and -

e) because of Constantine's ear lobes, that, in Evers' opinion, preserve the original portrait unchanged, and that are rendered precisely as in all undisputed portraits of Hadrian in the round: "Ces oreilles, grandes, charnues, aux lobes pourvus d'un pli en forme de fourche".

To this, I should like to add a personal point:

f) Evers (1991, 795, Figs. 5-8) juxtaposes the right and the left profiles of the colossal portrait of Constantine the Great (cf. here **Fig. 11**) with the right and the left profiles of a lifesize portrait of Hadrian in the Palazzo Braschi at Rome, but she does not discuss those profiles in her text in detail. - To this I will come back below.

But before concentrating on this point, let's for our discussion assume for a moment that Evers is right in assuming that this head of Constantine *had* actually been recut from a portrait of Hadrian.

Now, if indeed the inscription (*CIL* VI 974 = 40524; cf. here **Fig. 29.1**) belonged to the colossal statue of Hadrian (now Constantine; cf. here **Fig. 11**), and the Senate and the Roman People had erected this colossal acrolithic statue of Hadrian within the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*, as suggested by Geza Alföldy (at: *CIL* VI 40524 = 974) and Michaela Fuchs (2014, 130, with n. 47), we would not be able to say any more that they, 'acknowledged' Hadrian's victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt, in a manner "wenn auch sehr zurückhaltend" ('rather reserved'), as suggested by Michaela Fuchs (2014, 130), but instead in a truly magnificent fashion.

But the two hypotheses that a) the famous portrait of Constantine the Great (cf. here **Fig. 11**) originally represented Hadrian at all, so Evers (1991, 795, quoted *verbatim supra*), and b) that this (presumed) portrait of Hadrian could have been the honorary statue, to which the fragmentary inscription belonged (cf. here **Fig. 29.1**: *CIL* VI 974 = 40524), as likewise suggested by Evers (1991, 797, note 72, quoted *verbatim supra*), and here (at first glance) also by myself, have so far not been proven.



Besides, as already mentioned several times above, I have in the meantime abandoned this earlier idea by suggesting now that this inscription (cf. here **Fig. 29.1**: CIL VI 974 = 40524) belonged instead to the original, after which Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna at Istanbul (cf. here **Fig. 29**) and almost 30 replicas of this portrait of the emperor were copied

Cf. below, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here **Fig. 29**); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2*.

But even provided the points *a*) and *b*) just mentioned were true, this dedication to Hadrian (here **Fig. 29.1**), commissioned by the Senate and the Roman People, was only at first glance 'truly magnificent', as I have asserted above; and that for the following reason. This colossal seated portrait statue of Hadrian (cf. here **Fig. 11; 11.1** - if this is what it was), which was 'only' circa 10 m (or even 12 m ?) high, must be regarded as 'modest', when compared with the famous bronze portrait of Nero, his *colossus* which was more than 30 m high, the facial traits of which according to Dio Cassius (66,15,1) the Emperor Titus had ordered to rework into a portrait of himself.

Cf. Evers (1991, 796 with n. 66, quoted *verbatim* below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and again *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section VI.).

Besides, this *colossus*, representing in its current state the Emperor Titus, was still extant, as we know, when the Senate and the Roman People decided to honour Hadrian with the honorary statue, to which the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524 = here **Fig. 29.1**), certainly belonged. As suggested by Evers (1991, 797, note 72), this portrait of Hadrian could in theory have been the acrolithic statue of Constantine discussed here (cf. here **Fig. 11**).

For Titus' reworking of Nero's *colossus*; cf. Claudia Lega ("Colossus: Nero", in: *LTUR I* [1993] 295-298). Eric M. Moormann (2018, 164 with ns. 18, 19, pp. 166, 168-169) seems not to be aware of the fact that the face of the *Colossus Neronis* had been reworked into a portrait of Titus.

Cf. *infra*, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

Domitian, given his dependence of, and respect for his father Vespasian and his brother Titus, could not possibly destroy this gigantic bronze *colossus*, representing his brother Titus, or order its reworking into a portrait of himself. Considering, in addition to this, Domitian's vanity, this may perhaps explain, why Domitian agreed that, according to Statius (*Silv.* 1.1 ff.), right in the middle of the *Forum Romanum* his no less gigantic *Equus Domitiani* was erected; cf. Lawrence Richardson Jr. (1992, 144, *s.v.*): "in A.D. 91 in honour of the princeps' campaigns in Germany". - But see Eric M. Moormann (2018, 168, quoted *verbatim infra*).

Cf. Cairoli F. Giuliani ("Equus: Domitianus", in: *LTUR II* [1995] 228-229, Figs. 77-80, and *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III.; at point 2.); at n. 267, in Chapter I.3.2.). For the *Equus Domitiani*; cf. also Anne Wolfsfeld (2014, 200 with n. 96, Abb. 7); Lisa Cordes (2014, 346-355); Eric M. Moormann (2021, 46 n. 12); Jane Feijfer (2021, 78); and Antony Augoustakis and Emma Buckley (2021, 161-162, with n. 15).

**See most recently for the *Equus Domitiani* Gian Luca Gregori and Valerio Astolfi (2023, 161) :**

"In ultimo, andrebbe considerato anche il caso dell'*equus Domitiani*, di cui le fonti letterarie documentano la completa distruzione [with n. 26], ma che dovette rappresentare un punto di svolta per l'inserimento di monumenti propagandistici di carattere dinastico in un'area già identificata da Augusto. **Secondo quanto documentato dalle indagini archeologiche il basamento venne riutilizzato per l'*equus Severi***, rivelando un eccezionale caso di continuità funzionale e simbolica con il monumento celebrativo del "tiranno" dannato [*i.e.*, Domitian]: nonostante l'esiguità dei dati a disposizione, la sopravvivenza del basamento nell'articolato paesaggio urbano del Foro Romano non può essere sottovalutata e al contrario potrebbe celare una diversa e più articolata operazione di appropriazione della memoria domiziana [my emphasis]".

In their **note 26**, Gregori and Astolfi write: "Plin. *pan.* 52".

For the *Equus Septimii Severi*, mentioned by Gregori and Astolfi (2023, 161) in the above-quoted passage; cf. below, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; see also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c*).

The *Equus Domitiani*, of course, no longer existed when the Senate and the Roman People decided to honour Hadrian with the honorary statue, to which the inscription (*CIL VI 974 = 40524 = here Fig. 29.1*) had certainly belonged.

Talking in this Chapter *inter alia* about *continuitas imperii*, and what kind of actions Roman emperors were expected to undertake in order to guarantee this desired state of affairs, I repeat here, what was already quoted in n. 267, in Chapter *I.3.2.*), because we thus learn Domitian's attitude towards this doctrine:

“T. HÖLSCHER 2009a, 57-58, discussing the possible meaning of the prominent place - and space! - reserved for the Vestal Virgins on Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs [cf. here Fig. 2], writes about the *Equus Domitiani*: **“Il culto di Vesta e il collegio delle Vestali occuparono una posizione chiave nella politica religiosa di Domiziano. Il suo famigerato procedimento contro quattro Vestali, che egli punì con condanne a morte estremamente dure a causa della violazione della regola di castità, da lui trattato come centrale pegno della continuazione dell'eternità di Roma. Il Palladio troiano, conservato dalle Vestali, uno dei più sacri garanti del dominio romano, era allo stesso tempo un immagine di Minerva, la divinità protettrice di Domiziano: così il potere dell'imperatore si collegò in modo strettissimo con il culto di Vesta. Si spiega di conseguenza perché egli sin dall'inizio del suo regno avesse coniato monete con Domiziano recante il Palladio: e anche la sua colossale statua equestre nel Foro lo reggeva in mano [my emphasis]”**.

Cf. Eric M. Moormann (2018, 168: **“The monument [*i.e.*, the *Equus Domitiani*] was officially given by the Senate to honour Domitian's victory over the Chatti and Dacians in A.D. 89 ... [my emphasis]”**).

Considering Moormann's (2018, 168) just-quoted observation, the *Equus Domitiani* was therefore, in theory, dedicated for the same reason as the monument or building that contained the Cancelleria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing).

For discussions of all this; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *VI.3. Summary of my own hypotheses concerning the Cancelleria Reliefs presented in this Study; Addition: My own tentative suggestion, to which monument or building the Cancelleria Reliefs may have belonged, and a discussion of their possible date*; below, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.f*).

**There are still two more problems related to the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine; cf. here Fig. 11).**

1.) **Acrolithic statues were “costruzioni”** - as Filippo Coarelli has rightly reminded me on 24th February 2020, when we were discussing the matter in Rome.

**It is therefore, in my opinion, certainly on principle true that, consequently, this colossal acrolithic portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine), cannot possibly have been on display under the open sky.** - This point is interrelated with my point 2.).

Coarelli mentioned to me also that such colossal acroliths could not easily be moved, obviously tacitly assuming that they, therefore, *were* not moved. Although this argument sounds reasonable, the truth is unfortunately that even such colossal “costruzioni” were moved.

**The classic example is Caligula's mad idea to order the transfer of the above-mentioned colossal chryselephantine cult-statue of Zeus from his Temple at Olympia to Rome (cf. here Fig. 14) and to replace its head with a portrait of himself. In the case of Caligula the god Zeus ‘himself’ was able to prevent this. Because, when the workmen, who had already erected a scaffolding, were about to start this operation,**

**'the god's' loud laughter (who was, of course, residing in his statue, as obviously also Caligula believed) had the effect that the scaffolding was moving, and the workmen fled.**

For the cult-statue of Zeus in his temple at Olympia most recently; cf. Stephan Faust (2022, 9-10, Abb. 1 [= here **Fig. 14**]). This colossal chryselephantine statue of Zeus at Olympia was, exactly like an acrolithic one, a 'construction', but was nevertheless later transported to Constantinople, where it was on display in the Lauseion, and where it finally perished in a fire; cf. Stewart (1990 I, 259, 292, T 128; K. BRODERSEN 2007, 67).

Cf. Kai Brodersen (66-67, Chapter: "Die Statue des Zeus von Olympia als Weltwunder", quoting on p. 121: "Sueton, Caligula 22, 2 und 57, 1"): "Caligula gab den Auftrag, die Götterbilder, die besonders verehrt und besonders kunstvoll waren - darunter das des Jupiter [Zeus] von Olympia -, aus Griechenland [nach Rom] zu bringen, ihnen jeweils das Haupt abzunehmen und dafür sein eigenes daraufzusetzen ... **Doch ließ in Olympia die Statue des Jupiter [Zeus], die er auseinanderzunehmen und nach [page 67] Rom bringen zu lassen beschlossen hatte**, plötzlich ein so lautes Gelächter ertönen, daß die Gerüste ins Wanken gerieten und die Arbeiter deshalb flohen [translation: K. BRODERSEN; my emphasis]".

Coarelli (2019a, 377-378), who has recently published his ideas concerning this portrait of Constantine (cf. here **Fig. 11**), by considering the fact that fragments of it were found within and in the vicinity of the Basilica of Maxentius, has followed Hans Jucker (1983) in assuming that this acrolithic statue had originally been a portrait of Maxentius. After discussing (on p. 377, with n. 339, quoting: "FABIANI-COCCIA 2003".) the fact that the recent excavations have shown that the addition of the northern apse to the Basilica of Maxentius is not datable to the Constantinian period (as had previously been taken for granted), but "va attribuita agli ultimi decenni del IV secolo", Coarelli (2019a, 377) continues:

"È dunque inevitabile interpretare questa aggiunta [of the northern apse to the Basilica of Maxentius] come un intervento inteso a soddisfare nuove esigenze, emerse in un periodo di quasi un secolo posteriore alla costruzione dell'edificio ...

Va premesso, a tale proposito, che la nuova datazione dell'abside settentrionale rende inevitabilmente caduca [*corr.*: caduta] l'unica interpretazione ragionevole proposta in precedenza, dovuta a H. Kähler [with n. 342]: e cioè che l'aggiunta della nuova struttura servisse all'introduzione nell'abside ovest - considerata come il tribunale originario - della colossale statua di Costantino (fig. 150), che [page 378] avrebbe reso a sua volta indispensabile la costruzione di un altro tribunale, da riconoscere nella nuova abside. **Il ritratto presenta infatti evidenti tracce di rilavorazione, che ne rendono ovvia l'attribuzione a un altro imperatore precedente, che può essere solo Massenzio** [with n. 343]. Questa è certamente una conseguenza della ridedicazione a Costantino, testimoniata da Aurelio Vittore [with n. 344]: l'abside occidentale era quindi destinata alla statua fin dall'inizio, e non poteva essere utilizzata come tribunale; l'ipotesi di Kähler di conseguenza va esclusa [my emphasis]".

See for the Basilica of Maxentius also *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix I.a*); at Section XIII.

In his **note 342**, Coarelli writes: "KÄHLER 1952".

In his **note 343**, he writes: "JUCKER 1983. Non sembrano accettabili, considerato il contesto, le diverse identificazioni da altri proposte; si veda la lista in FITTSCHEN-ZANKER 1985, n. 122, pp. 147-152, tavv. 151 s.". Note that Coarelli does not discuss any of the relevant later proposals, discussed here.

In his **note 344**, he writes: "Aur. Vict., *Caes.* 40.26".

Contrary to Coarelli (2019a, 378 with n. 343), I agree with those scholars, who have come to the conclusion that the original portrait of this head of Constantine (cf. here **Fig. 11**) was certainly *not* Maxentius. To this I will come back below.

2.) **The original acrolithic statue, which was turned into this portrait of Constantine (cf. here Figs. 11; 11.1) must not only have been on display indoors, it was also standing right in front of a high wall (or walls), to which it was fixed.**

In the meantime, I had also the chance to read the article by Claudio Parisi Presicce (2005, 145), who was able to demonstrate that "La testa è costituita unicamente dalla metà anteriore, e non sembra avere mai avuto la parte occipitale".

Parisi Presicce's observations (quoted *verbatim* in more detail *infra*) prove that this colossal acrolithic statue stood not only indoors, but, in addition to this, in front of one or several high wall(s), to which it was attached, and that means, in its turn, that this portrait-statue was on display in a way that the ancient beholder could not see the back of its head.

Such an installation is a strong argument against the assumption that this portrait could have been on display somewhere in the Forum piazza, where we may assume that the statue's head would have been visible from all sides.

In the Roman Forum were found the above-mentioned five inscriptions, which Evers (1991, 797 with n. 72) tentatively attributes to the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine; cf. here **Fig. 11**), *inter alia* the fragmentary inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524 = here **Fig. 29.1**) discussed here. But the latter inscription, as we have seen above, was either (possibly) found within the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*, or else in its immediate vicinity. Clementina Panella (2015, 106) summarizes the recent discussion on the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine; cf. here **Fig. 11**) as follows: "I ritratti di Costantino sono ad esempio in parte riutilizzati e rilavorati [with n. 58]. Alcuni di essi potrebbero essere appartenuti a Massenzio, come l'acrolito colossale rinvenuto nel 1486 nella Basilica Nuova [*i.e.*, the Basilica of Maxentius] oggi nel cortile del Palazzo dei Conservatori [with n. 59] (vd. [vedi] fig. 4), a sua volta forse ricavato da un precedente ritratto e comunque appartenente ad una statua colossale in cui l'imperatore era raffigurato nelle sembianze di Giove seduto in trono ... [my emphasis]". In her notes, she provides references. - I thank Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio for the reference.

**Let's now summarize, what we have learned so far about the portrait of Constantine (here Figs. 11; 11.1).**

As already said above, I personally follow Zanker (1985 I, 148-149, cat. no. 122), who was also followed by Evers (1991, 795) that, because of its shape and its curly coiffure, this colossal head of Constantine (cf. here **Fig. 11**) cannot possibly have been reworked from a portrait of Maxentius. La Rocca (2000, 25 with n. 169, quoted *verbatim supra*) singles out three suggestions made so far, for whom this original portrait may have represented: Harrison (1967): Trajan, a statue erected at his Forum, but with later additions of the head and the right hand. She suggested this to explain that the extant fragments of the acrolith are carved from different marbles. But note that her relevant assumption was based on an error, as we shall see below; Jucker (1983): Maxentius at the Basilica of Maxentius; and Evers (1991): Hadrian. And because Harrison did *not* suggest that Constantine's head (cf. here **Fig. 11**) had been reworked from a portrait of Trajan, and Maxentius is definitely not a possible option, only Hadrian seemed at first glance to be left. - As we shall see below, this is actually true.

**Claudio Parisi Presicce has so far presented the most detailed analyses of the colossal statue of Constantine (here Figs. 11; 11.1).**

Claudio Parisi Presicce (2006b, 127, note \*) lists all his other publications on the subject: 2005, 2006a, and 2007 (which is a German translation of his text 2006b, but published without the notes). In the following, I will quote from his essays 2005 and 2006b. The latter is, according to Parisi Presicce (*op.cit.*) in some respects a

summary of his article 2006a. Concerning those points of his arguments that interest me here, Parisi Presicce (2006b, 145-154), repeats what he has written in his article of 2005, 144-147. Cf. Parisi Presicce (2006b, 145, n. 35), where he provides a bibliography for the statue of Hadrian (now Constantine) here **Figs. 11; 11.1**. Claudio Parisi Presicce (2005, 146) mentions many more published opinions, whom the head of Constantine (cf. here **Fig. 11**) may originally have represented than were here discussed so far.

**Although La Rocca (2000, 25 with n. 169, quoted *verbatim supra*), by singling out the three hypotheses: Harrison (1967): Trajan, Jucker (1983): Maxentius, and Evers (1991): Hadrian, has already provided us with the suggestions that have been made over time concerning the question, whom this colossal statue may originally have represented.**

**Concerning all those hypotheses, Parisi Presicce (2005, 146, *verbatim* repeated 2006b, 149 with n. 38) writes:**

"Come rilevato da Zanker, né le lunghe e spesse ciocche fortemene incurvate sopra l'orecchio e la tempia destri, né la forma e il *ductus* delle piccole ciocche frontali sul lato sinistro corrispondono con il tipo ritrattistico costantiniano, ben noto e documentato. **Essi sembrano appartenere alla testa precedente. Su quest'ultima sono state avanzate diversi ipotesi, nessuna purtroppo accertabile ...** [my emphasis]". Immediately after that, Parisi Presicce (2005, 146; cf. *id.* 2006b, 149-152) lists those hypotheses, but does not explain in all cases in detail, why they are, in his opinion, not acceptable.

Cf. Parisi Presicce (2006b, 149-152, Section: "4. Tipologia del ritratto e datazione"):

"Harrison [with n. 38] ha suggerito una provenienza **del colosso dal Foro di Traiano, ritenendo tuttavia un'aggiunta posteriore la testa e la mano destra, se-** [page 150] **condo la studiosa di marmo diverso; Cecchelli e più tardi Jucker, seguiti da Coarelli, Varner e Deckers** [with n. 39], hanno ipotizzato che il colosso riutilizzato da Costantino **fosse stato eretto precedentemente nella stessa Basilica** e fosse destinato in origine a onorare il suo più ostinato avversario **Massenzio; Zanker** [with n. 40], invece, **ha escluso che la testa potesse raffigurare inizialmente Massenzio** per la forte rientranza all'altezza delle orecchie documentata dai suoi ritratti più sicuri, e propende piuttosto per l'appartenenza a **una divinità; Anderson** [with n. 41] ha proposto di identificare il personaggio raffigurato nel ritratto originario con **Traiano; Evers** [with n. 42] **ha sostenuto che alcuni tratti iconografici – per esempio il disegno del padiglione auricolare – e la parte conservata della capigliatura coincidono con il III tipo ritrattistico di Adriano, denominato 'Rollockenfrisur', e che l'acrolito sarebbe stato prelevato da un edificio costruito da Adriano, in onore del quale sarebbe stato originariamente eretta la statua; La Rocca** [with n. 43] ha avanzato l'ipotesi che **la scultura sia stata ricavata da pezzi di più statue acrolitiche, rimessi insieme con scarse** [page 151] **correzioni ad esclusione della testa, rilavorata su un precedente ritratto. L'Orange** [with note 44], invece, ha proposto una lettura diversa, ritenendo che le rilavorazioni non siano da attribuire a modifiche eseguite su un ritratto pre-costantiniano, ma siano **opera di una rielaborazione cristiana della statua** avvenuta negli anni 324-337 d.C., deducibile dai consistenti ritocchi rilevabili sulla testa e da **una possibile sostituzione degli attributi, ossia il simbolo della croce al posto dello scettro e l'aggiunta del diadema.** L'ipotesi dello studioso norvegese sembra almeno in parte vera, perché, benché non [page 152] sia possibile dimostrare la sostituzione integrale dell'arto, **la mano appartenente al colosso** [with n. 45] **presenta nel palmo due fori di forma e misure diverse, dovuti verosimilmente alla sostituzione dell'attributo.** Il coronamento della testa con un diadema metallico, proposto da L'Orange, non è documentato. **Le sole tracce visibili sono due piccoli fori simmetrici di diametro ineguale praticati alle due estremità del motivo centrale à mandorla'** (fig. 63). È possibile ipotizzare, quindi, soltanto la presenza di una gemma sorretta da due piccoli perni ripiegati inseriti nei due forellini centrali. **Il tipo di pietra, il marmo pario** [with n. 46], **adoperato in tutti i pezzi conservati confermerebbe che il ritratto, riadattato per raffigurare Costantino, facesse parte della medesima statua fin dall'inizio.** L'identificazione del marmo, viceversa, ripropone nuovamente il problema dell'identificazione del soggetto raffigurato in occasione della sua prima lavorazione, dal momento che – per

quanto finora è possibile sostenere – **i blocchi di marmo pario possono essere stati portati a Roma non oltre l'età adrianea** [my emphasis]".

In his **note 38**, Parisi Presicce writes: "E.B. HARRISON ... [*i.e.*, here E.B. HARRISON 1967], p. 92 ss."

In his **note 39**, he writes: "C. CECHELLI ... [*i.e.*, here C. CECHELLI 1951], t. II, pp. 85-88; e ID. ... [*i.e.*, here C. CECHELLI 1954], pp. 17-44, figg. 31-35; H. JUCKER ... [*i.e.*, here H. JUCKER 1983, p. 57; F. COARELLI ... [*i.e.*, here F. COARELLI 1986 II], p. 32 e nota 151; E.R. VARNER ... [*i.e.*, here E.R. VARNER 2000], p. 50; ID. ... [*i.e.*, here E.R. VARNER 2004], p. 217 s., cat. 9.4, fig. 209 a-d; J.G. DECKERS ... [*i.e.*, here J.G. DECKERS 2005], p. 175".

In his **note 40**, he writes: "K. FITTSCHEN, P. ZANKER ... [*i.e.*, here K. FITTSCHEN and P. ZANKER I 1985], p. 149".

In his **note 41**, he writes: "M.L. ANDERSON, Roman Portraits in Religious and Funerary Contexts, in M.L. ANDERSON, L. NISTA (a cura di), *Roman Portraits in Context* (Cat. della Mostra), Atlanta, Georgia 1988, p. 62".

In his **note 42**, he writes: "C. EVERS ... [*i.e.*, here C. EVERS 1991], p. 794 ss., figg. 5-8".

In his **note 43**, he writes: "E. LA ROCCA ... [*i.e.*, here E. LA ROCCA 2000], p. 24".

In his **note 44**, he writes: "H.P. L'ORANGE, In hoc signo vinces, in *Boreas*, 5, 1982, p. 163; ID. ... [*i.e.*, here H.P. L'ORANGE 1984], p. 70 ss., pp. 70-77".

In his **note 45**, he writes: "**Come già detto** [cf. *supra*, p. 130, with n. 8], **la mano del colosso costantiniano non è quella finora attribuita, giunta in Campidoglio tra la fine del XVIII e l'inizio del XIX secolo, ma l'altra presente nel cortile del Palazzo dei Conservatori. Il riconoscimento risolve il problema della diversità di marmo della mano finora considerata appartenente all'acrolito, rispetto agli altri frammenti** [my emphasis]".

In his **note 46**, Parisi Presicce writes: "P. PENSABENE, L. LAZZARINI, B. TURI, art. cit. a nota 4 [*i.e.*, here P. PENSABENE, L. LAZZARINI and B. TURI 2002], p. 254, fig. 18, campioni MC 38A e 38 B". - See also Parisi Presicce (2006b, 128, n. 4).

**In the following, I will summarize Claudio Parisi Presicce's own findings.**

Parisi Presicce (2005, 144-147; cf. *id.* 2006b, *passim*) provides a summary of his own recent research. **Parisi Presicce (2005, 146) observes that the original portrait may have been a bearded man.** So already, but for different reasons, Evers's (1991, 795; cf. *supra*, her point b)). **Parisi Presicce (2005, 146) has also found out, that only Constantine's head is ancient, whereas his neck is a restoration of the Renaissance.** See for that research also in more detail Parisi Presicce (2006a); in this article and in Parisi Presicce (2006b, 130 with n. 8 [with a reference to the 'wrong' right hand]).

*The previous attribution of the 'wrong' right hand to the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine), here Figs. 11; 11.1*

**Parisi Presicce (2006b, 152 with n. 45, quoted *verbatim supra*) explains, why the previous scholars quoted above have attributed the 'wrong' right hand to this portrait of Constantine. This right hand of another colossal marble statue is also on display in the cortile of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, and has slightly smaller proportions than the original right hand of the statue of Hadrian (now Constantine). And because this 'wrong' right hand is carved from different marble, this fact had caused the above-quoted (erroneous) hypotheses, published by some previous scholars.**

**Claudio Parisi Presicce (2006b, 130) writes about this 'wrong' right marble hand of an acrolithic statue, which, together with the real right hand of the colossal acrolithic statue of Constantine, is on display in the cortile of the Palazzo dei Conservatori :** "In questo stesso periodo si affronta per la prima volta il tema della forma e della ricostruzione del colosso [*i.e.*, of Constantine the Great; cf. here **Figs. 11; 11.1**] attraverso i frammenti superstiti, prendendo in considerazione – per la verità per escluderne l'eventuale pertinenza al colosso - la mano, anch'essa destra, di dimensioni superiori al naturale conservata presso lo studio di

Antonio Canova e acquisita alle collezioni capitoline nel 1829 o poco prima [with n. 8]. La sua collocazione nel cortile del Palazzo dei Conservatori, dove era già presente la mano originaria del colosso, ha ingenerato a causa dei successivi spostamenti dei frammenti del colosso sui due lati del cortile una sovrapposizione e in seguito uno scambio tra le due mani, che è stato possibile ricostruire soltanto seguendo le vicende delle rispettive basi. Una definitiva conferma su quale mano sia corretto attribuire al colosso costantiniano si ricava da un'attenta osservazione delle dimensioni generali, che nella mano per errore tradizionalmente attribuita al colosso risultano leggermente più piccole e con un polso troppo stretto perché risulti compatibile con la parte conservata dell'avambraccio. **Anche le linee di frattura della mano delineate con precisione nel disegno di Hubert Robert, perfettamente sovrapponibili con quelle di una sola delle due mani, confermano l'identificazione proposta** [my emphasis].

In his note 8, Parisi Presicce writes: "Descrizione delle sculture, e pitture che si trovano al Campidoglio, compilata da Agostino Tofanelli, edizione emendata ed accresciuta, Roma 1829, p. 135: "**Mano colossale che in oggi è stata riunita con gli altri Frammenti trovati presso il Tempio della Pace**" [my emphasis]". - **With his formulation: 'the other fragments found at the Templum Pacis', Agostino Tofanelli here refers to the fragments of the colossal portrait of Constantine the Great (cf. here Figs. 11; 11.1), found in 1486 within the Basilica of Maxentius - which at the time had erroneously been identified with the Templum Pacis; cf. Parisi Presicce (2006b, 127, with ns. 1, 2 and Fig. 1). For the drawing by Hubert Robert of the right hand that actually belongs to the colossal acrolithic statue of Constantine the Great (cf. here Figs. 11; 11.1), mentioned by Parisi Presicce (2006b, 130) in his above-quoted passage; cf. Parisi Presicce (2006b, 129, Fig. 3).**

*All ten fragments belonging to the colossal portrait-statue of Hadrian(now Constantine), here Figs. 11; 11.1, are sculpted from the best quality of Parian marble, called lychnites*

The marble of all fragments that actually belong to the colossal statue of Hadrian (now Constantine) has been tested. Apart from the neck, which is carved from Carrara marble, the ten original fragments are all sculpted from Parian marble. As Parisi Presicce adds, this means also that all the extant fragments of Constantine's colossal acrolithic portrait had already belonged to the original statue; cf. Parisi Presicce (2005, 146 with n. 43; *id.* 2006b, 152 with n. 46, quoted *verbatim supra*). **Parisi Presicce (2005, 146; *id.* 2006b, 152, quoted *verbatim supra*) adds that, after the reign of Hadrian, Parian marble was not imported to Rome any more.**

To Parisi Presicce's (2006b, 152) above-quoted observation that 'after the reign of Hadrian, Parian marble was not imported to Rome any more', I should like to add a comment.

Hans Rupprecht Goette, who was kind enough as to read this *Study* (this text was at the time part of *Appendix IV.c.1* that is now published below, in volume 3-2), has alerted me by Email of 30th July 2020 to the fact that at Rome Parian marble was still used for portraits from the Antonine period through the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. - To this I will come back below.

Let's now return to Parisi Presicce's new findings concerning the colossal portrait of Constantine the Great (cf. here **Figs. 11; 11.1**).

**Cf. Parisi Presicce (2005, 146): at the temples of the head had been inserted separately carved curls, two of these are still preserved.** Cf. Parisi Presicce (2006b, 151), caption of Fig. 59: "Statua del colosso di Costantino. Veduta frontale con la ciocca antistante l'occhio destro"; cf. p. 151, caption of Fig. 60: "Roma, Musei Capitolini, magazzino sculture. Ciocca pertinente als colosso di Costantino".

**In addition to this, Parisi Presicce mentions his hypothesis, that this acrolithic statue of Constantine had been 'constructed' contemporaneously with the western apse of the Basilica of Maxentius; cf. Parisi Presicce (2005, 145; repeated almost *verbatim* in *id.* 2006b, 139-140, where he provides additional illustrations).**

Cf. Parisi Presicce (2006b, 139):

"[Fragment] E. La testa è costituita unicamente dalla metà anteriore e non sembra avere mai avuto la parte occipitale (MC, inv. 757) (figg. 38-40), tenuto conto che il bordo non è lavorato per un accostamento (fig. 41). Il blocco marmoreo è scavato sul retro con tagli regolari, non solo per alleggerire il peso, ma anche per consentire l'alloggiamento di travi e di grappe che permettessero di sostenere e ancorare la testa alla parete posteriore (fig. 42). Il raccordo era forse costituito da un elemento in stucco che riproduceva il nimbo. Ne deriva che la testa è stata lavorata o rilavorata per una statua colossale dimensionata per l'abside occidentale della basilica, alla cui parete di fondo era previsto che fosse accostata. Ciò presuppone che la scultura sia stata eretta contestualmente alla costruzione dell'abside, avendone [page 140] definito fin dall'inizio nella tessitura della parete i punti di ancoraggio, a meno che non si debba immaginare che Costantino sia intervenuto a modificare la basilica, con l'aggiunta della statua colossale, prima che la parete occidentale dell'edificio – e conseguentemente la sua copertura – fosse stata completata". Cf. also Parisi Presicce (2006b, 154 with n. 48).

*The statue-type of Iuppiter, chosen for the statue of Hadrian (now Constantine), here Figs. 11; 11.1*

After discussing in great detail the statue-type of the portrait of Constantine (cf. here **Fig. 11**), Parisi Presicce (2006b, 142-144) comes to the conclusion that this statue is based on the less frequently copied version of a Jupiter-type that was mostly copied in mirror-image. The best example for the latter version of this statue-type is the acrolithic statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (his Fig. 47 = here **Fig. 10**).

For a discussion of this statue; cf. *supra*, at *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here **Fig. 10**).

**Fig. 10. Colossal acrolithic statue of Jupiter. St. Petersburg, Hermitage, from Castel Gandolfo. Cf. C. Parisi Presicce (2006b, 146, Fig. 47, copied after M.B. PIOTROVSKIJ and O.J. NEVEROV 2003, fig. on p. 200). <https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/22.09.2020>.**

In the below-quoted passage, Parisi Presicce (2006b, 144) suggests that this lesser-used version of this statue-type of Jupiter was intentionally *chosen* for this portrait of Constantine, thus tacitly assuming that the statue of Constantine was designed in this way to be erected in the western apse of this building. The reason being, in his opinion, that a visitor to the Basilica of Maxentius, who entered the building at its entrance on the Sacra Via, would see the statue of Constantine to his or her own left.

Cf. here **Figs. 58; 73**, labels: FORUM ROMANUM; SACRA VIA; Basilica of MAXENTIUS.

Strangely enough, Parisi Presicce does not address in this context the fact, perfectly well known to him of course, that this acrolith of Constantine has been reworked from the statue of an earlier emperor (in my opinion of Hadrian), of which only the head has been recut into the portrait of Constantine. Elsewhere Parisi Presicce (2005, 147, with n. 47 and Fig. 6; *id.* 2006b, 152-154, with n. 48) observes that the facial traits of Constantine show great asymmetries. He suggests that also this was intentionally done in order to adjust the statue to this specific display at the Basilica of Maxentius. - If Parisi Presicce is right with his reasoning concerning the choice of this particular version of this statue-type of Jupiter, we may wonder, whether also the original statue of Hadrian had been on display in a room in such a way that a visitor, who entered the place, would see the portrait of Hadrian to his or her own *left*.

**Paris Presicce (2006b, 144, Section: "3. L'immagine divina del nuovo imperatore") writes about the statue of Constantine (here Fig. 11) :**

"La scultura più vicina all'immagine imperiale [*i.e.*, here **Fig. 11**] è quella colossale raffigurante il padre degli dei conservata all'Ermitage [with n. 28], anch'essa seduta sul trono e realizzata come acrolito, con le parti



nude in marmo bianco e il panneggio in stucco dorato (fig. 47 [cf. here **Fig. 10**]). **Rispetto al colosso costantiniano** (fig. 48 [cf. here **Fig. 11**]) **la posizione delle braccia e i relativi attributi sono invertiti, con il globo sormontato da una Vittoria nella mano destra e lo scettro ad asta lunga retto con la sinistra.** Il panneggio, invece, come nella statua di Costantino poggia sulla spalla sinistra e non copre, quindi, il braccio sul medesimo lato, che non è abbassato. **È probabile che l'inversione nel ritratto imperiale** [*i.e.*, of the statue of Constantine; cf. here **Fig. 11**] **fosse determinata dalla posizione della statua in relazione alla dislocazione dell'ingresso principale** [of the Basilica of Maxentius], **non frontale, e al punto di vista privilegiato di chi, entrando nella basilica, si dirigeva verso l'abside occidentale, che fungeva da cornice alla scultura** [my emphasis]."

In his **note 28**, Parisi Presicce writes: "O. WALDHAEUER ... [*i.e.*, O. WALDHAEUER 1928], I, p. 4 ss., fig. 1, tav. I (da Castel Gandolfo); M.B. PIOTROVSKIJ, O.J. NEVEROV ... [*i.e.*, here M.B. PIOTROVSKIJ and O.J. NEVEROV 2003, p. 201, fig. a p. 200]."

For Oskar Waldhauer's discussion (1928, 4-8) of this statue of Jupiter; cf. *supra*, in *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus*; at Part II.

**Contrary to some earlier scholars, Parisi Presicce (2005, 145 with ns. 32, 33; *id.* 2006b, 140) is of the (in my opinion convincing) opinion that this acrolith of Constantine (cf. here **Figs. 11; 11.1**) is *not* the statue mentioned by Eusebius.**

Cf. Parisi Presicce (2006b, 140): "È stato proposto che lo scettro [of the statue of Constantine, here **Figs. 11; 11.1**] terminasse con una croce, come nel medaglione in argento conservato a Monaco [with n. 13], e che la statua coincida con quella descritta da Eusebio [with n. 14], eretta dal Senato ``a Roma nel luogo più pubblico di tutti'' [with n. 15]. Sappiamo che quest'ultima recava nella mano sinistra il globo, ma del braccio sinistro del colosso marmoreo [*i.e.*, here **Fig. 11**] nessun frammento è conservato".

In his **note 13**, Parisi Presicce writes: "A. ALFÖLDI, *Das Kreuzszepter Konstantins des Grossen*, in *SchwMüBl*, IV, 16, 1954, pp. 81-86".

In his **note 14**, he writes: "*Hist. Eccl.*, 9, 9, 10-11".

In his **note 15**, he writes: "Ipotesi avanzata da C. CECHELLI ... [*i.e.*, here C. CECHELLI 1951], t. II, pp. 85-88; e ID. ... [*i.e.*, here C. CECHELLI 1954], pp. 17-44, figg. 31-35; ripresa da H. KÄHLER ... [*i.e.*, here H. KÄHLER 1952], p. 28 s."

Although Parisi Presicce (2006b, 140) writes in the above-quoted passage that, according to Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.*, 9,9,10-11), the statue of Constantine, described by him, was holding a globe in its left hand (whereas of the left arm of the colossal statue of Constantine here **Fig. 11** no remains are left), Parisi Presicce's own reconstruction of the statue of Constantine here **Fig. 11** (cf. his Fig 48 [= here **Fig. 11.1**]) shows Hadrian (now Constantine) holding a globe in his left hand as well. Parisi Presicce's reconstruction is, of course, correct in this point, because Constantine's *right* hand holds a stafflike object (cf. here **Figs. 11; 11.1**).

In addition, Parisi Presicce (2006, 154, quoted *verbatim infra*) follows Kähler's dating (1952). The title of this article is: "Konstantin 313") of the statue of Constantine (cf. here **Fig. 11**), and believes that only the Senate could have commissioned a statue of Constantine in the iconography of a seated Jupiter, 'perhaps to legitimize his victory over Maxentius'. I agree - but that is precisely what is also known of Eusebius's (*Hist. Eccl.* 10,4,16) statue of Constantine; cf. Kähler (1952; *id.* 1960, 391, Tafel 264, quoted *verbatim supra*). As we have seen above, Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 10,4,16) reports, in addition to this, that Constantine himself had ordered that the artists should give his portrait-statue the (so far unidentified) sign in its right hand, which had brought him the victory at the *Pons Milvius*:

*in hoc signo vinces*, the famous line, that we also know thanks to Eusebius (*V. Const.* 1, 27-29).

For Constantine's relevant dreams, which he had before his decisive battle; cf. *Hugo Brandenburg* (2013, 16, quoted *verbatim supra*). When we follow Parisi Presicce's (2006, 154) hypothesis that the Senate had commissioned the statue of Constantine (cf. here **Fig. 11**) to commemorate his victory over Maxentius, and assume at the same time that also the portrait-statue of Constantine, seen by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 10,4,16), was based on a Jupiter-type (because the statue held the enigmatic sign in its right hand, and a globe in its left), it follows that the Senate had honoured Constantine with two *identical* colossal statues for the same victory - a situation I myself find impossible to believe (but see below). 'Identical', because using for both statues the same, less frequently copied statue-type of a Jupiter, who holds the sceptre in his *right* hand, and the globe in his *left* hand, as Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 10,4,16) reports for *his* statue of Constantine, and as is also true for the extant colossal statue of Constantine (cf. here **Figs. 11; 11.1**).

At first, I have come to the following conclusion: Personally, I therefore find it preferable to follow Cecchelli (1951; *ead.* 1954), and Kähler (1952; *id.* 1960), in identifying the colossal statue of Constantine that we have (cf. here **Fig. 11**), with the statue described by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 10,4,16). If true, the statue of Constantine (cf. here **Fig. 11**) was the one, which carried in its right hand Constantine's victory-bringing sign. - But see my second hypothesis, formulated below.

But I admit that this hypothesis is so far not provable. First of all Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 10,4,16) writes that the statue of Constantine, which he described, was erected by the Senate 'a Roma nel luogo più pubblico di tutti'; cf. Parisi Presicce (2006b, 140 with n. 15). - This sounds as if *that* statue of Constantine was standing under the open sky, which is why the colossal head of Constantine, found in 2005 in the Forum of Trajan (cf. here **Fig. 47**) could have belonged to the statue, mentioned by Eusebius.

As we shall see below (cf. K. FITTSCHEN 2014, 58), this head of Constantine (cf. here **Fig. 47**) had probably belonged to a cuirassed statue, an iconography, as we have learned above from Eugenio La Rocca (2000, 24, with n. 68), is typical of Christian emperors.

So, in case that actually was the statue described by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 10,4,16), it showed Constantine in precisely the same seated pose as the statue here **Fig. 11**, but in a different iconography: since, instead of representing Constantine *as Jupiter* (as in **Fig. 11**), the statue seen by Eusebius - very appropriately for this specific dedication - represented Constantine *as Christian emperor*. - To this recently found head of Constantine (cf. here **Fig. 47**) I will come back below.

Parisi Presicce (2006b, 154) writes concerning the meaning and dating of the colossal statue of Constantine (here **Figs. 11; 11.1**):

"La datazione del ritratto [of Constantine; cf. here **Figs. 11; 11.1**], a partire dallo studio di Kähler [1952], viene ormai quasi unanimemente fissata in una fase precoce del principato di Costantino, ossia nel breve periodo della sua permanenza a Roma dopo la battaglia di Ponte Milvio, allorché furono celebrati i decennalia. La dedica della statua colossale all'imperatore, raffigurato secondo una consolidata tradizione pagana nella trasposizione eroica del tipo di Giove assiso, può essere attribuita soltanto al Senato, forse per legittimare la sua vittoria su Massenzio. L'iconografia prescelta e le dimensioni colossali non sono più soltanto allusive, ma equiparano esplicitamente l'imperatore a un dio [my emphasis]".

Provided Parisi Presicce' last sentence is true, which I think it is, this was already true for the original statue, which, in my opinion, represented Hadrian. See also above, the discussion, whether this colossal statue of Hadrian (here **Figs. 11; 11.1**) could originally have been the cult-statue of *Divus Hadrianus* in the *Hadrianeum* (*inter alia* because in this statue Hadrian is represented with bare feet).

### Let's now turn to my own observations.

Concerning my own point *f*) mentioned above, Evers's (1991, 795, Figs. 5-8) juxtaposition of the right and left profiles of the colossal portrait of Constantine the Great (cf. here **Fig. 11**) with those of a lifesize portrait of Hadrian in the Palazzo Braschi (inv. no. 442), this comparison shows in my opinion the following: the right profile of Constantine's head, Evers's Fig. 5, shows striking similarities with the relevant detail of Hadrian's 'Rollockenfrisur', as observed by Evers (1991, 795; cf. *supra*, her point *c*)). To verify this point, it would have been useful, if Evers had drawn and 'numbered' those curls on both Constantine's head and on that of the portrait of Hadrian at the Palazzo Braschi, Evers's Fig. 6, as well as on other portraits of Hadrian with 'Rollockenfrisur'. Evers's (1991, 795, n. 61) "fourche sur le lobe" (cf. *supra*, her point *e*)) on the other hand, is undeniable. Back in 1991, I was therefore convinced that Evers is right with her hypothesis that this head of Constantine was originally a portrait of Hadrian. But, while writing this text, when looking closer at Constantine's left and right profiles, Evers's Figs. 5 and 7, and comparing those with the left and right profiles of the portrait of Hadrian at the Palazzo Braschi, Evers's Figs. 6 and 8, I realized that Constantine's nose, and especially his chin is protruding further than in Hadrian's portrait. The reason being that, compared with Constantine, Hadrian had a much smaller chin.

On 3rd May of 2020, I reached this point of my research and came to the conclusion that Evers's hypothesis, according to which this head of Constantine the Great (cf. here **Fig. 11**) has been recut from a portrait of Hadrian, was probably not true. Because Hans Rupprecht Goette was kind enough to send me the above-mentioned articles by Marianne Bergmann (1997) and himself (2019), in which Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) is discussed, as well as photographs of the replicas from the Villa Hadriana and in the Prado (cf. here **Fig. 3**), I wrote him an E-mail. I explained to Goette, why Bergmann's (1997, 143) mentioning of Hadrian's "charakteristische Falte in den Ohrläppchen", which is typical of all his portraits, was right now so important to me: because I was trying to verify, whether or not this head of Constantine could originally have been one of Hadrian.

But I had second thoughts. Looking again at the evidence, I concentrated on the following interrelated facts that were already discussed above:

- 1.) Claudio Parisi Presicce observed that of fragment E of the acrolithic statue of Constantine (cf. here **Fig. 11**), which comprises the head of Constantine and the attached neck, only the head is ancient, whereas the neck is a Renaissance restoration. In addition to this, the back of Constantine's head is missing and was in Parisi Presicce's opinion never executed;
- 2.) apart from this modern neck, all extant 10 ancient fragments of this acrolithic statue of Constantine are carved from Parian marble. This means, of course, that the artists did not merely reuse a possibly unfinished head of a previous emperor, but, as Parisi Presicce rightly states, that an entire colossal acrolithic statue was reused. And that means in its turn that we need not only to find out, who this original emperor was, but also which function this statue had;
- 3.) according to Parisi Presicce after the reign of Hadrian Parian marble was not transported to Rome any more - but see below;
- 4.) the photo of Constantine's left profile (cf. C. EVERS 1991, 805, Fig. 7) proves Evers's observation right (so on p. 795; cf. *supra*, her point *b*)) that the original portrait showed a bearded man. This fact has also been observed by Parisi Presicce;
- 5.) The coiffure of the original portrait has been cut back from temple to temple across Constantine's entire forehead and we must ask ourselves, why that had been done;

6.) Evers (1991, 795; cf. *supra*, her point c)) has rightly observed that above both temples of Constantine's head there are remains of Hadrian's third portrait-type, called 'Rollockenfrisur'. Unfortunately, she has not provided a detailed comparison of Constantine's coiffure with complete replicas of Hadrian's portrait-type 'Rollockenfrisur'. A precise 'map' of Constantine's coiffure, compared with a drawing of the scheme of Hadrian's portrait-type 'Rollockenfrisur' (derived by comparing several replicas of Hadrian's portrait-type with 'Rollockenfrisur') should enable us to define, how much of Hadrian's 'Rollockenfrisur' has been 'cut back' at Constantine's forehead. - I cannot provide such a graphic documentation here myself, which is why my following scenario can only be regarded as preliminary.

Assuming that already the artists, who created the portrait of Constantine (cf. here **Fig. 11**), could have cut away the neck of the original portrait in the way that it is preserved (because they had observed that, by cutting away the neck, this could provide them with further possibilities to rework the facial traits of this head), I developed the following scenario, which I sent on 5th May 2020 as my second E-mail to Hans Rupprecht Goette.

According to this idea, the artists could have 'tilted' the original head slightly forward in the direction to the beholder. Since they had decided to maintain the ears of the original portrait, they could, of course, only move the head slightly forward, and cut away not very much of the original portrait's forehead and of the facial traits at the front of this head. This operation would have allowed them to carve the facial traits slightly deeper, for example the cheeks to create Constantine's large eyes, and especially the area around the nose, so that it became larger, and in order to create Constantine's protruding chin. Of course this would have had the effect of changing the portrait's neck, which is why they cut it away. The idea, that the artists might actually have proceeded this way is, in my opinion, supported by the fact that the coiffure of the original portrait was cut back from temple to temple across Constantine's entire forehead. Apart from my own scenario, which I have just developed, I see no reason why that operation should have been necessary.

Although I maintain my overall conclusion, I should now like to add a comment to my point 3.), which refers to the statement by Parisi Presicce (2005, 146; *id.* 2006b, 152), according to which, after the reign of Hadrian, Parian marble was no longer imported to Rome.

Parisi Presicce (2006b, 152) writes: "L'identificazione del marmo [of the fragments belonging to the acrolithic statue of Constantine, here **Fig. 11**], viceversa, ripropone nuovamente il problema dell'identificazione del soggetto raffigurato in occasione della sua prima lavorazione, dal momento che – per quanto finora è possibile sostenere – **i blocchi di marmo pario possono essere stati portati a Roma non oltre l'età adrianea** [my emphasis]".

As already mentioned above, I have discussed this point with Hans Rupprecht Goette in an E-mail correspondence, who was kind enough to read this *Study* (this text was at the time part of *Appendix IV.c.1* that is now published below, in volume 3-2). Hans has alerted me by Email of 30th July 2020 to the fact that, at Rome, Parian marble was still used for portraits after the Hadrianic period.

He sent me an article by Donato Attanasio, Matthias Bruno and Walter Prochaska (2019), who have documented this fact. Since I myself am aware of the fact that, at Rome, Parian marble was used for 'ideal' sculpture 'also later than the Hadrianic period' (for example for the 'Esquiline Venus' (cf. here **Fig. 150**, to which I will come back below), both Goette and I agree that, even provided Parisi Presicce's (2006b, 152) relevant assertion were true - for which he himself does not provide a reference - all this evidence proves that at Rome Parian marble was still *used* after the Hadrianic period.

**This means that my above-mentioned point 3.), which relates to the earlier acrolithic statue that was reworked into the portrait of Constantine the Great (cf. here Fig. 11), is misleading, in so far as I had**

**intended to say that the material Parian marble alone precludes a date of the original statue `after the Hadrianic period´. - After what was said above, this is certainly *not* true.**

It is enough to think of the great masses of all kinds of marble and other building material that have still been found in post-antique times at *La Marmorata*, a telling modern toponym for the new ancient commercial riverport (by many scholars erroneously identified with the *Emporium* of Rome), which means that we cannot possibly know how long in antiquity it would in theory have been possible for a sculptor at Rome to work `fresh´ Parian marble, that is to say, marble blocks that were available at Rome's *Horrea*, without being forced to rework already existing sculptures.

To the area called *La Marmorata* I will come back below at Part II. of this *Study*. *Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the `Porticus Aemilia´ (in reality identifiable as Navalìa) and of the Horrea Aemiliana. With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?*

The essay by Attanasio, Bruno and Prochaska (2019) is relevant for the context discussed here, since the authors have tested the marble of 261 Roman portraits, most of which were carved at Rome, *inter alia* the portrait of Constantine (cf. here **Fig. 11**), which is why I quote in the following *verbatim* from their account.

**Attanasio, Bruno and Prochaska (2019, 277) write in their Abstract about the use of Parian marble at Rome:** "The marble provenance of 261 Roman portraits (167 imperial, 94 private) mostly of urban production and dating from the mid 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. to the early 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D. has been established ... Parian *lychnites*, dominant till the mid 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D., underwent a strong decrease and almost disappeared from the later 2<sup>nd</sup> century onwards".

**Attanasio, Bruno and Prochaska (2019, 204) suggest (in my opinion erroneously) that the original head, recut into the portrait of Constantine (cf. here Figs. 11; 11.1), had been created in the Antonine period:** "Use of Parian marble, either *lychnites* or second choice Parian II marble, in Antonine times, although limited, is confirmed by many quarry blocks recovered from the Isola Sacra and the Fossa Traiana or found near the entrance of the underground quarries at Marathi. Quarry inscriptions carved on the blocks suggest that marble excavations at Paros went on till at least the mid 160s A.D. [with n. 90].

**The value of Parian marble was still recognized by some sculptors, and it is interesting to note that *lychnites* was used in Antonine times for some colossal sculptures. Beside the head of Antoninus Pius already mentioned (cat. 34) most of the fragments of a colossal statue, now visible in the court of Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome, including the huge head later reworked as a portrait of Constantine, are made of *lychnites* [with n. 91]. Originally the sculpture represented a 2<sup>nd</sup> century emperor, probably from Trajan to Marcus Aurelius [with n. 92], and demonstrate that in this period Parian *lychnites* was still a sought after marble variety [my emphasis]**".

In their **note 90**, Attanasio *et al.* write: "Pensabene *et al.* 2000, 529-538, with previous references".

In their **note 91**, they write: "Pensabene *et al.* 2002".

In their **note 92**, they write: "Delbrück 1933, 121-130".

As discussed above in detail, the marble fragments in the cortile of the Palazzo dei Conservatori comprise 10 fragments carved from Parian marble of the best quality of this specific stone, called *lychnites*, which all belong to the colossal acrolithic portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine). In addition to this, there is also the above-mentioned colossal `wrong´ right hand of Constantine's statue on display there, carved from a different kind of marble, which belongs to a second acrolithic statue.

**For the 'Esquiline Venus' (cf. here Fig. 150); cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.3.1; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at:**

*A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

*Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With a discussion of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here Fig. 3) and The fourth and the fifth Contributions by Peter Herz ...; at Chapter VI.2.3. My own interpretation of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here Fig. 3) ...; at Hadrian's Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ )-portrait-type (cf. here Fig. 3) and the 'Venus from the Esquiline' (cf. here Fig. 150).*

For the 'Esquiline Venus'; cf. also Häuber (1986, 79-82; p. 79: for the material Parian marble; *ead.* 1988; and *ead.* 2014a, Figs. 16 a-f on pp. 40-41; cf. Chapter B 29.), pp. 745-776).

**Let's now turn to the Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette.**

Hans Rupprecht Goette answered me by E-mail on 5th May 2020, expressing his agreement with Evers (1991) and with my own ideas that the head of Constantine the Great (cf. here Fig. 11) was originally a portrait of Hadrian, adding some of his own observations which support this idea. On 6th May he has summarized this on my request in an E-mail, that he has kindly allowed me to publish here.

**See below, at *The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great)*; cf. here Fig. 11.**

When I had (almost) finished writing volume 3-1 of this *Study* on Domitian, Hans Rupprecht Goette was kind enough to send me on 2nd June 2023 his just appeared article ("Lesefrüchte? Vom Nutzen gründlicher Autopsie und guter Photodokumentation bei der Untersuchung von Portrait-Umarbeitungen", 2020/2021), in which he explains the relevant methodology in great detail.

Let's now return to my discussion on the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine) with Hans Rupprecht Goette in May of 2020. In the meantime, I had found another remark by Claudio Parisi Presicce (2005, 146), who has observed that traces under Constantine's chin can possibly be interpreted as caused in the course of removing the beard of the original portrait: "Una certa tagliente rigidità nel profilo della mascella, presente anche in altri ritratti costantiniani realizzati rilavorando teste più antiche (in particolare quello colossale del Metropolitan Museum di New York) e la **piacchiettura ancora visibile nel sottogola, certamente non attribuibile a fenomeni di alveolarizzazione del marmo, indicano che forse il personaggio originariamente raffigurato aveva la barba** [my emphasis]".

Telling this Hans Rupprecht Goette by E-mail, he has sent me on 6th May 2020 on his own account some of his own photographs of the head of Constantine, on which this reworking of the beard under Constantine's chin is visible.

I wrote back the same day that exactly as on the photograph of Constantine's left profile, published by Evers (1991, 805, Fig. 7), also on his own photographs, and on those of Franz Xaver Schütz (for all those cf. here Fig. 11) even the shape of the beard of this earlier portrait is visible, which is clearly Hadrian's beard. The ideas developed here by Hans Rupprecht Goette and myself are corroborated by observations, published by Claudio Parisi Presicce (2006b), which I only read after my own account and *The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great)* had already been written. Parisi Presicce describes and documents with photographs that on Constantine's face the areas of the forehead, at the temples, around the nose and around the chin have definitely been reworked.

Cf. Parisi Presicce (2005, 145-146: "Il volto reca segni inconfutabili di rilavorazione: la fronte è stata chiaramente ribassata sotto la linea dei capelli come esito della trasformazione della pettinatura, evidente

soprattutto nell'area appiattita e fortemente rilavorata davanti alle orecchie in corrispondenza dei due profili. Gli occhi grandi e le [page 146] sopracciglia arcuate sono, invece, quelli del ritratto originario, come pure il naso piuttosto voluminoso e le orecchie, che non sembrano essere state rilavorate". Cf. Parisi Presicce (2006b, 148): "La fronte, infatti, sotto la linea dei capelli, appare decisamente ribassata". Cf. Parisi Presicce 2006b, 150, caption of his Figs. 53-54: "Segni di rilavorazione della capigliatura"; cf. caption of his Figs. 55-56: "Statua del colosso di Costantino. Segni di rilavorazione davanti alle orecchie". Cf. p. 151, caption of his Fig. 58: "Statua del colosso di Costantino. Segni di rilavorazione nel sottogola [my emphasis]".

In addition to this, Parisi Presicce (2006b) has published photographs of Constantine's head (cf. here Fig. 11), on which the beard of the original portrait is visible in the form of 'dark shadows'; cf. p. 141, Figs. 38; 39; 40; 42, p. 151, Fig. 58, p. 153, Fig. 64.

**The observations, made by Klaus Fittschen (2010b; id. 2012b) concerning the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great; cf. here Fig. 11).**

Only after my *Appendix IV.c.1.*) (from which I have later 'cut out' this *Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great)* ... (cf. here Fig. 11)), and *The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great)* were both written, Hans Goette has found an essay by Klaus Fittschen, which he was also kind enough to send me.

**In this article ("Lese Früchte IV; 3. Zur Umarbeitung des Kolossalbildnisses Constantins im Hof des Konservatorenpalastes", 2012b), Klaus Fittschen has likewise followed Cécile Evers (1991) by assuming that the colossal head of Constantine the Great (cf. here Fig. 11) had originally been a portrait of Hadrian.**

I myself, although I had tried to find out, whether Fittschen had discussed Evers's (1991) hypothesis, had been unable to find this article. Fittschen (2012b, 75 with n. 68) himself refers to one of his earlier publications (cf. *id.* 2010b, 1103), where he seems to have voiced this opinion for the first time. Fittschen's review (cf. *id.* 2010b) was quoted already elsewhere in this *Study* (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.1.*) in a different context and stood therefore already on my long list of publications to be checked as soon as the libraries would re-open after their closure due to the Corona pandemic.

**Fittschen's observations (2010b; id. 2012b) concerning the reworking of this head of Hadrian will be discussed and quoted *verbatim* in the following. They differ in part from those of Hans Rupprecht Goette (cf. below, at *The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great)*), as well as from my own statements, both of which are published here unchanged (cf. *supra*). But in my opinion, these observations by Goette, Fittschen and myself complement each other.**

Fittschen (2012b, Taf. 24,8.9) illustrates his hypothesis with two reconstruction drawings - thus adding the visual information that, as remarked above in my discussion of Cécile Evers's hypothesis (1991), she herself has not provided the reader with. Fittschen has also made a survey of the various properties of the known replicas of Hadrian's so-called "Roll-Locken-Portrait-Typus", information likewise missing in Evers's (1991) account. Because Fittschen too follows Evers (1991) in assuming that the artist, who reworked Hadrian's head, maintained the ears of this portrait, Fittschen (2012b), as his Taf. 24,9 shows - like myself - takes for granted that the upper part of Hadrian's head must have been tilted 'forward' in order to rework his face into a portrait of Constantine. Fittschen does not mention this fact in his text and assumes, contrary to myself, that, in order to allow this operation, the overall proportions of Hadrian's head, that is to say: its volume (especially its extension from the front to the back) must have been considerably larger than those of the resulting portrait of Constantine. As I hope to demonstrate below, this is not true. Fittschen (2012b, 76-77, with ns. 74-76) - also like myself - is further of the opinion (obviously because of the same assumption), that it was only therefore possible to carve Constantine's large and protruding eyes in the way that it was done.

Contrary to the opinions voiced by Goette (cf. below, at *The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great)*) and myself (cf. *supra*), Fittschen suggests that the artist, in order to create Constantine's facial traits out of those of Hadrian, had to cut away 13 cm of marble (cf. *id.* 2010b, 1103; *id.* 2012b, 76 with n. 71). From this point of view Fittschen comes to the conclusion that the volume of the original head of Hadrian must have been much larger (especially its extension from the front to the back) than the resulting portrait of Constantine.

I discussed this point with Hans Rupprecht Goette on 29th-30th July 2020 in an E-mail correspondence, and I agree with him that the reworking of Hadrian's face into Constantine's facial traits cannot possibly have had the result that Constantine's *head* as a whole is much smaller in regard to the measurement from the chin to the vertex of the head than the original portrait of Hadrian had been. Only the extension from the front to the rear has been considerably reduced. And here Fittschen has overlooked another important finding, documented by Parisi Presicce (2005; *id.* 2006b), because only the extension from the face back to the ears could be reduced at all.

Parisi Presicce (2005, 145; repeated almost *verbatim* in *id.* 2006b, 139-140, quoted *verbatim supra*) rightly observes that the portrait of Constantine does not comprise the back of the head - and it is clear from the way the head was sculpted that also in the original portrait the back of the head was not executed, because it was from the beginning fixed to the wall behind it. Parisi Presicce describes this fact in his text and is able to document it with a photograph of Constantine's head, seen from above (cf. his Fig. 41).

**Parisi Presicce (2006b, 139) writes about the head of Constantine discussed here (cf. here Fig. 11) :**

"[Fragment] E. La testa è costituita unicamente dalla metà anteriore e non sembra avere mai avuto la parte occipitale (MC, inv. 757) (figg. 38-40), tenuto conto che il bordo non è lavorato per un accostamento (fig. 41). Il blocco marmoreo è scavato sul retro con tagli regolari, non solo per alleggerire il peso, ma anche per consentire l'alloggiamento di travi e di grappe che permettessero di sostenere e ancorare la testa alla parete posteriore (fig. 42). Il raccordo era forse costituito da un elemento in stucco che riproduceva il nimbo. Ne deriva che la testa è stata lavorata o rilavorata per una statua colossale dimensionata per l'abside occidentale della basilica [of Maxentius], alla cui parete di fondo era previsto che fosse accostata".

Cf. Parisi Presicce (2006b, 141: the caption of his Fig. 41 reads):

"Come fig. 38 [= "Testa del colosso di Costantino, veduta frontale"]. Particolare della sommità del capo".

For the manufacture of Greek and Roman acrolithic statues in general; cf. Giorgos Despinis (2004; I thank Hans Rupprecht Goette for the reference).

**To conclude.** The following facts, therefore, contradict Fittschen's above-mentioned assumption concerning the alleged overall smaller volume of Constantine's head (when compared with the original portrait of Hadrian, from which it was carved):

1.) the remains of one of Hadrian's 'Roll-Locken' above Constantine's right ear;

2.) the fact that the artist reused Hadrian's ears unchanged for Constantine's portrait.

Points 1.) and 2.) were observed by Evers (1991, 795, with ns. 61-63, Figs. 5; 7), and followed by Fittschen (2012b, 75 with ns. 68, 69);

3.) traces under Constantine's chin, observed and documented by Claudio Parisi Presicce (2005, 146; *id.* 2006b, 151, caption of his Fig. 58, quoted *verbatim supra*), which he has interpreted as remains of the beard of the original portrait. Those traces are also visible on a photograph published here (cf. here Fig. 11).



Fittschen (2010b; *id.* 2012b) does not address the above-mentioned point 3.), because he does not discuss the essays of Parisi Presicce (2005; *id.* 2006b).

Goette (cf. below, at *The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great)*) observes that Constantine's portrait is not so 'flat' as other reworked portraits usually are, which is obvious when we look at Constantine's right and left profiles (cf. here **Fig. 11**) In addition to this, Goette suggests in his *Contribution* that also the removal of Hadrian's beard allowed the artist to carve Constantine's more protruding nose. In my opinion, Goette's just-mentioned observations are enough to prove that Hadrian's facial traits were certainly not cut as deeply as Fittschen (2012b) wants us to believe. Contrary to Fittschen's assertion, I, therefore, maintain also my own suggestion, which is also tacitly assumed on Fittschen's reconstruction drawing of Hadrian's/Constantine's superimposed left profiles (cf. his Taf. 24,9), namely that already the tilting of Hadrian's head in advance provided enough material to carve Constantine's protruding large eyes, nose and chin. - Only that Fittschen, contrary to myself, is of the (as I hope to have demonstrated above with my points 1.)-3.) erroneous opinion that the volume of Hadrian's head must have been considerably larger (especially the extension of the head from the front to the back) than the resulting head of Constantine.

In the reconstruction of this colossal acrolithic statue of Constantine by Claudio Parisi Presicce (2006b, 147, caption of Fig. 48 [= here **Fig. 11.1**]; cf. p. 127, note \*), which is based on "3D"-scans of all ten extant marble fragments, Constantine's head seems to be of much smaller proportions than his body; a fact, which Parisi Presicce himself does not address in his discussion of this reconstruction. But instead of believing that this could support Fittschen's assertion (that the volume of Constantine's head was considerably smaller, especially its extension from the front to the back, than the original portrait of Hadrian), I rather believe that this effect is the result of the chosen perspective, or in other words, the chosen 'viewpoint' of the beholder. - My guess is that this perspective was also chosen because Parisi Presicce (2006b, 140) reports that this colossal statue of Constantine, on display in the western apse of the Basilica of Maxentius, had been erected on a base (which is not represented in the reconstruction though).

When seeing Parisi Presicce's reconstruction (cf. here **Fig. 11.1**) of the acrolithic portrait of Constantine for the first time, I, therefore, thought the emperor's head was possibly intentionally shown as being so small, in order to stress the grandiose proportions of this statue; according to Parisi Presicce (2006b, 154) it was circa 10-12 m high. But Parisi Presicce (2006b) does not mention that any such 'optic correction' had intentionally been added to this reconstruction. Note that in Parisi Presicce's reconstruction (cf. here **Fig. 11.1**) are assembled for the first time all ten surviving marble fragments (including the head), that belong to this colossal portrait of Constantine, and that Parisi Presicce (2006b) is able to demonstrate that all of these fragments were part of one and the same original acrolithic statue - which in the opinion of Cécile Evers (1991) and some of the above-quoted scholars represented Hadrian. - Parisi Presicce's relevant observations at the colossal statue of Constantine lead us back to Fittschen's account.

**Fittschen (2012b, 77, n. 79) asks the following two questions, which, as we have seen above, have been addressed and (in part) answered by other scholars, whose findings Fittschen himself has overlooked :**

**"Wo das Kolossalbildnis Hadrians ursprünglich aufgestellt war und welche Teile außer dem Kopf sonst noch übernommen worden sind, ist weiterhin unbekannt, vgl. [vergleiche] Ruck a. O. [an angegebenem Ort] (Anm. 68 [*i.e.*, here B. RUCK 2007]) 241-253; Fittschen a. O. [an angegebenem Ort] (Anm. 68 [*i.e.*, here K. FITTSCHEN 2010b]) 1103 [my emphasis]"**.

**Fittschen (2012, 77, n. 79) thus asserts that these questions have not been answered so far. - Fortunately this is not (quite) true.**

To begin with Fittschen's (2012b, 77, n. 79) 2.) question: 'which marble fragments, apart from the head [of the colossal acrolithic statue of Constantine, here **Fig. 11**] have been taken over [from the original portrait of Hadrian]?'

Fittschen has overlooked that this question has been discussed in great detail - and answered - by Claudio Parisi Presicce. The relevant passages of Parisi Presicce's publications (2005; 2006b) are quoted *verbatim supra*.

Parisi Presicce (2005, 146, *verbatim* repeated 2006b, 149 with n. 38) believes (in my opinion erroneously) that it is impossible to identify the original emperor, from whose portrait that of Constantine (cf. here **Fig. 11**) had been recut. But Parisi Presicce (2005, 146 with n. 43; *id.* 2006b, 152, with n. 46, quoted *verbatim supra*) is able to demonstrate that the entire acrolithic statue of Constantine was made by re-working only one single portrait, since its still extant 10 marble fragments, which have been tested for the purpose, are all carved from the same best quality of Parian marble, called *lychnites*.

Let's now turn to Fittschen's (2012b, 77, n. 79) 1.) question: 'where was this colossal portrait of Hadrian originally on display'?

Fittschen does not discuss that Cécile Evers (1991, 797, with n. 72) mentions altogether five inscriptions, all found in the *Forum Romanum*, *inter alia* CIL VI 974, which, in her opinion, could have belonged to this portrait of Hadrian. We have learned above from Michaela Fuchs (2004, 130, n. 45) that "CIL VI 974 = 40524" (cf. here **Fig. 29.1**) that Fuchs, who herself does not mention Evers (1991), is interested in this inscription for a different reason.

I have suggested above that both subjects, discussed by Cécile Evers (1991) and by Michaela Fuchs (2004), are possibly related. Geza Alföldy (1996, at CIL VI 40524) believed that this inscription belonged to an honorary statue, dedicated by the Senate and the Roman People to Hadrian, and that it was on display within the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*. Alföldy's hypothesis has been followed by Michaela Fuchs (2004, 130 with n. 47, Abb. 8 = here **Fig. 29.1**), and above tentatively also by myself (although, as already mentioned above, I have in the meantime abandoned this idea). - To this I will come back below.

Let's now look at Fittschen's (2012b) account in detail.

**Fittschen (2012b, 75-77), after discussing the reworking of the portraits of private individuals, turns to recut portraits of emperors and writes about this colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine):**

"Anders verhält es sich bei Kaiserbildnissen, die - zumindest bis in die Zeit der Tetrarchie - nur umgearbeitet und wiederverwendet werden konnten, wenn der ursprünglich dargestellte Kaiser der *damnatio memoriae* verfallen war [with n. 62]; die Zahl der in Frage kommenden Kandidaten ist überschaubar, sodass in der Regel schon aus dem Kaiser, der in dem wiederverwendeten Bildnis dargestellt ist, geschlossen werden kann, wer sein Vorgänger war [with n. 63] ...

**Das Kolossalbildnis Constantins des Großen im Hof des Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rom ist, wie man seit langem weiß, aus einem älteren Bildnis umgearbeitet worden [with n. 66]. Während man früher vermutete, dass es zunächst Maxentius dargestellt habe und nach dessen *damnatio memoriae* für eine Wiederverwendung zur Verfügung stand [with n. 67], hat Cécil [*corr.*: Cécile] Evers erkannt, dass das Vorgängerporträt Hadrian, also einen >guten< (divinisierten) Kaiser dargestellt hat [with n. 68]. Als Reste von dessen Bildnis sind die beiden Ohren (mit dem berühmten Knick im Ohrläppchen) und eine Haarwelle oberhalb des rechten Ohres erhalten geblieben. Aus diesem Haarrest ergibt sich zugleich eindeutig, dass Hadrian im sog. Roll-Locken-Typus, seinem verbreitetsten Bildnistypus [with n. 69] dargestellt war. Es ist [page 76] deshalb möglich, zeichnerisch zu veranschaulichen, wie das Bildnis Constantins vor der Umarbeitung ausgesehen hat.**

Das Verfahren ist ganz einfach: Da die Ohren Constantins und Hadrians identisch sind, existiert ein fester Anhaltspunkt für den Größenvergleich. Leider steht für den Versuch zur Zeit nur das linke Profil des Constantin-Bildnisses zur Verfügung, da das andere (an dem sich die vom Hadrian-Bildnis

stehengebliebene Locke befindet) für die Herstellung einer reinen Profilaufnahme zu dicht an der Hofwand liegt. Man braucht nun nur das Ohr dieser Profelseite mit dem entsprechenden Ohr im gleichen Format zur Deckung zu bringen (Taf. 24,9). Als Beispiel diente die qualitätvolle Replik in Dunham Massey, an der das linke Ohr besonders gut sichtbar ist [with n. 70].

Der Versuch zeigt deutlich, wieviel Stein vom ursprünglichen Bildnis abgenommen werden musste und dass das Hadrian-Bildnis erheblich größer gewesen sein muss als das jetzige Bildnis Constantins [with n. 71].

Eine gewisse Unsicherheit des hier angewendeten Verfahrens besteht darin, dass nicht sicher ist, ob alle Repliken des >Roll-Locken-Typs< eine einheitliche Tiefenausdehnung besessen haben; Stichproben haben ergeben, dass der Abstand zwischen Nasenspitze (bzw. [beziehungsweise] Lippen) und Rand der Ohrmuschel im Verhältnis zur Kopfhöhe etwas variieren kann [with n. 72]. Der ursprüngliche Kolossalkopf Hadrians könnte also im Profil vielleicht etwas kürzer gewesen sein, sodass die zu beseitigende Marmorplatte nicht ganz so groß war. In jedem Fall stand also genügend Stein zur Verfügung, um daraus das Bildnis Constantins in der Form zu gestalten, in der es vom Auftraggeber gewünscht wurde.

Das zeigt auch derselbe Versuch mit der rechten Profelseite, nur dass wegen der erzwungenen Schrägansicht der Substanzverlust in der perspektivischen Verkürzung nicht unmittelbar abgelesen werden kann (Taf. 24,8); für diesen Versuch wurde eine Schrägansicht der Hadrian-Büste in London [with n. 73] verwendet, von der allein mir eine Aufnahme in dieser Ansicht zur Verfügung stand. Das Ergebnis ist nun keinesfalls überraschend, aber doch wichtig. Denn Marina Prusac hat die These aufgestellt, dass die Augen Constantins nur deswegen so auffallend groß ausgefallen seien, weil mangels Steinmasse eine andere Form nicht möglich gewesen sei [with n. 74]. Ich habe diese These schon an anderer Stelle als abwegig zurückgewiesen [with n. 75]. Sie mit dem zeichnerischen Beleg zusätzlich [page 77] zu widerlegen schien mir auch deshalb nötig, weil sich schon abzeichnet, dass die Kernthese von Prusacs Buch, dass nämlich der für die spätantiken Porträts so typische >spirituelle< Ausdruck aus den Zwängen der Umarbeitung hervorgegangen sei, Anhänger findet [with n. 76].

Es sei auch an dieser Stelle [with n. 77] darauf hingewiesen, dass die Umarbeitung nach einem Modell vorgenommen worden sein muss, das dem damals schon existierenden >Quinquennialien-Typus< Constantins entsprach [with n. 78], die perfekt gelungene Umarbeitung wäre anders kaum möglich gewesen. Da die Kolossalstatue Hadrians für die Überführung in die Maxentiusbasilika ohnehin in ihre Bestandteile zerlegt werden musste [with n. 79]. konnte der Bildhauer die Umarbeitung vermutlich sogar unter Werkstattbedingungen durchführen.

Die übrigen Auffälligkeiten am Constantin-Bildnis hängen alle mit der Umarbeitung aus dem Hadrian-Bildnis zusammen: Die Beseitigung von Teilen des Kalottenhaares und ihr Ersatz durch eingefügte Haarteile (erhalten nur auf der rechten Seite), die separat gearbeiteten und vor den Ohren eingedübelten Koteletten, die bei Constantin ein besonderes Aussehen hatten [with n. 80] und aus dem Ansatz des Backenbartes Hadrians offenbar nicht gewonnen werden konnten, sowie die vier kleinen Bohrlöcher (zwei asymmetrisch verteilte in der >Mandorla< des Stirnhaares, zwei im Schläfenhaar auf der linken Seite), die offenbar von Bohrungen im Haar des Hadrian-Bildnisses herrühren und nicht getilgt werden konnten. Indizien für die Annahme, das Hadrian-Bildnis sei zunächst in das des Maxentius umgearbeitet worden und danach erst in das des Constantin sind m. E. [meines Erachtens] nicht erkennbar [with n. 81; my emphasis]".

The caption of Fittschen's Taf. 24,8 reads: "Rekonstruktion der Umarbeitung des Bildnisses des Constantin im Hof des Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rom aus einem Bildnis des Hadrian (Rekonstruktion: St. Eckardt, nach einer Aufnahme des British Museum, London)".

The caption of Fittschen's Taf. 24,9 reads: "Rekonstruktion der Umarbeitung des Bildnisses des Constantin im Hof des Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rom aus einem Bildnis des Hadrian (Rekonstruktion: St. Eckardt, nach H. P. L'Orange, Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen [Berlin 1984] Taf. 53e)".

In his **note 62**, Fittschen writes: "Ob dieser Tabubruch bereits früher, etwa unter Gallien, begangen wurde, ist noch ungeklärt, vgl. [vergleiche] Fittschen a. O. [an angegebenem Ort] (Anm. 59 [*i.e.*, here K. FITTSCHEN 2012a, 637-643])".

In his **note 63**, he writes: "Vgl. [Vergleiche] dazu die beiden grundlegenden Arbeiten: Bergmann - Zanker a. O. [an angegebenem Ort] (Anm. 57 [*i.e.*, here M. BERGMANN and P. ZANKER 1981, 327-332, Abb. 8a-10d]); H. Jucker ... [*i.e.*, here H. JUCKER 1981] 236-316; zusammenfassend E. Varner ... [*i.e.*, here E.R. VARNER 2004]".

In his **note 66**, he writes: " Vgl. [Vergleiche] Fittschen - Zanker a. O. [an angegebenem Ort] (Anm. 21) [*i.e.*, here K. FITTSCHEN and P. ZANKER 1985 I] 147-152 Nr. 122 Taf. 151.152".

In his **note 67**, he writes: "So z. B. [zum Beispiel] Varner ... [*i.e.*, here E.R. VARNER 2004] 287 f. Nr. 9,4 Abb. 209 a-d; zuletzt E. Marlowe ... [*i.e.*, here E. MARLOWE 2010] 203 Am. 16. Die Umarbeitung aus einem Bildnis Trajans hält für möglich Th. Schäfer ... [*i.e.*, here T. SCHÄFER 1999] 299 Anm. 20".

In his **note 68**, he writes: "**Vgl. [Vergleiche] C. Evers ... [*i.e.*, here C. EVERS 1991] 795-799 Abb. 5-8. Die nur zögerliche Zustimmung von B. Ruck ... [*i.e.*, here B. RUCK 2007] 242 f. verstehe ich nicht, vgl. K. Fittschen, GFA 13, 2010, 1103 [my emphasis]**".

In his **note 69**, he writes: "Zu diesem Bildnistypus vgl. M. Wegner ... [*i.e.*, here M. WEGNER 1956] 13-15; K. Fittschen ... [*i.e.*, K. FITTSCHEN 1984]; Fittschen - Zanker a. O. [an angegebenem Ort] (Anm. 21) [*i.e.*, here K. FITTSCHEN and P. ZANKER 1985 I] 49-51 Nr. 59 Taf. 54. 55 (mit Replikenliste); C. Evers ... [*i.e.*, here C. EVERS 1994] 233-245 (mit Replikenliste)".

In his **note 70**, he writes: "Vgl. [Vergleiche] D. Boschung - H. v. Hesberg - A. Linfert ... [*i.e.*, here D. BOSCHUNG, H. v. HESBERG and A. LINFERT 1997] 135 Nr. 173 Taf. 118.119. Ein Stück vom Rand des Ohres und die Nase sind zwar ergänzt, doch dürfte die Ergänzung das Richtige treffen und hat keine Auswirkungen auf den hier vorgelegten Versuch, der natürlich auch mit anderen Repliken durchgeführt werden könnte. - Das beschriebene Verfahren habe ich zunächst mit U. Zehm erprobt, die Taf. 24,8,9 vorgelegte Rekonstruktion verdanke ich St. Eckart [!]"

In his **note 71**, he writes: "**Durch Vermessung auf der Grundlage von Photographien hatte ich eine Rückarbeitung des Gesichtes des Hadrian um ca. [circa] 13 cm errechnet, vgl. [vergleiche] Fittschen a. O. [an angegebenem Ort] (Anm. 68) [*i.e.*, here K. FITTSCHEN 2010b] 1103 [my emphasis]**".

In his **note 72**, he writes: "**Über die Kopiergenauigkeit auch in Bezug auf die Kopfproportionen könnten nur genaue Vermessungen Auskunft geben, die heute technisch sicher leicht durchzuführen wären [my emphasis]**".

In his **note 73**, he writes: "Zur Londoner Replik vgl. [vergleiche] Evers a. O. [an angegebenem Ort] (Anm. 68 [*corr.*: 69]) [*i.e.*, here C. EVERS 1994] 127 f. Nr. 60 Abb. 62.65".

In his **note 74**, he writes: "Vgl. [Vergleiche] Prusac a. O. [an angegebenem Ort] (Anm. 61) [*i.e.*, here M. PRUSAC 2011] 69 f."

In his **note 75**, he writes: "Vgl. [Vergleiche] Fittschen a. O. [an angegebenem Ort] (Anm. 59) [*i.e.*, here K. FITTSCHEN 2012a, 637-643]".

In his **note 76**, he writes: "Vgl. z. B. [Vergleiche zum Beispiel] die Besprechung des Buches von M. Prusac durch E. Dumser ... [*i.e.*, here E.A. DUMSER 2012]: ``This chapter [VII] finally explains how the sculptor's choice [*corr.*: choice] of technique results in features that have previously been considered part of >late antique style< and motivated by ideology, a point made repeatedly in earlier chapters and one likely to generate considerable debate in the coming years''. Den Hinweis auf diese Rezension verdanke ich H. R. Goette".

In his **note 77**, he writes: "Ausführlicher in Fittschen a. O. [an angegebenem Ort] (Anm. 59 [*i.e.*, here K. FITTSCHEN 2012a, 637-643])".

In his **note 78**, he writes: "Zum Typus vgl. [vergleiche] Fittschen-Zanker a. O. [an angegebenem Ort] (Anm. 21) [*i.e.*, here K. FITTSCHEN and P. ZANKER 1985 I] 149-152 mit Replikenliste; Fittschen - Zanker a. O. [an angegebenem Ort] (Anm. 18 [*i.e.*, here K. Fittschen and P. ZANKER 2014] Nr. 50 a. Der Typus ist seit dem Jahr 310 auf den Münzen nachweisbar".

In his **note 79**, he writes: "**Wo das Kolossalbildnis Hadrians ursprünglich aufgestellt war und welche Teile außer dem Kopf sonst noch übernommen worden sind, ist weiterhin unbekannt, vgl. [vergleiche] Ruck a.**

O. [an angegebenen Ort] (**Anm. 68** [*i.e.*, here B. RUCK 2007]) **241-253**; **Fittschen a. O.** [an angegebenen Ort] (**Anm. 68** [*i.e.*, here K. FITTSCHEN 2010b]) **1103** [my emphasis]".

In his **note 80**, he writes: "Vgl. [Vergleiche] H. P. L'Orange ... [*i.e.*, here H.P. L'ORANGE 1984] Taf. 32. 38. 39c-d sowie das neu gefundene Kolossalbildnis vom Forum Traiani [cf. here **Fig. 47**, to be discussed below]: E. La Rocca - P. Zanker ... [*i.e.*, here E. LA ROCCA and P. ZANKER 2007] 145-168 Abb. 5.7; Fittschen - Zanker a. O. [an angegebenen Ort] (Anm. 18 [*i.e.*, here K. Fittschen and P. ZANKER 2014] Nr. 50 a Taf. 70".

In his **note 81**, he writes: "Mehrfach-Umarbeitungen hat es nachweislich gegeben, doch haben sie zu besonders unbefriedigenden Ergebnissen geführt, vgl. z. B. [vergleiche zum Beispiel] die Panzerstatue Nervas aus Velleia (C. Saletti ... [*i.e.*, here C. SALETTI 1968, 52-57 Nr. 12 Taf. 39-42]) oder die Büste eines Asklepiades im Museo Capitolino (Fittschen - Zanker Cain a. O. [an angegebenen Ort] Anm. 6 [*i.e.*, here K. FITTSCHEN, P. ZANKER and P. CAIN, 2010]) 177 f. Nr. 176 Taf. 219. 220). **Davon kann beim Constantin im Kapitol aber nicht die Rede sein. Sein Bildnis ist eben nicht aus einer damnatio memoriae, sondern aus einer Usurpation hervorgegangen** [my emphasis]".

Fittschen (2012b, 77), in his above-quoted **note 81**, calls the fact that an original portrait of Hadrian had been re-used for the colossal portrait of Constantine discussed here (cf. here **Fig. 25,7**), an act of "Usurpation", and compares this procedure to the re-use of portraits, which became possible because of *damnatio memoriae*.

Fittschen thus refers to those reworked portraits, discussed at the beginning of his essay. He follows those scholars who believe that some portraits could be reworked, because the emperors, whom the heads in question had originally represented, had suffered *damnatio memoriae*. Not being myself an expert either in the procedure, called with the modern term '*damnatio memoriae*', or in the field of 'Portraitforschung' in general, and thus concerning the term 'Usurpation' in this context, my thanks are due to Hans Rupprecht Goette for alerting me by E-mail of 30th July 2020 to the most recent discussions of both subjects; cf. Joachim Raeder (2019).

### **Let's now summarize the discussion of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine), here Figs. 11; 11.1.**

After what has been said above, I myself - like Amanda Claridge (1998, 382; *ead.* 2010, 465 - but without providing a reference), Brigitte Ruck (2007, 242-243), Klaus Fittschen (2010b, 1103; *id.* 2012b, 75 with n. 68) and Hans Rupprecht Goette (cf. below, at *The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great)*) - follow Cécile Evers's (1991) hypothesis, according to which the famous colossal portrait of Constantine the Great (cf. here **Fig. 11**) was reworked from a statue of Hadrian.

If true, we should now also consider one of her additional ideas; cf. Evers (1991, 797, with n. 72), namely that to this statue of Hadrian may have belonged the fragmentary inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524 = here **Fig. 29.1**).

As mentioned above, independently of Evers (1991), I have come to the same conclusion. I have suggested this also because of the following reasons. This portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine; cf. here **Fig. 11**) was a colossal acrolithic statue that had to be on display indoors and, in case the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524) had actually belonged to it, we would possibly even know for which building the pertaining statue of Hadrian had been created.

Evers believes that the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524; here **Fig. 29.1**) was found in the *Forum Romanum*. But since Evers attributes this inscription to the statue of Hadrian (now Constantine; cf. here **Fig. 11**), and because we have seen above that acrolithic statues could not possibly have stood under the open sky, we must look for a building, for which this original colossal statue of Hadrian (now Constantine) could have

been commissioned. This missing information has possibly been provided by Geza Alföldy and Michaela Fuchs, who have themselves not discussed Evers's (1991) hypotheses. Geza Alföldy (at: *CIL* VI [1996] 40524; here **Fig. 29.1**) has specified the findspot of the inscription (*CIL* VI 974 = 40524): it was either found within the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*, or in the *Forum Romanum* in the immediate vicinity of this temple. Alföldy (at: *CIL* VI 40524) was followed by Fuchs (2014, 130 with n. 47, quoted *verbatim supra*).

**In Michaela Fuchs's opinion (2014, 130), the inscription (*CIL* VI 974 = 40524) belonged to a colossal portrait of Hadrian, dedicated by the Senate and the Roman People to commemorate Hadrian's victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt, because the inscription declares that, 'with his victories in Syria and Palestine, Hadrian has even surpassed the *imperatores maximi* (i.e., Vespasian and Titus)'.**

Fuchs (2014, 130 with n. 47) is, therefore, like Alföldy of the at first glance very convincing opinion that, because of the findspot of this inscription, in combination with its content, the dedication of the pertaining statue of Hadrian would have been especially appropriate within the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*. But, as already mentioned above, neither Alföldy, or Fuchs have asked themselves, where exactly within the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus* the portrait-statue of Hadrian, to which the inscription (*CIL* VI 974 = 40524) belonged, could have been on display, or whether or not there are architectural remains in the *cella* of this temple that may be interpreted as the base of this statue.

**As we have seen above, Evers (1991) is of the opinion that the inscription (*CIL* VI 974 = 40524) may have belonged to the colossal acrolithic statue of Hadrian (now Constantine; cf. here **Fig. 11**), a hypothesis that I myself have at first tentatively suggested here again, although it is so far not provable. But, as already mentioned several times above, I have in the meantime abandoned this earlier idea by suggesting now that this inscription (cf. here **Fig. 29.1**; *CIL* VI 974 = 40524) belonged instead to the original, after which Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna at Istanbul (cf. here **Fig. 29**) and almost 30 replicas of this portrait of the emperor were copied.**

Cf. below, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here **Fig. 29**); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2*).

Nevertheless I believe it is worth-while to preserve the above-presented discussion of my first hypothesis concerning the question, to which portrait of Hadrian the inscription (*CIL* VI 974 = 40524; here **Fig. 29.1**) could have belonged (that I have abandoned in the meantime). I hope that other scholars might find this research useful for their own attempts to find out which function this colossal acrolithic portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine; cf. here **Figs. 11; 11.1**) may originally have had.

**Both wars, to which the inscription (*CIL* VI 974 = 40524; here **Fig. 29.1**) thus refers, were fought in the same area of the Roman Empire, and have been discussed in great detail by Rose Mary Sheldon (2007) and by Werner Eck (most recently in his article of 2022; see below).**

**These wars are called 'The Great Jewish War (or Revolt) (AD 67-73)', which Vespasian and Titus had successfully suppressed, and 'The Bar Kokhba Revolt (AD 132-135)', which was suppressed by Hadrian.**

For the 'Great Jewish War'; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section *III.*, at point 2.); at n. 171, in Chapter *I.1.*, and at n. 404, in Chapter *III.*; below, at Chapters *The major result of this book on Domitian*; and at *The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps*. For the Bar Kokhba Revolt; cf. *supra*, at n. 216, in Chapter *I.2*. For both wars; cf. below, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here **Fig. 29**)), and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2*); also for a discussion, whether Hadrian was involved in the revolt of the Jews in the diaspora, and for the fact that Hadrian had himself *caused* the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

For the Bar Kokhba Revolt; cf. also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ..... Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to*

*the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva, and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) (cf. here Fig. 3). With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz, with The Contribution by John Bodel, with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen; at Chapter III. Was Hadrian himself present at the suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt?*

**But as we shall see in a minute, I had at first forgotten to consider some important facts in my reasoning.**

After having finished writing the first draft of this *Chapter*, I have been alerted to two things that I had overlooked so far. Eric M. Moormann mentioned to me the head of Constantine, which was found in 2005 in the Forum of Trajan (here Fig. 47), suggesting to me to study it together with the statue of Hadrian (now Constantine), here Figs. 11; 11.1. And Hans Rupprecht Goette sent me the publication by Ulrich-Walter Gans (2019) on the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine), here Fig. 11, in which the author has also discussed the head (here Fig. 47). - For this important help I am both colleagues very grateful indeed.

Eric M. Moormann (2016, 283, in his review of K. FITTSCHEN and P. ZANKER IV 2014) writes:

"Among the addenda ... the large head of Constantine [cf. here Fig. 47] found in the sewer of the Forum of Trajan in 2005 forms the most spectacular piece (cat. 50a). It was in view in various exhibitions and is on display in the Mercati Traianei. Like other portraits of this emperor it is the product of reworking on which the debate has concentrated: who was the previous emperor (we may suppose that it was an emperor thanks to the huge format). Fittschen does not accept Zanker's suggestion of two phases (Julio-Claudian emperor and Licinius) and recognizes Licinius only)".

**Fig. 47. Plaster cast of a colossal marble head of Constantine the Great, 0,59 m high. According to K. Fittschen (2014, 58), this portrait was inserted into a (standing), probably cuirassed statue that was circa 3,30 m high. From the Forum of Trajan. Roma, Museo dei Fori Imperiali (inv. no. FT 10337). This plaster cast is on display at the Abgußsammlung of the Freie Universität Berlin. Photos: courtesy H.R. Goette.**

I do not know this head from autopsy.

Because this head of Constantine the Great (here Fig. 47) probably belonged to a cuirassed statue; cf. Fittschen (2014, 58, quoted *verbatim infra*), which was typical of Christian emperors; cf. La Rocca (2000, 24 with n. 168, Fig. 23, quoted *verbatim supra*), I wonder, whether this could have been the above-mentioned portrait-statue, described by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 10,4,16). If so, Constantine was represented in this statue seated. Eusebius copied the pertaining inscription, set (and therefore presumably also composed) by Constantine himself, who added it to the statue, dedicated to him by the Senate after his victory over Maxentius, and which, according to Eusebius, the Senate had erected 'a Roma nel luogo più pubblico di tutti'. Cf. Parisi Presicce (2006b, 140 with n. 15, quoted in more detail *verbatim supra*). In this 'personal statement', Constantine claimed that 'thanks to the salvation bringing sign [that his portrait-statue of Constantine, at the explicit order of the emperor, was holding in its right hand - and which some earlier scholars have identified with a cross], which is the true proof of *virtus*, I have saved and liberated Rome from the tyrant [*i.e.*, Maxentius], and thanks to my liberation, I have restored the Senate and the Roman People to their old image and to their old splendour'; cf. Kähler (1960, 391, quoted *verbatim supra*).

When I read what turned out to be (at that stage) the most recent publication on the statue of Hadrian (now Constantine), discussed here, an essay by Ulrich-Walter Gans ("Bildhauerkunst zur Zeit der konstantinischen Kaiser", 2019), I realized, that Gans (2019, 257, 260, Fig. 251), discusses also the head of Constantine (an "Einsatzkopf"; cf. here Fig. 47) from the Forum of Trajan. According to Gans, the pertaining statue was circa 4 m high. This head and the head of Hadrian (now Constantine; cf. here Fig. 11), although of different proportions, show according to Gans great stylistic similarities and were in his opinion commissioned at exactly the same time.

Gans (2019, 257-260) discusses the colossal acrolithic statue of Constantine (cf. here **Fig. 11**), with *Textabbildung 130a,b*, *Textabbildung 131a,b*, and *Abbildung 258a-e*, provides bibliography on pp. 555, 610, and refers in his text to (parts of) the above-quoted literature.

Gans (2019, 258) acknowledges the fact that this head of Constantine was recut from an earlier portrait, but he believes that the predecessor cannot be identified (p. 259): neither Augustus, Trajan, or Maxentius are in his opinion possible, nor are there in Gans's opinions traces of a beard, which could allow the identification of the original head as Hadrian or Jupiter. Contrary to Parisi Presicce (2005; *id.* 2006b, quoted *verbatim supra*), who writes *expressis verbis* that the original portrait showed a bearded man, Gans thus expresses his opinion that, in case the portrait of Constantine *would* show 'traces of the beard of the original portrait, this could actually be identified with Hadrian'.

Note that Gans (2019) does not discuss in his account the findings of Klaus Fittschen (2010b, *id.* 2012b) quoted *verbatim supra*) concerning the colossal acrolithic statue of Constantine (cf. here **Fig. 11**); Fittschen (2012b, 77 n. 80) quotes for the head of Constantine from the Forum of Trajan (here **Fig. 47**) also an article by Eugenio La Rocca and Paul Zanker (2007).

**Whereas Gans (2019) himself is obviously unable to see traces of a beard on the portrait of Constantine (cf. here Fig. 11), I myself suggest, like Evers (1991), Parisi Presicce (2005; id. 2006b, quoted verbatim supra), and Hans Rupprecht Goette (cf. below, at *The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great)*), that traces of the beard of the original portrait are indeed very well visible - in form of 'darker areas with stripes' in the case of Evers's (1991) illustrations; in form of 'darker areas' on Constantine's chin and on his cheeks in the photographs illustrated here on Fig. 11, and on those published by Parisi Presicce (2006b; cf. *supra*); and in the form of the unfinished area underneath Constantine's chin that may be interpreted as remains of a once here existing beard that has not been completely removed (for all that; cf. here Fig. 11). Those traces of the beard of the original portrait of the head here Fig. 11 are among the reasons, why I suggest, like Evers (1991), Claridge (1998; *ead.* 2010), Ruck (2007), Fittschen (2010b; *id.* 2012b) and Goette (cf. below, at *The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great)*), that this original portrait depicted Hadrian.**

Gans's own *Abb. 258c* shows the traces under Constantine's chin, to which also Parisi Presicce refers, and which the Italian scholar likewise tentatively interprets as the remains of a beard (cf. *id.* 2005, 146, quoted *verbatim supra*).

In his later article, Parisi Presicce illustrates this detail with a photograph (cf. *id.* 2006b, 151, caption of his Fig. 58: "Statua del colosso di Costantino. Segni di rilavorazione nel sottogola"). Also on Gans's own *Abb. 258d* (Constantine's right profile) and on his *Abb. 258e* (Constantine's left profile), the beard of the original portrait is clearly visible in form of 'darker areas'.

Hans Rupprecht Goette was kind enough to send me Klaus Fittschen's (2014, 57-59) discussion of this head of Constantine from the Forum of Trajan (cf. here **Fig. 47**).

**As we shall see below, Fittschen (2014, 58, quoted verbatim infra) tacitly assumes that this portrait of Constantine (cf. here Fig. 47) had belonged to a standing statue. According to Fittschen (2014, 58), the head of Constantine found in the Forum of Trajan (cf. here Fig. 47) had probably belonged to a cuirassed statue, an iconography that, as we know from Eugenio La Rocca (2000, 24, with n. 68, quoted verbatim supra), is typical of Christian emperors.**

**And because Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 10,4,16) writes that the statue of Constantine, which he described, was erected by the Senate 'a Roma nel luogo più pubblico di tutti'; cf. Parisi Presicce (2006b, 140 with n. 15), which sounds as if *that* statue of Constantine was standing under the open sky, I have suggested above**



**that the colossal head of Constantine, found in 2005 in the Forum of Trajan (cf. here Fig. 47) could have belonged to the statue of Constantine, mentioned by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 10,4,16).**

We know also that Eusebius's (*Hist. Eccl.* 10,4,16) portrait-statue of Constantine showed the emperor in the same pose as the statue of Hadrian, now Constantine (cf. here Fig. 11): holding the (sceptre with) the victory-bringing sign in his right hand, and the globe in the left hand. From the fact that Eusebius mentioned the globe in the left hand of this portrait of Constantine, we can deduce that this statue was represented *seated*. See the statues, created according to this iconography, that have been discussed and illustrated by Claudio Parisi Presicce (2006b, 144-145, Figs. 44-45; 47; 48 [= here Fig. 11.1]).

**Therefore, provided the colossal head of Constantine, found in 2005 in the Forum of Trajan (cf. here Fig. 47), had actually belonged to the statue described by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 9,9,10-11 and 10,4,16), it showed Constantine in precisely the same seated pose as the statue of Hadrian (now Constantine; cf. here Fig. 11), but in a different iconography.**

Since, instead of representing Constantine as *Jupiter*, as in the *colossus* of Constantine, which was originally a portrait of Hadrian (cf. here Fig. 11), the statue, seen by Eusebius (provided the head here Fig. 47 actually belonged to *that*), very appropriately for this specific dedication was wearing a cuirass - as Fittschen (2014, 58) suggests- and, therefore, represented Constantine as a *Christian emperor*.

Fittschen (2014, 57) writes about the head of Constantine (here Fig. 47):

cat. no. "50a Kolossales Einsatzbildnis Konstantins des Großen im Quinquennialientypus, aus einem älteren Bildnis (des Licinius?) umgearbeitet. Konstantinisch. Taf. 70; Beil. 17

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H [öhe] des Erhaltenen 0,59 m; H [öhe] Kinn-Scheitel 0,435m

**Im Juli 2005 in einem Abwasserkanal unter der südöstlichen Porticus des Trajansforums gefunden (s.[iehe] Text) [my emphasis]".**

Cf. Fittschen (2014, 58):

**"Der Kopf war in eine separat gearbeitete Statue eingesetzt, das war vermutlich auch schon in seiner ursprünglichen Fassung der Fall. Ob die Statue dieselbe war, ist nicht bekannt. Der waagerechte vordere Halsabschluß könnte auf eine Panzerstatue hinweisen [with n. 20]. Das ist ohnehin die nächstliegende Vermutung (vgl. [vergleiche] hier I Nr. 120-121). Nach den von Brigitte Ruck aufgestellten Proportionsregeln [with n. 21] müßte die Statue eine Größe von etwa 3,30 m gehabt haben [with n. 22]. Das entspräche etwa der Größe der Konstantin-Statue in der Vorhalle der Lateran-Kirche (3,22 m) [with n. 23]. In der Statue war der Kopf zusätzlich mit einem Dübel verankert. Ob diese Verdübelung erst der zweiten Verwendung angehört oder auch schon der ersten ist ungeklärt. Zum besseren Sitz in der Aushöhlung der Statue ist der Rand des Halses auf der hinteren Seite abgeschrägt worden. Ob die am Hals zu beobachtenden Abarbeitungen vorgenommen worden sind, um den Hals für das Einsetzen in die Statue passend zu machen [with n. 24] und [corr.: oder] ob das erst für die Zweitverwendung geschehen ist, ist ebenfalls unbekannt; im letzteren Fall ergäbe sich, daß das umgearbeitete Bildnis in eine andere Statue eingesetzt worden sein müßte [my emphasis]".**

In his **note 20**, Fittschen writes: "vgl. [vergleiche] Parisi Presicce ... [*i.e.*, here C. PARISI PRESICCE 2006a] 13ff.; ders. ... [*i.e.*, here C. PARISI PRESICCE 2007] 117 ff. ...".

In his **note 21**, he writes: "Vgl. [vergleiche] Ruck ... [*i.e.*, here B. RUCK 2007] 21".

In his **note 22**, he writes: "Die von La Rocca - Zanker ... [*i.e.*, here E. LA ROCCA and P. ZANKER 2007] angegebene Höhe von über 4 m ist wohl zu hoch".

In his **note 23**, he writes: "Vgl. [vergleiche] Ruck ... [*i.e.*, here B. RUCK 2007] 284 Nr. 36".

In his **note 24**, he writes: "Vgl. [vergleiche] Hannestad ... [in: here: A. DEMANDT and J. ENGEMANN 2007, 102 mit Abb. 11.13.14 (aus Hadriansbildnis umgearbeitet)] 104 Abb. 13".

### Post Scriptum.

As already mentioned above: when the manuscript of this volume was about to be sent to the press, Franz Xaver Schütz alerted me to the book by Klaus M. Girardet (2010), who has likewise come to the conclusion that the colossal statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great), here **Figs. 11; 11.1**, is *not* the statue described by the Christian author Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 9,9,10-11).

**Klaus M. Girardet (*Der Kaiser und sein Gott. Das Christentum im Denken und in der Religionspolitik Konstantins des Großen*, 2010, 91-93) writes in his Chapter VI. Frühestes Selbstzeugnis des christlichen Kaisers - Taten, Gesten, Bilder, Worte (312 bis 314); 1. Zwei Statuen und das 'rettungbringende Zeichen' in Rom; a. Der Marmorkoloß im Konservatorenpalast; b. Die Panzerstatue in S. Giovanni in Laterano :**

"a. Der Marmorkoloß im Konservatorenpalast

**Nach langer kontroverser Forschungsdiskussion ist man sich jetzt offenbar darin einig geworden - ob zu Recht, wird noch zu fragen sein (s. u. [siehe unten]) - , daß Eusebius die ca. [circa] 10 m hohe Sitzstatue Konstantins gemeint hat [with n. 412], deren eindrucksvolle Fragmente [cf. here Fig. 11], die in der Westapsis der von Konstantin umgestalteten Maxentius-Basilika [with n. 413] gefunden worden waren, seit einigen hundert Jahren im Innenhof der Konservatorenpalastes zu Rom bewundert werden können [with n. 414].**

**Der Zeigefinger an der rechten Hand (Abb. 23a [cf. here Fig. 11]) ist von der gut sichtbaren Bruchstelle an nicht original. Daher erweckt eine häufig abgebildete Rekonstruktion der Statue mit dem senkrecht nach oben gerichteten Zeigegestus [with n. 415] [page 92] einen unzutreffenden Eindruck. Tatsächlich war der Zeigefinger, schon im noch vorhandenen Ansatz leicht gekrümmt, wie die ganze Hand um einen stabähnlichen Gegenstand gelegt [with n. 416] :**

**Vielleicht handelt es sich bei der Statue, deren Blick quer durch die Maxentiusbasilika nach Osten auf den ernerischen Sonnenkoloß gerichtet war [with n. 417], um eine umgearbeitete, mit den Gesichtszügen Konstantins versehene Maxentiusstatue, die im Schema des Gottes *Iupiter* gestaltet war, vielleicht aber um eine umgearbeitete Götterstatue [with n. 418]. Im übrigen ist auch die Zeit der Umarbeitung und damit die Datierung des Portraits Konstantins unsicher; manche Autoren sprechen sich, möglicherweise zu Recht, für die Zeit der kaiserlichen Vicennalien um 325/26 aus [with n. 419]. Ob das Standbild in späteren Jahren noch ein weiteres Mal verändert worden ist und ob das nicht erhaltene 'Zeichen' in der rechten Hand des Kaisers nun (ursprünglich?) ein kurzes (Kreuz-)Szepter oder (später?) das lange kreuzförmige Vexillum mit dem Christogramm oder ein gewöhnliches kreuzförmiges Vexillum bzw. [beziehungsweise] ein neutrales Langszepter war, läßt sich nicht verlässlich entscheiden [with n. 420]. Ein einfaches Kreuz oder ein Kreuzszepter, auch in verfremdeter Form, halte ich [with n. 421] deshalb für höchst unwahrscheinlich, ja im Grunde für unmöglich, weil das Kreuz erst in späkonstantinischer Zeit zu einem öffentlich und unverhüllt gezeigten Symbol geworden ist [with n. 422]. Im übrigen basiert die Hypothese 'Vexillum mit Christogramm' oder gewöhnliches kreuzförmiges Vexillum, das christlich verstehbar war, auf der Prämisse, daß Eusebius tatsächlich besagte Statue gemeint hat. Das ist aber keineswegs sicher. Ich möchte hier eine Alternative zu erwägen geben [my emphasis]". - To this I will come back below.**

In his **note 412**, Girardet writes: "Zuletzt L'Orange/Unger [*i.e.*, here H.P. L'ORANGE, R. UNGER and M. WEGNER 1984] 70-77; Thümmel, Wende [1998] 171-179; Curran [2000] 82; Barnes, Young Constantine [2006] 18; Turcan, Constantin [2006] 162".

In his **note 413**, he writes: "Zu dieser zuletzt Curran [2000] 80 ff."

In his **note 414**, he writes: "Zur Forschung: Fittschen/Zanker [1985] Kat.-Nr. 122 (mit Taf. 151 und 152), 147-152. - **Vom Kopf war eigens für die Konstantin-Ausstellung 2007 in Trier eine Marmorkopie hergestellt worden, die demnächst in Rom die Stelle des Originals einnehmen wird. Vgl. [vergleiche] dazu Köhne [2007; my emphasis]**".

In his **note 415**, he writes: "Siehe die Abbildung z.B. [zum Beispiel] bei Clauss, Konstantin [2007] 109; Kolb, Herrscherideologie [2001] 206; Brandt, Konstantin [2006] 51; Herrmann-Otto [2007] 103".

In his **note 416**, he writes: "**Richtig daher die neue Rekonstruktion bei Presicce** [*i.e.*, here C. PARISI PRESICCE 2007] 131; Köhne [2007] 247 Abb. 3".

In his **note 417**, he writes: "So jetzt Löhr [2007], mit Rekonstruktionen und Abbildungen".

In his **note 418**, he writes: "Fittschen/Zanker [1985] 149; Presicce [*i.e.*, here C. PARISI PRESICCE 2007] 126-130".

In his **note 419**, he writes: "Siehe nur L'Orange/Unger [*i.e.*, here H.P. L'ORANGE, R. UNGER and M. WEGNER 1984] 76 ff.; Leeb [1992] 62 ff. mit der älteren Literatur".

In his **note 420**, he writes: "**Die Frage stellt sich deshalb, weil zwei rechte Hände erhalten sind, deren eine nach unten hin geschlossen, die andere geöffnet ist, so daß erstere ein kurzes, nach oben aus der Hand herausragendes Szepter, letztere ein langes, auf den Boden aufgesetztes Szepter gehalten haben kann. Abbildungen der Hände: L'Orange/Unger** [*i.e.*, here H.P. L'ORANGE, R. UNGER and M. WEGNER 1984] 70-76 mit Taf. 50 f. **Daß beide Hände zu der gleichen Statue gehören, wird gelegentlich infrage gestellt.** - Langszepter: siehe die Rekonstruktion im Beitrag von Presicce [*i.e.*, here C. PARISI PRESICCE 2007] 131 [my emphasis]".

In his **note 421**, he writes: "Im Gegensatz zu Leeb, Konstantin [1992] 33-39. L'Orange/Unger [*i.e.*, here H.P. L'ORANGE, R. UNGER and M. WEGNER 1984] 65 und 75: ein Kreuz".

In his **note 422**, he writes: "S. o. [siehe oben] bei Anm. 252 ff. - Zur Kontroverse um den Gegenstand auf der Vorderseite des Medaillons von Ticinum s.o. [siehe oben] bei Anm. 375".

**To Klaus M. Girardet's (2020, 91-92) above-quoted text on the colossal statue of Constantine the Great in the Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori (here Figs. 11; 11.1), I should like to add some comments :**

Before formulating my comments on some of Girardet's conclusions, I should like to alert the reader to something else. To the publications, which Girardet mentions in his above-quoted **notes 412-422**, I have added in square brackets their dates, thus obtaining a surprising result: the most recent texts, on which Girardet has based his judgements, were published in 2007.

This allows the hypothesis that this was an old manuscript, which Girardet in 2020 decided to publish, without providing an 'update' of the ongoing research on this subject. This assumption could, for example, explain, why Girardet, referring to the Basilica of Maxentius, writes in his **note 413** :

"Zu dieser zuletzt Curran [2000] 80 ff."

If that were true, this could also explain, why Girardet (2020, 91-92) does not refer to the scholarly debate since 2007. Even, provided this manuscript dates from around 2007, the problem remains that Girardet has not considered some publications that had already appeared *before* that date; those are discussed above, in this *Chapter*. Among those publications the most important ones are 1.) that by Cécile Evers (1991), who has, in my opinion, proven that the head of the colossal statue of Constantine the Great (here **Figs. 11; 11.1**) had been reworked from a portrait of Hadrian; and the following scholarly debate; and 2.) the publication on this colossal statue of Constantine by the director of the Musei Capitolini, Claudio Parisi Presicce (2006b), who has also supervised the creation of the new digital reconstruction of this statue (here **Fig. 11.1**). But note that Parisi Presicce (2006b) does not follow Evers's hypothesis, according to which this portrait had originally represented Hadrian.

Let's now turn to my comments on Girardet's conclusions (cf. *id.* 2020, 91-92):

a) Let me begin with Girardet's **note 416**, in which he mentions "die neue Rekonstruktion bei Presicce" (of the colossal statue of Constantine the Great, here **Fig. 11.1**). According to Girardet's bibliography, this is the following article: "C. P. Presicce, Konstantin als Iuppiter. Die Kolossalstatue des Kaisers aus der Basilika an der Via Sacra. In: Demandt/Engemann (Hg.), Konstantin-Begleitband 117–131", and we learn also in Girardet's bibliography that this "Begleitband" by "Demandt/Engemann" was published in "2007".

Unfortunately, Girardet has based his discussion of Claudio Parisi Presicce's reconstruction of this statue of Constantine the Great (here **Fig. 11.1**) only on this German translation of Parisi Presicce's article (2007), which was published without the footnotes (!). - Only Parisi Presicce's original Italian article (2006b) contains also the footnotes. On this article (2006b) I have myself based in this *Chapter* my own discussion of Presicce's reconstruction of this colossal statue of Constantine (here **Fig. 11.1**). To further illustrate this point, I repeat below a passage of this *Chapter*, in which all of Parisi Presicce's relevant publications are mentioned :

**``Claudio Parisi Presicce has so far presented the most detailed analyses of the colossal statue of Constantine (here Figs. 11; 11.1).**

Claudio Parisi Presicce (2006b, 127, note \*) lists all his other publications on the subject: 2005, 2006a, **and 2007 (which is a German translation of his text 2006b, but published without the notes)**. In the following, I will quote from his essays 2005 and 2006b. The latter is, according to Parisi Presicce (*op.cit.*) in some respects a summary of his article 2006a [my emphasis]''.

I will now proceed to add my comments on Girardet's text (2020, 91-92) in chronological order of the passages that I have emphasized in his text:

b) "Nach langer kontroverser Forschungsdiskussion ... ist man sich jetzt offenbar darin einig geworden, daß Eusebius die ca. [circa] 10 m hohe Sitzstatue Konstantins gemeint hat [with n. 412]", thus referring to the colossal statue of Constantine (here **Figs. 11; 11.1**).

Because already Claudio Parisi Presicce (2006b) has refuted this old hypothesis, the just-quoted statement by Girardet (2020, 91 with n. 412) is not true any more since a very long time. Parisi Presicce has published his relevant findings (in his article of 2006b, quoted *verbatim supra* in this *Chapter*), which Girardet himself does not discuss. Parisi Presicce's most important argument against the identification of the statue of Constantine (here **Figs. 11; 11.1**) with the portrait of Constantine that Eusebius described, consists in the following observation. The statue of Constantine, which Eusebius saw, as Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 9, 9, 10-11) explicitly writes, had been erected by the Senate 'a Roma nel luogo più pubblico di tutti'; cf. Parisi Presicce (2006b, 140 with n. 15). Girardet has also himself quoted Eusebius's relevant passage, in which the Christian author states that this portrait-statue of Constantine: "'auf Roms belebtestem Platz' errichtet wurde"; cf. Girardet (2020, with n. 409, quoting: "Eus. HE IX 9, 9–11; VC I 40, 1 f.)).

To this we should add another argument, that has likewise been overlooked by Girardet. In the following, I repeat, therefore, another passage from this *Chapter*:

**``Acrolithic statues were "costruzioni" -**

as Filippo Coarelli has rightly reminded me on 24th February 2020, when we were discussing the matter in Rome.

It is therefore, in my opinion, certainly on principle true that, consequently, this colossal acrolithic portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine) [here **Figs. 11; 11.1**], cannot possibly have been on display under the open sky'.

c) In his **note 414**, Girardet writes: "Vom Kopf [of the colossal statue of Constantine here **Figs. 11; 11.1**] war eigens für die Konstantin-Ausstellung 2007 in Trier eine Marmorkopie hergestellt worden, die demnächst in Rom die Stelle des Originals einnehmen wird. Vgl. [vergleiche] dazu Köhne [2007]".

This is obviously not true, because Franz Xaver Schütz has taken on 6th March 2020 the photographs of the *original* colossal head of Constantine in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, which are illustrated here on **Fig. 11**.

d) "**Der Zeigefinger der rechten Hand** ... ist von der gut sichtbaren Bruchstelle an nicht original. Daher erweckt eine häufig abgebildete Rekonstruktion der Statue mit dem senkrecht nach oben gerichteten Zeigegestus [with n. 415] [page 92] einen unzutreffenden Eindruck. **Tatsächlich war der Zeigefinger, schon im noch vorhandenen Ansatz leicht gekrümmt**, wie die ganze Hand um einen stabähnlichen Gegenstand gelegt [with n. 416, in which he mentions: "**die neue Rekonstruktion bei Presicce**"; my emphasis]".

Since Claudio Parisi Presicce (2016b) has discussed and documented all 10 fragments of this colossal portrait of Constantine (here **Figs. 11; 11.1**) in great detail, a research that has resulted in his new digital reconstruction of the statue (cf. here **Fig. 11.1**), Girardet's relevant efforts are now superseded.

e) "**Vielleicht handelt es sich bei der Statue ... um eine umgearbeitete, mit den Gesichtszügen Konstantins versehene Maxentiusstatue** [with n. 418]". In his **note 418**, Girardet writes: "Fittschen/Zanker [1985] 149; Presicce [*i.e.*, here C. PARISI PRESICCE 2007] 126-130".

But note that both authors write that the original head, from which the portrait of Constantine (here **Figs. 11; 11.1**) has been reworked, cannot possibly have represented Maxentius. Cf. Paul Zanker (in: K. FITTSCHEN and P. ZANKER 1985 I, 147-152, esp. pp. 148-149, Cat. no. 122); and Claudio Parisi Presicce (2005, 146; *id.* 2006b, 149 with n. 38, p. 150 with n. 40), both quoted *verbatim supra* in this *Chapter*.

f) In his **note 420**, Girardet writes: "Die Frage stellt sich deshalb, **weil zwei rechte Hände erhalten sind**, deren eine nach unten hin geschlossen, die andere geöffnet ist ... Abbildungen der Hände: L'Orange/Unger [1984] 70-76 mit Taf. 50 f. **Daß beide Hände zu der gleichen Statue gehören, wird gelegentlich infrage gestellt** [my emphasis]".

For a discussion of the fact that there are two right hands of colossal marble statues on display in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori; cf. Parisi Presicce (2006b, 130, 132 with n. 45, quoted *verbatim supra*, in this *Chapter*). Claudio Parisi Presicce (2006b) has, in addition to this, published the results of the recent marble analyses of all those fragments. Ten of those fragments were carved from the same, best quality of Parian marble, called *lychnites*. The 'second' right hand was carved from a different quality of marble and, therefore, certainly did not belong to this colossal statue of Hadrian (now Constantine).

For the right hand, which belonged to the colossal statue of Hadrian (now Constantine); cf. Parisi Presicce (2006b, 129 Fig. 3, p. 131 Fig. 4, p. 138, Figs. 31; 32), and here **Fig. 11.1**. This right hand is also discussed by Girardet (2020, 91 with n. 415, with his Abb. 23; cf. *supra*, at point d)). In addition to this, Parisi Presicce (*op.cit.*) is able to prove for other reasons, why this right hand belongs to the colossal portrait of Constantine, and why the 'other', slightly smaller right hand, belonged to a different colossal portrait-statue.

g) Girardet (2020, 91-91) does not mention the colossal portrait head of Constantine (here **Fig. 47**), which was found in 2005 in a sewer of the Forum of Trajan. This portrait has been discussed above, in this *Chapter*, where I have tentatively suggested that this portrait of Constantine, *inter alia* because of its findspot, could have belonged to the statue, described by Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 9, 9, 10-11), which ""auf Roms belebtestem Platz'' errichtet wurde", as Girardet (2020, with n. 409) translates Eusebius's description of its location. - Let's now turn to Girardet's own tentative identification of the portrait-statue of Constantine, seen by Eusebius.

**Girardet (2020, 93, Section: "b. Die Panzerstatue in S. Giovanni in Laterano") writes :**

"Die von Eusebius angesprochene Statue hielt nach Aussage des Bischofs das christianisierte Vexillum, also ein Feldzeichen, in der rechten Hand. Sie läßt deshalb an den Kaiser als Feldherrn und Krieger denken [with n. 423]. **Könnte es sich daher nicht eher um die wohl ca. [circa] 312 entstandene, etwa 3, 3 m hohe Panzerstatue handeln (Abb. 24), die, offenbar gefunden bei den Konstantin-Thermen auf dem Quirinal, heute, an zahlreichen Stellen ergänzt, im Atrium der Lateranbasilika steht [with n. 424]? Denkbar wäre natürlich auch eine nicht erhaltene Statue dieses Typs, die auf dem Forum gestanden haben könnte [with n. 425; my emphasis]**".

In his **note 423**, Girardet writes: "Vgl. [vergleiche] Singor [2003] 483 Anm. 7; Veyne [2007] 144, der mit Blick auf die zitierten Eusebius-Stellen meint, der Kaiser sei ``en guerrier`` dargestellt worden".

In his **note 424**, he writes: "Vgl. [vergleiche] Bruun, *Christian Signs* [1962] 28 mit Anm. 2. - Zur Statue siehe Delbrueck [1933] 118 f. mit Taf. 33 und 34; v. Heintze [1979] 407-417: Beschreibung, 410: Schemazeichnung mit Erhaltenem und Ergänztem, 426 ff. und 430 ff.: zeitliche Einordnung - früh, ca. 312; L'Orange/Unger [1984] 60 f., 126, mit Taf. 43 f. - Die Thermen: Vilucchi [1999]".

In his **note 425**, he writes: "Vgl. [vergleiche] Aur. Vict. XL 28: in Rom seien nach Konstantins Sieg 312 *statuae locis quam celeberrimis, quarum plures ex auro aut argenteae sunt*, errichtet worden".

**To Girardet's (2020, 193) above-quoted text, I should like to add a comment :**

The portrait-statue of Constantine in the Atrium of the Basilica of S. Giovanni in Laterano, which Girardet (2020, 193) himself tentatively identifies with the statue, seen by Eusebius, was found on the Quirinal, near the Baths of Constantine, as Girardet reports. This is why I rather believe that this was *not* the statue 'on display on the most frequented square in Rome', as Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 9,9,10-11) wrote. I myself, therefore, tentatively maintain my earlier hypothesis, according to which instead the portrait of Constantine (here **Fig. 47**), from the Forum of Trajan, could have belonged to Constantine's portrait-statue, described by Eusebius.

But I am, of course, curious to learn how other scholars will judge these two new hypotheses concerning the identification of 'Eusebius's statue of Constantine' that I have presented here.

*A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great)*

With discussions of the following subjects: the inscription *CIL VI 974 = 40524* (cf. here Fig. 29.1), belonging to a statue of Hadrian; the question, where in Rome large blocks of Parian marble like those of the acrolithic statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great; cf. here Fig. 11) could have been available: at La Marmorata in the quartiere Testaccio; the 'Porticus Aemilia outside Porta Trigemina' (erroneously located there, the building in question is in reality identifiable as *Navalia*); and the *Horrea Aemiliana*.

*Part II. Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata.*

*With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalia) and of the Horrea Aemiliana. With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?*

Part II. is divided into the following Sections:

I. Introduction

II. Ships in the *Portus Augusti* (here **Figs. 98; 99**) and on the Tiber (here **Figs. 105; 106**), which supplied the city of Rome with goods from all over the Empire, and the men, who provided these services

III. The *Porticus Aemilia* outside the *Porta Trigemina* and the *Horrea Aemiliana*, and the discussion of the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, which has been identified with this *Porticus Aemilia* and as *Navalia*

IV. The *Statio Marmorum* and the 'sculpture industry' at *La Marmorata*, its Tiber ships for the transportation of fresh marble blocks and of finished products, Domitian's Tiber ship delivering a block of marble (**Figs. 105; 106**), Domitian's 'pharaonic' building projects at Rome, and the question, whether the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata* had anything to do with all this. With some remarks on the heaviest object, ever transported on the Tiber in antiquity: the Lateran Obelisk (**Fig. 101**)

## Section I. Introduction

### [1.] epigraph, TUCCI 2006:

"Comunque, è possibile che l'edificio in *opus incertum* [the *Porticus Aemilia/Navalia* discussed here] non ospitasse le navi da guerra pronte al combattimento, ma fosse una specie di arsenale dove si effettuava la manutenzione delle navi ...

Ad ogni modo, al momento della sua costruzione i Romani non potevano immaginare che sarebbero diventati i dominatori del Mediterraneo. Più tardi, per l'evidente assenza di flotte con grandi navi da combattere, l'edificio dovette risultare inutile e addirittura "ingombrante", in una zona che cominciava ad assumere uno spiccato carattere commerciale. Visto il grande spazio coperto a disposizione e le eccezionali caratteristiche della struttura, è probabile che già dalla fine del I secolo a.C. l'edificio sia stato adibito a funzioni commerciali [with n. 48; my emphasis]".

Lucos Cozza and Pier Luigi Tucci (2006, 197 [TUCCI]).

### [2.] epigraph, TUCCI 2006:

"Quindi l'edificio, pur conservando il nome originario di *navalia*, non avrebbe più ospitato navi da guerra, ma cose e oggetti (ovvero merci) "appartenenti alle navi", "delle navi": *navalia*, appunto ... È stato anche sottolineato che i *navalia* (nell'accezione "industriale" del termine) «devono aver costituito un elemento non secondario del paesaggio urbano e suburbano della Roma imperiale» [with n. 54]. Se, come sembra, l'edificio in *opus incertum* di Testaccio va davvero identificato con una serie di *navalia*, la sua riutilizzazione attraverso i secoli e la conservazione del nome originario sulla Forma Urbis illustrerebbero molto bene la trasformazione, dal punto di vista militare ed economico, di Roma e conseguentemente del Tevere, «*rerum in toto orbe nascentium mercator placidissimus*» [with n. 55; my emphasis]".

Lucos Cozza and Pier Luigi Tuci (2006, 198 [TUCCI])

In their **note 54**, Cozza and Tucci write: "MANACORDA 2005, pp. 28-29".

In their **note 55**, they write: "PLIN., *nat.*, III, 5, 54".

The quote from Pliny (*nat. hist.* 3,5,54) refers to the Tiber and reads in more detail, than quoted by Cozza and Tucci (2006, 198 [TUCCI]), as follows:

... *et ideo quamlibet magnarum navium ex Italo mari capax, rerum in toto urbe nascentium mercator placidissimus, pluribus prope solus quam ceteri in omnibus terris ...*, and in an English translation:

"... and consequently it [the Tiber] is navigable for vessels of whatever size from the Mediterranean, and is a most tranquil trafficker in the produce of all the earth ..." (text and translation: H. RACKHAM 1961). - To this I will come back below.

*La Marmorata* (a modern toponym of the new ancient commercial river port), according to many scholars (allegedly) called *Emporium* in antiquity, with warehouses, called *Horrea*: the '*Porticus Aemilia*' (in reality to be identified as *Navalia*), *Horrea Galbana*, *Lolliana*, *Seiana*, etc.) was located in the quartiere called Testaccio, on the left (east) bank of the Tiber, south of the Aventine, south-west of Via Marmorata, and to the north of *Monte Testaccio*; this area was later partly covered by the *ex Mattatoio* (ex abattoir) (cf. here **Figs. 102; 103**).



When at first asking myself, whether the huge building at the Testaccio discussed here (here Figs. 102; 102.1; 102.2; 102.3), should be identified with the *Porticus Aemilia* or rather as *Navalia*, I regarded the following as our main problems:

*Concerning the area of Rome discussed in this Chapter, we have two great problems:  
to document and imagine its daily life in antiquity over time.*

Which is why I have tried with my following text and illustrations (here Figs. 98; 99; 104-106) to 'enliven' this picture.

Fig. 102. *La Marmorata* at the Testaccio, with integration of the buildings documented on the Severan Marble Plan. Of these buildings, the 'NAVALIA' are marked by lettering, they have been identified by L. Cozza and P.L. Tucci (2006). Earlier this huge structure had - in Cozza's and Tucci's (2006; and P.L. TUCCI's 2012), and in my own opinion - erroneously been identified with the *Porticus Aemilia*; as still believed by many scholars. From: L. Cozza and P.L. Tucci (2006, 196, Fig. 12 [TUCCI]), the caption reads: "I *navalia* nella zona di Testaccio (da COARELLI 1974 p. 295, con modifiche di L. COZZA e P. L. TUCCI)".

Fig. 102.1. Ground-plan of the Republican *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, which has been identified with the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina* and as *Navalia*. From G.-J. Burgers (*et al.* 2015, 200-201, Fig. 3: "Layout of the *Porticus Aemilia* with the numbering of the aisles and pillars [after Gatti 1934, pl. II. Graphics by V. De Leonardis]").

Fig. 102.2. Two reconstruction drawings of the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, with integrations of the fragments 23 and 24 of the Severan Marble Plan, on which it is represented. On fragment 23 appears the main inscription of this building, of which only the letters 'LIA' remain.

Fig. 102.2 shows two reconstructions of the main inscription of the *opus incertum* building.

Above: restored as 'AEMI]LIA'. From: G. Carettoni, L. Cozza, A.M. Colini and G. Gatti (*La pianta marmorea di Roma antica. FORMA VRBIS ROMAE*, 1960, testo, p. 95: "schema topografico". Photo: © Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali).

Below: restored as 'NAVA]LIA'. From: L. Cozza and P.L. Tucci ("Navalia", 2006, 179, Fig. 1). The caption of their Fig. 1 reads: "In alto, l'edificio in *opus incertum* sulla *Forma Urbis* [*i.e.*, the Severan Marble Plan] con l'iscrizione NAVA]LIA (da GATTI 1934, fig. 7, aggiornato e integrato da L. Cozza e P. L. Tucci). In basso, la pianta dell'edificio in *opus incertum* ricostruita in base a scavi e rilievi: gli asterischi indicano le parti tuttora visibili (da GATTI 1934, tav. II, con aggiornamenti di L. Cozza e P. L. Tucci)". Cf. F. de Caprariis (2022, 120, Fig. 5.2), from whom I have borrowed the comparison of both reconstructions of this inscription presented here. The caption of F. de Caprariis's Fig. 5.2 reads: "Fig. 5.2: (*porticus*) *Aemilia* or *Nauvalia*. On the right, fragment 23 of the Marble Plan: note the inscription ]LIA (© Sovrintendenza Capitolina)". F. de Caprariis's Fig. 5.2, above, is obviously a detail of her Fig. 5.1 on p. 119, the caption of which reads: "Fig. 5.1: Testaccio and Trastevere. The archaeological evidence and the Severan Marble Plan (from G. Carettoni-Cozza-Colini-Gatti 1960)".

Fig. 102.3. G. Giovannetti (2016, 24, Fig. 8: "Carta archeologica di Testaccio (da Gatti 1934)". With the *opus incertum* building, labelled as 'PORTICVS AEMILIA'.

Inserted box on top right:

G. Giovannetti: drawing of the structures standing in front of the '*Porticus Aemilia*'/ *Navalia* that are visible on fragments 24c and 24d of the Severan Marble Plan; cf. Giovannetti (2016, 22, Fig. 7: "Riproduzione della parte inferiore della lastra 24c e della 24d, elaborazione grafica dell'autore"), who labels these three buildings as 1, 2 and 3. Comprising *tabernae*, they served, according to Giovannetti, commercial functions, but apart from appearing on the Severan Marble Plan they are, in his opinion, otherwise not datable. But note that E. Rodríguez Almeida (1993a, 20) dated those structures to the Trajanic period. Cf. here Fig. 102.3 for the location of those structures between the '*Porticus Aemilia*'/ *Navalia* and the port building on the bank of the Tiber.

Fig. 102.4. View of *La Marmorata*, etching from Étienne Dupérac's (circa 1520-1604) book (*I vestigi dell'antichità di Roma*, 1575, tav. 23).

Cf. R. Lanciani (III [1990], 192, Fig. 143). The caption reads: "Etienne Du Pérac, *Veduta della Marmorata e dell'Aventino*. Incisione, ne 'I vestigi dell'antichità di Roma', Roma 1575, tav. 23".

The caption of Dupérac's etching reads: "Vestigij d'una parte del monte Auentino che guarda verso Ponente, et il Tevere, quale [Oggi si scriverebbe *la quale*] per esser molto ruinata [Inserisce il concetto della rovina non quello del degrado] non ui si vede altro che muri spezati et rotti, Anchor che antichamente nella sumita [Inserisce il segno di abbreviazione sopra la u e la m indicante il raddoppio del consonante, vuole dire *in alto in cima alla sommità*] ui / fossero bellissimi Tempj et edificij, nel segno A uogliono [Allude a fonti antiche che parlano di saline] chi ivi fossero le saline, hoggidi questo luoco si chiama la marmorata, perche ui si scaricano diuerse pietre di mischio et di marmo qualli si trouano [*come quelle che si trovano*] al porto d' / Ostia, nel segno B. è l'altra rippa del fiume doue arrivano tutti gli vascielli [oggi sarebbe *vascelli*] et mercantie che uengono per la marina in Roma". The comments on Dupérac's text in the square brackets are those written to me by Laura Gigli on 19th April 2022.

Fig. 102.5. Marble altar found in 1739 [corr.: 1737] at *La Marmorata*. London, British Museum (inv. no. 1914,0627.1), 0,72 m high. Date: 69-79 AD. From its inscription (*CIL VI 301*) we learn that it was dedicated to Hercules by Primigenius Iuencianus, a slave or freedman of the Emperor Vespasian, who calls himself in this inscription a *tabularius a marmoribus* (a "book-keeper in the marble trade"). Primigenius Iuencianus was, likewise according to the comments on this altar by the Curator of the British Museum (quoted after D. BOOMS 2016), "an official involved in the marble trade under Vespasian". Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Cf. <[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1914-0627-1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1914-0627-1)> [last visit: 12-IV-2022].

Fig. 102.6. The republican structure in the *Forum Holitorium* (a 'covered road', or porticoed street), leading from a north-westerly direction to the *Porta Carmentalis* in the Servian city Wall. Photos: Courtesy Franz Xaver Schütz (11-V-2022).

Fig. 102.7. Altar of *Magna Mater* and *Navisalvia*, which refers to the legend of Claudia Quinta and to the arrival of the sacred stone of *Magna Mater* at Rome in 204 BC. Rome, Musei Capitolini. Cf. A. D'Alessio (2014, 11, Fig. 8: "Roma, Musei Capitolini: altare della *Mater Deum* e di *Navisalvia*". Photo: © Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali).

*Part II.* of this *Study* is *inter alia* dedicated to the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, which has been identified with the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina* and as *Navalia* (cf. here **Figs. 102; 102.1; 102.2; 102.3**).

After having finished writing this *Chapter*, two articles by Francesca de Caprariis reached me on 17th March 2022, which the author, with whom I had discussed in an E-mail correspondence the fragments of the Severan Marble Plan 23 and 24b-d, that *inter alia* represent this building, was kind enough to send me by her own account ("L'invisibile Roma dei Fulvi", 2019, and "Public buildings and Urban Landscape: A View from the Riverfront"; this article has appeared in 2022, and the author was kind enough to send me a scan of it on 16th February 2023). In these essays, de Caprariis (*op. cit.*) discusses likewise the 'Porticus Aemilia'/Navalia problem, and I have decided to still incorporate a discussion of her findings into my text. - On 20th April 2022, de Caprariis generously granted me by E-mail her permission to publish here some passages from the latter manuscript ahead of publication.

Unlike myself, de Caprariis (*op. cit.*) follows those scholars, who identify the building in question with the *Porticus Aemilia*. Both de Caprariis (2019; *ead.* 2022) and I base our conclusions on different parts of the vast available scholarly discussion. But, as the following will show, this has not caused our contrary opinions, but rather the fact that we obviously interpret some of the statements by Lucos Cozza and Pier Luigi Tucci in their article of 2006 and by Tucci (2012) very differently. For some of de Caprariis's statements;

cf. *infra*, in Section III., where they are quoted as the [9.], [11.] and [12.] **epigraphs**. In Section III., I have discussed also many of de Caprariis's other observations in detail.

**I have, therefore, quoted here three of Cozza's and Tucci's statements *verbatim*, which are of special importance to my own hypothesis.**

See two passages from Cozza and Tucci (2006, 197, 198 [TUCCI]), quoted above as the [1.] and [2.] **epigraphs** in this Section I. ; and below, in Section III., at *The discussion of the Navalía at La Marmorata by Lucos Cozza and Pier Luigi Tucci (2006) and Tucci (2012)*, where will *inter alia* be addressed the observation by Cozza and Tucci (2006, 180 [TUCCI]).

In Cozza and Tucci (2006, 180 [TUCCI]), the authors interpret the *opus incertum* building discussed here as "*dei navalía*", but not as '*the Navalía*', the shipsheds for warships, which "*ospitasse le navi da guerra pronte al combattimento*", as they themselves write. In Cozza's and Tucci's (2006) opinion, these *Navalía* at *La Marmorata* were rather built as an "arsenal" (shipyard) for the Roman warships; see for all that also *supra*, the [1.] **epigraph**.

When trying to decide for myself, whether the huge *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, discussed here, should be identified with the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina* or rather as *Navalía*, I have at first not considered the results of the recent first scientific excavations (2011-2013), to which we will now turn, simply because I did not as yet know the relevant publications.

Franz Xaver Schütz has solved the problem by finding on 18th March 2022 on the Internet the article by Gabriel Cabral Bernardo (2014), who has participated in these excavations in September of 2013; cf. *infra*, in Section III., where the very telling title of his article is quoted as the [7.] **epigraph**. Fortunately we learn from Bernardo (2014), and from Tucci (2012, 575, n. 3) the names of the directors of these excavations: Gert-Jan Burgers and Renato Sebastiani, who have already published these excavations, together with their co-excavators.

As already mentioned, Franz Xaver Schütz and I had even personally met with Renato Sebastiani on 13th September 2019, when we visited the *Nuovo Mercato del Testaccio* together with Francesco Buranelli, Susanna Le Pera and Luca Sasso D'Elia, and saw by chance Sebastiani's at the time ongoing excavations at this site; cf. *supra* at Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*. To this I will come back below.

De Caprariis (2022, 131, n. 49) mentions one of these texts by Renato Sebastiani (*et al.* 2016), from which we learn the title of another of their articles, published in *BABESCH* of 2015. I have, therefore, called the editor of this periodical, my good friend Eric M. Moormann in Amsterdam, who, in his turn, on his own account, contacted Gert-Jan Burgers for me, one of the excavators of the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*.

On 21st March 2022, Gert-Jan Burgers was kind enough to send me this article which he published together with his co-excavators Raphaëlle-Anne Kok-Merlino and Renato Sebastiani ("The Imperial *horrea* of the *Porticus Aemilia*", 2015). For the abstract of this article; cf. *infra*, in Section III., where it is quoted as the [8.] **epigraph**.

On 28th March 2022, two more articles on these excavations by Gert-Jan Burgers reached me, which the author was kind enough to send me as well by request. They were written by himself and by his co-excavators Valerio De Leonardis, Sara Della Ricca, Raphaëlle-Anne Kok-Merlino, Matteo Merlino, Renato Sebastiani and Franco Tella ("*Porticus una extra Portam Trigemina: nuove considerazioni sulla Porticus Aemilia*", 2014a, and "Le trasformazioni del paesaggio subaventino nell'età tardoantica: il caso di studio della *Porticus Aemilia*", 2014b).

Amanda Claridge was kind enough to send me on 3rd April 2022, by request, the article by T.P. Wiseman ("*Walls, gates and stories: Detecting Rome's riverside defences*", 2021a), in which the author addresses *inter*

*alia* the much debated locations of the *Porticus Aemilia* and of the *Porta Trigemina* within the Servian city Wall. See below, in Section III., where one passage of Wiseman's essay (2021a) is quoted as the [10.] epigraph.

On 9th April 2022, I had the chance to call Hugo Brandenburg in Kahla, with whom I had studied at the Universität zu Köln from 1976-1977, and who has since then greatly supported my studies. Brandenburg has not only been studying Constantine the Great for a long time, but also the Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura. In this telephone conversation I wanted to know from Brandenburg, what exactly had happened, when Constantine the Great in AD 330 had moved the capital of the Roman Empire from Rome to his newly erected capital Constantinople. For all this; cf. Brandenburg (*Le prime chiese di Roma IV-VII secolo*, 2013). Brandenburg discussed with me also the situation of the area of *La Marmorata* in late antiquity, especially the fact that from the 5<sup>th</sup> century onwards this previously booming new commercial river port of Rome was now being invaded by 'various poor burial grounds', as observed by the excavators Burgers (*et al.* 2014b, 815, discussed and quoted *verbatim* below, in Section III.). To the discussion with Brandenburg I will likewise come back below in Section III.

On 11th April 2022, when searching the inscription *CIL VI 301*, Franz Xaver Schütz realized that it belongs to a marble altar, 'which was found in 1739 [corr.: 1737] at *La Marmorata*' and is kept at the British Museum (inv. no. 1914,0627.1; cf. here **Fig. 102.5**). This altar was dedicated to Hercules by Primigenius Iuvencianus, a slave or freedman of the Emperor Vespasian, who calls himself in this inscription a *tabularius a marmoribus*. This Primigenius was, according to the "Comments" on this altar by the Curator of the British Museum (quoted after D. BOOMS 2016), "an official involved in the marble trade under Vespasian".

On 13th and 17th April 2022, I had the chance to discuss with Peter Herz in Bad Ems in telephone-conversations the name and social standing of Primigenius Iuvencianus, and his position as *tabellarius a marmoribus*. Herz, who has been studying these subjects for a long time in detail, has kindly shared with me his findings concerning the following subjects: the supply of Rome with grain, wine, olive oil, marble and wood, the organization of the responsible imperial administrations, the question of how many ships were, for example, necessary to import the grain necessary for the *frumentationes*, and the question, which rôle the commercial river port at *La Marmorata* must have had for all those activities.

Cf. Herz (*Studien zur römischen Wirtschaftsgesetzgebung. Die Lebensmittelgesetzgebung*, 1988; "Die Energieversorgung in römischer Zeit", 2012; "Die Versorgung einer Metropole. Die wirtschaftlichen Infrastrukturen Roms während der römischen Kaiserzeit", paper read on 17th May 2017 at the Universität Regensburg, Ringvorlesung; *Studien zur römischen Wirtschaftsgesetzgebung. Die Baugesetzgebung*, forthcoming). See now also below, at *The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung* (with ample bibliography), which Peter Herz was kind enough to write at my request,

At the time, when I was a collaborator of Herz at the Universität Regensburg (2006-2009), a *navis lusoria*, a Roman warship, was built at his Lehrstuhl. With this ship a group of his students, disguised as Romans, made trips on the Danube, for example back and forth to Budapest. For this ship; cf. Hans Ferkel, Heinrich Konen and Christoph Schäfer (*Navis Lusoria: ein Römerschiff in Regensburg*, 2004), and for the journey of this ship from Regensburg to Budapest; cf. Florian Wolfgang Himmler, Heinrich Konen and Josef Löffl (*Exploratio Danubiae: Ein rekonstruiertes spätantikes Flusskriegsschiff auf den Spuren Kaiser Julian Apostatas*, 2014).

On 15th April 2022, while searching for further information concerning *CIL VI 301* and 410, Franz Xaver Schütz found on the Internet a publication by Patrizio Pensabene, in which the author has already answered all the questions I still had concerning those inscriptions, Primigenius Iuvencianus and the *Statio Marmorum* at *La Marmorata* (*Le vie del marmo: I blocchi di cava di Roma e di Ostia: Il fenomeno del marmo nella Roma Antica*, 1994) ! For this lucky find I was very grateful indeed.

On 19th April 2022, Laura Gigli was kind enough to help me transcribe the caption of Étienne Dupérac's etching of 1575 that represents *La Marmorata* (cf. here **Fig. 102.4**). In addition to this, Dupérac's Italian text

contains some words and expressions which are not used any more, and that Laura has translated for me into modern Italian.

On 4th May 2022, Helen Whitehouse, whom I had called in Oxford, and Panorea Alexandratos were kind enough to help me acquire a photo from a drawing of the Paper Museum of Cassiano Dal Pozzo (cf. here **Fig. 106**), and to get in touch with the Royal Collection Trust at London. This drawing represents a relief with three Tiber ships, carved on the plinth of the colossal marble statue of the River God Tiber, which Domitian had commissioned for the Iseum Campense at Rome, after this sanctuary had been destroyed in the fire of AD 80. This statue of the River God Tiber is on display in the Louvre at Paris (here **Fig. 104**), and the drawing of the three Tiber ships is kept at Windsor, at the Royal Library (RL 8739).

It had been, of course, Amanda Claridge who, when discussing with her the photo of one of those Tiber ships, which transports a huge block of marble, and has been published by Patrizio Pensabene and Javier Á. Domingo (2016-2017, 573, Fig. 15 [= here **Fig. 105**]), alerted me to the fact that all three Tiber ships, represented on this relief, have been documented on a drawing, kept in the Paper Museum of Cassiano Dal Pozzo (here **Fig. 106**, discussed below, in Section II.). On 6th May 2022, an E-mail of Daniel Partridge of the Royal Collection Trust (London) reached me, who informed me that, according to their regulations concerning scholarly publications, I may publish the image of this drawing (here **Fig. 106**). For this generous offer I am very grateful indeed.

Amanda Claridge passed away on the morning of 5th May 2022, as I was kindly informed on the same day by her niece Emma Claridge, whom Janet DeLaine had given a list of friends to be informed. For this I am both ladies very thankful. Up until April 17th 2022, I was able to discuss with Amanda the subjects of this *Chapter*. Amanda took great interest in this work, as indeed from its beginning of this entire *Study* (cf. *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*).

As a matter of fact, it was only because of Amanda's mentioning (2010, 403-404, quoted below in Section III., as the **[5.] epigraph**) of the new interpretation of the huge *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* as 'Navalia' by Cozza and Tucci (2006), that I have been alerted to this controversy. In what turned out to be our last telephone conversation, I told Amanda, what I had just written her by E-mail the same day: that, after a very convoluted discussion of these *Navalia* (see below, in Section III.), I have arrived at exactly the same results as she herself did (2010; 2018, 96, Table 5.1) and also as T.P. Wiseman (2021a), whose article Amanda had kindly sent me a couple of days before. Next year (*i.e.*, in 2023) Amanda and I would have known each other for 50 years, and it is impossible for me to express right now what the loss of this old friend means to me.

Since I could not have known that she would leave us so soon, I am glad that I have mentioned in this volume what Amanda has done for me since 1973 (see above, in the *Chapter Dedication*).

My heartfelt thanks are also due to Francesca de Caprariis of the Musei Capitolini, Antiquarium on the Caelian, who has arranged for us on the 6th of May 2022 to study the fragments of the Severan Marble Plan, discussed in this *Study*, and even on very short notice. The fragments in question are: 23, 24 and 36b, of which the former two document the 'Porticus Aemilia' / *Navalia*, discussed in this *Chapter*. At this meeting Eugenio La Rocca, Claudio Parisi Presicce and Franz Xaver Schütz all participated. I thank all of whom for the very interesting discussions.

Between 7th and 13th May 2022, I had the chance to discuss with Filippo Coarelli in Rome the subjects of this *Chapter*, who was also kind enough to read this text. And between 10th and 12th May 2022, T.P. Wiseman, whom I had likewise sent this text, was kind enough to discuss it with me in an E-mail correspondence, and I am especially thankful that he has saved me from some errors.

Peter Herz, whom I had likewise sent this *Chapter*, was kind enough to discuss these subjects with me again in several telephone conversations on 23rd May 2022. Herz sent me on that occasion his above-mentioned manuscript ("Die Versorgung einer Metropole. Die wirtschaftlichen Infrastrukturen Roms während der römischen Kaiserzeit", Vortrag, 17. Mai 2017).

In the context of this *Chapter*, I find especially Herz's (*op. cit.*) following observations interesting that he has addressed in this talk. Herz not only calculates the enormous quantity of grain that was needed for the *annona*, the supply of the City of Rome with grain, but adds to this the (at least for me) surprising fact that all this grain was supplied by private entrepreneurs. The seagoing ships belonging to the 'fleet of grain ships' (for example those visible on here **Figs. 98; 99**), which started for example each June in Alexandria, were privately owned by these men; the only support the Roman State provided was the fact that this 'grain fleet', on its way from Alexandria to Rome, was escorted by Roman war ships (!). Since the entire risk of this trade with grain had to be faced by these entrepreneurs, one wonders, of course, why these men were prepared to provide these services at all to the Roman State. And because one of these men, the Egyptian *Ciro*, will tell us his 'story' below in Section II., as written in her fictional account by Laura Gigli (2022), I find Herz's explanations especially useful. The motivation of those entrepreneurs to provide the Roman State with grain, transported by them in their privately owned ships was, so Herz, to avoid the tax that these men would otherwise have been forced to pay to the Roman State themselves: these entrepreneurs thus intended to gain by means of their services the *immunitas munerum* for themselves (to this I will come back below).

Peter Herz ("Die Versorgung einer Metropole. Die wirtschaftlichen Infrastrukturen Roms während der römischen Kaiserzeit", Vortrag, 17. Mai 2017) writes: "**Der römische Staat hatte sich durch einen juristischen Trick die Möglichkeit eröffnet, diese seegehenden Transportschiffe sehr kostengünstig und vor allem für einen längeren Einsatzzeitraum anzuheuern. Er versprach den Schiffseignern (*navicularii* oder *naukleroi*), die ihr Geld in solchen Schiffen investiert hatten, um sie dann zu den vom römischen Staat vorgegebenen Bedingungen langfristig in den Dienst der *annona* zu stellen, die Befreiung von den Liturgien bzw. [beziehungsweise] *munera* in ihren Heimatgemeinden (*immunitas munerum*)** [my emphasis]".

Thinking of the Egyptian merchant *Ciro* of our example, told by Laura Gigli (2022; see below in Section II.), he had, as every Egyptian citizen, *inter alia* to pay an annual poll tax to the Roman State, called *laographia*. But not only that. The *laographia* (on average 10 silver tetradrachmas pro citizen *per annum*) had to be paid in silver tetradrachmas, whereas the Egyptians themselves for their own work were for example paid in bronze obols. Egyptian citizens, in order to pay *laographia* had, therefore, to go once a year to a bank to change their money into 10 silver tetradrachmas, but this bank would demand a bank charge of 8 % for this operation (!). See for this entire, very complex problem, Angelo Geißen ("Comments by Angelo Geißen: Augustus und das liebe Geld", in: C. HÄUBER 2017, 732-733, with references and my comments).

For coins, with which the above-mentioned Egyptian citizens could have been paid for their own work in Egypt; cf. Häuber (2017, 343-345 with ns. 103-106, with Fig. 7 [= here **Fig. 151**]: Hemidrachmon [?], bronze, minted by Augustus at Alexandria. Obverse: Portrait of Livia, with the legend: *Livia Sebastou* ('Livia, the wife of Augustus'; before 9/10 AD) ... and Fig. 8 [= here **Fig. 152**], Obol, bronze, minted by Augustus at Alexandria. Obverse: Portrait of Augustus, and on the reverse the legend: *Patros Patridos*, referring to Augustus's title *Pater Patriae* bestowed upon him in 2 BC [with n. 103]). Both coins are kept at the Universität zu Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde.

Cf. Häuber (2017, 733): "\* Editor's note:

... Fig. 8 [= here **Fig. 152**] shows a bronze obol. In the example of our Egyptian subject, who wants to pay his annual poll-tax, he has to go to a bank in order to change his money. In theory the exchange rate was: 24 obols for one silver tetradrachma. But there was a problem: at the bank, one silver tetradrachma would have cost him ca. 26 obols (*i.e.*, the bank charge amounted to 8 %)".

On 4th July 2022 Hans Rupprecht Goette was kind enough to inform me by E-mail about a paper, to be read at the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin, in the "Reihe 'Bauforschung im Wiegandhaus'". This paper was read on 14th July 2022 by "Dr. Evelyne Bukowiecki (Rom)" and had the following title: "Port Infrastructures in Portus. The Recent Excavations of the École Française de Rome".

Already on 25th April 2022, Paul Scheduling had presented at the Institut für Klassische Archäologie at the University of Munich his *Habilitationsvortrag* ("Ausweitung der Diskurszone. Angemessene Architektur und Ausstattung von Heiligtümern der hellenistischen Zeit in Rom und Latium"), which I had been unable to attend. Because of this subject of his *Habilitationsschrift*, I asked Paul Scheduling on 21st December 2022 in an E-mail, whether he had addressed in this talk two Republican *opus incertum* buildings, which are discussed in this Chapter: the 'Porticus Aemilia' / *Navalia* at *La Marmorata* and the substructure on the eastern slope of the Palatine, which had (presumably) supported the Temple of Fortuna Respiciens.

Paul Scheduling was kind enough to answer me by E-mail on the same day, that he himself has not discussed those monuments, and added to this: "Das haben Maschek und Tombrägel ja auch schon einschlägig getan". Taking his latter remark (erroneously) as a hint to a publication, written by both authors *together*, I was unable to find it though.

On 6th June 2023, I managed to call Paul Scheduling, who told me that he had referred to Martin Tombrägel's book (*Die republikanischen Otiumvillen von Tivoli*, 2011), and to Dominik Maschek's (2013) review of this book. Scheduling told me also that Tombrägel (2011) identifies the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* with the *Porticus Aemilia*, for which Tombrägel follows the dating '174 BC'; whereas Maschek (2013) follows Cozza and Tucci (2006) and Tucci (2012), in assuming that the building at *La Marmorata* should be identified as *Navalia*; Maschek follows also Cozza's and Tucci's much later dating of this building.

Concerning those just-mentioned points, I have thus, in the following discussion (summarized *infra*, in Section III., at my *Conclusions*) - independently of him - arrived at the same results as Maschek (2013). And although I had at that stage (almost) finished writing the entire volume 3-1 of this *Study* on Domitian, I decided to at least quote the relevant passages from Maschek's account; cf. *infra*, in Section III.

Finally, on 13th June 2023, I had the chance to discuss with Peter Herz the decline of Rome in the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD, that has now been very well documented for the area of the Testaccio by the excavators G.-J. Burgers (*et al.* 2014b, 815). I was glad to learn that Herz has actually dedicated an article to this fact ("Rom in der Spätantike. Der Niedergang einer ehemaligen Hauptstadt", 2012). For all of this; cf. *infra*, in Section III.

*To allow the reader an easier understanding of this whole, very complex subject, I anticipate in the following a summary of my own results (cf. infra, in Section III., at my Conclusions) that relate to the opus incertum building at La Marmorata, the 'Porticus Aemilia' / Navalia*

1.) The ground-plan of the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* is represented on the Severan Marble Plan. Scholars have tried to identify this structure *inter alia* by reconstructing its very fragmentary main inscription with which the building was labelled on fragment 23 of the marble plan (and a 'preliminary' inscription on fragment 24b) - but their results are hotly debated.

In my opinion, the data already known before the scientific excavations of 2011-2013 allow a decision between the two above-mentioned alternatives (*i.e.*, *Porticus Aemilia* or *Navalia*), at least concerning the question, what purpose this *opus incertum* building had originally been built for. I, therefore, assume that the building may have been labelled '*Navalia*' on the Severan Marble Plan (cf. here **Figs. 102; 102.2, below**). Guglielmo Gatti (1934; cf. here **Fig. 102.3**) had convincingly identified the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, of which some architectural remains are still standing, with a huge structure, represented on the Severan Marble Plan (compare also here **Figs. 102; 102.1; 102.2**).

Gatti (1934; cf. here Fig. 102.3) was also first to read the main inscription of the *opus incertum* building, of which only the letters `]LIA` are preserved, as `PORTICVS AEMILIA` (cf. here Fig. 102.3), and Cozza and Tucci (2006) were first to reconstruct this inscription as `[NAVA]LIA` (cf. here Figs. 102; 102.2, below).

The most recent scholarly debate, revolving around the `Porticus Aemilia`/ *Navalia*, is based on analyses of the building's topographical context, the pertaining literary sources and its two inscriptions on the Severan Marble Plan. I apply the same methodology, but, contrary to all previous scholars, consider in my reasonings also another building. This structure is known from an inscription on the Severan Marble Plan which actually documents a building called after the Aemilii - whereas for the *opus incertum* building, carrying the (main) inscription ]LIA on the marble plan, its identification with the `[PORTICUS AEMI]LIA is only a hypothesis.

De Caprariis (2019, 166, quoted *verbatim* below, in Section III., and 2022, 127, with n. 30, quoted in Section III. as the [11.] epigraph), suggests that not only the two alternative readings (`Aemilia` and `Navalia`) of the main and of the `preliminary` inscription on the *opus incertum* building, which appear on fragments 23 and 24 of the Severan Marble Plan, are in theory possible, but so are many more alternatives.

**Contrary to de Caprariis (2022, 127) I am of the opinion that the main inscription of the *opus incertum* building cannot be reconstructed as `AEMI]LIA` and will, in the following, explain the reasons, why.**

De Caprariis's (2022, 120) compares in her Fig. 5.2 two of the hypotheses, suggested for the reading of the main inscription of the *opus incertum* building: `Aemilia` and *Navalia`:*

De Caprariis's (2022, 120, Fig. 5.2, above [cf. here Fig. 102.2, above]), `AEMI]LIA`, is a detail of the reconstruction, created by Gianfilippo Carettoni, Lucos Cozza, Antonio Maria Colini und Guglielmo Gatti (1960; cf. F. DE CAPRARIIS 2022, 119, Fig. 5.1) which, in my opinion, is impossible.

De Caprariis's (2022, 120, Fig. 5.2, below [cf. here Fig. 102.2, below]), `[NAVA]LIA` is the reconstruction by Lucos Cozza and Pier Luigi Tucci (2006) which, in my opinion, is possible.

Compared with the approach that has led to the reconstruction of this inscription by Carettoni, Cozza, Colini and Gatti (1960, here Fig. 102.2, above), Gatti's own earlier (1934) reconstruction of this inscription (cf. here Fig. 102.3) is actually misleading; a fact which I will explain in the following paragraph in detail.

Carettoni *et al.*'s reconstruction (here Fig. 102.2, above) shows the real position of fragment 23 of the Severan Marble Plan within the ground-plan of the *opus incertum* building; this fragment carries the letters `]LIA` of the (main) inscription of the building. Also Cozza's and Tucci's reconstruction (here Fig. 102.2, below) shows the real position of fragment 23 of the Severan Marble Plan within the ground-plan of the *opus incertum* building.

Because of the location of the letters `]LIA` on the Severan Marble Plan, the label `AEMI]LIA` in the reconstruction by Carettoni *et al.* (1960; here Fig. 102.2, above) appears close to the eastern small side of the *opus incertum* building. This is likewise true of the label `[NAVA]LIA` in the reconstruction by Cozza and Tucci (2006; here Fig. 102.2, below). - For that observation; cf. here Fig. 102, which shows the true orientation of the bulding, here identified as *Navalia*.

This fact has in Carettoni *et al.*'s reconstruction (1960; here Fig. 102.2, above) the effect that there is no space left in front of the (restored) label `AEMI]LIA` to add the additional word `PORTICVS`.

Gatti's own reconstruction (1934; cf. here Fig. 102.3), on the other hand, gives the (false) impression that the label `AEMILIA` stood on the right hand half of the building's ground-plan. Gatti's (1934) relevant decision has resulted in the (wrong) impression that on the left hand half of the building's ground-plan could easily have stood the label `PORTICVS`, which Gatti has actually added at this position.

That, in the reconstruction by Carettoni *et al.* (1960), the word `PORTICVS` is missing, has, of course, already been observed by other scholars before me, for example by Steven Tuck (1999; cf. *infra*, and *id.* 2000) and by Filippo Coarelli (2008).



See Coarelli (2008, 463, quoted in more detail below, in Section III. as the [6.] epigraph), who refers with the following observations to the publication by Steven Tuck (2000): "**Più di recente però sono state proposte altre soluzioni, basate sull'aspetto dell'edificio** [*i.e.*, of the *opus incertum* building discussed here, in F. COARELLI's opinion to be identified as *Navalia*], **che non corrisponde alla tipologia del portico, e sull'impossibilità di integrare la parte dell'iscrizione superstite, [---]LIA, con *Porticus Aemilia* per mancanza di spazio.** Si è [*i.e.*, by S. TUCK 2000] così proposto l'integrazione (*Horrea*) Cornelia ... [my emphasis]". - In his bibliography on p. 533, Coarelli quotes: S.L. Tuck ("A new identification for the 'Porticus Aemilia'", 2000).

**For the following reasons, the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, in my opinion, cannot possibly have represented (one of the two) *Porticus Aemiliae*, built in 193 BC**

a) Because of the above-mentioned considerations concerning Carettoni *et al.*'s reconstruction (1960; here Fig. 102.2, above), the (main) inscription 'LIA' on fragment 23 of the Severan Marble Plan, which labelled the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, cannot have read 'PORTICVS AEMILIA';

b) this fact precludes, in my opinion, the identification of the *opus incertum* building with the *Porticus Aemilia*, found outside the *Porta Trigemina*, because in that case the inscription of this structure should have read 'PORTICVS AEMILIA', and that for the following reasons:

Coarelli (1988, 147-155; p. 154, Fig. 27 [= *LTUR* I 1993, 358, Fig. 4], Coarelli ("Aemiliana", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 18-19), and most recently Coarelli (2019a, 213 with n. 81) mentions the inscription 'AEMILI[ ]' on fragment 621a-d of the Severan Marble Plan that Emilio Rodríguez Almeida (1981, 115-118, Tav. XXIV) was able to locate in the area of the *old* river port, that is to say, to the north of the Temple of Portunus and to the west of the *Forum Boarium*; cf. Carlo Buzzetti ("Portus Tiberinus", in *LTUR* IV [1999] 155-156, Figg. 60-61). - I myself follow Coarelli's reading of the inscription on fragment 621a-d of the Severan Marble Plan as: 'AEMILI[ANA]'; cf. Coarelli ("Aemiliana", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 19).

Coarelli (2019a, 213 with ns. 81-85, quoted in more detail below, in Section III.), therefore, in my opinion convincingly, attributes the inscription 'AEMILI[ANA]' on fragment 621a-d of the Severan Marble Plan to *Horrea Aemiliana*, the erection of which he attributes to Scipio Aemilianus:

**"L'edificio antico che sorgeva nel luogo dell'odierna Anagrafe va dunque identificato con degli *Horrea Aemiliana*, di probabile destinazione annonaria, che abbiamo proposto di attribuire all'attività di Scipione Emiliano, autore nel corso della sua censura del 142 a.C. di una serie di interventi nella zona del Foro Boario** [with n. 85; my emphasis]".

In his note 85, Coarelli quotes: "COARELLI 1988b [*i.e.*, here F. COARELLI 1988], pp. 84-92, 146-155".

**In 142 BC, as censor, Scipio Aemilianus completed for example also the *Pons Aemilius* (the 'Ponte Rotto'), which stood immediately adjacent to the *Horrea Aemiliana*; cf. Coarelli ("Pons Aemilius", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 106-107).**

Cf. here Fig. 58, labels: TIBER; PONS AEMILUS; Port. Cf. Fig. 73, labels: PONS AEMILIUS [*i.e.*, the 'Ponte Rotto']; AEDES: PORTUNUS; Servian city Wall; PORTA FLUMENTANA; HORREA [AEMILIANA]; FORUM BOARIUM.

Cf. Ernst Badian ("Cornelius (*RE* 335) Scipio Aemilianus Africanus (Numantinus), Publius, born 185/4 BC as second son of L. Aemilius Paullus (2), adopted as a child by P. Cornelius Scipio (2), son of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus ... [in 147 BC] he was elected consul ... He was assigned Africa ... and, after ... closing off the enemy's harbour, he overcame long and desperate resistance and early in 146 captured Carthage after days of street fighting. After letting his soldiers collect the booty, he destroyed the city and sold the inhabitants into slavery ... In 142 he was censor with Mummius who mitigated some of his severity. They

**restored the pons Aemilius** [my emphasis] ... [he died in 129 BC]", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> [1996] 397-398). Cf. Andrew W. Erskine ("Scipionic Circle is a term used to describe P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus and his friends ..." in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> [1996] 1369). - To L. Aemilius Paullus I will come back below, at point 5.).

The *Villa* of Scipio Aemilianus on the *Collis Latiaris* (or better: *Catialis*; to this correction of the name of the toponym 'Latiaris', I will come back below), one summit of the Quirinal, was bounded in the west by the *Via Flaminia*. This estate had been founded by Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus *maior* (236-183 BC, *cos.* 205 and 194 BC), whose grand-daughter Sempronia (born circa 164 BC), the sister of the tribunes Tiberius and Gaius Sempronius Gracchus, should marry in 150 or 148 BC her cousin Scipio Aemilianus. The latter is said to have met in this *Villa* with the 'Scipionic Circle'. - For Scipio Aemilianus's *Villas* at Rome on the Quirinal (with the Tomb of the Sempronii) and at the *ager Laurentinus*; cf. Häuber (1994 II, 911-912, 920 with n. 12; *ead.* 2017, 145-153, 184, 328 [also on the family members, who had owned those estates]). For the *Villa* of Scipio Aemilianus on the Quirinal most recently; cf. Coarelli (2019a, 212 with ns. 77-79).

**Interesting in the context discussed here is the fact that the area between the *Via Flaminia* and the *Collis Latiaris* (*Catialis*) on the Quirinal kept the toponym 'AEMILIANA', and that long after the *Villa* of Scipio Africanus *maior* and of Scipio Aemilianus had disappeared;** cf. Häuber (2017, 148-153, 328).

Already T.P. Wiseman ("Rome and the resplendent Aemilii" 1993, 184 with n. 22) mentions the fact that there existed two toponyms called *Aemiliana* at Rome, but Wiseman had overlooked the fact that some scholars locate still another (*i.e.*, a third) toponym called 'Aemiliana' on the Quirinal, at the (former) site of the *Villa* of Scipio Aemilianus; cf. Pierre Grimal (1984, 125). Coarelli (2019a, 212, with a summary of the discussion): Although he does not himself address Grimal's (1984, 123-125) statements concerning the "*Horti Scipionis*", Coarelli, in my opinion convincingly, comes to the conclusion that there were altogether three different toponyms at Rome that were called *Aemiliana*.

Wiseman (1993) locates one of the two toponyms 'Aemiliana', which he is aware of, in the 'Campus Martius' (these are the *Aemiliana* close to the *Diribitorium*). The other toponym *Aemiliana*, according to Wiseman, is mentioned in the inscription *CIL* XV 7150, and "was the great warehouse by the *emporium*, rebuilt in 174", that is to say, that *Porticus Aemilia*, which Wiseman (1993, 184 with n. 21) at that stage (but not any more in T.P. WISEMAN 2021a) identified with the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, the 'Porticus Aemilia' / *Navalia* in Rome's *new* commercial river port discussed here. In Coarelli's opinion (2019a, 211-212) the inscription *CIL* XV 7150 refers instead to the *Horrea Aemiliana* in the *old* commercial river port of Rome. - To all this I will come back below, in Section III.

#### **To conclude point b):**

Because of all this, the inscription on the Severan Marble Plan on the building in the *new* river port at *La Marmorata*, provided this actually *was* (one of the two) *Porticus Aemiliae*, should, in my opinion, have read 'PORTICVS AEMILIA'. And the inscription on the Severan Marble Plan of the other building, named after the Aemilii, which stood in the *old* river port, provided these actually were *Horrea Aemiliana*, should have read: '[HORREA] AEMILI[ANA]' (or alternatively: simply 'AEMILI[ANA]', as the building is called in our literary sources).

c) the 'Porticus Aemilia' outside the *Porta Trigemina* is called in all our literary sources 'porticus', and in only one source 'Porticus Aemilia', but it never only called 'Aemilia'. Those literary sources are quoted below, in Section III. as the [4.] and [10.] epigraphs.

d) in reality, and likewise as it appears on the Severan Marble Plan, the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* is huge. Therefore, provided this actually *was* (one of the two) *Porticus Aemiliae*, built in 193 BC, it should not have been a problem to place on its ground-plan on the Severan Marble Plan the complete label 'PORTICVS AEMILIA'.

2.) The identification of this *opus incertum* building.

**By its location, typology, plan, elevation and sloping floor it can, in my opinion, be identified as shipsheds (*Navalia*), as correctly observed by Cozza and Tucci (2006; cf. TUCCI 2012).**

Besides, already Tucci (2012) himself has stressed the fact that the identification by Cozza and himself (2006) of this building 'as *Navalia*' rested less on their (erroneous, as we now know; cf. *infra*) reading 'ALIA' of the 'preliminary' inscription on fragment 24b of the Severan Marble Plan as 'NAV[ALIA]' than on the other arguments adduced by them.

See for Cozza's and Tucci's (2006, 179, Fig. 1, above [= here **Fig. 102,2, below**]) erroneous reconstruction of the preliminary inscription (']ALIA'); it appears in their opinion, as indicated in their reconstruction, on fragment 24b of the Severan Marble Plan, immediately below fragment 23, which carries the fragmentary main inscription ']LIA'.

Francesco Paolo Arata and Enrico Felici ("Porticus Aemilia, *navalia* o *horrea*? Ancora sui frammenti 23 e 24 b-d della Forma Urbis", 2011) have corrected Cozza's and Tucci's wrong reading of the 'preliminary' inscription on fragment 24b of the Severan Marble Plan. This will be discussed in detail below, in Section III.

See also de Caprariis (2022, 127, with n. 30, quoted in more detail below, in Section III. as the [11.] epigraph): "... On fragment 24b, that is under the main inscription, of the [by L. COZZA and P.L. TUCCI 2006] supposed supplement [*Nau*]alia only the last two letters are actually visible (fig. 3). [with n. 30]".

In her **note 30**, de Caprariis writes: "See Arata, Felici 2011: 130 ...".

**That is to say, according to Arata and Felici (2011, 128, Fig. 1, p. 130), Alessandro D'Alessio (2014, 13-14, with Fig. 9), and de Caprariis (2022, 122, with Fig. 5.3 (a photo of fragment 24 of the Severan Marble Plan with the inscription "IA" - this is at least, what I see on this illustration - and p. 127 n. 30, quoted *verbatim infra*, as the [11.] epigraph in Section III.), the 'preliminary' inscription on fragment 24b of the Severan Marble Plan consists of only the two letters ']IA'. - Note that the caption of de Caprariis's (2022, 122, Fig. 5.3) reads: "FIGURE 5.3. Detail in raking light of fragment 24b; only the letters I and A were engraved under the main inscription (© Sovrintendenza Capitolina, photo by L. Frazzoni).**

After the autopsy of fragment 24b on 6th May 2022, I can confirm what has already been stated, and documented with illustrations, by those four scholars. Only that I myself do not read ']IA' on fragment 24b, but ']IA', but must confess that, being myself *not* an epigraphist, I cannot judge, whether or not the second letter was 'intended' to be an 'A' by the person who carved this letter.

As we shall see below, in Section III., this is precisely what Cozza and Tucci (2006, 178 [TUCCI]) have written in their note 8: "G. GATTLI, in *Pianta Marmorea* [*i.e.*, here *Pianta Marmorea* 1960 = G. CARETONI *et al.* 1960], p. 82, nota 8, aveva notato i «due segni: I e λ»".

Part of the problem mentioned here was caused by the fact that Cozza and Tucci, when they were in the course of writing their account (2006), did not have access to the fragment 24b of the Severan Marble Plan, which carries the 'preliminary' inscription. This autopsy was, at the time, impossible, as Cozza and Tucci (2006) have themselves stated. Therefore, Arata and Felici (2011), who *had* access to fragment 24b, could correct Cozza's and Tucci's suggested reading of the 'preliminary' inscription on fragment 24b.

I am writing here "'preliminary' inscription" with inverted commas, because Francesca de Caprariis, who generously gave us access to the fragments 23 and 24 of the Severan Marble Plan on 6th May 2022, was also kind enough to tell me her personal opinion that she does not take the inscription on fragment 24b as being 'preliminary'.

The other arguments adduced by Cozza and Tucci (2006) are: the location of the *opus incertum* building close to the Tiber (cf. here **Figs. 102; 102.2, below**) and its typology (*i.e.*, its plan, elevation and sloping floor combined), suggest its identification as *Navalia* (ship sheds). But Cozza and Tucci (2006; and P.L. TUCCI

2012) stressed that these were not *the Navalía* (the port of the warships, that was throughout its lifetime in antiquity [at Rome ! For that fact; cf. below, at point 7.]) based in the southern *Campus Martius*; cf. here **Fig. 107**). According to Cozza and Tucci (*op. cit.*), the *Navalía* at *La Marmorata* were rather built as shipyards for the Roman fleet of warships. In the overall scenario they develop of the later phase of this building, Cozza and Tucci consider (2006, 197, 198 [TUCCI], quoted above as the **[1.]** and **[2.] epigraphs** in this Section I.), in addition to this, its wider topographical context: namely its location within the huge new commercial river port, located to the south of the Aventine, at *La Marmorata*, which was, according to most other scholars, (allegedly) called *Emporium*.

3.) The identification of this new commercial river port at *La Marmorata* with the *Emporium*, mentioned by Livy.

**In my opinion, this (erroneous) identification rests (in great part but not only) on the identification of this *opus incertum* building at *la Marmorata* with the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina* because Livy (35,10,12; 41,27,8) mentions this *Porticus Aemilia* and the *Emporium* together.**

For all the literary sources, in which this *Porticus Aemilia* and the *Emporium* are mentioned together; cf. Filippo Coarelli (1999, 116-117, quoted below, in Section III. as the **[4.] epigraph**).

If my assumption is true that this *opus incertum* building at *la Marmorata* cannot be identified with this *Porticus Aemilia* (see below, at point 7.), it follows, in my opinion, that also the *Emporium*, mentioned by Livy (*op. cit.*) cannot be located at *La Marmorata* either.

To be honest, also before Gatti's publication (1934), in which he identified the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* with the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina*, the area in question had been identified by Otto Richter (1901, 200) 'for a later period' with the *Emporium*; but see p. 48: for an earlier period (precisely for 56 BC: the story told about Cato Uticensis by Plutarch, *Cat. Min.* 39), Richter assumed the *Emporium* was close to the *Forum Boarium* (which, in my opinion, is the correct location). To this I will come back below, in Section III. Rodolfo Lanciani, on the other hand, does not mark the '*Emporium*' on his map *FUR*, nor does Lanciani mention the toponym '*Emporium*' in the indices of the four volumes of his (*Storia degli Scavi di Roma e Notizie intorno le Collezioni Romane di Antichità*, 1902-1913), which he has published himself in his lifetime.

Already Cozza and Tucci (2006, 176-177 with n. 3, p. 181 with n. 18), D'Alessio (2014, 18 with n. 58) and, as we shall see below, in Section III., also Tucci (2012, 586) and de Caprariis (2019, 172 with n. 101; cf. *ead.* 2022, 133, with ns. 57, 58) have pointed out the problem of locating the *Emporium*, mentioned by Livy, in the area of *la Marmorata*.

But see Coarelli (2008, 462, quoted below, in Section III. as the **[6.] epigraph**), who, although now likewise following Cozza's and Tucci's (2006; and P.L. TUCCI 2012) identification of the '*Porticus Aemilia*' / *Navalía* as *Navalía*, nevertheless still locates the *Emporium* in this area. - So also Coarelli (2019a, 211, 212).

**Unfortunately I am currently unable to verify my hypothesis, according to which the area of *la Marmorata* is not the *Emporium*, mentioned by Livy (35,10,12; 41,27,8).**

**If my hypothesis were true it could, in theory, follow that the new commercial river port at *la Marmorata* (the alleged *Emporium*) was not already built in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC - as is taken for granted by many scholars.**

In order to verify my hypothesis, we could, for example, examine all the ancient buildings of the area and predominantly the port building (cf. here **Fig. 102.3**), which Burgers (*et al.* 2014a; 2014b; 2015) and de Caprariis (2019; *ead.* 2022) do not consider in their own reasonings in any detail.

Reading Roberto Meneghini's report (1985) on the excavations of this port building (1979-1986) that he had in part conducted himself, and Giuliano Giovannettis's (2016) analysis of this and all other excavations of

this building, which is based on his own on site analyses and on the pertaining archival material, one thing seems to be clear. This multi-storeyed port building is enormous (so far it has been observed on the river front for a length of 130 m), has many building phases, and part of the ancient evidence has been destroyed, for example in the course of modern 'sterri'. In addition, it has so far not been examined in its entirety, and one of the relevant 'sterri' has not as yet been published.

**Claudio Moccheggiani Carpano (1995, 223) even wrote: "Il complesso portuale studiato da G. Gatti [1934] e parzialmente riesplorato da [G.] Cressedi [1956], è oggi completamente obliterato, se non distrutto, dalle opere di sistemazione dell'area golenale realizzate negli anni '50".**

**Under those circumstances I regard it currently as impossible to verify my above-mentioned hypothesis.**

**But, after this was written, I have been alerted by Amanda Claridge to the article by T.P. Wiseman (2021a) who locates (on p. 30) the *Porticus Aemilia* and the *Emporium*, mentioned together by Livy, outside the *Porta Trigemina*, as Livy writes (but not any more at the Testaccio, as T.P. WISEMAN 1993, 184 with n. 21, had done). Wiseman's relevant passage is quoted below, in Section III. as the [10.] epigraph.**

**Another question, which is closely related to the 'Emporium' problem, is of equal importance and can likewise not be solved in this context. Because we ignore, in my opinion, not only the ancient toponym of the area of the Testaccio/ *La Marmorata*, and consequently the *real* beginning of the *new* commercial river port in this area - but also many details concerning the *entire* trade on the Tiber.**

We will learn below from Patrizio Pensabene and Javier Á. Domingo (2016-2017, 572-573, quoted *infra*, in Section II.), that first the goods, which had been brought with seagoing ships to the *Portus Augusti* (like those on the relief here **Figs. 98; 99**), were then transported with smaller ships on the Tiber to Rome (like those on the relief here **Figs. 105; 106**). Giovannetti (2016, 25, quoted in Section II.) discusses those goods, transported on the Tiber in antiquity, which had been processed in the port building at the commercial river port at *La Marmorata* (cf. here **Figs. 102; 102.3**), which is the focus of his article.

At this port building of the new commercial river port the incoming goods were obviously first of all registered, as we will learn below in this Section I. from Patrizio Pensabene (1994, 321-322), who discusses the marbles, processed at the *Statio Marmorum*, which he convincingly locates at '*La Marmorata*'. Filippo Coarelli (2008, 466; quoted likewise in this Section I.) observes the same procedures in his discussion of the oil *amphorae*, of which the *Monte Testaccio* consists, all of which had certainly been delivered to the river port at *La Marmorata*, and all of which had been registered there. - To the *Monte Testaccio* I will come back below.

Giovannetti (2016, 25) suggests that it was in the port building at *La Marmorata* that it was decided, which ones of all these incoming goods were stored in the *Horrea* at *La Marmorata*, and which were instead directly transported to their final destinations in Rome. But the main problem remains, as we also learn from Giovannetti (2016, 25):

"la domanda fondamentale riguarda proprio quali merci da qui  
[i.e. from the port building at *La Marmorata*] dovettero transitare".

We know, of course, because of the excavated finds, and because of the existence of the *Monte Testaccio*, that in antiquity at the port building of *La Marmorata* had been landed enormous quantities of *marble* and of olive oil, and, as has now been proven by Burgers (*et al.* 2014a, 914), who excavated carbonized grain in the XVIth aisle of the *opus incertum* building, the '*Porticus Aemilia*' (cf. here **Figs. 102.1; 102.2, below**) - grain. - My thanks are due to Rose Mary Sheldon for telling me that 'carbonized' is the correct description of this grain.

In order to answer Giovannetti's (2016, 25) above-posed question, we should try to find out, how all this incoming trade and the pertaining logistics were organized. We could, for example, consider the following points in our reasonings:

*a)* the chronology of the many wharves of very different sizes and providing very different facilities, which have been documented on both banks of the Tiber between Portus and the City of Rome;

*b)* the fact that on the relief with three Tiber ships (cf. here **Figs. 105; 106**) we see how the sailors of one of these ships try hard to prevent a collision with one of the other ships; this relief appears on the plinth of Domitian's colossal marble statue of the River God Tiber (see for *a*) and *b*) below, in Section II.); and -

*c)* that on one occasion, as reported by Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.18.2), 200 ships had been destroyed during a thunderstorm at the *Portus Augusti*, and on another occasion, 100 ships had been destroyed by a fire. Those ships had been docked over night, one next to the other, somewhere in the area discussed here on the banks of the Tiber. - My thanks are due to Peter Herz, who has alerted me to this fact in our telephone-conversation on 17th April 2022.

Cf. below, at *The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung*, where he discusses this event, reported by Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.18.2), and which he was kind enough to send me on 25th February 2023.

See also Robert Sablayrolles (1994, 115, quoted *verbatim supra*, at Chapter *Preamble*; Section III.), at point 3.) for Domitian's foundation of a firebrigade at Rome's port, Ostia.

**The above-mentioned glimpses of information (*a*), *b*) and *c*)) show, in my opinion, that, in order to better understand the area of *la Marmorata* under scrutiny here, we should study the *entire trade on the Tiber*, of which the activities at the river port at *la Marmorata* were only one part, albeit a very important one.**

As already mentioned above, all this should, of course, be discussed in context with the studies, dedicated to Portus. See for example most recently the paper, read on 14th July 2022 at the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Berlin by Evelyne Bukowiecki, which had the following title: "Port Infrastructures in Portus. The Recent Excavations of the École Française de Rome".

4.) The date suggested for the *opus incertum* building, which I am following here: 'around 100 BC'.

The building at *La Marmorata* was erected in the Republican period in *opus incertum*, a building technique which, when Gatti (1934) identified this structure with the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina*, was dated 'not before the time of Sulla'. Thanks to Gatti's (1934) identification of this structure with this *Porticus Aemilia*, he was convinced that he had proven that this building technique had instead already been started in 193 BC because the *Porticus Aemilia* was erected in that year, as we learn from Livy (35,10,12). For the dating of *opus incertum* 'not before Sulla', and for the literary sources, related to the *Porticus Aemilia*; cf. Filippo Coarelli (1999, 116-117, quoted below, in Section III. as the **[4.] epigraph**).

For Sulla; cf. Ernst Badian ("Cornelius (*RE* 392) Sulla Felix, Lucius [circa 138-79 BC]", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996, 400-401).

Concerning the date of the building technique *opus incertum* that was assumed at the time, when Guglielmo Gatti (1934) wrote his article, Cozza and Tucci (2006, 194 [TUCCI]) write: "**Questa tecnica costruttiva fino a molti decenni fa si riteneva tipica dell'inizio del I secolo a.C. e non a caso Gatti [1934] si preoccupò di dimostrare che il "suo" portico in *opus incertum* potesse essere un edificio (la *porticus Aemilia*) realizzato un secolo prima [my emphasis]**".

In my opinion, Gatti's (1934) conclusion that the beginning of *opus incertum* could be dated to 193 BC, because he had identified the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* with the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina*, is a classic example of circular reasoning. - Also because Gatti's (alleged) *Porticus Aemilia* would be the only *opus incertum* building that was (allegedly) 100 years older than all the other buildings, erected in

this technique, as also remarked by Amanda Claridge (2010, 403); cf. below, in Section III., there quoted as the [5.] epigraph. As de Caprariis (2019, 172 with n. 104) has observed, more recently, Claridge (2018, 96, Table 5.1), dates the *opus incertum* building discussed here, and identified by her as "Navalia", to "c.[irca] 100 BCE"; cf. *infra*, in Section III., where this passage is quoted as the [9.] epigraph.

On 18th March 2022, I called Amanda Claridge in London, asking her for advice concerning this point. She was kind enough to tell me that currently the beginning of *opus incertum* is generally assumed 'at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC' (which is basically the same date as: 'around 100 BC').

Only after having written this down did I find that the same late date ('at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC') for the invention of *opus incertum* has already been suggested earlier.

See Steven Tuck ([HORREA CORN]ELIA", in: *LTUR* V [1999] 263): "... the large *opus incertum* structure originally identified by G. Gatti as the *porticus Aemilia* (q.v.) ... **More recent re-evaluation of the dating of *opus incertum* faced concrete (v.[edi] *Magna Mater, aedes*) suggest that both the initial phase of the *porticus Aemilia* in 193 BC (Liv. 35.10.12) and its restoration in 174 BC (Liv. 41.27.89) are too early to have been constructed in that technique. Furthermore the building form does not correspond to either the stoa or quadriporticus shape used in known *porticus* [my emphasis]**".

For the (second phase of) the Temple of *Magna Mater*, built in *opus incertum*, to which Tuck (1999, 263) refers, see Patrizio Pensabene, who dates it to 'the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC'.

Cf. Pensabene ("*Magna Mater, Aedes*", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 207):

**"Confrontando i dati archeologici con quelli forniti dalle fonti si ricava questa successione:**

- prima fase del tempio in opera quadrata (204-191 a.C.);
- **seconda fase in opera cementizia con caementa in tufo giallo e peperino (fine del II sec.[olo] a.C.) ... [my emphasis]**".

5.) Other dates suggested for the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, the '*Porticus Aemilia*' / *Navalia*.

Cozza and Tucci (2006, 196 [TUCCI]) suggest that the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata* were built 'after 167 BC'. The reason being that they assume that Livy should have mentioned this building, and because Livy doesn't, they believe that his relevant passage must have stood in the *lacuna* of his text (which had covered the timespan between 167 until 68 BC).

But Cozza and Tucci (2006, 194 [TUCCI]) have also themselves arrived at the date 'end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC' for the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* and that for the following reason:

**"Tuttavia, trascurando le prime sporadiche attestazioni di quel paramento murario e considerando la complessità della struttura architettonica (archi e volte con una luce superiore agli 8 m.), è verosimile che l'edificio di Testaccio sia stato costruito dopo un lungo periodo di sperimentazione, quindi non all'inizio, ma piuttosto nella seconda metà o verso la fine del II secolo a.C. [my emphasis]**". - I must confess that I had at first overlooked that already Cozza and Tucci (2006, 194 [TUCCI]) have suggested this date, which is why I had instead given Amanda Claridge (2018, 96) credit for the suggestion of this date; see below, in Section III., quoted as the [9.] epigraph.

As we have seen above, in point 4.), this date ('end of 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC'), suggested by Cozza and Tucci (2006, 194 [TUCCI]) for the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*, is exactly the same as that suggested by Claridge for this *opus incertum* building (2018, 96: 'circa 100 BC'). As well as the date, already suggested by Tuck (1999, 263) for the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, who compares it with it the second Temple of *Magna Mater* on the Palatine, also built in *opus incertum*. As we have seen above, in point 4.), this Temple of *Magna Mater* on the Palatine has been dated by Pensabene (1996, 207) to the 'end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC'.

Coarelli (2008, 464), quoted *infra*, in Section III. as the [6.] epigraph, dates the *Navalia*, as he interprets this building now, 'between 149 and 146 BC'. Alessandro D'Alessio (2014, 18; cf. p. 22) suggests that the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* was erected "nel pieno II secolo" BC ('in full 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC'). And de Caprariis (2022, 134-135, with n. 64) dates the *opus incertum* building as follows: "built presumably around 140 BCE or, if one were to follow the later dating, around [page 135] 100-97 [with n. 64]".

*In the following, I allow myself a digression on A. D'Alessio's (2014) observations concerning the great similarities of the opus incertum of the 'Porticus Aemilia' / Navalia at La Marmorata and that of the substructure on the eastern slope of the Palatine, that (presumably) carried the Temple of Fortuna Respiciens*

Alessandro D'Alessio (2014, 19 with n. 61, Figs. 1; 2; 13) notes the great similarities of the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* with the substructure on the eastern slope of the Palatine, and mentions the fact that already Richard Delbrueck (II 1912, 92) had observed that both buildings could have been erected contemporaneously.

To this substructure on the eastern slope of the Palatine have been attributed the Republican terracotta statues of the 'pediment from Via di S. Gregorio', which, as Alessandro D'Alessio rightly stresses, were thus found on the 'Via Triumphalis'. Most recent scholars, Alessandro D'Alessio (2014, 18 with ns. 59, 60) included, agree, *inter alia* therefore, in identifying this temple as that of Fortuna Respiciens.

In an earlier publication, I had myself (1998a, 92 with n. 34) likewise agreed in identifying this temple as that of Fortuna Respiciens, basing myself on Maria José Strazzulla (1993, 317-334, 349) and on Lucilla Anselmino and Strazzulla (1995). Add to the references, quoted by Alessandro D'Alessio (2014, 18 ns. 59, 60): Laura Ferrea (2002), Coarelli (2012, 200-219), and Mario Torelli (2016). Coarelli (2012, 218), like Alessanfro D'Alessio (2014, 18, 22), attributes this Temple of Fortuna Respiciens to L. Aemilius Paullus, who, in Coarelli's opinion, built this temple in 164 BC, during his censorship, to commemorate his victory at Pydna (168 BC). - As mentioned above, in point 1.), L. Aemilius Paullus was one of the Aemilii, who, as aediles in 193 BC, had built two 'Porticus Aemiliae': one of these porticos, 'outside the *Porta Trigemina*', has (in my opinion erroneously) been identified with the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* discussed here.

Coming back to this complex subject after my first publication (in 1998a), I realize that Alessandro D'Alessio (2014) combines in his above-mentioned scenario four different subjects: 1.) D'Alessio (2014, 19 with n. 61, Fig. 13) has realized that the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* shows so striking similarities with the *opus incertum* of the substructure on the eastern slope of the Palatine that he assumes that they were possibly built by the same workshop ("forse l'opera delle stesse maestranze"; 2.) D'Alessio (2014, 18 ns. 59, 60, p. 22) finds the suggestion "plausibile" that the Temple of Fortuna Respiciens was commissioned by L. Aemilius Paullus; 3.) D'Alessio (2014, 19 with n. 62, Fig. 19), considers, in addition to this, the facts that an *opus incertum* building, 'likewise dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC', "i c.d. [cosiddetti] 'Criptoportici' del Rione Terra a Pozzuoli", shows even more striking similarities with the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, and 4.), the close connection of the Aemilii with the Roman colony of Pozzuoli (founded by the Aemilii in 194 BC). Consequently, D'Alessio (2014, 21, 22, 23) concludes that the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* was most probably commissioned by the Aemilii as well.

Alessandro D'Alessio's (2014) just mentioned observations (points 1.) - 4.) are not necessarily related in the way as suggested by him. To illustrate my reserve, I anticipate here a passage from Tucci (2012, 588-589) that was written for Section III.:

**'Concerning the date of the *opus incertum* of the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*, Tucci (2012, 588-589) writes in response to Enrico Felici (cf. ARATA and FELICI 2011. 144, 141 [FELICI]) :**

"Tuttavia è noto che a partire dal II secolo a.C. gli architetti operanti a Roma 'presero in prestito' una serie di tipologie edilizie dal mondo greco-ellenistico e le realizzarono con archi e volte, anche grazie alle nuove



possibilità offerte dall'*opus caementicium*: non a caso, Felici loda la presunta *porticus Aemilia* come una «completa e originale reinvenzione romana» [with n. 46] ... [page 589] Inoltre l'uso dell'*opus incertum* in una costruzione tanto complessa come quella di Testaccio è forse un po' precoce per un edificio databile tra il 193 ed il 174 a.C. [with n. 47]".

In his **note 46**, Tucci writes: "ARATA, FELICI 2011, p. 144, nota 75 e p. 141".

In his **note 47**, he writes: "FELICI [see n. 46] si basa su uno studio del 1977 di Coarelli, la cui cronologia dell'*opus incertum* è ormai messa in discussione: cfr. LA ROCCA, D'ALESSIO 2011, p. VIII. **Inoltre Felici afferma che «analisi geologiche del cementizio potrebbero fornire ulteriori dati», ignorando che queste analisi sono già disponibili (cfr. JACKSON et al. 2007, p. 37, fig. 7a) e hanno confermato che non c'è nessuna relazione tra l'edificio di Testaccio e la disponibilità di pozzolana di Puteoli, colonia fondata dagli stessi Aemilii nel 194 a.C. [my emphasis]**".

### **To conclude this discussion of Alessandro D'Alessio (2014).**

So far the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, the substructure on the eastern slope of the Palatine, and the 'cosiddetti Criptoportici' del Rione Terra a Pozzuoli' are individually not datable by certain evidence, for example by literary sources, inscriptions *in situ*, or relevant data found in scientific excavations. This is why Alessandro D'Alessio (2014) has developed the above-summarized scenario.

I myself cannot solve the problems either that are mentioned in the above-listed points 1.) - 4.), and in this point 5.), but wish to stress the following observations.

**Alessandro D'Alessio's (2014, 23) tentative attribution of the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* to the Aemilii rests *inter alia* on his judgement of the substructure on the eastern slope of the Palatine, because for that has been suggested an appropriate date.**

The identification of the substructure on the Palatine rests, in its turn, on three assumptions: *a*) that the 'pediment from Via di S. Gregorio' belonged to a temple standing on top of this substructure, and on the conclusions, based on analyses of the figures of this pediment, that they *b*) belonged to the Temple of Fortuna Respiciens, which *c*) must have been dedicated by L. Aemilius Paullus. - Although (in 1998a) I have myself followed the identification of this temple with that of Fortuna Respiciens, I come now to the conclusion that Alessandro D'Alessio (2014) has not as yet proven his *entire* scenario.

For a discussion of this substructure on the eastern slope of the Palatine and of the 'pediment from Via di S. Gregorio'; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix V.*; at Section II. *The valley between Palatine and Caelian and the 'Temple of Fortuna Respiciens' on the map Fig. 73.*

I, therefore, do not follow Alessandro D'Alessio's scenario (2014, 18, 22, 23). I accept neither his dating of the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* ("nel pieno II secolo" BC), nor the - from his perspective consequent - tentative attribution of this building to the Aemilii. I prefer the later date, suggested for the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*: 'at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC', as first suggested by Tuck (1999, 263): because that date is based on evidence, which for the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* and for the substructure on the Palatine is still missing. Tuck (*op.cit.*) compared the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* with the (second) Temple of *Magna Mater* on the Palatine (likewise erected in *opus incertum*). The date of this Temple of *Magna Mater* ('at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC'), has been suggested by Pensabene (1996, 207), who combined our relevant literary sources with the results of his own excavations of the temple (see above, at point 4.)).

6.) The results of the first scientific excavations of the *'Porticus Aemilia' / Navalía*, conducted from 2011-2013. Those excavations were conducted by Gert-Jan Burgers, Raphaëlle-Anne Kok-Merlino and Renato Sebastiani (and others; cf. *infra*), and published by these three authors (2015); the abstract of their publication (2015) is quoted below, in Section III., as the [8.] epigraph. See also the publications by the excavators Gert-Jan Burgers, Valerio De Leonardis, Sara Della Ricca, Raphaëlle-Anne Kok-Merlino, Matteo Merlino, Renato Sebastiani and Franco Tella (2014a and 2014b), which are discussed below in Section III.

The excavators had the chance to dig immediately outside the *Porticus Aemilia*, as they interpret this building, and in the building within its Xth, XVth and XVIth aisles (of altogether 50 aisles; cf. here Figs. 102; 102.1; 102.2; 102.3).

**Burgers (*et al.* 2015) do not suggest a date for the Republican phase of the *opus incertum* building. They report also that, because no Republican strata were found in their digs, they were unable to define the function, for which it was originally erected. But they state their hope that future excavations may possibly provide information that could help us to understand the purpose for which this structure had originally been built.**

Burgers (*et al.* 2015, 199) reject the opinion that this structure could have been *Navalia*, as suggested by Cozza and Tucci (2006; P.L. TUCCI 2012). Based on the results of their excavations they are themselves able to demonstrate the "highly differentiated history of occupation in the area", and of the *opus incertum* building itself. They could especially document the building's history from the Trajanic period until late antiquity (for the latter; cf. also BURGERS *et al.* 2014a; 2014b). Burgers (*et al.* 2015, 199) state that they were able to demonstrate that in the Trajanic/ Hadrianic period parts of this building had clearly been restructured in order to adapt it to a different use than for which it had originally been erected. By means of those changes those parts of the building *could*, and actually *were* henceforth used as *Horrea*. Burgers (*et al.* 2015, 210) state that: "Most probably, the result of the excavations in the aisle XVI can be projected on a larger part of the *Porticus Aemilia*. It seems plausible that a significant part of the monumental building was turned into *horrea publica* with numerous *cellae* along the rear wall of the *Porticus*, including three corridors in the former Republican building". And further on the same page: "Wheat was the principal product in weight and volume that was imported in the harbours of the Tiber" (with note 28, quoting for this: "Le Gall 2005, 294-296"). The excavators add to this that these are the first *Horrea*, which have so far been documented at Rome in a scientific excavation; cf. Burgers (*et al.* 2015, 199).

Personally I interpret the statements by Cozza and Tucci (2006; and P.L. TUCCI 2012) concerning the *'Porticus Aemilia' / Navalía* differently than Burgers (*et al.* 2015, 199).

Burgers (*et al.* 2014a; 2014b and 2015) have now proven by their excavations within three aisles, and immediately outside the building, its 'highly differentiated use over time' since the Trajanic period (BURGERS *et al.* 2015, 199). But they do not acknowledge that this has already been suggested by Cozza and Tucci (2006, 197 and 198 [both TUCCI; cf. *supra*, quoted as the [1.] and [2.] epigraphs in this Section I.), who, when (on page 197) speaking of the second phase of the lifetime of this building in antiquity (after the warships had abandoned the place at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC) of not only one future use of this structure, but instead of "*funzioni commerciali* [in the plural !; my italics]", and explicitly mention (on page 198) also the later ('commercial') life of this building in the Imperial period.

7.) Conclusions.

**I cannot find Gatti's (1934) hypothesis convincing according to which the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* should be identified with the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina*. For the following interrelated reasons this seems, in my opinion, to be impossible :**

a) provided, we believe that the main inscription of this building, which appears on fragment 23 of the Severan Marble Plan, when intact, should have read *'PORTICVS AEMILIA'*, but for which there is not

enough space on the ground-plan of this building as it is drawn on the Severan Marble Plan (cf. here **Fig. 102.2, above**, and *supra*, at point 1.));

*b*) provided, we believe that the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* was only erected 'circa 100 BC' (cf. *supra*, at point 4.)), as suggested by Claridge (2018, 96), quoted below in Section III. as the **[9.] epigraph**), and already before by Steven Tuck (1999, 263), and by Cozza and Tucci (2006, 194 [TUCCI]);

*c*) provided, we consider that the *opus incertum* building is certainly not a *porticus* (cf. *supra*, at points 1.) and 4.));

*d*) provided, we consider that this architecture clearly follows the typology of *Navalia* (cf. *supra*, at point 2.));

*e*) provided, we consider that we know from Livy (35,10,12; 41,27,8, quoted below in Section III. as the **[4.] epigraph**) that the *Porticus Aemilia* was built in 193 BC and restored in 174 BC;

*f*) provided, we consider that we know from our literary sources (cf. for those below, in Section III., quoted as the **[4.] epigraph**), that the *Porticus Aemilia* stood 'outside the *Porta Trigemina* within the Servian city Wall'.

As we shall learn below in Section III., de Caprariis (2019, 172; cf. *ead.* 2022, 131, with ns. 50-52) has convincingly pointed out that this topographical indication does unfortunately not really help us in our efforts to identify the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, because it can be interpreted very differently.

But see for the *Porta Trigemina* now also T.P. Wiseman (2021a, 30), who locates the *Porticus Aemilia* outside the *Porta Trigemina*, as Livy writes (but not any more at the Testaccio, as Wiseman had done in 1993, 184 with n. 21. Wiseman's (2021a, 30) relevant passage is quoted below, in Section III., as the **[10.] epigraph**).

**As a result of the above-listed points 1.) - 7.), I follow Cozza and Tucci (2006, 180) in suggesting that the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* was built as "dei *navalia*". But, exactly as Cozza and Tucci (2006; P.L. TUCCI 2012) themselves stress, not as 'the *Navalia*', the port of the warships (which, throughout its lifetime in antiquity at Rome was located in the southern *Campus Martius* and is represented on here Fig. 107), but instead understood, in the first phase of their lifetime in antiquity, 'as shipyards of the Roman fleet of warships'.**

The reasons for my identification as *Navalia* being *a*) the typology of this building, *b*) Cozza's and Tucci's (2006, 197, 198) further arguments, quoted above as the **[1.] and [2.] epigraphs**; see also Tucci (2012, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Section III.), *c*) its chronology (here I follow TUCK 1999, 263, COZZA and TUCCI 2006, 194 [TUCCI]), and A. CLARIDGE 2018, 96: 'circa 100 BC'), and *d*) (for the second phase of its lifetime in antiquity) its location within the new ancient commercial river port of *La Marmorata*.

For the development of my own hypothesis, I have chosen as starting point an observation by Cozza and Tucci (2006, 198 [TUCCI], quoted above in the **[2.] epigraph**):

"È stato anche sottolineato che i *navalia* (nell'accezione "industriale" del termine) «devono aver costituito un elemento non secondario del paesaggio urbano e suburbano della Roma imperiale» [with n. 54; my emphasis]".

In their **note 54**, Cozza and Tucci quote for this important observation: Daniele Manacorda ("Appunti sull'industria edilizia a Roma", 2005, pp. 28-29).

If we assume at the same time that the *opus incertum* building, the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*, was erected only 'circa 100 BC', as suggested by Claridge (2018, 96; cf. *supra*, at point 4.)), whom I am following here, and similarly already by Tuck (1999, 263; cf. *supra*, at point 4.): 'at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC'), and likewise by Cozza and Tucci (2006, 194 [TUCCI]: 'at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC'; cf. *supra*, at point 5.)), we can -

tentatively - conclude something slightly different than what has been suggested by Cozza and Tucci (2006) themselves. And that for the second phase of the lifetime of those *Navalia* in antiquity, when, at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, as suggested by Cozza and Tucci (2006, 197 [TUCCI], see above, the [1.] epigraph), the former *Navalia* of the warships at *La Marmorata* (understood as shipyards of the Roman fleet of warships), **in the lack of fleets of long warships**, were henceforth used commercially.

*In the following, I allow myself a digression on the reasons, why and when Octavian/ Augustus had moved the 'fleet of long warships' (L. COZZA and P.L. TUCCI 2006) from Rome to Misenum, and what consequences this may have had for the 'Porticus Aemilia' / Navalia at La Marmorata, discussed here*

Apropos, **in the lack of fleets of long warships**: Cozza and Tucci (2006, 197 [TUCCI], see above, the [1.] epigraph) write: "**Più tardi, per l'evidente assenza di flotte con grandi navi da combattere**, l'edificio dovette risultare inutile e addirittura "ingombrante", in una zona che cominciava ad assumere uno spiccato carattere commerciale. Visto il grande spazio coperto a disposizione e le eccezionali caratteristiche della struttura, è **probabile che già dalla fine del I secolo a.C. l'edificio sia stato adibito a funzioni commerciali** [my emphasis]".

I believe that with this just-quoted observation ('in the lack of fleets of long warships'), in combination with their suggested date for this change ("già dalla fine del I secolo a.C."), Cozza and Tucci (2006, 197 [TUCCI]) refer to the fact that Marcus Agrippa, 'since 37 BC, was engaged in creating and training a new fleet of warships' (G.W. RICHARDSON *et al.* 1996; cf. *infra*). Under Augustus, the fleet of warships was not based at Rome any more: Misenum "became one of the principal naval bases (with Ravenna)"; cf. Edward Togo Salmon and Nicholas Purcell (1996, 989).

Thanks to Agrippa's new type of shorter warships and his excellent leadership, Octavian/ Augustus and Agrippa defeated Mark Antony and Queen Cleopatra VII in the decisive naval battle at Actium on 2nd September 31 BC. For Agrippa's faithful and competent support of Octavian/ Augustus, not only in this respect; cf. Häuber (2017, 19, 531 with n. 253, p. 554, Fig. 13, pp. 563-565 [for the events that had led to Actium - and for the consequences of Octavian's victory]).

Cf. Philip de Souza: "After the battle of Actium it [*i.e.*, the warship quinquereme, used by the Romans until that time] was superseded by smaller vessels"; cf. ("**quinquereme** (Greek *πεντήρης*, Latin *quinqueremis*) ... [the emphasis is by the author himself]", in *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996, 1290).

Geoffrey Walter Richardson, Theodore John Cadoux and Barbara M. Levick (1996, 1601) write about Agrippa: "... the lifelong friend and supporter of Augustus, was born in 64, 63, or even 62 BC of obscure but probably well-to-do family ... He accompanied Octavius (the future Octavian and Augustus) to Rome from Apollonia after [Julius] Caesar's murder, **helped him to raise a private army ... As consul (37) he fitted out and trained a new fleet for Octavian's war against Sextus Pompeius, converting the lacus Avernus near Cumae into a harbour (portus Iulius) for the purpose, and in 36 won two decisive naval engagements at Mylae and Naulochus [against Sextus Pompeius], where his improved grapnel was highly effective .... In 31 his vigorous naval operations were the primary cause of Mark Antony's defeat ...; at Actium he commanded the left wing ... [my emphasis]**".

To Agrippa and Sextus Pompeius, and the latter's importance for the subject discussed here, I will come back below, in Section III.

What consequences had this decision of Octavian/ Augustus for the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*?

**Cozza and Tucci (2006, 197 [TUCCI], see above, the [1.] epigraph) did not mention explicitly, what kind of commercial uses (in the plural !) they themselves had in mind, when writing this. I myself will tentatively suggest in the following that these *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*, from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC onwards, could (*inter alia*?) have been used for commercial ships.**

Before describing my hypothesis step by step, let me anticipate here its preliminary results:

**So far I cannot prove my idea that these *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*, from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC onwards, could (*inter alia?*) have been used for commercial ships, but will develop in the following a relevant scenario.**

In my opinion, this is (in theory) possible until the structures, visible on the lower part of fragment 24c and on fragment 24d of the Severan Marble Plan (cf. here **Figs. 102.2; 102.3; and 102.3, inserted box**), were erected right in front of the '*Porticus Aemilia*'/ *Navalia*. On the Severan Marble Plan (here **Figs. 102; 102.2; 102.3**) it seems as if these structures had possibly been erected in a long row all the way parallel to the southern façade of the '*Porticus Aemilia*'/ *Navalia*. If so, these structures would have 'blocked' all the entrances to the 50 aisles of the '*Porticus Aemilia*'/ *Navalia*, in a way that ships could not possibly have been transported inside those aisles any more.

These structures have recently been studied by Giuliano Giovannetti (2016, 21-23, Fig. 7 [= here Fig. **102.3, inserted box**]). Because none of these structures has so far been found in the excavations conducted in the relevant area, possibly because the relevant ancient strata were not reached in those digs, Giovannetti (2016, 23) concludes that: "Per le strutture raffigurate nella *Forma Urbis* non si può fare altro che attribuire, logicamente, *un terminus ante quem* in epoca severiana". - But note that Emilio Rodríguez Almeida (1993a, 20) dated these structures to the Trajanic period.

But not only their date, also the functions of the three buildings, visible on fragments 24c and 24d of the Severan Marble Plan, Giovannetti's buildings 1-3 (here **Figs. 102.3; 102.3, inserted box**), are difficult to define. Giovannetti (2016, 21) writes: "**Nella stretta fascia di terreno tra le attrezzature portuali fin qui descritte** [to which his essay is dedicated] **e la porticus Aemilia** [here identified as *Navalia*] **sono documentate delle strutture la cui identificazione ed il cui rapporto con il fronte portuale sono da chiarire** [my emphasis]". Giovannetti's building 1 (here **Fig. 102.3, inserted box**) consists of two large rectangular courtyards, surrounded by *tabernae*, which had at least two storeys, also buildings 2 and 3 contained *tabernae*. Giovannetti (2016, 22), therefore, comes to the following plausible conclusion concerning his buildings 1-3: "**... si può genericamente definire anche per essi una funzione di carattere commerciale vista la collocazione topografica ma è difficile fornire interpretazioni più dettagliate** [my emphasis]".

Burgers (*et al.* 2014a; 2014b; 2015), who themselves do not discuss Giovannetti's (2016) important findings, have documented for the *opus incertum* building, the '*Porticus Aemilia*'/ *Navalia*, discussed here, a great diversity of uses for the time from Trajan/ Hadrian until late antiquity. This is true for the area immediately outside the building and for its Xth, XVth and XVIth aisles (cf. for those aisles here **Fig. 102.1**), which the authors could investigate in their excavations. And, as already quoted above, Burgers (*et al.* 2015, 210) state that: "Most probably, the result of the excavations in the aisle XVI can be projected on a larger part of the *Porticus Aemilia*".

Considering those results of the recent excavations, we might just as well postulate as a working hypothesis that the same 'great diversity of uses' was *a*) true of *all* the 50 aisles of this building, and *b*) that this had already been characteristic for the time before: that is to say, since the building, as Cozza and Tucci (2006, 197 [TUCCI], see above, the **[1.] epigraph**) suggest, at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, had been abandoned by the military fleet, and could, henceforth, be used for commercial purposes. - Be all that, as it may !

*The single steps of developing my own hypothesis  
concerning the '*Porticus Aemilia*'/ *Navalia* at *La Marmorata**

De Caprariis (2022, 138-139 with ns. 87; 88), quoted below, in Section III. as the **[12.] epigraph**), where she identifies the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* with the *Porticus Aemilia*, believes that this structure was from the very beginning of its existence in the Republican period connected with the important grain

supply of the City Rome. See for the connection of the (alleged) *Porticus Aemilia* (in my opinion *Navalia*) at *La Marmorata* and the grain supply of Rome also de Caprariis (2019, 166), and de Caprariis (2022, 121 with n. 9, pp. 137-138 with ns. 84 and 85). De Caprariis (2019, 172, n. 105) only mentions the recent excavations of this building, but does not discuss the relevant publications by Burgers (*et al* 2014a, 914); cf. Burgers (*et al.* 2015, 210, quoted below, in Section III.), who have actually proven that grain has been stored in the XVIth aisle of their *Porticus Aemilia*, which they have excavated.

**But note that, thanks to the results of their excavations, Burgers (*et al.* 2014a; 2015) were able to prove that parts of the *opus incertum* building, discussed here, their ‘*Porticus Aemilia*’, had only been adapted to such *Horrea*-functions by means of the architectural changes which are datable to the Trajanic-Hadrianic period.**

In our relevant reasonings we should also consider the well known fact that, in antiquity, enormous quantities of olive oil had been delivered to the commercial port of *La Marmorata*. As not otherwise expectable, many more *amphorae* have also been found in the excavations of the site to the south of the *opus incertum* building, the ‘*Porticus Aemilia*’/ *Navalia*, where recently the *Nuovo Mercato del Testaccio* has been opened; cf. Mirella Serlorenzi and Renato Sebastiani (2011).

*In this context, I allow myself in the following a short digression on the near-by artificial mound Monte Testaccio (cf. here Fig. 102)*

As we have learned above, in the Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*, this was ‘a dumping-ground, which over time developed into a very impressive hill, called *Monte dei Cocci* or *Monte Testaccio*, because it consists of nothing else but sherds of terracotta *amphorae* of certain types, in which (mostly) olive oil was transported’.

See Martin Maischberger ("Testaceus Mons", in: *LTUR* V [1999] 28-30), who asks on p. 30 the interesting question, to which *Horrea* the dumping-ground *Monte Testaccio* had belonged, to the *Porticus Aemilia* or to the *horrea Sulpicianana*?: **"Ungeklärt ist schließlich auch noch die Frage, ob die Deponie [i.e., the *Monte Testaccio*] ursprünglich mehreren oder nur einem einzigen Lagerhaus-Komplex zugeordnet war - der *porticus Aemilia* [here identified as *Navalia*] oder den *horrea Sulpicianana*? - und ob ihre Verwaltung staatlicher oder privater Kontrolle unterstand [my emphasis]"**.

**Contrary to Maischberger (1999, 30), I myself do not identify the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* with the *Porticus Aemilia*, but we must, of course, ask ourselves where these oil *amphorae* had been officially ‘registered’ (by officials of the state - customs?), when having been delivered to the commercial port at *La Marmorata*, and subsequently stored, before the emptied *amphorae* were finally discarded.**

I am suggesting this here, because for the ‘imperial marble trade under Vespasian’ we happen to have the relevant proof; see the marble altar carrying the inscription (*CIL* VI 301; here Fig. 102.5), to which we will now turn. As I only realized after having written this down, Coarelli (2008, 466, quoted *verbatim* below), has described precisely the same procedure for the *amphorae*, of which the *Monte Testaccio* consists.

Claudio Mocchegiani Carpano (1995, 222) has mentioned this inscription *CIL* VI 301, which turned out to be a marble altar, found ‘at *La Marmorata*’, that is now kept in the British Museum (here Fig. 102.5). This altar was dedicated to Hercules by Iuvencianus, a slave or freedman of the Emperor Vespasian, who calls himself in the dedicatory inscription a *tabularius a marmoribus*. According to Mocchegiani Carpano, this man was "un addetto alla cura dei marmi (*CIL* VI 301 ...)". And from Coarelli (2019a, 305) we learn that ‘the *tabularii* were clerks of the administration of the state, who wrote the receipts for the delivered products’. - To all this I will come back below.

Maischberger (1999, 29, 28) writes that it has been estimated that circa 53 million (!) *amphorae* have been dumped at what would become the *Monte Testaccio*, which covers, according to him, an area of circa 20-22.000 square metres and still rises 35 m high above the surrounding plain (having originally risen circa 40 m high).

For the *Horrea Sulpiciana* (also called *Horrea Sulpicia*), mentioned by Maischberger (1999, 30), see below, in Section III.: mentioned by Horace (*Carm* 4,12,18), they were probably those, later called *Horrea Galbae* (or *Horrea Galbana*); cf. Lawrence Richardson Jr. (1992, 193, s.v. *Horrea Galbae*, Figs. 35; 43).

Note that Pomponius Porphyrio, in his scholion on Horace (*Carm* 4,12,18), mentions likewise the "*Galbae horrea*".

Cf. Claudio Mocchegiani Carpano (1995, 222): "**Da questo periodo in poi è certo l'inizio della costruzione [at *La Marmorata*, identified by him with the *Emporium*] di grandi horrea (*horrea Galbana, Aniciana, Lolliana*), della porticus Fabaria e del forum Pistorum, e di magazzini destinati alla raccolta e allo smistamento di ogni tipo di mercanzie e derrate** (v.[edi] Lanciani, *FUR* [fols. 34; 40; 44], cfr. Porph. *Hor. carm.* 4.12.18: *Galbae horrea vino et oleo et similibus aliis referta sunt*) [my emphasis]".

For the *Forum Pistorum*, the 'Forum of the bakers'; cf. Domenico Palombi ("*Forum Pistorum*", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 313).

Maischberger (1999, 28-29), as we have seen, writes that the *Monte Testaccio* (cf. here Fig. 102) covers an area of 20-22.000 m<sup>2</sup>: "... *testae*, [page 29] **Tonscherben, bilden den Hauptbestandteil der Aufschüttungsmassen, die über einem annähernd dreieckigen Grundriß mit Seitenlängen von ca. [circa] 180 m an der Nord- und jeweils ca. 250 m an den West- und Ostseiten eine Oberfläche von 20-22.000 m<sup>2</sup> bedecken** [my emphasis]".

But measured with the 'AIS ROMA' in the photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale, the ground-plan of the *Monte Testaccio* covers an area of circa 43.600 square metres. - The difference may perhaps be explained, when compared with Coarelli's description (2008, 465, quoted *verbatim infra*) of the "superficie" of the *Monte Testaccio*, which, according to Coarelli, measures circa "20.000 m<sup>2</sup>". - For those, who know the *Monte Testaccio* from autopsy (like myself), and when looking at Coarelli's plan of the hill on p. 466, it is clear that with "superficie" he refers to the accessible plateau of the *Monte Testaccio*.

On 8th March 2018, Franz Xaver Schütz and I had the chance to visit the *Monte Testaccio*; cf. above, in Chapter *Intoductory remarks and acknowledgements*.

Apropos the *Horrea Sulpicia*, mentioned by Maischberger (1999, 30). Francesca de Caprariis (2019, 172, n. 105) suggests that we might arrive at new results concerning the buildings erected in this area, when we consider the property of the Aemilii and of the Sulpicii there. - In theory, this avenue of research sounds promising. But the "**problematici praedia Tigellini Aemiliana in connessione con gli horrea galbana**", mentioned by de Caprariis (2019, 172, n. 105) in this context, were not located at the area of the Testaccio, as she believes, but instead within the area of the former *Villa* or *Horti* of Scipio Africanus *maior*/ Scipio Aemilianus on the Quirinal. See Coarelli (2019a, 212 with n. 76, discussed below, in Section III.).

Franz Xaver Schütz has not studied *Monte Testaccio* from the point of view of archaeology and history. He is interested in this artificial mound in the context of his own research (*Geovisualisierung anthropogenetischer Geomorphologie in urbanen Räumen am Beispiel der Stadt Rom mit einem Beitrag von Daniel Scherer*, forthcoming 2023).

But, when hearing the questions, posed by Maischberger (1999, 30), to which warehouse(s) the dumping-ground *Monte Testaccio* had once possibly belonged, and whether it had been controlled by the state or by a private institution, Franz had a very interesting idea.

I am mentioning this here although I do not know, whether or not the possible consequences of this idea have already been applied by another scholar to the *opus incertum* building discussed here, the '*Porticus Aemilia*' / *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*. Franz reminded me of the very long time-span, during which this artificial mound, the *Monte Testaccio*, had been 'created', in combination with the highly sophisticated organisation of this dumping-ground (to which I will come back below). If it were possible to prove that, because of those properties of *Monte Testaccio*, this dumping-ground could only have been created by an institution run by the state, it would automatically follow that the warehouse, to which this dumping-ground had belonged, was, of course, likewise run by the state.

According to Maischberger (1999, 30) it is assumed that the dumping-ground *Monte Testaccio* was started in the Augustan period (but see below for a different opinion), but he adds that this has so far not been proven. Maischberger further suggests that either the *Horrea Sulpiciana* (which, as we have seen above, were mentioned by Horace, *Carm* 4,12,18) or the *opus incertum* building discussed here, which he identifies with the *Porticus Aemilia*, could have been the warehouses, to which the dumping-ground *Monte Testaccio* had belonged. Considering that the *Horrea Sulpiciana* (or *praedia Sulpiciana*) in the Augustan period at least, were located on (or else were) private property, we could, at first glance, conclude that those *Horrea* were certainly not run by the state at that time.

**If so, the result of our preliminary research could be: possibly the warehouse, run by the state, which had started the dumping-ground *Monte Testaccio*, could be identified with the *opus incertum* building, the '*Porticus Aemilia*' / *Navalia* discussed here.**

After having written this down, I found that Burgers (*et al.* 2015, 210), as already mentioned, have actually suggested for the *opus incertum* building, which they themselves, like Maischberger (1999, 30), identify with the *Porticus Aemilia*, that, as soon as parts of this Republican building had been restructured for this new purpose, it had been turned into *horrea publica* (!):

**'Burgers (*et al.* 2015, 210) state that: "Most probably, the result of the excavations in the aisle XVI can be projected on a larger part of the *Porticus Aemilia*. It seems plausible that a significant part of the monumental building was turned into *horrea publica* [my emphasis]"**.

If that were true, this would (possibly) contradict my own hypothesis that these former military *Navalia* (in the sense of shipyards), at the time, when *Monte Testaccio* was (presumably) started in the Augustan period, as Maischberger (1999, 30) suggests, had (*inter alia*?) been used as 'commercial *Navalia*'. - But we have also seen that Burgers (*et al.* 2015, 199) date this restructuring of the '*Porticus Aemilia*' / *Navalia* into the Trajanic/Hadrianic period.

**Besides, Claudio Mocchegiani Carpano (1995, 222) was of the opinion that the dumping-ground *Monte Testaccio* was only started in AD 140: "Caratteristica è la testimonianza del commercio dell'olio documentato dal deposito di anfore rotte che costituiscono la collina artificiale del Testaccio (140 d.C. fino alla metà del III sec.[olo]; v.[edi] *Testaceus mons*)".**

**Coarelli (2008, 465-466) writes instead, that the date 'AD 140', connected with the *Monte Testaccio*, can be explained otherwise: "La collina artificiale detta Testaccio ... è alta circa 54 m dal livello del mare (30 al della zona circostante, con una circonferenza di 1 chilometro e una superficie di circa 20.000 m<sup>2</sup> ... La parte superficiale dei depositi, l'unica sufficientemente nota, è composta quasi esclusivamente da anfore olearie provenienti dalla Spagna, di forma tendente allo sferico (chiamate Dressel 20), e con il marchio di fabbrica su una delle anse. Sul corpo sono tracciati, a pennello o a calamo, il nome dell'esportatore, i vari controlli alla partenza e all'arrivo, la data consolare. La maggior parte delle anfore è datata tra il 140 e la metà del III sec.[olo] d.C. ... [my emphass]"**.



**Burgers (et al. 2014a; 2014b; 2015) and Francesca de Caprariis (2019; ead. 2022) although being interested in the results of the archaeological excavations that have been conducted within the entire quartiere Testaccio, leave out in their relevant reasonings the most important site: the huge Monte Testaccio itself !**

Apropos, the above-mentioned highly sophisticated organisation of the dumping-ground *Monte Testaccio*. See our visit of the restaurant 'da Checchino' on 13th September 2019, which is located on Via Monte Testaccio 30, that is to say, 'at the foot of *Monte Testaccio*', and where it is possible to see the *Monte Testaccio* 'from inside'; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*. Or, in other words, also considerations of the above-mentioned kind may possibly contribute to finding the answer to the question, for what purpose the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* had been erected in the first place, or, alternatively, how it had been used at later moments during its lifetime in antiquity.

But not only inside this restaurant it is possible to see 'through those illuminated vitrines', how the Monte Testaccio was created. Also elsewhere, for example on the south-side of the Monte Testaccio, it is today very well visible, how its sherds have been deposited to form this mound; cf. Maurizio del Monte, Paola Fredi, Alessia Pica, and Francesca Vergari ("Geosites within Rome City Center (Italy) : A mixture of Cultural and Geomorphological Heritage", 2013), who, in their turn, quote Ugo Ventriglia (*Geologia del territorio del Comune di Roma*, 2002). I thank Franz Xaver Schütz for those references.

Let's now return to our main subject.

**In the following text, I myself have pursued a very different avenue of research, since I am not so much interested in the provision of the population of Rome in antiquity with all kinds of food stuffs, but rather in the reason why the area discussed here had received its modern toponym 'La Marmorata'.**

**I have, therefore, studied Patrizio Pensabene's and Javier Á. Domingo's article ("Foro Traiano: organizzazione del cantiere e approvvigionamento dei marmi alla luce dei recenti dati di Palazzo Valentini", 2016-2017), in which the authors describe the important ancient 'sculpture industry' that was based at *La Marmorata*.**

Pensabene's and Domingo's findings are especially important in the context of this *Study*, since the authors state that most of the fresh marble blocks carrying consular dates, found at *La Marmorata*, are thus firmly dated to the reign of Domitian. We can, therefore, ask ourselves, whether or not the marble veneer and sculpture decoration of Domitian's 'pharaonic' building projects all over the city of Rome was (in great parts?) created by the men employed at the workshops of this 'sculpture industry' at *La Marmorata*. - To Domitian's 'pharaonic projects' at Rome I will come back below in Sections II. and IV.

**Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017, 573) write:**

**"Il porto di sbarco principale dei marmi era però quello di Marmorata, ai piedi dell'Aventino (fig. 16), collegato direttamente con la *Statio Marmorum*, da cui provengono blocchi con date consolari già dal periodo di Nerone, soprattutto di Domiziano e in minore misura di II secolo, con un picco in età adrianea. [with n. 161; my emphasis]". - To this article by Pensabene and Domingo I will come back in detail below, in Section IV.**

In their **note 161**, Pensabene and Domingo write: "MAISCHBERGER 1997, pp. 77-81, nota 333".

**Because of the subject that interests us here, I discuss in the following Pensabene's and Domingo's (2016-2017, 573) assertion that the *Statio Marmorum* was located at *La Marmorata* - anticipating that I believe they are right.**

Filippo Coarelli (2019a, 9 with n. 7, pp. 16-17) does not believe that the *Statio Marmorum* was located at *La Marmorata*, as has already been suggested by other scholars.

See Coarelli (2019a, 9 with n. 7): "... **per la *Statio marmorum* sono state avanzate due soluzioni diverse, ambedue incerte** [with n. 7; my emphasis] ...".

In his **note 7**, Coarelli writes: "Per Lanciani (LANCIANI 1891c [corr.: 1891b; i.e., here R. LANCIANI 1891], pp. 34-36 e *FUR*, tav. 15) essa si trovava nei pressi di S. Apollinare, **mentre in MAISCHBERGER 1997, p. 142 si pensa alla zona dell'*Emporium*, a Marmorata** [my emphasis]".

Cf. Coarelli (2019a, 16-17): "9) **Le curatele urbane più simil alla cura aquarum: opera publica (statio urbana, statio marmorum) ... Per quanto riguarda la *statio marmorum*, menzionata [page 17] solo da un'iscrizione severiana** [with n. 43; my emphasis] ...".

In his **note 43**, Coarelli writes: "*CIL* VI 410 = 30760, dove appare un *optio tabellariorum stationis marmorum*". - To the inscription *CIL* VI 410, I will come back below.

**Concerning Pensabene's and Domingo's (2016-2017, 573) statements, that "Il porto di sbarco principale dei marmi era però quello di Marmorata, ai piedi dell'Aventino (fig. 16), collegato direttamente con la *Statio Marmorum*", Giovannetti (2016) adds further observations, which support these assumptions.**

Giovannetti (2016, 18, Figs. 1; 2) publishes a photo and a plan (on which the rooms are labelled with numbers and capital letters) of the very complex multi-storeyed port building comprising docks at *La Marmorata*, to which his essay is *inter alia* dedicated. For Giovannetti's Figs. 1; 2; cf. Roberto Meneghini (1985, 433, Fig. 1, p. 436, Fig. 3).

**Giovannetti (2016, 25) writes about this "struttura portuale di lungotevere Testaccio" (which is the title of his essay):** "La mancanza di ampi tratti dell'edificio [*i.e.*, of this port building] rende difficile comprendere come dovesse avvenire la comunicazione tra i livelli diversi, ovvero tra il criptoportico ed il mole e tra il mole ed il scondo piano, la cui funzione, ripetiamo, rimane ignota ...

**Per gli ambienti su due livelli e per le *tabernae* si può ragionevolmente supporre la funzione di stoccaggio a breve termine delle merci prima del loro trasferimento agli *horrea* o direttamente alla loro finale distribuzione, ma la domanda fondamentale riguarda proprio quali merci da qui dovettero transitare ...**

Il livello di umidità in questi ambienti semipogei e vicini al corso del fiume doveva essere tale che non fosse possibile conservare, se non per brevissimo tempo, merci che si degradano rapidamente per l'umidità quali sicuramente grano e olio. **Non è da escludere che una parte del porto fluviale fosse destinata allo scarico del marmo, un'attività già ampiamente attestata nell'area dell'*Emporium*** [with n. 26]; **tracce di attività connesse alla commercializzazione del marmo vennero rinvenute anche in occasione del primo ristretto saggio stratigrafico che venne praticato nel 1979 a ridosso del muraglione 109 in corrispondenza con l'ambiente XIV** [with n. 27]. **Uno strato in particolare, il numero 10, conteneva circa 628 fra scagli e frammenti di marmi di vario genere, evidenti scarti di lavorazione del materiale che doveva avvenire sicuramente nell'area circostante** [my emphasis]".

In his **note 26**, Giovannetti writes: "**MAISCHBERGER 1997 colloca nell'area della pianura subaventina la *statio marmorum*, l'autorità amministrativa preposta al controllo imperiale sulle cave di marmo. L'attestazione di attività connesse al trasporto ed alla lavorazione del marmo risale dai celebri scavi di Visconti nel 1864** [my emphasis]". - Unfortunately Giovannetti does not list 'VISCONTI 1864' in his bibliography.

In his **note 27**, he writes: "A seguito delle operazioni di sbancamento della banchina fluviale eseguite con mezzi meccanici e della conseguente esposizione della stratigrafia antica fu possibile realizzare una sezione

prospettica della stessa e scavarne stratigraficamente una porzione di 6 m. Non fu possibile indagarne lo sviluppo verso il fiume poiché in quel settore si era già operato uno sterro negli anni '50. La documentazione di questa indagine è rimasta completamente inedita".

**Apropos, the area of the (alleged) *Emporium*, mentioned in the above-quoted passage by Giovannetti (2016, 25).**

**When reading Claudio Mocchegiani Carpano ("*Emporium*", in: *LTUR* II [1995], 222), who applies this toponym to the area called *La Marmorata* here (cf. here Fig. 102.4), we find more details, which support Pensabene's and Domingo's (2016-2017, 573) statements, according to whom "Il porto di sbarco principale dei marmi era però quello di *Marmorata*", and that there were also located sculpture workshops. - In addition to this we learn that, under Vespasian, one of his slaves or freedmen, a *tabularius a marmoribus* (*CIL* VI 301; cf. here Fig. 102.5), was based at this commercial river port *La Marmorata*.**

Immediately after the above-quoted passage on the *Monte Testaccio*, Mocchegiani Carpano (1995, 222) continues: "**Altra testimonianza sull'utilizzazione degli scali dell'Emporio [i.e., at *La Marmorata*] è la presenza di una notevole quantità di materiali marmorei, spesso grezzi di cava, che dovevano essere scaricati in zona ed anche sottoposti ad una prima lavorazione (*NSc* 1886, 22). Nel I sec.[olo] d.C. è sicura la presenza di un addetto alla cura dei marmi (*CIL* VI 301 *Herculi Aug. sacr. ex viso primigenius imp. Caesaris Vespasiani Aug. (servus) Iuvencianus tabul(arius) a marmoribus* [cf. here Fig. 102.5; my emphasis])**".

The *tabularii* were, according to Coarelli (2019a, 305): "... il personale amministrativo (*tabularii*), incaricato di redigere le ricevute attestanti la consegna del prodotto".

Searching for the inscription *CIL* VI 301, mentioned by Mocchegiani Carpano (1995, 222), first in the EDCS, the Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby Manfred Clauss / Anne Kolb / Wolfgang A. Slaby / Barbara Woitas, has resulted in the find that it has the EDCS-ID: "EDCS-17700060". Then Franz Xaver Schütz realized that this inscription belongs to a marble altar dedicated to Hercules, which was found (allegedly in) 1739 [*corr.*: 1737] at *La Marmorata* and is kept at the British Museum (inv. no. 1914,0627.1; cf. here Fig. 102.5).

Cf. <[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1914-0627-1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1914-0627-1)> [last visit: 11042022].

**The following is a quote from this Webpage of the British Museum:**

"Object Type

altar

Museum number

1914,0627.1

Description

Roman marble altar dedicated to Hercules by Primigenius Iuvencianus, an official involved in the marble trade under Vespasian. On the front, Hercules' club and lion skin are depicted in relief.

Production date

69-79 (Flavian)

marble

Dimensions

Height: 72 centimetres Thickness: 30 centimetres Width: 46 centimetre.

Inscription content: HERCVLI AVG SACR EX VISO PRIMIGENIVS IMP CAESARIS VESPASIANI AVG · IUVENCIVS TABVLAR A MARMORIBVS

Inscription transliteration: Herculi Aug(usto) sacr(um) / ex viso / Primigenius / Imp(eratoris) Caesaris Vespasiani / Aug(usti) Iuvencianus tabular(ius) / a marmoribus.

Inscription translation: Sacred to Hercules, Protector of the Emperor, after a vision. Primigenius Iuvencianus, (slave or freedman) of the emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus, book-keeper in the marble trade.

Curator's comments:

The altar is said to have been found at the Marmorata in Rome in 1739 [*corr.*: 1737]. This was the area where the ancient Roman river port, the emporium, was located. Primigenius Iuvencianus was an administrative official (tabularius), involved in the marble trade under Vespasian. Archaeologists have discovered extensive evidence for marble stores and workshops in this area. It appears that following the great Neronian fire of AD 64, this was where the marble imported into Rome from throughout the Empire was stored and processed. Under Domitian, further marble warehouses and workshops developed on the Campus Martius, and from Trajan and Hadrian on also in Portus on the coast.

The inscription is recorded on the actual object that was dedicated to the god: a large altar. However, it was expected that frequent offerings would follow after the dedication. We learn who the dedicant was - Primigenius, a clerk in the marble trade of Rome. He was either a slave of the emperor (implied by the name of the emperor following in the genitive) or, more likely, one of his freedmen (he has at least two names and the means to dedicate an expensive altar).

The marble that Primigenius oversaw coming into Rome was probably destined for imperially funded projects. Given that he worked under Vespasian, Primigenius may have overseen the import of marble necessary for buildings such as the Colosseum. The relief on the altar shows a club and a lion skin, the attributes of Hercules, the god to whom the altar is dedicated.

(Booms 2016, 84-85)

Bibliography:

- Booms, D. (2016) Latin Inscriptions, BMP: 84-5 [*i.e.*, here D. BOOMS 2016].

Bibliographic references

CIL VI / Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae (301)".

The above-quoted passages from the "Curator's comments" of this Webpage of the British Museum, which refer to the marble altar, carrying the inscription CIL VI 301 (here **Fig. 102.5**), are in their turn based on the book by Dirk Booms (2016, 84-85).

**To those above-quoted passages from the Wbpage of the British Museum, I should like to add some comments.**

Let's start with the statement:

**"The altar is said to have been found at the Marmorata in Rome in 1739".**

This altar was instead found in "scavi del 1737" at *La Marmorata*, as observed by Patrizio Pensabene (1994, 322 with n. 89, quoted *verbatim infra*).

Let's now turn to the following statement:

**"Primigenius may have overseen the import of marble necessary for buildings such as the Colosseum".**

The idea sounds at first glance brilliant, because we know that Vespasian had begun the Colosseum, although we also know that this amphitheatre was not exactly a 'marble building'.

Rossella Rea ("Amphitheatrum", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 30-35) describes all the different materials, applied in the Colosseum. Rea mentions also the relatively few parts of the building's decoration that were actually carved in marble. Nevertheless, given the enormous size of the building, even those relatively 'few' items of architectural marbles in the building, when calculated in their entirety, will have amounted to considerable masses of raw material that had to be ordered and then processed. But unfortunately we cannot know, of course, whether the Flavian marbles of the Colosseum were already (all) carved in Vespasian's lifetime, or rather only under Titus. What we do know is that Vespasian was lucky enough to inaugurate himself his *Templum Pacis* in AD 75. This is why Primigenius Iuvencianus may (in theory) have been in the enviable position to be involved in this project, which, concerning the subject 'marble decoration' represented without any doubt the *non plus ultra* of all imperial buildings at the time existing in the City of Rome.

For Vespasian's *Templum Pacis*; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*).

Also because this *Chapter* is *inter alia* dedicated to the people involved in the gigantic trade, by which the population of Rome was supplied with all kinds of goods, I am very glad that, thanks to Claudio Mocchegiani Carpano's (1995, 222) mentioning of him, we found Primigenius Iuvencianus.

Primigenius was another man involved in this trade, and that in a way very different from that of the other, already studied individuals, whom we see on **Figs. 98; 99; 105; 106**. Unfortunately we don't have Primigenius's portrait, like that of the (possible) owner of the seagoing ship which is visible on the Torlonia Relief on the lefthand side (here **Figs. 98; 99**: the owner of this ship is presumably illustrated on this image, he is the man on the left). Nor has anyone drawn Primigenius, showing him at work, as those men on the relief with the three Tiber ships which decorates the base of Domitian's colossal marble statue of the River God Tiber (here **Figs. 105; 106**). But we do learn the name and profession of Vespasian's slave or freedman: Primigenius Iuvencianus. And because Vespasian started what would become one of Domitian's 'pharaonic' projects, the 'Colosseum city', Primigenius is also of interest for this volume on Domitian and his building projects at Rome as a whole. And that because we do now know in Primigenius Iuvencianus at least one person by name, who may personally have been involved in the beginning of this project. And not only that. According to the "Curator's comments" of this Webpage of the British Museum, quoted here, which are based on the book by Dirk Booms (2016, 84-85): "Primigenius Iuvencianus was an administrative official (tabularius), involved in the marble trade under Vespasian". Whether or not that means that Primigenius was in a leading position in the imperial marble trade, I cannot say (he was not; cf. P. PENSABENE 1994, 322 with n. 89, quoted *verbatim infra*). But it seems possible that Primigenius may personally have been involved in the 'Colosseum city' project that would be finished by Domitian.

For Domitian's 'pharaonic' project, the 'Colosseum city'; cf. *supra*, in *Chapter IV.1.1.g*), and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.a*).

Since I was not familiar with some aspects of the inscription (*CIL* VI 301), I called on 13th April 2022 Peter Herz in Bad Ems, asking him for advice. First of all, I was not sure, whether or not 'Primigenius Iuvencianus' could be a name of a slave or a freedman, as is suggested in the "Curator's comments" (quoted after D. BOOMS 2016) on the above-quoted Webpage of the British Museum. In addition, I would have thought that 'ex viso', could have meant 'after a dream' - an assumption, which is not true. Whereas I would have thought that one of Vespasian's slaves should have been called 'Flavius', Herz explained to me the following. Apart from the fact that, in the "Curator's comments" (quoted after D. BOOMS 2016), it is correctly stated: "He [*i.e.*, Primigenius Iuvencianus] was either a slave of the emperor (implied by the name of the emperor following in the genitive) or, more likely, one of his freedmen ...", also both parts of his name have, according to Herz, in addition to this, the same significance. 'Iuvencianus' means that Vespasian must have inherited this man from the Roman family of that name. According to Herz's explanation of his name, 'Iuvencianus' would henceforth have been called like this, after having been bought by a member of this family. And 'Primigenius' refers to the fact, as Herz continued, that some of these Roman families used to own thousands of slaves, whom they could only distinguish from each other by giving them additional

names of this kind. - Peter Herz has kindly allowed me to mention our telephone conversation here. Considering that some Roman families owned so many slaves, I ask myself, whether Primigenius could possibly indeed have been a 'first born son', perhaps one of the 'home-born slaves', who were called 'verna'?

For *vernae*; cf. Michele Renée Salzman (1990, 76, discussed *infra*, in volume 3-1, at *Appendix I.f.1.*)).

**Let's now return to the inquiry, whether or not Pensabene's and Domingo's (2016-2017, 573) assumption is correct, according to which the *Statio Marmorum* was located at the ancient commercial river port of *La Marmorata*. In our relevant reasoning, we should consider the following facts:**

a) The marble altar at the British Museum (inv. no. 1914,0627.1; here **Fig. 102.5**), which carries the inscription *CIL VI 301*, was found 'at *La Marmorata*'; b) it was dedicated to Hercules by Primigenius Iuvencianus, a slave or freedman of the Emperor Vespasian, who calls himself in this inscription a *tabularius a marmoribus* (a "book-keeper in the marble trade") c) Primigenius Iuvencianus, likewise according to the Comments on this altar by the Curator of the British Museum (quoted after D. BOOMS 2016), "was an administrative official (*tabularius*), involved in the marble trade under Vespasian". Because of his position "book-keeper in the marble trade", it seems, in my opinion, impossible to believe that Primigenius Iuvencianus could have been employed *anywhere else* in the imperial administration than at the *Statio Marmorum*. - Or, provided under Vespasian the imperial administration, responsible for the control of the marble quarries, was not as yet called *Statio Marmorum*, Primigenius Iuvencianus must have been employed at a predecessor of such an office that would later be called this way.

I find it, therefore, convincing that Maischberger - for another reason (*i.e.*, the inscription *CIL VI 410*) - has located the *Statio Marmorum* at *La Marmorata*. Cf. Maischberger (1997, 142, quoted after F. COARELLI 2019a, 9 n. 7). As we have seen above, Maischberger's relevant suggestion was followed by Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017, 573).

In the Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby Manfred Clauss / Anne Kolb / Wolfgang A. Slaby / Barbara Woitas, the inscription *CIL VI 410* has the EDCS-ID: EDCS-17300563.

After I had written this down, Franz Xaver Schütz found the publication by Patrizio Pensabene (1994) on the Internet. Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017), in their discussion of Maischberger's hypothesis to locate the *Statio Marmorum* at *La Marmorata*, do not mention the fact that this has already been suggested by Pensabene (1994) himself. Also Coarelli (2019a, 9 with n. 7, pp. 16-17, quoted *verbatim* above), in his discussion of the *Statio Marmorum*, has overlooked Pensabene's relevant publication of 1994.

Pensabene (1994, 321-322, 325, 333) discusses the inscriptions *CIL VI 301* and *410*, which interest us here and mentions their precise findspots. He also explains the position of the *tabularius a marmoribus* Primigenius Iuvencianus within the hierarchy of the imperial administration of the marble trade, observes that most fresh marble block, documented so far reached the city of Rome under Domitian, and suggests, in my opinion convincingly, that the *Statio Marmorum* was based at *La Marmorata* :

"[page 321, Section:] 7. Le sigle sui blocchi, l'organizzazzione del lavoro nelle cave e il sistema amministrativo

Già da tempo è stata affrontata dalla storia degli studi l'interpretazione delle sigle amministrative, spesso accompagnate dalle date consolari, che compaiono nei blocchi e nelle colonne conservati ancora nelle cave o trasportati a Roma ... [page 322]

Le sigle e i sigilli hanno permesso di ricostruire l'esistenza di un complesso sistema amministrativo delle cavi imperiali, inizialmente basato su modelli assunti dall'Egitto, ma via via più complessa, dato l'enorme afflusso di marmi che si verifica a Roma soprattutto a partire dall'età flavia: il

sistema aveva a capo un funzionario di alto rango, il *procurator marmorum*, residente probabilmente a Roma presso la *Statio Marmorum*, nei cui uffici ([with n.] 88) erano attive diverse categorie di contabili, i *tabularii*, noti da iscrizioni (89). È probabile inoltre che anche a Porto, in connessione degli estesi depositi di marmi di cava individuati sulla sponda sinistra del canale, dovesse esistere un ufficio dipendente dalla *Statio*, per il controllo dei blocchi che vi arrivavano, per interventi di restauro su quelli danneggiati durante il viaggio e per l'organizzazione del loro invio a Roma ([with n.] 90) ...

Con questo funzionario principale, il *procurator marmorum*, dovevano essere in rapporto di dipendenza, o almeno di collaborazione per il coordinamento degli invii a Roma, i *procuratores* a capo di una o più nelle singole province ([with n.] 91) o che amministravano latifondi imperiali (*praedia*) includenti cave di marmo ... [page 325]

**Il *procurator* e la *Statio Marmorum* di Roma dovevano inoltre essere in collegamento con i centri di raccolta di blocchi e altri manufatti, che erano situati sia nei porti d'imbarco dove affluivano marmi di diverse cave, sia nei porti di sbarco, presso il luogo di destinazione dei marmi: per il primo caso si possono citare i porti di Alessandria e di Efeso e ancora alcuni carichi naufragati, come quello di Punta Scifo (Crotona) che trasportavano blocchi e manufatti di pavonazzetto e di proconnesio; per il secondo caso Porto, dove i marmi erano scaricati per essere trasbordati sui battelli di stazza minore adatti alla navigazione sul Tevere [like those visible on here Figs. 105; 106]: operazioni di cui doveva occuparsi il *corpus traiectus marmorariorum*, noto da un'iscrizione di provenienza ostiense ([with n.] 104), e che non erano indenni di incidenti, data la possibile caduta in acqua di blocchi durante il trasbordo, che potrebbe in parte spiegare, come si è detto, la presenza di blocchi sul fondo del Canale di Fiumicino.**

**Che alcune sigle, ed anche date consolari - nei casi ad esempio in cui si aggiungano ad altre date precedentemente incise sui blocchi fossero apposte non solo nelle cave, ma anche nei centri di raccolta presso i porti d'imbarco e di destinazione, è ora provato dal ricorrere degli stessi nomi di *rationales*, cioè responsabili di un certo settore, in blocchi di diverse cave, ma con la stessa data consolare ... ([with n.] 105)**

...  
[page 333, Section:] 8. Osservazioni conclusive: fasi della diffusione del marmo a Roma

**La produzione di marmi nelle cave imperiali inizia, come si è detto già da Augusto ...**

**La documentazione epigrafica complessiva sui blocchi e sulle colonne abbozzate rinvenuti a Roma, Porto, Ostia e nelle cave abbraccia un periodo che va dall'età giulio-claudia a quella severiana: testimonia, come è stato più volte affermato, l'esistenza di un sistema di raccolta e di distribuzione fortemente centralizzato, a cui era preposto un funzionario di alto rango, denominato *procurator marmorum*, con cui erano collegati i *procuratores* delle cave e il servizio di contabili a Roma.**

Le menzioni delle fonti letterarie ed epigrafiche suggeriscono che le cave statali, in un primo momento, facessero parte del patrimonio dell'imperatore, che per un certo periodo sembra fosse distinto dalle proprietà del fisco imperiale, anche se poi venne a confluire in questo ([with n.] 106). **L'enorme ampliarsi che ebbe l'uso e la diffusione dei marmi a partire dall'età flavia ([with n.] 107), e non solo a Roma, certamente causò la necessità di ridefinire la forma amministrativa del servizio di raccolta dei marmi e l'organizzazione distributiva ...**

**Che fosse proprio il periodo che va da Domiziano agli Antonini, a corrispondere al momento di massimo trasporto e utilizzo a Roma dei marmi bianchi e colorati prodotti nelle cave di proprietà imperiale è confermato dalle date consolari dei blocchi e delle colonne del Canale di Fiumicino e di Ostia. D'altronde è proprio l'impiego sfarzoso di marmi a caratterizzare le grandiose imprese edilizie che mutarono il volto della città in questo periodo: basti pensare alla Domus Flavia sul Palatino, ai fori di Domiziano, Nerva e Traiano, al Claudiano, al Porticus Divorum, ai templi di Vespasiano, di Quirino, di Venere e Roma, di Adriano, di Antonino Pio ecc.. [my emphasis]"**

In his note 89, Pensabene writes; "Si veda in particolare CIL, VI, 410 = 30760, datata tra il 198 e il 209, dove compare il liberto imperiale Semnus che aveva la funzione di *optio tabellariorum stationis marmorum* e che dedica un'ara a Giove Dolicheno sull'Aventino, da dove proviene l'iscrizione. La *statio marmorum* è da intendere non solo come sede degli uffici, ma anche come centro di deposito dei marmi affluenti dalle cavi imperiali, e la sua collocazione ai piedi dell'Aventino, presso l'attuale Lungotevere Marmorata e dunque all'Emporium, si può arguire:

1. dal ritrovamento in questa zona di centinaia di blocchi grezzi di cava (studiati dal BRUZZA, in *AnnInst*, 1870, pp. 105-204) che implicano di necessità un apparato amministrativo per la loro ricezione e smistamento;

2. dalla possibilità di collocare al Testacco, e dunque nelle sue immediate vicinanze, botteghe marmorarie e magazzini per marmi di privati (cfr. SEG, 106, di un marmorario bitino cha [!] aveva la sua bottega, da lui definita *station*, in analogia della *Statio*, presso gli *Horrea Petroniana*, e CIL, VI, 33886, di un *negotiator marmorarius de Galbeis*). Cfr. P. PENSABENE, in *Dd'A 1*, n.s., 903, p. 56ss.;

3. dal ritrovamento negli scavi del 1737 nella Villa [corr: Vigna] Cesarini, sul Tevere, dove si trovava l'*Emporium*, di una dedica ad Ercole di Primigenius Iuvencianus, schiavo di Vespasiano e *tabularius a marmoribus* (CIL, VI, 301 = 30731), dunque di un contabile dell'amministrazione imperiale dei marmi [my emphasis]".

In his **note 90**, he writes: "Cfr. BRUZZA, in *AnnInst*, 1870, p. 123, dove è citato un *tabularius portuensis a rationibus marmorum* noto da una scheda di Muratori (751, 2), ma che pare sia un'invenzione di Pirro Ligorio (CIL, XIV, 31\*): FANT, in *Ancient stones, quarrying, trade and provenance, Acta Archaeologica Iovanensis*, 4, 1992, p. 115".

In his **note 91**, he writes: "Dovevano corrispondere ai *procuratores metallarum* a capo dei distretti minerari, collegati o dipendenti dai *procuratores Augusti* del governo provinciale: cfr. J.M. BLASQUES [corr.: BLAZQUEZ] MARTINEZ, *Administracion de las minas en epoca romana*, in *Mineraria y Metalurgia, Colloquio Madrid 1985 (1989)*, pp. 119.122. Ciò pone il problema dei rapporti tra procuratori delle cave e l'amministrazione provinciale".

In his **note 104**, he writes: "CIL, XIV, 425. Cfr. L. De SALVO, *I battellieri del Tevere in Messina*, 3, 1990 (n.s.), p. 233 sull'ipotesi che il tipo di battello usato da questo corpus fosse *lynter (navis fluminalis: Non. 13,859)* forse raffigurato nel plinto della statua del Tevere al Louvre [cf. here Figs. 105; 106], dove il battello trasporta un grosso blocco di marmo ed è trascinato da *helciarri* con il sistema dell'alaggio".

In his **note 105**, he writes: "BACCINI, *Nuove testimonianze cit.*, pp. 108, 116-117, nn. 13, 14 del 162 d.C. (preferisco di sciogliere HER in Hermolaus e non in Hermas) 102. 103 de 164 d.C.".

In his **note 106**, he writes: "PENSABENE, *Sull'impiego del marmo di Cap de Grande. Condizioni giuridiche e significato economico delle cave di età imperiale*, in *StMisc.* 22, 1974-75, pp. 179-190".

In his **note 107**, he writes: "J.C. FANT, *A distribution model for the Roman imperial marbles*, cit., p. 152".

To Pensabene's **note 89**, I should like to add some comments:

As already mentioned above, I myself do not identify the area of *La Marmorata* with the ancient *Emporium*.

And because Pensabene does not provide a reference for the findspot of the inscription CIL VI 301 (here **Fig. 102.5**), but the correct date of its find, I found it in Rodolfo Lanciani (VI 2000, 111):

"[R. XIII. ORTO CESARINI] 1735 ...". Here the precise location of the 'Vigna Cesarini' is indicated, which is also marked on Lanciani's *FUR* (fol. 40: there the 'Scavi 1735' in this Vigna Cesarini are likewise mentioned): "1737. Scavi Marmorata dei Cesarini CIL [VI] 201. mese aprile! [Ms. Lanc. 114/2, f. 80]".

Let's now return to our main subject.

If we knew for sure that the - *importantissima* - *Statio Annonae* was based in the *new* commercial port at *La Marmorata*, I would immediately subscribe to the hypothesis that the *opus incertum* building there (cf. here Figs. 102; 102.1; 102.2; 102.3) should be identified with the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina*. - Because, considering the Republican date and the enormous size of the *opus incertum* building, which many scholars identify with this *Porticus Aemilia*, we must ask ourselves which location of the office of the relevant magistrate, the *praefectus annonae*, could be *more* appropriate?

But my just developed idea is, of course, *not* true !



When checking, where Filippo Coarelli locates the *Statio Annonae*, I found out that my just-mentioned thought was not altogether wrong.

Cf. Coarelli (2019a, 8, Fig. 1: "Pianta di Roma con la posizione degli uffici amministrativi ... 6. Annona [where COARELLI locates the office of the *Statio Annonae* at the site of the building of his p. 159, Figs. 75-77; cf. *infra*], pp. 155-160, 186, 192).

According to Coarelli, the *Statio Annonae* was indeed located within a commercial port, but not in the *new* one, at *La Marmorata*, but, because being already an archaic institution, at the *old* commercial river port, to the west of the *Forum Boarium*. And precisely, as Coarelli suggests, at the *Horrea Aemiliana* (!); cf. Coarelli (2019a, 136 with ns. 2, 3, p. 211). To the *Horrea Aemiliana* I will come back below, in Section III. As could be expected, the *Statio Annonae* was closely related to the nearby Temple of Ceres (and to the Temple of Flora), all of which, according to Coarelli (2019a), stood between the *carceres* of the *Circus Maximus* and the northern slopes of the Aventine, but their precise locations are unfortunately unknown.

Cf. Coarelli 2019a, 155-160; pp. 158, 159, Figs. 75-77, for a building, datable to the imperial period. He tentatively suggests that this building could have accommodated the *Statio Annonae* at a later period; cf. p. 160, for the *praefectus annonae*). For the Temples of Ceres and of Flora; cf. Häuber (2014a, 402 with n. 14, providing references).

**Basing my own working hypothesis on the above-mentioned assumptions, I have concentrated in my following text on two subjects:**

- 1.) asking myself what the *opus incertum* building/ the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata* was possibly used for; and -
- 2.) to get an idea of the *people*, who supplied the population of Rome with all the goods needed by using seagoing ships (cf. here Figs. 98; 99) and small ships on the Tiber (cf. here Figs. 104-106), I have concentrated on the work of one of these men, the Egyptian merchant and owner of several seagoing ships, *Ciro*, described for us in a fictional account by Laura Gigli (2022).

In order to answer the first question, we need to consider the following reasonings:

**Even before the recent scientific excavations of the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* scholars, who studied it, realized that, at a later moment, this building had been adapted for use as a warehouse; see below, in Section III., the [6. epigraph]. This fact alone can, in my opinion, prove that this structure had not been erected for this purpose.**

Cozza and Tucci (2006, 197 [Tucci], quoted above as the [1.] epigraph), assume that this 'change' of the building's purpose (*i.e.*, the beginning of its commercial use) had occurred already at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. The excavators Burgers (*et al.* 2014a; 2014b; 2015) have now proven that its drastic architectural changes are datable into the Trajanic/ Hadrianic period; see below, in Section III., the [8.] epigraph. But: the beginning of a 'commercial use' of these originally military *Navalia* (interpreted by COZZA and TUCCI as shipyards of those warships) at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC can also mean, as I myself suggest, that henceforth these shipsheds were for some time (*inter alia?*) used as 'commercial *Navalia*'. Its architectural changes in the Trajanic/ Hadrianic period, on the other hand, definitely transformed - at least parts of - this enormous building into a warehouse.

**But whereas Burgers (*et al.*, *op. cit.*) were unable to clarify, by means of their excavations, the original function of the Republican *opus incertum* building, I myself follow Cozza and Tucci (2006) in assuming that, because of its location at the bank of the Tiber, its building type and its sloping floor, this building was originally erected as *Navalia* (shipsheds).**

Concerning the construction date of these Republican *opus incertum Navalia*, I follow (*inter alia*) Claridge (2018, 96, quoted below in Section III. as the [9.] epigraph), in assuming that they were built 'circa 100 BC'.

The only certain information we have so far has been generated in the recent excavations 2011-2013, conducted and published by Burgers (*et al.* 2014a; 2014b; 2015). This information does not concern the entire huge building, but only the Xth, XVth and XVIth of altogether 50 aisles (here Figs. 102; 102.1; 102.2; 102.3) and cover the Trajanic period onwards until the area was abandoned. Burials, that were found in adjacent areas, are datable in the 5th and 6th centuries. There were even found burials within the building itself; cf. Burgers (*et al.* 2015, 210 with n. 30, without providing a date for those).

**Therefore, the question arises, how these *Navalia* had been used 'in between' those dates, namely between 'around 100 BC' and the Trajanic period. Or, as Cozza and Tucci (2006, 194-198 [TUCCI]) have themselves asked: 'which *Navalia*'? This question has now also been asked by de Caprariis (2019, 166); and by de Caprariis (2022, 126-131, Section: "5.3. Which *Navalia*?").**

Cozza and Tucci (2006, 196; cf. p. 194 [TUCCI]; ) believe that the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* had been erected 'after 167 BC', and precisely 'at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC', as a special kind of *Navalia* for warships, namely as an "arsenal" (shipyards), and that this building had only been adapted to commercial use 'at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC'; cf. *supra*, the [1.] and [2.] epigraphs in this Section I.

**I myself, following Tuck (1999), Cozza and Tucci (2006), Tucci (2012), Coarelli (2008), Claridge (2010; 2018), and Alessandro D'Alessio (2014, 18 with n. 56, Fig. 12) in rejecting Gatti's (1934) hypothesis, according to which the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* may be identified with the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina* have, therefore, no literary source at my disposal that I could apply to this building.**

Consequently, every proposal concerning the original function of this building can only be formulated tentatively, because there is hope that precisely these questions will be clarified in future excavations and/ or studies.

**Nevertheless it is, from my perspective, tempting to believe that these *Navalia* at *La Marmorata* - provided, they were indeed only erected 'around 100 BC - were from the very beginning built as 'commercial *Navalia*', in order to allow the enormous traffic of all kinds of merchandise on the Tiber in antiquity, not only to supply the food stuffs needed for a city of (at times) more than a million inhabitants, but for example also of the building material, needed for Domitian's 'pharaonic' building projects at Rome.**

**For my assertion that Rome in the imperial period had more than one million inhabitants; cf. below, at *The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung*.**

**But, at second glance, it is not as easy as that !**

Because the proportions of the 50 aisles of those *Navalia*, as convincingly pointed out by Coarelli (2008, 464, see below in Section III., quoted as the [6.] epigraph), show that they were designed "per ospitare le lunghe e strette navi da guerra dell'epoca: in questo caso, cinquanta quinqueremi lunghe poco meno di 60 m".

Cf. Philip de Souza ("quinquereme (Greek πεντήρης, Latin *quinqueremis*), was a warship rowed by oarsmen arranged in groups of five, perhaps with three banks of oars, one above the other; the top two each pulled by a pair of men, the bottom by one ... Larger and heavier than a trireme, it offered space for more marines, missile weapons, and the Roman boarding bridge (Latin *corvus*, raven). The Romans adopted it as their main warship in the Punic Wars, modelling their fleets on captured Carthaginian vessels (Poly. 1. 20 and 59). After the battle of Actium it was superseded by smaller vessels ... [the emphasis is by the author himself]", in *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996, 1290).

As we shall see below, in Sections II. and IV., and when studying the relief here **Figs. 105; 106**: ships, in which the merchandise on the Tiber was transported, were *much* shorter than these warships. - Which means that, had the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata* been erected for commercial ships in the first place, it would not have been necessary to build aisles for them that had the enormous length of 67 m; cf. here **Figs. 102; 102.1**.

Nevertheless I find it permissible for the time being - until future excavations hopefully provide us with definitive answers to this question - that, perhaps from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC onwards, as suggested by Cozza and Tucci (2006, 197 [TUCCI], quoted above as the [1. epigraph], these *Navalia* were used commercially.

Possibly not as yet as warehouses, but perhaps still as *Navalia*, but now for commercial use. By the way, given the enormous size of the building, we may just as well imagine a 'differentiated use' of its 50 aisles already at that time - as has already been proven by Burgers (*et al.* 2014a; 2014b; 2015) for the Trajanic/Hadrianic period until late antiquity - at least for the Xth, XVth and XVIth aisles of this building.

I tentatively suggest that these Republican *Navalia* could have been used as commercial *Navalia* until, at an unknown date, the structures in front of the building were erected, which are visible on the Severan Marble Plan (cf. here **Figs. 102; 102.1; 102.2; 102.3; 102,3, inserted box**). As we have seen above, these structures have recently been studied by Giovannetti (2016, 21-23, Fig. 7 [= here **Fig. 102.3, inserted box**]).

Let's now turn to the merchandise, for example building material, which, in theory, could have been transported on the Tiber with ships that were stationed at the commercial *Navalia*, tentatively assumed here.

As Pensabene's and Domingo (2016-2017) are able to show, this building material, which was imported from abroad, was brought with seagoing ships to *Portus Augusti* (compare here **Figs. 98; 99**), and was from there transported on much smaller ships (cf. here **Figs. 105; 106**) to sculpture workshops all along the Tiber. The most important of these sculpture workshops, according to Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017), have been found at *La Marmorata* - here was based a real 'sculpture industry'. As soon as the sculpture workshops, based at *La Marmorata*, had produced the commissioned architectural marbles, the same small ships (here **Figs. 105; 106**) then transported these products to their final destinations in the centre of Rome. And I should like to add to Pensabene's and Domingo's (2016-2017) own findings: for example also to Domitian's building sites.

As mentioned above, when at first studying the ongoing debate, whether the huge building at the Testaccio (cf. here **Figs. 102; 102.1; 102.2; 102.3**) discussed here, should be identified with the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina* or rather as *Navalia*, I considered only the following two main problems:

*Concerning the area of Rome discussed in this Chapter we have two great problems:  
to document and imagine its daily life in antiquity over time.*

Studying the excavation reports by Burgers (*et al.* 2014a; *id.* 2014b; *id.* 2015) concerning the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, identified by them with the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina* and the articles by Francesca de Caprariis (2019; *ead.* 2022), which are likewise dedicated to the '*Porticus Aemilia*'/ *Navalia*, has enlarged my overall vision respectively.

When considering now the fact that our imagination of 'the daily life in antiquity at *La Marmorata*' depends *inter alia* on the *opus incertum* building, identified either with the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina* or as *Navalia*, we have to solve two additional problems:

- a) define the precise date of this building and -
- b) its original function - both are, of course, closely related.

I cannot answer these questions, but wish to add in the following some preliminary thoughts concerning both subjects.

*Ad a)* Currently, I cannot prove the date of the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, suggested here. If indeed it was only erected 'circa 100 BC' (cf. A. CLARIDGE 2018, 96, quoted below, in Section III. as the [9.] epigraph), whom I am tentatively following here, this structure cannot be identified with the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina*, at least in my opinion.

As we have heard above, Steven Tuck ([HORREA CORNELIA], in: *LTUR* V [1999] 263) had already suggested the same date for the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* by comparing its building technique with that of the (second) Temple of *Magna Mater* on the Palatine. Tuck (*op. cit.*) refers to Pensabene ("Magna Mater, Aedes", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 207), who dates this (second) Temple of *Magna Mater* to 'the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC'.

**Provided, the date 'circa 100 BC', suggested for the *opus incertum* building were true, we must ask ourselves, where in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC the grain supply for the Roman People, especially for the *frumentationes*, had been stored.**

And that because it has hitherto been believed by (at least some of) those scholars, who identify the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* with the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina*, that this grain had been stored *right there*. So for example also by de Caprariis (2022, 138-139 with ns. 86-88, quoted in part below, in Section III., as the [12.] epigraph).

**But the identification of this structure with the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina* by those scholars was *inter alia* based on the sheer size of this *opus incertum* building in the new commercial river port at *La Marmorata*, combined a) with its (alleged) location at the *Emporium*, and b) with the fact that these scholars had overlooked the following hypotheses: for the period in question, it has been suggested that this grain had been stored at the *Horrea Aemiliana* in Rome's old commercial river port near the *Forum Boarium*, and in another structure, likewise called *Aemiliana*, which stood in the *Campus Martius* near the *Diribitorium* and the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*. Therefore, this question (i.e., where this grain had been stored at the time in question) can, in my opinion, be answered.**

#### *This question leads us to the locations of the Statio Annonae and of the Horrea Aemiliana*

According to Filippo Coarelli (2019a), the office (called *Statio Annonae*) of the responsible magistrate, the *praefectus annonae*, at the beginning at least, had been located in Rome's old river port close to the *Forum Boarium*, and precisely at the *Horrea Aemiliana*. For the Imperial period, Coarelli (2019a) discusses also an alternative location for the *Statio Annonae*, but still in the same area of the *Forum Boarium*. Those 'Aemiliana ware houses' have been identified by Coarelli (2019a) and other scholars with the huge *Horrea*, found while excavating the building site of the future Palazzo dell'Anagrafe. - This will be discussed in detail below, in Section III.

**Looking for warehouses, where the grain supply for the populace of Rome (*inter alia* for the *frumentationes*) could had been stored, I, therefore, suggest, following Coarelli (1993, 18-19; *id.* 2019a, 214): at those *Horrea Aemiliana* in Rome's old river port, and at the other structure called *Aemiliana* in the *Campus Martius*, which Coarelli locates closely to the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*.**

I, therefore, anticipate here the relevant passages, which were written for Section III.:

"In his **note 10**, Giovannetti [2016, 20 with n. 10] writes: "COARELLI 1993 [in: *LTUR* vol. I], pp. 18-19, colloca questi magazzini, interpretati come horrea annonari[a] legati alle frumentationes, nell'area dei resti rinvenuti per i lavori del palazzo dell'Anagrafe, sulla base di Varr., r. r. III, 2, 6 che associa gli horrea alla Porta

Flumentana, che doveva collocarsi proprio nel foro Boario e sulla base di un' iscrizione (CIL, XV, 7150) che indicherebbe la vicinanza degli horrea all'area del Circo Massimo".

**But note that Coarelli (2019a, 214) now assumes the storage of the grain, which was distributed in the *frumentationes*, not only at the *Horrea Aemiliana* in the old commercial river port at the *Forum Boarium*, but also at another building called *Aemiliana* in the *Campus Martius*.**

Concerning these *Aemiliana* of the *Campus Martius*, Coarelli (2019a, 214) writes:

"Comunque, gli *Aemiliana* del Campo Marzio vanno collocati negli immediati paraggi della zona dove avevano luogo tali distribuzioni, cioè della *porticus Minucia* ...". - Cf. Coarelli (2019a, 229-254, Section: "4. Porticus Minucia"; pp. 254-267, Section: "5. *L'identificazione della porticus Minucia: una risposta alle critiche recenti*"), in which he (especially on pp. 263-265), in my opinion convincingly, defends his own identification of the *porticus Minucia vetus* with the porticus on Via delle Botteghe Oscure, which comprised the Temple of the Nymphs: the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*, built by Domitian. For that identification; cf. Häuber (2017, 59-60). For Domitian's *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*; cf. above, in Chapter II.3.1.c); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.4.b)''.

*Ad b)*, the question of the original function of the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*.

If, on the other hand, this building actually *was* only erected 'circa 100 BC' as shipsheds for warships, which, after the warships had left Rome in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, were henceforth used for commercial ships (or for a variety of purposes?), as I tentatively suggest here, we have to face another problem.

**Giovannetti (2016, 19-20) was able to demonstrate that the multistoreyed port building comprising docks at *La Marmorata*, right in front of the 'Porticus Aemilia' / *Navalia*, to which he has dedicated his article, are dated by brick stamps between the late Domitianic and the Trajanic period.**

Already earlier scholars had believed that these structures were Trajanic. In between this port building with the docks and the 'Porticus Aemilia' / *Navalia* the Severan Marble Plan (cf. here **Figs. 102; 102.2; 102.3; 102.3, inserted box**) shows the already mentioned structures that have likewise been studied by Giovannetti (2016, 21-23, Fig. 7 [= here **Fig. 102.3, inserted box**]). These structures could virtually have 'blocked' the entrances to the 50 aisles (of which some?), in theory, could have been used until this very moment as my putative commercial *Navalia*. As already mentioned, Emilio Rodríguez Almeida (1993a, 20) dated these structures to the Trajanic period.

**Now, if that were true, we must ask ourselves, how henceforth all those goods could have been transported on the Tiber, that passed through the commercial river port at *La Marmorata* ? - Assuming that, in my opinion, in antiquity not only for the fleets of the *wooden* warships shipsheds had to be provided, but also for the *wooden* ships used commercially (for those; cf. here **Figs. 98; 99; 105; 106**).**

The transportation on the Tiber was, of course, directed 'Tiber upstream' and 'Tiber downstream', as Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017) have demonstrated in the case of building material, that had been stored and manufactured in the relevant workshops, based at the commercial river port at *la Marmorata*.

Their example concerns only the transportation of marble:

*a)* marble blocks were transported on the Tiber with small ships (cf. here **Figs. 105; 106**) from the *Portus Augusti* to the sculpture workshops at *La Marmorata*;

*b)* occasionally ships from the sculpture workshops at *La Marmorata* sailed down to the *Portus Augusti*, to fetch larger marble blocks than those usually stored at *La Marmorata*; those blocks were then brought with such small ships to the workshops at *La Marmorata*, and -

*c)* all the finished architectural marbles (and sculptures?) from the marble workshops at *La Marmorata* were transported with ships to the building sites in the centre of Rome, for which they had been commissioned.

That indeed, from the Trajanic period onwards, goods were stored at the new commercial port of *La Marmorata*, which, therefore, must have been transported on the Tiber, has been proven by Burgers (*et al.* 2014a; 2014b and 2015): at least parts of the *opus incertum* building discussed here, the '*Porticus Aemilia*'/ *Navalia* (here **Figs. 102; 102.1; 102.2; 102.3**), were precisely in the Trajanic/ Hadrianic period converted into *Horrea*. And they were also used as such, as the find of carbonized grain in the XVIth aisle of the building (here **Fig. 102.1**) proves; cf. Burgers (*et al.* 2014a, 914, quoted *verbatim* below, in Section III.).

**We must, therefore, ask ourselves, where exactly at *La Marmorata* from the period onwards, when those structures visible on the Severan Marble Plan (here **Figs. 102.3; 102.3, inserted box**) had been erected, those ships were now based, maintained and repaired, which transported all the goods on the Tiber - and that from *Portus Augusti* to the commercial river port at the Testaccio/ *La Marmorata*, and from *La Marmorata* Tiber upstream and Tiber downstream, as in the example of the marble blocks, studied by Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017). - As already mentioned, Rodríguez Almeida (1993a, 20) dated those structures to the Trajanic period.**

Burgers and his colleagues (2014a; 2014b; 2015) only had the chance to excavate within the Xth, XVth, and XVIth aisles of their (alleged) *Porticus Aemilia*, the *opus incertum* building (cf. here **Fig. 102.1**). But so far the authors were unfortunately unable to define the purpose, for which this structure had originally been erected in the Republican period. We can, therefore, only wait for the results of their future excavations, which hopefully help us to answer the *two more questions*, which I have added to my original scenario as a result of reading the publications by Burgers *et al.* and of de Caprariis (2019; forthcoming 2022).

**In the meantime we can, in my opinion *tranquillamente*, pursue the train of thought presented in this Chapter, as it had been planned at the very beginning, before the publications by de Caprariis (2019; 2022) and those by Burgers (*et al.* 2014a; 2014b; 2015) have reached me.**

**If at the time of Domitian, the structures visible on the Severan Marble Plan and studied by Giovannetti (2016, 21-23; cf. here **Figs. 102; 102.2; 102.3; 102.3, inserted box**), did not as yet 'block' the entrances to the 50 aisles of the Republican *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*, this could mean that, in theory, under Domitian, the *opus incertum* building, discussed here, could indeed have been used (*inter alia*?) as commercial *Navalia*.**

That under Domitian ships on the Tiber did indeed transport marble blocks (apart from being self-evident) is also proven by the unique representation of such a ship, which is to be found on the plinth of Domitian's colossal marble statue of the River God Tiber in the Louvre. Because of the findspot of this statue we know that Domitian had commissioned it, together with its pendant, the colossal marble statue of the River God Nile in the Vatican Museums (cf. here **Figs. 104-106**), for his restored Iseum Campense at Rome that had been destroyed by the great Fire of AD 80; cf. Alexander Heinemann (2018). In addition to this, Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017) have discussed the fact that most of the known sculpture workshops on both Tiber banks were based at *La Marmorata*, and that most of the fresh marble blocks carrying consular dates, found there, are firmly dated in the Domitianic period.

But we should not forget two more important facts in our relevant reasoning: the very existence of the *Monte Testaccio*, as well as the ancient buildings in the City of Rome that we can still study today:

1.) The dumping-ground *Monte Testaccio* has gradually grown in antiquity (from the Augustan period onwards or only since 140 AD?) up to circa 40 m height above the surrounding plain. Its location proves that the area in question has once been the (new) commercial river port of the City of Rome.

**Or, as Coarelli (1980, 340) writes: "... il Testaccio - la collina dei cocci - che con i sui 30 metri di altezza, interamente formati dall'accumularsi degli scarichi di anfore provenienti dal vicino porto, costituisce l'archivio, ancora in gran parte inesplorato, della storia economica di Roma";**

2.) "Rome is still nowadays basically a Flavian city"; cf. for that phrase *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III., at point 3.); below, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.4.c). This observation is based on two epigraphs, published by Eric M. Moormann (2018, 161).

The 2.) point proves the enormous building activities at Rome of all three Flavian emperors together, but especially so of Domitian - and that within a timespan of less than altogether 30 years (from 1st July AD 69 - 18th September 96) ! And when we additionally consider where the building material for Domitian's 'pharaonic' projects at Rome came from, it follows that also in this case the commercial port at *La Marmorata* must have been of the greatest importance. - For all that; cf. *infra*, in Sections II.; IV.

In Section II. of this text, to which we will now turn, I have quoted Laura Gigli's fictional account of the Egyptian merchant *Ciro*, who lived at the time of Marcus Aurelius, and in which she describes, how this man delivered his goods to Rome, using seagoing ships (like those illustrated on here **Figs. 98; 99**), as well as small ships on the Tiber like those visible on **Figs. 105; 106**. Cf. Gigli ("Dal faro di Alessandria alla banchina di Santa Passera: viaggio fra realtà e immaginazione", 2022), which Laura was kind enough to send me.

Next I concentrate in Section II. on the above-mentioned plinth of Domitian's colossal marble statue of the River God Tiber from his rebuilt Iseum Campense in the Louvre (cf. here **Figs. 104-106**), which shows three of such small ships on the Tiber. In one of these ships is transported a huge block of stone, I assume of marble (so already P. PENSABENE 1994, 325 n. 104, quoted *verbatim* above). I also address the consequences, which the findings of those scholars, who have recently studied this relief with the Tiber ships, may have for our understanding of those (putative) commercial *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*, which I tentatively assume here:

1.) Amanda Claridge and Eloisa Dodero (*The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo ... Sarcophagi and Reliefs ...*, 2022), the manuscript of which Amanda had been so kind as to send me, and 2.) Patrizio Pensabene and Javier Á. Domingo (2016-2017) - the relevant volume of the *RendPontAcc* Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio was kind enough to present me with.

**Section II. Ships in the Portus Augusti (here Figs. 98; 99) and on the Tiber  
(here Figs. 105; 106), which supplied the City of Rome with goods  
from all over the Empire, and the men, who provided these services**

The City's location on the Tiber, very close to the Mediterranean, was crucial for the development of Rome as the capital of the Roman Empire and for the supply of its, at times, circa one million inhabitants; cf. Häuber (2013, 153, 156).

See now below, at *The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung*, who writes that Rome had in the imperial period more than one million inhabitants. - For the dramatic decline of the number of Rome's inhabitants in the 5<sup>th</sup> century; cf. Häuber (2014a, 97, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Section III.).

In antiquity, there were many sanctuaries on the banks of the Tiber, which connected *Portus Augusti* (modern Porto), Rome's port on the Mediterranean, with the City of Rome. Countless shipowners, merchants and sailors were involved in the seaborne trade, which supplied Rome, and in those sanctuaries they could have dedicated their thanksgivings for having safely arrived at this port. - Such a votive is obviously the relief here illustrated on **Figs. 98; 99**.

For the sanctuaries on the right bank of the Tiber; cf. Laura Gigli ("Dal faro di Alessandria alla banchina di Santa Passera: viaggio fra realtà e immaginazione", 2022, 269, note 3). None of these votives, found at those sanctuaries, has become as famous as the three representations of ships, discussed in the following: one of

these reliefs shows seagoing ships involved in this trade that have just landed at the port built by Claudius at Porto (here **Figs. 98; 99**), the second is a medallion, which shows a warship on the Tiber on its way to the Tiber Island in Rome (here **Fig. 107**). And the third ship is visible on the 'altare di *Navisalvia*' in the Musei Capitolini (*CIL* VI 492), which refers to the legend of Claudia Quinta and to the arrival of the sacred stone of *Magna Mater* at Rome in 204 BC (cf. here **Fig. 102.7**). - To this I will come back below, in Section III.

With my second example, I am referring to the medallion, issued by the Emperor Antoninus Pius (here **Fig. 107**), that represents the arrival at Rome in 291 BC of the sacred snake of Asklepios. In order to bring Asklepios to Rome, the Romans had escorted the god from Epidauros on a warship (*trireme*). We see the final phase of Asklepios's journey on the Tiber, at the very moment, as his sacred snake (*i.e.*, the god Asklepios himself), is about to 'escape' from this ship to live henceforth on the Tiber Island.

My first example is the magnificent marble relief at the Palazzo Torlonia (here **Figs. 98; 99**), datable to the Severan period, with a visualization of the harbour of *Portus Augusti*. Two large seagoing ships have entered the harbour basin, built by Claudius (identifiable by the lighthouse in the background and the statues of Bacchus and Neptune which refer to the cults of these gods that were located there). Whereas the identification of the ship on the left is debated (cf. *infra*), the ship on the right is clearly bringing merchandise from abroad that is already in the course of being unloaded. As we shall learn below from Patrizio Pensabene and Javier Á. Domingo (2016-2017, 572-573, quoted *verbatim infra*), such goods were then transported on the Tiber from Porto to Rome, using much smaller ships. As has been discussed above, in Section I., many of these ships, before finally delivering their goods to Rome, had first of all landed at the new commercial river port at *La Marmorata*; cf. Giovannetti (2016, 25).

For a discussion of the above-mentioned warship which, in 291 BC, brought the sacred snake of the god Asklepios from Epidauros to Rome; cf. Filippo Coarelli ("Navalia", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 339-340). Coarelli illustrates as his Fig. 64 [= here **Fig. 107**] a medallion, issued under Antoninus Pius. The ship has come upstream on the Tiber and we see the moment as it reaches the Tiber Island - its buildings appear in the background on the right. The snake, coiled on the ship's bow, looks towards its destination and will shortly leave. Asklepios is welcomed by the representation of the Tiber, who, reclining on the waves of his river, raises his right hand to salute the god. But not only Asklepios, also the warship itself has reached its final destination, the Navalia proper (*i.e.*, the port of the warships, in reality located at the *Campus Martius*, on the left bank of the Tiber). As Coarelli convincingly suggests, the two arches on the left hand side of the medallion (which should, of course, appear on the right hand side of the medallion, but there is no space) represented the entrance to the Navalia.

As we shall see below, in Section III., already Wilhelm Adolph Becker (1843, 159-162, 629; 1844, 19-24), by basing himself on the known literary sources, had been first to conclude that the Navalia (the port of the warships) were not based at *La Marmorata*, as was the *communis opinio* at his time (!), but instead at the southern *Campus Martius*.

In the following Section III., I will also discuss the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, which, on the Severan Marble Plan, is (possibly) likewise called 'Navalia'. As we shall see below, these were possibly (in the second phase of their lifetime in antiquity) shipsheds for civilian ships.

**Fig. 107. Golden medallion, issued under Antoninus Pius, representing the arrival of the sacred snake of Asklepios at Rome in 291 BC. From: F. Coarelli ("Navalia", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 339-340, Fig. 64). The caption of this illustration reads: "Insula Tiberina. Medaglione di Antonino Pio. Cohen II, 271 N. 17 (da Gnechi, *Medaglioni romani* II, tav. 43,1). Disegno di G. Besnier, *L'Ile Tibérine dans l'antiquité* (1902), fig. 19".**

That Coarelli (1996; 339-340) is right in identifying those arches on the medallion here **Fig. 107** as the entrance to the Navalia (*i.e.*, the port of the warships) is proven by the fact that the artist, who created this medallion, shows how this warship is entering one of the arched entrances of the Navalia. Compare the representation of such an arched entrance of *Navalia* on a Roman sarcophagus that has been published by



Pier Luigi Tucci (2012, 588, Fig. 6: "CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Musei Vaticani, Cortile ottagonale, portico Est. Fronte di sarcofago con scena di porto [250-260 d.C.], dettaglio di *navalia* con arcate [foto Tucci]").

For the marble relief at the Palazzo Torlonia (cf. here **Figs. 98; 99**); cf. most recently Stefania Tuccinardi (cat. no. "26. Bassorilievo con veduta del *Portus Augusti*", in: S. SETTIS and C. GASPARRI 2020, pp. 175-178), and Anna Maria Carruba (2020, 311 with n. 8, Fig. 19), who has analysed and documented the fact that the relief had been entirely painted and that substantial remains of this paint are still preserved.

**Fig. 98. Marble relief with a representation of ships in the *Portus Augusti* at Portus. Roma, Museo Torlonia (MT 430). © Fondazione Torlonia. Photo: Lorenzo De Masi. Cf. S. Tuccinardi (2020, 176-177, cat. 26). Cf. p. 178, for the detail illustrated here on Fig. 99 of the three figures in the "cabina" of the left ship, a bearded man on the left (according to S. Tuccinardi 'obviously the owner of the ship, who has commissioned this relief'; and in C. Cecamore's 2019, 169 [in my opinion erroneous] opinion, the Emperor Septimius Severus), a woman in the middle and a man on the right, shown in the course of sacrificing at an altar standing in front of this group.**

Stefania Tuccinardi (2020, writes about the relief here **Figs. 98; 99**):

"Il rilievo, rinvenuto in occasione degli scavi intrapresi da Alessandro Torlonia nell'area del *Portus Traiani*, viene generalmente interpretato come un ex voto offerto a *Liber Pater* ... La veduta subito apprezzata come importante documento dell'assetto monumentale del *Portus Augusti* .... In primo piano, ... una nave oneraria ad albero unico, vela quadrata e veli di gabbia triangolari, si accinge ad entrare nello specchio d'acqua del Porto di Claudio, annunciato dal celeberrimo faro ... Sulla sommità della cabina, su una sorte di ballatoio, l'armatore della nave, evidentemente il committente del rilievo, il cui volto è ben caratterizzato in senso ritrattistico, accompagnato da una donna, forse la moglie o un'inserviente, e da un secondo personaggio maschile, ringrazia gli dei (*Liber Pater* e *Neptunus*) per il buon esito della navigazione, officiando un sacrificio (sul rito dell'*apobaterion* connesso al rientro in porto cfr. Feuser 2015) ... Un'altra nave, dello stesso tipo, è già attraccata al molo e ha levato la passerella per lo scarico della merce ... [my emphasis]". Cf. p. 178: "La frequenza delle immagini dionisiache ... sembra corroborare l'esegesi tradizionale che individua nel rilievo un'offerta votiva a *Liber Pater*/ *Bacchus*, compiuta da un mercante o da un armatore", a suggestion that could also be corroborated by the letters "V" and "L", visible on the great sail of the ship on the left, which have been read as '*V(otum) L(ibero)*' and as '*V(otum) L(ibens animo solvit)*'. But in the following, Tuccinardi writes that the man in the "cabina" of the ship on the left has also been identified as a portrait of Septimius Severus: "è stata recentemente proposta una diversa interpretazione di tutta la scena, intesa come una rappresentazione della nave imperiale di Settimio Severo di ritorno, a Porto, dal viaggio fatto dall'imperatore in Africa nel 204 d.C. (Cecamore in bibl. [= "Costruire un capolavoro 2019 (C. Cecamore), p. 169"]; si veda anche Chevalier 2001, p. 25) [my emphasis]".

For the "rito dell'*apobaterion* connesso al rientro in porto", mentioned by Stefania Tuccinardi (2020), in her discussion of the relief here **Fig. 99**; cf. also Häuber (2017, 378): the Temple of Augustus at Alexandria was dedicated to Caesar [*i.e.*, Augustus] *epibaterios* ('Tempel of the landing Augustus'; *epibaterios* was an epithet of Apollon, the protector of sailors).

*Because of the (in my opinion erroneous) identification of Septimius Severus on the relief here Figs. 98; 99, I allow myself in the following a digression on this emperor (cf. here Fig. 100)*

Besides, Septimius Severus had indeed a close connection to Ostia and to *Portus Augusti* (cf. here **Figs. 98; 99**); cf. Anna Tatarkiewicz and Krzysztof Królczyk ("Septimius Severus - *restitutor castrorum (et Portus) Ostiensium*", 2019). - My thanks are due to Peter Herz for the reference.

But this man on the Torlonia relief (cf. here **Fig. 99**), in my opinion, is nevertheless certainly not the Emperor Septimius Severus. We happen to know the sculptural decoration of the Quadrifrons at Leptis Magna which commemorated exactly the same visit of the emperor to Africa, mentioned in Tuccinardi's (2020, 178) above-quoted account. One of these reliefs shows (from left) the Empress Julia Domna, the Emperor Septimius Severus and their sons, Caracalla and Geta (cf. here **Fig. 100**).

Note that on 28th January 198 Septimius Severus's son Caracalla received the title Augustus and became thus co-emperor, whereas his son Geta received the title Caesar (to this I will come back below). Note also that Septimius Severus did not travel to Africa in AD 204, as asserted by Claudia Cecamore (2019, 169, mentioned above), but instead in AD 202/203 and again in AD 206/207; cf. Häuber (2014a, 679 with n. 71). We should, because of all this, also expect to see in the relief here **Fig. 99** not only Septimius Severus and Iulia Domna (if at all the male figure on the left and the female figure on **Fig. 99** are meant as portraits of the imperial couple, which I do not believe), but certainly, in addition to this, also their two sons and co-regents, Augustus Caracalla and Caesar Geta.

**Fig. 100. Attic panel from the Quadrifrons at Leptis Magna, marble. Represented is, according to D.E.E. Kleiner (1992, 341, 342, Fig. 310): "the *concordia augustorum* [i.e., of Augustus Caracalla on the left and Augustus Septimius Severus on the right, performing together the gesture *dextrarum iunctio* - between them we see Severus's younger son, Caesar Geta, and to the left of Caracalla Iulia Domna], Septimius Severus, his family, the tutelary deities of his family and of Leptis Magna". Archaeological Museum of Tripoli (Libya). Photo: Courtesy Hans R. Goette (February 2008).**

For a discussion of the above-mentioned reliefs at Leptis Magna, *inter alia* the "Dextrarum iunctio Relief"; cf. Volker Michael Strocka (1972). For the reliefs of this Tetracylon at Leptis Magna, and for other similar representations of the imperial couple, in which their sons Augustus Caracalla and Caesar Geta are never missing; cf. Häuber (2014a, 678-679, with n. 57; the quote is from n. 57):

""D.E.E. Kleiner 1992, pp. 341, 343, fig. 310: Leptis Magna, Tetracylon of Septimius Severus, attic panel with *concordia augustorum*, Septimius Severus, his family [i.e., his wife Iulia Domna and their two sons, Augustus Caracalla and Caesar Geta], the tutelary deities of his family and of Leptis Magna; p. 340 (suggested date for the Tetracylon: 203 AD)"". For a detail of this relief, showing Caracalla, Geta and Septimius Severus; cf. Hans Rupprecht Goette (1990, 60 with n. 300, Taf. 38, 2.

For Caracalla; cf. Anthony R. Birley: "**Aurelius** (RE 46) **Antoninus** (1), **Marcus** (AD 188-217), nicknamed **Caracalla**, emperor AD 198-217. Elder son of L. Septimius Severus, originally called Septimius Bassianus; renamed after M. Aurelius and made Caesar in 195 ... [the emphasis is by the author himself]", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996, 221).

For the date, when Septimius Severus's elder son Caracalla received the title Augustus and was thus declared co-emperor, and his younger son Geta received the title Caesar; cf. Häuber (2014a, 686):

"**Geta, born March 7th, 189 AD, was made 'most noble Caesar' at the age of nine on January 28th, 198, when Caracalla** [who was ten years old at that stage] **became Augustus and co-emperor ...** [with n. 149; my emphasis]". The quote is from Anthony R. Birley: "**Septimius Geta** (RE 32), **Publius**, younger son of Septimius Severus and Iulia Domna ...", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996, 1389-1390).

When I wrote this, I had no idea that `January 28th, 128' was a *very* meaningful date. See below, at *The fourth Contribution by Peter Herz: Wann wurde Trajan von Nerva adoptiert?* After discussing the reasons, why previously a wrong date for Trajan's adoption had been suggested, Herz concludes: "... und zweitens hat man vergessen, **dass wir seit 1940 das Feriale Duranum haben. In dem findet sich das Datum 28. Januar für den Beginn der Alleinherrschaft Trajans. Dieser Tag ist durch eine ganze Reihe von Inschriften als Feiertag bekannt und wurde später von Septimius Severus genutzt, um am 28. Januar 198, also genau nach einhundert Jahren, sowohl die offizielle Einnahme der parthischen Hauptstadt Ktesiphon zu feiern als auch seinen Sohn Caracalla zum Mitherrscher (Augustus) zu ernennen** [my emphasis]".

The facts that Septimius Severus chose the date 'January 28th, 128' for his celebrations of the taking of the capital of the Parthian Empire, Ktesiphon, in combination with his certainly likewise solemn declaration of his sons Caracalla as Augustus and Geta as Caesar, can all be explained with Septimius Severus's 'self-adoption' into the Antonine family. For Septimius Severus's "Selbstadoption" ('self-adoption') into the Antonine family; cf. Achim Lichtenberger (2011, 48, 64, 97, 322, 386; quoted *verbatim* and discussed *supra*, in Chapter V.1.b)). In his magnificent Façade-Nymphaeum at the south-east corner of the Palatine at Rome, called Septizonium, appeared a multfigured group of portrait-sculptures, representing Septimius Severus in the midst of his family and his self-acclaimed ancestry, here even traced back to the Emperor Nerva - as also stressed in the pertaining inscription (CIL VI 1032 = 31229). Cf. Susann S. Lusnia (2004, 517, 526, 533, 538-541, quoted *verbatim* in: C. HÄUBER 2014a, 688, note 167); and below, at *The fourth Contribution by Peter Herz : Wann wurde Trajan von Nerva adoptiert?*

Cf. here **Fig. 73**, labels: PALATIUM; "DOMUS SEVERIANA"; SEPTIZONIUM.

Let's now return to *La Marmorata*.

For the huge area of *La Marmorata* at the modern quartiere called Testaccio discussed here we have unfortunately no ancient visualizations, what it may have looked like in antiquity: apart from the famous representation of three small ships, one of them with a huge block of marble (cf. here **Figs. 105; 106**), to which we will now turn. That this relief (here **Figs. 105; 106**) is meant to show a scene on the Tiber is clear from the fact that it decorates the plinth of the colossal marble statue of the River God Tiber in the Louvre, which Domitian, together with the pendant colossal marble statue of the River God Nile in the Vatican Museums (cf. here **Fig. 104**), had commissioned for the water basin in front of his Temple of Serapis at the Iseum Campense, erected anew by Domitian after the great fire of AD 80 had completely destroyed this sanctuary. Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.1.*); *Appendix I.g.2.*); *Appendix II.a.*); *Appendix III.*); *Appendix IV.c.1.*); and *Appendix IV.d.4.b.*

There is also another generic representation of this kind, which is meant to show a ship on the Tiber, but those two reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 105; 106**, and this other relief) do not offer views of specific locations somewhere in the area discussed here. For both monuments; cf. Patrizio Pensabene and Javier Á. Domingo (2016-2017, 572 with ns. 155, 157, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Section IV.).

**Fig. 104.** Colossal marble statue of the River God Tiber, Paris, Louvre (MA 593). Cf. A. Heinemann (2018, 717, Fig. 3). Colossal marble statue of the River God Nile, Città del Vaticano, Musei Vaticani, Museo Chiaramonti (inv. no. 2300) Cf. A. Heinemann (2018, 216, Fig. 2). Photo: D-DAI Rom 81.2187. Domitian commissioned these two statues of the River Gods Tiber and Nile for his Temple of Serapis at his newly erected Iseum Campense, where they were on display in the huge water basin of the Exedra; cf. here, the maps **Figs. 58-61**; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.2.*); and at *Appendix II.a.*

**Fig. 105.** Detail of the plinth of this colossal marble statue of the River God Tiber, Paris, Louvre (MA 593), showing a relief with a small ship on the Tiber, with which a huge block of marble is transported. From: P. Pensabene and J.Á. Domingo (2016-2017, 573, Fig. 15). Courtesy P. Pensabene and J.Á. Domingo.

**Fig. 106.** The same relief, a greater section of the scene: three ships and also the men, who are hauling the ship with the marble block on the left hand side of the relief. From the Paper Museum of Cassiano Dal Pozzo, Windsor, Royal Library (RL 8739). Cf. A. Claridge and E. Dodero (*The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo, Series A, Part III, Sarcophagi and Reliefs*, 4 vols., London: Royal Collection Trust (2022, 853-854, cat. no. 563). Photo: Courtesy Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2022.

Amanda Claridge, with whom I had discussed the above-mentioned Tiber ship that appears on Pensabene's and Domingo's (2016-2017, 573, Fig. 15 = here **Fig. 105**) photograph, was kind enough to send me on 9th April 2021 information concerning a drawing of the plinth of this statue of the Tiber (cf. here **Fig. 106**), which

was made when the statue was still on display at the Belvedere of the Papal Palace, which now belongs to the Musei Vaticani. These (originally three, now two) sheets of a larger drawing belong to the Paper Museum of Cassiano Dal Pozzo, and are kept at Windsor Castle, Royal Library (RL 8739; cf. here **Fig. 106**). They will be published in the catalogue raisonné as A.III.563 in: Amanda Claridge and Eloisa Dodero ("*The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo, Series A, Part III, Sarcophagi and Reliefs*, 4 vols. 2022, pp. 853-854, cat. no. 563, which has appeared in the meantime in 2022). Amanda alerted me also to an earlier publication of the drawings here **Fig. 106** by Cornelius C. Vermeule ("*The dal Pozzo-Albani drawings of classical antiquities in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle*", *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s. 51.2, 1966 [i.e., here CC. VERMEULE 1966b], pp. 5-170, p. 51 (s.v. 8739)).

I know the statue of the Tiber in the Louvre (cf. here **Fig. 104**) from autopsy but must confess that so far I was not interested in the reliefs carved on its plinth.

These two sheets of an originally larger drawing in the Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozza (here **Fig. 106**) indicate that the artist, who created this relief, had represented altogether three ships on the Tiber, two of them moving upstream, one of them downstream. Whereas the two boats on the left and in the middle are transporting goods, the one on the left upstream, the boat in the middle downstream, the ship on the right, which is turned in upstream direction, is docked on the left bank of the Tiber and some men are in the course of loading goods on it. The relief itself shows more porters, those, who are missing on **Fig. 106**, were, therefore, obviously represented on the third, now missing sheet of the drawing. The men aboard those ships are, accordingly, engaged in very different occupations. On the far left of the scene we see three other men, walking on the left bank of the Tiber, who are hauling the ship with which the huge block of marble is transported upstream.

The intention of the artist, who designed this composition, was obviously to describe as many typical occupations as possible of those men, who were attached to those entrepreneurs in the naval trade on the Tiber who actually managed the immense task of 'supplying the city of Rome with all goods needed'. For a detailed analysis of the actions of the men who appear on the relief (here **Fig. 106**); cf. Amanda Claridge and Eloisa Dodero (2022, 853, quoted *verbatim infra*).

**Amanda Claridge and Eloisa Dodero (2022, 853) interpret the meaning of those reliefs as follows: "The plinth is carved on all four sides in illustration of the benefits of the river". But because that was combined with a "scene apparently representing the founding of the city of Rome on the left side", there were certainly, as they themselves add, many more levels how the iconography of Domitian's statues of the Tiber and of the Nile could be understood.**

**Heinemann (2018, esp. pp. 228, 231, Fig. 12.a) discusses Domitian's colossal marble statues of the River Gods Tiber and Nile (here Fig. 104) and the reliefs on their plinths (here Figs. 105; 106) in detail. To characterize the meaning of the iconographies of those statues, he has, in my opinion, chosen an appropriate title for his article:**

**"Blessings of Empire ...".**

In addition to what Domitian himself or his artists may have intended to visualize with the statue of the River God Tiber (and of the River God Nile) and with the scenes, adorning their plinths, we can regard the relief with the three ships on the plinth of the statue of the River God Tiber discussed here (cf. **Fig. 106**) also as an ideal illustration of the relevant occupations of such men, who were for example employed by the Egyptian merchant called *Ciro*.

This man, whose own lifelong occupation this had been, came from a family of merchants that since a long time was transporting merchandise from Egypt to Rome. Laura Gigli (2022) has now written for us *Ciro's* fictional account, describing, how he delivered his goods to Rome by using obviously exactly the same kind of ships on the Tiber as those that are visible on here **Fig. 106** (to Laura Gigli's fictional account of *Ciro* I will come back below).

Although the artistic quality of this relief (here **Figs. 105; 106**) is rather modest, it nevertheless contains an interesting additional information, namely that there usually was, as not otherwise expectable, quite a 'traffic jam' on the Tiber. This the artist has indicated by his choice that the two ships in the middle and on the right hand side of the scene have come each other so close, that the men aboard the ship in the middle now try very hard to avoid an accident.

**Claridge and Dodero (2022, 853-854, cat. no. 563) write about the drawing of the relief on the plinth of Domitian's colossal statue of the River God Tiber, which shows three ships on the Tiber (here Fig. 106) :**

**"563. Frieze on plinth of statue of the Tiber, river landscape with cargo boats (Vatican Belvedere)**

*CODEX URSINIANUS COPYIST, 1620s*

Windsor, RL 8739, *Bassi Relievi Antichi* 8, fol. 38 Pen and dark brown ink and grey and brown wash over traces of black chalk/graphite 88 × 849 mm. Composed of two sheets, 425 and 430 mm wide, with 6 mm overlap to right ... The frieze is located on the rear of the plinth of the colossal statue of the River Tiber reclining beside the wolf and twins, which may have been already known in the fifteenth century, but was rediscovered in January 1512 between the churches of SS Maria sopra Minerva and Stefano del Cacco (see Brummer 1970, p. 191f.), probably on the site of the Iseum Campense. Soon afterwards the statue was brought to the Vatican Belvedere, where it was placed in the middle of the garden on a base bearing the Medici arms; at least from 1523, it was faced by an equally colossal reclining statue of the Nile (**962**), as documented in a view by Heemskerck of the 1530s. In 1797 it was taken to Paris, together with the Nile and other Vatican antiquities, and (unlike the Nile) never returned.

**The plinth is carved on all four sides in illustration of the benefits of the river, from a continuous stream of fresh water flowing down to the front, to flocks of animals pastured in its meadows along the right side, three boats transporting cargo down river across the rear, and a scene apparently representing the founding of the city of Rome on the left side.** The boat section, which is well preserved (better than the others), is drawn here very accurately at one-third actual size. At left, a long boat with a high prow, containing a large rectangular item (?a monolithic block of stone), is being steered with a long rudder mounted on the stern by a nude figure seated aft, directing three figures in short tunics who are hauling the boat along by ropes, pulled in unison, from the riverbank. The dal Pozzo draughtsman has seen the ropes as attached to the prow, but they may rather have passed beyond that to the towing mast, which can be seen located in front of the cargo. In the next, slightly more laden boat, whose prow is facing the opposite way to the other two, setting off downstream, three men in workmen's tunics are wielding long poles, apparently trying to avoid colliding with the third boat, which is docked with its prow towards the bank at right. This has its steering oar drawn inboard as one of the crew is preparing food in the stern, blowing at a portable stove, while another is seated amidships holding a tablet-shaped object, but not writing, probably stowing the cargo as it is brought on board. The larger shape in front of him is probably some sort of cabin or tent to protect the items he is stowing. The man in the prow has one in each hand [page 854] and the figure in a loincloth coming up the gangplank towards him has something similar on his shoulder. The drawing stops at this point, but there are two more porters behind, completely nude, one balancing a circular object on his head with both hands, and the other a load on his upper back, his left arm propped on his hip. They were possibly drawn on a now missing third sheet of paper, which the open frame lines indicate once joined to the right. All four sides of the plinth were engraved, with various errors ... Cassiano acquired a sketch of the three boats (without the porters) as part of a larger drawing from the later sixteenth century (**1013b**), but **563** is the only known instance from the seventeenth century .... [my emphasis] ... object drawn: Paris, Louvre, Ma 593, marble, frieze ... ".

Let's now return to our main subject.

The area *La Marmorata* is located on the left bank of the Tiber. Also the river's right bank was used in similar ways, but again we have no ancient visualisations of the daily life there.

**At the site of one of those many wharves on the river's right bank was erected in the 2<sup>nd</sup>/ 3<sup>rd</sup> century a tomb, and, on top of this, in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries was built a Church, called after Santa Passera.**

A saint of that name does not exist, and it is believed that 'Passera' is either a corruption of Saint Ciro's title, 'Abbas Cirus' ('abbot Ciro'), or of the name of 'Santa Prassede' (cf. *TCI-guide Roma 1999*<sup>10</sup>, 868); and Laura Gigli ("Dal faro di Alessandria alla banchina di Santa Passera: viaggio fra realtà e immaginazione", 2022, 269-270, p. 271, with n. 4, p. 272, with n. 7).

**At the Church of Santa Passera were venerated two martyrs from Alexandria in Egypt, the Saints Ciro and Giovanni.**

The Church of Santa Passera (here **Fig. 103**) stands on the right bank of the Tiber in the quartiere Portuense, at the 3rd mile of the ancient *Via Campana* (today: Via della Magliana nuova), underneath the Gianicolo, and opposite the Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura (located on the left bank of the Tiber), on the *Via Ostiensis*.

The Church of Santa Passera and the Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura, are located to the south of the quartiere Testaccio with *La Marmorata*. The frescos of Santa Passera, on which the Saints Ciro and Giovanni appear, have been restored under the direction of Laura Gigli; cf. Laura Gigli and Gianfrancesco Solferino ("La chiesa di Santa Passera. Riflessioni sui dipinti del presbiterio", 2016); for the ancient wharf of Santa Passera; cf. also Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017, 572, n. 158, quoted *verbatim infra*).

**Fig. 103. Map of Rome. On the left bank of the Tiber we see the quartiere Testaccio with the Monte Testaccio and the Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura, on the right bank of the Tiber there are the quartiere Portuense and the Church of Santa Passera. IGM (Istituto Geografico Militare). Scale: 1: 25.000.**

In reality, the relics of the Saints Ciro and Giovanni had only been brought to Rome from Egypt in the Middle Ages, but Laura Gigli has now written a fictional account of those two saints, as told by Ciro 'himself'.

In this narrative, written by Laura Gigli for her new publication on Santa Passera ("Dal faro di Alessandria alla banchina di Santa Passera: viaggio fra realtà e immaginazione", 2022), Ciro belongs to a family of merchants from Alexandria, who since a very long time deliver goods from Egypt to Rome. Ciro himself has done this all his life and owns now a couple of large seagoing ships (I myself suggest to compare the ships on the relief here **Fig. 98**). In these enterprises, Ciro is supported by his son Giovanni. Since Ciro is fascinated by Rome, he is currently planning to build a tomb for himself on the banks of the Tiber (*i.e.*, the tomb underneath the Church of Santa Passera), in case he should eventually die there on one of his many trips from Alexandria to Porto and further with smaller ships on the Tiber to Rome.

**I have asked our good friend Laura to allow me to quote from 'Ciro's story' here, since she describes in this text in Ciro's name exactly that what is missing in our documentation of this part of ancient Rome, and she has generously allowed me to do so.**

**In her accompanying letter, written on 27th March 2021, and addressed to Hugo Brandenburg and myself, Laura Gigli has explained her interest in the Church of Santa Passera:**

" ... Io ho avuto l'opportunità di condurre i restauri dell'apparato decorativo alto medievale e medievale della chiesa di santa Passera a Roma, sorta fra VIII e IX sec.[olo] sull'impianto di una tomba romana del II/III sec.[olo] in corrispondenza di uno degli approdi sul Tevere. Siamo a via della Magliana proprio di fronte a San Paolo fuori le mura. La curiosa denominazione in onore di una santa mai esistita è successiva a quella iniziale (presumibilmente in onore di Santa Prassede) e a quella dei martiri alessandrini Ciro e Giovanni ...

Laura Gigli".

Laura Gigli ("Dal faro di Alessandria alla banchina di Santa Passera: viaggio fra realtà e immaginazione", 2022, 265-268) begins this article with her fictional account of the ancient Egyptian merchant **Ciro**, who has a number of seagoing ships and supplies the People of Rome with all sorts of goods from Egypt :

"LA NARRAZIONE

*``Mi chiamo **Ciro**, sono nato ad Alessandria, Prefettura d'Egitto, al tempo dell'imperatore Marco Aurelio (161-180). Mio padre lavorava al faro, sull'isola di fronte al porto della città, dove l'ho accompagnato tante volte da bambino ...*

*Mio zio era invece un pescatore e, all'occorrenza, un trasportatore di merci che mi ha ingaggiato presto a lavorare con lui. Un clan egiziano, il nostro, che da generazioni attraversa il Mediterraneo per la pesca, certo, ma soprattutto per rifornire Roma di grano e dei prodotti preziosi richiesti nell'impero, al pari di tutti gli altri popoli che hanno vissuto e vivono sulle sue sponde: cartaginesi, libici, fenici, siriani, libanesi, greci ...*

*Le rotte e la navigazione delle nostre imbarcazioni sono diventate più agevoli da quando si è trasferito ad Alessandria un greco di nome Tolomeo, i cui studi di astronomia e geografia gli hanno [page 266] consentito di precisare i rilievi delle coste e di elaborare le piante del cielo che consentono l'orientamento nel buio della notte. Gli affari della nostra famiglia, grazie all'ausilio di questi strumenti conoscitivi che hanno migliorato la sicurezza in mare, hanno cominciato a prosperare tanto che io stesso posso disporre oggi di una piccola flotta di navi da pesca e da trasporto, adatte alla grande navigazione, che mi consentono di definirmi una sorta di armatore imprenditore. Nel XXI secolo potrei essere considerato un intraprendente manager di famiglia.*

*Seguo personalmente la maggior parte dei viaggi diretti al porto marittimo di Ostia ...*

*Di lì è abbastanza facile risalire il Tevere - c'è anche una strada di alaggio - e poi sbarcare all'altezza della banchina fluviale che sorge alle estreme propaggini delle alture gianicolensi, a ridosso della via Campana, dove, una volta a terra mi ritrovo in un ambiente che non solo è vicino al mercato, ma anche familiare per lingua, costumi, mestieri, vissuto soprattutto da marinai provenienti dal mio paese, dove ho modo di portare e ricevere notizie, di potenziare la rete dei miei contatti e incrementare il numero dei clienti ...*

*Mi trovo bene a Roma, dove mi incontro spesso anche con quelle comunità che si definiscono cristiane: le ho conosciute e in parte frequentate già ad Alessandria dove il fenomeno è diffuso da [page 267] tempo, ma qui, dove vivissima è la memoria degli apostoli, questa cultura e le prospettive che offre mi attirano irresistibilmente. Non credo che mi convertirò ma intanto ho deciso di chiamare mio figlio con un nome ebraico: Giovanni.*

*Mi piace l'atmosfera effervescente e dinamica della città e ho pensato di scegliere proprio questa zona come luogo della mia sepoltura, qualora dovessi morire qui. Mi è capitato di passeggiare varie volte nella quiete della necropoli di Porto, oggi in fase di espansione, traendone ispirazione per quello che potrebbe essere la tomba che io stesso vorrei farmi costruire ... Mi ha colpito molto il mosaico presente in un monumento: raffigura il faro della città che ha condotto in porto due grandi navi che trascinano due barche più piccole sulle quali è possibile scaricare le merci, accompagnato da una scritta in greco che dice:*

QUI CESSA OGNI AFFANNO.

*Che bella immagine per rappresentare l'approdo al termine della vita! Che bella immagine per sottolineare il compimento del destino, non solo quello di un uomo di mare! ... In corrispondenza della banchina di approdo delle merci sul fiume ho visto una tomba in costruzione, architettonicamente simile a quelle di Porto ma con una particolarità che mi intriga: l'ingresso è rivolto a sud sud-est, quindi traguarda esattamente quella meraviglia dell'ingegno umano che mi ha sempre guidato nel ritorno a casa e agevolato le rotte sul mare: il faro del luogo dove sono nato. Mi piacerebbe ricavare per me un ipogeo nella parte antistante alla terrazza di accesso a questa sepoltura in terra straniera e sul soffitto, dove non potrà mai splendere il sole né rifulgere le stelle, far rappresentare l'uno e le altre, una sorta di volta celeste per continuare a indicare la strada che orienta l'uma- [page 268] nità nel suo cammino, che va oltre l'approdo raggiunto dal singolo individuo nella sua vita ...'' [my emphasis]".*

On 11th May 2022, Franz Xaver Schütz had the chance to I visit ourselves the quartiere Testaccio and especially the area, called *La Marmorata* in past centuries, with the huge *opus incertum* building.

In addition to this, we met on 19th May 2022 with Laura Gigli at the Church of Santa Passera, located on the opposite (right) bank of the Tiber (cf. here **Figs. 102; 103**). Unfortunately, the Rettore of the Church of Santa Passera, whom Laura had asked to give us access to Santa Passera, could not join us that day, which is why we need to postpone this detail of our research to a future visit of this Church.

**Section III. The Porticus Aemilia outside the Porta Trigemina and the Horrea Aemiliana, and the discussion of the opus incertum building at La Marmorata, which has been identified with this Porticus Aemilia or as Navalía**

**For the finds in past centuries of enormous masses of all kinds of marbles and other building material at La Marmorata;** cf. Rodolfo Lanciani (II [1901] 25 [the first date, documented by Lanciani, at which such finds were recorded, is: "1558, 16 marzo"], p. 27, *s.v.* Marmorata; p. 27; III [1907] 113, 114, 174, 175, 224, *s.v.* (La) Marmorata; II [1990] 31 [the first date, documented by Lanciani, at which such finds were recorded, is: "1558, 16 marzo"], page 33; III [1990] 120, 191-193, 248-249, *s.v.* (La) Marmorata; cf. p. 121, Fig. 82: "*Sponda subaventina del Tevere: imbarco di una colonna di granito delle terme di Caracalla destinata a Firenze.*, Disegno, in "Disegni delle ruine di Roma", foll. 12v-13", p. 192, Fig. 142: "Baldassare Peruzzi. *Pianta di magazzini veduti sotto l'Aventino presso la "Ripa tiberis"*. Disegno. (Firenze, Uffizi, sch.[eda] 397)", p. 192, Fig. 143: "Etienne Du Pérac, *Veduta della Marmorata e dell'Aventino*. Incisione ne "I vestigi dell'antichità di Roma", Roma 1575, tav. 23" [= here **Fig. 102.4**]); Samuel Platner and Thomas Ashby (1926, 327, *s.v.* Marmorata; p. 200, *s.v.* Emporium, p. 261, *s.v.* Horea Galbae, p. 262, *s.v.* Horrea Lolliana, p. 263, *s.v.* Horrea Seiana, p. 420, *s.v.* Porticus Aemilia (a) extra portam Trigemina); L. Richardson Jr. (1992, 244, *s.v.* Marmorata, pp. 143-144, *s.v.* Emporium, Fig. 35, p. 193, *s.v.* Horrea Galbae [also on the *Horrea Sulpicia*] (Figs. 35, 43, pp. 193-194, *s.v.* Horrea Lolliana, p. 195, *s.v.* Horrea Seiana, p. 311, *s.v.* Porticus Aemilia (1)); Filippo Coarelli ("Horrea Galbana", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 40-42 [also on the *Horrea Sulpicia*], Fig. 29; Figs. I, 171-172; cf. *id.*, pp. 43-44, *s.v.* Horrea Lolliana, Figs. 29; 30); Domenico Palombi ("Horrea Seiana", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 46-47, Fig. 29); Claudio Moccheggiani Carpano ("Emporium", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 221-223 Fig. 69 [plan of the area between the Tiber Island and the area, identified by some scholars with the *Emporium* (*i.e.*, the area referred to here as *La Marmorata*), with integration of the relevant fragments of the Severan Marble Plan]; V [2000] 7).

**See now also:** Lorenzo Quilici ("Sul faro di Portus e una nota in margine al Porto di Traiano", 2017). And, in addition to this: Simon Malmberg ("Understanding Rome as a port city", 2021) and Joelle Prim (*Aventinus Mons*, 2021). For the latter two references I thank Hans Rupprecht Goette and Peter Herz, respectively.

Note that already Otto Richter (1901, 198-199) had listed altogether 14 *Horrea* at Rome.

Cf. F. Coarelli ("Porticus Aemilia", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 116-117, Figs. 44; 45; II, 69; III, 29); cf. p. 117: **according to Coarelli, the building at La Marmorata discussed here (in my opinion Navalía), identified by him as the Porticus Aemilia, had the following dimensions: "Questo si estendeva in lunghezza da Via B. Franklin a SE [south-east; *corr.*: south-west] a Via Marmorata a NE [north-east] e, nel senso della larghezza, da Via G. Branca a Via A. Vespucci: rispettivamente, per 487 e 90 m. (superficie ca. [circa] 4.5 ettari) [my emphasis]**". To this we may add that the courses of the current roads Via Ambrogio Vespucci and Via Giovanni Branca are determined by the ground-plan of this ancient building, the *Navalía*. Steven Tuck ("[Horrea Corn]elia", in: *LTUR* V [1999] 263) identifies the alleged *Porticus Aemilia* at the Testaccio, which is here interpreted as *Navalía*, (erroneously) as *Horrea Cornelia*. - To this I will come back below.

Note that Lucos Cozza and Pier Luigi Tucci (2006, 175, note \*) write in their acknowledgements: "Gli autori ringraziano Fausto Zevi per aver deciso di pubblicare il presente articolo, Filippo Coarelli per averlo letto in anteprima (con totale apprezzamento) ...".

**Pier Luigi Tucci (2012, 180) mentions considerable smaller proportions of the Navalía than Coarelli ("Porticus Aemilia", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 117): 487 x 60 m, "quasi 30.000 metri quadrati [my emphasis]**".



The same proportions ("487 by 60 metres") for the ground-plan of the *'Porticus Aemilia' / Navalia* are also assumed by Coarelli (2008, 462), as well as by the first scientific excavators of this building, Gert-Jan Burgers, Raphaëlle-Anne Kok-Merlino and Renato Sebastiani (2015, 200), who identify the structure with the *Porticus Aemilia*, and also by Giuliano Giovannetti (2016, 21, n. 14), who quotes for this information: "GROS, TORELLI 2007, p. 136", and who himself likewise identifies the building with the *Porticus Aemilia*. - In his bibliography, Giovannetti quotes the edition of this book by Gros and Torelli of 2010 instead.

**To allow the reader an easier understanding of this complex discussion, I quote in the following some passages, referred to in this *Chapter* as the [3.] - [12.] epigraphs, that are of importance in this context.**

**But before concentrating on those epigraphs, I allow myself a digression on the well known fact that, long before Lucos Cozza and Pier Luigi Tucci (2006, 180 [TUCCI]) should identify the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* as "*dei Navalia*" (understood by them as shipyards of the warships), *'the Navalia'* (i.e., Rome's port of the warships) had been located in precisely *that* area.**

The scholar, who corrected this error, was, in my opinion, Wilhelm Adolph Becker (1843, 159-162, 629; and 1844, 19-44 [on *'the Navalia'*, the port of the warships]). Basing himself on the known literary sources, Becker was first to conclude that *'the Navalia'* (i.e., the port of the warships) were not based at *La Marmorata*, as was *communis opinio* at his time, but instead in the southern *Campus Martius*.

Becker (1843; and in more detail 1844) analysed *inter alia* the famous story, told by Plutarch (*Cat. Min.* 39) about Cato Uticensis in 56 BC, as well as the story of the arrival at Rome of the sacred snake of Asklepios in 291 BC, which is represented on the golden medallion, issued by the Emperor Antoninus Pius (here **Fig. 107**), and discussed above in Section II.

See Wilhelm Adolph (also: Adolf) Becker (1796-30.9.1846) (*Handbuch der römischen Altherthümer Nach den Quellen bearbeitet erster Theil. Mit vergleichendem Plane der Stadt und vier anderen Tafeln*, 1843; and his publication: *Die römische Topographie in Rom eine Warnung von Wilhelm Adolph Becker Als Beilage zum Ersten Theile seines Handbuches der Römischen Alterthümer*, 1844).

***When asking ourselves, why Becker (1843) is not given credit for this important finding, the reasons may be the following***

The tone, in which Becker wrote his text of 1844 is, admittedly, very polemic, and the title of this publication is nothing less but an intentional offence. Both, taken together, may explain the effect that Becker's book (1843, with its "Beilage" of 1844), is extremely rare in Germany. Of the only three extant copies in German libraries, one is to be found at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in München.

What had happened ? Becker's book of 1843 had been reviewed, and Becker published in 1844 a 59-page-long (!) response, the above-mentioned *Beilage* (1844) to his book. Becker (1844, 4) mentions the name of the scholar, who had written this review: "Herr Collegienrat Preller". I assume that the author of this review was Ludwig Preller (15.9.1809-21.6.1861). Becker (*op. cit.*) expressed his opinion that Preller, when writing this review, had been supported by *'friends from the Capitol'*, thus referring to members of the *Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, founded in 1829, and based *'on the Capitol'*.

Becker (1843; 1844) was *very* critical of some scholars, whose work he discussed in his publications, *inter alia* of Christian Karl Josias Freiherr von Bunsen, one of the founding members of the *Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, and of Luigi Canina (cf. W.A. BECKER 1844, 4-9, for the reasons), who were among those scholars of the period, who located *'the Navalia'* (the port of the warships) at the Testaccio. Becker (1843; 1844) explained his critique in detail, choosing for the latter text the following title: *Die römische Topographie in Rom eine Warnung* ('The Roman Topography at Rome a Warning'), thus referring to those scholars, based at Rome, whose work he criticized in both his publications (!).

For Bunsen and the *Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* and the three buildings on the *Capitolium*, where it had been based over time; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.e*).

**Becker (1844, 4) writes about Preller's review of his book (i.e., of W.A. BECKER 1843):** "Herr Collegienrat Preller, der seit einiger Zeit sich in Rom aufhält, hat es übernommen, mit bereitwilliger Unterstützung der Freunde vom Capitele u. s. w. [und so weiter] die Ehrenrettung der italiänischen Topographie und namentlich des Herrn Canina auf Kosten des deutschen Namens [i.e., of W.A. BECKER] zu versuchen [with n. \*] ...". In his **note \***, Becker writes: "Jen. Allg. LZ, 1844. N. 121-127".

**Because Becker's (1843, 159-162, 629; 1844, 24-41) conclusions concerning the Navalía (the port of the warships) are correct, and because he was, to my knowledge, the first scholar to realize that 'the Navalía' (i.e., the port of the warships) were not stationed at *La Marmorata*, but instead in the southern *Campus Martius*, I am of the opinion that he should be given credit for his important findings.**

See Filippo Coarelli ("Navalia", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 340), who lists in his bibliography as the oldest publications on the subject: "Ch. Hülsen, *DissPontAcc* 6 (1896), 246-254 [*non vidi*]" and "Richter, *Topographie* (1901) 201-203".

**Richter (1901, 203 with n. 1) rightly refuted Hülsen's (1896) relevant hypotheses and mentioned "[W.A.] BECKER [1843] p. 160" for only one, albeit decisive observation by which that was possible: Becker (1843, 160), who had based his relevant observation on the above-mentioned story about Cato Uticensis.**

But Richter (1901, 203 with n. 1) did not give Becker explicitly credit for his important finding that - *inter alia* therefore - the Navalía (the port of the warships) could not possibly have been located at the *Emporium*, but instead in the southern *Campus Martius*. - And that although also Richter believed that the location of the port of the warships in the *Campus Martius* was correct (!). Note that Richter (1901, 48) himself located the *Emporium* at Cato *minor*'s time immediately outside the *Porta Trigemina* - which, in my opinion, is correct.

Richter (1901, 203 with n. 1), therefore, refuted Hülsen's hypothesis (1896), who had located the Navalía (the port of the warships) *right there* (i.e., immediately outside the *Porta Trigemina*). 'For the later period' (without indicating a precise date), Richter (1901, 200) assumed the *Emporium* at the Testaccio.

Reading Richter (1901, 203 n. 1) one wonders, whether the surprising current 'absence' in the scholarly discussion of Becker's (1843; 1844) correct location of 'the Navalía' (i.e., the port of the warships) in the *Campus Martius* was caused by Hülsen's account (1896), considering the fact that Hülsen himself (1896) assumed 'the Navalía' (the port of the warships) at a wrong location.

**Interestingly, Lucos Cozza (cf. L. COZZA and P.L. TUCCI 2006, 175 [COZZA]) quotes from a publication of 1905, in which the old, erroneous location of the Navalía (the port of the warships) at *La Marmorata* is regarded as being correct. - Cozza mentioned that at the beginning of his article, written together with Pier Luigi Tucci, because *that* had inspired him - Cozza - to his own idea developed in this article:**

"NAVALIA\*

Consultando un libro del 1905 sulla navigazione interna italiana (*Notizie raccolte dagli Ingegneri del Genio Civile Luigi Cozza e Giovanni Grillo della Berta: Laghi, Fiumi e Canali navigabili*), il nome di Luigi Cozza (1867-1955), padre di mio zio Alessandro Cozza, mi ha subito spinto a leggere il suo testo sul Tevere e a pagina 90 ho trovato lo spunto: «Le opere eseguite dai Papi per il miglioramento della navigabilità si limitarono alla costruzione dei cosiddetti porti di Ripagrande e di Ripetta. Il primo fatto eseguire nel 1692 da Papa Innocenzo XII quasi di fronte all'antico luogo d'approdo costruito dai Romani nel sito detto Navalía, oggi Marmorata».

Subito c'è stata una forte attrazione: la parola *Navalia* mi ha immediatamente portato alle lettere -LIA finali di un nome inciso su un frammento della Pianta Marmorea ...".

**Lucos Cozza knew, of course, that this old location of 'the Navalía' (i.e., the port of the warships) at *La Marmorata* was wrong. See Cozza and Tucci (2006, 176-177 with n. 3, p. 181 with n. 18 [TUCCI]), where the authors discuss in detail this old, but erroneous location of 'the Navalía' (the port of the warships) at *La Marmorata*.**

Let's now turn to the already announced epigraphs.

[3.] epigraph, COZZA 2006:

"Qui mi fermo e lascio il campo a Pier Luigi Tucci e alle critiche future che saranno comunque gradite perché, come diceva Ippocrate a proposito di scienza medica,  
**la nostra vita è breve ma le ricerche continuano,**  
**la conoscenza acquisita è ingannevole, il giudizio è difficile"** [my emphasis].

Lucos Cozza and Pier Luigi Tucci (2006, 176 [COZZA]), on their identification of the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata* (the *opus incertum* building discussed here, that had previously been identified with the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina*).

[4.] epigraph, COARELLI 1999:

"PORTICUS AEMILIA. Nel 193 gli edili curuli, M. Aemilius Lepidus (RE I Aemilius 68) e M. Aemilius Paullus (RE Aemilius 114), con il denaro di multe comminate a *pecuarii, porticum unam extra portam Trigeminiam (fecerunt) emporio ad Tiberim adiecto* (Liv. 35.10.12) ... il nesso con l'*Emporium* (v.[edi]), che venne realizzato contemporaneamente, dimostra che la *p[orticus] A[emilia]* era in prossimità del Tevere, certamente a S[ud] dell'Aventino, nella zona di Marmorata .... [page 117] ... Il collegamento tra *Emporium* e *porticus Aemilia* è confermata da Liv. 41.27.8, quando i censori del 174, Q. Fulvius Flaccus (RE VII Fulvius 61) e A. Postumius Albinus (RE XXII Postumius 26), *extra portam Trigeminiam, emporium lapide straverunt stipitibusque saepserunt et porticum Aemiliam reficiendam curarunt, gradibusque ascensum a Tiberi in emporium fecerunt* ... La continuità dei lavori nell'area è dimostrata anche dall'intervento degli edili curuli del 192, M. Tuccius (RE VIIA Tuccius 5) e P. Iunius Brutus (RE X Iunius 54), i quali, sempre con denaro delle multe, *porticum extra portam Trigeminiam inter lignarios fecerunt* (Liv. 35.41.10). Inoltre, i censori del 179, M. Aemilius Lepidus (RE Aemilius 72) e M. Fulvius Nobilior (RE VII Fulvius 91) realizzarono (Liv. 40.51.6) *forum et porticum extra portam Trigeminiam* ...

L'edificio era già stato identificato da [Luigi] Canina [1833], poi da [Rodolfo] Lanciani [1897, 40, fig. 199]. I dubbi in proposito ([Christian] Hülsen [*i.e.*, here H. JORDAN - C. HÜLSEN I.3 [1907], 173 s.], [Thomas] Asby [*i.e.*, here S.B. PLATNER - T. ASHBY [1926] 420]) erano dovuti soprattutto alle caratteristiche tecniche, cioè al tipo di muratura utilizzato, allora ritenuto non anteriore all'età sillana. Il problema è stato risolto da G. Gatti 1934, attraverso l'identificazione dell'edificio nei frammenti della *FUR* [*i.e.*, the Severan Marble Plan] (fr. 23-24, *Pianta marmorea* [1960], tav. 24) ... Dell'iscrizione collocata al margine N[ord] dell'edificio, restano solo le lettere finali [--] LIA [cf. here Figs. 102.2, above; 102.1, below]. Si è supposto (Gatti) che la parola *porticus* fosse stata tralasciata ... La tecnica muraria è un *opus incertum* in tufo di ottima qualità (uno dei più) antichi esempi databili di questa tecnica), che dovrebbe appartenere al rifacimento del 174 a.C. (le strutture del 193 a.C. erano forse realizzate in materiali deperibili ... L'*Emporium* è da identificare nell'ampio piazzale antistante, anch'esso occupato, in età imperiale, da costruzioni utilitarie [my emphasis]).

Filippo Coarelli (in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 116-117).

In the meantime, also Coarelli (2008, 359, 462-464, quoted below as the [6.] epigraph), follows Cozza and Tucci (2006) in identifying the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* as *Navalia*.

[5.] epigraph, CLARIDGE 2010:

"Until recently the letters `LIA' on the Marble Plan were customarily restored as AEMILIA, and the building was identified with a *porticus Aemilia* mentioned by Livy (built by the aediles M. Aemilius Lepidus and I. Aemilius Paullus in 193 BC, rebuilt in 174 BC) which made it by over a century the oldest concrete building anywhere and also put considerable strain on the architectural definition of `porticus'.

In 2006 a new reading [by L. COZZA and P.L. TUCCI] of four letters lightly scratched below the LIA, probably a draft for an [page 404] alternative placement, has provided 'ALIA', ruling out any connection with the Aemilii and their porticus (which can return to being a more normal kind of porticus (see p. 59) and is anyway better located at the NW [north-west] end of the Aventine). The label can now be restored as NAVALIA - shipsheds - an immediately more attractive proposition, compatible with the sloping floor, the fifty divisions and the dimensions of the aisles, which resemble monumental shipsheds elsewhere in the Mediterranean [my emphasis]".

Amanda Claridge (2010, 403-404).

[6.] epigraph, COARELLI 2008:

"LA PIANURA DELL'EMPORIO

L'antico porto di Roma, situato sulla riva sinistra del Tevere, nell'ansa che fronteggia il Velabro e il Foro Boario, non aveva alcuna possibilità di espansione, stretto com'era tra quartieri già intensamente edificati. Quando, dopo la seconda guerra punica, ebbe inizio una fase di intenso incremento demografico e commerciale per la città, fu necessario cercare spazio per la realizzazione di un nuovo complesso portuale, che fosse all'altezza delle necessità che allora si presentavano. Il punto più adatto era la pianura, interamente libera, a sud dell'Aventino: qui i censori [corr.: the aediles] del 193 a.C. Lucio Emilio Lepido e Lucio Emilio Paolo, costruirono il nuovo porto (*Emporium*). Successivamente, i censori del 174 a.C. lastrarono di pietra l'Emporio, lo suddivisero con barriere, creando scalinate di discesa al Tevere.

La fronte verso il Tevere era interamente occupata da un **immenso edificio** realizzato in cementizio con paramento in opera incerta di tufo (uno dei più antichi esempi di questa tecnica), lunga 487 m, largo 60, suddiviso da 294 pilastri in una serie di ambienti ... che formavano 50 navate, larghe 8,30 m ognuna, coperte da serie di volticelle aggettanti le une sulle altre. Alcuni dei muri sono visibili nelle vie Branca, Rubattino, Florio. Il complesso distava dal fiume circa 90 m: questo spazio fu via via colmato, in seguito, e soprattutto in età traianea, da altre costruzioni.

Guglielmo Gatti [1934] ha dimostrato che l'edificio è rappresentato (insieme agli *Horrea Galbana*) in una lastra della pianta marmorea severiana, in cui precedentemente si identificavano i *Saepta Iulia* del Campo Marzio. L'identificazione proposta con la *Porticus Aemilia*, [page 463] costruita nel 194 [corr.: 193] a.C. e rifatta nel 174 a.C., fu generalmente accettata: si sarebbe trattato di conseguenza del più antico esempio di opera incerta conosciuto. Più di recente però sono state proposte altre soluzioni, basate sull'aspetto dell'edificio, che non corrisponde alla tipologia del portico, e sull'impossibilità di integrare la parte dell'iscrizione superstite, [---]LIA, con *Porticus Aemilia* per mancanza di spazio. Si è così proposto l'integrazione (*Horrea*) Cornelia, da identificare con un edificio costruito da Silla, che però [page 464] è del tutto ignoto, e soprattutto sarebbe troppo recente per il tipo di tecnica edilizia utilizzato. Sembra invece cogliere nel segno la proposta di integrare l'iscrizione con [NAVA]LIA, che corrisponde meglio allo spazio disponibile e soprattutto al graffito preparatorio dell'iscrizione, in cui si legge [-]ALIA. L'aspetto dell'edificio, con i suoi ambienti lunghi e stretti, in discesa verso il Tevere corrisponde bene al tipo di struttura, destinata a ospitare le lunghe e strette navi da guerra dell'epoca: in questo caso, cinquanta quinqueremi lunghe poco meno di 60 m. Non si tratta naturalmente del più antico porto militare romano, che è localizzato sulla riva del Campo Marzio, ma piuttosto di *Navala* ricordati da Cicerone, che li attribuisce all'architetto greco Hermodoros di Salamina, noto per la sua attività a Roma nella seconda metà del II sec.[olo] a.C. È probabile che l'opera sia stata realizzata nel corso della terza guerra punica, quindi tra il 149 e il 146 a.C., data che si addice alla tecnica edilizia utilizzata. Più tardi, quando Roma cessò di essere un porto militare, l'edificio venne convertito in un grande magazzino portuale, restringendo tra l'altro le ampie aperture verso il Tevere e chiudendole con porte [the emphasis is by the author himself]".

Filippo Coarelli (2008, 462-464).

[7.] epigraph, BERNARDO 2014:

"Porticus Aemilia: Emporium, Navalia e Horrea em um único colosso"

Gabriel Cabral Bernardo (2014: title of his article).

With the brilliant choice of the title of his article, Gabriel Cabral Bernardo (2014) is able to summarize the complex history of the building, discussed here, the *Porticus Aemilia* / *Navalia*, the history of the relevant scholarship, and of the results of the recent excavations. The author calls himself "Graduando em História pela Universidade de São Paulo", and has participated in September of 2013 at the very last excavation campaign of this building, which was directed by "Gert-Jan Burgers (Koninklijk Nederlands Instituut Rome) e Renato Sebastiani (Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma)"; cf. Gabriel Cabral Bernardo (2014, 124 with ns. 1; 2).

[8.] epigraph, BURGERS *et al.* 2015:

"Abstract

*The article presents the preliminary results of excavations carried out between 2011 and 2013 among the standing remains of the building commonly identified as the Porticus Aemilia, centrally located in the ancient river harbour of Rome. The common identification of this building as a warehouse has recently been questioned by another school of thought, which contends that it was the Urbs' Navalia or shipshed. The excavations allow us to conclude that such one-sided interpretations fail to do justice to the archaeological evidence, which suggests instead a highly differentiated history of occupation in the area. Although the original use of the building in the late Republican era remains obscure as yet, we have documented multiple traces of abandonment, collapse, rebuilding and restructuring for the various post-Republican phases. The excavations are particularly revealing with regard to the late first and early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, when parts of the building were restructured to accommodate horrea. The new data constitute the first scientifically excavated evidence of the existence of horrea in the Urbs [the italics are those of the authors]".*

Gert-Jan Burgers, R.-A. Kok-Merlino and R. Sebastiani (2015, 199).

[9.] epigraph, DE CAPRARIIS 2019:

"I *'Navalia'* di Testaccio, ormai diffusamente datati intorno al 100 a.C. [with n. 104; my emphasis]".

In her **note 104**, de Caprariis writes: "A puro titolo di esempio e perché recente esempio di utile manualistica: CLARIDGEI 2018, p. 96, tabella 5.1."

Francesca de Caprariis (2019, 172).

[10.] epigraph, WISEMAN 2021a:

"The narrow strip of land between the steep Aventine slope and the river was progressively developed as Rome's commercial port, and the early stages of that process are reported by Livy with the unvarying description *extra portam Trigeminam*. [with n. 84; my emphasis]".

In his **note 84**, Wiseman writes: "Livy 35.10.12 (*porticus* and *emporium*, 193 BC), 35.41.10 (*porticus inter lignarios*, 192 BC), 40.51.6 (*porticus*, 179 BC), 41.27.8 (*porticus Aemilia* and steps at the *emporium*, 174 BC); see for instance Le Gall, 1953: 99–103; Bruno, 2012b [*i.e.*, here D. BRUNO 2012]: 399 [my emphasis]".

T.P. Wiseman (2021a, 30).

[11.] epigraph, DE CAPRARIIS 2022:

"One of the original epigraphic arguments for the identification of the *porticus Aemilia* as *Naualia*, is inconclusive: the main inscription on fragment 23 shows for certain only the letters ]lia (fig. 5,2). On fragment 24b, that is under the main inscription, only the last two letters of the supposed supplement [*Nau]alia* are actually visible (fig. 5.3). [with n. 30] The old *Aemilia*, or *Naualia*, or indeed other readings are all possible".

In her **note 30**, de Caprariis writes: "See Arata, Felici 2011: 130. Both the first 'A' and the 'L' of ALIA are in fact the result of the misreading of a drawing by Emilio Rodriguez Almeida (it must be noted that Cozza and Tucci could not check the original fragment). The second set of letters were probably a much later attempt to copy the main inscription. The supplement ALIA would be an important corroborating point in the interpretation of Cozza and Tucci, but not a definitive one: as Tucci has stated several times, their hypothesis stands regardless of the epigraphic argument".

Francesca de Caprariis (2022, 127, with n. 30).

[12.] epigraph, DE CAPRARIIS 2022:

"5.6. Conclusion

**The only safe conclusion is that topography is not of much use 'without the history of practices and functions - what the space was used for and how uses changed'. [with n. 87] We have the traditional scenario [i.e., that of G. GATTI 1934]: in the first half of the second [page 139] century BCE the Aventine plain - the only vast area of the riverbank nearest to the old port - was occupied principally by commercial installations: in terms of speed this would have been a dramatic change and would immediately reflect the needs of a rapidly growing capital on the urban fabric. With the development of the *porticus Aemilia* and the *emporium* in the Aventine plain M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Aemilius Paulus did indeed hold an *insignis aedilitas*: a brilliant and forward-looking urban plan, and the provision of a suitable infrastructure for the safe supply of grain.**

The old scenario has undoubtedly the advantage of providing a consistent historical context and frankly seems by far more realistic. Historical consistency is an advantage that the new scenario [i.e., that of L. COZZA, P.L. TUCCI 2006; TUCCI 2012] lacks; it is founded on evocative visual and planimetric analogies, but the actual evidence is less telling and far more uncertain. Moreover, the two scenarios are not compatible: one rules the other out. [with n. 88]. The historical consequences of this topographical debate can be summarized in fig. [5.]7a-b. The first actually suitable spot downriver for the commercial expansion is the site of the presumed *naualia*. Choosing it in order to duplicate an already existing and functioning arsenal implies a specific choice of urban layout in which the military aspect is paramount: the choice of a city-state at war, rather than that of a Mediterranean capital [my emphasis]".

In her **note 87**, de Caprariis writes: "Cf. Harris 1999: 10 about Late Antique Rome".

In her **note 88**, she writes: "See, e.g., the position of the *emporium* as shown in Mignone 2016: 86 or Claridge 2018: map 13".

Francesca De Caprariis (2022, 138-139 with ns. 87; 88).

**In the following will be discussed the statements of those scholars, which appear in the epigraphs [1.] - [12.], quoted in Section I. Introduction and above, in this Section III., that relate to the 'Porticus Aemilia' / Navalía at La Marmorata.**

The previous location of the *Porticus Aemilia* at the (alleged) *Emporium*, as for example maintained by Coarelli in the entry of the *LTUR* IV (1999) 116-117, quoted above as the [4.] epigraph, has in the meantime been rejected by Lucos Cozza and Pier Luigi Tucci (2006), because the enormous structure in question (cf. here **Figs. 102; 102.1; 102.2; 102.3**), documented by the Severan Marble Plan at *La Marmorata*, which has traditionally been identified with the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina*, can be identified with *Navalia*

instead. That is to say, with 'shipsheds' - but not with 'the *Navalia*', the port of the warships, discussed above in Section II. and illustrated on the medallion here **Fig. 107**, but rather with a shipyard for those warships; cf. Cozza and Tucci (2006, 197, quoted *supra*, in Section I. as the **[1.] epigraph**). - In the meantime, also Coarelli (2008, 462-464, quoted above as the **[6.] epigraph** in this Section III.) follows Cozza and Tucci (2006) in identifying the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* as *Navalia*.

Cozza and Tucci have arrived at this conclusion for a variety of reasons, to be discussed below. Now, since we know that this '*Porticus Aemilia*' was located 'outside the *Porta Trigemina*' of the Servian city Wall, that is to say, immediately to the south of the *Forum Boarium*; cf. Coarelli ("Porticus Aemilia", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 117, quoted above in this Section as the **[4. epigraph]**), it is anyway difficult to imagine that the structure so named could possibly have stood half a kilometre away, to the south of the Aventine. It was rather located, as suggested by Amanda Claridge (2010, 404, quoted above as the **[5. epigraph]**), 'at the northwest end of the Aventine'. - But, as we have just seen, de Caprariis (forthcoming 2022, 135-139, in part quoted above as the **[12.] epigraph** in this Section III.), still locates the '*Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina*' at *La Marmorata*.

Also Giuliano Giovannetti (2016, 21 with n. 13) identifies the *Porticus Aemilia* (*contra* L. COZZA and P.-L. TUCCI 2006), again, like Coarelli ("Porticus Aemilia", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 116-117), with the huge structure at the (alleged) *Emporium* at *La Marmorata* cf. here **Figs. 102; 102.4**). Giovannetti does not base his judgement on Francesco Paolo Arata's and Enrico Felici's account (2011), who have likewise rejected Cozza's and Tucci's hypothesis (2006) to identify this building at the Testaccio as *Navalia*. - My thanks are due to Francesco Paolo Arata, who, on 7th January 2021, was so kind as to send me, by request, the article written by himself and Enrico Felici ("Porticus Aemilia, *navalia* o *horrea*? Ancora sui frammenti 23 e 24 b-d della Forma Urbis", 2011).

Pier Luigi Tucci (2012, quoted *verbatim infra*) has responded to Arata and Felici (2011), documenting in more detail the hypotheses, presented in the earlier article by Cozza and himself (2006), and is, in my opinion, able to confirm that the structure at the Testaccio is certainly not the '*Porticus Aemilia* outside the *Porta Trigemina*'. - To the question, how Livy's (35,10,12) description of the *Porticus Aemilia* as being located 'outside the *Porta Trigemina*' may be interpreted, see now most recently, T.P. WISEMAN (2021a, 30, quoted above, as the **[10. epigraph]** in this Section III.), who locates the *Porticus Aemilia* outside the *Porta Trigemina*, as Livy writes (but not any more at the Testaccio, as he had done in 1993, 184 with n. 21). Wiseman's relevant passage is quoted above, in this Section III. as the **[10.] epigraph**. - To this I will come back below, when discussing the essays of Francesca de Caprariis (2019; *ead.* 2022).

*In the context discussed here, we need to understand the debated location of the Horrea Aemiliana*

To the north of the *Porta Trigemina* within the Servian city Wall, that is to say, between the *Forum Boarium* and the Tiber, and precisely underneath the building accommodating the Anagrafe, have been excavated *Horrea*, which Coarelli (1993; confirmed by F. COARELLI 2019a, 213-214) and Giuliano Giovannetti (2016, 20-21) convincingly identify as the *Horrea Aemiliana*, which are known from literary sources.

Giovannetti (2016, 20) writes about Trajan's important building works at Rome, to which also the structures at *La Marmorata*, the (alleged) *Emporium* (cf. here **Fig. 102; 103**) belong, that he himself discusses:

"Questa operazione di rinnovo delle strutture fluviali non si limitò all'area di Testaccio, ma dovette coinvolgere un più ampio tratto della riva del Tevere, come è testimoniato dalle strutture horrearie rinvenute per gli scavi del palazzo dell'Anagrafe nell'area dell'ex *Portus Tiberinus*, variamente identificate negli *horrea Aemiliana* [with n. 10]" - and otherwise. These *Horrea*, excavated at the building site of the 'Palazzo dell'Anagrafe', are dated by brick stamps to the Trajanic period, writes Giovannetti (2016, 20-21, with n. 11), but they were erected at the site of pre-existing structures dating to the Republican period. For those Republican structures; cf. Emilio Rodríguez Almeida (1993, 19-20, Figs. 4-5). For those earlier structures most

recently; cf. Francesca de Caprariis (2019, 164, n. 42, providing references), who herself does not discuss the findings of Giovannetti (2016).

See Giovannetti ("La struttura portuale di lungotevere Testaccio: una nuova analisi della documentazione", 2016, 20 with n. 9, providing a reference), who convincingly compares the building technique of these important Trajanic structures at Rome with those of the "costruzione del nuovo bacino portuale di Portus". Burgers *et al.* (2014a; 2014b and 2015) could, of course, not as yet discuss Giovannetti's important findings.

Considering Giovannetti's (2016) results, it does not surprise at all that, according to Burgers *et al.* (*op.cit.*) also the drastic architectural changes, by which at least parts of the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, the 'Porticus Aemilia' / *Navalia*, were turned into, and henceforth used, as *Horrea*, are likewise datable in the Trajanic/ Hadrianic period. Cf. the abstract of Burgers (*et al.* 2015), quoted above, as the [8.] epigraph in this Section III.

**These important building works, studied by Giovannetti (2016) had obviously been financed with the booty from Trajan's Dacian Wars. But, as already said above and not otherwise expectable in this volume, Giovannetti (2016, 20) has observed that the new port building comprising docks, erected at the commercial river port at the Testaccio/ *La Marmorata*, had already been begun by Domitian at the end of his reign (!).**

For Trajan's Dacian Wars in detail; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.e); Appendix IV.d.2.f); and below, at *The third Contribution by Peter Herz : Der Übergang von Trajan auf Hadrian und das erste Regierungsjahr Hadrians*.

In his note 10, Giovannetti (2016) writes: "COARELLI 1993 [in: *LTUR* vol. I], pp. 18-19, colloca questi magazzini, interpretati come horrea annonari[a] legati alle frumentationes, nell'area dei resti rinvenuti per i lavori del palazzo dell'Anagrafe, sulla base di Varr., r. r. III, 2, 6 che associa gli horrea alla Porta Flumentana, che doveva collocarsi proprio nel foro Boario e sulla base di un' iscrizione (CIL, XV, 7150) che indicherebbe la vicinanza degli horrea all'area del Circo Massimo [my emphasis]".

**But note that Coarelli (2019a, 214) now assumes the storage of the grain, which was distributed in the frumentationes, not only at the Horrea Aemiliana in the old river port at the Forum Boarium, but also at another building called Aemiliana in the Campus Martius.**

**Concerning these Aemiliana of the Campus Martius, Coarelli (2019a, 214) writes:**

"Comunque, gli Aemiliana del Campo Marzio vanno collocati negli immediati paraggi della zona dove avevano luogo tali distribuzioni, cioè della porticus Minucia ...". Cf. Coarelli (2019a, 229-254, Section: "4. Porticus Minucia"; pp. 254-267, Section: "5. L'identificazione della porticus Minucia: una risposta alle critiche recenti"), in which he (especially on pp. 263-265), in my opinion convincingly, defends his own identification of the porticus Minucia vetus with the porticus on Via delle Botteghe Oscure, which comprised the Temple of the Nymphs: the Porticus Minucia Frumentaria, built by Domitian. For that identification; cf. Häuber (2017, 59-60). For Domitian's Porticus Minucia Frumentaria; cf. above, in Chapter Preamble; Section III., at point 3.); and at Chapter II.3.1.c); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.4.b).

**Giovannetti (2016) himself does not list "COARELLI 1993" in his bibliography, but he obviously refers to Coarelli's entry in the Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae ("Aemiliana", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 18-19, Figs. 4-5).**

**Immediately after Coarelli's entry on the "Aemiliana" follows Emilio Rodríguez Almeida's discussion of the same toponym ("Aemiliana", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 19-20, Figs. 4-5), who suggests that for the location of those Horrea Aemiliana, known from literary sources, the site of the above-mentioned area of *La Marmorata*, the (alleged) Emporium (cf. here Fig. 102) seems, in his opinion, to be preferable.**



**At the time, when this first volume of the *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (LTUR I, 1993) came out, scholars found it very remarkable that *two* (contradictory) entries on the same subject (i.e., the "Aemiliana") were published in the same lexicon, one after the other.**

On my map Fig. 73, the site of those *Horrea*, found in the building site of the 'Palazzo dell'Anagrafe', which I, following Coarelli ("Aemiliana", in: LTUR I [1993] 18-19; confirmed now in *id.* 2019a, 213-214), identify with the *Horrea Aemiliana*, is labelled as: HORREA, on my map Fig. 58, this site is labelled as: PORT. - For the toponyms, marked on my map Fig. 73; cf. Häuber (2005, *passim*), for an earlier version of this map, 'Arbeitskarte 5'; cf. also Häuber (2014a, map 5 = here Fig. 73).

Cf. here Fig. 73, labels: ARX; CAPITOLIUM; Servian city Wall; PORTA CARMENTALIS; PORTA TRIUMPHALIS; Via del Foro Oltorio; TIBERIS; Via Luigi Petroselli; HORREA [AEMILIANA]; Area Sacra S. Omobono; [Temples] A; B; PORTA FLUMENTANA; site of "Fornix Augusti"; PONS AEMILIUS [i.e., the 'Ponte Rotto']; AEDES: PORTUNUS; FORUM BOARIUM; Round Temple; PORTA TRIGEMINA/ ARCUS LENTULI ET CRISPINI. Cf. Fig. 58, labels: CAPITOLINE; Servian city Wall; TIBER; PORT; PONS SUBLICIUS; PORTA TRIGEMINA; FORUM BOARIUM; Servian city Wall; PORTA TRIGEMINA; CLIVUS PUBLICIUS [here identified with the Clivo dei Publicii]; AVENTINE.

**As we have seen above, in Section I., Coarelli (2019a) now discusses two different locations for the *Statio Annonae*, the earlier of which he still assumes at the site of the *Horrea Aemiliana*.**

Cf. Coarelli (2019a, 8, Fig. 1: "Pianta d Roma con la posizione degli uffici amministrativi ... 6. Annona [where COARELLI locates the office of the *Statio Annonae* at the site of the building of his p. 159, Figs. 75-77; cf. *infra*]. On the one hand, Coarelli maintains his earlier suggestion that the *Statio Annonae*, being an archaic institution, was located at the old *Portus Tiberinus* adjacent to the *Forum Boarium*, and precisely, at the *Horrea Aemiliana*; cf. Coarelli (2019a, 136 with ns. 2, 3, p. 211). See also Coarelli (2019a, 213-214), where he confirms his earlier (1993) location of the *Horrea Aemiliana* at the site of the Palazzo dell'Anagrafe. Coarelli tentatively suggests also that later the *Statio Annonae* could have been accommodated in a building, datable in the imperial period, that was excavated to the west of the *Circus Maximus*. This building stood between the *carceres* of the *Circus Maximus* and the northern slopes of the Aventine; cf. Coarelli (2019a, 158-159, Figs. 75-77).

**In his discussion of the *Horrea Aemiliana*, Coarelli (2019a, 213) mentions also the *Pons Aemilius***

To the *Pons Aemilius* has in the past been attributed the inscription on fragment 621 of the Severan Marble plan which reads: 'AEMILII'; in Coarelli's opinion (most recently: 2019a, 213), this is not true. Because Rodríguez Almeida (1981), in Coarelli's opinion (2019a, 213 with n. 81), has correctly attributed this fragment of the Severan Marble Plan to the area in question, Coarelli, in my opinion convincingly, attributes the inscription 'AEMILII' to the *Horrea Aemiliana*. - Cf. Emilio Rodríguez Almeida (1981, 115-118, tav. XXIV).

Cf. Filippo Coarelli ("Aemiliana", in: LTUR I [1993] 19): "Tra i frammenti della pianta marmorea severiana che sembrano rappresentare questi *horrea*, FUR [i.e., *Forma Urbis Romae*, the Severan Marble Plan, fragment] 621 reca la scritta incompleta AEMILII, da integrare verosimilmente *Aemili[ana]* (la scritta non può infatti appartenere al vicino *pons Aemilius*, cui si riferisce già l'altra didascalia della pianta marmorea, *inter duos pontes*). [Per tale interpretazione v.[edi] sotto, *Aemiliana* di E. Rodríguez Almeida]". - The comment at the end of this lexicon article, in square brackets, is an addition by the editor, E.M. Steinby. - To Rodríguez Almeida (1993) I will come back below.

For a drawing of the fragment 621a-d, which carries the inscription 'AEMILII'; cf. LTUR I (1993, 358, Fig. 4; the caption reads: "Aemiliana FUR [i.e., here G. CARETTONI *et al.* 1960], fr. 620, 621a-d, 623, 625, 626, 627, 628a-b, 630 (da Coarelli, *Foro Boario* [1988], 154 fig. 27)".

See also Coarelli ("Pons Aemilius", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 106-107, Figs. II, 123-125; 37).

**After having written this down, I found out that, already long ago, this complex subject has also been discussed by T.P. Wiseman (1990; 1993). This leads us to an inscription, which may perhaps prove that the *Horrea Aemiliana* (as also all other ware houses ?) had their own (fleet of) ships:**

**The inscription *CIL* XV 7150 (*navis harenaria quae servit in Aemilianis*)  
and the three toponyms called 'Aemiliana' at Rome**

The here-so-called first toponym called *Aemiliana* was located in the old commercial river port, and, as already mentioned above, Coarelli (2019a, 213-214) identifies this toponym *Aemiliana* with *Horrea Aemiliana*, which he identifies with the huge warehouse, excavated in part at the building site of the Palazzo dell'Anagrafe (I am following his hypotheses here); the here-so-called second toponym called *Aemiliana* referred to a building in the *Campus Martius* in the vicinity of the *Diribitorium*. Coarelli (1993, 18-19; *id.* 2019a, 214) identifies this building as a warehouse, where grain was stored that was distributed in the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*. After a discussion of those two toponyms called *Aemiliana* will follow below a short summary concerning the here-so-called third toponym *Aemiliana*: this was located on the Quirinal, at the site of the former *Villa* or *Horti* of Scipio Africanus *maior*/ Scipio Aemilianus, and was also referred to by Tacitus (*Ann.* 15, 40) as *praedia Tigillini Aemiliana*.

**T.P. Wiseman (1990, 733) writes in his review of Coarelli (*Il Foro Boario dalle origini alla fine della repubblica*, 1988) :**

"Another important discussion ([in: F. COARELLI 1988, pp.] 147-55) concerns the place - or places - called 'Aemiliana'. Varro (*RR* III 2.6) refers to two areas technically outside the city : *nam quod extra urbem est aedificium, nihilo magis ideo est villa, quam eorum aedificia qui habitant extra portam Flumentanam aut in Aemilianis*. According to C.[oarelli], the two final phrases are a hendiadys referring to the same place : the *Aemiliana* were *horrea Aemiliana*, warehouses by the river harbour.

His [*i.e.*, Coarelli's] best argument is *CIL* XV 7150, which refers to a *navis harenaria quae servit in Aemilianis*, and he reads fragment 621 of the *Forma Urbis* [*i.e.*, the Severan Marble Plan] **not as AEMILI [VS PONS]** [with n. 5] **but as AEMILI[ANA], which is certainly possible**. But why should Varro use two different phrases to refer to the same place? And why should hairdressers and cosmeticians (*CIL* VI 37811) live and work in a warehouse?

Even more serious is Suet. *Claud.* 18.1, which shows the emperor occupying the *Diribitorium* to provide help during a fire in *Aemilianis*. C.[oarelli] tries to explain this with a very tenuous argument: (a) the *Aemiliana* were grain warehouses ; (b) the *Diribitorium* was next to the *Porticus Minucia*, where *frumentum publicum* was distributed; (c) the Suetonius passage refers to Claudius' 'urbis annonaeque cura'. But (a) is a mere assumption; (b) does not explain why Claudius should occupy one site supposedly relevant to the grain supply when another was on fire; and (c) fails to distinguish between Suet. *Claud.* 18.1 (*cura urbis*) and 18.2 (*cura annonae*) - our passage is an example of the former.

**The conclusion is inescapable: there were at least two places known as *Aemiliana*. It may not be a coincidence that there were at least two *porticus Aemiliae*, both built by the aediles M. Lepidus and L. Paullus in 193 BC (*Livy* XXXV 10. 12). One was along the road just north of the *arx*, from the *Porta Fontinalis* to the altar of Mars: that would fit the Varro passage (technically outside the city) and Suetonius' reference to the *Diribitorium* (nearby but not dangerously close). The other was the great warehouse by the *emporium*, rebuilt in 174: that would fit the *navis harenaria* inscription. The Aemilii were a very conspicuous family ; they gave their name to a bridge, a basilica, two great roads, even a whole *regio* of Augustan Italy. It would be not surprising if their two porticoes gave rise to *Aemiliana* as a toponym in both the relevant areas of Rome [my emphasis]".**

**Discussing those two buildings again in his article "Rome and the resplendent Aemilii", Wiseman (1993, 184) writes: "And both constructions [*i.e.*, both *Porticus Aemilliae*] evidently gave rise to the toponym *Aemiliana*, surviving in both places even in the imperial period [with n. 22; my emphasis]"**.

In his **note 22**, Wiseman writes: " (a) *CIL* XV. 7150 (*navis harenaria quae seruit in Aemilianis*) must refer to a riverside location; (b) *Suet. Claud.* 18. 1 (Claudius at the *Diribitorium* during a fire in the *Aemiliana*) must refer to the Campus Martius area; Varro, *RR* 3. 2. 6, Tac. *Ann.* 15.40 and *CIL* VI 37811 are more likely to refer to (b) than to (a). F. Coarelli, *op. cit.* (n. 26 below [*i.e.*, F. COARELLI 1988]), pp. 147-55, makes a heroic effort to attribute all the references to the same place, but in vain: see *Gnomon*, 62 (1990) [*i.e.*, T.P. WISEMAN 1990, quoted *verbatim* above], 733".

**Contrary to Wiseman's (1993, 184, n. 22) own intentions he has - unwittingly - already quoted a literary source that possibly refers to the here-so-called third toponym *Aemiliana* : Tacitus (*Ann.* 15,40).**

See for that: Emilio Rodríguez Almeida (1993, 20), who, after discussing the literary sources that, according to Wiseman (1990; 1993), refer to the here-so-called first and second toponym *Aemiliana*, writes:

"Pare sicuro, comunque, che da questi generici *A.[emiliana]* si devono distinguere i *praedia Tigillini Aemiliana* di cui [parla] Tacito, *ann.* 15.40, a proposito dell'incendio neroniano.

[L. Vidman, *Fasti Ostienses*<sup>2</sup> [1982], 71 distingue fra gli *A.[miliana]* situati sul fiume, e gli *A.[miliana]* che sarebbero da localizzare nelle vicinanze del *Diribitorium*, forse sulle pendici del Quirinale, cfr. *Suet. Claud.* 1.1 n.d.r.] [my emphasis]"

The comment at the end of this lexicon article, in square brackets ("n.d.r." = nota della redazione), is an addition by the editor, Eva Margareta Steinby.

To Vidman (1982, 71) I will come back below.

**For the two toponyms called *Aemiliana*, discussed by Wiseman (1990; 1993) in the above quoted passages, see also Ö. Harmanşah "Aemiliana (1)", in: Haselberger *et al.* 2002 [= 2008] 41); and A.B. Gallia and E.J. Kondratieff ("Aemiliana (2)", in: Haselberger *et al.* 2002 [= 2008] 41).**

**I myself have elsewhere discussed the here-so-called third toponym *Aemiliana*, the site of the former *Villa* or *Horti* of Scipio Africanus *maior*. Scipio Africanus *maior* was married to Aemilia, the sister of L. Aemilius Paullus, one of the two aediles who, in 193 BC, had built 'the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina*' discussed here. These *Horti* of Scipio Africanus *maior* were later owned by his son-in-law, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the father of the tribunes Tiberius and Gaius Sempronius Gracchus and of Sempronia, who should marry Scipio Aemilianus.**

**Cf. Häuber (1994 II, 912 with ns. 13-31; and *ead.* 2017, 148-149, Section: "The *horti Scipionis* on the *Collis Latiaris*"):**

" ... Pierre Grimal (1984, 125) has alerted us of the fact that, 'since the end of the Republic, the entire quarter outside the Servian city Wall, immediately to the north of the Capitoline, up to the first slopes of the Quirinal, had been known under the name >*Aemiliana*<'. As he likewise convincingly suggested (cf. Grimal 1984, 124; cf. pp. 123-125), part of the vast property of the *horti Scipionis* was later owned by Agrippa, a fact that, in Grimal's opinion, had certainly facilitated his project to build the *Aqua Virgo*. On p. 106 n. 8, Grimal 1984 wrote that the area of the *horti Scipionis* belonged to the *Campus Martius*. I myself follow T.P. Wiseman [page 149] 1993b, 220, who suggests instead that the boundary of the *Campus Martius* in the east had 'probably' always been the *Via Flaminia/Via Lata*. But Wiseman 1993b, 222, writes also: 'Scipio Africanus owned *horti* in the *Campus* (Cic. *nat. deor.* 2.11, *ad Q. fr.* 2.2.1; cf. Gran. Lic. 9.4 F) ...'; cf. F. Coarelli 2014a [*i.e.*, here F. COARELLI 2014], 124-125 (to this I will return below, *infra*, p. 328).

For literary sources, that corroborate Grimal's observation that there had existed a quarter, called *Aemiliana*, in the area indicated by Grimal (*op.cit.*); cf. L. Richardson, JR. (1992a, 3; *s.v.* *Aemiliana*, and *op.cit.*, p. 11, *s.v.* *Amphitheatrum Statilii Tauri*; quoted *verbatim infra*, p. 328); Rodríguez Almeida ("*Aemiliana*", in: *LTUR I* (1993) 19-20, Figs. 4-5); and Andrew B. Gallia and Eric J. Kondratieff ("*Aemiliana* (2)", in: Haselberger *et al.* 2002 [= 2008] 41)".

Cf. Häuber (2017, 145-148, Section: "The *Sepulcrum* of the Sempronii", which, in my opinion, stood within the area of the *Villa / Horti* of Scipio Africanus *maior*/ Scipio Aemilianus; cf. pp. 151-153, Section: "**The consular auspices, preceding the elections at the Saepa, that were taken [by the consul Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the father of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus] on the Collis Latiaris at the horti of Scipio Africanus maior (in 163 BC, as described by Cicero Nat. D. 2.3.10-11) [my emphasis]**"; cf. pp. 149-153, for the most recent findings concerning the *Villa* or *Horti* of Scipio Africanus *maior*/ Scipio Aemilianus, *inter alia* published by Coarelli (2014, 122-129), who is able to prove that the Cornelii Scipiones had indeed property in the area in question. Cf. Coarelli ("*Horti Scipionis*", in: *LTUR III* [1996] 83), where he had already tentatively located the '*Horti Scipionis*' on one summit of the Quirinal, the *Collis Latiaris*.

**See most recently on those consular auspices, taken by the consul Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus on the Collis Latiaris on the Quirinal; cf. Filippo Coarelli ("*Collis Catialis e Auguraculum del Quirinale a proposito di un articolo recente*", 2022a, 272 with n. 36). As the title of his article implies, Coarelli follows G. Gruchalski (2020) in accepting that the toponym '*Collis Latiaris*' for the south-western summit of the Quirinal should be corrected in: '*Collis Catialis*'.**

**For the here-so-called first, second, and the third toponym *Aemiliana*, the *Villa* of Scipio Aemilianus, or *praedia Tigellini Aemiliana*, cf. most recently, Coarelli (2019a, 212 with ns. 75-79) :**

"Prima di procedere oltre, è necessario esaminare un altro testo che, per il collegamento erroneamente stabilito con gli *Aemiliana* di Varrone [here, following COARELLI, referred to as the first toponym *Aemiliana* in the old commercial river port] e con quelli di Suetonio [here, following COARELLI, referred to as the second toponym *Aemiliana* in the *Campus Martius*, near the *Diribitorium*], ha costituito a lungo un ostacolo a quella che ci sembra la giusta soluzione del problema. A proposito dell'incendio neroniano, Tacito [with n. 75] afferma che, dopo un apparente sosta, le fiamme sarebbero riprese con rinnovato vigore a partire da un luogo denominato *praedia Tigellini Aemiliana* [with n. 76].

**Che si tratti di una realtà diversa da quelle finora considerate risulta anche dal fatto che si parla di una proprietà di Tigellino, ciò che aveva contribuito ad acuire il sospetto sulle responsabilità di Nerone nell'incendio: abbiamo a che fare, naturalmente, con un complesso privato. Potrebbe trattarsi, ad esempio, della villa suburbana di Scipione Emiliano [with n. 77], forse localizzata sul Quirinale [with n. 78]. Considerare questa posizione ``più vicina'' al *Diribitorium* rispetto alla riva del Tevere e quindi più accettabile per gli *Aemiliana* menzionati da Suetonio nella vita di Claudio, come pretende Vidman [with n. 79], è oltretutto errato: tra la zona di Magnanapoli, dove forse va collocata la villa di Scipione, e il *Diribitorium* ci sono circa 800 metri di linea d'aria; tra quest'ultimo e il Tevere circa 500 [my emphasis]**".

In his **note 75**, Coarelli writes: "Tac., *ann.* 15.40".

In his **note 76**, he writes: "*LTUR IV*, pp. 158 s. (E. Papi)".

In his **note 77**, he writes: "Cic., *nat. deor.* 2.4.11".

In his **note 78**, he writes: "*LTUR III*, p. 83 (F. Coarelli)".

In his **note 79**, he writes: "Sopra, nota 60".

Cf. Coarelli's note 60: "[*fasti Ostienses*] I.I. XIII 1, p. 191; VIDMAN 1982, 38, 3. p. 43 (commento a p. 71, dove si propone giustamente di collocare gli *Aemiliana* vicino al *Diribitorium*, escludendo di conseguenza l'identificazione con l'edificio omonimo di *CIL XV 7150*, sul quale si veda COARELLI 1988b [*i.e.*, here F. COARELLI 1988], pp. 147-155; *LTUR I*, pp. 19-20 (F. Coarelli, E. Rodríguez [Almeida]). Vanno qui menzionati i liberti *de Aemilianis* attestati nella necropoli tra Porta Salaria e Porta Pinciana (*CIL VI 37811 = ILS 9427*), che potrebbero far parte del personale di questi *horrea*".

**To Coarelli's just-quoted text (2019a, 212 with ns. 77, 78), I should like to add a comment:**

Reading this detail it is obvious that Coarelli developed this book (2019a) from a very old manuscript, as he himself (2019a, 7) writes. Because, as mentioned above: in the meantime 'Coarelli (2014, 122-129) was able to demonstrate that the Corneli Scipiones had indeed property in the area in question', which is why his tentative location of the 'Horti Scipionis' in the above-quoted text (*i.e.*, 2019a, 212): 'in the area of the Largo Magnanapoli' is now proven to be correct. To be precise: Coarelli (2014, 127-129) has based himself on a (lost) inscription (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup>, p. 202, VI 31608), inscribed on a marble pedestal, that was found in 1877 'between Palazzo Rospigliosi and Via Mazzarino'. This inscription reads: *P. Cornelius P.f. / Scipio*, and belonged, in Coarelli's (convincing) opinion, to a portrait on display in a *Lararium* that had represented Scipio Africanus *maior* or Scipio Aemilianus; cf. Häuber (2017, 152-153).

**To the "praedia Tigellini Aemiliana", mentioned by Coarelli (2019a, 212 with n. 76), we will come back below, when discussing De Caprariis (2019, 172), who (erroneously) locates that estate at the Testaccio:**

De Caprariis (2019, 172, with note 105) writes: "Un approcio possibile e auspicabile sarebbe anche un censimento attento delle testimonianze per l'età repubblicana nella pianura aventina [*i.e.*, of the quartiere Testaccio; with n. 105]".

In her **note 105**, de Caprariis writes: "Che potrebbe rivelare delle sorprese, a partire dal quadro anche familiare e affaristico dell'occupazione della pianura fatto da Robert Étienne (1987, pp. 235-249). Le testimonianze letterarie sono deboli ma non inesistenti: **oltre i praedia Sulpicia (ÉTIENNE 1987, pp. 230-242), i problematici praedia Tigellini Aemiliana in connessione con gli horrea galbana (GUILHEMBET, ROYO 2008, pp. 213-216), collegherebbero topograficamente le proprietà delle due gentes** [my emphasis]".

**For the locations of the here-so-called three toponyms Aemiliana at Rome discussed here :**

1.) the *Horrea* , excavated at the site of the Palazzo dell'Anagrafe in the old river port close to the *Forum Boarium*; 2.) a (so far unidentified) warehouse in the *Campus Martius*, close to the *Diribitorium* and the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*; and 3.) the site of the former *Villa* or *Horti* of Scipio Africanus *maior*/ Scipio Aemilianus on the *Collis Latiaris* (one summit of the Quirinal)/ Largo Magnanapoli, bound in the west by the *Via Flaminia*/ *Via Lata*, that is to say, by the *Campus Martius* (this estate was later referred to by Tacitus, *Ann.* 15,40, as *praedia Tigellini Aemiliana*) :

Cf. here **Figs. 58; 59; 73**, labels: TIBER; PONS AEMILIUS; PORT; HORREA [AEMILIANA]; FORUM BOARIUM; CAMPUS MARTIUS; SAEPTA; DIRIBITORIUM; PORTICUS MINUCIA FRUMENTARIA; VIA FLAMINIA/ VIA LATA/ Via del Corso; "Via Petrarca" / CLIVUS SALUTIS ? Piazza SS. Apostoli; S. Croce; Pontificia Università Gregoriana; HORTI / VILLA : SCIPIO AFRICANUS MAIOR / SCIPIO AEMILIANUS; AEMILIANA; Via della Dataria; SEPULCRUM : SEMPRONII; Servian city Wall; PORTA SALUTARIS; QUIRINAL; ALTA SEMITA; Site of AEDES : SALUS; Palazzo del Quirinale; Fontana di Monte Cavallo/ 'Quirinal obelisk'; COLLIS MUCIALIS; COLLIS LATIARIS (CATIALIS); PORTA SANQUALIS; Largo Magnanapoli; Palazzo Pallavicini Rospigliosi; Via Mazzarino.

***The discussion of the Navalía (here Fig. 102) by Amanda Claridge (2010); part of this text was chosen as the [5.] epigraph in this Section III.***

The author identifies the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* as *Navalía*.

Cf. Claridge (1998, 367-368): "Monte Testaccio - the Amphora Mountain. Map, Fig. 181: 5", pp. 368-369: "Porticus Aemilia. Map Fig. 181: 7"; *ead.* 2010, 402-403: "Monte Testaccio - the Amphora Mountain. Map, Fig.

182: 6"; pp. 403-405: "Navalia (*Porticus Aemilia*) and Tiber Wharves. Map, Fig. 182: 8". Cf. pp. 403-404, where Claridge states that the building hitherto (erroneously) referred to as the *Porticus Aemilia* should instead be identified as *Navalia*, shipsheds: "Until recently the letters 'LIA' on the Marble Plan were customarily restored as AEMILIA, and the building was identified with a *porticus Aemilia* mentioned by Livy (built by the aediles M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Aemilius Paullus in 193 BC, rebuilt in 174 BC) which made it by over a century the oldest concrete building anywhere and also put considerable strain on the architectural definition of 'porticus'. In 2006 a new reading [by L. COZZA and P. L. TUCCI] of four letters lightly scratched below the LIA, probably a draft for an [page 404] alternative placement, has provided 'ALIA', ruling out any connection with the Aemilii and their porticus (which can return to being a more normal kind of porticus (see p. 59) and is anyway better located at the NW [north-west] end of the Aventine) [my emphasis]".

**This (approximate) location of the *Porticus Aemilia* is also suggested by T.P. Wiseman (2021a, 30, quoted above as the [10.] epigraph in this Section III.**

But note that Wiseman (*op. cit.*) does not consider in his reasoning the findings of Pier Luigi Tucci (2011-2012) concerning the location of the *Pons Sublicius*, who assumes this bridge much more to the south. Interestingly, already Lanciani (*FUR*, fol. 34) had located the "PORTA TRIGEMINA", and, consequently, also the "PORTICVS EXTRA PORTAM TRIGEMINAM", in precisely the same area as now Tucci (2011-2012, 180, Fig. 2): under the steep western slope of the Aventine (below the Basilica of S. Sabina), midway between the *Forum Boarium* and the Testaccio, and precisely there, where, at Lanciani's time, remains of the pillars of an ancient bridge were still extant, which for example already Giambattista (G.B.) Nolli in his large Rome map (1748; cf. here **Fig. 153**) had attributed to the "Vestigia del Ponte Sublicio", as Tucci. (2011-2012, 185, with Fig. 4) observes; cf. Tucci (2011-2012, 203, Fig. 8, for the former location of the pillars of this bridge, below the Basilica of S. Sabina).

**Fig. 153. The area under the steep western slope of the Aventine (below the Basilica of S. Sabina) on Giambattista (G.B.) Nolli's Large Rome map (1748), who labelled the stone pillars in the Tiber, which were visible at his time, as "Vestigia del Ponte Sublicio".**

Lanciani (*FUR*, fol. 34) labels these (former) pillars of an ancient bridge as "VESTIGIA PONTIS". To the north of his 'Porta Trigemina', Lanciani (*FUR*, fol. 34) labels the Clivo di Rocca Savella as "IMVS PVBLICII CLIVVS". Although the *Clivus Publicius* is mentioned in the flight of Gaius Gracchus in 121 BC: from the Aventine, running (or rather: limping; cf. T.P. Wiseman 2021a, 33) down the *Clivus Publicius*, passing through the *Porta Trigemina* in the Servian city Wall and over the *Pons Sublicius* to Trastevere, Lanciani does not mark the *Pons Sublicius* on his *FUR* (fols. 28; 34) !

To Gaius Gracchus flight, the (real) *Clivus Publicius* (*i.e.*, the Clivo dei Publicii) and the Clivo di Rocca Savella, I will come back below.

**Immediately after that, Claridge (2010, 404) continues:**

**"The label can now be restored as NAVALIA - shipsheds - an immediately more attractive proposition, compatible with the sloping floor, the fifty divisions and the dimensions of the aisles, which resemble monumental shipsheds elsewhere in the Mediterranean [my emphasis]".**

Cozza's and Tucci's reading of the 'preliminary' inscription ("ALIA") on fragment 24b of the Severan Marble Plan, mentioned above by Claridge (2010, 404) is discussed in Cozza's and Tucci's article (2006, 176-180, Section: "L'iscrizione e le precedenti identificazioni"). Their suggested reading of the 'preliminary' inscription has been proven to be wrong by Francesco Paolo Arata and Enrico Felici (2011), who reject also Cozza's and Tucci's identification of the structure in question as *Navalia*. - For a detailed discussion of this controversy; cf. Alessandro D'Alessio (2014, 13-14, Fig. 9).

**We shall learn below from Francesca de Caprariis (2019, 166 with n. 60) that, in the meantime, even more additional readings of this inscription have been suggested.**

Tucci (2012) has responded to Arata and Felici and has at the same time summarized the entire discussion of the article by Cozza and Tucci (2006), results, which I will not repeat here again in their entirety. Tucci (2012, 581 with n. 16, states for example also that A. CLARIDGE 2010, 403-404, quoted *verbatim supra*, has misunderstood the real importance of COZZA's and TUCCI's reading 'ALIA' of the 'preliminary' inscription within COZZA's and TUCCI's overall hypothesis of 2006).

**Now, part of the problem had consisted in the fact that Cozza and Tucci, when they were in the course of writing their account (2006), did not have access to the relevant fragment 24b of the Severan Marble Plan, which carries the 'preliminary' inscription. This autopsy was at the time simply impossible. Cozza and Tucci (2006, 178 with n. 8 [TUCCI], quoted *verbatim infra*) have, of course, also themselves mentioned this important fact. Therefore, Arata and Felici (2011), who *had* access to fragment 24b, could correct Cozza's and Tucci's suggested reading of the 'preliminary' inscription on fragment 24b by saying that the letters assumed by Cozza and Tucci do not exist in the suggested form.**

Since I myself have likewise not seen this preliminary inscription on fragment 24b of the Severan Marble Plan, I cannot judge this detail of the controversy based on personal autopsy.

**On 6th May 2022, I could finally study fragment 24b. I, therefore, agree with Arata and Felici (2011) that there are only two letters visible, but not 'IA', as suggested by them: the only letters which I could see on this fragment are: 'I' and 'λ'.**

**As we shall see below, this is precisely what Cozza and Tucci (2006, 178 [TUCCI]) have written in their note 8: "G. GATTI, in *Pianta Marmorea* [i.e., here *Pianta Marmorea 1960* = G. CARETTONI *et al.* 1960], p. 82, nota 8, aveva notato i «due segni: I e λ»".**

But I agree with Tucci (2012) that Cozza's and his own hypothesis of 2006 to identify the building in question as *Navalia* did *not* depend on their reading of the preliminary inscription as ("ALIA"; cf. here **Fig. 102,2, below**, discussed above, in Section I.), but rather on their analysis of the typology of its architecture, as well as on the fact that the building stands close to the Tiber and has a sloping floor. As a matter of fact, Cozza and Tucci (2006) found for all the features of the building at the Testaccio shipsheds all over the Mediterranean with exactly the same characteristics. Even for the most puzzling fact, namely the building's rather large distance to the Tiber, they found parallels in the case of other shipsheds.

Cf. Cozza and Tucci (2006, 180-187, Section: CARATTERISTICHE ARCHITETTONICHE DELL'EDIFICIO [TUCCI]; cf. pp. 194-198, Section: "QUALI NAVALIA?"; cf. pp. 187-194, Section: "LA FUNZIONE DELL'EDIFICIO" [TUCCI]).

**Immediately after the above-quoted passage, Claridge (2010, 404) continues, by suggesting a solution to the problem that these presumed shipsheds were built at some distance to the river, which is not to be found in Cozza and Tucci (2006), and therefore obviously her own hypothesis (as she herself has confirmed in a telephone conversation):**

**"We have to envisage a different relationship to the river (perhaps fronting onto a port-basin, which was later filled in and built over by the buildings visible on the Marble Plan [cf. here Figs. 102; 102.2; 102.3; 102.3, inserted box]) and the form and function of the building was evidently altered, to what we see on the Marble Plan - a huge warehouse or distributive space - while keeping its original name, but there would be nothing strange in that. Who built the original building and when are still uncertain, a date between 140 and 70 BC seems most likely [my emphasis]". - See her Figs. 189a; 189b; 189c on pp. 404-405.**

Claridge's (2010, 404) idea that the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata* 'may have fronted on a port-basin', has been commented favourably by Tucci (2012, 585 n. 34, quoted *verbatim infra*), but has been rejected by de Caprariis (2022, 131, n. 49): "The idea of a harbour basin in front of the building, to give room for the ships to be maneuvered has to my knowledge no foundation ([M. CANDACE and C.M.] Rice 2018: 203-4). See the surveys and excavations in the area (Sebastiani, Serlorenzi 2011 [*corr.*: Serlorenzi, Sebastiani 2011]; Sebastiani *et al.* 2016, with further bibliography)".

Claridge (2010, 512), quotes for the *Navalia*: "NAVALIA. P. L. Tucci and L. Cozza, *ArchCl* 57 (2006)". Note that '*the Navalia*' (*i.e.*, the port of the warships) have been located at the *Campus Martius*; cf. F. Coarelli ("Navalia", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 339-340. For that; cf. *supra*, in Section II., with a discussion of a medallion (here Fig. 107), on which *the Navalia* of the warships at the southern *Campus Martius* are represented.

**Apropos, Claridge's (2010, 404) conclusion: "Who built the original building and when are still uncertain, a date between 140 and 70 BC seems most likely".**

On 7th January 2021, I had the chance to discuss with Amanda Claridge in a telephone-conversation her observations concerning the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*, which she still maintains, and which I am following here.

**To conclude this survey of Amanda Claridge's (2010) discussion of the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*.**

**When we consider the combination of literary sources relating to the *Porticus Aemilia*, as summarized by Filippo Coarelli ("Porticus Aemilia", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 116-117), quoted above as the [4.] epigraph in this Section III., I can only follow Claridge (2010, 403-404, chosen above, in this Section III., as the [5.] epigraph), in suggesting that the building at *La Marmorata* cannot possibly be identified with the *Porticus Aemilia*. And that for the following reasons :**

**a) the building is not what architectural historians usually define as a porticus.**

**The building in question, identified by Claridge (2010, who follows Cozza and Tucci 2006), as *Navalia*, on architectural grounds, is identifiable as shipsheds;**

**b) also because of chronological reasons this building cannot be identified with the *Porticus Aemilia*.**

**If this building were correctly identified with the *Porticus Aemilia*, "... (built by the aediles M. Aemilius Lepidus and L Aemilius Paullus in 193 BC, rebuilt in 174 BC) [this would make] it by over a century the oldest concrete building anywhere"; cf. Claridge (2010, 403). The reason for that objection being that Claridge (2010, 404) dates this building "between 140 and 70 BC", and in Claridge (2018, 96): 'circa 100 BC', quoted above, after de Caprariis (2019, 172, n. 104), as the [9.] epigraph in this Section III.**

See Amanda Claridge (2018, 96), in her "Table 5.1: The standing monuments of ancient Rome", she comments on the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* discussed here, as follows):

"c.[irca] 100 BCE *Navalia* ("Porticus Aemilia"), horrea ...";

**c) finally for topographical considerations this building cannot be identified with the *Porticus Aemilia*.**

**By judging from the literary sources that report on the *Porticus Aemilia*: "the Aemilii and their porticus (which can return to being a more normal kind of porticus (see p. 59) and is anyway better located at the NW [north-west] end of the Aventine"; cf. Claridge (2010, 404). - To this subject I will come back below in my discussion of the hypotheses, formulated by de Caprariis (2019; *ead.* 2022).**

After this Section III. was written up to this point, I had the chance to call Amanda Claridge on 18th March 2022 in London, asking her, how she would now date the beginning of the *opus incertum* technique. She was kind enough to answer me that this is currently assumed 'at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC'. - So her statement in her publication of (2018, 96, Table 5.1): 'circa 100 BC', is still valid.



For the (erroneous) location of the *Porticus Aemilia* in the *Campus Martius*; cf. Häuber (2017, 123-124, with references). For the entire area of *La Marmorata* at the Testaccio, the (alleged) *Emporium*; cf. also Giovannetti (2016) and Patrizio Pensabene and Javier Á. Domingo (2016-2017, 572-573, quoted *verbatim infra*, in Section IV.

*The discussion of the Navalía by Lucos Cozza and Pier Luigi Tucci (2006); and Tucci (2012); three passages of their essay (2006) were chosen as the [1.], [2.] and [3.] epigraphs in Section I. and in this Section III.*

The authors were first to identify the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* as *Navalia*.

**Concerning the main inscription 'LIA' of this building at the Testaccio, which appears on its representation on the Severan Marble Plan (cf. here Figs. 102; 102.2, below), Cozza and Tucci (2006, 177 [TUCCI]) write:** "Di recente S. L. Tuck ha proposto una nuova integrazione dell'iscrizione dell'edificio, [(*Horrea*) CORNELIA, basandosi sulla datazione dell'*opus incertum*, sulla riconsiderazione delle informazioni fornite da Livio e sul testo di una lapide dalla Via Salaria: l'edificio di Testaccio sarebbe stato un grande (e sconosciuto) deposito di grano dell'età di Silla [with n. 6]".

In their **note 6**, Cozza and Tucci write: "TUCK 1999; TUCK 2000; TUCK 2005, p. 197, n. 335 [TUCCI]".

**Concerning the preliminary inscription of the building at the Testaccio on the Severan Marble Plan, see also Cozza and Tucci (2006, 178 [TUCCI]; cf. here 102.2, below) :**

"Inoltre nell'iscrizione provvisoria in lettere corsive, che fu incisa più in basso di quella definitiva a lettere capitali ed è ancora parzialmente conservata (Fig. 1 [= here **Fig. 102.2, below**]), Tuck legge una *e* prima della tre lettere già riconosciute (*l i a*), a sostegno della sua identificazione [with n. 8]. Se, come sembra, si tratta effettivamente della traccia di un'ulteriore lettera, tuttavia questa non ha niente a che fare con una *e*, dato che presenta un tratto obliquo e non verticale, come riconosciuto dallo stesso Tuck. Quindi non sarebbe stata la prima *i* di *Aemilia* e neanche la *e* di *Cornelia*, ma un'altra *a*, simile all'ultima lettera dell'iscrizione provvisoria [with n. 9]. **Le quattro lettere a l i a confermano l'intuizione che ha portato alla nuova integrazione dell'iscrizione principale: [NAVA]LIA [my emphasis]**".

In their **note 8**, Cozza and Tucci write: "G. GATTI, in *Pianta Marmorea* [*i.e.*, here *Pianta Marmorea* 1960 = G. CARETTONI *et al.* 1960], p. 82, nota 8, aveva notato i «due segni: I e λ». Rodriguez Almeida, prima di quelle due lettere, vide «una traccia di L dal piede inclinato» (*FUM*, p. 102 [*i.e.*, here E. RODRIGUEZ ALMEIDA 1980]), a sua volta preceduta da un segno inclinato che appare nel suo disegno del frammento 24b (*FUM*, tav. XVI [*i.e.*, here E. RODRIGUEZ ALMEIDA 1980]) ma non è discusso, forse perché in contrasto con l'integrazione convenzionale *Aemilia*. Sul frammento è visibile solo la parte superiore del segno inclinato perché la superficie della lastra fu abbassata verso il margine sinistro per pareggiarla con la lastra accanto; **peraltro non possiamo presentare una fotografia a luce radente del frammento 24b perché per molti mesi, fino al momento della consegna del presente articolo, non è stato possibile aprire la cassa che lo conteneva**. Per le incisioni preliminari sulle lastre della Forma Urbis [*i.e.*, the Severan Marble Plan] cfr. *Pianta Marmorea* [*i.e.*, here *Pianta Marmorea* 1960 = G. CARETTONI *et al.* 1960], pp. 200-201 e tav. R. [my emphasis]".

In their **note 9**, Cozza and Tucci write: "Come conferma un confronto, per esempio, con i *tituli picti* di età severiana delle anfore del vicino monte Testaccio. Tuck si preoccupa solo di scartare la *i* di *Aemilia* e anche la lettera *l*, che è già presente tra le lettere superstite".

**Concerning their identification of this building at the Testaccio, as Navalía Cozza and Tucci (2006, 180 [TUCCI]) write :** "E forse troppo sbrigativo affermare che la *Forma Urbis* [*i.e.*, the Severan Marble Plan] ha sempre ragione. Tuttavia gli eventuali dubbi sulla possibilità **che i 50 ambienti dell'edificio in *opus incertum* fossero in origine dei *navalia*** e le pur legittime perplessità sul loro funzionamento in rapporto al

Tevere, **basate sullo studio delle installazioni simili rinvenute in vari siti del Mediterraneo**, dovrebbero cadere davanti alle quattro lettere finali dell'iscrizione provvisoria: *alia* come *navalia* [my emphasis]".

Concerning the functions of the *Navalia* at the Testaccio and their historical context, Cozza and Tucci (2006, 197 [TUCCI]) write:

"Comunque, è possibile che l'edificio in *opus incertum* [i.e., the *Porticus Aemilia/Navalia* discussed here] non ospitasse le navi da guerra pronte al combattimento, ma fosse una specie di arsenale dove si effettuava la manutenzione delle navi ... Inoltre, una fonte tarda, Isidoro di Siviglia (570-636), afferma che «Navalia sunt loca ubi naves fabricantur. Hoc et textrinum vocatur» (*Etym.* XIV, 8, 38). In *navalia* di questo tipo, più simili ad un arsenale che ad una vera e propria installazione militare, il problema del grande lavoro necessario per muovere le quinqueremi dal Tevere agli stalli e viceversa sarebbe stato meno grave, dato che si sarebbe trattato di operazioni da effettuare *una tantum* e forse preferibilmente nel periodo invernale, il che giustificerebbe la posizione dell'edificio rispetto al Tevere. D'altra parte, i cantieri veri e propri dovevano trovarsi lontano dal fiume (si è pensato alla zona del Campo Marzio occupata dal teatro e dai portici di Pompeo [with n. 47]), quindi queste navi venivano regolarmente spostate "sulla terraferma" e per distanze maggiori di quella che separava l'edificio in *opus incertum* dal Tevere.

Ad ogni modo, al momento della sua costruzione i Romani non potevano immaginare che sarebbero diventati i dominatori del Mediterraneo. Più tardi, per l'evidente assenza di flotte con grandi navi da combattere, l'edificio dovette risultare inutile e addirittura "ingombrante", in una zona che cominciava ad assumere uno spiccato carattere commerciale. Visto il grande spazio coperto a disposizione e le eccezionali caratteristiche della struttura, è probabile che già dalla fine del I secolo a.C. l'edificio sia stato adibito a funzioni commerciali [with n. 48; [my emphasis]]. - Part of this passage has already been quoted above in Section I. as the [1.] epigraph.

In their note 47, Cozza and Tucci write: "COARELLI 1997, pp. 356, 543-544".

In their note 48, they write: "Cfr. ÉTIENNE 1987".

To conclude this survey of Cozza's and Tucci's (2006) discussion of the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*.

I follow Cozza and Tucci (2006) in almost all details of their reconstruction of their *Navalia* at Testaccio, but not in the just quoted one (cf. L. COZZA and P.L. TUCCI 2006, 197 [TUCCI]), namely that of the "momento della sua costruzione". Immediately before, the authors have explained their dating ('after 167 BC') of this *opus incertum* building. The reason being: the authors assume that the structure must have been mentioned by Livy in the *lacuna* of his work, in which the author had discussed the years 167-68 BC; cf. Cozza and Tucci (2006, 196 [TUCCI]).

But, as observed above, in Section I., I had at first overlooked that already Cozza and Tucci had also suggested to date the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* 'at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC': Cozza and Tucci (2006, 194 [TUCCI]) finally arrive at the date 'end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC' for the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* and that for the following reason: "Tuttavia, trascurando le prime sporadiche attestazioni di quel paramento murario e considerando la complessità della struttura architettonica (archi e volte con una luce superiore agli 8 m.), è verosimile che l'edificio di Testaccio sia stato costruito dopo un lungo periodo di sperimentazione, quindi non all'inizio, ma piuttosto nella seconda metà o verso la fine del II secolo a.C. [my emphasis]".

Concerning this point, I myself follow now Cozza and Tucci (2006, 194 [TUCCI]), as well as Amanda Claridge ("2018, p. 96, in: Table 5.1"), who dates the *Navalia* at the Testaccio, "intorno al 100 a.C.", first quoted like this above, in the [9.] epigraph of this Section, after de Caprariis (2019, 172 n. 104). After having read

myself Claridge's publication (2018, 96, Table 5.1), I have now also quoted *verbatim* the relevant passage in my text. See above in this Section III., in my discussion of Claridge's hypotheses concerning those *Navalia*.

Concerning the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*, I follow Cozza and Tucci (2006) in assuming for their lifetime in antiquity two very different phases:

- 1.) these *Navalia* were built 'at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC' as shipyards for the Roman warships, and -
- 2.) 'from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC onwards, when the long warships had left Rome', these *Navalia* were used commercially. Cf. Cozza and Tucci (2006, 197): "è probabile che già dalla fine del I secolo a.C. l'edificio sia stato adibito a funzioni commerciali"; quoted in more detail above, as the [1.] epigraph in Section I.

Note that Cozza and Tucci (*op. cit.*) themselves do not mention, what kind of 'commercial uses' (note the plural !) these might have been.

**So, the only difference to the scenario, developed by Cozza and Tucci (2006) themselves, consists in my tentative hypothesis, that these *Navalia* could have been - *inter alia*? - used as 'commercial *Navalia*' from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC onwards.**

In my opinion, this phase ended, when the structures, visible on the Severan Marble Plan, were built in front of these *Navalia*, thus (possibly) preventing henceforth the use of this building as shipsheds. Those structures (cf. here **Figs. 102.3; 102.3, inserted box**) were built at an unknown date and are discussed above, in Section I. - As already mentioned, Emilio Rodríguez Almeida (1993, 20) had dated these structures to the Trajanic period.

For the eminent importance of such commercial ships for the supply of all the goods needed at the City of Rome, see the Sections II.; IV., and here **Figs. 105; 106**.

See for the possible functions of the *Navalia* at the Testaccio also Cozza and Tucci (2006, 198 [TUCCI]) :

"Quindi l'edificio, pur conservando il nome originario di *navalia*, non avrebbe più ospitato navi da guerra, ma cose e oggetti (ovvero merci) "appartenenti alla navi", "delle navi": *navalia*, appunto ... È stato anche sottolineato che i *navalia* (nell'accezione "industriale" del termine) «devono aver costituito un elemento non secondario del paesaggio urbano e suburbano della Roma imperiale» [with n. 54]. Se, come sembra, l'edificio in *opus incertum* di Testaccio va davvero identificato con una serie di *navalia*, la sua riutilizzazione attraverso i secoli e la conservazione del nome originario sulla *Forma Urbis* illustrerebbero molto bene la trasformazione, dal punto di vista militare ed economico, di Roma e conseguentemente del Tevere, «rerum in toto orbe nascentium mercator placidissimus» [with n. 55; my emphasis]". - Part of this passage was already quoted above in Section I. as the [2.] epigraph.

In their note 56, Cozza and Tucci write: "MANACORDA 2005, pp. 28-29".

In their note 55, they write: "PLIN., *nat.*, III, 5, 54".

In his article, in which he responds to Arata and Felici (2011), Tucci (2012, 579-580) writes :

"Nonostante i commenti di Arata e Felici [2011], la nostra proposta di identificare l'edificio in *opus incertum* di Testaccio con un gruppo di *navalia* repubblicani (non i *Navalia* 'con la N maiuscola', dato che altri ricoveri per navi dovevano esistere lungo il Tevere) è ancora pienamente sostenibile - forse più di prima, viste le caratteristiche del muro di fondo. Secondo noi, le ultime tre lettere dell'iscrizione principale, LIA, visibile sui frammenti 23-24 b della *For-* [page 580] *ma Urbis* [*i.e.*, the Severan Marble Plan] che mostrano una parte dell'edificio in questione, potevano e possono ancora essere integrate come NAVAJLIA. Questo, come abbiamo scritto più volte, è stato semplicemente il nostro punto di partenza [my emphasis]".

**Concerning the debate, whether the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* should be identified with the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina* or as *Navalia*, Tucci (2012, 582, n. 19) writes :**

"... Nell'introduzione a un volume apparso proprio nel Gennaio 2012 anche La Rocca e D'Alessio menzionano il problema dell'identificazione dell'edificio in *opus incertum* di Testaccio e, pur senza specificare di cosa si tratti (ma è verosimile che alludano ai nostri *navalia*), parlano di «un'interessante revisione critica (anche se sull'argomento, per la sua complessità e per i non pochi problemi che lascia ancora in sospeso, si attende ancora una messa a punto più precisa)»: LA ROCCA, D'ALESSIO 2011, p. VIII. Col senno di poi, credo che un riferimento bibliografico sarebbe stato doveroso: l'interessante «revisione critica» potrebbe essere associata all'articolo di Arata e Felici! Comunque trovo che questo sia un modo civile e scientifico di presentare un problema, pur sollevando dubbi e perplessità".

In the meantime, Alessandro D'Alessio has himself published an article on the subject ("L'edificio in *opus incertum* del Testaccio a Roma. *Status quaestionis* e prospettive di ricerca", 2014).

**Concerning the date, suggested by Cozza and himself for the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata* ('after 167 BC'), Tucci (2012, 586) writes :** "In realtà avevo scritto che il *terminus post quem* per la costruzione dell'edificio è il 167 a.C., l'inizio della lacuna del testo di Livio, e l'intervento di Hermodoros era semplicemente un'ipotesi («se anche l'edificio in *opus incertum* di Testaccio fosse un suo progetto» ecc. [with n. 38]).

In his **note 38**, Tucci writes: "COZZA, TUCCI 2006, p. 196".

**Arata (cf. F.P. ARATA and E. FELICI 2011, 134 [ARATA]) doubts that such huge *Navalia* (purportedly) 'shipsheds for the fleet of Rome's warships' could still have been erected in the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.**

**Tucci (2012, 586) responds by asking, provided the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* should instead be identified with the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina*, how on earth the Romans could have erected in 193 BC a 'commercial building' of that size half a kilometre to the south of the centre of Rome? :**

"Arata poi rivela «un'altra evidente incongruenza di non lieve conto. Se si accetta l'ipotesi dei *navalia* come costruzione di poco posteriore alla metà del II sec.[olo] a.C., come giustificare l'impianto di un arsenale militare di tale estensione e complessità in un'area decisamente commerciale destinata programmaticamente ad usi civili fin dalla realizzazione dell'*emporium*» [with n. 39]? A parte la consueta localizzazione dell'*emporium*, la domanda, parafrasata, può essere posta in questi termini: se si accetta l'ipotesi della *porticus Aemilia* come struttura destinata a ricevere le merci e identificabile con l'edificio in *opus incertum* di Testaccio, dunque ben anteriore alla metà del II sec. a.C., come giustificare l'impianto di un edificio commerciale/distributivo/fiscale di tale estensione e complessità in un'area che si trova più di mezzo km a valle del centro urbano, e fuori dalle mura urbane, quando Roma non era ancora divenuta di fatto la padrona assoluta e incontrastata del Mediterraneo? [my emphasis]".

In his **note 39**, Tucci writes: "ARATA, FELICI 2011, p. 134"

**Concerning the date of the *opus incertum* of the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*, Tucci (2012, 588-589) writes in response to Enrico Felici (ARATA and FELICI 2011. 144, 141 [FELICI]) :**

"Tuttavia è noto che a partire dal II secolo a.C. gli architetti operanti a Roma 'presero in prestito' una serie di tipologie edilizie dal mondo greco-ellenistico e le realizzarono con archi e volte, anche grazie alle nuove possibilità offerte dall'*opus caementicium*: non a caso, Felici loda la presunta *porticus Aemilia* come una «completa e originale reinvenzione romana» [with n. 46] ... [page 589] Inoltre l'uso dell'*opus incertum* in una costruzione tanto complessa come quella di Testaccio è forse un po' precoce per un edificio databile tra il 193 ed il 174 a.C. [with n. 47]".

In his **note 46**, Tucci writes: "ARATA, FELICI 2011, p. 144, nota 75 e p. 141".

In his **note 47**, he writes: "FELICI [see n. 46] si basa su uno studio del 1977 di Coarelli, la cui cronologia dell'*opus incertum* è ormai messa in discussione: cfr. LA ROCCA, D'ALESSIO 2011, p. VIII. **Inoltre Felici afferma che «analisi geologiche del cementizio potrebbero fornire ulteriori dati», ignorando che queste analisi sono già disponibili (cfr. JACKSON et al. 2007, p. 37, fig. 7a) e hanno confermato che non c'è nessuna relazione tra l'edificio di Testaccio e la disponibilità di pozzolana di Puteoli, colonia fondata dagli stessi Aemilii nel 194 a.C. [my emphasis]**".

**At the end of his article, Tucci (2012, 589) comes to the following (in my opinion convincing) conclusions: he himself locates the (real) *Porticus Aemilia* immediately outside *Porta Trigemina* near the *Forum Boarium* and rejects many of the hypotheses, suggested by Arata and Felici (2011):**

**"Sono ancora convinto che la *porticus Aemilia* non abbia niente a che fare con l'edificio in *opus incertum* di Testaccio e che si trovasse verso il Foro Boario [with n. 49]. E, nonostante la mancanza di porte sul retro, non voglio concludere che l'identificazione dell'edificio in *opus incertum* con la *porticus Aemilia* [as suggested by F.P. ARATA and E. FELICI 2011] vada rigettata. Cade semplicemente l'ipotesi [*i.e.*, of ARATA and FELICI 2011] secondo cui si sia di fronte a un edificio in cui le merci transitavano rapidamente, entrando dagli ingressi anteriori e uscendo da quelli posteriori, che in realtà erano finestre. Come d'altra parte ricordava Cozza al termine del suo contributo, «le ricerche continuano, la conoscenza acquisita è ingannevole, il giudizio è difficile» [with n. 50; my emphasis]**".

In his **note 49**, Tucci writes: "Vedi Tucci 2011-2012, per una puntuale discussione su *navalia* e *porticus*, oltre che per l'identificazione del frammento 494 della Forma Urbis [*i.e.*, the Severan Marble Plan] che mostra una vera *porticus* collocata tra l'area della *porta Trigemina* e il Tevere. Sui portici tardo-repubblicani a Roma, vd. [vedi] anche Senseney 2011".

In his **note 50**, he writes: "Cozza, Tucci 2006, p. 176".

See most recently for a similar location of the *Porticus Aemilia* near the *Porta Trigemina*, as suggested above by Tucci (2012, 589 with n. 49): T.P. Wiseman (2021a, 30, quoted above as the **[10.] epigraph** in this Section III.). - But note that Wiseman (*op. cit.*) himself does not discuss Tucci's relevant research (2011-2012; 2012).

**See also Tucci (2012, 591, Section: " SUMMARY") :**

*"According to the authors of an article published in the latest issue of this journal [*i.e.*, of ARATA and FELICI 2011], the building in *opus incertum* at Testaccio, commonly identified with the *porticus Aemilia*, was meant to receive people and wares, but not for any length of time: the *porticus*, in accordance with its etymological root *porta/portus*, is taken to have been a place of transit. However, the rear wall of the building, without entrances, belies this reconstruction and supports identification as Republican shipsheds. The missing letters of the preliminary inscription on fragment 24 b of the Forma Urbis [*i.e.*, the Severan Marble Plan] are of limited relevance and do not justify the rebuttal (based also on a number of misunderstandings) of identification as *navalia*. It is likely that the actual *porticus Aemilia*, one of the several *porticoes* built in the first half of the second century BC, was simply a *porticoed street*, located between the *Forum Boarium* and the *Tiber* [the italics are those of the author]*".

*Dominik Maschek's discussion (2013) of the 'Porticus Aemilia' / Navalia at La Marmorata, in his review of Martin Tombrägel (2011)*

As mentioned above, while discussing with Paul Scheding on 6th June 2023 the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, he was kind enough to alert me to the publications by Martin Tombrägel (2011) and Dominik Maschek (2013), which I had managed to overlook so far. And although I had at that stage already finished

writing volume 3-1 of this *Study* on Domitian, I decided to quote in the following at least some passages of Maschek's review of Tombrägel's book.

As we shall see further on in this *Section III.*, I have arrived concerning some points, but independently of Maschek, at exactly the same conclusions. Because Maschek (2013) discusses and follows Cozza and Tucci (2006) and Tucci (2012), I have inserted these quotations from Maschek's (2013) review immediately after the discussion of Cozza's and Tucci's own accounts.

**In his review of Martin Tombrägel (2010), Dominik Maschek (2013,1030-1032, Section: "Grundlagen und Methode der Datierung") writes :**

**"Auch zu der von T.[ombrägel 2011] vertretenen absolutchronologischen Einordnung der *opus caementicium*-Bauweise und der damit verbundenen Verschaltungstechniken sind einige Bemerkungen angebracht. Den frühesten chronologischen Fixpunkt seiner Typologie bildet die sogenannte Porticus Aemilia in Rom (S. 41-43; 73). Hier verweist er auf Livius und dessen Datierung des Gebäudes in das frühe 2. Jh. v. Chr. Allerdings sind Deutung und Datierung der in der Literatur traditionellerweise als Porticus Aemilia identifizierten Gebäudereste in Testaccio seit einigen Jahren wieder stark umstritten. Besonders von Pier Luigi Tucci wurden gewichtige Gründe für eine Identifikation des erhaltenen Gebäudes als nach der Mitte des 2. Jhs. v. Chr. errichtete Navalía ins Feld geführt [with n. .5] Unver- [page 1031 ständlicherweise beschäftigt sich T.[ombrägel 2011] in seiner kurzen Replik auf Tuccis Thesen nicht mit den zentralen bautechnischen und konstruktiven Indizien, sondern nur mit drei anderen Argumenten: Erstens mit der Lesung der entsprechenden Forma Urbis-Fragmente, zweitens mit zwei Livius-Stellen, denen zufolge sich die römischen Navalía an anderer Stelle befunden hätten (Liv. 3,26,8; 40,51,4), und drittens mit dem städtebaulichen Kontext des Gebäudes in Testaccio, der für T.[ombrägel 2011] gegen eine Deutung als Schiffshäuser spricht.**

**Gegen alle drei Punkte sind Vorbehalte zu äußern: So wurde erstens durch die Debatte zwischen Tucci und Paolo Arata deutlich, dass die Inschrift auf der Forma Urbis weder für die eine, noch für die andere Deutung einen eindeutigen Beweis liefert. Die Fragmente des Marmorplans müssen also aus der Diskussion ausscheiden. Zweitens hat insbesondere Tucci sehr deutlich gemacht, dass es keineswegs zwingend ist, die Navalía Roms nur an einem einzigen Ort lokalisieren zu wollen. Drittens ist es ein klassischer Zirkelschluss, das Gebäude in Testaccio anhand der Erwähnung bei Liv. 41,27,8 zuerst bereits sicher mit der Porticus Aemilia zu identifizieren, bevor dann im zweiten Schritt mit der städtebaulichen Gesamtsituation argumentiert wird. Alle drei von T.[ombrägel 2011] vorgebrachten Argumente sind also letzten Endes nicht tragfähig. Dennoch geht er fest davon aus, dass das Gebäude in Testaccio die von Livius bezeugte und im Jahr 174 v. Chr. renovierte Porticus Aemilia sein müsse. Dementsprechend konstatiert er auch, "dass die [...] bautechnische Ausführung ungemein ausgereift wirkt" (S. 42). Dies würde tatsächlich zutreffen, sollte es sich bei dem Gebäude in Testaccio um den Neubau der Porticus Aemilia aus der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jhs. v. Chr. handeln. Träfe jedoch die Interpretation Tuccis als Navalía zu, so wäre das Gebäude stattdessen in das dritte Viertel des 2. Jhs. v. Chr. zu datieren und seine Bautechnik keineswegs mehr so "ungemein ausgereift" wie von T.[ombrägel 2011] postuliert. Man wird die Resultate der seit dem Jahr 2010 laufenden Grabungen und Bauuntersuchungen der Soprintendenza und des Niederländischen Instituts abwarten müssen, um Errichtungszeitpunkt und Funktion der Strukturen in Testaccio auf neuer Basis beurteilen zu können. Andere Beispiele für frühe stadtrömische *caementicium*-Architektur nimmt T.[ombrägel 2011] jedenfalls weitgehend aus der Diskussion. Besonders auffällig ist hierbei der Fall der 146 v. Chr. errichteten Porticus Metelli auf dem Marsfeld: Die verfügbare Evidenz wird in einer einzigen Anmerkung auf sehr lapidare Weise abgetan (S. 43 Anm. 230).**

**Die Identifikation der Gebäudereste in Testaccio mit dem Neubau der Porticus Aemilia aus dem Jahr 174 v. Chr. ist für die von T.[ombrägel 2011] vorgelegte Typologie jedenfalls von fundamentaler Bedeutung. Den ausgereiften Charakter des hier beobachtbaren *opus incertum* wertet er als klaren Hinweis darauf, dass die monumentale *opus caementicium*-Bauweise in Rom bereits an der Wende vom 3. [page 1032] zum 2. Jh. v. Chr. praktiziert worden sei (S. 45). Somit dient das an der vermeintlichen Porticus Aemilia des Jahres 174 v. Chr. sichtbare *opus incertum* als absolut chronologischer Ausgangspunkt für alle weiteren typologischen Überlegungen. Von Rom aus habe sich die Technik im Sinne eines "Technologietransfers" (S. 46) in Italien**

verbreitet. Das Aufkommen der Bautechnik außerhalb von Rom müsse also immer später zu datieren sein als die genannten stadtrömischen Beispiele. Zwar stellt T.[ombrägel 2011] selbst fest, dass "es nicht unproblematisch ist, bei einer chronologisch ausgerichteten archäologischen Untersuchung von historischen Bedingtheiten auszugehen" (S. 46), doch ist das oben skizzierte Modell einer linearen, von Rom ausgehenden Verbreitung die maßgebliche Grundprämisse, von der aus alle weiteren Datierungsansätze entwickelt werden [my emphasis]".

In his **note 5**, Maschek writes: Siehe L. Cozza/P.L. Tucci, *Navalia*, *ArchCl* 57, 2006, 175-201; P. L. Tucci, *L'arsenale di Roma in età repubblicana*, *Forma Urbis* 13, 11, 2008, 18-24; P.L. Tucci, *La controversa storia della "Porticus Aemilia"*, *ArchCl* 63, 2012, 575-591; *contra* P. Arata/E. Felici, *Porticus Aemilia, navalia o horrea?*, *ArchCl* 62, 2011, 127-153. In Anm. 216 auf S. 41 führt T.[ömbregel 2011] allerdings nur die Literatur bis 2006 auf".

**To the above-quoted passages from Dominik Maschek's review (2013) of Martin Tombrägel (2010), I should like to add some comments :**

1.) Maschek (2013, 1030) criticizes Martin Tombrägel's discussion of the inscription(s) on the fragments of the Severan Marble Plan, that represent the 'Porticus Aemilia' / *Navalia*, discussed here (cf. here **Figs. 102; 102.2**), by writing: "**So wurde erstens durch die Debatte zwischen Tucci und Paolo Arata deutlich, dass die Inschrift auf der Forma Urbis weder für die eine, noch für die andere Deutung einen eindeutigen Beweis liefert. Die Fragmente des Marmorplans müssen also aus der Diskussion ausscheiden** [my emphasis]".

Seen from Maschek's perspective, his conclusion is understandable. But, as I hope to have demonstrated in this *Chapter*, a solution to this entire problem is actually possible, also thanks to those inscriptions. But only, when the inscriptions on fragments 23 and 24 of the Severan Marble Plan, which represent the *opus incertum* building at La Marmorata (here **Figs. 102; 102.2**), are discussed in context with the altogether three toponyms called *Aemiliana*, which have contemporaneously existed at Rome, one (or two?) of which are even represented on extant fragments of the Severan Marble Plan.

2.) I agree with Maschek (2013, 1030, 1031) in following Cozza and Tucci (2006; 2012) in identifying the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* with *Navalia*. But Maschek has overlooked that Cozza and Tucci (2006) have suggested *different* dates for this building. Maschek mentions only the following dates: "Besonders von Pier Luigi Tucci wurden gewichtige Gründe für eine Identifikation des erhaltenen Gebäudes als nach der Mitte des 2. Jhs. v. Chr. errichtete *Navalia* ins Feld geführt [with n. 5]"; and: "Träfe jedoch die Interpretation Tuccis als *Navalia* zu, so wäre das Gebäude stattdessen in das dritte Viertel des 2. Jhs. v. Chr. zu datieren".

But, as we have seen above, Cozza and Tucci (2006, 194 [TUCCI]) have finally arrived at the following date for the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*: "Tuttavia ... è verosimile che l'edificio di Testaccio sia stato costruito dopo un lungo periodo di sperimentazione, quindi non all'inizio, ma piuttosto nella seconda metà o verso la fine del II secolo a.C. [my emphasis]".

3.) To Maschek's (2013, 1031) comment: "**Man wird die Resultate der seit dem Jahr 2010 laufenden Grabungen und Bauuntersuchungen der Soprintendenza und des Niederländischen Instituts abwarten müssen, um Errichtungszeitpunkt und Funktion der Strukturen in Testaccio auf neuer Basis beurteilen zu können** [my emphasis]", I should like to add the following.

These excavations were conducted between 2011-2013 by scholars of the Koninklijk Nederlands Instituut te Rome and of the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma. They could investigate areas immediately adjacent to the enormous *opus incertum* building, and within it only small parts of the Xth, XVth and XVIth of its altogether 50 aisles (cf. here **Figs. 102; 102.1; 102.2; 102.3**), but without anywhere reaching Republican strata. To the so far published reports by the excavators we will turn next. Unfortunately, these excavations have, therefore, so far not provided precisely that information, which Maschek (2013, 1031) has mentioned in his comment: namely evidence which proves, when exactly, and for what purpose the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* had been erected in the first place.

*The discussion of the opus incertum building at La Marmorata*  
by the excavators Gert-Jan Burgers, Valerio De Leonardis, Sara Della Ricca,  
Raphäelle-Anne Kok-Merlino, Matteo Merlino, Renato Sebastiani and Franco Tella

These publications are in this *Chapter* referred to as 'Burgers *et al.* 2014a' and 'Burgers *et al.* 2014b'. Above has already been quoted the abstract of their publication 'Burgers *et al.* 2015' as the [8.] epigraph in this Section III.

See Gert-Jan Burgers, Valerio De Leonardis, Sara Della Ricca, Raphäelle-Anne Kok-Merlino, Matteo Merlino, Renato Sebastiani and Franco Tella ("*Porticus una extra Portam Trigeminam* : nuove considerazioni sulla *Porticus Aemilia*", 2014a; "Le trasformazioni del paesaggio subaventino nell'età tardoantica: il caso di studio della *Porticus Aemilia*", 2014b), and Gert-Jan Burgers, Raphäelle-Anne Kok-Merlino and Renato Sebastiani ("The Imperial *horrea* of the *Porticus Aemilia*", 2015).

The authors identify the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* (here **Figs. 102; 102.1; 102.2; 102.3**) with the *Porticus Aemilia*.

**Burgers (*et al.* 2014a, 913) write:**

"ABSTRACT

Between 2011 and 2013 three archaeological excavations have been executed in collaboration between the KNIR and the SSBAR near the remains in *opus incertum* in the Roman Rione Testaccio, which not only resulted in additional architectural information about the original building, but revealed a consistent building activity in the Imperial period. Indeed, in the XVIth aisle [cf. here **Fig. 102.1**] a storage room (*horreum*) has been found erected in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, whereas outside, along the back wall of the building, two rooms along a road and a water system have been discovered".

The 'KNIR' stands for: 'Koninklijk Nederlands Instituut te Rome', and 'SSBAR' for: 'Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma'.

**Burgers (*et al.* 2014a, 913) write about their excavations of the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* :**

"Grazie ad una collaborazione tra la Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma e il Reale Istituto Neerlandese a Roma [with n. 1], tra il 2011 e il 2013 si sono svolte tre campagne di scavo archeologico volte ad indagare una parte degli imponenti resti in opera incerta ancora visibili tra le vie Rubattino, Vespucci, Florio e Branca, nel Rione Testaccio, a Roma".

In their **note 1**, Burgers *et al.* write: "La collaborazione si inquadra all'interno del *Porticus Aemilia Project* (2011-2014) diretto da Renato Sebastiani (SSBAR) e da Gert-Jan Burgers (KNIR)".

**Burgers (*et al.* 2014a, 914) write that they have found different kinds of carbonized grain in the XVIth aisle of the *opus incertum* building (cf. here **Fig. 102.1**), parts of which, in the Trajanic/ Hadrianic period, by means of architectural changes, had been turned into *Horrea*:**

"La presenza di *suspensurae*, il tipo di ingresso, la planimetria dell'ambiente e il rinvenimento di chicchi di farro [in German: Zweikorn, Emmer; in English: Emmer wheat] (*Triticum dicoccum*) ed orzo [in German: Gerste; in English: Barley] (*Hordeum vulgare*) carbonizzati [with n. 11] permettono di identificare il vano B con la cella di un *horreum* [my emphasis] ...



I dati dello scavo delle trincee di fondazione del vano A [in the XVIth aisle] e dei livelli sottostanti le *suspensurae* nel vano B [likewise in the XVIth aisle], al momento fanno ipotizzare che la costruzione dell'edificio di stoccaggio risalga agli inizi del II secolo d.C. [with n. 12]".

In their **note 11**, Burgers *et al.* write: "L'indagine archeobotanica è stata condotta da D. Lentjes".

In their **note 12**, they write: "Lo studio del materiale ceramico è condotto da A. Contino e da L. D'Alessandro; lo studio delle strutture murarie è curato da E. Bukowiecki".

My thanks are due to Rose Mary Sheldon for translating for me in English the terms 'Emmer' and 'Gerste'.

**Burgers (*et al.* 2014a, 917) write that not only the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* itself and its immediate surroundings, but also the entire area underwent major changes in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD :**

"Le indagini archeologiche hanno dunque permesso di acquisire nuovi dati sulle complesse fasi di riorganizzazione della *Porticus* messe in atto a partire dal II secolo d.C.: le evidenze rinvenute rafforzano l'ipotesi che in questo periodo l'enorme costruzione fosse utilizzata come "contenitore" di nuovi edifici che ne modificarono l'assetto originario e i percorsi [with n. 16]. Di poco successive, all'esterno dell'edificio repubblicano, furono le operazioni di rialzamento del piano di vita, funzionali a garantire una relazione diretta con l'interno della *Porticus*, cui va riferita sia la costruzione degli ambienti che quella del sistema idrico esterno ad essi [with n. 17]. **Tutti questi interventi sarebbero da collegare ad un più generale quadro di risistemazione degli spazi di stoccaggio che, a partire dal II secolo, prevede una riorganizzazione dell'intera area subaventina ed in particolare delle rive del Tevere presso l'Emporium** [with n. 18; my emphasis]".

In their **note 16**, Burgers *et al.* write: "Cfr. Gatti, 1934: 141".

In their **note 17**, they write: "Le considerazioni fin qui proposte si basano sulla ragionevole ipotesi che il livello di vita originario repubblicano della *Porticus Aemilia* si trovasse alla quota della risega di fondazione del muro di fondo sudorientale e del piano di spiccato delle arcate. Ad oggi non è tuttavia possibile escludere altre possibilità riguardo ai piani di calpestio repubblicani, ipotesi che potrebbero cambiare le attuali ricostruzioni dell'edificio. Si auspica che le prossime campagne di scavo aiutino a sciogliere questo punto [my emphasis]".

In their **note 18**, they write: "Cfr. Rodríguez Almeida, 1984; Aguilera Martín, 2002; Quaranta, Capodiferro, 2011".

Add to the references, quoted by Burgers (*et al.* 2014a, 917, n. 18), also the article by Giuliano Giovannetti (2016), which they have overlooked. Especially Giovannetti's conclusions (cf. *id.* 2016, 23). Because Giovannetti (2016) studies *all* those Trajanic building activities concerning the - to borrow the formulation of Burgers *et al.* (2014a, 917) - "riorganizzazione dell'intera area subaventina ed in particolare delle rive del Tevere presso l'Emporium".

Note that Burgers (*et al.* 2014a, 917), who identify this *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* with the *Porticus Aemilia*, take for granted that -

a) the building from its very beginning and not just since those architectural changes of the Trajanic/Hadrianic period, had been used as a warehouse; and -

b) that the area in question may with certainty be identified with the *Emporium*.

I myself follow those scholars who have argued that both assumptions (a and b) are not true. See below, at my *Conclusions*.

**Let's now turn to the publication of the excavators Burgers (*et al.* 2014b).**

See Gert-Jan Burgers, Valerio De Leonardis, Sara Della Ricca, Raphäelle-Anne Kok-Merlino, Matteo Merlino, Renato Sebastiani and Franco Tella ("Le trasformazioni del paesaggio subaventino nell' età tardoantica: il caso di studio della *Porticus Aemilia*", 2014b).

**Burgers (*et al.* 2014b, 813) write:**

"ABSTRACT

The "*Porticus Aemilia Project*" has consisted in three archaeological excavations between 2011 and 2013 which have revealed consistent activity in Late Antiquity. Inside the building the collapsed layers of an imperial structure have been partially removed to create a rectangular shaped space, delimited by dry stone walls and with a beaten earth floor, whereas outside the Porticus some building activity and later a burial ground changed the layout and function of this area drastically".

**Burgers (*et al.* 2014b, 815) describe the important changes that occurred in the area of the Testaccio since the erection of the Aurelian Walls (cf. here Fig. 102), the gradual abandonment of the entire area, and the fact that, 'from the 5<sup>th</sup> century onwards, several small and poor burial grounds have been established there': "I livelli tardoantichi, individuati sia all'interno che all'esterno della *Porticus Aemilia*, hanno rivelato un panorama piuttosto coerente con quello già noto per altre zone della pianura subaventina: forse è già a partire dalla costruzione delle Mura Aureliane - che inglobarono al loro interno l'area di Testaccio - [cf. here Figs. 102; 103] che le strutture commerciali e il nevralgico scalo dell'*Emporium* subirono una crescente defunzionalizzazione e un parziale abbandono. In tutta l'area si riscontrano interventi di colmata artificiale, e dunque di rialzamento dei piani di vita, atti a contrastare le piene del Tevere, e interventi di spoliazione di materiale edile e di riuso di porzioni di edifici in qualche caso ridotti allo stato di ruderi. Proprio questi parziali abbandoni accompagneranno anche la destinazione funeraria dell'area. Se è [page 1816] particolarmente rilevante il caso dello scavo del *Nuovo Mercato di Testaccio* in cui sono venute alla luce deposizioni direttamente impostate sui crolli delle antiche strutture commerciali [with n. 7], **va comunque sottolineato che in gran parte della pianura sono attestate piccole e povere necropoli** caratterizzate da sepolture ad *enchytrismos* o in fossa terragna ricavate all'interno di ambienti o di strutture di servizio ormai in disuso. **È questo il caso di ritrovamenti fatti nell'area dell'*Emporio*** [with n. 8], **del *Nuovo Mercato di Testaccio*, appunto, e di via Marmorata** [with n. 9] **in cui le inumazioni** [page 1817] **tardoantiche coprono un arco cronologico compreso tra V e VII secolo d.C. Con il progressivo venir meno della funzione di centro di ricezione e stoccaggio delle merci e con il conseguente abbandono delle strutture**, la zona perse la sua destinazione originaria e nel corso dei secoli si trasformò progressivamente in campagna suburbana mantenendo questo carattere sino alle soglie del XX secolo [my emphasis]".**

In their **note 7**, Burgers *et al.* write: "Festuccia, Pagano, Verde, 2008: 156-159".

In their **note 8**, they write: "Meneghini, Moccheggiani a, 1985: 15-46; Meneghini, Moccheggiani b, 1985: 86-95".

In their **note 9**, they write: "Quaranta, Capodiferro, 2011: 60-65".

**To the above-quoted passage by Burgers (*et al.* 2014b, 815) I wish to add two comments.**

- 1.) Let's begin with the fact, mentioned by Burgers (*et al.* 2014b, 815) that, 'in the area of the Testaccio, have been established 'from the 5<sup>th</sup> century onwards several small and poor burial grounds';
- 2.) As likewise observed by Burgers (*et al.* 2014b, 815): "forse è già a partire dalla costruzione delle Mura Aureliane - che inglobarono al loro interno l'area di Testaccio - [cf. here **Figs. 102; 103**] che le strutture commerciali e il nevralgico scalo dell'*Emporium* subirono una crescente defunzionalizzazione e un parziale abbandono".

*Ad 1.*) When asking myself what may have caused this appalling development that in the area of the Testaccio have been established 'from the 5<sup>th</sup> century onwards several small and poor burial grounds', I remembered the already mentioned drastic decline of the number of Rome's inhabitants in the 5<sup>th</sup> century that I have discussed elsewhere:

**"Because the western Roman Empire ended in 476 AD [with n. 447] and the population of its capital Rome was to shrink by almost 90 % during the 5<sup>th</sup> century, there was no need any more to maintain its 'pagan' buildings any more, as a matter of fact their intentional destruction begins even earlier than that [with n. 448]; cf. B 33) [my emphasis]". Cf. Häuber (2014a, 97).**

In my **note 447**, I quote: "Cf. P.J. Heather, *s.v.* Odoacer; in *OCD*, 1996<sup>3</sup>, p. 1060; p. 1335, *s.v.* Romulus Augustulus, last western Roman emperor AD 475-476".

Cf. **note 448**: "Santangeli Valenzani 2012, p. 116". - But see now Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani (2022, quoted *verbatim infra*).

See also the review by Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani (2018) of Pier Luigi Tucci's book on the *Forum/ Templum Pacis* (cf. *id.*, *The Temple of Peace in Rome*, I. *Art and Culture in Rome*; II. *Remodelings, Conversions, Excavations*, 2017).

**Santangeli Valenzani (2018) writes about Tucci's discussion of the *Forum Pacis*: "The author [*i.e.*, P.L. TUCCI 2017] barely mentions the transformation of the square into a commercial structure in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, or that it was successively occupied by a vast necropolis in the 6<sup>th</sup> ... [my emphasis]".**

Let's now pursue my just-quoted thought (2014a, 97) further, according to which since the 5<sup>th</sup> century, because of the shrinking of Rome's population, 'there was no need any more to maintain its 'pagan' buildings', and apply that to the above-quoted passage by Burgers (*et al.* 2014b, 815).

**We may (in theory) consequently conclude that, by the 5<sup>th</sup> century, there was likewise 'no need any more to maintain the many warehouses of the previously booming new commercial river port at *La Marmorata*', especially the 'Porticus Aemilia/ Navalia' discussed here (cf. here Figs. 102; 102.1; 102.2; 102.3). As Burgers (*et al.* 2014b, 815) report, the structures of the area had already been partly abandoned and/ or were in ruins, before, beginning in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, the first dead were buried there.**

As was already said above, in Section I. of his Chapter:

'Burials, that were found in adjacent areas [*i.e.*, adjacent to the 'Porticus Aemilia/ Navalia], are datable in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. There were even burials found within the building itself; cf. Burgers (*et al.* 2015, 210 with n. 30, without providing a date for those)'. See also Burgers (*et al.* 2014b, 815), where the authors state: "In tutta l'area si riscontrano ... interventi di spoliazione di materiale edile e di riuso di porzioni di edifici in qualche caso ridotti allo stato di ruderi. Proprio questi parziali abbandoni accompagneranno anche la destinazione funeraria dell'area".

What was obviously missing by the 5<sup>th</sup> century at Rome as the latest were not only great parts of the city's former very numerous population, the potential customers (or consumers) of the goods, which in the past had been delivered to this new commercial river port at *La Marmorata*. - To this I will come back below.

Of crucial importance was also that already since AD 330 Rome was not the capital of the Roman Empire any more. Constantine the Great had founded in AD 324 a new imperial residence on the Bosphorus, at the site of the ancient Byzantium (cf. here **Fig. 77**), and in AD 330 he transferred the capital of the Empire from Rome to this newly founded city, now called Constantinople; cf. Hugo Brandenburg (2013, 58, 121, quoted *verbatim infra*).

*On 9th April 2022, I had the chance to discuss all this with Hugo Brandenburg in a telephone conversation*

First of all I wanted to know of him, what exactly Constantine the Great 'had taken with him from Rome to Constantinople'. Brandenburg told me on that occasion, that the old Republican Senate of Rome did not follow Constantine, as I had suspected (to his I will come back below). It consisted at that time of members of the very influential aristocratic Roman families, who gained even greater importance for the Urbs from that moment onwards. Brandenburg told me also that, for his new Senate at Constantinople, Constantine, therefore, chose exclusively dignitaries from the East, in order to counterbalance Rome.

**Then Brandenburg discussed with me in great detail the situation of the area of *La Marmorata* in late antiquity, which, contrary to myself, he knew since many years very well, and that, as we have seen above, lies within the Aurelian Walls (cf. here Figs. 102; 103).**

**I told him about the many burial, found in the recent excavations in this area, and Brandenburg alerted me to the fact that those burials, which, from the 5<sup>th</sup> century onwards, began to encroach the entire area, prove something else: namely in the first place that the old Roman ('pagan') law, according to which it had been strictly forbidden to bury the dead within the settlements, had been given up by that time. To the great importance of the Aurelian Walls for this area (cf. here Figs. 102; 103) I will come back below.**

**Oliver Schmitt (2007) explains in detail, what also Hugo Brandenburg had discussed with me on 9th April 2022: for example, whether Constantine had taken the Roman Senate with him (which I had suspected, thus trying to explain the rapid decline of Rome). The Roman Senators had indeed wanted to move to Constantinople, but because the emperor had created at his new capital a 'second-rate Senate', most Roman Senators preferred to stay on in Rome. I thank Peter Herz for presenting me with a copy of this book.**

Oliver Schmitt (*Constantin der Große (275-337) Leben und Herrschaft*, 2007, 234-235: "Kapitel 6. Ich und sonst keiner: Die Zeit der Alleinherrschaft") writes :

**"Das zu Konstaninopel gewordene Byzanz wurde nicht nur erheblich vergrößert und mit enem prächtigen und kostspieligen Bauprogramm beglückt, es wurde auch in rechtlicher und verwaltungstechnischer Hinsicht dem römischen Vorbild angepasst. Konkret bedeutete das, dass Byzanz, oder Konstantinopel, wie es seit der Einweihung hieß, nicht mehr der Provinzialverwaltung unterstand, sondern einen eigenen Stadtpräfekten erhielt. [with n. 45] Die einzige Einschränkung gegenüber dem alten Rom betraf ausgerechnet den konstantinopolitanischen Senat: Er wurde ausdrücklich nur als *senatus scundi ordinis*, als Senat zweiten Ranges, konstituiert, wie uns der Anonymus Valesianus versichert, seine Angehörigen erhielten den Rang von *virii clari* [with n. 46] und nicht den von *clarissimi*, wie er eigentlich den Senatoren zustand ... Für Senatoren und Angehörige des Hofes ließ der Kaiser auf eigene Kosten prächtige Wohnsitze errichten, oder er gab den Betreffenden große Geldsummen, damit sie sich selbst ein Haus nach ihrem Geschmack bauen konnten. [with n. 47] ... [page 235] ... Wie man anhand der für die Lebensmittelversorgung aufzuwendenden Getreidemengen ermittelt hat, besaß Konstantinopel noch um die Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts erheblich weniger Einwohner als Rom. [with n. 50] Auch erwies es sich aller kaiserlichen Fürsorge ungeachtet als nicht ganz einfach, Angehörige der Senatsaristokratie als "Senatoren zweiten Ranges" für die neue Hauptstadt zu gewinnen, da dies von vielen Kandidaten zu Recht als Degradierung empfunden wurde. Besonders die stadtrömischen Senatoren hielten sich offensichtlich zurück, während man vermuten kann, dass sich am ehesten solche Aristokraten zu einem Umzug bewegen ließen, die hauptsächlich im Osten begütert waren. [with n. 51; my emphasis]".**

In his **note 45**, Schmitt writes: "Zum Sonderstatus Constantinopels s.[iehe] Cod. Theod. 14,13: *De iure italico urbis Constantinopol(itanae)*; zum Stadtpräfekten s.[iehe] Sokrat. 2,41,1".

In his **note 46**, he writes: "Anon. Vales. I 30".

In his **note 47**, he writes: "Zos. 2,31,3; Soz. [corr.: Sokrat. ?] 2,3,4".

In his **note 50**, he writes: "S.[siehe] Herz, *Lebensmittelversorgung* [1988] 306-311, zum schwierigen Problem der Einwohnerzahl s.[siehe] auch Dagron, *Naissance*, 520-530".

In his **note 51**, he writes: "**Zur Unlust der Senatoren s. bes. [siehe besonders] Them. or. 3,57 (I 67,12-15 Downey); Dagron, Naissance 123** [my emphasis]".

Interestingly, neither Constantine the Great himself, when he moved the capital of the Roman Empire from Rome to Constantinople, nor his successors had obviously envisaged the following, very quick decay of Rome. - To this, and to my discussion with Hugo Brandenburg, I will come back below.

Some of the buildings of the commercial river port at *La Marmorata* were not only partly in ruins by the 5<sup>th</sup> century, also 'the entire area from the 5<sup>th</sup> century onwards, was used for several small and poor burial grounds', as stated by the excavators Burgers (*et al.* 2014b, 815), as we have seen above. Considering all that, I would have thought (erroneously, as we shall learn in a minute) that also the great entrepreneurs had long since left the scene by the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

As we have seen above, in Section II. of this Chapter, in the 'golden days' of the new commercial river port at *La Marmorata*, such entrepreneurs, with their seagoing ships, (like those represented on here **Figs. 98; 99**), had brought their goods to the *Portus Augusti*. Like the Egyptian entrepreneur Ciro of Laura Gigli's (2022, 265-268) fictional account, quoted in Section II. Those goods had then first of all been transported with the much smaller Tiber ships (like those visible on here **Figs. 105; 106**) for example to the commercial river port of *La Marmorata*. According to Giovannetti (2016, 18, Figs. 1; 2, quoted *verbatim* above, in Section I.), these goods had next been registered there, then they were either stored in magazines there, or immediately delivered to customers in Rome. All these people, who were involved in this gigantic trade, had constantly supplied the emperor and his court, the ruling classes of Rome, in short, the up to one million people counting population of Rome with all imaginable goods from overseas.

For the fact that, between Augustus and Constantine the Great, Rome has been a city with up to one million inhabitants; cf. Häuber (2014a, 443 with ns. 200, 201):

**"John Bodel [with n. 200] begins his recent study *From Columbaria to Catacombs* with the calculation that 'between the reigns of Augustus and Constantine, when the population of the city numbered between 750,000 and 1,000,000 inhabitants, the suburbs of the city must have accommodated between ten and a half million and fourteen million burials. Of these we have traces of perhaps 150,000 or less than 1.5 % of the total [with n. 201; my emphasis]".**

In my **note 200**, I write: "Bodel 2008, pp. 178-179; cf. pp. 236-242. He quotes for ancient mortality rates, Bodel 2000, pp. 128-129; cf. now Bodel 2012a [*i.e.*, here J. BODEL 2012]".

Cf. **note 201**: "**Herz 2012, p. 16 with n. 48 postulates instead for the period late antiquity that 'die Bevölkerungszahl der alten Hauptstadt [*i.e.*, Rome] bereits deutlich zurückge[g]angen war'** [my emphasis]".

See now also below, at *The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung*, where he writes that Rome, in the imperial period, had at times more than one million inhabitants.

Discussing the matter again with Peter Herz on 13th June 2023, I asked him, how he defines the 'imperial period', he answered: until Diocletian. On that occasion, I discussed with Herz also the decline of Rome in the 5<sup>th</sup> century. To this I will come back below.

To my surprise, Giovannetti (2016, 36, with Fig. 8 [= here **Fig. 102.3**]), in the English abstract of his article, describes the situation very different than just imagined by me. As we have seen throughout this *Chapter*, Giovannetti has studied the river port facilities right in front of the '*Porticus Aemilia*' / *Navalia* at *La Marmorata* (cf. here **Figs. 102; 102.2; 102.3**):

"Abstract. **The analysis of the documentation provided during the excavation of the Trajanic port in the '80s led to a more accurate definition of both the chronology and function of the interventions realized inside the building in its late phases.** Peculiar strategies of readjustment were set out from the early 4th until the late 6th centuries A.D., when the port was completely abandoned. The purpose of these operations was to contain floods and subdivided the cryptoporticus in several rooms, which were different by function and, probably, by tenants. Evidence of maintenance still persists even after the 5th century floods, as a sign that **the structure maintained its function to keep the imported goods, whose flow continued throughout the 6th century** [my emphasis]".

Let's for a moment return to Constantine the Great and his successors. When discussing above, in Section II., the fictional account of the Egyptian merchant *Ciro*, written by Laura Gigli (2022, 265-268), we have also looked at a map of this area of the Tiber valley, here **Fig. 103**. This map shows the Church of Santa Passera on the right bank of the Tiber in the quartiere Portuense, at the 3rd mile of the ancient *Via Campana* (today: *Via della Magliana nuova*), underneath the Gianicolo, and opposite the Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura (which is located on the left bank of the Tiber), on the *Via Ostiensis*. Both, the Church of Santa Passera and the Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura, are located to the south of the quartiere Testaccio with *La Marmorata*.

We have heard above, in Section II., that the Church of Santa Passera was first dedicated to the Saints *Ciro* and *Giovanni*, who originated also in reality from Egypt, and about whom Laura Gigli (2022, 265-268) has now written her fictional account. In this story, Laura has 'transformed' *Ciro* and *Giovanni* into an Egyptian entrepreneur, owner of several seagoing ships and merchant, and his son, who, living at the time of Marcus Aurelius, come from a family, that, since a very long time, has been involved in the seaborne trade, delivering grain and luxury goods from Egypt to Rome.

Why am I mentioning this here?

Because the area of the ancient new commercial river port of the Testaccio with *La Marmorata*, and its decline in late antiquity, should, in my opinion, be discussed together with the Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura and the other early churches of the area, for example the Church of Santa Passera. This Church was built in the 8th/ 9th century on top of an ancient tomb, datable to the 2nd/ 3rd century (believed in the Middle Ages to be that of the Saints *Ciro* and *Giovanni*?). This ancient tomb, in its turn, had been built next to a pre-existing "approdo" (*i.e.*, one of the many ancient wharves, documented on both banks of the Tiber). At the Church of Santa Passera (a name of a saint, who does not exist - perhaps referring to Santa Prassede?), were originally worshipped the Egyptian Saints *Ciro* and *Giovanni*.

**Apropos cults. The Torlonia Relief (here Fig. 98) shows the harbour *Portus Augusti* at *Portus*, built by the Emperor Claudius, which is recognizable as such by the statues of *Liber Pater* and *Neptunus* appearing on this relief, who had cults there (see above, in Section II.).**

When comparing that with the commercial river port at the Testaccio/ *La Marmorata* (here **Figs. 102; 103**) it seems at first glance as if there is not a single ancient shrine or temple recorded for this entire vast area. On the other hand, we might ask ourselves, whether or not the later Churches, located there, may have had ancient cults as predecessors. See for those Churches Claudio Mocchegiani Carpano ("Emporium", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 223, Fig. 69): "Le numerose chiese sorte sui ruderi degli antichi edifici erano dette *in Marmorata* (v.[edi] Armellini, *Chiese*: S. Anna de Marmorata, S. Nicolò de Marmorata detta *de marmoratis* nel luogo le 'marmorate' ecc.): ciò a testimoniare anche la presenza di enormi quantità di marmi depositati e l'organizzazione sul luogo di officine medievali per la lavorazione dell'abbondante materiale".

After having written this down, I realized that the above-mentioned assertion is not true: there were at least two cults in the area at the commercial river port at *La Marmorata*, both documented by finds that were excavated in the *Vigna Sforza/ Cesarini*:

1.) a cult of *Hercules*. See the marble altar dedicated to *Hercules* by *Primigenius Iuvencianus*, which was found in 1737 'at *La Marmorata*', and precisely in *Vigna Cesarini*. *Primigenius* was a slave or freedman of the

Emperor Vespasianus, and calls himself in the inscription of this altar a *tabularius a marmoribus* (CIL VI 301; cf. here Fig. 102.5; for a discussion see above, in Section I.);

2.) A cult of *Mater Deum* and *Navisalvia*. See the 'altare di *Navisalvia*' in the Musei Capitolini (CIL VI, 492), which refers to the legend of Claudia Quinta and to the arrival of the sacred stone of *Magna Mater* at Rome in 204 BC (cf. here Fig. 102.7).

**In the following, I allow myself a digression on this cult of *Mater Deum* and *Navisalvia* at this site, because, as rightly observed by Alessandro D'Alessio (2008; 2014), it supports Lucos Cozza's and Pier Luigi Tucci's (2006) identification of the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* as *Navalia*.**

**Alessandro D'Alessio (2008) has suggested that this 'altare di *Navisalvia*', because of its findspot close to the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, provides a further argument in favour of the identification of this building as *Navalia*. In his more recent study (2014, 10, 12), D'Alessio summarizes this older hypothesis as follows:**

"Dopo la pubblicazione di Cozza e Tucci [2006], il primo a sposare interamente la revisione epigrafica e nuova identificazione dell'edificio del Testaccio come navale, è stato Coarelli in un contributo teso proprio a demolire la citata proposta di Tuck [with n. 14]. Io stesso, sempre in *Archeologia Classica* due anni dopo [2008], ho fondamentalmente accolto l'ipotesi di Cozza e Tucci [2006], seppur con qualche riserva e partendo da essa per tentare una reinterpretazione del rilievo scolpito su un altare in marmo di età claudia conservato ai Musei Capitolini, meglio noto come "altare di *Navisalvia*" (fig. 8 [cf. here Fig. 102.7]) [with n. 15]. Sul lato frontale dell'ara sta infatti la raffigurazione di una nave su cui siede Cibele in trono, alla destra della quale è un personaggio femminile stante connotato come Vestale dal *suffibulum* e dall'*infula* con cui traina l'imbarcazione. Sotto, con precisa corrispondenza tra i primi due nomi e le figure, la dedica *Matri Deum et Navisalviae / Salviae voto suscepto / Claudia Syntyche / d d [dono dat; with n. 16] contrassegna e "spiega" il significato della rappresentazione stessa: l'arrivo del culto della Magna Mater a Roma (e qui più precisamente a Ostia) nel 204 a.C. e la connessa vicenda di Claudia Quinta, eroica protagonista dell'accoglienza della dea in città [with n. 17]. [page 11; page 12]*

Ora, senza rientrare nel merito del percorso apologetico seguito della saga di Claudia Quinta, figura appartenente ai *sacra privata* dei Claudii, opportunamente rivitalizzata e rifunzionalizzata a partire dall'età augustea, ebbene è a me parso di ravvisare una possibile relazione, topografica e di significato, tra la rappresentazione del leggendario episodio sull'altare capitolino e le attività portuali, se non i presunti *navalia*, del Testaccio. L'ara, infatti, fu rinvenuta nel Settecento nei terreni di Vigna Sforza-Cesarini (attuale Lungotevere Testaccio) proprio nelle vicinanze dell'edificio in *opus incertum*, e fu dedicata dalla liberta Claudia Synthye come afferente a un collegio di culto celebrato nel luogo dal personale del porto. Dalla zona, del resto, provengono anche un'altra iscrizione su una piccola lastra offerta dalla stessa liberta [with n. 18] e, probabilmente, una terza perduta in cui compariva un *Q. Nunnius Telephus mag(ister) col(legi) culto(rum) eius* [with n. 19]. Secondo l'opinione prevalente [with n. 20], si tende così a ritenere che la figura 'eroica' (o 'eroizzata') di *Claudia Quinta* si sia gradualmente sovrapposta, in un articolato processo storico-narrativo, a una più antica devozione sviluppatasi in seguito all'introduzione della Magna Mater a Roma e che proprio qui, nell'area dove presumibilmente attraccò la nave con la pietra nera, trovava la sua sede più consona. Sta di fatto che il significato insito nella parola *Navisalvia* è chiaramente esemplificato dalla scena rappresentata sull'altare capitolino, dove Claudia Vestale traina l'imbarcazione di Cibele tirandola appunto in salvo.

Così come il tirare in salvo, all'attracco le navi costituiva una delle operazioni regolarmente svolte dal personale addetto all'ormeggio delle imbarcazioni e al carico e scarico delle merci, se non da quanti eventualmente impegnati nel rimessaggio e nella manutenzione delle navi da guerra all'interno dei presunti *navalia*. Gli stessi soggetti, in fondo, che a quel collegio religioso e "corporativo" (di *Mater Deum* e *Navisalvia*, come ad altri qui documentati) erano così devotamente legati [with n. 21; my emphasis]".

In his **note 13**, D'Alessio writes: "S. TUCK, «A New Identification for the Porticus Aemilia», in *JRA* 13, 2000, pp. 175-182".

In his **note 14**, he writes: "F. COARELLI, «Horrea Cornelia?», in *Res Bene Gestae. Ricerche di storia urbana in onore di Eva Margareta Steinby* (a cura di A. LEONE, D. PALOMBI, S. WALKER), *LTUR*, suppl. IV, Roma 2007, pp. 41-45".

In his **note 15**, he writes: "A. D'ALESSIO, «Navalia, Navisalvia e la 'topografia' di Cibele a Roma tra tarda Repubblica e primo Impero», in *ArchCl* LIX, 2008, pp. 377-393".

In his **note 16**, he writes: "*CIL* VI, 492".

In his **note 17**, he writes: "L'episodio che la riguarda, notissimo nella versione datane da Ovidio (*Fasti* IV, 259-260 e 291-344), narra di come giunta a Ostia, la nave che trasportava la pietra nera di Pessinunte (simbolo aniconico della dea) si insabbiò alla foce del Tevere. Claudia, casta matrona ingiustamente sospettata di impudicizia, pregò la dea di intercedere a suo favore e, afferrata la fune, liberò l'imbarcazione. Nell'esultanza generale, Cibele aveva così testimoniato la purezza della donna e cancellato al contempo l'infausto presagio. La scena è come noto raffigurata anche su un medaglione della diva Faustina: R. TURCAN, *Numismatique romaine du culte métroaque*, Leiden 1983, p. 29 e tav. XIV".

In his **note 18**, he writes: "*CIL* VI, 493: *Navisalviae et / Matri deu(m) [vel div(orum)] d(ono) d(at) / Claudia Synty(che)*".

In his **note 19**, he writes: "*CIL* VI, 494".

In his **note 20**, he writes: "Cfr. F. COARELLI, «I monumenti dei culti orientali a Roma. Questioni topografiche e cronologiche», in *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'impero romano* (a cura di U. BIANCHI, M.J. VERMASEREN), *Atti del Colloquio Internazionale (Roma, 1979) (EPRO, 92)*, Leiden 1982, pp. 33-67 (in partic. 42-46); F. ZEVI, «Culti 'Claudii' a Ostia e a Roma», in *ArchCl* XLIX, 1997, pp. 435-471; P. PENSABENE, «Il culto di Cibele e la topografia del sacro a Roma», in *Culti orientali tra scavo e collezionismo* (a cura di B. PALMA VENETUCCI), Roma 2008, pp. 21-39".

In his **note 21**, he writes: "Cfr. D'ALESSIO, «Navalia, Navisalvia ...», *art. cit.* a nota 15, con bibliografia".

**Besides, the 'cult transfer' of Magna Mater to Rome was indeed, as convincingly stressed by Alessandro D'Alessio (2014, 12), of the greatest importance to those Roman noble families, who could count among their ancestors one of those men, who, in 204 BC, had been granted the great honour of accompanying the sacred stone of the goddess from Pessinus to Rome.**

This is also clear from some fragments of a marble frieze depicting this event in great detail, which are now kept in the Pergamon Museum at Berlin. Those fragments were found on the Esquiline and had obviously decorated the *domus* of a member of such a noble family; cf. Häuber ("Der Aufbruch der Göttin Kybele in Pessinus? Zu einem römischen Marmorrelief im Pergamonmuseum Berlin", 1998b).

**Interestingly, Filippo Coarelli (2012, 406) identifies Claudia Quinta with a standing veiled female figure, represented on the 'Base di Sorrento':**

**"una figura stante femminile velata, rivolta a destra"; cf. p- 407: "Segue una figura di coribante, che danza tenendo un clipeo circolare. Più avanti si riconosce l'immagine in trono di Cibele, affiancata da un leone [my emphasis]".**

Cf. Coarelli (2012, 406-407, Chapter: "V La formazione dei palazzi imperiali"; Section: "5. Vesta Palatina", Fig. 123 [corr.: 122] with ns. 174, 175); cf. Fig. 127. See Coarelli (2012, 402, Fig. 122), the caption of this illustration reads: "Fig. 122, 'Base di Sorrento', lato D: Magna Mater"; the caption of Fig. 127 reads: "'Base di Sorrento'. Rilievo grafico".

Coarelli (2012, 406-407) writes about this figure, the presumed Claudia Quinta on the 'Sorrento Base':



**"Proponiamo di riconoscervi Claudia Quinta, la matrona cui era stata affidata l'accoglienza della dea [*i.e.*, the Magna Mater]: sappiamo infatti che una [page 407] sua statua, collocata nel tempio [della Magna Mater], era sopravvissuta a due incendi, nel 111 a.C. e nel 3 d.C. [with n. 174]. Il fatto era stato interpretato come segno di particolare favore divino per la gens Claudia e in particolare per Tiberio, una statua del quale si era anch'essa salvata in circostanze analoghe [follows the Latin quotation of Tac., *ann.* 4.64.4; with n. 175; my emphasis]"**.

In his **note 174**, Coarelli writes: "Val. Max. 1.8.11; Tac., *ann.* 4.64".

In his **note 175**, he writes: "Tac., *ann.* 4.64.4 [follows the Italian translation]"

Immediately after that, Coarelli (2012, 407) continues: "Se questa interpretazione è giusta, essa fornisce un dato importante per l'attribuzione della base al periodo tiberiano".

I agree with Coarelli, but would argue 'the other way around'. If it could otherwise be proven that the 'Sorrento Base' is datable in the Tiberian period, this would strongly support his brilliant hypothesis to identify this female figure on the base with the famous statue of Claudia Quinta that stood in the temple of Magna Mater on the Palatine and had survived the great fires of 11 BC and of AD 3 (!).

Let's now return to our main subject.

The area of *La Marmorata* should, in my opinion, in late antiquity be discussed together with the above-mentioned early churches of this area for the following reasons: The important *Paradigmenwechsel* ('change of paradigms') of the time, from 'pagan' religions, customs and Roman law to those of Christianity, was for the contemporaries a reality. We nowadays, on the other hand, when trying to reconstruct their lives - in their city of Rome - to reach that goal need to consult the libraries of many *different* (!) disciplines and to discuss such efforts with colleagues of those disciplines. And that not only in the case of scientific excavations, as documented by Burgers (*et al.* 204a; 2014b; 2015), who lists quite a few of such specialist who are analysing their finds.

As, for example in this *Chapter*: with the above-quoted numismatist Angelo Geißen, the ancient historians John Bodet and Peter Herz, and with the art historian Laura Gigli, who, in her own research projects, always collaborates closely with architects. Laura Gigli has not only studied the Church of Santa Passera; cf. Laura Gigli and Gianfrancesco Solferino ("La chiesa di Santa Passera. Riflessioni sui dipinti del presbiterio", 2016), but has also made an interesting decision in her fictional account of the merchant Ciro, who lived at the time of Marcus Aurelius: Laura describes the experiences of this 'pagan' Egyptian Ciro with Christians, first in his home town Alexandria and later in Rome; cf. Gigli (2022, 265-268; quoted *verbatim* above, in Section II.). Hugo Brandenburg, on the other hand, a *Frühchristlicher Archäologe*, a Classical Archaeologist and specialist of Early Christianity, is since a long time studying the Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura, as well as the whole area in question.

In the course of our recent telephone conversation on the area of *La Marmorata* in late antiquity, Brandenburg had actually alerted me to the fact that shortly before, when Rome was still a 'pagan' city, it had strictly been forbidden to bury the dead *within* the city walls.

At that time nobody would, therefore, have dreamt of acting in this way. - But since the 5<sup>th</sup> century, that is to say, only shortly later, precisely that has happened everywhere in Rome, and, of course, also in the area of the Testaccio/ *La Marmorata* (see for the location of this area within the Aurelian Walls, here **Figs. 102; 103**).

Let's now turn again to the successors of Constantine the Great and their Church (*i.e.*, San Paolo fuori le Mura) which, and this is the reason, why I find that this is of importance in this context, was only dedicated *after* Constantine the Great had moved the capital of the Roman Empire to his newly erected Constantinople.

As already said above: I find it impossible to believe that Constantine the Great's successors, at the moment of planning this project, and when finally dedicating the Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura, could have imagined that this entire area of Rome, so shortly after realizing this extremely ambitious project, could have suffered such a decline, as now so vividly described by Burgers (*et al.* 2014b, 815).

**Concerning the above-mentioned actions of Constantine the Great and his successors, Hugo Brandenburg (*Le Prime Chiese di Roma IV-VII Secolo*, 2013, 58) writes :**

"Sconfitto nel 324 Licinio, reggente la parte orientale dell'impero, Costantino fonda nello stesso anno sulle rive del Bosporo, sul luogo dell'antico Bisanzio, una nuova residenza imperiale, e nella nuova metropoli, che da lui prese il nome Costantinopoli, erige un altro mausoleo ...".

**Brandenburg (2013, 121, in: "Capitolo Sesto La Basilica Teodosiana di S. Paolo sulla Via Ostiense (S. Paolo fuori le Mura)" writes : "L'ultima e più dispendiosa fondazione imperiale a Roma, successiva al trasferimento della capitale dell'impero - voluto da Costantino nel 330 - nella neofondata Costantinopoli, è la basilica di S. Paolo sulla via Ostiense, a due miglia dalle porte della città. La basilica in onore dell'apostolo Paolo conclude la serie delle chiese memoriali edificate nel IV secolo a Roma.**

**Nel tardo autunno del 386 i tre imperatori regnanti, Teodosio, Valentiniani II e Arcadio, indirizzano uno scritto al rappresentante del potere imperiale a Roma, il *praefectus urbi* Sallustio [with n. 1, providing a reference]. La missiva conteneva indicazioni per la costruzione di una basilica sulla tomba dell'apostolo in una necropoli lungo la via Ostiense ... [my emphasis]"**.

For Licinius and Constantine the Great, both mentioned by Brandenburg (2013) in the two above-quoted passages; cf. the first Part of this *Study*: *I. The statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori* (cf. here **Fig. 11**) and the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524; cf. here **Fig. 29.1**). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great).

On 3rd January 2023 reached me a letter by Angelika Geyer with the obituary notice of Hugo Brandenburg, who had passed away on 26th December 2022.

As already mentioned, I was fortunate to study with him at the Universität zu Köln since 1973, and he has since then, and especially in discussions since May of 2018, opened my eyes for many new topics, which are presented in this book and in my forthcoming one on the Laocoon.

To illustrate the point that Brandenburg was not only the great scholar of late antiquity, for which he is known, but equally gifted as a very inspiring and generous teacher, I repeat, what was already mentioned in the above-quoted *Chapter*. To this I should like to add that it was also a delight to discuss with him:

Angelika Geyer's and Hugo Brandenburg's present of his book *Le Prime Chiese di Roma* (2013) on 26th November 2019 resulted for example in the fact that I began to study three different subjects that, to my own surprise, turned out to be closely related to Domitian. These texts are, therefore, published in this book:

*A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**) ...; *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here **Fig. 10**); and *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here **Fig. 29**).

Let's now return to our main subject.

Of course, what Burgers *et al.* (2014b, 815) describe in the above-mentioned point :

1.), that, 'in the area of the Testaccio, have been established from the 5<sup>th</sup> century onwards several small and poor burial grounds', was the very end of a long process. Because -

2.) As likewise observed by Burgers (*et al.* 2014b, 815): "forse è già a partire dalla costruzione delle Mura Aureliane - che inglobarono al loro interno l'area di Testaccio - [cf. here **Figs. 102; 103**] che le strutture commerciali e il nevralgico scalo dell'*Emporium* subirono una crescente defunzionalizzazione e un parziale abbandono".

As is well known, already Robert Coates Stephens (2001) has convincingly explained the dramatic changes in late antiquity on the Esquiline and Caelian that had occurred as a result of the erection of the first phase of the Aurelian Walls (AD 271-275). For my own studies on the Esquiline, I have greatly profited from Coates Stephens's (2001) observations; cf. Häuber (2014a, 665, 667).

**I can, therefore, only agree with the statement of Burgers (*et al.* 2014b, 815) that the decline of the area of the Testaccio may (possibly) have begun because of the erection of the Aurelian Walls (AD 271-275).**

**In addition to this, I would also like to argue 'the other way around': the final decline of the entire ancient city of Rome - comprising the area of the Testaccio, now also documented by their excavations and so vividly described by Burgers (*et al.* 2014b, 815) - had been announced by events, which, in their turn, had motivated the Emperor Aurelian to erect at Rome (AD 271-275) his 'Aurelian Walls' in the first place.**

See for the Aurelian Walls here **Fig. 71**, inserted box on top right, which shows our map of archaic Rome with all its later city walls.

**Many years ago my good late friend Lucos Cozza, who knew that I had lived for a long time in Cologne, explained to me - with a big smile - why the Emperor Aurelian had decided to build the 'Aurelian Walls': because in AD 259 Postumus had founded at Cologne his 'Gallic empire'; in 1987, Cozza has also published this hypothesis ("Osservazioni sulle mura aureliane a Roma", 1987, 43-46, with ns. 20-23).**

When Cozza disclosed this hypothesis to me, I only knew the extraordinary large and beautiful *aurei*, issued by Postumus at Cologne. But when studying those coins with the numismatist Angelo Geißen at the Universität zu Köln in 1975, none of us had the foggiest idea, which important effect Postumus had made on the Emperor Aurelian, let alone that Aurelian could have decided to commission 'his' city walls at Rome because of Postumus's announcement of, and long time existing (!), 'Gallic empire'.

I have elsewhere mentioned Lucos Cozza's brilliant idea: "L. Cozza sieht den Baubeginn der Aurelianischen Mauer als Folge des in Köln ausgerufenen gallischen Sonderreichs des Postumus (259-268) [with n. 413]". Cf. Häuber (1990) 106. In my **note 413**, I quote for Cozza's hypothesis: "AnalRom16, 1987, 43 f. mit Anm. 20ff."

For Postumus; cf. John Frederick Drinkwater ("Postumus (*PLRE* 1.720), Marcus Cassianus Latinus, Gallienus' military commander from AD 259, quarrelled with the young prince, Saloninus, and his civilian advisers during the barbarian attacks following the capture of Valerian (260). He seized power and established himself as Roman emperor in Gaul, Britain and Spain. He defended his 'Gallic empire' against both Germanic invaders and Gallienus (265), but was killed by his own troops after defeating the rebel Laelianus (269).

Postumus' strength and weakness was his determination not to march on Rome. This enabled him to defend the west, but strained the loyalty of his army and allowed no 'legitimate' emperor to trust him entirely [the emphasis is by the author himself]", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996, 1235).

**For the Aurelian Walls, which, according to her, were erected by Aurelian for different reasons than those suggested by Cozza (1987); cf. Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio ("Muri Aureliani", in *LTUR* III [1996] 290-299), who writes on p. 290 :**

"MURI AURELIANI. La costruzione delle mura fu decisa dopo la terza invasione degli Alemanni era penetrata oltre il sistema difensivo predisposto da Gallieno lungo la direttrice Milano-Verona-Aquileia, e respinta da Aureliano, appena acclamato imperatore, nel 270 e agli inizi del 271" (!). For Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio's most recent discussion of the Aurelian Walls, see her article ("Da Aureliano a Costantino : la difesa di Roma (271-312 d.C.)", 2022).

**But not only the construction of the Aurelian Walls (AD 271-275), and Constantine's decision to move the capital of the Roman Empire in AD 330 to Constantinople must be considered, when we try to explain the decline of the *Urbs* in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, which Burgers (*et al.* 2014b, 815) have now documented for us for the area of the Testaccio. When discussing the matter with Peter Herz on 13th June 2023, he reminded me of the fact that decisive in this respect was, of course, that Alaric had sacked Rome in AD 410. To this we may add the already mentioned fact that the western Roman Empire ended in AD 476.**

In a recent article, Peter Herz has discussed the consequences for the *Urbs* that Alaric had sacked Rome on 24th August AD 410 ("Rom in der Spätantike. Der Niedergang einer ehemaligen Hauptstadt", 2012a). For other consequences of Alaric's 'Sack of Rome'; cf. Häuber (2014a, 799-802, with n. 21).

For Alaric; cf. Peter John Heather ("Alaric, Gothic leader c.[irca] 395.-410 AD ...", in *OCD*<sup>3</sup> [1996] 49 [the emphasis is by the author]).

Herz (2012a) discusses also the consequences of the fact that "in 402, when the presence of the Goths in the Po plain made the former capital Milan unsafe, the western emperor Honorius transferred the court to Ravenna, chosen because of its secure setting behind marshes"; cf. Bryan R. Ward-Perkins ("Ravenna", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> [1996] 1294). Considering all those facts, Herz (2012a) has come to the conclusion that, in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, the population of Rome of once over 1 million individuals, amounted now to only circa 250,000.

When this volume was about to be sent to the press, I found the article by Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani ("Roma tardo antica, trent'anni dopo, 2022). It has appeared in a volume, edited by Cyril Courrier (*et al.*, *Rome, archéologie et histoire urbaine : trente ans après l'Urbs*, 1987). In this article, Santangeli Valenzani paints a somewhat different picture of Rome in late antiquity/ the early Middle Ages than in his earlier, above-quoted publications.

Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani (2022) writes in his Résumé:

"The thirty years since the 1985 'L'Urbs' conference have deeply changed our vision of Rome in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. While still in 1980 R. Krautheimer, for his admirable synthesis on the state-of-the-art of medieval Rome, had only little evidence of the sources and data of religious buildings, the outcomes of numerous excavations nowadays allow us to delineate with much greater accuracy the urban landscape transformations, as well as the demographic and economic life of the city. The resulting picture, far from some catastrophic visions of a substantially depopulated and abandoned Rome, besides the continuous ones, sees a city with a population severely reduced compared to the 4<sup>th</sup> century, but still calculable in tens of thousands of inhabitants, with obvious elements of infrastructure degradation and the partial abandonment of some sectors, but with a substantial maintenance of roads and the urban structure. Even until the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, Rome remained inserted in the currents of Mediterranean commercial traffic and active production center.

Entrées d'index

Keywords : Late Antique Rome, Roman archaeology, Early Middle Age".

***The discussion of the opus incertum building at La Marmorata by Francesca de Caprariis (2019; 2022), from whose essays were already chosen the [9.], [11.] and [12.] epigraphs in this Section III.***

The author identifies the building at *La Marmorata* with the *Porticus Aemilia* (here **Figs. 102; 102.1; 102.2; 103.3**).

After summarizing the controversial discussion that has followed the proposal of Cozza and Tucci (2006) to identify the (in my opinion alleged) *Porticus Aemilia* at *La Marmorata* as some *Navalia* instead, Francesca de Caprariis (2019, 166, in her Section: "3. POST NAVALIA") writes concerning the reading of the 'preliminary' inscription on fragment 24b of the Severan Marble plan, on which the '*Porticus Aemilia*' (the building here identified as *Navalia*) is documented: "... La 'questione' epigrafica - ancora spesso chiamata in causa - è particolarmente sterile: l'incisione preparatoria sul frammento 24b della pianta marmorea non è decisiva, e, se l'ipotesi relativa ai [*nava*]lia è indipendente dalla lettura a suo tempo proposta [with n. 59], **rimangono aperte altre possibilità, dal vecchio [Aemi]lia al più recente [horrea fisc]alia.**

Quest'ultima proposta, di recente avanzata da Elio De Magistris [with n. 60] ha trovato finora scarso spazio nella discussione scientifica [my emphasis]".

In her **note 59**, de Caprariis writes: "TUCCI 2012, pp. 575-591".

In her **note 60**, she writes: "DE MAGISTRIS 2012, pp. 341-359".

For a discussion of the controversy concerning the reading of the inscription of the *opus incertum* building on fragments 23 and 24b of the Severan Marble Plan; cf. also Alessandro D'Alessio (2014, 13-14, Fig. 9).

Concerning this point, I can only repeat what was already said above: not as yet knowing fragments 23 and 24 of the Severan Marble Plan from autopsy, I myself cannot judge the question related to its preliminary inscription on fragment 24b, but I do hope to have the chance to study this fragment in May of 2022.

But for the time being, I see no reason *not* to trust de Caprariis's judgement, who writes (2022,, 127, with n. 30 quoted above, in this Section *III*. as the **[11.] epigraph**), that of the preliminary inscription on fragment 24b only the last two letters 'IA' survive. - See for fragment 24b of the Severan Marble Plan also the photograph, published by Francesca e Caprariis (2022, 122, Fig. 5.3), or the photo, published by Alessandro D'Alessio (2014, 13 with n. 32, Fig. 9).

**As already mentioned, on 6th May 2022, I had the chance to study fragment 24b myself. I could only see the letters 'I' and 'λ', and thank Francesca de Caprariis for giving us access to the fragments 23 and 24. She was also kind enough to tell me her personal opinion that she does not take the inscription on fragment 24b as being 'preliminary'.**

As was likewise already mentioned above, this is precisely what Cozza and Tucci (2006, 178 [TUCCI]) have written in their note 8: "G. GATTI, in *Pianta Marmorea* [*i.e.*, here *Pianta Marmorea* 1960 = G. CARETTONI *et al.* 1960], p. 82, nota 8, aveva notato i «due segni: I e λ»".

I am, also therefore, convinced that it is nevertheless possible to define what kind of building it was, to which this 'preliminary' inscription on fragment 24b and the main inscription on fragment 23 belong (or at least: for which purpose this building had originally been erected), as I actually tentatively do in this *Chapter*. Of a very different opinion is Alessandro D'Alessio (2014, 21), who, although rejecting both the identifications of the *opus incertum* building with the *Porticus Aemilia* and as *Navalia*, does himself not suggest which purpose this building may have served.

**Also de Caprariis (2022, 127) discusses the readings of the inscriptions on the fragments of the Severan Marble plan, on which the '*Porticus Aemilia*' (the building here identified as *Navalia*) is documented.**

According to de Caprariis, the (main) and the 'preliminary' inscriptions on fragments 23 and 24b of the Severan Marble Plan, which represent the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, cannot help us in our efforts to identify this building. Cf. de Caprariis (2019, 166, quoted *verbatim* above), and de Caprariis (2022, 127, with Fig. 5.2, above and below [cf. here **Figs. 102.2, above and below**]; Fig. 5.3 and n. 30, quoted above, as the [11.] **epigraph** in this Section III.).

The reason being, according to de Caprariis (*op. cit.*), that not only the suggested readings of Carettoni *et al.* (1960: 'Aemilia'; cf. here **Fig. 102.2, above**) and of Cozza and Tucci (2006: 'Navalia'; cf. here **Fig. 102.2, below**) are both possible, but also other alternatives. Or, as de Caprariis (2022, 127) writes: "**The old Aemilia, or Nauvalia, or indeed other readings are all possible** [my emphasis]".

**Concerning one part of her statement, I am of a contrary opinion than de Caprariis (2022, 127) herself: the position of the letters 'LIA' of the main inscription on fragment 23 of the Severan Marble Plan precludes, in my opinion, the identification of the *opus incertum* building with the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina*.**

I myself follow de Caprariis (2019, 166, and *ead.* 2022, 127, with Fig. 5.2, below [cf. here **Fig. 102.2, below**]) in so far, as I likewise believe that both inscriptions on the Severan Marble plan, the (main) inscription on fragment 23 and the 'preliminary' one on fragment 24b, may be reconstructed as 'Navalia'. In the case of de Caprariis's hypothesis (2022, 127, with Fig. 5.2, above) that both inscriptions could likewise be restored as *Aemilia* this seems to be, at first glance, likewise true (cf. here **Fig. 102.2, above**).

But I am, nevertheless, convinced that the main inscription of the *opus incertum* building on fragment 23 of the Severan Marble Plan cannot have read 'Aemilia', as shown in the reconstruction, published by de Caprariis (2022, 120) as her Fig. 5.2, above (cf. here **Fig. 102.2, above**). And, provided that were true, in my opinion, also the 'preliminary' inscription cannot have read 'Aemilia'.

Before explaining my rejection of de Caprariis's assertion (2019, 166, and *ead.* 2022, 127, with Fig. 5.2, above [cf. here **Fig. 102.2, above**]) that the main inscription of the *opus incertum* building could have read 'Aemilia', let me alert you to the following facts.

De Caprariis (2022, 119) has published as her Fig. 5.1 the reconstruction of 'Testaccio and Trastevere' by Gianfilippo Carettoni, Lucos Cozza, Antonio Maria Colini und Guglielmo Gatti (1960). De Caprariis (2022, 120, Fig. 5.2, above) (cf. here **Fig. 102.2, above**) shows a detail of this plan by Carettoni *et al.* (1960), with the *opus incertum* building, labelled: 'AEMI]LIA'.

Contrary to Gatti's (1934) own reconstruction of the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* (cf. here **Fig. 102.3**), in the reconstruction by Carettoni, Cozza, Colini und Gatti (1960; here **Fig. 102.2, above**) it is meritoriously indicated, where exactly within the building's ground-plan the fragment 23 of the Severan Marble Plan is actually located that carries the three remaining letters 'LIA' of the main inscription of the building. Therefore, the reconstructed label 'AEMI]LIA' is positioned on **Fig. 102.2, above** very closely to the eastern short side of the building (for the true orientation of the *Navalia*; cf. here **Fig. 102**). And this has, in its turn, the effect that in the reconstruction by Carettoni *et al.* (1960) there is no chance 'of squeezing in' the additional word 'PORTICVS'. Besides, the latter is exactly what Gatti had indicated on his own reconstruction of this building (1934; here **Fig. 102.3**, label: 'PORTICVS AEMILIA'). Apart from the fact that in all our ancient literary sources, the (real) building in question is always called '*porticus*', and only once '*Porticus Aemilia*', but never only as '*Aemilia*'. For those literary sources, see above, the [4.] and [10.] **epigraphs** in this Section III.

**My rejection of the reconstruction of the main inscription on the *opus incertum* building as 'Aemilia' by Carettoni (*et al.* 1960) - followed by de Caprariis's (2019, 166; *ead.* 2022, 127, as her Fig. 5.2, above [cf. here **Fig. 102.2, above**]) - is based on observations, that can be summarized as follows. The inscriptions of fragments 23 and 24 of the Severan Marble Plan (here **Figs. 102; 102.2**) should be discussed in context of the three toponyms *Aemilian'* that existed at Rome at the same time.**

This leads us to the first toponym *Aemiliana*, the *Horrea Aemiliana* in Rome's old commercial river port:

Coarelli (2019a, 213 with n. 81) has, in my opinion convincingly, suggested that fragment 621a-d of the Severan Marble Plan had belonged to the *Horrea Aemiliana*. Fragment 621a-d carries the inscription 'AEMILII' (cf. *LTUR* I [1993] 358, Fig. 4), and has securely been located in the area of Rome's old river port.

As we have seen above in this Section III., the *Horrea Aemiliana* have been excavated at the building site of the Palazzo dell'Anagrafe. That is to say, the *Horrea Aemiliana* stood in the *old* commercial river port of Rome, next to the *Forum Boarium*. - With this belief, I follow Coarelli ("Aemiliana", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 18-19), as well as his suggestion to read the inscription on fragment 621a-d as: 'AEMILII[ANA]'.

For the location of the *Horrea Aemiliana* in Rome's old commercial river port; cf. here Fig. 58, labels: TIBER; PONS AEMILUS; Port; FORUM BOARIUM. Cf. Fig. 73, labels: PONS AEMILIUS; HORREA [AEMILIANA]; FORUM BOARIUM.

**Provided:**

**a) the *opus incertum* building in the *new* commercial river port at *La Marmorata* was indeed the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina*, and**

**b) that the inscription 'AEMILII' on fragment 621a-d of the Severan Marble Plan actually belonged to the *Horrea Aemiliana*, as suggested by Coarelli (2019a, 213 with n. 81) - these two buildings called after the Aemilii, both represented on the Severan Marble Plan, should, in my opinion, somehow have been differentiated:**

the complete inscription of the building in the *old* commercial river port should, in my opinion, have read '[HORREA] AEMILII[ANA]' (or alternatively: 'AEMILII[ANA]', because in the literary sources it is named like this), and the label, appearing on the Severan Marble Plan on the ground-plan of the building in the *new* commercial river port should have read: 'PORTICVS AEMILIA' (likewise because in the literary sources it is always named '*porticus*', and only in one source '*Porticus Aemilia*', but never only '*Aemilia*').

But, as we have just seen, precisely that was certainly *impossible*, because on the drawing of the building's ground-plan on the Severan Marble Plan there is not space enough left to write 'PORTICVS' in front of the (restored) label: 'AEMII]LIA' (cf. here Fig. 102.2, above).

In my opinion, the main inscription of the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* on fragment 23 of the Severan Marble Plan, therefore, cannot have read 'AEMILIA', as suggested by Carettoni (*et al.*'s 1960; cf. here Fig. 102.2, above), followed now by de Caprariis (2019, 166; and 2022, 127, with n. 30, Fig. 5.2, above), quoted above, in this Section III. as the [11.] epigraph.

If true, it follows, in my opinion, that this building has erroneously been identified by Gatti (1934; cf. here Fig. 102.3) with the *Porticus Aemilia* - now followed by de Caprariis (2022, 138-139. with ns. 87; 88, quoted above, in this Section III. as the [12.] epigraph).

Concerning the debated identification of the building '*Porticus Aemilia*'/ *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*, de Caprariis (2019, 168, in her Section: "3. POST NAVALIA") writes:

1.) "... in conclusione: è da escludere un trasferimento dei *Navalia* dal Campo Marzio alla pianura subaventina [my emphasis]".

For this conclusion, here by myself numbered as point 1.), De Caprariis (2019, 168) does not provide a reference. After, therefore, reading again Cozza and Tucci (2006) and Tucci (2012), I can say, that those two authors do *not* suggest anything like that (*i.e.*, a possible "trasferimento dei *Navalia* dal Campo Marzio alla pianura subaventina" - to borrow the phrasing of F. DE CAPRARIIS 2019, 168).

As I have only realized after having written this down, also Coarelli (2008, 464, quoted in more detail above, as the [6.] epigraph in this Section III.) asserts something similar:

"Non si tratta [*i.e.*, in the case of the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*] naturalmente del più antico porto militare romano, che è localizzato sulla riva del Campo Marzio, ma piuttosto di *Navala* ricordati da Cicerone, che li attribuisce all'architetto greco Hermodoros di Salamina, noto per la sua attività a Roma nella seconda metà del II sec.[olo] a.C. È probabile che l'opera sia stata realizzata nel corso della terza guerra punica, quindi tra il 149 e il 146 a.C., data che si addice alla tecnica edilizia utilizzata. Più tardi, quando Roma cessò di essere un porto militare, l'edificio venne convertito in un grande magazzino portuale ...".

**To Coarelli (2008, 464) just-quoted statement, I should like to add a comment :**

Again, neither Cozza and Tucci (2006), or Tucci (2012) assert anything like that. See Tucci's relevant response (2012, 586 with ns. 37, 38, quoted *verbatim supra* in this Section III., in my discussion of L. COZZA's and P.L. TUCCI's hypotheses) to Arata (in ARATA and FELICI 2011, but without indicating a page number), who had likewise misunderstood what Cozza and Tucci (2006, 196) had intended to say by mentioning Hermodoros in the context of their discussion of their *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*.

**With her statement, here called point 1.), de Caprariis (2019, 168) obviously refers back to her first sentence in her Section "3. POST NAVALIA" on page 166 :**

2.) "Per questo portico non si pone - o non dovrebbe porsi - la questione 'quali *navalia*?', ormai necessaria da quando è stata presentata la proposta di identificare il grande edificio in opera incerta di Testaccio con i *navalia* repubblicani (piuttosto che con la *porticus Aemilia*) [with n. 55; my emphasis].

In her note 55, de Caprariis writes: "Cozza, Tucci 2006, pp. 175-201; Tucci 2012, pp. 575-591".

Considering de Caprariis's (2019, 168, 166) 1.) and 2.) statements: *both* show that, in her opinion, Cozza and Tucci (2006) have (allegedly) asserted that the building at Testaccio, by them identified as *Navalia*, should be identified as '*the Navalia*' (*i.e.*, the port of the warships) - concerning which, as de Caprariis adds, Cozza and Tucci (2006) and Tucci (2012) have (allegedly) asserted that those *Navalia* have been 'moved' from their original location at the southern part of the *Campus Martius* to the Testaccio.

**De Caprariis's relevant assertions are not true. As we have seen above, in Section I., where this passage is quoted *verbatim* : when talking about the building at *La Marmorata*, Cozza and Tucci (2006, 180 [TUCCI]) speak of "dei *Navalia*". - See also Cozza and Tucci (2006, 197, 198 [both TUCCI], quoted in Section I. as the [1.] and [2.] epigraphs).**

**On the contrary :**

**Cozza and Tucci (*op. cit.*) suggest that the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata* were built as "arsenale" (shipyards) for the warships of the Roman fleet - which means that in Cozza's and Tucci's opinion '*the Navalia*' (*i.e.*, the port of the warships in the southern *Campus Martius*) stayed, of course, throughout their lifetime (at Rome !) in antiquity at their traditional location, the southern *Campus Martius*.**



See also Tucci's response (2012, 585, n. 34) to Arata and Felici (2011, 135 [ARATA]):

"Non si può neanche escludere, come suggerito da Claridge 2010, p. 404, che un bacino artificiale fosse stato creato davanti all'edificio [*i.e.*, the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*] e poi colmato per essere destinato alle strutture lungo il Tevere rappresentate sulla *Forma Urbis* e rinvenute negli scavi. **Arata evidenzia che «né risolve la questione (anzi la complica) pensare che qui da un dato momento non vi fosse più ospitata la flotta militare, ma solo l'arsenale dove si effettuava la manutenzione delle navi»** (Arata, Felici 2011, p. 135). **In realtà, nel mio articolo [*i.e.*, in: L. COZZA, P.L. TUCCI 2006, 197 (TUCCI), here quoted in Section I., as the [1.] epigraph] ipotizzavo che l'edificio di Testaccio potesse essere stato usato *sin dall'origine* per la riparazione e manutenzione delle navi [the italics are those of the author; the emphasis is mine]"**

**That my interpretation of de Caprariis (2019, 168, 166) here-so-called points 1.) and 2.) is correct, is proven by a passage in her text (2022, 120) :**

"In a much-discussed 2006 essay, Lucos Cozza and Pier Luigi Tucci rejected the identification of the building in Testaccio with the *porticus Aemilia*, proposing the supplement [*Naua*]*lia* instead of [*Aemi*]*lia* on the fragmentary inscription of this section of the marble plan: **according to their reading, the original function of the building was thus to accommodate the military fleet (fig. 5.2)** [my emphasis]"

**See also the last sentence of her conclusion: de Caprariis (2022, 139: "5.6. Conclusion"), quoted in more detail above, as the [12.] epigraph in this Section III. :**

"The historical consequences of this topographical debate can be summarized in **fig. 7a-b** [*corr.*: Figure 5.7a-b]. The first actually suitable spot downriver for the commercial expansion is the site of the presumed *naualia*. **Choosing it in order to duplicate an already existing and functioning arsenal implies a specific choice of urban layout in which the military aspect is paramount: the choice of a city-state at war, rather than that of a Mediterranean capital** [my emphasis]"

In my opinion, de Caprariis (2022, 139) has here misunderstood Cozza and Tucci (2006, see their pp. 180, 197, 198 [all TUCCI], all three quoted *verbatim* above in Section I., the latter two as the [1.] and [2.] epigraphs). And that concerning three points:

**a)** Nowhere Cozza and Tucci (2006) or Tucci (2012) suggest that '*the Navalia*' (*i.e.*, the port of the warships in the southern *Campus Martius*, see above, in Section II., and here **Fig. 107**) had been "duplicated" by the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*, as (erroneously) asserted by de Caprariis;

**b)** Nor call Cozza and Tucci (2006) or Tucci (2012) '*the Navalia*' (*i.e.*, the port of the warships in the southern *Campus Martius*) ever an "arsenal";

**c)** Cozza and Tucci (2006, 197 [TUCCI], quoted above, in Section I. as the [1.] epigraph) call only the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata* an "arsenal" (*i.e.*, a shipyard).

And what Tucci intends to say by calling these *Navalia* at *La Marmorata* an "arsenal", he explains in a passage that was already quoted above. In his response to Arata (cf. F.P. ARATA and E. FELICI 2011, 135 [ARATA]), Tucci (2012, 585, n. 34) writes:

**"In realtà, nel mio articolo [*i.e.*, in: L. COZZA, P.L. TUCCI 2006, 197 (TUCCI)] ipotizzavo che l'edificio di Testaccio potesse essere stato usato *sin dall'origine* per la riparazione e manutenzione delle navi [the italics are those of the author; the emphasis is mine]"**

Finally, in her publication (2022, 129 with n. 39) de Caprariis writes concerning this point:

"These literary attestations [which refer to '*the Navalía*', the port of the warships in the *Campus Martius*] are clear and unambiguous: any source that mentions *Nauvalia* with a topographical indication of sort unfailingly refers to the *Campus Martius*. It is perfectly possible that other shipsheds existed along the riverbank, but the *Nauvalia* with a capital N - the landmark, not the building typology - were upriver from the Tiber Island. **So, if the building in Testaccio where [corr: were] a group of *nauvalia*, it would be a nonspecific, new group of shipsheds, as Tucci has recently conceded.** [with n. 39] This point, which is not always considered or fully understood, makes the 'which *Nauvalia*?' question especially significant [my emphasis]".

In her **note 39**, de Caprariis writes: "Tucci 2012: 579, the Testaccio building is 'un gruppo di *nauvalia* [corr.: *navalia*] di età repubblicana, non i *Navalia* con la N maiuscola, dato che altri ricoveri per navi dovevano esistere lungo il Tevere'".

**Here, in my opinion, de Caprariis (2022, 129, with n. 39) is in part right and in part wrong at the same time: she is right in so far, as she quotes Tucci (2012, 579) (almost) correctly. But she is wrong with her assertion that Tucci has now "conceded" this - in de Caprariis's (erroneous) opinion - alleged *new judgement concerning the Navalía at La Marmorata*.**

On the contrary, as we have just seen in the discussion of de Caprariis's other statements concerning their hypotheses, Cozza and Tucci (2006, 180 [TUCCI]), quoted *verbatim* above, in Section I., and Cozza and Tucci (2006, 197, 198 [both TUCCI], quoted as the [1.] and [2.] **epigraphs** in Section I.), have never written anything else concerning their judgement of the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*.

**Concerning de Caprariis's (2019, 166) above so-named 2.) point, I think we should differentiate this question:**

I.) considering (the theoretical possibility) that '*the Navalía*' (the port of the warships) still existed in the Severan period in the southern part of the *Campus Martius*, and were labelled '*NAVALIA*' on the Severan Marble plan, we should, probably, not assume a second building called '*NAVALIA*', to be marked on the same marble plan at *La Marmorata*. - Although precisely that seems not to be true, because de Caprariis (2022, 129 with n. 40) herself mentions the example of some 'other *Navalia*', documented by an inscription on fragment 2a-b of the Severan Marble Plan (!);

II.) when it comes to the definition of the function of the building at *La Marmorata* discussed here, I disagree with de Caprariis (2019, 166: above so-named 2.) point). On the contrary, I would say: we actually must ask ourselves *what kind of Navalía* this may have been.

*This leads us to a discussion of 'the Navalía', (i.e., the port of the warships in the southern Campus Martius)*

Besides, as we learn from Filippo Coarelli ("*Navalia*", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 340), we should not expect to have found on the Severan plan the lettering '*NAVALIA*' at the site of the old Republican port of the warships in the southern *Campus Martius* any more:

"È comunque certo che intorno alla metà del I sec.[olo] a.C. essi [*i.e., the Navalía/ the port of the warships in the Campus Martius*] erano, almeno in gran parte, fuori uso, se venivano utilizzati per ospitare le belve destinate ai ludi (Plinius *nat.* 36.40) [my emphasis]".

But see de Caprariis (2019, 168 note 76), who interprets Pliny (*nat. hist.* 36.40) differently.

Also de Caprariis (2019, 168) herself writes about 'the Navalía', the port of the warships in the southern *Campus Martius*: "... *navalia* ... [i.e., 'the Navalía'] **nel Campo Marzio, e che questi erano in uso almeno fino al 56 a.C.** [my emphasis]".

De Caprariis (2019, 167-168 with ns. 71-77) thus refers to the famous story about Cato Uticensis, told *inter alia* by Plutarch (*Cat. Min.* 39), which she also mentions in (2022, 128, with n. 34).

As we have seen above in this Section III., the 'precise topographical description of the theatre of this event', taken together with the report, how the snake of Asklepios was brought with a warship in 291 BC to the Tiber island, had *inter alia* been the basis for Wilhelm Adolph Becker (1843, 159-162, 629; 1844, 24-41) to become the first scholar who (correctly) located 'the Navalía' (the port of the warships) in the southern *Campus Martius*. As discussed above, in Section II., the arrival of the snake of Asklepios at the Tiber island, and 'the Navalía' (the port of the warships), into which this warship, after the completion of its mission, is shown as disappearing, are represented on the medallion (here Fig. 107).

As we have seen above, before Becker's publication (1843), 'the Navalía' (the port of the warships) had been assumed at the Testaccio/ *La Marmorata* (!).

For Cato *minor* or *Uticensis*; cf. Guy Edward Farquhar Chilver and Miriam T. Griffin: "Porcius (*RE* 20) Cato (2), Marcus, 'of Utica' ('Uticensis') (95-46 BC) ...", in *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 1225-1226.

And de Caprariis (2022, 128), even writes: "**As a matter of fact, the *Navalia* are consistently located in the *Campus Martius* from the fourth century to 25 BCE** at least [my emphasis]". Unfortunately de Caprariis does not provide a reference for the latter date ("to 25 BCE at least").

See also above, in Section I. *Introduction*, where I have discussed the remark of Cozza and Tucci (2006, 197 [TUCCI]), quoted as the [1.] **epigraph** in Section I.: there Cozza and Tucci mention "l'evidente assenza [at Rome] **di flotte con grandi navi da combattere**" at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC [my emphasis].

Cozza and Tucci (*op. cit.*) are thus, in my opinion, referring to the fact that from 37 BC onwards, Marcus Agrippa had been creating and training a new military fleet. But that was under Octavian/ Augustus (cf. *infra*) not based at Rome any more, but at Misenum and Ravenna.

Apropos, "(Plinius *nat.* 36.40)", mentioned by Filippo Coarelli in the above-quoted text ("Navalia", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 340). Pliny would have been the ideal person, whom we could have 'interviewed' concerning the question, what 'the Navalía', the (former) port of the Roman warships in the southern *Campus Martius* (and likewise the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, of course !) at his time looked like, and what those buildings were used for.

And that not only because he was obviously interested in 'Navalia', as Pliny's remark (*nat. hist.* 36,40) proves, which is understandable, given his 'profession' at the time of writing. Pliny should dedicate his *Naturalis Historia* in AD 77 to his good friend and comrade-in-arms, Caesar Titus. Perhaps already then, but certainly in AD 79, Pliny was no less than the Emperor Vespasian's 'admiral' of the Roman fleet of warships that since Octavian/ Augustus was based at Misenum (!).

Cf. Häuber (2006, 41; 2009, 314). See also Edward Togo Salmon and Nicholas Purcell (1996, 989): "[Under Augustus, Misenum] became one of the principal imperial naval bases ... The fleet (commanded in AD 79 by the elder Pliny (1), *Plin., Ep.* 6. 16. 20) [my emphasis]".

My thanks are due to Rose Mary Sheldon, who, correcting my English of an earlier draft of this *Chapter*, has added to my assertion that Pliny "was no less than the Emperor Vespasian's 'admiral' of the Roman fleet of warships", the following question: "or only under Titus, or under both?".

When trying to answer Rose Mary's question, I could not find any explicit information; cf. Nicholas Purcell (2012): "Pliny (1) the Elder (AD 23/4-79) Gaius Plinius Secundus, prominent Roman equestrian, from Novum Comum in Gallia Cisalpina ..., commander of the fleet at Misenum ... He became a member of the council of Vespasian and Titus, and was given the command of the Misenum fleet". Under the perspective that he was (possibly) already at the stage of writing his *Naturalis historia* the 'admiral' of the fleet of warships, also the quote from Pliny (*nat. hist.* 3,5,54) in Cozza and Tucci (2006, 198 [TUCCI], quoted in Section I. as the [2.] epigraph) proves to be wisely chosen for the phenomenon, described by Cozza and Tucci in this context.

**Because by choosing this formulation, Cozza and Tucci intend to say: after the Tiber had in the past also transported Rome's fleet of warships, Pliny (*nat. hist.* 3,5,54) states that now the river was only used by commercial ships (!).**

I, therefore, repeat the relevant passage here again:

"The quote from Pliny (*nat. hist.* 3,5,54) refers to the Tiber and reads in more detail, than quoted by Cozza and Tucci (2006, 198 [TUCCI]), as follows: ... *et ideo quamlibet magnarum navium ex Italo mari capax, rerum in toto urbe nascentium mercator placidissimus, pluribus prope solus quam ceteri in omnibus terris ...*, and in an English translation: "... and consequently it [the Tiber] is navigable for vessels of whatever size from the Mediterranean, and is a most tranquil trafficker in the produce of all the earth ..." (text and translation: H. RACKHAM 1961)".

**De Caprariis (2019, 172) concludes:** "... ma è ugualmente notevole la relazione di alcune delle *porticus* di Nobiliore (*post nauvalia*, <ad> *aedem Apollinis medici*) con quello che sarà l'assetto storico del circo Flaminio. Di altre rimane solo la localizzazione, in certi casi problematica (*ad fanum Herculis*, *post Spei ad Tiberim*) [with n. 100], **mentre l'aspetto funzionale si direbbe chiaro per la *porticus extra portam Trigeminam*.**

[a] **La precisa definizione di quest'ultima locuzione, che piuttosto del termine *Emporium* [with n. 101] indicava il distretto commerciale fluviale [with n. 102], è un problema chiave. Non è questa la sede per discutere la questione, ma è evidente che, se si elimina la relazione con l'edificio di Testaccio. [corr : , ] l'espressione *extra portam Trigeminam* perde il legame con la pianura aventina, limitandosi alla stretta fascia di terreno tra Aventino e Tevere ...**

[b] **I 'Navalia' di Testaccio, ormai diffusamente datati intorno al 100 a.C. [with n. 104], complice anche l'attribuzione ad Ermodoro di Salamina ...**

[c] **Un approccio possibile e auspicabile sarebbe anche un censimento attento delle testimonianze per l'età repubblicana nella pianura aventina [with n. 105; my emphasis]".**

In her notes, de Caprariis provides references and further discussion.

In her **note 104**, she writes: "**A puro titolo di esempio e perché recente esempio di utile manualistica: Claridge 2018, p. 96, tabella 5.1. [my emphasis]**". - This is quoted above, as the [9.] epigraph in this Section III.

In her **note 105**, she writes: "Che potrebbe rivelare delle sorprese, a partire dal quadro anche familiare e affaristico dell'occupazione della pianura fatto da Robert Étienne (1987, pp. 235-249). Le testimonianze letterarie sono deboli ma non inesistenti: oltre i *praedia Sulpicia* (ÉTIENNE 1987, pp. 230-242), i problematici *praedia Tigellini Aemiliana* in connessione con gli *horrea galbana* (GUILHEMBET, ROYO 2008, pp. 213-216), collegherebbero topograficamente le proprietà delle due *gentes*. Sull'intera questione v.[edi] RODRÍGUEZ ALMEIDA 2014, pp. 548-559. **Le importanti campagne di scavo e ricerca degli ultimi anni (scavo nuovo mercato di Testaccio, 'porticus Aemilia project')** sono in corso di studio e pubblicazione (bibliografia aggiornata in BUKOWIECKI *et al.* 2018, p. 251, nota 55) [my emphasis]".

To de Caprariis (2019, 172) above-quoted statements, called by me [a], [b], [c], I should like to add some comments:

Ad de Caprariis (2019, 172) point [a], which relates to the controversial locations of the *Porta Trigemina* in the Servian city Wall :

I agree with de Caprariis that the *porticus extra portam Triginam*, by judging from the relevant ancient source, namely Livy (35,10,12; cf. *supra*, F. COARELLI 1999, quoted above, as the [4.] epigraph in this Section III.), was not necessarily located at the Testaccio. And, provided this *Porticus Aemilia* was not located at *La Marmorata*, it follows that also the *Emporium*, mentioned by Livy and all the other ancient authors together with this *Porticus Aemilia*, was not located there either (also for those literary sources; cf. *supra*, F. COARELLI 1999, quoted as the [4.] epigraph in this Section III.).

See now T.P. Wiseman (2021a, 30, quoted above as the [10.] epigraph in this Section III.).

Wiseman interprets Livy's mentioning of the *Porticus Aemilia* and of the *Emporium* precisely in that way, namely by assuming that both were located outside the *Porta Trigemina*, as Livy writes (but not any more at the Testaccio, as T.P. WISEMAN 1993, 184 with n. 21, had suggested; the relevant passages of WISEMAN's texts, 1993 and 2021a, will be quoted *verbatim* below, in this Section III.). As we have already learned above, the location of the *Porta Trigemina* in the Servian city Wall, in its turn, is closely related to the location of the *Pons Sublicius*.

This leads us to the controversy concerning the location of the *Pons Sublicius*.

*The controversy concerning the location of the Pons Sublicius (cf. here Figs. 58; 58.1; 58.2; 73)*

Note that T.P. Wiseman (2021a, 30) locates the *Pons Sublicius* at its 'traditional site', that is to say, close to the *Pons Aemilius*, thus neglecting the new hypothesis, suggested by Tucci (2011-2012, 180, Fig. 2, p. 185, with Fig. 4). As already said, Tucci assumes the *Pons Sublicius* below the steep western slope of the Aventine, midway between the *Forum Boarium* and the quartiere Testaccio, and precisely there, where, at Lanciani's time, remains of several pillars of an ancient bridge were still extant, which already Giambattista (G.B.) Nolli in his large Rome map (1748) had attributed to remains of the *Pons Sublicius* (cf. here **Figs. 153**).

I myself; cf. Häuber (2005, 29, Abb. 5, label: site of PONS SUBLICIUS, p. 36 with 224; not discussed by neither P.-L. TUCCI 2011-2012; F. COARELLI 2019a, 138-142; or T.P. WISEMAN 2021a), have located the *Pons Sublicius* at the same site as Wiseman (2021a). I have argued with the 'street fans', visible in the photogrammetric date on both banks of the Tiber, which may be regarded as certain indications for a formerly at this site existing (ancient) bridge. But at that stage of my research, I had not illustrated these 'street fans' on our maps. Thanks to Franz Xaver Schütz, who has published on our Webserver our georeferenced map of archaic Rome with all later city walls (cf. here **Fig. 71**, inserted box on top right), together with the official OSM-data, this 'street fan' in Trastevere is clearly visible (see also here **Figs. 58.1; 58.2**).

As I realize only now, the relevant 'street fan' in Trastevere, which indicates the former location of the *Pons Sublicius*, had already been mentioned by Filippo Coarelli ("Pons Sublicius", in *LTUR* IV [1999] 112-113, Fig. 38; *Figg. II*, 123-124; the quote is from p. 113). Coarelli followed in this respect J. Le Gall (1953), and added to this also all other known arguments, which prove, also in my opinion, this location of the bridge:

"La posizione del ponte [*i.e.*, of the *Pons Sublicius*], di cui non resta alcuna traccia, può essere fissata con sicurezza in un punto immediatamente a valle del *pons Aemilius*, **come dimostra la più antica viabilità del Trastevere, che sembra convergere in questo punto (Le Gall [1953; *id.* 1953a]). Questa conclusione è confermata dalla tradizione della fuga di Gaio Gracco dall'Aventino all'Gianicolo, che collega il ponte alla porta Trigemina (v.[edi]) e soprattutto dall'identificazione della zona *inter duos pontes* con il tratto di fiume immediatamente a valle del *pons Aemilius*, che si ricava dalla citazione di Lucilio e di C. Titius in *Macr. Sat. 2.12*, confermata da *Iuv. 5.103-106*, da cui risulta che lo sbocco della *cloaca Maxima* (v.[edi]) veniva a cadere in quel punto [my emphasis]**".

In his bibliography, Coarelli quotes Joël Le Gall (1953, 80-86; *id.* 1953a, 78-82). The relevant plan of Le Gall is illustrated in de Carariis (2022, 123, Fig. 5.4). See for the flight of Gaius Gracchus now also Coarelli (2019a, 138-142, Fig. 69: "Itinerario della fuga di Gaio Gracco ..."; Fig. 7). To this I will come back below.

Cf. here **Figs. 58; 73**, labels: AVENTINE; CLIVUS PUBLICIUS [here identified with the Clivo dei Publicii]; Servian city Wall; PORTA TRIGEMINA / ARCUS LENTULI ET CRISPINI; TIBERIS; site of PONS SUBLICIUS; VIA CAMPANA-PORTUENSIS; REGIO XIV; TRANSTIBERIM; Round Temple; CLOACA MAXIMA [the black arrow points at the mouth of the *Cloaca Maxima*; cf. here **Fig. 154**]; VICUS TUSCUS; FORUM BOARIUM; R.[EGIO] XI; PORTA FLUMENTANA; site of "Fornix Augusti"; PONS AEMILIUS [Ponte rotto]; VIA AURELIA; Temple of Portunus; HORREA [AEMILIA]; PORTUS TIBERINUS.

For a discussion of those toponyms; cf. Häuber (2005, 35-38).

**Fig. 154. The Tiber with the mouth of the *Cloaca Maxima*. Above it, we see on the eastern bank of the Tiber the round temple, which stood to the west of the *Forum Boarium*. To the north of the round temple are visible the Temple of Portunus and the Palazzo dell'Anagrafe, underneath of which parts of the *Horrea Aemilia* have been excavated; all these buildings were erected in the old commercial river port of Rome, the *Portus Tiberinus*. Photos: Courtesy Franz Xaver Schütz (23-III-2006).**

In my reconstruction of the topography of the area (2005; here **Figs. 58; 73**), I have followed those scholars, who identify the *Clivus Publicius* with the Clivo dei Publicii (not with the Clivo di Rocca Savella; cf. here **Fig. 58.1**, labels: Clivo dei Publicii; Clivo di Rocca Savella). The motivation to learn more about the location of the *Pons Sublicius* came, when I studied the water marks on the façade of the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, the ancient and post-antique floods of the Tiber, and the destruction of the *Pons Aemilius*.

Cf. Häuber (2017, 358): "The highest watermark visible on Figure 10.2 is that of the year 1598 [with n. 163] (see the lettering: 1598), the line indicating the peak of this flood stands at 3,95 above the square Piazza della Minerva [with n. 164]. It is one of formerly altogether 19 watermarks that once documented this highest flood which was ever recorded for Rome in post-antique times. It had reached at the still existing water gauge ('idrometro') [with n. 165] of the former Porto di Ripetta (cf. here Fig. 10.4) the level of 19,56 m [with n. 166] (!) and had destroyed several bridges, among them the never again restored ancient bridge *Pons Aemilius*, identified at the time with the ancient *Pons Sublicius* [with n. 167], and called Ponte di S. Maria, which was henceforth called Ponte rotto".

In my **notes 163-167**, I provide references.

In my **note 167**, I write: "for those two ancient bridges, cf. Häuber 2005, 35-36 with ns. 222-224, map on Fig. 5, labels: Tiber; PONS AEMILIUS; site of PONS SUBLICIUS; *ead.* 2014 [*i.e.*, here C. HÄUBER 2014a], Map 5 [= here **Fig. 73**, now updated], labels: TIBERIS; PONS AEMILIUS; site of PONS SUBLICIUS. Cf. P.L. Tucci 2011 and here Fig. 3.5 [= here **Fig. 58**, now updated], labels: TIBER; PONS SUBLICIUS. On the latter map, I have followed the relevant findings of P.L. Tucci 2011 [*i.e.*, here P.L. TUCCI 2011-2012; cf. p. 180, his Fig. 2]".

In those earlier accounts I have, exactly like Pier Luigi Tucci (2011-2012, 180, Fig. 2), tried to find *lineaments* in Trastevere, on the right bank of the Tiber, that might indicate the former location of the *Pons Sublicius*: this led to the observation of the above-mentioned 'street fan' in Trastevere. Because we base our maps on the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale, they are georeferenced and at the level of parcel boundaries. Both taken together, and using geoinformation technology had the effect that we have arrived on our maps **Figs. 58; 73** at a different location of the *Pons Sublicius* than Tucci (2011-2012, 180, Fig. 2).

To demonstrate this point, I add here the sketches of two new maps: **Figure 58.1** shows an overlay of our map **Fig. 58** with the street level of the OSM data. The maps **Figs. 58** and **58.1** show that the ancient road *Via Aurelia* (drawn as a blue line = an ancient road) led to the ancient *Pons Aemilius*. From the *Via Aurelia* branched off to the south-east a road which survives in modern roads that lead also in direction to the Tiber. **Fig. 58.2**, an enlargement of **Fig. 58.1**, shows that at that scale the street level of the OSM data shows many more street names, among them the names of those roads that belong to our 'street fan': *Via del Buco*, *Via dei Salumi*, *Via Ripense*, *Via Pietro Peretti*. The maps **Figs. 58** and **58.1** show that the ancient road *Via Campana - Portuensis* reached this area from the south-west. Tucci (2011-2012, Fig. 2) has tentatively corrected the northern section of the course of this road towards the Tiber. I have drawn this corrected course of the *Via Campana - Portuensis* on **Fig. 58** as a dotted green line (= a reconstructed ancient road). As visible in the photogrammetric data, after which I drew this map **Fig. 58**, now also documented on **Fig. 58.1**, the modern roads *Via di San Michele* and *Via Ripense* are *lineaments*, which follow this corrected course of the *Via Campana - Portuensis*, thus proving the basis of Tucci's tentative reconstruction right. But the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale, after which I drew this reconstructed road on **Fig. 58**, and the OSM data show, that the roads, which are the basis of this reconstructed ancient road, do not end at the site, suggested by Tucci (2011-2012, Fig. 2) for the *Pons Sublicius*, but instead at the point more to the north, where I assume the *Pons Sublicius*.

This is also clear because the other two roads of this 'street fan', documented (1) by the *Via Aurelia*, the *Vicolo del Buco* and the *Via dei Salumi*, and (2) by the *Via Pietro Peretti* (by which the *Pons Aemilius* and the *Pons Sublicius* were, in my opinion, interconnected), lead likewise to the *Via Ripense* - facts that Tucci (2021-2022, Fig. 2) has not realized. The location of the *Pons Sublicius*, indicated by the 'street fan' of those three roads thus turns out to be the traditional location of this bridge.

**Fig. 58.1, first sketch.** Overlay of our updated map Fig. 58 of the 'Campus Martius in the Imperial period with adjacent areas, 2023' with the street level of the OSM data, showing the site of the ancient *Pons Sublicius*. C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz, "AIS ROMA", reconstruction, 2023. The photogrammetric data, on the basis of which Fig. 58 was first drawn (cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 63, Fig. 3.5), were generously provided by the Sovraintendente ai Beni Culturali of Roma Capitale. For the OSM data; cf. OSM.org [11-VI-2023].

**Fig. 58.2, first sketch.** Enlarged detail of Fig. 58.1. By enlarging the map Fig. 58.1, many more street names became visible in the street level of the OSM data. Some of those streets belong to the above-mentioned 'street fan' in Trastevere. This 'street fan', that is to say, those converging modern roads, may be regarded as *lineaments*, which indicate the point, where once had stood the ancient *Pons Sublicius*. C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz, "AIS ROMA", reconstruction, 2023. The photogrammetric data, on the basis of which Fig. 58 was first drawn (cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 63, Fig. 3.5), were generously provided by the Sovraintendente ai Beni Culturali of Roma Capitale. For the OSM data; cf. OSM.org [11-VI-2023].

Taking the maps **Figs. 58; 58.1** and **58.2** together, the streets that lead from a westerly direction to the Tiber and to the *Pons Aemilius* are: the VIA AURELIA, Via della Lungaretta, Piazza in Piscinula, Piazza Castellani. The street-fan, leading from three directions to the (former) ancient *Pons Sublicius*, consists of the following roads: *a*) from the north-west: VIA AURELIA; Vicolo del Buco; Via dei Salumi; Via Ripense; *b*) from the south-west: VIA CAMPANA - PORTUENSIS; Via di San Michele; Via Ripense (note that on the sketch **Fig. 58.2**, the letterings [VIA CAMPANA -] PORTUENSIS and Via di San Michele appear 'on top of' each other); and from the north-east: *c*) Via Pietro Peretti, Via Ripense.

The *Clivus Publicius* is mentioned in the report on Gaius Gracchus's flight from the Aventine down to the Tiber. Those, who believe Gaius Gracchus rushed down the Clivo di Rocca Savella on the western slope of the Aventine, consequently, assume the *Porta Trigemina* in the Servian city wall and the *Pons Sublicius* much more to the south than the locations assumed here for both (cf. here **Figs. 58; 73**). The Clivo di Rocca Savella (cf. here **Fig. 58.1**) leads to the already mentioned (former) pillars of a bridge in the Tiber, documented for example by Nolli on his Large Rome Map (1748; here **Fig. 153**), which have, therefore, been attributed to the *Pons Sublicius*. Pier Luigi Tucci (2011-2012, 180, Fig. 2, label: PONS SUBLICIUS; PONS THEODOSII; p. 296, Fig. 9, label: *T = bridge of Theodosius (A.D. 381-387), ex Pons Sublicius (?)*), who likewise locates the *Pons Sublicius* there, supports this idea by asserting that in the area, where I locate on here **Figs. 58; 73** the *Pons Sublicius*, no ancient bridge cannot possibly have existed. He argues with his reconstructions of the Severan Marble plan on both banks on the Tiber in this area, in which no bridge appears.

Tucci (2011-2012) does not say that he has personally viewed the relevant fragments of the Severan Marble Plan, on which he has based his relevant reconstructions. Francesca de Caprariis (2022, 131, with n. 51, Fig. 5.8 [= P.L. TUCCI 2011-2012, Fig. 2], quoted *verbatim* below), who mentions Tucci's reconstructions, does not address the fact that (in theory) Tucci's reconstructions preclude the assumption of the *pons Sublicius* at its 'traditional' site, immediately to the south of the *Pons Aemilius*/ 'Ponte Rotto'. But de Caprariis (2022, 131, with ns. 51, 52, quoted *verbatim infra*) likewise reminds the reader of the fact that the location of the *Pons Sublicius* is dependent of the decision, with which road we identify the *Clivus Publicius*: with the Clivo dei Publicii, or with the Clivo di Rocca Savella. And because I myself do not know those fragments of the Severan Marble Plan from autopsy, on which Tucci (2011-2012, Fig. 2) has based his reconstructions of both banks of the Tiber in this area, I am currently unable to judge, whether or not his reconstructions are correct.

Concerning the identification of the *Clivus Publicius* with the Clivo di Rocca Savella, that has for example also been suggested T.P. Wiseman (1996a; reprinted 1998), this has been refuted by Filippo Coarelli (2019a, 138 with n. 22, p. 139 with Fig. 68 [= T.P. WISEMAN 1996a, Fig. 6]). Coarelli (2019a, 138-142, Fig. 69) himself identifies the *Clivus Publicius* with the Clivo dei Publicii. Coarelli's own reconstruction of the "Itinerario della fuga di Gaio Gracco" (so the caption of his plan Fig. 69), has now been followed by T.P. Wiseman (2021a, 28-29, with Fig. 6 [= F. COARELLI 2019a, 141, Fig. 69], pp. 33, 35).



Let's now return to our main subject.

**De Caprariis (2022, 131) writes about the *Porta Trigemina*:** "In this scenario, the expression *extra Portam Trigemina* would mean a location in the close vicinity of the gate. [with n. 50] **The gate itself is only roughly located at the foot of the Aventine Hill** [with n. 51] but the direction it faced south or west - is paramount and still to be ascertained. [with n. 52; my emphasis]".

In her **note 50**, de Caprariis writes: "**This was an old objection to Gatti's *porticus Aemilia* location: more on this *infra*** [my emphasis]".

In her **note 51**, she writes: "**The label *Porta Trigemina* in fig. 5.8 roughly summarizes its position (Tucci 2011-2012: 180, fig. 2) but it must be kept in mind that the location of the gate is connected with the *clivus Publicius* (either the modern Clivo dei Publici [!] or the Clivo di Rocca Savella). See the following footnote** [my emphasis]".

In her **note 52**, she writes: "This is in fact another topographical debate (of no little consequence to the history of the development of the Republican city): Coarelli 1988: 25-34, with the observations by Wiseman 1990: 730-732 and Ziolkowski 1994: 184-196. See now Tucci 2011-2012: 178-183".

**Add to the publications quoted by de Caprariis (2022, 131, ns. 51, 52) concerning the location and orientation of the *Porta Trigemina*, also Häuber (2005, 35-36, with ns. 219-224, Arbeitskarte 5. For a detail of this Arbeitskarte 5, now updated; cf. here Fig. 73); also for the identification of the *Clivus Publicius* with the Clivo dei Publicii (not with the Clivo di Rocca Savella); Filippo Coarelli (2019a, 138-142, who, as already mentioned above, has refuted the hypothesis that the *Clivus Publicius* could be identified with the Clivo di Rocca Savella); as well as T.P. Wiseman (1996a; reprinted 1998; and 2021a).**

My thanks are due to Amanda Claridge, who was kind enough to send me Wiseman's essay (2021a) on 3rd April 2022. When reading Wiseman's text, I have realized that, to verify his relevant findings in depth, several *measured* phase maps of the area between the Capitoline, the Tiber and the Aventine should be drawn, in order to better understand the various possible courses of the Servian city Wall that he discusses, but illustrating his ideas himself only with cartographic sketches. For earlier versions of his relevant reasonings concerning the locations (and orientations) of the three gates in the Servian city Wall between the Capitol and the Aventine (*Porta Carmentalis*, *Porta Flumentana*, *Porta Trigemina*); cf. Wiseman (1990, 730-731, with three sketches illustrating his hypotheses); and Wiseman (1996a, Fig. 6; reprinted 1998, 96, Fig. 6).

Drawing measured maps takes a long time, and only such maps could be a reliable base for discussions of this kind, at least in my opinion. Therefore, I cannot discuss here all the implications of Wiseman's (2021a) new findings but must postpone this to a future occasion.

**Concerning the toponym *Emporium*, de Caprariis (2022, 133) writes:** "It must be conceded that the Roman *emporium* escapes definition [with n. 57]. As a place name it is not attested beyond the first half of the second century, and its dimensions have probably been overestimated [with n. 58; my emphasis]". - In her **notes 57 and 58** she provides further discussion and references.

**Ad de Caprariis (2019, 172) point [b]:**

The building at *La Marmorata* discussed here is referred to by de Caprariis (2019, 172) as "I 'Navalia' di Testaccio". The author herself (2022, 138-139, with ns. 87; 88, quoted above, as the [12.] **epigraph** in this Section III.) identifies this building with the *Porticus Aemilia*. De Caprariis (2019, 172) quotes Claridge's suggestion (2018, 96, Table 5.1, quoted above, as the [9.] **epigraph** in this Section III.), according to which this building is datable to 'circa 100 BC'. At this point, de Caprariis quotes the *status quaestionis* concerning the date of the beginning of the *opus incertum* technique; or in other words: this is *not* her own opinion. This is clear, when we read her following statement: Caprariis (2022, 134-135 with n. 64) writes about the *opus incertum* building: "built presumably around 140 BCE or, if we were to follow the later dating, around [page 135] 100-97 [with n. 64]".

**Apropos de Caprariis's (2019, 172) mentioning of Hermodoros of Salamis at her point [b] :**

de Caprariis writes: "I '*Navalia*' di Testaccio, ormai diffusamente datati intorno al 100 a.C. [with n. 104], complice anche l'attribuzione ad Ermodoro di Salamina ...".

To this I repeat here, what was already said above: 'See Tucci's relevant response (2012, 586 with ns. 37, 38, quoted *verbatim supra* in this Section III., in my discussion of L. COZZA's and P.L. TUCCI's hypotheses) to Arata (in ARATA and FELICI 2011, but without indicating a page number), who had likewise misunderstood what Cozza and Tucci (2006, 196) had intended to say by mentioning Hermodoros in the context of their discussion of their *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*'.

**Ad de Caprariis (2019, 172, with n. 105), her point [c] :**

I do agree with de Caprariis that new research on the area in question may help us to better understand all the questions concerning the building '*Porticus Aemilia*'/ *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*, addressed here, and throughout this entire *Chapter*.

But, as already said above, the "problematici *praedia Tigellini Aemiliana* in connessione con gli *horrea galbana*", mentioned by de Caprariis (2019, 172, n. 105), were not located at the area of the Testaccio, as she believes, but instead within the area of the former *Villa* or *Horti* of Scipio Africanus *maior*/ Scipio Aemilianus on the Quirinal, discussed above in this Section III. This is my here-so-called third toponym called *Aemiliana*, which existed at the same time at the old centre of Rome as the other two toponyms called *Aemiliana*. See Coarelli (2019a, 212 with n. 76, quoted *verbatim supra*).

*Let's now turn to my own Conclusions -*

**concerning the statements of those scholars, which are quoted in the epigraphs [1.] - [12.] in Section I. Introduction and above, in this Section III. These passages relate to the '*Porticus Aemilia*'/ *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*, and the survey of these texts has led to two (at least for me) surprising results.**

As already said above, in Section I., I had already finished writing this *Chapter*, when the following texts reached me that I have decided to still integrate into my own account. This had the following effect:

'Studying the excavation reports by Burgers (*et al.* (2014a; *id.* 2014b; *id.* 2015) concerning the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, identified by them with the *Porticus Aemilia*, and the articles by de Caprariis (2019; *ead.* 2022), which are likewise dedicated to the '*Porticus Aemilia*'/ *Navalia*, has enlarged my overall vision respectively';

a) Reading those essays and also those publications again, on which I had based my earlier judgement, this has 'enlarged my overall vision' of the entire scholarly debate in so far as I have now taken the time to 'listen more carefully' to all those authors. To allow the reader a more comfortable study of the entire debate, I have decided to quote the relevant passages from those texts *verbatim*. As a result, this *Chapter* has grown to more than four times its previous size (!);

b) By studying the whole problem again in more depth, I realized a curious connection between the civil war ended by Octavian/ Augustus, which is of importance in the context of both *Navalia* discussed here:

- '*the Navalia*', the port of the warships in the *Campus Martius*, here **Fig. 107**, and  
- the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*, here **Fig. 102**); and the civil war, ended by Vespasian, discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I*.

The 'connection' between these two civil wars, at least in this *Study* on Domitian and his building projects at Rome, consists in the person of Sextus Pompeius. - To this I will come back below.

Ad a) Burgers (*et al.* 2014a; 2014b; 2015) and de Caprariis (2022, 138-139, with ns. 87; 88, quoted above, as the [12.] epigraph in this Section III.) reject the hypothesis of Cozza and Tucci (2006) and Tucci (2012), according to which the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* (here Figs. 102; 102.1; 102.2; 102.3) should be identified as *Navalia*.

Burgers (*et al.* 2014a; 2014b; 2015; cf. here Fig. 102.1; for the *abstract* of their publication of 2015; cf. above, quoted as the [8.] epigraph in this Section III.) and de Caprariis themselves (2022, 120, Fig. 5.2, above; cf. here Fig. 102.2, above) identify this building with the *Porticus Aemilia* instead. Cf. de Caprariis (2022, 138-139, with ns. 87; 88, quoted above, as the [12.] epigraph in Section III.).

Although having carefully studied the arguments of Burgers (*et al.*, *op. cit.*) and of de Caprariis (*op. cit.*), I myself still follow Cozza and Tucci (2006, 180; cf. pp. 197, 198 [all TUCCI], quoted above, in Section I. as the [1.] and [2.] epigraphs), and Tucci (2012), in assuming that the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* cannot possibly be identified with the *Porticus Aemilia*, but was instead built as "dei *Navalia*" (so L. COZZA and P.L. TUCCI 180 [TUCCI]).

But not as 'the *Navalia*', as they themselves formulate, the port of the warships (here Fig. 107), which remained throughout its lifetime in antiquity (at Rome !) in the southern *Campus Martius*. But rather as shipyards for those warships, and that, in the second phase in their lifetime in antiquity, 'from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC onwards', those *Navalia* at *La Marmorata* were used commercially. - So far the hypotheses, formulated by Cozza and Tucci (2006, 180, 194, 197, 198 [all TUCCI]) and Tucci (2012) themselves.

In this *Chapter*, I myself have added a nuance to Cozza's and Tucci's (2006; P.L. TUCCI 2012) own scenario, by tentatively suggesting that those "funzioni commerciali" (in the plural !) of the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*, as assumed by Cozza and Tucci (2006, 197 [TUCCI]; quoted above in Section I. as the [1.] epigraph), could possibly have consisted *inter alia* in using those former military shipsheds 'from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century' onwards as commercial *Navalia*.

According to my own hypothesis, this second phase of the lifetime of the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata* in antiquity must have ended, when the structures were built that are only visible on the Severan Marble Plan (cf. here Figs. 102; 102.2; 102.3; 103, inserted box). Those buildings stood right in front of these *Navalia*, and provided, those buildings had been erected in front of the entire building (!) - thus (in theory) 'blocking' the entrances to its 50 aisles, at least in case those (presumed) *Navalia* had (*inter alia* ?) indeed been used until this very moment as shipsheds for commercial ships. As we have seen above, in Section I., these structures are so far not precisely datable, as stated by Giovannetti (2016, 21-23, Fig. 7 [= here Fig. 102.3, inserted box]), who has studied them recently. But, as likewise already mentioned, Emilio Rodríguez Almeida (1993, 20) had dated these structures to the Trajanic period.

I am fully aware of the fact that my own findings, presented in this *Chapter* and summarized below, can only be regarded as preliminary. Not only because of my good friend Lucos Cozza's wise remarks concerning his own studies of the *Navalia* at *La Marmorata* (cf. L. COZZA and P.L. TUCCI 2006, 176 [COZZA], quoted above, as the [3.] epigraph in this Section III.).

I also know at least some results of the recent first scientific excavations of this *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, conducted 2011-2013. Which is why it is certainly better to wait with the formulation of an all-embracing hypothesis concerning this '*Porticus Aemilia*'/ *Navalia* for the moment, when those excavations will one day be finished and completely published. A hypothesis that should present this extraordinary structure in its topographical, historical and architectural contexts throughout its complete lifetime in antiquity - and beyond.

The excavators Burgers (*et al.* 2014a; *id.* 2014b; *id.* 2015: the *abstract* of the latter publication is quoted above, as the [8.] epigraph in this Section III.) had so far only the opportunity to investigate some areas immediately outside this enormous *opus incertum* building and the structure itself within parts of its Xth, XVth and XVIth aisles (cf. here Figs. 102; 102.1; 102.2; 102.3).

**Burgers (*et.al.* 2015, 199) state that, by means of their excavations, they were so far unable to clarify for what purpose this building had originally been erected.**

And because they don't address the question, *when* this *opus incertum* structure had possibly been built, my impression is that they may have decided to wait until they can present proofs, provided by relevant excavation results. The authors take for granted that this building has correctly been identified with the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina*, rejecting Cozza's and Tucci's (2006; cf. P.L. TUCCI 2012) proposal to identify it as *Navalia*, but they do not discuss this point in detail. Burgers (*et al., op. cit.*) date the dramatic architectural changes of the building, by which it was transformed into *Horrea*, to the Trajanic/ Hadrianic period. In addition to this, they have also found that part of the building were henceforth *used* as *Horrea* (at least its XVIth aisle), and precisely for storing grain. They can also prove that the building, from the Trajanic/ Hadrianic period onwards until late antiquity, was characterized by a great diversity of uses.

**For the time being, I can only express my following impression. Burgers (*et al.* 2014a; *id.* 2014b; *id.* 2015) have been able to prove that, in the Trajanic/ Hadrianic period, by means of dramatic architectural changes of at least parts of it, the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* had been adapted to be used henceforth as *Horrea*. Given that fact, I find it logical to conclude that, consequently, this building had originally been built for a different purpose.**

**My own Conclusions -**  
*concerning the opus incertum building at La Marmorata, or why I do not identify  
this building with the Porticus Aemilia outside Porta Trigemina, but as Navalia*

As observed by Amanda Claridge (2010, 403, quoted above, as the [5.] epigraph in this Section III.) in her discussion of the '*Porticus Aemilia*' / *Navalia* at *La Marmorata* :

"... the building was identified with a *porticus Aemilia* mentioned by Livy (built by the aediles M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Aemilius Paullus in 193 BC, rebuilt in 174 BC) which made it by over a century the oldest concrete building anywhere and also put considerable strain on the architectural definition of 'porticus'".

See also Claridge (2018, 96, Table 5.1, quoted above, in this Section III. as the [9.] epigraph).

We hear from Livy (41,27,8); cf. Coarelli (1999, 116-117, quoted above as the [4.] epigraph in this Section III.), that "i censori del 174, Q. Fulvius Flaccus (*RE* VII Fulvius 61) e A. Postumius Albinus (*RE* XXII Postumius 26)" restored the *Porticus Aemilia extra portam Trigeminam*: that *Porticus Aemilia*, which was first built and, therefore, named after M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Aemilius Paullus in 193 BC.

Gatti (1934; cf. here Fig. 102.3) identified the partly extant *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, which is also represented, and even labelled on the Severan Marble Plan (cf. here also Figs. 102; 102.1; 102.2), with this *Porticus Aemilia*. *Inter alia* because Gatti (1934) read the main inscription of this building on the Severan Marble plan, of which only the three letters 'JLIA' survive, as: 'PORTICVS AEMILIA' (cf. here Fig. 102.3).

**Gatti (1934) came to the further conclusion that the beginning of the building technique *opus incertum*, in which this structure had been erected in the Republican period, is, therefore, firmly dated to this early period (*i.e.*, to 193 BC).**

**In my opinion, Gatti's (1934) relevant conclusion is nothing else but a classic example of circular reasoning.**

If that were true, we must ask ourselves, what is left of Gatti's (1934) very influential idea to identify the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* with the '*Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina*'.

**In my opinion, nothing.**

Because, as already observed by Claridge (2010, 404, quoted above as the [5.] epigraph in this Section III.) - and likewise by other scholars:

- With his description of the *Porticus Aemilia* as being located '*extra portam Trigeminam*', Livy (35,10,12) does not necessarily refer to the area of *La Marmorata*.

See now the interpretation of Livy (35,10,12) by T.P. Wiseman (2021a, 30, quoted above, as the [10.] epigraph in this Section III., and again below), who, in my opinion, therefore consequently locates the *Porticus Aemilia* outside the *Porta Trigemina*, as Livy writes (but not any more at the Testaccio, as he had done in 1993, 184 with n. 21).

This first and the following points have been discussed in this *Chapter*, where I have quoted also scholars, who have made those observations long before Claridge (2010), Wiseman (2021a) and myself, and whose results I repeat here:

The assumption that the area of *La Marmorata* had been since the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC the new commercial river port of Rome is wrong, because it is based on the (erroneous) location of the *Emporium* there. Considering the fact that in our relevant literary sources the *Emporium* is always mentioned *together* with the *Porticus Aemilia* (that is to say, from 193 BC onwards), this means, provided the *Porticus Aemilia* cannot be located at *La Marmorata*, the same must be true for the *Emporium*. For all the literary sources, in which the *Emporium* is mentioned, see above, the [4.] epigraph in this Section III.

See now the interpretation of Livy (35,10,12) by T.P. Wiseman (2021a, 30, quoted above, as the [10.] epigraph in this Section III., and again below), who, in my opinion, therefore consequently locates also the *Emporium* outside the *Porta Trigemina*, as Livy writes (but not any more at the Testaccio, as he had done in 1993, 184 with n. 21);

- if indeed this *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* was erected 'circa 100 BC', as suggested by Claridge (2018, 96, Table 5.1, quoted above, as the [9.] epigraph in this Section III.: a date, similarly suggested already before by S. TUCK 1999, 263, and by L. COZZA and P.L. TUCCI 2006, 194 [TUCCI], all of whom quoted and discussed above, in Section I.) - it follows that this building was erected circa 100 years later than the *Porticus Aemilia* of 193 BC;

- this huge *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, to judge from its architectural typology, is not a *porticus*, as likewise observed by Tuck (1999, 263), quoted above, in Section I.) - and by many earlier and later scholars;

- but, by judging from its location close to the Tiber, its architectural typology, combined with its sloping floor, must instead be identified as *Navalia* - together with Cozza and Tucci (2006, 197, 198 [both TUCCI], quoted above as the [1.] and [2.] epigraphs in Section I.; and P.L. TUCCI 2012).

**According to de Caprariis, the (main) and the 'preliminary' inscription on fragments 23 and 24b of the Severan Marble Plan, which represent the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, cannot help us in our efforts to identify this building.**

Cf. de Caprariis (2019, 166, quoted above and discussed in this Section III., and de Caprariis (2022, 127, with n. 30, with Fig. 5.2, above and below [cf. here **Fig. 102.2, above and below**]; cf. p. 122, Fig. 5.3, quoted above, as the [11.] epigraph in this Section III.).

The reason being, according to de Caprariis (*op. cit.*), that not only the suggested readings of Carettoni *et al.* (1960: `Aemilia'; cf. here **Fig. 102.2, above**) and of Cozza and Tucci (2006: `Navalia'; cf. here **Fig. 102.2, below**) are both possible, but also other alternatives. Or, as de Caprariis (2022, 127) writes: "**The old Aemilia, or Nauvalia, or indeed other readings are all possible** [my emphasis]", quoted in more detail above, in the [11.] epigraph of this Section III.

**Above, in Section I., and in this Section III., in my discussion of de Caprariis's relevant hypotheses (2019, 166; ead. 2022), I have explained the following observations in detail; some of the passages of one of these texts are repeated here *verbatim*.**

**Concerning the inscriptions of the *opus incertum* building on the Severan Marble Plan, I do agree with de Caprariis (2022, 127), that 'the reading *Navalia* is possible'. But the position of the fragment 23 of the Severan Marble Plan within the ground-plan of this building precludes, in my opinion, at the same time the identification of this building with the *Porticus Aemilia*.**

**And that for the following reasons :**

De Caprariis (2022, 119, Fig. 5.1 [= here **Fig. 102.2, above**]) publishes the reconstruction of 'Testaccio and Trastevere' by Gianfilippo Carettoni, Lucos Cozza, Antonio Maria Colini and Guglielmo Gatti (1960). De Caprariis (2022, 120, Fig. 5.2, above) shows a detail of this plan by Carettoni *et al.* (1960), with the *opus incertum* building, labelled: 'AEMILIA'. This reconstruction by Carettoni (*et al.* 1960) indicates the precise position of the fragment 23 of the Severan Marble Plan within the ground-plan of the *opus incertum* building. Fragment 23 carries the letters 'JLIA' of the building's main inscription, which Carettoni *et al.* (1960) have reconstructed as '[AEMI]LIA'. Therefore, the reconstructed label 'AEMILIA' on the drawing by Carettoni (*et al.* 1960; F. DE CAPRARIIS 2022, 120, Fig. 5.2, above; cf. here **Fig. 102.2, above**) is located very closely to the eastern short side of the *opus incertum* building (for the true orientation of this building; cf. here **Fig. 102**). And this fact has, in its turn, the effect, that in the reconstruction by Carettoni *et al.* (1960) there is no chance 'of squeezing in' the additional word 'PORTICVS' in front of the reconstructed label 'AEMILIA'.

Besides, the latter is exactly what Gatti had indicated on his own reconstruction of this building (1934; cf. here **Fig. 102.3**, label: 'PORTICVS AEMILIA'). Apart from the fact that in all our ancient literary sources, the (real) building in question is *always* called 'porticus', and only once 'Porticus Aemilia', but never only 'Aemilia'. For those literary sources, see above, the [4.] and [10.] epigraphs in this Section III. (the latter is quoted again below). That the reconstruction of the main inscription of the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* by Carettoni, Cozza, Colini und Gatti (1960; here **Fig. 102.2, above**) lacks the word 'PORTICVS' in front of the reconstructed label 'AEMILIA' is, of course, known to all scholars discussed here. Also that Gatti (1934; here **Fig. 102.3**), in his own reconstruction, had restored this inscription as 'PORTICVS AEMILIA' is likewise known. Finally it is certainly known to all those scholars that the 'Porticus Aemilia' is always called 'Porticus' in our literary sources, but only once 'Porticus Aemilia', and never only 'Aemilia'. Those literary sources are quoted above, in the [4.] and [10.] epigraphs of this Section III. (the latter is quoted again below).

This leads us to:

*My own contribution to this entire discussion*

**It consists in my hypothesis that I hope to have proven in this Chapter: that the controversy concerning the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* can be solved, when the inscriptions on fragments 23 and 24 of the Severan Marble, which represent the ground-plan of this building, are discussed in the context of the altogether 3 toponyms called *Aemiliana*, which had *contemporaneously* existed in the centre of ancient Rome. In the following summary of my relevant research we shall see that it is also of importance to know, which individuals of the family of the Aemilii had erected the buildings in question.**

The starting point of my relevant research was my rejection of Carettoni (*et al.*'s 1960) reconstruction of the main inscription on the *opus incertum* building as 'AEMILIA', which has been discussed and followed by de Caprariis's (2019, 166; *ead.* 2022, 120, Fig. 5.2, above [= here **Fig. 102.2, above**]; cf. pp. 138-139 with ns. 86-88, quoted *verbatim* above, as the [12.] epigraph in this Section III.

This first finding, in its turn, was based on the following observations: Coarelli (2019a, 213 with n. 81) has, in my opinion, convincingly suggested that fragment 621a-d of the Severan Marble Plan had belonged to the *Horrea Aemiliana*. This fragment of the Severan Marble Plan carries the inscription 'AEMILII' (cf. *LTUR* I [1993] 358, Fig. 4), and has securely been located in the area of the *old* river port. As we have seen above, in this Section III., the *Horrea Aemiliana* have been excavated at the building site of the Palazzo dell'Anagrafe. That is to say, the *Horrea Aemiliana* stood in the *old* commercial river port of Rome, next to the *Forum Boarium*. - With this suggestion, I follow Coarelli ("Aemiliana", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 18-19), as well as his reading of the inscription on fragment 621a-d as: 'AEMILII[ANA]'.

Considering the (alleged) existence of those two buildings, named after the Aemilii, and both (allegedly) represented on the Severan Marble Plan, has led to the following conclusion:

Provided, the *opus incertum* building in the *new* commercial river port at *La Marmorata* was indeed the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina*, these two buildings called after the Aemilii, both represented on the Severan Marble Plan, should, in my opinion, somehow have been differentiated: the complete inscription of the building in the *old* river port should, in my opinion, have read '[HORREA] AEMILII[ANA]' (or alternatively: 'AEMILII[ANA]', because in the literary sources it is named like this), and the label, appearing on the Severan Marble Plan on the ground-plan of the building in the *new* commercial river port should have read: 'PORTICVS AEMILIA' (because in the literary sources it is always named '*porticus*', but only in one source '*Porticus Aemilia*', and never only '*Aemilia*'). - But, as we have just seen, precisely that was certainly *impossible*, because on the drawing of the building's ground-plan on the Severan Marble Plan there is not space enough left to write 'PORTICVS' in front of the (restored) label: 'AEMII]LIA' (here **Fig. 102.2, above**).

**If all what was said so far in my conclusions concerning the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* (here Figs. 102; 102.1; 102.2; 102.3) should be true, which I think it is, it follows that this structure, in my opinion, cannot possibly be identified with the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina*.**

To my own above-summarized thoughts we may add the following observations by Tucci (2012, 586, quoted *verbatim supra* in this Section III. in the discussion of L. COZZA's and P.L. TUCCI's hypotheses).

Also Tucci (*op.cit.*) stresses the fact that the idea, according to which the *Emporium*, mentioned by Livy, may be assumed in the area of the Testaccio since the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, is based on an error. Tucci (2012, 586) adds to this the very convincing remark: Provided, the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* were indeed the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina*, how could we explain that the Romans in 193 BC had erected a 'commercial building' of that size half a kilometre to the south of the City of Rome?

**To Tucci's (2012, 586) observation, we may add still another thought. We know that the *Horrea Aemiliana* and the *Pons Aemilius* (which have both been discussed in this Chapter), not by chance, had been erected in and immediately adjacent to the *old* commercial river port of Rome, close to the *Forum Boarium*. I, therefore, see no reason, why the *Porticus Aemilia* should *n o t* have stood in the same area as well.**

Thus, at the very end of this Section III., after this long discussion of the '*Porticus Aemilia*'/ *Navalia*' problem, I have arrived at the same conclusion concerning the (real) *Porticus Aemilia* as T.P. Wiseman (2021a, 30, quoted above, as the [10.] epigraph in this Section III.). - Also Tucci has arrived in two of his publications at the same conclusion (2012, 589, with n. 49, quoted above in this Section III., where he refers to P.L. TUCCI 2011-2012).

*I myself have arrived at the same conclusion concerning the (real) Porticus Aemilia  
as T.P. Wiseman (2021a, 30) for the following reasons*

We learn from Livy (35,10,11-12) that M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Aemilius Paullus, during their aedilship of 193 BC, had not built only one, but two porticos, both standing outside gates in the Servian city Wall; cf. Wiseman (1993, 184).

In the case of the *Porticus Aemilia*, which was leading *ab porta Fontinali ad Martis aram*, Wiseman (1993, 184) writes that this "was providing a colonnade along the street that led from the gate closest to the Forum to the great new road to the north, the Via Flaminia".

Something similar, I think, is also reasonable to suppose in the case of the other *Porticus Aemilia*, which the aediles of 193 BC, M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Aemilius Paullus, built 'outside the *Porta Trigemina*': *porticam unam extra portam Trigemina, emporio ad Tiberim adiecto*, as Livy (35,10,11-12) says. Of the "colonnade along the street", as Wiseman (1993, 184 with n. 21) imagines the *Porticus Aemilia*, that led from the *Porta Fontinalis* in the Servian city Wall to the Altar of Mars in the *Campus Martius*, no remains are known.

Cf. **Fig. 59**, labels: CAMPUS MARTIUS; Piazza Venezia; Via del Plebiscito; Structure C: so-called ARA MARTIS; VILLA PUBLICA ? / DOMUS?; VIA FLAMINIA / VIA LATA / Via del Corso. **Fig. 58**, labels: CAPITOLINE; Servian city Wall; PORTA FONTINALIS; VIA FLAMINIA / VIA LATA.

For the 'Structure C: so-called ARA MARTIS; VILLA PUBLICA ? / DOMUS?', marked on our map here **Fig. 59**; cf. Häuber (2017, 175-177).

What we do have is a Republican structure in the *Forum Holitorium* (a 'covered road' ?) (cf. here **Fig. 102.6**), which is called 'porticus' in the scholarly literature, and that is oriented from a north-westerly direction towards another gate in the Servian Wall: the *Porta Carmentalis*, that is to say, towards the second-next gate in the Servian city Wall to the north of the *Porta Trigemina*. Is it conceivable that the 'Porticus Aemilia' outside the *Porta Trigemina* had been a structure of *that* kind as well ?

**Fig. 102.6. The Republican structure in the Forum Holitorium (a 'covered road', or porticoed street), leading from a north-westerly direction to the Porta Carmentalis in the Servian city Wall. Photos: Courtesy Franz Xaver Schütz (11-V-2022).**

On our map here **Fig. 74**, I have drawn this "republikanische Porticus 'O' (eine Via Tecta?)" (here **Fig. 102.6**), which covered a road (drawn as a dark blue line on this map) that led to the *Porta Carmentalis*; cf. Häuber (2005, 51, with n. 368, with references to this Republican *porticus* in the *Forum Holitorium*, and Abb. 2 (= here **Fig. 74**)).

Cf. **Fig. 74**, labels: CAPITOLIUM; PORTA CARMENTALIS; [porticus] O; **Fig. 58**, labels: CAPITOLINE; Servian city Wall; PORTA CARMENTALIS / Republican PORTA TRIUMPHALIS; VICUS IUGARIUS; "VIA TRIUMPHALIS"; **Fig. 59**, labels: FORUM HOLITORIUM; "VIA TRIUMPHALIS".

After having written this down, I realized that already Tucci (2012, 591, Section: "SUMMARY") has written something similar, although Tucci does not refer to the porticoed street (**Fig. 102.6**) discussed here:

*"It is likely that the actual porticus Aemilia, one of the several porticoes built in the first half of the second century BC, was simply a porticoed street, located between the Forum Boarium and the Tiber [the italics are those of the author]"*.

Cf. here **Fig. 73**, labels: CAPITOLIUM; Servian city all; PORTA CARMENTALIS; TIBERIS; HORREA [AEMILIANA]; PORTA FLUMENTANA; AEDES: PORTUNUS; PORTA TRIGEMINA; FORUM BOARIUM.



*Who were those Aemilii, who commissioned all the buildings discussed here ?*

When asking ourselves, who had commissioned the buildings discussed in this *Chapter*, we have just heard above in my conclusion: `... that *Porticus Aemilia*, which was first built and, therefore, named after M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Aemilius Paullus in 193 BC [my emphasis]´.

And above, in Section I: `Cf. Ernst Badian ("Cornelius (RE 335) Scipio Aemilianus Africanus (Numantinus), Publius, born 185/4 BC as second son of L. Aemilius Paullus (2) ... , in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> [1996] 397 [the emphasis is by the author])´.

See John Briscoe ("Aemilius (RE 114 (??) Paullus (2), Lucius ... He was elected to a second consulship for 168, and ended the Third Macedonian War by his victory at Pydna ... his two elder sons by his first wife Papiria, had been adopted and became ... Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus and P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus ... [the emphasis is by the author]", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1966) 21; cf. John Briscoe (2012).

**This means that one of the two men, after whom both buildings called *Porticus Aemilia* (built 193 BC) were named, namely L. Aemilius Paullus, the `Conquerer of Greece´ (cf. W. REITER 1988) and victor of Pydna (168 BC), was the natural father of Scipio Aemilianus, `the destroyer of Carthage´ (146 BC), who completed the *Pons Aemilius* (in 142 BC) and built the *Horrea Aemiliana*.**

See for L. Aemilius Paullus and his son Scipio Aemilianus and their achievements: T.P. Wiseman ("Rome and the resplendent Aemilii" 1993, 184-185, Fig. 4: "A family tree of the Aemilii Paulli, Cornelii Scipiones and Fabii Maximi ...").

Reading again the article by Peter Wiseman (1993), I realized that Wiseman's (2021a, 30 with n. 84) most recent opinions concerning the complex of questions discussed in this *Chapter* - quoted above, as the [10.] epigraph in this Section III. - differ greatly from those, he himself has published 30 years ago.

I, therefore, repeat here again T.P. Wiseman's relevant laconic remarks (2021a, 30 with n. 84, the [10.] epigraph in this Section III.), immediately followed by his earlier opinions concerning the same subjects:

"The narrow strip of land between the steep Aventine slope and the river was progressively developed as Rome's commercial port, and the early stages of that process are reported by Livy with the unvarying description *extra portam Trigeminam*. [with n. 84; my emphasis]"

In his note 84, Wiseman writes: "Livy 35.10.12 (*porticus* and *emporium*, 193 BC), 35.41.10 (*porticus inter lignarios*, 192 BC), 40.51.6 (*porticus*, 179 BC), 41.27.8 (*porticus Aemilia* and steps at the *emporium*, 174 BC); see for instance Le Gall, 1953: 99–103; Bruno, 2012b [*i.e.*, here D. BRUNO 2012]: 399 [my emphasis]"

Note that in his earlier study of the same subjects also Wiseman (1993, 184) had instead identified `the *Porticus Aemilia* outside the *Porta Trigemina*´ with the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata* - exactly as several more recent scholars, whose publications have been discussed in this *Chapter*. Wiseman (1993, 184) had likewise located the *Emporium*, which is mentioned by Livy (35,10,11-12, 41,27,8), at the Testaccio/ *La Marmorata*. - Again exactly as several more recent scholars, whose publications have been discussed in this *Chapter*.

At that stage, Wiseman (1993, 184) had thus followed those scholars, who believed that, thanks to the relevant initiative by the two aediles M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Aemilius Paullus to erect (one of their two) *Porticus Aemilia*´ in the area of the Testaccio/ *La Marmorata*, this had been nothing less than "the creation of Rome's new commercial quarter" (!): "The first of these porticos [*i.e.*, the *Porticus Aemilia* outside the *Porta Trigemina*] was the huge market hall and warehouse south-west of the Aventine, rebuilt in 174, in its final form (as attested on the Severan marble plan) it was 487m long by 60m wide; with its *emporium adiectum* it represented the creation of Rome's new commercial quarter [with n. 21; my emphasis]"

In his **note 21**, Wiseman writes: "Livy 35.10.11-12, 41.27.8; see A. Boethius in Boethius and Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1970), pp. 107f., and E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London 1968), II 238-40. W. Reiter, *Aemilius Paullus, Conqueror of Greece* (London, 1988) p. 109, absurdly calls it 'a modest building program'".

**Ad b), my realization that Sextus Pompeius (circa 67-36 BC), the younger son of Pompeius Magnus, provides the 'connection' between the two civil wars that are mentioned in this Study on Domitian.**

I am referring here to the civil war, ended by Octavian/ Augustus, which is of importance in the context of the two *Navalia*, discussed in this Chapter: 'the *Navalia*', that is to say, the port of the warships (in the *Campus Martius*; cf. here **Fig. 107**) and the other *Navalia* at *La Marmorata* (which, according to COZZA and TUCCI 2006; P.L. TUCCI 2012, were built as the shipyards of the warships, and were later used commercially; cf. here **Figs. 102; 102.2, below**) - and the Civil War, ended by Vespasian, discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I*.

As Rita Paris (1994b) has shown, both Augustus and Vespasian had received the highest possible military decoration for these achievements, the *corona civica*, because they had managed to end those civil wars thanks to their military victories. As is well known, the (real) House of Augustus on the Palatine had been decorated with his *corona civica* (here **Fig. 35**). And, as Paris has convincingly suggested, Vespasian, therefore, is represented as being crowned by Victoria with the *corona civica* on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 14**), a fact that has been overlooked by all other recent scholars.

For Rita Paris's (1994a) important findings; cf. *supra*, in *Chapter V.1.i.3.a*, and below, in *Chapter The major results of this book on Domitian*.

After studying for this book on Domitian first the following subjects: cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.c*) *The precise date of Domitian's escape from the Capitolium, M. Volusius' disguise as an Isis priest in 43 BC, and the hypothesis that because of this alleged precedent, Domitian's disguise on 19th December 69 as a priest of Isis should therefore be regarded as an invention,*

- and now this *Chapter* on *La Marmorata*, I realized that Sextus Pompeius played very important rôles in both.

*Appendix I*. in volume 3-2 is dedicated to an event in the Civil War of AD 69: Domitian's flight from the *Capitolium*, which was besieged by the Vitellians. This event took place on 19th December AD 69. Tacitus and Suetonius both report that Domitian could escape thanks to a disguise as an *Isiacus*, or as a priest of Isis. Some scholars have doubted these testimonia, arguing that we learn from literary sources something very similar, which, in their opinion, allows the conclusion that the reports on Domitian's disguise should be regarded as inventions.

Cf. *supra*, in *Chapter Preamble; Section III.*, at point 1.).

These scholars refer to an event during the earlier civil war, in 43 BC. The story goes that M. Volusius, one of the men, who had been proscribed by the triumvirs Mark Antony, M. Aemilius Lepidus and Octavian (the later Augustus), in 43-42 BC, had managed to escape by disguising himself as a priest of Isis, wearing an Anubis mask. Luckily M. Volusius knew that Sextus Pompeius had decided to rescue the proscribed, and Volusius actually managed to reach him. As we will hear *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.c*), Sextus Pompeius had serious reasons to act this way. But, of course, Octavian/ Augustus tried to prevent him from helping the proscribed.

When trying to find out the meaning of a passage, written by Cozza and Tucci (2006, 197 [TUCCI], quoted as the [1.] epigraph in Section I.), I happened to find 'the other, still missing part' of the whole story about Sextus Pompeius.

Cozza and Tucci (2006, 197) write:

**"Più tardi, per l'evidente assenza di flotte con grandi navi da combattere, l'edificio [i.e. the 'Porticus Aemilia' / Navalía at the quartiere Testaccio / La Marmorata discussed here] dovette risultare inutile e addirittura "ingombrante", in una zona che cominciava ad assumere uno spiccato carattere commerciale. Visto il grande spazio coperto a disposizione e le eccezionali caratteristiche della struttura, è probabile che già dalla fine del I secolo a.C. l'edificio sia stato adibito a funzioni commerciali [my emphasis]"**.

Knowing already that Marcus Agrippa at the time in question had been secretly creating a new fleet of warships (cf. *infra*), I now found out, to my surprise, that not only Mark Antony had been the target of Octavian's and Agrippa's plans, but even earlier than that - Sextus Pompeius.

**From what Cozza and Tucci (2006, 197) write, we thus learn that, by the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, both Navalía, discussed here, were abandoned: 'the Navalía', the port of the warships in the southern Campus Martius (cf. here Fig. 107), and the Navalía at La Marmorata, the shipyards of the warships (cf. here Figs. 102; 102.1; 102.2; 102.3).**

Both facts can, in my opinion, be explained with decisions, made by Octavian/ Augustus during this civil war. As was already quoted above, in Section I., as a result of all this, the military fleet was henceforth not based at Rome any more:

**'See also Edward Togo Salmon and Nicholas Purcell (1996, 989): "[Under Augustus, Misenum] became one of the principal imperial naval bases ... [my emphasis]"**'.

Asking ourselves, how all that had begun, the answer to this question - at least in my opinion - is obviously: "Octavian's war against Sextus Pompeius", as Walter Richardson *et al.* (1996, 1601) write. I repeat, therefore, also the relevant passage, which was written for Section I. *Introduction*:

**'Geoffrey Walter Richardson, Theodore John Cadoux and Barbara M. Levick (1996, 1601) write about Agrippa: "... the lifelong friend and supporter of Augustus, was born in 64, 63, or even 62 BC of obscure but probably well-to-do family ... He accompanied Octavius (the future Octavian and Augustus) to Rome from Apollonia after [Julius] Caesar's murder, helped him to raise a private army ... As consul (37) he fitted out and trained a new fleet for Octavian's war against Sextus Pompeius, converting the lacus Avernus near Cumae into a harbour (portus Iulius) for the purpose, and in 36 won two decisive naval engagements at Mylae and Naulochus, where his improved grapnel was highly effective .... In 31 his vigorous naval operations were the primary cause of Mark Antony's defeat ...; at Actium he commanded the left wing ... [my emphasis]"**'.

**Agrippa's two above-mentioned decisive naval battles ("... [Agrippa] in 36 won two decisive naval engagements at Mylae and Naulochus"), were fought against Sextus Pompeius; cf. Theodore John Cadoux and Robin J. Seager (1996, 1217).**

See Theodore John Cadoux and Robin J. Seager (1996, 1216-1217) for: "**Pompeius (RE 33) Magnus (Pius), Sextus**, younger son of Pompey (Cn. Pompeius Magnus (1)) and Mucia Tertia, was born probably *c.*[circa] 67 BC ... [page 1217] ... the war [against Octavian] was decided by the battle of Naulochos (3 September [36 BC]). Sextus escaped with a few ships to Asia, where he attempted to establish himself, but was forced to surrender to M. Titius, who put him to death ... [the emphasis is by the authors themselves]". For Sextus Pompeius and his political motivations; cf. also T.P. Wiseman (2019, 7, 20, 109, 111, 162).

For another consequence of Sextus Pompeius's defeat at Naulochos; cf. Thomas Schäfer ("Das Tropaeum Augusti von Lugdunum Convenarum: Skylla, Sex. Pompeius und Oktavian", 2017).

Schäfer (2017, 337) writes in his Abstract:

"According to a new reconstruction proposal of the Augustan tropaeum from Lugdunum Convenarum, a Scylla on top of the lean bow formed its middle part. In fact, it is well known from literal and other iconographic sources that this kind of figure type served as the figurehead on the flagship of Octavian, fighting Marc Antony in the naval battle of Actium. Earlier, the female companion of Neptune had been used as a symbol by Sextus Pompey, the *Neptuni filius*, and it became a sign associated with Octavian only after the battle of Naulochos. Having this background in mind, it is of specific semantic significance that a Scylla was used on a victory monument for Augustus - in a city founded by Pompey Magnus".

Note that with "*Neptuni filius*", Schäfer (2017, 337; cf. pp. 345-346) refers to Sextus Pompeius, because the latter's father Pompeius Magnus was regarded as the 'new Neptune'; Sextus Pompeius had even himself called "*Neptuni filius*". See the well-known article by Eugenio La Rocca (1987/88), to which also Schäfer refers; cf. La Rocca ("Pompeo Magno, 'novus Neptunus', 1987/88).

Let's now return to our main subject, the discussion of *La Marmorata*.

**Section IV. The Statio Marmorum and the 'sculpture industry' at La Marmorata, its Tiber ships for the transportation of fresh marble blocks and of finished products, Domitian's Tiber ship delivering a block of marble (Figs. 105; 106), Domitian's 'pharaonic' building projects at Rome, and the question, whether the Navalía at La Marmorata had anything to do with all this. With some remarks on the heaviest object, ever transported on the Tiber in antiquity: the Lateran Obelisk (Fig. 101)**

The area of the former *La Marmorata* has been excavated in recent years, in order to build new, likewise vast market halls there, called *Il Nuovo Mercato del Testaccio*. For those excavations; cf. also Mirella Serlorenzi and Renato Sebastiani (2011). An initiative of the *Soprintendenza Speciale Archeologica Belle Arti e Paesaggio di Roma* (the Superintendency of Rome of the State), called *Museo Diffuso del Rione Testaccio*, has developed a didactic concept, by which all the excavated archaeological sites that belong to this area, comprising the ancient *Horrea* as well as the *Monte Testaccio*, are communicated to the public. Cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*.

I have elsewhere discussed the colossal statue of Minerva at the Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo. Considering its findspot: at the foot of the Aventine, at the 'Piazza dell'Emporio, Via Marmorata', I ask myself now whether this sculpture could have occurred at a workshop that belonged to the 'sculpture industry', located at *La Marmorata*, which will be discussed in this Section IV.

Cf. Häuber (2014a, 793): "... Erika Simon [with n. 6] suggested that the double life-size statue of Minerva in the Museo Nazionale Romano at Palazzo Massimo, carved from differently coloured stones, could be the cult image of the temple of Minerva on the Aventine".

In my **note 6**, I wrote: "E. Simon, *s.v.* Kolossale Kultstatue der Minerva, in Helbig<sup>4</sup>, III, 1969, pp. 153-154 no. 2244 (inv. no. 124 495; 2,50 m high)". - Simon (*op. cit.*) writes: "1923 an der Piazza dell'Emporio bei der Via Marmorata gefunden". Cf. Brunella Germini ("Statua di Minerva seduta", in: A. LA REGINA 1998, 20): "Dalle fondamenta di un palazzo presso via Marmorata, piazza dell'Emporio (1923) ... L'opera si data in età augustea". - By using white Luna marble for face, hands and feet, basalt for the coiffure, and yellow alabaster for Minerva's garments, this statue imitates Greek statues in chryselephantine technique.

Let's now turn to the findings of Patrizio Pensabene and Javier Á. Domingo concerning the provision of the Forum of Trajan with marbles by using the facilities at *La Marmorata*, for example the *Navalia* (which they themselves, in my opinion, erroneously identify with the '*Porticus Aemilia*' though), as well as all the other wharves and harbours on the Tiber discussed here.

Patrizio Pensabene and Javier Á. Domingo (2016-2017, 572-573, "Foro Traiano: organizzazione del cantiere e approvvigionamento dei marmi alla luce dei recenti dati di Palazzo Valentini"; I Il cantiere, l'approvvigionamento dei marmi, il trasporto e i costi dei grandi monoliti in granito del foro e in sienite; Section: "Il trasporto dei fusti lungo il Tevere") write about the area of the (alleged) *Emporium/ La Marmorata*, which, in their opinion, in antiquity was connected with the *Statio Marmorum*:

"Sappiamo che lungo le sponde del Tevere esistevano numerosi punti di sbarco di materiali costruttive. I blocchi di piccole o medie dimensioni potevano essere sbarcati a Porto, depositati in qualche magazzino e progressivamente portati a Roma in navi più piccole man mano ce n'era richiesta. Si tratta di un tipo di trasporto che doveva essere abbastanza frequente, ben illustrato dalla base della statua del Tevere, ora nel Museo del Louvre, nella quale è rappresentata una nave che sta trasportando un blocco di pietra (fig. 15 [= here Fig. 105]) [with n. 155], quasi a segnalare che questa era una delle attività più frequenti su questo fiume. Inoltre va ricordato la nota iscrizione del *corpus traiectus marmorarium* (CIL X, 542 = XIV, 425), probabilmente un collegio di marmorari specificamente destinato a compiere le delicate operazioni di trasporto di questi materiali. [with n. 156] Infine, un qualche lume su come avveniva il trasporto fluviale, ci viene da una rappresentazione di attività affini sul Tevere in un laterizio con rematori da una tomba dell'Isola Sacra, nella quale si rappresenta una barca con rematori e una cima tesa a poppo che sta molto probabilmente rimorchiando un'altra imbarcazione. [with n. 157]

Lo sbarco di questi materiali doveva avvenire, dunque, nei numerosi approdi fluviali individuati archeologicamente lungo le due sponde del fiume. Non possiamo in questa sede enumerarli tutti; [with n. 158] inoltre molti di essi sono formati da piccole strutture che non avrebbero permesso lo sbarco dei fusti giganteschi. In ogni caso numerose sono le segnalazioni di rinvenimenti di blocchi e marmi di [page 573] cava poco prima di arrivare a Porta Portese ad esempio quelli presso il Gasometro tra la via Ostiense e il Tevere), [with n. 159], e anche di tracce dell'attività di officine scultoree. [with n. 160]

Il porto di sbarco principale dei marmi era però quello di Marmorata, ai piedi dell'Aventino (fig. 16), collegato direttamente con la *Statio Marmorum*, da cui provengono blocchi con date consolari già dal periodo di Nerone, soprattutto di Domiziano e in minore misura di II secolo, con un picco in età adrianea. [with n. 161]

Questo porto si estendeva tra l'Aventino e il Testaccio, e vi sono stati rinvenuti durante gli scavi del Visconti del 1868-1870 ben 1.400 pezzi di marmo di maggiori dimensioni e migliaia di frammenti di lastre di minori dimensioni e tonnellate di schegge.

Rinvenimenti avvennero anche nella zona del Lungotevere Testaccio, con strutture risalenti all'età repubblicana, ma con diversi rifacimenti successivi che si prolungano fino alla seconda metà del II sec. d.C. con un notevole ampliamento proprio in età traiana. [with n. 162] Anche scavi degli anni '80 del secolo scorso hanno confermato l'esistenza di depositi di marmi nel settore lungo il fiume a sud-ovest della *porticus Aemilia* [here interpreted as *Navalia*]; [with n. 163] si tratta di un'area vicina a quella da cui provengono stele funerarie di funzionari e commercianti coinvolti nel commercio del marmo [my emphasis].

The caption of Pensabene's and Domingo's Fig. 15 [= here Fig. 105] reads: "Parigi, Museo del Louvre. Particolare della base della statua del Tevere con la rappresentazione del trasporto di un blocco di marmo". The caption of their Fig. 16 reads: "Roma, porto tiberino all'Emporio (da KEAY 2012)". - Note that on Keay's plan (2012) the bank of the Tiber in front of the '*Porticus Aemilia*' / *Navalia* is labelled: Emporio.

In their note 155, Pensabene and Domingo write: "Paris, Louvre MA 593; MAISCHBERGER 1997, p. 29, nota 129".

In their note 156, they write: "MAISCHBERGER 1997, p. 52".

In their **note 157**, they write: "*Digest.* 19.2.25.7; MEIGGS 1997, p. 298, tav, XXVIIIa; GIANFROTTA 2005, pp. 15-17, fig. 9".

In their **note 158**, they write: "**Citiamo solo l'approdo fluviale di fronte alla chiesa di S. Passera sul lato sinistro [corr.: destro] del Tevere e non lontano dalla basilica di S. Paolo f.l.m. [fuori le mura]. Questo è stato identificato per la presenza di una banchina portuale che potrebbe risalire alla metà del I sec. d.C.,** MOCCEGANI 1975-1976, pp. 250-262 [my emphasis]".

In their **note 159**, they write: "PENSABENE 1994, pp. 209-249.

In their **note 160**, they write: "Questi piccoli depositi, nei quali i marchi di cava non sono più antichi del tardo I secolo d. C., come nota Bruzza in base alle date consolari su blocchi riutilizzati a San Paolo, si estendevano quasi ininterrottamente lungo la sponda sinistra del Tevere, fin oltre S. Paolo, per la cui ricostruzione molti furono utilizzati: Bruzza in un manoscritto inedito reso noto da Gatti (GATTI 1936, pp. 55-82)".

In their **note 161**, they write: "MAISCHBERGER 1997, pp. 77-81, nota 333".

In their **note 162**, they write: "BIANCHI 2007, pp. 89-124".

In their **note 163**, they write: "MAISCHBERGER 1997, pp. 61-93, 175-177; KEAY 2012, p. 38". - See now Simon Keay, Martin Millett, Kristian Strutt and Paola Germoni (2020). I thank Hans Rupprecht Goette for the reference.

Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017, 572 with n. 158) understandably state in the above-quoted passage that, in the context of this article, they cannot possibly mention all the wharves and harbour facilities, that have been documented by excavations on both banks of the Tiber within the area discussed here.

Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017, 572) mention for example in their note 158 the "approdo fluviale di fronte alla chiesa di S. Passera" (the wharf in front of the Church of Santa Passera), which has become the motivation for Laura Gigli (2022) to write the fictional account of the Egyptian merchant *Ciro*, that is quoted *verbatim* above, in Section II.

Nevertheless I wish to remind the reader of one of these facilities, already mentioned elsewhere in this *Study*, because there it was even possible to handle the Lateran Obelisk (cf. here **Fig. 101**) (!).

*In the following, I allow myself a digression on the weight of the Lateran Obelisk (here Fig. 101).*

*When brought to Rome in AD 357, it was, according to several authors, 148 palmi high, whereas today it is 144 palmi high. According to Franz Xaver Schütz, the Lateran Obelisk was thus originally circa 33,08 m high and weighed circa 529 tons; whereas today it is still 32,18 m high and weighs circa 509 tons.*

This remarkable monolithic rose granite artefact which, at the moment when it arrived at Rome in AD 357, was, according to Franz Xaver Schütz, circa 33,08 m high, weighing circa 529 tons - the Lateran Obelisk (cf. here **Fig. 101**) - although now 'only' 32,18 m high and currently weighing circa 509 tons, is still the largest extant Egyptian obelisk. The Lateran Obelisk was carved from Aswan rose granite. For all those just-mentioned properties of this obelisk; cf. below, at *The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz: Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?*

For the meaning of this stone, when used for obelisks; cf. John Pollini (2017a, 53):

"In Egyptian religion, rose-coloured granite obelisks are sacred to the sun-god Ra, and their pyramidion-shaped capstones, probably gilded, are symbolic of the triangle that the sun's rays form, especially when seen on a cloudy day as they break through clouds. In fact, as Pliny (*HN* 36,64) tells us, the Egyptian word *tekhen* is the same for 'sunbeam' and 'obelisk'. Rose-colored granite used for obelisks was emblematic of the fiery sun itself and was understood as such even in Roman times, as suggested by the Greek word *pyrrhopoekilos* ('red-spotted') for this type of bespeckled rose-colored stone [Pliny *HN* 36.64]".

This passage I have already quoted in Häuber (2017, 426).

See also Patrizio Pensabene (1994, 313):

"... un altro caso più clamoroso è costituito dal granito di Assuan, in quanto il suo impiego nei grandi obelisci [!] introdotti a Roma in età augustea di cui è noto il significato simbolico d'immortalità connesso al culto dei faraoni (e di conseguenza degli imperatori romani che li utilizzarono ([with n.] 79) finisce per riverberarsi sulla pietra stessa".

In his **note 79**, Pensabene writes: "FANT, A distribution model for the Roman imperial marble[s; 1993], cit., pp. 148-149".

**Fig. 101. The obelisk standing in Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano at Rome, the 'Lateran Obelisk', commissioned by Pharaoh Tuthmosis III for the Temple complex of Amun in Karnak at Thebes (today Luxor). Rose granite from Aswan. Augustus had originally planned to bring this tallest of extant obelisks from Karnak to Rome, but it was only brought there in AD 357 under Constantius II, who erected it on the *spina* of the *Circus Maximus*; cf. Häuber (2017, 427-428: "Appendix 5. L. Habachi (2000) on the Lateran Obelisk (Fig. 5.1 [= here Fig. 101])"). From: Häuber (2017, 115, Fig. 5.1). (photo: F.X. Schütz 27-IX-2015).**

**Fig. 101.a. Cf. G.B. Cipriani (1823, with Tav. 1; 2), his discussion and etchings of the 12 (Egyptian) obelisks in Rome. The caption of his Tav. 1 reads: "Dodici Obelischii Egizj, che si osservano rialzati ad ornamento della Città di Roma, posti secondo ordine della loro rievazione". The caption of his Tav. 2 reads: "Fusti dei dodici Obelischii dei Egizj, che si osservano rialzati ad ornamento della Città di Roma, posti secondo il grado della loro altezza". Cipriani's etchings of those 12 obelisks are measured: the tallest one is the Lateran Obelisk. Cipriani has also discussed and drawn Domitian's obelisk, which he refers to in his text and on his plates as: "Agonale di Piazza Navona", see his Tav. 1; Tav. 2 (in both Domitian's obelisk is the fifth from left).**

For the Lateran Obelisk; cf. *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.c); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix I.d.1.a*); and in *Appendix VI.*; at Section VII.

In the following, I anticipate a passage, written for *infra*, volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.1.a*):

Paolo Liverani (2020, 25) provides additional information concerning the Lateran Obelisk (cf. here **Fig. 101**), namely that it had been brought to the river port, called *Vicus Alexandri*:

"... sotto l'Aventino invece arrivavano grano, olio, marmi e in genere le merci e derrate che venivano importate via mare e risalivano il fiume dal porto posto alla sua foce. Naturalmente questa è una schematizzazione: a valle del circuito delle Mura Aureliane si disponevano strutture portuali ancora per un lungo tratto del fiume e abbiamo notizia di carichi eccezionali come quello dell'obelisco di Costanzo II [*i.e.*, the Lateran Obelisk, here **Fig. 101**] che, secondo Ammiano Marcellino [with n. 43] fu sbarcato [in AD 357] al *Vicus Alexandri*, il porto fluviale a sud della basilica di S. Paolo noto nel Medioevo come Porto della Pozzolana [with n. 44]. Di qui avrebbe proseguito per la via Ostiense fino a raggiungere il Circo Massimo".

In his **note 43**, Liverani writes: "Ammiano 17.4.14".

In his **note 44**, he writes: "Barbini 2001".

As Liverani (2020, 25) writes, the ships in question "risalivano il fiume dal porto posto alla sua foce".

In the course of time the navigation on the Tiber had greatly been improved thanks to the fact that the Port of Claudius and the *Portus Traianus* were built; the latter was connected with the Tiber by means of the *fossa Traiana* and by the *Canale Romano* (cf. here **Figs. 95-97**).

Cf. Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017, 579, 581-582, quoted *verbatim infra*). For the Port of Claudius, the *Portus Traianus* and the channels, mentioned by Paolo Liverani (2020, 25), the *fossa Traiana* and the *Canale Romano*; cf. also Simon Keay and Martin Millett 2005 (269-296, Figs. 8.1.; 8.2; 8.4; 8.6 [= here **Fig. 95, above and below; Figs. 96; 97**]; Lorenzo Quilici ("Sul faro di Portus e una nota in margine al Porto di Traiano", 2017); and Simon Malmberg ("Understanding Rome as a port city", 2021).

**Fig. 95, above. From: S. Keay, M. Millett, L. Paroli and K. Strutt (2005, 273, Fig. 8.1. The caption reads: "The geographical context of the Claudian and Trajanic phases of Portus").**

**Fig. 95, below. From: S. Keay, M. Millett, L. Paroli and K. Strutt (2005, 274, Fig. 8.2. The caption reads: "Pre-Trajanic Harbour. Summary plan showing the evidence for the Claudian and first-century AD layout of Portus").**

**Fig. 96. From: S. Keay, M. Millett, L. Paroli and K. Strutt (2005, 280, Fig. 8.4. The caption reads: "Trajanic Harbour. Summary plan showing the evidence for the Trajanic and mid-Imperial layout of Portus").**

**Fig. 97. From: S. Keay, M. Millett, L. Paroli and K. Strutt (2005, 292, Fig. 8.6. The caption reads: "Late Antique Harbour. Summary plan showing the evidence for the late antique layout of Portus. The approximate extent of cemetery evidence from the field survey is shown by hatching").**

*According to the (erroneous) statement by Patrizio Pensabene and Javier Á. Domingo (2016-2017, 580), the Lateran Obelisk was originally 32 m high and weighed 350 tons*

Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017, 580) report also on the transportation of the Lateran Obelisk on the Tiber in AD 357, but believe that it was already at that stage 'only' 32 m high, and weighed 'only' 350 tons:

"La situazione pare diversa dopo la costruzione del porto di Claudio, anche se dobbiamo risalire a Costanzo II per una nuova informazione sul trasporto degli obelischi, che ora potevano avvicinarci alla città: egli fece trasportare da Alessandria **nel 357 d.C. un obelisco alto 32 m e di 350 tonnellate**, [with n. 195] destinato al Circo Massimo (**ora a San Giovanni in Laterano** [cf. here **Fig. 101**]), per il quale si utilizzò una nave apposita che rimontò il Tevere fino a 3 miglia a sud della città, dove l'obelisco fu sbarcato e portato a Roma attraverso la via Ostiense fino al circo (Am. Marcellino 17,4, 14-15) [my emphasis]".

In their **note 195**, Pensabene and Domingo write: "MAISCHBERGER 1997, pp. 28-29; LIVERANI 2012, pp. 471-487".

**But we shall see below that Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017, 580) have misunderstood Maischberger (1997, 28-29). Also Liverani (*op.cit.*) does not mention the weight of the Lateran Obelisk in his account.**

Needless to say that the Lateran Obelisk is *by far* larger than any of those Egyptian granite column shafts, that were used to build the Forum of Trajan, and which are the focus of Pensabene's and Domingo's essay (2016-2017).

Cf. for the measurements of the column shafts of this forum the chart published by Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017, 530-531). Cf. p. 531: the largest monolithic granite column shafts, measuring 50 Roman feet (= 14,78 m) have been attributed to the Temple of *Divus Traianus*. As is well known, a fragmentary one of these granite column shafts lies immediately to the north of the Column of Trajan; cf. p. 529, Fig. 1: "Fusto in granito del *Mons Claudianus*, alto 50 piedi, attribuito al Tempio di Traiano". Cf. p. 533, Fig. 4: the monolithic granite column shafts of the Basilica Ulpia measured "m. 8,82-8,84".



But we learn that even larger goods than the Lateran Obelisk (here **Fig. 101**) were transported in antiquity (but on seagoing ships!; cf. below) as Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017, 578-579) state:

**"È vero che lo studio dei relitti ci mostra come molte navi adibite al trasporto di blocchi di pietra avevano una capacità di carico fra le 200-350 tonnellate [with n. 185], con dimensioni intorno ai 30-40 [page 579] m di lunghezza per circa 14 m di larghezza [with n. 186; my emphasis]"**.

In their **note 185**, Pensabene and Domingo write: "MAISCHBERGER 1997, pp. 28-29; RATHBONE 2003, pp. 199-201. Un elenco di questi resti con ulteriore bibliografia, in: PENSABENE, DOMINGO 2016, p. 4".

In their **note 186**, they write: "PENSABENE 2013, p. 259".

**Note that Maischberger (1997, 28-29), whom Pensabene and Domingo quote in their note 185, refers in the relevant passage of his text to seagoing ships (that is to say, not to ships that had been travelling on the Tiber).**

Note also that there is also a problem with the information, provided by Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017, 580) for the weight of the Lateran Obelisk (*i.e.*, allegedly 350 tons), when that arrived at Rome in AD 357. - In case, the Egyptologist Labib Habachi (2000, 67) was right, who was of a different opinion.

This seems to be the case, since I had the chance to discuss the matter with the Egyptologist Emanuele M. Ciampini, who was kind enough to check the relevant literature for me. Labib Habachi (2000, 49, 67), contrary to Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017, 580, with note 195), knew perfectly well that the Lateran Obelisk (cf. here **Fig. 101**) had still its original height, when arriving at Rome in AD 357.

Habachi's (2000, 67) stated, in addition to this, that the Lateran Obelisk *currently* (still) weighs 455 tons:

"Bei einem Gewicht von 455 t beträgt seine heutige Höhe [*i.e.*, of the Lateran Obelisk] noch immer 32,18 m, obwohl im 16. Jh., bei seiner Wiederaufstellung, ein Stück abgeschlagen worden war".

Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017, 580 with note 195) clearly state instead that this obelisk weighed 'only' 350 tons when arriving at Rome. In a telephone conversation on 28th May 2021, Ciampini disclosed also the following problem to me: because the shape of the Lateran Obelisk is not perfectly regular, the calculation of its weight is kind of difficult, but a weight 'around 450 tons', as suggested by Habachi (2000, 67), is also according to Ciampini correct. This opinion Ciampini has now also confirmed by writing me an E-mail.

**If true, in antiquity even goods 'weighing around 450 tons' could be transported on the Tiber - that is at least recorded for AD 357 in the case of the Lateran Obelisk.**

Unfortunately, I am unable to offer a solution to this controversy concerning the actual weight of the Lateran Obelisk in this context.

A long time after I had written this down, Franz Xaver Schütz decided to study this problem. First of all he ordered in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek the book by the engineer Armin Wirsching, which Peter Herz has mentioned in his sixth Contribution to this volume ("Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung"). Wirsching's book has the title (*Obelisk transportieren und aufrichten in Ägypten und in Rom*, 2013).

Wirsching (2013, 116-117) writes about the Lateran Obelisk:

**"Der Lateran Obelisk hatte ursprünglich eine Höhe von 33 Metern, und das Gewicht wird auf mehr als 500 Tonnen geschätzt. Bei der Dritt-Aufstellung [in the Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano] mussten vom beschädigten Schaft 4 palmi abgeschlagen werden, um eine Standfläche zu erhalten [with n. 146]. Heute**

ist der Obelisk noch 32,15 Meter hoch. Der [page 117] Sockel hatte eine Höhe von rund 8,5 Metern, doch waren die Steine so stark beschädigt, dass man sie vor Ort liegen ließ [my emphasis]".

In his note 146, Wirsching writes: "Mercati (Anm. 122 [*i.e.*, here G. MERCATI 1589; *id.* 1981]) 138. D'Onofrio (Anm. 83 [*i.e.*, here C. D'ONOFRIO 1967]) 166. Iversen (Anm. 83 [*i.e.*, here E. IVERSEN 1968]) 55".

Then Franz Xaver Schütz ordered the book by Martin Maischberger in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (*Marmor in Rom: Anlieferung, Lager- und Werkplätze in der Kaiserzeit*, 1997). Franz checked the quotation of Maischberger, provided by Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017, 580, n. 195) for the weight "350 tons", for the Lateran Obelisk, writing in his second *Contribution* :

"PENSABENE, DOMINGO 2017

Offensichtlich in Mißverständnis von MAISCHBERGER 1997 schreiben PENSABENE und DOMINGO: "un obelisco alto 32 m e di 350 tonnellate, [with n. 195] destinato al Circo Massimo (ora a San Giovanni in Laterano)" (PENSABENE, DOMINGO 2017, 580). In ihrer Anmerkung 195 verweisen die Autoren auf "MAISCHBERGER 1997, pp. 28-29" und "LIVERANI 2012, pp. 471-487". MAISCHBERGER nennt zwar die Zahl von 32 m für die Höhe, jedoch kein Gewicht (MAISCHBERGER 1997, S. 29)".

For his detailed discussion of this subject; cf. below, at *The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?*

Let's now return to our main subject.

Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017, 579; cf. p. 573, Fig. 15) inform us also about the small ships on the Tiber, one of which, transporting a huge block of marble, is visible on the relief, illustrated on their Fig. 15 (= here Fig. 105):

"La prassi più comune per i carichi di fusti di piccola e media grandezza e di blocchi di marmo (esistono naufragi, come quello di Punta Scifo A, con carichi misti di fusti, blocchi e manufatti semifiniti come i bacini), era di trasferirli - soprattutto a partire della costruzione del bacino portuale di Claudio a Porto -, su battelli più piccoli che potevano rimontare il Tevere più facilmente (v.[edi] il rilievo del Louvre sopracitato [= here Fig. 105]). [with n. 187] A questo proposito vanno citati i *nautae*, cioè i marinai fluviali (*scapharii*, *lenuncularii*, *lyntrarii* e *caudicarii*) [with n. 188] che si occupano della discesa e della risalita delle merci lungo i fiumi. Le imbarcazioni usate erano i *lenunculi*, a remi, con una lunghezza di circa 10-12 m, per i quali vi era a Ostia un *ordo corporatorum lenunculariorum*, [with n. 189] o le *caudicariae* governate dai *navicularii codicarii*, cioè il *collegium* che riuniva gli addetti alla navigazione del Tevere su questo tipo di battelli fluviali a scafo rotondo, [with n. 190] di circa 16 m di lunghezza e 4,80 m di larghezza, con una capacità di carico di circa 30-35 tonnellate. [with n. 191] Alla navigazione fluviale, come è noto, si accompagnava la pratica dell'alaggio con animali e/o uomini che tiravano le funi legate all'albero del battello. [with n. 192].

Una conferma che a Porto avvenisse per i marmi un cambio del mezzo di trasporto è dato dal rinvenimento di centinaia di blocchi e fusti sulle sponde della *fossa Traiana*, in particolare sulla sinistra, dove si sarebbe localizzata la *statio marmorum* di Porto e comunque il deposito principale all'aperto ... [with n. 193; my emphasis]".

In their note 187, Pensabene and Domingo write: "Paris, Louvre MA 593; MAISCHBERGER 1997, p. 29, nota 129".

In their note 188, they write: "DIOSONO 2009, p. 472".

In their note 189, they write: "CIL XIV, 250, 251, 252; BONINO 2015, pp. 74-75".

In their note 190, they write: "CIL IV, 131, 170, 4144, 4234".

In their note 191, they write: "BONINO 2015, pp. 70-73".

In their **note 192**, they write: "V. [vedi] più ampiamente: AGUILERA MARTIN 2012 [*i.e.*, here A.J. AGUILERA MARTIN 2012], pp. 107-116".

In their **note 193**, they write: "BACCINI LEOTARI 1989, p. 43, n. 61".

Apropos "la pratica dell'alaggio", mentioned by Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017, 579), quoted above. Such scenes are, of course, also known from other rivers in the Roman Empire, for example from the river Durance in France, where barrels with wine have been transported this way; cf. Maria Paola Del Moro ("101. Bassorilievo con scena di alaggio", in: *Cat. Aurea Roma 2000*, pp. 481-482). - My thanks are due to Laura Gigli for the reference.

**Prerequisite for the transportation on the Tiber of goods of the calibre of the Lateran Obelisk (cf. here Fig. 101) was, apart from the *fossa Traiana* also another facility, built under Trajan, the *Canale Romano* (cf. here Figs. 96; 97).**

Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017, 581-582) write about the *Canale Romano* (here Figs. 96; 97):

"Dai dati fin qui presentati risulta dunque un'evoluzione del trasporto fra l'età di Augusto-Caligola - le grandi navi incaricate del trasporto degli obelischi si fermano a Ostia, da dove questi proseguono su imbarcazioni più piccole - e quella di Costanzo II [transporting the Lateran Obelisk; cf. here Fig. 101], quando la nave raggiunge quasi la città di Roma, fermandosi a 3 miglia a sud. [with n. 199] Questa differenza è evidentemente dovuta alla costruzione del porto di Claudio, inaugurato nel 64 d.C., poi integrato dal bacino esagonale e dalla *Fossa Traiana* (Canale di Fiumicino), che resero più facile la navigazione sul Tevere. Fino a questo nuovo sistema portuale Roma dipendeva dal porto di Pozzuoli, che ancora in età neroniana rivestiva un'importanza primaria per la città, visto che il vecchio porto di Ostia non era sempre agibile con navi di portata superiore alle 3.000 anfore; cioè circa 130-150 tonnellate. [with n. 200] Inoltre, molto probabilmente nell'età di Traiano si costruì il *Canale Romano*, di 35 m di larghezza e circa 5-7 m di profondità, [page 582] fra il Tevere e la *Fossa Traiana*, che avrebbe permesso la navigazione di navi cariche fino a 350-390 tonnellate. [with n. 201; my emphasis]".

In their **note 199**, Pensabene and Domingo write: "PENSABENE, DOMINGO 2016, pp. 4-5".

In their **note 200**, they write: "BONINO 2015, p. 12: Dionigi di Alicarnasso, *Antichità romane*, III, 44".

In their **note 201**, they write: "SALMON [*corr.*: F. SALOMON], GOIRAN, BRAVARD, ARNAUD, DJERBI, KAY, KEAY 2014, pp. 31-49, figg. 1 e 6".

**Apropos "navi cariche fino a 350-390 tonnellate", mentioned by Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017, 582), which, in their opinion, could travel on the Tiber as soon as the *Canale Romano* had been built in the Trajanic period.**

**But because Franz Xaver Schütz was able to demonstrate that the Lateran Obelisk (here Fig. 101) is still weighing circa 509 tons, but originally weighed circa 529 tons, when it was transported on the Tiber in AD 357, this statement by Pensabene and Domingo has to be corrected accordingly.**

Cf. below, at *The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?*

**To conclude this point.**

Patrizio Pensabene's and Javier Á. Domingo's (2016-2017, 572-573) above-quoted comments on the archaeological finds from this area, as well as from elsewhere on both banks of the Tiber between Porto and Rome, have shown that ancient Rome's *new* commercial river port at *La Marmorata* was used to stock huge quantities of building material, especially of all kinds of marble. Pensabene and Domingo have, in addition to this, demonstrated, that in this area was also located a grandiose marble working 'industry'.

As we have seen above, Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017, 573) report also on the fact that many fresh marble blocks, carrying consular dates of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century were found in the area of the river port at *La Marmorata*. In addition, it has been observed that the port facilities at the "Lungotevere Testaccio" (immediately in front of and to the west of the *Navalia*; cf. their Fig. 16 and here **Figs. 102; 102.3**) have undergone "un notevole ampliamento proprio in età traianea". - In my opinion, both facts, taken together, allow the conclusion that also parts of the architectural sculptures of the Forum of Trajan were made there.

**If true, that assumption would prove to be especially interesting in the context of this Study, because we know now for sure that the Forum of Trajan had been begun by Domitian.**

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d*); *Appendix IV.d.2.f*); *Appendix IV.d.4.*), *Appendix IV.d.4.b*), and *Appendix IV.d.4.c*).

In order to create the huge plane area for his Mega-Forum - the Forum of Trajan - Domitian ordered the destruction of the former *sella* between the Quirinal and the *Arx*, the northern summit of the Capitoline. This excavated material was used to fill in a valley on the *Mons Oppius*, at the bottom of which, in my opinion, ran the 'old *Vicus Iovis Fagutalis*' (part of this excavated ancient road is labelled "E" on our maps): this was the site of the future Baths of Trajan. I, therefore, suggest here that Domitian had obviously already planned or even started building large public baths at this site on the Oppian (a suggestion now also made by many other scholars).

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.c*) *Domitian's building projects at Rome. Conclusions arrived at in Appendix IV.d. With The first Contribution by Eugenio La Rocca.*

*As a result of this Chapter it seems to be clear that Domitian, who destroyed the sella between the Quirinal and the Arx, in order to erect his huge forum there (the later 'Forum of Trajan'), had used this excavated material to fill in a valley on the Mons Oppius. This finding invited the further assumption that already Domitian had planned to erect at this site great public baths, the now so-called 'Baths of Trajan'. The confirmation that Domitian had actually started building those baths, reached me only afterwards.*

Cf. **Fig. 73**, labels: COLLIS QUIRINALIS; "Mercati di Traiano"; FORUM TRAIANI; ARX; CAPITOLIUM; **Fig. 71**, labels: COLLIS QUIRINALIS; MONS OPPIUS; Building with "Citta Dipinta"; [road] E; old VICUS IOVIS FAGUTALIS; Baths of Trajan.

Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017) have documented and analysed in detail the admirable organization and management of the enormous building site, which is the focus of their article - the Forum of Trajan.

**Considering what was said above, all this had, in my opinion, at least in part already been envisaged and started by Domitian and his collaborators.**

Cf. Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017, 527-534, Section: "La gestione del progetto architettonico [of the Forum of Trajan] e l'approvvigionamento dei materiali"). Cf. p. 527, where the authors discuss Domitian's well documented activities at the surrounding fora that are all related to the realization of (his) Mega-Forum, the future Forum of Trajan - a fact which Pensabene and Domingo themselves do not address though.

As Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017, 527) observe, the organization of this building site required not only a very close and 'international' cooperation of many of the imperial *procuratores* and clients, but also a close cooperation with the leading politicians of the areas, where the desired rare building materials came from. The authors state also that the organization of the building site 'Forum of Trajan' was clearly based on relevant experiences already made by the Flavian emperors.

In the following, here not quoted, sections of their article, Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017, 575-591) reconstruct meticulously, how the finished architectural marbles were brought to their final destinations

(for example to the Forum of Trajan). Those architectural marbles and sculptures had been created in the workshops on the banks on the Tiber and elsewhere in Rome, which the authors discuss in their article (plus the large column shafts imported from Egypt). These artifacts were either transported from the harbour facilities, where for example those column shafts had been unloaded from their seagoing ships (see for those here **Figs. 98; 99**), or else from the workshops at Rome, where they had been made, to their relevant building sites. Because of the large sizes of some of these marbles, these enterprises often proved to be very difficult.

**Pensabene's and Domingo's (2016-2017, 579) above-quoted account and their Fig. 15, as well as the drawing in the Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo (for both; cf. here Figs. 105; 106), which show three ships on the Tiber, one of them transporting a huge block of marble, prove, in my opinion, that the location of sizeable *Navalia* at *La Marmorata*, as suggested here, was therefore more than necessary. And that for the following reasons:**

**a) because workmen from the sculpture workshops at *La Marmorata* eventually fetched marble blocks in the suitable sizes from the even larger magazines at Porto (where marble was stocked in great quantities), to be then manufactured at the workshops of *La Marmorata*; and -**

**b), once those sculptures were finished, they had to be delivered to their relevant building sites at Rome.**

This unique relief (here **Figs. 105; 106**), which illustrates among other things the transportation of a block of marble in a small ship on the Tiber, is to be found on a relief that adorns the plinth of Domitian's colossal statue of the River God Tiber (here **Fig. 104**). This fact is, of course, significant. See again Alexander Heinemann's (2018) choice of the title: "Blessings of Empire ..." for his article, in which he discusses the colossal marble statues of the River Gods Tiber and Nile (here **Fig. 104**), that Domitian had commissioned for his newly erected Iseum Campense.

**Many of the fresh marble blocks, found at *La Marmorata*, carry consular dates. As we have seen above, Patrizio Pensabene and Javier Á. Domingo (2016-2017, 573), studying also their chronology, have come to the conclusion that *most of them* are dated to the Domitianic period - as not otherwise expectable in this *Study on Domitian*, I should like to add. For that subject; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.c) Domitian's building projects at Rome: Conclusions*.**

In this *Chapter*, I could unfortunately not address all the findings that relate to the topographical features, ancient buildings and churches presented in the publications, that were available to me. But after writing it, one thing seems to be clear: the discussion of this very interesting quarter of Rome, called Testaccio and *La Marmorata*, and its immediate surroundings, will certainly go on for a very long time.

**As also not otherwise expectable, exactly as many other scholars, whose works have been summarized in this book on Domitian, I myself have likewise not covered the entire scholarly debate revolving around those subjects.**

Only when this volume was about to be sent to the press, have I for example found the article by Christer Bruun ("Approvvigionamento, infrastruttura, trasporti", 2022).

I quote here the English summary of his essay *verbatim* for the following reason. Bruun has already in 2022 pointed out some of the problems concerning the transportation on the Tiber of all the goods needed for the City of Rome, which, independently of him, have been addressed by Peter Herz in his sixth *Contribution* to this volume : *Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung*, and also by myself in this *Chapter*:

Cf. Christer Bruun (2022, Résumé): "This contribution is concerned with the provisioning of Rome during the Principate. Recent archaeological discoveries in the immediate area around the city of Rome provides new information on hydraulic resources and the technology (in particular, water-lifting devices) that were

available to the population. Most imports to Rome were transported on the Tiber, and there is new information on brick production upstream from Rome, while other new evidence pertains to the import of firewood from the Sabine country. Above all Rome was provisioned by imports which arrived at Ostia-Portus and were brought up to Rome on the Tiber in smaller craft (*naues caudicareae*). The journey up to Rome took three days and organizing the Tiber traffic was a major challenge for the imperial government, the complex nature of which is often not realized. The task was evidently handled successfully, since Rome and its population survived. The article concludes that when estimating the total population of Rome it is important to understand the constraints that the towpath along the Tiber represented for the volume of goods that could be hauled up to Rome.

Entrées d'index

Keywords :

water supply, imports, Tiber, *naues caudicariae*, Tiber towpaths".

*A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna (cf. here Fig. 29)*

This *Study* belongs to the following text; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2:

*Appendix IV.c.2.) The Ogulnian monument (a statue group representing the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, standing underneath the sacred fig tree ficus Ruminalis), and she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus on a headless cuirassed statue of a Flavian emperor (Domitian?) in the Vatican Museums (cf. here Fig. 6, right) and on Hadrian's cuirassed statue from Hierapydna at Istanbul (cf. here Fig. 29). Exactly like the statue of the ficus Ruminalis on the Anaglypha Hadriani (cf. here Figs. 21; 22), the lupa and the twins on those cuirasses symbolize Rome's claim to eternal power and divine mission, and that it was the task of the Roman emperor to fulfill this obligation (cf. C. Parisi Presicce 2000, 28, 29). With a discussion of the meaning of the lupa and the twins on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here Fig. 31), and with The second Contribution by Claudia Valeri*

*Introduction*

I have first come across this portrait of Hadrian from Hierapydna in Crete at Istanbul (cf. here **Fig. 29**) in Claudio Parisi Presicce's exhibition catalogue on the *lupa Capitolina* (2000, 39, cat. no. 14), in which several portraits of Roman emperors are discussed, the cuirasses of which show the *lupa*, suckling the infants Romulus and Remus; cf. for example Parisi Presicce (2000, 25-30, 39, cat. nos. 13 = cf. here **Fig. 6, right - a possible portrait of Domitian**), discussed below and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.)*.

The iconography, chosen for those cuirasses, is reminiscent of the Ogulnian monument, discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c)*. Later I became interested in Michaela Fuchs's (2014) observations concerning this statue (here **Fig. 29**). I hoped to find out, whether or not my interpretation of the statue of the *ficus Ruminalis*, that appears on both Anaglypha Hadriani (cf. here **Figs. 21; 22**), discussed in this *Appendix IV.*, could be corroborated. As is stated in the above-quoted title of *Appendix IV.c.2.)*, this is indeed the case.

Next I looked at Hadrian's portrait statue from Hierapydna (here **Fig. 29**) in the context of my studies on the *virtus* 'invincibility', that was on principle expected of all Roman emperors. This interest had been intensified by the research on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great; here **Fig. 11**).

I have at first asked myself, whether this statue of Hadrian/ Constantine (here **Figs. 11; 11.1**) could have belonged to the inscription here **Fig. 29.1**, dedicated to Hadrian by the Senate and the Roman People to commemorate his victory in the Bar Kokba Revolt. According to Geza Alföldy (at: *CIL VI 40524 = 974 = here Fig. 29.1*) and Michaela Fuchs (2014, 130), this honorary statue was erected within the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*. As I only found out later, already Cécile Evers (1991, 797, n. 72) had asked the same question. But after having finished writing this *Appendix IV.c.2.)*, I have changed my mind and suggest now that this honorary inscription (here **Fig. 29.1**) belonged instead to the prototype of Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna at Istanbul (here **Fig. 29**) and of the almost 30 replicas of this portrait of Hadrian.

Cf. *supra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11) ...*; at Part I. *The statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (cf. here Fig. 11), the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524; cf. here Fig. 29.1), and the cult-statue of Divus Vespasianus in the Temple of Divus Vespasianus. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great).*

The research on Hadrian's portrait from Hierapydna (here **Fig. 29**), in its turn, had the effect that I have added further parts to *Appendix IV.*: on Hadrian's military campaigns; on all of Domitian's building projects in Rome; and on Domitian's military campaigns. The latter research resulted in my hypothesis that Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 6**) shows Domitian's *profectio* to his Second Dacian War in the spring of AD 89 that ended with his victory, which the emperor celebrated with his (last) triumph in Rome in November/ December of 89.

At the end of all this research I, have therefore, decided to cut out of *Appendix IV.c.2.)* the following passages on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna (here **Fig. 29**), and to publish them as this separate *Study* in volume 3-1 of my book on Domitian.

Let's now turn to my idea, mentioned below (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*)), that Hadrian could have regarded himself - like all other Romans - 'as the son of Mars'. We will try to verify this hypothesis by discussing the cuirassed statue of Hadrian from Hierapydna in Crete (also spelled Hierapytna, Hierapetra, and Ierapetra) at Istanbul (cf. here **Fig. 29**). But there is more. In the following I repeat, therefore, a passage, written for *supra*, Chapter *Preamble*; at Section II.: 'Also Hadrian did not feel 'only' like the 'son of Mars' ... the iconography of his cuirassed portrait-statue from Hierapydna in Crete (here **Fig. 29**) even assimilates Hadrian to the god. According to Michaela Fuchs (2014, 129-130 with ns. 40-44, Fig. 7 [cf. here **Fig. 129**])) this is proven by coins, issued by the emperor, which show Hadrian in the pose of Mars Ultor, and this pose is exactly the same as that of this portrait-statue (here **Fig. 29**)'.

**In the following, I anticipate my own conclusions concerning Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna:**

I follow A. Caló Levi (1948), C. Vermeule (1981), P. Karanastasi (2012/2013), and M. Fuchs (2014) that Hadrian's coins (here **Fig. 129**) represent the prototype of Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna (here **Fig. 29**); I follow Vermeule (1981), B. Bergmann (2010b), Fuchs (2014), and L. Cigaina (2020), in assuming that the statue-type of Hadrian, to which his portrait from Hierapydna belongs (here **Fig. 29**), was an honorary statue, dedicated to the emperor to commemorate his suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt; and Cigaina (2020, 222) that the replicas of this portrait-type of Hadrian (here **Fig. 29**) are datable to AD 132-138; I follow G. Alföldy (1996 = here **Fig. 29.1**), W. Eck (2003), Fuchs (2014), and C. Barron (2018) in assuming that the fragmentary inscription (*CIL* VI 974 = 40524 = here **Fig. 29.1**), found 'within?', 'beneath?', or 'in front of?' the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*, belonged to an honorary statue, dedicated by the Senate and the Roman People to Hadrian in AD 134/5, 135 or 135/6 to commemorate his victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt; I follow Vermeule (1981) in assuming that the *pose and iconographies* of Hadrian's coins (here **Fig. 129**) and of his portrait-statue (here **Fig. 29**) copy that of the Emperor Vespasian on his IVDAEA CAPTA coins (here **Fig. 130**); I myself have realized that the same iconographic scheme had also been chosen by the Emperor Titus for his own IVDAEA CAPTA coins (here **Fig. 131**); I follow E. La Rocca (1994) and C. Parisi Presicce (2000) in assuming that the iconography of Hadrian's portrait from Hierapydna (here **Fig. 29**) is influenced by those of archaic 'oriental' kings; I follow S. Heijnen's (2020) concerning the cuirasses on Hadrian's statues, to which his portrait from Hierapydna (here **Fig. 29**) belongs, which follow his "trophy type": also the portraits of the Emperors Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, that commemorate their victories in Judaea and Germania, are decorated with cuirasses of Heijnen's "trophy type"; I follow P.L. Strack (1933) that Hadrian's coins (here **Fig. 129**) are datable 'not before AD 134', and that the crocodile on these coins 'could be understood as a symbol of Palestine'; and Cigaina (2020, 267) that the iconography, chosen by other emperors and for Hadrian's coins (here **Fig. 129**), usually documented the 'suppression of disorder'; and Caló Levi, who, in her article "Hadrian as King of Egypt" (1948) analyses his coins here **Fig. 129**. The foremost obligation of the Egyptian king was the establishment of the highly sophisticated doctrine or *Staatslehre* dominating Egyptian society: a state of affairs which the Egyptians called Ma'at, (social) harmony; and, in order to achieve this perfect government, 'to fight the evil/ the chaos'. The Emperor Hadrian actually was the Pharaoh of Egypt. The Egyptians took their king for an incarnation of their god Horus, whose obligation to 'fight the evil' was expressed with the iconography 'Horus kills the crocodile'. For a representation of the iconography 'The Pharaoh/ Horus kills the crocodile'; cf. here **Fig. 129.1**. Hadrian, shown on his coins (here **Fig. 129**) stepping with his left foot on a crocodile, 'because he fights the chaos/ suppresses disorder', to borrow Cigaina's (2020) phrasing, is indeed represented 'as King of Egypt'. Concerning the rôle of the Pharaoh, defined by Egyptian theology, I follow *inter alia* the Egyptologists D.P. Davies (2003) and E.M. Ciampini (2016).

**I myself suggest the following hypothesis:** the statue, belonging to the honorary inscription (*CIL* VI 974 = 40524 = here **Fig. 29.1**), dedicated to the Emperor Hadrian by the Senate and the Roman People in AD 134/5, 135, or 135/6 (so ALFÖLDY 1996, BARRON 2018, and ECK 2003) to commemorate his victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt, may be identified with the prototype of Hadrian's portrait-statues, to which the copy from Hierapydna (here **Fig. 29**) belongs; and that the prototype of this portrait-statue is represented on Hadrian's coins (here **Fig. 129**). This hypothesis seems to be corroborated by Cigaina's observations (2020, 267, 222) that those almost 30 replicas of Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna were created between AD 132-138, and that Hadrian's portrait-statue, visible on the coins here **Fig. 129**, is datable to AD 134 or shortly later.



Fig. 6, left. Torso of a cuirassed statue, Domitianic (representing Titus or Vespasian, the restored head does not belong), his cuirass is decorated with a Victoria, sacrificing a bull. Found in the Baths of Caracalla at Rome. Musei Vaticani, Museo Chiaramonti (inv. no. 1250). Cf. C. Parisi Presicce (2000, 28, 39, at cat. no. 13).

Fig. 6, right. Torso of a cuirassed statue, Domitianic (representing Domitian?), 1,02 m high (the restored head does not belong), his cuirass is decorated with the *lupa*, suckling the infants Romulus and Remus. Found in the Baths of Caracalla at Rome. Musei Vaticani, Museo Chiaramonti (inv. no. 1254). Cf. C. Parisi Presicce (2000, 28, 39, cat. no. 13). Parisi Presicce's tentative identification of this headless torso with Domitian may be supported by the fact that Domitian identified himself with Romulus; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III., at point 4.).

Autopsy of both statues: 16th May 2022.

Fig. 29. Over lifesize cuirassed statue of the Emperor Hadrian, 2,68 m high (comprising the plinth), 2,54 m high (without the plinth), his cuirass is decorated with an Athena/ Palladion, crowned by two winged Victories, who is standing on the *lupa*, suckling the infants Romulus and Remus. Hadrian sets his left foot on a small human figure (representing the Roman Province of Judaea?). Found at Hierapydna in Crete. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 50). In my opinion, the prototype of this portrait of Hadrian belonged with the inscription *CIL VI 974 = 40524* = here Fig. 29.1 to the victory monument, dedicated in honour of Hadrian by the Senate and the Roman People in AD 134/5 (so G. ALFÖLDY 1996 = here Fig. 29.1), in AD 135 (so C. BARRON 2018), or in AD 135/6 (so W. ECK 2003, 162, n. 35) to commemorate his victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Photos: Courtesy H.R. Goette (April 2023).

I know this statue from autopsy (July 1974).

Fig. 29.1. Fragmentary inscription (*CIL VI 974 = 40524*), marble, once belonging to an honorary statue of the Emperor Hadrian, dedicated to him by the Senate and the Roman People to commemorate his victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt; so G. Alföldy (at: *CIL VI* [1996] 40524, who restored the inscription as shown here, dating it to AD 134/5); W. ECK 2003, 162-165; M. FUCHS 2014; C. BARRON 2018). According to G. Alföldy (*op.cit.*) and M. Fuchs (2014, 130), this honorary statue was erected within the *cella* of the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus* in the *Forum Romanum*. From: M. Fuchs (2014, 131, Fig. 8: "*CIL, VI, Pars VIII, Fasc. II* [1996], 40524". According to C. Barron (2018, who follows in this respect W. Eck 1999-2003), the honorary statue, to which this inscription belonged, stood "beneath (in front of?)" the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*, its inscription is kept in the Capitoline Museums, Rome (inv. no. NCE 2529), and is datable: "135 CE Sep 15th to 135 CE Dec 9th"; according to W. Eck (2003, 162, n. 35) it is datable to AD 135/6. C. Evers (1991, 797, n. 72), according to whom this inscription was found in the *Forum Romanum*, asks, whether it belonged to the colossal statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great), here Fig. 11. In my opinion, this dedication belonged to the honorary statue, after which Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna at Istanbul (here Fig. 29) and almost 30 replicas of this portrait were copied.

Fig. 129. Above: *sestertius* ('not earlier than AD 134'; P.L. STRACK 1933). The reverse shown here appears on several coin-types that were issued at Rome by Hadrian. They show the cuirassed emperor in 'victor pose', with lance and *parazonium*, stepping with his left foot on a crocodile. Photo taken after a plaster cast of a *sestertius* of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli. From: A. Caló Levi (1948, 30-31 with n. 1, Fig. 1). Below: from: L. Cigaina (2020, 267, Fig. 113). The caption reads: "Sesterzio (*RIC II Hadrian 782*; 134-136 d.C. ca. [circa]): busto laureato e drappeggiato di Adriano / Adriano stante in abito militare calpesta un coccodrillo (© Bertolami Fine Art, asta 77, n. 1107, 1 dicembre 2019)".

Fig. 129.1. Drawing after a relief from the Temple of Horus at Dendera in Egypt, which represents a Pharaoh in the iconography of 'Horus killing the crocodile'. From: A.E. Mariette, *Dendérah*, vol. II (1870-1874), Pl. 75a; cf. A.C. Levi (1948, 35, Fig. 5).

**Fig. 130. Sestertius, issued at Rome by Vespasian (AD 71): IVDAEA CAPTA. Courtesy of the British Museum, London. Online at: <[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_R-10518](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-10518)>.**

**Fig. 131. Sestertius, issued by Titus (AD 80-81): IVDAEA CAPTA. Courtesy of the Jewish Virtual Library. Online at: <<https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/coins-from-judaea-capta>>.**

*The meaning of the lupa and of Romulus and Remus  
on the cuirass of Hadrian's portrait from Hierapydna (cf. here Fig. 29).*

As mentioned above, I added this *Study* to my book on Domitian, in order to answer the question whether or not the Emperor Hadrian could have regarded himself - like all other Romans - 'as the son of Mars', trying to do that by discussing the statue of Hadrian from Hierapydna at Istanbul (cf. here **Fig. 29**).

This question was developed *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.c.1.), a summary of the current discussion on the Anaglypha Hadriani (for those; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.b), and here **Figs. 21; 22**). This statue of Hadrian was chosen, because its cuirass is decorated with the *lupa*, Romulus and Remus (cf. here **Fig. 29**). The *ficus Ruminalis* is missing on the relief of this cuirass (here **Fig. 29**), whereas the Ogulnian monument of the Republican period (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.b); and Appendix IV.c.), which was, at least in my opinion, the model of this image, consisted of a statue group of the *lupa* and the twins that had been on display under the *ficus Ruminalis* in the Comitium. On the Anaglypha Hadriani (cf. here **Figs. 21; 22**), on the other hand, which show both a statue portraying the *ficus Ruminalis*, the *lupa* and the twins are missing. But we know that not only the entire Ogulnian monument (*i.e.*, the *lupa*, Romulus and Remus, on display under the *ficus Ruminalis*), but even the *ficus Ruminalis* on its own - that is to say, without the *lupa* and the twins - could stand for 'continuitas imperii' (cf. M. TORELLI 1982, 99, 108, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2., at Appendix IV.c)).

In Appendix IV.c.1.), I asked, whether the appearance of the statue of the *ficus Ruminalis* on both Anaglypha Hadriani, carrying the message of the 'continuitas imperii', could be read as Hadrian's political program in foreign affairs. In the sense that he, as the Roman emperor, and at the same time like 'all other sons of Mars' (*i.e.*, the Roman citizens and soldiers), was willing to serve his country (in peace and war), thus guaranteeing the desired 'continuitas imperii'. And because the statue at Istanbul (cf. here **Fig. 29**) shows the same Emperor Hadrian as a general in 'triumphant pose', and in a cuirass decorated with the *lupa* and the twins, I was hoping to find in this *Study*, dedicated to this statue, an answer to this question.

When formulating this inquiry, I was unaware of the fact that already, long ago, Claudio Parisi Presicce (2000, 25-30, 39) had found the answer to it. His results were, therefore, first summarized in the headline of Appendix IV.c.2.) as follows: 'The Ogulnian monument (a statue group representing the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, standing underneath the sacred fig tree *ficus Ruminalis*) appears first (without the *ficus Ruminalis*) on a cuirassed statue of Domitian in the Vatican Museums (cf. here **Fig. 6, right**) and then on Hadrian's cuirassed statue from Hierapydna at Istanbul. Exactly like the statue of the *ficus Ruminalis* on the Anaglypha Hadriani (cf. here **Figs. 21; 22**), the *lupa* and the twins on those cuirasses symbolize Rome's claim to eternal power and divine mission, and that it was the task of the Roman emperor to fulfill this obligation (cf. C. Parisi Presicce 2000, 28, 29)'.

After my E-mail correspondence with Paolo Liverani on 24th April 2020, in which he had criticized this title, and that is discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.c.2.), I have changed the title of Appendix IV.c.2.) as follows: 'The Ogulnian monument (a statue group representing the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, standing underneath the sacred fig tree *ficus Ruminalis*), and she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus on a headless cuirassed statue of a Flavian emperor (Domitian?) in the Vatican Museums (cf. here **Fig. 6, right**) and on Hadrian's cuirassed statue from Hierapydna at Istanbul (cf. here **Fig. 29**). Exactly like the statue of the *ficus Ruminalis* on the Anaglypha Hadriani (cf. here **Figs. 21; 22**), the *lupa* and the twins on those cuirasses

symbolize Rome's claim to eternal power and divine mission, and that it was the task of the Roman Emperor to fulfill this obligation (cf. C. Parisi Presicce 2000, 28, 29). With a discussion of the meaning of the *lupa* and the twins on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here Fig. 31), and with *The second Contribution by Claudia Valeri*.

**To this we may now add that the emperors discussed here: Domitian (if it was him, who was represented in the statue here Fig. 6, right) and Hadrian (cf. here Fig. 29), by choosing to decorate their cuirasses with the images of the *lupa*, Romulus and Remus, had obviously accepted for themselves the gigantic obligation, which went together with the propagated doctrine of 'continuitas imperii'.**

But the surprising result of this inquiry, at least for me, obtained in this *Study*, is that Hadrian did not feel 'only' like the 'son of Mars' - as any one of his Roman soldiers - the iconography of this statue (cf. here Fig. 29) shows instead that he is *assimilated* to the god, as proven by the coins, discussed by Michaela Fuchs (2014, 129, Fig. 7 [= here Fig. 129]).

Or should we assume that Hadrian, in this statue at Istanbul (cf. here Fig. 29), is even meant to *be* Mars? Even that seems possible, when we consider Eugenio La Rocca's (2000) and Claudio Parisi Presicce's (2005; *id.* 2006b) analyses of the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine; cf. *supra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here Fig. 11). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great)

Also Michaela Fuchs (2014, 130) speaks of an "Angleichung" (assimilation) of the emperor to Mars: in her discussion of Hadrian's cuirassed statues, dedicated, in her opinion, to Hadrian after his victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt (cf. here Fig. 29), which she compares with the already mentioned coins (cf. here Fig. 129), representing Hadrian 'in the pose of Mars'. - To those coins I will come back below.

As was already quoted above (cf. *supra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here Fig. 11), La Rocca has observed that the portrait of Constantine (here Fig. 11), was based on a statue-type of Jupiter: he suggests that this portrait not only assimilated Constantine to the god, but that it rather showed the emperor as *deus praesens*. - This was followed by Parisi Presicce (2005, 147; cf. *id.* 2006b, 154).

Cf. La Rocca (2000, 25): "**Se la statua [of Constantine the Great; cf. here Fig. 11] è stata dedicata dal Senato riconoscente dopo la battaglia di Saxa Rubra [i.e., against Maxentius], non ci si poteva attendere altro: un'immagine che equipara l'imperatore a un dio, tale da indurre rispetto e timore ... Il fatto è che l'acrolito doveva raffigurare non il comandante vincitore, ma il *deus praesens* ... [my emphasis]**".

Now, if true, and provided this colossal statue of Constantine (here Fig. 11) had indeed originally been a portrait of Hadrian, as I believe, following Cécile Evers (1991), already this statue of Hadrian could have been not only an image of "il comandante vincitore", as La Rocca writes (again in the Bar Kokhba Revolt? For this earlier hypothesis, which I have given up in the meantime; cf. *supra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here Fig. 11), but rather the *deus praesens* - in this case Jupiter.

**Michaela Fuchs (2014, 127-131) writes about Hadrian's cuirassed statue from Hierapydna at Istanbul (cf. here Fig. 29): "Das so entstandene Pasticcio [i.e. the bronze statue of Hadrian, found at Tel Shalem, her Figs. 1-3] unterscheidet sich jedoch in vielerlei Hinsicht von den Wiederholungen der Gruppe 'Piräus-Hierapydna'. Diese folgen einem Archetypus, der für Hadrian anlässlich der Gründung des Panhellenions 131/132 in Athen konzipiert wurde [with n. 24] und dessen Dekor die integrative Reichspolitik des Kaisers ins Bild gefasst [hat?]: Über der Lupa Romana steht [p. 128] ein archaisches Bild der Athena, das durch Eule und Schlange als das attische Palladion gekennzeichnet ist [with n. 25].**

In der Verbindung der beiden Symbole, die auf die Gründungsmythen Athens und Roms und damit auf ihre lange Tradition verweisen, sind "die beiden Weltreiche der politisch-realen Macht (Rom) und der geistigen Kultur (Athen) ... zur Synthese gebracht" [with n. 26]; die das Palladion bekrönenden Victorien stehen für den ewigen Erfolg dieser Symbiose.

Gegenüber der Programmatik dieser Statuenschöpfung findet bei den Vertretern der Gruppe 'Piräus-Hierapytna' eine Akzentverschiebung statt [with n. 27]: Deren Wiederholungen weisen unter dem Fuß oder neben dem Bein des Kaisers eine Barbarenfigur auf [with n. 28], und bei einigen Exemplaren wurden auf dem Panzerschmuck die Ranken unter den Füßen der Victorien durch liegende Barbaren ersetzt [with n. 29] oder auf den zentralen Pteryges kauernde Barbaren statt Helmen dargestellt [with n. 30]. Die Vermutung, dass der kriegerische Aspekt erst nachträglich der Panhellenion-Statue hinzugefügt und damit auf die Niederschlagung des jüdischen Aufstandes unter Bar Kochba Bezug genommen wurde [with n. 31], scheint naheliegend. Die friedliche Botschaft des Archetypus, die das Bild des auf Stärkung des inneren Zusammenhalts des [page 129] Reiches bedachten Kaisers propagiert, wird damit um eine zusätzliche Aussage erweitert: Hadrian ist dank seiner *virtus* befähigt, erfolgreich Kriege zu führen [with n. 32], er ist durch seine Sieghaftigkeit zum *imperator invictus* geworden [with n. 33] ...

[In the following, Fuchs describes a statue-type representing Mars Ultor, its copies, and its distribution] Die wohl auf dieselbe Vorlage zurückgehenden, handwerklich z. T. [zum Teil] sehr bescheidenen Werke aus Ägypten [with n. 37] spiegeln, ebenso wie die Gruppe 'Piräus-Hierapytna', die Reaktion der östlichen Provinzen auf den jüdischen Aufstand [*i.e.*, the Bar Kokhba Revolt] ...

Auf [page 130] einem Münztypus, der 134 n. Chr. oder etwas später von Hadrian und Senat mit übereinstimmendem Rückseitenbild herausgegeben wurde, erscheint in eben dieser Pose des Mars Ultor der Kaiser [with n. 41] (Abb. 7 [cf. here Fig. 129]), wobei er durch die von Legionsoffizieren verwendete Waffe in seiner Linken [cf. p. 129: *i.e.*, the "Parazonium"] zusätzlich als siegreicher Imperator gekennzeichnet ist ...

Das locker über die Schultern umgelegte Paludamentum findet bei der Bronze von Tel Shalem jedenfalls am ehesten eine Erklärung, wenn es im Zusammenhang mit diesen Prägungen [*i.e.*, the coin-type of her Fig. 7; cf. here Fig. 129] als Anspielung auf die Ikonographie des Kriegsgottes [*i.e.*, Mars] gesehen wird [with n. 44]. Die aus Anlass des römischen Sieges wohl am Ort des entscheidenden Gefechts aufgestellte Hadrianstatue verwies somit auf diese Angleichung und vermutlich auch über die Thematik des Panzerdekors [cf. her Figs. 1-3] noch offenkundiger als die Vertreter der Gruppe 'Piräus-Hierapytna' auf die militärischen Auseinandersetzungen [*i.e.*, the Bar Kokhba Revolt], die Hadrians letzte Regierungsjahre überschatteten ...

In der senatorischen Münzprägung fand die erfolgreiche Beendigung der jüdischen Revolte kaum einen nennenswerten Widerhall [with n. 48]; darauf nimmt am deutlichsten der erwähnte Münztypus mit Hadrian in der Pose des Mars Ultor [with n. 49] (Abb. 7 [cf. here Fig. 129]) Bezug [my emphasis].

Fuchs (2014, 130-131, Fig. 8) discusses several initiatives in Rome, which commemorated Hadrian's victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Apart from coins, issued, in her opinion, on that occasion, the Senate and the Roman People dedicated a, in her opinion, colossal statue of Hadrian at Rome, the fragmentary inscription of which survives (*CIL* VI 40525 = *CIL* VI 974 = here Fig. 29.1). For a discussion of this inscription; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.c.1.), as well as below). To those coin issues and to this victory monument, she refers in the following paragraph.

As we shall see below, Werner Eck (2019b, 204, with n. 41) rejects Michaela Fuchs's (2014) relevant assertion: "Auch die Reichsmünzen nehmen keinen Bezug auf den Abschluss des Krieges [*i.e.*, Hadrian's suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt], trotz der gegenteiligen Ausführungen von Fuchs [with n. 41, quoting: M. FUCHS 2014, 130]".

Cf. Fuchs (2014, 131): "Die Niederschlagung des Aufstandes in Iudaea [*i.e.*, the Bar Kokhba Revolt] ist demnach durchaus auch in Rom dokumentiert worden, hatte sich doch dadurch das den Römern nicht gerade eingängige Bild des auf friedlichen Erhalt der Reichseinheit bedachten Kaisers [with n. 56] -

**zumindest teilweise - an das römische Ideal des Welteroberers angenähert, wie ihn sein Vorgänger Trajan verkörpert hatte** [my emphasis]".

**The caption of Fuchs (2014, 129, Fig. 7 [cf. here Fig. 129]) reads: "Dp/As, Hadrian in der Pose des Mars Ultor** (*The New York Sale*, XI, Baldwin's Auctions Ltd., Dimitry Markov Coins & Medals, M & M Numismatics Ltd., Nr. 301) [my emphasis]". - To those coins of Hadrian I will come back below.

In her **note 24**, Fuchs writes: "Bergmann 2010 ... [*i.e.*, here B. BERGMANN 2010b], 248-253. Gergel, der den von ihm so benannten "Eastern Hadrianic Breastplate Type" in vier zeitlich aufeinanderfolgende Gruppen unterteilt, spricht sich dagegen für eine Entstehung in den frühen Regierungsjahren Hadrians aus und nimmt eine stufenweise Entwicklung des Dekors bis hin zu den posthumen Wiederholungen an, Gergel 2004, vgl. bes. [vergleiche besonders] 403-407. Nach Cavalieri, Jusseret 2009, 357-402 entstand der Typus zu Beginn der hadrianischen Regierung "comme une invention crétoise, ... qui paraît résumer les principales facettes du règne du *Graeculus*" (scilicet Hadrian), hierzu 386. **Für eine frühe Entstehung des Panzerschmucks spricht sich jetzt auch Karanastasi 2012-2013, 338 aus und beruft sich auf Prägungen, die seit 121 bzw. 119 n. Chr. das Bild der Lupa Romana bzw. der Athena Promachos, wie sie das Palladion deutet (S. 332-333), zeigen. Beide Motive begegnen jedoch auch schon viel früher und können als Einzelbilder natürlich nicht für die Datierung der Komposition am Panzerschmuck herangezogen werden** [my emphasis]".

In her **note 25**, she writes: "s.[iehe] dazu Bergmann 2010 ... [*i.e.*, here B. BERGMANN 2010b], 237-240; dagegen Karanastasi 2012-2013, 332-333".

In her **note 26**, she writes: "[H.] Meyer 1991, 218; vgl. Bergmann 2010 ... [*i.e.*, here B. BERGMANN 2010b], 235-240, 251; anders Karanastasi 2012-2013, 323; 332-333; 336-338".

In her **note 27**, she writes: "Bergmann 2010 ... [*i.e.*, here B. BERGMANN 2010b], 235, 253-258".

In her **note 28**, she writes: "Bergmann 2010 ... [*i.e.*, here B. BERGMANN 2010b], 261-264 Kat. Nr. 3-5; 266-269 Kat. Nr. 8-9; 273-274, Kat. Nr. 14. Hinzugekommen sind Karanastasi 2012-2013, 358-360, Nr. 2, 3, 5; 361-362, Nr. 10; 364, Nr. 17; 365-366, Nr. 23-24. Zur Motivgeschichte s. [iehe] zuletzt Bergmann 2010 [*i.e.*, here B. BERGMANN 2010b], 243-247 und Karanastasi 2012-2013 passim".

In her **note 29**, she writes: "Bergmann 2010 ... [*i.e.*, here B. BERGMANN 2010b], 268-270 Kat. Nr. 9-10, vgl. ebenda 233 und 253-254, wo allerdings eine sehr allgemeine Interpretation dieser Variatio angeboten wird; s. [iehe] dazu jetzt auch Karanastasi 2012-2013, 333".

In her **note 30**, she writes: "Bergmann 2010 ... [*i.e.*, here B. BERGMANN 2010b], 214, Abb. 4 a-b (Kat. Nr. 4); 226-228, Abb. 10 a-b (Kat. Nr. 3); vgl. *ibid.* 235, 242 und jetzt Karanastasi 2012-2013, 333".

In her **note 31**, she writes: "Bergmann 2010 ... [*i.e.*, here B. BERGMANN 2010b], 254-258, s.[iehe] Abb. 20. Hier wird allerdings der Bezug zum Judenaufstand als "nur ein Versuch" bezeichnet und die Aussage der "außergewöhnlichen Häufung" von Barbaren als "allgemein und unspezifisch" bewertet, auf 255 dagegen die Botschaft des durch Barbarenfiguren erweiterten Kaiserbildes als "Zusage an das Panhellenion, Rom und die zivilisierte Welt und als Absage an separatistische Tendenzen" gesehen, die ihren Ursprung "unmittelbar nach dem Konflikt unter dem Eindruck der unsicheren Verhältnisse" gehabt hätten. Wegen ihrer Frühdatierung des Bildprogramms des Panzers (s. o. [siehe oben] Anm. 24) vertritt Karanastasi 2012-2013, 342 und passim die These, dass die triumphale Symbolik der "Variante Hierapytna" "im Nachklang des noch unter Trajan 116-117 n. Chr. ausgebrochenen Aufstands der Juden in der Diaspora entstanden ist".

In her **note 32**, she writes: "Vgl. hierzu Anm. 103 und auch die bei Fuchs 2009, 374 angegebene Literatur".

In her **note 33**, she writes: "Zu den Epitheta "victor" und "invictus" als Eigenschaften des Kaisers vgl.[vergleiche] Hölscher 1967, 152; so schon Sauter 1934, 154-155; s.[iehe] auch Fuchs 2009, 374".

In her **note 37**, she writes: "Hofmann 1984, 585-591, Taf. 31; Karanastasi 2012-2013, 351-354 mit Anm. 173, 181 und Abb. 6. Das freiplastische Vorbild für diese Werke konkret in der Statue von Hierapytna zu vermuten (so Karanastasi 2012-2013, 352-353), erscheint fragwürdig".

In her **note 41**, she writes: "Strack 1933, 138, Nr. 291, Taf. 4 (Denar), Nr. 701, Taf. 11 (Dp-As); vgl.[vergleiche] *BMCRE*, III, 1936, 475, Nr. 1552-1553, Taf. 89, 2 (As); 485, Nr. 1617, Taf. 91, 3 (As); Robertson 1971, 156, Nr. 567-570, Taf. 40; Gorny & Mosch, Auktion 186 a, 8.-9. März 2010, Nr. 2046". - Michaela Fuchs's assumption,

according to which the coins (here **Fig. 129**) were issued by Hadrian *and* by the Roman Senate, is certainly not true, they were only issued by Hadrian himself. To this I will come back below.

In her **note 44**, she writes: "Zu Marsangleichung des Hadrian Fittschen, Zanker 1985, 48-49, Nr. 48, Taf. 53; s.[iehe] auch *LIMC*, II, 1984, 513, Nr. 21b und passim, *s.v.* Ares/Mars (E. Simon, G. Bauchhenss); vgl.[vergleiche] dazu allg.[emein] Zanker 1980, 199-200".

In her **note 48**, she writes: "48 Vgl. [Vergleiche] Strack 1933, 126-127, 134-137; vgl. [vergleiche] Birley 2001, 280 (mit weiteren Angaben in Anm. 5)".

In her **note 49**, she writes: "s. o. [siehe oben] mit Anm. 41".

In her **note 56**, she writes: "Zum Unverständnis und zur kritischen Haltung der Römer gegenüber der defensiven Außenpolitik Hadrians s. z. B. Strack 1933, 81-82; Kienast 1980, 396-398 (mit weiterer Literatur in Anm. 38). Vgl. dazu auch *TAC. ann.* 4, 32".

### **To conclude (*i.e.*, my first attempt at a conclusion).**

Provided it is true that the 'Piräus-Hierapydna' statue-type was actually developed from an "Archetypus, der für Hadrian anlässlich der Gründung des Panhellenions 131/132 konzipiert wurde" ('a prototype that was created for Hadrian on the occasion of the foundation of the Panhellenion AD 131/132'), as Fuchs (2014, 127, n. 24) assumes, who follows with this suggestion Birgit Bergmann (2010b, 248-253), this would provide a *terminus post quem* for the series of statues, discussed here (cf. here **Fig. 29**). Considering at the same time the coin-type 'showing Hadrian in the pose of Mars', illustrated on Fuchs's Fig. 7 (cf. here **Fig. 129**), which was issued 'in AD 134 or a little later', her conclusion seems inevitable.

**But we shall see below that thanks to those coins we shall also be able to define, who had commissioned the original of the series of portrait-statues of Hadrian discussed here, also the where, why and when.**

I, therefore, agree with Fuchs (2014) that the series of portrait-statues of Hadrian discussed here was created to commemorate Hadrian's victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt. - Or rather, since I have so far not studied either those statues, or their contexts in detail myself, that this is at least true for the portrait of Hadrian from Hierapydna (cf. here **Fig. 29**). This assumption would also explain the strange haste, in which many of the 15, so far known statues of this series had been executed, as observed by Parisi Presicce (2000, 29, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.*). Karanastasi (2012/2013, 325-332; cf. pp. 358-367 for her cat. nos. 1-29) discusses her 29 catalogue numbers (which in her opinion belong to a statue-type). Her cat. nos. 1-22 are, in her opinion, certain replicas of this statue-type; cf. pp. 362-363: the statue from Hierapydna (here **Fig. 29**), is her cat. no. 12. - These statues were then obviously meant as 'Loyalitätsadressen' in regard to the Emperor Hadrian, on the part of those towns in the East of the Roman Empire, and of some towns in Africa.

But one strange fact remains, and I honestly confess that I do not know, whether or not this fact contradicts the interpretation adopted here of this series of portrait-statues of Hadrian (cf. here **Fig. 29**). The problem in the case of our statue is that if indeed Hadrian in his portrait at Istanbul (cf. here **Fig. 29**) is meant as victor in the Bar Kokhba Revolt, then the 'enemy', on whose neck he sets his left foot, is one of his own *subjects* - because Judaea was a Roman province. This fact (that this uprising had occurred within a Roman province) was, of course, the reason, why Hadrian had done everything to suppress the Bar Kokhba Revolt in the first place. - But as we shall see, the contrary is true, because the 'oriental' schemes, on which the iconography of these statues of Hadrian was modeled, comprise exactly victory scenes of reigning monarchs, who had suppressed uprisings of their own subjects. This means that the existence of such 'oriental' creations confirms the interpretation suggested here for those portraits of Hadrian (cf. here **Fig. 29**).

**The original 'oriental' iconographies, which come to mind when we look at the series of portrait-statues of Hadrian discussed here (cf. C. PARISI PRESICCE 2000, 29 with n. 26), represent reigning monarchs together with their vanquished enemies, and show on principle two men belonging to different countries.**

This is, at least, what I had taken for granted so far, having studied *Vorderasiatische Altertumskunde* ('Near Eastern Archaeology') at the Universität zu Köln with Wolfram Nagel (1973-1980). Since I assume that Hadrian's portrait-statue discussed here (cf. here **Fig. 29**) commemorated the emperor having victoriously suppressed the Bar Kokhba Revolt, we shall see that Eugenio La Rocca (1994), who discusses the 'oriental' iconographic forebears of Hadrian's portrait-statue, presents also examples of precisely the same situation as that of Hadrian in this war. La Rocca (1994) himself does not suggest which motivation could have led to the creation of the specific iconography of Hadrian's portrait, and before quoting the relevant passages from his article, I will summarize the results of my own relevant inquiries before I came across La Rocca's essay.

**As already said above: the problem in the case of our statue is that, if indeed Hadrian in his portrait at Istanbul (cf. here Fig. 29) is meant as victor in the Bar Kokhba Revolt, then the 'enemy', on whose neck he sets his left foot, is one of his own subjects - because Judaea was a Roman province.**

Thinking of Arminius, chief of the Germanic Cherusci, who was mentioned above (cf. *supra*, at *What this Study is all about*; and below, in volume 3-2. at *Appendix IV.c.1.*)), he was even a Roman citizen (!). - Cf. Rose Mary Sheldon (2020, 1012, quoting for that fact in her note 17: "Velleius, *The Roman History*, 2.118.2", quoted in more detail and discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.d.*)).

Cf. Tessa Rajak: "**Judaea** first appears in the Hellenistic period ... as the name for the primarily Jewish territory ... around Jerusalem ... Growing again under Herod (1), Judaea became a Roman procuratorial province after the banishment in AD 6 of Herod's successor there ... After 70 Judaea was put by Vespasian under an imperial legate ... with a permanent legionary garrison. The Jewish population dwindled after the Bar Kokhba Revolt of 135 ..." , in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 799.

See also Sheldon (2007, 129, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.*)). - For a very different opinion concerning Judaea's legal status; cf. now Werner Eck ("Chapter 6. Judäa als Teil der Provinz Syrien im Spannungsfeld zwischen den Legaten von Syrien und den ritterlichen Funktionsträgern in Judäa von 6-66 n. Chr.", 2021a. See also W. Eck: "14. The Extraordinary Roman Military Presence in Judaea from AD 70 until the 3<sup>rd</sup> Century", 2021b). - My thanks are due to Hans Rupprecht Goette for sending me both articles.

For Flavius Josephus, whose works Eck (2021a) discusses in this context in great detail; cf. also *supra*, n. 201, at Chapter *I.1.1.*).

**If, in fact, the iconography of this portrait of Hadrian (cf. here Fig. 29) may be interpreted in the way that is suggested here, in order to judge the situation of the Jews in the Roman province Judaea we need, of course, to know their precise legal status.**

My thanks are due to Rose Mary Sheldon, who, having corrected the English of this *Chapter*, was also kind enough to mention this point to me in an E-mail on 23rd August 2020. She alerted me to E. Mary Smallwood (1976, 358-361) and to one of her own publications, in which this complex subject is discussed in detail; cf. Thijs Voskuilen and Rose Mary Sheldon (2008, 48). In addition to this, Sheldon mentioned to me that, although the Jews may have been 'subjects' of Rome (writing this term with inverted commas) - as I tentatively suggest in my interpretation of Hadrian's portrait (cf. here **Fig. 29**) - they were not always Roman citizens.

Cf. Thijs Voskuilen and Rose Mary Sheldon (2008, 48, Chapter: "Jewish Citizenship"):

"Ethnic Jews had been given [under Roman rule] the right to govern themselves by their own laws and to enjoy some autonomy as long as they remained loyal to Rome. They were not granted citizenship in the cities, but they were given the right to create their own administrative and judicial organizations, which were called *politeumata* (sing.[ular] *politeuma*). To be a citizen (*polites* in Greek) did not necessarily imply that one was a Roman citizen but rather it indicated that one was a member of a *politeuma*. [with n. 48]

Such colonies (*politeumata*) were the focus of civic, religious and ethnic identity. **Jews with membership in a *politeuma* held something of an intermediate status between citizen and resident aliens (metics). They enjoyed exemption from some taxes - for example, the poll tax (*laographia*) - and they received some privileges of limited self-government.** ... Scholars who have studied Seleucia-on-Tigris, for example, observe there were separate *politeuma* of Greeks, Syrians and Jews who enjoyed equal rights. [with n. 49; my emphasis]".

In their **note 48**, Voskuilen and Sheldon write: "E.M. Swallowwood ... [*i.e.*, here E.M. SMALLWOOD 1976], pp. 358-61".

In their **note 49**, they write: "S. Applebaum ... [*i.e.*, here S. APPLEBAUM 1974], Vol. I, p. 453; see also A.D. Nock ... [*i.e.*, here A.D. NOCK 1972], Vol. 2, pp. 960-962".

Apropos the poll tax (*laographia*), mentioned by Voskuilen and Sheldon (2008, 48) in the above-quoted passage. Contrary to the Jews in Judaea, who were exempt of it, the subjects living in the Roman province of Egypt had to pay *laographia*, which was actually a rather high tax; cf. Angelo Geißen (2017) 732-733.

**Pavlina Karanastasi (2012/2013, 338) discusses the series of portraits of Hadrian (cf. here Fig. 29), of which several copies were found in Crete, and comments on the iconography of those statues as follows:**

"Dass die 'Feinde' in diesem historischen Moment für die Insel [*i.e.*, Crete] keine anderen als die aufständischen Juden in der Diaspora sein konnten", and writes the word 'enemy' with inverted commas ("'Feinde'"). Karanastasi thus expresses her observation that the iconography of our series of portrait-statues of Hadrian could be called: 'Roman emperor triumphs over an enemy', and that this does not exactly fit the historical situation to which, in Karanastasi's opinion, this (in her opinion 'statue-type'), actually refers. Because the historic reality, which in Karanastasi's opinion this statue-type commemorated, namely the Jewish revolt in the diaspora, should be called: 'Roman emperor suppresses an uprising in a Roman province'. - Karanastasi's choice to write "'Feinde'" in this context thus implies, that she too has realized that the so-called 'enemy' in this series of portrait-statues of Hadrian (cf. here **Fig. 29**) was, in reality, a subject of the represented emperor: Hadrian.

After I had written this *Study* already, I realized that Karanastasi (2012/2013, 338) compares a statue showing Vespasian and a vanquished enemy in a similar iconography as that of the statue **Fig. 29** discussed here. According to the author, the defeated figure represents *Judaea*. In this context, Karanastasi does not address the problem, provided her interpretation is true, that here again Vespasian (as the Roman emperor) is shown with a representation of one of his own subjects, who is portrayed in the iconography of a defeated 'barbarian': "Dennoch springt die Ähnlichkeit mit der knienden Barbarenfigur neben der Statue Vespasians aus dem Metroon von Olympia (Abb. 4 a. b), in der wohl am ehesten Judaea zu erkennen ist, sofort ins Auge [with n. 150], wie vor allem die Gegenüberstellung mit dem Stützenfragment aus Gortyn (10 Taf. 5, 1 - 3) und insbesondere derjenigen aus Kissamos (13 Taf. 7, 1. 2 [thus referring to two replicas of the portrait of Hadrian here **Fig. 29**]) zeigt [with n. 151]". In her notes, Karanastasi provides references.

**After writing the following Chapter (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d)), I realized that R.R.R. Smith's (2013, 121) observations concerning the 50 representations of *ethne* ('nations') in the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias are also applicable to the portrait-statue of Hadrian discussed here (cf. **Fig. 29**), and that in two respects:**

- 1.) concerning the rôle of the Roman emperor as envisaged in the 'Greek East', as Smith refers to that part of the Empire where also most of the examples of the series of Hadrian's portrait-statues discussed here were found; and -
- 2.) concerning the way how in the series of 'nations' in the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias such subjects of a Roman emperor (in this case Augustus) were characterized, who, defeated and pacified by the Romans, lived now in the Roman provinces.



R.R.R. Smith (2013, 121, Section: "**Conclusion: Sebasteion *ethnē* and world dominion**") writes:

"What then did the *ethnē* mean within the Sebasteion? **Subtleties and ambiguities of imperial ideology at Rome tended to be replaced in the Greek East with a more straightforward view of things. There, as for the poets, the emperor was a great conqueror and supreme victor, and the limits of his conquests and empire were the limits of the world.** [with n. 151] In the *Res Gestae*, 26–33, Augustus gives a carefully graded account of his achievements on the frontiers – conquest, pacification, diplomacy. However, in the preamble of the provincial copies, clearly not written by Augustus, these are telescoped to the bald statement: 'the deeds by which he (Divus Augustus) subjected the world to the empire of the Roman people'. [with n. 152; my emphasis]". - This will be discussed in more detail *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.b*).

Smith's (2013, 121) observation: "'the deeds by which he (Divus Augustus) subjected the world to the empire of the Roman people'", although referring to a different context, can help us to better understand the meaning of the series of portrait-statues of Hadrian, discussed here (cf. **Fig. 29**).

**By using 'oriental' iconographies, the foremost duty of such sovereigns has thus been adopted to show the duties of the Roman Emperor Hadrian - or, when we borrow Smith's phrasing:**

**'[this iconography shows that Hadrian's duty is] to subject the world to the empire of the Roman people'.**

This already becomes clear when we read what Eugenio La Rocca (1994) writes in his comparison of Hadrian's portrait from Hierapydna (cf. **Fig. 29**) with such images of sovereigns of Egypt and the Near East, who are shown in the act of vanquishing their enemies. La Rocca's examples add information that can also help us to understand, why in this series of portrait-statues of Hadrian (cf. **Fig. 29**) one of the emperor's own subjects is represented like a defeated enemy, who belongs to a different people (provided it is true, that this figure represents Judaea at all).

Emanuele M. Ciampini (2016), who concentrates on the Egyptian examples of this iconography, reminds us of the foremost duty that the Pharaoh of Egypt had to fulfill: the establishment of Ma'at, the ideal state of government or justice. The Egyptians believed that, without the ability of their king to create this desired state of affairs in their country, the opposite of Ma'at would persist: *chaos*, and that not only in the realm of the humans, but also in that of the gods.

Seen from that perspective, there was no difference whatsoever between an 'enemy' of a foreign country and someone belonging to the own subjects of such a king, who caused disorder. The kings of these archaic societies dealt with both in the same fashion.

For the obligation of the Egyptian Pharaoh to create the desired state of affairs in Egypt and in the realm of the gods, called by the Egyptians Ma'at; cf. Jan Assmann (2006), and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II.c*).

**As a matter of fact, since the representations from Egypt and the Near East, discussed by La Rocca (1994), are always accompanied by texts, we can observe that this iconography was applied *both* in the wars of these kings against foreign enemies, *and* in the suppression of revolts within their own Empires.**

Which means, of course, at the same time that the legal correctness of all the decisions of their own governments were not at all questioned by these sovereigns, to the effect that revolts of their own subjects were automatically regarded as illegal, which, consequently, had to be suppressed.

**A telling example of this relentless attitude against revolts of their own subjects has already been discussed (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.1.a*): the extraordinary story of *The Taking of Joppa*, in which we are told the details of a clever stratagem.**

The ancient town of Joppa in Palestine (today Tel Aviv-Jaffa), had originally belonged to the Egyptian Empire, and was 'taken back' by Djehuty, a general of Pharaoh Tuthmosis III (around 1450 BC). Throughout this story, known from an Egyptian papyrus (which is quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.1.a*), the governor of the town of Joppa is called 'the rebel', because he had obviously dared to revolt against Tuthmosis III. As soon as general Djehuty took the city of Joppa by means of this and other stratagems (without any bloodshed), the entire population of Joppa is taken as prisoners and brought to Egypt.

*The Taking of Joppa* is written like a military report and is obviously based on a historical event. Interestingly, Djehuty, the general of Pharaoh Tuthmosis III, ends the report of his stunning victory by attributing it, as a matter of course, to his king, who was not present during this whole enterprise, and by asking Tuthmosis III to send him more troops, since otherwise it would be impossible to lead the entire population of Joppa as war-prisoners to the Temple of Amun at Karnak, in Thebes (today Luxor) in Egypt, to a temple complex, which is circa 1000 kilometres away from Joppa. *The Taking of Joppa* was written down circa 200 years after the (possible) event, that is to say, under the Egyptian Pharaoh Rameses II. Therefore, in the course of analysing this story, it was realized (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.1.a*) that the historical background of this story turns out to be (in part) the Egyptian Imperialism in the Levant under Rameses II.

***The Taking of Joppa* has been discussed in this book on Domitian in some detail for two reasons:**

1.) because it is based on the same stratagem, as applied by some of the men of Domitian's uncle, the *praefectus urbi* Flavius Sabinus, who thus managed, on 19th December AD 69, to escape the siege of the Vitellians of the *Capitolium*; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d*); and -

2.) because this story can help us to better understand an outstanding artwork, the Lateran Obelisk (cf. here **Fig. 101**).

The Lateran Obelisk has already been discussed above in a several different contexts. For example *supra*, at Chapter *IV.1.1c*): the fact that it is mentioned in the Constantinian Regionary Catalogues provides a *terminus post quem* for these important documents, since we know that this obelisk was brought to Rome in AD 357.

We know, for example, that many thousand men were involved in the creation of an obelisk, and also, that many of these men would perish in the course of such an operation. *The Taking of Joppa*, which is set at the time of Pharaoh Tuthmosis III - who also commissioned the Lateran Obelisk - can provide us with an explanation of how this Pharaoh could have possibly gotten hold of these many thousand men in order to create his seven (!) obelisks in the Temple complex of Amun at Karnak: namely by suppressing a revolt of the inhabitants of a town within the Egyptian Empire, such as the city of Joppa in Palestine.

As mentioned above, the Egyptian general Djehuty takes the entire population of Joppa as prisoners and brings them to Egypt to be the slaves of the god Amun at Karnak, the main god of Tuthmosis III's dynasty. Or, as David Peter Davies (2003, 103) suggests, these war prisoners could alternatively have been sold in order to finance Tuthmosis III's ambitious building projects in the Temple complex of Amun at Karnak. Tuthmosis III erected seven obelisks at Karnak, the largest one being the Lateran Obelisk (cf. here **Fig. 101**). This means that the former inhabitants of Joppa - provided *The Taking of Joppa* is in this respect based on fact - may somehow have been related to the Lateran Obelisk.

The following is discussed in more detail *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.1.a*). Labib Habachi (2000, 18, Chapter: "Die Herstellung von Obelisken") describes the extraction of an obelisk at a quarry. For an operation of this kind, several thousand men were needed (on p. 20 Habachi explains that for this operation were needed 6000 men). Cf. p. 25, where Habachi discusses a papyrus which reports on a comparable expedition to the Eastern desert under Rameses IV, which had the objective to extract large stone blocks in a quarry. As the papyrus documents, 8362 men were involved in this expedition, among them 2000 slaves and 5000 soldiers. Of these, 900 men had died during this enterprise (!).

As we shall see in detail below, many of the Egyptian and Near Eastern monuments, accompanied by inscriptions, which La Rocca's (1994) has published, could be regarded as possible illustrations of the story *The Taking of Joppa*. For example, the relief discussed by La Rocca (1994, 8, Fig. 5; cf. p. 11), also because it belongs likewise to the period of the Ramesside Empire. The caption of La Rocca's Figure 5 reads: "Bet el Wali. Atrio, parete settentrionale. Ramses II saccheggia una città siriana". - Pharaoh Rameses II is shown in the Egyptian iconography of 'the king, smiting his enemy'. - This iconography and its meaning will be discussed below by Emanuele M. Ciampini (2016).

But before turning to Ciampini (2016), I will first of all quote the relevant passages from La Rocca (1994).

**La Rocca (1994, 5) illustrates as his Fig. 3 a coin, issued by Trajan. The caption reads: "Sesterzio raffigurante Traiano con il piede poggiante sul capo di un guerriero partico, Roma, Museo delle Terme".**

**After discussing the representation of Trajan's Dacian wars on the Column of Trajan, La Rocca (1994, 4) turns to the coin, illustrated on his Fig. 3, which he later compares with the iconography of Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna (cf. Fig. 29) discussed here :**

"Ma su conii coevi [*i.e.*, issued by Trajan] proprio l'umanissimo Traiano, l'imperatore che partecipava ai medesimi disagi della sua truppa [with n. 12], è raffigurato mentre sovrasta le personificazioni simbolo delle sue conquiste: avvolto entro la sua corazza lucente, con un atteggiamento di orgogliosa sicurezza, schiaccia con il piede il busto di un Dace emergente da terra (fig. 3) [with n. 13], oppure calpesta con un suo cavallo un Dace colpito dalla sua lancia (fig 4) [with n. 14], o ancora preme il piede sull'Armenia, alla presenza passiva del Tigri e dall'Eufrate, tutti redotti in stato di soggezione [with n. 15]".

The caption of La Rocca's Fig. 4 reads: "Sesterzio raffigurante Traiano a cavallo in atto di trafiggere un guerriero Dace. Roma, Museo delle Terme".

In his **note 12**, La Rocca writes: "Plin. paneg. 13,1. La posizione politica di Traiano è assai più vicina a quella di Domiziano di quanto non appare dalle fonti. La variante di maggior rilievo è offerta dal buon rapporto con il senato che, in collegamento con le sue eccezionali imprese belliche, fece di Traiano, come di Augusto, un simbolo di principe perfetto: K. H. Waters, *AJPh* 90, 1969, 385 ss.; *id.* in: *Polis and Imperium. Studies in Honour of E.T. Salmon* (1974) 233 ss.; *id.* in: *ANRW II 2* (1975) 381 ss. Anche le forme artistiche nell'epoca di Domiziano e Traiano mostrano, per taluni aspetti, analogie di non scarso rilievo: W. Gauer, *Jdl* 88, 1973, 318 ss.; N. Hannestad in: M. Trolle Larsen (ed.), *Power and Propaganda* (1979) 372 s."

In his **note 13**, he writes: "Banti *op. cit.* [cf. *supra*, his n. 10; *i.e.*, here A. BANTI 1983] 145 s. nn. 219. 220". - For this coin of Trajan and those of other emperors in this pose (for example Domitian); cf. P. Karanastasi 2012/2013, 355-356 with ns. 188, 189.

In his **note 14**, La Rocca writes: "J. P. C. Kent - B. Overbeck - A. v. Stylow, *Die römische Münze* (1973) tav. VIII 266; J. E. Blamberg, *The Public Image Projected by the Roman Emperors (A. D. 69-117) as Reflected in Contemporary Imperial Coinage* (1976) 122 s.; Banti *op. cit.* [cf. *supra*, his n. 10; *i.e.*, here A. BANTI 1983] 135 ss. nn. 199-218".

In his **note 15**, he writes: "Hannestad, *art. cit.* [cf. *supra*, his n. 12] 372 fig. 2; R. A. G. Carson, *Principal Coins of the Romans II. The Principate* (1980) 51 n. 563; Banti *op. cit.* [cf. *supra*, his n. 10; *i.e.*, here A. BANTI 1983] 48 ss. nn. 28-31".

For the historic reality, referred to by Trajan's coins, that are discussed by La Rocca (1994, 4) in the above-quoted passage; cf. also below, at *The third Contribution by Peter Herz: Der Übergang von Trajan auf Hadrian und das erste Regierungsjahr Hadrians*.

**Then, La Rocca (1994, 5, with n. 19) turns to the "celebrazione della vittoria". The material, La Rocca is interested in, was first collected by Gerhard Rodenwald (1922), who compared the very different iconographies to celebrate the victory of a sovereign, that were developed in Egypt, the states in the Near East, in Greece and by the Romans, and who referred to those different iconographic schemes as to "Richtungen".**

In his **note 19**, La Rocca writes: G. Rodenwaldt, *JdI* 37 (1922) 22 ss."

**It is in the context of Rodenwaldt's ``Richtungen`` of `celebrations of victory`, in which La Rocca then discusses Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna (cf. here Fig. 29).**

Cf. La Rocca (1994, 5-7): "Nella ``Richtung`` definita ``espressionistica`` il vincitore predomina secondo rigidi, ripetitivi, schemi simbolici. Questa tendenza prevale in ambiente orientale. Di misura soprannaturale rispetto ai vinti, il faraone calpesta i nemici, e le scene di battaglia sono descritte secondo repertori che si ripetono con costanza, rendendo prevalente l'elemento [page 6] rituale ed astratto rispetto alla narrazione puntuale degli eventi bellici. Malgrado un più consistente supporto di dettagli narrativi, e malgrado il diverso accento posto sull'immagine del sovrano raffigurato non più come un dio, **anche la cultura figurativa mesopotamica, principalmente quella neo-assira, si muove nella stessa ``Richtung``.**

**Differente il caso greco, la cui cultura figurativa segue una ``Richtung`` da Rodenwaldt definita ``umanista``, nella quale il nemico è pari al vincitore, descritto con rispetto e partecipazione, secondo una visione tragica in cui la cultura letteraria offre numerosi esempi.** La lotta tra dei e giganti, così come essa è rappresentata in ambiente greco sarebbe parsa sacrilega secondo la morale orientale, e **riflette una differente visione culturale, secondo cui la gloria per la vittoria è tanto maggiore se il nemico è pari per forza ed audacia.**

**C'è poi il caso romano**, assai complesso. Qui, come mostra il fenomeno delle processioni trionfali, la vittoria è sentita come una necessità, come un affermarsi imperioso ed ineluttabile dei migliori, cui competono tutte le principali *virtutes* con il loro bagaglio e valori etici. **Secondo Rodenwaldt nella cultura figurativa romana si afferma nel tempo la ``Richtung`` espressionistica**, già presente *in nuce* nella Gemma Augustea, imperiosamente evidenziata nel Grande Fregio di Traino e poi predominante nel mondo tardo-antico. **Opere della media età imperiale nelle quali il principe schiaccia con il piede il nemico come nella monetazione di Traiano, o sulla statua di Adriano da Hierapytna [with n. 20], mostrano il prevalere degli schemi simbolici, forse mediati dalla cultura figurativa orientale.**

È merito di Rodenwaldt aver trasferito l'analisi dai contenuti agli schemi figurativi, letti senza la partecipazione, emotiva quasi, di quegli studiosi drammaticamente coinvolti dalle vicende belliche che hanno funestato la prima metà di questo secolo.

Ma fino a che punto schemi figurativi e morale coincidono? o meglio: uno schema figurativo va letto secondo una valutazione morale?

**Ritorniamo per un momento allo schema del principe che schiaccia con il piede il nemico (fig. 3).** Esso è stato analizzato da B. Schweitzer in funzione della raffigurazione di Nemesi che schiaccia una personificazione, forse la Hybris [with n. 21], secondo un modello di probabile ascendenza alessandrina di cui non si sono esempi nell'arte greca [with n. 22], ma che rimanda alla più antica tradizione orientale, quella stessa tendenza ``espressionistica`` che si incontra sulle emissioni di Traiano e sulla statua di Hierapytna. **Apparentemente lo schema è estraneo alla morale greca [with n. 23] che romana [with n. 24]; anzi pare avere una [page 7] connotazione negativa rispetto all'ideologia romana che ha nel *parcere subiectis* uno dei suoi vertici morali [with n. 25; my emphasis]**".

In his **note 20**, La Rocca writes: "A. Hekler, *ÖJh* 19/20, 1919, 230 ss. fig. 158; B. Schweitzer, *JdI* 46, 1931, 216; M. Wegner, *Hadrian* (1956) 98 tavv. 13a; 16c; 41; P. Zanker, Provinzielle Kaiserporträts, *Abh München* N. F. 90 (1983) 17 tavv. 6,4; 7,1".

In his **note 21**, he writes: "Schweitzer, art. cit. [cf. *supra*, his n. 20] 214 ss.". - For Nemesis; cf. P. Karanastasi (2012/2013, 356 with n. 190). See also P. Karanastasi ("Nemesis", in: *LIMC* VI [1992] 733-762".

In his **note 22**, La Rocca writes: "Così già Rodenwaldt loc. cit. [cf. *supra*, his n. 19] ...".

In his **note 23**, he writes: "E. Fränckel (ed.), Aeschylus. Agamemnon (1950) II 412, comm.[entario] a v[erso] 907".

In his **note 24**, he writes: "L. Barchiesi, La traccia del modello. Effetti omerici nella narrazione virgiliana (1984) 35 ss. e nota 46".

Elsewhere, La Rocca (1994, 11-16) discusses reliefs, among them Egyptian ones, that show the deportation of foreign peoples. For example subjects of the Egyptian Pharaoh Sethos I, who lived in Palestine, which at the time belonged to the Egyptian Empire; the Pharaoh documented this on reliefs in the Temple complex at Karnak.

These examples, presented by La Rocca, are interesting for two subjects, discussed here:

a) they prove the above-mentioned hypothesis that Hadrian in his statue from Hierapydna (cf. here Fig. 29) could in fact be shown in this 'oriental' iconography, even provided the vanquished figure, on whose neck the emperor sets his left foot, could be identified with (a representation of?) his own subject(s) - provided it may indeed be identified as the representation of Judaea;

b) on the other hand, these examples corroborate the information contained in the Egyptian tale *The Taking of Joppa*, a town in Palestine, taken (according to this story) around 1450 BC by Djehuty, a general of Pharaoh Tuthmosis III (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.1.a*). These reliefs, published by La Rocca (1994) could even be regarded as illustrations of this story, because Djehuty enslaved the entire population of Joppa. These people were then brought from Joppa (today Tel Aviv-Jaffa in Israel) to the Temple complex of Amun at Karnak at Thebes (today Luxor) in Egypt circa 1000 kilometres away.

La Rocca (1994, 11-12) discusses *inter alia* a deportation-scene in a tomb of Pharaoh Horemheb and Pharaoh Sethos I's suppression of an uprising in Palestine, which the Pharaoh then documented in the Temple complex at Karnak at Thebes (today Luxor) :

"... verso la fine della XVIII dinastia, il generale, poi faraone, Horemheb faceva decorare una delle sue tombe, quella di Menfi, con una serie di splendidi rilievi, purtroppo dispersi tra vari musei, tra i quali emergono alcune lastre raffiguranti una processione di genti deportate, etnicamente ben caratterizzate in base alla fisionomia ed all' abbigliamento, guidate da soldati egiziani che mantengono ordine nella schiera improvvisata. Le donne hanno i bambini sulle spalle; altre reggono sporte contenenti le masserie. Un uomo anziano e calvo, con le mani legate, solleva il volto verso il cielo, in un atteggiamento di tragica desolazione (fig. 9) [with n. 50].

Non v'è dubbio che in ambedue i casi la prima impressione è che gli artisti ideatori abbiano trasfuso nella loro opera, malgrado si trattasse di monumenti 'ufficiali', una nota almeno di umana partecipazione, con la quale, tuttavia, contrastano le parole stesse dei faraoni, quando descrivono in toni enfatici le loro imprese. Durante una ribellione in Galilea, l'intervento di Sethos I fu duro: "Sua Maestà fu informata che gli Apiru del monte Yarmutu, insieme con gli Tayarù, erano insorti e attaccavano gli Asiatici di Ruhma [page 12]. Disse Sua Maestà: "Cosa credono di essere, questi spregevoli Asiatici?". Il faraone interviene, riporta pace nel distretto insieme con un ricco bottino e con prigionieri [with n. 51]. Coloro che si ribellavano sono 'spregevoli', e la reazione è sempre la stessa: "... il forte braccio del faraone giunse di fronte ad essi come una fiamma, calpestando le montagne", come si dice a proposito degli spregevoli Irem, oltre la terza cateratta del Nilo [with n. 52]. E, a proposito di beduini palestinesi: "Sua Maestà venne così informata: "I nemici beduini Shosu stanno tramando ribellioni. I loro capi tribù si sono uniti e asserragliati sulle colline di Khurru (in Palestina). Hanno provocato confusione e tumulto, uccidendosi a vicenda: essi ignorano le leggi del Palazzo". Sua Maestà si rallegrò alla notizia. Infatti questo dio perfetto esulta agli inizi della battaglia, gode a gettarsi in essa; il suo cuore si diletta alla vista del sangue. Egli tronca le teste dei ribelli. Egli preferisce ai momenti di divertimento quelli in cui annienta (il nemico). Sua Maestà con un colpo li massacra senza lasciare discendenti, e chi sfugge alla morte è portato prigioniero in Egitto" [with n. 53]. Così è scritto sui muri della sala ipostila del grande tempio di Karnak, dove il faraone giganteggia sovrastando con la sua smisurata mole la massa amorfa dei nemici. Alcuni motivi della descrizione dei beduini hanno significative consonanze con l'atteggiamento romano nei confronti delle popolazioni 'barbariche' [with n. 54]. Ignorare le leggi del Palazzo significa non far parte della società civile; combattendosi tra loro i Shosu si mostrano simili agli animali, e come tali il faraone, come in seguito l'imperatore romano nei confronti dei Germani, dei Traci o dei Daci, si sbaraglia e li massacra.

Nessun sentimento di umanità, anche se alcune raffigurazioni sembrano parlare un linguaggio differente: ma è un'illusione [my emphasis]".

The caption of La Rocca's Fig. 9 reads: "Rilievo della tomba di Horemheb presso Saqqara: prigionieri asiatici condotti dinanzi Horemheb".

In his **note 50**, La Rocca writes: "K. Lange - M. Hirmer, *L'Egitto* (1957) tav. 20 in alto".

In his **note 51**, he writes: "K. A. Kitchen, *Il faraone trionfante. Ramses II e il suo tempo* (Roma-Bari: Laterza 1987, 37 s.)".

In his **note 52**, he writes: "Kitchen, *op.cit.* 49".

In his **note 53**, he writes: "Kitchen, *op.cit.* 35 s.".

In his **note 54**, he writes: "Vd. [Vedi] *infra*".

**La Rocca (1994, 13-16) then explains, why the Egyptian Pharaohs suppressed rebellions and enslaved and deported those involved in such uprisings, and provides finally a deportation-scene from Mesopotamia :**

"In quanto alle scene di deportazione, l'amaro e disperato tema degli uomini che aggregano gli armenti, mentre le donne si dispongono in fila reggendo entro sporte i loro figlioletti, si incontra in affreschi dalla XII dinastia a Beni Hasan, dove Libici sono ordinati [page 14] in schiera da un sovrintendente (fig. 11.12) [with n. 59] ... Questi sono i risultati della guerra, e non v'è nulla per impedirlo, sembrano affermare queste cronache figurate, all'unisono con i resoconti agiografici trascritti con magnifici caratteri geroglifici sugli stesso monumenti. Ma, se ognuno conosce e paventa i disastri della guerra, allora è bene assogestarsi volontariamente al linguaggio del più forte. E se la forza viene dagli dei, se il faraone stesso è un dio, la legge del più forte è la legge del giusto, l'unica possibile: chi non lo riconosce è 'spregevole' e merita la violenza che la guerra trascina con sé.

**Disprezzo per i vinti e per i sottomessi, ancor più quando tendono a ribellarsi.** Questo leitmotiv continua imperterrita nel tempo, calando sulle rive del Tigri. Nudi, con le braccia e le teste crudelmente legate in ceppi, iconograficamente caratterizzati sono i prigionieri [page 15: Figs. 11; 12; page 16] sul frammento di una stele del regno accadico II/ II (fig. 13) [with n. 62; my emphasis]".

The caption of La Rocca's Figs. 11; 12 reads: "Beni Hasan, Tomba 14, parete orientale nella fascia centrale, scena di deportazione di popolazioni libiche".

The caption of La Rocca's Fig. 13 reads: "Frammento di stele dai pressi di Nasirijja: prigionieri in ceppi".

In his **note 59**, La Rocca writes: "P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I* (1893) 84 s. tavv. XLV.XLVII (tomba 14)".

In his **note 62**, he writes: "Databile intorno al 2415-2290 a. C.: F. Basmachi, *Sumer* 10, 1954, 116 ss. tavv. I.II; *Sumer* 13, 1957, 222 tav. I, II; E. Strommenger - M. Hirmer, *Fünf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien* (1963) tav. 118".

See also La Rocca (1994, 26):

**"Gli Egiziani credevano ciecamente al loro faraone, dio in terra. I deportati significavano terra conquistata e forza lavoro per i grandi possedimenti templari e statali, per le fabbriche di mattoni e per gli altri opifici del Delta [my emphasis]".**

**Fighting victoriously against his 'enemies' - that is to say, the documented victories, analysed by Eugenio La Rocca (1994) in the above-quoted passages, was among the actions that defined the foremost duty of an Egyptian Pharaoh, which, as the Egyptians believed, only the king himself was capable of achieving: the realisation of an ideal state of affairs, called by the Egyptians Ma'at. 'Ma'at' meant order, justice,**

harmony, and that in the Pharaoh's realm on earth in Egypt, and in the realm of the gods alike (!). Because all this has been discussed in great detail above (cf. *supra*, at Chapter IV.; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix II.), I quote in the following only one additional detail of this very complex ethic construction of the king in Egyptian theology, observed by the Egyptologist Emanuele M. Ciampini. He explains, from which kind of earlier representations the iconographic scheme: 'the king smiting his enemy', which La Rocca (1994) has described in some of his above quoted passages, had actually been derived.

Emanuele M. Ciampini writes in his article ("The King's Food A Note on the Royal Meal and Legitimation", 2016, 115) :

"Egyptian kingship is the result of the convergence of several traditions, first emerging in archaic chiefdoms. [with n. 1] The development of the ruler's iconography plays a fundamental role in the ideological 'construction' of these initial phases of kingship: representations of the king in the shape of falcon, lion, or bull are the clearest evidence of his super-human attributes. In such images, the culture of ancient Egypt offers a dynamic representation of its central authority, whose powerful act is believed to truly create reality. [with n. 2] The motives found in archaic royal iconography are reflected in the names of the first rulers as well: J. Assmann has stressed the aggressive nuance of such names, perfectly fitting the visual representations of archaic documents. [with n. 3]

These royal icons often appear in conflict scenes: the well-known model of the 'king smiting the enemy' [with n. 4] becomes a productive element of ideological representations, conveying the idea of an active role of the ruler in the eternal conflict between order and chaos. Since its origins, the Egyptian state celebrated the meaningful victory of the king against his enemies. The winning ruler is often depicted [page 116] in the act of destroying his opponent, whose destiny is complete annihilation. Thus, the enemy plays a passive role within the scene: his physical presence is his unique significance. This consideration may explain why he may also become part of a royal meal. One of the best examples of this practice is found in the main scene of the 'Battlefield Palette' (Late Pre-Dynastic Period, probably from Abydos: British Museum 20791+Ashmolean Museum 1892-1171), where the lion (= king) is devouring the body of his enemy. This theriomorphic representation is noteworthy for a twofold reason: 1) the king is smiting the chaotic element (= enemy) by means of an 'anthropophagical' act; 2) at the same time, the meal celebrates the powerful king, as provider of order [my emphasis]."

In his **note 1**, Ciampini writes: "Kemp 1991, 31-35".

In his **note 2**, he writes: "According to Wenke (2009, 183), the two crowns represent the status of the archaic king; these formal elements are the result of historical developments (South vs. [versus] North), stressing also the double nature of royal power: narrative vs. [versus] ritualistic".

In his **note 3**, he writes: "Assmann 1996, 51-52. For the use of the theriomorphic icons in the definition of the dynamic nature of the kingship: Ciampini 2011-2012, 107-110".

In his **note 4**, he writes: "This royal icon is analysed by Swan Hall 1986".

**To conclude (i.e., my second attempt at a conclusion).**

Applying what was said above to this series of portrait-statues of Hadrian discussed here (cf. **Fig. 29**), Hadrian's advisors or he himself consciously adopted such archaic 'oriental' iconographies of kings for himself in those portraits also in so far as a vanquished man (or a representation of a whole people, as perhaps shown in **Fig. 29**, provided, this figure actually represented *Judaea*) is shown as defeated, no matter, whether he belongs to a different people, and could thus be called, in our own parlance, an 'enemy', or whether he was one of the emperor's own subjects.

Decisive was obviously something completely different than that which I had assumed when starting to study this series of portrait-statues of Hadrian (cf. **Fig. 29**). Exactly like those sovereigns of archaic states in Egypt and in the Near East, from whose 'oriental' iconographies that of this portrait of Hadrian has

been derived, Hadrian regarded his own (or in the case of the Revolt of the Jews in the diaspora, Trajan's) government as just, and, consequently, a revolt against Roman government as illegal.

Seen under that perspective, and assuming at the same time, *a*) that the figure vanquished by Hadrian (cf. here **Fig. 29**) was actually a representation of *Judaea*, and *b*) that this portrait commemorated Hadrian's victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt, it must have seemed consequent and appropriate, in Hadrian's eyes, to represent the defeated 'enemy', although in reality representing his own subjects, in precisely that merciless iconography. - And that, although we have learned above from La Rocca (1994, 6-7) that this attitude towards one's subjects was originally *not* typical of the Romans, but, as he likewise writes, Roman *emperors* later adopted precisely that archaic 'oriental' iconography, mentioning *inter alia* the example of the portrait of Hadrian from Hierapydna (here **Fig. 29**), discussed here.

Interestingly there actually exists the possibility that this very frequently copied portrait of Hadrian (cf. here **Fig. 29**) conveyed a *very* positive message, similarly as Marco Cavalieri and Simon Jusseret (2009, 357) and Pavlina Karanastasi (2012/2013, 381) write in their respective abstracts, both quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2*.) But note that these authors base their conclusions on different arguments than I myself in the following. Let me, therefore, end the discussion of this enigmatic portrait of Hadrian (cf. here **Fig. 29**) by repeating a passage, that was written for the *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*:

'It is well known that the iconography of this series of portraits of Hadrian (cf. here **Fig. 29**) was derived from archaic 'oriental' models, as demonstrated by Eugenio La Rocca ("Ferocia barbarica. La rappresentazione dei vinti tra medio Oriente e Roma", 1994). These 'oriental' iconographies show Near Eastern and Egyptian kings in the act of smiting their enemies; but note that the same iconographies were likewise used when those kings had suppressed the revolts of subjects in their own Empires.

**But only when we consider, in addition to this, the findings by the Egyptologist David Peter Davies (*The Taking of Joppa*, 2003), in combination with the observations by the Egyptologist Emanuele M. Ciampini's ("The King's Food A Note on the Royal Meal and Legitimation", 2016), can we arrive at a better understanding of Hadrian's peculiar portrait (cf. here **Fig. 29**).**

David Peter Davies (2003, 48, quoted in detail *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.1.a*)) writes that Tuthmosis III's general Djehuty, whose name derives from that of the god Thot, by taking the city of Joppa, 'restores harmony', precisely as the god Thot himself 'restores harmony' (for that conviction; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d.1.a*); and at *Appendix II.c*)).

Let me explain, why the Egyptians believed in this important capacity of their god Thot: the Egyptian Pharaoh was crowned at the festival of New Year, presided by the gods Thot and Ma'at, and celebrated in the month called after the god Thot. As a result of his coronation, the Egyptian king would then be able to restore the desired state of affairs in the Egyptian state, as well as in the realm of the gods, called by the Egyptians Ma'at - harmony. Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II.a*); and *Appendix II.b*)).

**Ciampini (2016, 115, quoted ... [above]) explains that the Egyptian iconography, showing the king "smiting the chaotic element (= the enemy)", illustrates the foremost duty of the Egyptian Pharaoh, namely to restore order and justice, a state of affairs called by the Egyptians Ma'at - harmony, thus proving, as Ciampini writes, the ruler's 'active role in the eternal conflict between order and chaos [my emphasis]'.**

See also what Jean Claude Goyon (1988, 33, quoted in more detail *supra*, in Chapter *IV.1.1.e*) wrote about this prime obligation of the Egyptian Pharaoh: "We have seen above that the pharaoh-Horus, embodying the principle of the maintenance of Ma'at, was recognized and universally accepted, whatever his name, not because of who he was but for the sake of the fundamental principle of social harmony [my emphasis]".

Seen under that perspective, the large series of these portraits of Hadrian (cf. here **Fig. 29**), which commemorate one of his victories (in my opinion in the Bar Kokhba Revolt) ... could, in theory, have celebrated Hadrian as 'the restorer of harmony'. If true, *that* harmony was, of course, clearly a matter of perspective. Besides, when one stands in front of this overlifesize portrait-statue of Hadrian (cf. here **Fig. 29**),



which I myself found very impressive and even scary, this interpretation of its iconography does not come to mind easily.

My second attempt at a conclusion thus interprets the iconography of this portrait-type of Hadrian (cf. here **Fig. 29**) as a concept that could be read as directly deriving from the construction of the Egyptian Pharaoh, or in other words, as showing 'Hadrian as King of Egypt'.

**I realized this after having finished writing this *Study*, when reading the article of 1981 of my good late friend Cornelius Clarkson Vermeule III (August 10, 1925 - November 27, 2008) on Hadrian's portrait (here **Fig. 29**). My thanks are due to Hans Rupprecht Goette, who was kind enough to provide me with a copy of it. Vermeule's and my own hypothesis are based on Annalina Caló Levi's (1948) interpretation of Hadrian's coins (cf. here **Fig. 129**) which show the emperor in (almost) the same iconography as his portrait-statue from Hierapydna (**Fig. 29**). Since Caló Levi's interpretation of these coins has been widely discussed by other scholars, but not by Eugenio La Rocca (1994), I will come back to this below.**

But before quoting the relevant observations by Vermeule (1981), let me repeat some passages from this *Study*, that have become the basis of my own conclusions: these are either quotes from other scholars, or refer to them.

1.) Cf. La Rocca (1994, 6-7): "Ritorniamo per un momento allo schema del principe che schiaccia con il piede il nemico (fig. 3 [showing Trajan]). Esso è stato analizzato da B. Schweitzer in funzione della raffigurazione di Nemesi che schiaccia una personificazione, forse la Hybris [with n. 21], secondo un modello di probabile ascendenza alessandrina di cui non si sono esempi nell'arte greca [with n. 22], ma che rimanda alla più antica tradizione orientale, quella stessa tendenza "espressionistica" che si incontra sulle emissioni di Traiano [*i.e.*, his Figs. 3 and 4] e sulla statua di Hierapydna [here **Fig. 29**]. Apparentemente lo schema è estraneo alla morale greca [with n. 23] che romana [with n. 24]; anzi pare avere una [page 7] connotazione negativa rispetto all'ideologia romana che ha nel *parcere subiectis* uno dei suoi vertici morali [with n. 25]".

2.) [= a quote from the title of Appendix IV.c.2.)] "... Exactly like the statue of the *ficus Ruminalis* on the Anaglypha Hadriani (cf. here **Figs. 21; 22**), the *lupa* and the twins on those cuirasses [of the headless statues here **Figs. 6, right** possibly representing a portrait of Domitian; and here **Fig. 29**, Hadrian's portrait from Hierapydna] symbolize Rome's claim to eternal power and divine mission, and that it was the task of the Roman Emperor to fulfill this obligation (cf. C. Parisi Presicce 2000, 28, 29)".

3.) Following with this assumption a hypothesis of Birgit Bergmann (2010b), [Michaela] Fuchs [2014] suggests that a statue-type of Hadrian, created for the emperor on the occasion of his foundation of the *Panhellenion* at Athens in AD 131/132, became the basis for the statue discussed here (cf. here **Fig. 29**), which, according to Fuchs, belongs to the "Piräus-Hierapydna"-type. Whereas the original invention of this statue-type conveyed a "friedliche Botschaft" ('peaceful message'), the "Piräus-Hierapydna"-type adds a "kriegerischen Aspekt" ('warlike aspect') to it. Fuchs concludes that this change of the statue-type's iconography was motivated in order to commemorate Hadrian's victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt; cf. Fuchs (2014, 127-128 ...). In addition, Fuchs observes (as many other scholars before her) that the iconography of his statue appears on coins, issued by Hadrian in AD 134 or shortly later, 'which represent, in Fuchs's opinion, the emperor in the pose of Mars Ultor'; cf. Fuchs (2014, 129, caption of her Fig. 7 [= here **Fig. 129**]). - To those coins I will come back below.

4.) R.R.R. Smith's (2013, 121) observation: "'the deeds by which he (Divus Augustus) subjected the world to the empire of the Roman people'", although referring to a different context, can help us to better understand the meaning of the series of portrait-statues of Hadrian, discussed here (cf. here **Fig. 29**).

**By using 'oriental' iconographies, the foremost duty of such sovereigns has thus been adopted to show the duties of the Roman Emperor Hadrian - or, when we borrow Smith's phrasing: '[this iconography shows that Hadrian's duty is] to subject the world to the empire of the Roman people'.**

Let's now turn to Cornelius Vermeule's judgement of the portrait of Hadrian from Hierapydna (cf. Fig. 29).

As a matter of fact, already Annalina Caló Levi ("Hadrian as King of Egypt", 1948) has interpreted one of Hadrian's rare *sestertii* (cf. here Fig. 129) in precisely this way, as Vermeule (1981, quoted *verbatim* below) reported. This *sestertius* shows Hadrian in (almost) the same iconography as our statue (cf. here Fig. 29). Vermeule's relevant findings have not been considered by the above-mentioned scholars in their relevant discussions of Hadrian's series of portraits discussed here. Besides, Vermeule (1981) was first to conclude that this statue of Hadrian (here Fig. 29) commemorated the emperor's victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

Cornelius Vermeule (1981, 24-25, Chapter: "Hadrian's cuirassed statues and Jewish affairs") wrote:

"There were, however, other monuments, including coins, which proclaimed a sterner side of Hadrian's pan imperial administration and [page 25] military nature. One of these was the rare *sestertius* showing Hadrian as "King of Egypt," perhaps a forceful allusion to the troubles with the Jews of Alexandria which occurred off and on during his reign. The emperor wears ceremonial armor and stands in "Virtus pose," with one foot placed on the back of a crocodile. [with n. 32] The concept as a representation of military domination was an old one, going back to Alexander the Great as a god like Poseidon lord of the sea. More immediately, the propagandists of Hadrian's court could look to the famous JVDAEA CAPTA *sestertii* of Vespasian, where the latter had assumed armor and an identical pose to celebrate the capture of Jerusalem and the destruction of the holiest Temple. [with n. 33] This iconography was not confined to Hadrian's coins. The celebrated statue in the Istanbul Museum, from Hierapytna on Crete (a legionary port of embarcation to the East), shows Hadrian in ceremonial armor, his raised foot planted on the back of a Jewish boy. [with n. 34] (Fig. 23 [cf. here Fig. 29]) Charles Seltman of Cambridge (England) proposed the identification to me in the early 1950's. The statue is one of a series, produced most likely in Attica in the 120's and certainly the 130's, with *Victoriae* crowning *Athena* or *Roma-Virtus* on the breastplate and captives of various eastern nationalities as supports beside the imperial, panther-skin-booted leg. The fact that the Jewish boy is the only defeated figure placed underfoot in this group of marble statues [*i.e.*, here Fig. 29] may reflect the "Virtus-pose" iconography of JVDAEA CAPTA and Alexandria in Egypt (with its large Jewish community) or (and in addition) it may signify the seriousness of the Jewish uprisings in 116 to 117 or 132 to 134, depending on the date of the Hadrian [*i.e.*, his statue] set up at the Cretan port [*i.e.*, here Fig. 29] which looked out towards the Holy Land, Egypt, and Libya. The latter date would accord better with the mature portrait of Hadrian, the fact that official silence about the earlier uprising was in keeping (accorded) with his lack of numismatic or monumental commemorative evidence for the disturbances around the time of Trajan's death [my emphasis]."

In his note 32, Vermeule wrote: "H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, III [Nerva to Hadrian, 1936], p. 475, nos. 1552-1553, pl. 89,2. Annalina Caló Levi recognized the importance of the type and the accessory under Hadrian's foot: "Hadrian as King of Egypt," *The Numismatic Chronicle*, Sixth Series, Vol. VIII, 1948, pp. 30-38, fig. 1 [my emphasis]."

In his note 33, he wrote: "H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, II. [Vespasian to Domitian, 1930], p. 117, pl. 20,10; also pl. 25,1 and pl. 33,4, etc".

In his note 34, he wrote: "See [C. VERMEULE,] *Berytus XIII* [1959/1960], p. 55, no. 182 and bibliography, pl. XV, fig. 47. (The other statues in this series are listed here or in the later *Berytus* articles on cuirassed statues and reliefs [cf. for example C. VERMEULE 1966a and 1978]). Also, C. Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* [1968] pp. 247, 254, fig. 138".

Let's now turn to the findings concerning the subjects discussed here by Annalina Caló Levi (1948) and Cornelius Vermeule (1981), and refer those to the honorary statue of Hadrian, reported by the inscription (*CIL VI 974 = 40524* ; cf. here Fig. 29.1).

**A. Caló Levi's (1948) discussion of Hadrian's sestertius (Fig. 129), representing him in the iconography of his portrait-statue from Hierapydna (Fig. 29), C. Vermeule's (1981) findings related to both subjects, and the statue of Hadrian, dedicated by the Senate and the Roman People to commemorate the emperor's victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt (Fig. 29.1), erected within, beneath, or in front of the Temple of Divus Vespasianus**

*This statue [referring to the original of Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna; cf. here Fig. 29] was executed in artistic Graeco-Roman forms but according to Egyptian ideas, a composite frequently found on monuments in Egypt"*

Annalina Caló Levi (1948, 38).

Only after this *Study* was written, did I realize that Pavlina Karanastasi had also discussed Hadrian's above-mentioned coins (here **Fig. 129**); cf. Karanastasi (2012/2013, 352-353, 356, Section: "DIE ÄGYPTISCHE PERSPEKTIVE", quoted *verbatim infra*). On these coins appears the cuirassed Hadrian in exactly the same pose and in (almost) exactly the same iconography as in his statue from Hierapydna (here **Fig. 29**), with the important difference that the emperor sets his left foot on a crocodile, instead of on a vanquished human figure.

Annalina Caló Levi (1948, 30-33, 35, 37-38, quoted *verbatim infra*, with her Fig. 5 = here **Fig. 129.1**) was first to explain Hadrian's pose on those coins (cf. here **Fig. 129**) with the assumption that it derived from an existing statue of the emperor, suggesting, because of (almost) precisely the same iconography of both that this should have been the original, after which Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna (here **Fig. 29**) was copied. Caló Levi was also first to realize that the iconography, represented on those coins, derives from an Egyptian iconographic scheme which shows the reigning Pharaoh about to kill a crocodile (cf. here **Fig. 129.1**). - To all this I will come back below.

**Fig. 29. Over lifesize cuirassed statue of the Emperor Hadrian, 2,68 m high (comprising the plinth, 2,54 m high (without the plinth), his cuirass is decorated with an Athena/ Palladion, crowned by two winged Victories, who is standing on the *lupa*, suckling the infants Romulus and Remus. Hadrian sets his left foot on a small human figure (representing the Roman Province of Judaea?). Found at Hierapydna in Crete. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 50). In my opinion, the prototype of this portrait of Hadrian belonged with the inscription *CIL VI 974 = 40524 = here Fig. 29.1* to the victory monument, dedicated in honour of Hadrian by the Senate and the Roman People in AD 134/5 (so G. ALFÖLDY 1996 = here **Fig. 29.1**), in AD 135 (so C. BARRON 2018), or in AD 135/6 (so W. ECK 2003, 162, n. 35) to commemorate his victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Photos: Courtesy H.R. Goette (April 2023).**

**Fig. 29.1. Fragmentary inscription (*CIL VI 974 = 40524*), marble, once belonging to an honorary statue of the Emperor Hadrian, dedicated to him by the Senate and the Roman People to commemorate his victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt; so G. Alföldy (at: *CIL VI* [1996] 40524, who restored the inscription as shown here, dating it to AD 134/5); W. ECK 2003, 162-165; M. FUCHS 2014; C. BARRON 2018). According to G. Alföldy (*op.cit.*) and M. Fuchs (2014, 130), this honorary statue was erected within the *cella* of the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus* in the *Forum Romanum*. From: M. Fuchs (2014, 131, Fig. 8: "*CIL, VI, Pars VIII, Fasc. II* [1996], 40524". According to C. Barron (2018, who follows in this respect W. Eck 1999-2003), the honorary statue, to which this inscription belonged, stood "beneath (in front of?)" the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*, its inscription is kept in the Capitoline Museums, Rome (inv. no. NCE 2529), and is datable: "135 CE Sep 15th to 135 CE Dec 9th"; according to W. Eck (2003, 162, n. 35) it is datable to AD 135/6. C. Evers (1991, 797, n. 72), according to whom this inscription was found in the *Forum Romanum*, asks, whether it belonged to the colossal statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great), here **Fig. 11**. In my opinion, this dedication belonged to the honorary statue, after which Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna at Istanbul (here **Fig. 29**) and almost 30 replicas of this portrait were copied.**

**Fig. 129.** Above: *sestertius* ('not earlier than AD 134'; P.L. STRACK 1933). The reverse shown here appears on several coin-types that were issued at Rome by Hadrian. They show the cuirassed emperor in 'victor pose', with lance and *parazonium*, stepping with his left foot on a crocodile. Photo taken after a plaster cast of a *sestertius* of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli. From: A. Caló Levi (1948, 30-31 with n. 1, Fig. 1).

Below: from: L. Cigaina (2002, 267, Fig. 113). The caption reads: "Sesterzio (RIC II Hadrian 782; 134-136 d.C. ca. [circa]): busto laureato e drappeggiato di Adriano / Adriano stante in abito militare calpesta un coccodrillo (© Bertolami Fine Art, asta 77, n. 1107, 1 dicembre 2019)".

**Fig. 129.1.** Drawing after a relief from the Temple of Horus at Dendera in Egypt, which represents a Pharaoh in the iconography of 'Horus killing the crocodile'. From: A.E. Mariette, Dendérah, vol. II (1870-1874), Pl. 75a; cf. A.C. Levi (1948, 35, Fig. 5).

**Fig. 130.** *Sestertius*, issued at Rome by Vespasian (AD 71): IVDAEA CAPTA. Courtesy of the British Museum, London. Online at: <[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_R-10518](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-10518)>.

**Fig. 131.** *Sestertius*, issued by Titus (AD 80-81): IVDAEA CAPTA. Courtesy of the Jewish Virtual Library. Online at: <<https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/coins-from-judaea-capta>>.

Based on the date of those coins, issued by Hadrian (cf. here **Fig. 129**: 'not before AD 134' according to A. Caló LEVI 1948, 31; cf. p. 30 n. 1, Fig. 1, quoted *verbatim infra*, who followed with this statement P.L. STRACK 1933), together with the consideration of some other data, Cornelius Vermeule (1981, 24-25, quoted *verbatim supra*) was first to suggest that Hadrian's portrait from Hierapydna (cf. here **Fig. 29**) commemorated the emperor's victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

Also Pavlina Karanastasi (2012/2013, 352-353, 356) quotes the findings of Annalina Caló Levi (1948), who already knew that Hadrian had issued these coins (cf. here **Fig. 129**) 'not before 134 AD', and follows Caló Levi also in assuming that those coins refer to the prototype of the statue from Hierapydna (cf. here **Fig. 29**). This was also Vermeule's (1981) opinion, whom I have followed above, but Karanastasi (2012/2013, 381, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.*)), who ignores Vermeule's account, nevertheless comes to the (in my opinion erroneous) conclusion that Hadrian's series of portrait-statues discussed here (cf. here **Fig. 29**) commemorated Hadrian's (alleged) victory in the Revolt of the Jews in the diaspora (this revolt had lasted from 115-117 AD). To the information, provided by Caló Levi (1948, 30 n. 1) concerning those coins of Hadrian (cf. here **Fig. 129**), Karanastasi (2012/2013) adds the important information that they were issued at Rome.

As we have already seen above, also Michaela Fuchs (2014) has discussed those coins of Hadrian (cf. here **Fig. 129**). Fuchs adds the following observations: that these coins show Hadrian in the pose of Mars Ultor (the emperor is thus assimilated to the god Mars); that the coins with the reverse, which feature Hadrian in the iconography discussed here (cf. here **Fig. 129**) were issued by Hadrian *and* by the Roman Senate (which, as we shall see below, is not true), and that the *parazonium*, held by Hadrian in his left hand, indicates that the victories, celebrated with these coin, were won by the Roman legions: cf. Fuchs (2014, 130).

Contrary to Vermeule (1981, 25), whose account she has overlooked, Fuchs (2014, 130 with n. 42, quoting A.C. LEVI 1948, 30-38) does not follow Caló Levi in assuming that those coins show 'Hadrian as King of Egypt'. Also concerning Paul Leberecht Strack's interpretation of the presence of the crocodile on those coins, namely that it symbolizes "'das Gefährliche und Feindliche schlechthin" ... oder [dass es] auch als Symbol für Palästina verstanden werden kann" ("in a word, the dangerous and hostile", or [that it] may also be understood as a symbol of Palestine'); cf. Fuchs (2014, 130, with n. 43, quoting P.L. STRACK 1933, 138), Fuchs comes to the conclusion that both questions must be left open.

As already stated at the beginning of this *Study*, I myself follow instead both above-quoted statements by Paul Leberecht Strack (1933, 138) and by Annalina Caló Levi (1948, 30-38).

Discussing the matter with the numismatist-Angelo Geißen, he has told me that Michaela Fuchs's (2014, 130) above-quoted assumption, according to which the coins (here Fig. 129; carrying the inscription "S C"), were issued by Hadrian *and* by the Senate, has in the meantime been abandoned by numismatists: those coins have only been issued by Hadrian himself.

Annalina Caló Levi (1948, 31, with n. 5), translated Strack's passage as follows: "The motive, in his opinion [quoting for that P.L. STRACK 1933, 138], is a victory motive; but he queries whether the crocodile might not be a symbol of Palestine or of the enemy in general [my emphasis]".

Since I agree with Eugenio La Rocca (1994) and Claudio Parisi Presicce (2000) - both overlooked by Fuchs (2014) - in assuming that the iconography of Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna follows 'oriental' models (a fact, which is also assumed by P. KARANASTASI 2012/2013, 323 with ns. 1, 188, p. 353, whom also M. FUCHS 2014 discusses), I also follow Caló Levi's suggestion (1948, 35, quoted *verbatim infra*, with her Fig. 5 = here Fig. 129.1) that this crucial iconographic detail of Hadrian's coins - the crocodile - (cf. here Fig. 129) can likewise be explained by studying relevant Egyptian iconographic schemes.

Let me anticipate here the results of my relevant research: Strack (1933, 138) was, in my opinion right, when he interpreted the crocodile on Hadrian's coins (cf. here Fig. 129) as meaning 'the enemy in general' (to use Caló Levi's translation), and because he dated this coin-type 'not earlier than AD 134'; cf. Caló Levi (1948, 31 with n. 4, who quoted likewise P.L. STRACK 1933, 138 for that), Strack's further suggestion that 'the crocodile might also be a symbol of Palestine' (*i.e.*, Hadrian's victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt) seems, in my opinion, to be the logical consequence of this.

In her discussion of these coins of Hadrian (cf. here Fig. 129), Karanastasi (2012/2013, 353) has overlooked that the crocodile, on the back of which Hadrian sets his left foot, does not necessarily exclusively refer to Egypt. Caló Levi (1948, 31 with n. 1, quoted *verbatim infra*) had already quoted Strack (1933 II, 138, no. 291, Pl. IV, whom also P. KARANASTASI and M. FUCHS quote) for that.

Paul Leberecht Strack (1933 II, 138, no. 291, Pl. IV) was first to identify on Hadrian's coin (here Fig. 129) the crocodile as such, and, as already mentioned above, had suggested that this crocodile could mean *a*) 'the enemy in general', and *b*) just as well refer to (a victory in) Palestine.

Vermeule (1981, 25, quoted *verbatim supra*) added to Caló Levi's observations concerning the appearance of a crocodile on Hadrian's coins (cf. here Fig. 129), and to her suggestion of its possible meaning, to be discussed below (cf. here Fig. 129.1), the information that: "More immediately, the propagandists of Hadrian's court could look to the famous JVDAEA CAPTA sestertii of Vespasian [cf. here Fig. 130], where the latter had assumed armor and an identical pose to celebrate the capture of Jerusalem and the destruction of the holiest Temple. [with n. 33]".

Considering what we have heard above (in this *Study*, and below, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*)), Vermeule's latter observation may be regarded as decisive here. With this remark I am referring to the statue of Hadrian, dedicated by the Senate and the Roman People in recognition of the emperor's victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Of this portrait-statue of Hadrian only the fragmentary dedicatory inscription has survived (cf. *CIL VI 974 = 40524 = here Fig. 29.1*).

The following relates to this portrait-statue of Hadrian, dedicated to him by the Senate and the Roman People in recognition of the emperor's victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt, and is a quote from *Appendix IV.c.1.*) : "Geza Alföldy (at: *CIL VI 40524 [= here Fig. 29.1]*) believed that this portrait of Hadrian was erected in the *cella* of the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*. Fuchs (2014, 130, with n. 47) follows him, not only because of the findspot of the inscription, but also because of its content: in this inscription Hadrian's military success is explicitly compared with those of the *imperatores maximi* Vespasian and Titus, 'whom, with his victory, Hadrian has even surpassed'.

And Michaela Fuchs (2014, 130) writes:

"Auch wenn Hadrian keinen Triumph feierte [*i.e.*, for his victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt], so hat der Senat den östlichen Erfolg des Kaisers doch auch in Rom - wenn auch sehr zurückhaltend - gewürdigt. Eine fragmentarische Inschrift (Abb. 8 [= here **Fig. 29.1**]) belegt, dass dem Kaiser ein großes Siegesdenkmal errichtet wurde [with n. 45], ohne dass sich über dessen Charakter Näheres aussagen ließe. Der 90 cm hohe Rest der Inschrifttafel könnte am ehesten zu einer Basis für eine kolossale Statue Hadrians gehört haben, die allem Anschein nach auf dem Forum Romanum im Tempel des Divus Vespasianus [with n. 46] aufgestellt war [with n. 47]. Das Fragment kam in oder nahe den Überresten dieses Gebäudes zutage, doch wird der Zusammenhang nicht nur durch den Fundort nahegelegt, sondern er wird auch aus dem **Wortlaut der Inschrift ersichtlich. Der Senat und das Volk von Rom widmeten dieses Denkmal dem Kaiser, weil der dank des vorbildlichen Eifers des von ihm entsandten Heeres im Gefecht Syrien und Palästina befreit und dabei sogar die *imperatores maximi* (d. h. [das heißt] Vespasian und dessen Sohn Titus) übertroffen habe. Damit wird direkter Bezug auf den jüdischen Aufstand genommen, den gut 60 Jahre zuvor die Flavier niedergeschlagen hatten** [my emphasis]"

Because of the existence of this portrait-statue of Hadrian - (possibly) on display in the *cella* of the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus* - I believe that Vermeule (1981, 25) was right in suggesting that Hadrian's contemporaries, when looking at Hadrian's coins (cf. here **Fig. 129**), could not have had any problems in understanding that also Hadrian's coins referred to Hadrian's victory in Palestine. This is because of the great similarity of Hadrian's coins (cf. here **Fig. 129**) with Vespasian's IVDAEA CAPTA coins (cf. here **Fig. 130**, dated AD 71) - and I should like to add, because of their likewise great similarity with Titus's IVDAEA CAPTA coins (cf. here **Fig. 131**, dated AD 80-81), which show Titus in (almost) precisely the same iconography as Vespasian and Hadrian. - The only difference is that, whereas Vespasian and Titus set their raised left feet on a helmet, Hadrian sets his left foot on a crocodile.

For Vespasian's and Titus's IVDAEA CAPTA coins; cf. Anne Wolfsfeld (2014, 203), who writes about Domitian: "Der Katalysator für die einschlägig militärische Repräsentation der Flavier war sicherlich der herrschaftslegitimierende Sieg über Judäa [with n. 113]"

In her **note 113**;, Wolfsfeld writes: "Zur Rolle Judäas in der Repräsentation der Flavier s.[iehe] Coarelli (2009) 68-97; Eck (2006) 570-578; Millar (2005) 102-128; Beard (2003) 543-558; Pfanner (1983) 99-102; **zu den Iudaea Capta-Prägungen s.[iehe] exemplarisch: RIC II.1 163-169. 233-236 (Vespasian)** [my emphasis]"

Or in other words, given the date of Hadrian's coins (here **Fig. 129**) ('not earlier than AD 134'), they obviously celebrated his victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt. In my opinion, also the presence of the crocodile on Hadrian's coins could not be misunderstood as a hint at Egypt, since the emperor's contemporaries certainly knew perfectly well that Hadrian had *not* suppressed any revolts in Egypt during his reign. Already Harold Mattingly (1936, p. CLXXXII, quoted after A.C. LEVI 1948, 31, ns. 3, 5), who insisted that those coins (cf. here **Fig. 129**) referred to a victory, had pointed out this important fact.

Annalina Caló Levi (1948, 35, 36, Fig. 5 = here **Fig. 129.1**, quoted *verbatim infra*), has convincingly compared the iconography of Hadrian's coins discussed here (cf. here **Fig. 129**) with this image of a Pharaoh from the Temple of Horus at Dendera in Egypt, who is shown in the act of killing a crocodile. Contrary to the meaning of Hadrian's coins (cf. here **Fig. 129**), which we can only deduce, the meaning of this iconography of an Egyptian Pharaoh is well known. Like Vermeule (1981, 25) and some later scholars, I follow Caló Levi's suggestion that, because of the striking iconographic similarities, Hadrian, on those coins (cf. here **Fig. 129**), is portrayed 'as the King of Egypt'. - This implies that Hadrian, by definition, like an Egyptian Pharaoh, has the obligation to fight the 'evil' (*i.e.*, the Pharaoh the enemies of the Egyptian state/ and Hadrian the enemies of the Imperium Romanum), which is symbolized by the crocodile. - Or rather: it means that Hadrian had *accepted* this enormous obligation for himself.

Personally I find it very interesting to compare *a*), this static image of a Pharaoh from the Temple of Horus at Dendera (cf. here Fig. 129.1) with *b*), the dramatic scenes of the Egyptian Pharaohs in the iconographic scheme 'the king, smiting his enemies', discussed by Eugenio La Rocca (1994) and by Emanuele M. Ciampini (2016), that we have looked at above, and *c*), to compare both these iconographic schemes with the portrait of Hadrian from Hierapydna (cf. here Fig. 29).

At first glance, the messages of these two Egyptian iconographic schemes, here called *a*) and *b*), are exactly the same: the Pharaoh fulfills his foremost duty by fighting and destroying the 'evil', or, when looking at the obtained results: by fighting successfully the 'evil' (or, in Egyptian parlance: 'the chaos'), the king has been able to achieve the opposite, namely perfect government, or the establishment of the highly sophisticated doctrine or *Staatslehre* that dominated Egyptian society: a state of affairs which the Egyptians called Ma'at, that is to say, (social) harmony.

At second glance, the iconographic scheme *a*) looks like an 'Andachtsbild' ('devotional image'). In a Christian context we could be reminded of representations of a saint with his or her often likewise very small attributes by which they are recognizable, and in this specific case we could think of 'St. George killing the dragon'.

Representations of the Pharaoh in the iconographic scheme *a*) thus proclaimed 'in a nutshell', and generally speaking, the foremost duty of the reigning king, that is to say, without referring to a historical event. The latter is true in the case of the iconographic scheme *b*), which functions as a typical 'illustration' of the actual annals or *gestae* of the king in question throughout his reign. In this respect, such reliefs of the Egyptian iconographic scheme *b*) are, in my opinion, comparable to Roman state reliefs, such as the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. *supra*, at Chapters I.-VI., and here Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing).

Interestingly, Hadrian's statue from Hierapydna (cf. here Fig. 29), and the other statues of this large group of portraits of Hadrian discussed here, combine characteristics of *both* these Egyptian iconographic schemes, here called *a*) and *b*).

These portraits of Hadrian do not only follow scheme *a*), which is why they are no mere 'Andachtsbilder' ('devotional images'). The reason being that the 'evil', which Hadrian has overcome victoriously, is not visualized by means of a symbol - the crocodile. Or, in other words: what Hadrian's portraits discussed here distinguish from this Egyptian scheme *a*) is the figure, on which, in the statue from Hierapydna, Hadrian sets his left foot (cf. here Fig. 29), and which may possibly be identified as a representation of *Judaea*. As we have seen above, in the other statues of this 'Hadrian series', similar, but amongst each other very different small human figures appear at Hadrian's feet. All these tiny vanquished human figures are, so to say, very modest abbreviations of those opulent and multifigured scenes that are typical of the Egyptian iconographic scheme *b*).

For the portrait of a Roman emperor that I have elsewhere interpreted as an 'Andachtsbild' ('devotional image'), and for the important spiritual functions of such portraits; cf. Häuber (2014a, 698; cf. pp. 695-721: "B 25.) The iconography of the bust of Commodus as Hercules Romanus").

Because of all this, I do not agree with Annalina Calò Levi (1948, 33, quoted *verbatim infra*), who believed that the iconography of Hadrian's portrait from Hierapydna could "refer to the victorious power of the emperor in general", or, in other words, to the doctrine of the emperor's 'invincibility', the discussion of which has loomed large in this *Study*. The reason being that this statue does *not* only follow the Egyptian iconographical scheme *a*). I believe - because of the addition of the tiny vanquished human figure, which belongs to the Egyptian iconographic scheme *b*) - that it was rather the intention to commemorate with this statue (cf. here Fig. 29) a precise historic event. And because of the date of Hadrian's coins discussed here (Fig. 129: 'not earlier than AD 134'), I maintain my above-mentioned hypothesis that this historical event was Hadrian's victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

**To conclude (i.e., my final attempt at a conclusion) :**

1.) The date of those coins discussed here (cf. here **Fig. 129**: 'not earlier than AD 134'), combined with the (almost) identical iconography of the representation of Hadrian on these coins with the iconography of the portrait of Hadrian from Hierapydna (cf. here **Fig. 29**), gives us a secure hint at the date of this portrait of Hadrian. This agreement was first observed by Annalina Caló Levi (1948). In 1981, her arguments were followed by Cornelius Vermeule, who was actually first to suggest that the portrait of Hadrian from Hierapydna (because of the date of those coins, and because Hadrian's age, as represented in this portrait, here **Fig. 29**) was meant to commemorate the emperor's victory in the Bar Kokba Revolt. Finally, in 2014, Michaela Fuchs arrived at the same conclusion, although in part based on different evidence. In her opinion, all the presumed copies of her 'Piräus-Hierapydna' statue-type were dedicated because of the same event. In addition to this, I follow -

2.) Annalina Caló Levi (1948, 37-38, quoted *verbatim infra*) in assuming that those coins (cf. here **Fig. 129**) were modelled after an existing portrait-statue of Hadrian, of which, in her opinion, the statue from Hierapydna should be regarded as a copy (cf. here **Fig. 29**) - and, in my opinion, also the other statues of this 'Hadrian series' discussed here. Since we know -

3.) from Karanastasi (2012/2013, 356), quoted *verbatim infra* that those coins (cf. here **Fig. 129**) were issued at Rome, and -

4.) from Fuchs (2014, 130), quoted *verbatim infra* that the coin reverses showing Hadrian in this iconography (cf. here **Fig. 129**) were issued by Hadrian 'in AD 134 or a little later', as Fuchs suggests, this leads us more or less 'automatically' to another dedication by the Senate on behalf of Hadrian at precisely the same time.

With point 4.) I am referring to the above-mentioned dedication by the Senate and the Roman People of a portrait of Hadrian to commemorate the emperor's victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Because of the findspot of its fragmentary dedicatory inscription, Geza Alföldy (at: *CIL VI 40524 = CIL VI 974 = here Fig. 29.1*) had assumed that this portrait of Hadrian was in the *cella* of the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*. This was followed by Fuchs (2014, 130, with n. 47), not only because of the findspot of this inscription, but also because of its content: in this inscription, Hadrian's military success in the Bar Kokhba Revolt is explicitly compared with those of the *imperatores maximi* Vespasian and Titus, 'whom, with his victories, Hadrian has even surpassed'.

**That the coins of Hadrian (cf. here Fig. 129) should be seen in connection with Vespasian and Titus, is also, in my opinion, clear from the fact, that the entire iconography of Hadrian's portrait on those coins (including the *parazonium*, held by Hadrian in his left hand), repeats in (almost) identical fashion the iconographies chosen for Vespasian (cf. here Fig. 130, dated AD 71) and Titus (cf. here Fig. 131, dated AD 80-81) on their respective IVDAEA CAPTA coins.**

Besides, the iconography of all three portraits of Emperor Vespasian, Emperor Titus and Emperor Hadrian on these coin-types (cf. here **Figs. 130; 131; 129**) may, in my opinion, in a certain sense even be regarded as the faithful 'visualization' of Hadrian's praise, as formulated in the dedicatory inscription of this portrait-statue dedicated by the Senate and the Roman People (see *CIL VI 40524 = CIL VI 974 = here Fig. 29.1*).

See the translation of this inscription by Michaela Fuchs (2014, 130): "Der Senat und das Volk von Rom widmeten dieses Denkmal dem Kaiser, weil der dank des vorbildlichen Eifers des von ihm entsandten Heeres im Gefecht Syrien und Palästina befreit und dabei sogar die *imperatores maximi* (d. h. [das heißt] Vespasian und dessen Sohn Titus) übertroffen habe" ('the Senate and the Roman People dedicated this monument to Hadrian, because he, thanks to the exemplary zeal of the army sent by him, by campaigns liberated Syria and Palestine, and by doing so has even surpassed the *imperatores maximi* [i.e., Vespasian and his son Titus]').



I am suggesting here that the iconography of this portrait-statue of Hadrian (possibly) in the *cella* of the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus* in a certain sense even 'visualized' Hadrian's praise in the pertaining dedicatory inscription (CIL VI 40524 = CIL VI 974 = here Fig. 29.1), because Fuchs (2014, 130) comments on Hadrian's coins (cf. here Fig. 129) as follows: "Das Parazonium in der Linken des Kaisers scheint ... auf von Legionen errungene Siege hinzuweisen" ('the *parazonium* in Hadrian's left hand seems to indicate that the victories [celebrated with these coins] was achieved with the legions').

Cf. Siemer Oppermann: "Parazonium ... ein kurzer Ehrendegen, in der Größe zwischen pugio und gladius, den Militärtribunen (Martial. 14,32) und höhere Offiziere am cingulum, wohl an der l.[inken] Seite trugen ...", in: *KlPauly* 4 (1979) Sp. 509.

**If indeed, as here suggested, the portrait-statue of Hadrian from Hierapydna (cf. here Fig. 29) and other statues of the 'Hadrian series' discussed here, may be regarded as copies of that statue of Hadrian, dedicated by the Senate and the Roman People to commemorate Hadrian's victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt, and (possibly) erected in the *cella* of Domitian's Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*, this could :**

a) be regarded at the same time as a great homage to Titus's and Vespasian's victories as well. And that simply because the iconography chosen for this portrait of Hadrian intentionally repeated the (almost identical) iconographies of the portraits of Vespasian and Titus on their IVDAEA CAPTA coins (cf. here Figs. 130; 131).

Note that Vespasian and Titus issued those coins (cf. here Figs. 130; 131) when they were both *themselves* emperors. Precisely as in the case of those archaic 'oriental' iconographic schemes, discussed by Eugenio La Rocca (1994) and Emanuele M. Ciampini (2016), that we have looked at above: also in those cases it was exclusively the reigning monarchs who were represented as the victors of military campaigns, regardless who had actually achieved them.

In reality, Vespasian had started to suppress the Great Jewish Revolt (or War) in AD 67, at the order of Nero, which means, had Nero lived as long as AD 71, *he* could have issued such a IVDAEA CAPTA coin with a portrait of himself in this 'victor-iconography' as Vespasian on his relevant coins (cf. here Fig. 130).

And as for Titus: Vespasian, after a long journey, was already back in Rome by October of AD 70, whereas, only shortly before, in August/September of AD 70, Titus had fought the decisive battles in this war - as rightly observed by Vermeule (1981, 25): "... the famous JVDAEA CAPTA sestertii of Vespasian [cf. here Fig. 130], where the latter [*i.e.*, Vespasian] had assumed armor and an identical pose [as Hadrian on his coins and in his statue; cf. here Figs. 129; 29] to celebrate the capture of Jerusalem and the destruction of the holiest Temple. [with n. 33]".

For all those historic events; cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.); below, at Chapter *The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps*; and Dietmar Kienast, Werner Eck and Matthäus Heil (2017, 105, referring to Titus): "Aug.[ust]/Sept.[ember] 70 Einnahme von Jerusalem".

But, of course, the reigning Emperor Vespasian was given on this coin the credit for this victory in AD 70 at Jerusalem (cf. here Fig. 130). Contrary to other victorious generals, Titus was lucky enough to succeed his father Vespasian as emperor: he could, therefore, issue in 80/81 his coins (cf. here Fig. 131), which celebrate now *him* as the victor in this decisive battle of AD 70 (!).

A comparison of Vespasian's and Titus's victorious military campaigns on the one hand, and of Hadrian's victories on the other hand - all in the same area of the Roman Empire - was actually explicitly drawn in the dedicatory inscription of this portrait of Hadrian, which the Senate and the Roman People (possibly) dedicated in the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus* (cf. CIL VI 40524 = CIL VI 974 = here Fig. 29.1);

b) In addition to this, this assumption (if at all true) could explain, given the fact that his portrait-statue of Hadrian (possibly) stood in the *cella* of the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*, that it was considered as not 'necessary' by Hadrian, who issued those coins (cf. here Fig. 129), to add any explanatory text on those coins that would have defined *expressis verbis* the event that they were supposed to celebrate;

c) Provided this assumption is true, we can now also explain, why the copies of this original portrait-statue of Hadrian, which (possibly) stood in the *cella* of the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus* at Rome, namely the statue from Hierapydna (cf. here **Fig. 29**), and the other statues of this 'Hadrian series', were only commissioned by communities or institutions, for example at Hierapydna in Crete, as described by Vermeule (1981, 25, quoted *verbatim supra*) which could actually 'look' towards Palestine, or because they wished to thank Hadrian for his victory, since they lived fairly close to the theatre of this war. - But see now Sam Heijnen (2020, 204, quoted *verbatim infra*) for a much better explanation;

d) Apart from intentionally copying the iconographies of the portraits of Vespasian and Titus on their IVDAEA CAPTA coins (cf. here **Figs. 130; 131**), this original portrait-statue of Hadrian, dedicated by the Senate and the Roman People (possibly) in the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*, offered a great wealth of additional iconographic detail, especially the reliefs on Hadrian's cuirass, which we know from the copies of this original, Hadrian's portrait from Hierapydna (cf. here **Fig. 29**) and the other statues of the 'Hadrian series' discussed here. The meaning of all this has been analysed with great care by the above-discussed scholars, whose important results I have not repeated here again. - But also to this I will come back below.

### *Post Scriptum to my conclusion*

Even after having finished writing this conclusion reached me more information concerning the statue of Hadrian (cf. here **Fig. 29**) discussed here, which I have summarized in the following.

Rose Mary Sheldon, whom I had sent an earlier draft of this *Study*, comprising the above-mentioned illustrations of Vespasian's and Titus's IVDAEA CAPTA coins (cf. here **Figs. 130; 131**), was kind enough to correct the English of my text. And because these coins show both Flavian emperors with a mourning representation of Judaea, Rose Mary alerted me in an E-mail on 11th February 2021 to Jane M. Cody's (2003) discussion of the coinage of the Flavian emperors.

Rose Mary wrote me that, according to Cody, "this coinage reveals that the theme of 'conqueror and conquered' was the one most favoured by the Flavians. The numismatic representation of conquered peoples throughout this period showed a marked preference for imagery in which a province was represented as conquered and mourning or bound, often beneath a victory trophy".

**And to this, Rose Mary remarked to me in her E-mail of 11th February 2021: "Seems like it could be argued in other sculptural representations, too" (!). - To this I will come back below.**

See now the exhibition-catalogue *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore* (2023, 22, cat. 22), an *aureus*, issued by Domitian in AD 85, with a mourning representation of *Germania* on the reverse:

"12. Aureo di Domiziano con la personificazione della Germania  
D/ IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM PM TR P IIII.  
Testa laureata di Domiziano verso destra  
R/ IMP VIII COS XI CENS POT PP.  
La Germania afflitta seduta verso destra su scudo.  
Sotto, una lancia spezzata  
Oro  
Diam. mm 20,5; peso g 7,51  
Zecca di Roma, 85 d.C. (*RIC* II<sup>2</sup>, p. 288, n. 340)  
Da Roma. Collezione Campana. Acquisito dai Musei Capitolini: 1873  
Roma, Musei Capitolini, Medagliere, inv. MED 3432".

To Jane M. Cody's (2003) findings and Rose Mary Sheldon's related remark, we may now add some observations by Sam Heijnen (2020, 200-204), who, to my knowledge, is one of the two most recent scholars, who has studied Hadrian's series of portraits discussed here (cf. **Fig. 29**). My thanks are due to Hans Rupprecht Goette for providing me with a copy of Heijnen's article. The other scholar to have most recently discussed those portraits of Hadrian is Lorenzo Cigaina in his book on Crete (2020), to which I will come back below. My thanks are due to Peter Herz for alerting me to this publication.

*The observations concerning Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna by Sam Heijnen (2020)*

Sam Heijnen ("Living up to expectations. Hadrian's military representation in freestanding sculpture", 2020, 202, Fig. 11) refers to these portrait-statues of Hadrian, of which the one from Hierapydna is the most famous replica (here **Fig. 29**), as to Hadrian's "Eastern breastplate type". Heijnen provides a very useful map, in which the findspots of the 22 replicas of his Hadrian's "Eastern breastplate type" (cf. her **Fig. 29**), that are known to him, are marked. Note that on his inserted map of Crete 'Hierapydna' is called: "Ierapetra".

Heijnen summarizes the debate concerning the date of those portraits. But because he does not consider the research by Annalina Caló Levi (1948), Cornelius Vermeule (1981), and Michaela Fuchs (2014) - although he quotes Pavlina Karanastasi (2012/2013), who has likewise discussed them - he does not consider Hadrian's above-mentioned coins (cf. here **Fig. 129**), which are dated 'not earlier than AD 134', and represent the iconography of Hadrian's portrait series (cf. here **Fig. 29**) in almost identical fashion. Nor addresses Heijnen the findings of La Rocca (1994) or any of the other above-mentioned scholars, who have studied the fact that the iconography of Hadrian's portrait (cf. here **Fig. 29**) is clearly influenced by 'oriental' iconographies.

**Heijnen (2020, 200-202) mentions the two different dates suggested for the creation of those portraits of Hadrian (cf. here Fig. 29) by Richard A. Gergel (2004) and Pavlina Karanastasi (2012/2013) on the one hand, and Bettina Bergmann (2010b) on the other hand, saying that, according to the former, those portraits commemorated Hadrian's victories in the Revolt of the Jews in the diaspora. Bergmann, on the other hand suggests that these statues were dedicated to celebrate Hadrian's victories in the Bar Kokhba Revolt.**

Heijnen (2020, 202) does not himself decide which of the two hypotheses could possibly be true. Trying to solve this chronological problem, Heijnen (2020, 202) has studied the epigraphic evidence, collected by Jakob Munk Højte (2005), coming to the conclusion that there are many more dedications to Hadrian that belong to the later of those two periods.

**As I hope to have demonstrated *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.c.2.), the statues of Hadrian discussed here (cf. here Fig. 29), for historical and iconographical reasons, cannot possibly commemorate Hadrian's (alleged) suppressions of the Revolts of the Jews in the diaspora (AD 115-117).**

The reasons being that:

*a)* the Emperor Trajan, in AD 117, had ordered Hadrian, one of his generals, only a couple of days before his own death (on 7th ? August AD 117; cf. *supra*, n. 323, in Chapter II.1.e) to suppress one of these Jewish revolts in the diaspora; and -

*b)* that exclusively the *reigning Pharaohs* and *Roman emperors* were represented in this archaic 'victor pose', as for example the Emperor Hadrian (here **Fig. 29**), and as represented on here **Fig. 129.1** (an Egyptian Pharaoh as Horus); and on here **Figs. 130; 131** (the Emperors Vespasian and Titus), regardless of the fact that, in reality, possibly one of their generals had conducted the victorious military campaigns in question.

This we have already learned above, when looking at Vespasian's IVDAEA CAPTA coins (dated AD 71; here **Fig. 130**): it is the Emperor Vespasian, who appears on those coins in exactly the same 'victor pose' as the Emperor Hadrian in the statue from Hierapydna (here **Fig. 29**), and that, although it had been his son, the general Titus, who in AD 70, had achieved the relevant final victory in this war. In addition to this we have seen above that Titus, in his turn, could only issue his *own* IVDAEA CAPTA coins (here **Fig. 131**; dated AD 80-81), thus celebrating (his) same final victory of AD 70, when he was himself emperor (!).

This means, of course, that, provided the Revolts of the Jews in the diaspora (AD 115-117) had indeed been suppressed by Trajan's general Hadrian, and commemorated with an honorary statue, the *Emperor Trajan, not Hadrian*, would have been represented in this iconography.

Heijnen (2020, 203) analyses the iconography of Hadrian's cuirass, especially the central figure of an "Athena/Palladion/Virtus", as he refers to it, which is standing on the *lupa romana* (cf. here **Fig. 29**). Heijnen himself is unaware of the potential of his findings. In my opinion, they support my hypothesis that those portraits of Hadrian (here **Fig. 29**) may be attributed to the victory monument commemorating the emperor's victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt, to which the inscription (here **Fig. 29.1**) once belonged.

Heijnen (2020, 203) writes: "However, I believe an important precedent of the Hadrianic motif has been overlooked, which may be the key to understanding its meaning. Within the medium of imperial statuary, the motif of two Victories, crowning or decorating a central figure or object often appears in cuirasses with a military trophy (*tropaion*) at their center (e.g. *fig. 13*) [with n. 75]. **Particularly during the Flavian period, trophies were used in statuary representations of the emperors to refer to their conquests of Judaea and Germania** [with n. 76]. The conquered people were then often represented by two captives at the bottom of the trophy and/ or by a captive at the foot of the statue [with n. 77]. The arrangement of the main figures in the Hadrianic breastplate type seems to be strongly influenced by that of the 'trophy type' [my emphasis]".

In his **notes 75-77**, Heijnen provides references.

The caption of Heijnen's *Fig. 13* reads: "Marble headless statue of a Roman emperor with two Victories crowning a military trophy. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum (photo author)".

**Personally, I find Heijnen's just-quoted observation very convincing: according to the author, the design of the central motif of Hadrian's cuirass (c. here *Fig. 29*) was influenced by such 'trophy type' decorations of cuirasses (his *Fig. 13*), which in their turn appear also in exactly the same fashion on many victory monuments of the Flavian period.**

Heijnen (2020, 203), in the above-quoted passage, mentions the important fact that "during the Flavian period, trophies were used in statuary representations of the emperors to refer to their conquests of Judaea and Germania". More such examples of trophies of the Flavian period, even one, decorated with a winged Victoria, as in the examples mentioned by Heijnen, have already been discussed above: the sculptural decoration of the '*Aula Regia*' within Domitian's Palace on the Palatine (cf. here **Fig. 9**).

I repeat in the following a passage, written for *supra*, Chapter VI.3. *Summary of my own hypotheses concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs presented in this Study; Addition: My own tentative suggestion, to which monument or building the Cancellaria Reliefs may have belonged, and a discussion of their possible date:*

``As discussed in detail above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.), Bianchini (1738, 50, 52, 54 with Tab. II.-IV. = here **Figs. 8; 9**) describes the architecture, size and decoration of the '*Aula Regia*', and provides a measured ground-plan of Domitian's entire Palace (his Tab. VIII. = here **Fig. 8**). His excellent etchings comprise also a measured ground-plan of the '*Aula Regia*' (his Tab. II. = here **Fig. 9**); an etching, illustrating an uniquely rich decorated marble column base (cf. his Tab. III. = here **Fig. 9**), belonging to a pair of giallo antico columns (cf. p. 50: "mai state osservate") that flanked the main entrance to the '*Aula Regia*' in the north

(cf. here **Figs. 8; 8.1**), the plinth of which is decorated with trophies, as well as other finds from that hall (cf. p. 54): **a detail of a marble entablature, decorated with a winged Victoria, who is crowning a trophy (illustrated on his Tab. IV. = here Fig. 9). Bianchini's illustrations (1738, Tab. III. and IV. = here Fig. 9) therefore show that at least one of the iconographic themes of the enormous 'Aula Regia' was certainly the celebration of Domitian's military victories. According to Eugenio Polito (2009, 506, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.), this was the major subject of the 'Aula Regia' [my emphasis]''.**

At the end of his discussion of his "Eastern breastplate type" of Hadrian (cf. here **Fig. 29**), Heijnen (2020, 204) comes to the following (in my opinion very convincing) conclusion:

**"The choice to use the 'trophy-type' [on the cuirasses of this series of portraits of Hadrian; cf. here Fig. 29] as an anchor might have been influenced by the fact that this type has been used before to commemorate the conquest of Judaea under the Flavians. However, even regions that did not suffer from rebellions directly employed the military cuirass with the eastern breastplate type [of Hadrian] (albeit without the barbarian motif) to express that their age of prosperity was thanks to the eternity of Rome and the emperor's efforts to ensure peace [my emphasis]".**

*The observations concerning Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna by Lorenzo Cigaina (2020)*

Lorenzo Cigaina (*Creta nel Mediterraneo greco-romano: identità regionale e istituzioni federali*, 2020, 122-124) discusses the well-known, but at the same time remarkable fact that in Crete were found five (or six?) copies of 'Hadrian's portrait series', to which the statue from Hierapydna (here **Fig. 29**) belongs.

Cigaina is first to connect this fact with Hadrian's improvement of a major road that connected the western part of Crete with its eastern part. We know three Hadrianic milestones of this road, which, as Cigaina (2020, 219) is able to demonstrate, are datable between AD 133-136. He, therefore, convincingly suggests that Hadrian used this road to guarantee the transportation of soldiers and supplies that he needed for his suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt in *Judaea*. Cigaina (2020, 219) suggests that Hadrian actually shortly went himself to *Judaea* to lead in person a campaign in order to suppress the Bar Kokhba Revolt. According to Cigaina (2020, 222), all the statues of Hadrian of the "tipo Hierapydna" were created between AD 132-138. He, therefore, convincingly suggests that those five (or six?) honorary statues of Hadrian in Crete (cf. here **Fig. 29**) were dedicated to Hadrian to commemorate the emperor's suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

**When discussing his relevant research with Lorenzo Cigaina in an E-mail correspondence of February 2021, I had at that stage not as yet realized that Cigaina (2020) addresses in his book also Hadrian's coins (cf. here Fig. 129), which show on the reverses the cuirassed emperor in 'victor pose', with lance and *parazonium*, stepping with his left foot on a crocodile.**

Cigaina (2020, 267, ns. 799, 801) quotes for those coins (here **Fig. 129**) also Caló Levi's article (1948). But he has overlooked that Caló Levi was *a*) first to suggest that those coins represent the prototype of Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna (here **Fig. 29**); and *b*) that Caló Levi (1948, 38, quoted *verbatim infra*) had obviously taken for granted that this statue of Hadrian had been erected in Rome, since she suggested that it had decorated the cenotaph of Antinous at Rome. Caló Levi (1948) herself did not explain, why she assumed this; but the fact that Hadrian had issued those coins (here **Fig. 129**) in Rome may have been the reason.

Lorenzo Cigaina (2020, 267-268, § IV.8) offers the *status quaestionis* concerning the meaning of this 'Egyptian' iconography that was not only chosen for the coins, issued by Hadrian (cf. here **Fig. 129**), but, as Cigaina points out, also by several other Roman emperors. I quote in the following first his passage, in which he discusses those coins (here **Fig. 129**), because Cigaina (2020, 267, n. 801) comes to the following interesting conclusion: this iconography was chosen by those Roman emperors, who thus wanted to refer

**to the fact that they had 'suppressed disorder'. In addition, Cigaina suggests that the reverses of Hadrian's coins (here Fig. 129) may represent a portrait of Hadrian, created in AD 134 or shortly later.**

Cigaina (2020, 267-268) is well aware of the fact that this 'victor iconography', adapted by some Roman emperors to their own portraits, as for example by Hadrian in his coins (here Fig. 29), had been derived from the Egyptian iconographic scheme 'the Pharaoh/ Horus kills the crocodile' (cf. here Fig. 129.1).

**Cigaina (2020, 267-268, § IV.8) writes about this iconography, that was also chosen for Hadrian's portraits on the reverses of his coins (here Fig. 129):**

"In alternativa, contro le forze del caos e del male incarnate dal cocodrillo combatte il dio Horus o la sua incarnazione terrena, il faraone, che sono rappresentati nell'atto di sottometterlo calpestandolo [with n. 799]. In seguito, questa iconografia di vittoria viene trasferita occasionalmente all'imperatore romano, concepito in Egitto fin da Augusto come nuovo Horus [with n. 800], per esempio in un'emissione di denarii, sesterzî e dupondi sotto Adriano (fig. 113 [= here Fig. 129]) e in un'altra di aurei e sesterzî sotto Caracalla (215 d.C.), entrambe della zecca di Roma [with n. 801]. **Sebbene presso il pubblico dell'Impero l'associazione con Horus restasse perlopiù implicita, il concetto di dominio sull'Egitto e sulle forze avverse doveva comunque essere perspicuo** [my emphasis]".

In his **note 799**, Cigaina writes: "A.C. Levi, 'Hadrian as king of Egypt', *NumChron* 1948, (30-38) 34-37; J.-C. Grenier, *La décoration statuaire du 'Serapeum' du 'Canope' de la Villa Adriana*, Roma 1990, 20-22, 28-30 e tavv. 22-25; Hoffmann, *Krokodildarstellungen* (nt. 796), 432, fig. 4, cat. 350, 357; cfr. *LIMC* V (1990), 541 e n. 26 s.v. 'Horus' (M.-O. Jentel): rilievo in calcare del V sec. d.C. [my emphasis]". - See Cigaina's **note 796**: "... F. Hoffmann, 'Krokodildarstellungen in Ägypten und Rom (Kat. 350-357)', in H. Beck (a cura di), *Ägypten, Griechenland, Rom: Abwehr und Berührung* (Catalogo della Mostra, Frankfurt a. M., 26 nov. 2005 – 26 feb. 2006), Frankfurt a. M. 2005 [*i.e.*, here *Ägypten Griechenland Rom 2005*], 427 [corr.: 428]-433 ...".

In his **note 800**, he writes: "F. Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharaos: der Kult des Augustus in Ägypten*, Frankfurt a. M. 2007, 117-122, 128-136 (Horus), 209-228 (Sol-Apollo a Roma)".

In his **note 801**, he writes: "RIC II *Hadrian* 782, 830; A. Banti, *I grandi bronzi imperiali*, II 2, Firenze 1984, 370-373 nn. 728-734 (sesterzi di Adriano); RIC IV 1 *Caracalla* 257 a-b; vd. [vedi] Levi, *Hadrian as king* (nt. 799), 30 ss. e figg. 1 [= here Fig. 129]-3; S.M.E. Fick, 'Der Kaiser und das Krokodil. Überlegungen zu einem Motiv römischer Münzprägung: Kontext - Vorbilder - Botschaft', in K. Schnegg - B. Truschnegg - M. Pohl (a cura di), *Antike Welten. Althistorische Forschungen in Österreich* (Akten der Tagung, Innsbruck, 17.-19. Nov. 2016), Innsbruck 2018, 115-132; cfr. E. La Rocca [*i.e.*, here E. La Rocca 1995a], '«Clemenza imperiale». L'immagine del principe vittorioso', in *Storia letteratura e arte a Roma nel secondo secolo dopo Cristo* (Atti del Convegno, Mantova, 8-10 ott. 1992), Firenze 1995, 213-248, in part. 222, 231; Kiss, *Le dieu-crocodile* (nt. 796), 276, figg. 4-5. **L'imperatore è sempre in abito militare e armato. Il tipo viene interpretato perlopiù in riferimento alla repressione di disordini o, secondo Fick (loc. cit.), al controllo dell'annona. L'immagine di Adriano [cf. here Fig. 129] potrebbe ritrarre una statua realizzata nel 134 d.C. o poco dopo** [my emphasis]". - See Cigaina **note 796**: "... Z. Kiss, 'Le dieu-crocodile égyptien dans l'Italie romaine', in N. Bonacasa (a cura di), *L'Egitto in Italia dall'antichità al medioevo* (Atti del III Congresso, Roma - Pompei, 13-19 novembre 1995), Roma 1998, 275-288 ...".

**Cigaina (2020, 123-124, § IV.1) writes about Hadrian's 'portrait series' in Crete, to which the statue from Hierapydna (here Fig. 29) belongs:**

"... e sull'isola [*i.e.*, Crete] si constata un'insolita concentrazione di [page 124] statue di Adriano del 'tipo Hierapydna' - cinque o sei esemplari - la cui corazza è decorata con motivi simbolici riferibili al Panhellenion (fig. 21 [cf. here Fig. 29]; vd. [vedi] *infra*, § IV.6) [with n. 70]".

In his **note 70**, Cigaina writes: "Così Bergmann [*i.e.*, here B. BERGMANN 2010b] 2010".

Cigaina (2020, 219-220, § IV.6) discusses the three milestones (datable to AD 133-136), that belong to the road in Crete, which Hadrian improved to guarantee the transportation of his army and supplies for his suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt in Judaea. Cigaina suggests that Hadrian "per organizzare di persona le prime contromisure in Giudea" went to Judaea to lead himself a campaign to suppress the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Because that question is currently debated, I quote in the following Cigaina's relevant passage. Concerning the inscriptions of those milestones, set by Hadrian in Crete, Cigaina writes:

"Mancano purtroppo indicazioni puntuali per accertare la sua contemporaneità [of the third milestone], ma le coincidenze della titolatura [of Hadrian] (terzo consolato, *pater patriae* e soprattutto *proconsul* / ἀνθύπατος, portato da Adriano di solito quando era fuori Roma in viaggio nelle province) parlano a favore di un rapporto stretto coi milari latini [with n. 584] ... Il titolo *pater patriae*, conservatosi in tutti e tre i testi, è usato ufficialmente dalla prima metà del 128 d.C. e costituisce qui un *terminus post quem* restringendo la cronologia al 128-138 d.C. [with n. 585] ...

**Il titolo *proconsul* collega inoltre i milari alla presenza di Adriano nelle province: partito per il suo secondo viaggio nell'estate del 128 d.C., egli fece ritorno a Roma tra il 9 dicembre 132 e l'8 aprile 133 [with note 586]. Raggiunto nei Balcani dalla notizia della rivolta di Bar Kochba scoppiata nell'estate del 132, egli era probabilmente ritornato sui suoi passi per organizzare di persona le prime contromisure in Giudea [note 587] ... [page 2020] ... Dopo il non previsto sopralluogo in Giudea, Adriano affrettò verosimilmente il suo ritorno a Roma per la via più breve, ovvero attraverso il Mediterraneo, non appena la fine dell'inverno, all'inizio del 133, lo permise [my emphasis]."**

In his **note 584**, Cigaina writes: "Cfr. TZIFOPOULOS 2004, 96-98: il titolo *proconsul* / ἀνθύπατος, che demarca il potere dei governatori provinciali (già assunto da Augusto con l'*imperium proconsulare maius* nel 23 a.C.), inizia a essere usato da Traiano poco prima della morte (116 d.C.); in seguito, è portato soprattutto dagli imperatori Antonini e perde il suo carattere eccezionale (cfr. D.C. LIII 17, 2: fuori dall'Italia tutti gli imperatori hanno poteri proconsolari). Su Adriano, vd. [vedi] W. ECK - P. HOLDER - A. PANGERL, 'A diploma for the army of Britain in 132 and Hadrian's return to Rome from the East', ZPE 174, 2010, (189-200) 193 s., 197 s.; KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017<sup>6</sup>, 122 [corr.: 123]".

In his **note 585**, he writes: "KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017<sup>6</sup>, 123".

In his **note 586**, he writes: "KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017<sup>6</sup>, 123; sul ritorno, vd. [edi] ECK - HOLDER - PANGERL, *A diploma* (nt. 584), 198. CHANIOTIS 2013b [*i.e.*, here A. CHIANIOTS 2013], 60 s., lascia aperta la possibilità di un soggiorno di Adriano a Creta nell'autunno 128 d.C., durante l'andata, e data il miliare di Faneromeni al 129-132 d.C. circa. - Un altro soggiorno cretese è stato ipotizzato nel 123 d.C. da vari studiosi tra cui BESCHI, che riferisce ad esso il miliare di Rhodopou (BESCHI 1974, 219 s., 226; vd. [vedi] KARANASTASI 2012/13, 348 nt. 149)".

In his **note 587**, he writes: "La partecipazione dell'imperatore è indiziata dalla definizione "*expeditio Iudaica*" e dalla sua accettazione di un'acclamazione imperatoria a conflitto concluso (ECK - HOLDER - PANGERL [2010], *A diploma* [nt. 584], 198; Kienast - Eck - Heil 2017<sup>6</sup>, 123 s.: *imp. II*) [my emphasis]".

To the just-quoted passage from Cigaina (2020, 219), I should like to add a comment:

The question, whether or not Hadrian had personally led a campaign in Judaea to suppress the Bar Kokhba Revolt, is still debated. For the name "*expeditio Iudaica*" of Hadrian's war, and for some other reasons, I have followed those scholars, who are convinced that Hadrian was in person there, and have thus arrived at the same conclusion as Cigaina (2020, 219).

Contrary to his earlier publications (cf. W. ECK, P. HOLDER, and A. PANGERL 2010, quoted by L. CIGAINA 2020, 219, n. 587), Eck (2012, quoted by W. ECK 2022, Sp. 485, note [7]), and Eck (2019b, 203, discussed in detail *infra*, in volume 3-2, cf. below), Eck (2022, Sp. 485, 486) now expresses serious doubts that Hadrian could have returned in person to Judaea in order to suppress the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

Eck (2022, Sp. 485, Chapter: "B. Bar-Kochba-Aufstand") writes:

**"Dass Hadrian selbst im Herbst 132 wegen der Schwere der militärischen Revolte in die Provinz zurückkehrte [7], ist eher unwahrscheinlich. Die Annahme beruht auf der Bezeichnung *expeditio*, die sich in manchen inschriftlichen Quellen findet; doch wird dem Wort vielleicht zu viel an Bedeutung zugewiesen [my emphasis]"; cf. Sp. 486: "Die Kämpfe zogen sich bis ins Frühjahr 136 hin, da Hadrian erst damals die zweite Imperatorenakklamation annahm (CIL XIV 2088; vor 31. Mai 136: [n. 17. Nr. 88] und P. Heid. VII 396; vgl. [10]; [6]). Gleichzeitig ließ der Kaiser durch den Senat den Statthaltern von Iudaea, Syria und Arabia die *ornamenta triumphalia* verleihen (CIL III 2830; AE 1904, 9; IGR III 176; CIL XI 5212). **Auf den Reichsmünzen wird weder der Krieg noch der Sieg thematisiert.** Nur in Iudaea ließ der Senat oder eine der Legionen bei Tel Shalem südlich von Scythopolis einen Bogen zum Gedenken an den Sieg errichten ([9] gegen [2], s. die Argumente bei [5]) [my emphasis]"**.

In his **note [2]**, Eck writes: "G. W. Bowersock, The Tel Shalem Arch and P. Naḥal Hever/Seiyal 8, in: P. Schäfer (Hrsg.), *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 2003, 171–180".

In his **note [5]**, he writes: "W. Eck, Hadrian, the Bar Kokhba Revolt, and the Epigraphic Transmission, in: P. Schäfer (Hrsg.), *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 2003, 153–170".

In his **note [6]**, he writes: "W. Eck, Rom herausfordern. Bar Kochba im Kampf gegen das Imperium Romanum, 2007".

In his **note [7]**, he writes: "W. Eck, Der Bar Kochba-Aufstand der Jahre 132–136 und seine Folgen für die Provinz Iudaea/Syria Palaestina, in: G. Urso (Hrsg.), *Iudaea socia – Iudaea capta*, 2012, 249–265".

In his **note [8]**, he writes: "W. Eck, Bar Kokhba, in: *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, digital edition, 2015 (doi: [https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135\\_013.1056](https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135_013.1056))".

In his **note [9]**, he writes: "W. Eck / G. Foerster, Ein Triumphbogen für Hadrian im Tal von Beth Shean bei Tel Shalem, in: *JRA* 12, 1999, 294–313".

In his **note [10]**, he writes: "W. Eck / N. Mugnai, A New Military Diploma for the Troops of Moesia *inferior* (19 January 136), in: *ZPE* 198, 2016, 218–222".

In his **note [11]**, he writes: "W. Eck / A. Pangerl, Die Konstitution für die classis Misensis aus dem Jahr 160 und der Krieg gegen Bar Kochba unter Hadrian, in: *ZPE* 155, 2006, 239–252".

In his **note [17]**, he writes: "J. H. Oliver, Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri, 1989".

**Because of the current controversy concerning this point, I have summarized the relevant discussion.**

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

Or: *The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?)...; at Chapter III. Was Hadrian himself present at the suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt?; and at Appendix IV.c.2).*

**I anticipate below some passages, written for *infra*, volume 3-2, in *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination; at Chapter III. Was Hadrian himself present at the suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt? For the following reason: also in his above-quoted most recent publication, Eck (2022, Sp. 485, 486) does not address the fact that Rabbinic and Christian sources actually state explicitly that Hadrian, in AD 132-133, had in person commanded the suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt:***

``II.) Eck's statement (2019b, 203) in the above-quoted passage that he does not exclude the assumption that Hadrian could have been in person in Iudaea in the few months between the beginning of the war [*i.e.*, the Bar Kokhba Revolt or War] in the Spring of AD 132 and his return to Rome at the beginning of AD 133' ...

Ad II. Do we have any evidence that could prove that Hadrian commanded in person the *expeditio Iudaica* = the suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt? ...



c) Rabbinic and Christian sources state *expressis verbis* that Hadrian, from AD 132-133, commanded in person the suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

Mordechai Gichon (1979, 93 n. 30, pp. 84-89) quotes and discusses "Rabbinic sources". Cf. Gichon 1979, 87 n. 14, where he quotes for those Rabbinic sources: "S. Yeivin, The Bar Kochba War (Jerusalem 1946), pp. 68 ff. (Hebrew [non vidi])". This evidence proves, in Gichon's opinion, that Hadrian "recaptured" in person Galilee. Gichon (1979, 93) came to the conclusion that Hadrian commanded in person the suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt from 132 until 133, and that he left Judaea immediately after that.

Precisely this time-span (132-133) has been mentioned by Werner Eck (2019b, 203) as a theoretical possibility in the above-quoted passage, but note that Eck does not mention the fact that this has actually been suggested as a fact by earlier scholars like Gichon (1979), who is even capable of proving his assertion by adducing ancient (Rabbinic and Christian) literary sources, ignored by Eck.

Rudolf Hanslik (1979, Sp. 910) wrote about Hadrian's itinerary since AD 131 and his presence at the suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, which was recorded by the Christian author Eusebius in his 'Ecclesiastical History' (HE 4,6,1) :

"Erst im Herbst 131 verließ er [*i.e.*, Hadrian] Äg.[ypten], zog nach Syrien, überwinterte aber wieder in Athen, Dio 69,12,2. 16,1f. Während H.[adrian] im J.[ahr] 132 von Athen auf den Balkan ging (Gründung von Hadrianopolis), brach in Syrien ein schrecklicher Judenaufstand unter Barkochba wegen der Errichtung eines Jupitertempels an Stelle des Jahweheiligtums in Jerusalem aus. Dio 69,12,2f. s.[iehe] L. SCHÜREER I,562-589. P.M. FRASER H.[adrian] and Cyrene, JRS 40, 1950, 84ff. Während des dreijährigen Krieges begab sich H.[adrian] im Jahre 133 selbst nach Judaea, Eus.[ebius] h.e. 4,6,1. Dio 69,14,3. Im J.[ahr] 134 befand sich H.[adrian] in Rom und ließ das Athenaeum (J. TOYNBEE The Hadrianic School, 1934), das Mausoleum und seine Villa bei Tibur bauen, Aurel. Vict. Caes, 14,2f.; vit. 19,11. Dio 69,23,1. Der jüd.[ische] Krieg wurde 135 beendet, Eus.[ebius] h. e. 4,6,3, Judaea als prov.[incia] Syria Palaestina eingerichtet [my emphasis]"

Let's now return to the discussion of Cigaina's findings.

Cigaina (2020, 221-222, § IV.6) discusses Hadrian's road in Crete, known through those milestones, its possible connection with the Bar Kokhba Revolt and with Hadrian's statues of his "tipo Hierapytna" (cf. here Fig. 29); the fact that in his opinion the replicas of this statue-type are datable to AD 132-138; and that the replicas, found in Crete, therefore, commemorated Hadrian's suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt:

"La datazione di almeno due dei tre miliari tra la fine del 133 e il 136 d.C. coincide approssimativamente con l'epoca della rivolta giudaica di Bar Kochba (132 - inizio 136 d.C.) [with n. 593] ... Il teatro della rivolta di Bar Kochba rimase contenuto nell'area siro-palestinese, ma è possibile che Creta, per la sua posizione centrale nel Mediterraneo, abbia giocato allora un ruolo chiave per gli aspetti logistici (spostamento di contingenti e approvvigionamenti) e per le comunicazioni, in particolare quelle con l'Italia e con Roma. In questo quadro di emergenza militare le vie ordinarie della rotta marittima lungo la costa meridionale di Creta potevano risultare insufficienti o troppo lente, soprattutto a causa del condizionamento dei venti stagionali. Un'alternativa ottimale era l'uso di una via terrestre efficiente che attraversasse l'isola in senso est-ovest e dalla costa meridionale, su cui affacciavano i porti di Gortina (Matalon, Lasaia e Lebena) raggiungibili anche dalla [page 222] Cirenaica, alla costa settentrionale. Queste considerazioni potrebbero aver indotto Adriano a potenziare l'asse viario strategico che da Gortina portava all'estremità nord-occidentale di Creta.

Il sostegno attivo, benché indiretto, alla soppressione della rivolta e i benefici economici che dovettero derivare dallo spostamento di uomini e merci sul suolo cretese sembrano confermati dall'erezione di statue onorarie di Adriano con corazza del c.d. [cosiddetto] "tipo Hierapytna" (fig. 21 [cf. here Fig. 29]). Secondo una convincente ricostruzione di Birgit Bergmann, la complessa decorazione della

corazza visualizza gli ideali del Panhellenion, che fu inaugurato nel 131/2 d.C. [with n. 595]. L'ideazione del prototipo statuario, pertanto, si data con verosimiglianza dopo questa data [with n. 596]. Tenuto conto che quasi tutti gli esemplari noti furono eretti mentre Adriano era ancora in vita, **le statue loriccate di questo tipo si collocano perlopiù in un arco cronologico assai ristretto, tra il 132 e il 138 d.C.** [with n. 597]. **Creta si distingue per una concentrazione relativamente alta di esemplari - ben cinque o sei** [with n. 598] - e per l'insistenza sul tema del barbaro sottomesso, se non addirittura calpestato dall'imperatore [with n. 599]. Questa enfasi sulla supremazia bellica contrasta con l'attitudine pacifica di Adriano, la cui politica tese sempre al consolidamento dei confini dell'Impero già ingrandito da Traiano. **L'unica guerra impegnativa durante il suo regno è rappresentata dalla repressione della rivolta di Bar Kochba ed è verosimile che proprio a questo evento militare facciano riferimento le statue cretesi con corazza del "tipo Hierapytna"** [my emphasis].

In his **note 593**, Cigaina writes: "Sulla rivolta: Y. YADIN, *Bar-Kokhba: the rediscovery of the legendary hero of the second Jewish revolt against Rome*, London 1971; S. APPLEBAUM, *Prolegomena to the study of the second Jewish revolt (A.D. 132-135)*, Oxford 1976; P. SCHÄFER, *Der Bar-Kokhba-Aufstand. Studien zum zweiten jüdischen Krieg gegen Rom*, Tübingen 1981; W. ECK, 'The Bar Kokhba revolt: the Roman point of view', *JRS* 89, 1999 [i.e., here W. ECK 1999d], 76-89; P. SCHÄFER (a cura di), *The Bar Kokhba war reconsidered: new perspectives on the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome*, Tübingen 2003. Sulle date, cfr. KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017<sup>6</sup>, 123".

In his **note 595**, he writes: "BERGMANN 2010 [i.e., here B. BERGMANN 2020a], 230-254".

In his **note 596**, he writes: "BESCHI 1974, 222-226; CAVALIERI - JUSSERET 2009, 374 ss., scagliano la datazione durante tutto il regno di Adriano, ma con argomenti meno stringenti; GALLI 2002, 73-76, considera queste statue come postume; KARANASTASI 2012/13, 323-391, in part.[icolare] 342-348 (con riassunto delle diverse tesi): il tipo statuario, creato all'inizio del regno, risentirebbe dell'eco della rivolta giudaica del 115-117 d.C., per il superamento della quale i Greci giocarono un ruolo chiave; similmente, M. CADARIO, 'L'immagine militare di Adriano', in E. CALANDRI - B. ADEMBRI (a cura di), *Adriano e la Grecia. Villa Adriana tra classicità ed ellenismo*, Milano 2014, 106-113, in part. 107 s."

In his **note 597**, he writes: "Il nesso istituito da alcuni studiosi tra la statua di Lyttos e una delle tre basi di statua di Adriano dal medesimo sito, databili rispettivamente al 122, 124, 125 d.C. per la tribunicia potestas (IC I XVIII 40-42) non è vincolante (BESCHI 1974, 220 s., 225; CAVALIERI - JUSSERET 2009, 385). Da Lyttos, infatti, provengono numerose basi di statue imperiali che, sotto Traiano, arrivano ad avere anche cadenza annuale (IC I XVIII 15-43, 45-50; CHANIOTIS - RETHEMIOTAKIS 1992, 28-31 nn. 1-5 = SEG 42, 810-814; cfr. CIGAINA 2016, 322 s.)".

In his **note 598**, he writes: "BERGMANN 2010, cat. 4 (Hierapytna; vd. [vedi] anche *ibid.*, 206-220, 227-230; BESCHI 1974, 225 s.), 5 (Kisamos), 10 (Gortina; PORTALE 1998, cat. 33; LAGOIANNI-GEORGAKARAKOU 2002, cat. 70; CAVALIERI - JUSSERET 2009, 387-396), 13 (Cnosso; CAVALIERI - JUSSERET 2009, *ibid.*), 14 (Lyttos; BESCHI 1974, 222, 224 s.); KARANASTASI 2012/13, 362-363 cat. 11-15; verosimilmente dello stesso tipo è un frammento proveniente pure da Gortina (Haghii Deka), comprendente la gamba sinistra di un imperatore, con *mulleus*, e una piccola figura acefala di barbaro inginocchiato e legato eccezionalmente alla sua sinistra, invece che a destra come di norma (*ibid.*, 325 s., 339-342, 348, 361 s. cat. 10, tav. 5,1-3; marmo bianco, forse pentelico; alt. 0,77 col plinto, maggiore del vero)".

In his **note 599**, he writes: "Sulla figura secondaria del barbaro sottomesso (inginocchiato o steso a terra) che accompagna tutte le statue cretesi eccetto quella di Cnosso, vd. [vedi] Bergmann 2010 [i.e., here B. BERGMANN 2010a], 242-248: su un totale di 17 esemplari, solo 7 hanno il barbaro, di cui 4 (o 5 col nuovo frammento) sono cretesi. La statua di Hierapytna (*fig. 21* [cf. here **Fig. 29**]) è una delle uniche tre che lo calpesta a terra (*ibid.*, 254); l'esemplare di Gortina, inoltre, è uno dei due che ha sulla corazza il raro motivo delle Vittorie che calpestano barbari (*ibid.*, 253 nt. 120). Il barbaro di Hierapytna è stato identificato come Parto per via della faretra e dell'arco raffigurati sul puntello, che tuttavia potrebbero pure riferirsi ad arcieri cretesi (vd. [vedi] KARANASTASI 2012/13, 348; CIGAINA 2016, 324); gli altri barbari sono caratterizzati genericamente come orientali. Il barbaro nudo descritto da O. Belli nel '500 accanto alla statua di Lyttos è stato interpretato come un Mauro e messo in relazione con i "motus Maurorum" repressi da Adriano nel 122 d.C. (Hist. Avg. *Hadr.* 12, 7; cfr. BESCHI 1974, 222, 225; CAVALIERI - JUSSERET 2009, 385 s.), ma l'ipotesi non è verificabile essendo la statua dispersa. **Sulla probabile allusione dei barbari orientali alla rivolta di**

**Bar Kochba, vd. [vedi] BERGMANN 2010 [i.e., here B. BERGMANN 2010a], 254-258: l'evento fu percepito come una seria minaccia per la sicurezza dell'Impero anche a causa di una possibile offensiva partica nell'Oriente divenuto instabile [my emphasis]"**.

**Summarizing these additional observations by Jane M. Cody's (2003), Sam Heijnen (2020), and Lorenzo Cigaina (2020), and adding them to what was already said above, we can now conclude the following :**

Hadrian's artists, who created the prototype of Hadrian's portrait-statues (cf. here **Fig. 29**) did not only deliberately 'cite' the 'victor poses' of the portraits of Vespasian and Titus, as represented on the reverses of their IVDAEA CAPTA coins (here **Figs. 130; 131**). Also the elaborate decoration of Hadrian's cuirass (here **Fig. 29**) is clearly modeled on coin images and sculptures that had been ordered by the Flavian emperors.

**Precisely as suggested by Rose Mary Sheldon in her above-quoted E-mail to me of 11th February 2021, those coin images (i.e., the coins, issued by the Flavian emperors, such as here **Figs. 130; 131**) repeated the same iconographies as existing sculptures in the round.**

These Flavian victory monuments were *inter alia* erected to commemorate "the conquest of Judaea", as Heijnen (2020, 204) refers to the victories of Vespasian and Titus in the Great Jewish Revolt (or War), and by Domitian to commemorate his victories in Germany.

In my opinion, the above-quoted additional observations by Cody (2003), Heijnen (2020), and Cigaina (2020), taken together, thus corroborate the hypothesis suggested here: that the prototype of the almost 30 portraits of Hadrian, of which the statue from Hierapydna in Crete at Istanbul (cf. here **Fig. 29**) is the most famous replica, may be identified with the (lost) honorary statue (cf. here **Fig. 29.1**), dedicated by the Senate and the Roman People close to the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*, or (possibly) within the *cella* of this temple.

And that for the following reasons:

The pertaining inscription (cf. *CIL* VI 40524 = *CIL* VI 974 = here **Fig. 29.1**) declares that this statue was dedicated to Hadrian,

*a)* for having 'liberated Syria and Palestine' - that is to say, for his suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt; and

*b)* that Hadrian, 'with his victories in Syria and Palestine had even surpassed the victories [there] of the *imperatores maximi* [i.e., Vespasian and Titus]'; *c)* to this Lorenzo Cigaina (2020) has now added some observations concerning the date of the almost 30 copies of the prototype of Hadrian's portrait, to which the statue from Hierapydna (here **Fig. 29**) belongs. These portrait-statues of Hadrian, according to Cigaina (2020, 222 with n. 597), are datable between AD 132-138. Concerning the five (or six?) copies of this portrait-type of Hadrian, found in Crete, Cigaina suggests that they should be seen in connection with Hadrian's improving in AD 133-136 of a major road in Crete, which served the transportation and the supply of his army that suppressed the Bar Kokhba Revolt in Judaea. According to Cigaina's (2020, 222) convincing suggestion, these five (or six?) honorary statues of Hadrian in Crete (cf. here **Fig. 29**) were, therefore, dedicated to commemorate Hadrian's suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

**But with the latter remark, with which I had originally hoped to end this 'Post Scriptum to my conclusion', I had by no means accomplished this goal. Even after having summarized those just-mentioned additional publications, Hans Rupprecht Goette and Franz Xaver Schütz alerted me to the article by Caroline Barron (2018), in which she refers to some of the subjects discussed in this Chapter.**

One of Caroline Barron's (2018) observations is the reason, why I have already stated above that the statue, to which the inscription (*CIL* VI 40524 = *CIL* VI 974; here **Fig. 29.1**) once belonged, 'was (possibly) on display

within the *cella* of the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*. Apart from the information, provided by Caroline Barron, which has led me to suggest this now, the author adds some more insights previously unknown to me. I, therefore, quote in the following the relevant passages from her article *verbatim*.

**Caroline Barron** ("*Dedication for a statue of Hadrian near the Temple of Vespasian and Titus (CIL VI, 974 = CIL VI, 40524 [cf. here Fig. 29.1]*", 2018) writes:

"Typology (Honorific / Funerary / etc.): Honorific

**Original Location/Place:** Beneath (in front of?) the Temple of Vespasian, Roman Forum, Rome.

**Actual Location (Collection/Museum):** Capitoline Museums, Rome. Inventory number: NCE 2529

**Date:** 135 CE Sep 15th to 135 CE Dec 9th [my emphasis]

Physical Characteristics:

Fragment of a marble slab, originally c.[irca] 2 m in length. **Werner Eck has noted that [the] shape of the slab is indicative that it was originally attached to a small arch or statue base (Eck [i.e., here W. ECK 2003], "Hadrian, the Bar Kokhba Revolt and the Epigraphic Transmission", p. 162 [my emphasis]).**

Commentary:

**Excavated from beneath the remains of the podium and three columns of the Temple of Vespasian and Titus [corr: this temple was only dedicated to *Divus Vespasianus*] in the Roman Forum, this fragment was originally part of a dedicatory inscription that accompanied an honorific monument for the Emperor Hadrian. Although the text is heavily restored and we cannot be certain that the proposed reconstruction reflects the missing fragment of the dedication, the wording of the inscription and its location beneath the Temple of Vespasian nonetheless suggests that in the capital of the Empire, Hadrian's victory against Bar Kokhba was presented as a continuation of the Flavian conquest of the Jews. The inscription records that a monument of some kind was dedicated to Hadrian by the Senate and the People of Rome ... Werner Eck has noted that the shape and size of the surviving panel indicates that it most likely adorned an honorific arch or a large base, either of which likely supported a monumental statue of the emperor, much like the arch and statue dedicated to him at Tel Shalem ...**

(Eck, "Hadrian, the Bar Kokhba Revolt and the Epigraphic Transmission," [i.e., here W. ECK 2003] p. 162). **Following the identification of the dedicators, Hadrian's official titles are given, from which a date of 15 September - 9 December 135 CE can be securely established, based on the second acclamation as emperor and the number of times that he had held the tribunician power ... (see the data given in Eck and Foertster [corr.: Foerster], Triumphbogen [i.e., here W. ECK and G. FOERSTER 1999], p. 312). The final three lines of the inscription contain the most interesting details of the text; if Geza Alföldy's reconstruction is correct, they praise the Roman war effort against the Jews and record that Hadrian is being honoured by the city of Rome because he "liberated Syria Palestina from the enemy" .... 'Syria Palestina' was the new name that had been given to the province of Judea following the suppression of the Bar Kokhba revolt ... If restored correctly, the inscription also recorded that the army sent to Syria-Palestina by Hadrian was "fighting with great enthusiasm" ...**

**As well as the text of the inscription, the location selected for this honorific monument is certainly worthy of note. It appears to have been set up beneath the Temple of Vespasian ... Werner Eck has suggested that this choice of location for a monument that potentially celebrated Hadrian's victory and suppression of the Bar Kokhba revolt was a deliberate attempt to align the emperor with the memory of the Flavian dynasty, whose conquest of the Jews had been memorialised in a series of monuments across the centre of Rome ... [mentioning those monuments in the following] By permitting the Senate to erect a monument in celebration of his victory against the Jews, Hadrian reformulated what had begun as a provincial rebellion as a continuation of Vespasian and Titus's war against an external foreign enemy. The placement of this monument within sight of the Flavian temple made a clear statement of how**

**Hadrian's achievement should be considered, and the extent of its political importance (Eck [*i.e.*, here W. ECK 2003], "Hadrian, Bar Kokhba and the Epigraphic Transmission", p. 162-163) ...**

The Bar Kokhba revolt, although devastating within the province of Judea and costly for Rome's army, provided Hadrian with the opportunity to prove that he was as strong a military general as he was a patron of the arts; **by physically joining his legions there, albeit briefly, he demonstrated the same martial virtus exemplified by other 'good' emperors, such as Vespasian and Titus (Speller [*i.e.*, here E. SPELLER 2003], *Following Hadrian*, p. 205).** By advertising a definitive conclusion to Rome's interactions with the Jews, Hadrian was able to promote his popularity in the city of Rome, where his military success could be elevated to the same status and context as those of Rome's earlier heroes [thus referring to the Vespasian and Titus; my emphasis]" (!).

**In the following, I quote from the article of Werner Eck those passages referred to by Caroline Barron (2018) in her above-quoted account, and, in addition to this, Eck's final conclusion, not mentioned by Barron (cf. *id.*, "Hadrian, the Bar Kokhba Revolt, and the Epigraphic Transmission", 2003, 162-163, 165):**

*"III. Epigraphic Texts in Rome*

Celebrations of the costly victory in Judaea [*i.e.*, Hadrian's suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt] were not confined to the battlefield. Monuments commemorating the event were set up also in Rome. **Two epigraphic texts, both fragmentary, must be interpreted as parts of victory monuments.** The first is a fragment of a slab which originally measured ca. [circa] 2 m or more in length [cf. here **Fig. 29.1**]. This time the *Senatus Populusque Romanus* is explicitly stated to have erected a monument for Hadrian after he had freed someone or something. **Géza Alföldy is probably right in restoring Syria Palaestina in the missing part of the text.** [with n. 35] **The presumed shape of the panel makes it likely to have been attached either to a small arch or to a large statue base. In either case the monument bore a statue of Hadrian like the Tel Shalem arch. Even more important than the shape of the monument is the find site, The fragment was found on the slope of the Capitoline hill, directly beneath the *templum divi Vespasiani*. The monument itself could also have stood there. Here too, the place was not arbitrarily chosen. Vespasian [page 163] had crushed the first revolt in Judaea and turned that achievement into the foundation of his rule.** [with n. 36] The theme of *Judaea capta*, the *triumphus de Iudaeis*, dominates his coinage, and is present everywhere in the new aspect of the centre of Rome: the *templum Pacis*, the *Amphitheatrum Flavium* and at least one triumphal arch for Titus. [with n. 37] **If Hadrian allowed the senate to regard his achievement in Judaea as continuing Vespasian's victory, or even exceeding it,** [with n. 38] **what would be a more fitting place for the victory monument than the temple of the *divus Vespasianus*?** [with n. 39; my emphasis].

**In the same topographical context, another fragmentary inscription has been discovered which contains an *elogium*, either to an emperor or to a high military commander,** [with n. 40] **referring to a *bellum Iudae[icum]* or *Iudae[orum]*.** It has recently been dated by Géza Alföldy to the imperial period, and more precisely to the second century. [with n. 41] **In the epigraphic sources of the time only one war against the Jews is termed *bellum*, the war against Bar Kokhba - not the revolt of the Jews in the diaspora in the years 115-117.** [with n. 42]"

In the following, Eck discusses this inscription (*CIL* VI 1565 = 37054 = VI, VIII 3, p. 4713) which, in his opinion, refers likewise to the suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

In his final sentence, Eck (2003, 165) concludes: **"The temple of *divus Vespasianus* in Rome and its immediate surroundings were used probably to present Hadrian as Vespasian's successor in Rome's war against its Jewish rebels. His victory, which was the victory of Rome, was thus demonstrated in the public domain in Rome.** [with n. 50; my emphasis].

In his **note 35**, Eck writes: "*CIL* VI 974 = 40524: [*S(enatus) p (opulus) q(ue) R(omanus) [Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) divi Traiani] Parthici f(ilio) [divi Nervae nep(oti) Traiano Ha]driano Aug(usto), [pont(ifici) max(imo), trib(unicia*

*potest(ate XX (?), imp(eratori) II, co(n)s(uli) III p(atri) p(atriciae), [quod summo pugnandi a]rdore misso [exercitu suo superatis imperat]oribus max[imis Syriam Palaestinam ab ho]ste liberavit. The tribunicia potestas is restored before the second acclamation as in all of Hadrian's official inscriptions after the assumption of imp II. See n. 32 above [my emphasis]". - To this I will come back below.*

In his **notes 36-37**, Eck provides references.

In his **note 38**, Eck writes: "CIL VI 40524 is reconstructed by Géza Alföldy in this spirit [= here **Fig. 29.1**]. Cf. no. [corr.: n.] 35 above".

In his **note 39**, he writes: "Cf. **A.R. Birley, Hadrian. The restless Emperor, 1997, 287** [my emphasis]".

In his **note 40**, he writes: "CIL VI 1565 = 37054 = VI, VIII 3, p. 4713. The text, as restored by Géza Alföldy reads: [---t]riumph[----] / [----] senatus laeti[tia] / [---co]npage imal[----]a? bello Iudae[orum/ico ---]va liburni[----c]lassis ornatu/[----]s orae mari/[tim?---]arum .../[---]".

In his **note 41**, he writes: "G. Alföldy on CIL VI, VIII 3, p. 4713. Photograph in *Supplementa Italica. Imagines. Roma (CIL VI) 1*, ed. G.L. Gregori - M. Mattei 1999, p. 384f., no. 1223".

In his **note 42**, he writes: "Despite Schäfer, *Bar Kokhba Aufstand* [1981], 130.

In his **note 50**, he writes: "**The survival of only two monuments** [i.e., to which the two inscriptions discussed by him; cf. CIL VI 974 = 40524 = here **Fig. 29.1**, and CIL VI 1565 = 37054 = VI, VIII 3, p. 4713, had belonged] **should not be taken as evidence that only two monuments in Rome celebrated the victory over the Jews. The contrary is true: when two fragments of the almost entirely lost memorial epigraphy are preserved, we should assume that the victory was widely celebrated in the capital of the world-empire** [my emphasis]".

**To Eck's (2003, 162) above-quoted note 35, I should like to add a comment that concerns the different dates, suggested for the inscription CIL VI 974 = 40524 = here Fig. 29.1:**

Note that Géza Alföldy (1996 = here **Fig. 29.1**) had restored this inscription differently than Eck (2003, 162, n. 35), by writing: "trib(unicia) pot(estate) XVI]III".

See Lorenzo Cigaina (2020, 219, § IV.6), who, in his discussion of the inscriptions of the three milestones of the road, built by Hadrian in Crete, provides the relevant calendar dates: "Il titolo *pater patriae* [i.e., of the Emperor Hadrian], conservatosi in tutti e tre i testi, è usato ufficialmente dalla prima metà del 128 d.C. e costituisce qui un *terminus post quem* restringendo la cronologia al 128-138 d.C. [with n. 585]. Dopo il 128 d.C. sono disponibili le seguenti integrazioni: trib. pot. XIIX = 133/4 d.C.; XIX = 134/5 d.C.; XX = 135/6 d.C.". He, therefore, dates those three milestones, erected under Hadrian, to AD 133-136.

In his **note 585**, Cigaina writes: "Kienast - Eck - Heil 2017<sup>6</sup>, 123".

**Applying this information, provided by Cigaina (2020, 219) to the two different reconstructions of the inscription CIL VI 974 = 40524 = here Fig. 29.1, this means that Alföldy (1996 = here Fig. 29.1), by restoring '19th tribunicia potestas', dated the inscription to AD 134/5, whereas Eck (2003, 162, n. 35), by restoring '20th tribunicia potestas' suggests the date: AD 135/6.**

**To the above-quoted suggestion by Werner Eck (2003), concerning the possible location of the monument, to which the inscription (CIL VI, 974 = CIL VI, 40524; cf. here Fig. 29.1) once belonged, which has been followed by Caroline Barron (2018), I should also like to add a comment:**

Eck (2003), followed by Caroline Barron (2018), suggests that this inscription (here **Fig. 29.1**) belonged to a small Arch of Hadrian, or else to a statue of Hadrian, which stood right in front of the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*. In my opinion, such a reconstruction is impossible because of the topography of the area. Eck (2003) and Barron (2018) do not provide a map of the space 'in front of' the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*.

When we look at our *measured* maps, in order to investigate this question;

cf. here **Figs. 58; 71; 73**, labels: CAPITOLIUM; TEMPLUM : DIVUS VESPASIANUS; CLIVUS CAPITOLINUS; AEDES : SATURNUS; MUNDUS; FORUM ROMANUM;

- it seems impossible to assume an honorific arch, dedicated to Hadrian, or a statue of the emperor, standing right in front of the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*, as suggested by Eck (2003), and followed by Barron (2018). For the following reason: we know that there was not even space enough to accommodate an *altar* in front of this temple, which was, therefore, incorporated into the steps that led up to the temple.

Besides, the `area immediately in front of the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*', the road *Clivus Capitolinus*, and the adjacent piazza of the *Forum Romanum*, was on a daily basis used for a great variety of different purposes. The most prominent events being triumphal processions, and the *Saturnalia*, which were celebrated in front of the Temple of Saturn in the Roman Forum, from December 17th through the 23rd or 25th (depending, which calendar one uses). *The Saturnalia* comprised the *Opalia*, celebrated on 19th December at the *sacellum Ops ad Forum*, also called *sacellum* of Ops and Saturnus, *sacellum* of Dis Pater and Proserpina, as well as *Mundus*.

For discussions of all that; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.e*) It is conceivable that Vitellius (cf. *Suet.*, Vit. 15,3), on December 19th AD 69, could actually have watched the fighting on the Capitolium, while staying at the `Domus Tiberiana' on the Palatine; and at *Appendix I.f*) The procession, which Domitian joined, the festival of the *Opalia* on 19th December, the *Saturnalia*, the festival of Fors Fortuna on 24th June, and the `Isis ship', shown in the processions of the *Saturnalia* at Cologne; and for our above-mentioned, now updated maps; cf. below, at Chapter *The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps*.

**Caroline Barron's (2018) above-quoted findings concerning the inscription CIL VI 974 = 40524 (here Fig. 29.1), followed by the *verbatim* quotations from Werner Eck's article (2003), lead us to Werner Eck's most recent published opinions concerning the inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524; here Fig. 29.1).**

Contrary to his earlier opinions, summarized by Barron (2018), who quotes for this Werner Eck (1999; W. ECK and G. FOERSTER 1999; and W. ECK 2003), Eck has more recently expressed a very different opinion concerning the inscription (CIL VI. 974 = 40524 [here **Fig. 29.1**]). But Eck (2019b, 203-204) himself does not address in this article his relevant earlier opinions (of 2003, likewise quoted *verbatim* above).

Eck (2019b, 203-204) dedicates this article to his new reading of the inscription CIL VI 40518 (here **Fig. 91.1**), which, in his opinion, Michaela Fuchs (2014) has incorrectly interpreted. Eck comments for example on Fuchs's (2014) conclusions concerning the results of Hadrian's suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt and rejects her hypothesis that the Arch of Hadrian alongside the *Via Flaminia* (cf. here **Figs. 66; 91-94**) was erected in order to commemorate Hadrian's victory in this war: "Der Sieg über die rebellierende Provinz [*i.e.*, Judaea] wurde in Rom, nach allem, was wir verbürgt wissen, nicht besonders gefeiert. Ein gewaltiger Bogen [*i.e.*, this Arch of Hadrian; here **Fig. 66**], der diese Kämpfe und ihr Ende zum Thema gemacht und damit den für Rom [page 204] teuer erkauften Krieg nochmals deutlich ins Licht der Öffentlichkeit gerückt hätte [with n. 40 - as suggested by M. FUCHS 2014], wäre, wie man mit Sicherheit annehmen darf, nicht im Sinne Hadrians gewesen. Auch die Reichsmünzen nehmen keinen Bezug auf den Abschluss des Krieges, trotz der gegenteiligen Ausführungen von Fuchs [with n. 41]".

Werner Eck (2019b, 204, n. 40) refers also to the inscription **Fig. 29.1**, discussed here. In his **note 40**, Eck writes: "**Von CIL VI 974 = 40524 [= here Fig. 29.1] ist zu wenig erhalten, als dass man die Inschrift mit Sicherheit auf das Ende des Krieges im Osten [*i.e.*, Hadrian's suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt] beziehen könnte. In jedem Fall handelte es sich nicht um ein gewaltiges Monument [*contra*: M. FUCHS**

2014, 130, who suggests that the inscription belonged to a colossal statue of Hadrian]; **die Inschrift war maximal 2,2 m breit** [my emphasis]".

In his **note 41**, Eck writes: "Fuchs a. O. (Anm. 29) [an angegebenen Ort; *i.e.*, here M. FUCHS 2014] 130".

For a detailed discussion of this subject; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ... Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?)*; at Chapter II. W. Eck's (2019b) critique of the hypotheses published by M. Fuchs (2014) concerning the inscription CIL VI 40518 (cf. here **Fig. 91.1**) and the Arch of Hadrian discussed here.

**To conclude this summary of the observations concerning the inscription CIL VI 974 = 40524 (here Fig. 29.1), made by Caroline Barron (2018), Werner Eck (2003), and Eck (2019b), which have been quoted verbatim above.**

Eck (2019b, 204, n. 40) writes: "**Von CIL VI 974 = 40524 [= here Fig. 29.1] ist zu wenig erhalten, als dass man die Inschrift mit Sicherheit auf das Ende des Krieges im Osten [*i.e.*, Hadrian's suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt] beziehen könnte** [my emphasis].

Nevertheless the following fact remains.

As Eck (2003, 163, with n. 40) observes, from the same findspot (*i.e.*, 'beneath the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*') as the inscription CIL VI 974= 40524 (here **Fig. 29.1**) comes the likewise fragmentary inscription (CIL VI 1565 = 37054 = VI, VIII 3, p. 4713), which, in Eck's opinion (of 2003), also refers to the suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt. **In the case of the latter inscription, Eck argues that this war against the Jews is defined in this inscription as a *bellum*, a fact, which he regards as a secure indication that this *elogium* referred to the suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt.**

Since Eck in his article of 2019b does not withdraw his statement concerning the second inscription (CIL VI 1565 = 37054 = VI, VIII 3, p. 4713), I regard Eck's (2003) judgement concerning this inscription, which comes from the same findspot as CIL VI 974= 40524, as an additional support of Géza Alföldy's (1996 = here **Fig. 29.1**) judgement that the inscription CIL VI 974 = 40524 = here **Fig. 29.1**) refers likewise to Hadrian's suppression of the Bar Kokhba revolt.

Fortunately some important parts of this honorary inscription (CIL VI 974 = 40524 = here **Fig. 29.1**) are preserved: The Senate and the Roman People dedicated the statue (possibly erected on an arch), to which this inscription belonged, to the Emperor Hadrian. The inscription is datable: according to Caroline Barron: to "135 CE Sep 15th to 135 CE Dec 9th". As we have seen above, Géza Alföldy (CIL VI 974 = 40524 = here **Fig. 29.1**) dated it to AD 134/5, and Werner Eck (2003, 162, n. 35) to AD 135/6.

In addition to this, we learn that Hadrian's achievement, which this structure was supposed to commemorate, consisted in a military victory, as is stated at the end of the inscription: "AB HO]STE LIBERAVIT"; in addition to this, the inscription states that this victory was based on: "A]RDORE MISSO". This victory of Hadrian is compared with the (military achievements of) "IMPERAT]ORIBVS MAX[IMIS". Given the findspot of this inscription, 'within?', 'beneath', or 'in front of?' the temple of *Divus Vespasianus*, 'imperatores maximi', also in my opinion, can only refer to the *imperatores* Vespasian and Titus, as suggested by Géza Alföldy (at CIL VI 974 = 40524 = here **Fig. 29.1**).

Of course *both men* had acted as 'imperatores' only in the Great Jewish War. Which means that in this inscription (here **Fig. 29.1**), they are not referred to as 'Emperor Vespasian' and as 'Emperor Titus', but as



*imperatores* in the sense of 'magistrates, endowed with *imperium*', in this specific case as the *imperatores*/victorious generals Vespasian and Titus in the Great Jewish War.

For this meaning of the term *imperator*; cf. *supra*, n. 457, in Chapter III.

In AD 67, Vespasian had been sent to Judaea by the Emperor Nero to suppress the Great Jewish Revolt (or War), he was *legatus Augusti pro praetore exercitus in Judaea* (AD 67-69); cf. Dietmar Kienast, Werner Eck and Matthäus Heil (2017, 101). And Titus had won his victories in Judaea under the Emperor Vespasian; at the end of AD 69, the Emperor Vespasian had endowed his elder son Titus with the command in the Great Jewish War; cf. Dietmar Kienast, Werner Eck and Matthäus Heil (2017, 105): "Übertragung des Oberbefehls im Jüdischen Krieg (Ende 69)"; Werner Eck (2022, Sp. 495); and Rose Mary Sheldon (2007, 141).

**Besides, I see no other military victory, achieved by the Emperor Hadrian, to which the inscription here Fig. 29.1 could *alternatively* refer. - Exactly as Lorenzo Cigaina (2020, 222) writes: "L'unica guerra impegnativa durante il suo [*i.e.*, Hadrian's] regno è rappresentata dalla repressione della rivolta di Bar Kochba".**

*Consequently, I maintain my hypotheses, presented in this Chapter*

I follow 1.) those scholars (G. ALFÖLDY 1996 = here Fig. 29.1; W. ECK 2003; M. FUCHS 2014; C. BARRON 2018), who have argued that the inscription CIL VI 974 = 40524 (here Fig. 29.1) belonged to an honorary statue (possibly standing on top of an arch), which was dedicated by the Senate and the Roman People to Hadrian in order to commemorate his suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt. As an important part of this hypothesis has been argued by those scholars that this "victory monument" (so W. ECK 2003, 163) of Hadrian had on purpose been erected 'within', 'beneath', or 'in front of' the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*. To this scenario, I have myself added -

2.) my own suggestion, according to which this inscription (here Fig. 29.1) belonged to the (lost) prototype of the portrait-statue of Hadrian, of which almost 30 copies survive, the most famous one being the statue from Hierapydna at Istanbul (cf. here Fig. 29). This hypothesis is based on the following observations by other scholars and by myself:

Paul Leberecht Strack (1933 II, 138, no. 291, Pl. IV) wrote that Hadrian's coins (here Fig. 129) were 'not issued before AD 134'. He was also first to identify on those coins the crocodile as such, and suggested that this crocodile could a) 'mean the enemy in general', and could b) 'just as well refer to (a victory in) Palestine';

Annalina Caló Levi (1948, 30-33-35, 37-38), who followed Strack (1933), was first to consider that Hadrian's coins (here Fig. 129) commemorated Hadrian's suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, but then abandoned this idea; she was also first to suggest that these coins represent an existing portrait. She identified this statue with the prototype of Hadrian's portrait from Hierapydna (here Fig. 29), which, in her opinion, was erected at the cenotaph of Antinous in Rome. Caló Levi illustrated a relief of a Pharaoh from the Temple of Horus at Dendera in Egypt (here Fig. 129.1), who is shown in the act of killing a crocodile. The meaning of this Egyptian iconography is well known. Like other scholars, I follow Caló Levi's suggestion that, because of the striking iconographic similarities with this Egyptian relief (here Fig. 129.1), Hadrian, on his coins (here Fig. 129), is portrayed 'as King of Egypt'. This implies that Hadrian, by definition, like an Egyptian Pharaoh, had the obligation to fight the 'evil' (*i.e.*, the Pharaoh the enemies of the Egyptian state/ and Hadrian the enemies of the Imperium Romanum), which is symbolized by the crocodile. Or, in other words, that Hadrian had the obligation of 'fighting the enemy in general', to borrow Strack's (1933) above-quoted phrasing.

Cornelius Vermeule (1981, 24-25), who followed Annalina Caló Levi (1948), was first to suggest that Hadrian's portrait-type (here fig. 29) "from Hierapydna on Crete (a legionary port of embarkation to the East)", was created to commemorate the emperor's suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Vermeule (1981, 25) was also first to observe that the pose (interpreted by him as "'Virtus-pose'") and the iconography of this statue-type intentionally copied the representation of Vespasian: "... the famous JVDAEA CAPTA *sestertii* of

Vespasian [here **Fig. 130**], where the latter [*i.e.*, Vespasian] had assumed armor and an identical pose [as Hadrian on his coins and in his statue from Hierapydna; here **Figs. 129; 29**] to celebrate the capture of Jerusalem and the destruction of the holiest Temple ... it may signify the seriousness of the Jewish uprisings in 116 to 117 or 132 to 134 ... The latter date would accord better with the mature portrait of Hadrian [here **Fig. 29**]. But Vermeule did not mention that Hadrian's endowment with a *parazonium* on these coins (here **Fig. 129**) was likewise copied after the IVDAEA CAPTA coins of Vespasian (here **Fig. 130**);

**Birgit Bergmann (2010b) has suggested that Hadrian's portrait-type (here Fig. 29) was created after Hadrian's foundation of the Panhellenion 131/132, and was especially frequently copied after Hadrian's suppression of the Bar-Kokhba Revolt. Personally, I have a problem with the first part of this hypothesis though, because the prototype, after which Hadrian's portrait from Hierapydna (here Fig. 29) was copied, shows the cuirassed Hadrian in the same 'victor pose' as Vespasian and Titus in their IVDAEA CAPTA coins (cf. here Figs. 130; 131);**

Michaela Fuchs (2014, 127-131) has followed Birgit Bergmann's (2010b) suggestions, and, therefore, refers to Hadrian's portrait (here **Fig. 29**) as belonging to his 'Piräus-Hierapydna' statue-type. Fuchs (2014, 129-130 with ns. 40-44, Fig. 7 [cf. here **Fig. 129**]) suggests that the coins, issued by the emperor, show Hadrian in the pose of Mars Ultor, and that this pose is exactly the same as that of his portrait-statue (here **Fig. 29**). These cuirassed portrait-statues of Hadrian were, in her opinion, dedicated to the emperor after his suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, and showed him in an "Angleichung" (assimilation) to the god Mars. In addition to this, Fuchs (2014, 130) observes that Hadrian is holding on his coins (here **Fig. 129**) a *parazonium* in his left hand, which, according to her, 'indicates that the victories, celebrated with these coin, were won by the Roman legions'. But because Fuchs has overlooked Vermeule (1981), she ignores the fact that this iconographic detail is likewise copied from Vespasian's IVDAEA CAPTA coins (here **Fig. 130**);

Sam Heijnen (2020, 200-204) refers to those portraits of Hadrian (cf. here **Fig. 29**), as to Hadrian's "Eastern breastplate type", the relief decorations of the cuirasses of those portraits of Hadrian follow Heijnen's "trophy type". Heijnen (2020, 203) mentions that "**during the Flavian period, trophies were used in statuary representations of the emperors to refer to their conquests of Judaea and Germania [my emphasis]**". At the end of his discussion of his "Eastern breastplate type" (cf. here **Fig. 29**), Heijnen (2020, 204) comes to the following conclusion: "**The choice to use the 'trophy-type' [on the cuirass of Hadrian's portrait-statue, here Fig. 29, and on the replicas of this statue] as an anchor might have been influenced by the fact that this type has been used before to commemorate the conquest of Judaea under the Flavians. However, even regions that did not suffer from rebellions directly employed the military cuirass with the eastern breastplate type [of Hadrian] (albeit without the barbarian motif) to express that their age of prosperity was thanks to the eternity of Rome and the emperor's efforts to ensure peace [my emphasis]**" (!);

To Lorenzo Cigaina (2020) findings I will come back below.

My only own additional observations are: I have realized that not only Hadrian's pose and the fact that he is wearing a cuirass on his coins (here **Fig. 129**) had intentionally been copied after the representation of the Emperor Vespasian on his IVDAEA CAPTA coins (here **Figs. 130**), as observed by Cornelius Vermeule (1981, 24-25). Exactly the same iconography appears *a*) also on the IVDAEA CAPTA coins of the Emperor Titus; and *b*) on these coins the Emperor Hadrian (here **Fig. 129**), in addition to this, is holding a *parazonium* in his left hand, exactly as Vespasian and Titus on their IVDAEA CAPTA coins (here **Figs. 130; 131**).

The reasons for my hypothesis are, therefore:

**Hadrian issued his coins (here Fig. 129) at Rome, 'not earlier than AD 134' (so P.L. STRACK 1933); A. Caló Levi (1948) realized that Hadrian's portrait from Hierapydna (here Fig. 29) appears on Hadrian's coins (here Fig. 129). This portrait of Hadrian is, therefore, in my opinion, likewise datable 'not earlier than AD 134'; C. Vermeule (1981) was first to suggest that Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna commemorated Hadrian's suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt; he added to this the observation that**

the represented age of Hadrian further supports this hypothesis; the pose, the cuirass, and the *parazonium* of the representation of Hadrian on his coins (here Fig. 129) are intentional copies of the representations of Vespasian and Titus on their IVDAEA CAPTA coins (so C. VERMEULE 1981 and myself; cf. here Figs. 130; 131); Hadrian's cuirass of the statue-type (here Fig. 29) is decorated with S. Heijnen's "trophy type", that had been used by the Flavian emperors "to commemorate the conquest of Judaea under the Flavians"; cf. Heijnen (2020, 204); L. Cigaina (2020, 219) adds to this new data from Crete: there, in AD 133-136, Hadrian improved a major, pre-existing road. Cigaina convincingly suggests that the emperor did this in order to guarantee the transportation and supply of the army that was involved in his suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt in *Judaea*. In Crete five (or six?) replicas of Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna were found. According to Cigaina (2020, 222), all the copies of this portrait-type of Hadrian are datable between AD 132-138. And because Hadrian built this major road in Crete in AD 133-136, Cigaina (2020, 222) convincingly suggests that those five (or six?) honorary portrait-statues of Hadrian in Crete were dedicated to commemorate Hadrian's suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

Taking all those facts together, I maintain my hypothesis that the iconography of Hadrian's statue-type, to which his portrait from Hierapydna (here Fig. 29) belongs, may, in my opinion, be regarded as an 'illustration, or else a duplication of', the content of the inscription *CIL VI 974 = 40524 = here Fig. 29.1*.

Or, in other words: I suggest, that the prototype of the statue from Hierapydna (here Fig. 29) may be regarded as the honorary statue, dedicated (according to G. ALFÖLDY 1996 = here Fig. 29.1, C. BARRON 2018, and W. FUCHS 2003) to Hadrian in AD 134/5, 135 or 135/6 (according to W. ECK 2003, 162, n. 35) by the Senate and the Roman People to commemorate the emperor's suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, to which the fragmentary inscription (*CIL VI 974 = 40524*; here Fig. 29.1) had once belonged. This inscription, in its turn, was found in the *Forum Romanum*, or very close to the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*.

Provided all that were true, the facts that :

1.) the pose, the cuirass, and the *parazonium* of the representation of Hadrian on the reverses of his coins (here Fig. 129) are intentional copies of the portraits of Vespasian and Titus on their IVDAEA CAPTA coins (here Figs. 130; 131) (C. VERMEULE 1981; and myself);

2.) the decoration of Hadrian's cuirass (here Fig. 29) copies intentionally the "trophy type" iconography, used by the Flavian emperors "to commemorate the conquest of Judaea under the Flavians" (S. HEIJNEN 2020);

3.) according to Lorenzo Cigaina (2020) the five (or six?) replicas of Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna (cf. here Fig. 29) in Crete were dedicated in connection with Hadrian's improvement in AD 133-136 of a major road in Crete to guarantee the transportation and the supply of his army that suppressed the Bar Kokhba Revolt in *Judaea*;

- may be regarded as supports of Géza Alföldy's reconstruction of the missing parts of the inscription *CIL VI 974 = 40524 = here Fig. 29.1*), because in this reconstruction Alföldy had expressed exactly the same thoughts.

I, therefore, repeat here again, what Eck (2003, 163) has written concerning this point: "If Hadrian allowed the senate to regard his achievement in Judaea as continuing Vespasian's victory, or even exceeding it, [with n. 38] what would be a more fitting place for the victory monument than the temple of *divus Vespasianus*? [with n. 39, quoting for the latter, very brilliant, idea, Anthony R. Birley 1997, 287; my emphasis].

In his n. 38, Eck writes: "*CIL VI 40524* is reconstructed by Géza Alföldy in this spirit. Cf. no. [corr.: n.] 35 above [= here Fig. 29.1]".

In the following are quoted *verbatim* those passages from Annalina Caló Levi (1948), Pavlina Karanastasi (2012/2013) and Michaela Fuchs (2014) that I have referred to above.

Analina Caló Levi (1948, 30-31) wrote about Hadrian's coin-type (cf. here Fig. 129) :

"Among the coin-types of Hadrian there is one which never has been satisfactorily explained. On this type Hadrian appears in military dress. He is standing right, holding a spear and a parazonium, with his left foot on a crocodile [with n. 1] (Fig. 1). These coins (bronze and silver) [page 31] can certainly be dated in the last years of Hadrian's reign. Laffranchi [with n. 2] dates them to the time of Hadrian's journey to Egypt (A. D. 130-131). However, the later date of *c.[irca]* A. D. 134-136 given by Mattingly [with n. 3] seems more acceptable, Strack [with n. 4] also believes the type to be not earlier than A. D. 134.

As far as the meaning of the scene is concerned, the remarks of both Mattingly and Strack have to be examined [with n. 5]. Strack's explanation excludes a reference to Hadrian's journey to Egypt. The motive, in his opinion, is a victory motive; but he queries whether the crocodile might not be a symbol of Palestine or of the enemy in general [my emphasis] ...

Mattingly also believes the motive to be a victory motive since he says "type ... unexplained. The crocodile is the symbol of Egypt, and we know of no revolt in Egypt under Hadrian's rule" [my emphasis].

In her note 1, Caló Levi wrote: "Sestertii: Mattingly, *British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire*, vol. iii [1936], p. 475, nos. 1552, 1553, Pl. 89,2 (cf. Cohen, *Descriptions historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain*, vol. ii [1862]. Hadrien nos. 1380-2, 1384); dupondius: Mattingly, *op.cit.*, 1383, 1385). The accessory under the foot of Hadrian is not described as a crocodile by Mattingly for the denarius (*op. cit.*, p. 338\*), nor by Cohen (*op.cit.*, no. 1503). However Strack identifies it as a crocodile (Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des II. Jahrhunderts*, vol. ii [1933], no. 291, Pl. IV). Our Fig. 1 [= here Fig. 129] is from a cast of a sestertius of the Museo Nazionale of Naples: I owe the photograph to the courtesy of Dr. C. Pietrangeli of Rome [my emphasis]."

In her note 2, she wrote: "Laffranchi, in *Numismatische Zeitschrift* N. F., 19 (1926), p. 117".

In her note 3, she wrote: "Mattingly, *op.cit.*, p. clxxxii".

In her note 4, she wrote: Strack, *op.cit.*, p. 138".

In her note 5, she wrote: "Cf. nn. [notes] 3 and 4".

Caló Levi (1948, 33-34) observed that because of the presence of the crocodile on Hadrian's coins (cf. here Fig. 129) the represented iconography must somehow refer to Egypt. In her opinion, only the victory over the Jews in AD 134 could have been celebrated with these coins, but because, in her opinion, to commemorate this victory an iconography with such an Egyptian "accent" could not possibly have been used, she suggested that those coins rather celebrate "the victorious power of the emperor in general [my emphasis]":

"Taking thus the connection with Egypt for granted, the nature of this connection is to be considered. The motive cannot signify anything but victory. However, while a motive of this kind may refer to a specific victory over a military enemy, it may also refer to the victorious power of the emperor in general. This aspect of the emperor's personality, emphasized over and over again on coins, very often without signifying any actual or specific victory, found expression in statuary also. The famous statue found at Hierapytna [with n. 13], for instance, shows Hadrian in an attitude very similar to the one on the coin-type in consideration. The barbarian enemy he is trampling upon is not the personification of a people recently vanquished by the emperor, but a symbol of his vanquished enemies in general. The victory motive of the coin-type under consideration is to be explained under these more general terms. The scholars already mentioned [with n. 14] have pointed out that there was no victory in Egypt under Hadrian's rule [with n. 15]. The only military victory which could have been celebrated on our coins is the one over the Jews in A. D. 134. A reference to this victory cannot be seriously considered: [page 34] there

would be no reason why, on a Roman coin - and the coins of Hadrian in general celebrate the peaceful rather than the warlike events of his rule - a victory over an enemy should be celebrated with such an Egyptian accent [my emphasis]".

In her **note 13**, Caló Levi wrote: "Mendel ... [*i.e.*, here C. MENDEL 1914], ii, pp. 316 ff.; On the general meaning of the barbarians as attribute of the emperor see Levi, in *American Journal of Archaeology* 1 [*i.e.*, the 1. fascicle], 1946, p. 287".

In her **note 14**, she wrote: "See above, p. 1 f. [cf. A.C. LEVI 1948, 30-31, quoted *verbatim supra*]".

In her **note 15**, she wrote: "**The Jewish insurrection which took place in Judaea and in Egypt during the last years of Trajan's reign was already completely put down by 117 P.-W.-K. (See *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. i, col. 500 [my emphasis])**".

Caló Levi (1948, 35) discussed the meaning of the relief from the Temple of Horus at Dendera in Egypt, illustrated on her Fig. 5 (cf. here **Fig. 129.1**) which represents an Egyptian Pharaoh who is killing a crocodile:

**The [Egyptian] kings were considered incarnations of Horus and they were called "Horus", the oldest name among the traditional titles of the king. The king, like Horus, was considered the vanquisher of evil and the purveyor of good. On the reliefs of the temples of Horus at Edfu and Dendera both Horus and the king are represented as vanquisher of evil animals, among them the crocodile [with n. 22] (Fig. 5 [= here Fig. 129.1]; my emphasis)**".

In her **note 22**, Caló Levi wrote: "Roeder, *op.cit.*, col. 1115; Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfu (Mémoires de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale de Caire, vol. XX)*, vol. iii, Pl. LXXVII. **Our Fig. 5 [= here Fig. 129.1] is from Mariette, Dendérah, vol. ii [1870-1874], Pl. 75a [my emphasis]**". Cf. her note 17: "On the crocodile god see Roeder, in Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griech.[ischen] und röm.[ischen] Mythologie*, vol. iv, cols. 1093 ff."

Caló Levi (1948, 36-37) suggested that Hadrian's coins (here **Fig. 129**), because of their similarity with the Egyptian iconography of 'the king kills a crocodile' (here **Fig. 129.1**), represent 'Hadrian as King of Egypt':

"It seems logical to reach the conclusion, therefore, that Hadrian appears in the coin-type discussed here as the ruler of Egypt the [page 37] incarnation of Horus, and as the vanquisher of the evil and hostile forces symbolized by the crocodile".

*As the next Section on the tomb of Antinous and the Antinous Obelisk will show, Annalina Calò Levi (1948) turns out to have been one of the first scholars to suggest that the Antinous Obelisk (here Fig. 101.1) stood on a cenotaph of Antinous*

In Annalina Caló Levi's (1948, 37-38) opinion the representation of Hadrian on the reverses of his coins (cf. here **Fig. 129**) was based on a portrait-statue of Hadrian that had been created not much earlier than those coins, thus referring to the (lost) prototype of the statue of Hadrian from Hierapydna (cf. here **Fig. 29**).

**As for the function of this original portrait-statue of Hadrian, Caló Levi was of the opinion that it was on display at Antinous's cenotaph at Rome, next to which the Antinous Obelisk was erected :**

**"The fact that the image of an emperor treading down a crocodile never appeared before on a Roman coin leads to the assumption that a statue erected not much earlier than the time at which [page 38] the coins were issued provided the model for the die-engraver [with n. 34]. This statue [thus referring to the prototype of Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna; cf. here Fig. 29] was executed in artistic Graeco - Roman forms but according to Egyptian ideas, a composite frequently found on monuments in Egypt. It is**

also found in Italy in connexion with Isiac sanctuaries. This composite style is clearly apparent on many of the Alexandrian coin types.

**It is rather tempting now to advance an hypothesis regarding the occasion for the erection of the statue [i.e., the prototype of Hadrian's portrait from Hierapydna; cf. here Fig. 29]. It has been pointed out above that Hadrian's coin-type cannot be dated earlier than A. D. 134.** Although Antinous died in A.D. 130, he does not appear on Alexandrian coins before A. D. 134-135, and Greek coins of the East point to a memorial festival held for him in A. D. 134 [with n. 35]. No festival for Antinous is recorded for Rome.

**But a monument found there shows, in its hieroglyphic inscriptions, that a cenotaph was erected in Rome for Antinous. This monument is an obelisk, now on the Pincio in Rome [with n. 36] which most probably decorated the cenotaph. A likely date for the erection of both cenotaph and obelisk is after A. D. 134. It seems possible that Hadrian's statue [i.e., the prototype of here Fig. 29] was part of the decoration of Antinous' cenotaph. The hieroglyphic inscription of the obelisk mentions the fact that the temple of Antinous at Antinoe [i.e, Antinoopolis in Egypt], too, was decorated with statues in Egyptian, and also in Greek, style. [with n. 37; my emphasis]"**

In her **note 34**, Caló Levi wrote: "Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Trajanssäule*, p. 17".

In her **note 35**, she wrote: "Blum, in *Journal Intern. d'arch. numismatique*, xvi, 1914, pp. 33 ff.; Vogt, *Die alexandrinischen Münzen*, p. 106; Bosch, *Die kleinasiatischen Münzen der römischen Kaiserzeit*, ii, p. 35; also Baldwin, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, 17 (1923), pp. 1 ff.; Toynbee, in *Journal of Roman Studies*, xxxiv, 1944, pp. 65ff."

In her **note 36**, she wrote: "Erman, in *Römische Mitteilungen*, xi, 1896, pp. 113ff. ...; Hülsen, in *Röm. Mitt.*, xi 1896, pp. 122ff.; Marucchi, *Gli obelischi egiziani di Roma*, pp. 132ff.; Erman, in *Abhandlungen der preuss. Akademie der Wissensch.*, 1917, p. 10ff.; Hülsen, in *Berliner philol. Wochensch.*, 1919, cols. 259ff.; Platner-Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, p. 366; Lugli, *I monumenti antichi di Roma e suburbio*, vol. iii, pp. 485ff.; Scharff, in: Otto, *op.cit.*, p. 639, n. 5". Cf. her note 21: "Scharff, in Otto, *Handbuch der Archäologie*, vol. i ...".

In her **note 37**, she wrote: "This is, incidentally, an interesting piece of information for the knowledge of the art of Egypt during the Roman period, a field which is still to be thoroughly investigated ...".

**Analina Caló Levi's (1948, 38 with n. 36) just-quoted hypothesis that the original statue of Hadrian, of which the statue from Hierapydna (cf. here Fig. 29) may be regarded as a copy, could have decorated Antinous's cenotaph at Rome, has not found any followers. But because Caló Levi (1948) has suggested 'that the original statue of Hadrian, of which the statue from Hierapydna (cf. here Fig. 29) may be regarded as a copy, could have decorated Antinous's cenotaph at Rome', I allow myself in the following a digression on the recent research on the tomb of Antinous.**

*The research published in my earlier Study (2017): on the tomb of Antinous at Antinoopolis, on his (alleged) tomb at Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli, on his cenotaph at Rome, and on the two pertaining Antinous Obelisks*

**Fig. 101.a. Cf. G.B. Cipriani (1823, with Tav. 1; 2), his discussion and etchings of the 12 (Egyptian) obelisks in Rome. The caption of his Tav. 1 reads: "Dodici Obelischi Egizj, che si osservano rialzati ad ornamento della Città di Roma, posti secondo ordine della loro rievazione". The caption of his Tav. 2 reads: "Fusti dei dodici Obelischi dei Egizj, che si osservano rialzati ad ornamento della Città di Roma, posti secondo il grado della loro altezza". Cipriani's etchings of those 12 obelisks are measured: the tallest one is the Lateran Obelisk. Cipriani has also discussed and drawn Domitian's obelisk, which he refers to in his text and on his plates as: "Agonale di Piazza Navona", see his Tav. 1; Tav. 2 (in both Domitian's obelisk is the fifth from left); as well as the Antinous Obelisk, called by him "Aureliano della Passeggiata [on the Pincio]", see his Tav. 1 (the Antinous Obelisk is the second from right); Tav. 2 (the Antinous Obelisk is the fourth from right).**

For a discussion of the documentation of the twelve (Egyptian) obelisks in Rome by Giovanni Battista Cipriani (1823); cf. below, at *The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni di Laterano in Rom steht?*

For definitions of the *status quaestionis* concerning almost all the subjects revolving around the Antinous Obelisk, that will be mentioned in the following; cf. now the article by the Egyptologist Richard Bruce Parkinson ("Imaginary Histories: Ancient Egypt in the writings of Marguerite Yourcenar and Philippe Derchain", 2019), who also discusses in great detail my relevant hypotheses, published in 2017.

See also Paolo Liverani ("Antinoo a Roma: l'obelisco e la tomba", 2022), with whom I could discuss my relevant ideas, when I was writing my *Study* of 2017. He had been kind enough to provide me with the manuscript of this article, allowing me also generously to quote from it. - To this I will come back below.

Liverani (2022) follows most of Grenier's (2008) translations and interpretation of the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Antinous Obelisk, whereas I myself follow those scholars, who have rejected most of Grenier's relevant hypotheses.

For Antinous, his myth, and the controversy concerning the original locations of both his tomb and his cenotaph, and his two pertaining obelisks. Cf. Häuber (2017, 341-345 with ns. 93-114, especially ns. 111, 112; cf. pp. 442-452: "**Appendix 8. The controversy concerning the original location of the Antinous Obelisk (Fig. 9 [= here Fig. 101.1])**").

In this *Chapter* are discussed the locations, suggested for the tomb of Antinous: the real tomb at Antinoopolis (but which has also been located in the *Diaeta Adonaea* on the Palatine in Rome, in the *Horti Domitiae*, near Hadrian's Mausoleum at Rome, and in the Villa Hadriana near Tivoli !), and his cenotaph, which has been assumed in the *Horti Domitiae*, next to Hadrian's Mausoleum at Rome - and their pertaining obelisks.

**Fig. 101.1. The Antinous Obelisk on the Pincio in Rome, also known as the 'Barberini Obelisk' and as 'Monte Pincio Obelisk'. Originally commissioned by Hadrian for the tomb of Antinous at Antinoopolis, or for a cenotaph of Antinous at Rome, the location of which is controversial. 'Elagabalus' copied Augustus' concept of placing an obelisk on the *spina* in the *Circus Maximus*, when he erected this obelisk on the *spina* of the *Circus Varianus* in the *horti Spei Veteris*; Cf. ns. 113, 114, and chapters Domitian's Obelisk, Obeliscus Pamphilius, Appendix 8, Chapter VIII. EPILOGUE (photo: F.X. Schütz 20-IX-2015). Cf. Häuber (2017, 346, caption of Fig. 9, which has been slightly changed).**

See Häuber (2014a, 157, n. 75), for the reason, why I write the name of this emperor with inverted commas: 'Elagabalus': "Since this emperor was only called 'Elagabalus/Heliogabalus' after his lifetime, I write his cognomen with inverted commas, following Bruun 1997a, [*i.e.*, here, C. BRUUN 1997] p. 4; cf. pp. 1-2".

**Cf. Häuber (2017, 442): concerning Grenier's and Coarelli's (1986) original location of the real tomb of Antinous and of the Antinous Obelisk at the *Diaeta Adonaea* on the Palatine, in the (later) Vigna Barberini, I write :**

"In an earlier study, Filippo Coarelli and Jean-Claude Grenier [1986] had located the tomb of Antinous on the Palatine, a suggestion which has been refuted in the meantime. For a discussion, cf. J.-C. Grenier (2008, 43, with n. 22)". - There I have also referred to the *Contribution* by Coarelli (2017, 667 ff.) in the same volume.

For the fact that the hypothesis by Grenier and Coarelli (1986) to locate the tomb of Antinous and the Antinous Obelisk at the *Adonaea* on the Palatine has in the meantime been refuted; cf. also Paolo Liverani (2022, 10 with ns. 9, 10, providing ample bibliography). - Coarelli's text (2017, 669) will be discussed below; cf. Häuber (2017, 452-455): "**Antinous, his myth and his portraits**"; cf. p. 598f., Chapter: "VIII. EPILOGUE");

cf. pp. 659-662: **Frederick E. Brenk**, "**Antinoos Obelisk - My Comments**", who wrote me this text as an E-mail on 28th August 2016. He came on p. 661 to the following conclusions:

**"In any case, the weight of evidence does seem to be on the side of Antinoopolis as the original site of the obelisk and the reference on the obelisk being not to ``in Rome,`` but to Egypt. Renberg [2010] also pretty well demolishes the case for the obelisk being at the ``Antinoeion`` at the Villa Hadriana. Archaeologist[s] would have to pronounce on his objection that there is no footing for the slab upon which an obelisk supposedly was erected (190-191) ...**

P.S. (Addition from 31.08.2016): **Another thought occurred to me. All Egyptian obelisks came from quarries near the Nile and most of them came from Aswan. It should be, or have been possible, to tell whether the granite is from Italy or Egypt. If from Italy, this would rule out its having been manufactured for Antinoopolis [my emphasis]";**

cf. pp. 667-671: **Filippo Coarelli**: "**A proposito di Chr. Häuber, Augustus and the *Campus Martius* in Rome**". On p. 669, Coarelli writes:

**"5) L'obelisco pinciano (p. 346, 442-452) [cf. here Fig. 101.1] non apparteneva a un cenotafio, ma alla reale tomba di Antinoo, come ha dimostrato Grenier, in base alla sua lettura del testo geroglifico. Su questo mi sono già espresso altrove, e mi sembra inutile riprendere qui le mie argomentazioni e quelle di Grenier [with n. 4]. Da respingere è anche la recente proposta di collocare la tomba a Villa Adriana [with n. 5], che richiede lo spostamento dell'obelisco, la cui posizione nel Circo Variano è attestata da documenti rinascimentali [my emphasis]".**

In his **note 4**, Coarelli writes: "Grenier, Coarelli, 1986".

In his **note 5**, he writes: "Mari, Sgalambro 2007";

cf. Häuber (2017, 731): "**Comments by Miguel John Versluys**" (a discussion of his assertion that Antinous is *not* necessarily a historical person);

cf. p. 734: "**Comments by Rafed El-Sayed**" (see below for the *verbatim* quote. El-Sayed observes that so far the *lacuna* in the hieroglyphic inscription on the fourth side of the Antinous Obelisk has not been precisely measured and documented and explains the consequences which this fact has for any attempt to restore this text. The text in this *lacuna* contained part of the description of the location of this obelisk).

But note that in my *Study* of 2017, I had overlooked that also Coarelli (2012, 497- 512, Chapter: "La Formazione dei Palazzi Imperiali; Section: "10. Il complesso di Vigna Barberini"; esp. pp. 530-532; at point 6.) has addressed the just-discussed subjects.

**To Coarelli's (2017, 669) above-quoted statements on the Antinous Obelisk and on the tomb of Antinous, and to Coarelli (2012, 530-532), I should like to add some comments. Let's turn first to his text of 2017 :**

Coarelli (2017, 669) does not quote, and consequently not consider all relevant contributions in my *Study* of 2017: not all of my own texts, nor the texts by Brenk, Versluys and by El-Sayed (*op.cit.*). In my opinion, Coarelli (2017, 669) arrives at the erroneous conclusions that will be discussed below. I myself maintain the hypotheses, at which I myself and my co-authors had arrived in 2017, whom I have followed then and still follow now.

The following points *I-VII*. are interrelated:

**I.) Contrary to Coarelli's (2017, 669) opinion, Grenier's reading (1986; repeated 2008) of the relevant passage of the hieroglyphic text of the Antinous Obelisk is wrong, as Alfred Grimm (1994) and Gil H.**



**Renberg (2010) were able to demonstrate. Besides, contrary to Grenier's and Coarelli's (1986) assertion, the real tomb of Antinous stood at Antinoopolis in Egypt (see below, at point VI.).**

Exactly like Coarelli (2012, 530) states about himself, I myself have not studied the ancient Egyptian language, nor am I able to read hieroglyphs. I have, therefore (2017, 442-452), first of all collected the different readings and interpretations of the hieroglyphic texts of the Antinous Obelisk at the time available to me. Almost all of them were published by Egyptologists, but with for me surprisingly different results.

In his second reading of the hieroglyphic text of the Antinous Obelisk, Grenier (2008, 37) has repeated unchanged that part of his first reading (1986) of the passage comprising the *lacuna* on the 4th side of the obelisk, in which the location of this obelisk was described; cf. Häuber (2017, 443, 445).

For an illustration of Grenier's reconstruction (2008); cf. Liverani (2022, 14, Fig. 2: in the middle).

I have then sent my text comprising all those readings and interpretations of the relevant hieroglyphic text to my good late friend Frederick E. Brenk, who was a noted authority of those subjects, and to the Egyptologist Rafed El-Sayed, and have asked them for advice; cf. Häuber (2017, 447).

Both were kind enough to answer me by E-mail and with their kind consent, I have published their E-mails as the above-mentioned contributions to my *Study*; cf. Brenk (2017), and El-Sayed (2017).

The observations I made in context of my publication of 2017 concerned all the hieroglyphic texts of the Antinous Obelisk, but especially the passage with the *lacuna* on its 4th side, where the original location of this obelisk had been mentioned.

**I have thus arrived at the conclusion that Grenier's (1986, 217-229, esp. p. 223, Figs. 1-4) reading of this text passage, which Coarelli (1986; 2012: see below; and 2017, 669) has followed, is wrong.**

**This fact has been observed by the Egyptologist Alfred Grimm (1994, 82, n. 176), quoted *verbatim* in Häuber (2017, 444; cf. pp. 443, 447); it has also been discussed in great detail by Gil H. Renberg (2010, 181-191, esp. pp. 186-188), quoted in part *verbatim* in Häuber (2017, 450-451). - To this I will come back below.**

See also the comment by Frederick E. Brenk (2017, 659) on *all* those reconstructions of the *lacuna* in the hieroglyphic inscription on the fourth side of the Antinous Obelisk, that I have collected in Häuber (2017, 442-452):

**"I finally got to your materials. I would be very skeptical about the reconstructions [my emphasis]"**.

For the comments by Rafed El-Sayed (2017, 734) on those reconstructions, see below at point II.

See also Pierluigi Romeo's (2007) critique of Grenier's reading of the relevant hieroglyphic text passage; cf. Frischer (*et al.* 2016, 60 with n. 42); quoted *verbatim* in Häuber (2017, 449). Romeo's critique has been rejected by Liverani (2022, 13 with n. 27), who, contrary to myself and Renberg (2010) believes that Grenier's (2008) reading and interpretation of the hieroglyphic texts of the Antinous Obelisk (2008) is in most parts correct.

Grenier and Coarelli (1986); Grenier (2008) and Coarelli (2012; and 2017) took and take for granted that, by reconstructing the hieroglyphic text of this *lacuna*, the original location at Rome of the tomb of Antinous and of the Antinous Obelisk could with certainty be established. But it is not as easy as that. I'm not joking.

The reason being that the real tomb of Antinoos stood at Antinoopolis in Egypt. Consequently, some scholars believe that the Antinous Obelisk stood on a cenotaph of Antinous. So for example already

Annalina Calò Levi (1948, 38 with n. 36, quoted *verbatim supra*), who wrote about the Antinous Obelisk: "which most probably decorated a cenotaph", quoting for this opinion much earlier scholars; myself (2017, 346, 443, 446, 450-452), and also Liverani (2022, 16, quoted *verbatim infra*). In Häuber (2017, 446 with n. 241), I have quoted Liverani's relevant opinion after the manuscript of his article.

Gil H. Renberg (2010, 176, 185-186) believes that the Antinous Obelisk was made in Egypt (or rather its lost original, as he himself suggests); cf. Häuber (2017, 451). Renberg has, in my opinion, demonstrated that the content of the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the Antinous Obelisk made only sense, provided this monument was erected in Antinoopolis; cf. Häuber (2017, 450-452). Frederick E. Brenk (2017, 661, quoted *verbatim supra*) has followed Renberg in both respects (but he has added the reserve that we cannot be sure, where the Antinous Obelisk was manufactured, unless its granite has been tested). - My thanks are due to Rafed El-Sayed, who was kind enough to read this Section, for alerting me to another problem: in theory granite from Aswan could, of course, just as well have been shipped to Rome.

**If true, we must ask ourselves, whether the Antinous Obelisk that we have is the original obelisk, made for the tomb of Antinous at Antinoopolis, or a copy of the original, on which all the hieroglyphic texts of the original obelisk have been repeated without any alterations; cf. Häuber (2017, 450).**

**Cf. Häuber (2017, 446) for the fact that, *inter alia* because of its shape, some scholars have, in my opinion convincingly, suggested that the Antinous Obelisk was created in Rome; cf. p. 451 for the fact that so far the granite of the Antinous Obelisk seems not to have been tested, as Paolo Liverani was kind enough to tell me in a telephone-conversation on 13th September 2016. As quoted above, Frederick E. Brenk (2017, 661) had asked the relevant question.**

Also before it has been suggested that the Antinous Obelisk is the copy of the original obelisk, which stood on the real tomb of Antinous at Antinoopolis in Egypt; so Serena Ensoli Vittozzi (1990, 49-50, with ns. 97-104); quoted after Bernard Frischer (in: Frischer *et al.* 2016, 61). And it has also earlier been suggested that the Antinous Obelisk is the original obelisk, which stood on the tomb of Antinous at Antinoopolis in Egypt, from where it had been brought to Rome in the Severan period; so Hugo Meyer (1994b, 16-20); cf. Häuber (2017, 446).

**If one of the two last-mentioned alternatives should be true, all the efforts to reconstruct the hieroglyphic text in this *lacuna* on the 4th side of the obelisk were, of course, in a certain sense in vain. - At least, provided the aim of the relevant scholar had been to add with his or her publication a contribution to the topography of Rome. Because, as observed by Bernard Frischer (in: Frischer *et al.* 2016, 61), in that case this (lost) text in the *lacuna* of the hieroglyphic text on the 4th side of the Antinous Obelisk had referred to a location at Antinoopolis (!) :**

**"Of course, if one reckons with the possibility of a replicated obelisk [*i.e.*, the Antinous Obelisk here Fig. 101.1] preserving its original inscription even when the inscription's topographical reference to the place of erection is no longer relevant, then the question of whether we can use topographical references on an inscribed obelisk to recover its original context in central Italy becomes moot [my emphasis]".**

Coarelli (2017, 669), apart from rejecting my own hypothesis (cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 346; cf. the caption of here Fig. 101.1, cf. pp. 443, 446, 450-452), according to which the Antinous Obelisk on the Pincio (here Fig. 101.1) can only have belonged to a cenotaph of Antinous - does not explicitly address any of the new relevant research results, obtained by Brenk, El-Sayed and myself, published in 2017.

**II.) Grenier (1986; 2008) - like all other scholars, who have so far tried to reconstruct the hieroglyphic text in the *lacuna* on the 4th side of the Antinous Obelisk - has not documented the precise size of this *lacuna*, before he has reconstructed the text in this *lacuna*.**

The Egyptologist Rafed El-Sayed (2017, 734) mentions an observation by Erhart Graefe (2012, 223-227), which he develops further: the size of the *lacuna* in the hieroglyphic text on the 4th side of the Antinous Obelisk has so far not been correctly defined, measured and documented by any of the scholars, who were involved in this discussion. El-Sayed explains the consequences of this fact and adds further considerations, why the reconstruction of this text passage is so difficult. El-Sayed also suggests, how this complex problem could be solved:

**"Was die problematische Textpassage der Seite IV des Obeliskens anbelangt, über die ja schon so viel gesagt worden ist, läßt sich m.[eines] E.[rachtens] zunächst feststellen, daß sämtliche Ergänzungen in Unkenntnis der exakten Abmessungen der Lacuna formuliert wurden. Die Kenntnis der Größe der Fehlstelle ist aber eine grundlegende Voraussetzung für Überlegungen die Rekonstruktion des verlorenen Text- bzw. Zeichenbestandes betreffend. Die hierfür nötigen dokumentarischen Bemühungen - eine epigraphische Aufnahme am Objekt und eine photogrammetrische Dokumentation - haben m.[eines] W.[issens] bisher nicht stattgefunden. Allein E. Graefe 2012: (223-227; bes.[onders] 224) ist ausführlich auf die Problematik des wohl bereits postantiken ungenau zusammengesetzten Obeliskens und die Konsequenzen für die Rekonstruktion des zerstörten Textabschnittes eingegangen. Ganz gleich, wie groß die Lacuna auch immer ist, alle Gedanken zur Grammatik bleiben Spekulation bestenfalls Optionen. Auch die Wortsemantik und Phraseologie von *š.t tš* (Hortus der Domäne?) und *nb.t w3s* (Princeps und in der Form *nb.t w3s* auch als eine Bezeichnung für die Stadt Rom?) bleiben wohl vor allem deshalb problematisch, da es sich bei dem Text des Obeliskens um Übersetzungsliteratur handelt. Dies bedeutet m.[eines] E.[rachtens] nach, daß hier Überlegungen die Sprache des Ausgangstextes betreffend weiterhelfen könnten. Was die ägyptische Grammatik angeht, so ließe sich - für den Fall, daß die Rekonstruktion von Graefe, die ohne Partikel (*m/n*) auskommt, zuträfe - auch an eine Genitivkette *š.t tš n nb w3s Hrm* ' `Domäne des Princeps von Rom' oder einen absolut adverbialen Gebrauch von *Hrm* ' in der Bedeutung von `in Rom/Roma' denken. Sollte die Lacuna allerdings größer sein als Graefe angenommen hat, ließe sich an eine völlig andere Restituierung der Textpassage denken [my emphasis]".**

See further on the Antinous Obelisk: El-Sayed (2021, 60, quoted *verbatim infra*).

But note that Coarelli (2012, 531) contradicts my above-made assertion that Grenier has not correctly reconstructed the size of this *lacuna* in the hieroglyphic text on the 4th side of the Antinous Obelisk:

**"... al momento della collocazione sulla base attuale, i due tronconi dell'obelisco vennero ritagliati per farli combaciare, e ciò provocò la scomparsa di una piccola parte del testo. Attraverso le riproduzioni di Zoega, anteriori a tale intervento, Grenier ha potuto stabilire le dimensioni della lacuna, in particolare per quanto riguarda il lato IV, e integrare la presenza probabile di un solo segno. la preposizione *m*, che significa `in'".**

**Di conseguenza, il testo va letto nel modo seguente: `L'Osiris Antinoo giustificato, che riposa in questa tomba (situata) nei giardini dell'imperatore a Roma' [my emphasis]".**

Coarelli himself does not provide a reference for 'Zoega'. But he obviously refers to: Jørgen (translated as 'Georgio' in the title of his publication) Zoega's (1755-1809) book: *De origine et usu Obeliscorum* (Romae 1797). Zoega (1797, 77-79: "§ VIII.") describes the Obeliscus Barberinus [*i.e.*, the Antinous Obelisk] and illustrates on the second-last (unnumbered) foldout plate in this volume drawings of its 4 sides with the hieroglyphic inscriptions, indicating all the *lacunae* in these texts.

**Coarelli (2012, 531), like Grenier (1986; 2008) before him, tacitly assumes that the drawings, published by Zoega (1797), still showed the complete Antinous Obelisk, only broken into three (not two) large parts.**

Before trying myself such a reconstruction of the hieroglyphic text in the *lacuna* on the 4th side of the Antinous Obelisk, I would, therefore, first of all try to establish, whether or not that assumption is true. As

we have seen above, El-Sayed (2017, 734) mentions instead the possibility that this *lacuna* in the hieroglyphic text may be much larger than assumed by Graefe (2012).

In order to clarify also that question, I would personally prefer the method, suggested by El-Sayed (2017, 734) to create a: "photogrammetrische Dokumentation" of (all four sides) of the Antinous Obelisk, in order to document the *lacuna* in the hieroglyphic text on its 4th side *precisely*. A scholar, who chooses this method will certainly base himself or herself also on the complete documentation that is available for the Antinous Obelisk, for example the just-mentioned drawings, published by Zoega (1797), but especially the measured drawing of the Antinous Obelisk by Giovanni Battista Cipriani (1823, Tav. 1 [= here **Fig. 101.a**]).

**To Coarelli's text (2012), I should like to add the following comments :**

**III.) Already Coarelli (2012, 531) has confirmed his opinion that Grenier's (1986) reconstruction of the hieroglyphic text is correct that once stood in part in the *lacuna* on the 4th side of the Antinous Obelisk, in which the location of this obelisk was described**

As stated above, in my points *I.*) and *II.*), I hope to have demonstrated in 2017, based *inter alia* on the relevant observations of my co-authors Brenk (2017) and El-Sayed (2017), that Grenier's and Coarelli's (1986) relevant assumptions are wrong.

**IV.) Coarelli (2012, 530 with n. 619, pp. 531-532 with n. 624) mentions Grenier's (2008, 37-43) later suggestion, according to which the tomb of Antinous could alternatively have been erected in the *Horti Domitiae*, close to the Mausoleum of Hadrian/ Castel Sant'Angelo. Coarelli (2012, 531-532) agrees with Grenier concerning this point. I myself (2017, 444, 448) have likewise discussed Grenier's (2008) relevant hypothesis and have accepted it as a possibility. - But again: if so, this was not Antinous's real tomb, but a cenotaph of Antinous (see below, at point VI.)).**

Contrary to what was previously believed, the *Horti Domitiae* were the property of Hadrian's natural mother, Domitia Paulina Lucilla *maior*; cf. Häuber (2017, 444 with n. 238), where I quote for this important information Paolo Liverani (2007a, 89); cf. now Liverani (2022, 18-19 with ns. 60-64, with ample bibliography).

Cf. Dietmar Kienast, Werner Eck and Matthäus Heil (2017, 122 [Hadrian]: "Domitia Paulina (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> D 185. FOS 330) [*i.e.*, the mother of the Emperor Hadrian]).

Cf. here **Fig. 58**, labels: Tomb of the Emperor Hadrian/ SEPULCRUM : P. AELIUS HADRIANUS / Castel S. Angelo; HORTI DOMITIAE.

**V.) Coarelli (2012, 531, with n. 623) believes that the (alleged) tomb of Antinous at Rome, which according to his current hypothesis may have stood in the *Horti Domitiae*, close to the Mausoleum of Hadrian, was destroyed by the Emperor Antoninus Pius immediately after his predecessor Hadrian had died. This happened, in Coarelli's opinion, in the course of the abolishment of the cult of Antinous, (allegedly) ordered by Antoninus Pius for the western half of the Roman Empire.**

**Based on the first assumption, Coarelli (*op.cit.*) suggests that the existence of the tomb of Antinous at Antinoopolis, which has been recorded by the late antique author Epiphanius, can be explained with this (alleged) destruction of the (alleged) tomb of Antinous at Rome.**

Cf. Coarelli (2012, 531): "**La notizia tarda che colloca ad Antinoe [*i.e.*, Antinoopolis] i resti del favorito di Adriano [*i.e.*, of Antinous; with n. 623] si spiega a mio avviso con l'eliminazione della tomba romana, certamente ad opera di Antonino Pio, subito dopo la morte del suo predecessore [*i.e.*, Hadrian], nel quadro dell'eliminazione del culto di Antinoo dalla parte occidentale dell'impero. L'obelisco non venne distrutto, ovviamente perché i testi che vi erano iscritti risultavano a tutti incomprensibili [my emphasis]**".

In his **note 623**, Coarell writes: "Epiphanius, *de constantia. Ancoratus* (ed. Hall. [corr.: Karl Holl]) I, 130b. GRENIER-COARELLI 1986, p. 246".

Personally, I do not believe that Coarelli's (2021, 531) just-quoted assumptions are true; cf. below, at points VI.); and VII.).

**VI.) Contrary to the hypothesis, formulated by Grenier and Coarelli (1986), Grenier (2008), and Coarelli (2012; 2017), the real tomb of Antinous stood from the beginning at Antinoopolis in Egypt**

In my opinion, the first part of Coarelli's (2012, 531) above-quoted statement is not true, because I follow those scholars, who have discussed those ancient authors, who have stated that the tomb of Antinous stood - from the very beginning ! - at Antinoopolis. For detailed discussions, not only of Epiphanius, whom also Grenier and Coarelli (1986) and Coarelli (2012) quote, but also of Clement of Alexandria, neglected by Grenier and Coarelli (1986); cf. Gil H. Renberg (2010, 174, 176, 185, and *passim*), Frederick E. Brenk (2017, 659-661), and myself (2017, 449-452).

Clement of Alexandria's (AD 150-circa 215) relevant statement is especially important in this context, because he lived much earlier than Epiphanius (AD 315-403).

Frederick E. Brenk (2017, 660) mentions Renberg's judgement about Clement of Alexandria:

"Renberg also cites Clement of Alexandria (150 - c.[irca] 215), (*Protr.* 49.1-3) [185 and note 103, Renberg]). As he says, Clement lived in Egypt, and not too long after Hadrian, and thus is a more reliable witness than Epiphanius".

**For Epiphanius**; cf. also Henry Chadwick and Mark Julian Edwards ("**Epiphanius**, c.[irca] AD 315-403, born in Eleutheropolis, Palestine. He became a monk, and in 367 bishop of Salamis (2) (Constantia) in Cyprus ...", in *OCD*<sup>3</sup> [1996] 546 [the emphasis is by the authors themselves]).

**For Clement of Alexandria**; cf. also Mark Julian Edwards ("**Clement of Alexandria (Titus Flavius Clemens)**, was born c.[irca] 150, probably at Athens and of pagan parents ... Clement died between 211 and 216 ... in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> [1996] 345 [the emphasis is by the author himself]).

**Richard Bruce Parkinson (2019, 220) follows the hypothesis, suggested here, and supports it with a further argument :**

**"In any case, the mention of `this mound` could well refer to a cenotaph as opposed to an actual burial place, [with n. 98] meaning that it is possible that Antinous was buried in Antinoopolis, but that the obelisk [*i.e.*, the Antinous Obelisk; here Fig. 101.1] was carved and erected at a cenotaph in Italy. [with n. 99]"**.

In his **note 98**, Parkinson writes: "As suggested early by Hülsen, in: *MDAIR* [*i.e.*, *RM*] 11.2, 1896, 129".

In his **note 99**, he writes: "See Liverani, forthcoming [*i.e.*, 2022]; Häuber, Augustus and the Campus Martius [*i.e.*, 2017], 451-452".

For the fact that Epiphanius and Clement of Alexandria document the tomb of Antinous at Antinoopolis; cf. now also Paolo Liverani (2022, 12-13, with ns. 19, 21).

As already mentioned by Parkinson (2019, 220, n. 99, quoted *verbatim supra*), also Liverani (2022, 16) has now come to the conclusion that the tomb of Antinous stood at Antinoopolis, and that the Antinous Obelisk belonged to a cenotaph of Antinous, which Liverani, following Grenier (2008), assumes in the *Horti Domitiae*, adding on pp. 18-19 further arguments in support of this hypothesis: "Si deve trovare un denominatore che accomuni da un lato **Antinoopoli (dove era un tempio e - secondo le fonti greche [*i.e.*, Epiphanius and**

**Clement of Alexandria] - la tomba di Antinoo), dall'altro la tenuta (romana) dell'imperatore "in cui riposa" Antinoo [with n. 45]. L'elemento comune non può che essere quello funerario, ma non si può avere una vera tomba in due luoghi, come stabilisce chiaramente il diritto romano [with n. 46]. Dobbiamo ritenere che si stia parlando della vera tomba (ad Antinoopoli) e del cenotafio (a Roma) [my emphasis]"**.

In his **notes 45 und 46**, Liverani provides references and further discussion.

Liverani had earlier followed Grenier's (2008) suggestion that the Antinous Obelisk stood on the real tomb of Antinous in the *Horti Domitiae* (cf. *id.* 2010, 16-18); quoted in Häuber (2017, 444, with n. 236). With Liverani's above-quoted statement (2022, 16) that the monument, erected in the *Horti Domitiae*, should instead be identified as the *cenotaph* of Antinous, he follows now Renberg (2010), according to whom Antinous' real tomb stood at Antinoopolis. Liverani's relevant decision has had a very peculiar effect. To demonstrate this point, I quote in the following a passage from Häuber (2017, 451-452), where I had based these observations on the manuscript of Liverani's article (2022), to which I refer in this text as to 'Liverani forthcoming':

"Whereas Liverani (forthcoming [*i.e.*, 2022]) follows Renberg (2010) in so far as he accepts that the real tomb of Antinous stood at Antinoopolis in Egypt, Liverani maintains his earlier view that the Antinous Obelisk was erected in the *horti Domitiae* at Rome (on, or at Antinous' cenotaph). Whereas previous scholars, concerning the question, whether the hieroglyphic inscription on the Antinous Obelisk refers to Antinous' tomb in Egypt or in Italy, opted for only one of these alternatives [cf. *supra*, at point I.], Liverani (forthcoming [*i.e.*, 2022]) thus suggests the apparent paradox [page 452] that both hypotheses are true. Liverani (forthcoming [*i.e.*, 2022]) ... also accepts the idea of Renberg (2010) concerning the passage of the hieroglyphic inscription discussed above ('He [*i.e.*, Antinous] goes out from his tomb (lit. "holy place") to the numerous temples of the entire land, and he heals the sick among the needy poor by sending a dream' [translation: G.H. RENBERG 2010, 176 with n. 66; quoted in more detail in C. HÄUBER 2017, 450]). **Liverani (forthcoming [*i.e.*, 2022]) agrees that this passage must refer to the real tomb of Antinous at Antinoopolis. On the other hand, he claims that the passage, discussed in the previous section of this Appendix [*i.e.*, the text in part in the *lacuna* of the hieroglyphic text on the 4th side of the Antinous Obelisk], refers to Antinous' cenotaph in Italy (assuming that this stood at Rome). Liverani (forthcoming [*i.e.*, 2022]) is thus the first modern commentator who suggests that the Antinous Obelisk is covered with an hieroglyphic inscription that refers to *both* monuments: Antinous tomb at Antinoopolis, and his cenotaph at Rome. If true, this hypothesis implies that the Antinous Obelisk was made for his cenotaph at Rome (or elsewhere in Italy?), and that it is, therefore, *the* original [my emphasis]"**.

**VII.) Antoninus Pius has not abolished the cult of Antinous in the western half of the Roman Empire, as asserted by Coarelli (2012, 531)**

According to Paolo Liverani (2022, 19) the cult of Antinous was still alive in Rome until the Severan period: "In conclusione, se la ricostruzione sopra avanzata è corretta, dobbiamo aggiungere il testo geroglifico dell'obelisco di Antinoo ai *Fontes ad topographiam veteris Urbis Romae pertinentes*, **in quanto ci permette di collocare con discreta precisione l'obelisco stesso e il cenotafio di Antinoo in prossimità del Sepolcro di Adriano (Castel Sant'Angelo) almeno fino all'età severiana, quando il venir meno dell'interesse per il culto del giovane bitino [*i.e.*, Antinous] permise il riuso dell'obelisco, che venne spostato nell'area degli *horti della Spes Vetus*, forse a decorare il Circo Variano [my emphasis]"**.

For the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the Antinous Obelisk; cf. also Emanuele M. Ciampini (2004, 168-187: "N. 9 - Obelisco di Antinoo (o del Pincio o Barberini) (I)", Fig. 19). This publication has likewise not been considered by Coarelli (2012; 2017).

For a discussion of his new reconstruction of the Mausoleum of Hadrian; cf. Paolo Vitti ("Le mausolée, la ville et l'empereur : une nouvelle interprétation architecturale de la tombe d'Hadrien", 2022). Vitti (2022) does not mention the fact that some of the above-mentioned scholars have either located the cenotaph of Antinous in the vicinity of the Mausoleum of Hadrian, or even the tomb of Antinous.

*Positive responses to my earlier Study on Antinous (2017)*

See the article by the Egyptologist Richard Bruce Parkinson ("Imaginary Histories: Ancient Egypt in the writings of Marguerite Yourcenar and Philippe Derchain", 2019, *passim*). As mentioned above, Parkinson (2019) discusses all my relevant hypotheses, suggested in 2017, in great detail, and follows the hypothesis, suggested *inter alia* by myself, that the Antinous Obelisk (here **Fig. 101.1**) stood on a cenotaph of Antinous.

See also the article by the Egyptologist Rafed El-Sayed (pp. 58-60: Section "3.3 Panopolis - Alexandria - Rom"; p. 60, at: "Panopolis and Rome", in: Rafed El-Sayed, Konstantin C. Lakomy, Elisabeth Ehler, Cäcilia Fluck, Anne Herzberg-Beiersdorf and Olivia Zorn (*Akhmîm Ägyptens vergessene Stadt*, 2021); English edition: *Akhmîm Egypt's forgotten city*:

**"In Ptolemaic times, Panopolitans were already active as priests at sanctuaries dedicated to Egyptian deities in Italy. This is evidenced by two statue fragments found during excavations in Isis sanctuaries near the city of Rome (Antiquarium Comunale del Celio, 2411) and Campania (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, 241834). [with n. 10; my emphasis]**

Egyptian monuments and papyrus-finds relating to Panopolis, now in Rome, Berlin and Dublin, supplement the reports of Roman historians on the visits to Egypt by the Roman emperors Hadrian (r.[eigned] 117-138) and Diocletian (r.[eigned] 284-305).

**Two of these monuments - the so-called Antinous Obelisk now erected on Monte Pincio in Rome and a stela in the Egyptian Museum Berlin (ÄM 22489) (Figs. 1-3) - are directly related to the visit of emperor Hadrian, who reached Egypt in the summer of the year 130, on his second journey of several years duration. After founding the Middle Egyptian city of Antinoopolis a year later, Hadrian reached Panopolis, some 200 km to the south, where he had the temple of Min shown to him. The priest of Min Pa-di-Hor-neb-khem ('the one given by Horus-of-Letopolis'), who guided the emperor through the temple, is also considered the original author of the text written for the Antinous obelisks, one of which is still in Rome today. [with n. 11].**

**The stela of this priest from Akhmim is perhaps the last evidence of a skill that fell into disuse almost everywhere in Egypt from Roman times onwards, namely the command of the ancient Egyptian language and hieroglyphic writing, as well as the quality of relief. It is all the more [page 61] regrettable that this stela, which came to Berlin at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, was destroyed during the Second World War (Figs. 1-2) [my emphasis]"**.

In his **note 10**, El-Sayed writes: "Cozzolino 1999, 22; Lollio Barberi et al. 1995, 175-176.

In his **note 11**, he writes: "Derchain 1987. For the hypothesis of two obelisks of Antinous, see Häuber 2017, 442-452".

The caption of El-Sayed's **Fig. 1** reads: "Stela ÄM 22489, © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung / Archiv".

The caption of El-Sayed's **Fig. 2a-b** reads: "Preserved fragments of stela ÄM 22489, © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung / Sandra Steiß".

The caption of El-Sayed's **Fig. 3** reads: Representation of the Antinous (Pinciano) Obelisk in Athanasius Kircher's *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, after Graefe 2012, fig. 33".

Because I had not understood El-Sayed's (2021, 60) above quoted passage: "After founding the Middle Egyptian city of Antinoopolis a year later, Hadrian reached Panopolis, some 200 km to the south, where he had the temple of Min shown to him. The priest of Min Pa-di-Hor-neb-khem ('the one given by Horus-of-

Letopolis'), who guided the emperor through the temple ..." - I asked him in a telephone-conversation on 9th December 2021 for advice.

**Contrary to what I had expected, Hadrian actually *could* enter the Temple of Min at Panopolis, as El-Sayed was kind enough to explain to me - because as the Roman emperor he was the Pharaoh of Egypt (!). The precedent for this exemption of the normal rule being Alexander in the Temple of Amon at the oasis of Siwa, as El-Sayed further added. - Rafed El-Sayed has kindly allowed me to mention our conversation here.**

For the above-mentioned stela formerly in Berlin; cf. also El-Sayed ("Zur historischen Stadttopographie von Achmîm", 2023, 115 [there this illustration is erroneously referred to as "Abb. 21"], with n. 225, p. 118, Fig. 22. The caption reads: "Stele ÄM 22489 (Kriegsverlust) aus der Zeit Kaiser Hadrians. Der Steleninhaber vor den Göttern von Panopolis : Min, Osiris, Horus-Senedjemib, Harendotes, Kolanthes, Repit, Isis ...").

Because I had also discussed in great detail my ideas concerning Antinous's Obelisk (here **Fig. 101.1**) with Paolo Liverani, when writing my earlier *Study* (2017), he had been so kind as to provide me with his at the time forthcoming article on the subject, from which he had also very generously allowed me to quote passages *verbatim* ("La diffusione e la localizzazione del culto di Antinoo a Roma e in Italia", in: F. Chausson (ed.), *Proceedings of Antinoos: la fabrication d'un dieu (Égypte, Asie mineure, Grèce, Rome, Latium)*).

Assuming that this essay had been published in the meantime, I asked Liverani on 6th December 2021 to write me the relevant reference. Because of the considerable delay of this publication, Liverani had withdrawn it from those Proceedings, had updated this manuscript and divided it into two essays.

Cf. now Paolo Liverani ("*Leo in fabula: l'apoteosi di Antinoo*", 2020a; and "*Antinoo a Roma: l'obelisco e la tomba*", 2022), both of which Paolo was kind enough to send me.

See also *supra*, in Chapter *V.1.i.3.b*); at Section *II.*, which is dedicated *inter alia* to the *Diaeta Adonaea* at the (later) Vigna Barberini on the Palatine. There I have mentioned the discussions of Grenier and Coarelli (1986), Grenier (2008), and Coarelli (2012; 2017) of the tomb of Antinous and his Obelisk, summarized above.

**In the following are quoted *verbatim* those passages from Pavlina Karanastasi (2012/2013) and Michaela Fuchs (2014) that I have referred to above.**

**Pavlina Karanastasi (2012/2013, 352-353, Section: "DIE ÄGYPTISCHE PERSPEKTIVE", after discussing some relevant sculptures) writes concerning the portrait-statues of Hadrian (cf. here Fig. 29) and concerning his coins (here Fig. 129):**

"Diese Denkmäler stellen eine interessante Mischung des altbekannten ägyptischen Schemas des Erschlagens bzw. [beziehungsweise] Niedertretens der Feinde durch den Pharao [with n. 176] mit Elementen der römischen, möglicherweise auch schon der ptolemäischen Bildsymbolik dar, wie das Diadem, die Panzerung, das Schwert und die Lanze des Kaisers.

**Sucht man nun nach einem konkreten freiplastischen Vorbild bzw. [beziehungsweise] nach einem Vermittler für diese Werke, bieten sich als beste [page 353] Kandidaten die Hadriansstatuen aus Kreta im 'östlichen Typus', zuvorderst die Statue aus Hierapytna [cf. here Fig. 29], die nach orientalischem Habitus den Fuß auf den geschlagenen Feind setzt [with n. 177]. Die enge Verbindung des statuarischen Schemas der zuletzt genannten Figur mit Ägypten wird durch eine in die Spätzeit Hadrians datierte stadtrömische Prägung noch deutlicher (Abb. 7 [cf. here Fig. 129]). Der Kaiser, der in einer zum Verwechseln ähnlichen Pose und mit den gleichen Attributen wie die Statue aus Hierapytna dargestellt ist, setzt den Fuß auf das Zeichen von Ägypten, das Krokodil [with n. 178; my emphasis]".**



In her **note 176**, Karanastasi writes: "Schoske 1994; La Rocca 1994; La Rocca 1995 [*i.e.*, here E. LA ROCCA 1995a]; Laubscher 1996. s.[siehe] auch o.[ben] Anm. 169".

In her **note 177**, she provides references and further discussion.

In her **note 178**, she writes: "Zum Münzbild und zu dessen Deutung s.u. [siehe unten] Anm. 191".

The caption of Karanastasi's Fig. 7 (cf. Hadrian's coin here **Fig. 129**) reads: "London, Brit. Mus. [British Museum] Inv. 1972.0711.4 Silbersesterz Hadrians".

Cf. Karanastasi (2012/2013, 356):

**"In der Folge dieser imperialen Münzrepräsentation ist schließlich das bereits erwähnte stadtrömische Münzbild zu sehen (Abb. 7 [cf. Hadrian's coin here Fig. 129]), auf dem Hadrian ganz im Schema der 'Variante Hierapytna' ([cat. no.] 12 Taf. 6,1 [cf. here Fig. 29]) und ihrer Pendants ([cat. no.] 4 Taf. 2,4; [cat. no.] 23 Taf. 6,1) erscheint, den Fuß allerdings nicht auf einen personifizierten Feind, sondern auf ein Krokodil gesetzt, das wohl in eine ähnliche Richtung gedeutet werden kann [with n. 191]. Über den Anlass und Sinn dieser hadrianischen Prägung sind wir nicht genauer informiert; wie die Statuen [which she has discussed before] verbildlichte sie jedoch eine anschauliche Kombination von griechischem, römischem und ägyptischem bzw. [beziehungsweise] orientalischem Kulturgut [my emphasis]"**.

In her **note 191**, Karanastasi writes: "Sesterz (AR) London, Brit. Mus. [British Museum] Inv. 1972, 0711.4; Strack 1933, 138 Nr. 291 Taf. IV; BMCRE III (1936) 8, clxxxii; 475 Nr. 1552.1553 Taf. 89,2; 485 Nr. 167 Taf. 91,3; Levi 1948. Aufgrund der Legende PP (*pater patriae*) ist die Prägung zwischen 128 und 138 zu datieren. Dass hier Hadrian als König von Ägypten, Inkarnation des Horus und Überwinder feindlicher Kräfte, die das Krokodil verkörpert, dargestellt ist, wurde treffend durch Levi (1948, 36 f.) dargelegt. Vgl. [Vergleiche] La Rocca 1995 [*i.e.*, here E. LA ROCCA 1995a], 231 mit N. 191; Laubscher 1996, 236 mit Anm. 54, der zu Recht hervorhebt, dass römische Betrachter das Bild auch ohne Kenntnis des ägyptischen Hintergrunds verstehen konnten [my emphasis]"

Let's now turn to Michaela Fuchs's (2014, 129-130) observations concerning the portraits of Hadrian of her 'Piräus-Hierapytna' statue-type [the context is Fuchs's discussion of a statue-type representing Mars Ultor, its copies, and its distribution] :

**"Die wohl auf dieselbe Vorlage zurückgehenden, handwerklich z. T. [zum Teil] sehr bescheidenen Werke aus Ägypten [with n. 37] spiegeln, ebenso wie die Gruppe 'Piräus-Hierapytna', die Reaktion der östlichen Provinzen auf den jüdischen Aufstand [*i.e.*, the Bar Kokhba Revolt] ...**

**Auf [page 130] einem Münztypus, der 134 n. Chr. oder etwas später von Hadrian und Senat mit übereinstimmendem Rückseitenbild herausgegeben wurde, erscheint in eben dieser Pose des Mars Ultor der Kaiser [with n. 41] (Abb. 7 [cf. here Fig. 129]), wobei er durch die von Legionsoffizieren verwendete Waffe in seiner Linken [cf. p. 129: *i.e.*, the "Parazonium"] zusätzlich als siegreicher Imperator gekennzeichnet ist. Darüber hinaus setzt er seinen linken Fuß auf ein Wesen, das auf besser erhaltenen Exemplaren als ein Krokodil erkannt werden kann. In der Forschung hat sich die Interpretation durchgesetzt, Hadrian sei auf diesen Münzen durch das Motiv des niedergetretenen Tieres als König Ägyptens, als Inkarnation des Horus und Überwinder böser Kräfte dargestellt [with n. 42]. Das Parazonium in der Linken des Kaisers scheint jedoch auf von Legionen errungene Siege hinzuweisen, ein Aspekt, der sich nur schlecht mit der ägyptischen Perspektive vereinbaren lässt. Ein konkreter Bezug zu Ägypten kann wohl kaum hergestellt werden, ob das Tier "das Gefährliche und Feindliche schlechthin" versinnbildlicht oder auch als Symbol für Palästina verstanden werden kann [with n. 43], muss offen bleiben ... In der senatorischen Münzprägung fand die erfolgreiche Beendigung der jüdischen Revolte [*i.e.*, the Bar Kokhba Revolt] kaum einen nennenswerten Widerhall [with n. 48]; darauf nimmt am deutlichsten der erwähnte Münztypus mit Hadrian in der Pose des Mars Ultor [with n. 49] (Abb. 7 [cf. here Fig. 129]) Bezug [my emphasis]"**.

In her note 37, Fuchs writes: "Hofmann 1984, 585-591, Taf. 31; Karanastasi 2012-2013, 351-354 mit Anm. 173, 181 und Abb. 6. **Das freiplastische Vorbild für diese Werke konkret in der Statue von Hierapytna zu vermuten (so Karanastasi 2012-2013, 352-353), erscheint fragwürdig** [my emphasis]".

In her note 41, she writes: "Strack 1933, 138, Nr. 291, Taf. 4 (Denar), Nr. 701, Taf. 11 (Dp-As); vgl. [vergleiche] *BMCRE*, III, 1936, 475, Nr. 1552-1553, Taf. 89, 2 (As); 485, Nr. 1617, Taf. 91, 3 (As); Robertson 1971, 156, Nr. 567-570, Taf. 40; Gorny & Mosch, Auktion 186 a, 8.-9. März 2010, Nr. 2046". - But note that, as already mentioned above, the coins here **Fig. 129** were exclusively issued by the Emperor Hadrian himself.

In her note 42, she writes: "Levi 1948, 30-38; Laubscher 1996, 236 mit Anm. 54; Karanastasi 2012-2013, 356 mit Anm. 191; vgl. [vergleiche] Birley 2001, 287".

In her note 43, she writes: "Strack 1933, 138; vgl. *BMCRE*, III, 1936, CLXXXII".

In her note 48, she writes: "48 Vgl. [Vergleiche] Strack 1933, 126-127, 134-137; vgl. [vergleiche] Birley 2001, 280 (mit weiteren Angaben in Anm. 5)".

In her note 49, she writes: "s. o. [siehe oben] mit Anm. 41".

**To conclude this Study. Since we have started this book about Domitian with Arminius (cf. *supra*, in Chapter *What this Study is all about*), we might just as well end it with him.**

I was born in an area, which, for a long time, I mistakenly believed to have been called *Germania libera* in antiquity. I was, therefore, always interested in Arminius' successful revolt against the Romans, and have asked myself, why his insurrection was successful, and that of the Jews not, believing that the Germanic tribes involved in this uprising simply had a 'geographic' advantage because the areas, where they lived, were by chance located on the border of the *Imperium Romanum*.

See Helmut Neumaier ("Freies Germanien' / 'Germania libera' - Zur Genese eines historischen Begriffs"), from whom I have now fortunately learned that the term 'Germania libera' was only invented in 1926 (!).

**But there were many more factors to the disadvantage of the Jews than the mere geographic position of Judaea, as I have learned from Rose Mary Sheldon (2007, 199, quoted *verbatim infra*).**

To Arminius I will come back below.

Cf. in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.d* (*The meaning of the representation of the Piroustaie within Augustus's Porticus ad Nationes at Rome*). With Hans Wiegartz's (1996) observations concerning the Piroustaie and their representations; and a summary of the revolt of Arminius in Germany, which he planned because he had fought under Tiberius to suppress the revolt of the Pannonian-Dalmatian tribes, inter alia of the Piroustaie.

**Rose Mary Sheldon (2007, 199: "Chapter 8 Israel's Last Stand - The Bar Kokhba Revolt") concludes this chapter as follows:**

"... but the Romans were not invincible. The Battle of the Teutoburg Forest stopped Roman expansion in Germany in 9 CE and altered Roman foreign policy across the Rhine forever. Unlike the Germans, however, the Jews did not have endless numbers of warriors who could withdraw into the vast forests of the north when the Romans approached. Judaea was a small place with its back to the sea, and the Jews had nowhere to retreat ...

The Jews chose to attack the Roman Empire when it was at the zenith of its power and organisation. They were located in a strategically important province that the Romans had no intention of giving away. There was no time when a negotiated solution might have been slipped in; that is, there was no interregnum such as that between the death of Nero and the accession of Vespasian in 69 CE.

The Romans never let a challenge to their authority go unanswered; for example, in 70 CE they spent considerable time reducing Masada, a fortress that had no strategic importance whatsoever except that its destruction was an object lesson to people who might consider revolting.

**The Jews simply did not have sufficient time, space or manpower to resist the Roman occupation. They waged three of the most impressive anti-colonial wars in antiquity, and their use of intelligence was brilliant. The last two wars took a heavy toll on the Romans, but such wars are valuable only as a symbol of defiance, not as a model of success [my emphasis].**

**Those "three of the most impressive anti-colonial wars in antiquity [my emphasis]", fought by the Jews, to which Rose Mary Sheldon (2007, 199) in the above-quoted passage refers, are:**

the Maccabean Revolt (167-163 BC) against the occupation by the Seleucid Empire, which the Jews won, and the two wars against the Roman occupation: the Great Jewish Revolt or War (AD 66-73) and the Bar Kokhba Revolt (AD 132-135, or according to D. KIENAST, W. ECK and M. HEIL 2017, 123; W. ECK 2019b, 201 n. 34; and W. ECK 2022, Sp. 486: until AD 136) - both of which the Romans won.

For further discussions of all those three wars; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*; and at *Appendix IV.c.2.*



### *The major results of this book on Domitian*

The first part of this summary is dedicated to the Cancellaria Reliefs, which were commissioned by Domitian. Concerning their interpretation, I follow Filippo Magi (1939; 1945) and hope to be able to disprove the arguments of those recent scholars, who have rejected his hypotheses. I hope to further support Magi's ideas with some new evidence that has led me to suggest that these panels had originally decorated the passageway of one of Domitian's arches on the Palatine. Likewise new is the idea, pursued in this *Study*, to compare the contents, visualized on the Cancellaria Reliefs with those, represented on the *pyramidion* of the Pamphili Obelisk/ Domitian's obelisk on display on top of Gianlorenzo Bernini's 'Fountain of the Four Rivers' in the Piazza Navona at Rome, and with the contents, formulated *expressis verbis* in the hieroglyphic texts of his obelisk. We have seen that in both monuments stress is laid 'on the legitimization of Domitian's reign as emperor'. Then follows a short summary of the results obtained in this *Study*, which concern Domitian's building projects at Rome. From this emerges that Domitian (or rather: all three Flavian emperors together) have caused the effect, 'that Rome is still nowadays basically a Flavian city'. A third, much larger part of this summary is dedicated to Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, his *Domus Augustana*, concentrating on some of the finds, which Francesco Bianchini had excavated in the 'Aula Regia', published posthumously in 1738. The chosen artworks demonstrate 'Domitian's claim to possess the *virtus* 'invincibility'', that 'was on principle expected from all Roman emperors' and which, in its turn, 'guaranteed Rome's wealth'.

The just-mentioned statements in inverted commas are quotes from scholars, whose work will be discussed in the following text. On 25th January 2023, Franz Xaver Schütz and I have published an earlier version of this Chapter on our Webserver as a Preview for this *Study* on Domitian:  
Online at: <<https://FORTVNA-research.org/FORTVNA/FP3.html>>.

**Figs. 1 and 2 drawing. F. Magis drawing of Frieze A and B of the Cancellaria Reliefs. From: F. Magi (1945, Tav. Agg. D 1 and 2). The slabs of both panels (A1-A4 and B1-B4) and the figures of both Friezes (1-17) are numbered, as in S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018, 19, Abb. 2).**

Magi's two drawings show his reconstruction of the Cancellaria Reliefs; cf. F. Magi (1945, Tav. I), the display of the reliefs at the Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano, follows Magi's reconstruction. This display has been documented by the photographs here **Figs. 1 and 2**.

**I follow here Magi's reconstruction (1945) of the Cancellaria Reliefs, which is the most important prerequisite for our visualization of Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ' (cf. *infra*).**

My thanks are due to Giandomenico Spinola and Claudia Valeri of the Vatican Museums, together with whom I could study the Cancellaria Reliefs in front of those panels on 24th September 2018, and on 8th March, 9th May and 19th September 2019. We found out that S. Langer's and M. Pfanner's (2018, 29-31, Taf. 10,1, Abb. 7a; 7b, pp. 50, 52-53, 68, 70) assumption of an additional slab between B1 and B2 on Frieze B is based on a number of errors: these errors concern some technical properties of the slabs B1 and B2, as well as misunderstandings of Magi's (1945) description of the Vestal Virgins on slabs B1 and B2. Langer and Pfanner (2018, 29, 73, 76) themselves regard their assumption that all six Vestal Virgins should be represented on frieze B as a support of their hypothesis.

Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli (1946-48, 259) remarked on Frieze B that usually only five Vestal Virgins (as represented on Frieze B) could participate in public ceremonies, because the sixth Vestal Virgin had always to stay behind to keep the fire of Vesta going. I have, therefore, asked the religious historian Jörg Rüpke, whether this is reported by ancient literary sources, and how many Vestal Virgins we might expect to have usually appeared in public ceremonies. Jörg Rüpke was kind enough to answer my questions, and comes to the following conclusion: "Kurzum, denkbar ist die Pflicht, dass eine stets Feuerwache hatte" ('In short, it is conceivable that one [of the six Vestal Virgins] had always to watch the fire'). In addition to this, Rüpke has kindly allowed me to publish his E-mail as his first *Contribution* to his volume. Cf. *The first Contribution by Jörg Rüpke in this volume on the question, how many Vestal Virgins we might expect to appear at public ceremonies, such as the one shown on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Fig. 2).*

**Giandomenico Spinola, Claudia Valeri and Jörg Rüpke have thus greatly supported my efforts to verify Magi's reconstruction of the length of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs.**

Cf. *supra*, at *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*; and at Chapter V.1.d. *The reconstruction, in my opinion erroneous, of the length of Frieze B by S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018) and the correct reconstruction of the length of Frieze B by F. Magi (1945), whom I am following here (here Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; and Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ')*. With a discussion of how many Vestal Virgins we might expect to appear at public ceremonies, such as the one shown on this panel, and with The first Contribution by Jörg Rüpke.

Claudia Valeri and Giandomenico helped me also in solving the vexed problem, whether or not the head of Vespasian on Frieze B (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 14**) is the result of a reworking process. This had first been suggested by Marguerite McCann (1972, 251 with n. 8; cf. *supra*, at n. 111, in Chapter I.1.), and later by Marianne Bergmann (1981, 24, *supra*, at ns. 111, 115, 190, in Chapter I.1.), whose hypothesis has been followed by many scholars (cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.1.1.). Stephanie Langer and Michael Pfanner (2018, 60 with ns. 49-52; cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.1.h.1.) state that both McCann's (1972) and Bergmann's (1981) hypotheses have been rejected. According to Bergmann's hypothesis (1981, 23-24, Taf. 11; 12; 9, p. 25), the emperor on Frieze B had originally been Domitian, whose head was allegedly reworked into the extant portrait of Vespasian.

**Langer and Pfanner have contributed new observations to this discussion which, in their opinion, prove that originally the emperor on Frieze B had been Domitian (cf. *id.* 2018, 57-58, 72-74, Abb. 22-24; Abb. 23: they demonstrate their observations by illustrating a photo of Vespasian's neck after a plaster cast, but note that all the details indicated by them look different on the original relief; cf. their Kapitel 2.9.4). Cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.1.h.2.**

To show the results obtained by Giandomenico Spinola, Claudia Valeri and myself, when studying together Vespasian's neck in front of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs, I repeat in the following a text passage that was written for the Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*:

'The other detail I wanted to study again on 9th May 2019 in front of the original was the neck of the emperor on Frieze B. Langer and Pfanner (2018; cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.1.h.2.)) assert that Vespasian's larynx cuts through a wrinkle at the represented man's neck, an alleged fact, which in their opinion proves that this wrinkle belongs to a presumed earlier portrait, and that Vespasian's larynx was only carved at a second moment. Langer and Pfanner, therefore, conclude that Vespasian's entire head has been recut from this alleged earlier portrait. Their conclusion is based on a wrong observation though: in front of the original is clearly visible - with and without the aid of a lamp - that the wrinkle in question was instead cut *after* the larynx was sculpted. What we see is, therefore, the first and only larynx ever carved on this figure's neck - a fact, which proves beyond any doubt that the extant portrait of Vespasian is the original head of the emperor on Frieze B (cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.1.h.2.)).

Consequently, also Magi's assumptions concerning the head of Vespasian prove to be correct, which he took for the original head of the represented emperor on Frieze B (cf. *id.* 1939, quoted *verbatim supra*, in n. 112, at Chapter I.1.; and *id.* 1945) [my emphasis]'.

**Fig. 1. Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Lateranense (inv. nos. 13389-13391). Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs. *Profectio* of Domitian in AD 83, 89 or 92. After the emperor's assassination and *damnatio memoriae*, Domitian's face on Frieze A (figure 6) has been reworked into a portrait of the Emperor Nerva. Therefore, the panel now probably represents Nerva's (alleged) *profectio* to his *bellum Suebicum* in AD 97. Cf. *supra*, at Chapters I.-VI.; especially n. 232, in Chapter I.2.), and Chapters II.3.1.a); II.3.3.a), and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.e); and Appendix IV.d.2.f): in my opinion, this relief represents Domitian's *profectio* to his Second Dacian War in the spring of AD 89 that ended with his victory, celebrated with his (last) triumph in Rome in November/ December 89. Cf. *supra*, in Chapters II.3.1.a); II.3.2.; V.1.b); V.1.c): for Nerva's motivation to usurp this *profectio* relief of Domitian.**

Fig. 2. Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Lateranense (inv. nos. 13392-13395). Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs. *Adventus* of Vespasian at Rome in the first half of October of AD 70, his coronation by *Victoria* with the *corona civica* for having ended the civil war AD 68-69, and his *investiture* as the new Roman emperor. The fact that Vespasian lays his lifted right hand on the left shoulder of Caesar Domitian, who is standing right in front of him, means the legitimization of Domitian's future reign (in reality, Vespasian's hand does not touch Domitian's shoulder, but from a distance it looks like this).

Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancelleria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'. Visualization created on the basis of F. Magis drawings (1945), here 'Figs. 1 and 2 drawing'.

Based on hypotheses, first suggested by F. Magi (1939, 205, *quoted verbatim* in n. 112, in Chapter I.1.), and reported by B. Nogara (1939, 8, 106, 115-116, 227), and by A.M. Colini (1938 [1939], 270); cf. H. Kähler (1950, 30-41), J.M.C. Toynbee (1957, 19), J. Henderson (2003, 249), and especially M. Pentiricci (2009, 61-62; cf. *supra*, ns. 262, 263, 264, in Chapter I.3.2.), this visualization intends to show the Cancelleria Reliefs, as if attached to the opposite, parallel walls in the bay of an arch, built by Domitian.

It made only sense to try this reconstruction, because both panels certainly belonged together, a fact, which is *inter alia* proven by their equal heights. Since it is debated over which kind of building those panels may have belonged, we wanted to know, whether or not the compositions of both friezes were designed in order to stress relationships among the figures appearing on both panels, once mounted on opposite walls and viewed together. The prerequisite for this kind of inquiry was the correct positioning of both friezes, when both were attached to opposite walls in the bay of an arch. We knew that this could, in theory, be done for two reasons: *a)* both friezes were originally framed on all sides by identical projecting ledges; *b)* these projecting ledges are partly preserved on the right hand small side of Frieze A and partly on the left hand small side of Frieze B. We could, therefore, mount (first, in 2020, the photographs, here Figs. 1; 2), now the drawings of both panels, used for this operation by basing our reconstruction on this common axis of those two small sides of the panels which, in our reconstruction, now stand opposite each other. (In this illustration of our reconstruction those two small sides of both panels appear at the bottom of the page). For our reconstruction we used (first the photographs of Frieze A and B of the Vatican Museum, here Figs. 1 and 2, both of which follow Magi's reconstruction of 1945), now Magi's own drawings (1945) of both Friezes. In our visualization, these (first the photos), now the drawings are 'lying on their backs' in order to show, how an ancient beholder, passing through the bay of this arch, would have seen both panels.

Both visualizations demonstrate *a)* that the beholder who passed through this bay must have had the impression of 'moving together' with the processions that are depicted on both friezes; and *b)* that there is indeed one such relationship amongst those two panels that we were looking for. The figures in question are the Emperor Domitian (now Nerva) on Frieze A (figure 6) and the togate youth on frieze B (figure 12) - when both panels are *in situ*, these two figures stand almost opposite each other. Prior to our reconstruction, this fact had not been observed. And because both figures are heading the two processions 'that are moving on these panels together with the beholder in the same direction' these two figures turn out to be the most important persons on both panels. Both facts support the assumption that the Cancelleria Reliefs had been the horizontal panels in the bay of one of Domitian's arches. Considering also that Domitian commissioned the structure in question, both facts support at the same time the hypothesis suggested here that the togate youth on Frieze B may be identified as the young Caesar Domitian, who is represented on Frieze B in his capacity as *praetor urbanus*.

I tentatively suggest, in addition to this, that the Cancelleria Reliefs may have decorated the bay of the 'Arcus Domitiani', which stood on the Palatine, in front of Domitian's Palace 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana* and which, according to F. Coarelli (2009b, 88; *id.* 2012, 283, 286-291, 481-483, 486-491), Domitian may have dedicated to his father, *Divus Vespasianus*; or rather one of the three bays of the Arch of Domitian, which Coarelli assumes at the "Porta principale" of Domitian's *Domus Augustana*. Coarelli identifies this arch with the *Pentapylon*, believing that this was a triumphal arch (for the location of both arches; cf. here Fig. 58). F.X. Schütz and C. Häuber 2022, reconstruction (cf. *supra*, at Chapters I.3.2.; V.1.d); V.1.h.1.); V.1.i.3.); VI.3.; *Addition*; see also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.f); Appendix IV.d.4.b); and Appendix VI.; at Section VII.).

**Fig. 28. Obeliscus Pamphilius / Domitian's obelisk. From the Iseum Campense. On display on top of Gianlorenzo Bernini's 'Fountain of the Four Rivers' in the Piazza Navona at Rome. From: C. Häuber (2017, 156, Fig. 5.5.2). Photos: F.X. Schütz (5-IX-2019). Courtesy F.X. Schütz. Photo: Cesare D'Onofrio (1921-2003). From: G. Simonetta, L. Gigli and G. Marchetti [2004] 122, Fig. 8. The caption reads: "La fontana dei Quattro fiumi, ripresa zenitale dall'alto della chiesa di Sant'Agnese". Courtesy: L. Gigli. Photo: L. Gigli (December 2003). Courtesy: L. Gigli.**

**Fig. 101.a. Cf. G.B. Cipriani (1823, with Tav. 1; 2), his discussion and etchings of the 12 (Egyptian) obelisks in Rome. The caption of his Tav. 1 reads: "Dodici Obelischii Egizj, che si osservano rialzati ad ornamento della Città di Roma, posti secondo ordine della loro rievazione". The caption of his Tav. 2 reads: "Fusti dei dodici Obelischii dei Egizj, che si osservano rialzati ad ornamento della Città di Roma, posti secondo il grado della loro altezza". Cipriani's etchings of those 12 obelisks are measured: the tallest one is the Lateran Obelisk. Cipriani has also discussed and drawn Domitian's obelisk, which he refers to in his text and on his plates as: "Agonale di Piazza Navona", see his Tav. 1 and 2 (on both the fifth obelisk from left).**

For a discussion of the book by Giovanni Battista Cipriani (1823); cf. below, at *The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?*

In my earlier study on Domitian's obelisk (2017), I had come to the following conclusion:

"In the course of studying the *Iseum Campense*, some new arguments have been found, which, in my opinion, support the old assumption that Domitian had actually commissioned his Obelisk for this sanctuary, that is now on display on top of Gianlorenzo Bernini's famous Fountain of the Four Rivers in Piazza Navona [cf. here **Fig. 28**] ... In one of the inscriptions on his Obelisk, [the text is Egyptian,] written in hieroglyphs, Domitian formulates his hope that his contemporaries as well as posterity will always remember the achievements of his family, the Flavian dynasty, especially their benefactions for the Roman People. Domitian stresses that his family managed to consolidate the state, which had severely suffered from those 'who reigned before' (*i.e.*, the emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty)"; cf. Häuber (2017, 21; cf. pp. 158-168 for Domitian's obelisk and its inscriptions, my quote on p. 21 is *inter alia* based on K. LEMBKE 1994 and J.-C. GRENIER 2009). Cf. *supra*, n. 466, in Chapter IV.1., for those references in detail.

For the *pyramidion* and the texts of Domitian's obelisk see also E.M. Ciampini (2004, 156-167; *id.* 2005, published again, *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.d); see also *supra*, the complete Chapter IV. *Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs* (cf. here **Fig. 2**) and the *Obeliscus Pamphilius/ Domitian's obelisk* (cf. here **Fig. 28**), especially at Chapter IV.1.1.a) - IV.1.1.h); see also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix II.a-e). Again on the Egyptianizing marble relief allegedly from Ariccia at the Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps (**Fig. 111**) - a representation of the Egyptian festival of New Year?

As mentioned above, in this new *Study*, the contents of Domitian's obelisk (of the reliefs represented on its *pyramidion* and of its hieroglyphic inscriptions) are compared with the contents of Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs, which were likewise commissioned by Domitian. In my opinion, both monuments express very clearly the same political message, and in addition to this, how Domitian saw himself.

Concentrating predominantly on Domitian, this *Study* tries to answer the question, why Domitian felt the desperate need to build 'in such a pharaonic manner', as has (similarly) first been suggested by Mario Torelli (1987, 575, quoted *verbatim* in this *Study*, *supra*, in n. 228, at Chapter I.2.). This notorious characteristic of Domitian has aptly been called "Bauwut" ('building rage') by Stephanie Langer and Michael Pfanner (2018, 41 with n. 23); cf. *supra*, in n. 480, at Chapter VI.3.; and discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.4.b) *Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the Templum Pacis and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum.*



Of course, Domitian's building policy has already been studied by many previous scholars. Personally I favour the following observations: Eric M. Moormann (2018, 162) mentions "three fields of interest in Domitian's building policy", as defined by Jens Gering (2012, 210-211): "personal grandeur, family memory and legitimization".

This is exactly how, in my opinion, also the contents of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs can be defined. And when we study the contents of Domitian's obelisk, we arrive, in my opinion, at exactly the same result.

To illustrate this last assertion, I will give you an example from one of the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Domitian's obelisk, and will compare that with the content of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs. In my opinion, the subject of both is Domitian's legitimization as emperor, which he has received from his father Vespasian (and from his brother Titus). But there are two important differences: whereas on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs Vespasian is represented as still being alive, in the hieroglyphic text on Domitian's obelisk he is called *Divus Vespasianus*; and, contrary to Frieze B, on which Titus does not appear (being at Jerusalem at that stage), this hieroglyphic inscription declares that Domitian has received his reign of the Empire also from his elder brother *Divus Titus*.

It goes without saying that in the case of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs any interpretation of the represented scene depends on the identification of its two protagonists. I myself follow Filippo Magi (1939; 1945) in identifying those figures with the Emperor Vespasian and his younger son Domitian (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures: 14; 12**).

I regard the hypothesis, according to which not only this hieroglyphic inscription on Domitian's obelisk, but also the iconography of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs prove that Domitian ordered the relevant people involved in creating *both* artworks to address his legitimization as emperor, as the most interesting result of my book on Domitian. I have, therefore, chosen the following title for this *Study*:

*The Cancellaria Reliefs and Domitian's Obelisk in Rome in context of the legitimization of Domitian's reign. With studies on Domitian's building projects in Rome, his statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great), and Hadrian's portrait from Hierapydna in Honour of Rose Mary Sheldon.*

For those, who wonder, why the Emperor Hadrian appears likewise in the title of this *Study* on Domitian: you will see that only by studying those subjects related to the Emperor Hadrian, have I managed to find important facts concerning *Domitian*. The *Study* of the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great in the Palazzo dei Conservatori; here **Fig. 11**) led to the identification of the statue-type of Domitian's (fourth) statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus (cf. here **Fig. 10**), and the *Study* of Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna (here **Fig. 29**), *via* Hadrian's military campaigns, to Domitian's Dacian Wars and, finally, to my dating of the Cancellaria Reliefs. The latest additional *Study* I have conducted, 'A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination' (comprising research on Hadrian's Temple complex in the *Campus Martius*), resulted in the (for me) surprising finding that Domitian's prevailing bad image has been 'commissioned' by Trajan. I repeat, therefore, in the following a relevant passage from above, the Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*:

'Studying Hadrian's military campaigns ... has also provided new insights concerning Domitian's Dacian Wars, and has procured the answer to the question for which of his military campaigns Domitian (now Nerva) is actually leaving for on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6**). Another result consists in the identification of the colossal statue of Jupiter in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (cf. here **Fig. 10**) as a copy of the colossal (chryselephantine?) cult-statue of Jupiter in Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. This statue-type of Jupiter (here **Fig. 10**) (and its variants) was extremely successful in antiquity and has also been copied in statuette format as Capitoline Triad, together with Juno and Minerva (cf. here **Fig. 13**). Most famous among these

copies in statuette format is certainly the statuette of 'Euripides' in the Louvre at Paris (cf. here **Fig. 12**). As Hans Rupprecht Goette (forthcoming) has demonstrated, this was created at the order of Francesco Ficoroni by turning such a headless copy of Jupiter of a Capitoline Triad into the tragic poet.

I am not saying that it would have been impossible to find out those new data about Domitian's military campaigns or concerning his cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus otherwise, but, as a matter of fact, I found them *this way*'.

See also the title of the above-mentioned latest *Study* added to this book; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2:

*A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination:*

*Nerva is forced to adopt Trajan and Trajan creates Domitian's negative image to consolidate his own reign. With Hadrian's adoption manquée in late October or at the beginning of November of AD 97, his 20-year long road to his accession and his thanksgivings for it, his Temple complex in the Campus Martius.*

*Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva, and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here **Fig. 3**). With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz, with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz (cf. here **Fig. 77**), with The Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen.*

**Let's now begin with the hieroglyphic text on Domitian's obelisk that I have mentioned above.**

Cf. Emanuele M. Ciampini (2004, 163-164). In the following quotation, I have left out Ciampini's drawing of the relevant hieroglyphic inscription and his transliteration of this Egyptian text, but quote only his Italian translation of it:

"Lato verso Corso Rinascimento (est)

Pyramidion - Domiziano di fronte [*corr.*: fronte] a Mut, seguito da un'altra figura

H. 22 Horo [*i.e.*, Domitian]: Quello per il quale dei e uomini fanno lode;

H. 23 quando riceve la regalità da suo padre **Vespasiano il dio**, [page 164]

H. 24 dal fratello maggiore **Tito il dio**, mentre il suo ba si muove verso la volta celeste [the emphasis is by the author]".

**Let's now turn to Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs.**

In the following, I anticipate a text, written for *infra*, volume 3.2: *A Study of the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...; Introduction; Section I. The motivation to write this Study: ... and the subjects discussed here, as told by the accompanying figures and their pertaining captions.*

The following text refers to our Rome map here **Fig. 58**.

**'3.) Vespasian's 500 kilometre walk (?) on the Via Appia from Brindisi to Rome, where he arrived in the 1. half of October AD 70 at the Porta Capena in the Servian city Wall (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; and Fig. 58**).**

Vespasian's itinerary is likewise discussed in this *Study* on Domitian, because I suggest that Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs (here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figure 14**) shows Vespasian who, coming back from Alexandria, and especially after this 500 kilometre journey on the *Via Appia*, all the way from Brindisi, has just arrived at his destination, the City of Rome.

There he is solemnly received by the representatives of the City (from left to right): the city goddess *Dea Roma*, five Vestal Virgins, the *Genius Senatus*, the acting *praetor urbanus* (*i.e.*, his son, Caesar Domitian)

and the *Genius Populi Romani*. This panel shows at the same time how Vespasian arrived for the first time as emperor at Rome or, in other words, his *adventus* into Rome, which, as we now know, had occurred in the 1. half of October in AD 70'. - For this date; cf. *supra*, at n. 195, in Chapter I.1.1. In the following, I will explain my just-quoted interpretation of this scene in detail.

*In my opinion, the emperor on Frieze B (Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 14; 12), and the togate youth standing in front of him, were from the very beginning the Emperor Vespasian and his son Domitian*

I thus follow Filippo Magi's (1939; *id.* 1945) interpretations of the two major figures on Frieze B (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 12; 14**), and hope to be able to support in my book Magi's hypotheses with further facts. Apart from Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 191, Fig. 158, quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 394, in Chapter III.), Stefan Pfeiffer (2009, 62, quoted *verbatim supra*, as epigraph of Chapter V.1.i.3.), John Pollini (2017b, 115-118, cf. *supra*, n. 72, in Chapter I.1.), Barbora Chabrečková (2017, 65-67, Figs. XXIX-XXXII; cf. *supra*, n. 73, in Chapter I.1.), Rose Mary Sheldon (2023, in press; Chapter 7; Section: "The Cancellaria Reliefs", with ns. 61-69; cf. *supra*, n. 74, in Chapter I.1.), as well as Giandomenico Spinola and Claudia Valeri (both Musei Vaticani); cf. *supra*, at *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*; and *infra*, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs* (quoted below), who likewise follow Magi, most other scholars have rejected Magi's relevant hypotheses and we have seen in this *Study* that it has taken some time to prove all the arguments of those scholars wrong.

Two of the arguments against Magi's interpretation that Frieze B shows Vespasian's *adventus* in AD 70, has always been that those scholars could only imagine Vespasian in military garb, and accompanied by members of his victorious army, since he was at that stage coming back from his victories in the Great Jewish War. But precisely that was not true. I repeat, therefore, in the following a passage written for *supra*, Chapter V.1.i.3.):

'... according to Dio Cassius 65,10, Vespasian, as soon as he had landed in Italy at Brundisium (Brindisi) in AD 70, had changed from military into civilian garb - this is at least how Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee (1957, 4-5 with n. 1 on p. 5; cf. *supra*, at n. 201, in Chapter I.1.1.) and Elisabeth Keller (1967, 211; cf. *supra*, at n. 415, in Chapter III.), in my opinion convincingly, have interpreted this passage; Dio Cassius tells us also that Vespasian went from Brindisi to Rome. This means, by the way, that Vespasian has come down the *Via Appia*, and that, therefore, Frieze B is set at the *Porta Capena* in the Servian city Wall [cf. here **Fig. 58**] - without picturing this gate.

That Vespasian is shown on Frieze B as wearing a *tunica* and a *toga* at the represented moment, is therefore historical, as well as the fact that he came to Rome in October of AD 70; even the most bewildering feature of Frieze B is true: we also know that Vespasian came back to Rome without his army (but see now *supra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.a)').

To the just-quoted facts we may add an observation, made by Rita Paris (1994b, 81-83), that she herself has also applied to the emperor, who is represented on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2, drawing: figures 14; 16**). This emperor (**figure 14**) is crowned by *Victoria* (**figure 16**) with the *corona civica* : an honour only bestowed upon Augustus and Vespasian, because both had been able to put an end to a civil war. The emperor on Frieze B was certainly not Augustus (this has, of course, so far no scholar suggested), because the kind of *toga* he is wearing became only fashionable under Domitian; cf. Hans Rupprecht Goette (1990, 40, 41, Taf. 12, 5), and because Vespasian is also represented as wearing the *corona civica* on one of the reliefs from the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (cf. here **Fig. 33**), also this emperor on Frieze B must have been from the very beginning a portrait of Vespasian, as rightly stated by Rita Paris (1994b, 82). I repeat in the following the relevant passage concerning Rita Paris's observation from *supra*, *Introductory remarks and acknowledgement*:

'Besides, Rita Paris (1994b) had already found long ago an argument that proves beyond any doubt that the emperor on frieze B was from the very beginning Vespasian. In her discussion of one of the marble reliefs of

the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, which shows, in my opinion, Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in October of AD 70, Paris mentions the *corona civica* Vespasian is wearing on this panel (cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a) and here **Fig. 33**). Paris (1994b, 81-83), in her description of this relief, stresses that the decoration with this specific wreath was *a*) regarded by Pliny (*HN* 16,3) as "l'emblema più fulgido del valore militare" ('the most splendid symbol of military prowess'), highly superior to the decorations with all other known crowns granted for military victories, and *b*) that Vespasian had been honoured this way because, by conducting his victorious campaigns, he had put an end to the civil war of AD 68-69. - Exactly as Augustus before him, who had received the *corona civica* for likewise having ended a civil war (cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.a) and here **Fig. 35**)'.

Some scholars have, in addition to this, asserted that Filippo Magi was by no means first to realize that the emperor on Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs represents Vespasian, (erroneously) asserting that this had been first published by 'S. Fuchs 1938', but without providing a reference. Those scholars ignored the fact that, already in his article of 1939, Magi had identified the emperor on Frieze B with Vespasian (cf. *supra*, n. 112, in Chapter I.1., where the relevant passage of F. MAGI 1939, 205, is quoted *verbatim*).

My thanks are due to Michaela Fuchs, who found this publication for me: it is Siegfried Fuchs 1937: but the author did not mention the Cancelleria Reliefs at all. Not surprisingly, because the slabs B3 and B4 of Frieze B with the portrait of Vespasian (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 14**) should only be found in 1938 (!) (cf. *supra*, n. 113, in Chapter I.1.).

For a detailed discussion; cf. *supra*, ns. 5; 113; 191, in Chapter I.1., especially at: *The Siegfried-Fuchs-Saga*. The entire story reminds me of a famous book by Carl Robert, to which my late supervisor Andreas Linfert (15th May 1942 -21st May 1996) had alerted me many years ago - the title of which has become proverbial:

*Archaeologische Maerchen aus alter und neuer Zeit (1886)*  
(*Archaeological fairy tales from old and new times*)

Already Magi (1945; like all later scholars) knew that the matter is further complicated by some decisions, obviously made by Domitian, who commissioned the Cancelleria Reliefs.

Our extant literary sources describe, for example, in great detail Vespasian's arrival at Rome on that occasion; cf. Dio Cassius (65,9-10) and Flavius Josephus (BJ 7,2; 7,4,1). But these authors *a*) do not mention such a formal *adventus* ceremony at Rome, nor do they *b*) mention Domitian in this context at all (!). On the contrary, we know from those sources that the first encounter of father and son (which seems to be depicted on Frieze B), after four years of separation, had instead already occurred a couple of days (?) before, at Beneventum. In reality, Domitian must, therefore, have been among those people, *together with whom* his father Vespasian had arrived on that occasion at Rome; for all that; cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.).

Contrary to myself, most other scholars follow those, who have (in my opinion erroneously) asserted that the head of this emperor (or even the heads of both figures) on Frieze B have been reworked. I have discussed these scholarly opinions in great detail (cf. *supra*, in Chapters I.1.; I.1.1.; V.1.i.3.); VI.3.), in my opinion, these assertions have caused a great deal of confusion. To the effect that currently most scholars believe that Frieze B showed originally another emperor (most scholars believe: Domitian), in addition, many scholars believe that the togate youth in front of this emperor cannot possibly be a portrait at all.

Against Magi's identification of the togate youth in front of the emperor of Frieze B with Domitian (here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12**), scholars have mentioned three arguments; *a*) being a Senator (for that see below), Domitian should have been represented with the *calcei patricii*, the togate youth is only shod with the simple *calcei* that were appropriate for an *eques*; *b*) the facial traits of the togate youth are not those of a portrait; *c*) if the togate youth were a portrait of Domitian, it should have been destroyed after Domitian's assassination and *damnatio memoriae*.

To illustrate point *a*), the 'wrong' shoes, Domitian is wearing on Frieze B, I anticipate here a text passage, written for a *infra*, volume 3-2, at *A Study of the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...; Introduction*; at Section XI.

Elsewhere in this volume have been discussed the problems, caused by the fact that some of the 34 figures, that appear on the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**), are represented as wearing the 'wrong' shoes.

**Cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.1. The discussion of the Cancellaria Reliefs, or the story of a dilemma: wrong shoes or wrong interpretations?**

In that case, it took me a full year to analyse the discussion concerning those 'wrong' shoes. Only to find out (cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.1., at n. 144), as also suggested by Stephanie Langer and Michael Pfanner (2018, 76-77 with n. 123, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter I.1., at n. 193), that all the resulting problems can be explained by assuming the simple facts that the artists had made mistakes. Langer and Pfanner (*op.cit.*) discuss the representation of the *Genius Senatus* on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2; and Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 11**), who is clad in the simple *calcei* (as appropriate for *equites*), instead of wearing the *calcei patricii* (as appropriate for Senators. For *calcei patricii*; cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.1., at n. 145).

Langer and Pfanner (2018, 66, Kapitel 2.9.3) write: "**Fehler finden sich oft bei den Schuhen** (A: Figuren 2, 3, 7, 8, 12, 15, 16, 17; B: Figuren 8?, 12, 14, 15, 17; s. dazu jeweils im Kapitel 2.8 unter "Technisches"): **Sei es, dass sie vergessen und nachträglich eingeritzt wurden, oder dass es Verwechslungen mit der anschließenden Figur gab ...** [my emphasis]" ('errors are often to be found concerning the shoes', mentioning the figures on Frieze A and B of the Cancellaria Relief which, in their opinion, are wearing wrong shoes, inter *alia* **figure 12** on Frieze B; 'see for those figures Chapter 2.8, under: 'technical observations'. These shoes 'have either been forgotten or have only been carved at a second moment, or they have been mixed up with the shoes of the next figure'. For a discussion; cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.1.d).

**Figure 12** on Frieze B, mentioned by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 66) in this context, is the togate youth, whom I myself identify with Domitian (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**). In their discussion of this figure; cf. Langer und Pfanner (2018, 55-56, Kapitel 2.8: "Figur 12 Junger Mann in Toga"), where they observe that this youth is shod with the "einfachen *calcei*" ('simple *calcei*'), the authors unfortunately do not address the fact (as we might expect after their statement on p. 66, quoted above) in how far, in their opinion, **figure 12** is wearing the 'wrong' shoes.

*Ad point a). Why the togate youth on frieze B is wearing the simple calcei, and why he is the acting praetor urbanus and, therefore, Domitian*

Personally I follow in this respect Erika Simon and Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee, who have observed that the togate youth, whom they themselves identify with Domitian, does *not* wear the 'wrong' shoes.

Cf. Simon (1960, 134-135; *ead.* 1963, 10; quoted *verbatim supra*, ns. 175, 181, in Chapter I.1.). Acknowledging that the head of this youth is his portrait (and explaining, why he is wearing this kind of shoes), Simon identified this figure as Domitian, shown in his capacity as *praetor urbanus* (cf. *infra*), arguing that he could, therefore, receive *Vespasian* in this *adventus* ceremony because was the highest ranking magistrate currently present at Rome.

And I follow Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee (1957, 7-8, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 176, in Chapter I.1.) in assuming that this togate youth, whom she likewise identified with Domitian, is shod with the simple *calcei*, because he was also *Princeps Iuventutis*. To illustrate this point, I repeat in the following a passage from *supra*, Chapter I.1.1.:

‘If at all the current magistrate *praetor urbanus* is portrayed in the togate youth on Frieze B, as suggested by Erika Simon (1963, 10; cf. *supra*, at n. 181 and n. 175, and *supra*, at n. 456, in Chapter III.), this is only possible, as suggested by Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee (1957, 7-8), provided this *praetor urbanus* was Domitian in the year 70 AD. Only in his case, this magistrate, who belonged to the senatorial order, could nevertheless have been shown as wearing the ‘simple *calcei*’, which were typical of members of the equestrian order, because those shoes were appropriate for the *Princeps Iuventutis*, a title, which Domitian likewise held at that time [with note 186: ‘as suggested by J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 7-8 (quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 176)’].

Domitian held the office *praetor urbanus consulari potestate* since the 1st of January AD 70. We know also that already on 21st December AD 69, Domitian had received the title *Princeps iuventutis* (for both; cf. *supra*, at n. 189, in Chapter I.1.). Cf. **Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee (1957, 8 with n. 11, quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 205, in Chapter I.1.1.), who suggested that the togate youth on Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs represents the young Domitian in his capacity as *Princeps iuventutis*, "a title that marked him out from other senators as heir presumptive to the Empire [my emphasis]"**.

To Simon's (1960, 134-135; *ead.* 1963, 10) observation we may add that only few Roman magistrates were allowed to welcome a newly elected emperor in an *adventus* ceremony, among them the *praetor urbanus*, which means that *the represented age* of the togate youth on Frieze B is decisive for the identification of this man. The other magistrates, who could receive an emperor in an *adventus* ceremony, were the *praefectus urbi* and the *consules*. The man, who held the office *praefectus urbi*, "was always a senator ... usually a senior ex-consul", as stated by Theodore John Cadoux and R.S.O. Tomlin (1996, 1239; cf. *supra*, at n. 183, in Chapter I.1.), who was, therefore, definitely much older than the togate youth. In the Republic the same had been true for the *consules*, but not for Domitian ! For a detailed discussion of this subject; cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.h.1.). I, therefore, repeat here a text passage from this *Chapter*:

‘The just mentioned Republican "age limits" for all offices, *inter alia* that of the *consules*, "were often disregarded as imperial relatives and protégés were signalled by the bestowal upon them of the consulship"; cf. Peter Sidney Derow (1996, 384) ... With his above-quoted remark that the traditional age limit for the consulship was disregarded in the Imperial period, Derow was certainly right, as also the age shows, at which Titus (at 30?) and Domitian (at 19) first became consul ... his [*i.e.*, Vespasian's] son Domitian (born 24th October 51 AD) became "cos. suff." for the first time in March-June AD 71 (at the age of 19); cf. Kienast, Eck and Heil (2017, 109, 110)’.

***Ad points b) and c). The controversy whether the togate youth on Frieze B is a portrait or not, the proof that he is Domitian, and the reason, why this portrait has not been destroyed***

I myself follow in this *Study* those scholars, who identify the togate youth on Frieze B as Domitian, but I have also in great detail discussed the arguments of those scholars, who deny this fact; cf. *supra*, in Chapters I.1.; I.1.1; V.1.i.3.; VI.3.). I see no chance to convince those scholars ‘of the other Camp’ of my own opinion by using the usual methods of scholars of ‘both Camps’: by describing the facial traits of the togate youth. I have, therefore, pursued a different avenue of research, namely by concentrating on *contexts*; there are two such contexts, which are of importance here. One context is the topography of the location at Rome, where the scene, represented on Frieze B, is set. We know that Vespasian, coming from Brindisi, at the moment, represented on Frieze B, has arrived at Rome on the *Via Appia*. The meeting place of Vespasian and Domitian, for a variety of legal reasons, must, therefore, be the *Porta Capena* in the Servian city Wall. The inherent problems for both, father and son, will be explained below.

**That at this time the *pomerium* in the area of the *Porta Capena* still ran parallel with the Servian city Wall, is unmistakably clear because of the locations of two buildings just outside the *Porta Capena*.**

I am referring to the *Mutatorium Caesaris* on the *Via Appia* in the Augustan *Regio I*, and to the *Senaculum*, both of which, because of their functions, had to be located outside the *pomerium*. The *Mutatorium Caesaris* was the building, "where emperors changed from military garb to civilian garb on returning from campaign [in the

East]"; cf. Häuber (2014a, 274). The reason being that they were only allowed to enter the City of Rome wearing civilian garb. In the building called *Senaculum*, on the other hand (of which there were altogether three in Rome), representatives of the Roman Senate met with people, who (for very different reasons) were not allowed to transgress the *pomerium*, the sacred boundary of the City of Rome, or in other words, who were not allowed to enter the city. Laura Asor Rosa (2001) was able to locate the *Mutatorium Caesaris* outside the *Porta Capena* precisely, which is why we could mark it in our maps.

Cf. Filippo Coarelli ("Murus Servii Tullii"; Mura Repubblicane: Porta Capena", in *LTUR* III [1996] 325); Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio ("Mutatorium Caesaris", in: *LTUR* III [1995] 335); Coarelli ("Senaculum", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 264-265; Laura Asor Rosa (2001), summarized in Häuber (2014a, 274-275).

For Vespasian's return to Rome, as well as for the *pomerium* and its functions, which Vespasian, in the situation discussed here, had to consider; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section *III.*, at point 2.); and at n. 199, in Chapter *I.1.1.* Compare our maps here **Figs. 58; 71**, labels: Servian city Wall; PORTA CAPENA; VIA APPIA; REGIO I; site of MUTATORIUM CAESARIS.

The other context is the togate youth, seen in relation to the figures, represented on Frieze A. Franz Xaver Schütz and I have, therefore produced:

**Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancelleria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'. Visualization created on the basis of F. Magis drawings (1945), here 'Figs. 1 and 2 drawing'. See above, at the captions of these illustrations.**

We created this visualization, because we asked ourselves, whether the assumption (suggested by several scholars) that the Cancelleria Reliefs had decorated the opposite walls in the bay of an arch, could help us to learn more about those reliefs.

Only after having created in 2020 our own first visualization of the Cancelleria Relief 'in situ', based on the photos here **Figs. 1; 2**, did I have a chance to study the similar visualization by John Henderson (2003, 249, Figs. 48; 49), which has been mentioned by Massimo Pentiricci (2009, 61 with n. 427). For a discussion; cf. *supra*, Chapter *I.3.2.*, with n. 263. Henderson (2003, 249, Figs. 48; 49) based his visualization on Filippo Magi's drawings (1945 = here **Figs. 1 und 2 drawing**), but he confronted Frieze A with Frieze B "reversed right/left", that is to say: with a representation of Frieze B 'back to front'. Henderson has thus likewise found relationships of the figures on the Friezes A and B. But because an ancient beholder could not possibly ever have seen Frieze B "reversed right/left", we maintain our own method to create this visualization. Now, in 2022, likewise on the basis of Magi's drawings.

Quite unexpectedly we thus found (first in 2020, by basing our visualization on the photographs here **Figs. 1; 2**) the context of the togate youth within this pair of panels. When these panels were *in situ* (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancelleria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**) the togate youth on Frieze B (**figure 12**) stood almost opposite the figure of Domitian/ Nerva in Frieze A (**figure 6**). Both men lead the processions, which are represented on those friezes, and are, therefore, the main figures. Considering at the same time that it was Domitian, who commissioned the Cancelleria Reliefs, it is consequent to assume that the togate youth, leading the procession of the representatives of Rome to the meeting with the homecoming new Emperor Vespasian in an *adventus* ceremony, must, therefore, be the acting *praetor urbanus*, Caesar Domitian; also because the togate youth has the right age: in the first half of October AD 70 Domitian was 18 years old. To illustrate this point further, I repeat here a passage from *supra*, Chapter *V.1.i.3.*):

'If so, Domitian [*i.e.*, the togate youth] is thus only recognizable on Frieze B because of his age, and a combination of his action - he heads the receiving party in an *adventus* ceremony - with the specific topographical context, where this action is staged, the meaning of which has just been analysed above [*i.e.*, in Chapter *V.1.i.3.*; see here below].

Although the fact remains that the head of the togate youth, **figure 12** on Frieze B (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**), has not been destroyed, which is why some scholars have suggested that, therefore, it cannot possibly be identified as a portrait of Domitian, which should have been destroyed after the emperor's *damnatio memoriae*, of course.

Whereas I myself have developed a scenario to explain this fact (cf. *supra*, in Chapter II.3.1.a) [see below], with reference to Chapter II.3.2.), John Henderson (2003) offers a different solution to this problem, which does not contradict my suggestion, since both hypotheses could be regarded as complementing each other.

Henderson (2003, 246) writes:

"On Relief 'B', we recognise the features of dear old Vespasian in the front-rank figure to right who is being crowned by a Victory launch. And we wonder if (we can ever decide if) the young man he is paired with has an individualised, or blankly idealising, visage [with n. 54]: a youthful Domitian, or some worthy public servant? A Domitian, some agree (never, in any event, a square-jaw Titus) - a princeling Domitian re-imag(in)ed in a two decades retrospect from the meat of his reign, and hence a Domitian unlike his former self? So Magi reckoned, and 'A' is thus pinpointed as the start or finale of some (major? enough to call for massive sculpture ...) campaign under Domitian's auspices, while 'B' must B [*corr.*: be] a contemporaneous resuscitation of an occasion way back in Vespasian's era - bringing together father and (second) son. **If Nerva displaced the head on Domitian's neck in 'A', perhaps the dead and damned Domitian escaped defacement in 'B' precisely because he looks (so) little like Domitian?** [my emphasis].

In his **note 54**, Henderson writes: "His [*i.e.*, of **figure 12**, the togate youth's] eyes bigger and deeper than the lictors' [*i.e.*, of **figures 1 and 10** on Frieze B], his face more individualised than theirs, at least (Simon [1960] 134; Bonanno [1976] 56)". - Note that Anthony Bonanno (1976, 56-57) mentions more arguments than the one, quoted by Henderson, which have led him to identify this head of the togate youth as a portrait of Domitian'.

**To conclude this point: I myself ask in this *Study*, whether Frieze B, when still *in situ* at the Domitianic building, to which it belonged, was accessible at all to people, who could have damaged it (cf. *supra*, in Chapter II.3.2.); whereas John Henderson (2003, 246), who takes for granted that Frieze B *was accessible*, asks, whether the togate youth was *possibly not recognizable* as Domitian, and therefore not damaged.**

#### *Why the head of the togate youth/ Domitian on Frieze B was not damaged*

Most scholars, who discussed the Cancellaria Reliefs so far, ignored the fact that Nerva actually had (in theory) a reason to usurp Domitian's arch (provided, that assumption is true), for which the Cancellaria Reliefs were created: his victory in the *bellum Suebicum*. For the whole, very complex procedure; cf. *supra*, at Chapters II.3.1.a; II.3.2; II.3.3.a); V.1.c; V.1.i.3.).

The governor of Pannonia, not Nerva had conducted this victorious military campaign, but because Nerva was the reigning emperor, this victory was attributed to him. The governor of Pannonia, therefore, sent Nerva in Rome a laurel wreath, as a sign of his victory, which Nerva dedicated in late October or at the beginning of November AD 97, in a solemn ceremony, to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus; in the same solemn ceremony on the Capitoline Hill, Nerva then adopted Trajan, "whom he had previously appointed governor of Upper Germany, as his son, co-emperor, and successor" (cf. J.B. CAMPBELL 1996, 1038-1039; cf. *supra*, **n. 322**, in Chapter II.1.e)). Trajan was at Mogontiacum/ Mayence/ Mainz at that stage.

Cf. *supra*, at Chapters II.3.2.); and II.3.3.a), and *infra*, at *The fourth Contribution by Peter Herz* in this volume ("Wann wurde Trajan von Nerva adoptiert?"). See also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination: Nerva is forced to adopt Trajan and Trajan creates Domitian's negative image to consolidate his own reign ...*



**As a consequence of both facts (Nerva's victory in the *bellum Suebicum* and his adoption of Trajan), the Senate granted in November of AD 97 both Nerva and Trajan for their victory in the *bellum Suebicum* the title *Germanicus*, which Nerva added to his official title, and which also Trajan accepted.**

In my opinion, this sequence of events allows the assumption that Nerva, when learning the news of his victory in the *bellum Suebicum*, gave the order to rework the portrait of Domitian on Frieze A into a portrait of himself. As is plain to see (cf. here **Fig. 1**), this operation was never finished, which allows the further assumption that Nerva must have ordered the interruption of those works at some stage, possibly on the day, when he adopted Trajan. I further suggest that Nerva finally ordered the destruction of the monument, to which the Cancellaria Reliefs belonged, at the latest after the Senate, in November of AD 97, had granted him *and Trajan together* the title *Germanicus* - for their (alleged) victory in the *bellum Suebicum*, at which neither Nerva, or Trajan had participated (!).

To further illustrate this point, I repeat in the following a passage, written for *supra*, Chapter II.3.1.a) *Nerva's victory in the bellum Suebicum October AD 97*): 'If indeed Nerva had wished to refer to his own victory over the *Suebi* in Pannonia in AD 97, when he ordered to recut Domitian's face on Frieze A into a portrait of himself (cf. here **Fig. 1**; **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6**), this idea was perhaps not so extravagant, as we might at first glance believe. Because, provided Domitian actually had commissioned Frieze A in order to commemorate his own victorious Sarmatian War, which the emperor had fought in person in Pannonia in AD 92-93 against the Sarmatian Iazyges, and likewise against the *Suebi* [with n. 345], as one scholar has suggested [with n. 346, both at Chapter II.3.1.a)], Nerva's idea would become much better understandable (cf. *supra*, at Chapter II.3.2.)'.

I myself suggest instead that Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs shows Domitian's *profectio* to his (second) Dacian war in the spring of AD 89 (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.e*); and *Appendix IV.d.2.f*). Further down in this *Chapter*, I suggest that the Cancellaria Reliefs may have decorated the arch of Domitian, postulated by Filippo Coarelli (2009b; 2012) at the "Porta principale" ('main entrance') of Domitian's Palace on the Palatine. If that is true, considering at the same time that the Emperor Nerva resided in Domitian's *Domus Augustana* as well, it would be more than understandable that he had the intention to appear with a portrait of *himself* on Frieze A (cf. here **Fig. 1**, or, if possible, on both Friezes ?), which decorated after all the arch at the entrance of *his* Palace. - For the fact that Nerva lived in Domitian's Palace on the Palatine; cf. Friderike Senkbeil (2022, 242 with n. 1262).

Cf. here **Figs. 8.1; 58**, labels: PALATINE; DOMUS AUGUSTANA; "Porta principale"; Arch of Domitian ? / Cancellaria Reliefs ?

Contrary to all previous scholars, Massimo Pentiricci (2009) suggests the following. Most of the slabs of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**) were found in what I call the 'Second sculptor's workshop', which Filippo Magi (1939; 1945) excavated underneath the Palazzo della Cancellaria, next to the tomb of consul Aulus Hirtius (cf. here **Figs. 58; 59**). Together with the Cancellaria Reliefs, Magi has found there architectural fragments, which belonged to an arch. Pentiricci believes that all those finds belong to the same context, which means that this Domitianic building must have been destroyed together with its pertaining Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 61 with ns. 428-431; p. 62 with ns. 440-442, p. 162 with n. 97, p. 204: "§ 3. La ristrutturazione urbanistica in età flavia (Periodo 3)"; cf. pp. 204-205: "L'officina marmoraria presso il sepolcro di Irzio"). Cf. *supra.*, Chapter I.3.2.), **ns. 261; 297**; and at **n. 334**, in Chapter II.3.1.a).

For this 'Second sculptor's workshop; cf. *supra*, in Chapters I.3.1.); V.1.a.1.).

Stephanie Langer and Michael Pfanner (2018, 82, 84), who do not discuss Massimo Pentiricci (2009) in this context, are likewise of the opinion that the Cancellaria Reliefs were destroyed together with the building to which they belonged. In addition to this, they have already suggested (for different reasons than I myself) that it could have been Nerva, who ordered the destruction of the building with the Cancellaria Reliefs; cf. *supra*, in Chapters V.1.a); V.1.b); V.1.i.1.).

In my opinion, Nerva ordered the destruction of this building comprising the Cancellaria Reliefs because, after the above-mentioned decision of the Senate, those Reliefs should, of course, have shown on Frieze A *both Nerva and Trajan together, in their profectio ceremony for the bellum Suebicum*. As is well known, the slabs of the Cancellaria Reliefs are much too thin to allow major changes of such a kind, for example, the carving of a second emperor next to Domitian/ Nerva on Frieze A, for example between Minerva and Domitian/ Nerva (cf. here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 5; 6**); cf. *supra*, at Chapter II.3.2.

When trying to find out what had actually happened to the Cancellaria Reliefs after Domitian's assassination, we must also consider the fact that, like these panels (see for that below), also the building itself, where those reliefs had been attached and carved *in situ* (also the second carving phase of these reliefs; see below, and *supra*, in Chapters II.1.d; II.4.), was possibly not as yet finished. To further illustrate this point, I repeat another passage, written for *supra*, Chapter II.3.1.a):

*‘Nerva's victory in the bellum Suebicum October AD 97 ...*

‘Pfanner (1981, 516-517 with ns. 13-16, "Das Schicksal der Reliefs", quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 318, in Chapter II.1.d)) has proven, that Domitian's face on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs [here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6**] was recut into a portrait of Nerva, when that panel was still *in situ* on its Domitianic building. Domitian was murdered on 18th September AD 96. As we have learned above [cf. *supra*, in Chapter II.3.2.], Nerva dedicated at the end of October or at the beginning of November AD 97 the laurel wreath to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus on the Capitoline, which, as a token of his victory over the *Suebi*, had been sent to him from Pannonia - that victory, for which Nerva should receive, together with Trajan, the title *Germanicus*. When we combine these facts, it seems reasonable to assume that this Domitianic arch, at the stage of Nerva's victory in October of AD 97, had ‘survived’ Domitian's assassination already by more than 13 months. If so, we can further assume that this arch, following Nerva's decision, to convert this monument into one that celebrated his own victory, had again become a building site.

Perhaps we can even hypothesize something else: when we consider that the Cancellaria Reliefs were not finished, when Domitian died (many parts of them have not as yet received their final finish), the place may simply have remained, since Domitian's death, an abandoned building site’.

Also Giandomenico Spinola writes (cf. below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*) that, in his opinion, the building, to which the Cancellaria Reliefs belonged, had not been finished in Domitian's lifetime.

For the fact that many parts of the Cancellaria Reliefs had not received their final finish; cf. also *supra*, ns. 135-137, in Chapter I.1; Chapter II.1.b); n. 340 in Chapter II.3.1.a); and Chapter V.1.i.1.).

Assuming that what was said above is true, I suggest in this *Study* that Domitian's portrait/ the togate youth on Frieze B (**Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12**) survived simply because it was not accessible to the public before the entire building, comprising the Cancellaria Reliefs, was destroyed - at the order of Nerva, as I believe; cf. *supra*, at Chapter II.3.2.

And if also that should be true, the following seems to be obvious. Only thanks to Nerva's above-suggested decisions in AD 97, thanks to the fortunate find of the Cancellaria Reliefs in the 1930s, which are still extant, and Filippo Magi's exemplary publication of them (1939; 1945), we are today in the privileged position of having the chance to *study* those panels.

*Let's now turn to the underlying ‘topographical context’ of Frieze B,  
the Porta Capena in the Servian city Wall*

In my opinion, the young Caesar Domitian is shown on Frieze B (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12**) how he, in the 1. half of October of AD 70, in an *adventus* ceremony, and in his capacity of *praetor urbanus*, receives at the sacred boundary of the City of Rome, the *pomerium*, the newly elected Emperor

Vespasian. Domitian held the office *praetor urbanus consulari potestate* since the 1st of January AD 70 (cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.)).

But with the subject *adventus* of Vespasian, as Domitian wished his artists to represent it on Frieze B, were connected two problems: the *praetor urbanus* (i.e., Domitian) could only act in this capacity within the city of Rome, in addition to this we know that Vespasian was negotiating at that stage with the Senate to be granted a triumph for his victories in the Great Jewish War, from which he was just coming back (*via* his sojourn at Alexandria). For Vespasian's motivation to go from Judaea to Alexandria and for his actions there; cf. *infra*, at Chapter *The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II.a*).

Vespasian's wish to celebrate a triumph, in its turn, meant (in theory), that he was not allowed to transgress the *pomerium* of Rome, the City's sacred boundary, unless the Senate had granted him this triumph. We also know that the Senate should only grant Vespasian (Titus, and Domitian !) the privilege of celebrating this triumph on the very morning of their triumphal procession, in June of AD 71 (!).

In this specific case, the Senate granted all three of them - Vespasian and Titus for their victories in the Great Jewish War - and Domitian for his contemporary actions at Rome (and/ or for his military 'adventure' in Gaul and Germany in AD 70 ?) - three separate triumphs (so Josephus, *BJ* 7,5,3), which they decided to celebrate together: this happened in June of 71 AD.

Cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III.; at point 2.); in Chapter III., with n. 458, providing references; in Chapters V.1.i.3.); and V.1.i.3.a); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.c*). - For Domitian's military 'adventure' in Gaul and Germany in AD 70; cf. *supra*, at Chapters I.1.; I.2, ns. 229; 230, n. 458 in *supra*, Chapters III. and V.1.i.c.3.) and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.c*).

After what was said above, the scene, represented on Frieze B was, is therefore, in my opinion, on purpose set at the sacred boundary of Rome, the *pomerium*. The *Genius Populi Romani* (cf. **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 13**), who has come with Domitian (to the *Porta Capena* in the Servian city Wall) to receive Vespasian in this *adventus* ceremony, and who, on this relief, appears not by chance *between* father and son, therefore, sets his left foot on a *cippus*, which must mark the *pomerium* line. By positioning this *pomerium cippus* within the composition of this relief right there, the artist has divided the areas *domi* (on the left hand side of the relief) and *militiae* (on the right hand side of the relief) from each other, and that for the following reasons.

Domitian in his capacity as *praetor urbanus*, and, on principle, the *Genius Senatus*, the *Genius Populi Romani*, and likewise the city goddess *Dea Roma*, were not allowed to leave the City of Rome (i.e., the area *domi*), where all four of them, therefore, appear on Frieze B (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figures 2; 11; 12; 13**).

Outside the City of Rome (i.e., within the area *militiae*) we see on Frieze B, on the other hand, the homecoming victorious general Vespasian (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 14**), who is currently not as yet allowed to leave this area (i.e., by entering the City of Rome, that is to say, the area *domi*). And because we know that Vespasian had approached the City of Rome by coming down the *Via Appia*, father and son are obviously meant to meet on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs at the *Porta Capena* within the Servian city Wall (cf. here **Figs. 58; 71**), although the gate itself is not represented. For a discussion of all aspects of the Cancellaria Reliefs; cf *supra*, in Chapters I.-VI.; and *infra*, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*.

**I myself follow Giandomenico Spinola's overall interpretation of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs, and, therefore repeat here a passage, written for Chapter III. (for the following see also *infra*, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola* in this volume) : 'Spinola's new addition to all this previous**

knowledge consists in the following observation. He has alerted me to the possible meaning of the gesture, which, on Frieze B, Vespasian makes with his right hand. The emperor lifts it and lays it on the left shoulder of the togate youth standing in front of him [in reality, Vespasian does not touch the youth's shoulder, but from a distance it looks like that] ... Since Spinola takes it for granted that Frieze B shows the original portrait of that emperor and, therefore, Vespasian and Domitian, he believes that Vespasian's gesture means that he thus bestows the (future) reign of the Empire on his younger son Domitian. Which, if true, would mean that Frieze B shows not only the very moment of the *investiture* of the Emperor Vespasian himself - as has already earlier been observed by many scholars - but at the same time the (future) *investiture*, or the "legittimazione" (so Spinola) of Domitian [my emphasis]'.

And because I follow Giandomenico Spinola's just-quoted interpretation of Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs, I suggest in this *Study*, for which building Domitian may have commissioned the Cancellaria Reliefs.

**For the reasons, discussed in the following points 1.) - 5.), I believe that the Cancellaria Reliefs may have decorated one of Domitian's two arches on the Palatine.**

**1.) because of the date ('late Domitianic'), suggested for the Cancellaria Reliefs and/ or because scholars suggest that the workshop of the Cancellaria Reliefs was also active in Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, and in Domitian's *Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium* (in the following called: 'Domitian's *Forum*').**

Domitian's Palace on the Palatine was erected between AD 81 until around 92; cf. John Pollini (2017b, 120); and Françoise Villedieu (2009, 246), discussed *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.

Hans Wiegartz (1996, 172, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.a)) was of the opinion that the sculptural decoration of Domitian's *Forum* and the Cancellaria Reliefs were contemporary.

Giandomenico Spinola was kind enough to tell me that, in his opinion, the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2**) are datable to the late Domitianic period (cf. *supra*, at n. 75, in Chapter I.1., see also below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*).

Pierre Gros (2009, 106-107, quoting P. GROS 2004) suggests that Domitian's architect Rabirius, who built his Palace on the Palatine, created at the same time Domitian's *Forum*; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.a); and Appendix IV.d.2.f). Gros (2009, 106-107) reports also that, as a result of the recent excavations at Domitian's *Forum*, quoting for that Eugenio La Rocca (1998a, 1-12), "Le ricerche recenti hanno messo in evidenza tre fasi diverse di un cantiere che, cominciato nell'84, durò più di un decennio ...", quoted in more detail and discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.a).

Also Joachim Raeder (2010, 146; cf. p. 144, with Textabbildung 51, on the "*Piroustae* (?)" of Domitian's *Forum* [cf. here **Fig. 49**]) stresses the stylistic similarities of the Cancellaria Reliefs with the sculptural decoration of Domitian's *Forum*. Cf. *supra*, n. 66, in Chapter I.1.

Klaus Stefan Freyberger (2018, 97; cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.3.) observes that the architectural fragments, found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs (here **Figs. 1; 2**), were carved by a late Domitianic workshop that was also active in Domitian's *Domus Augustana*. In addition to this, Freyberger (2018, 97) compares on stylistical grounds the architrave block, carrying the inscription PP FECIT (*CIL* VI, 40543), that was found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs, with "*Le Colonnacce*" at Domitian's *Forum* (cf. here **Fig. 49**). To this I will come back below.

For a discussion; cf. *supra*, at Chapter VI.3. *Summary of my own hypotheses concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs presented in this Study; Addition: My own tentative suggestion, to which monument or building the Cancellaria Reliefs may have belonged, and a discussion of their possible date.*

For Domitian's Palace on the Palatine most recently; cf. the last, posthumous publication (of 2020) on this subject by the late Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt (21st December 1963 - 13th June 2018). See also Aurora Raimondi Cominesi and Claire Stocks (2021; *ead.* 2023); Natascha Sojc (2021); Raimondi Cominesi (2022); and Jens Pflug (2022). My thanks are due to Hans Rupprecht Goette for sending me the article by Wulf-Rheidt (2020).

**2.) The representation of the *Piroustae* (here Fig. 49) in Domitian's *Forum* provides the date of the creation of the Cancellaria Reliefs (i.e., 'post AD 89').**

The representation of the *Piroustae* in Domitian's *Forum* (here Fig. 49) helps:

a) to date the sculptural decoration of this *Forum* itself; and -

b) because the same workshop created also the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. *supra*, at point 1.), it allows the hypothesis, that Domitian (now Nerva) on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs (here Fig. 1) is leaving in the Spring of AD 89 for his (second) Dacian War, which was victorious and that Domitian celebrated in November/ December of AD 89 with a triumph at Rome 'over the Chatti and the Dacians'. For this date of this triumph; cf. Dietmar Kienast, Werner Eck and Matthäus Heil (2017, 109). - If true, this fact may be regarded as a *terminus post quem* for the realization of the Cancellaria Reliefs.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.f) Domitian's choice to represent the *Piroustae* (cf. here Fig. 49) in his *Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium* and the date of the Cancellaria Reliefs.

For Domitian's war of AD 89; cf. Peter L. Viscusi (1973, 58-60), quoted *verbatim* and discussed *supra*, in Chapter Preamble: Domitian's negative image; at Section I. 'The intentional creation of Domitian's negative image', here presented by discussing relevant text passages from Markus Handy ("Strategien zur Legitimierung der Ermordung des Domitian", 2015) and from Peter L. Viscusi (Studies on Domitian, 1973).

**Fig. 49. Rome, Domitian's *Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium*, detail from the only extant part of the colonnade on the south-east side of the *Forum*, called "Le Colonnacce". Photo: Courtesy F.X. Schütz (March 2006). Marble relief of a female figure in the attic storey of "Le Colonnacce", previously identified as Minerva but, as H. Wiegartz (1996) realized, actually depicting a representation of a people; as he observed originally 42 such representations of *gentes* had decorated this *Forum*. This figure represents the *Piroustae*, who, as Wiegartz observed, is also represented in the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias, where this representation is labelled as 'Piroustoi' (cf. here Fig. 50). Photo: Courtesy H.R. Goette (May 2012). The *Piroustae* were an Illyrian tribe (also called a Dalmatian tribe and a Pannonian tribe), who lived in that part of the Roman province of Illyricum, which, after the division of this province (which probably occurred in AD 9), became the Roman province of Dalmatia.**

**Fig. 50. Aphrodisias, *Sebasteion*, Iulo-Claudian period. Marble relief depicting a representation of the same people as illustrated at "Le Colonnacce", called in the pertaining inscription 'Piroustoi'. Photo: Courtesy Aphrodisias Excavations (G. Petruccioli).**

My thanks are due to Amanda Claridge, Hans Rupprecht Goette, Peter Herz, Eugenio La Rocca, Stefan Pfeiffer, Franz Xaver Schütz, Rose Mary Sheldon, and Bert Smith, whose 'combined efforts' - during the pandemic, when all the libraries were closed - have helped me to understand this very complex subject.

The enquiry began when I read a remark by the military historian Rose Mary Sheldon (2007, 199) on the effect his suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt may have had on Hadrian *himself*. Pursuing this question further had for me the unforeseen result that I have added to this book a detailed study on Domitian's building projects at Rome.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.c.2.); and Appendix IV.d) The summary of the research presented in Appendix IV. has led to a summary of Domitian's building projects at Rome. - To this I will come back below.

The reason being that I began to study the representations of 'peoples', which decorated the porticos of the *Hadrianeum* (here Fig. 48), interpreted by Marina Sapelli (1999) as '*provinciae fideles*', ending up with Domitian's *Forum*.

Reading Amanda Claridge's Rome guide (2010, 174-175), I came across an important finding, for which she herself did not provide a reference : at "Le Colonnacce" in Domitian's *Forum* "On the attic storey the surviving sculptured panel in the recess shows a helmeted [page 175] female carrying a shield, recently recognized (thanks to a labelled version found at Aphrodisias in Turkey) as the personification of the *Piroustae*, a people of the Danube".

When asking Amanda for advice, she thought to have found this hypothesis in a publication by R.R.R. Smith, sending me, on her own account, Bert Smith's article ("*Simulacra Gentium: The Ethne from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias*", 1988), but in which, as Amanda herself knew, the *Piroustaie* are *not* mentioned. Also Stefan Pfeiffer (2009, 61-62) mentions the *Piroustaie* (here **Fig. 49**) in his book on the Flavians, but quotes Hans Wiegartz for this identification, likewise without providing a reference. Unfortunately I could not ask any more Hans Wiegartz (23rd January 1936 - 27th March 2008) himself for advice, since he had passed away a long time before.

**These figures of representations of 'peoples' in Domitian's Forum (cf. here Fig. 49), of which according to H. Wiegartz (1996) originally 42 had decorated this Forum, symbolized, according to Stefan Pfeiffer (2009, 61-62), 'Domitian's "Sieghaftigkeit", which in its turn guaranteed Rome's wealth'. This passage is quoted in more detail *infra*, in volume 3-2, as the epigraph of Appendix IV.d.2.e).**

Elsewhere, Pfeiffer (2018, 189; cf. *supra*, in Chapter I.2.1.a)), by analysing the themes of Domitian's self-presentation, explains what he means with "Sieghaftigkeit":

**"1. It was a key issue for Domitian to show his *virtus militaris* and his victoriousness [with n. 85, providing a reference]. Domitian in his self-presentations thus claimed his 'invincibility'.**

For a detailed discussion; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.a). - To this I will likewise come back below.

At my request, Stefan Pfeiffer was kind enough to write me the reference of Hans Wiegartz ("*Simulacra Gentium auf dem Forum Transitorium*", 1996), but because of all the articles of the periodical *Boreas* precisely that article is not available on the Internet, Hans Rupprecht Goette was kind enough to send me this article by Wiegartz (!). In addition to this, I may publish here with Franz Xaver Schütz's kind consent one of his photographs of "*Le Colonnacce*" (here **Fig. 49**).

And because Pierre Gros (2009, 106-107) had in the meantime returned to the older opinion that this '*Piroustaie* relief' in Domitian's *Forum* represents Minerva, (allegedly) following with this decision Maria Paola Del Moro (2007), I asked also the other above-mentioned scholars for help. As I should only find out much later, Pierre Gros (2009, 107), quoting for this opinion: "(Del Moro 2007b [*i.e.*, here M.P. DEL MORO 2007], pp. 178-187)", erroneously asserts that it was Del Moro (2007), who has re-identified the '*Piroustaie* relief' (here **Fig. 49**) with Minerva.

Hans Rupprecht Goette sent me, on his own account, his photo of the *Piroustaie* at "*Le Colonnacce*" in Domitian's *Forum* (here **Fig. 49**), which I may publish here with his kind consent. He sent me also a reference concerning the *Piroustoi* in the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias (cf. here **Fig. 50**); cf. R.R.R. Smith (Aphrodisias VI. *The Marble reliefs from the Julio-Claudian Sebasteion*, 2013), and a photo of the *Piroustoi* there. I knew, of course, this relief at the *Sebasteion* (cf. here **Fig. 50**), but had so far not realized that this relief and the *Piroustaie* in Domitian's *Forum* (here **Fig. 49**), are (admittedly somewhat different) copies of the same prototype (!).

Because I wanted to know, who had been *first* to recognize this, and because Pierre Gros (2009, 106-107) had in the meantime re-identified the '*Piroustaie* relief' (here **Fig. 49**) as a representation of Minerva, I asked R.R.R. Smith for advice. Bert Smith wrote me that it had been Hans Wiegartz (1996), who identified both reliefs as representations of the tribe called *Piroustaie/ Piroustoi*, a fact, which also he himself has stated; cf. Smith (2013, 91 n. 50). In addition, Bert explained to me in this E-mail that, for iconographic reasons, this relief at Domitian's *Forum* cannot possibly represent Minerva. With Bert's kind consent, I publish here his E-mail as ("*The first Contribution by R.R.R. Smith on the iconography of the representation of the Piroustaie at "Le Colonnacce" in Domitian's Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium*"). Bert Smith sent me also, on his own account, the relevant parts of his publication of 2013, and the photo of the *Piroustoi* at the *Sebasteion* (here **Fig. 50**), which I may publish here with his kind consent.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.a*) *Who invented this iconography of defeated and pacified 'nations' and what does it mean?* With The first Contribution by R.R.R. Smith.

In this *Chapter* are discussed the publications by R.R.R. Smith (1988 and 2013), in which he has studied all representations of 'nations', beginning with those of Pompeius Magnus in his theatre at Rome, but also those of Augustus's *Porticus ad Nationes* at Rome and those that derive from the 'nations' of Augustus's *Porticus ad Nationes* : the *ethne* of the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias (here **Fig. 50**), the 'provinces' of the *Hadrianeum* at Rome (here **Fig. 48**), and the 'peoples' of Domitian's *Forum* (here **Fig. 49**). According to R.R.R. Smith (2013, 119), Domitian's *Forum* with its 42 representations of 'peoples', may be regarded as "... another *porticus ad nationes*". Thus referring to Augustus's *Porticus ad Nationes*; cf. Smith (1988, 71-72; *id.* 2013, 114-118). Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.b*; and *Appendix IV.d.2.f*). To this I will come back below.

**In this context, we should consider three very remarkable facts:**

a) of the 42 representations of 'peoples', which had originally decorated Domitian's *Forum*, only one, which represents the *Piroustaë*, is still *in situ* (here **Fig. 49**), and -

b), as Hans Wiegartz (1996) had realized, precisely that representation has also survived in the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias (here **Fig. 50**). At the *Sebasteion*, these altogether 50 representation of *ethne* consist of two separate blocks (the figure and its pertaining inscription), which is why we might be tempted to doubt that the lower block, carrying the inscription 'Piroustoi', was actually combined with the *correct* female figure. But that is certainly not the case. I, therefore, anticipate in the following a passage, written for *infra*, volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.c*), which proves -

c) that this female figure has correctly been identified by Wiegartz with the 'people' called *Piroustoi/Piroustaë*:

'That the statue-type copied in those two reliefs [*i.e.*, here **Figs. 49; 50**] actually represents the *Piroustaë* is certain because the artists at the *Sebasteion* had also labelled the relief itself with the name of this people to make sure to combine the right figure with the inscribed base that identifies this female as a representation of the *Piroustoi*; cf. R.R.R. Smith (2013, 90, 118).'

Let's now return to a summary of *infra*, volume 3-2, *Appendix IV.d.2.b*).

R.R.R. Smith (1988, 58 with n. 18) writes that the representations of 'peoples' in the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias, *inter alia* of the *Piroustaë*, can be explained with relevant victories of Augustus : the representation of the *Piroustaë* for example refers to the wars in the area in question in 13-9 BC and in AD 6-8. In his note 18, Smith mentions the relevant ancient literary sources: "... *Piroustaë* ... - RG 26-7 and 30". Note that Augustus (RG 26-27, 30) mentions that he had incorporated the area, where the *Piroustaë* lived, into the Imperium Romanum : he says that those victories had been won by Tiberius, but he does not explicitly mention the peoples, who lived there.

**See also R.R.R. Smith (2013, 91, n. 44) for the fact that Tiberius could only defeat the *Piroustaë*, "when they were almost entirely exterminated" [so Velleius Paterculus 2.115.2-4; my emphasis] (!) :**

**"On Tiberius and the Pirousti in AD 6-9, the Tiberian historian, Velleius Paterculus (2.115.2-4) writes: '... This campaign brought the momentous war to a successful conclusion; for the Perustae and Desiades, Dalmatian tribes, who were almost unconquerable on account of the position of their strongholds in the mountains, their warlike temper, their wonderful knowledge of fighting, and, above all, the narrow passes in which they lived, were then at last pacified, not now under the mere generalship, but by the armed prowess of Caesar [*i.e.*, Tiberius] himself, and then only when they were almost entirely exterminated' (2.115.4, transl.[ation] F. W. Shipley, Loeb 1924) [my emphasis]"**

And because Pierre Gros (2009, 106-107) has (erroneously) asserted that Maria Paola Del Moro (2007) had re-identified the *Piroustaë* (here **Fig. 49**) with Minerva, I asked also Eugenio La Rocca for help, who was kind enough to send me the relevant article by Maria Paola Del Moro. Del Moro (2007) does not say in her article that the 'Piroustaë relief' (here **Fig. 49**) represents Minerva, but has instead further supported Wiegartz's (1996) relevant observations : in her excavations at Domitian's *Forum*, conducted in 2000, she found the fragments of some more of such very similar representations of 'peoples'.

With Franz Xaver Schütz's and Rose Mary Sheldon's much appreciated help I could then study the Balkan Wars of Augustus and Trajan, as well as Hadrian's actions there, which was necessary for me to understand Domitian's Wars in this area.

For Hadrian's just-mentioned actions; cf. *infra*, at *The third Contribution by Peter Herz : Der Übergang von Trajan auf Hadrian und das erste Regierungsjahr Hadrians*.

Franz conducted a special research on the internet concerning the representation of the people called *Piroustaë* at Domitian's *Forum* (here **Fig. 49**) and found, in addition to this, the following relevant publications on the internet, which turned out to be crucial for the effort to understand the design of Domitian's *Forum*.

Cf. Carl Patsch ("Archäologisch-epigraphische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der römischen Provinz Dalmatien, 1899; *inter alia* on the *primus pilus* Statius Marrax, who was highly decorated by Domitian), Géza Alföldy ("Einheimische Stämme und *civitates* in Dalmatien unter Augustus", 1963), Dragana Grbić ("Augustan Conquest of the Balkans in the light of triumphal monuments", 2011), and Alfred Hirt ("Dalmatians and Dacians - Forms of Belonging and Displacement in the Roman Empire", 2019). Since I had asked Rose Mary Sheldon for advice concerning the *primus pilus* Statius Marrax, she had alerted me to a publication, in which the relevant inscription is discussed, and Franz found it on the Internet; cf. Hans Krummrey (2003), a Review of Marco Buonocore, *L' Abruzzo e il Molise in età romana tra storia ed epigrafia*, Vol. I-II (*Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria. Studi e Testi* 21/1-2, 2002).

As a consequence of all these enquiries, Franz was kind enough to create a visualization of the area in question; cf. below, at *The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Zur kartographischen Visualisierung historischer Landschaftselemente zwischen Rhein und Schwarzem Meer von Augustus bis Hadrian* (cf. here **Fig. 77**). The purpose of the map (here **Fig. 77**), created by Franz, is to support research that tries to understand the movements of those three men within this area, who are discussed in this *Study* : Arminius, Domitian and Hadrian.

We learn in those above-listed publications that the *Piroustaë* lived in the area that should become the Roman province of Illyricum. At first (35-33 BC) Octavian/ Augustus, during his war in Illyricum, had fought there himself "against the Iapudes and Pannonians ... in 35 BC, and against the Delmatae in 34/3"; cf. John J. Wilkes ("Illyricum", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 747; cf. Dragana Grbić (2011, 132-136; cf. *infra*).

**See for those wars also Filippo Coarelli (2012, 362), who mentions them because they prevented Octavian/ Augustus from building immediately the Temple of Apollo Palatinus, after a lightning had hit the 'House of Augustus' in 36 BC: "Si può pensare che l'avvio dei lavori [*i.e.*, for the Temple of Apollo Palatinus] sia stato ritardato dai gravi impegni militari che tennero occupato Ottaviano negli anni tra il 35 e il 33 (guerre contro i Pannoni e i Dalmati, nel corso della quali egli fu ferito due volte) [my emphasis]"**.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section I.

Next Tiberius, under Augustus's command, had, as already mentioned above, at first fought against the *Piroustaë* in his Pannonian War (12-9 BC), which resulted in the creation of the Roman province of Illyricum. Finally, in the Dalmatian-Pannonian revolt (AD 6-9, also called *Bellum Illyricum*), which occurred in the Roman province of Illyricum, Tiberius should have the greatest problems to suppress the uprisings of the local tribes, especially that of the *Piroustaë*.



This means that in the large group of 'nations' at Augustus's *Porticus ad Nationes*, the statue of the *Pirustae* represented a 'nation' pacified by Augustus. Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.1.*); and *Appendix IV.d.2.d.*) I myself follow Dragana Grbić's suggestion (2011, 135) that in the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias "The inscription of the *Pirustae* (no. 3) symbolically represents the suppression of the Dalmatian-Pannonian revolt in 9 AD". For a discussion; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.d.*)

**Nota bene.** Already to Augustus his conquests in Illyricum and in the western Balkans were of the greatest importance, and Domitian, Trajan and Hadrian would use the resulting Roman provinces as a basis for their activities in Dacia. For a discussion; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.c.*)

Especially helpful for the subjects discussed here was Rose Mary Sheldon's study (2020) of Arminius, chief of the Germanic Cherusci, about whom she (cf. *ead.* 2020, 1012) writes: "Arminius himself had served as a commander of a tribal troop contingent under Roman command during the revolt in 6 CE along with Velleius Paterculus, one of our main sources [my emphasis]".

Arminius had thus served as an officer in the Roman army under Tiberius who, in AD 6-9, fought in the new Roman province of Illyricum against revolting tribes, *inter alia* the *Piroustaie*.

Rose Mary Sheldon (2020) mentions also a fact that I previously did not know : this very brave and desperate resistance against the Romans of those tribes (*inter alia* of the *Piroustaie*), who lived in the area of the future Roman province of *Dalmatia*, became the motivation for Arminius, "son of Sigimer, the tribal chief of the Cherusci" (cf. R.M. SHELDON 2020, 1012), why he, with his Cherusci and other allies, planned the only successful resurrection against the Romans (so R.M. SHELDON 2020, 1025). As is well known, this ended with the defeat of P. Quinctilius Varus in the Teutoburg Forest in AD 9. To this I will come back below.

Cf. *supra*, at Chapter *What this Study is all about*; in *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here **Fig. 29**); at *To conclude this Study. Since we have started this book on Domitian with Arminius* (cf. *supra*, in Chapter *What this Study is all about*), *we might just as well end it with him*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.d*) *The meaning of the representation of the Piroustaie within Augustus's Porticus ad Nationes at Rome. With H. Wiegartz's (1996) observations concerning the Piroustaie and their representations; and a summary of the revolt of Arminius in Germany, which he planned because he had fought under Tiberius to suppress the revolt of the Pannonian-Dalmation tribes, inter alia of the Piroustaie.*

**I had likewise so far ignored what Maria Teresa D'Alessio tells us (2017, 510 with n. 342, quoting ancient literary sources) : Octavian's/ Augustus's triple triumph in 29 BC commemorated *inter alia* his victory over the Dalmatii in 33 BC, and with the booty from this war he should finance the *Porticus Octaviae* at Rome (!). This has also been mentioned by the late Paola Ciancio Rossetto (16th October 1945 - 26th April 2022), one of the excavators of the *Porticus Octaviae*, with whom I, since 2018, have had the chance to discuss the *Porticus Octaviae* (cf. *ead.*, 2018, 41, with n. 97, 98, quoting ancient literary sources). - To the triple triumph of Octavian/ Augustus in 29 BC I will come back below.**

Both scholars in their turn did not address in their publications the fact that the relief with the representation of the *Piroustaie* of "Le Colonnacce" at Domitian's *Forum* (here **Fig. 49**) commemorates one of those tribes, whom Octavian/ Augustus had defeated in 33 BC, the *Piroustaie*.

For the *Porticus Octaviae*; cf. below and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ... Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia ...*; Chapter *Introduction*; at Section I.

**Bert Smith (2013, 119) asks, why Domitian may have decided to likewise represent the *Piroustaie* in his *Forum*, given the fact that already Tiberius (in AD 6-9), under the command of Augustus, had conquered their territory and had turned that into the Roman province of *Dalmatia*; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.c.*)**

To answer that question, I have studied the iconography of the representation of the *Piroustae*; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.d*).

The most important characteristic of the iconography of the *Piroustae* (here Figs. 49; 50), when compared with all the other *ethne* at the *Sebasteion* of Aphrodisias, is the fact that the military prowess of the *Piroustae* is stressed. This is first of all clear from the choice of the 'Amazonian belt' for the representation of the *Perustae* at Domitian's *Forum* and at the *Sebasteion* (here Figs. 49; 50). In addition to this, Hans Wiegartz (1996, 174) has observed that, among all other preserved *ethne* in the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias, the representation of the *Piroustoi* is the only one carrying weapons (!). This fact Wiegartz (1996) convincingly explained with Suetonius's judgement (*Tib. 16*), that the 'Bellum Illyricum (AD 6-9), which Tiberius fought against the *Piroustae*, had been the most difficult war since the wars against Hannibal' (!). Suetonius (*Tib. 16*) adds that Tiberius fought this war with 15 (!) legions and the same number of auxiliary troops.

As we know from Rose Mary Sheldon (2020, 1012, n. 19), among the latter were those of Arminius's above-mentioned compatriots, who should later in AD 9, now under Arminius's own command, defeat P. Quinctilius Varus and his three Roman legions.

*I suggest that Domitian ordered the representation of the Piroustae in his Forum because excellent soldiers from the Roman province of Dalmatia like T. Stadius Marrax had served in his second Dacian War*

After what was said above, the answer to the question, why Domitian decided to represent the *Piroustae* in his *Forum* (here **Fig. 49**) has, in my opinion, already been provided a long time ago.

From Carl Patsch ("Archäologisch-epigraphische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der römischen Provinz Dalmatien, 1899) we learn the following. An inscription from Aquileia shows that T. Stadius Marrax, *primus pilus* of the *legio XIII gemina*, who came from the Roman Province Dalmatia, had been highly decorated by an emperor, whose name is omitted in this inscription. In Patsch's opinion, this soldier had served under Domitian in his campaign(s) in Dacia and had been decorated by Domitian.

Cf. Patsch (1899, 268-269, Section: "VIII. Dalmatien und Dacien"): ...

2. Pais 1163 = Dessau [*i.e.*, *ILS, Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 1892-1916] 2638 (Aquileia): *T. Stadius P. f. Serg. Marrax prim(us) pil(us) leg(ionis) XIII geminae, donatus torquib(us) armillis phaleris hasta pura bis coron[is] aureis quin[que]*. Der Name Stadius gestattet die Vermuthung, dass der *primus pilus* aus Risinium-Risano stammt, wo die *gens Statia* eine angesehene Rolle [page 269] spielte. Wie Marrax vermuthlich im dacischen Kriege unter Domitian [with note 2] so wurde ein anderes Mitglied derselben Familie von Traian anlässlich der dacischen Siege decorirt: *C. I. L. III 6359* (vgl. p. 1491) ...".

In his **note 2** on p. 269, Patsch writes: "**Der Kaiser, der die Orden verliehen hat, wird verschwiegen, war also *damnatae memoriae*** [my emphasis]".

For the home town Risinium-Risano in the Roman province of Dalmatia of the soldier *T. Stadius P. f. Serg. Marrax, prim(us) pil(us) leg(ionis) XIII geminae*, whom, as Patsch (1899, 268-269) suggested, Domitian had decorated for his services in his Dacian campaign(s). Stadius Marrax was from the area of Salona, that is to say, from the territory of the tribe of the *Piroustae* (cf. here **Fig. 77**, labels: Risinium; Salona; Aquileia).

For different opinions concerning the fate of the (former) territory of the *Piroustae* under the Romans; cf. Dragana Grbić (2011, 135 with ns. 51, 52, quoted *verbatim* and discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.d*)), and Géza Alföldy (1963, 194, 195, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.e*)).

As also mentioned by Patsch (1899, 269), another member of Stadius Marrax's family should later receive the same high military decoration under Trajan, for his services in Trajan's Dacian Wars.

Between 7th and 19th October 2020 I had the chance to discuss with Peter Herz on the telephone- and in E-mail conversations the controversy concerning the dating of the *primus pilus of Legio XIII Gemina, T. Statius P. F. Serg. Marrax*, who is known from this inscription at Aquileia. On 19th October 2020, Herz was kind enough to send me his second *Contribution* to this volume, which I publish here with his kind consent. In this text, Herz suggests that more arguments speak for the later date, therefore, Statius Marrax may actually have served in the *Legio XIII Gemina* at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, that is to say, under Domitian, as suggested by Patsch (1899).

**Cf. *infra*, at *The second Contribution by Peter Herz : Anmerkungen zu Statius Marrax*.**

See also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.e) Did Domitian intentionally represent the Piroustaie in his Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium? With The second Contribution by Peter Herz*, and at *Appendix IV.d.2.f) Domitian's choice to represent the Piroustaie in his Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium and the date of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1; 2)*.

**I, therefore, suggest, that Domitian ordered the representation of the *Piroustaie* in his *Forum*, because soldiers from the Roman province of Dalmatia, like T. Statius Marrax, had supported him in one of his military campaigns.**

**And because for a variety of reasons (discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.f)*), that can, in my opinion, only have happened in his Second Dacian War of AD 89, I further conclude that Domitian's *Forum* commemorates Domitian's victory in this war, which the emperor celebrated with a triumph over the Chatti and the Dacians in November/ December of AD 89. - It is, of course, in theory likewise possible, that Domitian's *Forum* commemorated *all* of Domitian's victories. To this I will come back below.**

To illustrate the latter point, I anticipate in the following some passages from *infra*, volume 3-2, *Appendix IV.d.2.f) Domitian's choice to represent the Piroustaie (cf. here Fig. 49) in his Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium and the date of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1; 2) ...* :

'As we have seen above (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.1.)*), within Augustus's *Porticus ad Nationes* the representation of the *Piroustaie* may be understood as one of the 'nations' pacified by Augustus.

**In my opinion, in Domitian's *Forum* the *Piroustaie* stood instead for one of the 'provinciae fideles' of the Roman Empire under Domitian - to borrow Marina Sapelli's booktitle (1999; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.1.)*) - who thus testified to Domitian's good government.**

We have learned above from Alfred Hirt (2019, 17 with n. 100, quoted in more detail *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.e)*) that it had been the Dacian king "Diurpaneus, who waged war against Domitian (Oros. 7.10.4; Jord. Get. 76, 78)". But, when the hostilities of the Dacians first started, the people living in the adjacent Roman province of Dalmatia did not take the chance to revolt against the Romans, some Dalmatians rather joined the Roman army who fought against the Dacians, and some of these soldiers were even decorated by Domitian in recognition of their services (cf. *supra*, point 7.) [*i.e.*, T. Statius Marrax]).

We have also learned above from R.R.R. Smith (2013, 121) that the *Piroustaie*, exactly like many other comparable tribes, had also therefore been represented within the large number of 'nations' in Augustus's *Porticus ad Nationes*, because they lived on the borders of the Empire, and could thus "express the wide geographical extent of Roman rule".

**Considering also this fact, I suggest that the representation of *Piroustaie* was chosen by Domitian for his *Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium*, because these people, now living in the Roman province of Dalmatia, had, under his command, successfully defended the border of the Roman Empire [my emphasis]'.**

**If true, this would prove Bert Smith's (2013, 119) above-mentioned hypothesis, according to which Domitian's *Forum*, with its 42 representations of 'peoples', may be regarded as "... another *porticus ad nationes*". For a discussion; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.b*); and *Appendix IV.d.2.f*).**

Only after this Chapter had already been published in a Preview on our Webserver, did I read Paolo Liverani's (2021, 85-86) observations on Domitian's *Forum*, especially on the representations of the *gentes* or *nationes*. Concerning their meaning, he has come to a very similar conclusion, as the one just presented here:

"The choice, on the other hand, was counterbalanced but the subject of the panels decorating the attic above the frieze. **Only one of them survives in place. It portrays an armoured female figure, which has been traditionally interpreted as Minerva. In 2000, the fragments of another female figure were excavated**, and a more careful consideration of the two panels connected them with other examples of personifications on imperial monuments. The first parallel came from the well-preserved sculptural decoration of the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias, a sanctuary honouring the emperors. [with n. 15] Here the personification of the Pirusti, a tribe of the Illyricum (Dalmatia), is very similar from a typological point of view to the alleged 'Minerva'. **The two panels, therefore, represent *gentes* or *nationes*, peoples (not provinces as [page 86] usually understood) of the empire according to a motif widely employed in the imperial monuments of the Julio-Claudian period and also attested during the second century.** [with n. 16] The earlier Forum of Augustus hosted a series of dedication from several *gentes*, according to the historical sources. [with n. 17] **The Domitianic cycle, therefore, is quite traditional, alluding to the multifarious populations that made up the Roman Empire, grouped around the emperor as sign of unity [my emphasis]**". See now also Liverani (2023, 117 with ns. 15-17; *i.e.*, the Italian version of the above-quoted passage from his essay 2021).

In his **note 15**, Liverani writes: "Ungaro 2005, Del Moro 2007, 181-185".

In his **note 16**, he writes: "Liverani 1995".

In his **note 17**, he writes: "Vell. Pat. 2.39.2, cf. *CIL* VI, 31267".

Even later than that, I received the article on Domitian's *Forum* by Antonella Corsaro and Beatrice Pinna Caboni (in: A. CORSARO, B. PINNA CABONI and C. PARISI PRESICCE, "Domiziano, Nerva e il loro Foro", 2023, 74). Concerning the meaning of the represented *gentes* and *nationes* they have likewise arrived at similar conclusions as suggested here; and they likewise believe that the architect of this *Forum* was Rabirius:

**"La figura conservata nell'attico, al centro dell'intercolumnio [cf. here Fig. 49] e originariamente interpretata come Minerva, sarebbe invece parte di una sequenza politicamente e ideologicamente assai significativa, costituita dalla raffigurazione simbolica delle diverse genti (*gentes* e *nationes*), ormai incluse in un impero che si voleva rappresentare egemonico, pacificato e inclusivo sotto l'egida imperiale.** Altri contesti monumentali, quali il giulio-claudio *Sebasteion* di Afrodisia di Caria (attuale Turchia) e l'antoniniano *Hadrianeum* di Roma [with n. 24], offrono validi confronti per questo programma decorativo e per le iconografie scelte. **Purtroppo solo la figura ancora *in situ* nelle Colonnacce è stata identificata con la rappresentazione della tribù illirica dei Pirusti.** Resta incerta invece l'attribuzione di una seconda figura scoperta nel corso degli scavi del 2000, ora esposta nel Museo dei Fori Imperiali nei Mercati di Traiano, e di un frammento di testa scoperto negli scavi del 1995-97 [with n. 25]. Queste poche raffigurazioni, superstiti di una lunga teoria di almeno 45 pannelli, danno comunque contezza della varietà e della tipizzazione etnica delle figure ... **L'originalità dell'impianto del Foro Transitorio e delle soluzioni adottate ha permesso di postulare la realizzazione del progetto all'architetto Rabirio, cui si attribuiscono le brillanti soluzioni di numerose committenze imperiali, tra le quali il noto palazzo imperiale sul Palatino [with n. 26]**".

In their **note 24**, Corsaro and Pinna Caboni write: "Per il *Sebasteion*: Smith 2013; per l'*Hadrianeum*: Parisi Presicce 1999; Parisi Presicce 2005 [*i.e.*, here C. PARISI PRESICCE 2005a]; Parisi Presicce, Baldi 2023".

In their **note 25**, they write: "Wiegartz [corr: Wiegartz] 1996, pp. 171-179; Gros 2009, pp. 106-107; Pinna Caboni 2015, p. 104".

In their **note 26**, they write: "Bauer 1976-1977; Gros 2009, p. 106; Meneghini 2009, pp. 103-104; Viscogliosi 2009, p. 208; Nocera 2015, pp. 151-154".

But only when this volume was about to be sent to the press, have I found the article by Vibeke Goldbeck ("Architekturkopien? Terminologische Überlegungen zur Rezeption von Bauwerken und ihrer Ausstattung bei den Römern. Untersucht am Beispiel des Forum Augustum und der Porticus ad Nationes", 2017). Goldbeck herself quotes also another of her earlier publications ("Die Porticus ad Nationes des Augustus", 2015a), which I had likewise managed to overlook so far. At about the same time Hans Rupprecht Goette was kind enough to send me the article by David Ojeda ("A Porticus ad Nationes in Italica", 2023); cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*.

Ojeda (2023) discusses two more recent publications by the same author: Vibeke Goldbeck ("Die Rezeption der stadtrömischen Monumente des Augustus im Imperium Romanum", 2020); and Vibeke Goldbeck ("Monuments Abroad' - Zur Rezeption kaiserlicher Monumente im Imperium Romanum", 2021).

Goldbeck (2020, 37-38) bases her account on the same publications that I have consulted. Concerning the meaning of the *nationes* at the *Porticus ad Nationes*, the *ethne* in the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias (here **Fig. 50**), and the *gentes* at Domitian's *Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium* (here **Fig. 49**) and at the *Hadrianeum* (here **Fig. 48**), she comes to similar hypotheses as those, already suggested by R.R.R. Smith (1988; and 2013), whom I am likewise following in this *Study*:

#### "Die Porticus ad Nationes

**In Aphrodisias steht das berühmte Sebasteion**, das im 2. Viertel des 1. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. von zwei lokalen Familien errichtet wurde [with n. 25]. Sein umfangreicher Bildschmuck zeigt Kaiser, Götter, Kaiser im Göttergewand und mythische Heroen in griechisch-hellenistischer Motivtradition. **Daneben zeigt er aber auch eine Reihe von Personifikationen, sogenannten Ethnien oder Nationes, die in der Bilderwelt des hellenistischen Kleinasien wie ein Fremdkörper wirken.** Inzwischen lässt sich das Vorkommen dieses für die Region ungewöhnlichen Motivs gut erklären. [page 38].

Hans Wiegartz hat schon 1996 auf die enge typologische Zusammengehörigkeit einer der Ethnien des Sebasteions mit der einzigen vollständig erhaltenen Gewandfigur von der Attika des Forum Transitorium aufmerksam gemacht und ein gemeinsames stadtrömisches Vorbild für beide vermutet [with n. 26]. Bei den jüngeren Grabungen auf dem Forum wurde der Kopf einer weiteren Personifikation gefunden, der die von Wiegartz vorgeschlagene Idee, an der Attika einen dem Sebasteion vergleichbaren Zyklus von *ethnē*, *nationes* oder *simulacra gentium* anzunehmen, weiter untermauert [with n. 27]. Aufgrund des Beginns der Bauarbeiten in Aphrodisias um das Jahr 20 n.Chr., muss das beiden Monumenten zugrundeliegende Vorbild spätestens in tiberischer Zeit entstanden sein. Es könnte sich dabei um die sogenannte *Porticus ad Nationes* handeln. Über diese ist wenig bekannt, sie wird aber wörtlich übereinstimmend von zwei voneinander völlig unabhängigen Quellen erwähnt [with n. 28]. Aus beiden geht hervor, dass Augustus eine Porticus errichtet und mit *simulacra omnium gentium*, also einem Zyklus von Nationenpersonifikationen ausgestattet habe. Diese Porticus habe man *Porticus ad Nationes* genannt [with n. 29]. **Es spricht manches dafür, dass die Zyklen von Personifikationen vom Sebasteion aus Aphrodisias und vom Forum Transitorium ebenso wie diejenigen vom Templum Divi Hadriani allesamt auf das Vorbild der *simulacra omnium gentium* dieser *Porticus ad Nationes* zurückgehen**, und man sich aus diesem Grunde im Umkehrschluss eine Vorstellung von deren ursprünglichen Aussehen machen kann [with n. 30; my emphasis].

In her **note 25**, Goldbeck writes: "Siehe z. B. [zum Beispiel] Smith 1988; Smith 2013.

In her **note 26**, she writes: "Wiegartz 1996".

In her **note 27**, she writes: "Siehe Ungaro [*i.e.*, here M.P. DEL MORO] 2007, 178-191 m.[it] Abb. 259-261; Meneghini 2015, 68-77 m.[it] Abb. 89".

In her **note 28**, she writes: "Plin. nat. 36, 39; Serv. Aen. 8, 721".

In her **note 29**, she writes: "Möglicherweise handelt es sich dabei um einen zeitgenössischen Rufnamen für die Porticus Vipsania. Siehe dazu Goldbeck 2015b [*i.e.*, here V. GOLDBECK 2015a], 215-217".

In her **note 30**, she writes: "Dazu ausführlich Goldbeck 2015b [*i.e.*, here V. GOLDBECK 2015a]".

For some remarks on all those new publications; cf. *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.h); at *The Marble Forum at the Colonia Augusta Emerita (Mérida) in Spain*; below, at *The Contribution by Walter Trillmich on the headless marble togati found in the so-called Marble Forum at Mérida in Spain, one of which looks like the togate youth on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs*; and for a detailed discussion; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.).

Let's now return to our main subject.

This triumph of November/ December AD 89 Domitian celebrated, together with the Roman People, at the Colosseum, where he staged in December of AD 89 a lavish banquet for his guests, 'showering' them with generous gifts, as we know from Statius (*Silvae* 1,6: *Saturnalia principis*). What Domitian did on this occasion : inviting the Roman People to a lavish banquet and presenting his guests with generous gifts (although the costum was that friends *exchanged* gifts on that occasion), were typical costums at the *Saturnalia*; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.f.1.).

Given Domitian's choice of the date for this banquet at the *Saturnalia*, I believe that he wished to celebrate with his guests at the same time the *Vicennalia* of his fortunate escape from the *Capitolium* on 19th December AD 69; cf. *supra*, in Chapter Preamble: *Domitian's negative image*; Section III. *My own thoughts about Domitian*; at point 1.) *Domitian's escape from the Capitolium proper on 19th December AD 69*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix I.

For a discussion of Domitian's banquet in the Colosseum in December of AD 89; cf. Lisa Cordes (2014, 355-356), quoted *verbatim* and discussed *supra*, in Chapter Preamble: *Domitian's negative image*; at Section II. *Conclusions: Domitian's representations of his military successes and his claims to be of divine descent and to possess a divine nature*.

**And because I follow those scholars, who believe that the workshop, which created the sculptural decoration of Domitian's Forum, carved also the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. *supra*, at point 1.)), I further suggest that Domitian/ now Nerva on Frieze A (here Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 6) is shown as celebrating his *profectio* ceremony in the Spring of AD 89, after which he had left Rome for this war.**

Interestingly, my good late friend Amanda Claridge (1st September 1949 - 5th May 2022) had already stated the following in her Rome guide (2010, 169):

**"The Forum of Nerva (actually built by his predecessor Domitian in commemoration of his Dacian triumph of AD 89 ...".**

Only after this Chapter had been published as a Preview of this book on Domitian on our Webserver, did I decide to add here also another passage from Amanda's Rome guide. The reason being that I had found in the meantime in T.P. Wiseman's book (2019, 112) his quotation, translation and interpretation of Virgil (*Aen.* 8. 714-723), to which we will turn in a minute.

I am referring to the passage in Amanda Claridge (2010, 174-175 with Fig. 66, quoted already in less detail above), that is dedicated to the relief with the representation of the *Piroustae* in Domitian's Forum in Rome and to the representation of the *Piroustoi* in the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias in Turkey (cf. here **Figs. 49; 50**):

**"On the attic storey the surviving sculptural panel in the recess shows a helmeted [cf. here Fig. 49; page 175] female carrying a shield, recently recognized (thanks to a labelled version found at Aphrodisias in Turkey [cf. here Fig. 50]) as the personification of the *Piroustae*, a people of the Danube. She was probably one of a series of subject peoples of the Empire whose painted images or effigies were paraded in Domitian's triumph as participating in and applauding his victory in Dacia in 89 and then carved in stone as part of the Forum, which commemorated his victory in permanent form" [my emphasis]."**

For a discussion; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.a).

When asking Amanda, whose idea *that* interpretation of those reliefs had been, she at first did not remember either. But in the midst of our long discussions of the above-summarized research on this subject, Amanda wrote me on 23rd July 2020 an E-mail (quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.f*), telling me, to my great surprise, that she thought that it had been her own idea to suggest that Domitian's *Forum* could commemorate Domitian's triumph of AD 89; the reason being the representation of the *Piroustaie* in this *Forum*. On 24th July 2020, Amanda wrote me an E-mail, allowing me to publish this in this book. For all that; cf. *supra*, at Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*.

Compare with the above-quoted statement by Amanda Claridge (2010, 174-175) the following observations, made by T.P. Wiseman (2019, 112) concerning Virgil's (*Aen.* 8.714-723).

In my opinion, Virgil's imagined scene corroborates *a*) Amanda Claridge's (2010, 174-175) just-quoted hypothesis concerning the representations of 'subject peoples' in Domitian's *Forum*. Virgil's 'report' seems so far not to have been regarded as a possible motivation to create representations of subject peoples of the kind discussed here (Figs. 48-50). And that, although Virgil's description of 'this long line of conquered peoples, as varied in language as they are in costume and arms', as Wiseman (2012, 112) translates Virgil (*Aen.* 8.714-723) can, in my opinion, explain, why *b*) Augustus had commissioned his '*Porticus ad Nationes*' at Rome in the first place.

And, as we have learned above, Augustus's representations of 'subject or conquered peoples' in his *Porticus ad Nationes*, in their turn, had become the model for all the later similar reliefs discussed here : those in the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias (here Fig. 50), at Domitian's *Forum* (here Fig. 49), and at the *Hadrianeum* (here Fig. 48).

T.P. Wiseman (2019, 112) writes: "**Meanwhile, in 29 BC victorious Caesar [i.e., Octavian/ Augustus] returned to Rome. On 13-15 August he held three successive triumphal processions, for the Illyrian, Actian, and Alexandrian campaigns.** The following year he undertook the restoration of all the city's temples that needed repair, and in the autumn held the first of a new series of quadrennial games to celebrate the victory at Actium. **That led straight to the dedication, on 9 October 28 BC, of the temple of Apollo.**

Virgil [*Aen.* 8.714-723] presented a composite tableau of all these events as the prophetic culmination of the scenes on the shield of Aeneas :

**But Caesar [i.e., Octavian/ Augustus], who had entered the walls of Rome in a triple triumph, was consecrating an everlasting vow to the gods of Italy - three hundred great shrines throughout the whole city. The streets were loud with gladness and games and applause; at all the temples there were matrons dancing, and altars, and before the altars slain bullocks strewed the ground. He himself, seated in the snow-white threshold of gleaming Phoebus [i.e., of the Temple of Apollo Palatinus], is reviewing the gifts of nations and fixing them to the proud doors. The conquered peoples process in a long line, as varied in language as they are in costume and arms.**

**The 'gifts' of conquered peoples were of course the spoils of war. Paraded on wagons in the triumphal processions, they were now, at the end of the long sequence of celebrations, brought to the Palatine for dedication to the god [i.e., Apollo] and display at his temple. This too was a parade, and Commander Caesar [i.e., Octavian/ Augustus] had provided the space to accommodate it. Fig. 51 Fig. 46 [my emphasis]."**

I agree with Amanda Claridge (1998, 131; *ead.* 2010, 142-143; *ead.* 2014, 128 with n. 5, pp. 130, 142), Parrish Elizabeth Wright (2020, 47-49), and T.P. Wiseman (2019, 113, caption of his Fig. 51, pp. 122-128; *id.* 2022, 20-22, all quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*) that *inter alia* Virgil (*Aen.* 8.714-723) proves that the Temple of Apollo Palatinus was oriented to the north-east (cf. here Figs. 58; 73), not, as most other scholars believe, to the south-west.

Virgil (*Aen.* 8.714-723) writes that this 'long line of conquered peoples are carrying gifts' that (Octavian/Augustus or they themselves?) then dedicate to Apollo Palatinus. During this entire ceremony, 'Octavian/Augustus is seated in the threshold of the Temple of Apollo, reviewing the gifts of these conquered peoples, and fixes them on the doors of the Temple of Apollo'.

Claridge, Wright and Wiseman (*op.cit.*) conclude that the Temple of Apollo Palatinus must have been oriented to the north-east, because they (in my opinion convincingly) assume that this parade of conquered peoples, carrying those 'gifts' that were then dedicated to Apollo, had come up from the *Forum Romanum*.

Wiseman (2022, 21) writes for example: "... **the long line of conquered peoples reviewed by Augustus in Virgil's imagined scene (note 80 above [quoting Virgil's *Aeneid* 8.714–23]) bring their tributary offerings from the direction of the Forum [my emphasis]**".

For a detailed discussion of the controversy concerning the orientation of the Temple of Apollo Palatinus; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section I.

Apart from the fact that I think that this passage in Virgil (*Aen.* 8.714-723) can explain, why Augustus built his *Porticus ad Nationes*, in which now not the conquered peoples themselves any more, but *representations* of them were paraded, I wish to stress here something else. This ceremony in front of the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, imagined by Virgil, is a classic demonstration of Augustus' doctrine 'peace through victory' that has been discussed above, in Chapter *What this Study is all about*.

As rightly stated by Peter Wiseman (2019, 112), the 'gifts', carried by those 'conquered peoples' in this ceremony are, of course, Octavian/Augustus's spoils of war. These 'conquered peoples, varied in language, costume and arms', as Virgil writes, who paraded in a long line to the Temple of Apollo Palatinus, had made a number of humiliating experiences. First of all, Octavian/Augustus had deprived these peoples of their freedom and of these precious belongings. Next, some citizens of these peoples themselves, who were now carrying those 'gifts' in this ceremony, had been paraded, together with those spoils of war, in Octavian/Augustus's three triumphal processions.

And finally Octavian/Augustus, in Virgil's imagination, had the nerve to stage this ceremony, in which those citizens of these peoples had to carry *themselves* their former belongings to the Temple of Apollo Palatinus, where they would be dedicated by Octavian/Augustus (or 'voluntarily' by themselves?) to *that* god who, as Octavian/Augustus and Virgil believed, and Virgil demonstrated by describing this ceremony, had granted him his victories over those peoples (!).

Considering all that, it is very understandable, that the *Piroustaë* and Arminius, his compatriots the Cherusci, and their allies had desperately tried to avoid such humiliating experiences for themselves. To conclude this point I, therefore, repeat again, what was already written above:

'See also R.R.R. Smith (2013, 91, n. 44) for the fact that Tiberius could only defeat the *Piroustaë*, "when they were almost entirely exterminated" [so Velleius Paterculus 2.115.2-4; my emphasis]" (!)'.  
'

3.) The suggestion, first made by Filippo Magi (1939, 205), reported by Bartolomeo Nogara (1939, 8, 106, 115-116, 227), and by Antonio Maria Colini (1938 [1939], 270); cf. Heinz Kähler (1950, 30-41), Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee (1957, 19), John Henderson (2003, 249), and especially by Massimo Pentiricci (2009, 61-62; cf. *supra*, ns. 262, 263, 264, in Chapter I.3.2.), who discusses those earlier hypotheses), suggesting himself that the Cancellaria Reliefs had decorated the parallel, opposite walls of the bay of one of Domitian's arches. Cf. also *supra*, the caption of here Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'.



4.) Filippo Coarelli's (2009b, 88; *id.* 2012, 283, 286-291, 481-483) suggestion that Domitian could have dedicated the *Arcus Domitiani* on the Palatine to his father, *Divus Vespasianus*.

**The *Arcus Domitiani* of *Divus Vespasianus* ?, the Arch of Domitian at the main entrance of his Palace on the Palatine, the *Domus Augustana*, and Domitian's (alleged) Temple of Iuppiter Propugnator, the Temple of Iuppiter Invictus in front of his *Domus Augustana*.**

Remains of the western pylon of this *Arcus Domitiani* (dating to a later period) are still standing in front of Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, the '*Domus Flavia*' / *Domus Augustana* (cf. here **Figs. 8.1; 58**).

That Domitian may have dedicated the *Arcus Domitiani* to his father, *Divus Vespasianus*, is part of Coarelli's (2009b, 88; 2012, 481-483) hypothesis, according to which a visitor to Domitian's Palace, coming from the Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia*, would then pass under this Arch of *Divus Vespasianus*, and finally end at the "Porta principale" on the north side of Domitian's Palace, the *Domus Augustana*, where Coarelli assumes an Arch of Domitian. Coarelli (2012, 486-491) locates at this main entrance of Domitian's *Domus Augustana* the *Pentapylon*, only recorded by the Constantinian regionary catalogues, which Coarelli identifies with the just-mentioned Arch of Domitian at the "Porta principale", interpreting it as a triumphal arch.

This northern part of Domitian's Palace, which has been called "no man's land" by Helge Finsen (1969, 8), is badly preserved, but there is no doubt that the main entrance may be located there; cf. Coarelli (2012, 487, with n. 479, providing a reference: U. WULF-RHEIDT and N. SOJC 2009, 268-272, Figs. 3; 4).

Concerning this itinerary from the Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia*, via the Arch of *Divus Vespasianus* to the Arch of Domitian, Coarelli (2012, 483) convincingly suggests:

**"La scelta di 'sacralizzare' questo percorso con monumenti dedicati ai due primi imperatori flavi si spiega con l'assoluta centralità dell'elemento dinastico nella politica di Domiziano [my emphasis]"**.

Coarelli's (2009b; 2012) above-quoted assumption of these 'three arches' has been followed by Aurora Raimondi Cominesi and Claire Stocks (2021, 10; *ead.* 2023, 41), and by Raimondi Cominesi (2022, 109-110, with ns. 99-102), who assumes the main entrance to Domitian's Palace *Domus Augustana* at the same site as Coarelli (2012).

In her last, posthumously published article on Domitian's Palace, Wulf-Rheidt (2020, 188) ignores Coarelli's (2009b; *id.* 2012) ideas concerning this Arch of Domitian at the main entrance of his *Domus Augustana*. She presents the results of her own research concerning this area, the above-mentioned "no man's land". Important for our discussion here are the facts that Wulf-Rheidt (*op.cit.*) likewise assumed at this site an arch as the main entrance to the *Domus Augustana*, that this arch and the structure, to which it led, a large colonnaded court, interpreted by her as an *atrium*, were already built under Domitian, and that all this had been very much changed by later emperors, for example by Hadrian; cf. also Wulf-Rheidt (2020, 191).

**Wulf-Rheidt (2020, 188) wrote: "I risultati delle ricerche sul palazzo flavio lasciano ricostruire il seguente quadro ... il visitatore venendo dal Foro accedeva all'entrata principale sul *Clivus Palatinus* mediante un arco, nel quale doveva essere il presidio armato della guardia imperiale (fig. 2a) [my emphasis]"**.

Ricardo Mar (2009, 256, Fig. 3), Filippo Coarelli (2012, 484, Figs. 163; 164 [a plan by R. MAR 2005]) and Ulrike Wulf Rheidt (2020, 186, Fig. 2) integrated into their plans both pylons of the *Arcus Domitiani*, I myself refrain from integrating into our maps the second (eastern) pylon of the *Arcus Domitiani* for reasons explained *supra*, at Chapter VI.3.; *Addition*. This eastern pylon was found in an excavation underneath the Via di S. Bonaventura; cf. Alessandro Cassatella (1986; *id.* 1993; and here **Fig. 73**); and Maria Antonietta Tomei (1997). For a cornice of this *Arcus Domitiani*; cf. Kristine Iara (in: F. COARELLI 2009a, 505, cat. no. 108).

To the west of this western pylon of the *Arcus Domitiani*, we have copied from the map SAR 1985 two foundations, the identifications of which are hotly debated.

Vincenzo Graffeo and Patrizio Pensabene (2014; *id.* 2016-2017) have re-excavated these foundations. My thanks are due to Patrizio Pensabene, who was kind enough to send me, by request, those two publications of their excavation. Graffeo and Pensabene identify these foundations as belonging to two different imperial temples, that were both oriented to the south, and have found within the eastern foundation, which is datable to the second century AD, remains of one or two Republican phases of this temple; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section X.

I, therefore, follow Graffeo's and Pensabene's (2014; *id.* 2016-2017) tentative identification of this temple as that of Iuppiter Invictus, founded in the Republican period, possibly in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. For a discussion of the scholarly debate concerning the Temple of Iuppiter Invictus; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section VII.

Since its first excavation this, allegedly one (in reality two) temple foundation(s) have been identified differently; cf. here **Figs. 8.1; 58; 73**, labels: Temple of Iuppiter INVICTUS ? or of IUPPITER STATOR ? IUPPITER VICTOR ? IUPPITER PROPUGNATOR ?

Because Filippo Coarelli (2012, 282-285, 482, with n. 468, p. 485, Figs. 164-166) (in my opinion erroneously) identifies this foundation with that of the Temple of Iuppiter Propugnator (which is only mentioned in inscriptions, dating to the Imperial period), (allegedly) built by Domitian, I have discussed *all* identifications of these (two) temple foundations in detail.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Sections I.-XII. *A digression on Domitian's intention to emulate Augustus and Nero. Domitian built his Palace 'Domus Flavia' / the Domus Augustana on the Palatine deliberately at the site of the (real) House of Augustus. As the 'new founder of Rome', and again like Augustus, Domitian emulated also Romulus (or else compared the achievements of his entire dynasty with those of Romulus). With summaries of the recent discussions concerning the following subjects ... a temple podium, which has been identified as that of the Temple of Iuppiter Invictus (but which has also been identified as that of the Temple of Iuppiter Stator, Iuppiter Victor, and as that of the Temple of Iuppiter Propugnator) ...*

##### 5.) Paolo Liverani's (2021, 83-84) observations concerning the Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia* :

"... the Arch of Titus [cf. here **Fig. 120**] in *sacra via*, [with n. 4], a monument whose construction was planned by the Roman Senate shortly before the premature death of Titus, but which had to be built and finished by his brother and successor, Domitian ... [page 84] For a better understanding of the arch's message, we have to consider that - although the honorand was Titus - **the function of the monument fitted well with Domitian's program to strengthen his own legitimacy by showing as *divi* both his brother Titus and his father Vespasian.** The latter was venerated in the temple he built at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, at the western end of the Forum Romanum [my emphasis]". For the just-quoted passage from Liverani (2021, 83-84); cf. now Liverani (2023, 115-116; *i.e.*, the Italian version of his essay of 2021).

For a detailed discussion of this passage; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.f.* - The Arch of *Divus Titus* stood, of course, *not* on the *Sacra Via*, as (erroneously) asserted by Liverani (2021, 83); cf. Filippo Coarelli (2012, 480); Häuber (2017, 327). For the Arch of *Divus Titus*, the *Sacra Via*, and the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*; cf. here **Figs. 58; 71; 73; 120**.

##### *Conclusions concerning the original function of the Cancellaria Reliefs*

Taking the above-mentioned points 1.) - 5.) together, I tentatively suggest in this *Study* that the Cancellaria Reliefs may have decorated the passageway of Domitian's *Arcus Domitianus* / Arch of *Divus Vespasianus* ? on the Palatine, which bridged the "VICUS APOLLINIS ? / "CLIVUS CAPITOLINUS" (here **Fig. 73**), or rather one of the passageways of the Arch of Domitian, which Coarelli (2009b, 88; *id.* 2012, 481-483; cf. pp. 486-491) assumes at the "Porta principale" of Domitian's Palace, the *Domus Augustana* (here **Figs. 8.1; 58**).

Cf. *supra*, in Chapter VI.3.; *Addition*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.f.*

But there is a problem concerning the first hypothesis : although Vespasian is represented on Frieze B, which was the reason, why I made this suggestion in the first place, both Friezes (**Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**) celebrate predominantly Domitian : his legitimization as (future) emperor (received from his father Vespasian; cf. below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*; and mentioned already above), as well as his "personal grandeur" (cf. J. GERING 2012, 210-211) : on Frieze B we see how Domitian, already as Caesar, excelled *domi*, and on Frieze A, now himself emperor, *militiae*.

For discussions of the latter hypothesis; cf. *supra*, at n. 248 in Chapter I.2.1.b); see also *supra*, at Chapters V.1.d); V.1.i.3.); VI.3.

If, on the other hand, this Arch of Domitian at the "Porta principale" of his *Domus Augustana* has existed, as suggested by Coarelli (2009b, 88; 2012, 481-483; cf. pp. 486-491), who identifies this main entrance of the *Domus Augustana* with the *Pentapylon*, identified by Coarelli as a triumphal arch, I rather believe that the Cancellaria Reliefs could have decorated one of the passageways of *this* arch, which, in case it has existed, had presumably been erected by Domitian himself.

If this Arch of Domitian, postulated by Coarelli (2012, 481-483, 486-491) was indeed the *Pentapylon*, only mentioned in the Constantinian regional catalogues, this could mean that either the original Domitianic arch had been adapted by the following emperors to their own use, or that it had been replaced by a completely new arch.

For the *Pentapylon*; cf. Emanuele Papi ("Pentapylon", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 78-79), who summarizes the various suggestions to locate this monument on the Palatine.

My tentative attribution of the Cancellaria Reliefs to Coarelli's (2009b; 2012) Arch of Domitian at the "Porta principale" of Domitian's Palace *Domus Augustana* (cf. here **Figs. 8.1; 58**) may (in theory) be supported by the monumental block of an architrave, which carries the far right end of a dedicatory inscription (*CIL* VI, 40543: PP FECIT). This architrave probably belonged to an arch, was found together with the Cancellaria Reliefs, and has already been mentioned above, at point 1.). From this inscription it is clear that Domitian, who had received the title *pater patriae* already in AD 81, had erected the building in question himself, to which this inscription belonged; but note that also Nerva held the title *pater patriae*. For both alternatives; cf. *supra*, at ns. 81, 82, 87, in Chapter I.1.

Also Markus Wolf suggests that Domitian had himself erected the building, to which the architrave with the inscription (*CIL* VI, 40543: PP FECIT) belonged; cf. Wolf (2015, 318-320, Figs. 6; 7 [the architrave], Figs. 8; 10 [his two reconstruction drawings of a freestanding arch and of an "ingresso monumentale", into which this architrave is integrated]; *id.* 2018, 91-94 with ns. 5, 15, Abb. 39; 40 [the architrave]; Abb. 42; 43 [his reconstruction drawings of a freestanding arch and an "Eingangsbau", into which this architrave is integrated]; and *supra*, at Chapter V.2.).

As another argument in favour of the attribution of the Cancellaria Reliefs to this (lost) Arch of Domitian at the main entrance to his Palace could be regarded the great similarities of the Cancellaria Reliefs with the Nollekens Relief (here **Fig. 36**). The reason being that Francesco Bianchini (1738, 68) had actually excavated the Nollekens Relief *within* the 'Aula Regia' of Domitian's 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana*, a fact that has been overlooked by all recent scholars. To this I will come back below.

Cf. **Figs. 8.1; 58**, labels: FORUM ROMANUM; VELIA; Arch of DIVUS TITUS; PALATINE; ARCUS DOMITIANI / DIVI VESPASIANI ?; "DOMUS FLAVIA"; DOMUS AUGUSTANA; "Porta principale"; Arch of DOMITIAN ?; Cancellaria Reliefs ?

### *Domitian's building projects in the city of Rome, considered in their entirety*

But before presenting some new observations concerning Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, I wish to at least hint at the most important finding of my research, concentrated on Domitian's building projects at Rome.

Beginning with Mario Torelli's remark (1987, 575, quoted *verbatim supra*, n. 228, in Chapter I.2.), who was first to describe Domitian's building project on the Capitoline Hill as 'pharaonic', I had at first thought that

Domitian had initiated two such 'pharaonic', but *separate* projects at Rome : 'Capitoline and adjacent areas' (cf. here **Figs. 58; 59; 71; 73**), that is to say, the area of the city (*inter alia* the *Campus Martius*), where Domitian not only erected new buildings but restored also many old ones that had been destroyed in the great fire on the *Capitolium* of AD 69 and the even larger fire of AD 80 that had destroyed great parts of the City of Rome; and the 'Colosseum city' (cf. here **Figs. 71; 72**), which had already been started by his father Vespasian : here the Flavian emperors replaced Nero's *Domus Aurea* with buildings, erected 'for the People of Rome'.

The (at least for me) surprising result of this research was that both projects were *interconnected*. To illustrate this fact, I will quote in the following only the titles of the relevant Chapters of this book.

On 6th July 2021, Eric M. Moormann had been kind enough to send me, on his own account, for a different book-project; cf. Häuber (forthcoming, FORTVNA PAPERS vol. IV on the Laocoon) two articles: by James C. Anderson Jr. ("The Date of the Thermae Traiani and the Topography of the Oppius Mons", 1985), and by Rabun Taylor, Edward O'Neill, Katherine W. Rinne, Giovanni Isidori, Michael O'Neill and R. Benjamin Gorham ("A Recently Discovered Spring Source of the Aqua Traiana at Vicarello, Lazio", 2020). From those publications it is clear that Domitian had - of course - also already started to erect the 'Baths of Trajan' (!).

Apart from the fact that this information was also crucial in the context of my book on the Laocoon that I was discussing with Eric Moormann at that very moment, this information reached me also right in time to change the title of *Appendix IV.d.4.c* in this book. See for the context of this specific *Chapter*:

*Cf. infra, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.4.) Domitian's building projects at Rome, discussed in this Study; Appendix IV.d.4.a) Domitian's building project 'Colosseum City'; Appendix IV.d.4.b) Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the Templum Pacis, and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum; Appendix IV.d.4.c) Domitian's building projects at Rome. Conclusions arrived at in Appendix IV.d. With The first Contribution by Eugenio La Rocca. As a result of this Chapter it seems to be clear that Domitian, who destroyed the sella between the Quirinal and the Arx, in order to erect his huge forum there (the later 'Forum of Trajan'), had used this excavated material to fill in a valley on the Mons Oppius. This finding invited the further assumption that already Domitian had planned to erect at this site great public baths, the now so-called 'Baths of Trajan'. The confirmation that Domitian had actually started building those baths, reached me only afterwards [my emphasis].*

**Only after this Chapter had already been published on our Webserver as one of the Previews of this Study on Domitian, did I receive the following publications, which are likewise dedicated to the question, how Domitian had organized the destruction of the sella between the Quirinal and the Arx, in order to create his Mega-Forum, which should become the Forum of Trajan.**

I am referring to the volume, edited by Antonio Pizzo and Riccardo Montalbano (*Tra le pendici del Quirinale e il Campo Marzio in memoria di Emilio Rodríguez Almeida*, 2022), and to the exhibition catalogue *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore* (2023). The editors of this catalogue, Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi, and Maria Paola Del Moro, write in their introduction ("Domiziano imperatore. Odio e amore", 2023, 12): "È stato inoltre realizzato, a cura di Sergio Fontana, un video immersivo allo scopo di rendere pienamente percepibile il taglio della sella montuosa tra i colli Campidoglio e Quirinale, intervento all'origine dei lavori per la sistemazione dell'area che sarà poi occupata dal complesso del Foro e dei Mercati di Traiano". See also the article by Massimo Vitti in this catalogue ("Lo sbancamento del 'mons' e il progetto domiziano nell'area del Foro di Traiano", 2023).

To conclude this point, I anticipate here a passage that was written for *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.c*): 'My assumption of Domitian's two different 'pharaonic' projects, was wrong, in reality Domitian's

vision comprised the entire city of Rome. When trying to come to a final judgement concerning Domitian's building projects at Rome that have been discussed in this *Study*, I, therefore, suggest the following :

**1.) Domitian's enterprises were without any doubt important accomplishments for the public good.**

In addition to this, Domitian's building projects can be judged, in retrospect, not only as grand, or better, as grandiose, what their sheer size and artistic quality are concerned : we must also acknowledge that the conception of some of them was extremely far-sighted. With my latter judgement I refer to Domitian's projects of his *Mega-Forum* (the later 'Forum of Trajan') and of his great public baths (the 'Baths of Trajan'). The enormous success of both was first of all proven by the fact, that Trajan immediately 'usurped' both, as so many other of Domitian's (not only building) projects. See for example Eugenio La Rocca ("Traianus vs. Domitianus. Dalla rappresentazione del potere imperiale all'usurpazione dei monumenti pubblici", 2017).

The latter is proven, in addition to this, by the facts that Domitian's first huge 'Kaiserthermen' were copied by the 'Baths of Caracalla' and by the 'Baths of Diocletian'.

Apropos my assertion that Domitian's building projects 'were important accomplishments for the public good': this was at least true in the understanding of the ancient Romans. -

I am adding this reserve here because, as already said above (cf. *supra*, in Chapter II.3.1.c): "In antiquity ... [the Colosseum] was a theatre of ritual death"; cf. Amanda Claridge (1998, 278; *ead.* 2010, 314). And I have written elsewhere : in the Imperial period were built at Rome theatres "für Aufführungen aller Art, wie z.B. [zum Beispiel] das Colosseum (in dem hauptsächlich Tierhatzen und Gladiatorenkämpfe, aber auch theatralisch inszenierte Exekutionen stattfanden)"; cf. Häuber (2013, 153).

How Domitian himself saw the situation, we unfortunately do not know. Concerning Domitian's probable motivation to build in such indeed spectacular manner, was suggested above the following (cf. *supra*, in the Chapter *What this Study is all about*):

'The extraordinary efforts that Domitian undertook served, exactly like the comparable ones in the case of Augustus, Vespasian, Hadrian and Septimius Severus (apart from the other two motivations in the case of Domitian: "personal grandeur and family memory"), the purpose of legitimizing Domitian's reign. The actions discussed here, especially the grandiose building projects of these emperors, served therefore the purpose that all of them should duly be acknowledged by their subjects for these achievements, and, in addition to this, favourably remembered by posterity'.

**Domitian relevant actions proved to be extremely successful in all these respects, because:**

**2.) Thanks to Domitian's enterprises and those of his family, Rome is still nowadays basically a Flavian city.**

I have borrowed the formulation of my 2.) point from the two epigraphs of Eric M. Moormann's article ("Domitian's remake of Augustan Rome and the Iseum Campense", 2018, 161), which read: "A visitor to Rome today cannot avoid the Flavians" [with n. 1], and: "To the modern visitor the centre of Rome presents itself as essentially a Flavian city" [with n. 2]". In his **note 1**, Moormann writes: "Darwall-Smith 1996, 17 ...". In his **note 2**, he writes: "Boyle 2003, 29 ...".

And in his most recent discussion of this subject; cf. Moormann ("Domitian's Reshaping of Rome", 2021, 43-44; *id.* 2023, 62, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III.; at point 3.)), he even writes:

"Due to Titus' [page 44] **premature death in September 81, Domitian could shape the town into a real Domitianopolis** without trespassing the ambitions of his father and brother (fig. 1) [with n. 4; my emphasis]".

In his **note 4**, Moormann writes: "On Domitian's rebuilding of Rome, see, among others, Frederick 2003, and, most recently, Moormann 2018".

**Also the way, how Domitian's building sites were organized, was innovative:**

For example the organization of the gigantic building site of the future 'Forum of Trajan'. For that; cf. Patrizio Pensabene and Javier Á. Domingo (2016-2017). The same was true for the acquisition of the building material needed for Domitian's building projects, which was imported from all over the Mediterranean. Not surprisingly, most of those marble blocks, imported from far away marble quarries, that carry consular dates, and which were excavated at the quartiere Testaccio, at the place called *La Marmorata*, had been brought there under Domitian; cf. Pensabene and Domingo (2016-2017, 573 with n. 161).

The area at the quartiere Testaccio, called in past centuries *La Marmorata* (cf. here **Figs. 102; 102.4; 103**), is located on the left hand bank of the Tiber, and to the south of the Aventine. Most scholars identify this area, in my opinion erroneously, with the *Emporium*, mentioned by Livy (35,10,12; 41,27,8) together with the *Porticus Aemilia*, which has been identified by the same scholars, in my opinion likewise erroneously, with the enormous *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*. In reality, we do not know the ancient name of this area.

For a detailed discussion; cf. *supra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome* (cf. here **Fig. 11**). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part II. *Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalía) and of the Horrea Aemiliana*. With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?

***Let's now turn to Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, his Domus Augustana***

Apart from the findings concerning this building discussed below, I myself do not add in this book any new hypotheses concerning the importance of Domitian's overall design of his Palace. Fortunately this question is precisely what other scholars are or were interested in, for example Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt (2020), and Aurora Raimondi Cominesi (2022), both of whom approach this subject from different perspectives : on the basis of her own decade-long research on the subject, Wulf-Rheidt (2020) has documented the precise chronology of all the different parts of the *Domus Augustana*, whereas Raimondi Cominesi (2022), who does not herself discuss Wulf-Rheidt (2020), tries to judge *all* these building phases.

Cf. now the article by Jens Pflug (2022) on this subject. His intention is to document the most recent research of Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt on the subject, whose collaborator he has been. He writes in: "Note de l'auteur ... I risultati qui pubblicati si fondano per buona parte anche sull'attività di Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt ... scomparsa il 13 giugno 2018 ... e dunque non più in grado di pubblicare lei stessa molti degli esiti del suo lavoro".

Pflug (2022) is obviously unaware of the fact that Wulf-Rheidt had fortunately still been able to publish many of her relevant results herself (although her last article appeared posthumously); in this article, Wulf Rheidt has even illustrated her results in part with the same plans and reconstructions as those published now by Pflug (2022); cf. Wulf-Rheidt (2020). For some of the illustrations, published by Pflug (2022); cf. already Wulf-Rheidt and Sojc (2009).

Raimondi Cominesi (2022) comes to the, in my opinion, convincing conclusion that, when judged in retrospect, Domitian's design of his *Domus Augustana* as a 'Palace fitting the needs of a Roman emperor' has (likewise) proven to be extremely far-sighted. Having myself studied in this book almost all of Domitian's other building projects at Rome (cf. *supra*), Raimondi Cominesi's result does not come as a real surprise though.

In addition, Raimondi Cominesi (2022, 115, with n. 122) makes the following important observation concerning Domitian's Palace: "**In the Chronicle of 354, Domitian's house is cited as one of the emperor's public works** [my emphasis]". For a discussion of this text of the Chronographer of AD 354, who refers to this building as to Domitian's "*Palatium*"; cf. *supra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.g).

This late antique author, who created the "Codex-Calendar of A. D. 354", was called "Furius Dionysius Filocalus"; cf. for both quotes Michele Renée Salzman (1990, pp. X, 3), he was also referred to as "Chronigraphus anni CCCLIII"; cf. Theodor Mommsen (1892, 14). And Filippo Coarelli refers to Filocalus's "Codex-Calendar" as to the "fasti *Filocaliani*"; cf. Coarelli (2012, 247, n. 254, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section VII.).

**Considering at the same time that all three Flavian emperors together reigned for less than 30 years, and Domitian for 15 years, I can only admire their achievements.**

Cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble ...*; Section III.; at point 5.); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.c*).

*The Nollekens Relief (here Fig. 36) leads us to some new results, presented in this book on Domitian, that concern Domitian's Palace Domus Augustana on the Palatine, and which, in their turn, are inter alia based on finds, excavated there in 1720-1726 by F. Bianchini (cf. id. 1738)*

*Some measured reconstruction drawings  
of Domitian's Palace Domus Augustana by the architect G. Leith (1913; cf. here Figs. 108-110)*

a) Cf. *infra*, at *The Contribution by Amanda Claridge in this volume : A note for Chrystina Häuber : Drawings of the interior order of the Aula Regia of the Palace of Domitian on the Palatine, once in the British School at Rome*; cf. here **Figs. 108-110**.

**Figs. 108-110. Domitian's Palace 'Domus Flavia' / Domus Augustana on the Palatine. Measured reconstruction drawings, "in pencil, pen and black ink reconstructing in cross section the Aula Regia, Peristyle and Triclinium" (so A. CLARIDGE, *op.cit.*), by the architect G. Leith (1913), who integrated some of the originally 8 colossal statues that had decorated the 'Aula Regia' and some of the architectural fragments, excavated likewise there and published by F. Bianchini (1738). Gordon Leith created these drawings, when he held a scholarship of South Africa at the British School at Rome in 1913. From: M.A. Tomei (1999, Figs. 225; 228; 229; 230. We have also copied the captions of her figures).**

My thanks are due to Francesca Deli, Assistant Librarian at the British School at Rome, for scanning these illustrations in Tomei's (1999) publication for me.

***The 'Domus Flavia' and other modern names, attributed to parts of Domitian's Palace Domus Augustana***

(In theory) I side with Filippo Coarelli (2012, 494) and T.P. Wiseman (2019, 34, both quoted *verbatim* and discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section I.) that Domitian's Palace on the Palatine was called 'Domus Augustana', and that the name 'Domus Flavia', attributed by many scholars to the western part of this Palace, is not only not recorded in our ancient sources, but, in addition to this, misleading. The reason being that, in reality, the (alleged) difference between those two parts (the western, allegedly representative part of the 'Domus Flavia', and the eastern, allegedly private part, of the *Domus Augustana*), which many scholars assert, does not exist. See for this new observation now also Roberta Alteri (2023, 29). For this older, but wrong opinion; cf. Wulf-Rheidt (2020, 186 n. 11, with references). What this point is concerned, also Wulf-Rheidt (2020, 186) had come to the same conclusion as Coarelli, Wiseman and Alteri (*op.cit.*), but she nevertheless still used the term 'Domus Flavia'. I say "(in theory)", because I have decided to add the lettering "DOMUS FLAVIA" on our maps, simply because most scholars (at least those, quoted in the following discussion) use this wrong term in their publications. But I write the term DOMUS FLAVIA with inverted commas, in order to indicate that this is 'the so-called *Domus Flavia*'.

For all the (modern) names, attributed over time to the different parts in Domitian's 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana*; cf. *supra*, at Chapter *V.1.i.3.b*); Sections I.; II.

Amanda Claridge's (*op.cit.*) decision to call these parts, reconstructed by Gordon Leith (here **Figs. 108-110**), "*Aula Regia*, *Peristyle* and *Triclinium*", reflects the current usage, as applied by Filippo Coarelli (2008, plan on p. 177), and by Natascha Sojc (2021, 134, Fig. 2, who calls the '*Triclinium*' "*Cenatio Iovis*" though), and on our maps here **Figs. 8.1; 58; 73**. Claridge herself (2010, 150, Fig. 57) referred to the so-called '*Triclinium*' as to the "Banquet Hall".

Important for the discussion of Gordon Leith's reconstruction drawings (here **Figs. 108-110**) is the fact that the '*Aula Regia*' (which already F. BIANCHINI 1738 had called that way; cf. the lettering on his Tab. II = here **Fig. 8**) was excavated by Francesco Bianchini (1720-1726), whereas the '*Peristyle*' and the '*Triclinium*' / '*Cenatio Iovis*' were only excavated by Pietro Rosa (1861-64), at the order of the French Emperor Napoleon III (therefore these digs are often referred to as to the '*French excavations*', so for example in the title of M.A. TOMEI's article, 1999).

For both excavations; cf. Silvano Cosmo (1990, Fig. 8 = here **Fig. 39**), and for the '*French excavations*'; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix I.c*); and in *Appendix VI.*; at Section I.

Concerning the reconstruction drawings by Gordon Leith, I repeat here a passage that was written for *supra*, Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*:

'As far as I can see, the drawings (here **Figs. 108-110**) represent the only *measured* reconstructions of the interior order of the '*Aula Regia*' and of other parts of Domitian's '*Domus Flavia*' within his *Domus Augustana* (the '*Peristyle*' and the '*Triclinium*' / '*Cenatio Iovis*' [cf. here **Figs. 8.1; 58**]), into which the colossal statues (that had originally decorated the '*Aula Regia*'), as well as some of the architectural fragments are integrated, that Francesco Bianchini had excavated (1720-1726) within the '*Aula Regia*' (he found only two of those colossal statues in a secondary context immediately next to the '*Aula Regia*') and published (posthumously) in 1738. The author of those drawings (here **Figs. 108-110**) is the architect Gordon Leith (1885-1965) from South Africa, who had in 1913 a scholarship at the British School at Rome ... For Bianchini's measured plans, the two reliefs, and some of the architectural fragments, excavated by him within the '*Aula Regia*' of Domitian's '*Domus Flavia*' / *Domus Augustana* on the Palatine and published by himself (1738); cf. here **Figs. 8; 9; 36; 37**.

Cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.b) J. Pollini's discussion (2017b) of the allegedly '*lost*' Nollekens Relief (cf. here **Fig. 36**), which he compares with the *Cancellaria Reliefs* (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**) and Domitian's '*Domus Flavia*' / *Domus Augustana*. With The Contribution by Amanda Claridge'.

b) Francesco Bianchini (Verona 13th December 1662 - 2nd March 1729 Roma) excavated in 1720-1726 (published posthumously 1738) within Domitian's '*Aula Regia*' the above-mentioned, in the true sense of the word spectacular sculptures and architectural fragments and published his finds (1738), accompanied by measured plans of the '*Aula Regia*' (his Tab. II) and of the excavated area (his Tab. VIII; both here **Fig. 8**), and by beautiful engravings of some of his finds (his Tab. III; IV; VI; VII; cf. here **Figs. 9; 36; 37**).

For Monsignore Francesco Bianchini, who was an eminent scholar and since 1703 "Commissario alle Antichità di Roma"; cf. Paolo Liverani (2000, 67, quoted *verbatim* and discussed *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section I.).

**Fig. 8. F. Bianchini's (1738) measured plans of the '*Aula Regia*' (his Tab. II), and of that part of Domitian's *Domus Augustana*, where he conducted his excavations (1720-1726; his Tab. VIII): at the '*Basilica*', the '*Aula Regia*' and the '*Lararium*' (all three located within the so-called '*Domus Flavia*'; cf. here **Figs. 8.1; 58**). Note that on Bianchini's plans North is not in the middle of the top border, as on our maps. Our maps are oriented according to '*Grid North*' (cf. here **Figs. 58; 73**), as the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale (that comprise the current cadastre), on which all our maps are based. See for the orientation of Bianchini's plan Tab. II our **Fig. 8.1**.**

For '*Grid North*' (German: '*Gitternord*'); cf. Franz Xaver Schütz (2017, 696-704, Abb. 3; 4; 6); Häuber (2017, 62, caption of Fig. 3.5 [= here **Fig. 58**]). For the caption of our updated map **Fig. 58**; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study of the Consequences of Domitian's assassination ... Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian...*; Chapter *Introduction*; at Section I.



**Fig. 8.1. Detail of our map Fig. 58, with georeferenced overlay of F. Bianchini's plan of the 'Aula Regia' (cf. *id.* 1738, his Tab. II = here Fig. 8). This visualization shows that Bianchini's ground-plan of the 'Aula Regia' (his Tab. II) had to be rotated clockwise by circa 135° before it was possible to integrate it into our map Fig. 58, which is oriented according to 'Grid North'. F.X. Schütz, visualization created with the "AIS ROMA" (22-I-2023).**

**Fig. 9. F. Bianchini's plates (1738, Tab. III and IV). They show some of the architectural fragments, which he found in his excavations (1720-1726) in the 'Aula Regia'. In the caption of his Tab. III, Bianchini mentioned the author of the relevant drawing and etching: "Balthassar Gabbuggiani delin. et sculp."**

Francesco Bianchini (1738, 50-54) described the unique size and decoration of the 'Aula Regia' (quoted *verbatim supra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.b); Section III.). To this I will come back below.

### *New research on the Nollekens Relief, which Francesco Bianchini excavated in 1722 in the 'Aula Regia'*

c) John Pollini (2017b) 'found' the (allegedly) lost Nollekens Relief and publishes a photograph of it (of 1914; here Fig. 36), which shows it before the damages since World War II: then it still comprised the portrait of Domitian, which is now lost. John generously provided me with this photo, that I may publish here with his kind consent.

Whereas Pollini (2017b) himself assumes an (erroneous) findspot for this relief within Domitian's Palace, I myself found the following. Bianchini (1738, 68; cf. his Tab. VI, an etching of the Nollekens Relief) writes explicitly that he excavated the Nollekens Relief in the 'Aula Regia' of Domitian's 'Domus Flavia'.

For Bianchini's excavations; cf. also Silvano Cosmo (1990, 837, Fig. 8 [= here Fig. 39]) and *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b).

In order to present the recent discussion on the Nollekens Relief, I summarize some text passages, written for *supra*, Chapter V.1.i.3.b) J. Pollini's discussion (2017b) of the allegedly 'lost' Nollekens Relief (cf. here Fig. 36), which he compares with the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing).

**Fig. 36. The Nollekens Relief, on display above the fire place in the White Hall of the Gatchina Palace near St. Petersburg, marble, 88 x 139 cm. F. Bianchini (1738, 68, his Tab. VI, an etching of the Nollekens Relief) found this relief in 1722 in the 'Aula Regia' of Domitian's 'Domus Flavia' / 'Domus Augustana'; cf. S. Cosmo (1990, 837 Fig. 8); J. Pollini (2017b, 120, 124; cf. p. 98, Fig. 1. We have copied from this illustration Pollini's numbering of the figures, which are represented on this relief). Pollini suggests (in my opinion convincingly) that it shows the togate *triumphator* Domitian, sacrificing in AD 89 just outside Domitian's *Porta Triumphalis*; after which, the emperor would begin his (last) triumphal procession. Photograph, taken in 1914, when the relief was still preserved in its restored state of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Courtesy John Pollini.**

**The caption of Pollini's (2017b) Fig. 1 (= here Fig. 36) reads: "Photograph taken in 1914 of the Nollekens Relief ... [the author provides a reference for that on p. 107 with n. 47]. Note that only the heads of nos. 6 [*i.e.*, of Domitian], 8 [*i.e.*, of the Genius Senatus] and 10 [*i.e.*, of a boy ministrant] in the foreground and of all the background figures are ancient [my emphasis]"**.

After discussing Chapter V.1.i.3.b) with Rose Mary Sheldon, mentioning to her that I still needed to check, whether or not Domitian held one of the consulships of AD 89, she was kind enough to answer me by E-mail: "Domitian was consul every year of his reign except 89, 91, 93, 94 and 96. Pat Southern [1997], Domitian, p. 35". See also Dietmar Kienast, Werner Eck and Matthäus Heil (2017, 110).

Pollini suggests (2017b, 120 with n. 106; cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); Section IV.) that the Nollekens Relief shows Domitian sacrificing in AD 89. Pollini himself has not realized that, because of the representation of

both *consules* (**figures 7 and 9**) on the Nollekens Relief, this is in theory actually possible, because, as mentioned above, in that year Domitian did not himself hold one of the consulships (cf. *supra*, at Chapter VI.3).

Pollini (2027b, 118) writes: "To the left and right of the personified Senate [on Fig. 36], **two figures in the background, nos. 7 and 9, are distinguished by their togas ... they are undoubtedly the two consuls** [my emphasis]"; cf. Pollini (2017b, 114-115), where he observes that Domitian's two lictors (nos. 1 and 4 on Fig. 36) with "*fasces laureati* which imperial *fasces* bore usually on the occasion of a triumph [with n. 76; page 115] ... Both lictors wear low, common-style shoes (*calcei*) ... Both are *paludati*, wearing not a civic toga but a tunic and a military cloak, fastened with a round *fibula* [my emphasis]".

To this I should like to add that **figure 7** in the background is indeed wearing a *toga*, the lower seam of which, as well as its *lacinia* are visible at the bottom of the relief, immediately above the lettering "7". This *consul* is, therefore, obviously wearing a similar *toga* as Domitian (**figure 6**), who is standing right in front of him. Of the *toga* of the other *consul*, **figure no. 9**, we see the folds of the *umbo* on his left shoulder. For the names of the different parts of the *toga*, for example *lacinia* and *umbo*; cf. Hans Rupprecht Goette (1990, 3, Abb. 2).

For a detailed discussion; cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Sections I.; III.

Domitian [on the Nollekens Relief; here **Fig. 36**] is wearing a *toga* and is crowned with a laurel wreath, and the *fasces* (with axes attached !) of his two lictors (who, as mentioned above, are clad in military dress; see also J. POLLINI 2017b, 118) are likewise adorned with laurels. Pollini, therefore, in my opinion convincingly, suggests that Domitian is shown in the course of performing this sacrifice just *outside* the *Porta Triumphalis*, and that immediately after that will begin Domitian's triumphal procession. In Pollini's opinion (2017b, 120 with n. 106, referring to Suet., *Dom.* 6,1), the sacrifice depicted on the Nollekens Relief must refer to Domitian's last triumph of AD 89 (for that; cf. *supra*, n. 232, in Chapter I.2., and in Chapter VI.3.; *Addition*).

Paolo Liverani (2021, 88) rejects Pollini's hypothesis: **Pollini's "... triumphal connotation is based on weak evidence and must remain hypothetical** [my emphasis]. Liverani (2021, 88) identifies the represented figures on the Nollekens Relief exactly like Pollini (2017b) himself, but he does not consider in his reasoning the figures in the background (cf. here **Fig. 36: figure 3**, a soldier, and **figures 7 and 9**, two togate men), whom Pollini, in my opinion convincingly, interprets as the *consules*.

Liverani (2021, 88) has not realized that the figures, which he *has* mentioned, are positioned according to strict observations of their relevant spatial restrictions that were assumed by the Romans : the right-hand half of the Nollekens Relief represents the area *domi* (with the *Dea Roma* and the *Genius Senatus*, who are constrained to remain within the *pomerium* of Rome; not by chance the *consules* appear on that side of the relief), the left-hand half of the relief represents the area *militiae* instead (here we see the two *paludate* lictors, *having axes attached to their rods*, their *fasces* are adorned with laurels, as well as one soldier). Domitian thus stands on the Nollekens Relief *between* figures that belong to the areas *militiae* and *domi*.

This the artist has shown by the distribution of the figures. In addition to this, Domitian, wearing a *toga*, is crowned with a laurel wreath, and is shown in the act of sacrificing. And because I believe (because of the presence of the *two consules*) that Pollini is right in suggesting that the scene, visible on the Nollekens Relief, shows an event of AD 89, I, therefore, wonder what *else* this panel could represent, than what Pollini (2017b) himself suggests.

Liverani (2021, 88) also ignores the fact that Francesco Bianchini (1738, 68) found the Nollekens Relief in 1722 within the *'Aula Regia'* (cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.b); Section II.). And because Bianchini documented in great detail the marble decoration of this hall (cf. F. BIANCHINI 1738, 48-68, Tab. III.; IV. = here **Fig. 9**; cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.b); Section III.), we know also that "the major theme of the *'Aula Regia'* was the celebration of Domitian's military victories": so Eugenio Polito (2009, 506, quoted *verbatim supra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.b); Section III.).

For the above-quoted passage from Paolo Liverani (2021, 88); cf. now Liverani (2023, 120; *i.e.*, the Italian version of Liverani's essay of 2021).

**To conclude.** Also Pollini (2017b) himself ignores the fact that the Nollekens Relief was actually found within the *'Aula Regia'*. Considering at the same time that the overall theme of this magnificent hall was the praise of Domitian's military victories, which the emperor had celebrated with triumphs, I therefore maintain my earlier judgement (as first formulated, *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.c.1.)). Namely that Pollini's interpretation of the Nollekens Relief, according to which it shows Domitian sacrificing in AD 89 at the *Porta Triumphalis* before beginning his (last) triumphal procession, is sound.

*The architectural fragments, excavated by Bianchini within the 'Aula Regia': the famous 'Trofei Farnese'*

d) Some of the architectural fragments, found by Francesco Bianchini in 1720-1726 in the *'Aula Regia'* and published by him (1738), are on display in the courtyard of the Palazzo Farnese at Rome. These are the famous *'Trofei Farnese'* (cf. here Fig. 5.1.); cf. *supra*, at Chapters *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*; and *Preamble*; Section II., and at Chapter V.1.i.3.b); Section III.

**Fig. 5.1. The two 'Trofei Farnese' in the cortile of Palazzo Farnese at Rome. These are two ensembles of architectural fragments, mostly found by Francesco Bianchini in his excavations (1720-1726; published 1738) on the Palatine, within the 'Aula Regia' of Domitian's Palace 'Domus Flavia' / Domus Augustana. Cf. K. Stemmer (1971, Abb. 1 [here on the left], with the fragment of the colossal cuirassed marble statue of 'Domitian as Jupiter'; here Fig. 5), Photo: J. Felbermeyer, D-DAI-Rom 35.566. Cf. K. Stemmer (1971, Abb. 2 [here on the right], with a fragment of one of the slabs with a representation of a 'province', from the porticos of the Hadrianeum at Rome; cf. here Fig. 48), Photo J. Felbermeyer, D-DAI-Rom 35.567.**

For the *Hadrianeum*; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study of the consequences of Domitian's assassination ... Or : The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia, which led to the (later) Hadrianeum.*

*One of the fragments of the 'Trofei Farnese', possibly found by Bianchini in the 'Aula Regia', belonged to a colossal cuirassed statue (8 m high), which represented 'Domitian as Jupiter'*

e) On the left hand photo of the *'Trofei Farnese'* (cf. here Fig. 5.1) appears in the background on the right the fragment of a colossal marble statue, measuring 102 x 90 cm; cf. Klaus Stemmer (1971, 567). This fragment belongs to a portrait-statue of a man, wearing an incredibly rich decorated cuirass (here Fig. 5) with a huge *gorgoneion* on the chest, as well as a *paludamentum*, part of which is left on the man's left shoulder. - What its quality is concerned, this fragment (here Fig. 5) has certainly once belonged to one of the very best sculptures that I can present in this *Study*.

Stemmer (1971) convincingly dates this fragment (here Fig. 5) to the Flavian period and identifies the represented man with Domitian; followed by Anne Wolfsfeld (2014; *ead.* 2021; cf. *infra*).

My thanks are due to Hans Rupprecht Goette for sending me, on request, also this article by Klaus Stemmer (1971), as well as, on his own account, the relevant pages from Anne Wolfsfeld's book of 2021.

**Fig. 5. Fragment of a colossal cuirassed marble statue of 'Domitian as Iuppiter' (102 x 90 cm). This statue was, according to K. Stemmer (1971), hollow and, provided Domitian was represented standing, it was originally circa 8 m high, and because of the huge *gorgoneion* on the chest of his cuirass, it showed the emperor assimilated to the god Jupiter.**

This fragment is on display in the left hand one of the *'Trofei Farnese'* in the cortile of Palazzo Farnese at Rome (cf. here Fig. 5.1). It may belong to Francesco Bianchini's finds (excavated 1720-1726, published 1738) within the *'Aula Regia'* in Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, the *'Domus Flavia' / Domus*

*Augustana*. This has already been suggested by K. Stemmer (1971, 566, 579-580) on the basis of the documentation that is available for this fragment. See also F. Bianchini's (1738, 48-68, with Tab. II; Tab. VIII = both here Fig. 8) own documentation of his excavations comprising measured plans, and S. Cosmo's (1990, Fig. 8 = here Fig. 39) findings concerning Bianchini's excavations.

For the photos illustrated here; cf. K. Stemmer (1971, Abb. 3-6;), Photos: G. Singer; D-DAI-ROM-71.175-71.178. K. Stemmer's (1971, 571, Abb. 7) reconstruction drawing of this colossal cuirassed portrait of 'Domitian as Jupiter' is here reproduced after A. Wolfsfeld (2014, 215, Abb. 6).

Stemmer (1971, 566, 579-580) has based his own, in my opinion convincing suggestion, that the fragment (here Fig. 5) was found within the 'Aula Regia', on ancient literary sources, and on information concerning the collections of the family Farnese and concerning the provenance of the fragment (here Fig. 5).

For the 'Trofei Farnese' (here Fig. 5.1) and for this fragment of a colossal portrait of 'Domitian as Jupiter' (here Fig. 5), possibly from the 'Aula Regia' of his *Domus Augustana*; cf. also *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; Section II. *Conclusions: Domitian's representations of his military successes and his claims to be of divine descent and to possess a divine nature*.

As already Francesco Bianchini (1738, 50-54), also Natascha Sojc (2021, 234) stresses the fact that, when compared with all other rooms in the Imperial Palaces on the Palatine, the 'Aula Regia' is unique, both what its size and what its magnificent decoration is concerned: "The outstanding size and decoration of the Aula Regia, with columns of coloured marble, including pinkish *pavonazzetto* and yellowish *giallo antico*, and the 3.50 m high statues in green basalt, now in Parma, make it the most elaborate room of the imperial palaces on the Palatine known today. The hall also seems to have set new standards in comparison with public buildings existing in Rome at Domitian's time as it was only later surpassed in terms of size and splendour when the Basilica Ulpia was built in Trajan's Forum [my emphasis]".

To give an impression of the decoration of the 'Aula Regia', I quote in the following a passage that was written for *supra*, Chapter VI.3. *Summary of my own hypotheses concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs presented in this Study*; *Addition: My own tentative suggestion, to which monument or building the Cancellaria Reliefs may have belonged, and a discussion of their possible date* :

'Bianchini (1738, 68) says explicitly that the reliefs here Fig. 36 [*i.e.*, the Nollekens Relief] and Fig. 37 ['the other relief'] were found in that hall of Domitian's Palace (called already by Bianchini 'Aula Regia'), where also "the colossal basalt statues of Hercules and Bacchus/Dionysus with Pan (now in Parma's Galleria Nazionale)" were excavated, as Pollini writes (cf. *id.* 2017b, 101, n. 11, quoting for that, F. BIANCHINI 1738, 54 and 58) ... Bianchini's (1738) excellent etchings comprise also a measured ground-plan of the 'Aula Regia' (his Tab. II. = here Fig. 8; cf. here Fig. 8.1); and a representation of a uniquely rich decorated marble column base (cf. his Tab. III. = here Fig. 9). This column base belongs to a pair of *giallo antico* columns (cf. p. 50: "mai state osservate") that flanked the main entrance to the 'Aula Regia' in the north (cf. here Figs. 8; 8.1), the plinth of which is decorated with trophies; as well as other finds from that hall (cf. p. 54): a detail of a marble entablature, decorated with a winged Victoria, who is crowning a trophy (illustrated on his Tab. IV. = here Fig. 9 [to this I will come back below]). Bianchini's illustrations (1738, Tab. III. and IV. = here Fig. 9) therefore show that at least one of the iconographic themes of the enormous 'Aula Regia' was certainly the celebration of Domitian's military victories. According to Eugenio Polito (2009, 506, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); Section III.), this was the major subject of the 'Aula Regia' [my emphasis]'.

For the meaning of the above-mentioned "winged Victoria" in Domitian's 'Aula Regia'; cf. now Sam Heijnen ("Living up to expectations. Hadrian's military representation in freestanding sculpture", 2020). Heijnen discusses such figures, which appear in the "tropy type" of (representations of) the cuirasses, for example of Domitian, which celebrate his victories in Germania, and on the cuirasses of Vespasian and Titus, celebrating their victories in the Great Jewish Revolt (or War), and on the cuirass of Hadrian's statue from Hierapydna.

Cf. *supra*, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-type from Hierapydna* (cf. here Fig. 29).

In addition to this, I repeat in the following two passages, written for *supra*, Chapter V.1.i.3.b); Section III. Does the design of the Nollekens Relief reflect the topographical context, for which Domitian had commissioned it ? :

“Bianchini (1738, 50-52) described and illustrated (cf. his Tab. III. = here Fig. 9) also the fact that the bases of the columns that flanked the main entrance to the ‘Aula Regia’ were decorated with trophies and with the *corona civica*. This iconographic detail may perhaps be read as Domitian's claim to have also had an important part in his father Vespasian's victory in the civil war of AD 68/69. Rita Paris (1994b, 82-83, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a)), actually gives Domitian credit for that [my emphasis] ...

Bianchini (1738, 50-54) was especially interested in the weapons appearing on the marble reliefs, he discussed (cf. his Tab. III; IV. = here Fig. 9), attributing the represented trophies, *inter alia* woolen caps, to Germanic Peoples. Given the extremely high quality of those marbles, it is certainly worth while to study this topic in depth. - As I should only later realize, Joachim Raeder (2010, 141, quoted in more detail *verbatim infra*) seems so far to be the only scholar, who has identified those weapons (“die auf die Dakerkriege Domitians verweisen”), but he does not explain, how he has arrived at this judgement.

Some of the reliefs representing trophies, ‘excavated’ and documented by Bianchini (1738) in the ‘Aula Regia’, are still extant and on display in the cortile of Palazzo Farnese at Rome, the famous ‘Farnese trophies’ (cf. here Fig. 5.1). They were also drawn by Giovanni Battista Piranesi; cf. Patrizio Pensabene (1979). Cf. M. DURRY 1921; P.H. von BLANCKENHAGEN 1940; and C. GASPARRY 2007, summarized by E. POLITO 2009, 509, quoted *verbatim supra*) [my emphasis]’.

The overall impression of the ‘Aula Regia’ must indeed have been overwhelming. Let's try to imagine for a moment what it has looked like : According to Bianchini (1738, 50, who mentioned the correct measurements; cf. *infra*) the ground-plan of the ‘Aula Regia’ has a larger width than the central nave of the Basilica of S. Peter in Rome, and the decoration of this hall was among the most luxurious ones known at Bianchini's time. The shaft of the columns, decorating the ‘Aula Regia’, were carved from different coloured marbles, the bases of those columns and the architraves, belonging to them, were carved from white marble and richly decorated with reliefs.

Unfortunately we do not know, whether or not those reliefs, in addition to this, had been painted. But we should consider that, according to Pollini (2017b, 113) the Nollekens Relief (here Fig. 36) was painted.

The walls of the ‘Aula Regia’ were covered with veneer of different coloured marbles and likewise exuberantly decorated with exquisite marble reliefs, as documented by Bianchini (1738, 48-68; cf. here Fig. 36, the Nollekens Relief and Fig. 37, ‘the other relief’). To all this we must add in our imagination, as suggested by Klaus Stemmer (1971, 579-580), that the 8 m high cuirassed portrait-statue of ‘Domitian as Jupiter’ (here Fig. 5) was on display in the southern apse of the ‘Aula Regia’ (*i.e.*, exactly opposite the main entrance to the ‘Aula Regia’ on its north side (cf. here Figs. 8; 8.1; 58).

Note that Stemmer (*op.cit.*) calls this curved wall an “Apsis”. Also Filippo Coarelli (2012, 495) writes about the ‘Aula Regia’: “Il lato corto meridionale comunica con il peristilio tramite due porte, al centro delle quale si inserisce un'abside, in cui non è difficile identificare il luogo destinato all'imperatore”. Bianchini (see the lettering on his plan Tab. II; here Figs. 8; 8.1), on the other hand, called this curved wall a “Tribunal”.

According to Amanda Claridge the ground-plan of the ‘Aula Regia’ was “38 m. long by 31 m. wide (128 X 104 RF [Roman Feet])”; cf. Claridge (1998, 135; *ead.* 2010, 148).

In the 8 niches of the ‘Aula Regia’ (here Fig. 8) stood originally colossal ideal statues, carved from green Basanite (*basanites*), a volcanic rock from the Wadi Hammamat in Egypt : the statue of Hercules is 3,73 m high (for all this information; cf. the Homepage of the Galleria Nazionale at Parma; see below). Bianchini (1738, 54, Tab. XIX; XX, representing etchings of those two statues) found in his excavation in 1724 two of those colossal statues in secondary context immediately adjacent to the ‘Aula Regia’, and Gordon Leith has integrated into his reconstruction drawing of the ‘Aula Regia’ some of those colossal statues (here Fig. 108). As mentioned above, the two colossal statues, excavated by Bianchini, the ‘Dionysos, supported by a satyr’ (Inv. Nr. GN 969), and the Hercules (Inv. Nr. GN 970, carved from *basanites*, and 3,73 m high) are on display at the Galleria Nazionale of Parma.

Cf. online at: <<https://complessopilotta.it/opera/scultura-colossale-raffigurante-eracle/>>;

<<https://complessopilotta.it/opera/scultura-colossale-raffigurante-dioniso-con-satiro/>> [last visit: 11-I-2023].

Basanite (*basanites*) is a volcanic rock; cf. Walter Maresch, Olaf Medenbach and Hans Dieter Trochim (1996, 108, 114, 118, 120, 122).

*The colossal portrait of 'Domitian as Jupiter' (here Fig. 5) in the 'Aula Regia' and Statius (IV 2,41ff.)*

Of course also Klaus Stemmer (1971, 579-580) has asked himself, which hall in his Palace Domitian may have chosen for his famous *Coenatio Iovis*, the banquet, described by Statius (IV 2,41ff.), to which Domitian had also invited his poet. Stemmer (1971, 579-580) suggests that the *Coenatio Iovis* had taken place at the 'Aula Regia'.

As the name 'Coenatio Iovis' for the 'Triclinium' (here Figs. 8.1; 58; 73; 108-110) proves, most other scholars believe that the banquet, described by Statius, had instead been staged at the 'Triclinium'. See most recently Aurora Raimondi Cominesi (2022, 113 with n. 115): "**The notorious banquet described by Statius, in which Domitian towers over his guests as Jupiter from the heavens** [my emphasis]".

In her **note 115**, Raimondi Cominesi writes: "Stat. *Silv.* 4.2. The hall in which the banquet took place is usually identified with the so-called Cenatio Iovis in the Domus Flavia ...".

See for the *Coenatio Iovis* (Statius, *Silvae* 4.2) also Antony Augoustakis and Emma Buckley (2021, 162), who do not address the question where this banquet was staged though.

**Interestingly, Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt (2020, 189) mentioned that 'it is very probable that all the major rooms of the 'Domus Flavia' were used for the great banquets': "È molto probabile che gli ambienti principali della Domus Flavia venissero utilizzati per i grandi banchetti".**

Also Natasch Sojc (2021, 134) writes, "**that the Aula Regia was probably used ... for ... a large-scale banquet** [my emphasis]".

It is tempting to believe that the presence of this colossal portrait-statue of 'Domitian as Jupiter' (here Fig. 5), if that was actually 8 m high and indeed on display in the apse of the 'Aula Regia', as suggested by Stemmer (1971, 579-580), whom I am following here, could have influenced Statius's (IV 2,41ff.) text. If so, this could mean that Stemmer (1971, 580) was likewise right in locating the banquet called *Coenatio Iovis* at the 'Aula Regia'.

**I myself follow the findings of Bianchini (1738, 48-68, Tab. III.; IV. = here Fig. 9) and Polito (2009, 509), both discussed and quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III., who have proven that the overall iconographic theme of Domitian's 'Aula Regia' was 'the celebration of Domitian's military victories'. All the other scholars, consulted in this Study, who have studied the 'Aula Regia' in Domitian's Palace *Domus Augustana*: Stemmer (1971), Claridge (1998; *ead.* 2010), Mar (2009), Coarelli (2012), Wolfsfeld (2014; *ead.* 2021), Pollini (2017b), Wulf-Rheidt (2020), Sojc (2021), Raimondi Cominesi and Stocks (2021), Raimondi Cominesi (2022), or Alteri (2023), have overlooked this important fact.**

Only when this volume was about to be sent to the press, have I realized that Joachim Raeder (2010, 141) seems to be the only exception, because he writes: "Aufgrund der Waffendarstellungen im Fries [cf. p. 142, his Textabbildung 49.a-b; cf. F. BIANCHINI 1738, Tab. II-IV = here Figs. 8; 9], die auf die Dakerkriege des Domitian verweisen, und der Ziegelstempel im Mauerwerk, muß die 'Aula Regia' und deren dekorative Ausstattung in der Zeit zwischen 86/89 n. Chr. und 93/94 n. Chr. entstanden sein [my emphasis]".

We will next discuss in detail the following statements : 'the Romans believed, that their supreme god Jupiter granted them their military victories', and that, at least in the case of Alexander the Great, 'the theology of rule was based on the belief that the god and the reigning sovereign were identical'.

In addition to this, it has been stated, 'that Domitian's *virtus* 'invincibility', which was on principle expected from Roman emperors, guaranteed Rome's wealth''. To put on display the colossal portrait of

**'Domitian as Jupiter' (here Fig. 5) in the 'Aula Regia', the by far most magnificent hall of his Palace, where Domitian could also stage banquets, therefore made sense. Unfortunately we ignore, whom those 8 colossal *basanites* statues in the 'Aula Regia' represented. But one thing is clear, the 'Statue of Dionysos, supported by a satyr' (i.e., showing the god being tipsy?), would have been an excellent decoration for a hall, also used for banquets.**

This fragment of a colossal cuirassed portrait-statue of 'Domitian as Jupiter' (here Fig. 5), has most recently been discussed in great detail by Anne Wolfsfeld (2014, 215, Abb. 6 [= here Fig. 5]; *ead.* 2021). Wolfsfeld (2014, 200; *ead.* 2021, 130-131, 308-310) does not address Stemmer's (1971, 566, 579-580) above-mentioned hypotheses, according to which this fragment was found by Bianchini within the 'Aula Regia', and that this colossal statue of 'Domitian as Iuppiter' was on display in the apse of this hall. Nor does Wolfsfeld add herself new information to the provenance of the fragment. Concerning Domitian's self-presentation on the other hand, she formulates, on the basis of her analysis of numerous of Domitian's cuirassed statues, the important observation of Domitian's 'persönlicher "Siegesprogramm"; cf. Wolfsfeld (2014, 203).

Wolfsfeld (2014, 203) does not address in this context the fact that Stefan Pfeiffer (2009) has already discussed this subject in detail. I, therefore, repeat here a passage that was already quoted above, at point 2.):

**'Also Stefan Pfeiffer (2009, 61-62) mentions the *Pirousta* (here Fig. 49) in his book on the Flavians ... These figures of representations of 'peoples' symbolized, according to Pfeiffer (2009, 61-62), Domitian's "Sieghaftigkeit", which in its turn guaranteed Rome's wealth.**

**Elsewhere, Stefan Pfeiffer (2018, 189) ... by analysing the themes of Domitian's self-presentation, explains what he means with "Sieghaftigkeit": "1. It was a key issue for Domitian to show his *virtus militaris* and his victoriousness ... [my emphasis]". Domitian in his self-presentations thus claimed his 'invincibility'. For a discussion; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.a)'.**

We have just learned from Stefan Pfeiffer (2018, 189, and *id.* 2009, 61-62) that Domitian's '*virtus militaris* and his 'victoriousnes' guaranteed Rome's wealth''.

In the following, we will turn to three different ways, how Domitian's claim to possess the *virtus* 'invincibility' was visually expressed: **I.)** by demonstrating Domitian's *pietas* towards the gods (cf. here Fig. 1); **II.)** by creating a meaningful topographical context : locating Domitian's Palace on the Palatine 'opposite' the Republican Temple of Iuppiter Invictus (cf. here Figs. 8.1; 8.1); and **III.)** by identifying Domitian with the 'invincible' Alexander the Great, as is shown on the 'Relief Ruesch' (cf. here Fig. 7).

**Ad I.) Domitian's claim to possess the *virtus* 'invincibility' is expressed by the demonstration of his *pietas* towards the gods (cf. here Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing).**

In this context, I repeat here a text, written for *supra*, Chapter V.1.b):

**'I therefore rather maintain my own suggestion, made above, that Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs [here Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing] visualizes the most important aspect of the one *virtus*, expected on principle from a Roman emperor : his 'invincibility' [my emphasis] (cf. *supra*, at n. 282; C. HÄUBER 2017, 22, 520-521). - See also John Pollini (2017b, 124, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.c.1.)).**

... because in this complex construction of a Roman emperor's *virtus*, only his *virtus* - in the case of Domitian on Frieze A [here Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figures 6; 5], his *pietas* in regard to the gods, expressed on Frieze A especially by Domitian's [figure 6] relation to Minerva [figure 5], his personal patron goddess, who is therefore characterized by means of the composition as being 'closest' to him - can help him to successfully strive for, and finally attain *victoria*, or 'invincibility' - but not without decisive and ultimate divine interference ! Because *victoria* could only be granted by the gods. - As already mentioned above: **'At**

**Jupiter's orders and under his guidance the Romans fought their wars, and to him they consequently attributed their military victories** [my emphasis]' (cf. *supra*, in Chapter III. at n. 431: "cf. H. MEYER 2000, 126 ..."). ... I have elsewhere regretted the following fact: "Roman 'pagan' religion was not codified, nor was the complex rôle of the Roman emperor", and find that it is tempting to regard the above-mentioned construction of the emperor's *virtus*, in its distinct reciprocity with the gods, as part of the 'theology of the rôle of the Roman emperor', especially, when we consider that some scholars have already coined the term: ">theology< of the imperial cult" (for both quotes; cf. C. HÄUBER 2014a, 728, 720 with n. 284, providing references). And already Mario Torelli had used the term: "teologia imperiale" (cf. *id.*: "Providentiae, Ara", in: *LTUR* IV [1999], 166).

As I have only realized after this Chapter was written, already Tonio Hölscher (2009b, 59-60, quoted in more detail *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.) writes about Alexander the Great: "**Die Theologie der Herrschaft hatte die Identität von Gott und Herrscher zur Grundlage**" ('The theology of rule was based on the identity of god and sovereign'; my emphasis)''.

Hölscher's (2009b, 59-60) just-quoted observation concerning the doctrine of 'identity of god and sovereign', leads us to the comments made by Mario Torelli (1987, 579) about the Flavian emperors, to which we will now turn.

**Ad II.) Domitian's claim to possess the *virtus* 'invincibility' is expressed by the location of his Palace on the Palatine 'opposite' the Republican Temple of Iuppiter Invictus (cf. here Fig. 58).**

*Mario Torelli (1987, 579) on Domitian's claim to possess the 'quality invincibility' as his permanent virtus*

Torelli's findings, discussed in the following, have been overlooked by recent scholars: for example by Anne Wolfsfeld (2014; 200 with n. 96, Abb. 7; *ead.* 2021). Like Klaus Stemmer (1971, 573-579), she discusses in great detail Domitian's notorious colossal equestrian statue called *Equus Domitiani*, and asserts (erroneously) like Stemmer (1971, 575) that the Flavian emperors Vespasian and Titus did not commission colossal portraits of themselves.

For the *Equus Domitiani*, which was erected in the *Forum Romanum*; cf. also Cairoli F. Giuliani ("Equus: Domitianus", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 228-229, Figs. 77-80, and *supra*, at n. 267, in Chapter I.3.2.); cf. also Lisa Cordes (2014, 346-355); Eric M. Moormann (2018, 168 with ns. 46, 47; *id.* 2021, 46 n. 12); Jane Feijfer (2021, 78); Antony Augoustakis and Emma Buckley (2021, 161-162, with n. 15); and most recently Gian Luca Gregori and Valerio Astolfi (2023, 161); see also *supra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part I.*

There I have already quoted, what I repeat here again; cf. Moormann (2018, 169): "The monument [*i.e.*, the *Equus Domitiani*] was officially given by the Senate to honour Domitian's victory over the Chatti and Dacians in A.D. 89".

For the reworking of Nero's *colossus* at the order of the Emperor Titus, mentioned by Torelli (1987, 579) in the below-quoted passage; cf. Claudia Lega ("Colossus: Nero", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 295-298, esp p. 296).

Eric M. Moormann (2018, 164 with ns. 18, 19, pp. 166, 168-169), although he likewise quotes Lega (1993) in his note 18, does not address the fact that, according to Dio Cassius (LXVI, 15, 1), the face of the *Colossus Neronis*, which had at first the facial traits of Nero, then, under Vespasian, represented the god Sol, had been reworked under Titus into a portrait of himself.

In the following, I anticipate some passages, written for *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section VI.



Torelli (1987, 578-579) discusses the itinerary of a visitor, coming up from the *Velia*, with the *colossus* of Nero/Titus and the Arch of *Divus Titus* (here **Fig. 120**) to the Arch of Domitian (interpreted by F. COARELLI 2009b; *id.* 2012; cf. *supra*, at point 4.) as Arch of *Divus Vespasianus*, whom I am following here) and the (presumed) Temple of Iuppiter Victor immediately to the west of it, both of which stood right in front of the façade of Domitian's '*Domus Flavia*' / *Domus Augustana* (cf. for both here **Figs. 8.1; 58**).

Torelli (1987, 579), like later also Filippo Coarelli (2009b; 2012; discussed *supra*, at point 4.)) assumes arches of all three Flavian emperors in this area, all of them standing, according to Torelli (*op.cit.*), next to a Temple of Jupiter: the Arch of Titus (next to the Temple of Iuppiter *Stator*), an Arch of Vespasian (next to the Temple of Iuppiter *Propugnator*) and an Arch of Domitian (*i.e.*, Coarelli's Arch of *Divus Vespasianus*, next to the Temple of Iuppiter *Victor*). Then Torelli (1987, 579) analyses the 'message' of this third, just-described topographical context in regard to the reigning Flavian emperor, who resides in this Palace, Domitian.

As already said above at point 4.), the identification of the temple podium (which are in reality two different foundations) in front of Domitian's '*Domus Flavia*' / *Domus Augustana* (here **Figs. 8.1; 58**) is hotly debated; I myself, following Vincenzo Graffeo and Patrizio Pensabene (2014; *id.* 2016-2017), identify the podium on the right, standing immediately adjacent to the *Arcus Domitiani*/ Arch of *Divus Vespasianus* ?, with that of the Temple of Iuppiter Invictus. Graffeo and Pensabene found out in their excavations that the Temple of Iuppiter Invictus had one or two Republican building phase, and also one Imperial phase.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Sections III.-V.; IV.; VII.-X.

The same is also true for the locations of the Temples of Iuppiter *Stator*, Iuppiter *Victor*, and Iuppiter *Propugnator*, mentioned by Torelli (1987, 579), all of which are now located elsewhere than assumed by Torelli. For a detailed discussion; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2. in *Appendix VI.* The *Turris Chartularia*, for example, to the south-east of the Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia* (here **Fig. 120**), which Torelli (1987, 579) took for the Temple of Iuppiter *Stator*, cannot possibly be identified with this temple.

Cf. Coarelli (2012, 282 with n. 387); Häuber (2017, 327); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix V.*; at Section IV. *The (now twelve) different locations of the Temple of Iuppiter Stator, marked on the map Fig. 73.*

Torelli (1987, 579) interpreted the topographical situation, which he described (Arch of Titus/ Temple of Iuppiter *Stator*; Arch of Vespasian/ Temple of Iuppiter *Propugnator*; and Arch of Domitian/ Temple of Iuppiter *Victor*) as follows.

***The "triumphatores Flavi" identified themselves with Iuppiter, and by means of the epithet 'Victor' of the Temple of Jupiter on the Palatine Domitian claimed the 'quality' invincibility as his permanent virtue :***

**"La triplice presenza di Iuppiter presso questi congerie verrebbe a sancire l'identificazione dei *triumphatores Flavi* con la somma divinità del pantheon romano: in particolare, l'epiteto di Victor del tempio palatino verrebbe ad assumere il significato di una "qualità", di una permanente virtù, dell'imperatore vivente [*i.e.*, Domitian], che sembra - al pario della statua colossale del Sol, opportunamente riadoperata - presagire ancora una volta le tendenze ideologiche tardo-antiche [my emphasis]"**.

With the "statua colossale del Sol, opportunamente riadoperata", Torelli (1987, 579) referred to the *colossus* of the Emperor Nero, at first on display in the *vestibulum* of his *Domus Aurea*. At the order of the Emperor Vespasian, Nero's facial traits of this colossal bronze statue had been changed after his death into those of the god Sol.

Like Torelli, and contrary to other scholars, I believe that this statue, which was 100-120 Roman feet high, had already been finished in Nero's lifetime; cf. Häuber (2014a, 704 with ns. 100-103). Torelli (1987, 579) further refers to the assertion that, at the order of the Emperor Titus, the head of Nero's *colossus* (currently having the facial traits of the god Sol) had been reworked into a portrait of Titus. To this we will now turn.

In her discussion of the colossal head of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section *VI.*, Cécile Evers (1991, 796) writes: "L'existence d'un si gigantesque portrait d'empereur au IIe siècle [*i.e.*, of Hadrian] - la tête seule [cf. here **Fig. 11**] fait 1,74 m, l'ensemble dépassait probablement les 9 m peut surprendre. **Cependant les statues colossales sont loin d'être une innovation du Bas-Empire. L'une des plus célèbres, on s'en souviendra, est celle de Néron mesurant plus de 30 m de haut** [with n. 65] et qui a subi de nombreux avatars. **L'empereur lui avait donné ses traits et l'avait placée dans le vestibule de son palais. Vespasien l'avait transformée en Sol, et son fils Titus, si l'on en croit Dion Cassius** [with n. 66], **l'aurait affublée de son propre portrait** [my emphasis]".

In her **note 65**, Evers writes: "J. GAGÉ ... [*i.e.*, here J. GAGÉ 1928] 106-122; Th. PEKARY ... [*i.e.*, here T. PEKARY 1985] 81". - See also Claudia Lega: "Colossus: Nero", in: *LTUR I* (1993) 295-298.

In her **note 66**, she writes: "DION CASSIUS, LXVI, 15, 1".

Although I myself, contrary to Mario Torelli (1987, 579) ... believe that the temple podium in question did not belong to the Temple of Iuppiter Victor, but instead to the Republican Temple (with two Imperial building phases) of Iuppiter Invictus (cf. here **Figs. 8.1; 58**), Torelli (1987, 579) is nevertheless right with his just-quoted suggestion, what the presence of this Jupiter Temple in front of the '*Domus Flavia*'/ *Domus Augustana* may have meant to Domitian's self-presentation: standing immediately next to the Arch of Domitian/ the Arch of *Divus Vespasianus* ?, and erected, as it was, at a site, which a visitor of Domitian's Palace would have reached shortly after having seen the *colossus* of Nero/ Titus on the *Velia*, and the Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia* (cf. here **Fig. 120**).

I suggest that Torelli's (1987, 579) just-quoted interpretation may also be applied to the Nollekens Relief ([discussed above]; cf. *supra*, at Chapter *V.1.i.3.b*) and here **Fig. 36**), and likewise to the 8m high *colossus* of 'Domitian as Jupiter' (here **Fig. 5**), discussed here, the iconography of which thanks to Torelli's above-quoted observations (1987, 579) has become much better understandable now'.

If Nero's over 30 m high (gilded ?) bronze *colossus* on the *Velia*, glittering in the sun, had indeed received the facial traits of Titus, Domitian's colossal *Equus Domitiani*, which stood to the west of it on the *Forum Romanum*, appears in a very different 'light'. Domitian's *Equus Domitiani* may thus have been designed to 'counterbalance' Nero's/ Titus's *colossus*, compare the relevant observations by Eric M. Moormann (2018, 168-169 with n. 48); but note that Moormann (2018, 164 with n. 18) takes for granted that this *colossus* represented the god Sol at that stage.

But if the Emperor Titus had indeed ordered that the head of Nero's *colossus*, at that stage representing the god Sol, was reworked into a portrait of himself, the situation changes accordingly. Some visitors to the *Forum Romanum* and to the *Velia* (here **Figs. 58; 73**), who had been impressed there by these colossal portrait-statues of the Flavian Emperors Titus and Domitian, had perhaps afterwards the chance to visit also Domitian's Palace on the Palatine. Those people might even have thought that Domitian's 8 m high marble portrait of himself 'as Jupiter' in his '*Aula Regia*' (cf. here **Fig. 5**), when compared with those two other *colossi*, seemed a relatively 'modest' statement about himself.

Only after this Chapter had already been published in a Preview on our Webserver, did I find the important observation by Pier Luigi Tucci (2022, 224-225, with Fig. 20, Section: "Il Colosso"), who describes and illustrates the enormous *visual* impact, which Nero's *colossus* must have had on Vespasian's *Templum Pacis* (!).

Let's now return to Domitian's claim to possess the *virtus* 'invincibility'.

**Despite the negative image, created at the order of the Emperor Trajan, in which all that had been denied Domitian, recent scholars were able to demonstrate the in reality great importance of Domitian's victorious military campaigns.**

Cf. *supra*, at the Chapter Preamble : *Domitian's negative image*; Section I. 'The intentional creation of Domitian's negative image', here presented by discussing relevant text passages from Markus Handy ("Strategien zur Legitimierung der Ermordung des Domitian", 2015) and from Peter L. Viscusi (*Studies on Domitian*, 1973).

Considering at the same time what John Brian Campbell (1996, 491) writes: "Domitian was the first reigning emperor since Claudius in 43 to campaign in person, visiting the Rhine once, and the Danube three times", we may conclude the following. It is first of all no wonder that, at Domitian's Palace on the Palatine (here Figs. 8; 8.1; 9; 58; 73; 108-110), 'the major theme of the 'Aula Regia' was the celebration of Domitian's military victories', as Polito (2009, 506) has observed.

Although in the 'Aula Regia' Domitian is not *himself* portrayed as the victorious general of his military campaigns. His victories are instead - at least in the case of those fragments of its sculptural decoration that had survived until Bianchini (1738) excavated them (cf. here **Figs. 8; 9**) - 'alluded to' by the choice of the sculptural decoration of this hall that comprises trophies of various kinds. But we may just as well imagine that there existed also representations of the victorious general Domitian 'in action'. If some more of such representations (apart from the *Equus Domitiani*, which we know from coins; cf. *LTUR* II [1995] Fig. 80) had existed somewhere, they were probably, like the *Equus Domitiani*, destroyed by those, who, after Domitian's assassination and *damnatio memoriae*, created Domitian's negative image.

I myself know of only one such surviving representation of the victorious general Domitian, the 'Relief Ruesch' (cf. here **Fig. 7**), in which Domitian's head has not by chance been defaced after his *damnatio memoriae*, and to which we will now turn.

**Ad III.) Domitian's claim to possess the *virtus* 'invincibility' by identifying himself with the 'invincible' Alexander the Great, as is shown on the 'Relief Ruesch' (cf. here Fig. 7).**

**The 'Relief Ruesch' will be discussed in the following for three reasons: a) it shows Domitian's *Alexander imitatio*, b) it proves that this kind of innovative composition, hitherto attributed to the Trajanic/Hadrianic period, was - of course - likewise already invented at the order of Domitian, and c) because its current state of preservation seems to illustrate the title of the recent exhibition on Domitian at Rome, called: *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore*.**

To begin with the above-mentioned exhibition on Domitian at Rome : the accompanying catalogue with the same title is edited by Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi and Maria Paola Del Moro (2023).

In order to summarize the scholarly discussion of the 'Relief Ruesch' (here **Fig. 7**), I repeat in the following some passages that were written for another *Chapter*, in which I have discussed this relief in great detail (cf. *supra*, in *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; Section III. *My own thoughts about Domitian*); at point 5.).

[Because this *Chapter The major results of this book on Domitian* has been published on our Webserver as a Preview for this *Study* on Domitian, I have, after this date, only changed few details of the following text any more. Some passages of the *Preamble* itself, on the other hand, have still greatly been enlarged.]

**Ad a) The 'Relief Ruesch' and Domitian's claim of 'invincibility' by imitating Alexander the Great.**

'Dietrich Willers (2021, 81, 86-87 with n. 40, Taf. 11,1 [= here Fig. 7]), in his discussion of the 'Relief Ruesch', which shows Domitian in a battle scene, without wearing a helmet, points out that not wearing a helmet ... has been interpreted by ancient and modern commentators *inter alia* as follows: Alexander the Great and other commanders, who followed his model, thus stressed their invincibility [my emphasis].

On 14th October 2021, Hans Rupprecht was kind enough to send me, on his own account, an article by Dietrich Willers, in which the author discusses the 'Relief Ruesch', a marble relief that represents a cavalry battle of Romans against Germanic troops ("Relief mit Reiterschlacht", 2021, with his Taf. 11; Taf. 13 [= here Fig. 7]).

Willers (2021) writes that the collector Arnold Ruesch (1882-1929), best known for the '*Guida Ruesch*' (1908; 1911), the excellent guide of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli, which he edited, had acquired the 'Relief Ruesch' in 1920 at an art dealer's in Rome.

Ruesch himself, as Willers (2021) writes, had already realized that the design of the central group on the 'Relief Ruesch', a cuirassed Roman *imperator*, wearing the *paludamentum*, and a German immediately opposite him, both on horseback, shows striking similarities with the two protagonists on the famous Alexander Mosaic from the 'Casa del Fauno' in Pompeii, now at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli. This extraordinary fact led Bernard Andreae (1956) to assert that the 'Relief Ruesch' must be a modern forgery, to the effect that henceforth this relief was not discussed by archaeologists any more. As a matter of fact, I myself had not even known of this relief.

Willers (2021) reports that Ruesch had built a villa at Zürich to accommodate his collection. After his death his antiques were sold and dispersed, and in 1977 his Villa was destroyed. Fortunately in 2019 the Antikensammlung Bern of the Universität was able to acquire as loans from private collectors some of the antiques formerly in Ruesch's collection (comprising the 'Relief Ruesch', here Fig. 7), in addition, the owner of the 'Relief Ruesch' had obviously agreed that it could recently be restored.

This restoration of the 'Relief Ruesch' has proven that already in antiquity the face of the Roman *imperator* on this relief had deliberately been destroyed. Willers (2021, 79, 83-84, 89, 94), who is able to disprove that the 'Relief Ruesch' can possibly be a modern forgery, follows the judgement of earlier scholars by dating it Domitianic, *inter alia* by convincingly comparing it with the Cancelleria Reliefs (here Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing).

And, as already suggested by Arnold von Salis (1947, 99-100), Willers (2021, 89-90, Taf. 11; Taf. 13, 2-5 [= here Fig. 7]) is able to demonstrate that the head of this rider was originally a portrait of Domitian, whose face had obviously been destroyed as a result of the emperor's *damnatio memoriae*. Domitian is fighting against Germanic soldiers, identified by Willers (2021, 90) with the Chatti, whom Domitian defeated in AD 83, as he writes.

**Fig. 7. 'Relief Ruesch', ex collection Arnold Ruesch (Zürich), who bought it in 1920 at an art dealer's in Rome (provenance unknown). Cavalry battle of Romans against Germanic soldiers (the Chatti ?, or Marcomanni or Quadi ?), the Roman *imperator* is Domitian. Marble, 74 x 108,8 cm. Domitian's head was defaced because of his *damnatio memoriae*, but the relief has nevertheless been re-used in antiquity. Private collection. On loan at the Antikensammlung Bern of the Universität. From D. Willers (2021, Taf. 11; Taf. 13,1: detail of the *imperator*, Taf. 13,2-4: details of the head of the *imperator*; Taf. 13,5: right profile of the bust of Domitian, Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. no. MC 1156) ...**

'Dietrich Willers (2021, 74 n. 1) writes that the Antikensammlung Bern der Universität is planning "eine Sonderausstellung mit Dauerleihgaben aus dem einstigen Bestand der Sammlung Ruesch". And in an E-mail of 20th October 2021, he mentioned to me that he has sent an offprint of his article (2021) to Bernard Andreae, who answered Willers that he agrees with him that the 'Relief Ruesch' (here Fig. 7) is ancient. On 24th October 2021, Dietrich Willers has written me another E-mail, kindly granting me the permission to mention our correspondence here.' ...

'Apropos, the striking similarities of the composition of the 'Relief Ruesch' and of the Alexander Mosaic. I am, of course, aware of the fact that, for chronological reasons, Domitian and his artists could not possibly have known the Alexander Mosaic at Pompeii, but rather either its prototype, a famous painting, which Willers (2021, 81) dates to around 300 BC, or else other copies of this prototype.

Between February 4th and 24th 2022, and again on the 1st of January 2023, I could discuss with Andrew Stewart in E-mail correspondences the 'Relief Ruesch' (here **Fig. 7**) and the Alexander Mosaic. As Stewart wrote me, the prototype of this mosaic was a (now lost) painting, which, being a "four-colour-painting", is clearly datable in the fourth century BC, and was, in his opinion, still created in Alexander's lifetime. Later it was brought by the Romans as war booty from Macedonia to Rome, "after 168 or after 148 BC", as Stewart suggested, where it was henceforth copied in a variety of media; cf. Stewart (1993, 133 with n. 37). Andrew was also kind enough to provide me with his relevant publication; cf. Stewart (*Faces of Power: Alexander's image and Hellenistic politics*, 1993, 130-150, Chapter: "2. The Alexander Mosaic: A Reading").

On the 1st of January 2023, I had written Andrew Stewart again, asking him, whether the date "after 148 BC" could possibly mean that he assumed that this Greek painting had been on display at the *Porticus Metelli* (the later *Porticus Octaviae*), but Andrew Stewart was kind enough to answer me immediately that he himself has never suggested this'.

For the *Porticus Octaviae*; cf. *supra*, at point 2.).

'I had asked Andrew Stewart this question, because we know that in 146 BC Metellus Macedonicus had brought to Rome and put on display in his *Porticus Metelli* the famous statue group *turma Alexandri*, which Alexander the Great had dedicated in the sanctuary of Zeus at Dion in Macedonia. *The turma Alexandri* showed Alexander the Great together with those of his *hetairoi* fallen at the Granikos (334 BC): a group of 25 equestrian bronze statues and further nine infantrymen, all by Lysippos; cf. Häuber (2014a, 532). - To Alexander the Great and his *hetairoi* I will come back below.

Cf. below, in this Section III.; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...; Introduction; Section I., at 4.) Hadrian's Parforceritt in November AD 97 from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mainz). The discussion of this 'itinerary' of Hadrian brings us another time back to the Porticus Octaviae, because there was on display the famous turma Alexandri; and at Chapter VI.1.*

On 14th January 2023, I was told by Kris Seaman that Andrew Stewart had passed away the day before. What his own scholarly production is concerned, which was thus prematurely interrupted, this clearly means a great loss to the entire scholarly field of archaeology. But this loss is especially felt by his friends and colleagues, who had the privilege of knowing him personally, and with whom Andrew used to share his vast knowledge so generously.

Likewise since February 2022, I had the chance to discuss with Filippo Coarelli the 'Relief Ruesch' (which he actually knew, but of which he ignored, of course, its current whereabouts) and the Alexander Mosaic. Coarelli told me that he is in the course of preparing an exhibition on Alexander the Great, organized by the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli; the Alexander Mosaic will be restored on this occasion. On 31st March 2023, Coarelli was kind enough to write me the reference of the catalogue of this exhibition, that will be opened on 29th May 2023 at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli: Filippo Coarelli and Eugenio Lo Sardo (a cura di), *Alessandro Magno e l'Oriente. La scoperta e lo stupore*.

I am not a specialist in *militaria*, but I wish at least to mention a fact that other scholars, more knowledgeable in this field, might like to study in more detail.

I am referring to the soldier, to the right of Amanda Claridge's (2013) (alleged) Hadrian (of his portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta$ ); here **Fig. 3**) in Scene LXXII of Trajan's Column (here **Figs. 4; 4.1**), who (like Willers's 2021 Chatti on the 'Relief Ruesch'; here **Fig. 7**) is only wearing long trousers and is armed with a shield. This soldier on Trajan's column (here **Figs. 4; 4.1**) according to Karl Strobel (2017, 318) may be identified as a "Markomanne" or as a "Quade", who, in Trajan's First Dacian War (in 102 AD), which is represented in Scene LXXII on Trajan's Column, belonged to Rome's auxiliary troops; so also Willers (2021, 90 with n. 90). - To this relief on Trajan's Column and to Hadrian's portrait-type (here **Figs. 4 ?; 4.1 ?; 3**) I will come back below.

If those Germanic soldiers on the 'Relief Ruesch' (here **Fig. 7**) really were Marcomanni or Quadi, not Chatti, those were Germanic tribes, whom Domitian had only to deal with in AD 89, as we have learned above from Peter L. Viscusi (1973, 53-63), who discusses also the fact that Domitian celebrated in AD 89 a double triumph over the Chatti and the Dacians. If the Germanic soldiers, visible on the 'Relief Ruesch', were those of the later war, this relief could be dated 'after AD 89', exactly as, in my opinion, the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. *supra*, at point 2.) and here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**), with which Willers (2021) himself compares the 'Relief Ruesch'. For Domitian's campaign against the Marcomanni and Quadi (in AD 89), and Domitian's double triumph over the Chatti and the Dacians in AD 89; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Section I."

**In the following, I allow myself digressions on Amanda Claridge's (alleged) portrait of Hadrian on Trajan's Column, Scene LXXII (here Figs. 4; 4.1), in reality a slinger from the *Baleares*, and on the portraits of Hadrian of the portrait-type Delta Omikron (here Fig. 3)**

**Amanda Claridge (2013, 12) commented on Scene LXXII of Trajan's Column (here Figs. 4; 4.1) as follows: "Band 11: lxxii Trajan surveys the last battle of the First [Dacian] War. Focal point: Stonethrower [my emphasis]". Claridge (2013, 13 with n. 80, pp. 14, 15, her plate 15 [= here Fig. 4]) tentatively identified this "Stonethrower" on here Figs. 4; 4.1 with Hadrian, represented in the here-so-called portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here Fig. 3).**

Although the head of this man (here **Fig. 4**) strikingly resembles portraits of Hadrian of this portrait-type (here **Fig. 3**), I do not follow Claridge's (2013) identification.

Scene LXXII of Trajan's Column (here **Fig. 4.1**) represents the decisive third battle in the third campaign of Trajan's First Dacian War, an event that took place in AD 102. Hadrian was a Senator, who, if represented on **Figs. 4; 4.1**, should have been depicted as wearing the *calcei patricii*; he had served from AD 96 on as senatorial tribune of *Legio V Macedonica* in *Moesia Inferior*, and from November AD 97 until January 98 as senatorial tribune of *Legio XXII Primigenia* at Mogontiacum (Mainz) in Upper Germany. Since AD 100, Hadrian was married to Trajan's great-niece Sabina. In Trajan's First Dacian war, Hadrian was Trajan's *comes expeditionis Dacicae* (since 101 AD), and he would earn the *dona militaria* in this war.

Apart from the fact that we should ask ourselves in the first place:

- a.) whether or not Hadrian could have appeared at all in a similar context as the "Stonethrower" in the battle, represented in Scene LXXII of Trajan's Column (here **Fig. 4.1**). Personally, I rather believe that we should expect him to appear in Trajan's entourage (which is also visible on **Fig. 4.1**), but in all of these scenes on Trajan's Column Hadrian is conspicuously *absent*, as most scholars agree; and -
- b.) whether Hadrian could have acted as a "Stonethrower", as Claridge (2013, 13 with n. 80, pp. 14, 15, her plate 15 [= here **Fig. 4**; cf. here **Fig. 4.1**]) refers to him, that is to say, as a slinger, a specialized weapon type, which Hadrian was presumably not trained in. - My thanks are due to the military historian Rose Mary Sheldon for discussing this question with me.

The "Stonethrower", as Claridge (2013) refers to this man on **Figs. 4; 4.1**, is fighting bare-headed and with bare feet. Amanda Claridge's suggestion to identify this man (and some other figures on Trajan's Column) with Hadrian has been rejected by Karl Strobel (2017, 65 with n. 48). I myself follow those scholars, who identify this man as a slinger from the *Baleares* (of whom altogether four are represented on the entire frieze; cf. here **Figs. 4; 4.1; 4.2; 4.3**, all of them fighting bare-headed and with bare feet). Cf. Jonathan Coulston's Website (2013; quoted by K. STROBEL 2017, 309, n. 2); Tonio Hölscher (2017, 28), and Christian Heitz (2017, 131, with n. 16).

**Fig. 3. Above: portrait of Hadrian of the Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ )-type. Villa Hadriana near Tivoli, Museo (inv. no. 2260). Left: From: H.R. Goette (2021, 113, Abb. 46a (III Nr. 3); Photo: G. Fittschen-Badura); in the middle and right: Photos: D-DAI-ROM 72.635; 79.17774 (G. Fittschen-Badura).**

Below, left: bust of Hadrian of the Delta Omikron ( $\Delta$ o)-type. Columbia, Missouri, University Museum (inv. no. 89.1). From: H.R. Goette (2021, 108, Abb. 44a (III Nr. 1)).

Below, in the middle: portrait of Hadrian of the Delta Omikron ( $\Delta$ o)-type. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado (inv. no. 176-E.), found in Italy. Photo: D-DAI-MAD-WIT-R-20-91-05 (Witte).

Below right: bust of Hadrian of the Delta Omikron ( $\Delta$ o)-type. London, private collection. From: H.R. Goette (2021, 112, Abb. 45 (III Nr. 4)).

Figs. 4. Scene LXXII on Trajan's Column. Amanda Claridge's (2013, 12, 13) "Stonethrower", whom she tentatively identified with Hadrian, (allegedly) represented in the here-so-called portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta$ o) (cf. here Fig. 3). In reality, this man is a slinger from the *Baleares*. To the right of this slinger appears a Germanic soldier, wearing long trousers, who is armed with a shield, who may perhaps be identified as a Marcomanne or as a Quade. From: A. Claridge (2013, 15, pl. 15).

Fig. 4.1. Scene LXXII on Trajan's Column. Amanda Claridge (2013, 12) commented on Scene LXXII of Trajan's Column (here Figs. 4; 4.1) as follows: "Band 11: lxxii Trajan surveys the last battle of the First [Dacian] War. Focal point: Stonethrower". Claridge (2013, 13 with n. 80, pp. 14, 15, her plate 15 [= here Fig. 4]) tentatively identified this "Stonethrower" on here Figs. 4; 4.1 with Hadrian, represented in the here-so-called portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta$ o) (cf. here Fig. 3).

From: <<http://www.trajans-column.org/?flagallery=trajans-column-scenes-xlvi-lxxviii-46-78#PhotoSwipe1673612947018>> [last visit 13-I-2023].

Fig. 4.1.1. The Column of Trajan, seen from the south (with the columns of the Basilica Ulpia in the foreground). Photo: F.X. Schütz (March 2006).

For discussions of all that; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at

*A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination :*

*Nerva is forced to adopt Trajan and Trajan creates Domitian's negative image to consolidate his own reign. With Hadrian's adoption manquée in late October or at the beginning of November of AD 97, his 20-year long road to his accession and his thanksgivings for it, his Temple complex in the Campus Martius.*

*Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?).*

*With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence [Mainz]) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva, and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta$ o) (cf. here Fig. 3).*

*With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz, with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz (cf. here Fig. 77), with The Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen; Introduction; at Sections IX.; and XI.; and in Chapter VI.1. My 2. Conclusion: In this context it is interesting to analyse the process by which Hadrian finally became emperor; at Trajan's adoption by Nerva and Hadrian's Parforceritt from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum [Mainz] to congratulate Trajan on his adoption;*

*at The circumstances that had brought Trajan to Mogontiacum and Domitian's negative image, created by Tacitus and Pliny at the order of Trajan to legitimize his own accession; at Trajan presented Hadrian in AD 106 with the signet-ring that he himself had received on the occasion of his adoption by Nerva. With a discussion of the meaning of this gesture; and at Chapters VI.2.; VI.2.1.; VI.2.2.; VI.2.3.; and VI.2.4. A. Claridge (2013) has identified the head of the "Stonethrower" in the battle Scene LXXII on Trajan's Column (here Figs. 4; 4.1) as a copy of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta$ o) ...*

**In order to summarize my own research on Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta$ o), I quote in the following only the titles of the just-mentioned Chapters VI.2., VI.2.1., VI.2.2., and VI.2.3., in: *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination*, adding to these titles some comments :**

**Chapter VI.2.** Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta$ o). The Emperor Hadrian issued coins with this portrait-type in AD 117 on tetradrachmas at Alexandria (cf. here Fig. 137) and on *aurei* in AD 138 at Rome [so my own hypothesis], *inter alia* with his DIVIS PARENTIBVS on the reverse (cf. here Fig. 139), on all of

which Hadrian looks straight ahead. This portrait-type is also known from two marble heads and two marble busts (cf. here **Fig. 3**). In all of them Hadrian turns to his left. The date of those marble portraits is debated.

**Concerning this portrait-type we need to answer the following questions, 1.) when exactly was this youthful likeness of Hadrian created? This is connected with the further question: had Hadrian commissioned its prototype in order to commemorate a specific event in his youth?; and 2.), what was Hadrian's intention at the end of his life [so my own hypothesis], when he ordered for the first-time marble portraits in the round of himself of this portrait-type? [my emphasis]**

For the tetradrachmas, issued by the Emperor Hadrian at Alexandria in AD 117 (here **Fig. 137**), on which appear for the first time Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) (here **Fig. 3**), see also *infra*, at *The first Contribution by Angelo Geißen: Bemerkungen zur frühen Münzprägung Hadrians in Alexandria*.

For the *aurei*, issued by the Emperor Hadrian at Rome (here **Fig. 139**); cf. Martin Beckmann ("The Gold Coinage of Hadrian AD 130-138", 2019), quoted and discussed by Hans Rupprecht Goette (2021, 24 n. 67, p. 124, Abb. 56, pp. 25-27). According to Beckmann (2019, 151), the *aurei* (here **Fig. 139**) were issued: "presumably around mid-138"; cf. Beckmann (2019, 152) on here **Fig. 139**: "The inscription on the obverse clearly labels the portrait as that of Hadrian ... The die analysis shows that two of the three known dies bearing this youthful portrait were used at the very end of Hadrian's coinage; the links do not rule out a posthumous issue, though they do not prove it either".

**Note that Martin Beckmann (2019, 152) himself observes that the meaning of the series of *aurei*, to which Hadrian's *aureus* (here **Fig. 139**) belongs, is "dynastic", but without coming himself to the obvious conclusion that his observation may be explained with the fact that, on 28th February AD 138 AD, Hadrian had adopted Antoninus Pius. - To this I will come back below.**

**Chapter VI.2.1.** H.R. Goette's (2021) discussion of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) (cf. here **Fig. 3**). Concerning the 1.) question, Goette chooses the fact that in AD 106, during the Second Dacian War, the Emperor Trajan presented Hadrian with the signet ring, which he himself had received from Nerva on the occasion of his adoption by him [in late October or at the beginning of November of AD 97]; concerning the 2.) question, Goette suggests that those marble portraits (cf. here **Fig. 3**) were commissioned by the Emperor Antoninus Pius, who, with the left turn of those portraits, a possible *Alexander imitatio*, honoured the newly created *Divus Hadrianus*, who was intentionally represented young'.

Compare for that also below, *The third Contribution by Peter Herz : Der Übergang von Trajan auf Hadrian und das erste Regierungsjahr Hadrians*, and at *The fourth Contribution by Peter Herz : Wann wurde Trajan von Nerva adoptiert?*

**Chapter VI.2.2.** Additional information that is of importance for the discussion of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) (cf. here **Fig. 3**); Hadrian and Alexander the Great; Hadrian's adoption by Trajan, as propagated by Hadrian; The tetradrachma issued by Hadrian in AD 137/138 at Alexandria to commemorate his adoption of Antoninus Pius (cf. here **Fig. 138**)'.

**In the following, I anticipate a passage from Chapter VI.2.2., in: *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination* :**

'The tetradrachma, issued by Hadrian at Alexandria in AD 137/138 [here **Fig. 138**] has been discussed by Angelo Geißen in his article ("AION - AETERNITAS. Welche numismatischen Zeugnisse reflektieren die Vollendung der Sothis-Periode unter Antoninus Pius?", 2010). See for the coin (here **Fig. 138**) also Andrea Carandini (2019, 92: § 121, Fig. 33). According to Geißen (*op.cit*), this tetradrachma commemorated Hadrian's *pronoia/ providentia* for the *continuitas imperi*, because it referred to Hadrian's adoption of (the future)



Antoninus Pius who, in his turn, and following Hadrian's wishes, had immediately before adopted (the future) Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus'.

Concerning the apparent paradox that Hadrian could announce with the coin-type (here **Fig. 138**), issued at Alexandria in AD 137/138, his adoption of Antoninus Pius, that would only take place on 25th February AD 138; cf. the following: we know that Augustus, as a consequence of his correction of Julius Caesar's calendar reform, had fixed 29th August as the official date of the Egyptian New Year (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, n. 545, at *Appendix II.c*)).

This tetradrachma (here **Fig. 138**) has so far not been considered by those scholars, who are interested in the marble copies of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) (here **Fig. 3**) discussed here.

The *providentia* of the reigning emperor for the *continuitas imperii* appears on coins since Nerva. This may be traced back to the habit of some (adopted) emperors since Tiberius to represent the *ara Providentiae* on their coins, which had exactly the same meaning; cf. Mario Torelli ("Providentia, Ara", in *LTUR*, IV, 1999, 165-166, figs. 66-67); Häuber (2014a, 712 with n. 199).

**Chapter VI.2.3.** My own interpretation of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) (cf. here **Fig. 3**). **Concerning the 1.) question, I suggest that Hadrian (who, in my opinion, looks in this portrait-type like a man who is circa 20 years old) commissioned his Delta Omikron portrait-type at an unknown date. He thus either wished to commemorate his circa 1800 km long Parforceritt in November of AD 97 from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mainz), which he undertook (together with some 'companions') to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva, or else the beginning of the resulting 20 year-long cooperation with Trajan (that ended with his adoption? by Trajan, and with his own accession : on the 9th and 11th August of AD 117, respectively). Concerning the 2.) question, I suggest that Hadrian ordered the marble copies of this portrait-type (here **Fig. 3**) as part of the propagation of his *providentia* for the *continuitas imperii* : Hadrian's adoption on 25th February AD 138 of Antoninus Pius (immediately after Antoninus Pius, in his turn, had adopted Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus). I suggest this because Hadrian commemorated his adoption of Antoninus Pius also with his tetradrachma, issued at Alexandria in 137/ 138 (here **Fig. 138**). I regard, therefore, the assumption as plausible, although it is currently not provable that, as a part of this propagation, Hadrian had still himself issued in AD 138 the *aurei* with this portrait-type and his adoptive parents ('DIVIS PARENTIBVS'), Trajan and Plotina (here **Fig. 139**). These *aurei*, like the marble portraits (here **Fig. 3**), apart from hinting at the fact that Hadrian had now himself adopted a son, hinted also at Hadrian's own *adoption manquée* (his own 'missed' adoption: by Trajan, immediately before Nerva had adopted Trajan) in late October or at the beginning of November of AD 97. **And because of 'the turn to their left' of those portraits (here **Fig. 3**), a possible *Alexander imitatio*, Hadrian may also have claimed to have decided (in November of AD 97), at the age of 21, 'to conquer for himself his Roman Empire', similarly as Alexander (together with his *hetairoi* - and his soldiers) had conquered his, starting at the age of 20 [my emphasis]'****

For the above-mentioned *dies adoptionis* and the *dies imperii* of Hadrian; cf. *supra*, n. 331, at Chapter II.2.; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*). See also *infra*, at *The fifth Contribution by Peter Herz : Der Ritt Hadrians nach Mogontiacum*, as well as *infra*, at *The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Zur kartographischen Visualisierung historischer Landschaftselemente zwischen Rhein und Schwarzem Meer von Augustus bis Hadrian* (cf. here **Fig. 77**).

Only after this *Chapter* was written, did I realize that Hans-Ulrich Cain (2019, 2) has likewise discussed Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ), coming for different reasons to exactly the same conclusions concerning the date and meaning of the marble copies of this type (here **Fig. 3**) as I myself. I have added a discussion of Cain's findings to my relevant Chapter in: *A Study of the consequences of Domitian's assassination*, and anticipate here the title of this Section:

**Chapter VI.2.3.** Why does Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) appear on his *aurei* of AD 138 with his DIVIS PARENTIBVS on the reverses (here **Fig. 139**)? The answer is provided by a comparison of those

*aurei* with Hadrian's tetradrachma (cf. here **Fig. 138**), issued at Alexandria in AD 137/ 138 to commemorate his adoption of the future Antoninus Pius on 25th February AD 138.

With a discussion of the observations by H.-U. Cain (2019, 1-2) concerning Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) (cf. here **Fig. 3**), and concerning the portrait-types of his successors, all adopted in AD 138: the portrait-type of the future Antoninus Pius, created on the occasion of his adoption by Hadrian, which intentionally shows great similarities with Hadrian's own later portraits; and of the portrait-types of the future Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, created on the occasion of their adoptions by Antoninus Pius, that are intentionally very similar as Hadrian's youthful portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) (for these portrait-types of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus; cf. H.-U. CAIN 2019, 1-2, Abb. 1-3).

**Cain (2019, 2) writes that Hadrian "in seinen letzten Lebensjahren 136–138 n. Chr. sein eigenes Jugendbildnis [here Fig. 3] aktualisieren ließ, als ihm die Nachfolgeregelung zu einem vordringlichen Anliegen geworden war".**

That is to say, 'when the organization of his succession had become a major concern', or in other words, when Hadrian concentrated on the 'providentia for the *continuitas imperii*'.

Let's now return to the 'Relief Ruesch' (here **Fig. 7**).

**Ad b) The 'Relief Ruesch' shows that this kind of composition was already commissioned by Domitian**

'In addition, Willers (2021, 84, 91, 93, 98) convincingly points out that the 'Relief Ruesch' proves that still another artistic innovation, commonly attributed to Trajan (or rather Hadrian?), had already been invented at the order of Domitian - as we might perhaps not otherwise expect, after having read this entire *Study*. - Willers thus refers to the famous relief representing a cavalry battle that shows Trajan in exactly the same iconography as Domitian is represented on the 'Relief Ruesch' (here **Fig. 7**).

For "The Great Trajanic Frieze. Trajan [now Constantine] on horseback, early Hadrianic. Rome, Arch of Constantine ...", also for the other relief, inserted into the opposite side of this central passageway of the Arch of Constantine at Rome, representing the *adventus* of Trajan [now Constantine]; cf. Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 222, Figs. 185 [= here **Fig. 7.1**]; 186). For 'The Great Trajanic Frieze', Trajan [now Constantine] on horseback; cf. also Willers (2021, 84 with n. 21); and R.R.R. Smith (2021, 24-25 with n. 97).

**Fig. 7.1. 'The Great Trajanic Frieze', showing Constantine the Great, leading a cavalry battle. Rome, Arch of Constantine. The relief had originally shown Trajan, whose portrait was recut into one of Constantine the Great. In the central passageway of the Arch of Constantine the inscriptions LIBERATORI VRBIS and FVNDATORI QVIETIS were added to these reliefs of Trajan/ Constantine, which refer to Constantine (in recognition of his defeat of Maxentius at the Pons Mulvius in AD 312). Photo: C. Faraglia, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 37.328. - Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 222, Fig. 185) dates both reliefs: "early Hadrianic".**

Cf. Ian Archibald Richmond, Donald Emrys Strong and John Robert Patterson ("pons Mulvius", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> [1996] 1219 [the emphasis is by the authors themselves]).

**R.R.R. Smith (2021, 24-25 with n. 97) convincingly points out that the representation of Trajan in 'The Great Trajanic Frieze' (here Fig. 7.1), when compared to the 'real actions' of an emperor during a war, turns out to be extremely unrealistic.**

In his note 97, Smith writes: "The Great Trajanic Frieze (re-used on the Arch of Constantine [= here Fig. 7.1]), with the emperor leading a cavalry charge in battle himself, is a rare example of a clearly 'unreal' monumental narrative: Touati 1987. On such public narratives of imperial action, Fittschen 1972; Hölscher 2003; 2019: ch.[apter] 4 [my emphasis]".

My thanks are due to Bert Smith, for sending me on 11th January 2022 his above-quoted article ("*Maiestas Serena: Roman Court Cameos and Early Imperial Poetry and Panegyric*", 2021).

I myself would call the iconography of Roman emperors, as pictured on (Figs. 7; 7.1), as that of 'a dashing hero on horseback, like Alexander the Great' ...

**Ad c) The 'Relief Ruesch' has been reused in antiquity. All its phases taken together possibly illustrate the title of the exhibition on Domitian, recently on display at Rome in the Musei Capitolini, Villa Caffarelli: *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore*; cf. Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi and Maria Paola Del Moro (2023)**

'Much debated in the past, and also discussed by Willers (2021, 79 n. 6, pp. 93-94), is the fact that the 'Relief Ruesch' (here Fig. 7), although fragmentary, and with Domitian's portrait defaced, was nevertheless re-used in antiquity. This assumption is based on two facts: the breaks of the relief were smoothed and the great holes, one of them in the middle of the relief, which were made in antiquity, but at a second moment (*i.e.*, in the course of the reworking), were created in a way that the figures of Domitian and of his horse remained intact.

Willers (2021, 80 with n. 9, p. 94 with n. 82) is able to disprove the hypothesis of earlier scholars, according to whom the 'Relief Ruesch' had been *created* as a "Brunnenverkleidung" ('a decoration of a fountain'), apart from its iconography, which does not suit such a purpose, its holes were obviously made at a second moment. Most importantly, the 'Relief Ruesch' was definitely not exposed to water, because that would clearly be visible; cf. Willers (2021, 80): "Spuren von fließendem Wasser sind auf der Reliefseite der Platte nicht vorhanden".

Willers does not discuss the suggestion, formulated in the sales catalogue of the Collection Ruesch, *Katalog Fischer 1936* (which Willers himself quotes), where the 'Relief Ruesch' has the catalogue number 238. The author suggests: "Nachträgliche Verwendung dieses Reliefs als Brunnenverkleidung" ('secondary use as decoration of a fountain'), which I find (in theory) plausible, although the fact remains that the relief does not show any traces of such a use.

Willers himself, who ... compares the 'Relief Ruesch' with the Cancellaria Reliefs (here Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing), concludes that we ignore for both (*i.e.*, the Cancellaria Reliefs and the 'Relief Ruesch'), to which buildings they may originally have belonged. Willers (2021, 94), therefore, ends his article with an admonition regarding the need to further study 'Domitian's Rome':

**"Es bleibt die Aufgabe, die Begehungen des domitianischen Roms zu intensivieren [my emphasis]"**.

I can only agree and have ... chosen Dietrich Willers's phrase as the first epigraph of this *Study* on Domitian; cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.1.

Contrary to Willers, who does not suggest where the building may have stood, to which the 'Relief Ruesch' originally belonged, nor what its purpose was, when the relief was re-used, I myself have an idea concerning both questions. Since I follow Filippo Coarelli (2009b, 88; *id.* 2012, 283, 286-291, 481-483, 486-491; cf. *supra*, at point 4.) in assuming that the Domitianic arch in front of Domitian's 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana* on the Palatine was possibly dedicated to *Divus Vespasianus*, I suggest that the Cancellaria Reliefs decorated either the opposite walls in the passageway of this arch, or, because of the content of both Friezes, possibly rather a passageway of the Arch of Domitian, which Coarelli postulates at the "Porta principale" of Domitian's Palace *Domus Augustana* on the Palatine (cf. here Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ' and Figs. 8.1; 58) ... Cf. also *supra*, at point 4.).

**'Provided my hypothesis is true that the Cancellaria Reliefs decorated one of Domitian's two arches on the Palatine, and considering at the same time Willers's (2021, 79 n. 6, p. 83, n. 18) observation that the**

**Cancellaria Reliefs (here Figs. 1; 2) and the 'Relief Ruesch' (here Fig. 7) show great stylistic similarities, I suggest as a working hypothesis that the 'Relief Ruesch' (the provenance of which is not recorded) may originally also have belonged to the sculpture decoration of Domitian's Palace on the Palatine.**

Only after this Chapter was written, did I realize that Willers (2021, 84) mentions the fact that on the Palatine has been found a fragmentary relief with the representation of a horse (cf. here **Fig. 4.1.2**) that looks very similar like Domitian's horse on the 'Relief Ruesch': "Bloesch hat seinerzeit auf die enge Verwandtschaft des Feldherrnpferdes auf unserem Relief [cf. here **Fig. 7**] mit dem Pferd eines fragmentierten Reliefblocks vom Palatin aufmerksam gemacht [with n. 25]".

In his **note 25**, Willers writes: "Bloesch 1943, 204; [von] Blanckenhagen 1940 [p. 65, I. f)], Taf. 20 Abb. 58 [quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter *V.1.i.3.b*); at Section *III.*]"

**Fig. 4.1.2. Fragmentary marble relief with representation of a horse. Found on the Palatine. This is the above-mentioned relief, about which D. Willers (2021, 84 with n. 25) writes: "Bloesch hat seinerzeit auf die enge Verwandtschaft des Feldherrnpferdes auf unserem Relief [*i.e.*, the 'Relief Ruesch'; here Fig 7] mit dem Pferd eines fragmentierten Reliefblocks vom Palatin aufmerksam gemacht" ('Bloesch [1943, 204] at his time has observed the close relationship between Domitian's horse on the 'Relief Ruesch' with the horse on a fragmentary marble block from the Palatine'). From: P.H. von Blanckenhagen (1940, 65, I. f), Taf. 20 Abb. 58).**

My thanks are due to Francesca Deli, Assistant Librarian at the British School at Rome, for scanning also this illustration in von Blanckenhagen's book (1940) for me.

**'As is well known, Domitian had friends, who remained faithful to him after his assassination.**

One such proof of fidelity is Domitian's famous portrait in the Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori (inv. no. MC 1156); for this hypothesis; cf. Häuber (2017, 167).

This portrait of Domitian has been chosen for the cover of the essay volume *God on Earth : Emperor Domitian*, edited by Aurora Raimondi Cominesi, Nathalie de Haan, Eric M. Moormann and Claire Stocks (2021), and appears also on the cover of the exhibition catalogue *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore*, edited by Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi and Maria Paola Del Moro (2023)

Elsewhere, I was able to find the findspot of this portrait of Domitian in the Via Rattazzi on the Esquiline; cf. Häuber (1991, 57-58 with n. 251, by identifying this bust with find reports, published in *NSc* 1898, 391, and *BullCom* 26, 1898, 350; cf. p. 351: "Tutti gli oggetti di questa sezione sono conservati nel Magazzino Archeologico all'Orto Botanico; cf. *HELBIG*<sup>4</sup> II (1966) Nr. 1752, "Fragmentierte Büste des Domitian" (H. v. HEINTZE): "Gefunden wahrscheinlich auf dem Esquilin zwischen 1894 und 1904. Erst im Antiquarium auf dem Caelius, dann im Konservatorenpalast, Sala degli Arazzi 3").

Dietrich Willers (2021, Taf. 13,5; cf. Taf. 13,2-4 [= here **Fig. 7**]) has compared a photo of this portrait of Domitian with the head of the Roman *imperator* on the 'Relief Ruesch' in order to prove that the protagonist of this relief is likewise Domitian.

Another example is Domitian's nurse Phyllis, who, thanks to her prudent actions, even secured Domitian a burial in his *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, literally 'together with his beloved Iulia Titi', the daughter of his brother Titus, in the same cinerary urn (!). Phyllis had educated both Domitian and Iulia Titi (Suet., *Dom.* 17; 22); *Diva Iulia Titi* had been first, whom Domitian had buried in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. After Domitian's assassination, Phyllis cremated his corpse in her *Villa* on the *Via Latina*; she then secretly carried Domitian's ashes to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, where she mixed them with those of Iulia Titi (Suet., *Dom.* 17).

Online at: <[https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Suetonius/12Caesars/Domitian\\*.html#17](https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Suetonius/12Caesars/Domitian*.html#17)> [last visit: 31-XII-2022].

Cf. Filippo Coarelli ("Gens Flavia, Templum", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 368); Coarelli (2009b, 94 with n. 309); Eugenio La Rocca (2009, 228 with n. 45); Häuber (2017, 167; cf. *supra*, at Chapter IV.1.1.h); Barbora Chabrečková (2017, 40); Maria Paola Del Moro (2021, 185 with n. 2; *ead.* 2023, 167 with n. 2); and Eric M. Moormann (2021, 46 with n. 16; *id.* 2023, 59 with n. 17). Dietmar Kienast, Werner Eck and Matthäus Heil (2017, 109) comment on Domitian's death and burial as follows: "18. Sept.[ember] 96 *Tod*: Ermordet (Suet. *Domit.* 17, 3). **Heimliche Beisetzung im templum gentis Flaviae** [my emphasis]".

I, therefore, add something else to my working hypothesis concerning the 'Relief Ruesch' (here **Fig. 7**). For the time being we cannot know, whether the person, who re-used the 'Relief Ruesch', knew that, in its original state, it had represented Domitian. Nor, if so, whether or not this person was hostile to Domitian. Although all of this is so far unknown, the following possibility remains. Perhaps it was another person, faithful to Domitian, who took the 'Relief Ruesch', after Domitian's portrait had been defaced, thus possibly preventing its complete destruction, kept it as a memory of Domitian, and, by means of those holes, put it on display somewhere'.

Wie man an diesem Kapitel *The major results of this book on Domitian* ('*Die wichtigsten Ergebnisse dieses Buches über Domitian*') sieht, bleibt noch viel zu tun, wenn wir Domitian und seinen Bauten in Rom gerecht werden möchten.

**Chapter: The major results of this book on Domitian  
(‘Die wichtigsten Ergebnisse dieses Buches über Domitian’)**

Der hier folgende Text ist eine deutsche Übertragung des englischen Textes, auch die englischen Zitate aus meinen eigenen Publikationen wurden ins Deutsche übertragen. Die Unterteilung von Kapiteln (Chapters) erfolgt in meinem englischen Text nach Sections; den Begriff ‘Section’ habe ich mit ‘Abschnitt’ übersetzt. Die Bezeichnung ‘Fig.’ für ‘Abb.’ wurde dagegen beibehalten.

Im ersten Teil dieser Zusammenfassung ist von den Cancellariareliefs die Rede, die Domitian in Auftrag gegeben hat. Was ihre Interpretation betrifft, folge ich Filippo Magi (1939; 1945) und hoffe die Argumente jener Gelehrten widerlegen zu können, die seinen Hypothesen in jüngerer Zeit widersprochen haben. Ich hoffe außerdem, Magis Thesen mit neu entdeckten Befunden unterstützen zu können, die mich dazu bewogen haben vorzuschlagen, dass diese Reliefs ursprünglich den Durchgang eines von Domitians Bögen auf dem Palatin geziert haben. Gleichfalls neu ist die in diesem Buch verfolgte Idee, die Inhalte, die auf den Cancellariareliefs dargestellt sind, mit jenen zu vergleichen, die auf dem *pyramidion* des *Obeliscus Pamphilius* / dem Domitiansobelisken erscheinen, der Gianlorenzo Berninis Vierströmebrunnen auf der Piazza Navona in Rom bekrönt, sowie mit den Inhalten, die *expressis verbis* in den hieroglyphischen Inschriften dieses Obelisken formuliert sind. Dabei haben wir festgestellt, dass in beiden Monumenten die ‘Legitimation Domitians, als römischer Kaiser zu herrschen’, betont wird. Als nächstes folgt eine kurze Zusammenfassung jener Ergebnisse dieses Buches, die sich auf Domitians Bauprojekte in Rom beziehen. Als Ergebnis dieser Studie hat sich ergeben, dass Domitian (oder besser gesagt, alle drei flavischen Kaiser zusammengenommen) dafür gesorgt hat, ‘dass Rom auch heutzutage im Grunde eine flavische Stadt ist’. Ein dritter, sehr viel umfangreicherer Teil, dieser Zusammenfassung ist Domitians Palast auf dem Palatin gewidmet, seiner *‘Domus Flavia’/ Domus Augustana*. In diesem Zusammenhang werden Funde diskutiert, die Francesco Bianchini innerhalb der *‘Aula Regia’* ausgegraben hat, und die posthum im Jahre 1738 veröffentlicht worden sind. Die ausgewählten Kunstwerke zeigen ‘‘Domitians Anspruch, die *virtus* ‘Unbesiegbarkeit’ zu besitzen‘‘, die ‘grundsätzlich von allen Römischen Kaisern erwartet wurde’, und die ihrerseits ‘Roms Reichtum garantierte’. Die soeben in gnomischen Zeichen zitierten Feststellungen sind Zitate von Gelehrten, deren Publikationen im folgenden Text diskutiert werden.

Am 20. März 2023 haben Franz Xaver Schütz und ich eine frühere Version dieses Kapitels als Vorschau dieser *Studie* über Domitian auf unserem Webserver publiziert:  
Online at: <<https://FORTVNA-research.org/FORTVNA/FP3.html>>.

**Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung. F. Magis Zeichnungen von Fries A und B der Cancellariareliefs. Aus: F. Magi (1945, Tav. Agg. D 1 und 2). Die Platten, aus denen die Friese A und B bestehen (A1-A4 und B1-B4), und die Figuren (1-17) auf beiden Friesen sind nummeriert wie in S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018, 19, Abb. 2).**

Diese beiden Zeichnungen Magis geben seine Rekonstruktion der Cancellariareliefs wieder; vergleiche F. Magi (1945, Tav. I), nach der die Reliefs in den Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano, aufgestellt worden sind. Diese Rekonstruktion der Reliefs erscheint auch auf den Photos hier **Figs. 1; 2**.

**Ich folge hier Magis Rekonstruktion (1945) der Cancellariareliefs; hierbei handelt es sich um die wichtigste Voraussetzung für unsere Visualisierung Figs. 1 und 2 der Cancellariareliefs, Zeichnung, ‘in situ’ (s.u.).**

Mein Dank gilt Giandomenico Spinola und Claudia Valeri von den Vatikanischen Museen, mit denen ich am 24. September 2018 und am 8. März, 9. Mai und 19. September 2019 die Gelegenheit hatte, die Cancellariareliefs vor den Originalen zu untersuchen. Wir haben festgestellt, dass S. Langers und M. Pfanners Annahme einer zusätzlichen Marmorplatte für Fries B (zwischen B1 und B2) auf einer Reihe von Irrtümern beruht (vergleiche *dies.* 2018, 29-31, ihre Taf. 10,1, Abb. 7a; 7b, S. 50, 52-53, 68, 70, 76): Diese betreffen die technischen Besonderheiten der Platten B1 und B2 sowie Mißverständnisse von Magis (1945)

Beschreibung der fünf Vestalischen Jungfrauen auf den Platten B1 und B2. Langer und Pfanner (2018, 29, 73, 76) selbst sehen eine Bestätigung ihrer Hypothese darin, dass dagegen auf Fries B die Darstellung von allen sechs Vestalinnen zu erwarten sei.

Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli (1946-48, 259) hat zu Fries B bemerkt, dass immer nur fünf Vestalische Jungfrauen (wie auf Fries B dargestellt) an offiziellen Auftritten teilnehmen konnten, weil die sechste hätte zurückbleiben müssen, um das Feuer der Vesta zu hüten.

Ich habe deshalb den Religionswissenschaftler Jörg Rüpke gefragt, ob das durch antike Quellen belegt sei, und wie viele Vestalinnen üblicherweise bei offiziellen Zeremonien erschienen seien. Jörg Rüpke war so freundlich, meine Fragen zu beantworten und kommt zu dem Schluß: "Kurzum, denkbar ist die Pflicht, dass eine stets Feuerwache hatte". Außerdem hat er mir zugestanden, seine Email als seinen ersten Beitrag in diesem Band abzudrucken.

Vergleiche *The first Contribution by Jörg Rüpke in this volume on the question, how many Vestal Virgins we might expect to appear at public ceremonies, such as the one shown on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Fig. 2)* (vergleiche *Den ersten Beitrag von Jörg Rüpke in diesem Band zu der Frage, wie viele Vestalische Jungfrauen wir bei öffentlichen Zeremonien erwarten dürfen wie der, die auf Fries B der Cancellariareliefs dargestellt ist (vergleiche hier Fig. 2)*).

**Somit haben mich Giandomenico Spinola, Claudia Valeri und Jörg Rüpke tatkräftig dabei unterstützt, Magis Rekonstruktion der Länge von Fries B der Cancellariareliefs zu verifizieren.**

Siehe oben, im Kapitel *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements* (*Einführende Bemerkungen und Dank*); und im Kapitel *V.1.d. The reconstruction, in my opinion erroneous, of the length of Frieze B by S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018) and the correct reconstruction of the length of Frieze B by F. Magi (1945), whom I am following here (cf. here Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; and Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ')*. *With a discussion of how many Vestal Virgins we might expect to appear at public ceremonies, such as the one shown on this panel, and with The first Contribution by Jörg Rüpke.* (*Kapitel V.1.d. Die meiner Ansicht nach irrtümliche Rekonstruktion der Länge von Fries B seitens S. Langer und M. Pfanner (2018) und die korrekte Rekonstruktion der Länge von Fries B seitens F. Magi (1945), dem ich hier folge (vergleiche hier Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung; und Figs. 1 und 2 der Cancellariareliefs, Zeichnung, 'in situ')*). *Mit Diskussion der Frage, wie viele Vestalische Jungfrauen wir bei öffentlichen Zeremonien erwarten können, wie jener, die auf diesem Fries dargestellt ist, und mit Dem ersten Beitrag von Jörg Rüpke*).

Claudia Valeri und Giandomenico Spinola haben mir auch dabei geholfen, die Frage zu beantworten, ob der Kopf Vespasians auf Fries B (vergleiche hier **Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung; Figur 14**) das Ergebnis einer Überarbeitung ist oder nicht. Dass dieser Kopf überarbeitet worden sei, hatte zum ersten Mal Marguerite McCann behauptet (1972, 251 mit Anm. 8; s.o., zu **Anm. 111**, in Kapitel *I.1.*), und später Marianne Bergmann (1981, 24; s.o., zu **Anm. 111, 115, 190**, in Kapitel *I.1.*), deren Hypothese viele Gelehrten gefolgt sind (s.o., in Kapitel *I.1.1.*).

Stephanie Langer und Michael Pfanner (2018, 60 mit Anm. 49-52; s.o., in Kapitel *V.1.h.1.*) stellen fest, dass diese Hypothesen von McCann (1972) und Bergmann (1981) abgelehnt worden sind. Nach Bergmanns Hypothese (1981, 23-24, Taf. 11; 12; 9, S. 25), war der Kaiser auf Fries B ursprünglich Domitian, dessen Kopf angeblich in das noch vorhandene Bildnis Vespasians umgearbeitet worden sei.

Langer und Pfanner haben zu dieser Diskussion neue Beobachtungen beigesteuert, die ihrer Meinung nach beweisen, dass der Kaiser auf Fries B ursprünglich Domitian gewesen ist (vergleiche *dies.* 2018, 57-58, 72-74, Abb. 22-24; Abb. 23: sie illustrieren ihre Beobachtungen mit diesem Photo nach einem Gipsabguss, das den Hals Vespasians zeigt; dabei ist zu beachten, dass alle von ihnen anhand dieser Abbildung angesprochenen Details auf dem Originalrelief ganz anders aussehen; vergleiche ihr Kapitel 2.9.4). Dazu ausführlich; s.o., Kapitel *V.1.h.2.*

Um das Ergebnis mitzuteilen, das Giandomenico Spinola, Claudia Valeri und ich erzielt haben, als wir gemeinsam den Hals Vespasians auf Fries B der Cancellarieliefs studiert haben, zitiere ich im Folgenden eine Textpassage, die für oben, das Kapitel *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements* (Einführende Bemerkungen und Dank) verfasst worden ist:

‘Das andere Detail, dass ich noch einmal am 9. Mai 2019 vor dem Original studieren wollte, war der Hals des Kaisers auf Fries B. Langer und Pfanner (2018; s.o., im Kapitel V.1.h.2.) behaupten, dass Vespasians Kehlkopf eine Falte am Hals des dargestellten Mannes überschneidet, eine angebliche Tatsache, die ihrer Ansicht nach beweist, dass diese Falte zu einem früheren Portrait gehöre, und dass Vespasians Kehlkopf folglich erst zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt skulptiert worden sei. Langer and Pfanner kommen deshalb zu dem Schluss, dass Vespasians kompletter Kopf durch Überarbeitung dieses angeblich früheren Portraits entstanden sein müsse. Ihre Schlussfolgerung basiert allerdings auf einer falschen Beobachtung: vor dem Original ist deutlich zu sehen - mit und ohne Unterstützung einer Lampe - dass diese Falte statt dessen erst eingeritzt worden ist, *nachdem* Vespasians Kehlkopf bereits skulptiert worden war. Was wir auf Fries B sehen, ist demnach der erste und einzige Kehlkopf, der an dieser Figur skulptiert worden ist - eine Tatsache, die zweifellos beweist, dass es sich bei dem vorhandenen Portrait Vespasians um den originalen Kopf des Kaisers auf Fries B handelt (s.o., Kapitel V.1.h.2.).

Damit sind nun auch Magis Annahmen bezüglich des Vespasiansportraits bewiesen, das er für den originalen Kopf des auf Fries B dargestellten Kaisers hielt (vergleiche ders. 1939, wörtlich zitiert oben, in Anm. 112, in Kapitel I.1.; sowie ders. 1945) [Hervorhebung von mir].

**Fig. 1.** Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Lateranense (inv. nos. 13389-13391). Fries A der Cancellarieliefs. *Profectio* Kaiser Domitians 83, 89 oder 92 n. Chr. Das Gesicht Domitians (**Figur 6**) ist nach seiner Ermordung und *damnatio memoriae* in das Kaiser Nervas umgearbeitet worden, das Relief stellt somit nun meiner Meinung nach die (angebliche) *profectio* Kaiser Nervas zu seinem *bellum Suebicum* im Jahre 97 n. Chr. dar. Vergleiche oben, in den Kapiteln I.-VI., besonders **Anm. 232**, im Kapitel I.2.); Kapitel II.3.1.a); und II.3.3.a). Sowie unten, in Band 3-2., in *Appendix IV.d.2.e*); und *Appendix IV.d.2.f*): meiner Meinung nach ist Domitians *Profectio* zu seinem Zweiten Dakischen Krieges im Frühjahr des Jahres 89 n. Chr. dargestellt, der mit einem Sieg endete, den Domitian im November/ Dezember 89 mit seinem (letzten) Triumph gefeiert hat; s.o., in Kapitel II.3.1.a); II.3.2.; V.1.b); V.1.c): zu Nervas Usurpation dieser *Profectio*-Szene Domitians.

**Fig. 2.** Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Lateranense (inv. nos. 13392-13395). Fries B der Cancellarieliefs. *Adventus* Vespasians in Rom in der 1. Hälfte des Oktober 70 n. Chr., seine Krönung durch *Victoria* mit der *corona civica*, weil er den Bürgerkrieg 68-69 n. Chr. beendet hat, und seine Einsetzung als neuer römischer Kaiser. Die Geste, dass Vespasian dem vor ihm stehenden Caesar Domitian seine erhobene rechte Hand auf die linke Schulter legt, bedeutet die Legitimation Domitians als zukünftiger Herrscher (in Wirklichkeit berührt Vespasians Hand die Schulter Domitians gar nicht, aber aus der Entfernung sieht es so aus).

**Figs. 1 und 2** der Cancellarieliefs, Zeichnung ‘*in situ*’. Visualisierung auf der Basis von F. Magis Zeichnungen (1945), hier ‘**Figs. 1 und 2** Zeichnung’.

Ausgehend von Hypothesen, zuerst vorgeschlagen von F. Magi (1939, 205, wörtlich zitiert, s.o., Anm. 112, im Kapitel I.1.), und mitgeteilt von B. Nogara (1939, 8, 106, 115-116, 227; s.o., Anm. 4; 6, im Kapitel I.1.), und von A.M. Colini (1938 [1939], 270); vergleiche H. Kähler (1950, 30-41), J.M.C. Toynbee (1957, 19), J. Henderson (2003, 249), und besonders M. Pentiricci (2009, 61-62; s.o., Anm. 262, 263, 264, in Kapitel I.3.2.), will diese Visualisierung die Cancellarieliefs so zeigen, als seien sie an zwei gegenüberliegenden parallelen Wänden im Durchgang eines Bogens angebracht, den Domitian erbaut hat. Es machte nur Sinn, diese Visualisierung zu versuchen, weil beide Friese mit Sicherheit zusammengehörten, was unter anderem durch die Tatsache bewiesen ist, dass die Friese gleich hoch sind. Da umstritten ist, zu welchem Gebäudetyp sie gehört haben, wollten wir wissen, ob womöglich die Kompositionen beider Friese so angelegt worden sind, dass Beziehungen zwischen Figuren auf beiden erkennbar werden, sobald beide



Friese an gegenüberliegenden Wänden angebracht sind, und somit zusammen betrachtet werden können. Die Voraussetzung einer derartigen Fragestellung war die korrekte Anbringung beider Friese an gegenüberliegenden Wänden im Durchgang eines Bogens. Wir wussten, dass das theoretisch aus zwei Gründen möglich sei: *a)* waren beide Friese auf allen Seiten von identischen, plastisch ausgebildeten Profilen gerahmt; *b)* haben sich diese plastischen Profile teilweise auf der rechten Schmalseite von Fries A und teilweise auf der linken Schmalseite von Fries B erhalten. Wir konnten deshalb (zuerst, im Jahr 2020, die Photographien, hier Figs. 1; 2), und jetzt die Zeichnungen beider Friese, die wir für diese Operation genutzt haben, in der Weise montieren, dass wir diese Schmalseiten der Friese, die sich nun in unserer Rekonstruktion gegenüber stehen, als gemeinsame Basis unserer Rekonstruktion gewählt haben. (In dieser Abbildung unserer Rekonstruktion befinden sich diese beiden Schmalseiten der beiden Friese auf der Seite ganz unten). Für diese Rekonstruktion nutzten wir (zuerst the Photographien von Fries A und B der Vatikanischen Museen, unsere Figs. 1 und 2; beide geben Magis Rekonstruktion von 1945 wieder), und jetzt Magis eigene Zeichnungen (1945) der beiden Friese. In unserer Visualisierung liegen diese (erst die Photos), jetzt diese Zeichnungen 'gleichsam auf dem Rücken', um zeigen zu können, wie antike Betrachter, die durch den Durchgang dieses Bogens gegangen sind, diese Friese sehen konnten. Unsere beiden Visualisierungen zeigen *a)*, dass die Betrachter, die diesen Durchgang passierten, den Eindruck gehabt haben müssen, dass sie sich 'zusammen mit den Prozessionen bewegten', die auf beiden Friesen dargestellt sind; und *b)*, dass es tatsächlich eine derartige Beziehung zwischen den beiden Friesen gibt, nach denen wir Ausschau gehalten hatten. Die entsprechenden Figuren sind Kaiser Domitian (jetzt Nerva) auf Fries A (Figur 6) und der jugendliche Togatus auf Fries B (Figur 12) - wenn sich beide Friese *in situ* befinden, dann stehen sich diese Figuren versetzt gegenüber. Vor unserer Rekonstruktion ist diese Tatsache nicht beobachtet worden. Und da beide Figuren die beiden Prozessionen anführen, die sich auf diesen Friesen, 'zusammen mit den Betrachtern, in dieselbe Richtung bewegen', stellt sich heraus, dass es sich bei diesen Figuren um die Hauptpersonen beider Reliefs handelt. Beide Fakten unterstützen die Annahme, dass die Cancellariareliefs die horizontalen Friese im Durchgang eines von Domitians Bögen gewesen sind. Wenn man gleichzeitig bedenkt, dass Domitian die entsprechende Architektur in Auftrag gegeben hatte, dann unterstützen beide Fakten gleichzeitig die hier vorgeschlagene Hypothese, derzufolge der jugendliche Togatus auf Fries B mit dem jungen Caesar Domitian identifiziert werden kann, der auf Fries B in seiner Eigenschaft als *praetor urbanus* tätig wird.

Ich schlage außerdem versuchsweise vor, dass die Cancellariareliefs den Durchgang des 'Arcus Domitiani' dekoriert haben könnten, der auf dem Palatin, vor Domitians Palast 'Domus Flavia' / Domus Augustana stand, und bezüglich dessen F. Coarelli (2009b, 88; ders. 2012, 283, 286-291, 481-483, 486-491) vorschlägt, dass Domitian diesen Bogen seinem Vater, dem *Divus Vespasianus*, geweiht haben könnte; oder eher einen der drei Durchgänge des Domitiansbogens, den Coarelli an der "Porta principale" ('Haupteingang') von Domitians *Domus Augustana* annimmt. Diesen identifiziert Coarelli mit dem *Pentapylon*, den er sich als Triumphbogen vorstellt (vergleiche für die Lokalisierung beider Bögen, hier Fig. 58).

F.X. Schütz und C. Häuber 2022, Rekonstruktion (s.o., in Kapitel I.3.2.; Kapite IV.1.d); V.1.h.1.); V.1.i.3.); und VI.3.; Addition ('Zusatz'); s.u., in Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.d.2.f); Appendix IV.d.4.b); und Appendix VI.; Abschnitt VII.*

Fig. 28. Der *Obeliscus Pamphilius*/ der Obelisk Domitians. Aus dem Iseum Campense. Er bekrönt Gianlorenzo Berninis Vierströmebrunnen auf der Piazza Navona in Rom. Aus: C. Häuber (2017, 156, Fig. 5.5.2). Photos: F.X. Schütz (5-IX-2019). Mit freundlicher Genehmigung von F.X. Schütz. Photo: Cesare D'Onofrio (1921-2003). Aus: G. Simonetta, L. Gigli und G. Marchetti [2004] 122, Fig. 8. Die Bildunterschrift lautet: "La fontana dei Quattro fiumi, ripresa zenitale dall'alto della chiesa di Sant'Agnese". Mit freundlicher Genehmigung von L. Gigli. Photo: L. Gigli (Dezember 2003). Mit freundlicher Genehmigung von L. Gigli.

Vergleiche Fig. 101.a. G.B. Cipriani (1823, mit Tav. 1; 2): seine Diskussion und seine Kupferstiche der 12 (ägyptischen) Obelisk in Rom. Die Bildunterschrift seiner Tav. 1 lautet: "Dodici Obelisch Egizj, che si

osservano rialzati ad ornamento della Città di Roma, posti secondo ordine della loro rievazione" ('die 12 ägyptischen Obelisken, die zum Schmuck der Stadt Rom wieder aufgerichtet worden sind, zeitlich nach dem Datum ihrer Wiederaufstellung angeordnet'). Die Bildunterschrift seiner Tav. 2 lautet: "Fusti dei dodici Obelisci dei Egizj, che si osservano rialzati ad ornamento della Città di Roma, posti secondo il grado della loro altezza" ('die Schäfte der 12 ägyptischen Obelisken, die zum Schmuck der Stadt Rom wieder aufgerichtet worden sind, nach ihrer Höhe angeordnet'). Ciprianis Zeichnungen dieser 12 Obelisken sind maßstäblich: der höchste ist der Lateransobelisk. Cipriani hat auch den Obelisk Domitians diskutiert und gezeichnet, den er in seinem Text und auf diesen Tafeln: "Agonale di Piazza Navona" nennt, siehe seinen Tav. 1 und 2 (jeweils der 5. Obelisk von links).

Für eine Diskussion des Buches von Giovanni Battista Cipriani (1823), siehe unten: *Den zweiten Beitrag von Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?*

In meiner früheren Studie zum Obelisk Domitians (2017), bin ich zu folgendem Ergebnis gelangt:

"Im Zusammenhang meiner Studien zum *Iseum Campense* sind einige neue Argumente aufgetaucht, die, meiner Meinung nach, die alte Auffassung stützen, derzufolge Domitian seinen Obelisk tatsächlich für dieses Heiligtum in Auftrag gegeben hatte, der sich heute auf Gianlorenzo Berninis berühmtem Vierströmebrunnen auf der Piazza Navona befindet [vergleiche hier **Fig. 28**] ... In einer der Inschriften dieses Obelisken, die [auf Ägyptisch verfasst, und] in Hieroglyphen geschrieben sind, formuliert Domitian seine Hoffnung, dass sowohl seine Zeitgenossen, als auch die Nachwelt immer die Leistungen seiner Familie, der flavischen Dynastie, in Erinnerung behalten werden, besonders ihre Wohltaten für das römische Volk. Domitian betont, dass es seiner Familie gelungen sei, den Staat zu konsolidieren, der ernsthaft gelitten habe unter denen 'die zuvor regiert hatten' (das heißt, den Kaisern der Julisch-Claudischen Dynastie)"; vergleiche Häuber (2017, 21; vergleiche S. 158-168, zu Domitians Obelisk und seinen Inschriften. Mein Zitat auf S. 21 stützt sich unter anderem auf Forschungen von K. LEMBKE 1994 und J.-C. GRENIER 2009). Siehe oben, **Anm. 466**, in Kapitel IV.1., für diese Zitate im Detail.

Für das *pyramidion* und die Texte des Obelisken Domitians siehe auch Emanuele M. Ciampini (2004, 156-167; ders. 2005, wieder abgedruckt im Kapitel IV.1.1.d); sowie s.o., das ganze Kapitel IV. *Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs* (cf. here **Fig. 2**) and the *Obeliscus Pamphilius / Domitian's obelisk* (cf. here **Fig. 28**), besonders Kapitel IV.1.1.a) - IV.1.1.h) ('Kapitel IV. Fries B der Cancelleriareliefs (vergleiche hier **Fig. 2**) und der *Obeliscus Pamphilius / Domitians Obelisk* (vergleiche hier **Fig. 28**')); sowie s.u., in Band 3-2, in *Appendix II.a-e) Again on the Egyptianizing marble relief allegedly from Ariccia at the Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps (Fig. 111) - a representation of the Egyptian festival of New Year?* ('Appendix II.a-e) *Nochmals zum ägyptisierenden Marmorrelief, angeblich aus Ariccia, im Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps (Fig. 111) - eine Darstellung des Ägyptischen Neujahrsfestes?* ).

Wie soeben erwähnt, werden in dieser neuen Studie die Inhalte vom Obelisk Domitians (der Reliefs auf seinem *pyramidion* und die seiner hieroglyphischen Inschriften) mit den Inhalten des Frieses B der Cancelleriareliefs verglichen, die gleichfalls von Domitian in Auftrag gegeben worden sind. Meiner Meinung nach vermitteln beide Kunstwerke dieselbe politische Botschaft, und lassen außerdem erkennen, wie Domitian sich selbst gesehen hat.

Diese Studie ist hauptsächlich Domitian gewidmet, und versucht die Frage zu beantworten, warum Domitian diese, wie es scheint, 'verzweifelte' Notwendigkeit empfand, auf eine 'so pharaonische Weise' zu bauen, wie (ähnlich) zuerst von Mario Torelli formuliert worden ist (1987, 575, wörtlich zitiert in diesem Buch in **Anm. 228**, s.o., im Kapitel I.2.). Diese berühmte Eigenschaft Domitians ist von Stephanie Langer and Michael Pfanner (2018, 41 mit Anm. 23) sehr treffend als "Bauwut" bezeichnet worden. Siehe oben, in **Anm. 480**, in Kapitel VI.3.; und wird diskutiert unten, in Band 3-2, im *Appendix IV.d.4.b) Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed*

*discussion of the Templum Pacis and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum ('Domitians Bauprojekt, welches das Marsfeld, den Kapitolsberg und die sella zwischen Arx und Quirinal umfasste. Mit detaillierter Diskussion des Templum Pacis, und einigen Bemerkungen zu Domitians Villa, die Albanum genannt wurde').*

Selbstverständlich ist Domitians Baupolitik bereits von früheren Gelehrten untersucht worden. Persönlich favorisiere ich diesbezüglich die folgenden Beobachtungen:

Eric M. Moormann (2018, 162) erwähnt "three fields of interest in Domitian's building policy" ('drei Themen in Domitians Baupolitik'), die von Jens Gering (2012, 210-211) definiert worden seien: "personal grandeur, family memory and legitimization" ('eigene Größe, Familiengedenken und Legitimation').

Meiner Meinung nach können die Inhalte vom Fries B der Cancellariereiefs auf dieselbe Weise charakterisiert werden. Und wenn wir die Inhalte des Domitiansobelisken studieren, kommen wir, meines Erachtens, zu genau demselben Ergebnis.

Um die letzte Behauptung zu illustrieren, will ich ein Beispiel aus einer der hieroglyphischen Inschriften des Domitiansobelisken nennen, und werde dieses Zitat dann mit dem Inhalt des Frieses B der Cancellariereiefs vergleichen. Meiner Meinung nach geht es in beiden Beispielen um die Legitimierung Domitians als Kaiser, die er von seinem Vater Vespasian (und von seinem Bruder Titus) erhalten hat.

Diese beiden Beispiele weisen jedoch zwei große Unterschiede auf: während Vespasian auf Fries B der Cancellariereiefs noch als Lebender dargestellt ist, wird er in diesem hieroglyphischen Text auf Domitians Obelisk als *Divus Vespasianus* bezeichnet; und, im Unterschied zu Fries B, auf dem Titus gar nicht erscheint (da er zum fraglichen Zeitpunkt in Jerusalem war), erklärt diese hieroglyphische Inschrift, dass Domitian seine Herrschaft (über das Römische Weltreich) auch von seinem älteren Bruder, *Divus Titus*, erhalten habe. Im Fall von Fries B der Cancellariereiefs ist eine Interpretation der dargestellten Szene natürlich abhängig von der Frage, wen die beiden darauf erscheinenden Protagonisten darstellen. Ich persönlich folge Filippo Magi (1939; *ders.* 1945), indem ich diese beiden Figuren (hier **Fig. 2**; **Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung: Figuren: 14; 12**) mit Kaiser Vespasian und seinem jüngeren Sohn Domitian identifiziere.

Die Hypothese, derzufolge nicht nur diese hieroglyphische Inschrift auf dem Obelisken Domitians, sondern auch die Ikonographie vom Fries B der Cancellariereiefs beweisen, dass Domitian die an der Entstehung beider Kunstwerke beteiligten Personen angewiesen hatte, seine Legitimation als Kaiser zu thematisieren, ist meines Erachtens das interessanteste Ergebnis meines Buches. Ich habe deshalb für diese Studie folgenden Titel gewählt:

*The Cancellaria Reliefs and Domitian's Obelisk in Rome in context of the legitimization of Domitian's reign. With studies on Domitian's building projects in Rome, his statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great), and Hadrian's portrait from Hierapydna in Honour of Rose Mary Sheldon.*

*(Die Cancellariereiefs und der Obelisk Domitians in Rom im Kontext der Legitimierung Domitians als Herrscher. Mit Studien zu Domitians Bauprojekten in Rom, seiner Statue des Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, dem kolossalen Portrait Hadrians (jetzt Konstantins des Großen), und Hadrians Portrait aus Hierapydna zu Ehren von Rose Mary Sheldon).*

Für jene, die sich wundern, warum auch Kaiser Hadrian im Titel dieser Studie über Domitian erscheint: Sie werden sehen, dass es mir nur über den Umweg dieser, um Hadrian kreisenden Themen, gelungen ist, wichtige, auf Domitian bezogene Fakten zu finden. Das Studium des kolossalen Hadriansportraits (jetzt Konstantins des Großen, im Konservatorenpalast, hier **Fig. 11**) hatte zum Beispiel die Identifizierung des Statuentyps von Domitians (vierter) Kultstatue des Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus zur Folge (hier **Fig. 10**), und die Beschäftigung mit Hadrians Portraitstatue aus Hierapydna (hier **Fig. 29**) führte, *via* Hadrians militärischen Kampagnen, zu Domitians Dakischen Kriegen, und resultierte in meinem Datierungsvorschlag für Domitians Cancellariereiefs. Die letzte zusätzliche Studie in diesem Band 'zu den

Folgen von Domitians Ermordung' (die eine Diskussion von Hadrians Tempelkomplex auf dem Marsfeld enthält), führte zu dem (für mich) überraschenden Ergebnis, dass Domitians nach wie vor negatives Image eine 'Auftragsarbeit' Trajans gewesen ist. Ich wiederhole deshalb im Folgenden einen Text, der für oben, das Kapitel *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements* ('Einführende Bemerkungen und Dank') verfasst worden ist:

'Das Studium von Hadrians militärischen Kampagnen ... erbrachte neue Erkenntnisse bezüglich Domitians Dakischen Kriegen, und hat zur Beantwortung der Frage geführt, zu welcher militärischen Kampagne Domitian (jetzt umgearbeitet in Nerva) auf Fries A der Cancellarieliefs aufbricht (hier **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung: Figur 6**). Ein anderes Resultat besteht in der Identifizierung der kolossalen Statue des Jupiter in der Eremitage in St. Petersburg (hier **Fig. 10**) als Kopie der kolossalen (Gold-Elfenbein?-) Kultstatue des Jupiter in Domitians (viertem) Tempel des Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. Dieser Statuentyp des Jupiter (hier **Fig. 10**) (und seine Varianten) war in der Antike außerordentlich erfolgreich und wurde auch in Statuettenformat als Kapitolinische Trias, zusammen mit Juno und Minerva, kopiert (hier **Fig. 13**). Die berühmteste Kopie dieses Statuentyps in Statuettenformat ist mit Sicherheit die Statuette des 'Euripides' im Louvre in Paris (hier **Fig. 12**). Wie Hans Rupprecht Goette (forthcoming) zeigen konnte, wurde dieses Werk im Auftrag Francesco Ficoronis geschaffen, indem eine kopflose Kopie des Jupiter aus einer solchen Kapitolinischen Trias in den tragischen Dichter 'verwandelt' worden ist.

Ich sage nicht, dass es unmöglich wäre, diese Daten über Domitians militärische Kampagnen, oder bezüglich seiner Kultstatue des Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus auf anderem Wege zu eruieren, Tatsache ist nur, dass ich sie *auf diesem Wege* gefunden habe'.

Vergleiche auch den Titel jener Studie, die ich als letzte diesem Buch über Domitian beigefügt habe; s.u., im Band 3-2: *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

(*Eine Studie zu den Folgen von Domitians Ermordung: Nerva wird gezwungen, Trajan zu adoptieren, und Trajan kreiert Domitians negatives Image, um seine eigene Herrschaft zu konsolidieren. Mit Hadrians adoption manquée im späten Oktober oder Anfang November 97 n. Chr., seinem 20 Jahre dauernden Weg zur Herrschaft, und seinem Dank dafür, der Errichtung seines Tempelkomplexes auf dem Marsfeld.*

Oder: *Der weitere topographische Kontext des Hadriansbogens an der Via Flaminia, der zu dem (späteren) Hadrianeum führte und zu Hadrians Tempeln der Diva Matidia (und der Diva Sabina?). Mit Diskussionen von Hadrians Reise von Moesia inferior nach Mogontiacum (Mainz), um Trajan zu seiner Adoption durch Nerva zu gratulieren, und von Hadrians Portrait-Typ Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (vergleiche hier **Fig. 3**). Mit Dem vierten und fünften Beitrag von Peter Herz, mit Dem Beitrag von Franz Xaver Schütz, mit Dem Beitrag von John Bodel, und mit Dem zweiten Beitrag von Angelo Geißen'.*

### **Beginnen wir mit dem hieroglyphischen Text auf dem Obelisken Domitians, den ich oben erwähnt habe.**

Vergleiche hierzu Emanuele M. Ciampini (2004, 163-164). Im folgenden Zitat habe ich Ciampinis Zeichnung der entsprechenden hieroglyphischen Inschrift weggelassen, und gleichfalls die Transliteration des ägyptischen Textes, ich zitiere ausschließlich seine italienische Übersetzung des Textes:

"Lato verso Corso Rinascimento (est)

Pyramidion - Domiziano di fronte [*corr.*: fronte] a Mut, seguito da un'altra figura

H. 22 Horo [das heißt, Domitian]: Quello per il quale dei e uomini fanno lode;

H. 23 quando riceve la regalità da suo padre **Vespasiano il dio**, [Seite 164]

H. 24 dal fratello maggiore **Tito il dio**, mentre il suo ba si muove verso la volta celeste [die fett geschriebenen Passagen hat der Autor selbst so markiert]".

## Wenden wir uns nun Fries B der Cancellariareliefs zu.

Im Folgenden drucke ich einen Text ab, der für ein anderes Kapitel dieses Buches verfasst worden ist; s.u., in Band 3-2, *‘Eine Studie zu den Folgen von Domitians Ermordung .... Einführung; Abschnitt I. Die Motivation, diese Studie zu verfassen: ... und die darin behandelten Themen, die von den begleitenden Abbildungen und ihren zugehörigen Bildunterschriften erzählt werden’*.

Der folgende Text gehört zu einer dieser Abbildungen, unserer Romkarte hier **Fig. 58**.

**‘3.) Vespasians 500 Kilometer langer Weg auf der Via Appia von Brindisi nach Rom, wo er in der 1. Hälfte des Oktober 70 n. Chr. an der Porta Capena der Servianischen Stadtmauer angekommen ist (hier Fig. 2; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung und Fig. 58).**

Auch Vespasians Heimkehr nach Rom wird in diesem Buch über Domitian diskutiert, weil ich vorschlage, dass Fries B der Cancellariareliefs (vergleiche **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung; Figur 14**) Vespasian darstellt, der, von Alexandria kommend, nach seiner 500 km langen Reise von Brindisi auf der *Via Appia*, soeben sein Ziel, die Stadt Rom, erreicht hat.

Hier wird er feierlich empfangen von den Repräsentanten der Stadt Rom (von links nach rechts): der Stadtgöttin *Dea Roma*, fünf Vestalischen Jungfrauen, dem *Genius Senatus*, dem amtierenden *praetor urbanus* (das heißt, seinem Sohn, dem Caesar Domitian), und dem *Genius Populi Romani*. Dieses Relief zeigt gleichzeitig, wie Vespasian das erste Mal als Kaiser in der Stadt Rom ankommt, oder, anders gesagt, seinen feierlichen *adventus* in Rom, der, wie wir heute wissen, in der 1. Hälfte des Oktober 70 n. Chr. stattgefunden hat’. - Für dieses Datum; s.o. **Anm. 195**, in Kapitel *I.1.1*. Meine hier soeben vorgetragene Interpretation dieser Szene wird im Folgenden im Detail erläutert.

*Meines Erachtens stellten die Figuren des Kaisers auf diesem Relief und des jugendlichen, vor ihm stehenden Togatus (Fig. 2; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung; Figuren 14; 12), von Anfang an Vespasian und seinen Sohn Domitian dar*

Mit dieser Auffassung folge ich Filippo Magis (1939; *ders.* 1945) Interpretation der beiden wichtigsten Figuren auf Fries B (vergleiche hier **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung; Figuren 12; 14**), und hoffe, dass ich in meinem Buch Magis Hypothese mit weiteren Fakten stützen kann. Außer Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 191, Fig. 158, oben wörtlich zitiert, zu **Anm. 394**, in Kapitel *III*.), Stefan Pfeiffer (2009, 62, oben wörtlich zitiert als Motto von Kapitel *V.1.i.3.*), John Pollini (2017b, 115-118, s.o., **Anm. 72**, in Kapitel *I.1.*), und Barbora Chabrečková (2017, 65-67, Figs. XXIX-XXXII, s.o., **Anm. 73**, in Kapitel *I.1.*), Rose Mary Sheldon (2023, in press; Kapitel 7; Abschnitt: "The Cancellaria Reliefs", mit Anm. 61-69; s.o., **Anm. 74**, in Kapitel *I.1.*), Giandomenico Spinola und Claudia Valeri (beide Vatikanische Museen), siehe oben, *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements* (*‘Einführende Bemerkungen und Dank’*), und unten, in *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs* (*‘Beitrag von Giandomenico Spinola zu den Cancellariareliefs’*; weiter unten zum Teil wörtlich zitiert), die gleichfalls Magi folgen, haben die meisten Gelehrten Magis diesbezügliche Hypothesen abgelehnt, und wir haben in diesem Buch gesehen, dass es einige Mühe gekostet hat, die Argumente dieser Autoren als falsch zu erweisen.

Zwei der Argumente, die immer gegen Magis Interpretation angeführt worden sind, dass Fries B Vespasians *adventus* im Jahre 70 n. Chr. darstellen könne, lauteten, dass sich die entsprechenden Autoren Vespasian bei dieser Gelegenheit nur als Militär gekleidet vorstellen konnten, sowie begleitet von Mitgliedern seiner siegreichen Armee, denn schließlich sei er ja zu diesem Zeitpunkt von seinen Siegen im Großen Jüdischen Krieg zurück gekehrt. Aber genau das ist nicht wahr. Ich wiederhole hier deshalb eine Textpassage, die für oben, das Kapitel *V.1.i.3.*) verfasst worden ist:

*‘... nach Cassius Dio 65,10, legte Vespasian, sobald er 70 n. Chr. in Italien in Brundisium (Brindisi) gelandet war, seine militärische Kleidung ab und legte zivile Kleidung an - das ist zumindest wie Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee (1957, 4-5 mit Anm. 1 auf Seite 5, s.o., zu **Anm. 201**, in Kapitel *I.1.1.*) and Elisabeth Keller (1967, 211,*

s.o., zu **Anm. 415**, in Kapitel *III.*), meiner Meinung nach überzeugend, diese Textstelle interpretiert haben; Cassius Dio teilt uns überdies mit, dass Vespasian von Brindisi aus nach Rom ging. Das bedeutet übrigens, dass Vespasian die *Via Appia* heraufgekommen ist, und dass deshalb die Szene auf Fries B der Cancellarieliefs an der *Porta Capena* in der Servianischen Stadtmauer spielt [vergleiche hier **Fig. 58**] - ohne, dass dieses Stadttor auf dem Relief dargestellt wäre.

Dass Vespasian auf Fries B der Cancellarieliefs in dem dargestellten Moment mit *tunica* und *toga* bekleidet erscheint, ist demnach historisch, das trifft überdies auch für die Behauptung zu, dass er nach Rom im Oktober 70 n. Chr. zurückgekehrt sei, selbst die irritierendste Besonderheit der Szene auf Fries B ist wahr: wir wissen außerdem, dass Vespasian ohne seine Armee nach Rom zurückkehrte (siehe dazu jetzt aber oben, im Kapitel *V.1.i.3.a*)'.

Zu den soeben zitierten Tatsachen kommt eine Beobachtung von Rita Paris (1994b, 81-83) hinzu, welche die Autorin bereits selbst auf den Kaiser bezogen hat, der auf Fries B der Cancellarieliefs erscheint (vergleiche hier **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung: Figuren 14; 16**). Dieser Kaiser (**Figur 14**) wird von *Victoria* (**Figur 16**) mit der *corona civica* gekrönt, eine Ehre, die nur Augustus und Vespasian zuteil geworden ist, weil beide in der Lage gewesen sind, einen Bürgerkrieg zu beenden. Der Kaiser auf Fries B war mit Sicherheit nicht Augustus (das hat auch noch kein Gelehrter behauptet), da die Art der *toga*, mit der er bekleidet ist, erst unter Domitian modern werden sollte; vergleiche hierzu Hans Rupprecht Goette (1990, 40, 41, Taf. 12, 5), und da Vespasian die *corona civica* auch auf einem Relief des *Templum Gentis Flaviae* trägt (hier **Fig. 33**), muss auch der Kaiser auf Fries B der Cancellarieliefs von Anfang an Vespasian gewesen sein, wie Rita Paris (1994b, 82) zu Recht bemerkt hat.

Ich zitiere im Folgenden die Textpassage aus oben, Kapitel *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements* ('Einführende Bemerkungen und Dank'), die sich auf diese Beobachtung von Rita Paris bezieht:

'Nebenbei bemerkt, hatte Rita Paris (1994b) bereits vor langer Zeit ein Argument angeführt, das zweifelsfrei beweist, dass der Kaiser auf Fries B der Cancellarieliefs von Anfang an Vespasian war. In ihrer Diskussion eines der Marmorreliefs vom *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, das, meines Erachtens, Vespasians *adventus* in Rom im Oktober 70 zeigt [Paris selbst glaubt irrtümlich, die Szene spiele in Benevent; siehe dazu unten], erwähnt Paris, dass Vespasian auf diesem Relief die *corona civica* trage (s.o.; im Kapitel *V.1.i.3.a*) und hier **Fig. 33**). Paris (1994b, 81-83) betont in ihrer Beschreibung dieses Reliefs, dass die Krönung mit dieser spezifischen Krone, *a*) von Plinius (*HN* 16,3) als "l'emblema più fulgido del valore militare", als 'der glänzendste Beweis militärischer Fähigkeiten' angesehen wurde, wobei diese Auszeichnung wesentlich höher zu bewerten gewesen sei, als die Dekoration mit allen anderen Kronen, die für militärische Siege verliehen werden konnten, and *b*), dass Vespasian auf diese Weise geehrt worden sei, weil er, dank seiner siegreichen militärischen Kampagne, es vermocht hatte, den Bürgerkrieg von 68-69 zu beenden. - Genau wie Augustus vor ihm, der gleichfalls die *corona civica* erhielt, weil er ebenfalls einen Bürgerkrieg beendet hatte (s.o.; im Kapitel *V.1.i.3.a*) und hier **Fig. 35**)'.

Hinzu kommt, dass einige Gelehrte die Meinung vertreten, dass Filippo Magi keineswegs als erster festgestellt habe, dass der Kaiser auf Fries B der Cancellarieliefs Vespasian darstellt, indem sie (irrtümlich) behauptet haben, dass diese Tatsache zuerst von 'S. Fuchs 1938' publiziert worden sei, allerdings ohne diese Behauptung mit einem Zitat zu belegen. Diesen Gelehrten war die Tatsache unbekannt, dass Magi bereits in seinem Artikel von 1939 den Kaiser auf Fries B mit Vespasian identifiziert hatte (s.o.; **Anm. 112**, in Kapitel *I.1.*, wo die entsprechende Passage aus F. MAGI 1939, 205, wörtlich zitiert ist).

Ich danke Michaela Fuchs, die diese Publikation für mich gefunden hat: es ist Siegfried Fuchs 1937: aber der Autor erwähnt darin die Cancellarieliefs gar nicht. Kein Wunder, denn die Marmorplatten B3 und B4 von Fries B, mit dem Portrait Vespasians (vergleiche hier **Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung: Figur 14**), sollten erst 1938 gefunden werden (!) (s.o., **Anm. 113**, in Kapitel *I.1.*).

Für eine detaillierte Diskussion; s.o., **Anm. 5; 113; 191**, im Kapitel *I.1.*, besonders unter: *The Siegfried-Fuchs-Saga* ('Die Siegfried-Fuchs-Saga'). Die ganze Geschichte erinnert mich an ein berühmtes Buch von Carl Robert, auf das mich vor vielen Jahren mein verstorbener Doktorvater, Andreas Linfert, hingewiesen hatte - der Titel dieses Werkes sollte sprichwörtlich werden:

*Archaeologische Maerchen aus alter und neuer Zeit (1886).*

Bereits Magi wußte (1945; wie alle späteren Gelehrten), dass die Erforschung der Cancellariareliefs noch weiter erschwert worden ist und zwar auf Grund von Entscheidungen, die offensichtlich Domitian getroffen hatte, der die Cancellariareliefs in Auftrag gegeben hat [zumindest bezüglich dieses einen Punktes sind sich fast alle Forscher einig].

Die uns bekannten antiken Schriftquellen beschreiben nämlich zum Beispiel sehr detailliert Vespasians Ankunft in Rom im Oktober 70 n. Chr.; vergleiche Cassius Dio (65,9-10) und Flavius Josephus (*BJ* 7,2; 7,4,1). Aber diese Autoren schildern *a*) keine derartige *adventus* Zeremonie in Rom, noch erwähnen sie *b*) Domitian in diesem Zusammenhang (!). Ganz im Gegenteil, wir wissen nämlich aus diesen Schriftquellen, dass das erste Zusammentreffen von Vater und Sohn [Vespasian und Domitian] (das ja auf Fries B dargestellt zu sein scheint), nach vier Jahren der Trennung, statt dessen bereits ein paar Tage (?) früher, und zwar in Benevent stattgefunden hatte. Deshalb muss sich Domitian in Wirklichkeit unter den Leuten befunden haben, *mit denen gemeinsam* sein Vater Vespasian bei dieser Gelegenheit in Rom angekommen ist. Für eine detaillierte Diskussion; s.o., im Kapitel *V.1.i.3.*).

Im Gegensatz zu mir folgen die meisten anderen Autoren jenen Gelehrten, die (meiner Meinung nach irrtümlich) behauptet haben, dass der Kopf des Kaisers (oder sogar die Köpfe von beiden Figuren [das heisst, von Vespasian und Domitian]) auf Fries B überarbeitet worden seien. Ich habe diese Forschungsmeinungen sehr detailliert diskutiert (s.o., Kapitel *I.1; I.1.1.; V.1.i.3; VI.3.*); meiner Ansicht nach haben diese Gelehrten, auf Grund ihrer Interpretationen, ein großes Durcheinander bewirkt. Mit dem Ergebnis, dass gegenwärtig die meisten Autoren glauben, dass Fries B im (angeblichen) Originalzustand einen anderen Kaiser dargestellt habe (die meisten Forscher glauben: Domitian), hinzu kommt, dass viele Gelehrte glauben, dass der jugendliche Togatus vor dem Kaiser unter keinen Umständen ein Portrait sein könne.

Gegen Magis Identifizierung des jugendlichen Togatus vor dem Kaiser auf Fries B als Domitian (hier **Fig. 2: Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung: Figur 12**), sind von diesen Gelehrten drei Argumente angeführt wurden; *a*) da er Senator gewesen sei (vergleiche dazu unten), hätte Domitian mit den *calcei patricii* angetan dargestellt werden müssen, der jugendliche Togatus trägt aber nur die einfachen *calcei*, die für einen *eques* passend waren; *b*) die Gesichtszüge des jugendlichen Togatus seien nicht die eines Portraits; und *c*), falls der jugendliche Togatus tatsächlich ein Portrait Domitians (gewesen) sein sollte, hätte dieses Portrait nach Domitians Ermordung und *damnatio memoriae* zerstört werden müssen.

Um Punkt *a*) zu illustrieren, in dem es um die (angeblich) 'falschen' Schuhe geht, die Domitian auf Fries B trägt, zitiere ich im Folgende eine Passage aus unten, in Band 3-2, in *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...; Introduction; Section XI* ('Eine Studie zu den Folgen von Domitians Ermordung ... Einführung; Abschnitt XI'):

'An anderer Stelle in diesem Buch sind die Probleme diskutiert worden, die dadurch entstanden sind, dass einige der 34 Figuren, die auf den Cancellariareliefs erscheinen (vergleiche hier **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung**), mit dem 'falschen' Schuhwerk bekleidet sind.

**Siehe oben, im Kapitel I.1. The discussion of the Cancellaria Reliefs, or the story of a dilemma: wrong shoes or wrong interpretations? (I.1. Die Diskussion der Cancellariareliefs, oder die Geschichte eines Dilemmas: falsche Schuhe oder falsche Interpretationen?').**

In diesem Fall habe ich ein volles Kalenderjahr gebraucht, um die wissenschaftliche Diskussion zu diesen 'falschen' Schuhen zu analysieren. Nur um zu dem Ergebnis zu gelangen (s.o., Kapitel I.1., zu **Anm. 144**), wie gleichfalls vorgeschlagen von Stephanie Langer und Michael Pfanner (2018, 76-77 mit Anm. 123, wörtlich zitiert, s.o., in Kapitel I.1., zu **Anm. 193**), dass alle diese Probleme mit der Annahme der einfachen Tatsache erklärt werden können, dass die ausführenden Künstler Fehler gemacht haben. Langer und Pfanner (*op.cit.*) diskutieren die Darstellung des *Genius Senatus* auf Fries B der Cancellariareliefs (hier **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung: Figur 11**), der mit den einfachen *calcei* bekleidet ist (was passend für *equites* wäre), anstatt die *calcei patricii* zu tragen (was passend für Senatoren ist. Vergleiche zu *calcei patricii*, s.o., Kapitel I.1., zu **Anm. 145**).

Langer und Pfanner (2018, 66, Kapitel 2.9.3) schreiben: "**Fehler finden sich oft bei den Schuhen (A: Figuren 2, 3, 7, 8, 12, 15, 16, 17; B: Figuren 8?, 12, 14, 15, 17; s.[iehe] dazu jeweils im Kapitel 2.8 unter "Technisches"): Sei es, dass sie vergessen und nachträglich eingeritzt wurden, oder dass es Verwechslungen mit der anschließenden Figur gab ... [Hervorhebung von mir]**". Für eine Diskussion; s.o., Kapitel V.1.d).

Bei **Figur 12** auf Fries B, die Langer und Pfanner (2018, 66) in diesem Zusammenhang erwähnen, handelt es sich um den jugendlichen Togatus, den ich mit Domitian identifiziere (vergleiche hier **Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung**). In ihrer Besprechung dieser Figur; vergleiche Langer und Pfanner (2018, 55-56, Kapitel 2.8: "Figur 12 Junger Mann in Toga"), wo sie erwähnen, dass dieser Togatus die "einfachen *calcei*" trägt, gehen die Autoren leider nicht darauf ein (wie nach ihrem oben zitierten Statement auf S. 66 eigentlich zu erwarten wäre), warum **Figur 12** ihrer Ansicht nach mit den 'falschen' Schuhen bekleidet sei.

***Zu Punkt a) Warum der jugendliche Togatus auf Fries B die einfachen calcei trägt,  
und warum er der agierende praetor urbanus, und deshalb Domitian ist***

Ich folge diesbezüglich Erika Simon und Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee, die beobachtet haben, dass der jugendliche Togatus auf Fries B, den sie mit Domitian identifizieren, keineswegs die 'falschen' Schuhe trägt.

Vergleiche Simon (1960, 134-135; *dies.* 1963, 10; wörtlich zitiert, s.o., in **Anm. 175, 181**, in Kapitel I.1.). Simon erkennt an, dass der Kopf des jugendlichen Togatus sein Portrait sei (sie erklärt auch, warum er dieses Schuhwerk trägt), und identifiziert diese Figur mit Domitian, der in seiner Amtsausübung als *praetor urbanus* dargestellt sei (siehe dazu unten). Nach Simons Meinung konnte Domitian deshalb Vespasian in dieser *adventus* Zeremonie empfangen, weil er zum fraglichen Zeitpunkt der am höchsten rangierende Magistrat war, der in Rom anwesend gewesen sei.

Und ich folge auch Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee (1957, 7-8, wörtlich zitiert, s.o., in **Anm. 176**, in Kapitel I.1.), die annimmt, dass der jugendliche Togatus, den auch sie mit Domitian identifiziert, mit den einfachen *calcei* bekleidet sei, weil er auch *Princeps Iuventutis* war. Um diesen Sachverhalt näher zu erläutern, zitiere ich im Folgenden eine Textpassage aus Kapitel I.1.1.:

'Falls tatsächlich der amtierende Magistrat *praetor urbanus* im jugendlichen Togatus des Frieses B portraitiert ist, wie Erika Simon (1963, 10; s.o., zu **Anm. 181** und in **Anm. 175**, und oben, zu **Anm. 456**, in Kapitel III.) vorschlägt, dann ist das nur möglich, wie Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee (1957, 7-8) schreibt, wenn dieser *praetor urbanus* Domitian im Jahre 70 n. Chr. war. Nur in diesem einen Fall konnte dieser Magistrat, der dem Senat angehörte, trotzdem mit den 'einfachen *calcei*' bekleidet dargestellt werden, die typisch für Mitglieder des Ritterstandes waren. Diese Schuhe waren nämlich auch passend für den *Princeps Iuventutis*, ein Titel, den Domitian zum fraglichen Zeitpunkt ebenfalls führte [mit **Anm. 186**: 'wie vorgeschlagen von J.M.C. TOYNBEE 1957, 7-8 (wörtlich zitiert in **Anm. 176)**']'.

Domitian hatte seit dem 1. Januar 70 n. Chr. die Magistratur *praetor urbanus consulari potestate* inne. Wir wissen auch, dass Domitian bereits am 21. Dezember 69 n. Chr. den Titel *Princeps iuventutis* erhalten hatte (für beides; s.o., zu **Anm. 189**, in Kapitel I.1.). Vergleiche **Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee** (1957, 8 mit Anm. 11, wörtlich zitiert, s.o., zu **Anm. 205**, im Kapitel I.1.1.), **die vorschlägt, dass der jugendliche Togatus auf Fries B der Cancellariareliefs den jungen Domitian in seiner Eigenschaft als Princeps iuventutis darstelle, "a title that marked him out from other senators as heir presumptive to the Empire [ein Titel, der ihn von den anderen Senatoren hervorhob, als mutmaßlicher Thronfolger'; Hervorhebung von mir]**".



Zu Simons (1960, 134-135; dies. 1963, 10) Beobachtung möchte ich hinzufügen, dass es nur wenigen römischen Magistraten erlaubt war, einen neu gewählten Kaiser in einer *adventus* Zeremonie zu empfangen, darunter dem *praetor urbanus*, was bedeutet, dass das dargestellte Alter des jugendlichen Togatus auf Fries B von entscheidender Bedeutung für die Identifizierung dieses Mannes ist. Die anderen Magistrate, die einen Kaiser in einer *adventus* Zeremonie empfangen durften, waren der *praefectus urbi* und die *consules*. Der Mann, der die Magistratur *praefectus urbi* bekleidete, "was always a senator ... usually a senior ex-consul" ('war immer ein Senator ... üblicherweise ein älterer ehemaliger Konsul'), wie Theodore John Cadoux und R.S.O. Tomlin (1996, 1239) festgestellt haben (s.o., zu **Anm. 183**, in Kapitel *I.1.*), der deshalb definitiv sehr viel älter war als der jugendliche Togatus. Dasselbe galt während der Republik auch für die *consules*, aber nicht für Domitian! Für eine detaillierte Diskussion dieser Thematik; s.o., Kapitel *V.1.h.1.*). Ich zitiere hier deshalb in deutscher Übersetzung eine Textpassage aus diesem Kapitel:

'Die soeben erwähnten Bestimmungen bezüglich des Mindestalters für alle Magistraturen in republikanischer Zeit, die unter anderem die *consules* betrafen, "were often disregarded as imperial relatives and protégés were signalled by the bestowal upon them of the consulship"; vergleiche Peter Sidney Derow (1996, 384) ... Mit seiner oben zitierten Bemerkung, dass die traditionelle Bestimmung bezüglich des Mindestalters für das Konsulat in der Kaiserzeit mißachtet wurde, hat Derow mit Sicherheit Recht, wenn man bedenkt, in welchem Alter Titus zum ersten Mal Konsul wurde (mit 30?) und Domitian (mit 19) ... sein [das heißt: Vespasians] Sohn Domitian (geboren am 24. Oktober 51 n. Chr.) wurde zum ersten Mal "cos. suff." im März-Juni 71 n. Chr. (das heißt, im Alter von 19 Jahren); vergleiche Kienast, Eck und Heil (2017, 109, 110)'.

**Zu den Punkten b) und c). Die Kontroverse, ob der jugendliche Togatus auf Fries B ein Portrait ist oder nicht, der Beweis, dass es Domitian ist, und der Grund, warum dieses Portrait nicht zerstört wurde**

Ich selbst folge in diesem Buch jenen Gelehrten, die den jugendlichen Togatus auf Fries B mit Domitian identifizieren, aber ich habe auch sehr ausführlich die Argumente jener Forscher analysiert, die diese Tatsache abstreiten (s.o., Kapitel *I.1.*; *I.1.1.*; *V.1.i.3.*; *VI.3.*). Ich sehe keine Möglichkeit, die Gelehrten des 'anderen Lagers' von meiner eigenen diesbezüglichen Meinung zu überzeugen, zum Beispiel durch Anwendung der üblichen Methode, die Forscher 'beider Lager' anwenden: nämlich indem ich selbst die Gesichtszüge des jugendlichen Togatus beschreibe. Ich habe deshalb eine andere Richtung bei meinen diesbezüglichen Forschungen eingeschlagen, und zwar, indem ich mich auf Kontexte konzentriert habe; es gibt zwei Kontexte, die in diesem Zusammenhang von Bedeutung sind. Der eine Kontext ist die Topographie des Ortes in Rom, wo die auf Fries B dargestellte Szene stattfindet. Wir wissen, dass Vespasian, von Brindisi kommend, in dem Moment, der auf Fries B zu sehen ist, soeben in Rom ankommt, und zwar auf der *Via Appia*. Der Ort, an dem sich Vespasian und Domitian auf Fries B treffen, muss daher, auf Grund verschiedener Gesetze und religiöser Vorschriften, die *Porta Capena* in der Servianischen Stadtmauer sein. Die damit zusammenhängenden Probleme für beide, Vater und Sohn, werden weiter unten erklärt.

**Dass zu dieser Zeit das Pomerium im Bereich der Porta Capena noch dem Verlauf der Servianischen Stadtmauer entsprach, lässt sich unmissverständlich der Lokalisierung von zwei Gebäuden unmittelbar außerhalb der Porta Capena ablesen.**

Gemeint sind das *Mutatorium Caesaris* an der *Via Appia* in der augusteischen *Regio I* und das *Senaculum*, die sich beide, auf Grund ihrer Funktionen, außerhalb des *Pomeriums* befinden mussten. Das *Mutatorium Caesaris* war das Gebäude, "where emperors changed from military to civilian garb on returning from campaign [in the East]" ('wo die Kaiser ihre militärische Kleidung ab-, und ihre zivile Kleidung anlegten, wenn sie von ihren militärischen Kampagnen [aus dem Osten] zurückkehrten'); vergleiche Häuber (2014a, 274). Der Grund hierfür war, dass sie nur in ziviler Kleidung die Stadt Rom betreten durften. Und im Gebäude namens *Senaculum* (von denen es in Rom drei Stück gab) trafen sich Vertreter des Senats mit Personen, die (aus den verschiedensten Gründen) das *Pomerium*, die heilige Grenze der Stadt Rom, nicht überschreiten, das heißt, die Stadt nicht betreten durften. Laura Asor Rosa (2001) ist es gelungen, das *Mutatorium Caesaris* außerhalb der *Porta Capena* genau zu lokalisieren, weshalb wir es in unsere Karten eintragen konnten.

Vergleiche F. Coarelli ("Murus Servii Tullii"; Mura Republicanae: Porta Capena", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 325); Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio ("Mutatorium Caesaris", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 335); Coarelli ("Senaculum", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 264-265; Laura Asor Rosa (2001), zusammengefasst in Häuber (2014a, 274-275).

Für Vespasians Heimkehr nach Rom, und für das *Pomerium* und seine Funktionen, die Vespasian in der hier geschilderten Situation beachten musste; s.o., Kapitel *Preamble*; Section III.; point 2.) ('Abschnitt III., zu Punkt 2. '); und zu **Anm. 199**, in Kapitel *I.1.1*. Vergleiche unsere Karten hier **Figs. 58; 71**, Beschriftungen: Servian city Wall; PORTA CAPENA; VIA APPIA; REGIO I; site of MUTATORIUM CAESARIS.

Kehren wir nun wieder zurück zum Fries B der Cancellarieliefs.

Der andere Kontext ist der jugendliche Togatus, gesehen in Relation zu den Figuren, die auf Fries A dargestellt sind. Um das zu untersuchen, haben Franz Xaver Schütz und ich folgende Visualisierung erstellt: **Figs. 1 und 2 der Cancellarieliefs, Zeichnung, 'in situ'**. **Visualisierung auf der Basis von F. Magis Zeichnungen (1945), hier 'Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung'**. Siehe oben, die Bildunterschriften zu diesen Abbildungen.

Wir haben uns zu dieser Visualisierung entschlossen, weil wir uns gefragt haben, ob die Annahme, dass die Cancellarieliefs die gegenüberliegenden Wände im Durchgang eines Bogens dekoriert hatten (die von mehreren Gelehrten vorgeschlagen worden ist), uns dabei helfen könnten, mehr über diese Reliefs zu erfahren.

Erst nachdem wir im Jahre 2020 unsere erste Visualisierung der Cancellarieliefs 'in situ' mit den Photos hier **Figs. 1; 2** angefertigt hatten, konnte ich den ähnlichen Versuch von John Henderson (2003, 249, Figs. 48; 49) studieren, den Massimo Pentiricci (2009, 61 mit Anm. 427) erwähnt hat. Für eine Diskussion; s.o. Kapitel *I.3.2.*, mit **Anm. 263**. Henderson (2003, 249, Figs. 48; 49) benutzte für seine Visualisierung, die Zeichnungen von Filippo Magi (1945 = hier **Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung**), aber er stellte dem Fries A den Fries B "reversed right/left", das heißt : eine seitenverkehrte Darstellung von Fries B gegenüber. Auch Henderson hat auf diese Weise Beziehungen der Figuren auf den Friesen A und B untereinander gefunden. Da ein antiker Betrachter den Fries B jedoch unter keinen Umständen jemals hätte seitenverkehrt sehen können, sind wir bei unserer eigenen Methode geblieben, diese Visualisierung zu versuchen. Jetzt, im Jahre 2022, gleichfalls auf der Basis von Magis Zeichnungen.

Völlig unerwartet haben wir auf diese Weise (zuerst 2020, mit den Photos hier **Figs. 1; 2**) den Kontext des jugendlichen Togatus innerhalb dieses Friespaares gefunden. Wenn sich diese Reliefs *in situ* befanden (vergleiche hier **Figs. 1 und 2, Cancellaria Reliefs, 'in situ'**), dann stand der jugendliche Togatus auf Fries B (**Figur 12**) versetzt gegenüber der Figur Domitians/ Nervas auf Fries A (**Figur 6**). Beide Männer führen die Prozessionen an, die auf beiden Friesen dargestellt sind, und sind deshalb ihre Hauptfiguren. Wenn man gleichzeitig bedenkt, dass Domitian die Cancellarieliefs in Auftrag gegeben hat, dann ist es konsequent anzunehmen, dass der jugendliche Togatus, der die Prozession der Repräsentanten der Stadt Rom zu dem Treffen mit dem heimkommenden neuen Kaiser Vespasian in einer *adventus* Zeremonie anführt, der amtierende *praetor urbanus* und Caesar Domitian sein muss; zumal der jugendliche Togatus auch das richtige Alter hat: Domitian war in der ersten Hälfte des Oktober 70 n. Chr. 18 Jahre alt. Um diesen Punkt weiter zu erläutern, zitiere ich im Folgenden eine Textpassage aus oben, Kapitel *V.1.i.3.*):

``Wenn das der Fall ist, dann ist Domitian [das heißt, der jugendliche Togatus] auf Fries B somit nur erkennbar auf Grund einer Kombination seiner Handlung - er führt die empfangende Partei in einer *adventus* Zeremonie an - mit dem spezifischen topographischen Kontext, wo diese Aktion stattfindet, dessen Bedeutung wir soeben analysiert haben [das heißt, im Kapitel *V.1.i.3.*; siehe dazu unten].

Obwohl dennoch das Faktum bestehen bleibt, dass der Kopf des jugendlichen Togatus, **Figur 12** auf Fries B (hier **Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung**), nicht zerstört worden ist, weshalb einige Gelehrte behauptet haben, dass

deshalb dieser Kopf des jugendliche Togatus auf keinen Fall als Portrait Domitians angesehen werden könne, da ein derartiges Portrait nach der *damnatio memoriae* des Kaisers selbstverständlich hätte zerstört werden müssen.

Während ich selbst ein Szenario entwickelt habe, um dieses Faktum zu erklären [das heißt, warum der Kopf des jugendlichen Togatus nicht zerstört worden ist] (s.o., in Kapitel II.3.1.a) [worauf ich unten zurückkommen werde], mit Verweis auf Kapitel II.3.2.), bietet John Henderson (2003) eine andere Lösungsmöglichkeit des Problems, die meinem Vorschlag nicht widerspricht, da beide Hypothesen als sich gegenseitig ergänzend betrachtet werden könnten.

Henderson (2003, 246) schreibt:

"On Relief 'B', we recognise the features of dear old Vespasian in the front-rank figure to right who is being crowned by a Victory launch. And we wonder if (we can ever decide if) the young man he is paired with has an individualised, or blankly idealising, visage [with n. 54]: a youthful Domitian, or some worthy public servant? A Domitian, some agree (never, in any event, a square-jaw Titus) - a princeling Domitian re-imag(in)ed in a two decades retrospect from the meat of his reign, and hence a Domitian unlike his former self? So Magi reckoned, and 'A' is thus pinpointed as the start or finale of some (major? enough to call for massive sculpture ...) campaign under Domitian's auspices, while 'B' must B [*corr.*: be] a contemporaneous resuscitation of an occasion way back in Vespasian's era - bringing together father and (second) son. If Nerva displaced the head on Domitian's neck in 'A', **perhaps the dead and damned Domitian escaped defacement in 'B' precisely because he looks (so) little like Domitian?** [Hervorhebung von mir]".

In seiner **Anmerkung 54**, schreibt Henderson: "His [das heißt, von **Figur 12**, des jugendlichen Togatus] eyes bigger and deeper than the lictors' [das heißt, von **Figur 1** and **10** auf Fries B], his face more individualised than theirs, at least (Simon [1960] 134; Bonanno [1976] 56)". - Hierbei ist zu beachten, dass Anthony Bonanno (1976, 56-57) mehr als nur das einzige, von Henderson zitierte, Argument anführt, das ihn dazu bewogen hat, den Kopf des jugendlichen Togatus als ein Portrait Domitians anzusehen".

**Um diesen Punkt abzuschließen: Ich selbst frage in diesem Buch, ob Fries B, als er sich noch *in situ* an dem domitianischen Gebäude befand, zu dem er gehörte, überhaupt zugänglich für Personen gewesen ist, die ihn hätten beschädigen können (s.o., Kapitel II.3.2.); während John Henderson (2003, 246), der davon ausgeht, dass Fries B zugänglich war, fragt, ob der jugendliche Togatus möglicherweise als Domitian gar nicht erkennbar gewesen ist, weshalb er deshalb nicht beschädigt worden sei.**

#### *Warum der Kopf des jugendlichen Togatus/ Domitian auf Fries B nicht beschädigt worden ist*

Den meisten Gelehrten, die bislang die Cancellariareliefs diskutiert haben, war die Tatsache unbekannt, dass Nerva (theoretisch) einen Grund hatte, warum er Domitians Bogen usurpiert hat (vorausgesetzt, diese Hypothese ist wahr), für den die Cancellariareliefs geschaffen worden waren: sein Sieg im *bellum Suebicum*. Für den gesamten, sehr komplexen, Vorgang; s.o., Kapitel II.3.1.a; II.3.2; II.3.3.a); V.1.c; V.1.i.3.).

Der Statthalter von Pannonien, nicht Nerva, hatte diese siegreiche militärische Kampagne geleitet, aber weil Nerva der regierende Kaiser war, wurde dieser Sieg ihm zugeschrieben. Der Statthalter von Pannonien sandte deshalb Nerva, als Zeichen seines Sieges, einen Lorbeerkranz nach Rom, den Nerva im späten Oktober oder Anfang November 97 n. Chr. in einer feierlichen Zeremonie dem Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus geweiht hat; im Laufe derselben feierlichen Zeremonie auf dem Kapitol hat Nerva dann Trajan adoptiert, "whom he had previously appointed governor of Upper Germany, as his son, co-emperor, and successor" (vergleiche J.B. CAMPBELL 1996, 1038-1039; s.o., **Anm. 322**, in Kapitel II.1.e)). Trajan befand sich zu diesem Zeitpunkt in Mogontiacum/ Mainz.

Vergleiche hierzu oben, Kapitel II.3.2; und II.3.3.a), sowie unten, *Den vierten Beitrag von Peter Herz* in diesem Band ("Wann wurde Trajan von Nerva adoptiert?"). Vergleiche auch unten, in Band 3-2, in *A Study*

*on the consequences of Domitian's assassination: Nerva is forced to adopt Trajan and Trajan creates Domitian's negative image to consolidate his own reign ... ('Eine Studie zu den Folgen von Domitians Ermordung: Nerva wird gezwungen, Trajan zu adoptieren, und Trajan kreiert Domitians negatives Image, um seine eigene Herrschaft zu konsolidieren ...').*

**Als Konsequenz dieser beiden Fakten (Nervas Sieg im *bellum Suebicum* und seiner Adoption Trajans) hat der Senat im November 97 n. Chr. sowohl Nerva, als auch Trajan, für ihren Sieg im *bellum Suebicum*, den Titel *Germanicus* verliehen; diesen Titel hat Nerva seiner offiziellen Titulatur hinzugefügt, und auch Trajan hat ihn akzeptiert.**

Meiner Meinung nach erlaubt diese Abfolge von Ereignissen die Annahme, dass Nerva, sobald er die Nachricht von seinem Sieg im *bellum Suebicum* erfuhr, den Auftrag erteilt hat, das Portrait Domitians auf Fries A der Cancellariareliefs in sein eigenes Portrait umzuarbeiten. Wie deutlich erkennbar ist (vergleiche hier **Fig. 1**), ist diese Operation niemals abgeschlossen worden. Das wiederum erlaubt den weiteren Schluss, dass Nerva irgendwann die Unterbrechung dieser Arbeiten angeordnet haben muss, möglicherweise an dem Tag, an dem er Trajan adoptiert hat. Ich schlage des Weiteren vor, dass Nerva schließlich die Zerstörung des Monumentes angeordnet hat, zu dem die Cancellariareliefs gehörten. Als spätesten Zeitpunkt hierfür schlage ich vor, dass dies erfolgt sein wird, nachdem der Senat, im November 97 n. Chr., ihm (Nerva) und Trajan den Titel *Germanicus* zugestanden hatte - für ihren (angeblichen) Sieg im *bellum Suebicum*, an dem weder Nerva, noch Trajan teilgenommen hatten (!).

Um dieses Thema weiter zu verdeutlichen, wiederhole ich im Folgenden einen Text, der für oben, Kapitel *II.3.1.a) Nerva's victory in the bellum Suebicum October AD 97* ('Kapitel *II.3.1.a) Nervas Sieg im bellum Suebicum im Oktober 97 n. Chr.*') geschrieben worden ist:

'Falls Nerva, als er den Auftrag erteilt hat, das Gesicht Domitians auf Fries A in ein Portrait seiner selbst umzuarbeiten (vergleiche hier **Fig. 1**; **Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung: Figur 6**), tatsächlich den Wunsch gehabt haben sollte, auf seinen Sieg über die *Suebi* in Pannonien im Jahre 97 n. Chr. zu verweisen, dann war diese Idee womöglich gar nicht so extravagant, wie wir vielleicht auf den ersten Blick meinen könnten. Denn, vorausgesetzt Domitian hätte tatsächlich Fries A in Auftrag gegeben, um, wie eine Forscherin vorgeschlagen hat [mit **Anm. 346**; s.o., in Kapitel *II.3.1.a)*], an seinen eigenen Sieg im Sarmatischen Krieg zu erinnern, den der Kaiser persönlich in den Jahren 92-93 n. Chr. in Pannonien gegen die Sarmatischen Iazygen, und ebenfalls gegen die *Suebi* [mit **Anm. 345**] erfochten hatte, dann würde Nervas Idee sehr viel verständlicher werden (s.o., Kapitel *II.3.2.)*'.

Ich persönlich schlage dagegen vor, dass Fries A der Cancellariareliefs Domitians *profectio* zu seinem (zweiten) Dakischen Krieg im Frühjahr 89 n. Chr. darstellt (s.u., im Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.d.2.e)*; und *Appendix IV.d.2.f)*. Weiter unten in diesem Kapitel schlage ich vor, dass die Cancellariareliefs den Domitiansbogen dekoriert haben könnten, den Filippo Coarelli (2009b; 2012) an der "Porta principale" (dem 'Haupteingang') von Domitians Palast auf dem Palatin annimmt. Falls das wahr sein sollte, und wenn wir gleichzeitig berücksichtigen, dass Kaiser Nerva gleichfalls in Domitians *Domus Augustana* residiert hat, dann wäre es mehr als verständlich, dass er mit einem *eigenen* Portrait auf Fries A erscheinen wollte (vergleiche hier **Fig. 1**, oder, wenn möglich, auf beiden Friesen ?), die ja - nach dieser Theorie - immerhin den Bogen am Eingang *seines* Palastes zierten. - Vergleiche für die Tatsache, dass Nerva in Domitians Palast auf dem Palatin gelebt hat: Friderike Senkbeil (2022, 242, mit Anm. 1262).

Vergleiche hier **Figs. 8.1; 58**, Beschriftungen: PALATINE; DOMUS AUGUSTANA; "Porta principale"; Arch of Domitian ? / Cancellaria Reliefs ?

Im Unterschied zu allen früheren Gelehrten, schlägt Massimo Pentiricci (2009) Folgendes vor. Die meisten Platten der Cancellariareliefs (vergleiche hier **Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung**) stammen aus dem von mir so genannten 'Second sculptor's workshop' (der 'zweiten Bildhauerwerkstatt'), die Filippo Magi (1939; 1945)

unter dem Cancellariapalast, neben dem Grab des Konsuls Aulus Hirtius, ausgegraben hat. Zusammen mit den Cancellariareliefs hat Magi dort Architekturfragmente angetroffen, die zu einem Bogen gehören. Pentiricci ist der Auffassung, dass all das ursprünglich aus demselben Kontext stammt, weshalb dieses domitianische Gebäude, zusammen mit den Cancellariareliefs, abgerissen worden sein müsse (vergleiche M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 61 mit Anm. 428-431; S. 62 mit Anm. 440-442, S. 162 mit Anm. 97, S. 204: "§ 3. La ristrutturazione urbanistica in età flavia (Periodo 3)"; vergleiche S. 204-205: "L'officina marmoraria presso il sepolcro di Irzio"); s.o., Kapitel I.3.2.), **Anm. 261; 297**; und zu **Anm. 334**, in Kapitel II.3.1.a).

Zu dieser 'zweiten Bildhauerwerkstatt'; s.o., Kapitel I.3.1.); V.1.a.1.).

Stephanie Langer und Michael Pfanner (2018, 82, 84), die Massimo Pentiricci (2009) in diesem Zusammenhang nicht zitieren, sind ebenfalls der Ansicht, dass das Gebäude, zu dem sie gehörten, zusammen mit den Cancellariareliefs abgerissen worden sei. Des Weiteren haben sie bereits vorgeschlagen (wegen anderer Gründe als ich), dass es Nerva gewesen sein könnte, der die Zerstörung des Gebäudes mit den Cancellariareliefs in Auftrag gab; s.o., Kapitel V.1.a); V.1.b); V.1.i.1.).

Meiner Ansicht nach hat Nerva das Gebäude mit den Cancellariareliefs zerstören lassen, weil diese Reliefs nach dem oben erwähnten Senatsbeschluss natürlich auf Fries A *Nerva und Trajan zusammen, in ihrer gemeinsamen profectio* Zeremonie für das *bellum Suebicum* hätten darstellen müssen. Bekanntlich sind aber die Marmorplatten der Cancellariareliefs viel zu dünn, als dass eine größere Veränderung möglich gewesen wäre, zum Beispiel die zusätzliche Reliefdarstellung eines zweiten Kaisers, neben dem Domitian/ Nerva auf Fries A, zum Beispiel zwischen Minerva und Domitian/ Nerva (hier **Fig. 1; Figs. und 2** **Zeichnung: Figur 5 und 6**); vergleiche hierzu oben, Kapitel II.3.2.

Bei dem Versuch herauszufinden, was tatsächlich nach Domitians Ermordung mit den Cancellariareliefs geschehen ist, müssen wir berücksichtigen, dass das Gebäude selbst, nicht nur die Reliefs (siehe dazu unten), womöglich noch gar nicht fertiggestellt war. An diesem Gebäude sind die Marmorplatten der Cancellariareliefs befestigt, und *in situ* skulptiert worden (auch die zweite Phase der Überarbeitung dieser Reliefs; siehe dazu unten, und oben, in den Kapiteln II.1.d; II.4.). Um diesen Punkt weiter zu erläutern, folgt hier eine weitere Textpassage aus oben, Kapitel II.3.1.a):

#### *'Nervas Sieg im bellum Suebicum im Oktober 97 n. Chr. ...*

'Pfanner (1981, 516-517 mit Anm. 13-16, "Das Schicksal der Reliefs", wörtlich zitiert oben, in **Anm. 318**, in Kapitel II.1.d)) hat bewiesen, dass Domitians Gesicht auf Fries A der Cancellariareliefs [hier **Fig. 1; Figs. und 2** **Zeichnung: Figur 6**] in ein Portrait Nervas umgearbeitet worden ist, als sich dieser Fries noch *in situ* an seinem domitianischen Gebäude befunden hat. Domitian wurde am 18. September 96 n. Chr. ermordet. Wie wir bereits erfahren haben (s.o., im Kapitel II.3.2.), weihte Nerva Ende Oktober oder Anfang November 97 n. Chr. jenen Lorbeerkranz dem Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus auf dem Kapitol, der ihm, als Zeichen seines Sieges über die *Suebi*, aus Pannonien geschickt worden war - jenes Sieges, für den Nerva, zusammen mit Trajan, den Titel *Germanicus* verliehen bekommen sollte. Wenn wir diese Fakten kombinieren, scheint es vernünftig anzunehmen, dass dieser Bogen Domitians, zum Zeitpunkt von Nervas Sieg im Oktober 97, Domitians Ermordung bereits um mehr als 13 Monate 'überlebt' hatte. Falls das der Fall gewesen ist, dann können wir weiter mutmaßen, dass dieser Bogen wieder zur Baustelle geworden ist - und zwar als Folge von Nervas Entscheidung, dieses Bauwerk in eines umzuwandeln, das seinen eigenen Sieg verherrlichen sollte.

Vielleicht können wir diesen Gedanken sogar noch weiter 'spinnen'. Wenn wir bedenken, dass die Cancellariareliefs noch nicht fertiggestellt waren, als Domitian starb (ihnen fehlt an vielen Stellen das letzte *finish*), dann erlaubt diese Beobachtung vielleicht die Schlussfolgerung, dass es sich bei diesem Ort seit Domitians Tod um eine verlassene Baustelle gehandelt hat'.

Auch Giandomenico Spinola schreibt, s.u., im *Beitrag von Giandomenico Spinola über die Cancellariareliefs*, dass seiner Meinung nach das Gebäude, zu dem die Cancellariareliefs gehört haben, zu Lebzeiten Domitians noch gar nicht fertiggestellt worden war.

Vergleiche für die Tatsache, dass viele Teile der Cancellariareliefs noch nicht ihr *final finish* erhalten hatten, außerdem, s.o., **Anm. 135-137**, in Kapitel *I.1.*; Kapitel *II.1.b*); **Anm. 340** in Kapitel *II.3.1.a*); und Kapitel *V.1.i.1.*).

Da ich das, was oben gesagt wurde, für möglich halte, schlage ich in diesem Buch vor, dass das Portrait Domitians/ des jugendlichen Togatus auf Fries B (hier **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung: Figur 12**), einfach deshalb überlebt hat, weil es der Öffentlichkeit gar nicht zugänglich war bis zu dem Zeitpunkt, als das gesamte Gebäude, zusammen mit den Cancellariareliefs, zerstört wurde. - Was meiner Meinung Nerva in Auftrag gegeben hat; s.o., Kapitel *II.3.2*.

Falls all das wahr sein sollte, dann befinden wir uns heute nur deshalb in der privilegierten Lage, diese Friese überhaupt studieren zu können, dank der oben vermuteten Entscheidungen Nervas im Jahre 97 n. Chr., und den glücklichen Umständen, dass die Cancellariareliefs in den 1930er Jahren wiedergefunden wurden, heute noch vorhanden sind, sowie, dass Filippo Magi (1939; 1945) sie so vorbildlich publiziert hat.

***Wenden wir uns nun dem `topographischen Kontext` zu, welcher der Darstellung auf  
Fries B zu Grunde liegt, der Porta Capena in der Servianischen Stadtmauer***

Meiner Meinung nach ist der junge Caesar Domitian auf Fries B (hier **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung: Figur 12**) dargestellt, wie er, in der 1. Hälfte des Monats Oktober 70 n. Chr., in seiner Eigenschaft als *praetor urbanus*, den neu gewählten Kaiser Vespasian in einer *adventus* Zeremonie an Roms heiliger Stadtgrenze, dem *Pomerium*, in Empfang nimmt. Domitian hatte die Magistratur *praetor urbanus consulari potestate* seit dem 1. Januar 70 n. Chr. inne (s.o., Kapitel *V.1.i.3.*)).

Aber mit dem Thema *adventus* Vespasians, so wie es nach Domitians Vorstellungen auf Fries B dargestellt werden sollte, waren zwei Probleme verbunden: der *praetor urbanus* (das heißt, Domitian) konnte in dieser Eigenschaft nur innerhalb des *Pomeriums* der Stadt Rom tätig werden, hinzu kommt, dass wir wissen, dass Vespasian zu diesem Zeitpunkt mit dem Senat verhandelte, damit ihm dieser für seine Siege im Großen Jüdischen Krieg einen Triumph gewähre. Von diesem Krieg kam Vespasian gerade zurück (nach seinem Aufenthalt in Alexandria). Für Vespasians Motivation, sich aus Judaea nach Alexandria zu begeben, und für seine dortigen Aktivitäten; s.u., Kapitel *The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps* ('Die Visualisierung der Resultate dieses Buchs über Domitian auf unseren Karten'); vergleiche auch unten, im Band 3-2, in *Appendix II.a*).

Vespasians Wunsch, einen Triumph zu feiern, bedeutete (theoretisch) seinerseits, dass es Vespasian nicht erlaubt war, das *pomerium* Roms zu überschreiten, die heilige Grenze der Stadt, solange ihm der Senat diesen Triumph nicht gewährt haben würde. Wir wissen auch, dass der Senat Vespasian (Titus, und Domitian !) das Privileg, einen Triumph feiern zu dürfen, erst am Morgen ihres Triumphzuges zugestehen würde, das heißt, im Juni 71 n. Chr. (!).

In diesem speziellen Fall verlieh der Senat den drei Männern drei separate Triumphe (so Josephus, *BJ* 7,5,3) - Vespasian und Titus für ihre Siege im Großen Jüdischen Krieg - und Domitian für seine gleichzeitigen Aktionen in Rom (und/ oder für sein militärisches 'Abenteuer' in Gallien und Germanien im Jahre 70 n. Chr. ?). Aber Vespasian, Titus und Domitian entschlossen sich, nur einen, gemeinsamen Triumph zu feiern: das geschah im Juni 71 n. Chr.

Siehe oben, im Kapitel *Preamble*; Abschnitt *III.*; zu Punkt 2.); Kapitel *III.*, mit **Anm. 458**, mit Bibliographie; oben, Kapitel *V.1.i.3.*); *V.1.i.3.a*); und unten, in Band 3-2, in *Appendix I.c*). - Für Domitians militärisches 'Abenteuer' in Gallien and Germanien im Jahre 70 n. Chr.; s.o., Kapitel *I.1.*; *I.2*, **Anm. 229; 230**, **Anm. 458** in oben, Kapitel *III.*; und Kapitel *V.1.i.c.3.*), sowie unten, im Band 3-2, in *Appendix I.c*).

Nach dem oben Gesagten wurde meiner Meinung die Szene, die wir auf Fries B sehen, mit Absicht an die heilige Grenze Roms, das *Pomerium*, verlegt. Der *Genius Populi Romani* (hier **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung: Figur 13**), der mit Domitian (zur *Porta Capena* in der Servianischen Stadtmauer) gekommen ist, um Vespasian in dieser *adventus* Zeremonie in Empfang zu nehmen, und der, auf diesem Relief nicht zufällig zwischen Vater und Sohn erscheint, setzt deshalb seinen linken Fuss auf einen *cippus*, welcher die Linie des *Pomeriums* markieren muss. Indem der Künstler diesen *Pomeriums-cippus* innerhalb seiner Komposition genau an dieser Stelle platzierte, hat er die Areale *domi* (auf der linken Seite des Reliefs) und *militiae* (auf der rechten Seite des Reliefs) von einander getrennt, und zwar aus folgenden Gründen.

Domitian in Amtsausübung seiner Magistratur *praetor urbanus*, und, aus Prinzip, dem *Genius Senatus*, dem *Genius Populi Romani*, und gleichfalls der Stadtgöttin *Dea Roma*, war es nicht erlaubt, die Stadt Rom zu verlassen (das heisst, das Areal *domi*), weshalb alle vier auf dieser Seite des Frieses B erscheinen (hier **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung: Figuren 2; 11; 12; 13**). Der Grund hierfür war, dass die Konstruktionen der beiden Genien (des Senats und des römischen Volkes) und der Göttin Roma so beschaffen waren, dass alle drei innerhalb der heiligen Stadtgrenze Roms, dem *Pomerium*, verbleiben mussten.

Außerhalb der Stadt Rom (das heißt im Areal *militiae*) sehen wir dagegen auf Fries B den heimkehrenden siegreichen General Vespasian (hier **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung: Figur 14**), dem es augenblicklich noch nicht erlaubt ist, dieses Areal zu verlassen (nämlich die Stadt Rom zu betreten, das heisst, das Areal *domi*). Und weil wir wissen, dass sich Vespasian der Stadt Rom auf der *Via Appia* genähert hatte, ist die Darstellung auf Fries B der Cancellariareliefs offensichtlich so gemeint, dass sich Vater und Sohn an der *Porta Capena* der Servianischen Stadtmauer treffen (hier **Figs. 58; 71**), obwohl das Stadttor selbst nicht dargestellt ist. Für eine Diskussion aller Aspekte der Cancellariareliefs; s.o., Kapitel I.-VI.; sowie unten, *Den Beitrag von Giandomenico Spinola über die Cancellariareliefs*.

**Ich selbst folge Giandomenico Spinolas gesamter Interpretation von Fries B der Cancellariareliefs und wiederhole hier deshalb eine Textpassage, die für Kapitel III. geschrieben wurde; vergleiche zum Folgenden unten, *Den Beitrag von Giandomenico Spinola über die Cancellariareliefs* :**

‘Spinolas Beitrag zu unseren früheren Erkenntnissen besteht in folgender Beobachtung. Er hat mich auf die mögliche Bedeutung der Geste hingewiesen, die Vespasian auf Fries B mit seiner rechten Hand ausführt. Der Kaiser hebt sie und legt sie auf die linke Schulter des vor ihm stehenden jugendlichen Togatus [in Wirklichkeit berührt Vespasian die Schulter des jungen Mannes gar nicht, aber aus der Entfernung sieht es so aus] ... Da Spinola voraussetzt, dass Fries B das originale Portrait dieses Kaisers zeigt, und deshalb Vespasian und Domitian, glaubt er, dass Vespasians Geste meine, dass er auf diese Weise die (zukünftige) Herrschaft über das Römische Weltreich auf seinen jüngeren Sohn Domitian überträgt. Was, falls das der Wahrheit entspricht, bedeuten würde, dass Fries B nicht nur den genauen Moment der Einsetzung von Kaiser Vespasian selbst zeigt - wie schon früher von vielen Gelehrten beobachtet worden ist - sondern gleichzeitig die (zukünftige) Einsetzung, oder die "legittimazione" (so Spinola) von Domitian als Kaiser [Hervorhebung von mir]’.

Und weil ich Giandomenico Spinolas soeben zitierter Interpretation von Fries B der Cancellariareliefs folge, schlage ich in diesem Buch vor, für welches Gebäude Domitian seine Cancellariareliefs in Auftrag gegeben haben könnte.

**Die Punkte 1.) - 5.), die im Folgenden diskutiert werden sollen, sprechen meines Erachtens dafür, dass die Cancellariareliefs einen der beiden Bögen Domitians auf dem Palatin dekoriert haben können.**

**1.) wegen der Datierung (‘spätdomitianisch’), die für die Cancellariareliefs vorgeschlagen wird, und/ oder weil einige Gelehrte vorschlagen, dass die Werkstatt der Cancellariareliefs auch in Domitians**

**Palast auf dem Palatin tätig war und auf Domitians Forum/ Forum Nervaes/ Forum Transitorium (im Folgenden 'Domitians Forum' genannt).**

Domitians Palast auf dem Palatin wurde 81 nach Chr. begonnen und um 92 n. Chr. fertig gestellt; vergleiche John Pollini (2017b, 120) und Françoise Villedieu (2009, 246), diskutiert oben, in Kapitel V.1.i.3.b); Abschnitt III.

Hans Wiegartz (1996, 172, wörtlich zitiert unten, im *Appendix IV.d.2.a*)), war der Ansicht, dass die Skulpturenausstattung von Domitians Forum und die Cancelleriareliefs gleichzeitig entstanden sind.

Giandomenico Spinola war so freundlich mir mitzuteilen, dass die Cancelleriareliefs (hier **Figs. 1; 2**) seiner Meinung nach spätdomitianisch datierbar sind (s.o., zu **Anm. 75**, in Kapitel I.1., vergleiche auch unten, *Den Beitrag von Giandomenico Spinola* in diesem Buch).

Pierre Gros (2009, 106-107, der P. GROS 2004 zitiert) schlägt vor, dass Domitians Architect Rabirius, der seinen Palast auf dem Palatin erbaute, gleichzeitig Domitians Forum errichtet habe; siehe dazu unten, in Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.d.2.a*); und *Appendix IV.d.2.f*). Gros (2009, 106-107) berichtet außerdem, dass, als Ergebnis der neuen Ausgrabungen von Domitians Forum, wofür er Eugenio La Rocca (1998a, 1-12) zitiert, "Le ricerche recenti hanno messo in evidenza tre fasi diverse di un cantiere che, cominciato nell'84, durò più di un decennio ..." ('die neuen Untersuchungen haben drei Bauphasen des Forums erkennen lassen, beginnend 84 n. Chr., hat die Bauzeit mehr als ein Jahrzehnt gedauert'). Diese Textpassage ist ausführlicher zitiert und diskutiert unten, in Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.d.2.a*).

Auch Joachim Raeder (2010, 146; vergleiche S. 144, mit Textabbildung 51, zu den *Piroustae* (?) vom Forum Domitians [vergleiche hier **Fig. 49**]) betont die stilistischen Ähnlichkeiten der Cancelleriareliefs und der skulpturalen Ausstattung von Domitians Forum. Siehe oben, **Anm. 66**, in Kapitel I.1.

Klaus Stefan Freyberger (2018, 97; s.o. im Kapitel V.3.) stellt fest, dass die Fragmente von Bauornamentik, die zusammen mit den Cancelleriareliefs gefunden wurden (hier **Figs. 1; 2**), von einer spätdomitianischen Werkstatt skulptiert wurden, die auch in Domitians Palast auf dem Palatin, der *Domus Augustana*, tätig war. Außerdem vergleicht Freyberger (2018, 97), wegen stilistischer Ähnlichkeiten, den Architravblock mit der Inschrift PP FECIT (CIL VI, 40543), der zusammen mit den Cancelleriareliefs gefunden wurde, mit "Le Colonnacce" in Domitians Forum (vergleiche hier **Fig. 49**). - Darauf werde ich unten noch einmal zurückkommen.

Für eine Diskussion; s.o., Kapitel VI.3. *Summary of my own hypotheses concerning the Cancelleria Reliefs presented in this Study; Addition: My own tentative suggestion, to which monument or building the Cancelleria Reliefs may have belonged, and a discussion of their possible date.*

(*Zusammenfassung meiner eigenen Hypothesen bezüglich der Cancelleriareliefs, die in dieser Studie zur Sprache kommen; Zusatz: Mein Vorschlag, zu welchem Monument oder Gebäude die Cancelleriareliefs gehört haben können, mit einer Diskussion ihrer möglichen Datierung*).

Vergleiche die neueste Literatur zum Palast des Domitian auf dem Palatin: Siehe die letzte, posthum (2020) erschienene Publikation zu diesem Thema von Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt (21. Dezember 1963 - 13. Juni 2018). Vergleiche auch Aurora Raimondi Cominesi and Claire Stocks (2021; und *dies.* 2023); Natascha Sojc (2021); Raimondi Cominesi (2022); and Jens Pflug (2022). Hans Rupprecht Goette danke ich für die Übersendung des Artikels von Wulf-Rheidt (2020).

**2.) Die Darstellung der Piroustae (hier Fig. 49) in Domitians Forum liefert das Datum für die Entstehung der Cancelleriareliefs (das heißt: 'nach 89 n. Chr.').**

Die Darstellung der *Piroustae* in Domitians Forum (hier **Fig. 49**) hilft:

a) bei der Datierung der skulpturalen Ausstattung des Forums selbst; und -

b) weil dieselbe Werkstatt auch die Cancelleriareliefs anfertigte (s.o., zu Punkt 1.)), erlaubt diese Tatsache den Schluss, dass Domitian (jetzt Nerva) auf Fries A der Cancelleriareliefs (hier **Fig. 1**) dargestellt ist, wie er im Frühjahr des Jahres 89 n. Chr. zu seinem (zweiten) Dakischen Krieg aufbricht. Domitian beendete diesen Krieg mit einem Sieg, den er im November/ Dezember 89 mit einem Triumph in Rom 'über die Chatti und die Daker' feierte.



- Wenn das der Fall ist, dann kann man diese Tatsache als *terminus post quem* für die Realisierung der Cancellariareliefs werten.

Vergleiche unten, in Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.d.2.f) Domitian's choice to represent the Piroustaie* (cf. here **Fig. 49**) in his Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium and the date of the Cancellaria Reliefs.

(*Domitians Entscheidung, die Piroustaie (vergleiche hier Fig. 49) in seinem Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium darstellen zu lassen und die Datierung der Cancellariareliefs*).

Vergleiche für Domitians Krieg im Jahre 89 n. Chr.: Peter L. Viscusi (1973, 58-60), wörtlich zitiert und diskutiert oben, im Kapitel *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; Section I. *'The intentional creation of Domitian's negative image', here presented by discussing relevant text passages from Markus Handy ('Strategien zur Legitimierung der Ermordung des Domitian', 2015) and from Peter L. Viscusi (Studies on Domitian, 1973).*

(*Preamble: Domitians negatives Image; Abschnitt I. 'Die absichtliche Kreierung von Domitian's negativem Image', hier präsentiert anhand der Diskussion relevanter Textpassagen aus Markus Handy ('Strategien zur Legitimierung der Ermordung des Domitian', 2015) und aus Peter L. Viscusi (Studies on Domitian, 1973)*).

**Fig. 49. Rom, Forum Domitians/Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium, Detail des einzig erhaltenen Teils der Portikus auf der Südostseite des Forums, der "Le Colonnacce" genannt wird. Photo: Mit freundlicher Genehmigung von F.X. Schütz (März 2006).**

**Marmorrelief einer weiblichen Figur der Attikazone von "Le Colonnacce". Photo: Mit freundlicher Genehmigung von H.R. Goette (Mai 2012).**

Früher wurde diese Figur mit Minerva identifiziert, bis H. Wiegartz (1996) erkannt hat, dass es sich um die allegorische Darstellung eines Volksstamms handelt, wobei ursprünglich insgesamt 42 derartige Figuren von *gentes* dieses Forum dekoriert hätten. Wiegartz erkannte, dass es sich in diesem Fall um die Darstellung der *Piroustaie* handelt, da er eine Replik dieser Figur im *Sebasteion* von Aphrodisias entdeckt hatte, wo sie als *'Piroustoi'* beschriftet ist (vergleiche hier Fig. 50).

Die *Piroustaie/ Piroustoi* waren ein Volksstamm aus Illyrien (sie werden auch als dalmatischer und als pannonischer Volksstamm bezeichnet), der in jenem Teil der römischen Provinz Illyricum lebte, der, nach der Teilung dieser Provinz (die wahrscheinlich 9 n. Chr. erfolgt ist), die römische Provinz Dalmatien werden sollte.

**Fig. 50. Aphrodisias, Sebasteion, entstanden in iulisch-claudischer Zeit. Marmorrelief, das denselben Volksstamm darstellt wie das Relief von "Le Colonnacce" (hier Fig. 49). In der zugehörigen Inschrift wird diese Figur als *'Piroustoi'* bezeichnet. Photo: Mit freundlicher Genehmigung der Ausgrabungen von Aphrodisias (G. Petruccioli).**

Mein Dank gilt Amanda Claridge, Hans Rupprecht Goette, Peter Herz, Eugenio La Rocca, Stefan Pfeiffer, Franz Xaver Schütz, Rose Mary Sheldon und Bert Smith, deren 'konzertierte Aktionen' - während der Pandemie, als alle Bibliotheken geschlossen waren - mir geholfen haben, dieses sehr komplexe Thema zu verstehen.

Die entsprechenden Recherchen begannen damit, dass ich eine Bemerkung der Militärhistorikerin Rose Mary Sheldon (2007, 199) gelesen habe, die sich die Frage gestellt hat, welchen Effekt Hadrians Unterdrückung der Bar Kochba Revolte auf ihn *selbst* gehabt haben mag. Ich habe diese Frage weiter verfolgt, was den unvorhergesehenen Effekt hatte, dass ich diesem Buch eine detaillierte Studie zu Domitians Bauprojekten in Rom hinzugefügt habe.

Vergleiche unten, in Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.c.2.)*; und *Appendix IV.d) The summary of the research presented in Appendix IV. has led to a summary of Domitian's building projects at Rome.*

(*Die Zusammenfassung der Forschungen, die in Appendix IV. präsentiert wird, führte zu einer Zusammenfassung von Domitians Bauprojekten in Rom*). - Darauf werde ich unten noch einmal zurückkommen.

Der Grund war, dass ich begonnen habe, die Reliefs mit allegorischen Darstellungen von 'Völkern' zu studieren, welche die Portiken des *Hadrianeums* (hier **Fig. 48**) dekoriert haben, und die Marina Sapelli (1999) als Darstellungen von *'provinciae fideles'* ('treuen Provinzen') interpretiert hat. Diese Reliefs haben mich zu Domitians *Forum* geführt.

Als ich den Romführer von Amanda Claridge (2010, 174-175) zu Rate zog, fand ich eine bedeutende Erkenntnis, für die sie selbst aber nicht die Quelle zitiert hat: In "*Le Colonnacce*", in Domitians Forum, "On the attic storey the surviving sculptured panel in the recess shows a helmeted [Seite 175] female carrying a shield, recently recognized (thanks to a labelled version found at Aphrodisias in Turkey) as the personification of the *Piroustae*, a people of the Danube" ('In der Attikazone von "*Le Colonnacce*" in Domitians Forum hat sich ein Relief erhalten, das eine weibliche Gestalt mit einem Helm und einem Schild darstellt (dank einer mit einer Inschrift versehenen Version dieser Figur, die in Aphrodisias in der Türkei gefunden wurde [vergleiche hier Fig. 50]) ist diese Figur als Personifikation der *Piroustae* identifiziert worden, einem Volk, das an der Donau lebte').

Als ich Amanda um Rat fragte, glaubte sie, diese Hypothese in einer Publikation von R.R.R. Smith gefunden zu haben, und schickte mir, von sich aus, R.R.R. Smiths Artikel ("*Simulacra Gentium: The Ethne from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias*", 1988), in welchem, wie auch Amanda selbst wußte, die *Piroustae* aber gar nicht erwähnt werden. In seinem Buch über die Flavier (2009, 61-62), erwähnt auch Stefan Pfeiffer die *Piroustae* (hier Fig. 49), er zitiert aber Hans Wiegartz für diese Identifizierung, allerdings ebenfalls, ohne die entsprechende Publikation zu zitieren. Leider konnte ich nicht mehr Hans Wiegartz (23. Januar 1936 - 27. März 2008) selbst um Rat fragen, weil er schon lange zuvor verstorben war.

Diese allegorischen Darstellungen von 'Völkern' in Domitians Forum (vergleiche hier Fig. 49), von denen es nach Hans Wiegartz (1996) ursprünglich 42 in diesem Forum gegeben hat, symbolisieren, nach Ansicht von Stefan Pfeiffer (2009, 61-62), 'Domitians "Sieghaftigkeit", eine Eigenschaft des Kaisers, die ihrerseits Roms Reichtum garantierte', wie Pfeiffer schreibt. Pfeiffer's entsprechende Textpassage ist in ausführlicherer Form unten, in Band 3-2, als Motto von Appendix IV.d.2.e) zitiert.

In einem anderen Zusammenhang hat Pfeiffer (2018, 189; s.o., im Kapitel I.2.1.a)), im Zusammenhang seiner Analyse der Themen von Domitians Selbstdarstellung, erklärt, was er mit "Sieghaftigkeit" meint:

"1. It was a key issue for Domitian to show his *virtus militaris* and his victoriousness [mit Anm. 85, wo er Literatur zitiert]" ('1. Für Domitian war von größter Bedeutung, seine *virtus militaris* und seine Sieghaftigkeit zu zeigen'). Demnach behauptete Domitian in seinen Selbstdarstellungen, die Eigenschaft 'invincibility' ('Unbesiegbarkeit') zu besitzen.

Für eine detaillierte Diskussion, siehe unten, im Band 3-2, in Appendix IV.d.2.a). - Auch darauf werde ich unten noch einmal zurückkommen.

Auf meine Bitte hin, hat mir Stefan Pfeiffer freundlicherweise das Zitat 'Hans Wiegartz ("*Simulacra Gentium* auf dem Forum Transitorium", 1996)' geschrieben, aber da von allen Artikeln der Zeitschrift *Boreas* ausgerechnet dieser Beitrag nicht im Internet verfügbar ist, war Hans Rupprecht Goette so freundlich, mir, von sich aus, diesen Aufsatz von Wiegartz zu schicken (!). Außerdem darf ich hier mit dem freundlichen Einverständnis von Franz Xaver Schütz eine seiner Photographien von "*Le Colonnacce*" veröffentlichen (vergleiche hier Fig. 49).

Und da inzwischen Pierre Gros (2009, 106-107) zu der alten Auffassung zurückgekehrt war, dass das 'Piroustae Relief' in Domitians Forum statt dessen Minerva darstellt, eine Auffassung, mit der er (angeblich) Maria Paola Del Moro (2007) folgt, habe ich auch die übrigen oben genannten Gelehrten um Hilfe gebeten. Wie ich erst sehr viel später feststellen sollte, hat Pierre Gros (2009, 107), der für diese Meinung: "(Del Moro 2007b [das heißt, hier M.P. DEL MORO 2007]. S. 178-187)" zitiert, irrtümlich behauptet, dass es Del Moro (2007) gewesen sei, die das 'Piroustae Relief' (hier Fig. 49) wieder mit Minerva identifiziert habe.

Hans Rupprecht Goette schickte mir daraufhin, von sich aus, sein Photo der allegorischen Darstellung der *Piroustae* in "*Le Colonnacce*" in Domitians Forum (hier Fig. 49), das ich hier mit seinem freundlichen Einverständnis publizieren darf. Hans schickte mir außerdem ein Literaturzitat bezüglich der *Piroustoi* im

*Sebasteion* von Aphrodisias (vergleiche hier **Fig. 50**), und zwar: R.R.R. Smith (*Aphrodisias VI. The Marble reliefs from the Julio-Claudian Sebasteion*, 2013), sowie ein Photo der *Piroustoi*. Ich kannte natürlich dieses Relief des *Sebasteions* (hier **Fig. 50**), hatte aber bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt selbst noch nicht bemerkt, dass dieses Relief und das der *Piroustae* in Domitians *Forum* (hier **Fig. 49**) (zugegebenermaßen etwas verschiedene) Kopien desselben Prototyps sind (!).

Weil ich wissen wollte, wer das *zuerst* bemerkt hatte, und weil Pierre Gros (2009, 106-107) inzwischen das '*Piroustae* Relief' (hier **Fig. 49**) wieder als Darstellung der Minerva identifiziert hatte, bat ich R.R.R. Smith um Rat. Bert Smith schrieb mir, dass es Hans Wiegartz (1996) gewesen sei, der beide Reliefs als allegorische Darstellung des Volkes der *Piroustae/ Piroustoi* identifiziert hat, eine Tatsache, auf die auch er selbst hingewiesen hat; vergleiche Smith (2013, 91 Anm. 50). Bert erklärte mir in seiner Email außerdem, dass, auf Grund ikonographischer Besonderheiten, das Relief in Domitians *Forum* unter keinen Umständen Minerva darstellen kann. Mit Berts freundlichem Einverständnis publiziere ich hier seine Email als ("*The first Contribution by R.R.R. Smith on the iconography of the representation of the Piroustae at "Le Colonnacce" in Domitian's Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium*") ('*Der erste Beitrag von R.R.R. Smith zur Ikonographie der allegorischen Darstellung der Piroustae in "Le Colonnacce" von Domitian's Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium*'). Bert Smith schickte mir außerdem, von sich aus, die entsprechenden Passagen seiner Publikation aus dem Jahre 2013, sowie eine Photographie der *Piroustoi* im *Sebasteion* (hier **Fig. 50**), die ich mit seinem freundlichen Einverständnis hier publizieren darf.

Vergleiche unten, im Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.d.2.a) Who invented this iconography of defeated and pacified 'nations' and what does it mean? With The first Contribution by R.R.R. Smith.* ('*Wer hat diese Ikonographie der besiegten und befriedeten 'Nationen' erfunden, und was bedeutet sie ? Mit Dem ersten Beitrag von R.R.R. Smith*').

In diesem Kapitel werden die Publikationen von R.R.R. Smith (1988 und 2013) diskutiert, in denen er alle allegorischen Darstellungen von '*nationes*' untersucht hat, beginnend mit denen des Pompeius Magnus in seinem Theater in Rom, aber auch denen der *Porticus ad Nationes* des Augustus in Rom, sowie denen, die von den '*nationes*' der *Porticus ad Nationes* des Augustus abgeleitet worden sind: Die sogenannten *ethne* des *Sebasteions* in Aphrodisias (hier **Fig. 50**), die '*Provinzen*' des *Hadrianeums* in Rom (hier **Fig. 48**), und die '*Völker*' von Domitians *Forum* (hier **Fig. 49**). Nach R.R.R. Smith (2013, 119) kann Domitians *Forum* mit seinen 42 Darstellungen von '*Völkern*', als "... another *porticus ad nationes*" ('eine zweite *Porticus ad Nationes*') angesehen werden. Womit, wenn das den Tatsachen entsprechen sollte, Domitians *Forum* auf diese Weise bewußt auf die *Porticus ad Nationes* des Augustus bezogen wäre; vergleiche Smith (1988, 71-72; ders. 2013, 114-118). Vergleiche auch unten, im Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.d.2.b*; und *Appendix IV.d.2.f*). Darauf werde ich später noch einmal zurückkommen.

**In diesem Zusammenhang sollten wir drei sehr bemerkenswerte Fakten bei unseren Überlegungen mit berücksichtigen:**

a) von den 42 allegorischen Darstellungen von '*Völkern*', welche Domitians *Forum* ursprünglich geschmückt hatten, befindet sich nur noch eine *in situ*, die Darstellung der *Piroustae* (hier **Fig. 49**), und -

b), wie Hans Wiegartz (1996) beobachtete, genau diese Darstellung ist auch im *Sebasteion* von Aphrodisias erhalten geblieben (hier **Fig. 50**). Im *Sebasteion* bestehen diese insgesamt 50 Darstellungen von *ethne* jeweils aus zwei separaten Blöcken (Figur und Inschrift), weshalb wir versucht sein könnten zu bezweifeln, dass der untere Block mit der Inschrift '*Piroustoi*', mit der richtigen weiblichen Figur (auf dem oberen Block) kombiniert worden ist. Aber das ist mit Sicherheit nicht der Fall. Ich zitiere deshalb im Folgenden vorab eine Textpassage, die für unten, Band 3-2, *Appendix IV.d.2.c*) geschrieben worden ist, und die

c) beweist, dass diese weibliche Gestalt von Wiegartz berechtigterweise mit dem '*Volk*' namens *Piroustoi/ Piroustae* identifiziert worden ist:

‘Dass der Statuentyp, den diese beiden Reliefs kopieren [das heißt, hier **Figs. 49; 50**] tatsächlich die *Piroustaie* darstellt, ist sicher, weil die Künstler des *Sebasteions* auch das Relief selbst mit dem Namen dieses Volkes beschriftet hatten, um sicher zu gehen, die richtige Figur mit jener Basis mit der Inschrift zu kombinieren, welche diese weibliche Gestalt als Darstellung der *Piroustoi* identifiziert; vergleiche R.R.R. Smith (2013, 90, 118)‘.

Kehren wir nun zu einer Zusammenfassung von unten, Band 3-2, *Appendix IV.d.2.b*) zurück.

R.R.R. Smith (1988, 58 mit Anm. 18) schreibt, dass die Darstellungen der ‘Völker’ im *Sebasteion* in Aphrodisias, unter anderem der *Piroustaie*, mit den entsprechenden Siegen des Augustus erklärt werden können: Die Darstellung der *Piroustaie* zum Beispiel beziehe sich auf die Kriege in dieser Gegend von 13-9 v. Chr. und von 6-8 n. Chr. In seiner Anmerkung 18, erwähnt Smith die entsprechenden antiken Schriftquellen: ‘... *Piroustaie* ... - RG [*Res Gestae, Tatenbericht des Augustus*] 26-7 and 30“. Nota bene, Augustus (RG [*Res Gestae, Tatenbericht des Augustus*] 26-27, 30) erwähnt die Tatsache, dass er das Gebiet, wo die *Piroustaie* lebten, in das Imperium Romanum integriert habe: er schreibt, dass diese Siege von Tiberius erfochten worden seien, aber er erwähnt nicht die Volksstämme, die dort lebten.

**Vergleiche R.R.R. Smith (2013, 91, n. 44) für die Tatsache, dass Tiberius erst dann die *Piroustaie* hatte besiegen können, ‘when they were almost entirely exterminated [so Velleius Paterculus 2.115.2-4; Hervorhebung von mir]’ (‘als sie fast vollständig ausgerottet waren’) (!) :**

**“On Tiberius and the Pirousti in AD 6–9, the Tiberian historian, Velleius Paterculus (2.115.2-4) writes: ‘... This campaign brought the momentous war to a successful conclusion; for the Perustae and Desiadates, Dalmatian tribes, who were almost unconquerable on account of the position of their strongholds in the mountains, their warlike temper, their wonderful knowledge of fighting, and, above all, the narrow passes in which they lived, were then at last pacified, not now under the mere generalship, but by the armed prowess of Caesar [das heißt, Tiberius] himself, and then only when they were almost entirely exterminated’ (2.115.4, transl.[ation] F. W. Shipley, Loeb 1924) [Hervorhebung von mir]“.**

Und weil Pierre Gros (2009, 106-107) (irrtümlich) behauptet hat, dass Maria Paola Del Moro die *Piroustaie* (hier **Fig. 49**) wieder mit Minerva identifiziert habe, bat ich auch Eugenio La Rocca um Hilfe, der so freundlich war, mir den entsprechenden Artikel von Maria Paola Del Moro zu schicken. Del Moro (2007) sagt in ihrem Artikel keineswegs, dass das ‘*Piroustaie* Relief’ (hier **Fig. 49**) Minerva darstellt. Sie hat statt dessen die entsprechenden Beobachtungen von Wiegartz (1996) weiter unterstützt: in ihren Ausgrabungen auf Domitians *Forum*, die sie im Jahr 2000 durchführte, fand sie nämlich Fragmente von einigen weiteren, sehr ähnlichen allegorischen Darstellungen von ‘Völkern’.

Mit der sehr willkommenen Unterstützung von Franz Xaver Schütz und Rose Mary Sheldon konnte ich dann die Kriege des Augustus und Trajan auf dem Balkan, sowie Hadrians dortige Aktivitäten studieren, was in meinem Fall nötig war, um die dort geführten Kriege *Domitians* überhaupt verstehen zu können.

Für Hadrians soeben erwähnte Aktivitäten auf dem Balkan; vergleiche unten, zu *The third Contribution by Peter Herz : Der Übergang von Trajan auf Hadrian und das erste Regierungsjahr Hadrians* (‘Der dritte Beitrag von Peter Herz in diesem Band’).

Franz unternahm eine spezielle Recherche im Internet bezüglich der allegorischen Darstellung des Volksstamms der *Piroustaie* auf Domitians *Forum* (hier **Fig. 49**) und fand obendrein folgende diesbezügliche Publikationen im Internet, die sich für das Verständnis der Gestaltung von Domitians *Forum* als von entscheidender Bedeutung erweisen sollten.

Vergleiche Carl Patsch (‘Archäologisch-epigraphische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der römischen Provinz Dalmatien, 1899; unter anderem zu dem *primus pilus* Statius Marrax, der von Domitian

hoch ausgezeichnet worden ist), Géza Alföldy ("Einheimische Stämme und civitates in Dalmatien unter Augustus", 1963), Dragana Grbić ("Augustan Conquest of the Balkans in the light of triumphal monuments", 2011), und Alfred Hirt ("Dalmatians and Dacians - Forms of Belonging and Displacement in the Roman Empire", 2019). Da ich Rose Mary Sheldon bezüglich des *primus pilus* Statius Marrax um Rat gefragt hatte, wies sie mich auf eine Publikation hin, in der die entsprechende Inschrift diskutiert wird, und die Franz ebenfalls im Internet fand; vergleiche Hans Krummrey (2003; Rezension von Marco Buonocore, *L'Abruzzo e il Molise in età romana tra storia ed epigrafia*, Vol. I-II (Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria. Studi e Testi 21/1-2, 2002).

Als Folge aller dieser Recherchen war Franz so freundlich, eine Visualisierung des entsprechenden Areals anzufertigen; vergleiche unten zu *The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Zur kartographischen Visualisierung historischer Landschaftselemente zwischen Rhein und Schwarzem Meer von Augustus bis Hadrian* (vergleiche hier **Fig. 77**). ('Der erste Beitrag von Franz Xaver Schütz zu diesem Band'). Mit der Karte (hier **Fig. 77**), die Franz angefertigt hat, sollen Forschungen unterstützt werden, die versuchen, die Bewegungen jener drei Männer innerhalb dieses Gebietes zu verstehen, die in diesem Buch diskutiert werden : Arminius, Domitian und Hadrian.

Wir erfahren in den oben aufgeführten Publikationen, dass die *Piroustaie* im Gebiet der späteren römischen Provinz Illyricum lebten. Zuerst (35-33 v. Chr.) hatte hier Octavian/ Augustus persönlich während seines 'Illyrischen Krieges' gekämpft, "against the Iapudes and Pannonians ... in 35 BC, and against the Delmatae in 34/3" ('gegen die Iapuden und die Pannonier ... im Jahre 35 v. Chr., und gegen die Delmatae im Jahre 34/33'); vergleiche John J. Wilkes ("Illyricum", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 747. Vergleiche auch Dragana Grbić (2011, 132-136), worauf ich unten zurückkommen werde.

**Vergleiche für diese Kriege auch Filippo Coarelli (2012, 362), der si erwähnt, weil sie Octavian/ Augustus daran gehindert haben, seinen Tempel für Apollo Palatinus unmittelbar nach dem Blitzeinschlag in das 'Haus des Augustus' im Jahre 36 BC zu erbauen: "Si può pensare che l'avvio dei lavori [i.e., for the Temple of Apollo Palatinus] sia stato ritardato dai gravi impegni militari che tennero occupato Ottaviano negli anni tra il 35 e il 33 (guerre contro i Pannoni e i Dalmati, nel corso della quali egli fu ferito due volte) [Herorhebung von mir]".**

Vergleiche hierzu unten, im Band 3-1, im *Appendix VI.*, Abschnitt I.

Als nächstes hatte Tiberius, wie oben bereits erwähnt, unter dem Kommando des Augustus, zunächst in seinem 'Pannonischen Krieg' (12-9 v. Chr.) gegen die *Piroustaie* gekämpft, was die Gründung der römischen Provinz Illyricum zur Folge hatte. Schließlich sollte Tiberius, auf Grund der 'Dalmatisch-Pannonischen Revolte' (6-9 n. Chr., die auch 'Bellum Illyricum' genannt wird), und die sich in der römischen Provinz Illyricum ereignet hat, die größten Schwierigkeiten haben, die Aufstände der einheimischen Volksstämme zu unterdrücken, und besonders den der *Piroustaie*.

Das wiederum bedeutet, dass in der großen Gruppe von 'Nationen' in der *Porticus ad Nationes* des Augustus die Statue der *Pirustae* eine von Augustus befriedete 'Nation' darstellte. Siehe unten, im Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.d.1.*); und *Appendix IV.d.2.d*). Ich persönlich folge dem Vorschlag von Dragana Grbić (2011, 135), dass im *Sebasteion* in Aphrodisias "The inscription of the *Pirustae* (no. 3) symbolically represents the suppression of the Dalmatian-Pannonian revolt in 9 AD" ('dass sich die Inschrift der *Piroustaie* (no. 3) auf die Unterdrückung der Dalmatisch-Pannonischen Revolte im Jahre 9 n. Chr. bezieht'). Für eine Diskussion dieser Hypothesen, siehe unten, im Band 3-2, *Appendix IV.d.2.d*).

**Nota bene. Bereits für Augustus selbst waren seine Eroberungen in Illyrien und im westlichen Balkan von größter Bedeutung, später sollten Domitian, Trajan und Hadrian die hier entstandenen römischen Provinzen als Basis ihrer Unternehmungen in Dakien nutzen. Siehe unten, im Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.d.2.c*).**

**Als besonders hilfreich für die Diskussion der hier betrachteten Themen hat sich Rose Mary Sheldons Studie (2020) über Arminius erwiesen, "chief of the Germanic Cerusci" ('Fürst der germanischen Cherusker'), über den sie (dies. 2020, 1012) schreibt: "Arminius himself had served as a commander of a tribal troop contingent under Roman command during the revolt in 6 CE along with Velleius Paterculus, one of our main sources [Hervorhebung von mir]".**

Arminius hatte demnach als Offizier in der römischen Armee unter Tiberius gedient als dieser, 6-9 n. Chr., in der neuen römischen Provinz Illyricum gegen die dort lebenden revoltierenden Volksstämme kämpfte, unter anderem die *Piroustaе*.

Rose Mary Sheldon (2020) berichtet etwas, was mir zuvor unbekannt war: dieser mutige und verzweifelte Kampf jener dalmatischen Volksstämme (unter anderem der *Piroustaе*) gegen die Römer, die im Gebiet der zukünftigen römischen Provinz Dalmatia lebten, wurde für Arminius zum Anlass, zusammen mit seinen Cheruskern und weiteren Alliierten, den einzigen Aufstand gegen die Römer zu planen, der erfolgreich sein sollte (so R.M. SHELDON 2020, 1025). Das endete bekanntlich im Jahre 9 n. Chr. mit der Niederlage des P. Quinctilius Varus im Teutoburger Wald. Darauf werde ich unten noch einmal zurückkommen.

Siehe oben, Kapitel *What this Study is all about* ('Worum es in dieser Studie geht'); und unten, im Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.d.2.d) The meaning of the representation of the Piroustaе within Augustus's Porticus ad Nationes at Rome. With H. Wiegartz's (1996) observations concerning the Piroustaе and their representations; and a summary of the revolt of Arminius in Germany, which he planned because he had fought under Tiberius to suppress the revolt of the Pannonian-Dalmatian tribes, inter alia of the Piroustaе.*

(*Die Bedeutung der allegorischen Darstellung der Piroustaе in der Porticus ad Nationes des Augustus in Rom. Mit den Beobachtungen von H. Wiegartz (1996) bezüglich der Piroustaе und den Darstellungen dieses Volksstamms; und einer Zusammenfassung der Revolte des Arminius in Germanien, die er geplant hat, weil er unter Tiberius kämpfte, als dieser die Revolte der Pannonisch-Dalmatischen Volksstämme unterdrückt hat, unter anderem der Piroustaе*).

**Außerdem war mir bislang entgangen, worauf Maria Teresa D'Alessio aufmerksam gemacht hat (vergleiche dieselbe 2017, 510 mit Anm. 342, die antike Schriftquellen zitiert). Auch die jüngst verstorbene Paola Ciancio Rossetto (16. Oktober 1945 - 26. April 2022) hat das erwähnt (vergleiche dies. 2018, 41, mit Anm. 97, 98, die antike Schriftquellen zitiert), eine der Ausgräberinnen der *Porticus Octaviae*, mit der ich seit 2018 das Glück hatte, die *Porticus Octaviae* diskutieren zu können : Der dreifache Triumph des Octavian/ Augustus im Jahre 29 v. Chr. erinnerte unter anderem an den Sieg des Octavian / Augustus über die Dalmatii im Jahre 33 v. Chr., und mit der Beute aus diesem Krieg sollte er den Bau der *Porticus Octaviae* in Rom finanzieren (!). - Zum dreifachen Triumph des Octavian/ Augustus im Jahre 29 v. Chr. werde ich unten noch einmal zurückkommen.**

Beide Forscherinnen haben ihrerseits in ihren Publikationen nicht die Tatsache angesprochen, dass das Relief mit den *Piroustaе* in "Le Colonnacce" in Domitians Forum (hier **Fig. 49**) einen jener 'dalmatischen Volksstämme' darstellt, die Octavian/ Augustus im Jahre 33 v. Chr. besiegt hatte.

Für eine Diskussion der *Porticus Octaviae*, s.u., und in Band 3-2, zu *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ... Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia ...*; Chapter *Introduction*; Section I. (*Eine Studie zu den Folgen von Domitians Ermordung ... Oder: Der weitere topographische Kontext des Hadriansbogens an der Via Flaminia ...*; Kapitel *Einführung*; Abschnitt I.').

**Bert Smith (2013, 119) fragt, warum sich auch Domitian dazu entschlossen haben mag, die *Piroustaе* in seinem Forum darstellen zu lassen, wenn man die Tatsache bedenkt, dass bereits Tiberius (6-9 n. Chr.), unter dem Kommando des Augustus, ihr Gebiet erobert, und in die Römische Provinz Dalmatia umgewandelt hatte; s.u., im Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.d.2.c*).**

Um diese Frage beantworten zu können, habe ich mich mit der Ikonographie der allegorischen Darstellung der *Piroustaе* beschäftigt; s.u., im Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.d.2.d*).

Die wichtigste Besonderheit der Ikonographie der *Piroustaie* (hier Figs. 49; 50), wenn man sie mit den Ikonographien der übrigen Darstellungen von *ethne* ('Völkern') im *Sebasteion* von Aphrodisias vergleicht, besteht darin, dass im Fall der *Piroustaie* ihre militärische Tapferkeit betont wird. Das wird bereits anhand der Wahl des 'Amazonengürtels' klar, mit dem die Darstellungen der *Piroustaie* in Domitians *Forum* und im *Sebasteion* ausgestattet sind (hier Figs. 49; 50). Hans Wiegartz (1996, 174) hat außerdem beobachtet, dass von allen erhaltenen Darstellungen von *ethne* im *Sebasteion* von Aphrodisias die *Piroustoioi* der einzige Volksstamm sind, der bewaffnet dargestellt wird (!). Diese Tatsache hat Wiegartz (1996) überzeugend mit dem Urteil des Sueton (*Tib.* 16) erklärt, demzufolge es sich 'bei dem *Bellum Illyricum* (dem 'Illyrischen Krieg', 6-9 n. Chr.), den Tiberius u.a. gegen die *Piroustaie* geführt hatte, um den schwierigsten Krieg seit den Kriegen gegen Hannibal gehandelt habe' (!). Sueton (*Tib.* 16) fügt hinzu, dass Tiberius diesen Krieg mit 15 (!) Legionen geführt hatte, und mit derselben Anzahl von Auxiliärtruppen.

Wie wir von Rose Mary Sheldon (2020, 1012, n. 19) erfahren, gehörten zu diesen Auxiliärtruppen auch jene Landsleute des Arminius, die dann später im selben Jahr AD 9, nun aber unter dem Kommando des Arminius, P. Quinctilius Varus und seine drei römischen Legionen besiegen sollten.

*Ich schlage vor, dass Domitian die Darstellung der Piroustaie in seinem Forum in Auftrag gegeben hat, weil ausgezeichnete Soldaten aus der römischen Provinz Dalmatia, wie T. Stadius Marrax, in seinem zweiten Dakischen Krieg gedient hatten*

Nach allem, was oben gesagt wurde, ist meiner Meinung nach die Frage, warum sich Domitian dazu entschlossen hat, die *Piroustaie* in seinem *Forum* (hier Fig. 49) darstellen zu lassen, bereits vor langer Zeit beantwortet worden.

Von Carl Patsch ("Archäologisch-epigraphische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der römischen Provinz Dalmatien, 1899) erfahren wir Folgendes. Eine Inschrift aus Aquileia zeigt, dass T. Stadius Marrax aus der römischen Provinz Dalmatia, der *primus pilus* der *legio XIII gemina* gewesen ist, von einem Kaiser hoch dekoriert worden war, dessen Name in dieser Inschrift weggelassen worden ist. Nach Patsch's Meinung hatte dieser Soldat in Domitians Dakischem Krieg(en) gedient, und war von Domitian für seine Dienste mit jenen Orden dekoriert worden, die in dieser Inschrift aufgezählt werden.

Vergleiche Patsch (1899, 268-269, Abschnitt: "VIII. Dalmatien und Dacien"): "...

2. Pais 1163 = Dessau [das heißt, *ILS, Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 1892-1916] 2638 (Aquileia): T. Stadius P. f. Serg. Marrax prim(us) pil(us) leg(ionis) XIII geminae, donatus torquib(us) armillis phaleris hasta pura bis coron[is] aureis quin[que]. Der Name Stadius gestattet die Vermuthung, dass der *primus pilus* aus Risinium-Risano stammt, wo die *gens Statia* eine angesehene Rolle [Seite 269] spielte. Wie Marrax vermuthlich im dacischen Kriege unter Domitian [mit Anm. 2] so wurde ein anderes Mitglied derselben Familie von Traian anlässlich der dacischen Siege decorirt: C. I. L. III 6359 (vgl. p. 1491) ...".

In seiner **Anm. 2** auf S. 269, schreibt Patsch: "Der Kaiser, der die Orden verliehen hat, wird verschwiegen, war also *damnatae memoriae* [Hervorhebung von mir]".

Vergleiche für die Heimatstadt 'Risinium' des Soldaten T. Stadius P. f. Serg. Marrax, *prim(us) pil(us) leg(ionis) XIII geminae* in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia, den, wie Patsch (1899, 268-269) vorschlug, Domitian für seine Dienste in dem Dakischen Krieg(en) des Kaisers ausgezeichnet hat, hier. Stadius Marrax stammte aus der Gegend von Salona, das heißt, aus dem Gebiet des Volksstamms der *Piroustaie* (vgl. hier Fig. 77, Beschriftung; Risinium; Salona; Aquileia)

Vergleiche für die verschiedenen Forschungsmeinungen bezüglich des Schicksals des (ehemaligen) Gebietes der *Piroustaie* unter den Römern: Dragana Grbić (2011, 135 mit Anm. 51, 52, wörtlich zitiert und diskutiert; s.u., im Band 3-2, in *Appendix V.d.2.d*) und Géza Alföldy (1963, 194, 195, wörtlich zitiert: s.u., im Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.d.2.e*)).

Wie Patsch (1899, 269) außerdem mitteilte, sollte ein anderes Mitglied seiner Familie unter Trajan dieselbe hohe militärische Auszeichnung erhalten.

Zwischen dem 7. und 19. Oktober 2020 hatte ich Gelegenheit, in Telefongesprächen und mit Hilfe von Emails mit Peter Herz den *primus pilus* der *Legio XIII Gemina*, T. Staius P. F. Serg. Marrax zu diskutieren, der von dieser Inschrift in Aquileia bekannt ist, und der unterschiedlich datiert worden ist. Am 19. Oktober 2020 war Herz so freundlich, mir seinen zweiten *Beitrag* zu diesem Buch zu schicken, den ich hier mit seinem freundlichen Einverständnis publizieren darf. In diesem Text schlägt Herz vor, dass mehr Argumente für die spätere Datierung sprechen. Deshalb kann Staius Marrax tatsächlich am Ende des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. in der *Legio XIII Gemina* gedient haben, das heißt, unter Domitian, wie von Patsch (1899) vorgeschlagen worden ist.

**Vergleiche unten, *The second Contribution by Peter Herz : Anmerkungen zu Staius Marrax* ('Der zweite Beitrag von Peter Herz in diesem Band').**

Siehe auch unten, im Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.d.2.e) Did Domitian intentionally represent the Piroustaie in his Forum/ Forum Nervae/Forum Transtorium? With The second Contribution by Peter Herz*; und in *Appendix V.d.2.f) Domitian's choice to represent the Piroustaie in his Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium and the date of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1; 2)*.

(*Hat Domitian die Piroustaie absichtlich in seinem Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium darstellen lassen? Mit Dem zweiten Beitrag von Peter Herz; und im Appendix IV.d.2.f). Domitians Entscheidung, die Piroustaie in seinem Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium darstellen zu lassen und das Datum der Cancellariareliefs (vergleiche hier Figs. 1; 2)*).

**Ich schlage deshalb vor, dass Domitian die Darstellung der *Piroustaie* in seinem *Forum* angeordnet hat, weil ihn Soldaten aus der römischen Provinz Dalmatia, wie zum Beispiel T. Staius Marrax, bei seinen Kriegszügen unterstützt hatten.**

**Und da das, meiner Meinung nach, aus einer Reihe von Gründen (diskutiert unten, im Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.d.2.f)*, nur in Domitians Zweitem Dakischen Krieg des Jahres 89 n. Chr. geschehen sein kann, schlage ich ferner Folgendes vor : Die statuarische Ausstattung von Domitians *Forum* sollte an Domitians Sieg in diesem Krieg erinnern, den der Kaiser im November/ Dezember 89 n. Chr. mit einem Triumph über die Chatti und die Daker, gefeiert hat. - Es ist, selbstverständlich theoretisch ebenfalls möglich, dass Domitians *Forum* an alle Siege Domitians erinnern sollte. Darauf werde ich unten noch einmal zurückkommen.**

Um das oben Gesagte näher zu erläutern, zitiere ich im Folgenden einige Passagen aus unten, *Appendix IV.d.2.f) Domitian's choice to represent the Piroustaie (cf. here Fig. 49) in his Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium and the date of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1; 2)*.

(*Domitians Entscheidung, die Piroustaie (vergleiche hier Fig. 49) in seinem Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium darstellen zu lassen und die Datierung der Cancellariareliefs (vergleiche hier Figs. 1; 2)*):

``Wie wir ... gesehen haben (s.u., im Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.d.1.)*), kann die Darstellung der *Piroustaie* in der *Porticus ad Nationes* des Augustus als eine der befriedeten 'Nationen' des Augustus interpretiert werden.

**In Domitians *Forum* repräsentierten die *Piroustaie* dagegen, meiner Meinung nach, eine der 'provinciae fideles' ('treuen Provinzen') des römischen Reiches unter Domitian - um Marina Sapellis Buchtitel von 1999 auszuleihen; s.u., im Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.d.1.)*) - die auf diese Weise Domitians gute Herrschaft bezeugt haben.**

**Wir haben ... von Alfred Hirt erfahren (2019, 17 mit Anm. 100, ausführlicher zitiert unten, im Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.d.2.e)*), dass es der Dakische König "Diurpaneus [war], who waged war against Domitian**



(Oros. 7.10.4; Jord. Get. 76, 78)" ('dass der Dakische König Diurpaneus gegen Domitian einen Krieg angefangen hatte'). Als die Feindlichkeiten der Daker begannen, hatten die Volksstämme, die in der benachbarten römischen Provinz Dalmatia lebten, nun aber nicht etwa die Gelegenheit ergriffen, gegen die Römer zu revoltieren. Einige Bewohner der Provinz Dalmatia sind statt dessen in die römische Armee eingetreten, die gegen die Daker kämpfte, und einige dieser Soldaten sind sogar von Domitian in Anerkennung ihrer Dienste mit Orden ausgezeichnet worden (s.o., Punkt 7.) [das heißt, T. Statius Marrax]).

Wir haben oben außerdem von R.R.R. Smith (2013, 121) gehört, dass die *Piroustaë*, genau wie viele andere vergleichbare Volksstämme, auch deshalb innerhalb der großen Anzahl von 'Nationen' in der *Porticus ad Nationes* des Augustus dargestellt worden waren, weil sie an den Grenzen des römischen Weltreichs lebten und auf diese Weise "express the wide geographical extent of Roman rule" ('die große Ausdehnung der römischen Herrschaft zum Ausdruck bringen konnten').

**Da ich diese Tatsache mit berücksichtige, schlage ich vor, dass sich Domitian auch deshalb zur Darstellung der *Piroustaë* in seinem *Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium* entschlossen hat, weil Soldaten dieses Volksstamms, der jetzt in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia lebte, unter seinem persönlichen Kommando erfolgreich die Grenze des römischen Weltreichs verteidigt hatten [Hervorhebung von mir]''.**

**Wenn das der Wahrheit entsprechen sollte, dass würde dies die oben erwähnte Hypothese von R.R.R. Smith (2013, 119) beweisen, derzufolge das *Forum* Domitians, mit seinen 42 Darstellungen von 'Volksstämmen', als "... another porticus ad nationes" ('eine zweite *Porticus ad Nationes* [wie jene des Augustus']) betrachtet werden kann. Für eine Diskussion; s.u., im Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.d.2.b*); und im *Appendix IV.d.2.f*).**

Erst nachdem dieses Kapitel in einer Vorschau auf unserem Webserver veröffentlicht worden war, habe ich Paolo Liveranis (2021, 85-86) Beobachtungen zu Domitians *Forum* gelesen, besonders bezüglich der allegorischen Darstellungen der *gentes* oder *nationes*. Was ihre Bedeutung betrifft, so ist er zu sehr ähnlichen Schlussfolgerungen gelangt, wie jenen, die hier soeben präsentiert worden sind:

"The choice, on the other hand, was counterbalanced but the subject of the panels decorating the attic above the frieze. **Only one of them survives in place. It portrays an armoured female figure, which has been traditionally interpreted as Minerva. In 2000, the fragments of another female figure were excavated,** and a more careful consideration of the two panels connected them with other examples of personifications on imperial monuments. The first parallel came from the well-preserved sculptural decoration of the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias, a sanctuary honouring the emperors. [mit Anm. 15] Here the personification of the Pirusti, a tribe of the Illyricum (Dalmatia), is very similar from a typological point of view to the alleged 'Minerva'. **The two panels, therefore, represent *gentes* or *nationes*, peoples (not provinces as [Seite 86] usually understood) of the empire according to a motif widely employed in the imperial monuments of the Julio-Claudian period and also attested during the second century.** [mit Anm. 16] The earlier Forum of Augustus hosted a series of dedication from several *gentes*, according to the historical sources. [mit Anm. 17] **The Domitianic cycle, therefore, is quite traditional, alluding to the multifarious populations that made up the Roman Empire, grouped around the emperor as sign of unity [Hervorhebung von mir]''.**

In seiner **Anm. 15**, schreibt Liverani: "Ungaro 2005, Del Moro 2007, 181-185".

In seiner **Anm. 16**, schreibt er: "Liverani 1995".

In seiner **Anm. 17**, schreibt er: "Vell. Pat. 2.39.2, cf. *CIL* VI, 31267".

Vergleiche jetzt Liverani (2023, 117 mit Anm. 15-17; das heißt, die italienische Version der oben zitierten Passage aus P. LIVERANI 2021).

Noch später habe ich den Artikel über das *Forum Domitians* von Antonella Corsaro und Beatrice Pinna Caboni erhalten (in: A. CORSARO, B. PINNA CABONI und C. PARISI PRESICCE, "Domiziano, Nerva e il loro Foro", 2023, 74). Bezüglich der Bedeutung der dargestellten *gentes* und *nationes* sind sie zu ähnlichen Schlüssen gelangt wie hier von mir vorgeschlagen; und sie glauben gleichfalls, dass der Architekt dieses *Forums* Rabirius war:

**"La figura conservata nell'attico, al centro dell'intercolumnio [cf. here Fig. 49] e originariamente interpretata come Minerva, sarebbe invece parte di una sequenza politicamente e ideologicamente assai significativa, costituita dalla raffigurazione simbolica delle diverse genti (*gentes* e *nationes*), ormai incluse in un impero che si voleva rappresentare egemonico, pacificato e inclusivo sotto l'egida imperiale.** Altri contesti monumentali, quali il giulio-claudio *Sebasteion* di Afrodisia di Caria (attuale Turchia) e l'antoniniano *Hadrianeum* di Roma [with n. 24], offrono validi confronti per questo programma decorativo e per le iconografie scelte. **Purtroppo solo la figura ancora *in situ* nelle Colonnacce è stata identificata con la rappresentazione della tribù illirica dei Pirusti.** Resta incerta invece l'attribuzione di una seconda figura scoperta nel corso degli scavi del 2000, ora esposta nel Museo dei Fori Imperiali nei Mercati di Traiano, e di un frammento di testa scoperto negli scavi del 1995-97 [with n. 25]. Queste poche raffigurazioni, superstiti di una lunga teoria di almeno 45 pannelli, danno comunque contezza della varietà e della tipizzazione etnica delle figure ... **L'originalità dell'impianto del Foro Transitorio e delle soluzioni adottate ha permesso di postulare la realizzazione del progetto all'architetto Rabirio, cui si attribuiscono le brillanti soluzioni di numerose committenze imperiali, tra le quali il noto palazzo imperiale sul Palatino [with n. 26]"**.

In ihrer **Anmerkung 24**, schreiben Corsaro und Pinna Caboni: "Per il *Sebasteion*: Smith 2013; per l'*Hadrianeum*: Parisi Presicce 1999; Parisi Presicce 2005 [*i.e.*, here C. PARISI PRESICCE 2005a]; Parisi Presicce, Baldi 2023".

In ihrer **Anmerkung 25**, schreiben sie: "Wiegartz [*corr.*: Wiegartz] 1996, pp. 171-179; Gros 2009, pp. 106-107; Pinna Caboni 2015, p. 104".

In ihrer **Anmerkung 26**, schreiben sie: "Bauer 1976-1977; Gros 2009, p. 106; Meneghini 2009, pp. 103-104; Viscogliosi 2009, p. 208; Nocera 2015, pp. 151km-154".

Aber erst als dieser Band in Druck gegeben werden sollte, habe ich den Artikel von Vibeke Goldbeck gefunden ("Architekturkopien? Terminologische Überlegungen zur Rezeption von Bauwerken und ihrer Ausstattung bei den Römern. Untersucht am Beispiel des Forum Augustum und der Porticus ad Nationes", 2017). Goldbeck selbst zitiert einen weiteren ihrer früheren Aufsätze ("Die Porticus ad Nationes des Augustus", 2015a), den ich bislang ebenfalls übersehen hatte. Zu ungefähr derselben Zeit war Hans Rupprecht Goette so freundlich, mir den Aufsatz von David Ojeda zu schicken ("A Porticus ad Nationes in Italica", 2023); s.u., in Band 3-2, im Kapitel *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*.

Ojeda (2023) diskutiert zwei weitere neuere relevante Aufsätze derselben Autorin: Vibeke Goldbeck ("Die Rezeption der stadtrömischen Monumente des Augustus im Imperium Romanum", 2020); und Vibeke Goldbeck ("Monuments Abroad' - Zur Rezeption kaiserlicher Monumente im Imperium Romanum", 2021).

Goldbeck (2020, 37-38) stützt ihre Argumentation auf dieselben Publikationen, die auch ich für diesen Themenkomplex konsultiert habe. Und bezüglich der Interpretation der *nationes* in der *Porticus ad Nationes*, der *ethne* im *Sebasteion* von Aphrodisias (hier **Fig. 50**) und der *gentes* im *Forum Domitians*/ dem *Forum Nervae*/ *Forum Transitorium* (hier **Fig. 49**) und im *Hadrianeum* (hier **Fig. 48**) kommt sie zu ähnlichen Hypothesen wie bereits R.R.R. Smith (1988; und 2013), dem auch ich in dieser Studie folge:

### **"Die Porticus ad Nationes**

**In Aphrodisias steht das berühmte Sebasteion**, das im 2. Viertel des 1. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. von zwei lokalen Familien errichtet wurde [mit Anm. 25]. Sein umfangreicher Bildschmuck zeigt Kaiser, Götter, Kaiser im Göttergewand und mythische Heroen in griechisch-hellenistischer Motivtradition. Daneben zeigt er aber auch eine Reihe von Personifikationen, sogenannten Ethnien oder *Nationes*, die in der Bilderwelt des

hellenistischen Kleinasien wie ein Fremdkörper wirken. Inzwischen lässt sich das Vorkommen dieses für die Region ungewöhnlichen Motivs gut erklären. [Seite 38].

Hans Wiegartz hat schon 1996 auf die enge typologische Zusammengehörigkeit einer der Ethnien des Sebasteions mit der einzigen vollständig erhaltenen Gewandfigur von der Attika des Forum Transitorium aufmerksam gemacht und ein gemeinsames stadtrömisches Vorbild für beide vermutet [mit Anm. 26]. Bei den jüngeren Grabungen auf dem Forum wurde der Kopf einer weiteren Personifikation gefunden, der die von Wiegartz vorgeschlagene Idee, an der Attika einen dem Sebasteion vergleichbaren Zyklus von *ethnē*, *nationes* oder *simulacra gentium* anzunehmen, weiter untermauert [mit Anm. 27]. Aufgrund des Beginns der Bauarbeiten in Aphrodisias um das Jahr 20 n.Chr., muss das beiden Monumenten zugrundeliegende Vorbild spätestens in tiberischer Zeit entstanden sein. Es könnte sich dabei um die sogenannte *Porticus ad Nationes* handeln. Über diese ist wenig bekannt, sie wird aber wörtlich übereinstimmend von zwei voneinander völlig unabhängigen Quellen erwähnt [mit Anm. 28]. Aus beiden geht hervor, dass Augustus eine Porticus errichtet und mit *simulacra omnium gentium*, also einem Zyklus von Nationenpersonifikationen ausgestattet habe. Diese Porticus habe man *Porticus ad Nationes* genannt [mit Anm. 29]. **Es spricht manches dafür, dass die Zyklen von Personifikationen vom Sebasteion aus Aphrodisias und vom Forum Transitorium ebenso wie diejenigen vom Templum Divi Hadriani allesamt auf das Vorbild der *simulacra omnium gentium* dieser *Porticus ad Nationes* zurückgehen**, und man sich aus diesem Grunde im Umkehrschluss eine Vorstellung von deren ursprünglichen Aussehen machen kann [mit Anm. 30; Hervorhebung von mir].

In ihrer **Anmerkung 25** schreibt Goldbeck: "Siehe z. B. [zum Beispiel] Smith 1988; Smith 2013.

In ihrer **Anmerkung 26** schreibt sie: "Wiegartz 1996".

In ihrer **Anmerkung 27** schreibt sie: "Siehe Ungaro [= hier M.P. DEL MORO] 2007, 178-191 m.[it] Abb. 259-261; Meneghini 2015, 68-77 m.[it] Abb. 89".

In ihrer **Anmerkung 28** schreibt sie: "Plin. nat. 36, 39; Serv. Aen. 8, 721".

In ihrer **Anmerkung 29** schreibt sie: "Möglicherweise handelt es sich dabei um einen zeitgenössischen Rufnamen für die Porticus Vipsania. Siehe dazu Goldbeck 2015b [= hier V. GOLDBECK 2015a], 215–217".

In ihrer **Anmerkung 30** schreibt sie: "Dazu ausführlich Goldbeck 2015b [= hier V. GOLDBECK 2015a]".

Für einige Bemerkungen zu diesen Publikationen; s.o., in Chapter IV.1.1.h); zu *The Marble Forum at the Colonia Augusta Emerita (Mérida) in Spain*; s.u., zu *The Contribution by Walter Trillmich on the headless marble togati found in the so-called Marble Forum at Mérida in Spain, one of which looks like the togate youth on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs*.

(Kapitel IV.1.1.h); zu *Das Marmorforum in der Colonia Augusta Emerita (Mérida) in Spanien*; s.u., *Der Beitrag von Walter Trillmich zu den kopflosen Marmortogati, die im sogenannten Marmorforum in Mérida in Spanien gefunden worden sind, von denen einer so aussieht wie der junge Mann in der Toga of Fries B der Cancellaria Reliefs*); und für eine detaillierte Diskussion; s.u., in Band 3-2, im *Appendix IV.d.2.*)

Kehren wir nun zu unserem Hauptthema zurück.

Domitian hat diesen Triumph vom November/ Dezember 89 n. Chr. zusammen mit dem Volk von Rom, gefeiert, im Kolosseum. Dort hat er für seine Gäste im Dezember 89 ein verschwenderisches Bankett organisiert, bei dem er sie mit Geschenken buchstäblich 'überschüttet' hat, wie Statius (*Silvae* 1,6: *Saturnalia principis*) berichtet.

Was Domitian bei dieser Gelegenheit tat : das Volk von Rom zu einem üppigen Bankett einzuladen und seinen Gäste großzügige Geschenke zu machen (obwohl es Sitte war, dass Freunde bei dieser Gelegenheit Geschenke *austauschten*), waren typische Gebräuche bei den Saturnalien; s.u., im Band 3-2, in *Appendix I.f.1.*).

Wenn man fragt, warum sich Domitian dazu entschlossen haben mag, dieses Bankett im Zeitraum der Saturnalien zu veranstalten (die vom 17.-23. oder bis zum 25. Dezember andauerten, je nachdem, welchen Kalender man zu Rate zieht), dann glaube ich, dass er den Wunsch hatte, gleichzeitig mit seinen Gästen die *Vicennalia* (das 20jährige Jubiläum) seiner geglückten Flucht vom *Capitolium* am 19. Dezember 69 n. Chr. zu

feiern; s.o., im Kapitel *Preamble: Domitian's negative image; Section III. My own thoughts about Domitian; at point 1.) Domitian's escape from the Capitolium proper on 19th December AD 69* (s.o. Kapitel *Preamble : Domitians negatives Image; Abschnitt III. Meine eigenen Gedanken zu Domitian; zu Punkt 1.) Domitians Flucht vom Capitolium am 19. Dezember 69 n. Chr.*); vergleiche auch unten, in Band 3-2, zu *Appendix I*.

Vergleiche für eine Diskussion von Domitians Bankett im Colosseum im Dezember 89 n. Chr.: Lisa Cordes (2014, 355-356), wörtlich zitiert und diskutiert oben, im Kapitel *Preamble : Domitian's negative image; II. Conclusions : Domitian's representations of his military successes and his claims to be of divine descent and to possess a divine nature*.

(*Preamble : Domitians negatives Image; Abschnitt II. Schlussfolgerungen : Domitians Darstellungen seiner militärischen Erfolge und sein Anspruch, göttlicher Abstammung und göttlicher Natur zu sein*).

**Und da ich jenen Gelehrten folge, die glauben, dass die Werkstatt, welche für die skulpturale Ausstattung von Domitians Forum verantwortlich war, auch die Cancellariareliefs schuf (s.o., zu Punkt 1.), schlage ich außerdem vor, dass auf Fries A dargestellt ist, wie Domitian (hier Fig. 1; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung: Figur 6) seine *profectio*-Zeremonie im Frühling des Jahres 89 n. Chr. feiert, nach der er Rom für diesen Krieg verlassen sollte.**

Interessanterweise hatte meine gute, kürzlich verstorbene Freundin Amanda Claridge (1. September 1949 - 5. Mai 2022), bereits in ihrem Romführer (2010, 169) Folgendes geschrieben:

**"The Forum of Nerva (actually built by his predecessor Domitian in commemoration of his Dacian triumph of AD 89 ... [Hervorhebung von mir]"**.

(*Das Nervaforum (in Wirklichkeit von seinem Vorgänger Domitian zur Erinnerung an seinen Dakischen Triumph 89 n. Chr. erbaut ...*).

Erst nachdem wir dieses Kapitel als Vorschau für dieses Buch über Domitian auf unserem Webserver publiziert hatten, habe ich beschlossen, hier eine weitere Textpassage aus Amandas Romführer anzufügen. Der Grund war, dass ich in der Zwischenzeit in T.P. Wisemans Buch (2019, 112) seine Übersetzung und Interpretation von Vergil (*Aen.* 8, 714-723) gefunden hatte, dem wir uns gleich zuwenden werden.

Ich meine die Bemerkungen von Amanda Claridge (2010, 174-175, mit Fig. 66, die oben bereits weniger ausführlich zitiert worden sind), und die sich auf das Relief mit der Darstellung der *Piroustaie* in Domitians Forum in Rom beziehen, und auf die Darstellung der *Piroustoi* im *Sebasteion* von Aphrodisias in der Türkei (vergleiche hier **Figs. 49; 50**):

**"On the attic storey the surviving sculptural panel in the recess shows a helmeted [vergleiche hier Fig. 49; Seite 175] female carrying a shield, recently recognized (thanks to a labelled version found at Aphrodisias in Turkey [vergleiche hier Fig. 50]) as the personification of the *Piroustaie*, a people of the Danube. She was probably one of a series of subject peoples of the Empire whose painted images or effigies were paraded in Domitian's triumph as participating in and applauding his victory in Dacia in 89 and then carved in stone as part of the Forum, which commemorated his victory in permanent form" [Hervorhebung von mir]"**.

Für eine Diskussion s.u., im Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.d.2.a*).

Als ich Amanda fragte, wessen Idee *diese* Interpretation der Reliefs gewesen sei, konnte sie sich auch in diesem Fall zunächst nicht erinnern. Aber mitten in unseren langen Diskussionen der oben zusammengefassten Studien zu diesem Thema schrieb mir Amanda am 23. Juli 2020 eine Email (wörtlich zitiert unten, im Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.d.2.f*)), in der sie mir, zu meiner großen Überraschung, mitteilte, sie glaube, der Vorschlag, dass Domitians Forum womöglich an Domitians Triumph von 89 n. Chr. erinnern sollte, sei ihre eigene Idee gewesen; der Grund hierfür sei die Darstellung der *Piroustaie* in diesem Forum

gewesen. Und am 24. Juli 2020 schrieb mir Amanda eine Email, in der sie mir erlaubt hat, das in diesem Buch zu erwähnen. Siehe für all das oben, Kapitel *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements* ('Einführende Bemerkungen und Dank').

Vergleiche mit den oben zitierten Bemerkungen von Amanda Claridge (2010, 174-175) die folgenden Beobachtungen, die T.P. Wiseman (2019, 112) zu Vergil (*Aen.* 8.714-723) gemacht hat.

Meiner Meinung nach bestätigt Vergils erfundene Szene *a*) die soeben zitierte Hypothese von Amanda Claridge (2010, 174-175) bezüglich der Darstellungen von 'unterworfenen Völkern' im *Forum* Domitians. Vergils 'Bericht' scheint bislang noch nicht als möglicher Anlass erkannt worden zu sein, die hier diskutierten Darstellungen von unterworfenen Völkern anzufertigen (vergleiche hier **Figs. 48-50**). Und das, obwohl Vergils Beschreibung 'dieser langen Reihe von eroberten Völkern, die sowohl nach Sprache, als auch nach Bekleidung und Bewaffnung verschieden sind', wie Wiseman (2012, 112) Vergil (*Aen.* 8.714-723) übersetzt, meiner Meinung nach erklären kann, warum *b*) Augustus die 'Porticus ad Nationes' in Rom in Auftrag gegeben hatte.

Wie wir oben gehört haben, waren ihrerseits die Darstellungen der 'unterworfenen oder eroberten Völker' in der *Porticus ad Nationes* des Augustus das Vorbild aller späteren, hier diskutierten Reliefs geworden : denen im *Sebasteion* von Aphrodisias (hier **Fig. 50**), in Domitians *Forum* (hier **Fig. 49**), und im *Hadrianeum* (hier **Fig. 48**).

T.P. Wiseman (2019, 112) schreibt:

**"Meanwhile, in 29 BC victorious Caesar [i.e., Octavian/ Augustus] returned to Rome. On 13-15 August he held three successive triumphal processions, for the Illyrian, Actian, and Alexandrian campaigns. The following year he undertook the restoration of all the city's temples that needed repair, and in the autumn held the first of a new series of quadrennial games to celebrate the victory at Actium. That led straight to the dedication, on 9 October 28 BC, of the temple of Apollo.**

**Virgil [Aen. 8.714-723] presented a composite tableau of all these events as the prophetic culmination of the scenes on the shield of Aeneas :**

**But Caesar [i.e., Octavian/ Augustus], who had entered the walls of Rome in a triple triumph, was consecrating an everlasting vow to the gods of Italy - three hundred great shrines throughout the whole city. The streets were loud with gladness and games and applause; at all the temples there were matrons dancing, and altars, and before the altars slain bullocks strewed the ground. He himself, seated in the snow-white threshold of gleaming Phoebus [i.e., of the Temple of Apollo Palatinus], is reviewing the gifts of nations and fixing them to the proud doors. The conquered peoples process in a long line, as varied in language as they are in costume and arms.**

**The 'gifts' of conquered peoples were of course the spoils of war. Paraded on wagons in the triumphal processions, they were now, at the end of the long sequence of celebrations, brought to the Palatine for dedication to the god [i.e., Apollo] and display at his temple.** This too was a parade, and Commander Caesar [i.e., Octavian/ Augustus] had provided the space to accommodate it. Fig. 51 Fig. 46 [Hervorhebung von mir]".

Ich stimme mit Amanda Claridge (1998, 131; *dies.* 2010, 142-143; *dies.* 2014, 128, mit Anm 5, S. 130, 142), Parrish Elizabeth Wright (2020, 47-49), und T.P. Wiseman (2019, 113, Bildunterschrift seiner Fig. 51, S. 122-128; *ders.* 2022, 20-22, alle unten wörtlich zitiert, im Band 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*) darin überein, dass unter anderem Vergil (*Aen.* 8.714-723) beweist, dass der Tempel des Apollo Palatinus nach Nordosten orientiert war (vergleiche hier **Figs. 58; 73**), und nicht, wie die meisten anderen Gelehrten glauben, nach Südwesten.

Vergil (*Aen.* 8.714-723) beschreibt, wie diese 'lange Reihe von eroberten Völkern, die (Weih-)Geschenke herbeitragen', die (Octavian/ Augustus oder sie selbst?) dann dem Apollo Palatinus weihen. 'Während

dieser ganzen Zeremonie sitzt Octavian/ Augustus auf der Schwelle des Apollotempels und begutachtet die Parade dieser eroberten Völker. Er nimmt die (Weih-)geschenke von ihnen in Empfang und befestigt sie an den Türen des Apollotempels'.

Claridge, Wright und Wiseman (a.a.O.) gelangen zu dem (meiner Meinung nach überzeugenden) Ergebnis, dass der Tempel des Apollo Palatinus nach Nordosten orientiert gewesen sein muss, weil sie annehmen, dass diese Parade von eroberten Völkern, die diese (Weih-)geschenke herbeitragen, die dann dem Apollo geweiht werden, vom *Forum Romanum* herauf zum Palatin gekommen seien.

Wiseman (2022, 21) schreibt zum Beispiel diesbezüglich: "... **the long line of conquered peoples reviewed by Augustus in Virgil's imagined scene (note 80 above [quoting Virgil's Aeneid 8.714-23]) bring their tributary offerings from the direction of the Forum** [Hervorhebung von mir]".

Für eine ausführliche Diskussion der Kontroverse bezüglich der Orientierung des Tempels des Apollo Palatinus; s.u., in Band 3-2, in *Appendix VI*; im Abschnitt I.

Außer der Tatsache, dass ich glaube, dass Vergils Text (*Aen.* 8.714-723) erklären kann, warum Augustus die *Porticus ad Nationes* erbaut hat, in der nun nicht mehr die eroberten Völker selbst vorgeführt wurden, sondern *allegorische Darstellungen* von ihnen, möchte ich aber noch auf etwas anderes hinweisen. Bei dieser Zeremonie vor dem Tempel des Apollo auf dem Palatin, die Vergil erfunden hat, handelt es sich um eine klassische Demonstration von Augustus' Doktrin 'peace through victory' ('Frieden durch Sieg'), die oben, im Kapitel *What this Study is all about* ('Worum es in dieser Studie geht') besprochen worden ist.

Wie Peter Wiseman (2019, 112) zutreffend feststellt, handelt es sich bei diesen 'Geschenken', die von den 'eroberten Völkern' in dieser Zeremonie herbeigetragen werden, natürlich um die Kriegsbeute des Octavian/ Augustus. Diese 'eroberten Völker, nach Sprache, Bekleidung und Bewaffnung verschieden', wie Vergil schreibt, die in dieser Zeremonie in einer langen Reihe zum Tempel des Apollo Palatinus kamen, hatten eine ganze Reihe von demütigenden Erfahrungen machen müssen. Zunächst waren diese eroberten Völker von Octavian/ Augustus ihrer Freiheit und dieser wertvollen Besitztümer beraubt worden. Als nächstes waren die einzelnen Bürger dieser Völker, die nun diese 'Geschenke' in dieser Zeremonie herbeitrugen, zusammen mit dieser Kriegsbeute, in den drei Triumphzügen des Octavian/ Augustus 'vorgeführt' worden.

Und schließlich hatte Octavian/ Augustus obendrein, zumindest in Vergils Erzählung, die Stirn besessen, diese Zeremonie zu organisieren, in der die einzelnen Bürger dieser eroberten Völker nun *selbst* ihre ehemaligen Besitztümer zum Tempel des Apollo Palatinus tragen mussten, wo sie dann von Octavian/ Augustus (oder 'freiwillig' von ihnen selbst?) *dem* Gott geweiht wurden, der ihm, wie Octavian/ Augustus und Vergil glaubten, und Vergil mit der Beschreibung dieser Zeremonie gezeigt hat, die Siege über diese Völker gewährt hatte (!).

Wenn man das alles bedenkt, dann wird es sehr verständlich, dass die *Piroustae* and Arminius, seine Landsleute die Cherusci, und ihre Verbündeten so verzweifelt versucht haben, sich derartige demütigende Erfahrungen zu ersparen. Um diesen Punkt abzuschließen, wiederhole ich deshalb noch einmal, was oben bereits gesagt worden ist:

'See also R.R.R. Smith (2013, 91, n. 44) for the fact that Tiberius could only defeat the *Piroustae*, "when they were almost entirely exterminated" [so Velleius Paterculus 2.115.2-4; my emphasis]" (!)'.  
(Vergleiche R.R.R. Smith (2013, 91, Anm. 44) für die Tatsache, dass Tiberius die *Piroustae* nur besiegen konnte, "als sie fast ausgerottet waren" [so Velleius Paterculus 2.115.2-4; Hervorhebung von mir]" (!).-

3.) Der Vorschlag, zuerst unterbreitet von Filippo Magi (1939, 205), wie berichtet von Bartolomeo Nogara (1939, 8, 106, 115-116, 227), und von Antonio Maria Colini (1938 [1939], 270); vergleiche Heinz

Kähler (1950, 30-41), Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee (1957, 19), John Henderson (2003, 249), und besonders von Massimo Pentiricci (2009, 61-62; s.o., Anm. 262, 263, 264, in Kapitel I.3.2), der diese früheren Hypothesen diskutiert, und der selbst vorschlägt, dass die Cancellarieliefs die parallelen, gegenüberstehenden Wände eines Durchgangs von einem Bogen Domitian dekoriert hätten. Siehe auch oben, die Bildunterschrift von hier Figs. 1 und 2 der Cancellarieliefs, Zeichnung, 'in situ'.

4.) Filippo Coarellis Vorschlag (2009b, 88; ders. 2012, 283, 286-291, 481-483), dass Domitian den *Arcus Domitiani* auf dem Palatin seinem Vater, dem *Divus Vespasianus*, geweiht haben könnte.

**Der *Arcus Domitiani*/ des *Divus Vespasianus* ?, der Bogen Domitians am Haupteingang seines Palastes auf dem Palatin, der *Domus Augustana*, und Domitians (angeblicher) Tempel des Iuppiter Propugnator, der Tempel des Iuppiter Invictus vor seiner *Domus Augustana*.**

Reste des westlichen Pylons dieses *Arcus Domitiani* (die einer späteren Epoche angehören) stehen noch vor Domitians Palast auf dem Palatin, der '*Domus Flavia*'/ *Domus Augustana* (vergleiche hier Figs. 8.1; 58).

Dass Domitian möglicherweise den *Arcus Domitiani* seinem Vater, dem *Divus Vespasianus*, geweiht hat, ist Teil von Coarellis Hypothese (2009b, 88; ders. 2012, 481-483), derzufolge ein Besucher von Domitians Palast, der vom Bogen des *Divus Titus* auf der *Velia* heraufkam, dann unter dem Bogen des *Divus Vespasianus* hindurchging, um schließlich an der "Porta principale" (dem 'Haupteingang') auf der Nordseite von Domitians Palast anzukommen, der *Domus Augustana*, wo Coarelli einen Bogen des Domitian annimmt. An diesem Haupteingang von Domitians *Domus Augustana* nimmt Coarelli (2012, 486-491) das *Pentapylon* an, ein Monument, das ausschließlich in den Konstantinischen Regionenkatalogen genannt wird, und das Coarelli mit dem eben erwähnten Bogen des Domitian an der "Porta principale" identifiziert, den er sich als Triumphbogen vorstellt.

Dieser nördliche Teil von Domitians Palast, den Helge Finsen (1969, 8) als "no man's land" bezeichnet hat, ist sehr schlecht erhalten. Es besteht aber kein Zweifel, dass an dieser Stelle der Haupteingang des Palastes lokalisiert werden kann; vergleiche Coarelli (2012, 487, mit Anm. 479, der hierzu Literatur angibt: U. WULF-RHEIDT und N. SOJC 2009, 268-272, Figs. 3; 4).

Bezüglich dieses Weges vom Bogen des *Divus Titus* auf der *Velia*, vorbei am Bogen des *Divus Vespasianus* zum Bogen des Domitian, schlägt Coarelli (2012, 483) überzeugend Folgendes vor:

**"La scelta di 'sacralizzare' questo percorso con monumenti dedicati ai due primi imperatori flavi si spiega con l'assoluta centralità dell'elemento dinastico nella politica di Domiziano [my emphasis]".**

(Die Entscheidung, diesen Weg 'sakral zu überhöhen', mit Monumenten, die den beiden ersten flavischen Kaisern dediziert sind, erklärt sich aus der absolut zentralen Bedeutung der flavischen Dynastie in Domitians Politik').

Der oben zitierten Annahme von Coarellis (2009b; 2012) 'drei Bögen' sind Aurora Raimondi Cominesi und Claire Stocks (2021, 10; dies. 2023, 41), sowie Raimondi Cominesi (2022, 109-110, mit Anm. 99-102) gefolgt, wobei letztere den Haupteingang zu Domitians Palast *Domus Augustana* an derselben Stelle annimmt wie Coarelli (2012).

In ihrem letzten, posthum erschienenen Artikel über Domitians Palast, geht Wulf-Rheidt (2020, 188) auf Coarellis (2009b; 2012) Ideen bezüglich dieses Domitiansbogens am Haupteingang seiner *Domus Augustana* nicht ein. Sie selbst präsentiert die Ergebnisse ihrer Forschungen zu dem oben erwähnten "no man's land". Wichtig für unser hier diskutiertes Thema sind die Tatsachen, dass auch Wulf-Rheidt (a.a.O) an derselben Stelle wie Coarelli einen Bogen als Haupteingang zur *Domus Augustana* annahm, dass dieser Bogen und der anschließende große Hof, den sie als *atrium* interpretierte, bereits von Domitian erbaut worden ist, und dass

dieses ganze Ensemble sehr stark von späteren Kaisern verändert werden sollte, zum Beispiel von Hadrian; vergleiche hierzu auch Wulf-Rheidt (2020, 191).

**Wulf-Rheidt (2020, 188) schrieb: "I risultati delle ricerche sul palazzo flavio lasciano ricostruire il seguente quadro ... il visitatore venendo dal Foro accedeva all'entrata principale sul *Clivus Palatinus* mediante un arco, nel quale doveva essere il presidio armato della guardia imperiale (fig. 2a) [Hervorhebung von mir]"**.

(`Die Erforschung des flavischen Palastes erlaubt es, folgende Vorstellung zu entwickeln ... ein Besucher, der vom Forum kam, näherte sich einem Bogen, dem Haupteingang [des Palastes] am *Clivus Palatinus*, in dem sich die Garnison der bewaffneten kaiserlichen Garde befunden haben muss`).

In die Pläne von Ricardo Mar (2009, 256, Fig. 3), Filippo Coarelli (2012, 484, Figs. 163; 164 [ein Plan von R. MAR 2005]) und Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt (2020, 186, Fig. 2) sind beide Pylone des *Arcus Domitiani* eingetragen, ich selbst habe in unsere Karten den zweiten (östlichen) Pylon des *Arcus Domitiani* nicht integriert, aus Gründen, die oben, in Kapitel VI.3.; *Addition* (`Zusatz`) erklärt werden. Dieser östliche Pylon wurde in einer Ausgrabung unter der Via di S. Bonaventura entdeckt (vergleiche hier **Fig. 73**). Für ein Gebäckfragment dieses *Arcus Domitiani*; vergleiche Kristine Iara (in: F. COARELLI 2009a, 505, Kat. Nr. 108).

Westlich vom westlichen Pylon des *Arcus Domitiani* haben wir aus der Karte SAR 1985 zwei Fundamente kopiert, deren Identifizierung heftig umstritten ist.

Vincenzo Graffeo und Patrizio Pensabene (2014; *dies.* 2016-2017) konnten diese Fundamente erneut ausgraben. Mein Dank gilt Patrizio Pensabene, der, auf meinen Wunsch hin, so freundlich war, mir diese beiden Publikationen ihrer Ausgrabung zu schicken. Graffeo und Pensabene schreiben diese Fundamente zwei verschiedenen kaiserzeitlichen Tempeln zu, die beide nach Süden orientiert waren, und innerhalb des östlichen der beiden Fundamente, das ins zweite Jahrhundert n. Chr. datierbar ist, haben sie eine oder zwei republikanische Phasen dieses Tempels gefunden; s.u., in Band 3-2; in *Appendix VI.*; Abschnitt X.

Ich folge deshalb Graffeos und Pensabenes (2014; *id.* 2016-2017) Vorschlag, diesen Tempel mit dem des Iuppiter Invictus zu identifizieren, der während der Republik, möglicherweise im 3. Jh. v. Chr., gegründet worden war. Für eine Diskussion der Forschungsmeinungen zum Tempel des Iuppiter Invictus; s.u., im Band 3-2, im *Appendix VI.*; Abschnitt VII.

Seit seiner ersten Ausgrabung ist dieses angeblich eine Tempelfundament (in Wirklichkeit sind es jedoch zwei Tempelfundamente) unterschiedlich identifiziert worden; vergleiche hier **Fig. 58**, Beschriftungen: Temple of Iuppiter INVICTUS ? or of IUPPITER STATOR ? IUPPITER VICTOR ? IUPPITER PROPUGNATOR ?

Weil Filippo Coarelli (2012, 282-285, 482, mit Anm. 468, S. 485, Figs. 164-166) (meiner Meinung nach irrtümlich) dieses Fundament mit dem des Tempels für Iuppiter Propugnator identifiziert hat (der nur in kaiserzeitlichen Inschriften erwähnt wird), (angeblich) erbaut von Domitian, habe ich *alle* Identifizierungen dieser (beiden) Tempelfundamente im Detail untersucht.

Siehe unten, im Band 3-2, im *Appendix VI.*; Abschnitte I.-XII. *A digression on Domitian's intention to emulate Augustus and Nero. Domitian built his Palace `Domus Flavia' the Domus Augustana on the Palatine deliberately at the site of the (real) House of Augustus. As the `new founder of Rome', and again like Augustus, Domitian emulated also Romulus (or else compared the achievements of his entire dynasty with those of Romulus). With summaries of the recent discussion concerning the following subjects ... a temple podium, which has been identified as that of the Temple of Iuppiter Invictus (but which has also been identified as that of the Temple of Iuppiter Stator, Iuppiter Victor, and as that of the Temple of Iuppiter Propugnator) ...*



(`Ein Exkurs zu Domitians Ziel, Augustus und Nero nachzuahmen. Domitian erbaute seinen Palast `Domus Flavia`/ die Domus Augustana absichtlich an der Stelle des (wirklichen) Hauses des Augustus. Als der `neue Gründer Roms`, und gleichfalls wie Augustus, ahmte Domitian auch Romulus nach (oder verglich die diesbezüglichen Leistungen seiner gesamten Dynastie mit denen des Romulus). Mit Zusammenfassungen der aktuellen Diskussion zu folgenden Themen ... ein Tempelpodium, das als das des Tempels des Iuppiter Inuictus identifiziert worden ist (aber auch als das des Tempels des Iuppiter Stator, Iuppiter Victor, und als das des Tempels für Iuppiter Propugnator) ...`).

##### 5.) Paolo Liverani's (2021, 83-84) Beobachtungen zum Bogen des *Divus Titus* auf der *Velia*:

"... **the Arch of Titus** in *sacra via*, [mit Anm. 4], a monument whose construction was planned by the Roman Senate shortly before the premature death of Titus, but which had to be built and finished by his brother and successor, Domitian ... [Seite 84] For a better understanding of the arch's message, we have to consider that - although the honorand was Titus - **the function of the monument fitted well with Domitian's program to strengthen his own legitimacy by showing as *divi* both his brother Titus and his father Vespasian**. The latter was venerated in the temple he built at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, at the western end of the Forum Romanum [Hervorhebung von mir]". Vergleiche für die oben zitierte Passage aus Liverani (2021, 83-84) jetzt auch Liverani (2023, 115-116; das heißt, the italiensche Version seines Artikels von 2021).

Für eine detaillierte Diskussion dieser Passage; s.u., im Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.d.2.f)*. - Der Bogen des *Divus Titus* überbrückte natürlich *nicht* die *Sacra Via*, wie Liverani (a.a.O.) (irrtümlich) behauptet; vergleiche Filippo Coarelli (2012, 480); Häuber (2017, 327). Für den Bogen des *Divus Titus*, die *Sacra Via* und den Tempel des *Divus Vespasianus*; vergleiche hier **Figs. 58; 71; 73**.

##### *Schlussfolgerungen zur ursprünglichen Funktion der Cancellariareliefs*

**Gestützt auf die oben erwähnten Punkte 1.) - 5.), schlage ich in dieser Studie vor, dass die Cancellariareliefs den Durchgang von Domitians *Arcus Domitiani*/ Bogen des *Divus Vespasianus* auf dem Palatin geschmückt haben, der den "VICUS APOLLINIS ? / "CLIVUS CAPITOLINUS" überbrückte (hier Fig. 73), oder eher einen der Durchgänge des Domitiansbogens, den Coarelli (2009b, 88; *ders.* 2012, 481-483; vergleiche S. 486-491) an der "Porta pincipale" ('Haupteingang') von Domitians Palast, der *Domus Augustana* (hier Figs. 8.1; 58), annimmt.**

Siehe oben, Kapitel VI.3.; *Addition* ('Zusatz'); und unten, im Band 3-2, *Appendix IV.d.2.f)*.

Aber bezüglich der ersten Hypothese gibt es ein Problem : obwohl Vespasian auf Fries B dargestellt ist, was zunächst der Grund für mich gewesen ist, diesen Vorschlag zu unterbreiten, feiern beide Friese (**Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung**) hauptsächlich Domitian : seine Legitimation als (zukünftigem) Kaiser (die er von seinem Vater Vespasian erhält; s.u., Den Beitrag von *Giandomenico Spinola* in diesem Band; was oben bereits erwähnt wurde), sowie seine "personal grandeur" ('eigene Größe') (cf. J. GERING 2012, 210-211): auf Fries B sehen wir, wie Domitian bereits als Caesar *domi* brilliert hat, und auf Fries A, nun selbst Kaiser, *militiae*.

Für eine Diskussion der letzteren Hypothese; s.o., **Anm. 248**, in Kapitel I.2.1.b); vergleiche auch Kapitel V.1.d); V.1.i.3.); VI.3.

Falls dagegen dieser Domitiansbogen an der "Porta pincipale" seiner *Domus Augustana* existiert hat, wie Coarelli (2009b, 88; 2012, 481-483; vergleiche S. 486-491) vorschlägt, dann glaube ich eher, dass die Cancellariareliefs einen der Durchgänge *dieses* Bogen dekoriert haben könnten, der, falls er existiert haben sollte, von Domitian selbst erbaut worden sein wird. Coarelli (a.a.O) identifiziert diesen Haupteingang der *Domus Augustana* mit dem *Pentapylon*, ein Monument, das er sich als Triumphbogen vorstellt

Falls dieser Domitiansbogen, den Coarelli (2012, 481-483, 486-491) an dieser Stelle annimmt, tatsächlich das *Pentapylon* war, welches ausschließlich in den Konstantinischen Regionenkatalogen erwähnt

wird, dann könnte dies bedeuten, dass dieser domitianische Bogen von den folgenden Kaisern ihren eigenen Bedürfnissen angepasst worden war, oder, dass er durch einen komplett neuen Bogen ersetzt worden ist.

Vergleiche für das *Pentapylon*: Emanuele Papi ("Pentapylon", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 78-79), der die verschiedenen Vorschläge bezüglich der Lokalisierung dieses Monuments auf dem Palatin zusammenfasst.

Mein Vorschlag, die Cancellarieliefs dem Domitiansbogen Coarellis (2009b; *id.* 2012) an der "Porta principale" ('Haupteingang') von Domitians Palast *Domus Augustana* (hier **Figs. 8.1, 58**) zuzuschreiben, wird möglicherweise durch den Fund eines monumentalen Architravblocks unterstützt, welcher das rechte Ende einer Bauinschrift enthält (*CIL* VI, 40543: PP FECIT). Dieser Architrav gehörte wahrscheinlich zu einem Bogen, wurde zusammen mit den Cancellarieliefs gefunden, und wurde bereits oben unter Punkt 1.) erwähnt. Diese Inschrift beweist, dass Domitian, der den Titel *pater patriae* ('Vater des Vaterlandes') bereits im Jahre 81 n. Chr. erhalten hatte, das entsprechende Gebäude selbst errichtet hatte, zu dem diese Inschrift gehörte; es ist jedoch zu beachten, dass auch Nerva den Titel *pater patriae* trug. Vergleiche für beide Alternativen; s.o., zu **Anm. 81, 82, 87**, in Kapitel I.1.

Auch Markus Wolf ist der Ansicht, dass Domitian das Gebäude selbst errichtet hatte, zu dem der Architrav mit der Inschrift (*CIL* VI, 40543: PP FECIT) gehört hat; vergleiche Wolf (2015, 318-320, Figs. 6; 7 [der Architrav], Figs. 8; 10 [seine beiden Rekonstruktionszeichnungen eines freistehenden Bogens und eines "ingresso monumentale" ('monumentalen Eingangs'), in den dieser Architrav integriert ist]; *ders.* 2018, 91-94, mit Anm. 5, 15, Abb. 39; 40 [der Architrav]; Abb. 42; 43 [seine Rekonstruktionszeichnungen eines freistehenden Bogens und eines "Eingangsbaus", in welche dieser Architrav integriert ist]; siehe auch oben, Kapitel V.2.).

Als ein weiteres Argument für die Zuschreibung der Cancellaria Reliefs an diesen (ehemaligen) Domitiansbogen am Haupteingang seines Palastes könnte man die großen Ähnlichkeiten der Cancellarieliefs mit dem Nollekens Relief (hier **Fig. 36**) anführen. Der Grund hierfür ist die Tatsache, dass Francesco Bianchini (1738, 68) das Nollekens Relief buchstäblich in der 'Aula Regia' von Domitians 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana* ausgegraben hat, eine Tatsache, die von allen neueren Gelehrten übersehen worden ist. Hierauf werde ich später zurückkommen.

Vergleiche **Figs. 8.1; 58**, labels: FORUM ROMANUM; VELIA; Arch of DIVUS TITUS; PALATINE; ARCUS DOMITIANI / DIVI VESPASIANI ?; "DOMUS FLAVIA"; DOMUS AUGUSTANA; "Porta principale"; Arch of DOMITIAN ?; Cancellaria Reliefs ?

### *Domitians Bauprojekte in der Stadt Rome, als Ganzes betrachtet*

Ehe ich mich einigen neuen Beobachtungen zu Domitians Palast auf dem Palatin zuwende, möchte ich das wichtigste Ergebnis meiner Forschungen zu Domitians Bauprojekten in Rom vorstellen.

Ausgehend von Mario Torellis Bemerkung (1987, 575, wörtlich zitiert oben, in **Anm. 228**, in Kapitel I.2.), der als erster Domitians Bauprojekt auf dem Kapitolsberg als 'pharaonisch' bezeichnet hat, habe ich zunächst Folgendes geglaubt : Dass Domitian zwei derartige 'pharaonische', aber *verschiedene* Projekte in Rom betrieben habe. Das eine habe 'den Kapitolinischen Hügel und angrenzende Gebiete' umfasst (vergleiche hier **Figs. 58; 59; 71; 73**), das heißt, jenes Stadtgebiet (unter anderem das Marsfeld), wo Domitian nicht nur neue Gebäude erbaute, sondern wo er auch viele alte restauriert hat, die beim großen Brand auf dem *Capitolium* im Jahre 69 n. Chr. zerstört wurden, sowie bei dem noch größeren Brand im Jahre 80 n. Chr., bei dem große Teile der Stadt Rom zerstört worden waren; sowie die 'Colosseum city' ('die Colosseumsstadt') (hier **Figs. 71; 72**), deren Errichtung bereits von seinem Vater Vespasian begonnen worden war: hier haben die flavischen Kaiser Nero's *Domus Aurea* mit Gebäuden ersetzt, die sie 'für das Volk von Rom' errichtet haben.

Das (zumindest für mich) überraschende Resultat dieser Forschungen war die Erkenntnis, dass diese beiden Bauprojekte Domitians *zusammenhängen*. Um diese Tatsache zu illustrieren, zitiere ich im Folgenden die Titel der entsprechenden Kapitel dieses Buches.

Am 6. Juli 2021 war Eric M. Moormann so freundlich, mir von sich aus - und zwar für ein anderes Buchprojekt; vergleiche Häuber (in Vorbereitung, FORTVNA PAPERS vol. IV über den Laokoon) - zwei Artikel zu schicken : Von James C. Anderson Jr. ("The Date of the Thermae Traiani and the Topography of the Oppius Mons", 1985), und von Rabun Taylor, Edward O'Neill, Katherine W. Rinne, Giovanni Isidori, Michael O'Neill und R. Benjamin Gorham ("A Recently Discovered Spring Source of the Aqua Traiana at Vicarello, Lazio", 2020). Diese beiden Publikationen beweisen, dass - selbstverständlich - bereits Domitian damit begonnen hatte, die 'Trajansthermen' zu erbauen (!).

Abgesehen davon, dass sich diese Tatsache auch als entscheidend für den Kontext meines Buches über den Laokoon erweisen sollte, den ich damals gerade mit Eric Moormann diskutierte, hat mich diese Information auch noch im richtigen Zeitpunkt erreicht, um den Titel meines *Appendix IV.d.4.c*) im Band 3-2 dieser Studie über Domitian zu ändern. Vergleiche für den Kontext dieses spezifischen Kapitels :

Siehe unten, **im Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.d.4.) Domitian's building projects at Rome, discussed in this Study;***

*Appendix IV.d.4.a) Domitian's building project 'Colosseum City';*

*Appendix IV.d.4.b) Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the Templum Pacis, and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum;*

***Appendix IV.d.4.c) Domitian's building projects at Rome. Conclusions arrived at in Appendix IV.d. With The first Contribution by Eugenio La Rocca.***

*As a result of this Chapter it seems to be clear that Domitian, who destroyed the sella between the Quirinal and the Arx, in order to erect his huge forum there (the later 'Forum of Trajan'), had used this excavated material to fill in a valley on the Mons Oppius. This finding invited the further assumption that already Domitian had planned to erect at this site great public baths, the now so-called 'Baths of Trajan'. The confirmation that Domitian had actually started building those baths, reached me only afterwards [Hervorhebung von mir].*

(`Appendix IV.d.4.) Domitians Bauprojekte in Rom, die in diesem Band diskutiert werden;

*Appendix IV.d.4.a) Domitians Bauprojekt 'Colosseum Stadt';*

*Appendix IV.d.4.b) Domitians Bauprojekt, welches das Marsfeld, den Kapitolsberg und die sella ('Sattel') zwischen der Arx und dem Quirinal umfasste. Mit detaillierter Diskussion des Templum Pacis, und einigen Bemerkungen zu Domitians Villa, die Albanum genannt wurde;*

***Appendix IV.d.4.c) Domitians Bauprojekte in Rome. Ergebnisse, die in Appendix IV.d erzielt worden sind. Mit Dem ersten Beitrag von Eugenio La Rocca.***

*Als Ergebnis dieses Kapitels scheint klar zu sein, dass Domitian, der die sella ('Sattel') zwischen dem Quirinal und der Arx zerstört hat, um an dieser Stelle sein riesiges Forum zu errichten (das spätere 'Trajansforum'), mit diesem ausgegrabenen Material ein Tal auf dem Mons Oppius zugeschüttet hat. Diese Erkenntnis erlaubte die weitergehende Vermutung, dass bereits Domitian an dieser Stelle eine große öffentliche Thermenanlage geplant hatte, die heute sogenannten 'Trajansthermen'. Die Bestätigung, dass Domitian tatsächlich damit begonnen hatte, diese Thermenanlage zu errichten, erreichte mich erst später [Hervorhebung von mir]).*

**Erst nachdem dieses Kapitel als eine der Vorschauen für diese Studie zu Domitian auf unserem Webserver publiziert war, habe ich folgende Publikationen erhalten, die gleichfalls die Frage stellen, wie Domitian die Zerstörung der sella zwischen dem Quirinal und der Arx bewerkstelligt hat, um an deren Stelle sein Mega-Forum zu errichten, welches das Trajansforum werden sollte.**

Es handelt sich um den Band, den Antonio Pizzo und Riccardo Montalbano herausgegeben haben (*Tra le pendici del Quirinale e il Campo Marzio in memoria di Emilio Rodríguez Almeida*, 2022) und um den Ausstellungskatalog *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore* (2023). Die Herausgeber dieses Kataloges, Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi, and Maria Paola Del Moro, schreiben in ihrer Einführung ("Domiziano

imperatore. Odio e amore", 2023, 12): "È stato inoltre realizzato, a cura di Sergio Fontana, un video immersivo allo scopo di rendere pienamente percepibile il taglio della sella montuosa tra i colli Campidoglio e Quirinale, intervento all'origine dei lavori per la sistemazione dell'area che sarà poi occupata dal complesso del Foro e dei Mercati di Traiano". Vergleiche auch den Aufsatz in diesem Katalog von Massimo Vitti ("Lo sbancamento del *mons*" e il progetto domiziano nell'area del Foro di Traiano", 2023).

Um diesen Punkt abzuschließen, nehme ich im Folgenden eine Textpassage vorweg, die für unten, im Band 3-2, *Appendix IV.d.4.c*), geschrieben wurde:

„Meine Annahme von Domitians zwei verschiedenen ‚pharaonischen‘ Projekten war falsch, in Wirklichkeit umfasste Domitians Vision die gesamte Stadt Rom. Bei dem Versuch, zu einem abschließenden Urteil bezüglich Domitians Bauprojekten in Rom zu kommen, die in diesem Buch behandelt worden sind, schlage ich deshalb Folgendes vor:

### **1.) Bei diesen Unternehmungen Domitians handelte es sich zweifellos um bedeutende Verbesserungen des öffentlichen Wohls.**

Außerdem können Domitians Bauprojekte, im Nachhinein betrachtet, nicht nur als groß, oder besser, als großartig, bezeichnet werden, nicht nur, was ihre tatsächliche Größenordnung, sondern auch, was ihre künstlerische Qualität betrifft : wir müssen auch anerkennen, dass die Konzeption einiger dieser Bauten extrem weitsichtig geplant worden war.

Mit der letzteren Beurteilung beziehe ich mich auf Domitians Projekte seines *Mega-Forums* (dem ‚Trajansforum‘) und dem seiner großen öffentlichen Thermenanlage (den ‚Trajansthemen‘). Der enorme Erfolg beider Projekte wird zuallererst dadurch erwiesen, dass Trajan beide sofort ‚usurpiert‘ hat, wie im Fall von so vielen anderen Konzeptionen Domitians (nicht nur Bauprojekten). Vergleiche zum Beispiel Eugenio La Rocca ("Traianus vs. [versus] Domitianus. Dalla rappresentazione del potere imperiale all'usurpazione dei monumenti pubblici", 2017).

Letzteres ist außerdem durch die Tatsachen bewiesen, dass Domitians erste riesige ‚Kaiserthermen‘ von den ‚Caracallathermen‘ und den ‚Diocletiansthermen‘ kopiert worden sind.

Apropos, meine Behauptung, dass Domitians Bauprojekte ‚Bedeutende Verbesserungen des öffentlichen Wohls darstellten‘: das traf zumindest nach der Vorstellung der antiken Römer zu. - Ich füge hier diese Einschränkung hinzu, weil, wie bereits oben gesagt (s.o., im Kapitel *II.3.1.c*): "In antiquity ... [the Colosseum] was a theatre of ritual death"; vergleiche Amanda Claridge (1998, 278; *dies.* 2010, 314). Und ich selbst habe an anderem Ort geschrieben : in der Kaiserzeit wurden in Rom Theater errichtet "für Aufführungen aller Art, wie z.B. [zum Beispiel] das Colosseum (in dem hauptsächlich Tierhatzen und Gladiatorenkämpfe, aber auch theatralisch inszenierte Exekutionen stattfanden)"; cf. Häuber (2013, 153).

Wie Domitian diese Situation selbst beurteilt hat, wissen wir leider nicht. Bezüglich Domitians wahrscheinlicher Motivation, diese wirklich eindrucksvollen Architekturen zu errichten, wurde oben Folgendes vorgeschlagen (s.o., im Kapitel *What this Study is all about* [‚Worum es in dieser Studie geht‘]): ‚Die außerordentlichen Anstrengungen, die Domitian unternahm, dienten, genau wie in den vergleichbaren Fällen des Augustus, Vespasian, Hadrian und Septimius Severus (außer den beiden anderen Motivationen im Fall Domitians: ‚eigene Größe‘ und ‚Familiengedenken‘), dem Zweck, Domitians Herrschaft zu legitimieren. Die hier erwähnten Aktivitäten, besonders die großartigen Bauprojekte dieser Kaiser, dienten deshalb dem Zweck, dass sie selbst für ihre Leistungen bereits zu Lebzeiten von ihren Untertanen entsprechende Anerkennung erfuhren, und überdies positiv von der Nachwelt in Erinnerung behalten würden‘.

**Domitians diesbezügliche Aktivitäten haben sich, was alle dieser Aspekte betrifft, als extrem erfolgreich herausgestellt, und zwar aus folgendem Grund :**

**2.) Auf Grund von Domitians Unternehmungen und denen seiner Familie ist Rom im Grunde auch heute noch eine flavische Stadt.**

Für die Formulierung meines 2.) Punktes habe ich mich auf die beiden Motti von Eric M. Moormanns Artikel ("Domitian's remake of Augustan Rome and the Iseum Campense", 2018, 161) gestützt, die lauten:

""A visitor to Rome today cannot avoid the Flavians"" [mit Anm. 1], und: ""To the modern visitor the centre of Rome presents itself as essentially a Flavian city"" [mit Anm. 2]". In seiner **Anmerkung 1**, schreibt Moormann: "Darwall-Smith 1996, 17 ...". Und in seiner **Anmerkung 2**, schreibt er: "Boyle 2003, 29 ...".

Und in seiner letzten Diskussion dieses Themas; vergleiche Moormann ("Domitian's Reshaping Rome", 2021, 43-44; *ders.* 2023, 62, wörtlich zitiert; s.o., im Kapitel *Preamble*; Abschnitt *III.*; zu Punkt 3.)), schreibt er sogar: "**Due to Titus' [page 44] premature death in September 81, Domitian could shape the town into a real Domitianopolis** without trespassing the ambitions of his father and brother (fig. 3) [mit Anm. 4; Hervorhebung von mir]".

In seiner **Anm. 4**, schreibt Moormann: "On Domitian's rebuilding of Rome, see, among others, Frederick 2003, and, most recently, Moormann 2018".

### **Auch die Organisation von Domitians Baustellen war innovativ :**

Zum Beispiel die Organisation der gigantischen Baustelle des zukünftigen 'Trajansforums'; vergleiche Patrizio Pensabene und Javier Á. Domingo (2016-2017). Dies trifft analog auch für die Beschaffung des Baumaterials für Domitians Bauprojekte zu, das aus dem gesamten Mittelmeergebiet importiert werden musste. Es überrascht nicht, dass die meisten frischen Marmorblöcke, die aus weit entfernten Steinbrüchen stammten, und mit Hilfe von Konsulardaten datiert sind, die im Stadtviertel Testaccio, in 'La Marmorata', in Ausgrabungen zu Tage kamen, aus der Zeit Domitians stammten; vergleiche Pensabene und Domingo (2016-2017, 573 mit Anm. 161).

Das Gebiet im Stadtviertel Testaccio, das in vergangenen Jahrhunderten *La Marmorata* hieß (vergleiche hier **Figs. 102; 102.4; 103**), befindet sich auf dem linken Tiberufer, südlich vom Aventin. Die meisten Gelehrten identifizieren dieses Gebiet, meines Erachtens irrtümlich, mit dem *Emporium*, das Livius (35,10,12; 41,27,8) zusammen mit der *Porticus Aemilia* erwähnt, die von denselben Gelehrten, meiner Meinung nach ebenfalls irrtümlich, mit dem riesigen *opus incertum* Gebäude im Stadtgebiet *La Marmorata* identifiziert wird. In Wirklichkeit kennen wir den antiken Namen dieser Gegend nicht.

Für eine detaillierte Diskussion; s.o., *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11)*. With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); Part II. *Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalía) and of the Horrea Aemiliana.* With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?

(*Eine Studie zum kolossalen Portrait des Hadrian (jetzt Konstantins des Großen) im Hof des Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rom (vergleiche hier Fig. 11)*. Mit Dem Beitrag von Hans Rupprecht Goette; Teil II. *Der neue Handelshafen des antiken Rom, bei La Marmorata. Mit Diskussionen der 'Porticus Aemilia' (in Wirklichkeit als Navalía identifizierbar) und der Horrea Aemiliana.* Mit Dem sechsten Beitrag von Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung'); und mit Dem zweiten Beitrag von Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?').

### **Wenden wir uns nun Domitians Palast auf dem Palatin zu, seiner Domus Augustana**

Abgesehen von den weiter unten diskutierten neuen Erkenntnissen zu diesem Gebäudekomplex, steuere ich in diesem Buch keine eigenen Hypothesen bezüglich der Bedeutung von Domitians Gesamtgestaltung seines Palastes bei. Glücklicherweise sind, beziehungsweise waren, an diesem Thema andere Gelehrte interessiert,

zum Beispiel Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt (2020), sowie Aurora Raimondi Cominesi (2022), die sich diesem Thema aus unterschiedlichen Perspektiven genähert haben: Auf der Basis ihrer eigenen, jahrzehntelangen Forschungen zu diesem Thema, legte Wulf-Rheidt (2020) eine Dokumentation der genauen Chronologie aller Teile der *Domus Augustana* vor, während Raimondi Cominesi (2022), die selbst Wulf-Rheidt (2020) nicht diskutiert, ihrerseits versucht, *alle* diese Bauphasen zu beurteilen.

Vergleiche jetzt den Aufsatz von Jens Pflug (2022) zu diesem Thema. Sein Vorhaben ist, die neuesten Forschungen von Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt zu diesem Thema zu dokumentieren, deren Mitarbeiter er gewesen ist. Er schreibt in: "Note de l'auteur ... I risultati qui pubblicati si fondano per buona parte anche sull'attività di Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt ... scomparsa il 13 giugno 2018 ... e dunque non più in grado di pubblicare lei stessa molti degli esiti del suo lavoro".

Pflug (2022) ist offenbar nicht die Tatsache bewusst, dass Wulf-Rheidt glücklicherweise noch in der Lage gewesen ist, viele ihrer diesbezüglichen Ergebnisse selbst zu publizieren (obwohl ihr letzter Aufsatz erst posthum erschienen ist); in diesem Aufsatz hat Wulf Rheidt ihre Ergebnisse zum Teil sogar mit denselben Plänen und Rekonstruktionen illustriert, die jetzt auch Pflug (2022) publiziert; vergleiche Wulf-Rheidt (2020). Im Übrigen sind einige der Illustrationen im Aufsatz von Pflug (2022) bereits von Wulf-Rheidt and Sojc (2009) publiziert worden.

Raimondi Cominesi (2022) kommt zu dem, meiner Meinung nach überzeugendem Schluss, dass, im Nachhinein betrachtet, Domitians Gestaltung seiner *Domus Augustana* als eines 'Palastes, der den Bedürfnissen eines römischen Kaisers entspricht', sich (ebenfalls) als extrem weitsichtig erwiesen hat. Da ich in diesem Buch nahezu alle anderen Bauprojekte Domitians in Rom studiert habe (s.o.), überrascht mich persönlich dieses Ergebnis von Raimondi Cominesi nicht. Hinzu kommt, dass Raimondi Cominesi (2022, 115, mit Anm. 122) bezüglich Domitians Palast eine weitere sehr wichtige Beobachtung macht: "**In the Chronicle of 354, Domitian's house is cited as one of the emperor's public works** [Hervorhebung von mir]".

Für eine Diskussion dieses Textes des 'Chronographer of AD 354', der dieses Gebäude als Domitians "*Palatium*" bezeichnet; s.o., Kapitel IV.1.1.g). Dieser spätantike Autor, der den "Codex-Calendar of A. D. 354" schuf, hieß "Furius Dionysius Filocalus"; vergleiche für beide Zitate Michele Renée Salzman (1990, pp. XX, 3), und wird auch "Chronographus anni CCCLIII" genannt; vergleiche Theodor Mommsen (1892, 14). Filippo Coarelli bezeichnet den "Codex Calendar" des Filocalus als "*fasti Filocaliani*"; vergleiche Coarelli (2012, 247, Anm. 254, wörtlich zitiert; s.u., in Band 3-2, im *Appendix VI.*; im Abschnitt VII.)

**Wenn man gleichzeitig bedenkt, dass alle drei flavischen Kaiser zusammen weniger als 30 Jahre regiert haben, und Domitian davon lediglich 15 Jahre, dann kann ich nur bewundern, was sie geleistet haben.**

Siehe oben, Kapitel *Preamble ...*; Abschnitt III. *My own thoughts about Domitian* ('Meine eigenen Gedanken zu Domitian'); zu Punkt 5.); und unten, im Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.d.4.c*).

*Das Nollekens Relief (hier Fig. 36) führt uns zu einigen neuen Erkenntnissen, die in diesem Buch über Domitian vorgestellt werden. Diese beziehen sich auf Domitians Palast Domus Augustana auf dem Palatin, und basieren ihrerseits unter anderem auf Funden, die F. Bianchini dort in den Jahren 1720-1726 ausgegraben hat (vergleiche ders. 1738)*

*Einige bemaßte Rekonstruktionszeichnungen von Domitians Palast Domus Augustana des Architekten G. Leith (1913; vergleiche hier Figs. 108-110)*

a) Siehe unten, *The Contribution by Amanda Claridge in this volume : A note for Chrystina Häuber : Drawings of the interior order of the Aula Regia of the Palace of Domitian on the Palatine, once in the British School at Rome; cf. here Figs. 108-110.*

(‘Der Beitrag von Amanda Claridge in diesem Band : Eine Notiz für Chrystina Häuber : Zeichnungen der inneren Ordnung der Aula Regia in Domitians Palast auf dem Palatin, die sich früher in der British School in Rom befunden haben’).

**Figs. 108-110. Domitians Palast ‘Domus Flavia’/ Domus Augustana auf dem Palatin. Bemaßte Rekonstruktionszeichnungen, "in pencil, pen and black ink reconstructing in cross section the Aula Regia, Peristyle and Triclinium" (so A. CLARIDGE, a.a.O), des Architekten G. Leith (1913), der einige der ursprünglich 8 Kolossalstatuen in seine Zeichnungen integriert hat, welche die ‘Aula Regia’ geschmückt hatten, sowie einige Architekturfragmente, die dort ebenfalls von F. Bianchini ausgegraben wurden, und die (1738) publiziert worden sind. G. Leith schuf diese Zeichnungen, als er 1913 ein Stipendium von Südafrika an der British School at Rome hatte. Aus: M.A. Tomei (1999, Figs. 225; 228; 229; 230. Wir haben auch die Bildunterschriften ihrer Abbildungen kopiert).**

Ich danke Francesca Deli, Assistant Librarian der British School at Rome, die diese Illustrationen aus Tomeis Artikel (1999) für mich gescannt hat.

#### **Die ‘Domus Flavia’ und andere moderne Namen, mit denen Teile von Domitians Palast Domus Augustana bezeichnet worden sind**

(Theoretisch) folge ich Filippo Coarelli (2012, 494) und T.P. Wiseman (2019, 34, beide wörtlich zitiert im Band 3-2, *Appendix VI.*; Abschnitt I.), die feststellen, dass Domitians Palast auf dem Palatin ‘Domus Augustana’ genannt wurde, und dass der Name ‘Domus Flavia’, mit dem viele Gelehrte den westlichen Teil dieses Palastes bezeichnen, nicht nur nicht in antiken Schriftquellen überliefert wird, sondern obendrein irreführend ist. Der Grund hierfür ist die Tatsache, dass der (angebliche) Unterschied zwischen diesen beiden Teilen (dem westlichen, angeblich repräsentativen Teil, der ‘Domus Flavia’, und dem östlichen, angeblich privaten Teil, der *Domus Augustana*), den viele Gelehrte postulieren, in Wirklichkeit nicht existiert.

Vergleiche für diese neue Beobachtung jetzt auch Roberta Alteri (2023, 29). Für diese ältere, aber irrtümliche Forschungsmeinung; vergleiche Wulf-Rheidt (2020, 186 Anm. 11, mit Bibliographie). Was diesen Punkt betrifft, war auch Wulf-Rheidt (2020, 186) zu demselben Schluss gelangt wie Coarelli, Wiseman und Alteri (a.a.O.), sie benutzte aber dennoch weiterhin die Bezeichnung ‘Domus Flavia’.

Ich sage "(theoretisch)", weil ich trotzdem beschlossen habe, die Beschriftung "DOMUS FLAVIA" unseren eigenen Karten hinzuzufügen, und zwar einfach deshalb, weil die meisten Gelehrten (zumindest die, welche in der folgenden Diskussion erwähnt werden) diese falsche Bezeichnung in ihren Publikationen benutzen. Ich setze jedoch die Bezeichnung DOMUS FLAVIA auf unseren Karten in Anführungszeichen, um zu zeigen, dass es sich um ‘die sogenannte *Domus Flavia*’ handelt.

Für alle (modernen) Name, mit denen im Laufe der Zeit die verschiedenen Teile von Domitians ‘Domus Flavia’/ *Domus Augustana* bezeichnet worden sind; s.o., Kapitel V.1.i.3.b); Abschnitte I.; II.

Mit ihrer Entscheidung, jene Teile des Palastes, die Gordon Leith rekonstruiert hat (hier **Figs. 108-110**), als ‘Aula Regia, Peristyle und Triclinium’ zu bezeichnen, folgte Amanda Claridge (a.a.O.) der aktuellen Terminologie, wie sie zum Beispiel von Filippo Coarelli (2008, Plan auf S. 177) angewandt wird, sowie von Natascha Sojc (2021, 134, Fig. 2, die allerdings das ‘Triclinium’ als “*Cenatio Iovis*” bezeichnet), sowie auf unseren Karten hier **Figs. 8.1; 58; 73**. Claridge selbst (2010, 150, Fig. 57) bezeichnete dagegen das sogenannte ‘Triclinium’ als “Banquet Hall”.

Wichtig für die Diskussion von Gordon Leiths Rekonstruktionszeichnungen (hier **Figs. 108-110**) ist die Tatsache, dass die ‘Aula Regia’ (die schon F. BIANCHINI 1738 so bezeichnet hatte; vergleiche die Beschriftung seiner Tab. II = hier **Fig. 8**) bereits von Francesco Bianchini (1720-1726) ausgegraben worden ist,

während das *'Peristyle'* und das *'Triclinium'/'Cenatio Iovis'* erst von Pietro Rosa (1861-64) ausgegraben werden sollten, im Auftrag des französischen Kaisers Napoleon III. (weshalb diese Ausgrabungen häufig als *'die französischen Ausgrabungen'* bezeichnet werden, so zum Beispiel im Titel des Artikels von M.A. TOMEI von 1999).

Für beide Ausgrabungen; vergleiche Silvano Cosmo (1990, Fig. 8 = hier **Fig. 39**), und für die *'französischen Ausgrabungen'*: s.u., im Band 3-2, in *Appendix I.c*); und im *Appendix VI.*; Abschnitt I.

Bezüglich der Rekonstruktionszeichnungen von Gordon Leith wiederhole ich im Folgenden eine Textpassage, die für oben, Kapitel *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements* (*'Einführende Bemerkungen und Dank'*) verfasst worden ist:

*'So weit ich sehe, stellen diese Zeichnungen (hier **Figs. 108-110**) die einzigen bemaßten Rekonstruktionen der inneren Ordnung der *'Aula Regia'* und anderer Teile von Domitians *'Domus Flavia'* innerhalb seiner *Domus Augustana* dar (dem *'Peristyle'* und dem *'Triclinium'/'Cenatio Iovis'* [vergleiche hier **Figs. 8.1; 58**]), in welche die kolossalen Statuen (die ursprünglich die *'Aula Regia'* geschmückt hatten), sowie einige Architekturfragmente integriert worden sind, die Francesco Bianchini innerhalb der *'Aula Regia'* (1720-1726) ausgegraben hatte (er fand nur zwei dieser kolossalen Statuen in einem sekundären Kontext unmittelbar neben der *'Aula Regia'*), und die posthum 1738 veröffentlicht worden sind. Der Autor dieser Zeichnungen (hier **Figs. 108-110**) ist der Architect Gordon Leith (1885-1965) aus Südafrika, der im Jahre 1913 ein Stipendium an der British School at Rome hatte ... Für Bianchinis bemaßte Pläne, die beiden Reliefs, und einige der Architekturfragmente, die er innerhalb der *'Aula Regia'* von Domitians *'Domus Flavia'/'Domus Augustana* auf dem Palatin ausgegraben, und später publiziert hat (1738); vergleiche hier **Figs. 8; 9; 36; 37**.*

Siehe oben, Kapitel *V.1.i.3.b*) *J. Pollini's discussion (2017b) of the allegedly 'lost' Nollekens Relief (cf. here Fig. 36), which he compares with the Cancelleria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing) and Domitian's 'Domus Flavia'/'Domus Augustana. With The Contribution by Amanda Claridge'*. (*'Kapitel V.1.i.3.b*). *J. Pollinis Diskussion (2017b) des angeblich 'verlorenen' Nollekens Reliefs (vergleiche hier Fig. 36), das er mit den Cancelleriareliefs vergleicht (vergleiche hier Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung) und Domitians 'Domus Flavia'/'Domus Augustana. Mit Dem Beitrag von Amanda Claridge'*).

b) Francesco Bianchini (Verona 13. Dezember 1662 - 2. März 1729 Rom) hat in den Jahren 1720-1726 (posthum publiziert 1738) innerhalb von Domitians *'Aula Regia'* die oben erwähnten, unglaublich qualitätvollen Skulpturen und Architekturfragmente ausgegraben, sowie seine Funde (1738) publiziert, ergänzt mit bemaßten Plänen der *'Aula Regia'* (seine Tab. II) und des von ihm ausgegrabenen Areals (seine Tab. VIII; beide hier **Fig. 8**), sowie mit schönen Stichen einiger seiner Funde (seine Tab. III; IV; VI; VII; vergleiche hier **Figs. 9; 36; 37**).

Vergleiche für Monsignore Francesco Bianchini, der ein hervorragender Wissenschaftler war, und seit 1703 "Commissario alle Antichità di Roma": Paolo Liverani (2000, 67, wörtlich zitiert und diskutiert, s.o., Kapitel *V.1.i.3.b*); zu Abschnitt I.).

**Fig. 8. F. Bianchinis (1738) bemaßte Pläne der *'Aula Regia'* (seine Tab. II), und jenes Teils von Domitians *Domus Augustana*, wo er seine Ausgrabungen (1720-1726) durchgeführt hatte (seine Tab. VIII): innerhalb der *'Basilica'*, der *'Aula Regia'* und des *'Larariums'* (alle drei Säle befinden sich innerhalb der *'Domus Flavia'*; vergleiche hier **Figs. 8.1; 58**). Beachten Sie bitte, dass sich auf Bianchinis Plänen Norden nicht in der Mitte des oberen Randes befindet, wie auf unseren Karten. Unsere Karten sind nach *'Grid North'* orientiert; vergleiche hier **Figs. 58; 73**), genau wie die offiziellen photogrammetrischen Daten von Roma Capitale (die das aktuelle Kataster enthalten), auf denen alle unsere Karten basieren. Vergleiche für die Orientierung von Bianchinis Plan Tab. II unsere Fig. 8.1.**

Für *'Grid North'* (deutsch: *'Gitternord'*); vergleiche Franz Xaver Schütz (2017, 696-704, Abb. 3; 4; 6); Häuber (2017, 62, Bildunterschrift von Fig. 3.5 [= hier **Fig. 58**]). Für die Bildunterschrift unsere aktualisierten Karte



**Fig. 58;** s.u., im Band 3-2, zu *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ... Or : The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian...* ; Chapter Introduction; at Section I.  
(*Eine Studie zu den Folgen von Domitians Ermordung ... Oder : Der weitere Kontext des Hadriansbogens ...*; Kapitel Einführung; Abschnitt I.).

**Fig. 8.1.** Detail unsere Karte Fig. 58, mit georeferenziertem Overlay von F. Bianchinis Plan der *'Aula Regia'* (vergleiche *ders.* 1738, seine Tab. II = hier Fig. 8). Diese Visualisierung zeigt, dass Bianchinis Grundriss der *'Aula Regia'*, sein Plan Tab. II, im Uhrzeigersinn um circa 135° gedreht werden musste, ehe es möglich wurde, ihn in unsere Karte Fig. 58 zu integrieren, die nach *'Grid North'* orientiert ist. F.X. Schütz, Visualisierung, erstellt mit dem "AIS ROMA" (22-I-2023).

**Fig. 9.** F. Bianchinis Tafeln (1738, Tab. III und IV). Sie zeigen einige der Architekturfragmente, die er in seinen Ausgrabungen (1720-1726) innerhalb der *'Aula Regia'* gefunden hat. In der Bildunterschrift seiner Tab. III erwähnte Bianchini den Autor der entsprechenden Zeichnung und des Stichs: "Balthassar Gabbuggiani delin. et sculp."

Francesco Bianchini (1738, 50-54) beschrieb die einmalige Größe und Ausstattung der *'Aula Regia'* (wörtlich zitiert; s.o., Kapitel V.1.i.3.b); Abschnitt III.). Darauf werde ich unten noch einmal zurückkommen.

*Neue Forschungen zum Nollekens Relief,  
das Francesco Bianchini im Jahre 1722 in der 'Aula Regia' ausgegraben hat*

c) John Pollini (2017b) *'fand'* das (angeblich) verlorene Nollekens Relief und publiziert eine Photographie (von 1914; hier Fig. 36), welche das Relief vor seinen Beschädigungen seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg wiedergibt : damals umfasste es noch das Portrait Domitians, das jetzt verloren ist. John hat mir großzügigerweise dieses Photo zur Verfügung gestellt, das ich hier mit seinem freundlichen Einverständnis publizieren darf. Während Pollini (2017b) selbst einen (irrtümlichen) Fundort für dieses Relief innerhalb von Domitians Palast annimmt, habe ich Folgendes entdeckt. Bianchini (1738, 68; vergleiche seine Tab. VI, ein Stich des Nollekens Reliefs) schreibt ausdrücklich, dass er das Nollekens Relief in der *'Aula Regia'* von Domitians *'Domus Flavia'* ausgegraben habe. Für Bianchinis Ausgrabungen; vergleiche auch Silvano Cosmo (1990, 837, Fig. 8 [= hier Fig. 39]) und oben, in Kapitel V.1.i.3.b).

Um die neuere Diskussion über das Nollekens Relief vorstellen zu können, fasse ich im Folgenden einige Textpassagen zusammen, die für oben, Kapitel V.1.i.3.b), verfasst worden sind : J. Pollini's discussion (2017b) of the allegedly *'lost'* Nollekens Relief (cf. here Fig. 36), which he compares with the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing) ...

(*Kapitel V.1.i.3.b*) J. Pollinis Diskussion (2017b) des angeblich *'verlorenen'* Nollekens Reliefs (vergleiche hier Fig. 36), das er mit den Cancellariareliefs (hier Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung) vergleicht ...).

**Fig. 36.** Das Nollekens Relief, aufgestellt über dem Kamin im Weißen Saal des Gatchina Palastes in der Nähe von St. Petersburg, Marmor, Maße: 88 x 139 cm. F. Bianchini (1738, 68, seine Tab. VI, ein Stich des Nollekens Reliefs) fand das Relief im Jahre 1722 in der *'Aula Regia'* von Domitians *'Domus Flavia'*/*Domus Augustana*; vergleiche S. Cosmo (1990, 837, Fig. 8); J. Pollini (2017b, 120, 124; vergleiche S. 98, Fig. 1 (= hier Fig. 36). Von dieser Abbildung haben wir Pollinis Nummerierung der Figuren kopiert, die auf diesem Relief dargestellt sind). Pollini schlägt (meiner Meinung nach überzeugend) vor, dass dieses Relief den mit einer Toga bekleideten *triumphator* Domitian darstellt, wie er im Jahre 89 n. Chr., unmittelbar vor Domitians *Porta Triumphalis*, ein Opfer vollzieht; danach wird der Kaiser seinen (letzten) Triumphzug beginnen. Photographie, aufgenommen 1914, als das Relief noch in seinem restaurierten Zustand des 18. Jahrhunderts erhalten war. Mit freundlicher Genehmigung von John Pollini.

Die Bildunterschrift von Pollini's (2017b) Fig. 1 (= hier Fig. 36) lautet: "Photograph taken in 1914 of the Nollekens Relief ... [der Autor liefert dazu ein Zitat auf S. 107 mit Anm. 47]. Note that only the heads of

**nos. 6** [das heißt, des Domitian], **8** [das heißt, des *Genius Senatus*] **and 10** [das heißt, eines Opferdieners] **in the foreground and of all the background figures are ancient** [Hervorhebung von mir]".

Nachdem ich Kapitel *V.1.i.3.b*) mit Rose Mary Sheldon diskutiert, und ihr gegenüber erwähnt hatte, dass ich noch prüfen müsse, ob Domitian womöglich selbst eines der Konsulate des Jahres 89 n. Chr. bekleidet hatte, war sie so freundlich, mir per Email zu antworten: "Domitian was consul every year of his reign except 89, 91, 93, 94 and 96. Pat Southern [1997], Domitian, p. 35". Vergleiche auch Dietmar Kienast, Werner Eck und Matthäus Heil (2017, 110).

Pollini schlägt vor (2017b, 120 mit Anm. 106; s.o., Kapitel *V.1.i.3.b*); Abschnitt *IV.*), dass das Nollekens Relief Domitian bei einem Opfer im Jahre 89 n. Chr. zeigt. Pollini selbst hat nicht realisiert, dass das wegen der Darstellung der beiden *consules* (**Figuren 7 und 9**) auf dem Nollekens Relief theoretisch tatsächlich möglich ist, weil, wie oben erwähnt, Domitian in diesem Jahr nicht selbst eines der Konsulate übernommen hatte (s.o., Kapitel *VI.3*).

Pollini (2027b, 118) schreibt: "To the left and right of the personified Senate [auf **Fig. 36**], **two figures in the background, nos. 7 and 9, are distinguished by their togas ... they are undoubtedly the two consuls** [Hervorhebung von mir]"; vergleiche Pollini (2017b, 114-115), **wo er feststellt, dass die beiden Liktores Domitians (die Figuren Nr. 1 und 4 auf Fig. 36) mit "fasces laureati which imperial fasces bore usually on the occasion of a triumph** [mit Anm. 76; S. 115] ... **Both lictors wear low, common-style shoes (calcei) ... Both are paludati, wearing not a civic toga but a tunic and a military cloak, fastened with a round fibula** [Hervorhebung von mir]".

Hierzu möchte ich hinzufügen, dass **Figur 7** im Hintergrund des Reliefs tatsächlich mit einer *toga* bekleidet ist, deren unterer Saum, sowie ihre *lacinia* unten auf dem Relief sichtbar sind, unmittelbar über der Beschriftung "7". Dieser *consul* trägt deshalb offensichtlich eine ähnliche *toga* wie Domitian (**Figur 6**), der unmittelbar vor ihm steht. Von der *toga* des anderen *consuls*, **Figur 9**, sehen wir die Falten des *umbo* auf seiner linken Schulter. Für die Bezeichnungen der verschiedenen Teile der *toga*, zum Beispiel *lacinia* and *umbo*; vergleiche Hans Rupprecht Goette (1990, 3, Abb. 2).

Für eine detaillierte Diskussion; s.o., Kapitel *V.1.i.3.b*); Abschnitte *I.* und *III.*

Domitian trägt [auf dem Nollekens Relief; hier **Fig. 36**] eine *toga* und einen Lorbeerkranz, und die *fasces* (mit eingesteckten Beilen !) seiner beiden Liktores (die, wie erwähnt, militärische Kleidung tragen; vergleiche auch J. POLLINI 2017b, 118) sind gleichfalls mit Lorbeer geschmückt. Deshalb schlägt Pollini, meiner Meinung nach überzeugend, vor, dass Domitian dargestellt ist, wie er dieses Opfer vor der *Porta Triumphalis* vollzieht, und dass unmittelbar danach Domitians Triumphzug beginnen wird. Nach Pollinis Meinung (2017b, 120 mit Anm. 106, der sich auf Suet., *Dom.* 6,1 bezieht), muss sich das auf dem Nollekens Relief dargestellte Opfer auf Domitians letzten Triumph im Jahre 89 n. Chr. beziehen (vergleiche dafür oben, **Anm. 232**, in Kapitel *I.2.*, und Kapitel *VI.3.*; *Addition* ['Zusatz']).

Paolo Liverani (2021, 88) lehnt Pollinis Hypothese ab : **Pollini's "... triumphal connotation is based on weak evidence and must remain hypothetical** [Hervorhebung von mir]". Liverani (2021, 88) identifiziert die auf dem Nollekens Relief dargestellten Figuren genau wie Pollini (2017b) selbst, aber er berücksichtigt bei seiner Argumentation nicht die Figuren im Hintergrund (vergleiche hier **Fig. 36: Figur 3**, ein Soldat, und die **Figuren 7 und 9**, zwei Männer in der Toga), die Pollini, meiner Meinung nach überzeugend, als die beiden *consules* interpretiert.

Liverani (2021, 88) hat übersehen, dass jene Figuren, die er *erwähnt*, so auf diesem Relief angeordnet sind, dass die nach römischer Vorstellung für sie geltenden strikten räumlichen Vorschriften genau beachtet worden sind : auf der rechten Hälfte des Nollekens Relief sehen wir das Areal *domi* (mit der *Dea Roma* und dem *Genius Senatus*, die innerhalb des *pomeriums*, der heiligen Grenze Roms, bleiben mußten; nicht zufällig erscheinen auch die *consules* auf dieser Reliefseite), die linke Reliefseite stellt dagegen das Areal *militiae* dar

(hier erscheinen die beiden militärisch gekleideten Liktores, deren Beile an ihren *fasces* befestigt sind, ihre *fasces* sind außerdem mit Lorbeer geschmückt, sowie ein Soldat). Domitian steht demnach auf dem Nollekens Relief 'zwischen Figuren, die zu den Arealen *militiae* und *domi* gehören'.

All das hat der Künstler mittels der Verteilung der Figuren auf dem Relief zum Ausdruck gebracht. Außerdem trägt Domitian eine *toga* und einen Lorbeerkranz, und ist als Opfernder dargestellt. Und da ich (wegen der Gegenwart *beider consules*) glaube, dass Pollini Recht hat mit seinem Vorschlag, dass die auf dem Nollekens Relief sichtbare Szene ein Ereignis des Jahres 89 n. Chr. wiedergibt, frage ich mich deshalb, was dieses Relief *alternativ* zu dem Vorschlag darstellen könnte, den Pollini (2017b) selbst unterbreitet.

Liverani (2021, 88) ist außerdem die Tatsache entgangen, dass Francesco Bianchini (1738, 68) das Nollekens Relief im Jahre 1722 in der 'Aula Regia' gefunden hat (s.o., Kapitel V.1.i.3.b); Abschnitt II.). Und da Bianchini sehr detailliert die Ausstattung dieses Saales mit Marmorreliefs dokumentiert hat (vergleiche F. BIANCHINI 1738, 48-68, Tab. III.; IV. = beide hier **Fig. 9**; s.o., Kapitel V.1.i.3.b); Abschnitt III.), wissen wir auch, dass das 'Hauptthema der 'Aula Regia' die Verherrlichung von Domitians militärischen Siegen war': so Eugenio Polito (2009, 506, wörtlich zitiert oben, im Kapitel V.1.i.3.b); Abschnitt III.).

Vergleiche für die oben zitierte Passage aus Paolo Liverani (2021, 88) jetzt Liverani (2023, 120; das heißt, die italienische Version von Liveranis Aufsatz 2021).

**Fazit.** Auch Pollini (2017b) selbst ist die Tatsache unbekannt, dass das Nollekens Relief tatsächlich innerhalb der 'Aula Regia' gefunden wurde. Wenn man gleichzeitig berücksichtigt, dass das übergreifende ikonographische Thema dieses prächtigen Saales die Verherrlichung von Domitians militärischen Siegen war, die der Kaiser mit Triumphen gefeiert hatte, dann bleibe ich bei meinem früheren Urteil (zuerst formuliert unten, in Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.c.1.*). Nämlich, dass Pollinis Interpretation, derzufolge das Nollekens Relief Domitian im Jahre 89 n. Chr. beim Opfer vor der *Porta Triumphalis* zeigt, unmittelbar bevor er seinen (letzten) Triumphzug beginnen sollte, vernünftig klingt.

#### *Die Architekturfragmente, die Bianchini in der 'Aula Regia' ausgegraben hat : die berühmten 'Trofei Farnese'*

d) Einige der Architekturfragmente, die Francesco Bianchini von 1720-1726 in der 'Aula Regia' gefunden, und 1738 publiziert hat, sind im Hof des Palazzo Farnese in Rom ausgestellt. Hierbei handelt es sich um die berühmten 'Trofei Farnese' (vergleiche hier **Fig. 5.1.**); s.o., Kapitel *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements; Preamble; Section II.* ('Kapitel *Einführende Bemerkungen und Dank; und Preamble; Abschnitt II.*'); und Kapitel V.1.i.3.b); Abschnitt III.

**Fig. 5.1.** Die beiden 'Trofei Farnese' im Hof des Palazzo Farnese in Rom. Hierbei handelt es sich um zwei Gruppen von Architekturfragmenten, von denen die meisten Francesco Bianchini in seinen Ausgrabungen (1720-1726; publiziert 1738) auf dem Palatin, in der 'Aula Regia' von Domitians 'Palast *Domus Flavia*' / *Domus Augustana* gefunden hat. Vergleiche K. Stemmer (1971, Abb. 1 [hier auf der linken Seite], mit dem Fragment der kolossalen Panzerstatue des 'Domitian als Jupiter'; hier Fig. 5), Photo: J. Felbermeyer, D-DAI-Rom 35.566. Vergleiche K. Stemmer (1971, Abb. 2 [hier auf der rechten Seite], mit einem Relieffragment mit Darstellung einer 'Provinz', von den Portiken des *Hadrianeums* in Rom; vergleiche hier Fig. 48), Photo J. Felbermeyer, D-DAI-Rom 35.567.

Für das *Hadrianeum*; vergleiche unten, in Band 3-2, zu *A Study of the consequences of Domitian's assassination ... Or : The wider opographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia, which led to the (later) Hadrianeum ...* ('Eine Studie zu den Folgen von Domitians Ermordung ... Oder : Der weitere topographische Kontext des Hadriansbogens an der Via Flaminia, der zum (späteren) Hadrianeum führte ...').

*Eins der Fragmente der 'Trofei Farnese', das möglicherweise von Bianchini in the 'Aula Regia' gefunden worden ist, gehörte zu einer (ursprünglich 8 m hohen) Panzerstatue, die 'Domitian as Jupiter' darstellte*

e) Auf dem linken Photo der 'Trofei Farnese' (vergleiche hier Fig. 5.1) erscheint im Hintergrund rechts das Fragment einer kolossalen Marmorstatue, Maße: 102 x 90 cm; vergleiche Klaus Stemmer (1971, 567). Dieses Fragment gehört zur Portraitstatue eines Mannes, der einen unglaublich reich dekorierten Panzer trägt (hier Fig. 5), mit einem riesigen *gorgoneion* auf der Brust, und einem *paludamentum*, von dem ein Teil auf der linken Schulter des Mannes erhalten geblieben ist. - Was die Qualität betrifft, hat dieses Fragment (hier Fig. 5) mit Sicherheit zu den besten Skulpturen gehört, die ich in diesem Band vorstellen kann.

Stemmer (1971) datiert dieses Fragment (hier Fig. 5) überzeugend flavisch und identifiziert den dargestellten Mann mit Domitian; gefolgt von Anne Wolfsfeld (2014; dies. 2021; s.u.). Ich danke Hans Rupprecht Goette, der mir, auf meinen Wunsch hin, auch diesen Aufsatz von Klaus Stemmer (1971) geschickt hat, sowie, von sich aus, die entsprechenden Seiten aus Anne Wolfsfelds Buch (2021).

**Fig. 5. Fragment der kolossalen Panzerstatue 'Domitians als Jupiter', Marmor, Maße: 102 x 90 cm. Nach Ansicht von K. Stemmer (1971) war diese Statue hohl, und, falls Domitian stehend dargestellt war, ursprünglich circa 8 m hoch, und wegen des riesigen *gorgoneions* auf der Brust des Panzers, zeigte sie den Kaiser angeglichen an den Gott Jupiter.**

Dieses Fragment befindet sich im linken der beiden 'Trofei Farnese' im Hof des Palazzo Farnese in Rom (vergleiche hier Fig. 5.1). Es kann zu den Funden gehört haben, die Francesco Bianchini innerhalb der 'Aula Regia' in Domitians Palast auf dem Palatin entdeckt hat, der 'Domus Flavia' / Domus Augustana (ausgegraben 1720-1726; publiziert 1738). Bereits K. Stemmer (1971, 566, 579-580) schlug dies vor, auf der Basis der Dokumentation, die für dieses Fragment zur Verfügung steht. Vergleiche auch F. Bianchinis eigene Dokumentation seiner Ausgrabungen, die bemaßte Pläne umfasst (ders. 1738, 48-68, mit Tab. II; Tab. VIII = beide hier Fig. 8), sowie S. Cosmos (1990, Fig. 8 = hier Fig. 39) Erkenntnisse zu Bianchinis Ausgrabungen.

Vergleiche für die hier abgebildeten Photos: K. Stemmer (1971, Abb. 3-6), Photos: G. Singer; D-DAI-ROM-71.175-71.178. K. Stemmers (1971, 571, Abb. 7) Rekonstruktionszeichnung dieses kolossalen Panzerportraits des 'Domitian als Jupiter' wird hier reproduziert nach A. Wolfsfeld (2014, 215, Abb. 6).

Stemmer (1971, 566, 579-580) hat seinen eigenen, meiner Meinung nach überzeugenden Vorschlag, demzufolge das Fragment (hier Fig. 5) innerhalb der 'Aula Regia' gefunden worden sei, auf antike Schriftquellen gestützt, sowie auf Informationen über die Sammlungen der Familie Farnese und bezüglich der Provenienz des Fragments (hier Fig. 5).

Für die 'Trofei Farnese' (hier Fig. 5.1) und für dieses Fragment eines kolossalen Portraits des 'Domitian als Jupiter' (hier Fig. 5), möglicherweise aus der 'Aula Regia' seiner Domus Augustana; siehe auch oben, Kapitel Preamble: Domitian's negative image; Section II. Conclusions: Domitian's representations of his military successes and his claims to be of divine descent and to possess a divine nature

(Preamble : Domitians negatives Images; Abschnitt II. Schlussfolgerungen : Domitians Darstellungen seiner militärischen Siege und sein Anspruch, göttlicher Abstammung und göttlicher Natur zu sein').

Wie bereits Francesco Bianchini (1738, 50-54), betont auch Natascha Sojc (2021, 234) die Tatsache, dass die 'Aula Regia', wenn man sie mit allen anderen Räumen der kaiserlichen Paläste auf dem Palatin vergleicht, einmalig ist, sowohl, was ihre Größe, als auch, was ihre prächtige Ausstattung betrifft : "The outstanding size and decoration of the Aula Regia, with columns of coloured marble, including pinkish *pavonazzetto* and yellowish *giallo antico*, and the 3.50 m high statues in green basalt, now in Parma, make it the most elaborate room of the imperial palaces on the Palatine known today. The hall also seems to have set new standards in comparison with public buildings existing in Rome at Domitian's time as it was only later surpassed in terms of size and splendour when the Basilica Ulpia was built in Trajan's Forum [Hervorhebung von mir]".

Um einen Eindruck der Ausstattung der *'Aula Regia'* zu vermitteln, zitiere ich im Folgenden eine Textpassage, die für oben, das Kapitel VI.3. geschrieben worden ist: *Summary of my own hypotheses concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs presented in this Study; Addition: My own tentative suggestion, to which monument or building the Cancellaria Reliefs may have belonged, and a discussion of their possible date* ('Kapitel VI.3. Zusammenfassung meiner eigenen Hypothesen bezüglich der Cancellariareliefs, die in dieser Studie vorgestellt werden; Zusatz: Mein eigener Vorschlag, zu welchem Monument oder Gebäude die Cancellariareliefs gehört haben können, und eine Diskussion ihrer möglichen Datierung'):

'Bianchini (1738, 68) sagt ausdrücklich, dass die Reliefs hier **Fig. 36** [das heißt, das Nollekens Relief] und **Fig. 37** [das andere Relief] in jenem Saal von Domitians Palast (der bereits von Bianchini als *'Aula Regia'* bezeichnet worden ist) gefunden worden sind, wo auch "the colossal basalt statues of Hercules and Bacchus/Dionysus with Pan (now in Parma's Galleria Nazionale)" ausgegraben wurden, wie Pollini schreibt (vergleiche *ders.* 2017b, 101, Anm. 11, der hierzu F. BIANCHINI 1738, 54 und 58 zitiert) ... **Zu Bianchinis (1738) ausgezeichneten Stichen gehört ein bemaßter Grundriss der *'Aula Regia'* (seine Tab. II. = hier Fig. 8; vergleiche hier Fig. 8.1); und die Darstellung einer einmalig reich skulptierten Säulenbasis (vergleiche seine Tab. III. = hier Fig. 9). Diese Säulenbasis gehört zu einem Paar *giallo antico* Säulen (vergleiche S. 50: "mai state osservate" [ihresgleichen sind noch niemals gesehen worden]), welche den Haupteingang der *'Aula Regia'* im Norden flankierten (vergleiche hier Figs. 8; 8.1), und deren Plinthe mit Trophäen verziert ist; als auch andere Funde aus diesem Saal (vergleiche S. 54): Fragment eines Marmorgebälks, das mit einer geflügelten *Victoria* dekoriert ist, die ein *tropaion* bekrönt (dargestellt auf seiner Tab. IV. = hier Fig. 9 [darauf werde ich unten zurückkommen]). Bianchinis Abbildungen (1738, Tab. III. und IV. = hier Fig. 9) zeigen demnach, dass mit Sicherheit zumindest eines der ikonographischen Themen der ungeheuer großen *'Aula Regia'* die Verherrlichung von Domitians militärischen Siegen war. Nach Ansicht von Eugenio Polito (2009, 506, wörtlich zitiert oben, in Kapitel V.1.i.3.b); Abschnitt III.), handelte es sich hierbei um das Hauptthema der *'Aula Regia'* [Hervorhebung von mir]'**

Vergleiche jetzt für die Bedeutung der oben erwähnten Darstellung einer "*Victoria* mit Flügeln" in Domitians *'Aula Regia'*: Sam Heijnen ("Living up to expectations. Hadrian's military representation in freestanding sculpture", 2020). Derartige Figuren kommen in Heijns (2020) Muskelpanzern vom "trophy type" ('Trophäen Typ') vor. Zum Beispiel auf (Darstellungen von) Muskelpanzern Domitians, die seine Siege in Germanien verherrlicht haben, und auf Muskelpanzern von Vespasian und Titus, die deren Siege in der Großen Jüdischen Revolte (oder Krieg) feiern, und auf dem Muskelpanzer Hadrians seiner Portraitstatue aus Hierapydna (hier **Fig. 29**). Siehe oben, zu *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna (cf. here Fig. 29)* ('Eine Studie zu Hadrians Portraitstatue aus Hierapydna (vergleiche hier **Fig. 29**)').

Außerdem wiederhole ich im Folgenden zwei Textpassagen, die für oben, Kapitel V.1.i.3.b); Section III. geschrieben worden sind: *Does the design of the Nollekens Relief reflect the topographical context, for which Domitian had commissioned it?* ('Kapitel V.1.i.3.b); Abschnitt III. *Bezieht sich die Gestaltung des Nollekens Reliefs auf den topographischen Kontext, für den Domitian es in Auftrag gegeben hat?*'):

'Bianchini (1738, 50-52) beschrieb und illustrierte (vergleiche seine Tab. III. = hier Fig. 9) auch die Tatsache, dass die Basen der Säulen, die den Haupteingang der *'Aula Regia'* flankierten, mit Trophäen und mit der *corona civica* verziert waren. Dieses ikonographische Detail kann vielleicht als Anspruch Domitians interpretiert werden, einen bedeutenden Anteil am Sieg seines Vaters Vespasian im Bürgerkrieg von 68/69 n. Chr. gehabt zu haben. Rita Paris (1994b, 82-83, wörtlich zitiert oben, im Kapitel V.1.i.3.a)), gesteht Domitian genau das zu [Hervorhebung von mir] ...

Bianchini (1738, 50-54) war besonders an den Waffen interessiert, die auf den Marmorreliefs dargestellt sind, die er besprochen hat (vergleiche seine Tab. III; IV. = hier Fig. 9), wobei er die dargestellten Trophäen, unter anderem Wollmützen, germanischen Völkern zuschrieb. Wenn man die hervorragende Qualität dieser Marmorreliefs bedenkt, dann würde es sich sicher lohnen, dieses Thema intensiv zu studieren. - Wie ich erst später bemerken sollte, scheint Joachim Raeder (2010, 141, unten ausführlicher

wörtlich zitiert) der einzig Gelehrte zu sein, der diese Waffen identifiziert hat ("die auf die Dakerkriege Domitians verweisen"), aber er teilt nicht mit, wie er zu diesem Urteil gelangt ist.

Einige der Reliefs mit Darstellungen von Trophäen, die Bianchini (1738) in der *'Aula Regia'* 'ausgegraben' und dokumentiert hat, sind noch erhalten und im Hof des Palazzo Farnese in Rom ausgestellt, die berühmten 'Trofei Farnese' (vergleiche hier **Fig. 5.1**). Die 'Trofei Farnese' sind auch von Giovanni Battista Piranesi gezeichnet worden; vergleiche Patrizio Pensabene (1979. Siehe auch M. DURRY 1921; P.H. von BLANCKENHAGEN 1940; und C. GASPARRY 2007, zusammengefasst von E. POLITO 2009, 509, oben wörtlich zitiert) [Hervorhebung von mir].

Der Gesamteindruck der *'Aula Regia'* muss in der Tat überwältigend gewesen sein. Versuchen wir für einen Moment uns vorzustellen, wie die *'Aula Regia'* ausgesehen hat : Nach Bianchini (1738, 50, der die genauen Maße mitteilte, s.u.) war die *'Aula Regia'* breiter als das Mittelschiff der Basilica von S. Peter in Rom, und die Dekoration dieses Saales gehörte zu den luxuriösesten, die zur Zeit Bianchinis bekannt waren. Die Schäfte der Säulen, welche die *'Aula Regia'* schmückten, waren aus verschiedenen farbigen Marmorsorten skulptiert, die Basen dieser Säulen und ihre Architrave bestanden aus weißem Marmor und waren üppig mit Reliefs verziert.

Leider wissen wir nicht, ob diese Reliefs zusätzlich noch farbig gefasst waren. Wir sollten aber berücksichtigen, dass nach Ansicht von John Pollini (2017b, 113) das Nollekens Relief (hier **Fig. 36**) bemalt gewesen ist.

Die Wände der *'Aula Regia'* waren mit Platten aus verschiedenen farbigen Marmorsorten verkleidet und ebenfalls verschwenderisch mit ausgezeichneten Marmorreliefs geschmückt, wie von Bianchini dokumentiert (1738, 48-68; vergleiche hier **Fig. 36**, das Nollekens Relief, und **Fig. 37**, 'das andere Relief'). Zu all dem müssen wir in unserer Vorstellung hinzufügen, wie von Klaus Stemmer (1971, 579-580) vorgeschlagen, dass die 8 m hohe Panzerstatue 'Domitians als Jupiter' (hier **Fig. 5**) in der südlichen Apsis der *'Aula Regia'* aufgestellt war, das heißt, genau gegenüber vom Haupteingang der *'Aula Regia'* auf ihrer Nordseite (vergleiche hier **Figs. 8; 8.1; 58**).

Beachten Sie, dass Stemmer (a.a.O.) diese Mauer mit halbrundem Grundriss als "Apsis" bezeichnet. Auch Filippo Coarelli (2012, 195) schreibt über die *'Aula Regia'*: "Il lato corto meridionale comunica con il peristilio tramite due porte, al centro delle quale si inserisce un'abside, in cui non è difficile identificare il luogo destinato all'imperatore". Bianchini (vergleiche die Beschriftung auf seinem Plan Tab. II; hier **Figs. 8; 8.1**) bezeichnete diese Mauer mit halbrundem Grundriss dagegen als "Tribunal".

Nach Amanda Claridge war der Grundriss der *'Aula Regia'* '38 m lang und 31 m breit (128 x 104 RF ['Römische Fuß']); vergleiche Claridge (1998, 135; dies. 2010, 148).

In den 8 Nischen der *'Aula Regia'* (hier **Fig. 8**) standen ursprünglich kolossale Idealstatuen aus grünem Basanit (*basanites*), einem vulkanischen Gestein aus dem Wadi Hammamat in Ägypten : die Statue des Herkules ist 3,73 m hoch (vergleiche für alle diese Informationen die Homepage der Galleria Nazionale in Parma; s.u.). Bianchini (1738, 54, Tab. XIX; XX, zwei Stiche, die diese beiden Statuen darstellen) fand in seiner Ausgrabung im Jahre 1724 zwei dieser kolossalen Statuen in sekundärem Kontext unmittelbar neben der *'Aula Regia'*, und Gordon Leith hat einige dieser kolossalen Statuen in seine Rekonstruktionszeichnung der *'Aula Regia'* integriert (hier **Fig. 108**). Wie oben erwähnt, befinden sich die beiden Kolossalstatuen, die Bianchini ausgegraben hat, der 'Dionysos, auf einen Satyr gestützt' (Inv. Nr. GN 969), und der Herkules (Inv. Nr. GN 970, aus *basanites*, der 3,73 m hoch ist) in der Galleria Nazionale von Parma.

Vergleiche online at:

<<https://complessopilotta.it/opera/scultura-colossale-raffigurante-eracle/>>;

<<https://complessopilotta.it/opera/scultura-colossale-raffigurante-dioniso-con-satiro/>> [last visit: 11-I-2023].

Basanit (*basanites*) ist ein vulkanisches Gestein; vergleiche Walter Maresch, Olaf Medenbach und Hans Dieter Trochim (1996, 108, 114, 118, 120, 122).

*Das kolossale Portrait des 'Domitian als Jupiter' (hier Fig. 5) in der 'Aula Regia' und Statius (IV 2,41ff.)*

Selbstverständlich hat sich auch Klaus Stemmer (1971, 579-580) gefragt, welchen Saal in seinem Palast Domitian für seine berühmte *Coenatio Iovis* gewählt haben mag, das Bankett, das Statius (IV 2,41ff.) beschrieben hat, und zu dem Domitian auch seinen Dichter eingeladen hatte. Stemmer (1971, 579-580) schlägt vor, dass die *Coenatio Iovis* in der 'Aula Regia' stattgefunden habe.

Wie der Name 'Coenatio Iovis' für das 'Triclinium' beweist (hier **Figs. 8.1; 58; 73; 108-110**) glauben die meisten Gelehrten dagegen, dass das von Statius beschriebene Bankett statt dessen im 'Triclinium' durchgeführt worden war. Vergleiche zuletzt Aurora Raimondi Cominesi (2022, 113 mit Anm. 115): "**The notorious banquet described by Statius, in which Domitian towers over his guests as Jupiter from the heavens** [Hervorhebung von mir]".

In ihrer **Anmerkung 115**, schreibt Raimondi Cominesi: "Stat. *Silv.* 4.2. The hall in which the banquet took place is usually identified with the so-called Cenatio Iovis in the Domus Flavia ...".

Vergleiche für die *Coenatio Iovis* (Statius, *Silvae* 4.2) auch Antony Augoustakis und Emma Buckley (2021, 162), die sich allerdings nicht die Frage stellen, wo dieses Bankett veranstaltet worden ist.

**Interessanterweise erwähnte Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt (2020, 189), dass 'es sehr wahrscheinlich ist, dass die wichtigsten Räume der 'Domus Flavia' für die großen Bankette genutzt worden sind': "È molto probabile che gli ambienti principali della Domus Flavia venissero utilizzati per i grandi banchetti".**

**Auch Natascha Sojc (2021, 134) schreibt, "that the Aula Regia was probably used ... for ... a large-scale banquet [my emphasis]".**

Es ist natürlich verlockend zu glauben, dass die Gegenwart dieser kolossalen Portraitstatue des 'Domitian als Jupiter' (hier **Fig. 5**), falls diese tatsächlich 8 m hoch gewesen ist und wirklich in der Apsis der 'Aula Regia' aufgestellt war, wie Stemmer (1971, 579-580) vorschlägt, dem ich hier folge - den Text des Statius (IV 2,41ff.) beeinflusst haben könnte. Wenn das der Fall gewesen ist, könnte das bedeuten, dass Stemmer (1971, 580) gleichfalls Recht hatte, als er das Bankett namens *Coenatio Iovis* in der 'Aula Regia' angenommen hat.

**Ich selbst folge den Erkenntnissen von Bianchini (1738, 48-68, Tab. III.; IV. = hier Fig. 9) und Polito (2009, 509), beide wörtlich zitiert und diskutiert; s.o., im Kapitel V.1.i.3.b); im Abschnitt III., die bewiesen haben, dass das übergreifende ikonographische Thema von Domitians 'Aula Regia' 'die Verherrlichung von Domitians militärischen Siegen' ist. Alle anderen Gelehrten, die für dieses Buch über Domitian konsultiert worden sind, und welche die 'Aula Regia' in Domitians Palast auf dem Palatin studiert haben: Stemmer (1971), Claridge (1998; *dies.* 2010), Mar (2009), Coarelli (2012), Wolfsfeld (2014; *dies.* 2021), Pollini (2017b), Wulf-Rheidt (2020), Sojc (2021), Raimondi Cominesi und Stocks (2021), Raimondi Cominesi (2022) oder Alteri (2023), haben diese wichtige Tatsache übersehen.**

**Erst als das Manuskript dieses Bandes in die Druckerei geschickt werden sollte, habe ich festgestellt, dass Joachim Raeder (2010, 141) diesbezüglich die einzige Ausnahme zu sein scheint, er schreibt nämlich: "Aufgrund der Waffendarstellungen im Fries [vergleiche S. 142, seine Textabbildung 49.a-b; vergleiche F. BIANCHINI 1738, Tab. II-IV = hier Figs. 8; 9], die auf die Dakerkriege des Domitian verweisen, und der Ziegelstempel im Mauerwerk, muß die 'Aula Regia' und deren dekorative Ausstattung in der Zeit zwischen 86/89 n. Chr. und 93/94 n. Chr. entstanden sein [my emphasis]".**

Als Nächstes werden wir im Detail folgende Behauptungen diskutieren : `die Römer glaubten, dass ihnen ihr oberster Gott Jupiter ihre militärischen Siege verlieh', und dass, zumindest im Fall von Alexander dem Großen, `die Theologie der Herrschaft auf dem Glauben beruhte, dass der Gott und der regierende Herrscher identisch seien'.

Außerdem ist festgestellt worden, ``dass Domitians *virtus* `Unbesiegbarkeit', die grundsätzlich von jedem römischen Kaiser erwartet wurde, den Reichtum Roms garantierte''. Es machte deshalb Sinn, die kolossale Portraitstatue `Domitians als Jupiter' (hier Fig. 5) in der `Aula Regia' aufzustellen, dem bei weitem prächtigsten Saal seines Palastes, wo Domitian auch Bankette veranstalten konnte. Leider wissen wir nicht, wen diese 8 kolossalen Basanitstatuen in der `Aula Regia' darstellten. Aber eins ist sicher, die `Statue des Dionysos, gestützt auf einen Satyr' (das heißt, die den Gott angetrunken zeigte?), wäre eine ausgezeichnete Dekoration für einen Saal gewesen, der auch für Bankette genutzt wurde.

Dieses Fragment einer kolossalen Panzerstatue des `Domitian als Jupiter' (hier Fig. 5) ist zuletzt und sehr ausführlich von Anne Wolfsfeld behandelt worden (2014, 215, Abb. 6 [= hier Fig. 5]; dies. 2021). Wolfsfeld (2014, 200; dies. 2021, 130-131, 308-310) diskutiert nicht Stemmers (1971, 566, 579-580) oben erwähnte Hypothesen, denen zufolge dieses Fragment von Bianchini in der `Aula Regia' gefunden worden sei, und dass diese kolossale Statue des `Domitian als Jupiter' in der Apsis dieses Saales aufgestellt war. Noch fügt Wolfsfeld selbst neue Erkenntnisse zur Provenienz dieses Fragments hinzu. Andererseits formuliert sie, was Domitians Selbstdarstellung betrifft, auf der Basis ihrer Analyse zahlreicher Panzerstatuen Domitians, die bedeutende Erkenntnis von Domitians `persönlicher "Siegesprogrammatische"; vergleiche Wolfsfeld (2014, 203).

Wolfsfeld (2014, 203) erwähnt in diesem Kontext nicht die Tatsache, dass bereits Stefan Pfeiffer (2009) dieses Thema im Detail untersucht hat. Ich wiederhole hier deshalb eine Textpassage, die bereits oben, unter Punkt 2.) zitiert worden ist:

`Auch Stefan Pfeiffer (2009, 61-62) erwähnt die *Pirousta* (hier Fig. 49) in seinem Buch über die Flavier ... Diese Figuren von allegorischen Darstellungen von `Völkern' symbolisierten, so Pfeiffer (2009, 61-62), Domitians "Sieghaftigkeit", eine Eigenschaft des Kaisers, die ihrerseits Roms Reichtum garantierte, wie Pfeiffer schreibt.

An anderem Ort hat Pfeiffer (2018, 189), im Zusammenhang seiner Analyse der Themen von Domitians Selbstdarstellung, erklärt, was er mit "Sieghaftigkeit" meint: "1. It was a key issue for Domitian to show his *virtus militaris* and his victoriousness [mit Anm. 85, wo er Literatur zitiert] (`1. Für Domitian war von größter Bedeutung, seine *virtus militaris* und seine Sieghaftigkeit zu zeigen' [Hervorhebung von mir])". Demnach behauptete Domitian in seinen Selbstdarstellungen, die Eigenschaft `invincibility' (`Unbesiegbarkeit') zu besitzen. Für eine Diskussion; s.u., im Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.d.2.a*'.

Wir haben soeben von Stefan Pfeiffer gelernt (2018, 189 und ders. 2009, 61-62), dass Domitians ``*virtus militaris* und seine `Sieghaftigkeit' Roms Reichtum garantierten''.

Im Folgenden werden wir uns den drei verschiedenen Formen zuwenden, wie Domitians Anspruch, die *virtus* `invincibility' (`Unbesiegbarkeit') zu besitzen, bildlich zum Ausdruck gebracht wurde: *I.*) indem Domitians *pietas* gegenüber den Göttern betont wurde (vergleiche hier Fig. 1); *II.*) mit Hilfe eines bedeutungsvollen topographischen Kontextes : indem Domitians Palast auf dem Palatin `gegenüber' dem republikanischen Tempel des Iuppiter Invictus errichtet wurde (vergleiche hier Figs. 8.1; 58); und *III.*) indem Domitian mit dem `unbesiegbaren' Alexander dem Großen identifiziert wurde, wie auf dem `Relief Ruesch' geschehen (vergleiche hier Fig. 7).



**Ad I.) Domitians Anspruch, die *virtus* 'Unbesiegbarkeit' zu besitzen, wird durch die Demonstration seiner *pietas* gegenüber den Göttern zum Ausdruck gebracht (vergleiche hier Fig. 1; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung).**

In diesem Kontext wiederhole ich im Folgenden einen Text, der für oben, Kapitel V.1.b) geschrieben wurde :

**''Ich bleibe daher lieber bei meinem eigenen Vorschlag, den ich oben unterbreitet habe, demzufolge Fries A der Cancellariareliefs [vergleiche hier Fig. 1; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung] den wichtigsten Gesichtspunkt jener einen *virtus* darstellte, die grundsätzlich von jedem römischen Kaiser erwartet wurde : seine 'Unbesiegbarkeit' [Hervorhebung von mir] (s.o., zu Anm. 282; C. HÄUBER 2017, 22, 520-521). - Vergleiche auch John Pollini (2017b, 124, wörtlich zitiert unten, im Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.c.1.*)).**

... Auf Grund dieser komplexen Konstruktion der *virtus* eines römischen Kaisers konnte ausschließlich seine *virtus* - im Fall von Domitian auf Fries A [der Cancellariareliefs; hier **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung; die Figuren 6; 5**] nur seine *pietas* in Bezug auf die Götter, auf Fries A besonders Domitians [**Figur 6**] Beziehung zu Minerva [**Figur 5**], seiner persönlichen Schutzgöttin, die deshalb, mit Mitteln der Komposition, als ihm am 'nächsten' stehend charakterisiert ist - ihm dabei helfen, erfolgreich danach zu streben, und schließlich dieses Ziel, *victoria* oder 'Unbesiegbarkeit' zu erreichen - aber nicht ohne entscheidendes letztendliches göttliches Eingreifen ! Und zwar deshalb, weil *victoria* nur von den Göttern gewährt werden konnte. - Wie bereits oben erwähnt : **'Auf die Veranlassung von Jupiter und unter seiner Leitung führten die Römer ihre Kriege, und ihm haben sie konsequenterweise ihre militärischen Siege zugeschrieben** [Hervorhebung von mir]' (s.o. Kapitel III., zu Anm. 431: "cf. H. MEYER 2000, 126 ...") ...

Ich habe an anderem Ort die folgende Tatsache bedauert : 'Weder die römische 'pagane' Religion, noch die komplexe Rolle des römischen Kaisers sind kodifiziert worden', und finde es verlockend, die oben erwähnte Konstruktion der *virtus* eines Kaisers, in ihrer klaren Wechselbeziehung mit den Götter, als Teil der 'Theologie der Rolle des römischen Kaisers', anzusehen, besonders, wenn wir bedenken, dass einige Gelehrte bereits den Begriff '>Theologie< des Kaiserkultes' geprägt haben (für beide Zitate; vergleiche C. HÄUBER 2014a, 728, 720 mit Anm. 284, mit Literatur). Und schon Mario Torelli hatte den Begriff "teologia imperiale" eingeführt (vergleiche *ders.*: "Providentia, Ara", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 166).

Wie ich erst bemerkt habe, nachdem dieses Kapitel geschrieben war, hat bereits Tonio Hölscher (2009b, 59-60, ausführlicher zitiert oben, in Kapitel IV.1.1.) über Alexander den Großen bemerkt : **"Die Theologie der Herrschaft hatte die Identität von Gott und Herrscher zur Grundlage"** (Hervorhebung von mir)''.

Hölschers (2009b, 59-60) soeben zitierte Beobachtung bezüglich der Doktrin der 'Identität von Gott und Herrscher', führt uns zu den Kommentaren von Mario Torelli (1987, 579) über die flavischen Kaiser, mit denen wir uns als Nächstes beschäftigen werden.

**Ad II.) Domitians Anspruch, die *virtus* 'Unbesiegbarkeit' zu besitzen, wurde dadurch zum Ausdruck gebracht, dass sein Palast auf dem Palatin 'gegenüber' von dem republikanischen Tempel des Iuppiter Invictus erbaut wurde (vergleiche hier Figs. 8.1; 58).**

**Mario Torelli (1987, 579) zu Domitians Anspruch, die 'Qualität Unbesiegbarkeit' als seine ständige *virtus* zu besitzen**

Torellis Forschungsergebnisse, die im Folgenden diskutiert werden, sind von neueren Gelehrten übersehen worden : Zum Beispiel von Anne Wolfsfeld (2014; 200 mit Anm. 96, Abb. 7; *dies.* 2021). Ebenso wie Klaus Stemmer (1971, 573-579) untersucht sie sehr detailliert Domitians berühmte kolossale Reiterstatue namens *Equus Domitiani* und behauptet (irrtümlich), wie Stemmer (1971, 575), dass die flavischen Kaiser Vespasian und Titus keine kolossalen Portraits von sich selbst in Auftrag gegeben hätten.

Vergleiche für den *Equus Domitiani*, der auf dem *Forum Romanum* errichtet wurde, auch Cairoli F. Giuliani ("Equus: Domitianus", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 228-229, Figs. 77-80, und oben, zu Anm. 267, in Kapitel I.3.2.); siehe

auch Lisa Cordes (2014, 346-355); Eric M. Moormann (2018, 168 mit Anm. 46, 47; *ders.* 2021, 46 Anm. 12); Jane Feijfer (2021, 78); Antony Augustakis und Emma Buckley (2021, 161-162, mit Anm. 15); und zuletzt Gian Luca Gregori und Valerio Astolfi (2023, 161); sowie oben, zu *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at Part I.*

(*‘Eine Studie zum kolossalen Portrait Hadrians (jetzt Konstantins des Großen im Hof des Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rom (vergleiche hier Fig. 11). Mit Dem Beitrag von Hans Rupprecht Goette zur Überarbeitung des Hadriansportraits (jetzt ein Portrait Konstantins des Großen); in Teil I.’*

Darin habe ich bereits zitiert, was ich hier noch einmal wiederhole; vergleiche Moormann (2018, 169): "The monument [das heißt, der *Equus Domitiani*] was officially given by the Senate to honour Domitian's victory over the Chatti and Dacians in AD 89".

Für die Umarbeitung von Neros *colossus* im Auftrag des Kaisers Titus, auf die Torelli (1987, 579) in der unten zitierten Textpassage anspielt; vergleiche Claudia Lega ("Colossus: Nero", in: *LTUR I* [1993] 295-298, besonders S. 296).

Eric M. Moormann (2018, 164 mit Anm. 18, 19, S. 166, 168-169) diskutiert nicht die Tatsache, dass, nach Cassius Dio (LXVI, 15,1), das Gesicht des *Colossus Neronis*, das zuerst die Züge Neros trug, und dann, unter Vespasian, den Sonnengott darstellte, unter Titus in ein Portrait seiner selbst umgearbeitet worden war, und das, obwohl er gleichfalls Lega (1993) in seiner Anm. 18 zitiert.

Im Folgenden wiederhole ich einige Textpassagen, die für Band 3-2, *Appendix VI.*; Abschnitt VI., verfasst wurden.

Torelli (1987, 578-579) beschreibt den Weg eines Besuchers, der von der *Velia* kommend, mit dem *colossus* des Nero/ Titus und dem Bogen des *Divus Titus* (hier **Fig. 120**), zum Bogen des Domitian (identifiziert von F. COARELLI 2009b; *id.* 2012; s.o., unter Punkt 4.) als Bogen des *Divus Vespasianus*, dem ich hier folge) und dem (angeblichen) Tempel des Iuppiter Victor unmittelbar westlich davon, die beide genau vor der Fassade von Domitians '*Domus Flavia*' / *Domus Augustana* standen (vergleiche für beide hier **Figs. 8.1; 58**).

Torelli (1987, 579), wie später auch Filippo Coarelli (2009b; 2012; diskutiert oben, unter Punkt 4.)), nimmt Bögen für alle drei flavischen Kaiser in dieser Gegend an, wobei alle nach Torelli (a.a.O.) neben einem Jupitertempel standen : der Bogen des Titus (neben dem Tempel des Iuppiter *Stator*), ein Bogen Vespasians (neben dem Tempel des Iuppiter *Propugnator*), und ein Bogen des Domitian (das heißt, Coarellis Bogen des *Divus Vespasianus*, neben dem Tempel des Iuppiter *Victor*). Als Nächstes analysiert Torelli (1987, 579) die 'Botschaft' dieses dritten, soeben beschriebenen topographischen Kontextes in Bezug auf den regierenden flavischen Kaiser, der in diesem Palast residiert, Domitian.

Wie oben bereits unter Punkt 4.) gesagt, ist die Identifizierung des Tempelpodiums (in Wirklichkeit handelt es sich um zwei verschiedene Fundamente) vor Domitians '*Domus Flavia*' / *Domus Augustana* (hier **Figs. 8.1; 58**) heftig umstritten; ich selbst folge Vincenzo Graffeo und Patrizio Pensabene (2014; *id.* 2016-2017) und identifiziere das rechte der beiden Fundamente, das unmittelbar neben dem *Arcus Domitiani*/ Bogen des *Divus Vespasianus* ? steht, mit dem des Tempels des Iuppiter *Invictus*, der in der Republik erbaut wurde, und der eine oder zwei republikanische und eine kaiserzeitliche Bauphase hatte, wie Graffeo und Pensabene in ihren Ausgrabungen feststellen konnten; s.u., Band 3-2, *Appendix VI.*; Abschnitte III.-V.; VII.-X.

Dasselbe trifft analog auch für die Lokalisierungen der Tempel für Iuppiter *Stator*, Iuppiter *Victor*, und Iuppiter *Propugnator* zu, die Torelli (1987, 579) erwähnt, die aber gegenwärtig alle an anderen Orten lokalisiert werden als von Torelli angenommen. Für eine ausführliche Diskussion; s.u., Band 3-2, *Appendix VI.*). Die *Turris Chartularia* zum Beispiel, südöstlich vom Bogen des *Divus Titus* auf der *Velia*, die Torelli

(1987, 579) für den Tempel des Iuppiter Stator hielt, kann unmöglich mit diesem Tempel identifiziert werden.

Vergleiche hierzu Coarelli (2012, 282 mit Anm. 387); Häuber (2017, 327); s.u. in Band 3-2, in *Appendix V.*; Abschnitt IV. *The (now twelve) different locations of the Temple of Iuppiter Stator, marked on the map Fig. 73.* ('Die (jetzt zwölf) verschiedenen Lokalisierungen des Tempels des Iuppiter Stator, die auf unserer Karte Fig. 73 eingezeichnet sind').

Torelli (1987, 579) interpretierte die topographische Situation, die er beschrieb (Bogen des Titus/ Tempel des Iuppiter Stator; Bogen des Vespasian/ Tempel des Iuppiter Propugnator; und Bogen des Domitian/ Tempel des Iuppiter Victor) wie folgt.

**Die "triumphatores Flavi" identifizierten sich selbst mit Jupiter, und mittels des Beinamens 'Victor' des Jupitertempels auf dem Palatin beanspruchte Domitian für sich selbst die 'Qualität' Unbesiegbarkeit als seine ständige virtus:**

"La triplice presenza di Iuppiter presso questi congerie verrebbe a sancire l'identificazione dei *triumphatores Flavi* con la somma divinità del pantheon romano: in particolare, l'epiteto di Victor del tempio palatino verrebbe ad assumere il significato di una "qualità", di una permanente virtù, dell'imperatore vivente [das heißt, Domitian], che sembra - al pario della statua colossale del Sol, opportunamente riadoperata - presagire ancora una volta le tendenze ideologiche tardo-antiche [Hervorhebung von mir]".

Mit der "statua colossale del Sol, opportunamente riadoperata" ('der Kolossalstatue des Sol, die zweckmäßig umgearbeitet worden war'), bezog sich Torelli (1987, 579) auf den *colossus* des Kaisers Nero, der zuerst im *vestibulum* seiner *Domus Aurea* gestanden hatte. Auf Anordnung des Kaisers Vespasian waren nach Neros Tod Neros Gesichtszüge dieser kolossalen Bronzestatue in die des Sonnengottes umgewandelt worden.

Wie Torelli, und im Gegensatz zu anderen Gelehrten, glaube ich, dass diese Statue, die 100-120 römische Fuß hoch war, bereits zu Lebzeiten Neros fertiggestellt worden war; vergleiche Häuber (2014a, 704 mit Anm. 100-103). Torelli (1987, 579) bezieht sich überdies auf die Behauptung, dass, auf Anordnung des Kaisers Titus, der Kopf von Neros *colossus* (der zu diesem Zeitpunkt die Gesichtszüge des Gottes Sol trug) in ein Portrait des Titus umgearbeitet worden war. Dem werden wir uns jetzt zuwenden.

Im Zusammenhang ihrer Diskussion des kolossalen Kopfes des Hadrian (jetzt Konstantins des Großen; hier **Fig. 11**) (s.u., im Band 3-2. *Appendix VI.*; Abschnitt VI.), schreibt Cécile Evers (1991, 796):

"L'existence d'un si gigantesque portrait d'empereur au II<sup>e</sup> siècle [das heißt, von Hadrian] - la tête seule [vergleiche hier **Fig. 11**] fait 1,74 m, l'ensemble dépassait probablement les 9 m peut surprendre. **Cependant les statues colossales sont loin d'être une innovation du Bas-Empire. L'une des plus célèbres, on s'en souviendra, est celle de Néron mesurant plus de 30 m de haut** [mit Anm. 65] et qui a subi de nombreux avatars. **L'empereur lui avait donné ses traits et l'avait placée dans le vestibule de son palais. Vespasien l'avait transformée en Sol, et son fils Titus, si l'on en croit Dion Cassius** [mit Anm. 66], **l'aurait affublée de son propre portrait** [Hervorhebung von mir]".

In ihrer **Anm. 65**, schreibt Evers: "J. GAGÉ ... [das heißt, hier J. GAGÉ 1928] 106-122; Th. PEKARY ... [das heißt, hier T. PEKARY 1985] 81". - Vergleiche auch Claudia Lega: "Colossus: Nero", in: *LTUR I* (1993) 295-298.

In ihrer **Anm. 66**, schreibt sie: "DION CASSIUS, LXVI, 15, 1".

Obwohl Ich selbst, im Gegensatz zu Mario Torelli (1987, 579) ... glaube, dass das fragliche Tempelpodium nicht zum Tempel des Iuppiter Victor gehörte, sondern statt dessen zu dem republikanischen Tempel (mit zwei kaiserzeitlichen Bauphasen) des Iuppiter Invictus (vergleiche hier **Figs. 8.1; 58**), hat Torelli (1987, 579) mit seinem soeben zitierten Vorschlag Recht, was das Vorhandensein dieses Jupitertempels vor der *Domus*

*Flavia*/ *Domus Augustana* für Domitians Selbstdarstellung gehabt haben mag : Neben dem Bogen des Domitian/ dem Bogen des *Divus Vespasianus* ? stehend, und errichtet, wie er war, an der Stelle, die ein Besucher von Domitians Palast erreicht haben würde, kurz nachdem er den *colossus* des Nero/ Titus auf der *Velia*, und den Bogen des *Divus Titus* auf der *Velia* gesehen hatte (vergleiche hier **Fig. 120**).

Ich schlage vor, dass Torellis (1987, 579) soeben zitierte Interpretation auch auf das Nollekens Relief angewandt werden kann ([das oben besprochen wurde]; s.o., Kapitel *V.1.i.3.b*) und hier **Fig. 36**), und gleichermaßen auf den hier diskutierten, 8m hohen *colossus* von 'Domitian als Jupiter' (hier **Fig. 5**), dessen Ikonographie jetzt, dank der oben zitierten Beobachtungen Torellis (1987, 579), sehr viel verständlicher geworden ist'.

Falls Neros über 30 m hoher (vergoldete ?) Bronzekoloss auf der *Velia*, in der Sonne glitzernd, tatsächlich die Gesichtszüge des Titus erhalten hatte, dann erscheint Domitians kolossaler *Equus Domitiani*, der westlich davon auf dem *Forum Romanum* stand, in einem ganz anderen 'Licht'. Domitians *Equus Domitiani* kann dann nämlich als ein 'Gegengewicht' zum *colossus* des Nero/ Titus konzipiert worden sein. Vergleiche die diesbezüglichen Beobachtungen von Eric M. Moormann (2018, 168-169 mit Anm. 48); zu beachten ist allerdings, dass Moormann (2018, 164 mit Anm. 18) davon ausgeht, dass dieser *colossus* zu diesem Zeitpunkt den Gott Sol darstellte.

Wenn jedoch Kaiser Titus tatsächlich den Auftrag erteilt haben sollte, dass der Kopf von Neros *colossus*, der zu diesem Zeitpunkt den Sonnengott darstellte, in ein Portrait seiner selbst umgearbeitet wurde, dann ändert sich die Situation entsprechend. Einige Besucher des *Forum Romanum* und der *Velia* (vergleiche hier **Figs. 58; 73**), die von diesen beiden kolossalen Portraitstatuen der flavischen Kaiser Titus und Domitian beeindruckt worden waren, hatten danach vielleicht die Gelegenheit, auch noch Domitians Palast auf dem Palatin zu besuchen. Diese Leute haben vielleicht sogar gedacht, dass Domitians 8 m hohes Marmorportrait von sich selbst 'als Jupiter' in seiner '*Aula Regia*' (vergleiche hier **Fig. 5**), wenn man es mit diesen beiden anderen *colossi* verglich, eine relativ 'bescheidene' Aussage über sich selbst zu sein schien.

Erst nachdem dieses Kapitel in einer Vorschau auf unserem Webserver veröffentlicht worden war, habe ich die bedeutende Beobachtung von Pier Luigi Tucci (2022, 224-225, mit Fig. 20, Abschnitt: "Il Colosso") gefunden, der die enorme visuelle Wirkung erkannt hat, die Neros *colossus* auf Vespasians *Templum Pacis* gehabt haben muss (!).

Kehren wir nun zu Domitians Anspruch zurück, die *virtus* 'Unbesiegbarkeit' zu besitzen.

**Trotz des negativen Images, das im Auftrag Kaiser Trajans geschaffen wurde, und in dem Domitian all das abgesprochen worden war, konnten einige Gelehrte neuerdings die in Wirklichkeit große Bedeutung von Domitians militärischen Siegen nachweisen.**

Siehe oben, im Kapitel *Preamble : Domitian's negative image; Section I. 'The intentional creation of Domitian's negative image', here presented by discussing relevant text passages from Markus Handy ("Strategien zur Legitimierung der Ermordung des Domitian", 2015) and from Peter L. Viscusi (Studies on Domitian, 1973).* ('Preamble : Domitians negatives Image; Abschnitt I. 'Die absichtsvolle Kreierung von Domitians negativem Image', hier vorgestellt, indem relevante Textpassagen aus Markus Handy ("Strategien zur Legitimierung der Ermordung Domitians", 2015) und von Peter L. Viscusi diskutiert werden (Studies on Domitian, 1973').

Wenn man gleichzeitig bedenkt, was John Brian Campbell (1996, 491) schreibt: "Domitian was the first reigning emperor since Claudius in 43 to campaign in person, visiting the Rhine once, and the Danube three times", können wir folgende Schlüsse ziehen. Erstens ist es kein Wunder, dass in Domitians Palast auf dem Palatin (hier **Figs. 8; 8.1; 9; 58; 73; 108-110**), "das ikonographische Hauptthema der '*Aula Regia*' die Verherrlichung von Domitians militärischen Siegen war", wie Polito (2009, 506) festgestellt hat.

Obwohl in der *'Aula Regia'* Domitian nicht *selbst* als der siegreiche Feldherr seiner Kriege portraitiert wird. Auf seine Siege wird statt dessen lediglich 'angespielt' - zumindest im Fall der Fragmente der Skulpturenausstattung dieses Saales, die bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch überlebt hatten, als Bianchini (1738) sie ausgraben sollte (vergleiche hier **Figs. 8; 9**) - mittels der Wahl der Skulpturenausstattung dieses Saales, die verschiedene Trophäen enthält. Wir können jedoch davon ausgehen, dass es auch Darstellungen des siegreichen Feldherrn Domitian 'in Aktion' gab. Falls mehr solcher Darstellungen (außer dem *Equus Domitiani*, den wir von Münzen kennen; vergleiche *LTUR* II [1995] Fig. 80) irgendwo existiert hatten, waren sie wahrscheinlich, genau wie der *Equus Domitiani* selbst von denen zerstört worden, die, nach Domitians Ermordung und *damnatio memoriae*, Domitians negatives Image geschaffen haben.

Ich persönlich kenne nur eine einzige derartige überlebende Darstellung des siegreichen Feldherrn Domitian, das 'Relief Ruesch' (vergleiche hier **Fig. 7**), auf dem Domitians Gesicht nicht zufällig nach seiner *damnatio memoriae* zerstört worden ist, und dem wir uns jetzt zuwenden wollen.

**Ad III.) Domitians Anspruch, die *virtus* 'Unbesiegbarkeit' zu besitzen, indem er sich mit dem 'unbesiegbaren' Alexander dem Großen identifiziert hat; vergleiche das 'Relief Ruesch' (hier Fig. 7).**

Das 'Relief Ruesch' wird im Folgenden aus drei Gründen diskutiert : es zeigt *a)* Domitians *Alexander imitatio*, und beweist *b)* dass diese innovative Komposition, die bislang der trajanisch/ hadrianischen Zeit zugeschrieben worden ist - wie mir scheint selbstverständlich - bereits als Auftrag Domitians entwickelt wurde, und *c)* weil der Erhaltungszustand dieses Reliefs den Titel einer Ausstellung über Domitian zu illustrieren scheint, die kürzlich in Rom zu sehen war: *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore* ('Kaiser Domitian. Haß und Liebe').

Der begleitende Katalog der oben erwähnten Ausstellung über Domitian in Rom hatte denselben Titel und wurde herausgegeben von Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi und Maria Paola Del Moro (2023).

Um die wissenschaftliche Diskussion zum 'Relief Ruesch' (hier **Fig. 7**) zusammenzufassen, wiederhole ich im Folgenden einige Textpassagen aus einem anderen Kapitel, in dem das Relief ausführlich besprochen worden ist (s.o., in *Preamble: Domitian's negative image; Section III. My own thoughts about Domitian; at point 5.*) (*Preamble: Domitians negatives Image; Abschnitt III. Meine eigenen Gedanken über Domitian'; zu Punkt 5.*).

[Weil dieses Kapitel *Die wichtigsten Ergebnisse dieses Buches über Domitian* auf unserem Webserver als Vorschau für diese Studie über Domitian veröffentlicht worden ist, habe ich, nach diesem Datum, nur noch wenige Details in dem hier folgenden Text aktualisiert. Dagegen sind einige der zu Grunde liegenden Passagen der *Preamble* selbst nach diesem Datum noch erheblich erweitert worden.]

**Ad a) Das 'Relief Ruesch' und Domitians Anspruch der 'Unbesiegbarkeit', die er mit seiner *Alexander imitatio* zum Ausdruck gebracht hat.**

'Dietrich Willers (2021, 81, 86-87 mit Anm. 40, Taf. 11,1 [= hier Fig. 7]), in seiner Besprechung des 'Relief Ruesch', welches Domitian, ohne einen Helm zu tragen, in einer Schlachtszene zeigt, stellt fest, dass 'keinen Helm zu tragen'... von antiken und modernen Kommentatoren unter anderem wie folgt interpretiert worden sei : Alexander der Große und andere Feldherren, die seinem Vorbild gefolgt sind, hätten auf diese Weise ihre Unbesiegbarkeit betont [Hervorhebung von mir].

Hans Rupprecht Goette war so freundlich, mir, von sich aus, am 14. Oktober 2021 den Artikel von Dietrich Willers zu schicken, in dem der Autor das 'Relief Ruesch' behandelt, ein Marmorrelief, das eine Reiterschlacht von Römern gegen Germanen darstellt ("Relief mit Reiterschlacht", 2021, mit seinen Taf. 11; Taf. 13 [= hier **Fig. 7**]).

Willers (2021) schreibt, dass der Sammler Arnold Ruesch (1882-1929), bestens bekannt auf Grund der *'Guida Ruesch'* (1908; 1911), dem ausgezeichneten Führer des Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Neapel, den er herausgab, das *'Relief Ruesch'* im Jahre 1920 bei einem Kunsthändler in Rom erworben hatte.

Ruesch hatte nach Willers (2021) bereits selbst erkannt, dass die Gestaltung der zentralen Reitergruppe des *'Relief Ruesch'*, die einen gepanzerten römischen *imperator*, der ein *paludamentum* trägt, und einen Germanen, ihm genau gegenüber, zeigt, verblüffende Ähnlichkeiten mit den beiden Protagonisten auf dem berühmten Alexandermosaik aus der *'Casa del Fauno'* in Pompeji aufweist, das sich heute im Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Neapel befindet. Ausgehend von dieser außerordentlichen Tatsache, hat Bernard Andreae (1956) behauptet, dass das *'Relief Ruesch'* eine moderne Fälschung sei; und das wiederum hatte zur Folge, dass seither dieses Relief aus der archäologischen Diskussion verschwunden ist. Ich persönlich wußte nicht einmal von der Existenz dieses Reliefs.

Willers (2021) berichtet, dass Ruesch in Zürich für seine Sammlung eine Villa erbaut hatte. Nach seinem Tod wurden seine Antiken verkauft und sind seither zerstreut, und im Jahre 1977 wurde seine Villa zerstört. Glücklicherweise konnte im Jahre 2019 die Antikensammlung Bern der Universität einige der Antiken ex Sammlung Ruesch von einigen privaten Sammlern als Leihgaben erwerben (unter anderem das *'Relief Ruesch'*; hier **Fig. 7**). Außerdem hatte der Eigentümer des *'Relief Ruesch'* offenbar zugestimmt, dass es kürzlich restauriert werden konnte.

Diese Restaurierung des *'Relief Ruesch'* hat gezeigt, dass bereits in der Antike das Gesicht des römischen *imperator*s auf dem Relief absichtlich zerstört worden war. Willers (2021, 79, 83-84, 89, 94), der beweisen kann, dass das *'Relief Ruesch'* unmöglich eine moderne Fälschung sein kann, folgt mit seiner domitianischen Datierung des Reliefs dem Urteil früherer Gelehrter, unter anderem, indem er das *'Relief Ruesch'* überzeugend mit den Cancellariareliefs vergleicht (hier **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung**).

Und, wie bereits Arnold von Salis vorschlug (1947, 99-100), ist Willers (2021, 89-90, Taf. 11; Taf. 13, 2-5 [= hier **Fig. 7**]) in der Lage zu zeigen, dass der Kopf des Reiters ursprünglich ein Portrait des Domitian war, dessen Gesicht offensichtlich als eine Folge der *damnatio memoriae* des Kaisers zerstört worden ist. Domitian kämpft auf dem *'Relief Ruesch'* gegen germanische Soldaten, die Willers (2021, 90) mit den Chatti identifiziert, die, wie Willers schreibt, Domitian im Jahre 83 n. Chr. besiegt habe.

**Fig. 7. *'Relief Ruesch'*, aus der Sammlung Arnold Ruesch (Zürich), der es 1920 bei einem Kunsthändler in Rom erworben hatte (Provenienz unbekannt). Reiterschlacht von Römern gegen germanische Soldaten (die Chatti ?), der römische *imperator* ist Domitian. Marmor, 74 x 108,8 cm. Domitians Gesicht wurde wegen seiner *damnatio memoriae* zerstört, aber das Relief wurde trotzdem in der Antike wiederverwendet. Privatsammlung. Leihgabe in der Antikensammlung Bern der Universität. Aus: D. Willers (2021, Taf. 11; Taf. 13,1: Detail des *imperator*s, Taf. 13,2-4: Details vom Kopf des *imperator*s; Taf. 13,5: Rechtes Profil der Büste des Domitian, Rom, Musei Capitolini, Inv. Nr. MC 1156) '....**

*'Dietrich Willers (2021, 74 Anm. 1) schreibt, dass die Antikensammlung Bern der Universität "eine Sonderausstellung mit Dauerleihgaben aus dem einstigen Bestand der Sammlung Ruesch" plane. Und in einer E-mail vom 20 Oktober 2021 erzählte er mir, dass er einen Sonderdruck seines Aufsatzes (2021) Bernard Andreae geschickt habe, der Willers antwortete, dass er mit ihm einverstanden sei, dass das *'Relief Ruesch'* (hier **Fig. 7**) antik ist. Am 24. Oktober 2021 hat mir Dietrich Willers nochmals eine Email geschrieben, in der er mir freundlicherweise erlaubt hat, unsere Korrespondenz hier zu erwähnen' ...*

*'Apropos, die verblüffenden Ähnlichkeiten der Kompositionen des *'Relief Ruesch'* und des Alexandermosaiks. Mir ist natürlich bewusst, dass, aus chronologischen Gründen, Domitian und seine Künstler unmöglich das Alexandermosaik in Pompeji gekannt haben können, sondern nur entweder das zu Grunde liegende Original, ein berühmtes Gemälde, das Willers (2021, 81) um 300 v. Chr. datiert, oder alternativ andere Kopien dieses Originals.*

Zwischen dem 4. und 24. Februar 2022, und nochmals am 1. Januar 2023, konnte ich das 'Relief Ruesch' und das Alexandermosaik in Email-Korrespondenzen mit Andrew Stewart diskutieren. Wie Stewart mir schrieb, war das Original des Mosaiks ein (heute) verlorenes Gemälde, das, weil es ein "four-colour-painting" war, eindeutig ins 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. datierbar sei. Dieses Gemälde war seiner Meinung nach noch zu Lebzeiten Alexanders geschaffen worden. Später wurde dieses Gemälde als Kriegsbeute von Makedonien nach Rom gebracht, "after 168 or after 148 BC", wie Stewart vorschlug, wo es daraufhin in verschiedenen Medien kopiert werden sollte; vergleiche Stewart (1993, 133 mit Anm. 37). Andrew war so freundlich, mir auch seine entsprechende Publikation zu schicken; vergleiche Stewart (*Faces of Power: Alexander's image and Hellenistic politics*, 1993, 130-150, Chapter: "2. The Alexander Mosaic: A Reading").

Am 1. Januar 2023 hatte ich Andrew Stewart erneut in einer Email gefragt, ob das von ihm angegebene Datum "after 148 BC" möglicherweise bedeuten könnte, dass er annimmt, dass dieses griechische Gemälde als Beute in der *Porticus Metelli* in Rom (der späteren *Porticus Octaviae*) ausgestellt gewesen sei. Stewart war so freundlich, mir sofort zu antworten, dass er das selbst niemals vorgeschlagen habe''.

Für die *Porticus Octaviae*; s.o. zu Punkt 2.).

Ich hatte Andrew Stewart diese Frage gestellt, weil wir wissen, dass Metellus Macedonicus im Jahre 146 v. Chr. die berühmte Statuengruppe *turma Alexandri* nach Rom gebracht, und in seiner *Porticus Metelli* aufgestellt hatte, die Alexander der Große ins Heiligtum des Zeus von Dion in Makedonien geweiht hatte. Die *turma Alexandri*, ein Werk des Lysipp, stellte Alexander den Großen zusammen mit jenen seiner *hetairoi* ('Gefährten') dar, die 334 v. Chr. am Granikos gefallen waren: eine Bronzegruppe von 25 Reiterstatuen und weiteren 9 Infanteriesoldaten; vergleiche Häuber (2014a, 532). - Zu Alexander dem Großen und seinen *hetairoi* werde ich unten noch einmal zurückkommen.

Siehe unten, in Band 3-2, in *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...; Introduction; Section I.; at itinerary 4.) Hadrian's Parforceritt in November AD 97 from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mainz). The discussion of this 'itinerary' of Hadrian brings us another time back to the Porticus Octaviae, because there was on display the famous turma Alexandri.*

('Eine Studie zu den Folgen von Domitians Ermordung ...; Einführung; Abschnitt I., zur Reiseroute 4.) *Hadrian's Parforceritt im November 97 n. Chr. von Moesia inferior nach Mogontiacum (Mainz). Die Diskussion dieser 'Reiseroute' Hadrians bringt uns erneut zurück zur Porticus Octaviae, weil dort die berühmte turma Alexandria ausgestellt war*); und zu Kapitel VI.1.

Am 14. Januar 2023 habe ich von Kris Seaman erfahren, dass Andrew Stewart am Tag zuvor verstorben war. Was sein eigenes wissenschaftliches Werk betrifft, das auf diese Weise vorzeitig unterbrochen wurde, bedeutet dies offensichtlich für die gesamte wissenschaftliche Disziplin der Archäologie einen schweren Verlust. Ganz besonders empfinden dies jedoch seine Freunde und Kollegen, die den Vorzug genossen haben, Andrew persönlich zu kennen, und mit denen er sein enormes Wissen so großzügig geteilt hat.

Ebenfalls seit Februar 2022 hatte ich Gelegenheit, das 'Relief Ruesch' mit Filippo Coarelli zu besprechen (er kannte es sogar, wusste aber natürlich nicht, wo es sich augenblicklich befindet), sowie das Alexandermosaik. Coarelli erzählte mir, dass er augenblicklich an der Vorbereitung einer Ausstellung über Alexander den Großen arbeite, die vom Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Neapel vorbereitet wird; das Alexandermosaik soll aus diesem Anlass restauriert werden. Am 31. März 2023 war Coarelli so freundlich, mir das Zitat des Katalogs zu dieser Ausstellung zu schreiben, die am 29. Mai 2023 im Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Neapel eröffnet worden ist: Filippo Coarelli und Eugenio Lo Sardo (Hrsg.), *Alessandro Magno e l'Oriente. La scoperta e lo stupore*.

Ich selbst bin kein Spezialist, was *militaria* anlangt, aber ich möchte hier auf eine Tatsache hinweisen, die andere Gelehrte, die in diesem Bereich kenntnisreicher sind als ich, vielleicht Lust haben, im Detail zu untersuchen.

Ich beziehe mich auf den Soldaten in Szene LXXII auf der Trajanssäule (hier **Figs 4; 4.1**), der sich zur Rechten des Mannes befindet, den Amanda Claridge (2013) als (angeblichen) Hadrian (seines Portrait-Typs Delta Omikron ( $\Delta$ ); hier **Fig. 3**) identifiziert hat, und der (wie die von Willers 2021 auf dem 'Relief Ruesch' als Chatti identifizierten Germanen; hier **Fig. 7**) nur mit langen Hosen bekleidet, und mit einem Schild bewaffnet ist. Nach Ansicht von Karl Strobel (2017, 318), kann dieser Soldat auf der Trajanssäule (hier **Figs. 4; 4.1**) als "Markomanne" oder "Quade" identifiziert werden, die in Trajans Erstem Dakischen Krieg (im Jahre 102 n. Chr.), der in Szene LXXII der Trajanssäule dargestellt ist, zu den römischen Auxiliartuppen gehört haben; so auch Willers (2021, 90 mit Anm. 90). - Zu diesem Relief auf der Trajanssäule und zu Hadrians Portrait-Typ (hier **Figs. 4 ?; 4.1 ?; 3**) werde ich später noch einmal zurückkommen.

Wenn diese germanischen Soldaten auf dem 'Relief Ruesch' (hier **Fig. 7**) in Wirklichkeit nicht Chatti, sondern Markomannen oder Quaden wären, dann würde es sich um germanische Stämme handeln, mit denen sich Domitian erst im Jahre 89 n. Chr. auseinandersetzen musste, wie wir oben von Peter L. Viscusi (1973, 53-63) gelernt haben, der außerdem die Tatsache beschreibt, dass Domitian im Jahre 89 n. Chr. einen doppelten Triumph über die Chatti und die Daker gefeiert hat. Falls demnach die germanischen Soldaten, die auf dem 'Relief Ruesch' erscheinen, jene des späteren Krieges sind, dann könnte dieses Relief 'nach 89 n. Chr.' datiert werden, genau so wie meiner Ansicht nach die Cancellariareliefs (s.o., zu Punkt 2.) und hier **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung**), mit denen auch Willers (2021) das 'Relief Ruesch' vergleicht.

Für Domitians Feldzug gegen die Markomannen und die Quaden (im Jahre 89 n. Chr.), sowie Domitians doppelten Triumph über die Chatti und die Daker im Jahre 89 n. Chr.; s.o., Kapitel *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Section I. ('*Preamble: Domitians negatives Image*; zu Abschnitt I.')

**Im Folgenden erlaube ich mir einen Exkurs zu dem (angeblichen) Hadrian, den Amanda Claridge auf der Trajanssäule entdeckt hat, in der Szene LXXII (hier Figs. 4; 4.1; in Wirklichkeit ein Schleuderer von den Balearen), und zu den Bildnissen Hadrians vom Portrait-Typ Delta Omikron (hier Fig. 3)**

Amanda Claridge (2013, 12) hat die Szene LXXII auf der Trajanssäule (hier **Figs. 4; 4.1**) wie folgt kommentiert: "Band 11: lxxii Trajan surveys the last battle of the First [Dacian] War. Focal point: Stonethrower [Hervorhebung von mir]". Claridge (2013, 13 mit Anm. 80, S. 14, 15, ihre plate 15 [= hier **Fig. 4**]) identifiziert diesen "Stonethrower" ('Steinewerfer') auf hier **Figs. 4; 4.1** versuchsweise mit Hadrian, der im hier sogenannten Delta Omikron ( $\Delta$ ) Portrait-Typ dargestellt sei (vergleiche hier **Fig. 3**).

Obwohl der Kopf dieses Mannes (hier **Fig. 4**) den Portraits Hadrians dieses Portraittyps (hier **Fig. 3**) verblüffend ähnelt, folge ich dieser Identifizierung von Claridge nicht.

Die Szene LXXII der Trajanssäule (hier **Fig. 4.1**) stellt die entscheidende dritte Schlacht in Trajans drittem Feldzug in seinem Ersten Dakischen Krieg dar, die im Jahre 102 n. Chr. stattfand. Hadrian war ein Senator, der, wenn er auf **Figs. 4; 4.1** wiedergegeben worden wäre, mit den *calcei patricii* (den Schuhen, die von den Senatoren getragen wurden) hätte dargestellt werden müssen; er hatte seit 96 n. Chr. als senatorischer Tribun der *Legio V Macedonica* in Moesia *Inferior* gedient, und von November 97 n. Chr. bis Januar 98 n. Chr. als senatorischer Tribun der *Legio XXII Primigenia* in Mogontiacum (Mainz) in Obergermanien.

Seit 100 n. Chr. war Hadrian mit Trajans Großnichte Sabina verheiratet. In Trajans Erstem Dakischen Krieg war Hadrian Trajans *comes expeditionis Daciae* (seit 101 n. Chr.), und er sollte sich in diesem Krieg die *dona militaria* verdienen.



Abgesehen davon, dass wir uns zuallererst fragen sollten:

a.) ob Hadrian in einem ähnlichen Kontext hätte erscheinen können wie der "Stonethrower" in der Schlacht der Szene LXXII der Trajanssäule (hier Fig. 4.1). Persönlich glaube ich eher, wir sollten erwarten, dass er zu Trajans Entourage gehörte (die auch auf Fig. 4.1 dargestellt ist), aber in all diesen Szenen der Trajanssäule fällt auf, dass Hadrian in Trajans Entourage eben *nicht* vorkommt, worüber sich die meisten Gelehrten einig sind; und -

b.) ob Hadrian als "Stonethrower" hätte aktiv werden können, wie Claridge (2013, 13 mit Anm. 80, S. 14, 15, ihre plate 15 [= hier Fig. 4; vergleiche Fig. 4.1]) ihn nennt, das heißt, als ein Schleuderer, eine spezialisierte Waffengattung, in der Hadrian vermutlich nicht ausgebildet war. - Ich danke der Militärgeschichtlerin Rose Mary Sheldon, die diese Frage mit mir diskutiert hat.

Der "Stonethrower", wie Claridge (2013) diesen Mann auf Figs. 4; 4.1, nennt, kämpft barhäuptig und barfuß. Der Vorschlag von Amanda Claridge, diesen Mann (und einige andere Personen auf der Trajanssäule) mit Hadrian zu identifizieren, ist von Karl Strobel (2017, 65 mit Anm. 48) abgelehnt worden.

Ich selbst folge jenen Gelehrten, die diesen Mann als einen Schleuderer von den *Baleares* identifizieren (von denen insgesamt vier auf dem ganzen Fries dargestellt sind; vergleiche hier Figs. 4; 4.1; 4.2; 4.3, die alle mit bloßem Kopf und barfuß kämpfen).

Vergleiche die Website von Jonathan Coulston (2013; zitiert nach K. STROBEL 2017, 309, Anm. 2); Tonio Hölscher (2017, 28), und Christian Heitz (2017, 131, mit Anm. 16).

**Fig. 3. Oben: Bildnis Hadrians vom Delta Omikron (Δο) Portrait-Typ. Villa Hadriana bei Tivoli, Museo (Inv. Nr. 2260). Links: Aus H.R. Goette (2021, 113, Abb. 46a (III Nr. 3); Photo: G. Fittschen-Badura); in der Mitte und rechts: Photos: D-DAI-ROM 72.635; 79.17774 (G. Fittschen-Badura).**

**Unten, links: Büste des Hadrian vom Delta Omikron (Δο) Portrait-Typ. Columbia, Missouri, University Museum (Inv. Nr. 89.1). Aus: H.R. Goette (2021, 108, Abb. 44a (III Nr. 1)).**

**Unten, in der Mitte: Bildnis Hadrians vom Delta Omikron (Δο) Portrait-Typ. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado (Inv. Nr. 176-E.), gefunden in Italien. Photo: D-DAI-MAD-WIT-R-20-91-05 (Witte).**

**Unten rechts: Büste des Hadrian vom Delta Omikron (Δο) Portrait-Typ. London, Privatsammlung. Aus: H.R. Goette (2021, 112, Abb. 45 (III Nr. 4)).**

**Figs. 4. Szene LXXII der Trajanssäule. Der "Stonethrower" von Amanda Claridge (2013, 12, 13), den sie versuchsweise mit Hadrian identifiziert hat, (angeblich) dargestellt im hier sogenannten Delta Omikron (Δο) Portrait-Typ (hier Fig. 3). In Wirklichkeit ist dieser Mann ein Schleuderer von den *Baleares*. Zur Rechten dieses Schleuderers erscheint ein germanischer Soldat, der mit langen Hosen bekleidet und mit einem Schild bewaffnet ist, und der vielleicht als ein Markomane oder als ein Quade identifiziert werden kann. Aus: A. Claridge (2013, 15, pl. 15).**

**Fig. 4.1. Szene LXXII der Trajanssäule. Amanda Claridge (2013, 12) kommentierte die Szene LXXII der Trajanssäule (hier Figs. 4; 4.1) wie folgt: "Band 11: lxxii Trajan surveys the last battle of the First [Dacian] War. Focal point: Stonethrower". Claridge (2013, 13 mit Anm. 80, S. 14, 15, ihre plate 15 [= hier Fig. 4]) identifizierte diesen "Stonethrower" auf hier Figs. 4; 4.1 mit Hadrian, dargestellt in dem hier sogenannten Delta Omikron (Δο) Portrait-Typ (vergleiche hier Fig. 3).**

**Aus: <<http://www.trajans-column.org/?flagallery=trajans-column-scenes-xlvi-lxxviii-46-78#PhotoSwipe1673612947018>> [last visit 13-I-2023].**

**Fig. 4.1.1. Die Trajanssäule, von Süden gesehen (mit den Säulen der Basilica Ulpia im Vordergrund). Photo: F.X. Schütz (März 2006).**

Für eine Diskussion aller dieser Themen; s.u., im Band 3-2, in:

*A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination :*

*Nerva is forced to adopt Trajan and Trajan creates Domitian's negative image to consolidate his own reign. With Hadrian's adoption manquée in late October or at the beginning of November of AD 97, his 20-year long road to his accession and his thanksgivings for it, his Temple complex in the Campus Martius.*

*Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence [Mainz]) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva, and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here **Fig. 3**).*

*With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz, with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz, with The Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen;*

*at the Introduction; Sections IX. and XI.; and in Chapter VI.1. My 2. Conclusion: In this context it is interesting to analyse the process by which Hadrian finally became emperor; at Trajan's adoption by Nerva and Hadrian's Parforceritt from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum [Mainz] to congratulate Trajan on his adoption; at The circumstances that had brought Trajan to Mogontiacum and Domitian's negative image, created by Tacitus and Pliny at the order of Trajan to legitimize his own accession; at Trajan presented Hadrian in AD 106 with the signet-ring that he himself had received on the occasion of his adoption by Nerva. With a discussion of the meaning of this gesture; and at Chapters VI.2.; VI.2.1.; VI.2.2.; VI.2.3., and VI.2.4. A. Claridge (2013) has identified the head of the "Stonethrower" in the battle Scene LXXII on Trajan's Column (here **Figs. 4; 4.1**) as a copy of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) ...*

*(Eine Studie zu den Folgen von Domitians Ermordung :*

*Nerva wird gezwungen, Trajan zu adoptieren, und Trajan kreierte Domitians negatives Image, um seine eigene Herrschaft zu konsolidieren. Mit Hadrians adoption manquée im späten Oktober oder Anfang November 97 n. Chr., seinem 20 Jahre dauernden Weg zur Herrschaft, und seinem Dank dafür, der Errichtung seines Tempelkomplexes auf dem Marsfeld. Oder: Der weitere topographische Kontext des Hadriansbogens an der Via Flaminia, der zu dem (späteren) Hadrianeum führte und zu Hadrians Tempeln der Diva Matidia (und der Diva Sabina?). Mit Diskussionen von Hadrians Reise von Moesia inferior nach Mogontiacum (Mainz), um Trajan zu seiner Adoption durch Nerva zu gratulieren, und von Hadrians Portrait-Typ Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (vergleiche hier **Fig. 3**).*

*Mit Dem vierten und fünften Beitrag von Peter Herz, mit Dem Beitrag von Franz Xaver Schütz, mit Dem Beitrag von John Bodel, und mit Dem zweiten Beitrag von Angelo Geißen;*

*in der Einführung; Abschnitte IX. und XI.; und im Kapitel VI.1. Meine 2. Schlussfolgerung: In diesem Kontext ist es interessant, den Prozess zu analysieren, der dazu geführt hat, dass Hadrian schließlich selbst Kaiser geworden ist; in Trajans Adoption durch Nerva und Hadrians Parforceritt von Moesia inferior nach Mogontiacum [Mainz], um Trajan zu seiner Adoption zu gratulieren; in Die Umstände, die Trajan nach Mainz gebracht hatten und Domitians negatives Image, das von Tacitus und Plinius im Auftrag von Trajan kreierte wurde, um seine eigene Herrschaft zu legitimieren; in Trajan schenkte Hadrian im Jahre 106 den Siegelring, den er selbst aus Anlass seiner Adoption von Nerva erhalten hatte. Mit einer Diskussion der Bedeutung dieser Geste; und in den Kapiteln VI.2.; VI.2.1.; VI.2.2.; VI.2.3.; und VI.2.4. A. Claridge (2013) hat den Kopf des "Stonethrowers" in der Schlachtszene LXXII auf der Trajanssäule (hier **Figs. 4; 4.1**) als eine Kopie von Hadrians Portrait-Typ Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) identifiziert ...).*

**Um meine eigenen Forschungen zu Hadrians Portrait-Typ Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) zusammenzufassen, zitiere ich im Folgenden nur die Titel der soeben erwähnten Kapitel VI.2., VI.2.1., VI.2.2., und VI.2.3., in:**

***A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination (Eine Studie zu den Folgen von Domitians Ermordung'), und werde diesen Titeln einige Kommentare hinzufügen :***

**^Kapitel VI.2. Hadrians Portrait-Typ Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ).** Kaiser Hadrian prägte Münzen mit diesem Portrait-Typ im Jahre 117 n. Chr. auf Tetradrachmen in Alexandria (vergleiche hier **Fig. 137**) und auf aurei (Goldmünzen) in Rom im Jahre 138 n. Chr. [so meine eigene Hypothese], unter anderem mit seinen DIVIS PARENTIBVS auf der Rückseite (vergleiche hier **Fig. 139**), auf allen diesen Münzen schaut Hadrian geradeaus nach vorn. Dieser Portrait-Typ wird außerdem von zwei Marmorköpfen und zwei Marmorbüsten

überliefert (vergleiche hier **Fig. 3**). In allen diesen Marmorportraits wendet sich Hadrian zu seiner Linken. Die Datierung dieser Marmorportraits ist umstritten.

**Bezüglich dieses Portrait-Typs müssen wir zwei Fragen beantworten:**

- 1.) wann genau wurde dieses jugendliche Bildnis Hadrians geschaffen? Damit ist eine weitere Frage verbunden: Hatte Hadrian das Original diese Portraits in Auftrag gegeben, um an ein besonderes Ereignis in seiner Jugend zu erinnern?; und -
- 2.), was war Hadrians Absicht am Ende seines Lebens [so meine eigene Hypothese], als er zum ersten Mal rundplastische Marmorbildnisse von sich selbst in diesem Portrait-Typ in Auftrag gab?.

Vergleiche für die Tetradrachmen, die Kaiser Hadrian im Jahre 117 n. Chr. in Alexandria prägen ließ (vergleiche hier **Fig. 137**), auf denen zum ersten Mal Hadrians Portrait-Typ Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) erscheint (hier **Fig. 3**): s.u., *The first Contribution by Angelo Geißen* ('Der erste Beitrag von Angelo Geißen'): *Bemerkungen zur frühen Münzprägung Hadrians in Alexandria*.

Vergleiche für die *aurei*, die Kaiser Hadrian in Rom prägen ließ (hier **Fig. 139**): Martin Beckmann ("The Gold Coinage of Hadrian AD 130-138", 2019), zitiert und diskutiert von Hans Rupprecht Goette (2021, 24 Anm. 67, S. 124, Abb. 56, S. 25-27). Nach Ansicht von Beckmann (2019, 151) wurden die *aurei* (hier **Fig. 139**) herausgegeben: "presumably around mid-138"; vergleiche Beckmann (2019, 152) und hier **Fig. 139**: "The inscription on the obverse clearly labels the portrait as that of Hadrian ... The die analysis shows that two of the three known dies bearing this youthful portrait were used at the very end of Hadrian's coinage; the links do not rule out a posthumous issue, though they do not prove it either".

**Bedenken Sie, dass Martin Beckmann (2019, 152) selbst bemerkt, dass die Serie der aurei, zu denen Hadrians aureus (hier Fig. 139) gehört, "dynastic" sei, jedoch ohne selbst die offensichtliche Schlussfolgerung aus dieser Bemerkung zu ziehen, indem er diese Beobachtung mit Hadrians Adoption des Antoninus Pius am 25. Februar 138 n. Chr. in Verbindung bringt. - Darauf werde ich später noch einmal zurückkommen.**

**Kapitel VI.2.1.** H.R. Goettes (2021) Diskussion von Hadrians Portrait-Typ Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) (vergleiche hier **Fig. 3**). Bezüglich der 1.) Frage, wählt Goette die Tatsache, dass Kaiser Trajan, im Jahre 106 n. Chr., während des Zweiten Dakischen Krieges, Hadrian den Siegelring geschenkt hat, den er selbst von Nerva erhalten hatte aus Anlass seiner Adoption durch ihn [im späten Oktober oder zu Beginn des November im Jahre 97 n. Chr.]; bezüglich der 2.) Frage, schlägt Goette vor, dass diese Marmor Portraits (vergleiche hier **Fig. 3**) von Kaiser Antoninus Pius in Auftrag gegeben worden seien, der, mit der Linkswendung dieser Portraits, einer möglichen *Alexander imitatio*, den neu kreierten *Divus Hadrianus* geehrt habe, der absichtlich jung dargestellt worden sei'.

Vergleiche hierzu auch unten, *The third Contribution by Peter Herz* ('Der dritte Beitrag von Peter Herz') : *Der Übergang von Trajan auf Hadrian und das erste Regierungsjahr Hadrians*, und *The fourth Contribution by Peter Herz* ('Der vierte Beitrag von Peter Herz') : *Wann wurde Trajan von Nerva adoptiert ?*

**Kapitel VI.2.2.** Zusätzliche Informationen, die für die Diskussion von Hadrians Portrait-Typ Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) von Bedeutung sind (vergleiche hier **Fig. 3**); Hadrian und Alexander der Große; Hadrians Adoption durch Trajan, wie sie von Hadrian dargestellt wurde; Die Tetradrachme, die Hadrian im Jahre 137/138 in Alexandria herausgegeben hat, um an seine Adoption des Antoninus Pius zu erinnern (vergleiche hier **Fig. 138**)'.

**Im Folgenden zitiere ich eine Textpassage aus Kapitel VI.2.2., in: A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ('Eine Studie zu den Folgen von Domitians Ermordung') :**

'Die Tetradrachme, die Hadrian im Jahre 137/ 138 n. Chr. in Alexandria herausgab [hier **Fig. 138**] ist von Angelo Geißen in seinem Aufsatz ("AIQN - AETERNITAS. Welche numismatischen Zeugnisse reflektieren

die Vollendung der Sothis-Periode unter Antoninus Pius?", 2010) diskutiert worden. Vergleiche für diese Münze (hier **Fig. 138**) auch Andrea Carandini (2019, 92: § 121, Fig. 33). Nach Ansicht von Geißen (a.a.O), erinnerte diese Tetradrachme an Hadrians *pronoia/providentia* für die *continuitas imperii* [die Vorsorge des regierenden Kaisers für das Weiterbestehen der Herrschaft], da sie sich auf Hadrians Adoption des (zukünftigen) Antoninus Pius bezog, der seinerseits, und auf Hadrians Wunsch, unmittelbar zuvor (die zukünftigen) Marcus Aurelius und Lucius Verus adoptiert hatte'.

Zum scheinbaren Paradoxon, dass Hadrian mit dem Münz-Typ (hier **Fig. 138**), der in Alexandria im Jahre 137/138 geprägt wurde, auf die Adoption des Antoninus Pius hinweisen konnte, die erst am 25. Februar des Jahres 138 n. Chr. stattfinden sollte: Wir wissen, dass Augustus, als Folge seiner Korrektur von Julius Caesars Kalenderreform (s.u., im Band 3-2, **Anm. 545**, in *Appendix II.c*), das Datum des Ägyptischen Neujahrsfestes auf den 29. August festgelegt hatte.

Diese Tetradrachme (hier **Fig. 138**) ist bislang noch nicht von jenen Gelehrten in ihre Überlegungen mit einbezogen worden, die an den hier diskutierten Marmorkopien von Hadrians Portrait-Typ Delta Omikron (Δο) (here **Fig. 3**) interessiert sind.

Die *providentia* des regierenden Kaisers für die *continuitas imperii* erscheint auf Münzen seit Nerva. Das kann zurückverfolgt werden auf die Sitte einiger (adoptierter) Kaiser seit Tiberius, die *ara Providentiae* auf ihren Münzen darzustellen, was genau dieselbe Bedeutung hatte; vergleiche Mario Torelli ("Providentia, Ara", in *LTUR*, IV, 1999, 165-166, Figs. 66-67); Häuber (2014a, 712 mit Anm. 199).

**‘Kapitel VI.2.3. Meine eigene Interpretation von Hadrians Portrait-Typ Delta Omikron (Δο) (vergleiche hier Fig. 3). Bezüglich der 1.) Frage schlage ich vor, dass Hadrian (der meiner Meinung nach in diesem Portrait-Typ wie ein circa 20 Jahre alter Mann aussieht) diesen Delta Omikron Portrait-Typ zu einem unbekanntem Zeitpunkt in Auftrag gegeben hat. Er wollte damit entweder an seinen circa 1800 km langen Parforceritt im November des Jahres 97 n. Chr. von Moesia inferior nach Mogontiacum (Mainz) erinnern, den er (zusammen mit ‘Gefährten’) unternahm, um Trajan zu seiner Adoption durch Nerva zu gratulieren, oder aber an den Beginn seiner daraus resultierenden 20 Jahre langen Zusammenarbeit mit Trajan (die mit seiner Adoption? durch Trajan, und mit dem Beginn seiner eigenen Herrschaft als Kaiser endete : am 9. beziehungsweise am 11. August 117 n. Chr.).**

Bezüglich der 2.) Frage schlage ich vor, dass Hadrian die Marmorkopien dieses Portrait-Typs (hier **Fig. 3**) als Teil der öffentlichen Darstellung seiner *providentia* für die *continuitas imperii* in Auftrag gegeben hat : Hadrians Adoption des Antoninus Pius am 25. Februar 138 n. Chr. (unmittelbar nachdem Antoninus Pius seinerseits Marcus Aurelius und Lucius Verus adoptiert hatte). Ich schlage dies vor, weil Hadrian seine Adoption des Antoninus Pius auch mit der Prägung der Tetradrachme im Jahre 137/ 138 in Alexandria dokumentiert hat (hier **Fig. 138**). Ich erachte deshalb die folgende Annahme als plausibel, obwohl sie gegenwärtig nicht beweisbar ist, dass nämlich Hadrian noch selbst, als Teil dieser öffentlichen Darstellung seiner Vorsorge für den Weiterbestand der Herrschaft, im Jahre 138 die *aurei* mit diesem Portrait-Typ und seinen Adoptiveltern ('DIVIS PARENTIBVS'), Trajan und Plotina herausgegeben hat (hier **Fig. 139**). Abgesehen von der Tatsache, dass diese *aurei*, ebenso wie diese Marmorportraits (hier **Fig. 3**), darauf hinweisen, dass Hadrian nun auch selbst einen Sohn adoptiert hatte, weisen sie außerdem auf Hadrians eigene *adoption manquée* hin (seine eigene ‘verpasste’ Adoption : durch Trajan, unmittelbar bevor Nerva den Trajan adoptiert hatte) im späten Oktober oder zu Beginn des November 97 n. Chr. **Und wegen der ‘Wendung zu ihrer Linken’ dieser Portraits (hier Fig. 3), einer möglichen Alexander imitatio, kann Hadrian möglicherweise auf diese Weise überdies behauptet haben, dass er im Alter von 21 Jahren beschlossen habe (im November des Jahres 97 n. Chr.), ‘sich das römische Weltreich zu erobern’, ähnlich wie Alexander (zusammen mit seinen *hetairoi* [‘Gefährten’] - und seinen Soldaten) das seine eroberte, der damit im Alter von 20 Jahren begonnen hatte [Hervorhebung von mir]’.**

Für die oben erwähnten Daten, *dies adoptionis* und *dies imperii* Hadrians; s.o., **Anm. 331**, in Kapitel II.2.; und unten, im Band 3-2, in *Appendix IV.c.1.*). Siehe auch unten, zu *The fifth Contribution by Peter Herz* ('Der fünfte Beitrag von Peter Herz') : *Der Ritt Hadrians nach Mogontiacum*, sowie zu *The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz* ('Der Beitrag von Franz Xaver Schütz'): *Zur kartographischen Visualisierung historischer Landschaftselemente zwischen Rhein und Schwarzem Meer von Augustus bis Hadrian* (vergleiche hier **Fig. 77**).

Erst nachdem dieses Kapitel fertiggestellt war, stellte ich fest, dass auch Hans-Ulrich Cain (2019, 2) das Portrait Hadrians vom Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ )-Typ untersucht hat. Bezüglich der Datierung der Marmorkopien dieses Portrait-Typs und ihrer Bedeutung (hier **Fig. 3**) kommt er zu denselben Ergebnissen wie ich. Dem entsprechenden Kapitel, in: *A Study of the consequences of Domitian's assassination* ('Eine Studie zu den Folgen von Domitians Ermordung'), dessen Titel im Folgenden zitiert wird, habe ich deshalb eine Diskussion von Cains Erkenntnissen hinzugefügt:

``**Chapter VI.2.3.** Why does Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) appear on his *aurei* of AD 138 which show his DIVIS PARENTIBVS on the reverses (here **Fig. 139**)? The answer is provided by a comparison of those *aurei* with Hadrian's tetradrachma (cf. here **Fig. 138**), issued at Alexandria in AD 137/ 138 to commemorate his adoption of the future Antoninus Pius on 25th February AD 138.

With a discussion of the observations by H.-U. Cain (2019, 1-2) concerning Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) (here **Fig. 3**), and concerning the portrait-types of his successors, all adopted in AD 138: the portrait-type of the future Antoninus Pius, created on the occasion of his adoption by Hadrian, which intentionally shows great similarities with Hadrian's own later portraits; and of the portrait-types of the future Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, created on the occasion of their adoptions by Antoninus Pius, that are intentionally very similar as Hadrian's youthful portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) (for these portrait-types of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus; cf. H.-U. CAIN 2019, 1-2, Abb. 1-3). Cain (2019, 2) writes that Hadrian "in seinen letzten Lebensjahren 136–138 n. Chr. sein eigenes Jugendbildnis [here **Fig. 3**] aktualisieren ließ, als ihm die Nachfolgeregelung zu einem vordringlichen Anliegen geworden war".

That is to say, 'when the organization of his succession had become a major concern', or in other words, when Hadrian concentrated on the 'providentia for the *continuitas imperii*'".

(**Kapitel VI.2.3.** Warum erscheint Hadrians Portrait-Typ Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) auf seinen *aurei* des Jahres 138 n. Chr., auf deren Rückseiten seine DIVIS PARENTIBVS dargestellt sind (hier **Fig. 139**)? Die Antwort zeigt ein Vergleich dieser *aurei* mit Hadrians Tetrachme (vergleiche hier **Fig. 138**), die er 137/ 138 n. Chr. in Alexandria herausgegeben hat, um an seine Adoption des zukünftigen Antoninus Pius am 25. Februar 138 n. Chr. zu erinnern.

Mit einer Diskussion von H.-U. Cains Beobachtungen (2019, 1-2) bezüglich Hadrians Portrait-Typ Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) (hier **Fig. 3**) und bezüglich der Portrait-Typen seiner Nachfolger, die alle im Jahre 138 n. Chr. adoptiert worden sind: Dem Portrait-Typ des Antoninus Pius, der anlässlich seiner Adoption durch Hadrian kreiert worden ist, und der absichtlich große Ähnlichkeiten mit Hadrians eigenen späteren Portrait-Typen aufweist; sowie der Portrait-Typen der zukünftigen Mark Aurel und Lucius Verus, die aus Anlass ihrer Adoptionen durch Antoninus Pius geschaffen worden sind, und die absichtlich Hadrians jugendlichem Portrait-Typ Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) sehr ähnlich sind (vergleiche für diese Portrait-Typen des Antoninus Pius, des Mark Aurel und Lucius Verus : H.-U. CAIN, 2019, 1-2, Abb. 1-3). Cain (2019, 2) schreibt, dass Hadrian "in seinen letzten Lebensjahren 136–138 n. Chr. sein eigenes Jugendbildnis [here **Fig. 3**] aktualisieren ließ, als ihm die Nachfolgeregelung zu einem vordringlichen Anliegen geworden war".

Oder anders gesagt, als sich Hadrian auf die 'providentia für die *continuitas imperii*' konzentriert hat').

Kehren wir nun zurück zum 'Relief Ruesch' (hier **Fig. 7**).

**Ad b) Das 'Relief Ruesch' zeigt, dass diese Art der Komposition bereits von Domitian in Auftrag gegeben worden ist.**

'Willers (2021, 84, 91, 93, 98) weist außerdem überzeugend auf Folgendes hin : das 'Relief Ruesch' beweise, dass eine weitere künstlerische Innovation, die üblicherweise Trajan (oder eher Hadrian?) zugeschrieben werde, bereits im Auftrag Domitians entwickelt worden sei - wie wir vielleicht auch nicht anders erwarten würden, nachdem wir diese ganze Studie gelesen haben. - Willers bezieht sich damit auf das berühmte

Relief einer Reiterschlacht, die Trajan in genau derselben Ikonographie vorführt wie Domitian auf dem 'Relief Ruesch' dargestellt ist (hier **Fig. 7**).

Vergleiche für dieses Relief, "The Great Trajanic Frieze. Trajan [now Constantine] on horseback, early Hadrianic. Rome, Arch of Constantine ...", auch für das andere Relief, das im mittleren Durchgang des Konstantinsbogens in die gegenüberliegende Wand eingelassen ist, und auf dem der *adventus* Trajans [jetzt Konstantins des Großen] erscheint:

Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 222, Figs. 185 [= hier **Fig. 7.1**]; 186). Für den 'Großen Trajanischen Fries', Trajan [jetzt Konstantin] zu Pferde; vergleiche auch Willers (2021, 84 mit Anm. 21); und R.R.R. Smith (2021, 24-25 mit Anm. 97).

**Fig. 7.1. 'Der Große Trajanische Fries'. Dargestellt ist Konstantin der Große, der in einer Schlacht einen Kavallerieangriff anführt. Rom, Konstantinsbogen. Das Relief hatte ursprünglich Trajan dargestellt, dessen Bildnis in das Konstantins des Großen umgearbeitet wurde. Im mittleren Durchgang des Konstantinbogens wurden die Inschriften LIBERATORI VRBIS und FVNDA TORI QUIETIS [dem Befreier der Stadt Rom und dem Begründer der Ruhe] zu diesen Reliefs des Trajan/ Konstantin hinzugefügt, die sich auf Konstantin beziehen (in Anerkennung seines Sieges über Maxentius am Pons Mulvius im Jahre 312 n. Chr.). Photo: C. Faraglia, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 37.328. - Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 222, Fig. 185) datiert beide Reliefs: "early Hadrianic".**

Vergleiche Ian Archibald Richmond, Donald Emrys Strong and John Robert Patterson ("pons Mulvius", in: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> [1996] 1219 [Hervorhebung von den Autoren]).

**R.R.R. Smith (2021, 24-25 mit Anm. 97) stellt überzeugend fest, dass sich die Darstellung Trajans auf 'Dem Großen Trajanischen Fries' (hier **Fig. 7.1**), wenn man sie mit den 'wirklichen Handlungen' eines Kaisers während eines Krieges vergleicht, als extrem unrealistisch herausstellt.**

In seiner **Anm. 97**, schreibt Smith: "The Great Trajanic Frieze (re-used on the Arch of Constantine [= hier **Fig. 7.1**]), with the emperor leading a cavalry charge in battle himself, is a rare example of a clearly 'unreal' monumental narrative: Touati 1987. On such public narratives of imperial action, Fittschen 1972; Hölscher 2003; 2019: ch.[apter] 4 [Hervorhebung von mir]".

Mein Dank gilt Bert Smith, der mir am 11. Januar 2022 seinen oben zitierten Aufsatz geschickt hat ("*Maiestas Serena: Roman Court Cameos and Early Imperial Poetry and Panegyric*", 2021).

Ich persönlich würde die Ikonographie römischer Kaiser, die auf den **Figs. 7; 7.1** dargestellt ist, bezeichnen als die 'eines schneidigen Helden zu Pferde, wie Alexander der Große' ...

**Ad c) Das 'Relief Ruesch' ist in der Antike wiederverwendet worden. Alle seine Phasen zusammengenommen illustrieren vielleicht den Titel einer Ausstellung über Domitian, die kürzlich in Rom, in den Kapitolinischen Museen, Villa Caffarelli zu sehen war: *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore* ('Kaiser Domitian. Haß und Liebe'); vergleiche Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi und Maria Paola Del Moro (2023)**

'Viel diskutiert in der Vergangenheit, und gleichfalls von Willers (2021, 79 Anm. 6, S. 93-94), ist die Tatsache, dass das 'Relief Ruesch' (hier **Fig. 7**), obwohl nur fragmentarisch erhalten, und mit dem Gesicht Domitians zerstört, trotzdem in der Antike wiederverwendet worden ist.

Diese Annahme stützt sich auf zwei Fakten: Zum einen sind die Brüche des Reliefs geglättet worden, außerdem wurden die großen Löcher, mit denen das Relief durchbohrt wurde, eines in der Mitte des Reliefs,

die in der Antike, aber sekundär, angefertigt worden sind (das heißt, im Zusammenhang der Wiederverwendung), so angebracht, dass dabei die Figuren des Domitian und seines Pferdes unversehrt geblieben sind.

Willers (2021, 80 mit Anm. 9, S. 94 mit Anm. 82) gelingt es, die Hypothese früherer Gelehrter zu widerlegen, derzufolge das 'Relief Ruesch' als "Brunnenverkleidung" *konzipiert* worden sei. Abgesehen von der Ikonographie des Reliefs, die zu einem derartigen Zweck nicht passen würde, sind diese Löcher auch ganz offensichtlich zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt angefertigt worden. Am wichtigsten ist die Beobachtung, dass das 'Relief Ruesch' eindeutig nicht mit Wasser in Berührung gekommen ist, denn das wäre mit Sicherheit sichtbar; vergleiche Willers (2021, 80): "Spuren von fließendem Wasser sind auf der Reliefseite der Platte nicht vorhanden".

Willers spricht nicht den Vorschlag an, der im Verkaufskatalog der Sammlung Ruesch, *Katalog Fischer 1936*, unterbreitet worden ist (den Willers selbst zitiert), wo das 'Relief Ruesch' die Katalognummer 238 hat. Der Autor schlägt vor: "Nachträgliche Verwendung dieses Reliefs als Brunnenverkleidung", was ich (theoretisch) für plausibel halte, obwohl die Tatsache bestehen bleibt, dass das Relief keinerlei Spuren einer derartigen Verwendung aufweist.

Willers selbst, der ... das 'Relief Ruesch' mit den Cancellariareliefs vergleicht (hier **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung**), kommt zu dem Schluss, dass wir für beide (das heißt, die Cancellariareliefs und das 'Relief Ruesch') nicht wissen, zu welchen Gebäuden sie ursprünglich gehört haben. Willers (2021, 94) beendet deshalb seinen Aufsatz mit einer Ermahnung bezüglich der Notwendigkeit, das 'Rom Domitians' weiter zu erforschen:

**"Es bleibt die Aufgabe, die Begehungen des domitianischen Roms zu intensivieren [my emphasis]"**.

Dem kann ich nur beipflichten .... weshalb ich diesen Ausspruch von Dietrich Willers als erstes Motto dieser Studie über Domitian gewählt habe; s.o., zu Kapitel 1.1.

Im Gegensatz zu Willers, der nicht vorschlägt, wo das Gebäude gestanden haben mag, zu dem das 'Relief Ruesch' ursprünglich gehörte, noch was seine Funktion war, als es wiederverwendet worden ist, habe ich selbst bezüglich beider Fragen eine Idee.

Da ich Filippo Coarelli folge (2009b, 88; *ders.* 2012, 283, 286-291, 481-483, 486-491; s.o., zu Punkt 4.)), indem ich annehme, dass der domitianische Bogen vor Domitians 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana* auf dem Palatin möglicherweise dem *Divus Vespasianus* gewidmet war, schlage ich vor, dass die Cancellariareliefs entweder die gegenüberliegenden Wände der Durchfahrt dieses Bogens dekorierten, oder, wegen der Inhalte beider Friese, vielleicht eher einen der Durchgänge des Domitiansbogens, den Coarelli an der "Porta principale" von Domitians Palast *Domus Augustana* auf dem Palatin annimmt (vergleiche hier **Figs. 1 und 2 der Cancellariareliefs, Zeichnung, 'in situ'** und **Figs. 8.1; 58**)... Siehe auch oben zu Punkt 4.).

**'Voraussetzend, dass meine Hypothese richtig ist, derzufolge die Cancellariareliefs einen der beiden Bögen Domitians auf dem Palatin schmückten, und gleichzeitig die Beobachtung von Willers (2021, 79 Anm. 6, S. 83, Anm. 18) berücksichtigend, dass die Cancellariareliefs (hier Figs. 1; 2) und das 'Relief Ruesch' (hier Fig. 7) große stilistische Ähnlichkeiten aufweisen, schlage ich als Arbeitshypothese vor, dass das 'Relief Ruesch' (dessen Provenienz nicht überliefert ist) ursprünglich ebenfalls Teil der Skulpturenausstattung von Domitians Palast auf dem Palatin gewesen sein kann.**

Erst nachdem dieses Kapitel fertig war, ist mir aufgefallen, dass Willers (2021, 84) die Tatsache erwähnt, dass auf dem Palatin ein Relieffragment mit Darstellung eines Pferdes gefunden worden sei (vergleiche hier **Fig. 4.1.2**), das sehr ähnlich aussieht wie Domitians Pferd auf dem 'Relief Ruesch': "Bloesch hat seinerzeit auf die enge Verwandtschaft des Feldherrnpferdes auf unserem Relief [hier **Fig. 7**] mit dem Pferd eines fragmentarischen Reliefblocks vom Palatin aufmerksam gemacht [with n. 25]".

In seiner **Anm. 25**, schreibt Willers: "Bloesch 1943, 204; [von] Blanckenhagen 1940 [p. 65, I. f)], Taf. 20, Abb. 58 [wörtlich zitiert, oben, in Kapitel *V.1.i.3.b*); im Abschnitt *III.*]".

**Fig. 4.1.2. Fragmentarischer Marmorblock mit Relief eines Pferdes, vom Palatin. Hierbei handelt es sich um das Relief, über das D. Willers (2021, 84 mit Anm. 25) schreibt: "Bloesch [1943, 204] hat seinerzeit auf die enge Verwandtschaft des Feldherrnpferdes auf unserem Relief [das heißt, dem 'Relief Ruesch'; vergleiche hier Fig. 7] mit dem Pferd eines fragmentarischen Reliefblocks vom Palatin aufmerksam gemacht". Aus: P.H. von Blanckenhagen (1940, 65, I. f), Taf. 20 Abb. 58).**

Mein Dank gilt Francesca Deli, Assistant Librarian der British School at Rome, die auch diese Abbildung für mich aus dem Buch von P.H. von Blanckenhagen (1940) gescannt hat.

### **‘Bekanntlich hatte Domitian Freunde, die ihm nach seiner Ermordung treu geblieben sind.**

Ein Beweis dieser Treue ist Domitians berühmtes Portrait in den Kapitولينischen Museen, im Konservatorenpalast (Inv. Nr. MC 1156); vergleiche für diese Hypothese Häuber (2017, 167).

Dieses Portrait Domitians ist für den Umschlag des Essaybandes *God on Earth : Emperor Domitian* ausgewählt worden, herausgegeben von Aurora Raimondi Cominesi, Nathalie de Haan, Eric M. Moormann und Claire Stocks (2021), und erscheint auch auf dem Umschlag des Ausstellungskataloges *Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore*, herausgegeben von Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi und Maria Paola Del Moro (2023)

An anderem Ort habe ich den Fundort dieses Portraits des Domitian in der Via Rattazzi auf dem Esquilin ermitteln können; vergleiche Häuber (1991, 57-58 mit Anm. 251, indem ich diese Büste mit Fundberichten identifiziert habe, publiziert in den *NSc* 1898, 391, und im *BullCom* 26, 1898, 350; vergleiche S. 351: "Tutti gli oggetti di questa sezione sono conservati nel Magazzino Archeologico all'Orto Botanico; vergleiche *HELBIG*<sup>4</sup> II (1966) Nr. 1752, "Fragmentierte Büste des Domitian" (H. v. HEINTZE): "Gefunden wahrscheinlich auf dem Esquilin zwischen 1894 und 1904. Erst im Antiquarium auf dem Caelius, dann im Konservatorenpalast, Sala degli Arazzi 3").

Dietrich Willers (2021, Taf. 13,5; vergleiche seine Taf. 13,2-4 [= hier **Fig. 7**]) hat ein Photo dieses Domitiansportraits mit dem Kopf des römischen *imperator* auf dem 'Relief Ruesch' verglichen, um zu beweisen, dass der Protagonist dieses Relief ebenfalls Domitian ist.

Ein anderes Beispiel ist Domitians Amme Phyllis, die, dank ihrer klugen Aktionen, dem Domitian sogar eine Bestattung in seinem *Templum Gentis Flaviae* gesichert hat, buchstäblich 'zusammen mit seiner geliebten Iulia Titi', der Tochter seines Bruders Titus, und zwar in derselben Aschurne (!). Phyllis hatte sowohl Domitian als auch Iulia Titi erzogen (Suet., *Dom.* 17; 22); die *Diva Iulia Titi* war die erste gewesen, die Domitian im *Templum Gentis Flaviae* bestattet hatte. Nach Domitians Ermordung, verbrannte Phyllis seinen Leichnam in ihrer *Villa* an der *Via Latina*; dann trug sie die Asche Domitians heimlich zum *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, wo sie diese mit jener der Iulia Titi vermischt hat (Suet., *Dom.* 17).

Online at: <[https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Suetonius/12Caesars/Domitian\\*.html#17](https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Suetonius/12Caesars/Domitian*.html#17)> [last visit: 31-XII-2022].

Vergleiche Filippo Coarelli ("Gens Flavia, Templum", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 368); Coarelli (2009b, 94 mit Anm. 309); Eugenio La Rocca (2009, 228 mit Anm. 45); Häuber (2017, 167; siehe auch oben, zu Kapitel *IV.1.1.h*); Barbora Chabrečková (2017, 40); Maria Paola Del Moro (2021, 185 mit Anm. 2; *dies.* 2023, 167 mit Anm. 2); und Eric M. Moormann (2021, 46 mit Anm. 16; *ders.* 2023, 59 mit Anm. 17). Dietmar Kienast, Werner Eck und Matthäus Heil (2017, 109) kommentieren Domitians Tod und Bestattung wie folgt: "18. Sept.[ember] 96 *Tod* : Ermordet (Suet. *Domit.* 17, 3). **Heimliche Beisetzung im templum gentis Flaviae** [Hervorhebung von mir]".



Ich füge deshalb meiner Arbeitshypothese zum 'Relief Ruesch' (hier **Fig. 7**) noch etwas hinzu.

Gegenwärtig können wir nicht wissen, ob der Person, die das 'Relief Ruesch' wiederverwendet hat, bewusst war, dass es in seinem ursprünglichen Zustand Domitian dargestellt hatte. Noch, falls das der Fall war, ob diese Person dem Domitian feindlich gesonnen war oder nicht. Obwohl all das bislang unbekannt ist, bleibt auch die folgende Möglichkeit bestehen. Vielleicht handelte es sich um eine weitere Person, die Domitian treu geblieben war. Diese Person kann das 'Relief Ruesch' an sich genommen haben, nachdem Domitians Portrait auf dem Relief zerstört worden war, und hat auf diese Weise womöglich sogar die komplette Zerstörung des Reliefs verhindert. Dann behielt sie das 'Relief Ruesch' als Erinnerung an Domitian, und hat es mittels dieser Löcher vielleicht irgendwo aufgehängt'.

Wie man an diesem Kapitel *The major results of this book on Domitian* ('Die wichtigsten Ergebnisse dieses Buches über Domitian') sieht, bleibt noch viel zu tun, wenn wir Domitian und seinen Bauten in Rom gerecht werden möchten.

*The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps*  
(*Die Visualisierung der Resultate dieses Buches über Domitian auf unseren Karten*)

Änderungen auf unseren erweiterten und verbesserten Karten gegenüber den ersten Versionen von 2017.

Der Titel unserer Karte Fig. 58 lautet jetzt: "Karte des Marsfeldes in Rom in der Kaiserzeit, mit anschließenden Stadtgebieten, 2023". Vergleiche für die erste Version dieser Karte, die ein kleineres Areal Roms wiedergibt, Häuber (2017, 63, Fig. 3.5) .

Der Titel unserer Karte Fig. 59 lautet jetzt: "Karte des Marsfeldes in Rom in der Kaiserzeit, mit anschließenden Stadtgebieten, und mit der aktuellen Topographie, 2023". Auf dieser Karte sind die photogrammetrischen Daten sichtbar (die das aktuelle Kataster enthalten), auf denen alle unsere Karten basieren. Vergleiche für die erste Version dieser Karte, die ein kleineres Areal Roms wiedergibt, Häuber (2017, 69, Fig. 3.7).

Die photogrammetrischen Daten, auf denen die Karten Figs. 58; 59 basieren, wurden uns großzügigerweise vom Sovraintendente ai Beni Culturali von Roma Capitale zur Verfügung gestellt. C. Häuber, Rekonstruktionen. Diese Karten wurden mit dem "AIS ROMA" gezeichnet (C. Häuber und F.X. Schütz 2017, aktualisiert 2023).

The title of our map Fig 58 is now: "Map of the *Campus Martius* at Rome in the Imperial period, showing also adjacent areas, 2023". For the first version of this map, comprising a smaller area: Häuber (2017, 63, Fig. 3.5).

The title of our map Fig 59 is now: "Map of the *Campus Martius* at Rome in the Imperial period, showing also adjacent areas, and comprising the current layout of the city, 2023". On this map the photogrammetric data (comprising the current cadastre), on which all our maps are based, is visible. For the first version of this map, comprising a smaller area: Häuber (2017, 69, Fig. 3.7).

The photogrammetric data, on which the maps Figs. 58; 59 were based, were generously provided by the Sovraintendente ai Beni Culturali of Roma Capitale. C. Häuber, reconstructions. These maps were drawn with the "AIS ROMA" (C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz 2017, updated 2023).

On 14th December 2022, Franz Xaver Schütz and I have published an earlier version of this Chapter on our Webserver as a Preview for this *Study* on Domitian:

Online at: <<https://FORTVNA-research.org/FORTVNA/FP3.html>>.

Die Karten Figs. 58 und 59 wurden für das Buch über Domitian (FORTVNA PAPERS III) aktualisiert, indem alle in diesem Buch erwähnten, und im kartierten Bereich der Stadt lokalisierbaren Ortsbezeichnungen (Toponyme) darauf eingezeichnet worden sind. Eine Besonderheit dieses Buches sind die Beschreibungen von 'Wegen nach Rom' und 'Wegen durch die Stadt Rom', die auf diesen Karten nachvollziehbar werden. Dabei handelt es sich in chronologischer Reihenfolge um folgende Ereignisse:

**1.) Rom, Bürgerkrieg, 18.-21. Dezember 69 n. Chr.: Wege des Flavius Sabinus und des Domitian :**

Am 18. Dezember 69 n. Chr. begibt sich Flavius Sabinus, *praefectus urbi* (Vertreter des Kaisers in der Stadt und 'Polizeichef') und älterer Bruder Vespasians, zusammen mit seinen Leuten und Personen, die auf der Seite Vepasians stehen, von seiner *Domus* auf dem Quirinal aus zum Palatin, um mit Kaiser Vitellius die Modalitäten von dessen Abdankung abschließend zu verhandeln.

Als sie den *Lacus Fundani* (beim *Fons Cati*) auf dem Quirinal erreicht haben, werden Flavius Sabinus und seine Begleiter (die 'Flavier') überraschend von den Soldaten des Vitellius (den 'Vitellianern') angegriffen, flüchten sich in die befestigte *Area Capitolina* auf dem *Capitolium* (den Heiligen Bezirk des Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus) auf der südlichen Kuppe des Kapitols, und werden in der Nacht vom 18. auf den 19. Dezember von den Vitellianern belagert. In dieser Nacht werden auch die Söhne des Flavius Sabinus und Domitian zu ihm gebracht.

Zu den Begleitern des Flavius Sabinus gehören einflußreiche Ritter und Senatoren, die amtierenden Konsuln, sowie die Offiziere der *cohortes urbanae* und der *vigiles*, die Flavius Sabinus direkt unterstellt sind; vergleiche hierzu Alexander Heinemann (2016, 191, Abb. 3), der ebenfalls die hier beschriebenen Wege diskutiert, jedoch, im Unterschied zu mir, die Auffassung vertritt, dass sich Flavius Sabinus auf die nördliche Kuppe des Kapitols, die *Arx*, begeben habe.

Am Morgen des 19. Dezember wird der Tempel des Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus in Brand gesteckt, die Vitellianer dringen in die befestigte *Area Capitolina* ein, und während die meisten Flavier getötet werden, gelingt einigen wenigen, u.a. auf Grund von Verkleidungen, die Flucht. So auch Domitian, der sich, als *Isiacus* oder Isispriester gekleidet, einer Prozession anschließen kann, die das *Capitolium* verlässt. Flavius Sabinus und seine Söhne werden gefangen genommen und dem Vitellius auf dem Palatin in der '*Domus Tiberiana*' vorgeführt; später werden sie getötet. Auch Vitellius wird (am 20. Dezember) getötet und sein Leichnam in den Tiber geworfen. Am 22. Dezember erkennt der Senat Vespasian als neuen Kaiser an; Vespasian selbst betrachtete dagegen den 1. Juli 69 n. Chr. als seinen *dies imperii* (siehe dazu unten, unter 2.)).

Domitian begibt sich nach seiner gelungenen Flucht vom *Capitolium* entweder zu einem Freigelassenen seines Vaters ins Stadtviertel *Velabrum*, oder zur Mutter eines Schulkameraden nach Trastevere (*Transtiberim*), die ihn vor den Vitellianern verstecken. Nach der Eroberung Roms durch die flavischen Truppen unter M. Antonius Primus am 20. Dezember, kommt Domitian am 21. Dezember aus seinem Versteck, wird auf Veranlassung des Gaius Licinius Mucianus als Caesar und *Princeps iuventutis* anerkannt und feierlich von den flavischen Soldaten zur *Domus* seines Vaters Vespasian auf dem Quirinal geleitet. Dort war Domitian geboren worden; er selbst sollte später an dieser Stelle das *Templum Gentis Flaviae* errichten, in dem er, neben anderen Familienmitgliedern, seinen Vater, *Divus Vespasianus*, und seinen Bruder, *Divus Titus*, beigesetzt hat. - Soweit meine eigene Interpretation dieses gesamten Geschehens, das kontrovers diskutiert wird.

Für ausführliche Diskussionen aller Forschungsmeinungen zu diesen Vorgängen; s.o., Kapitel *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; Section III. *My own thoughts about Domitian. With The second Contribution by Eugenio La Rocca: Una nota sul labirinto del Palatino; at points 1.) and 5.)* ('*Preamble. Domitians negatives Image; Abschnitt III. Meine eigenen Gedanken zu Domitian. Mit Dem zweiten Beitrag von Eugenio La Rocca: Eine Notiz zum Labyrinth auf dem Palatin; zu den Punkten 1.) und 5.)*'); und Kapitel IV.; Kapitel V.1.i.3.); und Kapitel *The major results of this book on Domitian* ('*Die wichtigsten Ergebnisse dieses Buches über Domitian*'); und im Band 3-2, zu *Appendix I.* und *Appendix IV.*

**2.). Rom, 1. Hälfte Oktober 70 n. Chr. : Ankunft Kaiser Vespasians auf der Via Appia an der Porta Capena:** Der Tod Kaiser Neros (Sommer 68 n. Chr) hatte zur unmittelbaren Folge gehabt, dass Vespasian sein Oberkommando im Jüdischen Krieg niederlegte; vergleiche Rose Mary Sheldon (2007, 141; wörtlich zitiert, s.o., **Anm. 412**, im Kapitel III.).

Dieser Krieg hatte im Sommer 66 begonnen, als im Tempel von Jerusalem die Opfer für Roma und den römischen Kaiser untersagt, und die römische Besatzung in der Stadt ermordet worden waren; vergleiche Sheldon (2007, 134); Eck (2022, Sp. 494-495). Für den Kult der Göttin Roma und den Kaiser in den östlichen römischen Provinzen; vergleiche Stefan Pfeiffer (2010b, 23, 24; wörtlich zitiert in: C. HÄUBER 2017, 341, Anm. 94). - Siehe aber unten, zu den Gründen für diese Revolte.

Cestius Gallus, der Stadthalter von Syrien, war daraufhin mit seinen Soldaten angerückt, hatte bei der Rückkehr jedoch erhebliche Einbußen erlitten, da alle Soldaten der XII. Legion getötet wurden. Als Kaiser Nero davon erfuhr, entschloss er sich, keine diplomatische Lösung dieses Konflikts anzustreben, sondern sandte im Jahre 67 Vespasian als Legat nach Judaea, mit einem Heer von 60.000 Mann; Vespasians älterer Sohn Titus kam aus Ägypten mit einer weiteren Legion hinzu (!); vergleiche für das Ganze sehr detailliert Sheldon (2007, 133-139; s.u., im Kapitel V.1.i.3.)).

Erst nachdem wir dieses Kapitel bereits auf unserem Webserver publiziert hatten, fand Franz Xaver Schütz weitere Informationen bezüglich des Anlasses zu diese Revolte im Jahre 66 n. Chr. Siehe oben, Chapter *Preamble; Section III.; at point 2.*): unter dem Präfekten von *Judaea*, Gessius Florus, hatte die veränderte Politik Neros zu einer noch stärkeren Auspönderung des Landes geführt; vergleiche hierzu u.a. Werner Eck (2022, Sp. 494). (s.o. `Kapitel *Preamble*; Abschnitt *III.*; zu Punkt 2.)`).

Bis zum Sommer 68 hatte Vespasian bereits wunschgemäß *Judaea* größtenteils unterworfen; vergleiche hierzu Eck (2022, Sp. 495); Sheldon (2007, 141).

Nach Neros Tod folgte der Bürgerkrieg (68-69), das sogenannte `Vierkaiserjahr`. Erst als sich in diesem Bürgerkrieg, zu Ende des Jahres 69, die flavische Partei durchgesetzt hatte, wurden die Kampfhandlungen im Jüdischen Krieg wieder aufgenommen. Titus sollte dann im Jahre 70 Jerusalem erobern und den Tempel zerstören; vergleiche Eck (2022, Sp. 495); sowie sehr detailliert Sheldon (2007, 141-146).

Zurück zu Vespasian. Im Sommer des Jahres 69 begab sich Vespasian - ohne seine Soldaten - von *Judaea* nach Alexandria, um dort die Getreideflotten, die demnächst nach Rom aufbrechen sollten, aufzuhalten und auf diese Weise Rom unter Druck setzen zu können; vergleiche Trevor Luke (2018, 195; wörtlich zitiert, s.o., in Kapitel *II.3.1.c*)).

Und um selbst Kaiser zu werden, entschloss sich Vespasian, wie Emmanuelle Rosso (2007, 127) treffend formuliert hat, für "l'investiture égyptienne" in Alexandria, das heißt, für `die ägyptische Investitur` (das heißt, die Einsetzung als neuer ägyptischer Pharao). Vespasian habe im Übrigen gar keine andere Wahl gehabt, stellt Rosso (2007, 127) fest, da er der erste römische Kaiser gewesen sei, der nicht mit einem *divus* verwandt gewesen ist: "Vespasien était précisément le premier empereur de l'histoire du principat à n'avoir aucun lien de parenté avec un *diuus*".

Als Abschluss der Zeremonien, die Vespasian als dem neuen Pharao galten, ließ ihn dann der *praefectus aegypti*, Ti. Iulius Alexander, ein Freund seines Sohnes Titus, von den in Alexandria stationierten Legionen am 1. Juli 69 n. Chr. als *Imperator* (Kaiser) akklamieren; vergleiche Häuber (2014a, 152-153). Das war der bereits oben erwähnte *dies imperii* Vespasians. Für alle diese hochkomplexen Vorgänge und deren Bedeutung; s.u., in Band 3-2, in *Appendix II.a*).

Nachdem Ende des Jahres 69 die Kampfhandlungen im Jüdischen Krieg wieder aufgenommen worden waren, und Vespasian das Oberkommando seinem älteren Sohn Titus übertragen hatte (vergleiche W. ECK 2022, Sp. 495; R.M. SHELDON 2007, 141), kehrte Vespasian nach Italien zurück.

In Brindisi angekommen, legte Vespasian seine militärische Kleidung ab, und zivile Kleidung an und machte sich auf den 500 km langen Weg nach Rom, wo er in der 1. Hälfte Oktober 70 n. Chr. eintraf; s.o., **Anm. 195**, in Kapitel *I.1.1*. Da Vespasian von Brindisi kam, muss er Rom, auf der *Via Appia* reisend, an der *Porta Capena* innerhalb der Servianischen Stadtmauer erreicht haben (vergleiche hier **Fig. 58**).

Meines Erachtens ist dieser *adventus* Vespasians in der 1. Hälfte des Oktober 70 n. Chr. auf Fries B der Cancellaria Reliefs dargestellt (hier **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung: Figuren 14** [Vespasian] und **12** [Domitian]): Vespasian wird auf diesem Relief von den Repräsentanten der Stadt Rom empfangen (von links nach rechts), der Stadtgöttin *Dea Roma*, fünf Vestalinnen, dem Genius des Senats und dem Genius des römischen Volkes, sowie dem amtierenden *praetor urbanus*, seinem jüngeren Sohn und Caesar, Domitian; Domitian hatte seit dem 1. Januar 70 die Magistratur *praetor urbanus consulari potestate* inne.

Vergleiche hierzu oben, Kapitel *V.1.i.3.*); Kapitel *The major results of this book on Domitian* (`Die wichtigsten Ergebnisse dieses Buches über Domitian`); sowie unten, in Band 3-2, in *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ... Introduction; Section I.* (`Eine Studie der Folgen von Domitians Ermordung ...; Einführung; Abschnitt I.`).

### **3.) Rom, Juni 71 n. Chr.: Der Weg vom Iseum Campense zur *Porticus Octaviae*, den Vespasian und Titus (und Domitian ?) am Morgen ihres gemeinsamen Triumphzugs gegangen sind :**

Titus war erst kurz vor ihrem Triumph im Juni 71, zusammen mit seinem siegreichen Heer, aus dem Großen Jüdischen Krieg nach Rom zurückgekehrt. Vespasian und Titus verbrachten dann zusammen mit ihren Soldaten die Nacht vor dem gemeinsamen Triumphzug auf dem Marsfeld, in der Nähe des ägyptischen Heiligtums Iseum Campense und der *Villa Publica*. Am folgenden Morgen (das heißt, vor dem Beginn ihres

Triumphzugs) begaben sich Vespasian und Titus (und Domitian ?) zur *Porticus Octaviae* am *Circus Flaminius*, wo sie sich mit Vertretern des Senats trafen, die ihnen (erst zu diesem späten Zeitpunkt !) offiziell mitteilten, dass der Senat dem Vespasian und dem Titus für ihre Siege im Großen Jüdischen Krieg Triumphe zugestanden habe, sowie dem Domitian einen eigenen Triumph für seine gleichzeitigen Aktivitäten in Rom. Dieses Treffen fand in der *Porticus Octaviae* statt, weil sich dieses Gebäude außerhalb der heiligen Stadtgrenze Roms, dem *pomerium*, befand. Nota bene: Wir wissen von Flavius Josephus (*Bellum Judaicum* 7,5,3), der diesen Text im Auftrag von Vespasian und Titus verfasst hat (s.o., **Anm. 201**, in Kapitel I.1.1.), dass der Senat bei dieser Gelegenheit allen drei Männern: Vespasian, Titus und Domitian, je einen separaten Triumph zugestanden hatte; sie beschlossen allerdings, *gemeinsam einen Triumph* zu feiern.

Der hier beschriebene Weg von Vespasian, Titus (und Domitian) ist bislang in der Forschung noch nicht diskutiert worden, Ich habe mich bereits 2017 mit ihm beschäftigt und eine mögliche Route vorgeschlagen, nachdem Franz Xaver Schütz und ich den entsprechenden Teil des Stadtgrundrisses rekonstruiert hatten; cf. Häuber (2017, 191202); s.u., in Band 3-2, in *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...; Introduction; Section I. ('Eine Studie zu den Folgen von Domitians Ermordung ...; Einführung; Abschnitt I.')* wo ich diese Forschungen fortgesetzt habe.

#### **4.) Rom, Juni 71 n. Chr.: Der Weg, des Triumphzugs von Vespasian, Titus und Domitian :**

Hierzu gibt es sehr verschiedene Vorschläge, die ich bereits 2017 und erneut in diesem Buch im Detail diskutiert habe. Mit dieser Thematik hängen zwei weitere, ebenfalls umstrittene Fragestellungen zusammen: Welchen Verlauf hatte das Pomerium zum fraglichen Zeitpunkt, und welches Tor haben Vespasian, Titus und Domitian als ihre *Porta Triumphalis* gewählt? Auch für die ausführliche Diskussionen dieser Themen; s.u., in Band 3-2, in *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...; Introduction; Section I. ('Eine Studie zu den Folgen von Domitians Ermordung ...; Einführung; Abschnitt I.')*.

#### **5.) Rom: Unter der Herrschaft Domitians: Der Weg vom Forum zu Domitian's Palast auf dem Palatin :**

Sobald Domitian seinen Palast auf dem Palatin, die *Domus Augustana*, vollendet hatte (Bauzeit circa 81-92 n. Chr.), schuf er einen repräsentativen Aufgang dorthin, indem er die Straße *Vicus Apollinis* ?/ '*Clivus Palatinus*' anlegen liess. Diese Straße führte vom Titusbogen (das heisst, dem Bogen des *Divus Titus*) auf der *Velia*, der sich in der Nähe des *Forum Romanum* befindet, hinauf auf den Palatin zu seinem Palast.

Filippo Coarelli (2009b, 88; ders. 2012, 481-483, 486-491) hat diesen Weg und seine Bedeutung für Domitian beschrieben. Der '*Arcus Domitiani*' ('Domitianischer Bogen'), der vor der Fassade seines Palastes stand und den '*Clivus Palatinus*' überspannte, und von dem noch Reste eines der Pylone (die aus späterer Zeit stammen) sichtbar sind, kann nach Coarellis Ansicht von Domitian seinem Vater, dem *Divus Vespasianus*, geweiht worden sein. Der *Clivus* führte dann, so Coarelli, nach einer Linkskurve zum Haupteingang des Palastes, wo Coarelli einen dritten Bogen, und zwar für Domitian, annimmt, den er mit dem aus den Constantinischen Regionenkatalogen bekannten *Pentapylon* identifiziert, und den er sich als einen Triumphbogen vorstellt.

Die Motivation Domitians, den Weg zu seinem Palast mit Hilfe dieser Bögen für den *Divus Titus* und für den *Divus Vespasianus* 'sakral zu überhöhen', wie Coarelli (2012, 483) sich ausdrückt, hat er sehr treffend formuliert:

**"La scelta di 'sacralizzare' questo percorso con monumenti dedicati ai due primi imperatori flavi si spiega con l'assoluta centralità dell'elemento dinastico nella politica di Domiziano [Hervorhebung von mir]"**.

Der Bereich des Haupteingangs auf der Nordseite von Domitians Palast ist sehr stark zerstört, weshalb sich Coarellis Hypothese, hier einen Triumphbogen für Domitian anzunehmen, augenblicklich nicht verifizieren lässt (siehe dazu unten). Aber bereits Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt und Natascha Sojc (2009, 268-272, Figs. 3; 4), auf die sich Coarelli (2012) bei seinem Vorschlag berufen hat, und Wulf-Rheidt (2020, 188), die jedoch ihrerseits Coarellis (2012) Hypothese nicht erwähnt, lokalisieren an derselben Stelle wie Coarelli den Haupteingang der *Domus Augustana*, und zwar stellt sich Wulf-Rheidt (2020, 188) diesen Haupteingang zum Palast ebenfalls in Form eines Bogens vor. Des Weiteren konnte Wulf-Rheidt (2020, 188) feststellen, dass dieser Haupteingang zu Domitians *Domus Augustana* mit Sicherheit bereits zur Zeit Domitians existiert hat.

Ausgehend von der Beobachtung anderer Gelehrter; s.o., Kapitel *The major results of this book on Domitian* ('Die wichtigsten Ergebnisse dieses Buches über Domitian'), dass die Cancellariareiefs spätdomitianisch datierbar seien und dass die Werkstatt, welche die Cancellaria Reliefs geschaffen hat, auch im Palast Domitians auf dem Palatin und auf seinem *Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium* tätig war, schlage ich selbst in diesem Buch Folgendes vor.

Die Cancellariareiefs (hier **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung; Figs. 1 und 2 der Cancellariareiefs, Zeichnung, 'in situ'**) waren möglicherweise im Durchgang von Domitians Bogen des *Divus Vespasianus* auf dem Palatin angebracht. Oder vielleicht eher in einem der Durchgänge des Domitiansbogens, den Coarelli am Haupteingang der *Domus Augustana* lokalisiert. Und zwar wegen der Inhalte der Friese, die beide Domitian verherrlichen, andererseits wird mit der Geste Vespasians auf Fries B (**Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung: Figuren: 14; 12**), der seine rechte Hand auf die linke Schulter Domitians legt (in Wirklichkeit berührt Vespasians Hand Domitians Schulter gar nicht, aber aus der Entfernung sieht es so aus), hervorgehoben, dass Domitian die Legitimation seiner Herrschaft von seinem Vater, dem *Divus Vespasianus*, erhalten hat; s.o., Kapitel III., wo ich diese Hypothese Giandomenico Spinolas, die er mir freundlicherweise am 24. September 2018 mitgeteilt hat, und der ich hier folge, zitiert habe; siehe auch oben, im Kapitel *The major results of this book on Domitian* ('Die wichtigsten Ergebnisse dieses Buches über Domitian'); sowie unten, in *The Contribution by Giandomenico on the Cancellaria Reliefs* ('Der Beitrag von Giandomenico Spinola zu den Cancellariareiefs'), wo seine Hypothese publiziert ist.

Diese Tatsache passt meiner Meinung nach sehr gut zu Coarelli's (2012, 483) oben zitierter Beobachtung, 'dass für die Politik Domitians der Hinweis auf seine Dynastie von zentraler Bedeutung' gewesen sei.

Die Cancellariareiefs sind in grobianischer Weise von dem Gebäude abgenommen worden, an dem sie ursprünglich angebracht waren, da sie jedoch im Depot einer Bildhauerwerkstatt angetroffen worden sind, sollten sie womöglich (zum Teil) wiederverwendet werden. Des Weiteren haben bereits andere Forscher vermutet, dass das Gebäude, zu dem die Cancellariareiefs gehört hatten, zusammen mit diesen Reliefs absichtlich zerstört worden sei. Vorausgesetzt, dass es diesen von Coarelli postulierten Domitiansbogen am Haupteingang von Domitians *Domus Augustana* tatsächlich gegeben haben sollte, dann würde meine Hypothese, die Cancellariareiefs an diesem Bogen anzubringen, auf Grund von Tatsachen gestützt, die Wulf-Rheidt (2020, 188) feststellen konnte. Dieser Eingangsbereich von Domitians Palast auf dem Palatin ist nämlich von den nachfolgenden Kaisern sehr stark verändert worden, was offensichtlich bedeutet, dass im Zuge dieser Veränderungen die domitianische Phase dieses Haupteingangs zerstört worden ist.

Für eine Diskussion dieses 5. Weges, den man auf unserer Karte **Fig. 58** nachvollziehen kann, vom Forum zu Domitians Palast, sowie zu meiner Hypothese, dass die Cancellariareiefs an einem dieser beiden Bögen Domitians auf dem Palatin angebracht gewesen sein könnten; s.o., Kapitel *The major results of this book on Domitian* ('Die wichtigsten Ergebnisse dieses Buches über Domitian'); sowie Kapitel VI.3; *Addition (Zusatz)*; und für die Auffindung der Cancellariareiefs in einer Bildhauerwerkstatt; s.o., Kapitel V.1.; V.1.a); V.1.a.1.).

Für die Hypothese, dass das Gebäude, zu dem die Cancellariareiefs gehört hatten, zusammen mit den Reliefs zerstört worden sei, zitiere ich eine Textpassage aus oben, dem Kapitel *The major results of this book on Domitian* ('Die wichtigsten Ergebnisse dieses Buches über Domitian'):

''Im Unterschied zu allen früheren Gelehrten, schlägt Massimo Pentiricci (2009) Folgendes vor. Die meisten Platten der Cancellariareiefs (vergleiche hier **Figs. 1 und 2 Zeichnung**) stammen aus dem von mir so genannten 'Second sculptor's workshop' (der 'zweiten Bildhauerwerkstatt'), die Filippo Magi (1939; 1945) unter dem Cancellariapalast neben dem Grab des Konsuls Aulus Hirtius, ausgegraben hat. Zusammen mit den Cancellariareiefs hat Magi dort Architekturfragmente angetroffen, die zu einem Bogen gehören. Pentiricci ist der Auffassung, dass all das ursprünglich aus demselben Kontext stammt, weshalb dieses domitianische Gebäude zusammen mit den Cancellariareiefs abgerissen worden sein müsse.

Vergleiche M. PENTIRICCI 2009, 61 mit Anm. 428-431; S. 62 mit Anm. 440-442, S. 162 mit Anm. 97, S. 204: "§ 3. La ristrutturazione urbanistica in età flavia (Periodo 3)"; vergleiche S. 204-205: "L'officina

marmoraria presso il sepolcro di Irzio"); s.o., Kapitel I.3.2.), zu **Anm. 261; 297**; und zu **Anm. 334**, in Kapitel II.3.1.a). Zu dieser 'zweiten Bildhauerwerkstatt'; s.o., Kapitel I.3.1.); V.1.a.1.).

Stephanie Langer und Michael Pfanner (2018, 82), die Massimo Pentiricci (2009) in diesem Zusammenhang nicht zitieren, sind ebenfalls der Ansicht, dass das Gebäude, zu dem sie gehörten, zusammen mit den Cancellariereiefs abgerissen worden sei. Des Weiteren haben sie bereits vorgeschlagen (wegen anderer Gründe als ich), dass es Nerva gewesen sein könnte, der die Zerstörung des Gebäudes mit den Cancellariereiefs in Auftrag gab; s.o., Kapitel V.1.a); V.1.b); V.1.i.1.)'.

### **Die folgenden Textpassagen stammen aus der folgenden Studie im Band 3-2:**

*A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination:*

*Nerva is forced to adopt Trajan and Trajan creates Domitian's negative image to consolidate his own reign. With Hadrian's adoption manquée in late October or at the beginning of November of AD 97, his 20-year long road to his accession and his thanksgivings for it, his Temple complex in the Campus Martius. Or :*

*The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva, and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) (cf. here Fig. 3). With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz, with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz (cf. here Fig. 77), with The Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen;*

*INTRODUCTION; Section I. The motivation to write this Chapter:*

*W. Eck's (2019b) new interpretation of the inscription CIL VI 40518 (cf. here Fig. 91.1), the decision to correct my own relevant errors in my earlier Study (2017), and the subjects discussed here, as told by the accompanying figures and their pertaining captions:*

Der Titel lautet, ins Deutsche übersetzt:

*Eine Studie zu den Folgen von Domitians Ermordung:*

*Nerva wird gezwungen, Trajan zu adoptieren und Trajan gibt das negative Image von Domitian in Auftrag, um seine eigene Herrschaft zu konsolidieren. Mit Diskussionen der adoption manquée Hadrians im späten Oktober oder Anfang November 97 n. Chr., von Hadrians 20 Jahre dauerndem Weg zu seinem eigenen Herrschaftsbeginn und seinem Dank dafür, der Errichtung seines Tempel Komplexes auf dem Marsfeld.*

*Oder: Der weitere topographische Kontext des Hadriansbogens an der Via Flaminia, der zum (späteren) Hadrianeum führte und zu Hadrians Tempel der Diva Matidia (und der Diva Sabina ?). Mit Diskussionen von Hadrians Reise von Moesia inferior nach Mogontiacum (Mainz), um Trajan zu seiner Adoption durch Nerva zu gratulieren, und zu Hadrians Portraittyp Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) (vergleiche hier Fig. 3). Mit Dem vierten und fünften Beitrag von Peter Herz, mit Dem Beitrag von Franz Xaver Schütz (vergleiche hier Fig. 77) mit Dem Beitrag von John Bodel, und mit Dem zweiten Beitrag von Angelo Geißen;*

*EINFÜHRUNG; Abschnitt I. Die Motivation, dieses Kapitel zu verfassen: ... und die in diesem Kapitel behandelten Themen, die von den begleitenden Abbildungen und ihren zugehörigen Bildunterschriften erzählt werden.*

"Let's begin with the, in my opinion, easiest approach to the complex subjects, discussed in this Chapter (which, in reality, is another monograph within this Study on Domitian): by looking at the following illustrations and by reading the captions of those figures.

All our maps, now updated and illustrated in the following, were already published in my earlier Study of 2017. They are two large maps of the *Campus Martius* at Rome and adjacent areas: here Fig. 58 (this map shows the ancient buildings, discussed in my earlier Study of 2017 and in this new book), and the map Fig. 59 (this map shows the ancient buildings and the modern topography together). This map can, therefore, help the user to find the precise sites of those ancient buildings more easily, when walking through Rome.

The maps that are details of those two larger maps: are here **Figs. 60; 61; 64, 65 and 66**. All of them are characterized by different additions to the maps **Figs. 58 and 59**, and some of the cartographic details they contain are addressed in this *Introduction ...*".

**"Please note the corrections on our updated maps here Figs. 58; 59; 60; 61; 62; 63; 64; 65; 66.**

Our maps here **Figs. 58; 59; 60; 61; 62; 63; 64; 65; 66**, first published in 2017 and illustrated here again, have been updated in the meantime. I maintain my hypothesis concerning the north-south axis, drawn on **Figs. 62; 64; 65; 66**, but I have corrected seven cartographic details in those maps:

### *The seven cartographic corrections on our updated maps*

#### **1.) the structure, labelled as "Tempio di Siepe" -**

on the first versions of the maps here **Figs. 58; 59; 60; 62; 63; 64; 65; 66** (cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, **Figs. 3.5; 3.7; 3.7.1; 5.2; 3.7.3; 3.7.5.a; 3.7.5.b; 3.7.5.c**), and located within the first cortile of the Collegio Capranica at Palazzo Capranica, may instead be identified with *the western half of the apse* of the Temple of *Diva Matidia*.

[In my earlier *Study* (2017), I had also discussed an alternative hypothesis (which I now believe is true), namely that the "Tempio di Siepe" stood to the north of this first cortile of the Collegio Capranica. For a detailed discussion; cf *infra* in this Chapter, at Section VI.]

This I have realized thanks to two visits on site at the Palazzo Capranica on 19th April 2018 and on 27th November 2019. Previously neither the Torre Capranica, nor the first cortile within the Collegio Capranica, the Teatro Capranica with its grandiose staircase (the "Scalone". For the Torre Capranica, the Teatro and the Scalone; cf. here **Figs. 62; 66**), nor the basements of Palazzo Capranica were accessible to me. These visits were kindly arranged for me by the art historian Laura Gigli, Arch. Giuseppe Simonetta, Arch. Gabriella Marchetti, and Arch. Marco Setti, who also accompanied me and gave me guided tours to the palazzo and to the architectural remains in its basements.

In addition to this, I have studied the article by Simonetta and Gigli, which comprises Simonetta's reconstructed ground-plan of the Temple of *Diva Matidia* that is based on the architectural remains documented by them in the basements of Palazzo Capranica (cf. *id.* 2018 [2021], 128-129 with n. 7, pp. 164-165, Fig. 1 = here **Figs. 67; 67.1**).

Giuseppe Simonetta has drawn his reconstructed ground-plan of the Temple of *Diva Matidia* with a thin green line; cf. here **Figs. 67; 67.1**. On our map **Fig. 58**, Simonetta's ground-plan of the Temple of *DIVA MATIDIA* is likewise drawn with a thin green line, whereas on all our other maps (here **Figs. 59-66**), Simonetta's ground-plan of the Temple of *Diva Matidia* is drawn with a thin red line.. All this is in detail discussed below in Section VI. of this Chapter.

Consequently, the "Tempio di Siepe" did not stand within the first cortile of the Collegio Capranica, as I myself (2017) and other scholars have (erroneously) suggested. According to my current knowledge, the "Tempio di Siepe", which, according to Alò Giovannoli's etching (1616; cf. here **Fig. 69.2**) stood 'behind Palazzo Capranica', cannot be located precisely, which is why it does not appear on our maps any more. For a discussion; cf. *infra*, in Sections IX and XII. of this *Introduction*;

#### **2.) Hadrian's basilicas within his Temple complex, dedicated to *Diva Matidia* and to *Diva Marciana* :**

as already mentioned above, concerning the identifications of the two basilicas, dedicated by Hadrian to *Diva Matidia* and *Diva Marciana*, respectively, I believe now that they may possibly be identified with the structures immediately to the west and east of my Temple of *Diva Matidia*, which on my maps of 2017 are labelled as follows: "Halls belonging to the Temple of [DIVA] MATIDIA ?". Whereas now they are labelled: "Halls belonging to the Temple of DIVA MATIDIA ? or BASILICA I ?; Halls belonging to DIVA MATIDIA ? or BASILICA II ?

The reason for this change of ideas is again Simonetta's reconstructed ground-plan of the Temple of *Diva Matidia* (cf. G. SIMONETTA and L. GIGLI 2018 [2021], 164-165, Fig. 1 = here **Figs. 67; 67.1**). We have integrated Simonetta's reconstruction of his Temple of *Diva Matidia* into our maps here **Figs. 58; 59; 60; 62; 64;**



65; 66. Whereas Simonetta himself has drawn the ground-plan of his Temple of *Diva Matidia* with a green line, I have drawn it with a red line (the exception being our map Fig. 58, where it is likewise drawn with a green line) to show that this is Simonetta's reconstruction of this ancient building (normally I draw the ground-plans of ancient buildings as red *areas*).

When we compare our resulting new ground-plan of the Palazzo Capranica (here Figs. 58; 59; 60; 62; 63; 64; 65; 66) with the representation of the Temple of *Diva Matidia* on Hadrian's medallion, which shows his Temple of *Diva Matidia* (here Fig. 68), the just-mentioned conclusion seems to be obvious.

The reason being that our new ground-plan of Palazzo Capranica has three parts, with Simonetta's reconstructed ground-plan of his Temple of *Diva Matidia* (here Figs. 67; 67.1) in the precise geometric centre (at the site of the Teatro Capranica on Nolli's ground-plan of Palazzo Capranica; cf. here Figs. 62; 63), flanked by two smaller areas of exactly the same sizes on either side (at the site of the Torre Capranica in the west, and at the site of the "Scalone", grand staircase, of the Teatro in the east, respectively). Exactly as the Temple of *Diva Matidia*, represented on Hadrian's medallion (here Fig. 68), which shows three *aediculae*: a larger one in the centre, with the seated cult-statue of *Diva Matidia*, flanked on either side by smaller *aediculae* of equal sizes, each with a standing female statue. And immediately adjacent to those two smaller *aediculae* follow on Hadrian's medallion (here Fig. 68) the two basilicas. In my reconstruction of 2017, I had instead located those two basilicas at the (presumed) site of the Church of S. Salvatore in Aquiro ?/ the 'Casa Giannini', and at the site of the Church of S. Maria in Aquiro, that is to say, to the west and to the east of Piazza Capranica (cf. here Fig. 66).

This change of ideas concerning the locations of Hadrian's two basilicas has, of course, consequences that are in detail discussed *infra*, in the caption of here Fig. 68. There, I have come to the following conclusion:

'If the two basilicas, dedicated by Hadrian to *Diva Matidia* and to *Diva Marciana*, stood instead at the sites of my so-called 'Halls', flanking my Temple of *Diva Matidia* on either side, we need to explain, what kind of ancient buildings were standing at the site of the Church of S. Salvatore in Aquiro ? and at the site of the Church of S. Maria in Aquiro'.

Besides, when comparing my new hypothesis concerning Hadrian's two basilicas with Heinz-Jürgen Beste's and Henner von Hesberg's reconstructions of their Precinct and Temple of *Diva Matidia* (2015, 242, Fig. 28; Tav. II, K; cf. here Fig. 64), they have basically suggested the same arrangements of those three buildings: the Temple of *Diva Matidia* in the centre, flanked on either side by the two basilicas of equal size, dedicated to *Diva Matidia* and *Diva Marciana*, respectively. With the crucial difference that in Beste's and von Hesberg's reconstructions (here Fig. 64) *these three buildings are located more to the south* than in my own reconstruction, with their Temple of *Diva Matidia* standing right in the middle of Piazza Capranica, in front of Palazzo Capranica;

### 3.) my new reconstruction of the ground-plan of the Temple of *Diva Sabina* ? :

thanks to the relevant critique by Francesca Dell'Era (2020, 118 with n. 40), who has rejected (the northern part of) my reconstruction of the Temple of *Diva Sabina* ? in my earlier *Study* (2017), I have now changed my reconstruction of the Temple of *Diva Sabina* ? accordingly. In my new reconstruction, the ground-plan of my Temple of *Diva Sabina* ? does not 'overlap' any more the area of the Istituto di S. Maria in Aquiro, where Fedora Filippi and Francesca Dell'Era have conducted their excavations; cf. Filippi and Dell'Era (2015, 220, Fig. 1; see also here Fig. 66). As Dell'Era (2020, 118 with n. 40) states, no finds that could be attributed to such a temple, have occurred within the area excavated by them. To my new reconstruction of the Temple of *Diva Sabina* ? (cf. here Fig. 66) I will come back below; cf. *infra* in this *Introduction*, at the Sections XII. and XIII.;

### 4.) the ground-plan of the Palazzo Capranica, drawn by Giambattista (G.B.) Nolli on his Large Rome map (1748):

In the updated versions of our maps Figs. 59; 60; 62; 63; 64; 65; 66, shown here, the ground-plan of the Palazzo Capranica is not any more drawn with red broken lines, but instead with black broken lines. The reasons for this decision are explained in detail above (cf. *supra*, the caption of Fig. 66). This palazzo stands on the north-side of Piazza Capranica (here Fig. 62.8). In the first versions of our maps here Figs. 59; 60; 62; 63; 64; 65; 66, I had copied the ground-plan of this palazzo from Giambattista (G.B.) Nolli's Large Rome map

(1748; cf. here **Figs. 62; 62.1; 62.1.A; 62.2; 63**). Nolli's drawing of the ground-plan of Palazzo Capranica had been the reason for me in my earlier *Study* of 2017 to (tentatively) assume the Temple of *Diva Matidia* at the site of Palazzo Capranica, because of the similarity of Nolli's ground-plan of Palazzo Capranica with Hadrian's medallion (here **Fig. 68**), which shows his Temple of *Diva Matidia*. Giuseppe Simonetta and Laura Gigli (2018 [2021], 128-129 with n. 7, pp. 164-165, Fig. 1 = here **Figs. 67; 67.1**) have now followed my relevant hypothesis.

**5.) the course of the "Acqua Sallustiana" or of the *Amnis Petronia*, the *Palus Caprae*, and the *Euripus* :**

Contrary to the first versions of the maps here **Figs. 58; 59; 60; 62; 65**, I have now added between the *Thermae Agrippae* and the eastern end of the *Euripus* an extension of the "Acqua Sallustiana" and/ or of the *Amnis Petronia*, which now ends at the *Euripus*; this water course thus emptied into it. In the first versions of our maps, this watercourse, coming down from the *Fons Cati* on the Quirinal, ended at the *Thermae Agrippae*; because I followed Filippo Coarelli's hypothesis (and still do so), according to which this water course had emptied into the (former) *Palus Caprae*, which he, like other scholars, has located there, assuming that it extended from there further in westerly direction; cf. Coarelli ("Petronia Amnis", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 81; cf. *id.* 1997, 16: Fig. "2. Pianta del Campo Marzio intorno al 100", labels AMNIS PETRONIA; ARA MARTIS; VILLA PUBLICA; SAEPTA; PALUS CAPRAE); cf. here **Figs. 58; 59; 60; 65**; labels: QUIRINAL; FONSI CATI; AMNIS PETRONIA ?; DELTA; SAEPTA; "ACQUA SALLUSTIANA" ? and/ or AMNIS PETRONIA ?; THERMAE AGRIPPAE; ( Former site of the PALUS CAPRAE ); EURIPUS.

All just-mentioned subjects are hotly debated; cf. Häuber (2017, 204-217). In this text I have declared to mark on our maps all the different suggestions concerning the identifications and locations of the topographical features in question, especially of those watercourses. And because several scholars have suggested that the watercourse discussed here emptied into the *Euripus*, I have now also drawn the above-mentioned addition of this watercourse accordingly.

Contrary to those scholars, Valentino Gasparini (2018, 88 with n. 61) follows Leonardi *et al* (2010, 86) in assuming the following: "... a series of well loggings recently drilled in the entire area of the Campus Martius seems to suggest that the *amnis Petronia* was probably not able to overtake the difference in altitude between the flood plain and the area of the meander, and it had likely to flow South, reaching the Tiber in front of the Tiber island [with n. 61]".

Gasparini (2018, 88 with n. 61) does not discuss in this context the fact that also several earlier scholars had suggested exactly the same course of the *Amnis Petronia* (flowing in southerly direction, and reaching the Tiber in front of the Island) which I have, therefore, likewise drawn on our maps and discussed in my text. Nor does Gasparini (*op.cit*) mention the fact that (again) other scholars have rejected precisely this hypothesis.

I myself have added to this discussion the new observations that the existence of this water course, flowing in a southerly direction, is proven by *lineaments* in the photogrammetric data/ the current cadastre (cf. here **Figs. 58; 59**); cf. Häuber (2017, 208-209, 213-214). But this fact, in my opinion, does not preclude the assumption that (other) parts of the "Acqua Sallustiana"/ *Amnis Petronia* could have flowed in westerly direction - and then drained into the *Euripus*.

See for those watercourses, especially for the "Acqua Sallustiana", as well as for the *Palus Caprae*; also Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio (2017, 41, with ns. 56, 57, who provides further references, not discussed by myself in 2017).

When studying these subjects for my book of 2017, I have discussed the matter for a long period of time with Valentino Gasparini. He then and now in his relevant publication (2018, 90-91), in my opinion convincingly, suggests that it was not Agrippa, who created the *Euripus*, as had hitherto been taken for granted, but already Pompeius Magnus. Gasparini kindly allowed me at the time to quote passages *verbatim* from his own relevant manuscript in advance of publication, and I have also followed some of his ideas. See now Gasparini ("Bringing the East Home to Rome. Pompey the Great and the *Euripus* of the Campus Martius", 2018). Because Gasparini (2018) does not mention our relevant discussions, nor addresses the relevant observations, made in my published text (2017), I repeat in the following, the relevant results, which I maintain here.

Cf. Häuber (2017, 212):

"At about the same time, Valentino Gasparini has mentioned to me in a telephone conversation the fact that R. Leonardi, S. Pracchia, S. Buonaguro, M. Laudato and N. Saviane (2010) have formulated different hypotheses concerning the *Palus Caprae* than those mentioned above. Since I am *a*) not a geologist myself, and *b*) the publication by R. Leonardi *et al.* 2010 has caused a very lively discussion, I refrain from trying to summarize all these new findings in this context.

On the other hand, the toponym 'chiavica' of the Church of S. Lucia *della Chiavica*/ del Gonfalone obviously refers to a man-made hydraulic installation, which, if true, could mean that the Romans had drained the *Palus Caprae* by means of several channels (as in the case of the drained swamps personally known to me), and likewise described for Rome by A. Corazza and L. Lombardi (1995, 181). It is certainly worth while to study Coarelli's two 'emissarii' and the very location and the strange course of the *Euripus* under that perspective as well. **Although Valentino Gasparini tells me that R. Leonardi *et al.* (2010) suggest instead that the *Euripus* functioned as 'imissario' of the *Palus Caprae*, since they explain the depression, indicated by the toponyms of the Churches of S. Andrea *della Valle*, and of the Chiesa Nuova/ S. Maria in *Vallicella* [for both Churches; cf. here Fig. 59] differently than hitherto assumed.**

**All these hypotheses concerning the geology of the area just-mentioned, could, of course, only be proven, provided the *Euripus* had been sloping down from the north-west to the south-east. The seeming paradox alone, when looking on a map, on which the *Euripus* is marked (cf. here Figs. 3.5; 3.7 [= here Figs. 58; 59]), that this water course emptied into the Tiber upstream (instead of flowing downstream), cannot, in my opinion, really be judged, as long as the original landscape of the area in question has not been reconstructed in all its relevant details [my emphasis]".**

Whereas Gasparini (2018, 88-89, with ns. 63-69) follows the hypothesis of Leonardi *et al.* (2010) that the *Euripus* served the purpose of leading water of the Tiber, 'from west to east', into the *Campus Martius*; most other scholars suggest that the water of the *Euripus* flowed in the opposite direction ('from east to west'), and thus emptied into the Tiber.

In my earlier *Study* of 2017, I have quoted the opinions of scholars concerning the above-mentioned topics, who come from very different disciplines, which is why in many of these cases, those scholars did not know of each other's research. Therefore, these very complex interrelated problems can, in my opinion, only be solved, once all those available data are considered *together*, and that *by a group of competent scholars who come from all those disciplines*.

After having written this down, I discussed the matter with Franz Xaver Schütz, especially Gasparini's (2018, 88-89) hypothesis, according to which the water in the *Euripus* flowed 'from west to east' into the *Campus Martius*. A hypothesis which, as I have stated in (2017, 212, quoted *verbatim supra*) could only be verified, 'as soon as the original landscape of the area in question has been reconstructed in all its relevant details'.

**Franz Xaver Schütz told me on that occasion that he intends to create precisely that, a DTM ('digital terrain model') of the *Campus Martius*, using for this visualization of the ancient landscape my map here Fig. 59; cf. Franz Xaver Schütz (FORTVNA PAPERS, vol. I, forthcoming);**

#### 6.) The *Clivus Capitolinus*, leading from the *Forum Romanum* to the *Area Capitolina* on the *Capitolium* :

Contrary to the first version of our map Fig. 3.5 of 2017 (= for the updated map; cf. here Fig. 58), I have now reconstructed the last section of the *Clivus Capitolinus* differently, by drawing it as a curve. The reason being that it occurred to me that visitors to the *Area Capitolina* (the sacred Precinct of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus) would thus have been able to *see* the façade of this temple *in front of them*, when approaching it. Unfortunately this part of the *Clivus Capitolinus* is not preserved, due to a landslide. For the *Area Capitolina* and the *Clivus Capitolinus*, which led to it; cf. Häuber (2005, 18-21, 41-42, with Abb. 2-5 (= here Figs. 74-76 and Fig. 73). See here Fig. 73, for a documentation of the small preserved part of the *Clivus Capitolinus*. As explained in detail in Häuber (2005, 18-55, Abb. 2-5 = here Figs. 73-76), I myself refrain from drawing a reconstruction of the *Area Capitolina* on the *Capitolium* - contrary to many other scholars, whose hypotheses I have discussed and mapped in this article.

As I only realize now, already Filippo Coarelli has drawn the *Clivus Capitolinus* ending with a similar curve (cf. *LTUR* I [1993] 432, "Fig. 126. *Campus Martius*. Pianta del c. M. [*Campus Martius*] in età augustea (da F. Coarelli [*i.e.*, here F. COARELLI 1983a], in *Città e architettura* [1983], 43)".

**7.) The main entrance of Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, the *Domus Augustana*.**

Contrary to the first version of our map **Fig. 3.5** of 2017 (= for the updated map; cf. here **Fig. 58**), I have now adapted that detail of the north side of the ground-plan of the *Domus Augustana*, where its main entrance was located, and which is very badly preserved. I have corrected this detail according to the most recent findings, published posthumously by the late Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt (2020, 185, Fig. 1). In the first versions of our maps, we had drawn the ground-plan of the *Domus Augustana* after the map SAR 1985. For a detailed discussion of this subject; cf. *supra*, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian* ('*Die wichtigsten Ergebnisse dieses Buches über Domitian*').

*List of illustrations (for the illustrations, see volume 3-2)*

**Abb. 1.** Mario Torelli, teaching us members of the "Corsi estivi di Lingua e Cultura Italiana dell'Università del Sacro Cuore di Milano" in the summer of 1979. The photo shows Torelli in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale at Naples in front of the marble bust of Pindar (cf. here **Fig. 51**), which he explains to us. Photo: Courtesy Rose Mary Sheldon. See above, at Chapter *Dedication*; and below, at *The second Contribution by R.R.R. Smith: Note on the function of the 'Atrium House' at Aphrodisias* (cf. here **Figs. 51; 52**).

**Fig. 1.** Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Lateranense (inv. nos. 13389-13391). Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs. *Profectio* of Domitian in AD 83, 89 or 92. After the emperor's assassination and *damnatio memoriae*, Domitian's face on Frieze A (figure 6) has been reworked into a portrait of the Emperor Nerva. Therefore, the panel now probably represents Nerva's (alleged) *profectio* to his *bellum Suebicum* in AD 97. Cf. *supra*, in Chapter *What this Study is all about*; in Chapters I.-VI.; especially in Chapter I.2., with **n. 232**), in Chapters II.3.1.a); II.3.3.a), and in *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.e); and Appendix IV.d.2.f): in my opinion, this relief represents Domitian's *profectio* to his Second Dacian War in the spring of AD 89 that ended with his victory, celebrated with his (last) triumph in Rome in November/ December 89. Cf. *supra*, in Chapters II.3.1.a); II.3.2.; V.1.b); V.1.c): for Nerva's motivation to usurp this *profectio* relief of Domitian. See also below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*.

**Fig. 1.1.** Drawing of the head of Domitian (now Nerva) on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs and of the portrait of Nero of his fourth portrait-type in Munich. After: H. Meyer (2000, 130, Figs. 237; 239). H. Meyer reproduced photographs of both heads on the same page of his book, where their skulls are intentionally reproduced as having the same sizes. Based on a photocopy of that page, on which both heads were illustrated together and thus showed both heads at the same scale, I made the drawings of both heads, that are here reproduced on top of each other. Drawing: C. Häuber (2023).

**Fig. 2.** Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Lateranense (inv. nos. 13392-13395). Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs. *Adventus* of Vespasian at Rome in the first half of October of AD 70, his coronation by *Victoria* with the *corona civica* for having ended the civil war AD 68-69, and his investiture as the new Roman emperor. The fact that Vespasian lays his lifted right hand on the left shoulder of Caesar Domitian, who is standing right in front of him, means the legitimization of Domitian's future reign (in reality, Vespasian's hand does not touch Domitian's shoulder, but from a distance it looks like this). See above, in Chapter *What this Study is all about*, in Chapters I.-VI., in *The major results of this book on Domitian*, and below, at *The second Contribution by Laura Gigli: Il Potere dell'immagine*; at *The first Contribution by Jörg Rüpke on the question, how many Vestal Virgins we might expect to appear at public ceremonies, such as the one shown on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs*; and at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*.

**Figs. 1 and 2 drawing.** F. Magis drawing of Frieze A and B of the Cancellaria Reliefs. From: F. Magis (1945, Tav. Agg. D 1 and 2). The slabs of both panels (A1-A4 and B1-B4) and the figures of both Friezes (1-17) are numbered, as in S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018, 19, Abb. 2).

**Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'.** Visualization created on the basis of F. Magis drawings (1945), here **'Figs. 1 and 2 drawing'**.

Based on hypotheses, first suggested by F. Magis (1939, 205, quoted *verbatim* in **n. 112**, in Chapter I.1.), and reported by B. Nogara (1939, 8, 106, 115-116, 227), and by A.M. Colini (1938 [1939], 270); cf. H. Kähler (1950, 30-41), J.M.C. Toynbee (1957, 19), J. Henderson (2003, 249), and especially M. Pentiricci (2009, 61-62; cf. *supra*, **ns. 262, 263, 264**, in Chapter I.3.2.), this visualization intends to show the Cancellaria Reliefs, as if attached to the opposite, parallel walls in the bay of an arch, built by Domitian.

It made only sense to try this reconstruction, because both panels certainly belonged together, a fact, which is *inter alia* proven by their equal heights. Since it is debated over which kind of building those panels may have belonged, we wanted to know, whether or not the compositions of both friezes were designed in order

to stress relationships among the figures appearing on both panels, once mounted on opposite walls and viewed together. The prerequisite for this kind of inquiry was the correct positioning of both friezes, when both were attached to opposite walls in the bay of an arch. We knew that this could, in theory, be done for two reasons: *a*) both friezes were originally framed on all sides by identical projecting ledges; *b*) these projecting ledges are partly preserved on the right hand small side of Frieze A and partly on the left hand small side of Frieze B. We could, therefore, mount (first, in 2020, the photographs, here **Figs. 1; 2**), now the drawings of both panels, used for this operation by basing our reconstruction on this common axis of those two small sides of the panels which, in our reconstruction, now stand opposite each other. (In this illustration of our reconstruction those two small sides of both panels appear at the bottom of the page). For our reconstruction we used (first the photographs of Frieze A and B of the Vatican Museum, here **Figs. 1 and 2**, both of which follow Magi's reconstruction of 1945), now Magi's own drawings (1945) of both Friezes. In our visualization, these (first the photos), now the drawings are 'lying on their backs' in order to show, how an ancient beholder, passing through the bay of this arch, would have seen both panels.

Both visualizations demonstrate *a*) that the beholder who passed through this bay must have had the impression of 'moving together' with the processions that are depicted on both friezes; and *b*) that there is indeed one such relationship amongst those two panels that we were looking for. The figures in question are the Emperor Domitian (now Nerva) on Frieze A (figure 6) and the togate youth on frieze B (figure 12) - when both panels are *in situ*, these two figures stand almost opposite each other. Prior to our reconstruction, this fact had not been observed. And because both figures are heading the two processions 'that are moving on these panels together with the beholder in the same direction' these two figures turn out to be the most important persons on both panels. Both facts support the assumption that the Cancelleria Reliefs had been the horizontal panels in the bay of one of Domitian's arches. Considering also that Domitian commissioned the structure in question, both facts support at the same time the hypothesis suggested here that the togate youth on Frieze B may be identified as the young Caesar Domitian, who is represented on Frieze B in his capacity as *praetor urbanus*.

I tentatively suggest, in addition to this, that the Cancelleria Reliefs may have decorated the bay of the 'Arcus Domitiani', which stood on the Palatine, in front of Domitian's Palace 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana* and which, according to F. Coarelli (2009b, 88; *id.* 2012, 283, 286-291, 481-483, 486-491), Domitian may have dedicated to his father, *Divus Vespasianus*; or rather one of the three bays of the Arch of Domitian, which Coarelli assumes at the "Porta principale" of Domitian's *Domus Augustana*. Coarelli identifies this arch with the *Pentapylon*, believing that this was a triumphal arch (for the location of both arches; cf. here **Fig. 58**). F.X. Schütz and C. Häuber 2022, reconstruction (cf. *supra*, at Chapters I.3.2.; V.1.d); V.1.h.1.); V.1.i.3.); VI.3.; Addition; and at *The major results of this book on Domitian*; see also *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix IV.d.2.f); Appendix IV.d.4.b); and Appendix VI.; at Section VII.).

See below, at *The Contribution by Walter Trillmich on the headless marble togati found in the so-called Marble Forum at Mérida in Spain, one of which looks like the togate youth on Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs*.

**Fig. 3. Above:** portrait of Hadrian of the Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ )-type. Villa Hadriana near Tivoli, Museo (inv. no. 2260). Left: From: H.R. Goette (2021, 113, Abb. 46a (III Nr. 3); Photo: G. Fittschen-Badura); in the middle and right: Photos: D-DAI-ROM 72.635; 79.17774 (G. Fittschen-Badura).

**Below, left:** bust of Hadrian of the Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ )-type. Columbia, Missouri, University Museum (inv. no. 89.1). From: H.R. Goette (2021, 108, Abb. 44a (III Nr. 1)).

**Below, in the middle:** portrait of Hadrian of the Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ )-type. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado (inv. no. 176-E.), found in Italy. Photo: D-DAI-MAD-WIT-R-20-91-05 (Witte).

**Below right:** bust of Hadrian of the Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ )-type. London, private collection. From: H.R. Goette (2021, 112, Abb. 45 (III Nr. 4)). See above, at *The major results of this book on Domitian*; below, at *The first Contribution by Angelo Geißen: Bemerkungen zur frühen Münzprägung Hadrians in Alexandria*; and at *The fifth Contribution by Peter Herz: Der Ritt Hadrians nach Mogontiacum*.

**Figs. 4.** Scene LXXII on Trajan's Column. Amanda Claridge's (2013, 12, 13) "Stonethrower", whom she tentatively identified with Hadrian, (allegedly) represented in the here-so-called portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here **Fig. 3**). In reality, this man is a slinger from the *Baleares*. To the right of this slinger

appears a Germanic soldier, wearing long trousers, who is armed with a shield, who may perhaps be identified as a Marcomanne or as a Quade. From: A. Claridge (2013, 15, pl. 15).

**Fig. 4.1.** Scene LXXII on Trajan's Column. Amanda Claridge (2013, 12) commented on Scene LXXII of Trajan's Column (here Figs. 4; 4.1) as follows: "Band 11: lxxii Trajan surveys the last battle of the First [Dacian] War. Focal point: Stonethrower". Claridge (2013, 13 with n. 80, pp. 14, 15, her plate 15 [= here Fig. 4]) tentatively identified this "Stonethrower" on here **Figs. 4; 4.1** with Hadrian, represented in the here-so-called portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) (cf. here **Fig. 3**).

From: <<http://www.trajans-column.org/?flagallery=trajans-column-scenes-xlvi-lxxviii-46-78#PhotoSwipe1673612947018>> [last visit 13-I-2023].

**Fig. 4.1.1.** The Column of Trajan, seen from the south (with the columns of the *Basilica Ulpia* in the foreground). Photo: F.X. Schütz (March 2006).

**Fig. 4.1.2.** Fragmentary marble relief with representation of a horse. Found on the Palatine. This is the relief, about which D. Willers (2021, 84 with n. 25) writes: "Bloesch hat seinerzeit auf die enge Verwandtschaft des Feldherrnpferdes auf unserem Relief [*i.e.*, the 'Relief Ruesch'; here **Fig 7**] mit dem Pferd eines fragmentierten Reliefblocks vom Palatin aufmerksam gemacht" ('Bloesch [1943, 204] at his time has observed the close relationship between Domitian's horse on the 'Relief Ruesch' with the horse on a fragmentary marble block from the Palatine'). From: P.H. von Blanckenhagen (1940, 65, I. f), Taf. 20 Abb. 58).

**Fig. 5.** Fragment of a colossal cuirassed marble statue of 'Domitian as Iuppiter' (102 x 90 cm). This statue was, according to K. Stemmer (1971), hollow and, provided Domitian was represented standing, it was originally circa 8 m high, and because of the huge gorgoneion on the chest of his cuirass, it showed the emperor assimilated to the god Jupiter.

This fragment is on display in the left hand one of the 'Trofei Farnese' in the cortile of Palazzo Farnese at Rome (cf. here **Fig. 5.1**). It may belong to Francesco Bianchini's finds (excavated 1720-1726, published 1738) within the 'Aula Regia' in Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, the 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana*. This has already been suggested by K. Stemmer (1971, 566, 579-580) on the basis of the documentation that is available for this fragment. See also F. Bianchini's (1738, 48-68, with Tab. II; Tab. VIII = both here **Fig. 8**) own documentation of his excavations comprising measured plans, and S. Cosmo's (1990, Fig. 8 = here **Fig. 39**) findings concerning Bianchini's excavations.

For the photos illustrated here; cf. K. Stemmer (1971, Abb. 3-6;), Photos: G. Singer; D-DAI-ROM-71.175-71.178. K. Stemmer's (1971, 571, Abb. 7) reconstruction drawing of this colossal cuirassed portrait of 'Domitian as Jupiter' is here reproduced after A. Wolfsfeld (2014, 215, Abb. 6).

**Fig. 5.1.** The two 'Trofei Farnese' in the cortile of Palazzo Farnese at Rome. These are two ensembles of architectural fragments, mostly found by Francesco Bianchini in his excavations (1720-1726; published 1738) on the Palatine, within the 'Aula Regia' of Domitian's Palace 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana*. Cf. K. Stemmer (1971, Abb. 1 [here on the left], with the fragment of the colossal cuirassed marble statue of 'Domitian as Jupiter'; here **Fig. 5**), Photo: J. Felbermeyer, D-DAI-Rom 35.566. Cf. K. Stemmer (1971, Abb. 2 [here on the right], with a fragment of one of the slabs with a representation of a 'province', from the porticos of the *Hadrianeum* at Rome; cf. here **Fig. 48**), Photo J. Felbermeyer, D-DAI-Rom 35.567.

**Fig. 6, left.** Torso of a cuirassed statue, Domitianic (representing Titus or Vespasian, the restored head does not belong), his cuirass is decorated with a Victoria, sacrificing a bull. Found in the Baths of Caracalla at Rome. Musei Vaticani, Museo Chiaramonti (inv. no. 1250). Cf. C. Parisi Presicce (2000, 28, 39, at cat. no. 13). See below, at *The second Contribution by Claudia Valeri on the two headless cuirassed statues of Flavian emperors at the Museo Chiaramonti (inv. nos. 1250; 1254; cf. here Fig. 6, left and right)*.

**Fig. 6, right.** Torso of a cuirassed statue, Domitianic (representing Domitian?), 1,02 m high (the restored head does not belong), his cuirass is decorated with the *lupa*, suckling the infants Romulus and Remus. Found in

the Baths of Caracalla at Rome. Musei Vaticani, Museo Chiaramonti (inv. no. 1254). Cf. C. Parisi Presicce (2000, 28, 39, cat. no. 13). Parisi Presicce's tentative identification of this headless torso with Domitian may be supported by the fact that Domitian identified himself with Romulus; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III., at point 4.); and below, at *The second Contribution by Claudia Valeri on the two headless cuirassed statues of Flavian emperors at the Museo Chiaramonti* (inv. nos. 1250; 1254; cf. here **Fig. 6, left and right**).

**Fig. 7.** 'Relief Ruesch', ex collection Arnold Ruesch (Zürich), who bought it in 1920 at an art dealer's in Rome (provenance unknown). Cavalry battle of a Roman emperor (Domitian) against Germanic soldiers (the Chatti ?, or Marcomanni or Quadi ?). Marble, 74 x 108,8 cm. Domitian's head was defaced because of his *damnatio memoriae*, but the relief has nevertheless been re-used in antiquity. Private collection. On loan at the Antikensammlung Bern of the Universität. From D. Willers (2021, Taf. 11; Taf. 13,1: detail of the emperor, Taf. 13,2-4: details of the head of the *imperator*; Taf. 13,5: right profile of the bust of Domitian, Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. no. MC 1156).

**Fig. 7.1.** 'The Great Trajanic Frieze', showing Constantine the Great, leading a cavalry battle. Rome, Arch of Constantine. The relief had originally shown Trajan, whose portrait was recut into one of Constantine the Great. In the central passageway of the Arch of Constantine the inscriptions LIBERATORI VRBIS and FVNDATORI QUIETIS were added to these reliefs of Trajan/ Constantine, which refer to Constantine (in recognition of his defeat of Maxentius at the *Pons Mulvius* in AD 312). Photo: C. Faraglia, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 37.328. - Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 222, Fig. 185) dates both reliefs: "early Hadrianic".

**Fig. 8.** F. Bianchini's (1738) measured plans of the 'Aula Regia' (his Tab. II), and of that part of Domitian's *Domus Augustana*, where he conducted his excavations (1720-1726; his Tab. VIII): at the 'Basilica', the 'Aula Regia' and the 'Lararium' (all three located within the so-called 'Domus Flavia'; cf. here **Figs. 8.1; 58**). Note that on Bianchini's plans North is not in the middle of the top border, as on our maps. Our maps are oriented according to 'Grid North' (cf. here **Figs. 58; 73**), as the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale (that comprise the current cadastre), on which all our maps are based. See for the orientation of Bianchini's plan Tab. II our **Fig. 8.1**.

**Fig. 8.1.** Detail of our map **Fig. 58**, with georeferenced overlay of F. Bianchini's plan of the 'Aula Regia' (cf. *id.* 1738, his Tab. II = here **Fig. 8**). This visualization shows that Bianchini's ground-plan of the 'Aula Regia' (his Tab. II) had to be rotated clockwise by circa 135° before it was possible to integrate it into our map **Fig. 58**, which is oriented according to 'Grid North'. F.X. Schütz, visualization created with the "AIS ROMA" (22-I-2023).

**Fig. 8.2.** Domitian's Palace on the Palatine, his 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana*. In the foreground we see the 'Peristyle' with the labyrinth fountain. Looking to the north-east (compare for the orientation of this photo the map here **Fig. 73**), we see what is left of the southern walls of the 'Aula Regia'. The Church in the background is the Chiesa di S. Bonaventura. Photo: Franz Xaver Schütz (1-III-2015). See *supra*, in Chapter *Preamble*; Section III.; at point 4.); and below, at *The second Contribution by Eugenio La Rocca: Una nota sul labirinto del Palatino*.

**Fig. 9.** F. Bianchini's plates (1738, Tab. III and IV). They show some of the architectural fragments, which he found in his excavations (1720-1726) in the 'Aula Regia'. In the caption of his Tab. III, Bianchini mentioned the author of the relevant drawing and etching: "Balthassar Gabbuggiani delin. et sculp."

**Fig. 10.** Colossal acrolithic statue of Jupiter. St. Petersburg, Hermitage (inv. no. GP-4155), from Castel Gandolfo. Cf. C. Parisi Presicce (2006b, 146, Fig. 47, copied after M.B. PIOTROVSKIJ and O.J. NEVEROV 2003, fig. on p. 200).

<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/22.09.2020>.



**Fig. 10.1.** Giuseppe Antonio Guattani (1805, Tav. 11), drawing: the first reconstruction of the colossal marble statue of Jupiter from Castel Gandolfo in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (cf. here **Fig. 10**).

**Fig. 11.** Colossal acrolithic statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great). The ten extant fragments of it were carved from the best quality of Parian marble, called *lychnites*, and were found within and near the Basilica of Maxentius. Roma, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, courtyard. Photos: Courtesy H.R. Goette (HRG\_3320 f.): 7.2.2017, P3010567 (Unteransicht) und P3010577 am 1.3.2008, P3110473: 11.3.2011) and F.X. Schütz (06-III-2020). See below, at *The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great)*.

**Fig. 11.1.** "Ricostruzione virtuale del colosso di Costantino realizzata da Konstantin-Ausstellungsgesellschaft Trier mbH, Musei Capitolini e ARCTRON3D"; cf. C. Parisi Presicce 2006b, 147, caption of Fig. 48; cf. p. 127, note \*). Courtesy C. Parisi Presicce.

**Fig. 12.** Statuette of the seated 'Euripides', marble. Paris, Louvre (MA 343). This figure represented originally Jupiter in the Capitoline Triad. Cf. H.R. Goette ("From Father god to tragic poet ...", forthcoming).

**Fig. 13.** Statuette of the Capitoline Triad, marble. Guidonia Montecelio (Roma), Museo Civico Archeologico 'Rodolfo Lanciani' (inv. no. 80546). Cf. Z. Mari, in: F. Buranelli (2019, 73: "20. Triade Capitolina Fine del II-inizi III secolo. Scultura a tutto tondo in marmo lunense, quasi integra (parzialmente mancanti alcuni arti delle figure e attributi); lungh. cm 119, largh. cm 53, h. max. cm 80. Dal Comune di Guidonia Montecelio (Rm), loc. Tenuta dell'Inviolata - Quarto Campanile, Guidonia Montecelio, Museo Civico Archeologico 'Rodolfo Lanciani' (già nel Museo Nazionale di Palestrina fino al 2012). Inv. no. 80546. Furto 1992 (scavi clandestini), Guidonia Montecelio (Roma). Recupero: 1994, Livigno (Sondrio)". Photo: Triade Capitolina, Museo Civico Archeologico Rodolfo Lanciani, Guidonia Montecelio Author: Sailko, CC BY 3.0 Deed (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/deed.en>).

**Fig. 14.** Reconstruction of the cult-statue of Zeus in his Temple at Olympia, one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient (Western) World, a chryselephantine statue made by Phidias (440-430 BC). Coloured lithography by Antoine Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy, from his book *Le Jupiter olympien* (1815). Cf. S. Faust (2022, 9-10, "Abb. 1 Zeus von Olympia, Rekonstruktion der Statue und des Tempelinnenraumes. Farbige Lithographie von A. C. Quatremère de Quincy. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg digital, Quatremère de Quincy, 1815, Frontispiz").

**Fig. 15.** Marble portrait of Tiberius, from Cerveteri, Città del Vaticano, Musei Vaticani. From: C. Parisi Presicce (2006b, 144, 148, Fig. 49 (after: C. MADERNA 1988, 24 f., 166 f., cat. no. JT 4, Taf. 7).

**Fig. 16.** A.J.B. Wace. Reconstruction drawing of the Extispicium Relief in the Louvre (MA 978), based on the extant fragments of this relief, and for the lost parts on Renaissance drawings. The relief shows a sacrifice in front of Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. From: A.J.B. Wace 1907, 238, Pl. XXIX. Cf. A. Claridge (1998, 238, Fig. 110; *ead.* 2010, 270, Fig. 113).

Renaissance drawing of the right-hand part of the Extispicium Relief in the Louvre (MA 978), on which in the background appears the façade of Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. Cod. Vat. Lat. 3439 F. 83. From: A.J.B. Wace 1907, 240, Pl. XX.

**Fig. 17.** Renaissance drawing of the right-hand part of the Extispicium relief in the Louvre (MA 978), on which in the background appears the façade of Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. Cod. Vat. Lat. 3439 F. 83. From: A.J.B. Wace 1907, 240 Pl. XX, detail: showing part of the pediment of Domitian's Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.

**Fig. 18.** Wace 1907, 239, with n. 8 = Extispicium Relief Cod. Coburgensis = E. Schulze 1873, tav. 57 = *LTUR* III, 438, Fig. 103.

**Fig. 19.** Marcus Aurelius, *Pietas Augusti*, marble relief, representing a sacrifice in front of Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo de' Conservatori, staircase (inv. no. 807/S). Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitonini, Neg. nos. d.13102; d. 13103. Photo: Pasquale Rizzo. © Roma, Sovraintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali.

**Fig. 20.** Marble statuette of M. Bossert's statue-type "Iuppiter Capitolinus". Rome, Via Appia Nuova. The caption of M. Bossert's Abbildung 14, which is illustrated here, reads: "Iuppiter Capitolinus von der Via Appia Nuova, Rom (Italien). Marmor, H[öhe] 80 cm".

**Fig. 20.1.** Bronze statuette representing the 'Capitoline Jupiter', datable to the 1st or 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. Cf. S. Faust (2022, 22-24, Abb. 4: "Bronzestatuette des Jupiter Capitolinus 1.-2. Jh. n. Chr., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Open Access/Public Domain [CCO] <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/246686>)".

**Fig. 21.** Anaglypha Hadriani, *adlocutio* or *alimenta* relief, marble. Rome, *Forum Romanum*, *Curia Iulia*. Photo: D-DAI-ROM- 68.2783. Detail of this relief: the statue of the fig tree and the statue of Marsyas. Photo: J. Felbermeyer D-DAI-ROM- 63.106. Because this relief was painted, I believe that in its original state the artists had not only differentiated the represented people by appropriately colouring their garments and shoes, but that they had also characterized the represented statues as such: the seated Trajan, the representation of *Italia* with her two children, and the statues of the fig tree and of Marsyas.

**Fig. 22.** Anaglypha Hadriani, 'burning of debt records' relief, marble. Rome, *Forum Romanum*, *Curia Iulia*. Photo: J. Felbermeyer D-DAI-ROM- 68.2785. Detail of this relief: the statue of the fig tree and the statue of Marsyas. Photo: H. Behrens D-DAI-ROM- 2008.2592. Because this relief was painted, I believe that in its original state the artists had not only differentiated the represented people by appropriately colouring their garments and shoes, but that they had also characterized the represented statues of the fig tree and of Marsyas as such.

**Fig. 23.** Anaglypha Hadriani, marble The *suovetaurilia* on the backside of the *adlocutio* or *alimenta* relief. Photo: H. Behrens D-DAI-ROM- 2008.2564.

**Fig. 24.** Anaglypha Hadriani, marble. The *suovetaurilia* on the backside of the burning of debt records relief. Photo: H. Behrens D-DAI-ROM-2008.2588.

**Fig. 25.** The *Suovetaurilia* or Grimani Relief. Paris, Louvre (MA 1096), marble. Photo: Courtesy H.R. Goette.

**Fig. 26.** The Five Column Monument or Decennial Monument, marble, dated AD 303. Rome, *Forum Romanum*, *in situ*. The illustrated side of the monument shows the *suevetaurilia*. Photo: Courtesy H.R. Goette.

**Fig. 27.** The *census* represented on the 'Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus' (the Paris-Munich Relief), marble. Paris, Louvre (MA 975). Photos: Courtesy H.R. Goette.

For discussions of **Figs. 21-27**; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.a*) D. Filippi (1998) on the 'first gate of the Capitolium' (*Tac.*, Hist. 3,71,1-2), an arch, excavated by A.M. Colini in the 1940s, the *Porta Pandana*, and the arch, visible on the 'burning of debt records' relief of the *Anaglypha Hadriani* (**Fig. 21**).

**Fig. 28.** The Obeliscus Pamphilius/ Domitian's obelisk. From the Iseum Campense. On display on top of Gianlorenzo Bernini's 'Fountain of the Four Rivers' in the Piazza Navona at Rome. From: C. Häuber (2017, 156, Fig. 5.5.2). Photos: F.X. Schütz (5-IX-2019). Courtesy F.X. Schütz. Photo: Cesare D'Onofrio (1921-2003). From: G. Simonetta, L. Gigli and G. Marchetti [2004] 122, Fig. 8. The caption reads: "La fontana dei Quattro

fiumi, ripresa zenitale dall'alto della chiesa di Sant'Agnese". Courtesy: L. Gigli. Photo: L. Gigli (December 2003). Courtesy: L. Gigli. See *supra*, in Chapter *What this Study is all about*; in *Preamble*, at Section II.; in Chapter IV.; and in *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and below, at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini: La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*.

**Fig. 29.** Over lifesize cuirassed statue of the Emperor Hadrian, 2,68 m high (comprising the plinth), 2,54 m high (without the plinth), his cuirass is decorated with an Athena/ *Palladion*, crowned by two winged Victories, who is standing on the *lupa*, suckling the infants Romulus and Remus. Hadrian sets his left foot on a small human figure (representing the Roman Province of *Judaea?*). Found at Hierapydna in Crete. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 50).

In my opinion, the prototype of this portrait of Hadrian belonged with the inscription *CIL VI 974 = 40524 = here Fig. 29.1* to the victory monument, dedicated in honour of Hadrian by the Senate and the Roman People in AD 134/5 (so G. ALFÖLDY 1996 = here **Fig. 29.1**), in AD 135 (so C. BARRON 2018), or in AD 135/6 (so W. ECK 2003, 162, n. 35) to commemorate his victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Photos: Courtesy H.R. Goette (April 2023).

**Fig. 29.1.** Fragmentary inscription (*CIL VI 974 = 40524*), marble, once belonging to an honorary statue of the Emperor Hadrian, dedicated to him by the Senate and the Roman People to commemorate his victory in the Bar Kokhba Revolt (so W. ECK 2003, 162-165; M. FUCHS 2014; C. BARRON 2018); and according to G. Alföldy (at: *CIL VI* [1996] 40524, who restored the inscription as shown here) and M. Fuchs (2014, 130) erected within the *cella* of the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus* in the *Forum Romanum*. From: M. Fuchs (2014, 131, Fig. 8: "*CIL, VI, Pars VIII, Fasc. II* [1996], 40524". According to C. Barron (2018, who follows in this respect W. ECK 1999-2003), the honorary statue, to which this inscription belonged, stood "beneath (in front of?)" the Temple of *Divus Vespasianus*, its inscription is kept in the Capitoline Museums, Rome (inv. no. NCE 2529), and is datable: "135 CE Sep 15th to 135 CE Dec 9th". C. Evers (1991, 797, n. 72), according to whom this inscription was found in the *Forum Romanum*, asks, whether it belonged to the colossal statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great), here **Fig. 11**. In my opinion, this dedication belonged to the honorary statue, after which Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna at Istanbul (here **Fig. 29**) and almost 30 replicas of this portrait were copied. See above, at *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here **Fig. 29**); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2*.

**Fig. 30.** *Sestertius* of Domitian, issued AD 95/96, representing a decastyle temple, which M. Torelli (1987) has identified with the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. BMC, p. 406, n. 12, R.H. Darwall-Smith (1996, 281, Plate XVIII, Fig. 30). From W. Haberey (1960, Taf. 42, Abb. 1: "Bronzemedaille des Domitian vom Jahre 95-96 n. Chr. aus Grab I"). Cf. R. Paris (1994b, 26, Fig. 14). From: E. Nash (1961, 371, Fig. 452: "Sestertius of the 17th consulate of Domitian (95/96 A.D.)").

**Fig. 31.** "Rilievo Terme Vaticano".

**Above:** Photo of the reconstruction of this relief in the Museo della Civiltà Romana at the EUR (inv. no. 3725), created in plaster on the basis of both fragmentary reliefs that are kept in the Museo Nazionale Romano and in the Vatican Museums. From: R. Paris (1994b, 28, Fig. 16: "Il rilievo del Museo Vaticano e quello del Museo Nazionale Romano ricongiunti in un calco del Museo della Civiltà Romana").

**In the middle:** Fragmentary marble relief, Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome (inv. no. 165), representing a decastyle temple in the pediment of which appears 'Rome's foundation story'. Photo; D-DAI Rom Photo Parker (PK) 2283: "Sculpture - Alto rilievo representing the Temple of Romulus; now in a stone-mason's yard in Via Alessandrina".

There is a plaster cast on display at the Museo Gregoriano Profano of this relief in the Museo Nazionale Romano, placed above the original fragment, owned by this collection.

**Below:** Fragmentary marble relief, Città del Vaticano, Museo Gregoriano Profano (inv. no. 9506), with an emperor (whose head is restored with a portrait of Trajan), accompanied *inter alia* by two lictors, shown in the act of sacrificing. Both fragments belong together. The fact that these lictors carry fasces to which no axes are attached means that the temple stands within the *pomerium*; cf. S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018, 142-157),

whose further suggestion I likewise follow that this relief does not represent a procession, as hitherto believed, but rather a sacrifice. Cf. R. Paris (1994b, 32, Figs. 1; 2). I have numbered the six figures on the relief myself, following S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018, 147, Abb. 53). Many scholars take for granted that the "Rilievo Vaticano" was found in the Forum of Trajan. This assumption is not true, as already stated by M. Torelli (1987, 504 n. 6, quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.3.*). M. Torelli's (1987, 564-567, Fig. 2) identification of the temple, represented on this relief, with the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, which I myself follow here, is debated. See below, at *The Contribution by Eric M. Moormann: Can We Reconstruct the Templum Gentis Flaviae?*; and at *The first Contribution by Claudia Valeri on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano"* (cf. here **Fig. 31**).

**Figs. 32.A-E.** Marble fragment of a state relief, the here-so-called "Rilievo Foro Romano". Rome, Forum Romanum, near S. Maria Antiqua. This is at least, where H.R. Goette saw this fragment in 1981, who suggests that this fragment belongs to the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano"; cf. Goette (1983). A-C: photos of this fragment: Courtesy H.R. Goette. Cf. Goette (1983, 241, Abb. 1-3. The caption reads: "Relieffragment. Rom, bei S. Maria Antiqua". D: measured reconstruction drawing, combining the "Rilievo Vaticano" (cf. here **Fig. 31**, **below**) and the "Rilievo Foro Romano" (cf. here **Fig. 32.A**). From Goette (1983, 243, Abb. 5. The caption reads: "Rekonstruktionszeichnung der Relieftteile 1 [= here **Fig. 31**, **below**; **Fig. 32.A**] und 4 [= here **Fig. 31**, **below**]". E: measured reconstruction drawing of the entire togate man, incorporating the fragment. From Goette (1983, 243, Abb. 6. The caption reads: "Rekonstruktion der ganzen Figur mit Fragment Abb. 1 [= here **32.A**]". Drawings D-E: M. Reinbold. From: Goette (1983, 239, Abbildungsnachweis).

**Fig. 33.** Reconstruction drawing of a relief that once belonged to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. Represented is Vespasian's *adventus* into Rome in October of AD 70. From: R. Paris (1994b, 91: "Tav. V. Proposta di ricostruzione parziale della scena con rilievo storico". Drawing: "arch. Gloria Marconi"). Cf. *supra*, in *Chapters IV.1.1.h*); and *VI.1.i.3.a*); and below, at *The Contribution by Eric M. Moormann: Can We Reconstruct the Templum Gentis Flaviae?*; at *The second Contribution by Jörg Rüpke: Tempel-Gräber*; and at *The Contribution by Mario Torelli on the Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

**Fig. 34.** Reconstruction drawing of a relief that once belonged to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. Represented is a sacrifice in front of Augustus' Temple of Quirinus on the Quirinal. From: R. Paris (1994b, 90: "Tav. IV. Proposta di ricostruzione parziale della scena con sacrificio, davanti al Tempio di Quirino". Drawing: "arch. Gloria Marconi"). Cf. *supra*, in *Chapters IV.1.1.h*); and *VI.1.i.3.a*); and below, at *The Contribution by Eric M. Moormann: Can We Reconstruct the Templum Gentis Flaviae?*; at *The second Contribution by Jörg Rüpke: Tempel-Gräber*; and at *The Contribution by Mario Torelli on the Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

**Fig. 35.** *Aureus* of Augustus, mint of Rome, 12 BC. Showing the doorway of the (real) House of Augustus on the Palatine, with the *corona civica* above the door and two laurel trees on either side. Cf. T.P. Wiseman (2019, 9, Fig. 3). RIC P Augustus 419. Sutherland 1984.74. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

**Fig. 36.** The Nollekens Relief, on display above the fire place in the White Hall of the Gatchina Palace near St. Petersburg, marble, 88 x 139 cm. F. Bianchini (1738, 68, his Tab. VI, an etching of the Nollekens Relief) found this relief in 1722 in the 'Aula Regia' of Domitian's 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana*; cf. S. Cosmo (1990, 837 Fig. 8); J. Pollini (2017b, 120, 124; cf. p. 98, Fig. 1. We have copied from this illustration Pollini's numbering of the figures, which are represented on this relief). Pollini suggests (in my opinion convincingly) that it shows the togate triumphator Domitian, sacrificing in AD 89 just outside Domitian's *Porta Triumphalis*; after which, the emperor would begin his (last) triumphal procession. Photograph, taken in 1914, when the relief was still preserved in its restored state of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Courtesy John Pollini.

**The caption of Pollini's (2017b) Fig. 1 (= here Fig. 36) reads:** "Photograph taken in 1914 of the Nollekens Relief ... [the author provides a reference for that on p. 107 with n. 47]. Note that only the heads of nos. 6 [*i.e.*, of Domitian], 8 [*i.e.*, of the *Genius Senatus*] and 10 [*i.e.*, of a boy ministrant] in the foreground and of all the background figures are ancient [my emphasis]". See *supra*, at Chapter *V.1.i.3.b*); and at *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

**Fig. 37.** The other fragmentary marble relief, found by Francesco Bianchini in 1722 within the 'Aula Regia' of the 'Domus Flavia', shows four female representations or divinities in Greek dress. From F. Bianchini (1738) Tab. VII: "Fragmentum anaglyphi repertum in Palatio Caesarum intra Hortos Farnesianos MDCCXXII Hieronymus Rossi incid.". Cf. *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section III.

**Fig. 38.** Bronze *drachma*, issued by Antoninus Pius at Alexandria in 144/145 AD: it shows a woman's head, a star, a crescent, and a crab. Cf. A. Geißen (2010, 213, Taf. 63, Abb. 4). Roman Provincial Coinage (RPC) vol. IV.4, 13544. Online at : <<https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/4/13544>>. See *infra*, in volume 3-2, at Appendix II. a).

**Fig. 39.** S. Cosmo's plan of the (former) Orti Farnesiani on the Palatine in Rome. From S. Cosmo: "Aspetti topologici e topografici degli Orti farnesiani come premessa alla conservazione ambientale" (1990, 837, Fig. 8). He marks on his plan of the Orti Farnesiani, where Francesco Bianchini and Pietro Rosa had excavated. See below, in volume 3-2, at Appendix VI.

**Fig. 40.** Pietro Canonica (1869-1959), equestrian statue of Simon Bolívar, bronze (1934). Since 1960 (again) on display on the Piazzale Simon Bolívar, the terrace in the Valle Belle Arti underneath the British School at Rome, opposite the equestrian statue of José de San Martín, which appears on the photos illustrated here in the foreground, seen from behind. The latter was erected in 1957 on the square now called Piazza José de San Martín, the terrace, which is located below Via Omero in the Valle Belle Arti, and opposite the Piazzale Simon Bolívar (Photos: F.X. Schütz 18-IX-2019).

**Fig. 41.** Pietro Canonica (1869-1959), 'Monumento all'Umile Eroe' ('monument of a modest hero'; 1937), bronze. Statue of a mule, which is part of his 'monumento agli Alpini'. This monument is on display in front of the Fortezzuola at the Villa Borghese in Rome, which accommodates the Museo Pietro Canonica. (Photos: F.X. Schütz 03-IX-2019).

**Fig. 42.** Pietro Canonica, his inscription that belongs to his statues of the mule Scudela and of the Alpino (cf. here Fig. 41). Cf. below, at *The first Contribution by Laura Gigli concerning Pietro Canonica's statue of the mule Scudela*. Photos: Courtesy F.X. Schütz.

**Fig. 43.** Map of the Valle Belle Arti in Rome and of the adjacent Villa Borghese. OSM (Open Street Map, detail). Last visit: 5th October 2019.

For discussions of here Figs. 40-43; cf. *supra*, in Chapter VI.2.

**Fig. 44.** Bronze *sestertius* of Marcus Aurelius, reverse. Represented is the Temple of Hermes-Thot (Hermes Trismegistos), dedicated by Marcus Aurelius at Rome as a thanksgiving after the rain miracle (AD 172/173 or 174?) in the war against the Quadi.

**Fig. 45.** Colossal marble herms representing the god Hermes. From the Temple of Hermes-Thot (Hermes Trismegistos), dedicated by Marcus Aurelius at Rome as a thanksgiving after the rain miracle (AD 172/173 or 174?) in the war against the Quadi. Roma, Parco Borghese, Parco dei Daini. Photos: F.X. Schütz 10-III-2020. For discussions of Figs. 44; 45; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2. at Appendix II.a).

**Fig. 46.** Beneventum, Arch of Trajan, built AD 114-118, general view of 'city side'.

Left and right panels in the attic of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum ('city side'). We see "Jupiter in the company of other important state gods [who] extends his thunderbolt to Trajan, his viceregent on earth - a gesture of divine approbation to rule and to conquer on behalf of the Roman People"; cf J. Pollini (2012, 105, with Figs. II.39b-c). On the right hand side panel appear the togate Emperor Trajan, a bearded and cuirassed man to his left (*i.e.*, in front of him), who has the same size as Trajan, and further to the left two adult *togati*, all standing in front of an arch. G. Koeppel (1969, 188-189, Fig. 15) suggested that the two *togati*, who are represented at the scale of children, are the two *consules* of Rome, who receive Trajan outside the *pomerium* of Rome to tell him that the Senate has granted him the celebration of a triumph. Koeppel compared this relief

with Vespasian and the togate youth (in his opinion Domitian) on Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; figures 14** [Vespasian]: **12** [Domitian]).

D.E.E. Kleiner (1992, 228, Fig. 193) and A. Schmidt-Colinet (2005, 108-112, Abb. 9a; 9b) suggest that the bearded and cuirassed man to the left of Trajan may be identified with Hadrian.

Right hand side panel in the attic of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum ('city side'). Detail, showing the head of the bearded and cuirassed man, identified by Kleiner (1992) and Schmidt-Colinet (2005) as Hadrian.

Right hand panel in the middle register of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum ('city side'), where the adult male figures are differentiated by three different scales. The tallest figure is the togate Emperor Trajan on the right, who is accompanied by some of his lictors of almost the same size. In front of Trajan appears a man, who is smaller than Trajan and his lictors. He seems to have guided the three men on the left to Trajan, two of them are togate; compared with the emperor, these men reach only up to his chest, as if they were children. Cf. H.R. Goette (1990, 130 cat. Bb9 Benevent, Trajansbogen, Taf. 16,2).

Left and right panels in the lowest register of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum ('city side'). They "depict two parts of the same scene, which has been identified as the *adventus* into Rome of Trajan as the new emperor in 99. The togate emperor stands before the entrance to the city, surrounded by a full contingent of twelve lictors, and guided by the warden of the city (*praefectus urbi*). The *Genius Senatus* and the *Genius Populi Romani* ... are there to greet him"; cf. D.E.E. Kleiner (1992, 227).

Cf. H.R. Goette (1990, 130 cat. Bb9 Benevent, Trajansbogen, Taf. 15.3,4).

All photos: Courtesy H.R. Goette (5th and 6th February 2017).

**Fig. 47.** Plaster cast of a colossal marble head of Constantine the Great, 0,59 m high. According to K. Fittschen (2014, 58), this portrait was inserted into a (standing), probably cuirassed statue that was circa 3,30 m high. From the Forum of Trajan. Roma, Museo dei Fori Imperiali (inv. no. FT 10337). This plaster cast is on display at the Abgußsammlung of the Freie Universität Berlin. Photos: Courtesy H.R. Goette.

Because this head of Constantine the Great (here **Fig. 47**) probably belonged to a cuirassed statue; cf. Fittschen (2014, 58), which was typical of Christian emperors; cf. La Rocca (2000, 24 with n. 168, Fig. 23), I wonder, whether this could have been the portrait-statue, described by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 10,4,16). If so, Constantine was represented in this statue seated. Eusebius copied the pertaining inscription, set (and therefore presumably also composed) by Constantine himself, who added it to the statue, dedicated to him by the Senate after his victory over Maxentius, and which, according to Eusebius, the Senate had erected 'a Roma nel luogo più pubblico di tutti'; cf. Parisi Presicce (2006b, 140 with n. 15). In this 'personal statement', Constantine claimed that 'thanks to the salvation bringing sign [that this portrait-statue of Constantine, at the explicit order of the emperor, was holding in its right hand - and which some earlier scholars have identified with a cross], which is the true proof of *virtus*, I have saved and liberated Rome from the tyrant [*i.e.*, Maxentius], and thanks to my liberation, I have restored the Senate and the Roman People to their old image and to their old splendour'; cf. Kähler (1960, 391).

**Fig. 48.** Marble reliefs from the porticoes of the *Hadrianeum* at Rome, representing personifications of cities and peoples of the Roman Empire, military and naval trophies. Antonine period. Rome, courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Roma, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme (Museo Nazionale Romano), and Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Photos: Courtesy H.R. Goette.

**Fig. 49.** Rome, Domitian's *Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium*, detail from the only extant part of the colonnade on the south-east side of the *Forum*, called "*Le Colonnacce*". Photo: Courtesy F.X. Schütz (March 2006). Marble relief of a female figure in the attic storey of "*Le Colonnacce*", previously identified as Minerva but, as H. Wiegartz (1996) realized, actually depicting a representation of a people; as he observed originally 42 such representations of *gentes* had decorated this *Forum*. This figure represents the *Piroustae*, who, as Wiegartz observed, is also represented in the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias, where this representation is labelled as '*Piroustoi*' (cf. here **Fig. 50**). Photo: Courtesy H.R. Goette (May 2012). The *Piroustae* were an Illyrian tribe (also called a Dalmatian tribe and a Pannonian tribe), who lived in that part of the Roman province of *Illyricum*, which, after the division of this province (which probably occurred in AD 9), became the Roman province of *Dalmatia*. See below, at *The second Contribution by Peter Herz: Anmerkungen zu Statius Marrax*; and

at *The first Contribution by R.R.R. Smith on the iconography of the representation of the Piroustae at "Le Colonnacce" in Domitian's Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium* (cf. here **Fig. 49**).

**Fig. 50.** Aphrodisias, *Sebasteion*, Iulo-Claudian period. Marble relief depicting a representation of the same people as illustrated at "Le Colonnacce", called in the pertaining inscription 'Piroustoi'. Photo: Courtesy Aphrodisias Excavations (G. Petruccioli).

**Fig. 51.** The Greek lyric poet Pindar, identified by the inscription in Greek (ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΣ). Found at Aphrodisias, at the 'Atrium House'. From R.R.R. Smith (*JRS* 1990, Pl. 6). Cf. *supra*, at Chapter *Dedication*; and below, at *The second Contribution by R.R.R. Smith : Note on the function of the 'Atrium House' at Aphrodisias*.

**Fig. 52.** Ground-plan of the absidal building at Aphrodisias, called 'Atrium House' by R.R.R. Smith in his second *Contribution*. It is located adjacent to the *Sebasteion*. From: R.R.R. Smith (*JRS* 1990, Pl. 4).

For **Figs. 51; 52:** see *supra*, at Chapter *Dedication*; and below, at *The second Contribution by R.R.R. Smith : Note on the function of the 'Atrium House' at Aphrodisias*.

**Fig. 53.** Colossal head of *Divus Titus*, marble (the marble has so far not been tested). H 1,52 m. Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (inv. no. 110892). Found at Rome, "in 1873 in via Pastrengo during the excavations for the construction of the Ministry of Finance" (so E. La Rocca 2020b, 379), close to the north-west corner of the Baths of Diocletian. We owe to R. Lanciani (1872-1873, 229), to M.C. Capanna (2008, 177 with n.1), and to E. La Rocca (2009; 2020b) the identification of this portrait of Titus with the cult-statue of *Divus Titus* in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. From: E. La Rocca (2020b, Figs. 4-7).

**Fig. 54.** Portrait of Flavia Domitilla *minor*, the sister of the Emperor Domitian, on modern bust, marble. H. 0,75, of the head 0,32 m. Roma, Museo Torlonia (MT 527). Cf. S. Settis and C. Gasparri (2020, 152, cat. no. 9, F. CORAGGIO). Photos: © Fondazione Torlonia.

**Fig. 55.** Colossal portrait of Domitian's sister Flavia Domitilla *minor*, marble. H. 0,61 m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek (inv. no. 3186). Cf. F.S. Johansen (1995, 40-41 Nr. 9). Photos: Courtesy H.R. Goette.

**Fig. 55.1.** Colossal portrait of Iulia Titi, the daughter of the Emperor Titus, marble. H. 0,83, of the head 0,47 m. Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps (inv. no. 8638). Cf. D.E.E. Kleiner (1992, 179, Fig. 147); F. Coarelli (2009a, 416, cat. no. 12 ([E. ROSSO])). Photo: D-DAI 57.618.

**Fig. 56.** Archaeological plan of the area of the Baths of Diocletian. Cf. C. Pietrangeli 1977, tav. 2 (drawing: C. Buzzetti and E. Gatti). From: E. La Rocca (2020b, Fig. 8): "1. Area dove era ubicato il *templum gentis Flaviae*; 2. Il luogo dove è stata rinvenuta la testa colossale di Tito [cf. here **Fig. 53**]; 3. Edificio in laterizio dove è stato rinvenuto il mosaico con tiaso marino e le tre Grazie; 4. Il luogo dove sono stati rinvenuti i rilievi Hartwig [for those; cf. *supra*, at Chapter *V.1.i.3.a*], and here **Figs. 33; 34**"]".

**Fig. 56a.** The same archaeological plan, with additions by L. Kosmopoulos. Cf. Kosmopoulos (in: E. LA ROCCA and L. KOSMOPOULOS 2023, 126, Fig. 29). The caption reads: "L'area occupata dal *templum gentis Flaviae* (in rosso), secondo l'ipotesi ricostruttiva del podio di Filippo Coarelli, nell'ambito delle terme di Diocleziano. 2: luogo in cui è stata trovata la testa colossale di Tito [cf. here **Fig. 53**]; 3: ambiente absidato con il mosaico marino (elaborazione di L. Kosmopoulos su disegno di Carlo Buzzetti, e con aggiunte da Coarelli 2014a, fig. 52 e da La Rocca 2021, fig. 8)".

**Fig. 57.** Archaeological plan of the Baths of Diocletian (detail). Cf. C. Pietrangeli 1977, tav. 3, with additions by E. La Rocca. From: E. La Rocca (2020b, Fig. 10: detail of his Fig. 9). The caption of his Fig. 10 reads: "Dettaglio della pianta a fig. 09. Con una linea rossa è segnalato il perimetro della recinzione del *templum gentis Flaviae* (da Pietrangeli 1977, tav. 3, con aggiunte dell'a.[utore])".

For **Figs. 53-57**; cf. *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.h); at Section *Did Domitian bury in his Templum Gentis Flaviae also his mother and his sister, Flavia Domitilla maior and minor ?*; and at *Let's now turn to Eugenio La Rocca's and Lorenzo Kosmopoulos's (2023) observations concerning the Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

**Fig. 58.** Map of the *Campus Martius* at Rome in the Imperial period, showing also adjacent areas. C. Häuber & F.X. Schütz, "AIS ROMA", reconstruction 2023. For the first version of this map, comprising a much smaller area; cf. Häuber (2017, 63, Fig. 3.5).

The photogrammetric data, on the basis of which the maps here **Fig. 58; 58.1; 58.2; 59; 60; 61; 62; 63; 64; 65; 66; 70; 71; 72; 73; 74; 75; 76** were drawn, were generously provided by the Sovrintendente ai Beni Culturali of Roma Capitale.

**Fig. 58.1**, first sketch. Overlay of our updated map **Fig. 58** of the '*Campus Martius* in the Imperial period with adjacent areas, 2023' with the street level of the OSM data, showing the site of the ancient *Pons Sublicius*. C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz, "AIS ROMA", reconstruction, 2023. The photogrammetric data, on the basis of which **Fig. 58** was first drawn (cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 63, Fig. 3.5), were generously provided by the Sovrintendente ai Beni Culturali of Roma Capitale. For the OSM data; cf. OSM.org [11-VI-2023].

**Fig. 58.2**, first sketch. Enlarged detail of **Fig. 58.1**. By enlarging the map **Fig. 58.1**, many more street names became visible in the street level of the OSM data. Some of those streets belong to the 'street fan' in Trastevere. This 'street fan', that is to say, those converging modern roads, may be regarded as *lineaments*, which indicate the point, where once had stood the ancient *Pons Sublicius*. C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz, "AIS ROMA", reconstruction, 2023. The photogrammetric data, on the basis of which **Fig. 58** was first drawn (cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 63, Fig. 3.5), were generously provided by the Sovrintendente ai Beni Culturali of Roma Capitale. For the OSM data; cf. OSM.org [11-VI-2023].

For **Fig. 58.1** and **Fig. 58.2**; cf. *supra*, in *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) ...; Part II. Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata; Section III.; at The controversy concerning the location of the Pons Sublicius (cf. here Figs. 58; 58.1; 58.2; 73)*.

**Fig. 59.** Map of the *Campus Martius* in the Imperial period, showing also adjacent areas, and comprising the current layout of the city. C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz, "AIS ROMA", reconstruction, updated 2023. For the first version of this map (cf. C. HÄUBER 2017, 69, Fig. 3.7). On this map the photogrammetric data (comprising the current cadastre, on the basis of which **Fig. 59** was first drawn) are visible; they were generously provided by the Sovrintendente ai Beni Culturali of Roma Capitale.

**Fig. 60.** Map of the Iseum Campense in the *Campus Martius*. C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz, "AIS ROMA". From: C. HÄUBER 2017, 71, Fig. 3.7.1, updated 2023 (= detail of the map here **Fig. 59**).

**Fig. 61.** Map of the Iseum Campense, detail of the map here **Fig. 60**, with one addition: comparison of G. Gatti's (1960) and A. Ten's (2015) locations and reconstructions of the Arco di Camilliano and of the Arco di Giano alla Minerva; cf. Häuber (2017, 73, Fig. 3.7.1.1).

**Fig. 62.** Map of the *Campus Martius* between the Piazza Colonna and the Palazzo Venezia. Overlay of Giambattista (G.B.) Nolli's georeferenced Large Rome map (1748) and of the photogrammetric data, with integration of our own cartographic information of the map here **Fig. 59**. F.X. Schütz and C. Häuber, "AIS ROMA", reconstruction 2017, updated 2023. Cf. Häuber (2017, 127, Fig. 5.2).

For discussions of the illustrations here **Figs. 62-69.2**; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...; INTRODUCTION*; at Section I. *The motivation to write this Study*; and at Sections II.-VII. (on the Precinct and Temple of *Diva Matidia*).



**Fig. 62.1.** The Large Rome Map of Giambattista (G.B.) Nolli (1748). The sheet of his map shown here comprises the area chosen for our map **Fig. 62**.

**Fig. 62.1.A.** The Large Rome Map of Giambattista (G.B.) Nolli (1748). Detail of the original sheet of his map, illustrated on **Fig. 62.1.**, showing the Piazza Capranica, the Piazza Capranica to the north of it, and the former Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario to the south of it; today this palazzo has the mailing address: 'Piazza Capranica number 78'. For the current street names; cf. here **Figs. 64; 66**.

**Fig. 62.1.B.** The seven cipollino columns of the here-so-called porticus with cipollino columns, as drawn by Giambattista (G.B.) Piranesi and published by himself as an etching, accompanied by a pertaining text. From: Giambattista Piranesi (*Antichità Romane* I, 1756, page 10, number 77, Tav. XIV, fig. 1).

**Fig. 62.2.** The *Campus Martius* between the Pantheon and the Palazzo Capranica. Overlay of Nolli's georeferenced Large Rome map (1748) and of the photogrammetric data. F.X. Schütz and C. Häuber "AIS ROMA", reconstruction 2023.

**Fig. 62.3.** The *Campus Martius* between the Pantheon and the Palazzo Capranica in the official photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale. To the buildings between the Palazzo Capranica and the Via del Seminario, which are discussed in this *Study*, we have added the current house numbers. F.X. Schütz and C. Häuber "AIS ROMA", reconstruction 2023. For the street names; cf. here **Figs. 64; 66**.

**Fig. 62.4, left.** Aerial photograph of the *Campus Martius* between the Pantheon and the former Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario/ Piazza Capranica no. 78 (taken on 11th June 1990), and published in the *Atlante di Roma* (2. edition of 1992); cf. G. Maltese and D. Tinacci (1992, 48, Fig. 42).

**Fig. 62.4, right.** The *Campus Martius* between the Pantheon and the Palazzo Capranica. Overlay of the georeferenced aerial photograph of the *Atlante di Roma* of this area (here **Fig. 62.4, left**) and of the photogrammetric data. F.X. Schütz and C. Häuber "AIS ROMA", reconstruction 2023.

**Fig. 62.5.** The *Campus Martius* between the Pantheon and the Via dei Pastini. Overlay of the current cadastre with the current OSM ('Open Street Map') data, layer 'buildings'. F.X. Schütz and C. Häuber "AIS ROMA", reconstruction 2023.

**Fig. 62.6.** Colour photograph, showing the Piazza Capranica, seen from the Torre Capranica, looking southwest. The Torre Capranica is integrated into the western part of the Palazzo Capranica, which stands on the north-side of Piazza Capranica. Roma, collezione Dott. Richard Sasson, 'A World Apart'. Photo: Signora Francesca Maiolino. Courtesy Dott. Richard Sasson and per gentile concessione del fotografo Francesca Maiolino. Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ... Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?)*; INTRODUCTION; at Section III. *The Precinct and Temple of Diva Matidia: my new research, motivated by Francesca Dell'Era's (2020) critique of my first reconstruction of the Temple of Diva Sabina?*

**Fig. 62.7.** The fragmentary monolithic shaft of the cipollino column, which still stands *in situ* on the east side of the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando in the *Campus Martius*, being partly inserted into the west wall of the Ospizio/ Casa degli Orfani/ Collegio di S. Maria in Aquiro; cf. here **Figs. 64; 66**. It is debated, to which ancient building it had belonged, and which orientation this porticus originally had. In my opinion, this cipollino column is the only still extant one of the columns of the here-so-called porticus with cipollino columns, which Giambattista (G.B.) Nolli had still in part documented on his Large Rome map (1748; cf. here **Figs. 62; 62.1; 62.1.A**), and Giambattista (G.B.) Piranesi on one of his etchings (cf. here **Fig. 62.1.B**). Colour photographs: Courtesy L. Gigli (13-VII-2022).

**Fig. 62.8.** Two colour photographs, showing the façade of the Palazzo Capranica on the north-side of Piazza Capranica (with the Torre Capranica, integrated into the west end of the palazzo), and a drawing of its façade, with indication of its various building phases.

Note that this palazzo was built in several different building phases, proceeding gradually 'from east to west'; cf. Laura Gigli (2015, 11-20). Roma, collezione Dott.ssa Laura Gigli. Photos and drawing: Arch. Marco Setti. Courtesy Dott.ssa Laura Gigli and per gentile concessione del Arch. Marco Setti. These illustration have been published by Laura Gigli (2015, 12, Fig. "1. L'ombra proiettata sul palazzo Capranica dal campanile della chiesa di Santa Maria in Aquiro"; p. 14, Fig. "2. La facciata del palazzo Capranica"; and p. 14, Fig. "3. Rilievo del prospetto con l'individuazione e delle fasi costruttive e localizzazione del salone all'interno della torre"). For discussions; cf. *supra*, at Fig. 62.6.

**Fig. 62.9.** C. Huelsen (1899, between pp. 152, 153) his reconstructed plan of the area of the *Campus Martius*, between the Pantheon, the Palazzo Capranica and the Temple of *Diva Matidia*.

**Fig. 62.10.** Huelsen (1912, 141; cf. p. 131, Abb. 86, p. 137, Abb. 87) his two reconstructed plans of the area of the *Campus Martius*, between the Pantheon, the Palazzo Capranica and the Temple of *Diva Matidia*.

**Fig. 62.11.** The *Campus Martius*, showing the area between the Pantheon and the Palazzo Capranica, with the former Palazzo della Confraternità del Rosario/ Piazza Capranica no. 78. Overlay of here Fig. 62.2, Nolli's Large Rome map (1748), georeferenced, with here Fig. 62.4, right, Overlay of the georeferenced aerial photograph of the *Atlante di Roma* of this area and of the photogrammetric data.

**Fig. 63.** Overlay of Giambattista (G.B.) Nolli's Large Rome map (1748, enlarged) and the photogrammetric data (cf. here Fig. 62, detail), showing the ground-plan of the Palazzo Capranica at the Piazza Capranica. F.X. Schütz & C. Häuber, "AIS ROMA", reconstruction 2017, updated 2023. Cf. Häuber (2017, 77, Fig. 3.7.3).

**Fig. 64.** Detail of our map of the *Campus Martius* in the Imperial period (cf. here Fig. 59) between the Piazza Montecitorio and the *Saepta*, published in my earlier Study; cf. Häuber (2017, 87, Fig. 3.7.5.a), with later additions. With the reconstructions of the Precinct and of the Temple of *Diva Matidia* by H.-J. Beste and H. v. Hesberg (2015, 242, Fig. 28; Tav. II, K), and with my own reconstructions of these buildings (2017, updated 2023), and with G. Simonetta's reconstructed ground-plan of the Temple of *Diva Matidia*; cf. G. Simonetta and L. Gigli (2018 [2021] 164-165, Fig. 1 = here Figs. 67; 67.1).

**Fig. 64.1.** Detail of Antonio Tempesta's bird's-eye-view map of Rome (1593) with his representation of the Arco di Portogallo, which at this time still bridged the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata/ Via del Corso*. In the following, I repeat a text passage from above, in Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*:

'And when we were discussing the location of the former Arco di Portogallo on the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata/ Via del Corso*, which was destroyed in 1622, Franz Xaver Schütz has made a relevant research and found a hitherto not recognized representation of the former Arco di Portogallo on Tempesta's bird's-eye-view map of Rome (1593; cf. here Fig. 64.1). Antonio Tempesta has even labelled this Arch: "arcus por / tugalli". See the inserted box on here Fig. 64.1, with the enlarged detail of Tempesta's map with the labelled Arco di Portogallo, which we have turned around, so that the inscription is legible.

**Fig. 65.** My own reconstruction of the Precinct of *Diva Matidia*. With the Temple of *Diva Matidia*, seen in relation to the *Saepta* (restored by Hadrian), both connected with an (imaginary) symmetry- axis: the light blue line, labelled: North-south axis, which, like the *Saepta*, is oriented towards the celestial North Pole), and the Precinct of *Diva Matidia*, seen in relation to the (later) Temple of *Diva Sabina* ?, the *Hadrianeum* and the Arch of Hadrian on the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata/ Via del Corso*. With my own reconstructions of these buildings (2017, updated 2023), and with G. Simonetta's reconstructed ground-plan of the Temple of *Diva Matidia*; cf. G. Simonetta and L. Gigli (2018 [2021] 164-165, Fig. 1 = here Figs. 67; 67.1). Cf. Häuber (2017, 92-98; p. 93, Fig. 3.7.5b), updated 2023.

See *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the Consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*

Or: *The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?); and below, at The Contribution by John Bodel: The Label Inscribed on Fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan; and at The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen: Zum 'Hadrianeum' auf Münzen des Antoninus Pius.*

**Fig. 66.** Detail of the map here **Fig. 65**. My own final reconstruction of the site-plan of Hadrian's temple complex in the *Campus Martius*. It comprises the ground-plans of all of Hadrian's shrines, as well as the *Hadrianeum*, built by his adoptive son and successor, the Emperor Antoninus Pius, who dedicated this temple to *Divus Hadrianus*. Cf. Häuber (2017, 98-103; p. 99, Fig. 3.7.5.c). See below, at *The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen: Zum 'Hadrianeum' auf Münzen des Antoninus Pius.*

**Fig. 66.1.** The *Campus Martius* between the Via dei Pastini and the Via del Seminario, with the Palazzo nobile of the Serlupi Crescenzi and of their (future) four "palazzetti d'affitto Serlupi Crescenzi"; cf. Daria Borghese's (1994, 170). Overlay of our map **Fig. 66**, of an aerial photograph and of the photogrammetric data. F.X. Schütz and C. Häuber "AIS ROMA", reconstruction 2023.

**Fig. 66.2.** Rome map of Antonio Tempesta (1593), detail of the area of the *Campus Martius*, between the Via dei Pastini and the Via del Seminario, with the Palazzo nobile Serlupi Crescenzi.

**Fig. 66.3.** Rome map of Giovanni Battista Falda (1676), detail of the area of the *Campus Martius*, between the Via dei Pastini and the Via del Seminario, with the Palazzo nobile Serlupi Crescenzi.

For discussions of the illustrations here **Figs. 66.1; 66.2 and 66.3**; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at

*A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ... Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?); INTRODUCTION; at Section XIII. Further new research related to my Temple of Diva Matidia and to my Temple of Diva Sabina?: observations at the Palazzo Serlupi Crescenzi and at the Palazzo Capranica.*

**Fig. 66.4.** R. Lanciani's plan (1883a, Tav. I-II) and the sheet of his map *FUR* (1893-1901, fol. 15), which document the here-so-called 'Lanciani's porticus'. This plan and his map, created by Lanciani, belong to his discussion (1881, 270; 1883a, 15) of a porticus, excavated and documented by him in 1871, 1879 and 1881 'at the junction of the square in front of the Pantheon with the Via dei Pastini', or, when we look at his plan and his map: this porticus stood immediately to the north-west and to the south of the junction of the roads Via dei Pastini and Via degli Orfani (cf. here **Fig. 66**). Whereas Lanciani himself (erroneously) attributed this porticus to an (alleged) colonnaded forecourt of the Pantheon, his porticus stood in reality within the area of the Precinct of *Diva Matidia*.

Lanciani (1881; 1883a, Tav. I-II; *FUR*, fol 15) excavated his porticus, which he (erroneously) attributed to the (alleged) colonnaded forecourt of the Pantheon, in reality within the area of Beste's and von Hesberg's Precinct of *Diva Matidia* (cf. here **Fig. 64**). 'Lanciani's porticus' was oriented to the west (!) (cf. here **Fig. 66.1**). Its existence precludes Beste's and von Hesberg's entire reconstructions of their Precinct and Temple of *Diva Matidia*. The reason being that Beste and von Hesberg (2015, 242, Fig. 28; Tav. II, K; cf. here **Fig. 64**) assume within their reconstructions of the Precinct and Temple of *Diva Matidia* the western branch of their "portico su tre lati", which is oriented to the east (!), at exactly the same site, where 'Lanciani's porticus' actually stood.

The reason for Lanciani's relevant error was the fact that he himself had not realized that the cadastre, on which he had based his plan of 1883a, as well as his map *FUR* (both here **Fig. 66.4**), contained an error in this area. Because of this error, 'Lanciani's porticus' appears on his own plan and map circa 13 m to the west of its true location. This fact, in its turn, had the effect that on Lanciani's plan and map (here **Fig. 66.4**) 'Lanciani's porticus' actually seems to be located immediately to the north-east of the Pantheon (!). Lanciani's relevant error concerning his porticus, that had allegedly belonged to a (never existing) colonnaded forecourt of the Pantheon, has been followed by almost all subsequent scholars.

**Fig. 66.5.** Map of the area, where R. Lanciani has documented the find of his porticus (cf. here **Fig. 66.4**). This map shows 'the junction of the "Piazza della Rotonda" (the square in front of the Pantheon) with the "Via dei Pastini"' - as Lanciani referred to the findspot of the here-so-called 'Lanciani's porticus' (cf. R. LANCIANI, *NSc* 1881, 270; 1883a, 15) - and, in addition to this, the "Via degli Orfani".

To illustrate Lanciani's explicit descriptions (*NSc* 1881, 270; *BullCom* 1883a, 15) of the precise location of his porticus, which he himself documented on a plan (cf. *id.* *BullCom* 1883a, Tav. I-II) and on his map (*FUR*, fol. 15; cf. for both here **Fig. 66.4**), we have ourselves created the map discussed here. This map shows 'the junction of the "Piazza della Rotonda" (the square in front of the Pantheon) with the "Via dei Pastini"' - as Lanciani (*NSc* 1881, 270) referred to the findspot of his porticus, and, in addition to this, the "Via degli Orfani". We used for this map the official OSM (Open Street Map-data, layers: buildings and streets. Our resulting map, with the letterings "Piazza della Rotonda", "Via dei Pastini" and "Via degli Orfani", shows that the 'square in front of the Pantheon, called "Piazza della Rotonda"' actually reaches as far north-east as to the junction of the two roads "Via degli Orfani" and "Via dei Pastini". This means that Lanciani, also with his note *NSc* 1879, 14 must have referred to his porticus. F.X. Schütz and C. Häuber "AIS ROMA", reconstruction 2023.

**Fig. 67.** Arch. G. Simonetta (drawing: arch. M. Setti), site-plan of the ancient and medieval architectural finds in the basements of Palazzo Capranica, with his reconstruction of the ground-plan of the Temple of *Diva Matidia*. Courtesy arch. G. Simonetta. Cf. Giuseppe Simonetta and Laura Gigli (2018 [2021] 164-165, Fig. 1). The architect Giuseppe Simonetta and the art-historian Laura Gigli have followed my hypothesis, published in my earlier study (2017), according to which the Palazzo Capranica was built 'on top of' Hadrian's Temple of *Diva Matidia* (for my relevant updated map; cf. here **Fig. 66**). See Simonetta and Gigli (2018 [2021] 128-129, n. 7). Based on his analysis of all the architectural remains in the basements of Palazzo Capranica, arch. Simonetta has created a reconstructed ground-plan of the Temple of *Diva Matidia*. Simonetta's plan illustrated here shows all the architectural finds in the basements of Palazzo Capranica. His reconstructed ground-plan of the Temple of *Diva Matidia* is highlighted in green; the architectural remains highlighted in "viola" are in part datable to the Middle Ages. Cf. G. Simonetta and L. Gigli (2018, 614 [a detailed caption of this plan, which refers to the fact that in this article their original coloured plan Fig. 1, which is illustrated here, is published in black and white], p. 615, Fig. 1). In Simonetta's opinion (cf. G. SIMONETTA and L. GIGLI 2018 [2021] 164), the Temple of *Diva Matidia* may have been erected by re-using a building of the Republican period. For discussions; cf. *supra*, at **Fig. 65**.

**Fig. 67.1.** Slightly changed version of the plan here **Fig. 67**. Those changes were added at my request by adding to this plan an arrow indicating north, a scale, and some street names. Arch. G. Simonetta (drawing: arch. M. Setti), site-plan of the ancient and medieval architectural finds in the basements of Palazzo Capranica, with his reconstruction of the ground-plan of the Temple of *Diva Matidia*. Courtesy arch. G. Simonetta. For discussions; cf. *supra*, at **Fig. 65**.

**Fig. 68.** Reverse of a bronze medallion, issued by Hadrian, with representation of the Temple of *Diva Matidia* and its two pertaining Basilicas. From Häuber (2017, 104, Fig. 3.7.6). After: M. Fuchs 2014, 137 Fig. 19 "Medaillon. Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. MK 9876". Cf. chapter II; Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the *Saepta*, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense; and Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5.a [= here **Figs. 59; 60; 64**]]. For discussions; cf. *supra*, at **Fig. 65**.

**Fig. 69.1.** "Tempio di Siepe", an ancient building that was documented within Palazzo Capranica at Piazza Capranica. Drawing, plan and section. Windsor 12138. After: *LTUR* V (1999) 315. Fig. 10. From: Häuber (2017, 80, Fig. 3.7.4). Cf. chapter II; Again Augustus' Meridian floor and G. Gatti's reconstruction of the "Campo Marzio centrale": his location of the *Saepta*, and some new observations concerning the Iseum Campense; The "Tempio di Siepe"; and Figs. 3.7; 3.7.1; 3.7.5a; 3.7.5b; 3.7.5c; 5.2 [= here **Figs. 59; 60; 64; 65; 66; 62**]]. For discussions; cf. *supra*, at **Fig. 65**.

**Fig. 69.2.** Alò Giovannoli (*Vedute delle vestigi antichi di Roma*, 1616; 1619, plate 39), his etching of the "Tempio di Siepe". Since I was unable to read Giovannoli's caption of his etching in its entirety, Laura Gigli was kind enough to read and transcribe it for me, sending me the result by Email of 4th November 2022:

"A sin. dida Monogramma Alo (lettere composte in unità) Gol (lettere composte in unità) (= Alò Giovannoli)  
La u è = alla v. Io nella copia della didascalìa userei comunque la v  
CON OSSERVAZIONI MIE

Templum Septorum, ubi Victimae seruabantur (= servabantur) uulgo (= vulgo) Capranicorum aedes: Ad Meridiem spectat Fulmen in Pantheon illapsu (con trattino orizzontale sovrastante, quindi illapsu riferito alla folgore, cioè il sole), complures tegulas argenteas liquefecit Tempio di Siepe, doue (= dove) le Vittime si conseruauano (= conservavano). Hora è Pallazzo di SSri (= Signori) Capranici Inuerso (= Inverso) Mezzogiorno Il Folgore percuote il Pantheon e disfa molte delle sue tegole d'argento A d. dida Foglio 39.

TRASCRIZIONE con u diventata v e abbreviazioni sciolte:

"Templum Septorum, ubi Victimae servabantur vulgo Capranicorum aedes. Ad Meridiem spectat Fulmen in Pantheon illapsu, complures tegulas argenteas liquefecit Tempio di Siepe, dove le Vittime si conservavano. Hora è Pallazzo di Signori Capranici Inverso Mezzogiorno Il Folgore percuote il Pantheon e disfa molte delle sue tegole d'argento".

**Fig. 69.3.** Detail of the bird's eye view Rome map by Giovanni Maggi (1625), in which is documented on the 'Piazza di Pietra' an (ancient) wall that C. Parisi Presicce (2005a, 87, Fig. 13) convincingly attributes to the northern portico surrounding the *Hadrianeum*: "The back wall of the colonnade [of the *Hadrianeum*] on the north side, both the straight section and the wide exedra [*i.e.*, 'Lo Trullo'], is built with peperino blocks, smooth on the interior and rusticated on the exterior. A section of the wall still standing can be seen in the perspective plan by Giovanni Maggi, published by Paolo Maupin in 1625 and by Carlo Losi in 1774 [with n. 34, providing references]". Courtesy: C. Parisi Presicce.

**Fig. 70.** Rome map, showing the area between the *Porta Capena* in the Servian city Wall and the *Porta Appia/Porta S. Sebastiano* in the Aurelian Walls. C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz, "AIS ROMA", reconstruction. From Häuber (2014a, Map 7, now updated 2023). For explanations of the cartographic details of this map; cf. Häuber (2014a, 875).

**Fig. 71.** Rome map, showing the area between the eastern slope of the Capitoline and the Esquiline. C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz "AIS ROMA". From C. Häuber (2014a, map 3, enlarged and updated 2023). In the inserted box at the top right: map of archaic Rome; cf. Häuber (2014a; see the inserted box in Map 3), and in the inserted box at the bottom right: map of the area of the later *Horti* of Maecenas on the Esquiline Hill and their surroundings in the Republic, with indication of the route of the procession of the *Argei* (see the yellow arrows); cf. Häuber (2014a, map 9). For explanations of the cartographic details of those three maps; cf. Häuber (2014a, 873-874, 876).

**Fig. 72.** The 'Colosseum city' between the Colosseum and the *Porta Querquetulana/ "ARCUS AD ISIS"* within the Servian city Wall, one part of the 'Flavian nuova urbs', begun by Vespasian and completed by Domitian. C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz, "AIS ROMA", reconstruction. From: Häuber (2014a, map 3, detail; updated 2023 as here **Fig. 71**).

**Fig. 73.** Rome map, showing the area between the Capitoline Hill and the Caelian. C. Häuber and F.X. Schütz, "AIS ROMA", reconstruction. From: C. Häuber 2014a, pl. 5 (enlarged and updated in 2023). For an explanation of the cartographic details; cf. Häuber (2014a, 874-875); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix V*.

**Fig. 74.** Map of the Capitol. C. Häuber & F.X. Schütz, "AIS ROMA". From: Häuber (2005, 17, Abb. 2).

**Fig. 75.** Map of the Capitol. C. Häuber & F.X. Schütz, "AIS ROMA". From: Häuber (2005, 21, Abb. 3). For an explanation of the cartographic details of this map; cf. Häuber (2014a, 874-875; *ead.* 2005, 18-55).

**Fig. 76.** Map of the Capitol. C. Häuber & F.X. Schütz, "AIS ROMA". From: Häuber (2005, 25, Abb. 4). For an explanation of the cartographic details of this map; cf. Häuber (2014a, 874-875, at Map 5; *ead.* 2005, 18-55).

**Fig. 77.** Franz Xaver Schütz, map: "Kartographische Visualisierung. Landschaftselemente zwischen Rhein und Schwarzem Meer von Augustus bis Hadrian". See below, at *The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz: Zur kartographischen Visualisierung historischer Landschaftselemente zwischen Rhein und Schwarzem Meer von Augustus bis Hadrian*, Abb. 1.

**Fig. 78.** G. Gatti, reconstruction of the Central *Campus Martius*, based on the fragments of the Severan Marble plan, with the Iseum and the Serapeum and the piazza in between them. G. Gatti (1943-1944, 121, tav. 4; after: *LTUR* III [1996] Fig. 69). Note that on Gatti's plan the sanctuary is labelled: ISEVM ET SERAPEVM, whereas on the Severan Marble Plan, the sanctuary is labelled: SERAPAEVM (cf. *LTUR* I [1993] Fig. 122a).

**Fig. 79.** Drawings after scenes in structures called mammisis ('house of birth') in Egypt. From: J.-C. Goyon (1988, 34-35, **Figs. 8-10; drawings**).

The caption of his **Fig. 8** in J.-C. Goyon (1988, 34) reads: "A scene from the mammisi at Philae. Here the divine child is nursed, modeled by the god Khnum, given years of life by the god Thoth, and, at the right, offered a pectoral by Augustus in his role as pharaoh. (Adapted from Champollion 1935: pl. LXXXVI, 1)".

The caption of his **Fig. 9** in J.-C. Goyon (1988, 35) reads: "The birth of the child-god Harpre ('Horus-the-Son') before Amun-Re, the goddess Nekhbet, and Cleopatra VII. The winged scarab above the child is identified as the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the solar god Khepri, who appears each morning and is identified with Harpre, the son of Amun. The scene is from the destroyed mammisi of Armant. (Adapted from Lepsius 1849-59, pt. IV: pl. 60, a)".

The caption of his **Fig. 10** in J.-C. Goyon (1988, 35) reads: "Divine nurses from the destroyed mammisi of Armant. (Adapted from Lepsius 1849-59, pt. IV: pl. 59, c)".

The caption of his **Fig. 12** in J.-C. Goyon (1988, 37) reads: "Procession from the Temple of Horus at Edfu. The train of priests, led by the pharaoh, carries divine images of the Living Falcon and the falcon-headed Horakhty ('Horus-of-the-Two-Horizons'). (Adapted from Chassinat 1960b: pl. CLIV)".

**Fig. 80.** *Denarius*, issued by Domitian in AD 95/96, BMC 243, reverse, allegedly representing Domitian's Temple of Iuppiter Custos. In reality it does not even necessarily show a temple of Jupiter at all. Cf. R.H. Darwall-Smith (1996, 111, 156, 280, Fig. 32d on Plate XIX).

For discussions of the illustrations here **Figs. 80-87**; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.1.*

**Fig. 81.** *Denarius*, issued by Domitian in AD 95/96, BMC 240, reverse, representing Domitian's Temple of Isis within the Iseum Campense. Cf. R.H. Darwall-Smith (1996, 139, 145, 280, Fig. 32b on Plate XIX).

L. Bricault and R. Veymiers (2018, 148- 149, Fig. 5).

**Fig. 82.** *Denarius*, issued by Domitian in AD 95/96, BMC 238, reverse, representing Domitian's Temple of Serapis within the Iseum Campense. Cf. R.H. Darwall-Smith (1996, 145, 280, Fig. 31b on Plate XIX).

**Fig. 83.** *Denarius*, issued by Domitian in AD 95/96, BMC 242, reverse, representing Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. Cf. R.H. Darwall-Smith (1996, 107, 280, Fig. 34 on Plate XX). See below, at *The first Contribution by Peter Herz on the inscription (CIL VI 2059.11)*, which reports on a meeting of the Arvel brethren on 7th December 80 at the Temple of Ops in Capitolio, among them Titus and Domitian: Titus vows to restore and dedicate what would become Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.

**Fig. 84.** *Denarius*, issued by Domitian, BMC 241 (undated), allegedly showing the round Temple of Minerva Chalcidica, within which its cult-statue is visible. In reality this temple is not identified. Cf. R.H. Darwall-

Smith (1996, 125, 280, Fig. 33 on Plate XX); cf. *LTUR* III (1996) 476, Fig. 174: "... Denario di Domiziano del 94-96 d.C. BMCEmp II, 346 N. 241 tav. 67.7". The represented statue-type is called 'Athena in corsa'.

**Fig. 85.** Left foot of a marble statue of Serapis, on display on the Via di S. Stefano del Cacco in Rome, at the junction with the Via del Piè di Marmo. We may ask, whether this foot had originally belonged to a 'Bryaxix-type' cult-statue of Serapis in the *Serapeum* of the Iseum Campense, which was rebuilt by Domitian after the great fire of AD 80, and again restored by Septimius Severus. Photos: F.X. Schütz.

**Fig. 86.** Fragmentary colossal marble statue (2,28 m high; the head is 0,55 m high) of the Domitianic period, representing the standing goddess Isis, one of the famous 'statue parlanti' of Rome, the so-called 'Madama Lucrezia'. Rome, Piazza S. Marco (cf. here **Fig. 59**). Possibly found at the Iseum Campense and here identified as the cult-statue of Isis, commissioned by Domitian for his Temple of Isis within the Iseum Campense. Photo: F.X. Schütz (24-IX-2013). From: Häuber (2017, 141).

**Fig. 87.** Statue of the veiled Isis. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo (inv. no. 744/S). Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini, Neg. no. F.00958 (Colantoni). © Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali; cf. J. Eingartner (1991, 113, Kat. 9, Taf. IX; X). This statue is regarded by some scholars as the best copy after the cult-statue of Isis in her temple at the Iseum Campense, allegedly built by Caligula.

**Fig. 88.** Marble portrait of the Emperor Septimius Severus of his 'Serapis portrait-type' or 'Haupttypus' ('main type'). Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo (inv. no. MC 461). It may well be that the alabaster bust actually belongs to the portrait. From: C. Häuber (2014a, 814, Fig. 127; cf. B 26; B 28). Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.2.*

**Fig. 89.** Marble relief from the tomb of the Haterii, with representations of six buildings in Rome. Città del Vaticano, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano (inv. no. 9997). From: C. Häuber (2014a, 480, Fig. 116). Suggested date: between the late Flavian period and 120 AD; cf. Häuber (2014a, 415, 170 with n. 178; cf. p. 794: it may have been created under Domitian, and if so, documents what this part of Rome looked like at his time).

**Fig. 90.** Same as Fig. 89. Detail with the "ARCUS AD ISIS". From: C. Häuber (2014a, 480, Fig. 117a).

**Figs. 91-94.** The first three reliefs are on display in the staircase of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Musei Capitolini) at Rome. **Fig. 91:** the *adventus* relief of Hadrian from the former Arch of Hadrian alongside the *Via Flaminia/ Via Lata/ Via del Corso* in Rome, that led in Hadrian's lifetime to his Temple complex dedicated to the women of his adoptive family and later to the *Hadrianeum*; from: M. Fuchs (2014, 132, Fig. 12); **Fig. 92:** the *apotheosis* of Sabina (from the Arco di Portogallo); from: M. Fuchs (2014, 149, Fig. 21); **Fig. 93:** the *adlocutio* relief (from the Arco di Portogallo); from: M. Fuchs (2014, 139, Fig. 22); **Fig. 94:** the fourth relief is on display in the Palazzo Torlonia at Rome; from: M. Fuchs (2014, 135, Fig. 16); cf. pp. 133, 138: this panel shows a *supplicatio* scene and demonstrates, according to Fuchs, Hadrian's *clementia*.

**Fig. 91.1.** Fragment of a monumental marble inscription (*CIL* VI 40518). From: M. Fuchs (2014, 137, Abb. 20). The author was first to attribute this inscription to the Arch of Hadrian on the *Via Flaminia*. W. Eck (2019b, 199, Abb. 3) suggests a new reconstruction and dating of this inscription and rejects M. Fuchs's attribution of this inscription to this Arch of Hadrian.

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ... Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?)*; at Chapter I. *The Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia and the four marble reliefs belonging to it* (cf. here **Figs. 91-94**).

**Fig. 95, above.** From: S. Keay, M. Millett, L. Paroli and K. Strutt (2005, 273, Fig. 8.1. The caption reads: "The geographical context of the Claudian and Trajanic phases of Portus").

**Fig. 95, below.** From: S. Keay, M. Millett, L. Paroli and K. Strutt (2005, 274, Fig. 8.2. The caption reads: "Pre-Trajanic Harbour. Summary plan showing the evidence for the Claudian and first-century AD layout of Portus").

**Fig. 96.** From: S. Keay, M. Millett, L. Paroli and K. Strutt (2005, 280, Fig. 8.4. The caption reads: "Trajanic Harbour. Summary plan showing the evidence for the Trajanic and mid-Imperial layout of Portus").

**Fig. 97.** From: S. Keay, M. Millett, L. Paroli and K. Strutt (2005, 292, Fig. 8.6. The caption reads: "Late Antique Harbour. Summary plan showing the evidence for the late antique layout of Portus. The approximate extent of cemetery evidence from the field survey is shown by hatching").

**Figs. 98; 99.** Marble relief with a representation of ships in the *Portus Augusti* at Portus. Roma, Museo Torlonia (MT 430). © Fondazione Torlonia. Photo: Lorenzo De Masi.

Cf. S. Tuccinardi (2020, 176-177, cat. 26). Cf. p. 178, for the detail illustrated here on **Fig. 99** of the three figures in the "cabina" of the left ship, a bearded man on the left (according to S. Tuccinardi 'obviously the owner of the ship, who has commissioned this relief'; and in C. Cecamore's 2019, 169 [in my opinion erroneous] opinion, the Emperor Septimius Severus), a woman in the middle and a man on the right, shown in the course of sacrificing at an altar standing in front of this group.

**Fig. 100.** Attic panel from the Quadrifrons at Leptis Magna, marble. Represented is, according to D.E.E. Kleiner (1992, 341, 342, Fig. 310): "the *concordia augustorum* [i.e., of Augustus Caracalla on the left and Augustus Septimius Severus on the right, performing together the gesture *dextrarum iunctio* - between them we see Severus's younger son, Caesar Geta, and to the left of Caracalla Iulia Domna], Septimius Severus, his family, the tutelary deities of his family and of Leptis Magna". Archaeological Museum of Tripoli (Libya). Photo: Courtesy Hans R. Goette (February 2008).

**Fig. 101.** The obelisk standing in Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano at Rome, the 'Lateran Obelisk', commissioned by Pharaoh Tuthmosis III for the Temple complex of Amun in Karnak at Thebes (today Luxor). Rose granite from Aswan. Augustus had originally planned to bring this tallest of extant obelisks from Karnak to Rome, but it was only brought there in AD 357 under Constantius II, who erected it on the *spina* of the *Circus Maximus*; cf. Häuber (2017, 427-428: "Appendix 5. L. Habachi (2000) on the Lateran obelisk (Fig. 5.1 [= here **Fig. 101**])"). From: Häuber (2017, 115, Fig. 5.1). (photo: F.X. Schütz 27-IX-2015).

For discussions of the illustrations on here **Fig. 95, above - Fig. 107** :

Cf. *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.c); at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome*; at Part II. *Ancient Rome's new commercial river part, at La Marmorata*; at Section IV. *The Statio Marmorum and the 'sculpture industry' at La Marmorata ... With some remarks on the heaviest object, ever transported on the Tiber in antiquity: the Lateran Obelisk (Fig. 101)*; below, at *The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz: Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix I.d.1.a)*; and in *Appendix VI.*; at Section VII.

**Fig. 101.a.** Cf. G.B. Cipriani (1823, with Tav. 1; 2), his discussion and etchings of the 12 (Egyptian) obelisks in Rome. The caption of his Tav. 1 reads: "Dodici Obelischi Egizj, che si osservano rialzati ad ornamento della Città di Roma, posti secondo ordine della loro rievazione". The caption of his Tav. 2 reads: "Fusti dei dodici Obelischi dei Egizj, che si osservano rialzati ad ornamento della Città di Roma, posti secondo il grado della loro altezza". Cipriani's etchings of those 12 obelisks are measured: the tallest one is the Lateran Obelisk. Cipriani has also discussed and drawn Domitian's obelisk, which he refers to in his text and on his plates as: "Agonale di Piazza Navona", see his Tav. 1; Tav. 2 (in both Domitian's obelisk is the fifth from left); as well as



the Antinous Obelisk, called by him "Aureliano della Passeggiata [on the Pincio]", see his Tav. 1 (the Antinous Obelisk is the second from right); Tav. 2 (the Antinous Obelisk is the fourth from right).

**Fig. 101.1.** The Antinous Obelisk on the Pincio in Rome, also known as the 'Barberini Obelisk' and as 'Monte Pincio Obelisk'. Originally commissioned by Hadrian for the tomb of Antinous at Antinoopolis, or for a cenotaph of Antinous at Rome, the location of which is controversial. 'Elagabalus' copied Augustus' concept of placing an obelisk on the *spina* in the *Circus Maximus*, when he erected this obelisk on the *spina* of the *Circus Varianus* in the *horti Spei Veteris*; Cf. ns. 113, 114, and chapters Domitian's Obelisk, Obeliscus Pamphilus, Appendix 8, Chapter VIII. EPILOGUE (photo: F.X. Schütz 20-IX-2015). Cf. Häuber (2017, 346, caption of Fig. 9, which has been slightly changed). Cf. *supra*, in *A Study on Hadrian's portrait-statue from Hierapydna* (cf. here Fig. 29); at *The research published in my earlier Study (2017): on the tomb of Antinous at Antinoopolis, on his (alleged) tomb at Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli, on his cenotaph at Rome, and on the two pertaining Antinous Obelisks*.

**Fig. 102.** *La Marmorata* at the Testaccio, with integration of the buildings documented on the Severan Marble Plan. Of these buildings, the 'NAVALIA' are marked by lettering, they have been identified by L. Cozza and P.L. Tucci (2006). Earlier this huge structure had - in Cozza's and Tucci's (2006; and P.L. TUCCI's 2012), and in my own opinion - erroneously been identified with the *Porticus Aemilia*; as still believed by many scholars. From: L. Cozza and P.L. Tucci (2006, 196, Fig. 12 [TUCCI]), the caption reads: "I *navalia* nella zona di Testaccio (da COARELLI 1974 p. 295, con modifiche di L. COZZA e P. L. TUCCI)".

**Fig. 102.1.** Ground-plan of the Republican *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, which has been identified with the *Porticus Aemilia* outside *Porta Trigemina* and as *Navalia*. From G.-J. Burgers (*et al.* 2015, 200-201, Fig. 3: "Layout of the *Porticus Aemilia* with the numbering of the aisles and pillars [after Gatti 1934, pl. II. Graphics by V. De Leonardis]").

**Fig. 102.2.** Two reconstruction drawings of the *opus incertum* building at *La Marmorata*, with integrations of the fragments 23 and 24 of the Severan Marble Plan, on which it is represented. On fragment 23 appears the main inscription of this building, of which only the letters 'JLIA' remain.

**Fig. 102.2** shows two reconstructions of the main inscription of the *opus incertum* building.

**Above:** restored as 'AEMI]LIA'. From: G. Carettoni, L. Cozza, A.M. Colini and G. Gatti (*La pianta marmorea di Roma antica. FORMA VRBIS ROMAE*, 1960, testo, p. 95: "schema topografico". Photo: © Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali).

**Below:** restored as 'NAVA]LIA'. From: L. Cozza and P.L. Tucci ("Navalia", 2006, 179, Fig. 1). The caption of their Fig. 1 reads: "In alto, l'edificio in *opus incertum* sulla Forma Urbis [*i.e.*, the Severan Marble Plan] con l'iscrizione NAVA]LIA (da GATTI 1934, fig. 7, aggiornato e integrato da L. Cozza e P. L. Tucci). In basso, la pianta dell'edificio in *opus incertum* ricostruita in base a scavi e rilievi: gli asterischi indicano le parti tuttora visibili (da GATTI 1934, tav. II, con aggiornamenti di L. Cozza e P. L. Tucci)". Cf. F. de Caprariis (2022, 120, Fig. 5.2), from whom I have borrowed the comparison of both reconstructions of this inscription presented here. The caption of F. de Caprariis's Fig. 5.2 reads: "Fig. 5.2: (*porticus*) *Aemilia* or *Nauvalia*. On the right, fragment 23 of the Marble Plan: note the inscription JLIA (© Sovrintendenza Capitolina)". F. de Caprariis's Fig. 5.2, above, is obviously a detail of her Fig. 5.1 on p. 119, the caption of which reads: "Fig. 5.1: Testaccio and Trastevere. The archaeological evidence and the Severan Marble Plan (from G. Carettoni-Cozza-Colini-Gatti 1960)".

**Fig. 102.3.** G. Giovannetti (2016, 24, Fig. 8: "Carta archeologica di Testaccio (da Gatti 1934)". With the *opus incertum* building, labelled as 'PORTICVS AEMILIA'.

Inserted box on top right:

G. Giovannetti: drawing of the structures standing in front of the '*Porticus Aemilia*'/ *Navalia* that are visible on fragments 24c and 24d of the Severan Marble Plan; cf. Giovannetti (2016, 22, Fig. 7: "Riproduzione della parte inferiore della lastra 24c e della 24d, elaborazione grafica dell'autore"), who labels these three buildings as 1, 2 and 3. Comprising *tabernae*, they served, according to Giovannetti, commercial functions, but apart

from appearing on the Severan Marble Plan they are, in his opinion, otherwise not datable. But note that E. Rodríguez Almeida (1993a, 20) dated those structures to the Trajanic period. Cf. here **Fig. 102.3** for the location of those structures between the *'Porticus Aemilia' / Navalia* and the port building on the bank of the Tiber.

**Fig. 102.4.** View of *La Marmorata*, etching from Étienne Dupérac's (circa 1520-1604) book (*I vestigi dell'antichità di Roma*, 1575, tav. 23).

Cf. R. Lanciani (III [1990], 192, Fig. 143). The caption reads: "Etienne Du Pérac, *Veduta della Marmorata e dell'Aventino*. Incisione, ne 'I vestigi dell'antichità di Roma', Roma 1575, tav. 23".

The caption of Dupérac's etching reads: "Vestigij d'una parte del monte Auentino che guarda verso Ponente, et il Tevere, quale [Oggi si scriverebbe *la quale*] per esser molto ruinata [Inserisce il concetto della rovina non quello del degrado] non ui si vede altro che muri spezati et rotti, Anchor che antichamente nella sumita [Inserisce il segno di abbreviazione sopra la u e la m indicante il raddoppio del consonante, vuole dire *in alto in cima alla sommità*] ui / fossero bellissimoi Tempj et edificij, nel segno A uogliono [Allude a fonti antiche che parlano di saline] chi ivi fossero le saline, hoggidi questo luoco si chiama la marmorata, perche ui si scaricano diuerse pietre di mischio et di marmo qualli si trouano [*come quelle che si trovano*] al porto d' / Ostia, nel segno B. è l'altra rippa del fiume doue arrivano tutti gli vascielli [oggi sarebbe *vascelli*] et mercantie che uengono per la marina in Roma". The comments on Dupérac's text in the square brackets are those written to me by Laura Gigli on 19th April 2022.

**Fig. 102.5.** Marble altar found in 1739 [corr.: 1737] at *La Marmorata*. London, British Museum (inv. no. 1914,0627.1), 0,72 m high. Date: 69-79 AD. From its inscription (*CIL VI 301*) we learn that it was dedicated to Hercules by Primigenius Iuencianus, a slave or freedman of the Emperor Vespasian, who calls himself in this inscription a *tabularius a marmoribus* (a "book-keeper in the marble trade"). Primigenius Iuencianus was, likewise according to the comments on this altar by the Curator of the British Museum (quoted after D. BOOMS 2016), "an official involved in the marble trade under Vespasian". Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Cf. <[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1914-0627-1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1914-0627-1)> [last visit: 12-IV-2022].

**Fig. 102.6.** The Republican structure in the *Forum Holitorium* (a 'covered road', or porticoed street), leading from a north-westerly direction to the *Porta Carmentalis* in the Servian city Wall. Photos: Courtesy Franz Xaver Schütz (11-V-2022).

**Fig. 102.7.** Altar of *Magna Mater* and *Navisalvia*, which refers to the legend of Claudia Quinta and to the arrival of the sacred stone of Magna Mater at Rome in 204 BC. Rome, Musei Capitolini. Cf. A. D'Alessio (2014, 11, Fig. 8: "Roma, Musei Capitolini: altare della *Mater Deum* e di *Navisalvia*". Photo: © Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali).

**Fig. 103.** Map of Rome. On the left bank of the Tiber we see the quartiere Testaccio with the Monte Testaccio and the Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura, on the right bank of the Tiber there are the quartiere Portuense and the Church of Santa Passera. IGM (Istituto Geografico Militare). Scale: 1: 25.000.

**Fig. 104.** Colossal marble statue of the River God Tiber, Paris, Louvre (MA 593). Cf. A. Heinemann (2018, 717, Fig. 3). Colossal marble statue of the River God Nile, Città del Vaticano, Musei Vaticani, Museo Chiaramonti (inv. no. 2300). Cf. A. Heinemann (2018, 216, Fig. 2). Photo: D-DAI Rom 81.2187. Domitian commissioned these two statues of the River Gods Tiber and Nile for his Temple of Serapis at his newly erected Iseum Campense, where they were on display in the huge water basin of the Exedra; cf. here, the maps **Figs. 58-61**; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.2.*; and at *Appendix II.a*).

**Fig. 105.** Detail of the plinth of this colossal marble statue of the River God Tiber, Paris, Louvre (MA 593), showing a relief with a small ship on the Tiber, with which a huge block of marble is transported. From: P. Pensabene and J.Á. Domingo (2016-2017, 573, Fig. 15). Courtesy P. Pensabene and J.Á. Domingo. Cf. *supra*, at

*A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome; at Part II. Ancient Rome's new commercial river part, at La Marmorata; and below, at The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz: Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung.*

**Fig. 106.** The same relief, a greater section of the scene: three ships and also the men, who are hauling the ship with the marble block on the left hand side of the relief. From the Paper Museum of Cassiano Dal Pozzo, Windsor, Royal Library (RL 8739). Cf. A. Claridge and E. Doderò (*The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo*, Series A, Part III, *Sarcophagi and Reliefs*, 4 vols., London: Royal Collection Trust (2022, 853-854, cat. no. 563). Photo: Courtesy Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2022. Cf. *supra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome; at Part II. Ancient Rome's new commercial river part, at La Marmorata; and below, at The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz: Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung.*

**Fig. 107.** Golden medallion, issued under Antoninus Pius, representing the arrival of the sacred snake of Asclepius at Rome in 291 BC. From: F. Coarelli ("Navalia", in: *LTUR* III [1996] 339-340, Fig. 64). The caption of this illustration reads: "Insula Tiberina. Medaglione di Antonino Pio. Cohen II, 271 N. 17 (da Gneccchi, *Medaglioni romani* II, tav. 43,1). Disegno di G. Besnier, *L'île Tibérine dans l'antiquité* (1902), fig. 19". Cf. *supra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome; at Part II. Ancient Rome's new commercial river part, at La Marmorata.*

**Figs. 108-110.** Domitian's Palace 'Domus Flavia' / *Domus Augustana* on the Palatine. Measured reconstruction drawings, "in pencil, pen and black ink reconstructing in cross section the *Aula Regia*, *Peristyle* and *Triclinium*" (so A. CLARIDGE in her *Contribution*), by the architect G. Leith (1913), who integrated some of the originally 8 colossal statues that had decorated the 'Aula Regia' and some of the architectural fragments, excavated likewise there and published by F. Bianchini (1738). Gordon Leith created these drawings, when he held a scholarship of South Africa at the British School at Rome in 1913. From: M.A. Tomei (1999, Figs. 225; 228; 229; 230. We have also copied the captions of her figures). See above, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian; and below, at The Contribution by Amanda Claridge: A note for Chrystina Häuber: Drawings of the interior order of the Aula Regia of the Palace of Domitian on the Palatine, once in the British School at Rome.*

**Fig. 111.** Fragmentary Roman marble relief allegedly from Ariccia. Found in a secondary context in a tomb at Albano Laziale close to the *Via Appia*; cf. Letizia Rustico (in: *Palazzo Altemps Guida* 2011, 61), suggested date: 100 AD. 'It could originally have been part of the marble revetment of a small tomb on the *Via Appia*', as suggested to me by Letizia Rustico on 19th December 2012 (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, n. 481, in *Appendix II.b*). The relief shows in the upper register a shrine in a porticus, with a seated goddess (probably Isis) and several other cult images, all in separate shrines, and in the lower register a cultic dance, performed 'in front of those cult statues'. Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps (inv. no. 7255). From: C. Häuber (2014a, 483, Fig. 120).

**Fig. 112.** *Sestertius*, issued by Vespasian in AD 71, Rome. With the *Dea Roma* on the reverse, seated on Rome's 'seven hills', thus referring to the *Septimontium* festival, which Vespasian had revived. Cf. A. Fraschetti ("Montes", in: *LTUR* III (1996) 285, Fig. 186: "Sesterzio di Vespasiano del 71 d. C. RIC II, 69 N. 442"). From: The British Museum. Obverse: IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG P M T P P P COS III; reverse: S C ROMA; RIC 2.1, 108, p. 67: "Roma seated right on the seven hills; to left wolf and twins; to right, River Tiber". Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Online at: <[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1872-0709-477](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1872-0709-477)> [last visit: 7-V-2023].

**Fig. 113.** *Sestertius* of Vespasian, AE, Rome, AD 71. On the obverse we see a naked portrait bust of Vespasian, as if he were a god or a dead hero, crowned with a laurel wreath like a *triumphator*, in addition to this, we see Jupiter's *aegis* on Vespasian's chest. By means of his *aegis*, Vespasian is equated with Jupiter, and that in a very peculiar iconography. Vespasian is wearing Jupiter's *aegis* similarly as Minerva does on Frieze A of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 1; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 5**), but without attaching it to a garment or a

cuirass, it rather seems, as if the *aegis* were part of his own body. On the reverse is represented the Temple of Isis at the Iseum Campense in Rome. As L. Bricault and R. Veymiers (2018, 142) were able to demonstrate, this is the Temple of Isis, commissioned by Vespasian. Cf. M.J. Versluys *et al.* (2018, 158-159). Photo: © Münzkabinet, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. See above, in Chapter *Preamble*; at Section II.; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II.a*).

**Fig. 114.** Drawing after a coin issued by Septimius Severus, showing the temple of Aphrodite-Astarte at Paphos in Cyprus, who is represented as a *baitylos*, with *thymiateria* and doves on the roofs of the porticos surrounding her temple. From: C. Häuber (2014a, 483, Fig. 121). Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2. at *Appendix II.a*).

**Fig. 115.** Monte Cavo, "once home of the federal sanctuary of the Latin League, dedicated to Jupiter *Latialis*" (C. VALERI 2021, 138), seen from the site of the former *auguraculum* on the *Arx* ; cf. Häuber (2017, 314-315), and from the roof terrace of the FAO on the Aventine. Photos: F.X. Schütz (2010; 2008).

**Fig. 116.** Visit of the Monte Cavo of a group of the British School, 1984. From: T.P. Wiseman (*A short history of the British School at Rome*, 1990a, PLATE X (b): "Donald Bullough (far right) in the Campagna, with (left to right) Tony Alcock, Sheila Gibson, Christine Häuber, Caroline Mauduit and the author [T.P. Wiseman]").

In the following, I anticipate a text from volume 3-2: "I found another interesting observation by Frederick G. Naerebout (2021, 149): 'he [Domitian] preferred to stay at his Alban villa at the site of the ancient sanctuary of Jupiter Latiaris [with n. 15: quoting: 'Plin. HN 3.69''']'. - But note that Domitian did not live at this sanctuary, he was only able to *see* its former site from his *Villa*, as Claudia Valeri (2021, 137-138) writes, who describes the landscape surrounding Domitian's *Albanum*: 'The *ager Albanus* held many sources of attraction ... the scenery of the mythological deeds of the first [page 138] Latin peoples. On one side, the eye could rest on the crater lake of Albano and the surrounding hills, in particular Monte Cavo, once home of the federal sanctuary of the Latin League, dedicated to Jupiter *Latialis*'"; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*) *Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the Templum Pacis, and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum.*

**Fig. 117.** Wall-painting from the north wall of the *triclinium* in the Casa di M. Fabius Secundus in Pompeji (V,4,13), Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli, datable to the beginning of the 1st century AD (last phase of the III. style). Probably a copy after a painting in an Augustan building at Rome. From: F. Coarelli (2012, 165-167, Fig. 39). Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Section VI.

**Fig. 118.** *Didrachma*, 297 BC, showing on the reverse the Ogulnian monument with the *lupa*, suckling the infants Romulus and Remus. Roma, Musei Capitolini, Medagliere. Cf. C. Parisi Presicce (2000, 21, Fig. 21). Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c*).

**Fig. 119.** Franz Xaver Schütz, drawing: "The earth with indication of meridians (longitudes) and latitudes". Marked are also the "Tropic of Cancer" and the "Tropic of Capricorn". From: F.X. Schütz 2017, 692, Abb. 1. Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix II.c*).

**Fig. 120.** The Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia* in Rome. Cf. Paolo Liverani (2021, 83-84): "We can exemplify what is at stake by examining the decoration on the Arch of Titus ... a monument whose construction was planned by the Roman Senate shortly before the premature death of Titus, but which had to be built and finished under his brother and successor, Domitian". Cf. Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 183): "The inscription on the attic of the Arch of Titus indicates that the monument was erected by the senate and people of Rome in honour of the divine Titus, son of the divine Vespasian".

The bay of the Arch of *Divus Titus* on the *Velia* is decorated with two famous relief panels, the "spoils scene" and the "triumph relief", and at the apex of the vault of this arch there is a relief representing "the apotheosis of Titus"; cf. Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 187, Fig. 155, p. 188, Fig. 156, p. 189, Fig. 157). On the 'spoils scene' stands at the far right an arch (*i.e.*, the *Porta Triumphalis*), through which the triumphal procession is marching, This arch is crowned by what seems to be statue groups. The centre of those statues is occupied by

Domitian on horseback, accompanied to his left by his walking personal patron goddess Minerva, both are flanked on either side by the triumphal quadrigas of Vespasian and Titus, each of which pulled by four horses; cf. Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992, 185, Fig. 155). Photos: Courtesy Franz Xaver Schütz (4-IX-2019).

**Fig. 121.** The Arch of Titus in the *Circus Maximus*. Reproduced are here three illustrations from M. Buonfiglio 2017, p. 171, Fig. "8. Ricostruzione del prospetto dell'Arco di Tito (Sovrintendenza Capitolina - Dipartimento di Architettura UniRomaTre - Laboratorio Rilievo e Tecniche Digitali)"; p. 177, Fig. "15. L'emiciclo del Circo Massimo con la ricostruzione dell'Arco di Tito. In nero le murature ad oggi esistenti, in grigio le parti nascoste o ipotizzate (elab.[orazione] grafica M. Buonfiglio su rilievo Zetema)"; p. 179, Fig. "17. L'arco di Tito al Circo Massimo (ricostruzione M. Buonfiglio, A. Ciancio, A. Vecchione)".

**Fig. 122.** "Erstes Institutsgebäude auf dem Kapitol, Sitz des Instituts 1836 bis 1877. Architekt Johann Michael Knapp. Giebelskulpturen Emil Wolff. Ansicht in idealer Umgebung. Titelvignette der Monumenti inediti pubblicati dall'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, Vol. II, Roma e Parigi 1834/38"; cf. A. Rieche (1979, caption of her cat. no. 20; the name of the artist, who drew this "Titelvignette" is not indicated). This Vignette appears also on the cover of this catalogue, from where it was copied for this illustration; cf. p. 8 (Impressum): "Umschlagfoto: Helmut Schwanke, DAI Rom". In the background on the right of this drawing Pietro Rosa's excavations on the Palatine (1861-1870) are visible. Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.e*) *It is conceivable that Vitellius (cf. Suet., Vit. 15,3), on December 19th AD 69, could actually have watched the fighting on the Capitolium, while staying at the 'Domus Tiberiana' on the Palatine.*

**Fig. 123.** Views of the *Capitolium* and of the *Arx*, seen from the area of the '*Domus Tiberiana*' on the Palatine. Marked are from left to right: the Basilica of St. Peter, the Synagogue, the Capitolium, with: the former Archäologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches (the '*Laspeyres-Bau*'), the '*Casa Tarpea*' (the former '*Protestantisches Krankenhaus*' and immediately below it in the valley the Church of S. Maria della Consolazione), the former Istituto di Corrispondenza (the '*Knapp-Bau*'), the southern terrace of the Palazzo Caffarelli (built on top of the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus), the Palazzo Caffarelli, the '*Tabularium*' (with the Palazzo Senatorio, built on top of it), and the *Arx*, with the Campanile of the Church of S. Maria in Aracoeli, and the Monument for Victor Emanuel II. Photos: Franz Xaver Schütz (26-VIII-2019). For discussions; cf. *supra*, at **Fig. 122**.

**Fig. 124.** Views of the '*Casa Tarpea*', the '*Knapp Bau*' (former Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica), and the '*Domus Tiberiana*' on the Palatine, seen from the southern terrace of the Palazzo Caffarelli on the Capitolium, which was erected 'on top of' the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. Photos: Franz Xaver Schütz (26-VIII-2019). For discussions; cf. *supra*, at **Fig. 122**.

**Fig. 125.** Architectural fragments, datable to the Republican period, on display at the Porticus of the Dei Consentes on the *Clivus Capitolinus*. These fragments have been attributed to five different buildings. No, thanks to the new findings, published M. GRAWEHR 2022, even to seven! Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.e*) *It is conceivable that Vitellius (cf. Suet., Vit. 15,3), on December 19th AD 69, could actually have watched the fighting on the Capitolium, while staying at the 'Domus Tiberiana' on the Palatine.* Photos: Franz Xaver Schütz, 26-VIII-2019.

**Fig. 126.** Planting pot with an olive tree (*olea europaea* L.). Rome, Via della Conciliazione. Photo: F.X. Schütz (25-VIII-2019).

**Fig. 127.** Planting pot with an Indian rubber tree (*ficus elastica* L.). Rome, Piazza della Pilotta. Photo: F.X. Schütz (26-VIII-2019).

**Fig. 128.** Planting pot with an olive tree (*olea europaea* L.). Rome, Via dei Sabini. Photo: F.X. Schütz (30-VIII-2019). For discussions of here **Figs. 126-128**; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c*).

**Fig. 129. Above:** *Sestertius*, issued by Hadrian at Rome ('not earlier than AD 134'; P.L. STRACK 1933). The reverse shows the cuirassed emperor in 'victor pose', with lance and *parazonium*, stepping with his left foot on a crocodile. Photo taken after a plaster cast of a *sestertius* of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli. From: A. Caló Levi (1948, 30-31 with n. 1, Fig. 1).

**Below:** the same, from: L. Cigaina (2020, 267, Fig. 113). The caption reads: "Sesterzio (RIC II Hadrian 782; 134-136 d.C. ca. [circa]): busto laureato e drappeggiato di Adriano / Adriano stante in abito militare calpesta un cocodrillo (© Bertolami Fine Art, asta 77, n. 1107, 1 dicembre 2019)".

**Fig. 129.1.** Drawing after a relief from the Temple of Horus at Dendera in Egypt, which represents a Pharaoh in the iconography of 'Horus killing the crocodile'. From: A.E. Mariette, Dendérah, vol. II (1870-1874), Pl. 75a; cf. A.C. Levi (1948, 35, Fig. 5).

**Fig. 130.** *Sestertius*, issued at Rome by Vespasian (AD 71): IVDAEA CAPTA. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum, London.

Online at: <[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_R-10518](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-10518)>.

**Fig. 131.** *Sestertius*, issued by Titus (AD 80-81): IVDAEA CAPTA. Courtesy of the Jewish Virtual Library.

Online at: <<https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/coins-from-judaea-capta>>.

**Figs. 132-136.** The ground-plan, represented on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan. C. Parisi Presicce (2021) identifies this ground-plan as a temple, dedicated to *Diva Plotina* or else as a temple, dedicated to *Diva Plotina* and to *Divus Traianus*. I myself tentatively identify it as a temple, dedicated to *Diva Sabina*? (cf. here **Fig. 66**).

The captions of these figures were copied after the article by C. Parisi Presicce (2021). Cf. C. Parisi Presicce (2021, 221, Fig. "8 [= here **Fig. 132**]. Ipotesi di Emilio Rodríguez Almeida di collocazione del frammento 56b a nord dell'edificio dei *Saepta*"; p. 222, Fig. "9 [= here **Fig. 133**]. Frammento 36b, dettaglio del segno di interpunzione"; p. 222, Fig. "10 [= here **Fig. 134**]. Roma, Parco archeologico del Celio. Pianta marmorea severiana, frammento dettaglio con segno di interpunzione"; p. 223, Fig. "12 [= here **Fig. 135**]. Disegno del frammento 36b della Pianta marmorea severiana con integrazione ipotetica dell'iscrizione (disegno di Ersilia D'Ambrosio)"; p. 223, Fig. "13 [= hier **Fig. 136**]. Disegno del frammento 36b della Pianta marmorea severiana con integrazione ipotetica dell'edificio insieme agli altri frammenti attribuiti all'area circostante al Foro di Traiano (montaggio di Riccardo Montalbano)".

Cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *A Study on the Consequences of Domitian's assassination ... Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?)*; and below, at *The Contribution by John Bodel: The Label Inscribed on Fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan*; and at *The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen: Zum 'Hadrianeum' auf Münzen des Antoninus Pius*.

**Fig. 137.** The first coins, issued by the Emperor Hadrian at Alexandria in AD 117, show Hadrian's earliest portrait-type. See below, at *The first Contribution by Angelo Geißen: Bemerkungen zur frühen Münzprägung Hadrians in Alexandria*.

The four extant marble portraits in the round, which show Hadrian in his Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) portrait-type (cf. here **Fig. 3**), were obviously based on those coins, but it is debated, who had commissioned those portraits, Hadrian or Antoninus Pius. I myself suggest that Hadrian commissioned those portraits still himself in AD 138, as part of the propagation of his *providentia* for the *continuitas imperii*: Hadrian's adoption on 25th February AD 138 of Antoninus Pius (immediately after Antoninus Pius, in his turn, had adopted Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus). I suggest this because Hadrian commemorated his adoption of Antoninus Pius also with his *tetradrachma*, issued at Alexandria in 137/ 138 (here **Fig. 138**). I regard, therefore, the assumption as plausible, although it is currently not provable that, as a part of this propagation, Hadrian had still himself issued in AD 138 the *aurei* with this portrait-type (here **Figs. 137; 3**) and his adoptive parents ('DIVIS PARENTIBVS'), Trajan and Plotina (here **Fig. 139**). These *aurei*, like the

*tetradrachma* (here **Fig. 138**), and the marble portraits (here **Fig. 3**), hinted, in my opinion, at the fact that Hadrian had now himself adopted a son.

**Fig. 138.** *Tetradrachma*, issued by Hadrian in 137/ 138 at Alexandria, to commemorate his adoption of Antoninus Pius. Cf. A. Geissen ("ΑΙΩΝ - ΑΙΤΕΡΝΙΤΑΣ. Welche numismatischen Zeugnisse reflektieren die Vollendung der Sothis-Periode unter Antoninus Pius?", 2010).

**Fig. 139.** The *aurei*, issued in AD 138, with Hadrian's first portrait-type (cf. here **Figs. 3; 137**) and on the reverse with the portraits of his adoptive parents, *Divus Traianus* and *Divia Plotina* ('DIVIS PARENTIBVS'). It is debated, who had issued those coins, Hadrian or Antoninus Pius; cf. Martin Beckmann ("The Gold Coinage of Hadrian AD 130-138", 2019); and Hans Rupprecht Goette (2021, 24 n. 67, p. 124, Abb. 56, pp. 25-27). In my opinion, those *aurei* had still been issued by Hadrian himself in AD 138, as part of the propagation of his *providentia* for the *continuitas imperii*.

For discussions of the coins here **Figs. 137; 138; 139; 140; 141.1; 141.2; 142; 143; 144; 145; and-146**; cf. *supra*, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and in greater detail *infra*, in volume 3-2. at *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*; at Chapter VI.2.3. *My own interpretation of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron (Λο)* (cf. here **Figs. 137; 3**); at *How adoptions could be visualized on coins: Nerva/Trajan, Trajan/Hadrian, Hadrian/Aelius Caesar, Hadrian/ Antoninus Pius, Antoninus Pius/Marcus Aurelius*.

**Fig. 140.** *Denarius*, issued by Trajan. Nerva gives Trajan the globe of 'world rule'. Cf. D.C.A. Shotter (1983, 225): "Trajan's accession issue shows Nerva handing Trajan a globe with the legend PROVID P M TR P COS II [with n. 67]".

In the following, I anticipate a text passage from volume 3-2, *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*; Chapter VI.2.3.; at Section *How adoptions could be visualized on coins: Nerva/Trajan, Trajan/Hadrian, Hadrian/Aelius Caesar, Hadrian/ Antoninus Pius, Antoninus Pius/Marcus Aurelius*:

'Nerva gives Trajan the globe, which means: by his adoption, Nerva endows Trajan with 'world rule'. Mario Torelli ("Providentia, Ara", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 166) writes: "... da Nerva in poi fino ad epoca tardo imperiale l'ara [*providentiae*] è sostituita dalla scena della consegna del globo al successore, simbolicamente omologa alla raffigurazione dell'altare [*i.e.*, the *ara Providentiae Augustae*]". - Torelli (*op. cit.*) himself does not provide a reference for this coin (here **Fig. 140**). But see Torelli (1992, 109, 119-120, Fig. 15) for discussions of the *ara Providentiae Augustae* and of the meaning of late antique coins which represent the "scena della consegna del globo al successore". To my great surprise, this coin (here **Fig. 140**) was *not* issued by Nerva, as I had expected, when reading Torelli's (1999, 166) account, but instead in AD 98 by Trajan *himself*. In addition to this, D.C.A. Shotter (1983, 225) states explicitly that "The adoption [of Trajan] is not commemorated on the coinage of Nerva".

**Fig. 141.1.** *Aureus*, issued by Trajan in AD 112/113 at Rome. Obverse: Trajan, laureate and wearing the *paludamentum*. Reverse: his divinized natural father. From E. La Rocca (2021, 92 Fig. 19) The caption reads: "Traiano, aureo della zecca di Roma (112-113 d.C.). Recto: effigie laureata di Traiano. Verso: effigie del *divus pater Traianus* (foto Heritage Auctions, Inc., Auction 3056 [3. 8. 2017], Lot 30007)". Courtesy: E. La Rocca.

**Fig. 141.2.** *Aureus*, issued by Trajan in AD 112/113 at Rome. Obverse: Trajan, laureate and wearing the *paludamentum*. Reverse: his two divinized fathers, his natural father *Taianus pater* and Nerva. From E. La Rocca (2021, 92 Fig. 18) The caption reads: "Traiano, aureo della zecca di Roma (112-113 d.C.). Recto: effigie laureata di Traiano. Verso: effigie affrontate dei *divi Nerva e Traianus pater* (foto Fritz Rudolf Künker GMBH and Co. KG, Auction 168 [12. 3. 2010], Lot 7742)". Courtesy: E. La Rocca.

**Fig. 142.** *Aureus*, issued by the Emperor Hadrian in AD 117 at Rome. Trajan gives Hadrian the globe of 'world rule'.

Cf. Stack's Bowers and Ponterio Sixbid Numismatic Auctions The January 2013 N.Y. I.N.C Session I Lot 5001 11. Jan. 2013: "RIC -3c (Denarius) ... Among the earliest coinage issues of Hadrian, it depicts a youthful

beardless portrait of the emperor. The reverse type depicts Trajan and Hadrian clasping hands, with "ADOPTIO" in the exergue. This directly references Hadrian's adoption by Trajan, testifying to Hadrian's legitimacy as the new emperor of Rome"... "IMP. CAES. TRAIAN. HADRIANO OPT. AVG. GER. DAC'. Laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Hadrian right. Reverse: `PARTHIC. DIVI TRAIAN. AVG. F.P.M. TR. P. COS. P.P. ADOPTIO'. Trajan and Hadrian standing, facing each other, clasping right hands". - Contrary to this description, comparisons with the portraits of Hadrian on the *aurei* here **Figs. 145; 146** show that also this coin represents Hadrian bearded.

**Fig. 143.** Coins, issued in AD 136 in Mylasa in *Caria* on the occasion of Hadrian's adoption of his first adoptive son, L. Ceionius Commodus, who was after his adoption called Aelius Caesar. From: Fabrice Delrieux (2017, 232 Abb. 5, 5-6).

In the following, I anticipate a text passage from volume 3-2, *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*; at Chapter VI.2.1. H.R. Goette's (2021) discussion of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ; cf. here **Figs. 137; 3**):

`Cf. Hans Rupprecht Goette (2021, 26, note 70). In his **note 70**, Goette writes: "Zur Adoption des L. Ceionius Commodus, dann als designierter Nachfolger L. Aelius Caesar, durch Hadrian zwischen 19. 7. und 29. 8. 136 s.[iehe] Kienast - Eck - Heil, 2017, 123. 126. Diese Sukzessionspläne zerschlugen sich durch Aelius Caesars Tod am 1. 1. 138, woraufhin (am 25. 2. 138) der spätere Antoninus Pius [von Hadrian] adoptiert und zum Caesar ernannt wurde. - Die Nachfolgeregelung Hadrians 136 wurde durch die sich anblickenden Portraits des Kaisers und Aelius Caesar auf Münzen verbildlicht, s. F. Delrieux, Les frappes provinciales romaines de Mylasa en Carie, in: L. Bricault *et al.* (Hrsg.), Festschr.[ift] M. Amandry (Bordeaux 2017) 232 Abb. 5, 5-6".

**Fig. 144.** Coins issued by the Emperor Antoninus Pius in AD 144/ 145 AD to commemorate the marriage of his daughter Faustina *minor* with (the future) Marcus Aurelius.

See the discussion of those coins by Angelo Geissen (2010, 213, with n. 10, quoted *verbatim* in C. HÄUBER 2014a, 728-729 with n. 6): "This marriage: ``[diente] doch vorzüglich dazu, die römische Herrscherideologie zu propagieren, die den Fortbestand der Dynastie und damit die Fürsorge und den Schutz der Bevölkerung auf ihre Fahnen geschrieben hatte''".

In the following, I anticipate a text passage from volume 3-2, *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*; Chapter VI.2.3.; at Section *How adoptions could be visualized on coins: Nerva/Trajan, Trajan/Hadrian, Hadrian/Aelius Caesar, Hadrian/ Antoninus Pius, Antoninus Pius/Marcus Aurelius*:

`Antoninus Pius issued on this occasion [in AD 144/145] coins showing on the obverse a portrait of himself, and on the reverse a portrait of (the future) Marcus Aurelius, his adoptive son, whom Antoninus Pius had adopted at Hadrian's wishes. As Angelo Geissen (2010, 214-216 with ns. 15-18, Taf. 64, 8-11), by analysing Antoninus Pius's coin editions, is able to show, Antoninus Pius declared (the future) Marcus Aurelius as "Thronfolger" (Caesar) not already at the moment of Marcus's adoption on 25th February AD 138 (as had been intended by Hadrian), but only, on the reverses of his coins since 141/ 142. Later, Antoninus Pius declared (the future) Marcus Aurelius as his "Koregent" (co-regent, co-emperor), but not already on the occasion of Marcus's marriage with his daughter Faustina *minor* in AD 145, but only after Faustina *minor* had given birth to their first child in AD 147 (!)'.`

**Fig. 145.** *Aureus*, issued by Hadrian in AD 117/118 in Rome. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Cf. "SMB-digital Online collections database Hadrianus ... Ident.Nr. 18200257 Sammlung: Münzkabinett ... © Foto: Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz Fotograf: Lutz-Jürgen Lübke (Lübke und Wiedemann), SMB-digital is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 3.0 Germany License.

Description Vorderseite: IMP CAES TRAIAN HADRIAN O-PT AVG G D PART. Gepanzerte Büste des Hadrianus mit Lorbeerkranz und umgehängtem Schwertgurt (balteus) in der Brustansicht nach r.[rechts] Rückseite: DIVO TRAIANO - PATRI AVG. Drapierte Panzerbüste des Divus Traianus mit Lorbeerkranz in der Rückenansicht nach r.[rechts] Literatur: ... RIC II Nr. 24 b; RIC II-3<sup>2</sup> Nr. 28".



**Fig. 146.** *Aureus*, issued by Trajan in AD 117: Hadrian as Caesar. Cf. *British Museum Coins* III, p. 124: "Obverse: IMP CAES NER TRAIAN OPTIM AVG GER DAC - Head of Trajan, laureate, right, Reverse: HADRIANO TRAIANO CAESARI - Head of Hadrian, laureate, right".

Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

In the following, I anticipate a text passage from volume 3-2, *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*; Chapter VI.2.3.; at Section *How adoptions could be visualized on coins: Nerva/Trajan, Trajan/Hadrian, Hadrian/Aelius Caesar, Hadrian/Antoninus Pius, Antoninus Pius/Marcus Aurelius*:

'Whereas Nerva's adoption of Trajan, because ... announced by Nerva in public, was not contested, Hadrian's (alleged?) adoption by Trajan *was* ... Considering this point, Anthony R. Birley (1996, 662) wrote: "A single aureus with the reverse HADRIANO TRAIANO CAESARI (*BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 3. lxxxvi, 124 [= here **Fig. 146**]) cannot dispel the rumours that Plotina had staged an adoption after Trajan died"... If Trajan had indeed himself ordered this coin-type, as seems to be the case, he must have done that in connection with his adoption of Hadrian, which he (allegedly) did on his death-bed. A similar question has been discussed in a different context by the scholars, whom Martin Beckmann (2019, 151-152) follows: they suggest that part (of the scheduled editions of?) those *aurei*, issued by Hadrian in AD 138 (*inter alia* here **Fig. 139**), without any problems, could also have been coined after Hadrian's death, at the order of Antoninus Pius'.

**Fig. 147.** *Denarius*, issued by Nero in AD 67-68 at Rome. On the reverse a seated Iuppiter Custos. Cf. <<https://en.numista.com/catalogue/pieces246244.html>>: "RIC I#69 ... Obverse: Head of Nero, laureate, right, with beard, Lettering: IMP NERO CAESAR AVG PP, Reverse, Lettering: IVPPITER CVSTOS, Jupiter, bare to waist, cloak round lower limbs, holding thunderbolt in right hand and long sceptre in left".

**Fig. 148.** *Denarius*, issued by Vespasian in AD 76 at Rome. On the reverse a standing Jupiter Custos. Cf. <<https://en.numista.com/catalogue/pieces249759.html>>: "RIC II.1# 850 ... Obverse: Head of Vespasian, laureate, left, Lettering: IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG, Reverse: Jupiter, bearded, naked, standing facing, sacrificing out of patera in right hand over low garlanded altar and holding vertical sceptre in left, Lettering: IOVIS CVSTOS".

**Fig. 149.** *Denarius*, issued under Titus in AD 76 at Rome. On the reverse a standing Jupiter Custos. Cf. <<https://en.numista.com/catalogue/pieces249772.html>>: "RIC II,1#863 ... Obverse: Head of Titus, laureate, right, Lettering: T CAESAR IMP VESPASIAN, Reverse: Jupiter, bearded, naked, standing facing, sacrificing out of patera in right hand over low garlanded altar and holding long vertical sceptre in left, Lettering: IOVIS CVSTOS".

For the coins, illustrated on here **Figs. 147-149**, cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.d) Domitian's escape from the Capitolium on 19th December AD 69, which happened on the festival of the Opalia, one day of the Saturnalia*.

**Fig. 150.** 'Venus from the Esquiline', marble statue in the Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome (inv. no. MC 1141). From: Häuber (2014a, 40-41, Figs. 16 a-f; cf. pp. 745-776). Cf. *supra*, at Chapter I.3.1; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at: *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination ...*; Chapter VI.2.3.; at *Hadrian's Delta Omikron (Δο)-portrait-type ... and the 'Venus from the Esquiline' (cf. here Fig. 150)*.

**Fig. 151.** *Hemidrachma* with portrait of Livia, issued by Augustus before 9/10 AD at Alexandria. From Häuber (2017, 343-345 with ns. 103-106, Fig. 7).

**Fig. 152.** *Obol*, issued by Augustus at Alexandria with portrait of Augustus, and on the reverse the legend: *Patros Patridos*, referring to Augustus's title *Pater Patriae* bestowed upon him in 2 BC. From: Häuber (2017, 343-345 with ns. 103-106, Fig. 8).

The coins here **Figs. 151; 152** are kept at the Universität zu Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde. For both coins; cf. Angelo Geißen ("Comments by Angelo Geißen: Augustus und das liebe Geld", in: C. HÄUBER 2017, 732-733, with references).

**Fig. 153.** Giambattista (G.B.) Nolli's Large Rome map (1748) detail, showing the area under the steep western slope of the Aventine in Rome (below the Basilica of S. Sabina). Nolli labelled the stone pillars in the Tiber, which were visible at his time, as "Vestigia del Ponte Sublicio".

**Fig. 154.** The Tiber in Rome with the mouth of the *Cloaca Maxima*. Above it, we see on the eastern bank of the Tiber the round temple, which stood to the west of the *Forum Boarium*. To the north of the round temple are visible the Temple of Portunus and the Palazzo dell'Anagrafe, underneath of which parts of the *Horrea Aemiliana* have been excavated; all these buildings were erected in the old commercial river port of Rome, the *Portus Tiberinus*. Photos: Courtesy Franz Xaver Schütz (23-III-2006).

For discussions of the illustrations here **Figs. 151-154**; cf. *supra*, in *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) ...*; at Part II. *Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata*; at Section I. *Introduction*.

**Fig. 155.** Roman wall-painting, 'Aldobrandini Wedding'. Città del Vaticano, Musei Vaticani, Biblioteca (inv. no. 69631). From: C. Häuber (2014a, 831, Fig. 156. Cf. Appendix V; B 30).

Cf. *supra*, in *A Study on Domitian's cult-statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* (cf. here **Fig. 10**); at Part I. *The wall painting 'Aldobrandini Wedding' in the Vatican Museums and the statuette of the 'Euripides' in the Louvre* (cf. here **Fig. 12**), which has been discussed together with it..



## ABBREVIATIONS

*Acta Flaviana* - cf. L. CAPOGROSSI COLOGNESI *et al.* 2009-2016.

ATTA - *Atlante Tematico Di Topografia Antica*.

BMCRE IV - cf. H. MATTINGLY, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, IV (1940).

CAR - *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum* (1993 ss.).

CFA - cf. J. SCHEID (1998), *Commentarii Fratrum Aroalium*.

CSIR - *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Corpus der Skulpturen der Römischen Welt*.

DNO - cf. S. KANSTEINER (*et al.* 2014), *Der Neue Overbeck*.

EDCS - Epigraphic-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby. Online at: <<https://db.edcs.eu/>>.

EDR - Epigraphik Database Roma. Online at: <[http://www.edr-edr.it/Italiano/index\\_it.php](http://www.edr-edr.it/Italiano/index_it.php)>. New address: [www.edr-edr.it/default/index.php](http://www.edr-edr.it/default/index.php) EAGLE Electronic Archive of Greek and Latin Epigraphy International Federation of Epigraphic Databases under the patronage of Association Internationale d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine - AIEGL

*FgrHist* - cf. F. JACOBY (1929), *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*.

FUM - cf. E. RODRÍGUEZ ALMEIDA (1980), *Forma urbis marmorea: Aggiornamento generale*.

FUR - cf. LANCIANI, R. (1893-1081), *Forma Urbis Romae* (fols. 1-46).

HGV - *Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens* (HGV).

IC - M. Guarducci (1935-1950), *Inscriptiones Creticae*, I-IV.

ILS - cf. H. DESSAU (1892-1916), *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*.

ILLRP - cf. A. DEGRASSI (1946-1948), *Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae* I-II.

KIP or *KIPauly* - *Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike in fünf Bänden* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag 1979).

LÄ - cf. W. HELCK *et al.* (eds.) (1975-1992), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*.

LAW - *Lexikon der Alten Welt* (Zürich und Stuttgart: Artemis Verlag 1965).

*L'Impero Ramesside 1997* - cf. *L'Impero Ramesside. Convegno Internazionale in Onore di Sergio Donadoni* (1997).

*L'Urbs 1987 - L'Urbs. Espace urbain et histoire Ier siècle avant J.-C.-IIIe siècle après J.-C., Actes du colloque international organisé par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique et l'École française de Rome* (Rome, 8-12 mai 1985), CEF 98, 1987.

MAN - Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.

LSA - Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma: *Lavori e Studi di Archeologia*.

*Pianta marmorea 1960* - cf. G. CARETTONI, A.M. COLINI, L. COZZA and G. GATTI (1960), *La pianta marmorea di Roma antica. FORMA VRBIS ROMAE*.

PLRE - cf. A.H.M. JONES, J.R. MARTINDALE, J. MORRIS (1971), *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*.

RIC - *The Roman Imperial Coinage* I-V, edited di H. MATTINGLY, E.A. SYDENHAM (1923-1933); 1972; I.2, VI-IX, edited by C.H.V. SUTHERLAND, R.A.G. CARSON (1966-1994).

RPC - cf. A. BURNETT *et al.* (1992-2016), *Roman Provincial Coinage*.

RRC - cf. M. CRAWFORD (1974) *Roman Republican Coinage*.

SAR 1985 - Map Rome Archaeological Centre (1:2000) Plan edited by **Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma** / and Tourist Office of Rome, Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali. Cartographic basis U.T.E. / Graphics by Cooperativa Modus © December 1985 - Edizioni Quasar di Severino Tognon, Roma/ All rights reserved.

SEG - *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum Online*. New address: <<https://scholarlyeditions.brill.com/sego/>>.

SIRIS - cf. L. VIDMAN (1969), *Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Serapiacae*.

SNG - *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*.

SRTM - *Shuttle Radar Topography Mission*.

TCI - *guide Roma 1999*<sup>10</sup>, Touring Club Italiano, *Guida d'Italia. Roma*<sup>10</sup>.

TPC - *Comando Carabinieri Tutela Patrimonio Culturale*.

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schede in their turn are referred to as 'Monumento x' in this book; cf. p. 191 ff.: "Immagini e tavole"; pp. 206-249. tav. 1-25 by M.C. CAPANNA.

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See also the *BIBLIOGRAPHY infra*, in volume 3-2.

This Bibliography is an addition to the above-published one: it comprises publications that have only reached me after 23rd July 2023.

*Contributions by other scholars, with introductory remarks and comments by the editor Chrystina Häuber*

- The Contribution by John Bodel
- The two Contributions by Emanuele M. Ciampini
- The Contribution by Amanda Claridge
- The two Contributions by Angelo Geißen
- The two Contributions by Laura Gigli
- The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette
- The six Contributions by Peter Herz
- The two Contributions by Eugenio La Rocca
- The Contribution by Eric M. Moormann
- The two Contributions by Jörg Rüpke
- The two Contributions by Franz Xaver Schütz
- The two Contributions by R.R.R. Smith
- The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola
- The Contribution by Mario Torelli
- The Contribution by Walter Trillmich
- The two Contributions by Claudia Valeri
- The two Contributions by T.P. Wiseman

*The Contribution by John Bodel: The Label Inscribed on Fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan*

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter* in volume 3-2:

*A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination :*

*Nerva is forced to adopt Trajan and Trajan creates Domitian's negative image to consolidate his own reign. With Hadrian's adoption manquée in late October or at the beginning of November of AD 97, his 20-year long road to his accession and his thanksgivings for it, his Temple complex in the Campus Martius.*

*Or : The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva, and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here Fig. 3). With The fourth and the fifth *Contribution* by Peter Herz, with The first *Contribution* by Franz Xaver Schütz (cf. here Fig. 77), with The *Contribution* by John Bodel, and with The second *Contribution* by Angelo Geißen.*

### The Label Inscribed on Fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan

To judge from the photograph shown by Claudio Parisi Presicce (hereafter “PP”) in Figure 9 of his recently published article on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan (Parisi Presicce 2021: 221) and, in higher resolution, at the Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Project (36b , [https://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=183]), the small mark after the letters TEM looks more like a flaw or chip in the face of the stone than a regular triangular interpunct of the sort described. The mark shown after JNAE on the fragment photographed in Figure 10, on the other hand -- appearing at medial height and more clearly exhibiting the serifed triangular shape -- does look like a mark of punctuation indicating word end and line end. As PP observes, the two marks differ. On the latter fragment horizontal and vertical lines of ordination still visible above and below the letters and to the right of N suggest that the lettering there was more carefully carved than in fragment 36b, as indeed a comparison of the letter forms themselves confirms.

As it happens, the abbreviation TEM for *tem(plum)* is found rarely in Latin inscriptions and so is inherently less plausible than other possible interpretations here [note 1]. If the letters are understood in this way, and the label identified a putative Temple of the Deified Plotina and Trajan, the next letters after *tem(plum)* should indicate the title *Divus* (whether of Plotina or Trajan), as noted by Chrystina Häuber elsewhere in this volume (chapter I.2 “The wider topographical context. . .”) [note 2]. More importantly, consideration of the drawings of inscriptions on the Severan Marble Plan compiled by Emilio Rodríguez Almeida and reproduced by PP at Figure 11 shows wide variation in the use of spacing and line breaks (seldom, it seems, interpuncts) to articulate the labels of the buildings represented. Generally, words were not separated by either interpuncts or spacing but were occasionally (and haphazardly) divided between lines [note 3]. Evidently, the disposition and arrangement of the text labels was dictated mainly by the lines outlining the shapes of the buildings, which defined fields of varying shape and orientation into which the relevant labels were fit [note 4]. So in fragment 36b the letters are written out in a single row beneath an inscribed line evidently representing the inner wall of a porticoed structure near its upper left corner (according to the orientation of the lettering), with the letters occupying the interior space (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Photo of Fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan,  
from the Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Project

In at least one instance, however, a single word shows “extra” space internally, between letters within the word, for reasons not clearly determined by the configuration of the available space. The drawing of the legend on fragment 672 by Rodríguez Almeida reproduced by PP exhibits extra space between A and E in precisely the word for “temple” used elsewhere in labels on the Marble Plan, *aedes*. Inspection of the original source, a drawing in *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 3439 reproduced at the Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Project as fragment 672abd [<https://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=810>](here below) furthermore shows that



John Bodel: The Label Inscribed on Fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan

the drawing reproduced by PP omits the final letter of the word, which is separated from the preceding three letters by an even larger *vacat*.

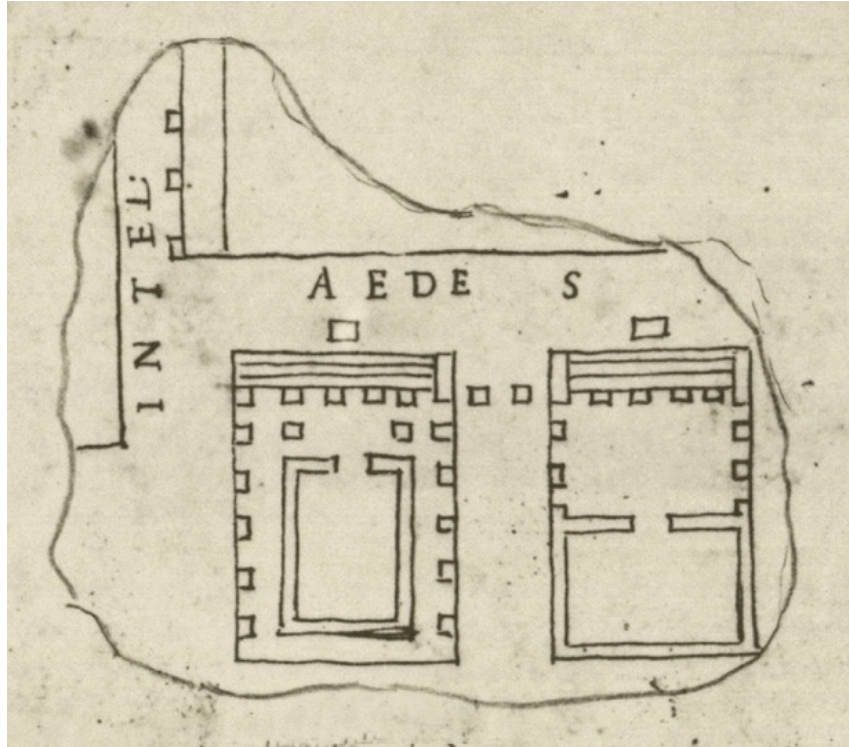


Figure 2. Detail of *Cod. Vat. Lat. 3439*, from the Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Project

The spacing of the letters in the label “A E D E S” thus provides a close parallel for the irregular spacing of the letters in fragment 36b (which is not, therefore, *pace* PP, p. 221, “un unicum”) and confirmation that a single word written out in full might exhibit such irregular internal spacing. When one considers that individual words for buildings on the plan are almost always, if not always (invariably in places where the text is not broken), written out completely, the most plausible interpretation of the letters TEM PL on fragment 36b is that they represent the first five letters of the word *templum* written out in full, as they have traditionally been interpreted.

Regarding the usage and meaning of the terms *templum* and *aedes*, both, of course, are commonly applied to the standing temples where gods were venerated. *Templum*, strictly an area of sky or land verbally defined by an augur within which auspices could be taken, is essentially a definition of space or territory; the term came to refer to consecrated land set aside for public use and thence, by extension, to any sacred precinct. *Aedes*, by contrast, refers primarily to a dwelling place or habitation – a house, in other words; when used in reference to a place where gods are worshipped, *aedes* characterizes the location as an abode. Both terms, significantly, are applied to tombs. Where the two terms are used in distinction to each other, *templum* refers to an area,

whereas *aedes* points to a structure, and the former encompasses the latter. So, for example, Pliny the Elder (*Nat.* 36.32) describes the location of a famous statue of Hecate by Menestratus as “in the precinct of Diana at Ephesus behind the temple” (*Ephesi in templo Dianae post aedem*). More appositely, the charter of a funerary *collegium* of Aesculapius and Hygia established in 153 CE refers three times to a decree of the society passed “in the precinct of the Divi, in the temple of the divine Titus” (*in templo Divorum in aede divi Titi*) (CIL 6.10234), referring to one of the twin shrines to the deified emperors Vespasian and Titus that Domitian erected in the Campus Martius immediately to the southeast of the *Iseum Campense*, as indicated on slab 35 of the Forma Urbis [note 5]. Coarelli interprets the plan as showing a building framed by porticos along three sides with a row of trees forming the fourth side of a large rectangle (c. 194 x 77 m.) and remarks as noteworthy (*interessante*) the labeling of such a large porticoed building as a *templum*, comparing the *templum Pacis*. Here too, clearly, the term *templum* refers not to a structure but to a precinct, in this case one defined around its perimeter by porticos and a row of trees, and indeed the circumscribed area is referred to by Jerome (*Chron. a. Abr.* 2105) and Eutropius (7.23) as *porticus Divorum*.

To return to the inscription on fragment 36b, a faintly etched row of squares (still visible beneath the letters EM PL) running continuously beneath the text in a line parallel to that above the letters suggests that the inscription was carved in a single line within the narrow band defined by these borders, but how far the text extended beyond the break to the right can only be speculated, based on the length of the side of the building or area beneath and within which the text appears. Similarly, whether the word *templum*, if correctly restored, is to be understood as in distinction to *aedes* elsewhere in the plan, as precinct is to shrine, or whether both terms refer to buildings (“temples”), is unclear. In either case, the dedication and formal name, if to a member of the imperial family, must have been to a *divus/a*, whatever informal usage may have allowed [note 6]. On purely epigraphic grounds, then, the names of any of the three deified imperial women potentially included within the large Hadrianic-Antonine funerary complex developed over the middle years of the second century in the central Campus Martius might plausibly be restored after the text preserved in fragment 36b, and the decision as to which one is most likely to have appeared must be based on other considerations. Those considerations, too numerous and complex to enumerate here, point most clearly toward the solution proposed by Chrystina Häuber elsewhere in this volume (chapter I.2 “The wider topographical context. . .”): TEMPL[VM DIVAE SABINAE]. But our knowledge of the particular ideological focus and topographical detail of this funerary complex is far from certain, and TEMPL[VM DIVAE PLOTINAE] or even TEMPL[VM DIVAE MATIDIAE] would not be out of the question.

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John Bodel: The Label Inscribed on Fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan

## Notes

[1] Of the more than 1350 inflected forms of *templum*, variously abbreviated, recorded in the largest database of Latin inscriptions (Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/Slaby), the abbreviation *tem(plum)* is found only five times in four inscriptions, all from the eastern half of the Empire: *CIL* 3.3075 (Dalmatia); 3.3345 (Pannonia); 3.4800 (Noricum); and *AE* 1972, 657 (Galatia); cf. *EDCS* 387000175 (Hispania): *tem(pl)u(m)*.

[2] “Diva Plotina” is attested in dedications to priestesses of her cult (*sacerdos*: *CIL* 5.4485, 5.7617, *CIL* 11.407; *flaminica*: *CIL* 8.12454) and in the nomenclature of one of her freedmen (*AE* 1958, 184 [Ostia]). The empress is never identified as Plotina (alone) in inscriptions erected after her death.

[3] No spacing between words: fragments 1 AREARADICARIA; 3 SVMICH[ORAGI]; 31 AEDISIVNON, PORTICVSOCTAVIAEETFILIPPI, AEDISHERCVLISMVSARVM; 32 INTERDVOS. Line break between words: fragments 6 LVDVS / MAGN[VS]; 10 PORTICV[S] / LIVIAE; 39 THEATRVM / BALBI; etc. Line breaks within words: fragments 4 AQVE/DVCTI ; 22 MINER/BAE, 42 AN/TONINI.

[4] Note, e.g., fragment 25, where both words in the label HOR REA / LOL LIANA are divided in the middle in order to fit the text into the available spaces; or fragments 272 and 285, with vertical lettering.

[5] For the *templum* or *porticus Divorum*, see F. Coarelli, in *LTUR* II D-G, s.v. “Divorum”, 19-20. For the distinction *templum* / *aedes*, cf. also *CIL* 2.2395a (Aqua Flaviae, 3<sup>rd</sup> c.), a member of the senatorial order (*vir clarissimus*) dedicates a “shrine to the Divine Severi located in this precinct” (*Diis Seve[r]is in hoc templo lo[ca]t[i]s aedem*); *AE* 2014, 1152 (Numidia): “. . . a shrine and the district that lies at the edge of this precinct” (*aedem. . . item vicum qui subiacet huic templo*)

[6] The evidence for a supposed “Templum Matidiae” – a single 17<sup>th</sup> c. drawing by Alessandro Donato (1639) with the text improbably penned in minuscule script across the end of a section lead pipe (*CIL* 15.7248 = EDR180122 [[http://www.edr-edr.it/edr\\_programmi/view\\_img.php?id\\_nr=180122](http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/view_img.php?id_nr=180122)]) – is of dubious reliability, and other examples of temples to living figures are not to be found. Dedications to *Divae* of the Hadrianic and Antonine eras, on the other hand, are common: e.g., above, nt. 2 (*diva Plotina*); *AE* 1927, 31 (Volubilis), *AE* 1973, 515 (Alexandria Troas), *AE* 1988, 1038 (Perge) (*diva Matidia*); *CIL* 6.984, 6.40528, 8.17847 (Thamagudi) (*diva Sabina*). Priests and priestesses (*sacerdotes, flaminicae*) of the divine cult of all three are likewise attested.

*The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini: La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter* :

**IV. Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs (cf. here Fig. 2) and the Obeliscus Pamphilius/ Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28).**

The following are quotes from Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgments*:

“Also especially fruitful for this *Study* has been the fact that the organizers of the Iseum Campense Conference at Rome in May 2016, Miguel John Versluys, Kristine Bülow Clausen and Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi, invited me to attend ...

At the Iseum Campense Conference in May of 2016, I was also lucky enough to make the acquaintance of the Egyptologist Alessandro Roccati, whom I met again in Rome on 4th May 2018. On that occasion, Roccati presented me with the volume *L'Impero Ramesside* (1997). As I only realized much later, this volume turned out to be precisely what I needed for my research ...

Alessandro Roccati was also kind enough to introduce me to the Egyptologist Emanuele Marcello Ciampini, whom I first met in Rome on 11th May 2018 ... Ciampini has ... translated the hieroglyphic texts of all the obelisks in Rome into Italian (cf. *id.*, *Gli Obelischi iscritti di Roma*, 2004). With Alessandro Roccati and Ciampini I discussed the question, of whether or not Domitian had commissioned the Obeliscus Pamphilius/ Domitian's obelisk for the Iseum Campense, which is today mounted on top of Gianlorenzo Bernini's 'Fountain of the Four Rivers' in Piazza Navona at Rome (cf. here **Fig. 28**). Personally I am unable to read hieroglyphs, and Ciampini was kind enough to present me with his book.

I am glad to say that Ciampini has helped me find evidence in these hieroglyphic inscriptions which, in our opinion, proves that Domitian had indeed commissioned his obelisk for the Iseum Campense.

Cf. *supra*, at Chapter *What this Study is all about*; at Chapter *Preamble: Domitian's negative image*; at Sections *II.* and *III.*; at Chapters *IV.1.1.d*); *IV.1.1.f*) ...

The reason, why I had asked first Roccati and then Ciampini to help me studying the hieroglyphic texts of Domitian's obelisk in more detail, was the following. Whereas most earlier scholars took for granted that the Obeliscus Pamphilius had been commissioned by Domitian for the Iseum Campense, Jean-Claude Grenier (1996; *id.* 1999; *id.* 2009) and Filippo Coarelli (1996; *id.* 2009b; *id.* 2014) have attributed this obelisk to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* instead, that Domitian built at the site of the *domus* of his father Vespasian on the Quirinal, where Domitian was born (Suet. *Dom.* 1; cf. *Dom.* 15) ...

On 7th March 2019, I met again with Emanuele Ciampini in Rome. I now informed him about my idea to compare in this *Study* the *political message*, visualized on Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs (here **Fig. 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing**), with a section of the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Domitian's obelisk, in which, in my opinion, the same message is *expressis verbis* formulated: the *Autokrator* [emperor] *Caesar Domitianus Augustus* has received his reign from his father, *Divus Vespasianus*, and from his brother, *Divus Titus* - as I had just learned in his book (cf. E.M. CIAMPINI 2004, discussed in detail ... at Chapter *IV.1.*), and in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

Ciampini was so kind as to tell me that this is a formula that defines the legitimation of the new king, which is known from several documents of the Ptolemaic period. I am especially grateful that he has taken the time to write on my request a short text, in which he summarizes his relevant observations, which he kindly explained to me on that occasion, and that he has generously allowed me to publish this note. His text shows that the meanings of those hieroglyphic texts are much more complex than I had been able to understand myself by reading his translation of them.

Cf. below, at *The first Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini...'*:

## *La regalità domiziana: una nota egittologica*

**Emanuele M. Ciampini**

Nello studio del complesso rapporto tra Roma e l'Egitto, il profilo di Domiziano offre numerosi spunti di riflessione: esponente dell'ultima 'dinastia' imperiale (intesa come sequenza di Imperatori legati tra loro da vincoli di parentela), favorì in modo significativo la diffusione di culti e di modelli egizi nell'Urbe. Di questo particolare rapporto ci possono dare testimonianza anche le fonti epigrafiche in lingua egizia, prodotte a Roma con l'intento di cementare questo rapporto esclusivo tra la famiglia imperiale e la cultura faraonica [n. 1]; la ragione di questo legame può trovarsi in un chiaro intento politico: legittimare la dinastia, e nel caso particolare Domiziano, attribuendogli una natura divina che gli deriva dall'essere discendente diretto degli dei.

La fonte più importante per questa celebrazione della divinità imperiale si ha nei testi dell'Obelisco Pamphyli, nei quali la cancelleria domiziana riesce a fondere aspetti ideologici e dogmatici della tradizione faraonica con quelli che meglio rispondono ai modelli imperiali. I temi che meglio possono esprimere questi concetti sono quelli riconducibili alla nascita divina e alla legittimazione della dinastia [n. 2]. Eretto nell'Iseo Campense [n. 3], il monumento venne rinvenuto in frammenti nella Villa di Massenzio sull'Appia Antica; nel 1648 venne ricomposto ed eretto, per volere di papa Innocenzo X, sulla sommità della Fontana dei Quattro Fiumi.

Tre passaggi nelle iscrizioni dell'obelisco sono di particolare interesse per la definizione 'faraonica' della legittimità dinastica e la natura divina del sovrano regnante / imperatore.

A – Lato nord (verso il Tevere) [n. 4]

«Egli ha innalzato questo obelisco in autentico granito per suo padre Ra-Harakhti perché l'umanità possa vedere il monumento che egli ha fatto, in modo che sia reso stabile il nome dei re dell'Alto e Basso Egitto che erano sul trono di Horo, e che sia sana la terra al tempo della dinastia il cui nome [n. 5] è Flavi».

B – Lato est (verso Corso Rinascimento) [n. 6]

«Egli riceve la regalità da suo padre Vespasiano il dio e dal fratello maggiore Tito il dio, mentre il suo (= di Tito) ba si muove verso la volta celeste [n. 7]».

C – Lato ovest (verso Santa Agnese in Agone) [n. 8]

«Le due Signore [n. 9] porgono il loro seno alla tua bocca, le due nutrici divine sono sulle sue fasce, mentre le Hathor suonano il tamburo intorno a lui: gli è stato concesso il grande ufficio (= regalità) che ha creato la Signora dei sudditi, mentre il suo ureo è sulla sua testa».

Diversi sono i temi presenti nei tre passaggi, tutti però accomunati da un fattore: la legittimazione del potere e la discendenza divina. Il primo passaggio (A) descrive la componente astratta del potere nella definizione più vicina all'ideologia imperiale: si tratta del «nome» della dinastia, identificato per mezzo di un vocabolo comune nella lingua egizia tarda (*k3*). Questo termine ha un peso notevole nell'ideologia faraonica, fiorendo, soprattutto durante il Nuovo Regno, nella dottrina del «ka vivente del re» (*k3-nsw 'nh*); in questa espressione, la critica ha voluto riconoscere il modo per identificare un aspetto astratto e divino della regalità, incarnato dal sovrano regnante: in

virtù di questa incarnazione, la sua persona acquisisce un'essenza divina, identificabile con la stessa regalità. Il tema ideologico viene reso iconograficamente per mezzo di una 'doppia figura' del re: la prima è la persona fisica, la seconda può essere interpretata come la rappresentazione del concetto astratto di re [n. 10]. Nel testo (A), questo nome dinastico viene applicato a ciò che la versione geroglifica definisce *ist*, lett.: «squadra», «equipaggio», ma il cui valore più calzante è qui «famiglia» [n. 11].

Una fraseologia simile a quella riscontrata nel testo (B) è ben conosciuta nelle titolature tolemaiche, come nel caso di Tolomeo III, che presenta una struttura coincidente con quella domiziana:

Tolomeo III [n. 12]	<i>ḥkn ntrw rmt hr.f</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>šsp.f nsyt m- ' it.f</i>
Tolomeo VIII [n. 13]			<i>šsp.n.f nsyt r' m- ' it.f</i>
Domiziano	<i>ḥkn ntrw rmt hr.f</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>šsp.f nsyt m- ' it.f</i>

La corrispondenza fraseologica è particolarmente stringente con Tolomeo III, in cui l'espressione: *šsp.f nsyt m- ' it.f* «egli riceve la regalità da suo padre», segue subito, con nesso di subordinazione *m*, il primo dei cinque nomi che costituiscono il protocollo ufficiale del re (il cd. Nome di Horo). La formulazione nel testo domiziano è però integrata da una puntuale precisazione 'storica': la presa di potere è infatti un processo di legittimazione che parte dal padre Vespasiano e dal fratello Tito, i cui nomi, integrati dall'epiteto *p(3) ntr*, «il dio», sono caratterizzati come quelli di antenati, origine del potere imperiale ed essi stessi fonte di legittimità [n. 14]. Il passaggio insiste quindi su una dinamica specifica della legittimità, definito dall'espressione *šsp nsyt*, traducibile con «ricevere il potere»; alla base di questa fraseologia è il contesto familiare, già ben chiaro nei precedenti tolemaici, e che nell'iscrizione domiziana diventa un punto cruciale della legittimità imperiale, intimamente legato al ruolo dei predecessori che conferiscono il potere in una ininterrotta linea dinastica.

L'ultimo passaggio (C) è il frutto più evidente della rilettura del modello faraonico nella prospettiva domiziana; qui troviamo una celebrazione della regalità secondo schemi antichi, in cui svolgono un ruolo centrale quelle dee che, a vario titolo, conferiscono la regalità per mezzo di segni concreti, come il latte; questo nutrimento divino, al centro di una riflessione dalle origini antiche, completa il processo di legittimazione, inserendo all'interno del meccanismo dinastico una componente che può essere definita mitologica, che dalla Nascita Divina del Nuovo Regno arriva ai mammisi di epoca greco-romana [n. 15]. Può qui essere interessante notare che le dee conferiscono a Domiziano, per mezzo del nutrimento, il potere nella forma di «grande ufficio» (*i3wt wrt*): questo concetto compare anche nel rituale di conferma del potere regale alla Festa del Nuovo Anno, durante il quale il re consuma una focaccia a forma di segno *i3wt* [n. 16]: segno concreto di una legittimazione che passa attraverso il consumo di elementi sacralizzanti e legittimanti.

Pur nella loro sintenticità, i tre passaggi qui analizzati permettono di riconoscere la ricezione attiva di elementi pertinenti all'ideologia faraonica da parte di Domiziano: si tratta di un processo che dà voce, in modo coerente e organico, al concetto di trasmissione dinastica del potere. Ciò che stupisce in queste iscrizioni, è il loro essere un prodotto 'egizio' che traduce, in una fraseologia di tradizione, quelli che sono gli elementi dell'ideologia domiziana. Dobbiamo ipotizzare pertanto la

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presenza, a Roma, di un gruppo di specialisti di origine egiziana che hanno saputo interpretare e costruire quei modelli essenziali nell'ideologia del tempo; e questo aspetto è tanto più importante, se confrontiamo l'abilità dei compositori del testo nel realizzare una formulazione 'faraonicamente' ineccepibile, con l'ampio programma decorativo in santuari faraonici, promosso da Domiziano in Egitto; si può quindi postulare la particolare vivacità delle cerchie di specialisti della scrittura, che sanno produrre modelli efficaci, in grado di svilupparsi e affermarsi anche nei contesti egizi dell'Urbe.

### Notes

[1] Si può qui ricordare, oltre l'Obelisco Pamphyli, per cui v. *infra*, anche la coppia di obelischi di Benevento: A. Erman, *Die Obelisken der Kaiserzeit*, «ZÄS» 34, 1896, pp. 149-158; L. Prada, *Obelisk honoring Emperor Domitian and Isis*, in J. Spier; T. Potts; S.E. Cole (eds.), *Beyond the Nile. Egypt and the Classical World*, Los Angeles, Getty Publications, 2018, pp. 262-264 (n. 164).

[2] Per un'analisi preliminare di questi aspetti v. E.M. Ciampini, *The Pamphili Obelisk: Two Notes on Pharaonic Elements in Domitian Ideology*, in M. Sanader; A.R. Miočević (edd.), *Religija i mit kao poticaj provincijalnoi plastici. Akti VIII. Međunarodnog kolokvija o problemima rimskog provincijalnog umjetničkog stvaralaštva (Religion and Myth as an Impetus for the Roman Provincial Culture. The Proceedings of the 8th International Colloquium on Problems of Roman Provincial Art)*, Zagreb, Golden Marketing – Tehnička Knjiga, 2005, pp. 399-402, v. in questo volume, capitolo IV.1.1.d.

[3] E.M. Ciampini, *Gli obelischi iscritti di Roma*, Roma, IPZS, 2004, p. 157; per una diversa collocazione originaria, da identificarsi con la *Domus Flavia* al Quirinale v. da ultimo J.-Cl. Grenier, *L'Osiris Antinoos (CENIM 1)*, Montpellier, Université Paul Valéry, 2008, p. 60, n. 7; Grenier ipotizza anche la collocazione originaria dell'obelisco nel *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; v. *supra*, capitolo IV.

[4] Ciampini, *Obelischi iscritti*, pp. 158-159 (H4-7).

[5] Il termine classico per «nome» (*rn*) diventa sinonimo in Bassa Epoca di «ka» (*k3*).

[6] Ciampini, op. cit., pp. 162-165 (H23-24).

[7] Definizione della condizione di defunto.

[8] Ciampini, op. cit., pp. 166-167 (H32-34).

[9] Riferito alle dee dinastiche Nekhbet e Wadjet.

[10] La dottrina è stata messa a fuoco nell'ormai classico lavoro di L. Bell, *Luxor temple and the cult of the royal ka*, «JNES» 44, 1985, pp. 251-294; questa duplicità è stata messa a confronto, già in una nota dello stesso Bell, con la dottrina dei due corpi del re, diffusa nell'ideologia europea medievale: E.H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1957.

[11] Ci si può chiedere se in questo caso specifico il termine non identifichi la *gens*, il cui nome (*k3*) è Flavi (in eg.: *plwy*).

[12] J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen (MÄS 49)*, Mainz, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1999, pp. 234-235: H2.

[13] von Beckerath, op. cit., pp. 240-241: H3; è anche possibile una costruzione con il dativo (*šsp n.f nsyt r' m- ' it.f*), ma l'affinità fraseologica con le altre titolature sembra rendere questa interpretazione meno probabile.

[14] Il tema della divinità in vita dell'imperatore nella prospettiva faraonica è questione spinosa, e non verrà affrontata in questa nota; per un quadro preliminare v. E.G. Huzar, *Emperor Worship in Julio-Claudian Egypt*, in W. Haase; H. Temporini (Hrsg.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*, Teil II, Prinsipat, Band 18.5, Berlin-New York, Walter De Gruyter, 1995, pp. 3092-3143.

[15] Ciampini, *The Pamphili Obelisk*, 399-400. [Citato *verbatim supra*, at IV.1.1.d].

[16] Per questo rituale v. E.M. Ciampini, *The King's Food. A note on the Royal Meal and Legitimation*, in P. Corò; E. Devecchi; N. De Zorzi; M. Maiocchi (eds.), *Libiamo ne' lieti calici. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Lucio Milano on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday by Pupils, Colleagues and Friends (AOAT 436)*, Ugarit-Verlag, Münster, 2016, pp. 115-126.

*The second Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini, which refers to the Egyptian tale The Taking of Joppa*

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter* in volume 3-2 :

***Appendix I.d.1.a) The stratagem, told in The Taking of Joppa, a town, 'taken' by Djehuty, a general of Tuthmosis III (around 1450 BC), compared with the escape of some of the Flavians from the Capitol on 19th December AD 69. With some remarks on what The Taking of Joppa has to do with Thutmosis III's Lateran Obelisk (cf. here Fig. 101). With The second Contribution by Emanuele M. Ciampini.***

The following is a quote from *Appendix I.d.1.a)* in volume 3-2:

“*The Taking of Joppa* describes a similar stratagem as that applied by some of Flavius Sabinus's companions on 19th December AD 69. As we have seen above (cf. *supra*, at *Appendix I.d)*), Flavius Sabinus's companions were (among others) soldiers, who, ‘hidden between the baggage’, were smuggled out of the *Capitolium*/ the *area Capitolina* down in the city, that is to say, they were brought ‘outside a fortress’. In *The Taking of Joppa* are smuggled only soldiers, this time ‘hidden in baskets’, but not ‘out of a stronghold’, but instead ‘inside a stronghold’ (the city of Joppa). The text *The Taking of Joppa* is set in the time of Pharaoh Tuthmosis III (around 1450 BC) and was written 200 years later, at the time of Rameses II on the *verso* of Papyrus Harris 500’.

Ciampini's second *Contribution* belongs to the following Section of *Appendix I.d.1.a)*:

***David Peter Davies's (2003) translation and comments on The Taking of Joppa (Papyrus Harris 500).***

Since I did not understand either the abbreviation "l.p.h.", in Davies's (2003, 17-18) translation of the *Taking of Joppa*, which follows the name of the Pharaoh Tuthmosis III, or the term "*itwrr*", mentioned by Davies, which refers to one of the two different weapons, which the Egyptian soldiers pack in the remaining 300 baskets, I asked Emanuele Ciampini on 3rd June 2020 for advice. He answered me by E-mail on the same day and kindly allowed me to publish this here.

Emanuele M. Ciampini wrote me on 3rd June 2020:



Emanuele M. Ciampini

Cara Chrystina,

con ordine:

l.p.h. = "life, power, health" (abbreviazione per una formula augurale che segue spesso il nome del re).

*itwrr* = termine straniero, prob.[abilmente] di origine asiatica, trascritto in egiziano, e il cui significato può essere "bastone" (Knüppel).

A presto

Emanuele.

*The Contribution by Amanda Claridge: A note for Chrystina Häuber: Drawings of the interior order of the Aula Regia of the Palace of Domitian on the Palatine, once in the British School at Rome*

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter* :

**V.1.i.3.b) J. Pollini's discussion (2017b) of the allegedly 'lost' Nollekens Relief (cf. here Fig. 36), which he compares with the Cancelleria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1; 2) and Domitian's 'Domus Flavia'/ Domus Augustana. With The Contribution by Amanda Claridge.**

*A note for Chrystina Häuber: Drawings of the interior order of the Aula Regia of the Palace of Domitian on the Palatine, once in the British School at Rome*

In the British School in the early 1980s (during the directorship of David Whitehouse, so pre 1984) I remember noting a set of drawings in pencil, pen and black ink reconstructing in cross section the Aula Regia, Peristyle and Triclinium of the Flavian Palace on the Palatine. They were quite large (c. 50 x 70 cms?), mounted in narrow black frames, hung on the walls in the corridor and one of the bedrooms on the top floor of the east wing (that overlooking the tennis court). They were signed and dated by their author, Gordon Leith, 1913, an architect from South Africa (1885-1965) who had been a scholar of the British School. I also remember having another drawing from the same set on the wall to the left of the door in my office (ex-bedroom 26 of the same wing). It had the same black frame, and contained mainly survey drawings of individual architectural elements and mouldings, presumably those on which the reconstructions were based. At some stage in the 1980s or early 1990s some or all were donated to the archive of the Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma (Palatine). Four are reproduced in M. A. Tomei, *Scavi Francesi sul Palatino : le indagini di Pietro Rosa per Napoleone III (1861-1870)*, École française de Rome 1999, figs 225, 228, 229, and 230.

I think the drawing I had in my office in 1994 was still on the wall when I left the school in 1994, but the office has since been converted back into a bedroom and the drawing is no longer there. The Librarian, Valerie Scott kindly looked everywhere in the building in 2020 and could not find it; the archivist Alessandra Giovenco confirms she has no knowledge of it. Further research is needed, but it is very possible that my memory is at fault and it went with the others, now in the archives of the Parco Archeologico del Colosseo.

Amanda Claridge  
London 15 July 2021

Comment by the editor Chrystina Häuber:

For the drawings by Gordon Leith (1913), which have been published by Maria Antonietta Tomei (1999, Figs. 225; 228; 229; 230), as mentioned by Amanda Claridge in her *Contribution*; cf. here **Figs. 108-110**.

*The first Contribution by Angelo Geißen: Bemerkungen zur frühen Münzprägung Hadrians in Alexandria*

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter* in volume 3-2:

*Appendix IV.c.1.) Final remarks on Appendix IV.b) and Appendix IV.c): Hadrian's efforts to legitimize his reign at the beginning of his principate, as expressed in the Anaglypha Hadriani (Figs. 21; 22). Post Scriptum: Hadrian's situation in AD 117-118. With The first Contribution by Angelo Geißen: Bemerkungen zur frühen Münzprägung Hadrians in Alexandria.*

The following is a quote from *Appendix IV.c.1.)* in volume 3-2:

“**To conclude.** Since I could not myself judge the numismatic part of Marianne Bergmann's (1997) above-quoted arguments and results, I have now asked the numismatist Angelo Geißen for advice and to write me his comments. See *The first Contribution by Angelo Geißen* in this volume ...”:

## Bemerkungen zur frühen Münzprägung Hadrians in Alexandria

Angelo Geißen

Bedingt durch die bekannten Unklarheiten der Adoption Hadrians durch Trajan sowie beim Übergang der Macht an Hadrian herrscht zu Beginn der Münzprägung Hadrians (nicht nur) in Alexandria eine gewisse Unsicherheit in Bezug auf Porträt und Titulatur des neuen Herrschers. Zwar war er bereits am 11. August 117 (*dies imperii*) in Antiochia zum Kaiser erhoben worden, aber die Nachricht von seiner Thronbesteigung konnte Alexandria natürlich erst einige Tage später erreichen. Am 25. August 117, also nach 14 Tagen, war dann allerdings die Neuigkeit dem *Praefectus Aegypti* in Alexandria bekannt, wie wir aus dem bisher frühesten schriftlichen Zeugnis eines Papyrus aus Oxyrhynchos erfahren (*POxy 3781 Announcement of the Accession of Hadrian*). Die Titulatur des neuen Kaisers lautet hier (Z. 5-10): ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΝ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ ΑΡΙΣΤ(ΟΝ) ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΝ ΔΑΚΙΚΟΝ ΠΑΡΘΙΚΟΝ, kopiert also die letzte Titulatur Trajans mit dessen Ehren- und Siegernamen *Optimus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus Parthicus*, in die lediglich Hadrians Name eingefügt wird.

Münzen gibt es aus diesem 1. Jahre, das nur wenige Tage bis zum 28. August 117 dauerte, offenbar nicht. Die organisatorische bzw. technische Umstellung in der Münzstätte Alexandria erforderte mehr Zeit, zumal die Graveure neue Stempel mit Porträt und Titulatur Hadrians herstellen mußten. Lediglich der *Praefectus Aegypti* (bzw. auf seine Anweisung hin der Leiter der Münzstätte) kann dazu im Namen des neuen Herrschers den Auftrag erteilen. Dass sich unter Zeitdruck hier auch Fehler einschleichen können, kann kaum überraschen.

Ab dem 2. Jahr (LB = 117/118) ist dann eine Fülle an Tetradrachmen und Bronzemünzen erhalten. Wir betrachten hier lediglich die ersten Tetradrachmen des Jahres 117 ab dem 29. August, die sich wohl auf drei Prägephasen verteilen:

In der ersten Phase erscheinen zunächst als eine Art Not- oder Übergangsprägung sehr seltene Tetradrachmen mit einer Legende, die bereits der o.g. Papyrus *POxy 3781* überliefert und die noch am 11. September 117 in einem amtlichen Schreiben aus dem Archiv des Strategen Apollonios (*PAlexGiss 25*), der im Apollonopolites der Heptakomia amtierte, begegnet. Die Titulatur lautet: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΑΙ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC ΑΡΙ ΣΕΒ ΓΕΡ ΔΑΚ ΠΑΡ (**Abb. 1**). Der Name des neuen Kaisers ist bewußt ausgeschrieben, alle übrigen Bestandteile der Legende sind wegen des geringen Raumes auf den Stempeln abgekürzt wiedergeben.

Eine im zweiten Teil dieses Jahres darauf folgende, neue Legende korrigiert dies insofern, als Hadrian nun einfach ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙC ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC genannt wird, allerdings jetzt merkwürdigerweise ohne den Titel ΣΕΒ anzuführen (**Abb. 2 und Abb. 3**). Hinzukommt als eine weitere Auffälligkeit die Schreibung des Adoptivnamens ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC: neben dieser korrekten Form, wie sie auch in den Papyri verwendet wird, können als Varianten ΤΡΑΙΝΟC (**Abb. 4**) bzw. ΤΡΙΑΝΟC (keine Abb., vgl. 5002, 5007) (später auch ΤΡΑΝΟC) parallel erscheinen. Dies ist insofern erstaunlich, als die Stempelschneider in Alexandria während der 20jährigen Herrschaft Trajans keinerlei Schwierigkeiten hatten, dessen Namen korrekt zu schreiben. Der Fehler könnte mit Hast, Flüchtigkeit, Unkenntnis oder mangelnder Kontrolle zu diesem frühen Zeitpunkt innerhalb der Organisation der Münzstätte zusammenhängen. Tatsächlich erkennt man in **Abb. 3**,

dass hier die Legende korrigiert worden ist: TPAIANOC ist aus TPAINOC verbessert, indem das zweite A über das auf das Iota folgende N nachgeschnitten und dann die Schreibung des Namens korrekt beendet wurde. Eine umfassende Untersuchung der Vorderseitenstempel wäre hier geboten und könnte möglicherweise zu Hinweisen auf die innere Struktur dieser Emission und die Produktion in einzelnen Offizinen führen. Man kann fragen, ob man sich jetzt nicht dessen bewußt war oder den Verantwortlichen (noch) nicht mitgeteilt worden war, dass Hadrian den Namen Trajans als Adoptivnamen angenommen hatte. Es ist jedenfalls klar, dass diese Stücke ohne CEB ab dem 29. August im Verlauf der letzten Monate des Jahres 117 herausgegeben worden sind, und zwar im Anschluß an die seltenen Stücke der ersten Prägephase. Als Grund für das Fehlen des CEB kann man erwägen, ob nicht die Stempelschneider, die jetzt unter großem Druck arbeiteten, eine Direktive bekamen, die Partie der Ehren- und Siegertitel der letzten Legende Trajans zu tilgen, auf die Hadrian bekanntlich bald verzichtete. Es wären dann API CEB ΓΕΡ ΔΑΚ ΠΑΡ insgesamt weggelassen worden, wobei der eigentlich für den Kaiser unverzichtbare Bestandteil CEB irrtümlich ebenfalls mit erfaßt wurde.

Ob mit der schriftlich fixierten Nachricht von der Thronbesteigung Hadrians auch eine bildliche Darstellung (Imago/Plakette/Zeichnung) des neuen Herrschers an den *Praefectus Aegypti* resp. die jeweils verantwortlichen Beamten zeitgleich mitgeschickt worden ist, bleibt zunächst ungewiß.

Zu dem Porträt dieser Emission auf den Münzen ohne CEB kann ich kaum etwas beitragen, zumal auch hier kleinere Varianten zu bemerken sind. Der Locken-Kopf mit Lorbeerkranz nach rechts, drapiert links (Typ Δο nach P.L.Strack), ähnelt nicht immer Hadrian, auch scheint der Bart manchmal zu fehlen, was allerdings an der Erhaltung der jeweiligen Münze liegen könnte. Es erscheint mir aber verfehlt, etwa aus dem Fehlen des CEB in Kombination mit dem „jugendlichen“ Porträt auf eine Art Caesar-Bildnis schließen zu wollen. Hadrian selbst (oder seine Entourage) hätte dies allerdings bewußt als designierter, adoptierter Nachfolger Trajans anordnen müssen. Keinesfalls hätte dies etwa z.B. ein Mitarbeiter der Münzstätte ohne Auftrag ausführen können. So reizvoll die Vorstellung eines Caesarbildnisses Hadrians aus archäologischer Sicht zunächst erscheinen mag, so halte ich jedoch eine technisch/organisatorische Panne in der Münzstätte eher für plausibel, zumal der Fehler in der folgenden Prägephase behoben wird.

Im dritten Teil der Prägung - wohl gegen Ende 117/Anfang 118 - wird also die Legende mit dem unverzichtbaren CEB ergänzt, die Darstellungen der Vorderseiten werden nun variiert (Büste oder Kopf des Kaisers mit Lorbeerkranz), ein Stern kann hinzutreten. Der Stil der Porträts unterscheidet sich von den Stücken der vorigen Serie ohne CEB. Die Produktion der Münzstätte hat jetzt ihren Rhythmus gefunden. In der neuen Emission erscheinen dann u.a. die sehr seltenen Tetradrachmen mit den Porträts (Hadrians auf den Vorderseiten und) Trajans auf den Rückseiten : ΑΥΤ ΤΡΑΙΑΝ ΑΡΙ ΣΕ ΓΕΡΜ ΔΑΚΙΚ ΠΑ, L B. Kopf mit Lorbeerkranz nach rechts, Aegis, Stern (**Abb. 5**) = RPC III 5066) und Divus Traianus : ΘΕΟ(ς) ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC CΕΒΑCΤΟC ΠΑΤ(ήρ) ΚΥ(ίου), L B. Kopf mit Lorbeerkranz nach rechts, Aegis, Stern (**Abb. 6** = RPC III 5067). Hier nun wird die Intention Hadrians deutlich greifbar, die enge Verbindung mit Trajan, der zum einen „mit unerhörter Kühnheit noch als Lebender vorgestellt wird“ (J. Vogt, p.96), und zum anderen seine Adoption durch den nunmehr als Divus Traianus Vorgestellten in der Öffentlichkeit zu betonen.

## Literatur

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A.Burnett, The early coinage of Hadrian and the deified Trajan at Rome and Alexandria, AJN (=American Journal of Numismatics) 20, 2008, 459-477

Für die Papyri vgl.: Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens (HGV). Online: <http://aquila.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de>

Die neueste Zusammenfassung des Forschungsstandes findet man in RPC III :

Michel Amandry and Andrew Burnett, Roman Provincial Coinage (RPC), Volume III, Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian (AD 96-138), Part I : Catalogue, Part II : General Introduction, Indexes and Plates, London and Paris 2015; hier: 656-657 und 845-846. Online: <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk>

Alle Abbildungen nach RPC III: Abb. 1 = 4987; Abb. 2 = 4999 (TPAIANOC); Abb. 3 = 4997 (TPAIANOC aus TPAINOC verbessert, A über N nachgeschnitten); Abb. 4 = 4996 (TPAINOC); Abb. 5 = 5066; Abb. 6 = 5067



Abb. 1



Abb. 2



Abb. 3



Abb. 4



Abb. 5



Abb. 6



*The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen : Zum 'Hadrianeum' auf Münzen des Antoninus Pius*

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter* in volume 3-2:

***A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination : ...  
Introduction, at Section XIV.***

The motivation to ask Angelo Geißen to write this second *Contribution* has been explained *supra*, in *Chapter Introductory remarks and acknowledgements* :

**“On the 13th of May 2022, Franz Xaver Schütz and I had the chance to meet with Filippo Coarelli in Rome. We discussed my reconstruction of Hadrian's Temple complex in the *Campus Martius* (cf. here Fig. 66), and Coarelli was kind enough to offer me to read the manuscript, in which all this is discussed: the *Introduction* of my text *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination*.”**

Coarelli, after having read this *Introduction*, told me in a telephone conversation of 9th June 2022 that, in his opinion, the temple represented on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan cannot possibly have been dedicated to *Diva Sabina*, as I myself propose (cf. here Fig. 66). The reason being the suggestion by François Chausson ("Temples des Diui et Diuae de la dynastie antonine", 2001) that *Diva Sabina* may have been worshipped in the Temple of *Divus Hadrianus*, the *Hadrianeum* (here Fig. 66).

If true, this hypothesis would preclude my assumption of a separate Temple of *Diva Sabina* in the area of the *Campus Martius* under scrutiny here. When writing my earlier *Study* on the subject, published in 2017, I had managed to overlook this publication by Chausson (2001). I have, therefore, now added to this *Introduction* the below-quoted Section XIV., in which I discuss Chausson's hypothesis (2001), as well as all similar more recent hypotheses.

In addition to this, I have asked the numismatist Angelo Geißen for advice, who was kind enough to study for me some coins, issued by Antoninus Pius in 150-151 AD; those coins are believed by some of the just-mentioned scholars to show the *Hadrianeum*. And because some of those coins represent *two cult-statues* in the *cella* of the represented temple, this is taken by those scholars for the proof, that, in the *Hadrianeum*, *Diva Sabina* was worshipped together with *Divus Hadrianus*. But it is not as easy as that. See below, at Angelo Geißen's second *Contribution* to this book on Domitian : *Zum 'Hadrianeum' auf Münzen des Antoninus Pius*.

**As a result of all this, I maintain my earlier tentative hypothesis (of 2017; cf. here Fig. 66) that the temple, represented on fragment 36b of the Severan Marble Plan was dedicated to 'Diva Sabina'.**

For a discussion; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at: *A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination : Nerva is forced to adopt Trajan and Trajan creates Domitian's negative image to consolidate his own reign. With Hadrian's adoption manquée in late October or at the beginning of November of AD 97, his 20-year long road to his accession and his thanksgivings for it, his Temple complex in the Campus Martius.*

*Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?) ... With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz, with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz, with The Contribution by John Bodet, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen;*

*Introduction; at Section XIV. Further new research: F. Chausson's (2001) idea that the Hadrianeum was possibly dedicated to Divus Hadrianus and to Diva Sabina, and recent discussions of this hypothesis. With The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen : Zum 'Hadrianeum' auf Münzen des Antoninus Pius”.*

## Zum „Hadrianeum“ auf Münzen des Antoninus Pius

Angelo Geißen

Im Rahmen der Prägungen der römischen Münzstätte für Antoninus Pius fallen u.a. [unter anderem] Sesterzen ins Auge, die auf den Rückseiten einen Tempel mit acht korinthischen Säulen in Frontalansicht abbilden und durch die Angabe seiner 14. Tribunicia Potestas (TR POT XIII COS III SC) in die Zeit vom 10.12.150 bis zum 9.12.151 datiert sind. Es sind folgende Varianten dieses Typs erhalten:

1. oktastyle Tempelfront, an den Seiten je eine Palme, **ohne Kultbild** (Abb. 1)  
 RIC III, Antoninus, p. 135, 870 (“Octastyle temple with or without statues of Divus Augustus and Livia”, mit Hinweis auf Cohen 954, 955); vgl. BMCRE IV, p. 309, n.<sup>++</sup> : “C. 954 (Paris). Variant of rev., without the two statues, C. 955”); Strack 1057 (ohne Abb.), p. 282/3, in Modena (Galeria Estense 1928); Lacourt p. 161, Ra1.3, Pl. 21,1).
2. wie Nr. 1, in der Mitte zwischen den Säulen **zwei Sitzstatuen** (Abb. 2)  
 (RIC III Antoninus, p. 135, 870 (“Octastyle temple with or without statues of Divus Augustus and Livia”, mit Hinweis auf Cohen 954, 955); vgl. BMCRE IV, p. 309, n.<sup>++</sup> : “C. 954. Variant of rev., without the two statues, C. 955”); Strack 1056, Taf. XIII (Paris); Lacourt p. 161, Ra1.2).
3. wie Nr. 1, in der Mitte zwischen den Säulen **zwei Sitzstatuen**; darunter **PIETAS** (Abb. 3)  
 (RIC III, Antoninus, p. 135, 873 (“Octastyle temple, in which are seated figures of Divus Augustus and Livia, etc.” mit Hinweis auf “C. 618 (COS III on rev., in error”; BMCRE IV, 1869, Pl. 45, 17 (Sir William Ingram Gift 1925. Same *obv.* and *rev.* die as No. 1870. Cp. C. 618 (*rev.* COS III : a slip); 1870 (Münzhandlung Basel, 1938. Same *obv.* and *rev.* die as No. 1869”); Strack 1061, Taf. XIII (Berlin, Paris,Wien); Lacourt p. 162, Ra5.1).

Diese Stücke gehören zu einer Emission mit weiteren Rückseiten-Darstellungen, die durch eine neue, gemeinsame Avers-Legende miteinander verbunden sind, die sich nur in diesem und dem folgenden Jahre findet. Statt der seit 139 üblichen ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P XIII (COS III SC auf Rs.) lautet sie jetzt IMP CAES T AEL HADR ANTONINVS PIVS PP (vgl. Börner, 121 f.), ein bewusster Rückgriff auf die frühesten Emissionen nach dem 10. Juli 138 mit dem Bezug auf Hadrian. Die Münzstätte rückt also jetzt offenbar ein besonderes innenpolitisches Programm des Kaisers verstärkt ins Blickfeld der öffentlichen Aufmerksamkeit. Es fällt auf, dass in diesem Jahr 151 keine Prägungen für Marcus Caesar in Umlauf gebracht werden (Börner 126f.).

Wie bereits im 19. Jahrhundert von Eckhel vorgeschlagen (p. 22: *Templum octo columnarum, in quo duae figurae sedentes cum hastis...Verisimile, binis his signis exhiberi parentes Hadrianum, et Sabinam, templumque eorum honori impulsu Pietatis erectum. Et refert Capitolinus inter opera ejus publica templum quoque Hadriani honori patris dicatum*), wird auch noch in der jüngeren Forschung vermutet, dass es sich bei dem hier besprochenen Münztyp um das in der HA Pius 8,2 erwähnte Hadrianeum handeln könnte, dessen Bau sicher erst nach der Konsekration Hadrians begonnen wurde. Es sei daran erinnert, dass Abbildungen von Bauten auf Münzen zunächst als Chiffre dienen, die in wenigen Varianten differenziert werden kann, ohne allerdings jeweils ein

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„photographisches“ Abbild *en detail* wiederzugeben (vgl. Ritter 2017). Die Darstellungen des Tempels der Diva Faustina maior, die eine hexastyle Front in verschiedenen Typ-Varianten zeigen, seien hier *exempli gratia* vorgestellt (Abb. 4 = Michels 395, Bildtafeln Abb 44).

Man kann vielleicht überlegen, ob die Stempel der drei Varianten des Typs „oktastylter Tempel“ unter Zeitdruck entworfen worden sind (und/oder auf mehrere Offizinen der Münzstätte zu verteilen). Gewisse Abweichungen im Detail wären die Folge gewesen. Nachdem Antoninus Pius beschlossen hatte, einen monumentalen Tempel zu Ehren des Divus Hadrianus errichten zu lassen und dies auch der Öffentlichkeit mitzuteilen, könnten der/die Stempelschneider zunächst einen „Entwurf“ ohne Spezifikation erstellt haben (Variante Nr. 1, Typ „Tempel“ (ohne Kultbild(er)), in einem zweiten Schritt erfolgte die Ergänzung durch „Kultbild(er)“, um drittens mit PIETAS präzise auf den Anlass der Errichtung des Tempels zu verweisen, wobei eine deutliche Benennung z.B. als *TEMPLVM DIVI HADR* jedoch fehlt. Dieser Münztyp hätte dann als mögliches Vorbild für den im Jahre 159 geprägten, identischen Typ „Tempel“ für Divus Augustus dienen können, der dann allerdings mit der nun verwendeten Legende *TEMPLVM DIVI AVG REST* zweifelsfrei spezifiziert wurde. Aber dies bleibt Spekulation.

Von den beiden Münzen mit den in der Mitte des Tempels zwischen den Säulen befindlichen Sitzstatuen wird von einigen Forschern jedoch lediglich das Exemplar mit der Beischrift PIETAS ausführlicher diskutiert. Zunächst hatte Strack die ältere Identifizierung des dargestellten Tempels wegen der Ähnlichkeit mit dem des Divus Augustus auch aus chronologischen Gründen abgelehnt, denn dieses Bauwerk erscheint erst acht Jahre später mit entsprechender Legende *TEMPLVM DIV(I) AVG REST* (vgl. Blake 69; Küthmann/Overbeck 23 Nr. 34; Michels Abb. 45; Lacourt Pl. 19, 10-14 (zwei Varianten: Abb. 5)). Strack schlug stattdessen vor, hier ein *templum Divi Hadriani et Divae Sabinae* zu sehen (p. 144, Anm. 437 mit der älteren Literatur). Dieser Interpretation sind dann auch Mattingly (BMCRE IV, p. lxxxix : „must be the temple of Divus Hadrianus and Diva Sabina“) und spätere Autoren gefolgt. Offenbar dienten die beiden Sitzstatuen/Kultbilder hier stillschweigend auf den ersten Blick als plausibler Beleg für den Kult des Divus Hadrianus **und** der Diva Sabina in eben diesem Tempel, zumal in Verbindung mit dem PIETAS-Thema. Dieses ist im Rahmen der Sonderemission mit der auf Hadrian bezogenen Avers-Legende als deutlich sichtbares, herausragendes Beispiel für die *pietas* des Kaisers in einem breit gefächerten politischen Programm im Jahre 151 gerade in jüngerer Zeit behandelt worden (Strack 25, 145; Börner 121f., 125-127; Michels 49 mit Anm. 281, 54; bereits seit Augustus findet man PIETAS besonders auf Prägungen für die konsekrierten Mitglieder des kaiserlichen Hauses, dann oft mit dem Zusatz *AVG/AVGVST* (vgl. Schulten)).

Es gibt allerdings – trotz der beiden Sitzstatuen auf den Münzen - keine zusätzlichen eindeutigen Belege dafür, dass neben dem divinisierten Hadrian auch die konsekrierte Sabina in diesem monumentalen Gebäude mitverehrt worden wäre. Dies bleibt daher eine noch offene Frage.

Zum Datum der Inauguration des Tempels finden sich keine Angaben in der Vita des Antoninus Pius (HA Pius 8,2). Auch das bisher in der Diskussion angeführte Zeugnis der Vita des Lucius Verus (HA Ver. 3,1ff., Annahme der *toga virilis*) für das Jahr 145 entfällt, da sprachliche und historische Probleme dem entgegenstehen. Die jüngere Forschung ist an diesem Punkt zurückhaltender. So schreibt Michels z.B. „dass Annahme der *toga virilis* und Einweihung des Tempels zwei voneinander getrennte Ereignisse waren, die hier als Ergebnis einer unachtsamen

Verkürzung zusammengefügt wurden. Diese berechtigten Einwände haben sich überraschenderweise in der Forschung nicht durchgesetzt“. Mit Strack sei anzunehmen, dass die Münze mit PIETAS aus dem Jahre 151 „der Fertigstellung des vielleicht Hadrian und Sabina geweihten Tempels gedachte“. Es „wäre das Hadrianeum in aller Stille und vermutlich nach langer Bauzeit eingeweiht worden, nachdem sich die Wut auf Hadrian gelegt hätte“ (Michels 57f.; vgl. Börner 127f.; zum Streit um Hadrians Divinisierung: Michels 48-54)).

Einen stichhaltigen Beweis dafür, dass es sich bei dem auf den Sesterzen abgebildeten Tempel mit oktastyler Front um das in der HA Pius 8,2 genannte Hadrianeum handelt, gibt es jedoch trotz aller feinsinnigen Überlegungen nicht: es fehlt in der Legende der Rückseite eine entsprechende Formulierung wie z.B. *TEMPLVM DIVI HADR AVG*.

05.07.2023 Angelo Geißen

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## ABBILDUNGEN



**Abb. 1** : Oktastylter Tempel, ohne Statue(n); aus: Lacourt, Pl. 21, 1



Abb. 2 : Oktastyle Tempel, zwei Statuen; aus: Strack, Tafel XIII, 1056



Abb. 3a /3b: Oktastyle Tempel, zwei Statuen, PIETAS;  
3a aus: BMC IV, Pl. 45, 17;3b aus: Strack, Taf. XIII, 1061



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Abb. 4 : Hexastyler Tempel der Diva Faustina, Varianten; aus: Michels, Abb. 44



Abb. 5 : Oktastyler Tempel des Divus Augustus, Varianten; aus: Lacourt, Pl. 19, 11 u. 12

*The first Contribution by Laura Gigli concerning Pietro Canonica's statue of the mule Scudela*

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter* in volume 3-2 :

*Appendix I.d.1.) Statue of the mule Scudela, Pietro Canonica's 'Monumento all'Umile Eroe' (1937), (monument of a modest hero'; cf. here Fig. 41), on display in front of the 'Museo Pietro Canonica a Villa Borghese' in Rome. With The first Contribution by Laura Gigli.*

The following is a quote from *Appendix I.d.1.)* in volume 3-2 :

''Bianca Maria Santese (2017b, 48) writes [about Pietro Canonica's statue of the mule Scudela]:

"All'esterno dell'edificio [*i.e.*, the Museo Pietro Canonica; cf. here **Fig. 41**] infine, è il monumento agli Alpini, composto di due sculture che Canonica volle donare al Comune di Roma: il mulo Scudela, l'*Umile Eroe*, collocato al centro del piazzale nel 1940, cui fu affiancato nel 1957 l'Alpino, sul cui basamento è stata inciso il motto in dialetto valdostano *CUSTA LON CA CUSTA, VIVA L'AUSTA* (Fig. 14 [= here **Fig. 42**])"

Cf. here **Fig. 42**: the inscription on the base of the "Alpino" adds to this motto: "1915-1918"...

The dedicatory inscription, on the base of the mule Scudela, reads: "P. CANONICA / OMAGGIO / AGLI / ALPINI / 1937". It was written by Canonica on this base, when the original plaster, after which this bronze was cast, was still soft (cf. here **Fig. 41**) ...

Laura Gigli, whom I had asked to help us with the inscription of the "Monumento agli Alpini", which repeats their motto in "dialetto valdostano": "*CUSTA LON CA CUSTA, VIVA L'AUSTA*", responded me by E-mail on 4th September 2019, and has kindly allowed me to publish this here'':



Laura Gigli

"Cara Chrystina,

ti allego una piccola ricerca da internet. Comunque Scudela è il nome del mulo degli alpini e l'espressione è il motto della brigata Aosta e vuole dire vada come vada, evviva l'Aosta ...

Un saluto a te e a Franz,

Laura".

Note by the editor Chrystina Häuber:

The following is another quote from *Appendix I.d.1.*) in volume 3-2:

“Laura Gigli's documentation of her research in the Internet, to which she refers in her E-mail, but that I do not publish here, shows that Pietro Canonica's ‘Monumento agli Alpini’ refers to the unit called “brigata Aosta”, in which the mule Scudela, who is historical, had served in World War I. He had been decorated for his bravery, which is why Pietro Canonica, who ‘portrayed’ Scudela, could call him a ‘hero’. It was impossible to find out, whether the mule's name ‘Scudela’ has any specific meaning ...

When I first saw Scudela, I had the impression Pietro Canonica wanted to express that this mule is not only tired, but also very sad, but I had no idea why.

After Laura Gigli had sent us the documentation of the life of the real mule Scudela, I understood, how sensitively the artist had responded to his commissions, to create ‘Monumenti ai Caduti’ of World War I, into some of which he incorporated his ‘portrait’ of Scudela. What I thus realized was that Canonica has deliberately portrayed the historical mule Scudela in so far as he shows him in the version of his sculpture here **Fig. 41** *without* his Alpino, to whom he had belonged. Only the *berretto* of his master, decorated with a feather and an *Edelweiß* flower (in Italian: *Stella alpina*), hanging at Scudela's saddle on his left side, reminds the beholder that, on the represented day, his Alpino had been killed in battle and that the real Scudela had returned on his own to his unit without his Alpino.

Precisely the latter remark I had found highly improbable, when I first read Laura Gigli's documentation about the real Scudela, which is why I did not really understand Canonica's conception of his first ‘Monumento ai Caduti’, for which he had portrayed the historical Scudela. Considering now, what I have later learned about mules from Filippo Coarelli, who has himself observed these animals in totally different contexts, as he told us on 26th September 2019 [in Rome], this information is certainly trustworthy. When Coarelli directed his excavations at *Falacrinae* (Cittareale, Rieti), the place where the Emperor Vespasian was born, he had regularly seen a group of twenty mules, who, without being accompanied by any human being, went every morning in the mountains, walking like geese one after the other in a long row. In the evenings they used to come back, marching in the same fashion, and again without a human guide, but all of them carrying now wood on their backs. On 27th November 2019, when Franz Xaver Schütz and I met again with Coarelli in Rome, he kindly allowed me to mention this here. For the location of *Falacrinae*; cf. Filippo Coarelli (*et al.* 2011; *id.* 2012).

Cf. Dietmar Kienast, Werner Eck and Matthäus Heil (2017, 101): “Vespasian ([reigned] 1. Juli 69-23. Juni 79) Geb.[oren] 17. Nov.[ember] 9 in *Falacrinae* bei Reate in Sabinum (FPhiloc. Suet., Vesp. 2,1). Sohn des Flavius Sabinus (PIR<sup>2</sup> F 351 und der Vespasia Polla (PIR<sup>2</sup> V 438).

*Name:* T. FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS”’.

*The second Contribution by Laura Gigli: Il potere dell'immagine*

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter* :

*The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps*

After I had sent Laura Gigli a link to this Chapter of my book on Domitian, published on our Webserver, she wrote me on 27th December 2022 the following E-Mail that I may publish here with her kind consent:

Cara Chrystina,

La prima riflessione che mi si affaccia alla mente è quanta strada si debba fare per interpretare un monumento (in questo caso il Fregio B della Cancelleria). Il che significa anche dire che la forza dell'immagine è superiore a quella della parola, perché l'immagine fissa un concetto con rigore inoppugnabile di dettaglio, mentre la parola (anche quella scritta) è soggetta a interpretazione.

In fondo in fondo quando si passa nell'analisi di un manufatto dall'iconografia all'iconologia, inclusiva della *reductio ad unum* di un gran numero di discipline, si spalanca il mondo dell'idea sottesa alla forma che si è voluto rappresentare e che si dipana anche attraverso la lettura degli avvenimenti coevi, che portano a individuarne il significato, spesso con non piccola difficoltà.

È una novità, per chi come me ha ben poca dimestichezza con la cronaca sottesa alla storia di questo periodo, apprendere che la formalizzazione dei grandiosi programmi politici e culturali dell'impero passa "anche" attraverso la sublimazione di vicende assai meno eroiche ad esempio, dei grandi scontri in battaglia contro nemici agguerriti, come può essere un'imboscata, la necessità di un travestimento, uno sterminio familiare, una fuga di soppiatto. È la cronaca della dimensione tutta terrena, che sta dietro ai grandi eventi che sembrano avere come protagonisti dei super eroi, e ci accorgiamo che sono sempre e solo uomini, certo grandi, intelligenti, dotati di grosso acume: i vincitori in sostanza che lasciano nell'oblio tutto il costo necessario per il raggiungimento del loro traguardo e si affidano alla forza irresistibile dell'immagine in grado di "solennizzare" ovvero "celebrare" il loro messaggio politico che è al tempo stesso un auspicio: in questo caso la "legittimazione" (per usare l'espressione di Giandomenico Spinola, fatta propria da Chrystina Häuber) ovvero l'investitura da parte di Vespasiano del figlio Domiziano ...

Ho sempre inteso l'etimo della parola immagine come derivato dal verbo *mactare*, col significato di imprimere di fissare nella materia, quale che sia, l'idea che si vuole rappresentare. e proprio stamane, prima di inviarti questa notarella sono andata a spigolare sul mio manuale delle giovani (o quasi) marmotte, che controllo sempre, il Forcellini, il significato del verbo; poi ho anche trovato un riferimento di cui ti dò gli estremi (tu ne conoscerai di sicuro altri e più importanti), che traduce la parola in maniera fantastica per la bisogna:

<https://mondodomani.org> > articoli > claudio-tugnoli-27, <https://mondodomani.org> > articoli > claudio-tugnoli-27...

Il *Lexicon totius latinitatis* propone un quadro più analitico della semantica di *mactare*, distinguendo tra senso proprio e derivato sia in *re profana* che in *re sacra*. *Mactare* proverrebbe da un inusitato *mag*, *magere*, derivato da un etimo *mag* che ritroviamo anche in *magis* e *magnus*. In *re profana*, *mactare* significa in senso proprio *augere*, in senso derivato è usato ironicamente per indicare un evento tragico da cui si ricava un danno, come quando si dice in italiano che qualcuno è stato «visitato da una disgrazia». In *re sacra*, in senso proprio *mactare* ha come significato principale «*deos vel deorum felicitatem augere, atque adeo deos honorare, honorem diis adhibere*»; in secondo luogo significa *solennizzare, celebrare*....

Il potere dell'immagine ...

Un caro saluto

Laura

Notes by the editor Chrystina Häuber:

In her second *Contribution*, Laura Gigli quotes:

Egidio Forcellini, *Totius latinitatis Lexicon consilio et cura Jacobi Facciolati* I-IV (Patavii: Typis Seminarii, 1771).

In the following, I repeat a passage written for the Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*:

“In the autumn of 2022, I have realized that I would be unable to publish my entire book on Domitian on our Webserver by the end of this year. I have, therefore, prepared two more Previews for this book on Domitian for our Webserver, published there in December of 2022. Namely the Chapters "What this *Study* is all about", and the closely related Chapter "The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps".

In order to explain the delay of the publication of this book, I have written E-mails to those scholars, who had been so generous as to write *Contributions* for this book and to other colleagues and friends, providing them with links to those two texts.

In her reply to my E-mail Laura Gigli has discussed a remark in my text "The visualization of the results of this book on Domitian on our maps", in which I follow a hypothesis of Giandomenico Spinola, which he had kindly told me on 24th September 2018, and which is quoted ... in Chapter III., and published *infra*, in *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola ...* Like myself, Spinola (*op.cit.*) is convinced that Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs showed from the beginning the Emperor Vespasian and his younger son Domitian (*i.e.*, the togate youth standing in front of Vespasian; cf. here **Figs. 1 and 2 drawing, figures: 14** [Vespasian] and **12** [Domitian]). Spinola suggests that Vespasian's gesture to lay his lifted right hand on Domitian's left shoulder means the "legittimazione" of Domitian's (future) reign as emperor (in reality, Vespasian's hand does not touch Domitian's shoulder, but from a distance it looks like this). For a detailed discussion; cf. *supra*, at Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

Laura wrote me her comments on this hypothesis in an E-mail of 27th December 2022; and because I find her comments very interesting, she has kindly allowed me to publish her note here as:

***The second Contribution by Laura Gigli to this book, which she has given the title: "Il potere dell'immagine"***.

*The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great).*

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter* :

*A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great).*

The following is a quote from *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11)* :

“Assuming that already the artists, who created the portrait of Constantine (cf. here **Fig. 11**), could have cut away the neck of the original portrait in the way as it is preserved (because they had observed that, by cutting away the neck, this could provide them with further possibilities to rework the facial traits of the head), I developed the following scenario, which I sent on 5th May 2020 as my second E-mail to Hans Rupprecht Goette ...

Hans Rupprecht Goette answered me by E-mail on 5th May 2020, expressing his agreement with Cécile Evers (1991) and with my own ideas that the head of Constantine the Great (cf. here **Fig. 11**) was originally a portrait of Hadrian, adding some of his own observations which support this idea. On 6th May he has summarized this on my request in the following E-mail, that he has kindly allowed me to publish here”:

Hans Rupprecht Goette: on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great; cf. here Fig. 11)

Liebe Chrystina,

... Durch die Existenz des Bartes beim Hadrian-Bildnis hatte man bei der Wiederverwendung im Bereich der Wangen und auch vor den Ohren eine Schicht Material zur Verfügung, die bei vorsichtiger Abarbeitung zum bartlosen Gesicht Konstantins 'normale' Proportionen erlaubte. Zusätzlich ergab sich in Relation zur sekundären Gesichtsoberfläche der positive Effekt von ausreichend Marmor im Nasenbereich, wodurch die sekundäre Nase also relativ weit vorspringt. Außerdem ermöglichte es der Bart des Primärportraits, daß das Gesicht nicht so tief abgearbeitet werden mußte, so daß die vordere Gesichtshälfte bis zu den Ohren nicht zu flach wurde - wie es sonst bei umgearbeiteten Portraits oft der Fall ist ...

Viele Grüße,

Hans.

*The first Contribution by Peter Herz on the inscription (CIL VI 2059.11), which reports on a meeting of the Arvel brethren on 7th December 80 at the Temple of Ops in Capitolio, among them Titus and Domitian: Titus vows to restore and dedicate what would become Domitian's (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus*

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter* in volume 3-2 :

*Appendix I.g.4.) Domitian's sacellum of Iuppiter Conservator, his Temple of Iuppiter Custos, and his (fourth) Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus (cf. here Fig. 83). With The first Contribution by Peter Herz.*

The following is a quote from *Appendix I.g.4.)* in volume 3-2 :

``Jaako Aronen (1996, 363), in his discussion of `Ops Consiva, Aedes', the Temple of Ops *in Capitolio*, mentions an inscription, which documents for 7th December AD 80 a ceremony that took place there: Titus's vows to restore and dedicate what would become Domitian's fourth Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus ...

My thanks are due to Peter Herz, for discussing this inscription with me in a telephone conversation on 18th July 2019, and for writing me his comments in an E-mail on 23rd July 2019, which he has kindly allowed me to publish here``:



Peter Herz, on the incscription (CIL VI 2059.11)

Liebe Frau Häuber,

ich habe den Text zunächst an der Edition von John Scheid überprüft (CFA 48 Zeile 11-13). Der Text ist korrekt, auffällig ist allerdings das Datum (7. Dezember [80]), da dies ein nicht besonders wichtiger Tag ist. Zumindest ist es kein mir bekannter Feiertag, d. h. [das heißt] man kam *extra ordinem* zusammen. Um Gelübde abzulegen für die Wiederherstellung und Weihung des Capitols durch den Imperator Titus Caesar Vespasianus Augustus (*ad vota nuncupanda ad restitutionem et dedicationem Capitoli ab imp. T. Caesare Vespasiano Aug(usto)*), Da die vota noch nicht eingelöst wurden, war die Weihe noch nicht vollzogen worden, stand aber offensichtlich kurz bevor. Möglicherweise (das ist eine etwas verrückte Idee) wollte Titus seinen Geburtstag dafür nehmen (30. Dezember) ...

Das wären die Dinge, die mir von Bad Ems aus dazu einfallen.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

Peter Herz.

Note by the editor Chrystina Häuber:

with "CFA", Peter Herz refers to:

John Scheid, avec la collaboration de Paolo Tassini 1998, *Recherches archéologiques à la Magliana Commentarii Fratrum Arvalium qui supersunt Les copies épigraphiques des Protocoles annuels de la confrérie arvale (21 Av-304 Ap J.-C.)* (École Française de Rome Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma; Roma Antica 4), Paris: de Boccard 1998.

*The second Contribution by Peter Herz : Anmerkungen zu Staius Marrax*

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter* in volume 3-2 :

**Appendix IV.d.2.e) Did Domitian intentionally represent the Piroustaie in his Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium? With The second Contribution by Peter Herz.**

The following is a quote from *Appendix I.d.2.e.)* in volume 3-2 :

“After this Chapter was written up to this point, I had between 7th and 19th October 2020 the chance to discuss with Peter Herz on the telephone and in E-mail conversations the controversy concerning the dating of the *primus pilus* of *Legio XIII Gemina*, T. Staius P. F. Serg. Marrax, who is known from an inscription at Aquileia. As we have seen above, according to Carl Patsch (1899), Staius Marrax had been decorated by Domitian for his services in the emperor's Dacian War(s). More recent scholars have either not dated this inscription at all, or have rather suggested that Staius Marrax served in the Augustan period.

Rose Mary Sheldon, with whom I discussed the matter before, had alerted me to a review by Hans Krummrey of Marco Buonocore (2002), in which the author mentions the inscription of a "*primus pilus* T. Staius P. f. Serg(ia) Marrax (*ILS* 2638) aus augusteischer Zeit"; cf. Krummrey (2003, 103), without providing a reference for this date. - By checking "*ILS* 2638 [= Dessau 2638]", I found that Dessau himself had not dated this inscription. As we shall see in *The second Contribution by Peter Herz* in this volume, the Augustan dating for this man has been suggested by Brian Dobson (*Die Primipilares*, 1978).

Krummrey (2003) states that Buonocore (2002) unfortunately does not decide, whether the "Ädil T. Staius P. f. Marr(---) aus der Inschrift *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 1797 aus Secinaro [in Italy] etwa mit dem *primus pilus* T. Staius P. f. Serg(ia) Marrax (*ILS* 2638) aus augusteischer Zeit zu identifizieren ist".

Cf. Hans Krummrey (2003, 103): "Mißlich für die Beurteilung ist dabei, daß er [Buonocore] nur wenige Belege für solche *aediles* nennen kann und daß er sich in dem Nachtrag (45) nicht sicher ist, ob der Ädil T. Staius P. f. Marr(---) aus der Inschrift *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 1797 aus Secinaro etwa mit dem *primus pilus* T. Staius P. f. Serg(ia) Marrax (*ILS* 2638) aus augusteischer Zeit zu identifizieren ist. B.[uonocore] datiert *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 1797 offenbar in dieselbe Zeit wie den Beleg für *mag(istri) pag(i)* aus Secinaro (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 3255). Man sollte dabei wohl nicht übersehen, daß die drei *mag(istri) pag(i)* dieser Inschrift im Gegensatz zu den drei *aed(iles)* der Inschrift *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 1797 keine Cognomina tragen. Dies könnte darauf hin deuten, daß die Inschrift der *aed(iles)* jünger ist als die Inschrift der *mag(istri) pag(i)*, was gut zu der Gleichsetzung des Ädilen T. Staius mit dem *primus pilus* T. Staius passen würde".

Since, contrary to Hans Krummrey (2003, 103), Carl Patsch (1899, 269) had dated the Staius Marrax, discussed here, in the Domitianic period, I asked Peter Herz vor advice.

On 19th October 2020, Herz was kind enough to send me his second *Contribution* to this volume ("Anmerkungen zu Staius Marrax"), which I publish here with his kind consent: Herz suggests that more arguments speak for the later date.

Therefore, Staius Marrax may actually have served in the *Legio XIII Gemina* at the end of the 1st century AD, that is to say: under Domitian, as suggested by Patsch (1899)“.

On 19th October 2020, Peter Herz sent me by E-mail the following text:

## Anmerkungen zu Staius Marrax

Peter Herz

Liebe Frau Häuber,

jetzt einmal in schriftlicher Form, was wir heute morgen am Telephon besprochen haben. Die Inschrift aus Aquileia (*ILS* 2638) sagt leider nichts, warum er dort diese Inschrift errichtet hat. Wir wissen noch nicht einmal, um welchen Typ an Inschrift es sich gehandelt haben könnte. Da aber Aquileia ein Nachschubhafen für die Legionen an der mittleren Donau war, kann man vermuten, dass Marrax als *primus pilus* der *legio XIII Gemina* irgendwelche dienstlichen Beziehungen zu Aquileia hatte. Die *XIII Gemina* war zunächst auf dem Balkan und kam dann nach der Niederlage des Varus als Ersatz nach Obergermanien, von wo aus sie 45/46 nach Poetovio (heute Ptuj in Slowenien) verlegt wurde, um dann ab etwa 90 zur Stammlegion von Vindobona zu werden. Die Nomenklatur T. Staius Marrax ist bis auf das cognomen Marrax völlig unauffällig. Staius ist ein Allerweltsname, der sich an vielen Orten nachweisen lässt. Dies bedeutet, dass die Möglichkeit, dass unser Marrax in irgendeiner Verbindung mit den Statii von Salona stand, durchaus möglich ist. Immerhin stellten die Statii dort einen *II-vir*, der wegen der Priesterschaft für den *divus Vespasianus* ab 80 n. Chr. datiert werden kann. Ein *primus pilus* mit einer Sold, der ihm ohne weiteres den *census* eines *eques Romanus* verschaffen konnte, würde gut zu den anderen Belegen aus Salona passen. Die beiden Cluster von Statii in Risinium und Butua sprechen nicht dagegen. 1. wir haben keine Kenntnis, wie weit sich das Territorium von Salona ausgedehnt hat, also ob diese Orte von Salona abhängig waren (möglicherweise adtribuiert). 2. Man müsste erst einmal die einzelnen Inschriften aus diesen Orten genau prüfen, was sie im Detail hergeben können. Je nach Ausdehnung des Territoriums von Salona ist durchaus denkbar, dass die Statii aus den beiden kleineren Orten diese als ihre Heimatorte betrachteten, obwohl sie rechtlich gesehen zur Bürgerschaft von Salona gehörten und daher dort auch Ämter übernehmen konnten. Dobson, *Primipilares* [1978] 17 mit Anm. 53 datiert ihn ohne Angabe von Gründen in die Zeit von Augustus bis Caligula und gibt ihm als seine *origo* Superaequum in Italien. Begründung: selbe *tribus*, also Sergia, und eine Inschrift aus diesem Ort *ILS* 5773 = *CIL* IX 3312, wo einer von drei lokalen *aediles*, die für den Bau einer Wasserleitung verantwortlich waren, den Namen T. Staius P. f. Marr(?) trägt. Für die Datierung dieser 2. Inschrift gibt es keinerlei Ansatz. Wenn man also alle Argumente berücksichtigt, dann sprechen m. E. mehr Argumente für eine spätere Datierung der Inschrift aus Aquileia, also vielleicht ans Ende des 1. Jh.

Das wäre meine Meinung, zumindest was ich ohne Prüfung der Inschriften aus den kleinen Orten sagen kann (habe *CIL* III leider nicht im Regel stehen).

Mit den besten Grüßen aus Bad Ems

Peter Herz

Comment by the editor Chrystina Häuber:

For the locations of the cities Aquileia, Salona and Risinium, mentioned in connection with Staius Marrax by Peter Herz and by Carl Patsch (1899); cf. below, at *The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Zur kartographischen Visualisierung historischer Landschaftselemente zwischen Rhein und Schwarzem Meer von Augustus bis Hadrian* (cf. here **Fig. 77**).

*The third Contribution by Peter Herz: Der Übergang von Trajan auf Hadrian und das erste Regierungsjahr Hadrians*

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter* in volume 3-2 :

*Appendix IV.b) Similarly as some of the hypotheses, already published by M. Hammond (1953), M. Fuchs (2019) suggests that the therefore here-so-called Anaglypha Hadriani (cf. here Figs. 21; 22) celebrate Hadrian's achievements, and that Hadrian's burning of debt records in AD 118 occurred at two sites: the burning of the debt records of the fiscus in the Forum Traiani (represented on the Chatsworth Relief), and the burning of the debt records of the Aerarium publicum populi Romani in the Forum Romanum (represented on one of the Anaglypha Hadriani; cf. here Fig. 21). With a discussion of the suovetaurilia that appear on both Anaglypha Hadriani (cf. here Figs. 21.A; 22.A), and with The third Contribution by Peter Herz.*

## Der Übergang von Trajan auf Hadrian und das erste Regierungsjahr Hadrians

Peter Herz

Für die verschiedenen Schritte, die Hadrian während der Regierungszeit Trajans näher an die Macht brachten, liefert die *Historia Augusta* die folgenden Informationen. Da ist zunächst *Hadr. 3.7* mit der Nachricht: *„quare adamante gemma quam Traianus a Nerva acceperat donatus ad spem successionis erectus est“*. Da dies im Zusammenhang mit seinen Leistungen als *legatus* der *legio I Minervia* im 2. dakischen Krieg gesagt wird, können wir dies in den Zeitraum 106 datieren.

Die nächste Nachricht ist *Hadr. 4.1*: *„usus Plotinae quoque favore, cuius studio etiam legatus expeditionis Parthicae tempore destinatus est“*. Dies könnte eine Stabsstelle im Gefolge des Kaisers ohne klar definiertes Aufgabengebiet gewesen sein, wenn man es nicht ausschließlich auf seine Ernennung zum *legatus Augusti pro praetore Syriae* beziehen möchte, was mir doch unwahrscheinlich scheint. Damit er aber im Jahre 117 sofort diese für die Ereignisse im Osten zentrale Stelle übernehmen konnte, was durch die Krankheit Trajans anzunehmen ist, muss sich Hadrian in der unmittelbaren Umgebung des Kaisers vor dessen Aufbruch nach Rom aufgehalten haben.

Diese ständige Nähe zu Trajan wird indirekt auch durch *Hadr. 3.10* (*a Sura comperit adoptandum se a Traiano esse*) und 3.11 (*et defuncto quidem Sura Traiani ei familiaritas crevit, causa praecipue orationum quas pro imperatore dictaverat*) bestätigt. Da 3.10 diese Information mit dem Suffektkonsulat Hadrians verbindet (also bereits 108), bedeutet dies, dass sich Hadrian die nächsten Jahre praktisch permanent in der unmittelbaren Umgebung des Kaisers aufgehalten haben muss. Zumindest sind keine offiziellen Aufgaben bekannt, die ihn für längere Zeit aus dem Zentrum der Macht entfernt hätten. Obwohl das Datum für den Tod des Licinius Sura zwischen 110 und 113 schwankt, können wir wohl davon ausgehen, dass sich Hadrian ab 110 wohl kaum weit von Trajan entfernt hat.

Für den weiteren zeitlichen Ablauf wichtig ist *Hadr. 4.6*: *„quintum iduum Augustarum diem legatus Syriae litteras adoptionis accepit: quando et natalem adoptionis celebrari iussit. Tertium iduum earundem quando et natalem imperii statuit celebrandum, excessus ei Traiani nuntiatus est“*. Diese Nachricht führte dann zur imperatorischen Akklamation durch die vor Ort anwesenden Truppen.

Anschließend verhielt sich Hadrian sehr korrekt, da er *per epistulam* die Entwicklung (Tod des Kaisers und seine eigene *acclamatio*) dem Senat meldete und um die offizielle Divinisierung seines Vorgängers bat (*Hadr. 6.1*). Nicht ausdrücklich gesagt, aber zu erschließen ist die mit diesem Schreiben verbundene Bitte Hadrians an den Senat, durch den Erlass einer *lex imperii* (vergleiche die *lex imperii Vespasiani*) die entsprechenden kaiserlichen Kompetenzen zu erhalten. Dies änderte zwar nichts an den aktuellen Machtverhältnissen, aber der Senat war ausgesprochen empfindlich, wenn es um die Beachtung seiner Rechte ging. Dies musste Kaiser Macrinus 217 erfahren, der als erster ehemaliger *eques Romanus* den Thron bestieg und den Fehler begangen hatte, sich in seinem 1. Schreiben an den Senat bereits mit den Titeln zu titulieren, die ihm der Senat erst noch verleihen musste. Vergleiche Dio 79.16.2.

Für die politische Aussage, die mit manchen Ringen (vgl. [vergleiche] den Gemmenring, der von Nerva über Trajan zu Hadrian wanderte) verbunden sein konnte, ist eine Nachricht bei Plinius wertvoll, die sich wohl auf die Gruppe der *amici Augusti* bezieht.

Plin. *n.h.* 33.41: *“Während der Regierung des Claudius bestand noch ein anderes ausgezeichnetes Vorrecht für diejenigen, denen der freie Zugang das Recht verschafft hatte, nämlich das Bild des Kaisers aus Gold am Ring zu tragen“* (*fuit et alia Claudii principatu differentia insolens iis, quibus admissiones liberae ius dedissent*

*imaginem principis ex auro in anulo gerendi ...*). Vergleiche auch Ios. AJ 19.185 mit einem Ring des Senators Sentius, der eine Gemme mit dem Bild Caligulas besaß. Man muss nur die beiden Nachrichten miteinander kombinieren, also ein goldener Ring mit einem Gemmenbild des Kaisers, der seinem Träger eine bevorzugte Behandlung sicherte. Für den historischen Hintergrund vgl. H.U. Instinsky, Die Siegel des Kaisers Augustus. Ein Kapitel zur Geschichte und Symbolik des antiken Herrschersiegels, Baden-Baden 1962.

Die Sitte, die *amici Augusti* optisch so hervorzuheben, könnte am ehesten aus der Tradition der hellenistischen Königshöfe stammen.

Hadrian erreichte die Nachricht vom Tode Trajans (und seiner Adoption auf dem Sterbebett) wahrscheinlich am 11. August 117 in Antiochia. Seine wohl erste Personalentscheidung war die Ablösung von Lusius Quietus von der Position des *legatus Augusti Iudaeae*. Quietus scheint sich dann zusammen mit seinen maurischen Stammeskriegern in Richtung Mauretanien begeben zu haben (Ausgangspunkt für den jetzt folgenden Überblick ist A.R. Birley, Hadrian. The restless emperor, London, New York 1997, 77 ff.).

Die nächste Personalentscheidung betraf Ägypten, wo der bisherige *praefectus* Rutilius Lupus bereits Ende August 117 durch Q. Rammius Martialis, den bisherigen *praefectus vigilum*, ersetzt wurde. Diese schnelle Personalentscheidung könnte eventuell bedeuten, dass sich Rammius Martialis zusammen mit Teilen der *vigiles* in der Nähe des neuen Kaisers befand.

Kurze Zeit danach wurde Marcius Turbo, der bisher in seiner Eigenschaft als *praefectus classis praetoriae Misensis* gegen die noch nicht endgültig unterworfenen jüdischen Aufständischen in Ägypten eingesetzt gewesen war, dort abgezogen und mit der Masse seiner Truppen nach Mauretanien gesandt, wo zwischenzeitlich die Stammeskrieger des Quietus rebelliert hatten.

Die wichtigsten Entscheidungen betrafen aber die Situation an der unteren Donau und in Syrien. Als Ersatz für Quadratus Bassus, den verstorbenen (möglicherweise sogar im Kampf gegen die rebellierenden Stämme gefallenen) Statthalter von Dakien wurde Avidius Nigrinus, bisher *proconsul* von Achaia, entsandt. Syrien wurde von Catilius Severus, der bisher als Statthalter von Armenien, das jetzt von den Römern geräumt wurde, amtiert hatte, übernommen. Er hatte unter anderem die unangenehme Aufgabe, die Rückführung der römischen Truppen in Richtung Westen zu organisieren.

Es ist schwer abzuschätzen, wie hoch die Personalverluste der im Osten eingesetzten Truppen in diesen Jahren wirklich gewesen sind. Soweit die militärische Infrastruktur noch funktionsfähig war, das heißt solange nicht die regelmäßigen Bestandsmeldungen oder Mannschaftslisten (*matricula*) und so weiter völlig verloren gegangen waren, dürfte das römische Oberkommando einen durchaus zutreffenden Überblick zur Entwicklung des Mannschaftsbestandes gehabt haben. Diese Quellengattung ist allerdings für uns, wenn man einmal von Hunt's Pridianum absieht, verloren gegangen. R.O. Fink, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, Ann Arbor 1971, Nr. 69.

Wenn man allerdings bedenkt, dass die meisten Einheiten durchschnittlich fünf Jahre im Dauereinsatz gewesen waren und dies unter schwierigsten klimatischen Bedingungen, die vor allem den Soldaten aus den westlichen Reichsteilen schwer zugesetzt haben dürften, dann dürften die Abgänge sehr hoch gewesen sein. Hinzu kam, dass die Kämpfe, die ab dem Jahre 116 im aufständischen Mesopotamien (Edessa, Nisibis, Hatra) ausgefochten werden mussten, wahrscheinlich sehr verlustreich gewesen sind (zum Beispiel Verlust eines Heeres unter Appius Maximus Santra nach Fronto, *Principia* 17 und Dio 68.30.1 f.). K. Strobel, Kaiser Traian. Eine Epoche der Weltgeschichte, 2. Aufl. Regensburg 2019, 453 schätzt, dass allein bei den Kämpfen in der 1. Hälfte des Jahres 116 rund 30000 römische Soldaten verloren gingen.



Peter Herz , Der Übergang von Trajan auf Hadrian und das erste Regierungsjahr Hadrians

Neben den blutigen Verlusten, die bei den eigentlichen Kampfhandlungen eintraten, dürften auch die schwierigen geographischen und klimatischen Rahmenbedingungen, unter denen dieser Feldzug stattfand, ihren Tribut eingefordert haben. Hier können wir durchaus mit Analogien zu anderen und besser dokumentierten Epochen arbeiten. Bis ins 19. Jh. sind die Verluste einer eingesetzten Truppe durch Krankheiten (typische Heeresfolgeseuchen wie Ruhr, Cholera, Malaria und so weiter) stets höher gewesen als die Verluste durch die eigentlichen Kampfhandlungen. Da ein großer Teil der römischen Truppen aus den westlichen Provinzen mit einem gemäßigeren Klima stammte, müssen wir hier mit einem substantiellen Abgang an Soldaten rechnen, der durch solche Faktoren verursacht wurde. Selbst die römische Militärmedizin, die sicherlich ein beachtliches Qualitätsniveau besaß, dürfte hier nicht viel bewirkt haben.

Ein nur schwer zu kalkulierender Verlust an Personal dürfte auch mit dem schweren Erdbeben von 115 verbunden gewesen sein. Das Erdbeben zerstörte die Stadt Antiochia, wo sich Trajan gerade zu diesem Zeitpunkt aufgehalten hatte (Dio 68.24-25), wobei der Kaiser selbst nur mit knapper Not aus einem zerstörten Gebäude entkommen konnte. Eck hat zu Recht darauf hingewiesen, dass wahrscheinlich die *praetoriani*, die den Kaiser begleitet hatten, bei dieser Gelegenheit schwere Verluste erlitten haben dürften, die man durch den Transfer von Soldaten aus anderen Truppenteilen ausgleichen musste. Dabei musste man sogar vorübergehend von dem ansonsten strikten Grundsatz abweichen, dass für die Garde nur römische Bürger aus Italien und aus ausgewählten *coloniae* rekrutiert werden sollten, und griff auch auf Soldaten zurück, deren Bürgerrecht nicht zweifelsfrei war. Das in dieser Situation wohl entscheidende Motiv war, dass es sich bei ihnen um bereits erfahrene Soldaten und nicht um unerfahrene Rekruten handelte. W. Eck, Soldaten aus den Donauprovinzen in der Prätorianergarde. Zum Erdbeben in Syrien aus dem Jahr 115 und zum Edikt Hadrians aus dem Jahr 119, *ZPE* 206, 2018, 199-201.

Bei demselben Ereignis dürften auch die Gardekavalleristen des Herrschers, die *equites singulares Augusti*, die sich wahrscheinlich ebenfalls in der unmittelbaren Nähe des Kaisers aufhielten, schwere Verluste erlitten haben, die man ebenfalls durch den Transfer von bereits ausgebildeten Soldaten aus anderen Truppenteilen eiligst zu kompensieren versuchte. Dies ist von P. Weiss gut herausgearbeitet worden. P. Weiss, Hadrians Rückkehr nach dem Partherkrieg. Das früheste Militärdiplom für die *equites singulares Augusti* und die Entlassungsweihung in Rom vom Jahr 118, *Chiron* 47, 2017, 21-34.

Während wir uns bei den möglichen Verlusten dieser beiden ausgewählten Einheiten noch auf relativ sicherem Gelände bewegen, sieht es bei den übrigen Einheiten (*legiones, auxilia*) wesentlich schlechter aus. Wir können in den meisten Fällen lediglich über die Auswertung der Militärdiplome nachweisen, dass eine bestimmte Einheit an diesem Feldzug beteiligt war. Da dies aber nichts zu der eigentlichen Einsatzgeschichte der Truppe aussagt, also wo und unter welchen Umständen die Truppe zum Einsatz gekommen ist, kann man lediglich Schätzungen zu den wahrscheinlich dabei erlittenen Verlusten abgeben. Gerade bei den *auxilia*, die ja in der Regel in Kohorten- beziehungsweise Alenstärke operierten, also rund 500 Mann pro Einheit, kann man durchaus von der Möglichkeit ausgehen, dass im Verlauf der Kämpfe einzelne Einheiten komplett verloren gegangen sind und später nicht mehr aufgestellt wurden.

Unter diesen Rahmenbedingungen kann man also durchaus vermuten, dass im besten Fall nur jeder zweite Soldat, der zum ursprünglichen Bestand des gegen die Parther aufmarschierten Heeres gezählt hatte, diese fünf Jahre unbeschadet überlebt hat. Man hatte zwar versucht, durch eine kontinuierliche Nachführung von Rekruten aus anderen Reichsteilen den Mannschaftsbestand zumindest numerisch auf dem früheren Niveau zu halten, doch muss unsicher bleiben, wie sich dies auf die Kampfkraft ausgewirkt hat.

Man könnte also durchaus sagen, dass Trajan bei seinem Unternehmen hoch gepokert hatte, indem er substantielle Teile der westlichen Heere für den Ostfeldzug abgezogen hatte und dies auch noch für einen längeren Zeitraum. Die negativen Folgen dieser letztendlich verfehlten und hochriskanten Politik zeigten

sich bei den Unruhen an der mittleren und unteren Donau, die im Jahre 117 ausbrachen und Hadrian dann zu einem schnellen Handeln zwangen. Die dortigen Provinzheere waren durch die Abstellung von großen Teilen ihres Normalbestandes empfindlich in ihrer Kampfkraft beeinträchtigt worden.

Einen guten Überblick zu den wahrscheinlich im Partherkrieg eingesetzten Einheiten bietet Strobel, Traian 436 ff.

In welchem Umfang die berühmte römische Öffentlichkeit in der Lage gewesen ist, aus der Distanz die militärische Situation im Osten wirklich realistisch einzuschätzen, ist schwer zu sagen. Man war einige Jahre lang von Trajan mit einer Siegesmeldung nach der anderen gefüttert worden, wodurch die Nachricht von der endgültigen Einstellung der Kampfhandlungen und der Aufgabe der neuen Provinzen umso überraschender gewesen sein dürfte. Außerdem dürften die Hauptstadt und Italien zu den Teilen des Reiches gezählt haben, die am wenigsten unter den direkten Folgen der gescheiterten Orientpolitik Trajans zu leiden hatten. Die Masse der eingesetzten Soldaten stammte aus den Provinzen und nicht aus Italien, die Lasten des Aufmarschs und der Versorgung wurden von den Bewohnern der Provinzen und nicht den Einwohnern Italiens geschultert. Umgekehrt dürften aber die positiven wirtschaftlichen Impulse, die seinerzeit durch die dakische Beute ausgelöst worden waren, vor allem die Stadt Rom (trajanisches Bauprogramm in Rom) und Italien (Neuanlage des *portus Traiani* und so weiter) begünstigt haben.

Unter wirtschaftlichen beziehungsweise finanziellen Aspekten dürfte der Feldzug gegen die Parther im besten Fall ein Null-Summen-Spiel gewesen sein. Die möglicherweise angedachten Gewinne aus der geplanten Kontrolle des Orienthandels, der bisher vor allem über die kleinen und weitgehend autonomen Handelsstaaten (Hatra, Edessa, Charakene und so weiter) zwischen den Großreichen abgewickelt wurde, konnte von den Römern nicht realisiert werden, da sich diese Staaten heftig gegen die Römer wehrten. Vergleiche die vergebliche Belagerung von Hatra durch Trajan. Diese Staaten dürften sehr aufmerksam registriert haben, wie das vorher weitgehend autonome Reich der Nabatäer von Trajan zur Provinz gemacht wurde (106), was eine direkte römische Kontrolle über die Handelswege über das Rote Meer und Aqaba mit sich gebracht hatte, um abschätzen zu können, was ihnen von den Römern drohte. Es ist schon bezeichnend, wenn man sich den sehr knappen Bericht Frontos (*Princ.* 17) betrachtet, unter welchen Umständen Maximus Santra wahrscheinlich ums Leben kam:

*Appius Santra vero, cum praesens Traianus Euphrati et Tigridis portoriae quorum et camelorum tribularet, retro + ad Balcia Tauri ab Arbace + caesus est.*

„Appius Santra aber, als er in Gegenwart Trajans an Euphrat und Tigris die Abgaben für Pferde und Kamele erhob, wurde seinerseits (bei dem Ort) Balcia am Taurus von Arbaces getötet.“

Der in dieser korrupten Stelle genannte ‚Arbace‘ ist wohl nach D. Potter (*The mysterious Arbaces, AJPh* 100, 1979, 541-542) mit König Abgar VII von Edessa zu identifizieren. Durch ‚portorium‘ = ‚Torabgabe, Hafenzoll‘ im Zusammenspiel mit den Namen der beiden Flüsse scheint sich anzudeuten, dass die Römer Abgaben auf die Karawanen erheben wollten, die sich entlang der beiden Flüsse nach Norden bewegten.

Eine gewisse Vorstellung, was die Römer hier alles besteuern konnten, liefern der Tarif von Koptos aus der Zeit Domitians (*OGIS* 674 = *IGRR* I 1183) und das Steuergesetz von Palmyra aus der Zeit Hadrians (J.F. Matthews, *The Tax Law of Palmyra. Evidence for Economic History in a City of the Roman East, JRS* 74, 1994, 157-180). Dabei ist natürlich zu beachten, dass beim Überschreiten einer Außengrenze von den Römern eine 25 %-Abgabe auf den Warenwert erhoben wurde. Vergleiche die Beiträge in P. Kritzinger, F. Schleicher, T. Stickler (Hrsg.), *Studien zum römischen Zollwesen*, Duisburg 2015. Besonders zu beachten: P. Kritzinger, *Das römische Zollsystem bis in das 3. Jh. n. Chr., an angegebenem Ort* 11-55. Unter diesen Prämissen ist die heftige Reaktion der einheimischen Bevölkerung gegen Trajan durchaus nachvollziehbar.

Peter Herz, Der Übergang von Trajan auf Hadrian und das erste Regierungsjahr Hadrians

U. Hartmann, Die Ziele der Orientpolitik Trajans, in: R. Rollinger *et al.* (Hrsg.), Interkulturalität in der Alten Welt. Vorderasien, Hellas, Ägypten und die vielfältigen Ebenen des Kontakts, Wiesbaden 2010, 591-633.

Die offizielle Rückkehr Hadrians zu den Verhältnissen vor Trajan führte dann zu einer relativ schnellen Beruhigung der Lage in diesem Teil der antiken Welt, womit das politische Abenteuer Trajans beendet wurde.

Hadrian verließ Anfang Oktober Syrien und begab sich auf den Weg nach Westen (alte Heerstraße, auf der auch die Masse der römischen Truppen zurückmarschierte). Am 13. Oktober war er in Mopsukrene nördlich von Tarsos, um dann von dort nach Ankyra zu reisen, wo er sich einige Zeit aufhielt. Für die möglichen Begleitumstände seines Aufenthaltes in Ankyra vergleiche etwa St. Mitchell, D. French, The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ankyra). Vol. I. From Augustus to the end of the third century AD, München 2012 (*Vestigia* 62), Nr. 74 ff. für C. Iulius Severus, einen Nachkommen der alten galatischen Könige, der von Hadrian nachdrücklich gefördert wurde.

Am 11. November war Hadrian in Iuliopolis (Provinz *Bithynia et Pontus*). Von dort aus schickte er einen Dankesbrief an die *neoi* von Pergamon, die ihm zu seinem Regierungsantritt gratuliert hatten (*IvPerganom* 274 = *IGRR* IV 349 = *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 831). Während seiner Reise nach Westen wurde die vakante Stelle in Niedermösien von Pompeius Falco übernommen, während sein Freund Platorius Nepos die für den Rückmarsch über Land wichtige Provinz Thrakien übernahm. Die Situation an der Donau war so brisant, dass man angeblich vorübergehend sogar daran dachte, Teile von der steinernen Donaubrücke von Drobeta zu entfernen, um sie für die Gegner unbenutzbar zu machen.

Welche Völkerschaften an der unteren und mittleren Donau an den Unruhen beteiligt waren, kann man in etwa abschätzen, wenn man das römische Territorium vor und nach dem Aufstand vergleicht. Unter Hadrian beschränkte sich die Provinz *Moesia inferior* wieder wie in der Zeit vor den dakischen Kriegen auf das rechte Donauufer, das heißt die aufständischen Völker dürften in der Walachei und der Dobrudscha gelebt haben (Roxolanen). Da aber die Römer anschließend auch das Alföld zwischen der Donau und den Karpathen räumten, dürften wohl auch die Jazygen an den Unruhen beteiligt gewesen sein.

Ob auch die sogenannten freien Daker, die von Trajan aus ihren ehemaligen Wohnsitzen in Richtung Moldavien vertrieben worden waren, an diesen Unruhen beteiligt waren, ist schwer zu sagen. Angeblich soll Hadrian in dieser Situation sogar vorübergehend an eine Aufgabe des römischen Dakiens gedacht haben. Er gab diesen Gedanken aber wieder auf, da dies nicht nur den Verzicht auf die reichen Goldbergwerke in Dakien mit sich gebracht hätte, was wahrscheinlich angesichts der Kassenlage nur schwer erträglich gewesen wäre, sondern auch die Rückführung von größeren Gruppen an römischen Neusiedlern bedeutet hätte, die sich in den vergangenen Jahren dort angesiedelt hatten.

Hadrian dürfte sich nur kurz in seinem Winterquartier (Nikomedea ?) aufgehalten haben, wo er auch seinen 2. Konsulat übernahm. Den größten Teil des Winters und auch des Frühjahrs 118 verbrachte er an der unteren Donau, wo er mit den Roxolanen zu einem Abkommen kam, in dessen Folge die Römer unter anderem Oltenien und Muntenien aufgaben, während der König der Roxolanen offensichtlich zum Klientelkönig der Römer wurde. Man kehrte also zur alten Praxis zurück, problematische Gebiete nicht selbst zu verwalten, sondern diese Aufgabe an verbündete Fürsten zu übertragen. Der Führer der Roxolanen wurde bei dieser Gelegenheit von Hadrian zum römischen Bürger gemacht.

Vgl. dazu die Inschrift *CIL* V 32 = *ILS* 852 aus Pola (*P. Aelio Rasparagano / regi Roxolanorum / v(ivus) v(ivo) fecit*), wo er und seine Familie später im Exil lebten.

Eine Schlüsselposition bei der sogenannten Verschwörung der 4 Consulares scheint Avidius Nigrinus gespielt zu haben, der im Sommer 117 von Hadrian sogar als Ersatz für den verstorbenen Quadratus Bassus eingesetzt worden war, jetzt aber getötet wurde.

Anthony Birley, der sich ausführlich mit dieser ominösen Episode beschäftigt hat, bringt eine interessante Variante ein, die auf der *Historia Augusta* aufbaut (A.R. Birley, *Hadrian. The restless emperor*, London, New York 1997, 87 f.).

SHA *Hadr.* 7.1: *Nigrini insidias, quas ille sacrificanti Hadriano conscio sibi Lusio et aliis paraverat, dum etiam successorem Hadrianus sibi met destinasset, evasit.*

„Den Nachstellungen des Nigrinus, die jener für Hadrian bei einem Opfer geplant hatte, wobei Lusius (Quietus) und andere eingeweiht waren, entging er, obwohl Hadrian diesen als seinen eigenen Nachfolger vorgesehen hatte.“

Birley schlägt vor, diese Notiz vor allem mit Bezug auf den in diesem Kontext erwähnten Lusius Quietus wie folgt zu verstehen, „weil Hadrian auch für ihn (also Nigrinus) einen Nachfolger vorgesehen hatte.“

Offensichtlich hatte Nigrinus den Kaiser heftig kritisiert, weil Hadrian große Teile der trajanischen Eroberungen aufgegeben hatte oder dies zumindest zum Zeitpunkt seiner Ablösung plante. Nigrinus wurde wegen dieser wahrscheinlich offen ausgesprochenen Kritik an der Politik Hadrians seines Amtes entsetzt und kehrte in seine Heimat nach Faventia (Faenza) zurück. Er wurde in Dakien durch Marcius Turbo ersetzt, der dazu von Mauretanien an die Donau zurückkehrte. Ob Nigrinus zusätzlich verärgert war, weil er jetzt als römischer Senator in seiner Position durch einen *eques* ersetzt wurde, lässt sich schwer sagen.

Ob eine solche persönliche Demütigung als Motiv ausreichend ist, eine ernsthafte *coniuratio* gegen den Kaiser zu beginnen, muss ebenfalls völlig spekulativ bleiben. Die *Historia Augusta* berichtet dazu die folgende Version, wobei sich das ‚*quare*‘ = ‚deswegen‘ auf den angeblich geplanten Anschlag auf Hadrian bezieht.

SHA *Hadr.* 7.2: *quare Palma Terracinis, Celsus Baiis, Nigrinus Faventinae, Lusius in itinere senatus iubente, invito Hadriano, ut ipse in vita sua dicit, occisi sunt.*

„Deswegen wurde Palma in Tarracina, Celsus in Baiae, Nigrinus in Faventia, Lusius auf dem Weg (wohin ist unbekannt) auf Anordnung des Senates und gegen den Willen Hadrians, wie er selbst in seiner Autobiographie sagt, getötet.“

Offiziell verantwortlich für diese ‚Hinrichtungen‘ war der damalige *praefectus praetorio* Attianus, ein Vertrauter des Kaisers. Attianus ging anschließend in den Ruhestand, da er aber anschließend von Hadrian mit den *ornamenta consularia* ausgezeichnet wurde und damit zu einem Mitglied des Senates in der höchsten Rangstufe wurde, kam dies einer stillschweigenden Bestätigung seiner Entscheidung durch den Kaiser nahe. Die Affaire selbst ist dubios, denn ob die fehlende Begeisterung für eine politische Entscheidung eines Kaisers gleich zu einer ernsthaften Verschwörung führen muss, ist höchst problematisch. Ob der Senat wirklich seine Zustimmung zur Hinrichtung gegeben hat (*senatus iubente*), erscheint ebenfalls höchst unwahrscheinlich. Wesentlich wahrscheinlicher ist die Version, dass der Senat einfach vor vollendete Tatsachen gestellt wurde und daher diese Tötungen nur noch bestätigen konnte. Wenn es danach im Senat noch eine ernsthafte Opposition gegen die Entscheidungen Hadrians gegeben haben sollte, dann war diese Opposition durch diese Ereignisse nachdrücklich gewarnt worden, wie der Kaiser handeln konnte, wenn er sich in die Enge gedrängt fühlte.

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Hadrian kam über Norditalien nach Rom, wo am 9. Juli (CFA 68 II 22-25) deswegen die Arvalbrüder ein Opfer darbrachten. In die daran anschließende Zeit fällt dann eine große Schuldenstreichung, von der unter anderen Cassius Dio und die *Historia Augusta* berichten.

Dio 69.8.1<sup>2</sup>:

ἐλθὼν γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ρώμην ἀφῆκε τὰ ἀφειλόμενα τῷ τε βασιλικῷ καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ τῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἡκαίδεκατῆ ὀρίσας χρόνον ἀφ' οὗ τε καὶ μέχρις οὗ τηρηθήσεσθαι τοῦτ' ἔμελλεν.

„Als er nach Rom [kam], strich er die Schulden (man könnte auch sagen, die noch ausstehenden Zahlungen), die der kaiserlichen Kasse (*fiscus Augusti*) und der öffentlichen Kasse der Römer (*aerarium populi Romani*) geschuldet wurden. Dabei legte er einen Zeitraum von 15 Jahren von Anfang bis Ende fest, auf den diese Streichung angewendet werden sollte.“

Die *Historia Augusta Hadr.* 7.6 liefert allerdings die interessante Variante, dass diese Streichung sich nur auf die Rückstände erstreckt habe, die dem *fiscus Augusti* geschuldet wurden:

*Ad colligendam autem gratiam nihil praetermittens infinitam pecuniam, quae fisco debeatur, privatis debitoribus in urbe atque Italia, in provinciis vero etiam ex reliqui[i]s ingentes summas remisit syngrafis in foro divi Traiani, quo magis securitas omnibus roboraretur, incensis*

„Um sich eine freundliche Akzeptanz (*gratia*) zu verschaffen, ließ er nichts aus. So erließ er eine ungeheure Geldsumme, die dem *fiscus* geschuldet wurde, den privaten Schuldnern in der Stadt Rom und in Italien. Aber auch in den Provinzen erließ er ungeheure Summen aus den Rückständen. Dabei wurden die Schuldurkunden, um die Sicherheit für alle noch mehr zu bestärken, auf dem Forum des *divus Traianus* verbrannt.“

Da die Hadrians-Vita in der *Historia Augusta* als recht zuverlässig gilt, ist diese Abweichung schon beachtenswert. Wenn man sich daher auf das Zeugnis der *Historia Augusta* stützen möchte, dann ging es hier in erster Linie um Zahlungsverpflichtungen, die dem *fiscus Augusti* geschuldet wurden. Wenn man sich die Struktur des kaiserlichen Vermögens ansieht, dann dürfte es sich hier in erster Linie um noch ausstehende Zahlungen aus der Verpachtung von kaiserlichen Ländereien in Italien und in den Provinzen gehandelt haben. Diese Ländereien konnten aber nicht von jedem armen Bauern gepachtet werden, denn, um vor einem Vertragsabschluss die notwendige Sicherheit für die künftigen Zahlungen zu liefern (die Pachtdauer ist üblicherweise auf ein *lustrum* = 5 Jahre festgelegt), musste man dazu bereits eine ausreichende Menge an eigenem Land nachweisen können, das man jetzt als Sicherheit verpfänden konnte.

Zum Verwaltungssystem des kaiserlichen Privatbesitzes vgl. D.P. Kehoe, *The Economics of Agriculture on Roman Imperial Estates in North Africa*, Göttingen 1988, 64-70. D. Flach, *Inschriftenuntersuchungen zum römischen Kolonat in Nordafrika*, *Chiron* 8, 1978, 470-477. T. Hauken, *Petition and Response. An Epigraphic Study to Petitions to Roman Emperors, 181-249*, Bergen 1998, 2-28 zu *CIL VIII 10570* = Freis, *Historische Inschriften* Nr. 110.

P. Orstedt, *Roman Imperial Economy and Romanization. A Study in Roman Imperial Administration and the Public Lease System from the First to the Third Century A.D.*, Kopenhagen 1985.

In welchem Umfang auch die Pächter von Steinbrüchen, Tongruben oder Salzpflanzen oder die Lizenznehmer von kaiserlichen Monopolen (Purpur, Papyrus und so weiter) aus dem kaiserlichen Besitz von dieser Schuldenstreichung profitierten, kann ich nicht sagen, aber ich denke, dass es in erster Linie um

für den Ackerbau geeignetes Land ging. Dieses dürfte sicherlich den Löwenanteil an Pachteinahmen für die kaiserliche Kasse geliefert haben.

Die Schuldenstreichung betrifft also in erster Linie die wohlhabenden Investoren. In welchem Umfang sogar die Angehörigen des *ordo senatorius* davon profitieren konnten, ist nach meinem aktuellen Wissensstand noch nicht durchdacht worden. Da aber Trajan seinerzeit verfügt hatte, dass die Senatoren ein Drittel ihres Vermögens in Italien investieren mussten, wäre dies eine bedenkenswerte Sache.

In den Provinzen denke ich vor allem an die Provinzen *Cyprus*, *Cyrenaica* und *Aegyptus*, die durch die jüdischen Aufstände schwer getroffen worden waren. Abgesehen von den großen Verlusten an Menschen, die hier zu beklagen waren, dürfte es kaum möglich gewesen sein, in diesen Jahren bei den dort verpachteten Gütern größere Pachteinahmen zu erzielen, weil wahrscheinlich viele von ihnen aus Mangel an Personal einfach nicht bewirtschaftet werden konnten.

Hadrian hätte zwar auf einer vollständigen Begleichung der Schulden bestehen können, doch dies hätte wahrscheinlich viele Schuldner, weil sie nicht die notwendigen Bargeldmengen besaßen, zu Notverkäufen ihres eigenen Landes gezwungen oder sie sogar in die Insolvenz getrieben.

Einiges an Material bietet M. Pucci Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil 116/117 CE. Ancient sources and modern insights*, Leuven, Dudley/MA 2005.

Angesichts der angespannten innenpolitischen Situation (dubiose Tötung der 4 *consulares*, Aufgabe der trajanischen Neueroberungen im Osten und teilweise an der Donau) war es für Hadrian daher wesentlich wichtiger, für sich eine freundliche Grundstimmung bei den wohlhabenden und daher auch innenpolitisch unverzichtbaren Gruppen innerhalb des Reiches aufzubauen (Stichwort *gratia*). Ein Kaiser konnte auf die Dauer keine Politik betreiben, wenn er dabei nicht auf die zumindest stillschweigende Kooperation der führenden *ordines* innerhalb des Staates vertrauen konnte.

Dass ihm viele unter den Senatoren den Tod der vier *consulares* niemals wirklich verziehen haben, zeigt sich spätestens nach Hadrians Tod im Jahre 138, als sein Nachfolger Antoninus Pius größte Mühe hatte, im Senat die offizielle Divinisierung Hadrians durchzusetzen.

Notes by the editor Chrystina Häuber:

On 14th December Peter Herz was kind enough to provide me with references for the *'ornamenta consularia'*, mentioned in his text:

Werner Eck, 1999c, "Kaiserliche Imperatorenakklamation und *ornamenta triumphalia*", *ZPE* 124 (1999) 223-227; Bernhard Linke 1995, *Von der Verwandtschaft zum Staat. Die Entstehung politischer Organisationsformen in der frühromischen Geschichte*, Stuttgart 1995, 124 ff. (Die transzendente Legitimation zentraler Machtausübung. Der Kult des Juppiter Optimus Maximus).

Note that with "CFA", Peter Herz refers to: John Scheid, avec la collaboration de Paolo Tassini 1998, *Recherches archéologiques à la Magliana Commentarii Fratrum Arvalium qui supersunt Les copies épigraphiques des Protocoles annuels de la confrérie arvale (21 Av-304 Ap J.-C.)* (École Française de Rome Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma; Roma Antica 4), Paris: de Boccard 1998.

For the *lex imperii Vespasiani*, mentioned by Herz in his text; cf. Dario Mantovani ("La *lex de imperio Vespasiani*", 2009), and *supra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.).

In his text, Peter Herz mentions Publius Acilius Attianus: "Offiziell verantwortlich für diese ‚Hinrichtungen‘ war der damalige *praefectus praetorio* Attianus, ein Vertrauter des Kaisers".

This man had become one of the two guardians of Hadrian, when his natural father died (the other guardian was Trajan, a cousin of Hadrian's father).

Cf. Anthony R. Birley (1996, 8), quoted *verbatim infra*, in volume 3.2, at:

*A Study on the Consequences of Domitian's assassination :*

*Nerva is forced to adopt Trajan and Trajan creates Domitian's negativ image to consolidate his own reign. With Hadrian's adoption manquée in late October or at the beginning of November of AD 97, his 20-year long road to his accession and his thanksgiving for it, his Temple complex in the Campus Martius.*

*Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogoniacum (Mayence) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva, and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here **Fig. 3**). With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz, with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz (cf. here **Fig. 77**), with The Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen; at Chapter VI.1.*

Cf. most recently for "Lusius Quietus, der Statthalter in Iudaea ... einer der Teilnehmer der angeblichen Verschwörung der vier Konsulare gegen Hadrian", likewise mentioned by Peter Herz: Werner Eck (2022b, 231; cf. p. 227 with n. 14).

*The fourth Contribution by Peter Herz: Wann wurde Trajan von Nerva adoptiert*

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter* in volume 3-2:

*A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination :*

*Nerva is forced to adopt Trajan and Trajan creates Domitian's negativ image to consolidate his own reign. With Hadrian's adoption manquée in late October or at the beginning of November of AD 97, his 20-year long road to his accession and his thanksgiving for it, his Temple complex in the Campus Martius.*

*Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva, and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) (cf. here Fig. 3). With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz, with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz (cf. here Fig. 77), with The Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen.*



## Wann wurde Trajan von Nerva adoptiert?

Peter Herz

In der älteren Literatur kursiert immer noch die Meinung, dass die Adoption Trajans durch seinen Vorgänger Cocceius Nerva am 27. Oktober 97 vollzogen worden sei. Hier kommen offensichtlich mehrere Missverständnisse zusammen.

Zunächst sollten die zeitlichen Umstände des Jahres 97 etwas mehr berücksichtigt werden. Nerva begab sich auf das Kapitol, um dort vor dem Kultbild des Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus ein Dankopfer darzubringen, weil ihm gerade Siegesnachrichten vom Statthalter von Pannonien übermittelt worden waren. Nerva nutzte die Möglichkeit, die sich ihm jetzt eröffnet hatte, dazu, um vor dem entsprechenden Publikum feierlich seine Adoption Trajans öffentlich zu verkünden und damit praktisch irreversibel zu machen. Unter Publikum verstehe ich hier in erster Linie die gerade amtierenden consules und wahrscheinlich einen Teil der in Rom anwesenden Senatoren, da man sicherlich wegen dieser Siegesnachricht eine *laetitia publica* angeordnet hat.

Da die *Epitome de Caesaribus* 12.9 sagt, *cum quo tribus vixit menses*, hat man diese Angabe wortwörtlich genommen, um von dem Datum des *dies imperii* Trajans, was man lange Zeit am 27. Januar 98 vermutet hat, exakt drei Monate abzuziehen, um so auf den 27. Oktober 97 für Trajans Adoption zu gelangen. So noch R. Hanslik, *RE Suppl.* X, 1965, 1042. Erstens ist es alles andere als sicher, dass es exakt drei Monate gewesen sein müssen, es kann also ebenso bedeuten, Zeitraum von etwa drei Monaten, und zweitens hat man vergessen, dass wir seit 1940 das Feriale Duranum haben. In dem findet sich das Datum 28. Januar für den Beginn der Alleinherrschaft Trajans. Dieser Tag ist durch eine ganze Reihe von Inschriften als Feiertag bekannt und wurde später von Septimius Severus genutzt, um am 28. Januar 198, also genau nach einhundert Jahren, sowohl die offizielle Einnahme der parthischen Hauptstadt Ktesiphon zu feiern als auch seinen Sohn Caracalla zum Mitherrscher (Augustus) zu ernennen.

Wir wissen zwar durch das Zeugnis der Suda, dass der Tag der Adoption Trajans später in der Tat als Fest gefeiert wurde, wir kennen aber deswegen noch lange nicht das exakte Datum. Wir können bestenfalls einen angenäherten Termin Ende Oktober 97 bzw. [beziehungsweise] Anfang November 97 vermuten, wobei uns auch noch der Umstand etwas in die Quere kommt, dass der *dies natalis* Nervas auf den 8. November fällt. Rein theoretisch könnte Nerva Trajan auch durchaus an seinem eigenen Geburtstag adoptiert haben, ohne dadurch die Aussage ‚*tres menses*‘ der *Epitome* zu sehr zu verletzen.

Im Nachdruck von P. A. Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War*, London 1948 durch Ares Publishers, Chicago 1993 gibt es einen Anhang von J.G. De Voto mit den Fragmenten von Arrians *Parthika*, die z. B. [zum Beispiel] durch die Suda überliefert wurden. Interessant ist dabei Fragment 35 (abgedruckt auf S. 238 des Nachdrucks):

Suda s.v. εἰσεποιήθη. ἐνιαύσιος ἦν ἡμέραῃ Τραιανὸς ἐπὶ διαδοχῆτις Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Νερούα εἰσεποιήθη.

Suda Stichwort ‚adoptiert werden‘. Jedes Jahr wurde der Tag, an dem Trajan durch seinen Vater für die Nachfolge in der Herrschaft über die Römer adoptiert wurde, gefeiert.

Es waren sicherlich keine Feierlichkeiten, die durch größere Spiele u. ä. [und ähnliches] zelebriert wurden, sondern es dürfte sich eher um die Darbringung von Opfern durch die gerade amtierenden Magistrate gehandelt haben. Als Platz für diese Feierlichkeiten könnte ich mir in Rom das Kapitol vorstellen, wo eine *ara* vor dem Tempel des Iuppiter Optimus Maximus die wahrscheinlichste Lokalität wäre.

An wen sich diese Opfer gerichtet haben könnten, bleibt unbekannt. Man könnte, das ist allerdings höchst spekulativ, an den Divus Nerva als Empfänger denken. Für die entsprechende Weiheformel könnte man an eine Formulierung etwa der Art ‚weil er mit dieser Handlung (dieser Adoption) die *continuitas* des Imperium Romanum gesichert hatte‘ denken.

Ich habe mich dabei etwas von der Argumentation des Augustus inspirieren lassen, der die Adoption von Tiberius und Agrippa Postumus mit dem Wohlergehen des römischen Staates begründet hatte. Seinen greifbaren Niederschlag hatte dieses Ereignis wohl mit dem Bau der *ara Providentiae Augustae* gefunden, an der später für den 26. Juni Opfer nachgewiesen werden können.

Wie lange dieses Fest zumindest in Rom gefeiert wurde, kann ich nicht sagen. Da aber Arrian, auf den sich die Suda beruft, offensichtlich von einem noch relevanten Fest ausgeht, könnte man unter Berücksichtigung seiner Lebenszeit vermuten, dass die Adoption Trajans mindestens noch bis in die Regierungszeit des Antoninus Pius gefeiert wurde. Zumindest in den ellenlangen Aufzählungen der Vorfahren, die wir in einigen kaiserlichen Inschriften finden können, wird Nerva selbst unter den Severern immer noch erwähnt.

Notes by the editor Chrystina Häuber:

The `26th June [AD 4]' was the date of the adoption of Tiberius by Augustus; cf. Mario Torelli ("Providentia, Ara", in: *LTUR* IV [1999] 165-166), who also describes the rituals performed there and their meaning, to which Peter Herz alludes in his text: "*la providentia imperiale per la continuitas imperii*".

The building inscription of the Septizonium/Septizodium, built by Septimius Severus at the south-east corner of the Palatine (cf. here **Figs. 58; 73**), provides an example for his self-acclaimed ancestry comprising Nerva, as hinted at by Peter Herz in his text. Cf. Susann S. Lusnia (2004, 517, 526, 533, 538-541 [on *CIL* VI 1032 = 31229]), quoted *verbatim* in: Häuber (2014a, 688, note 167).

*The fifth Contribution by Peter Herz: Der Ritt Hadrians nach Mogontiacum*

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter* in volume 3-2:

*A Study on the consequences of Domitian's assassination :*

*Nerva is forced to adopt Trajan and Trajan creates Domitian's negativ image to consolidate his own reign. With Hadrian's adoption manquée in late October or at the beginning of November of AD 97, his 20-year long road to his accession and his thanksgiving for it, his Temple complex in the Campus Martius.*

*Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian's Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of Hadrian's journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva, and of Hadrian's portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta\omicron$ ) (cf. here Fig. 3). With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz, with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz, with The Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen.*

## Der Ritt Hadrians nach Mogontiacum

Peter Herz

Als sich der spätere Kaiser Hadrian im November des Jahres 97 auf seine Reise von Moesia *inferior* nach Mogontiacum machte, um die Glückwünsche seines Heeres an den gerade von Nerva adoptierten Traian zu überbringen, war er gerade als senatorischer *tribunus militum* bei der *legio V Macedonica* in dieser Provinz eingesetzt.

Als solcher besaß er wahrscheinlich nicht nur ein wesentlich besseres Quartier als die übrigen ritterlichen *tribuni militum*, sondern er konnte auch auf die Dienste einer größeren Personengruppe zurückgreifen. Neben seinem persönlichen Gefolge, das aus einigen Sklaven und Freigelassenen seiner eigenen Familie bestand, die ihn in die Provinz begleitet hatten, um dort für seinen Haushalt zu sorgen, hatte er auch den Zugriff auf die Dienste einiger Soldaten, die ihm wegen seiner Dienststellung zustanden. So dürfte er sein eigenes kleines *officium* mit einigen Schreibern und *beneficarii* besessen haben, das von einem *cornicularius* geleitet wurde [mit Anm. 1]. Von diesem *officium* wurde u. a. [unter anderem] seine dienstliche Korrespondenz erledigt [mit Anm. 2]. Für seine private Korrespondenz besaß er wahrscheinlich einen *libertus*, der als sein Sekretär fungierte.

Als er sich jetzt auf den Weg nach Mogontiacum machte, tat er dies natürlich nicht auf Grund seiner eigenen Initiative, dies wäre ein grobes Dienstvergehen gewesen, sondern im Namen seines Provinzstatthalters, der ihn dafür delegiert hatte. Daher konnte er auf Grund seines Marschbefehls auch das *diploma* nutzen, welches ihm die kostenfreie Nutzung des *cursus publicus* erlaubte. Damit konnten er und seine Begleiter nicht nur die Übernachtungsmöglichkeiten in den *mansiones* nutzen, sondern auch in regelmäßigen Abständen ihre erschöpften Pferde gegen frische Tiere austauschen. Hadrian hätte natürlich auch einen Reisewagen des *cursus publicus* nutzen können, doch bei der Dringlichkeit seiner Mission hat er es sicherlich vorgezogen, Pferde zu benutzen.

Bei der Frage nach der Zahl seiner Begleiter kann man nur spekulieren. Vermutlich hat er die Zahl möglichst klein gehalten, um schneller voranzukommen. Es dürften also höchstens ein oder zwei persönliche Bedienstete gewesen sein, die auch physisch geeignet sein mussten, einen solch langen Ritt durchzuhalten. Hinzu kamen wahrscheinlich noch einige Reiter seiner Stammeinheit (*equites legionis*) oder auch aus dem Gefolge des Statthalters, in diesem Fall wären es *equites singulares* gewesen. Die Anzahl und die Namen seiner Begleiter mussten auf seinem Marschbefehl genannt werden, zumindest soweit sie Angehörige des Militärs waren, damit sie unterwegs ebenfalls ihren Anspruch auf die Stellung von neuen Reitpferden an den Wechselstationen [*mutationes*] und auf Unterkunft und Verpflegung bei den *mansiones* erheben konnten.

Während der spätere Kaiser Tiberius im Jahr 9 v. Chr. bei seinem berühmten Ritt zur *castra scelerata* und zu seinem im Sterben liegenden Bruder Drusus wahrscheinlich noch nicht auf die ausgebaute Infrastruktur des *cursus publicus* zurückgreifen konnte, dürfte das System zur Zeit Hadrians voll ausgebaut gewesen sein. Dies bedeutet, dass Hadrian die gesamte Strecke von rund 1800 km wahrscheinlich innerhalb von rund 20 Tagen zurücklegen konnte, obwohl das Wetter im November nicht gerade günstig war. Er hat dazu wahrscheinlich die römische Militärstraße benutzt, die sich entlang der Donau bis nach Raetien erstreckte. Von dort konnte er dann leicht zur Militärstraße entlang des Rheins überwechseln, auf der er dann Mogontiacum erreichte.

Während die privaten Bediensteten Hadrians wahrscheinlich zusammen mit ihm in Mogontiacum blieben, kehrten seine militärischen Begleiter wieder zu ihrer Stammeinheit in Niedermösien zurück. Die

entsprechenden Marschbefehle und Berechtigungsscheine wurden ihnen vor ihrem Aufbruch in Mainz wahrscheinlich vom dortigen *legatus legionis* bzw. [beziehungsweise] seinem *officium* ausgestellt.

Hadrian selbst musste nicht zu seiner bisherigen Einheit zurückkehren, sondern er konnte in Mogontiacum bleiben, denn mit der Verkündigung der Adoption seines Verwandten Traian durch den aktuellen *princeps* Nerva dürften auch einige andere rechtsetzende Akte verbunden gewesen sein, die die staatsrechtliche Position des künftigen Kaisers betrafen. Man kann vermuten, obwohl dies im Gegensatz zur Adoption nicht ausdrücklich in den Quellen angesprochen wird, dass Traian unmittelbar nach der offiziellen Verkündigung seiner Adoption auch die rechtlichen Kompetenzen eines *princeps* erhielt, also die *tribunicia potestas* und das *imperium proconsulare maius*, wodurch er vom bisherigen Status eines *legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Germaniae superioris* aufstieg. Damit konnte Traian für seinen Verwandten Hadrian anordnen, dass dieser seinen bisherigen Posten in Moesia *inferior* aufgeben solle, um auf eine neue Position in Germania *superior* zu wechseln.

Hadrian dürfte in dieser Zeit sicherlich nicht der einzige Bote gewesen sein, der sich mit den Glückwünschen seines Provinzheeres bzw. seiner Provinz auf den Weg nach Mogontiacum gemacht hatte, um dem neuen starken Mann zu gratulieren und sich bei dieser Gelegenheit in ein positives Licht zu rücken. Wir können im Gegenteil vermuten, dass jeder Statthalter einer Provinz in vergleichbarer Form reagieren musste, wobei wahrscheinlich nicht jeder von ihnen so glücklich war, einen Verwandten des künftigen Kaisers unter seinen Untergebenen zu haben, den er in dieser Situation als Boten verwenden konnte. Sicherlich machte sich auch eine persönliche Gesandtschaft des Senates auf den Weg nach Mogontiacum, um die Glückwünsche des Hohen Hauses zu übermitteln.

Daneben dürften auch andere Gesandtschaften eingetrudelt sein, die z. B. [zum Beispiel] Gemeinden repräsentierten, die in einem Patronatsverhältnis zur Familie Traians standen. Hier wäre an erster Stelle an die Heimatgemeinde Italica in der Baetica zu denken.

Es ist auch denkbar, dass der Landtag der *Tres Galliae* in Lugdunum auf diese politische Entwicklung reagierte und daher einen oder mehrere Repräsentanten nach Mainz entsandte. Die Provinz Germania *superior* war zwar seit Domitian von Gallien getrennt, aber wir wissen, dass Vertreter des gallischen Landtages mehrmals im Jahr in Mainz anwesend sein mussten, um an den Gedenkfeierlichkeiten für Drusus I und seinen Sohn Germanicus teilzunehmen.

Anm. 1: Dies kann man durch eine Inschrift aus Lambaesis (CIL VIII, 2596 = ILS 2381 erschließen, aus der die entsprechende Aufteilung bei der *legio III Augusta* deutlich wird.

Anm. 2: Dies geht ebenfalls aus der Inschrift von Lambaesis hervor, da dort ein eigener ‚Führer des Dienstagebuches‘ (*commentariensis*) für den *tribunus* genannt wird.

### *Nachtrag*

Die durchschnittliche Tagesstrecke, die Hadrian während seines Rittes zurücklegen konnte, hängt von einer Reihe von Faktoren ab. Während der Einfluss des Wetters nicht evaluiert werden kann, weil wir dazu keine Informationen haben, sind andere Faktoren bekannt. Wir können z. B. davon ausgehen, dass Hadrian sich auf ausgebauten Straßen fortbewegen konnte, die zusätzlich durch das System des *cursus publicus* mit regelmäßigen Wechselstationen (*mutationes*) und Übernachtungsmöglichkeiten (*mansiones*) erschlossen waren. Da Hadrian im offiziellen Auftrag unterwegs war, konnte er natürlich dieses System im vollen Umfang nutzen, was wohl in erster Linie den regelmäßigen Austausch der Pferde betraf.

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Die entsprechenden Nachrichten für sicher dokumentierte Reisegeschwindigkeiten und zurückgelegte Tagesstrecken finden sich bei A. Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer im römischen Reich*, Berlin 2001, 308 ff.

Eine m. E. entscheidende Frage können wir allerdings nicht endgültig beantworten. Ging es Hadrian bei diesem Ritt nach Mogontiacum lediglich um die Übermittlung einer Routinenachricht, bei der es keinen besonderen Zeitdruck gab, oder verfolgte Hadrian insgeheim die Absicht, möglichst schnell bei dem neuen Alleinherrscher zu erscheinen, um sich so in ein besonders gutes Licht zu rücken. Unter dem Gesichtspunkt der künftigen Vergabe von interessanten Stellen in der Nähe des Kaisers wäre dies ein nicht unwichtiger Punkt. Daher tendiere ich zu der Meinung, dass Hadrian eine durchaus höhere Tagesleistung wie üblich angestrebt hat. Natürlich nicht die Geschwindigkeit, die ein Kurier eingeschlagen hätte, der einen Grenzdurchbruch melden musste, aber sich nicht so langsam wie ein Bote, der Routinemeldungen wie die jährlichen Stärkemeldungen des Provinzheeres oder den ordnungsgemäßen Vollzug der *nuncupatio votorum* übermittelte.

Note by the editor Chrystina Häuber:

Concerning the following statement by Peter Herz in his fifth *Contribution*:

"Man kann vermuten, obwohl dies im Gegensatz zur Adoption nicht ausdrücklich in den Quellen angesprochen wird, dass Traian unmittelbar nach der offiziellen Verkündigung seiner Adoption auch die rechtlichen Kompetenzen eines *princeps* erhielt, also die *tribunicia potestas* ...",

- I should like to add a comment.

Cf. Dietmar Kienast, Werner Eck und Matthäus Heil, *Römische Kaisertabelle* (2017, 116):

"Trajan ([reigned] 28. Jan.[uar] 98 - 7. Aug.[ust] 117) ...

Wichtige Einzeldaten:

Ende Okt.[ober] 97

Adoption durch Nerva und Erhebung zum Caesar: IMP. CAESAR NERVA  
TRAIANUS.

28. (?) Okt.[ober] 97

**Übernahme der tribunicia potestas [my emphasis]**".



*The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung*

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter*:

*A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great);*  
*at Part II. Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in realty identifiable as Navalvia) and of the Horrea Aemiliana. With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz: Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?*

## Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung

Peter Herz

Die Stadt Rom repräsentierte bereits in der späten Republik ohne Zweifel die größte städtische Siedlung im gesamten Mittelmeergebiet. Wenn man dabei die Problematik einer angemessenen Versorgung selbst nur mit den Grundnahrungsmitteln (Getreide, Olivenöl, Wein und mit einer reduzierten Bedeutung Fleisch und Fisch) anspricht, dann kann man wahrscheinlich für Rom von einer Population von deutlich mehr als 1 Million Menschen ausgehen, die es zu versorgen galt.

Um allen möglichen Missdeutungen zu begegnen, sind einige Klarstellungen notwendig. Wenn es um die Versorgung mit den Grundnahrungsmitteln geht, dann muss man natürlich nicht nur die eigentliche Stadt Rom berücksichtigen, sondern man muss von einem breiten Ring mit einer verdichteten Besiedlung ausgehen, also kleinere Siedlungen, Villen usw., der sich um das eigentliche städtische Zentrum gelegt hatte, aber wahrscheinlich in der Hauptsache über Rom und seine Märkte versorgt wurde. Es ist gerechtfertigt, auch die dort lebende Bevölkerung zu berücksichtigen, da wir etwa im Fall der Senatoren davon ausgehen können, dass sie regelmäßig (samt ihrer jeweiligen Entourage) zwischen ihrem Domizil in der Innenstadt von Rom und ihren verschiedenen Villen im Umland (*villae suburbanae*) hin- und herpendelten [mit Anm. 1]. Bereits aus den Zeiten der frühen Republik sind genügend Berichte vorhanden, die die Anfälligkeit der Stadt Rom bei einer ausreichenden Versorgung mit Getreide aus dem Umland von Rom belegen. Man konnte diesem Defizit bereits damals nur wirkungsvoll begegnen, indem man auf die Getreideproduktion anderer Regionen zurückgriff.

Damit kommen wir zur Achillesferse Roms im eigentlichen Sinne, die mangelhafte Anbindung der Stadt an die überregionalen Verkehrs- und Transportsysteme. Das vielgerühmte Straßensystem des Imperium Romanum war sicher geeignet, um schnell Nachrichten zu transportieren oder Truppen marschieren zu lassen, aber es war kaum darauf ausgelegt, schnell und vor allem kostengünstig über längere Strecken Massengüter wie etwa Getreide zu transportieren [mit Anm. 2]. Dies hat sich erst seit dem Beginn des 19. Jh. grundlegend verändert, als durch die Eisenbahn völlig neue Transportmöglichkeiten eröffnet wurden. Bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt waren die von Maultieren und Ochsen gezogenen Wagen das einzige Transportmittel [mit Anm. 3].

Im Fall von Rom bedeutet dies, dass man weitgehend auf den Wasserweg verwiesen wurde, wenn man die Stadt wirklich mit Massengütern versorgen wollte. Dies bedeutete im Fall von Rom, dass man auf die Transportmöglichkeiten des Tiber vertrauen musste. Der Tiber war allerdings keine besonders leistungsfähige Wasserstraße. Abgesehen von den saisonal stark schwankenden Wasserständen des Flusses gab es am Oberlauf des Flusses keine besonders leistungsstarken Gebiete, die größere Überschüsse für die Versorgung Roms hätten produzieren können. Man musste also die notwendigen Mengen an Grundnahrungsmitteln 1. über den Seeweg und den Hafen von Ostia importieren und dann 2. diese Waren dann auch noch auf einem notorisch unzuverlässigen Fluss und gegen die Strömung bis zum Verbrauchsort in Rom transportieren.

Wenn man an dieser Stelle die Versorgungssituation für die anderen Metropolen der römischen Kaiserzeit wie Alexandria, Karthago oder Antiochia vergleicht, so fallen die für Rom charakteristischen Nachteile besonders deutlich ins Auge. Alexandria und Karthago waren Großstädte mit leistungsfähigen Häfen, die deutlich leichter zu managen waren als Ostia, dessen Hafenanlagen außerdem durch die Sedimente des Tiber nach und nach unbrauchbar gemacht wurden. Zusätzlich konnten diese beiden Metropolen auch noch auf die landwirtschaftliche Produktion eines reichen Hinterlands zurückgreifen. Während Alexandria durch

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einen Stichkanal mit dem Nil verbunden war und damit auch die Ressourcen ganz Ägyptens für sich nutzen konnte, lag Karthago am Ausgang des reichen Bagradastals, das gut 100 km weit ins heute tunesische Binnenland hineinreichte und dessen Produktion jederzeit für die Versorgung Karthagos verwertet werden konnte.

Lediglich die syrische Metropole Antiochia fällt hier etwas aus dem Rahmen, da ihr Seehafen, Seleukia in Pierien, in einiger Entfernung von der eigentlichen Stadt lag. Sie konnte diesen Nachteil allerdings leichter als Rom kompensieren, da Antiochia den Zugriff auf die natürlichen Ressourcen des gesamten Orontestales hatte.

Rom konnte die offensichtlichen strukturellen Nachteile bei seiner Versorgung nur kompensieren, weil es über Jahrhunderte einen politischen Sonderstatus besaß, der ihm in Versorgungsfragen die absolute Priorität einräumte. In der praktischen Konsequenz bedeutete dies, dass über lange Zeit viele Ressourcen aus dem gesamten Imperium Romanum aufgewendet wurden, nur um Rom zu versorgen.

Die in den Quellen sicherlich am besten dokumentierte Art der Versorgung betrifft die Versorgung Roms mit kostenlosem bzw. stark subventioniertem Getreide. Das Getreide wurde entweder in der Form von Sachsteuern bereitgestellt bzw. es stammte als Pachtgetreide aus den Einkünften der staatlichen Domänen. Kostenlos wurde Getreide bei der allmonatlichen *frumentatio* an einen ausgewählten Teil der stadtrömischen Bevölkerung abgegeben. Daneben steht ein ebenso großer Betrag an Getreide, der an die Betreiber der Großbäckereien in Rom abgegeben wurde, damit diese billiges Brot produzieren konnten. Die Masse dieses Getreides wurde auf dem Seeweg aus außeritalischen Produktionsgebieten angeliefert und musste daher den Transportweg über den Tiber nehmen.

Dank der sehr regen Erforschung der Transportamphoren sind wir relativ gut über die Herkunft von zwei weiteren Grundnahrungsmitteln (Olivenöl, Wein) informiert. Die Masse des in Rom verbrauchten Olivenöls stammte aus den Produktionsgebieten in der Baetica und in Nordafrika, während sich bei der Belieferung mit Wein ein etwas abweichendes Bild bietet, da wir auch in der hohen Kaiserzeit von einer immer noch sehr regen italischen Weinproduktion ausgehen müssen. Wenn dieser Wein allerdings außerhalb Latiums produziert wurde, dann dürfte man auch im Fall des italischen Weins den Seetransport über Ostia gewählt haben. Diesen Weg dürfte man auch bei der Belieferung von außeritalischen Weinen (Spanien, Nordafrika, Griechenland und griechische Inseln) regelmäßig gewählt haben.

Da wir in Rom von einer sehr regen Bauindustrie ausgehen müssen, erhebt sich auch die Frage, woher die dafür notwendigen Baumaterialien gekommen sind. Dabei müssen wir wohl von einem gespaltenen Markt ausgehen.

Ziegel, einfache Bausteine und die für die Herstellung von Mörtel notwendigen Materialien konnte man in ausreichenden Mengen im Großraum von Rom produzieren. Bauholz für die Verschalungen, den Bau von Gerüsten oder den Innenausbau von Gebäuden konnte man aus den damals noch bewaldeten Regionen am Oberlauf des Tiber beschaffen. Die Frage, ob die dortigen Kapazitäten allerdings ausgereicht haben könnten, um den enormen Bedarf Roms auf die Dauer abzudecken, lässt sich momentan noch nicht beantworten, da bisher selbst die einfachsten Überlegungen zum Holzbedarf Roms fehlen. Hochwertiges Holz oder Holz, das die üblichen Dimensionen überschritt (z. B. große Dachbalken), wurde nachweislich (Plinius, *Naturalis Historia*) über große Entfernungen aus den Wäldern der südlichen Alpen und daher auf dem Seeweg angeliefert.

Hochwertiges Baumaterial, zu dem hier vor allem alle Sorten von Marmor zählten, musste hingegen zu allen Zeiten nach Rom importiert werden. Neben dem weißen Marmor von Luna (heute Carrara) ist durch die entsprechenden Funde die Verwendung von afrikanischem Marmor aus Simmithus und diversen

Marmorsorten aus Griechenland, Kleinasien und Ägypten nachgewiesen. Dieser Marmor wurde dabei in unterschiedlichen Formen angeliefert: in Blockform, die sich z. B. für Inkrustationen weiterverarbeiten ließ, als monolithische Säulen, aber auch als bereits in der Rohform zugerichtete Sarkophage. Da die meisten der heute bekannten größeren Vorkommen an Marmor unter der direkten Kontrolle der kaiserlichen Verwaltung standen, brachte ihre Ausbeutung einen bedeutenden Zufluss für die kaiserlichen Kassen.

Ein wichtiger, aber bisher eher im Schatten der Forschung verharrender Teil der Versorgung Roms, betrifft die Frage der Energieversorgung, was konkret Holz bzw. Holzkohle bedeutet. Neben dem Einsatz in der verschiedenen Werkstätten Roms, wo wir vom Einsatz von Holzkohle ausgehen können, ist dabei vor allem die Frage von Brennholz zu berücksichtigen. Während die Beheizung der einzelnen privaten Unterkünfte im Gegensatz zur modernen Situation eher von zweitrangiger Bedeutung gewesen sein dürfte, da die Mietverträge offensichtlich ausdrücklich die Beheizung durch offene Holzkohlenbecken untersagten, stellt die Beschaffung des für die Thermen, aber auch die vielen kleineren Bäder benötigten Heizmaterials ein großes Problem dar.

Wir werden hier mit zwei unterschiedlichen Problemen konfrontiert. 1. Während die Forschung lange Zeit fest davon ausging, dass man zur Beheizung der Thermen trockenes Stammholz verwendete, hat sich durch die Forschungen von Johannes Lehar, einem Heizungsspezialisten, inzwischen die Meinung verfestigt, dass man aus technischen Gründen in einem Dauerbetrieb Holzkohle verwenden musste, da sonst die Heizungsanlagen durch Rauchgase usw. binnen kurzer Zeit unbrauchbar werden würden. Die Verwendung von Holzkohle hat sicherlich das Gewicht der Energieträger, die man nach Rom transportieren musste, reduziert, konnte aber bisher noch nicht die Frage beantworten, woher Brennholz bzw. Holzkohle überhaupt angeliefert wurden.

Damit kommen wir zu Problemkreis 2. der regionalen Herkunft der Energieträger. Einen gewissen Teil konnten sicherlich die damals noch bewaldeten Regionen am Oberlauf des Tibers bereitstellen, wobei die literarischen Quellen leider erst in der Spätantike in der Lage sind, hier genauere Auskunft zu geben. Hier zeichnen sich für Rom offensichtliche Versorgungsprobleme ab, die teilweise durch die zwangsweise Belieferung der Hauptstadt mit Brennholz gelöst werden sollten. Die Tatsache, dass allerdings Getreideschiffe aus Nordafrika dazu verpflichtet wurden, als Teil ihrer Fracht auch noch Brennholz für Rom an Bord zu nehmen, unterstreicht, dass hier ein offensichtlich schweres Versorgungsproblem existierte, das die Versorgung der Hauptstadt deutlich belastete.

Eine wichtige Warengruppe, die zwar archäologisch nur schwer nachweisbar ist, aber trotzdem dank der literarischen Quellen vergleichsweise gut dokumentiert ist, wird durch die Importe an wilden Tieren repräsentiert, die in den *venationes* ‚verbraucht‘ wurden. Da nur wenige dieser Tiere wie etwa die Bären oder die Wildschweine in Italien selbst beschafft werden konnten, hatte sich ein weitgespanntes Handels- und Beschaffungsnetzwerk entwickelt, das nachweislich sogar über die Grenzen des Imperium Romanum hinausgriff. Diese Tiere wurden wahrscheinlich ebenso wie viele der Pferde, die für die Pferderennen in Rom benötigt wurden, zunächst auf dem Seeweg über die Häfen von Ostia und später Portus importiert und dann in der nächsten Phase auf dem Fluss nach Rom geschafft.

Damit kommen wir zu dem eigentlichen Problem in der Versorgung Roms: der Anfälligkeit des Transportweges über den Tiber. Wir müssen wahrscheinlich von einer Situation ausgehen, dass viele hundert Schiffe permanent eingesetzt werden mussten, um die benötigten Waren in die Hauptstadt zu transportieren. Man dürfte dabei viele Schiffe gegen den Strom gerudert haben, aber bei größeren Schiffen ist wohl davon auszugehen, dass diese Schiffe getreidelt wurden, wobei sowohl Zugtiere als auch die reine Menschenkraft zum Einsatz kam.

Peter Herz, Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung

Die zufällig bei Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.18.2) überlieferte Nachricht, dass bei einer der dabei notwendigen Übernachtungsstellen 200 Schiffe bei einem Feuer vernichtet wurden, gibt einen kleinen Einblick in die wahrscheinlichen Dimensionen des Transportes, kann aber nicht eine umfassende Untersuchung ersetzen. Wenn man das Personal berücksichtigt, das wahrscheinlich beim Umschlag in den Häfen von Ostia und Portus beschäftigt war, dann dürfte man mit einer Zahl von deutlich über 10000 Menschen, die in diesem Bereich der Wirtschaft beschäftigt waren, nicht falsch liegen.

In seiner **Anm. 1**, schreibt Herz: "Wie weit man den Ring der *villae suburbanae* ausdehnen kann, etwa bis Praeneste oder Tibur (Villa Hadriana), ist schwer zu bestimmen. Man sollte vielleicht einen Radius von 25 bis 30 Meilen um das Stadtzentrum als Berechnungsgrundlage nehmen".

In seiner **Anm. 2**, schreibt er: "Es reicht völlig aus, die unterschiedlichen Kosten für den Warentransport auf dem Land oder über See zu vergleichen".

In seiner **Anm. 3**, schreibt er: "Der Einsatz von Pferden als Zugtier lohnte sich erst nach der Einführung des Kummets".

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*The first Contribution by Eugenio La Rocca on the question, whether Domitian, who filled in the valley on the Mons Oppius, could already have planned to erect those large public baths there which should become the Baths of Trajan*

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter* in volume 3-2 :

**Appendix IV.d.4.c) Domitian's building projects at Rome: Conclusions arrived at in Appendix IV.d. With The first Contribution by Eugenio La Rocca.**

*As a result of this Chapter it seems to be clear that Domitian, who destroyed the sella between the Quirinal and the Arx, in order to erect his huge forum there (the later 'Forum of Trajan'), had used this excavated material to fill in a valley on the Mons Oppius. This finding invited the further assumption that already Domitian had planned to erect at this site great public baths, the now so-called 'Baths of Trajan'. The confirmation that Domitian had actually started building those baths, reached me only afterwards.*

The following are quotes from *Appendix IV.d.4.c)* in volume 3-2 :

``Domitian had an enormous wealth of architectural visions for Rome, which he actually managed to realize - *a tutti costi*. Let's for a moment consider only those two above-mentioned 'pharaonic projects', the 'Colosseum city' and the redevelopment of the vast area that comprised the *Campus Martius* and the Capitoline Hill, both of which had been destroyed by the fire of AD 80. The latter project was supposed to comprise also the area of the *sella* between the *Arx* and the Quirinal, where, after its destruction, Domitian would build his new *Forum* - which became the *Forum* of Trajan.

Only after this *Chapter* was written up to this point, did I realize that both of Domitian's here-so-called 'pharaonic' building projects were actually very closely related; the areas and buildings of these projects are marked on the maps here **Figs. 58; 59; 72; 73**. When discussing those two projects with Franz Xaver Schütz on 11th July 2020, he asked me: and what did Domitian decide to do with all the earth the workmen would excavate between the *Arx* and the Quirinal in the course of destroying the former *sella* between those two hills in order to create the area needed for his new *Forum*?

At this point I remembered that Franz Xaver Schütz and I, many years ago, when discussing the matter with geographers at the Universität Tübingen, had come to the conclusion that this material was used to fill a former valley on the *Mons Oppius*, and that this operation was the prerequisite to build the Baths of Trajan. We know also that the huge office building, called 'Mercati di Traiano', was definitely begun by Domitian. And because this structure could only be erected after, at least in this area, the former *sella* between Quirinal and *Arx* was destroyed, already Domitian must have ordered to fill this former valley on the *Mons Oppius* with the material excavated at the *sella*. This former valley on the *Mons Oppius* had previously belonged to Nero's *Domus Aurea*. Because of this fact it is tempting to believe that it had already been Domitian's idea to erect public baths at this site - another great enterprise undertaken for the benefit of the People of Rome.

Or, to be more precise, by erecting large public baths on the *Mons Oppius*, Domitian could have proven his *virtus liberalitas* ...

For the valley on the *Mons Oppius*, which was filled by Domitian with the material excavated at the *sella* between the *Arx* and the Quirinal in order to create the huge area, where - the Baths of Trajan would be erected (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix I.a)*; at Section IX. *The hypothesis to identify the praefectura urbis of the Flavian period with the Vespasianic 'edificio della >Città Dipinta<', found underneath the Baths of Trajan; and in Appendix I.a)*; at Section X. *My reconstruction of R. Volpe's (2000) new valley, in which the Vespasianic building with the >Città Dipinta< once stood, and in which my old Vicus Iovis Fagutalis ran) ...*



As discussed in detail above, in this former valley on the *Mons Oppius*, which Domitian had already decided to fill in, had stood for example the famous 'edificio della >Città Dipinta<', which was found underneath the Baths of Trajan.

Eugenio La Rocca has now published his research on an immediately adjacent building in the same valley, which was likewise excavated underneath the Baths of Trajan (cf. *id.: Mosaici parietali nel Musaeum del Colle Oppio*, 2020a). La Rocca (2020a) convincingly identifies this structure as a pavilion belonging to Nero's *Domus Aurea* and is able to demonstrate by his analysis of its wall decoration with mosaics that this structure comprised a *Musaeum*.

Discussing with La Rocca my idea suggested here that it may already have been Domitian's idea to erect large Baths on the *Mons Oppius* at precisely the same site, where Trajan should actually build his Baths, La Rocca answered me by E-mail on 3rd August 2020 that he agrees with me that this is indeed possible. La Rocca has confirmed by E-mail of 4th August 2020 that I may publish his note here with his kind consent':

On 2nd August 2020, I wrote Eugenio La Rocca the following E-mail:

"Caro Eugenio,

...

Adesso ho sviluppato nell'ultimo capitolo del libro su Domiziano (che tu non hai ancora) la mia vecchia idea: perché già Domiziano ha costruito i "Mercati di Traiano", penso che non solo Traiano abbia riempito la valle sull'Oppio col materiale scavato dalla *sella* tra Quirinale ed *Arx* - ma già Domiziano. - Appunto anche perché questo era l'area della *Domus Aurea* ...

Adding to this Email later on 2nd August 2020 the following *Post Scriptum*:

"Caro Eugenio,

e se Domiziano ha già riempito "la valle di Rita Volpe" sul Colle Oppio, dobbiamo anche domandarci PERCHÉ - per lì costruire grande Terme?

Con questa domanda ho finito mio testo. Se ti interessa, ti mando questo capitolo.

Ciao,

Chrystina"

*The first Contribution by Eugenio La Rocca*

*on the question, whether Domitian, who filled in the valley on  
the Mons Oppius, could already have planned to erect those  
large public baths there which should become the Baths of Trajan*

On 3rd August 2020, Eugenio La Rocca was kind enough to answer my above-quoted Emails of 2nd August 2020 with the following Email:

"È più che probabile! Per quanto sappiamo, Traiano ha ripreso, e completato, il gigantesco programma monumentale predisposto da Domiziano. E se anche Domiziano non avesse ancora iniziato a costruire le terme, che potevano essere state pensate secondo un progetto differente, non significa che Traiano non si fosse trovato, come avvenuto nel suo foro, di fronte all'avvio di un importante intervento edilizio rimasto però allo stato embrionale.

Un caro saluto

Eugenio".

*The second Contribution by Eugenio La Rocca : Una nota sul labirinto del Palatino*

This *Contribution* belongs to the the following *Chapter* :

**Preamble : Domitian's negative image; Section III.: My own thoughts about Domitian. With The second Contribution by Eugenio La Rocca : Una nota sul labirinto del Palatino; at point 4.) Domitian identified himself with Romulus and Theseus, exactly as Augustus before him.**

The following is a quote from this Chapter:

“Domitian built his Palace on the Palatine, not by chance called ‘*Domus Augustana*’, at the site of the (real) House of Augustus (which stood at the presumed site of Faustulus's hut, where Romulus had grown up), and where already Nero had built his *Domus Aurea* for the same reasons as Augustus. In addition to this, Domitian (like Nero) had actually rebuilt Rome after a great fire (in AD 64 and 80, respectively), which is why Domitian *felt*, in addition to this, like Romulus. For discussions of those subjects; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix VI*. ...

Domitian's relevant propaganda has also been addressed by Licia Luschi in her article ("Un gruppo di Teseo con il Minotauro dell'*Albanum Domitiani*. Origine e dispersione delle antichità Barberini", 2015).

Luschi (2015) discusses the fact that Domitian had at his Villa, called *Albanum*, two sculpture groups, the originals of which had been dedicated on the Acropolis at Athens : Myron's group of Athena and Marsyas and a sculpture group of Theseus and the Minotaur. Luschi (2015, 13 n. 115), therefore, follows an (unpublished) idea of Paolo Liverani, according to which, by copying those famous artworks, and putting them on display at his *Albanum*, ‘these two sculpture groups could have created together "il modello dell'Acropoli ateniese"’.

Luschi suggests, in addition to this, that Domitian had also another copy of this group of Theseus and the Minotaur on the Palatine, where these sculptures decorated the labyrinth fountain of the ‘Peristyle’ of his ‘*Domus Flavia*’ / *Domus Augustana*. Because of all this, Luschi (2015, 197 ...), suggests that Domitian ‘re-used well known symbols of the Augustan period: the Athenian acropolis, its patron goddess Athena and Theseus, and identified himself with the mythical king of Athens, Theseus’.

For Domitian's Palace on the Palatine ‘*Domus Flavia*’ / *Domus Augustana* with this labyrinth fountain; cf. here **Figs. 8.2; 58; 8.1**, labels: PALATINE; "DOMUS FLAVIA"; "PERISTYLE", and **Figs. 108-110** ... and *supra*, at Chapter *The major results of his book on Domitian*) ...

In my discussion of Domitian's *Villa*, called *Albanum* (cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.4.b*)), I have followed Luschi's (2015) hypothesis concerning this labyrinth fountain in Domitian's Palace on the Palatine. Before following such a hypothesis, we should, of course, on principle first of all investigate, whether this labyrinth fountain had already existed at Domitian's time (!).

This I had so far not done, as I must confess, taking for granted that this is the case, because Luschi (2015, 8 writes [this, follows the relevant quotation] .... But because this labyrinth is heavily restored, I am very glad that Alexander Heinemann has asked me in an E-mail of 26th January 2023, whether I could provide him with publications, in which it has been demonstrated that this labyrinth is actually *ancient*.

I answered Heinemann that this labyrinth is obviously indeed Domitianic, as Natascha Sojc's recent plan of Domitian's Palace shows, in which she has also marked the ‘Peristyle’ with its labyrinth fountain; cf. Sojc ("Archaeological Evidence from Domitian's Palatine", 2021, 132, Fig. 2). The caption of her Fig. 2 reads:

"Overview of the nucleus of Domitian's palace with names given to individual wings and rooms by archaeological research for better orientation, but with no correspondence to ancient terminology. Rome, Palatine (A. Reeder after instructions by the author), label: 4 (= "Peristyle with fountain")."

When discussing this problem with Franz Xaver Schütz, he, on his own account, searched for a discussion of the matter in the Internet and found an article by Staffan Lundén ("The Palatine Labyrinth. Was it built in the 1st or 20th Century?", 2004), who believes instead that this labyrinth was 'invented' by its excavator Giacomo Boni.

Lundén quotes in his article *inter alia* "La Rocca 1994". Fortunately I had the chance to discuss Lundén's article (2004) with Alexander Heinemann and with Eugenio La Rocca. La Rocca told me that he neither edited the relevant volume, quoted by Lundén (2004), nor that he contributed an essay to it. He was, in addition to this, kind enough to send me the article by Alessandra Capodiferro in this publication of 1994, which Lundén (2004, 1 n. 2) refers to as "ed. La Rocca 1994". Capodiferro (1994, 73) mentions the labyrinth fountain.

La Rocca also answered my relevant questions, first in several telephone conversations, then by E-mail on 18th February 2023, providing evidence which proves beyond any doubt that this labyrinth (cf. here **Fig. 8.2**), which Boni had excavated and later restored, is indeed ancient. With La Rocca's kind consent, I may publish here his E-mail as his second *Contribution* to this volume':

*The second Contribution by Eugenio La Rocca :*

*Una nota sul labirinto del Palatino*

Cara Chrystina,

il libro del 1994 è "Archeologia in posa", un catalogo di cui non sono stato né curatore, né autore. Non sono io, perciò, che ho dato le informazioni di cui parla nel suo articolo Staffan Lundén. Ciò detto, mi sembra del tutto inverosimile che Giacomo Boni si sia inventato il labirinto. Lo afferma anche Alfonso Bartoli, il suo successore sul Palatino, in una sua relazione di scavo nella vicina Domus Augustana, pubblicata in "Notizie degli Scavi". Ti ho trasmesso per e-mail le immagini della copertina e della parte del testo in cui Bartoli parla della scoperta: "Al piano di questa egli (scil. Boni) scoprì l'impluvium con il labirinto". È chiaro che Bartoli non abbia alcun dubbio sull'originalità del labirinto, malgrado esso sia stato praticamente quasi del tutto ricostruito. L'iper critica come quella di Lundén può essere molto pericolosa perché, con questo meccanismo, si mettono in dubbio tutti gli interventi di restauro compiuti nella prima metà del XX secolo.

Un abbraccio  
Eugenio

On 21st February 2023, La Rocca wrote me in another mail the relevant reference:

...

La citazione è:

A. Bartoli, "Scavi del Palatino (Domus Augustana), Relazione prima", in *NSc* 1929, pp. 3-29. Il riferimento al labirinto è a p. 5 (da cui ho tratto l'immagine che ti ho trasmesso).

...

And on 22nd February 2023, La Rocca wrote me:

Cara Chrystina,

ti ho trasmesso per We Transfer le pagine del volume "Archeologia in posa" dedicate alla Domus Flavia. Ora capisco perché non mi ricordavo affatto di aver scritto un testo nel volume: è che effettivamente non l'ho scritto! Il volume, curato da Marina Piranomonte e Alessandra Capodiferro, è della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma (Adriano La Regina), e la scheda della Domus Flavia è di Alessandra Capodiferro. Francamente non so come ci sia stato un equivoco così grande sul mio nome, che non compare affatto in tutto il libro.

Ho segnalato in giallo il punto in cui Alessandra Capodiferro ribadisce l'esistenza di un labirinto ottagonale al centro del peristilio.

...

Un abbraccio  
Eugenio

Comments by the editor Chrystina Häuber:

Staffan Lundén (2004, 1 with n. 2) writes:

"The labyrinth is located in a peristyle (peristyle F) that was excavated in 1912-14 by the archaeologist Giacomo Boni. [with n. 2]".

In his **note 2**, Lundén writes: "For the appearance of the peristyle before the excavation, see the photograph in: A. Bartoli, *Il Palatino*, (Monumenti d'Italia 5), Roma 1911, 19, also reproduced in: *Archeologia in posa. Cento anni di fotografie*, ed. E. La Rocca, Roma 1994, 94, pl. 94".

Cf. Alessandra Capodiferro (1994, 94, Fig. 94). The caption of this photograph reads: "Veduta dell'angolo sud-occidentale della *domus Flavia* prima degli scavi di Boni degli anni 1912-14".

*The Contribution by Eric M. Moormann : Can We Reconstruct the Templum Gentis Flaviae?*

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter* :

**IV.1.1.h) The new findings by B. E. Borg (2019) concerning the Templum Gentis Flaviae support the hypothesis suggested here that Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) was commissioned for the Iseum Campense. With some observations concerning the Temple of Divus Traianus at Italica, and concerning the Marble Forum at the Colonia Augusta Emerita (Mérida) in Spain. With The Contributions by Eric M. Moormann, Mario Torelli, and Walter Trillmich, and with The second Contribution by Jörg Rüpke.**



## Can We Reconstruct the Templum Gentis Flaviae?

Eric M. Moormann

As Chrystina Häuber has demonstrated, the discussion about the location and architectural shape of the sanctuary Domitian dedicated to his divinized father and brother – which should become a dynastic monument, including the memory of himself and other members of the Flavian family – is complex. The concept of a concrete memory for a divinized predecessor had a certain tradition: the Temple of the divus Julius in the Forum Romanum and the gigantic temple for the divus Claudius on the Caelius were points of reference in the Roman cityscape. The latter complex – started by Agrippina in 54 and completed by Vespasian in the 70s – included a traditional podium temple and a large garden surrounded by porticoes. Probably Domitian had a similar concept in mind, to be erected in the area of his house of birth, *ad malum punicum*, on the Quirinal, next to the Temple for Quirinus. Since no archaeological vestiges from the 90s on the Quirinal can be attributed to this massive monument, the discussion on its actual location remains for the major part a conundrum. However, remains of substantial architectural structures found under the Planetario in Via S. Romita, not far from Piazza della Repubblica (originally part of the Baths of Diocletian, known under this sobriquet thanks to one of its modern uses) on which the reader finds all novelties in Häuber's work. Moreover, the Hartwig reliefs and a colossal head of Titus were found in the same area, so that we may locate the monument in the whereabouts of the crossroads of Via XX Settembre and Via delle Quattro Fontane and Largo Santa Susanna, while it extended to Via San Vitale.

One of the major questions concerns the shape of the complex. Here I would not follow Coarelli's proposal of a round funerary monument *à la* Mausoleum of Augustus, but rather assume a traditional shape, such as that of the temple of the divus Claudius. This is a octo- or decastyle temple standing on a podium and surrounded by porticoes. Maria Cristina Capanna's research still offers the clearest solution, that of an octastyle temple, which has been followed by fine observations made by Barbara Borg and Chrystina Häuber, to mention the most recent contributions only. The way in which the urns of the sovereigns were systemized cannot be reconstructed at all. Yet, even if we can say much more than some twenty years ago (see Filippo Coarelli's brief lemma on the temple in *LTUR II* (1995) 368-39 as the starting point), I think that caution needs to be made in order not to overestimate the data. The discussion on the number of columns of the temple's façade for instance (cf. Capanna) remains futile as long as no precise measures of either columns or podium have come to light.

Note by the editor Chrystina Häuber:

Eric M. Moormann refers in his text to the following publications: to Häuber (*i.e.*, this volume), and with 'the Hartwig reliefs', to Rita Paris (1994a; *ead.* 1994b), with 'a colossal head of Titus' (c. here **Fig. 53**) to Eugenio La Rocca (2009; 2020b), further to Coarelli (2009b; *id.* 2014), with the 'octostyle temple', to Maria Cristina Capanna (2008), with the decastyle temple', to Mario Torelli (1987), and to Barbara Borg (2019). For those references; cf. the *Bibliography* in this volume.

*The first Contribution by Jörg Rüpke on the question, how many Vestal Virgins we might expect to appear at public ceremonies, such as the one shown on Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs*

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter* :

**V.1.d) The reconstruction, in my opinion erroneous, of the length of Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs by S. Langer and M. Pfanner (2018) (cf. here Figs. 1 and 2 drawing) and the correct reconstruction of the length of Frieze B by F. Magi (1945), whom I am following here (cf. here Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing; and Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancelleria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'). With a discussion of how many Vestal Virgins we might expect to appear at public ceremonies, such as the one shown on this panel (cf. here Fig. 2), and with The first Contribution by Jörg Rüpke.**

The following is a quote from Chapter V.1.d) :

“Nevertheless there is perhaps an important reason that might speak against the reconstruction of Frieze B, as suggested by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 73, 76, 29), who add an additional slab between the existing ones B1 and B2 (see their Fig. 7b on p. 31), with which they suggest to fill their newly created ‘gap’ within the represented scene, and where, in their opinion, the ‘so far missing sixth Vestal Virgin’, plus possibly further figures, were represented.

Being on principle greatly interested in ‘pagan’ religions, although not specifically an expert in the ‘college of the Vestal Virgins’, I find the following remark by Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli (1946-48, 259, that was already quoted *supra*, at Chapter IV.1.), very convincing:

**"Anche sul soggetto del rilievo B l'accordo è quasi completo: l'unico *adventus* di Vespasiano da imperatore è quello del 70 ... Sappiamo che, storicamente, l'incontro fra Vespasiano e Domiziano avvenne a Benevento; mentre il rilievo trasporta l'avvenimento a Roma, come è mostrato dalla presenza delle cinque Vestali (la sesta non poteva esserci, perché il culto non poteva essere abbandonato) ... [my emphasis]"**

Asking Jörg Rüpke for advice, he was kind enough to write me on 4th April 2019 the following answer by E-mail, which he has also kindly allowed me to publish here’:

*The first Contribution by Jörg Rüpke :*

*on the question, how many Vestal Virgins  
we might expect to appear at public ceremonies,  
such as the one shown on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Fig. 2)*

Liebe Frau Häuber,

... VV [*Virgines Vestales*]: Belegt ist das nicht. Aber vielleicht haben sich die männlichen Autoren nie über das unvollständige Erscheinen Gedanken gemacht. Andererseits kann man die Glut in einem Ofen - wir müssen ja wohl nicht an ein offenes Lagerfeuer denken! - auch weniger arbeitsintensiv sicherstellen, ohne Nachtschichten und Verzicht auf gemeinsamen "Kirchgang", will mir scheinen. Spielen nicht vielleicht kompositorische Gründe eine wichtigere Rolle als das dokumentarische Interesse? Manche Priesterschaften führten Protokoll über die bei Ritualen anwesenden, so schon lange das *Collegium pontificale*, zu dem ja auch die VV [*Virgines Vestales*] gehörten. Das heißt aber auch, dass Namenslisten geführt wurden, sozusagen Individualisierung betrieben wurde. Rüpke, *Fasti Sacerdotum*, 2005, 1, 123, Anm. 2: [Alfred] KLOSE (1910:42, Anm. 5) schloß aus der Anwesenheit von vier Vestalinnen beim Bankett, "daß die beiden anderen – also Fonteia und Fabia – den Herd hüten mußten". Die These ist also älter.

Im Falle des Amtsantrittsessens im Jahre 70 v. Chr. ist übrigens die jüngste der Vestalinnen anwesend. Das führt zu Folgefragen: Wie wurden unangenehme Pflichten geregelt, wenn nicht über das Senioritätsprinzip?

Vgl. Rüpke, FS [*Fasti Sacerdotum*] Nr. 490: Aemilia (1)<sup>3</sup> 210er–nach 178 v. Chr. Fem. Patric. Um 205<sup>4</sup> zur Vestalis gemacht, versah sie dieses Amt noch 178 als Vestalis *maxima*: In diesem Jahr soll sie das aus Nachlässigkeit einer jüngeren erloschene Feuer wunderbarerweise wieder entzündet haben. *Die captio* der ältesten Tochter des aussichtsreichen Lepidus, die damit für Verschwägerungen nicht mehr zur Verfügung stand, könnte einen Schlag des neuen *Pontifex maximus*, Licinius Crassus (Nr. 2234) dargestellt haben.

=====

<sup>3</sup>) Tochter des späteren *Pontifex maximus* M. Aemilius M.f. M.n. Lepidus (2) (Nr. 507). Identifizierung und Datierung folgen der ingeniosen Hypothese von MÜNZER; die Eintragung in den Listenteil erfolgt kursiv, da ein direkter Beleg fehlt.

<sup>4</sup>) MÜNZERS Annahme, daß Aemilia im Jahr 206 Nachfolgerin einer wegen Nachlässigkeit – sie ließ das Feuer ausgehen (Liv. 28,11,6f.) – bestraften Vestalin geworden sei (1920:176), ist abzulehnen, da ein Ausschluß der Delinquentin nicht angenommen werden muß. Wenn man die Nachricht des Dionys von Halikarnass über ein erneutes Erlöschen des Feuers auf die Überlieferung des Vorfalls von 178 bezieht, dann führte die mitgelieferte Information über eine fast dreißigjährige Tätigkeit der *Vestalis maxima* in einen ähnlichen Zeitraum.

Kurzum, denkbar ist die Pflicht, dass eine stets Feuerwache hatte, aber zu fragen ist, ob dafür das Relief ein starker Beleg ist.

Herzliche Grüße

Ihr

Jörg Rüpke.

Note by the editor Chrystina Häuber.

I have elsewhere explained the term "*captio*", mentioned by Jörg Rüpke in his above-quoted first *Contribution*:

"[At slide] 12.) Dia - Peter Connolly, Rekonstruktion: Atrium Vestae, Vestatempel [with n. 10], die Vestalischen Jungfrauen, deren Aufgabe es war, das heilige Herdfeuer der Göttin Vesta im Vestatempel zu bewahren, und unter deren Obhut die bedeutendsten, das Bestehen des römischen Staates garantierenden Heiligtümer gestellt war, ist ein gutes Beispiel für den religiösen Traditionalismus der Römer. In Fall des Vestakultes glaubte man, dass Romulus oder König Numa ihn aus der Stadt Alba Longa eingeführt habe. Die Vestalischen Jungfrauen waren sechs Mädchen aus Adelsfamilien, die im Alter von 5 Jahren vom Pontifex Maximus, der ihnen vorstand, "gegriffen" wurden [the procedure of the election of a five year old girl into this college of the Vestal Virgins was called *captio*]; sie waren zu einem 30jährigen Dienst verpflichtet. Die Leiterin dieser Priesterschaft hieß Vestalis Maxima. Die Vestalinnen mussten zölibatär leben und ihr Dienst für den Staat wurde als eminent wichtig angesehen. Die moderne Forschung erklärt sich das Vorhandensein der Vestalischen Jungfrauen ursprünglich damit, dass man für bestimmte Kulthandlungen Mädchenopfer benötigt habe (!). Cf. Häuber (2009b, 7, with n. 10, quoting: "P. CONNOLLY - H. DODGE 1998, 173").

*The second Contribution by Jörg Rüpke: Tempel-Gräber*

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter* :

**IV.1.1.h) The new findings by B. E. Borg (2019) concerning the Templum Gentis Flaviae support the hypothesis suggested here that Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) was commissioned for the Iseum Campense. With some observations concerning the Temple of Divus Traianus at Italica, and concerning the Marble Forum at the Colonia Augusta Emerita (Mérida) in Spain. With The Contributions by Eric M. Moormann, Mario Torelli, and Walter Trillmich, and with The second Contribution by Jörg Rüpke.**

*The second Contribution by Jörg Rüpke :*

*Tempel-Gräber*

Eugenio La Rocca (2020b, 369, Fußnote 9) liefert schon wichtige Hinweise auf einen weiteren Sprachgebrauch. Ich selbst habe kürzlich in einem Aufsatz (Jörg Rüpke, "Gifts, votives, and sacred things: Strategies, not entities", *Religion in the Roman Empire* 4.2, 2018, 207-236) darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass wir viele religiöse Begriffe missverstehen, wenn wir sie als abschließend definierte Termini eines kohärenten Sakralrechts interpretieren. Dieses existiert ebenso wenig wie Mommsens Staatsrecht. Es handelt sich teils um strategische Behauptung, teils um (antiquarische, man könnte auch sagen: theologische) Systematisierungsversuche. Templum wird aber nur selten in solch strategischer Schärfe (etwa für Senatsversammlungsorte) verwendet.

Zudem: Die Grenze zwischen Ahnen und Göttern ist ja in Rom ständig umstritten. Die *liberatio* eines sakralen Raumes will natürlich eine Eindeutigkeit der Besitzüberschreibung (*consecratio*) herstellen, indem sie alle älteren Ansprüche ausräumt, aber schnell können dann doch wieder zusätzliche Götter (und ggf. [gegebenenfalls] auch Gräber) einziehen. Die Differenzierungsarbeit, die John Scheid für die julisch-claudische Epoche aufgezeigt hat ("Die Parentalien für die verstorbenen Caesaren als Modell für den römischen Totenkult", *Klio* 75, 1993, 188-201), und die sich etwa im Zeremoniell kaiserlicher Bestattung UND Konsekration zeigt, ist eben nur eine Position gewesen.

Note by the editor Chrystina Häuber:

For the references, quoted by Jörg Rüpke; cf. the *Bibliography* in this volume.



*The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz: Zur kartographischen Visualisierung historischer Landschaftselemente zwischen Rhein und Schwarzem Meer von Augustus bis Hadrian (cf. here Fig. 77)*

As mentioned above, in Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*:

‘The purpose of the map here **Fig. 77** is to support research that tries to understand the movements of the three men within this area, who are discussed in this *Study*: Arminius, Domitian and Hadrian’.

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapters*:

*The major results of this book on Domitian; The second Contribution by Peter Herz : Anmerkungen zu Statius Marrax; The fifth Contribution by Peter Herz: Der Ritt Hadrians nach Mogontiacum; and to infra, in volume 3-2, Appendix IV.*

**For Arminius;** cf. *supra*, at Chapter *What this Study is all about*; and at *The major results of his book on Domitian*; and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.1.*; *Appendix IV.c.2.*; and especially at *Appendix IV.d.2.d) The meaning of the representation of the Piroustae within Augustus’s Porticus ad Nationes at Rome. With H. Wiegartz’s (1996) observations concerning the Piroustae and their representations; and a summary of the revolt of Arminius in Germany, which he planned because he had fought under Tiberius to suppress the revolt of the Pannonian-Dalmation tribes, inter alia of the Piroustae.*

**For Domitian's wars in the Balkans** and the question of why the people called *Piroustae* were also of importance for him; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d)*, *passim*, especially at *Appendix IV.d.2.) The ‘Province’ Reliefs from the Hadrianeum (cf. here Fig. 48), the Piroustoi in a labelled relief in the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, the Piroustae in Domitian’s Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium (cf. here Figs. 50; 49), and the answer to the question: Does the presence of the ‘nation’ Piroustae in Domitian’s Forum provide a date for the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1; 2)?; at Appendix IV.d.2.e) Did Domitian intentionally represent the Piroustae in his Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium? With The second Contribution by Peter Herz; and at Appendix IV.d.2.f) Domitian’s choice to represent the Piroustae in his Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium and the date of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1; 2); see also above, at *The second Contribution by Peter Herz : Anmerkungen zu Statius Marrax.**

**For Hadrian;** cf. *supra*, at *A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great); at A Study on Hadrian’s portrait-statue from Hierapydna (cf. here Fig. 29); and infra, in volume 3-2, at A Study on the consequences of Domitian’s assassination ... Or: The wider topographical context of the Arch of Hadrian alongside the Via Flaminia which led to the (later) Hadrianeum and to Hadrian’s Temples of Diva Matidia (and of Diva Sabina?). With discussions of Hadrian’s journey from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum (Mayence) in order to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva, and of Hadrian’s portrait-type Delta Omikron ( $\Delta o$ ) (cf. here Fig. 3). With The fourth and the fifth Contribution by Peter Herz; with The first Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz; with The Contribution by John Bodel, and with The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen; at Chapter VI.1.; at *Trajan’s adoption by Nerva and Hadrian’s Parforceritt from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum to congratulate Trajan on his adoption.**

## Zur kartographischen Visualisierung historischer Landschaftselemente zwischen Rhein und Schwarzem Meer von Augustus bis Hadrian

Franz Xaver Schütz

### Motivation

Wie weit ist es eigentlich vom Schwarzen Meer bis nach Mainz. Von wo aus ist Hadrian mit seinen Gefährten aufgebrochen und wo war das überhaupt? Wo liegt Kalkriese? Diese und weitere Fragen waren der Ausgangspunkt für diesen Beitrag im Buch von Chrystina Häuber.

Im Text von Chrystina Häuber werden verschiedene antike Orts- und Landschaftsbezeichnungen genannt. Eine Frage war, welche Entfernung Hadrian zurückgelegt hat, als er aus MOESIA INFERIOR nach MOGONTIACUM (heute Mainz) geritten ist. Der Vorschlag, dass Hadrian Pferde als Reisemittel benutzt hat, stammt von Peter Herz, vgl. seinen Beitrag "The fifth Contribution by Peter Herz: *Der Ritt Hadrians nach Mogontiacum*". Chrystina Häuber spricht dabei von einem "Parforceritt", vgl. ihr Kapitel "Chapter VI.1. My 2. Conclusion: *In this context it is interesting to analyse the process by which Hadrian finally became emperor; at Trajan's adoption by Nerva and Hadrian's Parforceritt from Moesia Inferior to Mogontiacum to congratulate Trajan on his adoption.*"

Derartige Streckenmessungen lassen sich heute vergleichsweise einfach mit geographischen Informationssystemen (GIS) durchführen, falls entsprechende georeferenzierte, also mit realen Koordinaten versehene Karten, beziehungsweise Geodaten vorliegen. So entstand die Idee eine digitale, georeferenzierte Karte zu erstellen und darin Entfernungen zu messen. Zudem war dann eine Frage, ob es möglich ist, mit frei verfügbarer Software und frei verfügbaren Geodaten die im Titel genannte Visualisierung herzustellen. Das Ergebnis ist in den folgenden Ausführungen dokumentiert. Chrystina Häuber sei für viele kritische und wertvolle Hinweise insbesondere zu Inhalt und Layoutgestaltung der kartographischen Visualisierung gedankt!

HAKE, GRÜNREICH und MENG (2002, S. 33) halten fest, dass der "kartographischen Visualisierung (Präsentation) eine Schlüsselfunktion" zukommt. Sie beziehen dies im "Hinblick auf den Erkenntnis- und Entscheidungsprozess der GIS-Anwender" und zitierten "Spiess (in Mayer 1990)", "dass sinnvoll und interessant gestaltete Karten im Gegensatz zu standardisierten, langweiligen graphischen Darstellungen die Betrachter zum Denken anregen. Dieses ist aber Bedingung für Erkenntnis (Rosak 1986)." Falls die hier gezeigte kartographische Visualisierung diejenigen, die sie betrachten zum Denken anregt, z.B. um sich den Ritt des Hadrian von OESCUS nach MOGONTIACUM besser vorstellen zu können, ist meine Motivation erfüllt.

### Begrifflichkeiten und Methode

Unter der kartographischen Visualisierung wird nach HAKE, GRÜNREICH, MENG (2002, S. 33) die Präsentation (vgl. oben) von Geodaten in Form einer Karte verstanden, die primär auf einem Bildschirm erfolgt, jedoch auch als Papierkarte gedruckt werden kann. Zu deren Erstellung wird in der Regel ein geographisches Informationssystem (GIS) verwendet, in diesem Fall die frei und kostenlos verfügbare Software QGIS 3.16.

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Als historische Landschaftselemente werden hier Bestandteile der Landschaft, wie Festland, Flüsse und Meere der Naturlandschaft verstanden, aber auch Elemente der Kulturlandschaft, wie z.B. Städte (vgl. Eintrag "Landschaftselement" in WAG 1993, S. 347).

Als Datengrundlage diente ein Datensatz mit bearbeiteten SRTM (Shuttle Radar Topography Mission) Geodaten (vgl. JARVIS, REUTER, NELSON, GUEVARA, 2008). Dieser wurde in QGIS geladen und mit entsprechenden Einstellungen im Farbverlauf von grün (Tiefland) bis rot (Hochgebirge) dargestellt. Die Farben sind entsprechenden Höhenwerten in den bearbeiteten SRTM-Daten zugeordnet. Sie reichen von -85 bis 4684 Metern. Für die Flüsse wurde ein modifizierter Geodatensatz der "Catchment Characterisation and Modelling (CCM) Database 2.1" der European Commission, Joint Research Centre, Institute for Environment and Sustainability verwendet. Beide Datensätze sind frei verfügbar. Die antiken Ortsnamen wurden vorrangig im Lexikon der Alten Welt (LAW) und im Kleinen Pauly (KIP) recherchiert. Falls die Orte aktuell noch existieren wurden deren Koordinaten in amtlichen Informationssystemen und in Open Street Map (OSM) ermittelt. Falls die Orte heute nicht mehr existieren, wurden die Koordinaten entsprechender archäologischer Relikte verwendet. Zu den Geodaten vgl. auch die Ausführungen im Detail unten.

Die Geodaten zeigen also die aktuelle physische Struktur der Erde. Insbesondere bei den Flüssen müssen wir bedenken, dass sich deren Verläufe innerhalb der entsprechenden Flußtäler, z.B. durch Begradigung und Kanalisierung in den letzten 2000 Jahren verändert haben.

## **Kartographische Visualisierung**

### **Wasser und Land**

Wasser- und Landflächen werden mittels der SRTM-Geodaten visualisiert. Die SRTM Geodaten besitzen eine x,y und z-Koordinate. Die z-Koordinate stellt in der Regel die gemessene Landhöhe an einem bestimmten Punkt dar und wird in das Bildpixel übertragen.

Da SRTM-Geodaten die dritte Dimension in Form der z-Koordinate enthalten, könnten wir mit dem Overlay eines aktuellen Satellitenbildes den Ritt von Hadrian und seinen Gefährten sogar virtuell auf Basis des aktuellen Landschaftsreliefs nachvollziehen. Würden wir für das Overlay Daten aus der Jahreszeit November verwendet, wären beispielsweise Eis und Schnee zu erkennen - jedoch nur unter den aktuellen klimatischen Verhältnissen.

### **Flüsse und Meere**

Mit dem oben genannten CCM-Geodatensatz wurden im Folgenden genannte Flüsse visualisiert. Die Konturen der Meeresküsten sind den SRTM-Geodaten entnommen.

**AMISIA**, Ems (SONTHEIMER 1979).

**ISTROS**. Die Griechen kannten nach SPOERRI nur den Unterlauf der heutigen Donau. "Der obere und mittlere Lauf wird bereits früh den kelt. Namen *Danuovius* getragen haben, der erst um die Mitte des 1.Jh.v.Chr. auf den gesamten Fluß übertragen wurde; daneben bestand aber auch der Name I. bis zum E. der Ant. fort." "Am Donaulimes waren 2 Kriegsflottillen stationiert: *classis Moesica* und *Pannonica*" (SPOERRI 1979).

**MARE ADRIATICUM** s.v. "**Mare Adriaticum**". Der Name wurde nach ANDREAE von der etruskischen Stadt Atria im Podelta abgeleitet und in der römischen Kaiserzeit auf den ganzen adriatischen Meeresarm ausgedehnt (ANDREAE 1965).

**MARE GERMANICUM** s.v. "**M. Germanicum**". Die "Nordsee (Plin.nat.4,103)" (BERGER-HAAS 1965).

**MARE SUEBICUM** s.v. "**M. Suebicum**". Die "Ostsee (Tac.Germ.45). In der literarischen Überlieferung ist nur einmal die Anwesenheit eines Römers am M.sueb., eines auf dem Landwege dorthin gelangten, unbekanntem Ritters, bezeugt, der für Nero Bernstein einzukaufen hatte (Plin.nat.37,45)" (BERGER-HAAS 1965).

**PONTOS EUXEINOS**. Heute Schwarzes Meer (DANOFF 1979).

**VISURGIS**, Weser (CÜPPERS 1979).

### Orte

Nachfolgende Orte wurden mit Koordinaten aus amtlichen Informationssystemen und Open Street Map (OSM) visualisiert.

**Aquileia** wurde als latinische Kolonie 181 v.Chr. gegründet. "Seit 90 v.Chr. *municipium*" (RADKE 1979).

**Aquincum** "war Legionslager und Stadt zur Römerzeit am rechten Donauufer, jetzt: Budapest" ... "Residenz des Stadthalters von Pann.inf." (SZILÁGYI 1979)

**Byzantion** "(später Constantinopolis, h. Istanbul), griech. Stadt, die in der s.ö. Ecke Thrakiens auf dem Thrak. bosporos entstanden ist. B. wurde von Megara etwa im J. 660 v. Chr. gegründet." (DANOFF 1979).

**Carnuntum** "Röm. Militärlager an der Donau" (FITZ 1979).

**CCAA** s.v. "**Colonia Agrippinensis** (C. Claudia Ara Agrippinensium)". Heute Köln am Rhein. Das "oppidum Ubiorum" wurde "50 n. Chr. von Kaiser Claudius zur Colonia erhoben", da Agrippina, seine Frau 15/16 n. Chr. dort geboren wurde. Der Standort war Lager der "Leg I und der Leg. XX Valeria victrix, die später nach Bonn und Neuss verlegt wurden". Dort befand sich auch die "classis Germanica pia fidelis mit festem Kastell auf der >>Alteburg<< Köln-Bayental, und als solche" war CCAA "wichtiges Verwaltungszentrum und Sitz des kaiserlichen Statthalters von Germania inferior." (CÜPPERS 1979). Zur CCAA vgl. auch ECK 2019: "La creazione della Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium". Zur Entwicklung des Informationssystems "Digitaler Archäologischer Schichtenatlas Köln" vgl. HÄUBER, SCHÜTZ, SPIEGEL 1999.

**Mogontiacum**, heute Mainz, war die Provinzhauptstadt von Germania superior (CÜPPERS 1979).

**Oescus**, "h. Gigen in NW.-Bulgarien". "Wichtige röm. Stadt ö. der Mündung des gleichnamigen Flusses (h. Iskar) in die Donau" (DANOFF 1979).

**Risinium** (Risan) "an der Adria in der Bucht von Kotor (Cattaro)" (ALFÖLDY 1979).

**Salona**, Augustus hat die "*urbs nova* um 33 v.Chr." gegründet und "zum Rang einer *colonia* erhoben" (FITZ 1979).

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**Singidunum** "Stadt an der Mündung der Save in die Donau (h. Beograd, Belgrad)" (SZILÁGYI 1979).

**Sirmium** "Stadt am Einfluß des Bacuntius in die Save (h. Sremska Mitrovica) ... "später Residenzstadt Illyricums und Bischofssitz" (SZILÁGYI 1979).

**Tomis** heute "Constantza". "Verbannungsort" Ovids (DANOFF 1979).

**Vindobona**, heute Gebiet von Wien (NEUMANN 1979).

## Ergebnisse

Neben der in Abb. 1 (= Fig. 77 in Band 3-2) gezeigten Visualisierung als Ergebnis dieser Arbeit wurden in QGIS verschiedene Messungen durchgeführt. Danach ist für die zurückgelegte Entfernung von OESCUS nach MOGONTIACUM ein Wert von 1800 Kilometer realistisch und nach Messungen mit abweichenden Routen als Obergrenze - also als maximal zurückgelegte Entfernung - zu sehen, falls keine größeren Umwege durchgeführt wurden.

Nach SYME war die *Legio V Macedonica* in Oescus in Moesia inferior stationiert, vgl.: "Hadrian was born on January 26, 76. The first military tribunate, in II Adiutrix may be assigned to the year 95, the second, 'extremis iam Domitiani temporibus' (Hadr. 2.3), to 96: V Macedonica was the legion, stationed at Oescus in Moesia Inferior." (SYME 1968, S. 101). "Hadrian's second military tribunate lasted for more than twelve months. He was still with V Macedonica in Moesia Inferior in the autumn of 97" (SYME 1968, S. 102). Die Annahme, dass Hadrian mit seinen Gefährten von Oescus aus aufbrach, ist also nach Meinung des Autors durchaus berechtigt.

Die mögliche Reisezeit betreffend, nennt KOLB (2000, S. 308-332) in ihrem Kapitel "V. Geschwindigkeiten" Reisezeiten zu Fuß und mit unterschiedlichen Transportmitteln. Das "Tempo pro Tag" gibt sie im "m.p." und umgerechnet in km an, vgl. Fußnote 1 auf Seite 310 in KOLB (2000): "Abgekürzt für römische Meilen steht *m(ilia) p(assuum)*. Gerechnet werden: 1 m.p. = 1,47 km". SCHÜTZ (2008, S. 61) gibt in seiner Tabelle 4 "Synopsis römischer Maße" nach "PRYCE et al. 1996, S. 943" 1 Roman mile mit "1.480 m" an. Gerundet entsprechen die Werte aus der Literatur also ca. 1,5 km. In Tabelle 4 auf Seite 315 nennt KOLB (2000) für Reisezeiten mit gewechselten Pferden mit "Zielort" Germanien für das Jahr 9 v.Chr. und für das 6. Jh. "200 m.p.=294 km" pro Tag, was sicherlich nur bei besten Rahmenbedingungen erreicht wurde.

## Anhang und Literatur

### Einstellungen QGIS Projekt

Als Referenzsystem wurde "EPSG:4326 - WGS 84 - Geographisch" in QGIS eingestellt.

### Datenquellen

#### Erdoberfläche

SRTM (Shuttle Radar Topography Mission) Geodaten

Jarvis A., H.I. Reuter, A. Nelson, E. Guevara, 2008, Hole-filled seamless SRTM data V4, International Centre for Tropical Agriculture (CIAT), available from <https://srtm.csi.cgiar.org>.

Datei: cut\_n30e000.tif mit 2.595.961.987 Bytes (ca. 2,5 GB) vom 14.9.2008.

Flüsse

<https://www.naturalearthdata.com/downloads/10m-physical-vectors/10m-rivers-lake-centerlines/> (26.5.2023)

"Rivers primarily derive from World Data Bank 2. Double line rivers in WDB2 were digitized to create single line drainages. All rivers received manual smoothing and position adjustments to fit shaded relief generated from SRTM Plus elevation data, which is more recent and (presumably) more accurate."..."Supplemental Data – Europe. Data primarily derives from Catchment Characterisation and Modelling (CCM) Database 2.1 by the European Commission, Joint Research Centre, Institute for Environment and Sustainability. For information about this product and the source data, see <http://ccm.jrc.ec.europa.eu>. The modified CCM rivers and lakes offered here are intended for small-scale cartographic use. Only a portion of CCM data is used, representing major rivers and lakes (classes 4 and 5 in the MAINDRAIN attributes column). Generalization and smoothing were applied to these selected data—the CCM vectors contain 9 percent of the data points found in the original source data."

Benutzte Version: 5.0.0, Dateiname: ne\_10m\_rivers\_lake\_centerlines.shp , 4208092 Bytes vom 7.12.2021.

Die Mündungen von Elbe und Weser wurden von Hand vom Autor digitalisiert und der Bosphorus auf Grundlage der SRTM-Daten nachdigitalisiert.

Orte

<https://geoportal.bayern.de/bayernatlas/> (online: 3.6.2023)

<https://www.geobasis.niedersachsen.de/> (online: 3.6.2023)

<https://osm.org> (online: 7.2023)

**Abkürzungen**

KIP = Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike in 5 Bänden. Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag. März 1979. München.

LAW = Lexikon der Alten Welt. 1965. Artemis Verlag. Zürich und Stuttgart.

SRTM = Shuttle Radar Topography Mission.

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Franz Xaver Schütz, Zur kartographischen Visualisierung historischer Landschaftselemente...

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Abbildung

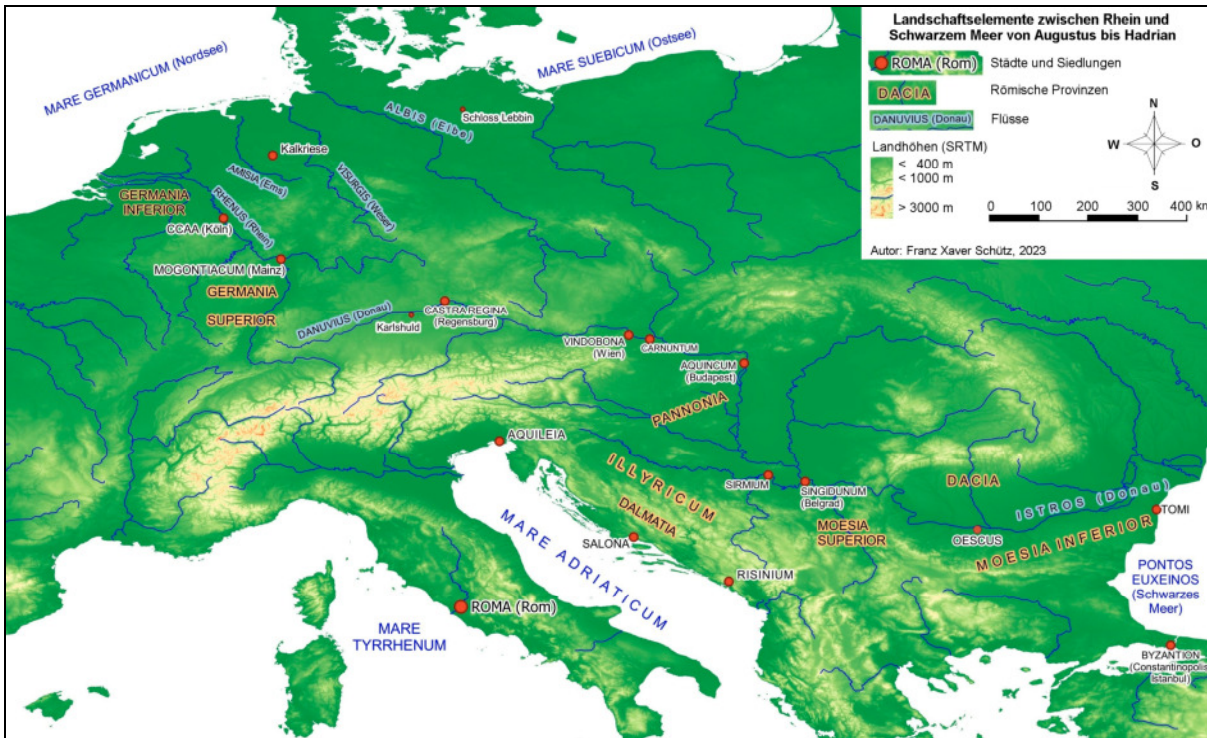


Abb. 1 = Fig. 77 in Band 3-2: Kartographische Visualisierung. Landschaftselemente zwischen Rhein und Schwarzem Meer von Augustus bis Hadrian.



*The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?*

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter* :

*A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11). With The Contribution by Hans Rupprecht Goette on the reworking of the portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great).*

With discussions of the following subjects: the inscription *CIL VI 974 = 40524* (cf. here Fig. 29.1), belonging to a statue of Hadrian; the question, where in Rome large blocks of Parian marble like those of the acrolithic statue of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great; cf. here Fig. 11) could have been available: at *La Marmorata* in the quartiere Testaccio; the *'Porticus Aemilia'* outside *Porta Trigemina'* (erroneously located there, the building in question is in reality identifiable as *Navalia*); and the *Horrea Aemiliana*;

*Part II. Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata. With discussions of the 'Porticus Aemilia' (in reality identifiable as Navalia) and of the Horrea Aemiliana.*

*With The sixth Contribution by Peter Herz : Rom. Strukturen der Versorgung; and with The second Contribution by Franz Xaver Schütz : Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?;*

*Section IV. The Statio Marmorum and the 'sculpture industry' at La Marmorata, its Tiber ships for the transportation of fresh marble blocks and of finished products, Domitian's Tiber ship delivering a block of marble (Figs. 105; 106), Domitian's 'pharaonic' building projects at Rome, and the question, whether the Navalia at La Marmorata had anything to do with all this. With some remarks on the heaviest object, ever transported on the Tiber in antiquity: the Lateran Obelisk (Fig. 101);*

*at In the following, I allow myself a digression on the weight of the Lateran Obelisk (here Fig. 101). When brought to Rome in AD 357, it was, according to several authors, 148 palmi high, whereas today it is only 144 palmi high. According to Franz Xaver Schütz, the Lateran Obelisk was thus originally circa 33,08 m high and weighed circa 529 tons; whereas today it is still 32,18 m high and weighs circa 509 tons.*

## Wie schwer war der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom steht?

**Franz Xaver Schütz**

### **Motivation**

Wie schwer ist eigentlich der ägyptische Obelisk, der heute auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Rom steht? Da es in der Literatur abweichende Angaben gibt, habe ich hier den Versuch unternommen, das Gewicht möglichst genau abzuschätzen. Im Text von Chrystina Häuber wird auf diesen Obelisk insbesondere in diesem Kapitel eingegangen: "*A Study on the colossal portrait of Hadrian (now Constantine the Great) in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (cf. here Fig. 11) ...; Part II. Ancient Rome's new commercial river port, at La Marmorata*"; at "*Section IV. The Statio Marmorum and the 'sculpture industry' at La Marmorata ... With some remarks on the heaviest object, ever transported on the Tiber in antiquity: the Lateran Obelisk (Fig. 101)*".

Methodisch ist dieser Beitrag primär aus Sicht der Geowissenschaften und Metrologie geschrieben und versucht damit eine Brücke zwischen Natur- und Geisteswissenschaften zu schlagen.

### **Längenmaße, Material, Volumen und Gewicht**

#### **Längenmaße**

Durch die gleichzeitige Angaben von Metern und Palmi bei CIPRIANI 1823 ergibt sich, dass 1 Palmo 0,2235 Meter (m) entspricht. Weitere Maßeinheiten werden als Längenmaße in der hier zitierten Literatur zum ägyptischen Obelisk auf der Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rom nicht genannt. Dieser Wert entspricht dem in der Literatur genannten Wert für 1 Palmo bis auf die vierte Nachkommastelle. KIDSON nennt den "*the palmo romano (0.223422)*" (KIDSON 1990, S. 91). SCHÜTZ (2010, S. 476) nennt den "*palmo romano di architettura*" mit 0,2234 m unter Verweis auf "A.P. Frutaz, Hrsg., *Le piante di Roma, I-III, Roma 1962, hier: Bd. I, S. 30-31*".

#### **Material, Volumen und Gewicht**

Als Volumeneinheit werden "*palmi cubi*" und Kubikmeter (m<sup>3</sup>) genannt. 1 Palmo cubo = 0,2235 m \* 0,2235 m \* 0,2235 m = 0,011164327875 m<sup>3</sup>.

Als Einheiten für das Gewicht des ägyptischen Obelisk werden "*Libra*" und Tonnen genannt. In der Literatur zur historischen Metrologie findet sich bei Witthöft folgende Angabe: "*12 Unzen = 1 libra = 340,200 g*" (WITTHÖFT 2002, S. 478). CESANO, SEGRE (1934) nennen 339,07 g ("*LIBBRA (λίτρα, libra)*"... "*Ancona, Macerata, Foligno e Roma (prov.), gr. 339,07*").

In sämtlicher Literatur wird davon ausgegangen, dass es sich bei dem Gestein, aus dem der ägyptische Obelisk besteht, um "*granito rosso*" (z.B. CORSI 1845, S. 296) handelt, also "*Rosengranit (aus Assuan)*" (vgl. Exkurs 1 von Carola Vogel in HABACHI 2000, S. 103).

KLEMM, KLEMM 1993 schreiben auf Seite 325 in ihrem Kapitel "7.4 Die Rosengranitvarietäten": "*Der Aswaner Rosengranit ist ein unverwechselbar charakteristisches Gestein, das exklusiv aus dem oben beschriebenen Gebiet stammt. Jeder, der dieses Gestein einigermaßen aufmerksam, sei es im Gelände oder an Artefakten, studiert hat, wird es ohne Schwierigkeiten immer wieder erkennen, da fast keine Verwechslungsmöglichkeiten mit anderen Granitvarietäten weltweit bestehen*". Nach KLEMM, KLEMM könnte aktuell mit modernen Methoden eine Zuordnungsgenauigkeit von +/- 100 m für Gesteinsproben

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erreicht werden (vgl. Zitat: "Kombiniert man indessen anhand des vorliegenden Analysematerials systematisch sämtliche chemischen Elemente einer zuzuordnenden Analyse eines Artefaktes mit den Vergleichsanalysen von Aswan, so läßt sich in aller Regel eine präzise lokale Zuordnung im Gebiet von Aswan durchführen. Die zu erreichende Zuordnungsgenauigkeit dürfte mit einem Fehler von  $\pm 100$  m behaftet sein."

RASHWAN und DARWISH haben Analysen von Aswaner Rosengranit ("Red Aswan Granite") aus dem von KLEMM, KLEMM genannten Abbaugelände durchgeführt und beziehen sich auf verschiedene Publikationen von KLEMM, KLEMM. Sie geben als Mittelwert für Proben des "Red Aswan Granite" eine Dichte von  $2541 \text{ kg/m}^3$  an: "the density was set to be  $2541 \text{ kg/m}^3$ " (RASHWAN, DARWISH 2018, S. 14). Diese Dichte wird häufig auch als spezifisches Gewicht bezeichnet. Sie haben 8 Proben analysiert, der kleinste Dichtewert lag bei  $2517,64 \text{ kg/m}^3$ , der größte bei  $2580,39$ . Allgemein wird für Granit eine Dichte von 2500 bis 2700 angegeben, vgl. Tabelle Gesteinsdichten unter <http://www.cms.fu-berlin.de/geo/fb/e-learning/petrograph/tabellen/gesteinsdichte.html> (online: 07/2023). Dort wird eine Dichte von 2500 bis 2700 genannt (" $2,5$  bis  $2,7 \text{ g/cm}^3$ "). Als Datenquelle wird angegeben: "Schön, J.H. (1996) Physical properties of rocks - fundamentals and principles of Petrophysics, in: Handbook of Geophysical Exploration, Seismic Exploration, Vol. 18. Helbig, K. & Treitel, S. (eds.)". Je dunkler der Granit, desto höher ist in der Regel die Dichte.

WIRSCHING nimmt für die Dichte des Rosengranits " $\sigma = 2,68$  rd.  $2,7 \text{ g/cm}^3$ " an (WIRSCHING 2013, S. 130), nennt jedoch keine Quelle zur Herkunft dieses Wertes.

## Zusammenstellungen, Analysen und Berechnungen

### Angaben zu den Maßen in der Literatur in chronologischer Reihenfolge

#### MERCATI 1589

"Si vedeva rotto in tre pezzi, il primo de quali è lungo sessantacinque palmi et mezzo: il secondo quaranta tre et mezzo : il terzo insieme con la punta, trentanoue : di maniera che tutto l'Obelisco era lungo cento quaranta otto palmi" (MERCATI 1589, S. 379). Falls wir die drei Teilangaben von MERCATI addieren, ergeben sich die von ihm genannten 148 palmi für die Länge des Obeliskens bei der Auffindung ( $65,5 + 43,5 + 39 = 148$ ). Der Obelisk wurde dann vor der Wiederaufstellung um 4 Palmi "gekürzt", womit der aufgestellte Obelisk eine Länge von 144 Palmi besitzt ("Leuati dunque questi quattro palmi ... l'Obelisco è lungo cento quarantaquattro palmi in circa", MERCATI 1589, S. 384).

Bezüglich des Gewichtes schreibt MERCATI: "Le quali misure essendo ridotte da alcuni à palmi cubi, ritrouano che tutto l'Obelisco contiene palmi cubi, quindici mila cento ventinove, che fanno il peso d'un milione , et trecento uno mila, et nouanta quattro libre." (MERCATI, S. 384), nennt also ein Gewicht von 1.301.094 libre.

#### ZOEGA 1797

Auf Seite 627 schreibt ZOEGA: "Quae omnia adiecta ad ipsum obeliscum, longum palmos centum quadraginta quatuor", also 144 Palmi.

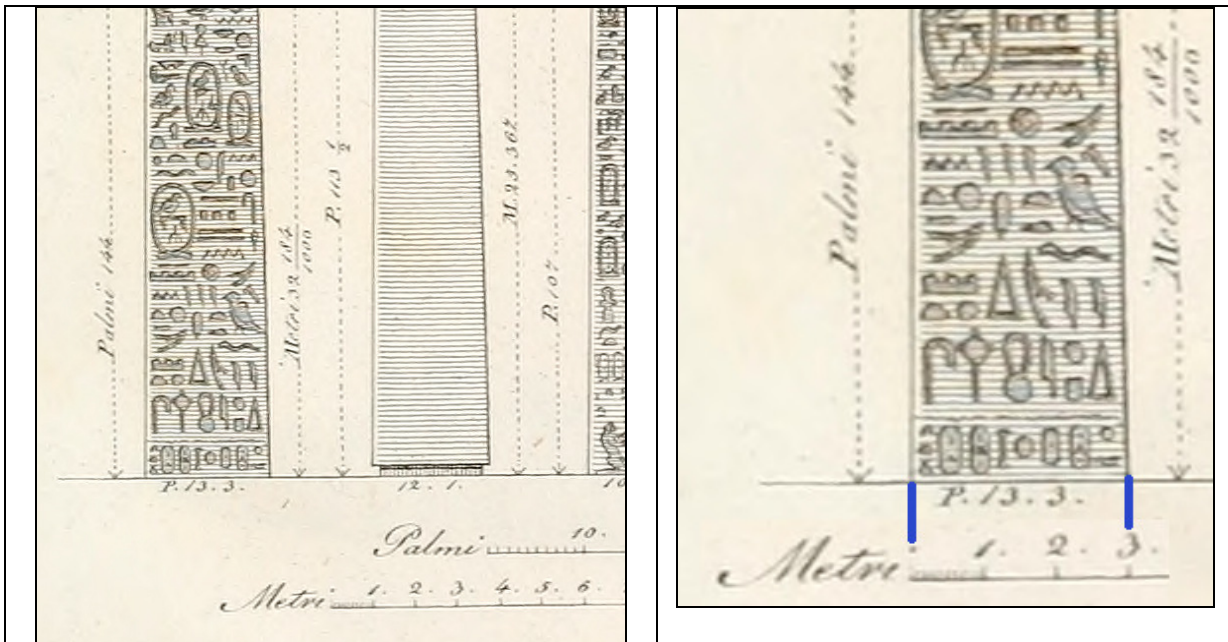
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CIPRIANI 1823

Auf den Zeichnungen von CIPRIANI 1823 sind sowohl "Palmi", als auch "Metri" angegeben (vgl. hier Abb. 1). Teilen wir das von ihm angegebene metrische Maß für die Länge des Obeliskens von 32,184 m durch die von ihm angegebenen 144 Palmi, erhalten wir einen Wert von 0,2235 Meter für einen Palmo (32,184 Meter / 144 Palmi). Für die ursprüngliche Länge des Obeliskens von 148 Palmi ergibt sich ein Wert von 33,078 Meter (148 Palmi \* 0,2235 Meter = 33,078 Meter)

Die Grundfläche des Obeliskens ist nach der Zeichnung von CIPRIANI quadratisch und besitzt eine Seitenlänge von 2,97 m, am Beginn des Pyramidions 2,23 m. Das Pyramidion hat eine Höhe von 3,30 m.

Auf Seite 16 schreibt CIPRIANI: "Il fusto ch'è di tre pezzi, e che per la sua irregolarità nella base cagionata dalle varie rotture fu scorciato palmi quattro, è rimasto attualmente lungo palmi 144".



**Abb. 1:** Links: Metrischer Maßstab unter der Zeichnung der Obeliskens von CIPRIANI 1823.  
Rechts: Montage des metrischen Maßstabs unter die Angabe "P. 13. 3."

Abb. 1 zeigt, dass der metrische Maßstab von CIPRIANI sehr genau gezeichnet ist. Rechnen wir seine Angabe von "P. 13.3." in Meter um, so ergeben sich  $13,3 * 0,2235 = 2,97$  m. Montieren wir seinen metrischen Maßstab unter die Angabe der Palmi, so können wir diese ca. 3 "Metri" dort auch ablesen (vgl. Abb. 1 rechts).

CORSI 1845

CORSI schreibt auf Seite 296: "Piazza di S. Giovanni. Un obelisco di granito rosso tagliato da Ramise , trasportato in Roma dall' Imperator Costanzo, e posto nel Circo massimo. E alto palmi 148. contiene 15383 palmi cubi, e pesa libbre 1,322,938".

MARUCCHI 1898

Auf Seite 8 schreibt MARUCCHI: "Esso è anche il piu alto misurando circa 32 metri".

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### HABACHI 2000

Bei HABACHI finden sich folgende Angaben: "Der siebente und letzte der von Thutmosis III. in Karnak errichteten Obelisk, ein Einzelstück, ist mit 36 m der größte Obelisk überhaupt, der uns erhalten geblieben ist." (HABACHI 2000, S. 49). "Bei einem Gewicht von 455 t beträgt seine heutige Höhe noch immer 32,18 m, obwohl im 16. Jh., bei seiner Wiederaufstellung, ein Stück abgeschlagen worden war." (HABACHI 2000, S. 67). "Maße: H. 34m, Gew. 460 t Material: Rosengranit(aus Assuan)" (Exkurs 1 von Carola Vogel in HABACHI 2000, S. 103).

### CIAMPINI 2004

CIAMPINI nennt 32,18 m als Höhe ("Altezza: m 32,18; il monumento è mancante della parte inferiore", als Material gibt er "granito rosa" an (S. 57).

### WIRSCHING 2013

WIRSCHING gibt für den Obelisk eine Höhe von "32,15 m" und ein Gewicht von "500 t" an (WIRSCHING 2013, S. 76). Auf Seite 77 bildet er Zeichnungen von "G. B. Cipriani 1823" mit folgender Bildunterschrift ab: "Bild 47 Die vier größten Obelisk nach ihrer Zweit-Aufstellung in Rom Zeichnungen von G. B. Cipriani 1823 (D'Onofrio, 83) genau auf 1/4 palmo (1 palmo = 0,223 m)". Er nimmt für Granit ein spezifisches Gewicht von 2,68 an: "Angenommen wird die Dichte des Rosengranits zu  $\sigma = 2,68 \text{ rd. } 2,7 \text{ g/cm}^3$ " (WIRSCHING 2013, S. 130).

### PENSABENE, DOMINGO 2017

Offensichtlich in Mißverständnis von MAISCHBERGER 1997 schreiben PENSABENE und DOMINGO: "un obelisco alto 32 m e di 350 tonnellate,<sup>195</sup> destinato al Circo Massimo (ora a San Giovanni in Laterano)" (PENSABENE, DOMINGO 2017, S. 580). In ihrer Anmerkung 195 verweisen die Autoren auf "MAISCHBERGER 1997, pp. 28-29" und "LIVERANI 2012, pp. 471-487". MAISCHBERGER nennt zwar die Zahl von 32 m für die Höhe, jedoch kein Gewicht (MAISCHBERGER 1997, S. 29).

### **Eigene Umrechnungen und Berechnungen**

Falls wir für 1 libra 0,33907 kg annehmen (vgl. oben), ergibt sich für die Angabe von MERCATI 1589 bei 144 Palmi Länge ein Gewicht von  $1.301.094 \text{ libre} * 0,33907 \text{ kg} = \text{ca. } 441161 \text{ kg} = \text{ca. } 441 \text{ t}$ . Das bei MERCATI 1589 genannte Volumen von 15129 palmi cubi ergibt  $15129 * 0,011164327875 \text{ m}^3 = 168,9 \text{ m}^3$ . Dieses Volumen multipliziert mit dem spezifischen Gewicht von Rosengranit aus Aswan ergibt  $168,9 \text{ m}^3 * 2541 \text{ kg/m}^3 = 429174,9 \text{ kg} = \text{ca. } 429 \text{ t}$ .

CORSI 1845 nennt bei 148 Palmi 1.322.938 libbre, die mit 0,33907 kg multipliziert 448568 kg ergeben, also **ca. 449 t**. Seine Angabe von 15383 palmi cubi ergibt umgerechnet  $171,74 \text{ m}^3$  an Volumen. Dieses multipliziert mit dem spezifischen Gewicht ergibt  $171,74 \text{ m}^3 * 2541 \text{ kg/m}^3 = 436391 \text{ kg} = \text{ca. } 436 \text{ t}$ .

### **Volumen- und Gewichtsberechnung**

Die Volumen- und Gewichtsberechnung erfolgt hier für die angenommene Länge des Obelisk von 148 Palmi = 33,078 m, also die ursprüngliche Länge ohne die "Kürzung" von 4 palmi. Das Pyramidion ist nach den Zeichnungen von CIPRIANI 1823 3,3 m hoch. Also misst der Pyramidenstumpf des Obelisk noch

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29,778 m. Die hier verwendeten Seitenlängen von 2,97 m und 2,23 m stammen von CIPRIANI (vgl. oben). Eine Messung der Seitenlänge der Grundfläche des Obeliskens aus einem aktuellen Luftbild (Maxar Technologies, 2023) ergab ca. 2,93 m. Die Angaben von CIPRIANI scheinen also plausibel zu sein.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Volumen Pyramidenstumpf} &= h/3 * (a^2 + a*b + b^2) \\ &= 29,778/3 * (2,97*2,97 + 2,97*2,23 + 2,23*2,23) = \\ &9,926 * 20,4169 = \text{ca. } 202,66 \text{ m}^3 / * 2541 \text{ kg/m}^3 = \text{ca. } 514959 \text{ kg} \end{aligned}$$

$$\text{Volumen } 1/3 \text{ G}^*h \text{ Pyramidion: } 1/3 * (2,23*2,23 * 3,3) = \text{ca. } 5,47 \text{ m}^3 / * 2541 \text{ kg/m}^3 = \text{ca. } 13899 \text{ kg}$$

Gesamtvolumen: ca. 208 m<sup>3</sup>  
 Gesamtgewicht: ca. 528858 kg = **ca. 529 t** (bei einer Höhe von 148 Palmi = 33,078 m)

4 Palmi der Grundfläche ergeben ein Volumen von 2,97m \* 2,97m \* 4\*0,2235m = 7,88 m<sup>3</sup>.  
 7,88 m<sup>3</sup> \* 2541 kg/m<sup>3</sup> = ca. 20023 kg = ca. 20 t. Das aktuelle Gewicht dürfte bei einer Länge von 144 Palmi also bei ca. 509 t liegen.

**Ergebnisse**

In Tabelle 1 sind die Ergebnisse der Literaturrecherche und meiner eigenen Berechnungen vergleichend zusammengefasst.

Autor/Autorin	Höhe	Gewicht	Volumen
MERCATI 1589	144 palmi (148 palmi bei der Auffindung)	1.301.094 libre * 0,33907 = 441161 kg = ca. 441 t	15129 palmi cubi = ca. 168,9 m <sup>3</sup>
ZOEGA 1797	144 palmi	keine Angabe	keine Angabe
CIPRIANI 1823	144 /148 palmi 32,184 / 33,078 m	keine Angabe	keine Angabe
CORSI 1845	148 palmi	1.322.938 libbre *0,33907 = 448568 kg = ca. 449 t	15383 palmi cubi = ca. 171,74 m <sup>3</sup>
MARUCCHI 1898	ca. 32 m	keine Angabe	keine Angabe
HABACHI 2000	32,18 m	455 t	keine Angabe
VOGEL 2000 in HABACHI	34 m	460 t	keine Angabe
CIAMPINI 2004	32,18 m	keine Angabe	keine Angabe
WIRSCHING 2013	32,15 m	500 t (Dichte 2,68 rd. 2,7 g/cm <sup>3</sup> )	keine Angabe
PENSABENE, DOMINGO 2017	32 m	350 tonnellate	keine Angabe
SCHÜTZ 2023	ca. 144 /148 palmi ca. 32,184 /33,078 m	ca. 529 t (Dichte 2,541 g/cm <sup>3</sup> , Höhe 33,078 m )	ca. 208 m <sup>3</sup>

**Tab. 1:** Synopse von Maßangaben aus der Literatur und eigenen Berechnungen.

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**Um das aktuelle Gewicht genau zu bestimmen, müsste die Dichte von Proben des Lateransobelisken bestimmt werden und der Obelisk für eine Volumenberechnung mit Methoden der Geodäsie und Photogrammetrie exakt vermessen werden.**

Mein Dank gilt Rafed El-Sayed für den Hinweis zur Literatur zum "Rosengranit", Peter Herz für Literaturhinweise, der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek für die Bereitstellung von Literatur und Chrystina Häuber für vielfältige Hilfe und Unterstützung.

## Abkürzungen und Literatur

### Abkürzungen

m = Meter, t = Tonne

### Literatur

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***The first Contribution by R.R.R. Smith on the iconography of the representation of the Piroustae at "Le Colonnacce" in Domitian's Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium (cf. here Fig. 49)***

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter* in volume 3-2:

***Appendix IV.d.2.a) Who invented this iconography of defeated and pacified 'nations' and what does it mean? With The first Contribution by R.R.R. Smith.***

The following is a quote from *Appendix IV.d.2.a)* in volume 3-2:

"But let me first of all alert you to the account of Pierre Gros (2009, 106-107), who discusses the chronology of Domitian's *Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium*, as well as the above-mentioned colonnades, and who likewise mentions the findings of Hans Wiegartz (1996):

"Le ricerche recenti hanno messo in evidenza tre fasi diverse di un cantiere che, cominciato nell'84, durò più di un decennio (La Rocca 1998b [*i.e.*, here E. LA ROCCA 1998], pp. 1-12) ...

**Sui lati lunghi, la soluzione adottata fu quella di uno pseudo-portico costituito da colonne vicine al muro di delimitazione, al quale esse erano unite da elementi della trabeazione ritmicamente aggettanti, che coronavano pilastri, inseriti nel muro stesso ... L'insieme era posto sotto la protezione di Minerva ... D'altra parte, questa esaltazione dei valori della vita privata non pregiudicava la diffusione di un messaggio più tradizionale e di più legato alla sfera politica, come provano le immagini, femminili anch'esse, un esemplare delle quali è conservato sull'attico della trabeazione del muro di fondo, tra due colonne ancora *in situ*; identificata con un'immagine di Minerva, essa è stata assimilata per un po' di tempo, seguendo un'ipotesi di Wiegartz (1996, pp. 171-179), a rappresentazioni etniche, sulla base di un confronto con la personificazione del popolo delle *Perustae* del Sébastéion di Afrodisia in Caria. Ma un esame più attento ha dimostrato che [page 107] gli attributi della figura romana non potevano rinviare ad altro se non alla dea stessa. In compenso, vari ritrovamenti effettuati durante gli scavi del 2000 attestano l'esistenza di una serie di allegorie di *nationes*, che sembrano aver occupato la stessa posizione, ma sull'attico della trabeazione in aggetto sopra le colonne, dove si rivela la presenza di otto fori di aggancio, che sarebbero serviti al fissaggio di questi pannelli in altorilievo. Il programma iconografico veniva così rafforzato: in tal modo, a trovarsi sotto la protezione di Minerva, è tutto l'impero, pacificato e unificato, e la dea recuperava così le sue funzioni essenzialmente maschili di dea guerriera, mentre la serie di popoli sottomessi scandiva ritmicamente gli intercolumni (Del Moro 2007b [*i.e.*, here M.P. DEL MORO 2007], pp. 178-187) [my emphasis]" ...**

Cf. **Fig. 73**, labels: Via Alessandrina; Via dei Fori Imperiali; FORUM AUGUSTI; FORUM NERVAE; ARGILETUM; SUBURA; TEMPLUM PACIS.

As also discussed in detail by Gros (2009, 106) himself, we know that the goddess Minerva, nothing less than Domitian's patron goddess, had her own Temple in Domitian's *Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium*, where her cult-image was venerated. Personally, I therefore do not believe that we should expect an additional representation of Minerva (apart from her appearance in the narrative frieze, which shows an episode of her myth, mentioned ... by Gros) in the attic storey of this Forum, together with 41 other female figures, who are *not* goddesses, let alone at the rather marginal position, which is occupied by "*Le Colonnacce*". The latter are located on the south-eastern long side of the Forum, immediately to the north of the junction of Via Alessandrina and Via dei Fori Imperiali, that is to say: not in the centre of that long side of the *Forum*, nor at any other prominent position. This is clear when we look at a diachronic map, into which the ground-plan of Domitian's *Forum* and the current street plan are both integrated (cf. here **Fig. 73**).

See also the plan, published by Amanda Claridge (1998, 146, "Fig. 60. Imperial Forums", index no. 13: "'Le Colonnacce'"; cf. *ead.* 2010, 160, Fig. 60, index no. 16: "'Le Colonnacce' (Forum of Nerva)").

Apart from the fact that the iconography of this female figure supports Hans Wiegartz's hypothesis of identifying this alleged 'Athena/ Minerva' as a representation of a 'nation' (*i.e.*, of the *Piroustae*) instead. Admittedly, the iconography of 'Athena/ Minerva' and of this female are similar, but contrary to the goddess, the representation of the *Piroustae* is endowed with an iconographic detail, the goddess does not have: she is wearing an 'Amazonian belt, as noticed by H. Wiegartz"; cf. R.R.R. Smith (2013, 119). - To the iconography of the representation of the *Piroustae* and to the account by Gros (2009, 106-107), I will come back below (cf. *infra*, at *Appendix IV.d.2.b*); *Appendix IV.d.2.d*); and *Appendix IV.d.2.f*)).

Having reached this point of my research, I asked on 28th June 2020 R.R.R. Smith for advice. He was kind enough to answer me immediately that, in his opinion, the female figure of "*Le Colonnacce*" in Domitian's *Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium* (cf. here **Fig. 49**) shows some iconographic features (previously for the most part overlooked by me) that preclude her identification with 'Athena/ Minerva' and suggest instead her identification as a representation of a "*natio devicta*". With Bert Smith's kind consent I may publish his E-mail here''.

R.R.R. Smith wrote me by E-mail on 28th June 2020:

*The first Contribution by R.R.R. Smith*

*on the iconography of the representation of the Piroustae at  
"Le Colonnacce" in Domitian's Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium*

Dear Chrystina,

I think the figure does not have enough of the crucial identifying attributes necessary to recognise Minerva in it. Most importantly it has no aegis. Also, the unusual belt and the long cloak fastened on the right shoulder are I think both unattested for Minerva. They would better suit a *natio devicta*.

Also while Minerva or a senior divinity might seem a possible reading of the figure in its current splendid isolation, it becomes more difficult when further figures of this kind are imagined in the missing attic along the rest of the complex.

At the same time, I am unsure whether the use of this figure type for the Piroustae in Aphrodisias in the Julio-Claudian period means that the figure in Flavian Rome must also be the Piroustae. I think I would be cautious about that. One might argue for example that such models circulated and were available for re-use with modulated identities in different settings. If the Piroustae were already a conquered nation under Augustus, one might wonder what would be the interest in showing them again in a new set of *nationes devictae* in the Flavian period?

All best,

Bert".

Note by the editor Chrystina Häuber:

I have answered Bert Smith by E-mail of 28th June 2020:

"Dear Bert,

... the argument, which you have written me today - against the assumption to recognize the *Piroustaë* in the representation at "*Le Colonnacce*" in Domitian's *Forum* - I have found already in your book of 2013 [p. 119], and have discussed it in my below quoted text. See on pp. ... what follows here written in "blue", and on pp. ... is a summary of the obtained results. By studying the history of the *Piroustaë* and Domitian's [military] campaigns, I have arrived at the conclusion that Domitian had reasons to represent the *Piroustaë* in his *Forum* ...

Buon divertimento,

Chrystina".

The passages of my text, to which I refer in this E-mail, are to be found *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.c) Conclusions reached so far concerning the question, posed above: Who invented this iconography of defeated and pacified 'nations' and what does it mean?; at Appendix IV.d.2.e) Did Domitian intentionally represent the Piroustaë in his Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium? With The second Contribution by Peter Herz; and at Appendix IV.d.2.f) Domitian's choice to represent the Piroustaë in his Forum/ Forum Nervae/ Forum Transitorium and the date of the Cancellaria Reliefs.*

See also above, at *The second Contribution by Peter Herz: Anmerkungen zu Statius Marrax.*

*The second Contribution by R.R.R. Smith: Note on the function of the 'Atrium House' at Aphrodisias (cf. here Fig. 52)*

The following second *Contribution* by R.R.R. Smith in this volume is the result of an E-mail correspondence with him in October 2020 concerning the portrait of a Greek intellectual, who appears in the background of the portrait of Mario Torelli (cf. here **Abb. 1**). This subject is mentioned in the following passages of the Chapters *Dedication* and *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*.

The following passage is quoted from the Chapter: *Dedication*:

“**Abb. 1. Mario Torelli, teaching us members of the 'Corsi estivi di Lingua e Cultura Italiana dell'Università del Sacro Cuore di Milano' in the summer of 1979. The photo shows Torelli in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale at Naples in front of the marble bust of Pindar (cf. here Fig. 51), which he explains to us. Photo: Courtesy R.M. Sheldon**”.

The following passage is quoted from the Chapter: *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements* :

“Since I wished to illustrate here a photograph, showing Mario Torelli, teaching us members of the 'Corsi estivi di Lingua e Cultura Italiana dell'Università del Sacro Cuore di Milano' in the summer of 1979, I asked Rose Mary Sheldon, who had taken it, to give me the permission to publish it, which she has generously granted (cf. *supra*, at *Dedication*, and here **Abb. 1**).

This photo shows Torelli in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale at Naples in front of the marble bust of a Greek intellectual (cf. here **Fig. 51**), explaining it to us. Since I vaguely remembered that R.R.R. Smith had been able to identify this man, I asked Bert now for advice. He was kind enough to write me on 18th October 2020 that it is Pindar !

This portrait-type, representing a Greek, Bert was able to identify by its inscription in Greek (‘ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΣ’; cf. here **Fig. 51**), incised on the bottom contour of a marble shield portrait of this man, found at Aphrodisias, together with many other such *clipeus* portraits. These portraits of intellectuals, who are identified by their inscriptions, had decorated the absidal building (called 'Atrium House' by R.R.R. Smith in his second *Contribution* to this volume) next to the *Sebasteion* (cf. here **Fig. 52**), which may (possibly) be identified as a philosophical school.

For this 'Atrium House' at Aphrodisias (here **Fig. 52**); cf. R.R.R. Smith (1990, 132-135, Pls. IV-XVI; for this building, cf. pp. 128-130, 153-155). After having read R.R.R. Smith's article (1990), I asked him more questions on 24th October 2020. On 25th October, Bert was kind enough to answer my questions concerning the possible function of this building and recent work on it. With his kind consent, I publish his answers here”:

**Fig. 51. The Greek lyric poet Pindar, identified by the inscription in Greek (‘ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΣ’), incised on the bottom contour of this shield portrait, marble. Found at Aphrodisias, together with many other such *clipeus* portraits, close to the absidal building (cf. here Fig. 52), called 'Atrium House' by R.R.R. Smith in his second *Contribution* to this volume. From: R.R.R. Smith (JRS 1990, Pl. 6).**

**Fig. 52. Ground-plan of the absidal building at Aphrodisias, called 'Atrium House' by R.R.R. Smith in his second *Contribution* to this volume. It is located adjacent to the *Sebasteion*. From: R.R.R. Smith (JRS 1990, Pl. 4).**

*The second Contribution by R.R.R. Smith :*

*Note on the function of the 'Atrium House' at Aphrodisias*

The building is a large town house, with a more private part to the north and a grand apsidal garden peristyle court adjoining the Sebasteion to the south. The two parts are connected by a narrow corridor. In late antiquity, philosophers often taught in their houses, so there is nothing in architectural terms to distinguish a grand late antique house from a 'philosophical school'. I don't know if this was a house owned by a philosopher but at some point, perhaps in the first half or the fifth century, it was owned by somebody who had it seems quite advanced Neo-Platonic interests (Pythagoras, Apollonius [of Tyana, surely], even the divinely inspired Pindar!), and if you want to imagine what such a house looked like - where the Neo-Platonic faithful would gather with their master - whether or Asklepiodotos or someone else, this mansion gives a good idea.

For a recent study or the archaeology or the complex, see I. Lockey, 2016. 'The Atrium House: the archaeology of a late-antique residence' in R.R.R. Smith *et al.* (eds.), *Aphrodisias Papers 5: Excavation and Research at Aphrodisias, 2006-2012*, Portsmouth, RI: *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement* 103, 243-254.

Note by the editor Chrystina Häuber:

For Asklepiodotos, mentioned by Bert Smith in his second *Contribution*; cf. R.R.R. Smith (1990, 153-155, Section: "IV Aphrodisias and the School of Asklepiodotos").

*The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola on the Cancellaria Reliefs*

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter*:

**IV.1. A letter by Giandomenico Spinola concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1; 2) and the Obeliscus Pamphilius/ Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28).**

The following is a quote from Chapter IV.1.:

“Giandomenico Spinola, whom I had asked to summarize for me what we had discussed on September 24th, 2018, while standing in front of the Cancellaria Reliefs, was so kind as to write me the following by E-mail on October 15th, 2018”.

The following is a quote from Chapter V.1.g) *The gestures that the two emperors on both friezes (cf. here Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing) perform with their right hands* :

“For the interpretation of the gesture, which Vespasian [on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs] is making with his right hand, I follow those scholars, beginning with Heinrich Fuhrmann (1940, Sp. 471-472; *id.* 1941, Sp. 544-545, both quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter IV.1.), and Filippo Magi (1945, 111, quoted *verbatim supra*, at n. 463, in Chapter IV.1.), who have suggested that Vespasian thus declares Domitian as his successor as emperor (cf. also *supra*, in Chapter VI.3.), as well as Giandomenico Spinola, who, on 24th September 2018, when we were discussing the Cancellaria Reliefs standing in front of those panels, has explained to me that Vespasian thus expresses Domitian's "legittimazione" as (future) emperor. Spinola was kind enough to write me this in an E-mail of 15th October 2018, that I may publish here with his kind consent (cf. *supra*, at n. 420, in Chapter III.; and below, at *The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola*)”:



*The Contribution by Giandomenico Spinola :  
on the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here Figs. 1; 2)*

Cara Chrystina,

non pensavo di averti detto particolari novità sui due rilievi della Cancellaria, ma mi fa piacere che quanto ci siamo detti non sia stata una conversazione poi così banale!

Riguardo al fatto che essi siano stati rifiniti (e dipinti) in opera, questo è un dato tecnico quasi ovvio - soprattutto se Pfanner [*i.e.*, here M. PFANNER 1981] lo ha a suo tempo dimostrato - ma certo avrà avuto delle prove forti nell'affermare che sia stato interamente scolpito in opera, perché questa procedura è molto insolita e scomoda ...

Il fatto che la rilavorazione di Domiziano in Nerva sia avvenuto in una bottega deriva proprio dal luogo di rinvenimento delle lastre - insieme a quelle del rilievo c.d. [cosiddetti] dei Vicomagistri - che probabilmente era il magazzino di un lapicida insediatosi nella tomba ormai smantellata di Aulo Irzio, in un quartiere che - come sappiamo da vari altri ritrovamenti - prevedeva altre botteghe di lapicidi. Questo dato non è una prova: le lastre potevano essere lì accatastate in attesa di un'altra destinazione (se tarda, anche una calcara), ma la superficie di quelle domizianee (al contrario di quelle dei Vicomagistri) sembra molto fresca e aver avuto pochissima vita all'aperto. Da qui l'idea di un monumento domiziano poi non terminato per la sua morte e poi "dannato", in attesa di una riconversione con Nerva mai avvenuta.

Dalle foto inoltrate via wettransfer [here not illustrated] potrai notare altri dettagli. La testa di Vespasiano non mi sembra assolutamente frutto di una rilavorazione: ha le stesse dimensioni e caratteristiche di quella di fronte, solitamente attribuita a Domiziano giovane. Tutti i ritratti dei due rilievi (Vespasiano, Domiziano giovane e Nerva/Domiziano) hanno un fondo con tracce di lavorazione a parte, come si fossero stati eseguiti da uno "specialista", che ha cercato di fargli emergere il più possibile dal fondo del rilievo. La testa di Nerva è poco meno alta del ritratto su cui viene realizzata, ma le dimensioni sono inferiori soprattutto nella larghezza, dovendo rilavorare proprio i lineamenti facciali. La testa del littore [*i.e.*, **figure 10** on Frieze B] alle spalle del Domiziano giovane (vedi foto) manca della rifinitura finale della barbula, ma probabilmente invece di pensare ad un "non finito" è più logico credere che questo dettaglio fosse meglio realizzato in pittura.

Tornando su quanto ci siamo detti a voce, credo che non si possa dubitare che i due rilievi raffigurino Profectio e Adventus; in quest'ultimo sarebbe ribadita anche la legittimazione di Domiziano da parte di Vespasiano (non a caso manca Tito!). Credo anche che stilisticamente non si possa mettere in dubbio la cronologia tardo domiziana: il chiaroscuro è realizzato con solchi profondi su di un elegante modellato naturalistico e, soprattutto, l'uso di forellini isolati (visibili in più parti) è un tipico marchio di fabbrica delle botteghe attive negli ultimi anni di Domiziano, fino a tutto il regno di Traiano.

Ovviamente quanto detto - se ti convince - puoi trasferirlo nel tuo testo ...

Giandomenico.

Note by the editor Chrystina Häuber:

For the numbering of the 34 figures, represented on the Cancellaria Reliefs; cf. here **Figs. 1; 2; Figs. 1 and 2 drawing.**

### ***The Contribution by Mario Torelli on the Templum Gentis Flaviae***

This *Contribution* belongs to *infra*, volume 3.2, *Appendix VI.*; Section *XII.*; and especially to the following *Chapter* :

***IV.1.1.h) The new findings by B.E. Borg (2019) concerning the Templum Gentis Flaviae support the hypothesis suggested here that Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) was commissioned for the Iseum Campense. With some observations concerning the Temple of Divus Traianus at Italica, and concerning the Marble Forum at the Colonia Augusta Emerita (Mérida) in Spain. With The Contributions by Eric M. Moormann, Mario Torelli, and Walter Trillmich, and with The second Contribution by Jörg Rüpke.***

The following passages are *verbatim* quotes from *infra*, volume 3-2:

**at Appendix VI.; Section XII. Let's now return to our discussion of the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano", which shows Mars and Rhea Silvia and the she-wolf, suckling Romulus, and thus 'Rome's foundation-story':**

“Concerning the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, I follow, contrary to Coarelli (2012, 474, note 433; cf. *id.* 2014, 194, esp. pp. 204-207) and Grenier (2009, 238, both quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter *IV.1.1.a*)), Barbara Borg instead (cf. *ead.* 2019, 249, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter *IV.1.1.h*)), who has, in my opinion, demonstrated that the temple-tomb proper was not built on a circular ground-plan, as asserted by Coarelli ...

I have, therefore, summarized this controversy here, since because of this previously unknown fact (*i.e.*, B. BORG's 2019 observation that the *Templum Genis Flaviae* did not have a round ground-plan), Torelli (1987) may in theory well be right in suggesting that Domitian's *sestertius* (cf. here **Fig. 30**) represents the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. Especially because also Coarelli (2012, 474, n. 433) does not consider the fact that Torelli has discussed Domitian's *sestertius* in context with the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here **Fig. 31**), which in Torelli's opinion likewise shows the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

For further discussion of this subject; cf. *supra*, at Chapter *V.1.i.3.a*); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix I.g.3.*); and at *Appendix IV.c.2.*)’.

The following passages are *verbatim* quotes from above, Chapter:

***IV.1.1.h) The new findings by B. E. Borg (2019) concerning the Templum Gentis Flaviae support the hypothesis suggested here that Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) was commissioned for the Iseum Campense. With some observations concerning the Temple of Divus Traianus at Italica, and concerning the Marble Forum at the Colonia Augusta Emerita (Mérida) in Spain. With The Contributions by Eric M. Moormann, Mario Torelli, and Walter Trillmich, and with The second Contribution by Jörg Rüpke.***

“Coarelli (2014, 194-207, with Fig. 52 on p. 203: "*Templum gentis Flaviae: ricostruzione dell'ambiente sotterraneo*") **reconstructs the temple tomb within the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* with a round ground-plan.**

**Concerning Coarelli's relevant proposal, Borg (2019, 249-250) writes:**

"The proposal, intriguing as it may be, is riddled with difficulties. Not only is Coarelli's burial chamber strikingly different from the circular corridors of Augustus' mausoleum, it is not entirely clear whether Agrippa's Pantheon featured a roof or was open to the sky [with n. 206], and while it certainly had dynastic connotations and possibly associations of apotheosis, it was clearly not a straightforward temple to the imperial *divi* and *divae*. Moreover, like the late antique circular temple tombs, its overall plan, including the important front porch, requires elongated rather than square foundations. **What is more, not a single**

**curvilinear element has so far been found on site, and even Coarelli's concrete foundations are rectilinear,** while those of the Pantheon *rotunda* as well as those of the late antique mausolea are circular. As some temple tombs and other large brick tombs make clear, semi-interred burial chambers often exist beneath the actual temple structure, and the niche excavated underneath the via Vittorio Emanuele Orlando (Fig. 4.22) could just as well belong to a rectangular interior space [with n. 207].

**So far, I cannot see any evidence for a round building. A rectangular podium temple surrounded by a portico would fit with the rectangular features discovered so far, and this would in any case be the most likely shape** [with n. 208; my emphasis] ...

After they were written, I sent on 12th May 2020 all the text passages of this *Study*, related to Domitian's *sestertius* (cf. here **Fig. 30**), to the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here **Fig. 31**), and to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (cf. here **Figs. 33; 34**) to Mario Torelli, with whom Franz Xaver Schütz and I visited on 29th November 2019 at Perugia to discuss those matters with him. On 18th July 2020, after having discussed the matter with him on the telephone, I wrote Mario Torelli an E-mail with the subject: "Ti prego di darmi il permesso di menzionarti nella dedica per Rose Mary", adding in the attachments the *Dedication* of this book and the same text passages of my manuscript again, that I had sent him already on the occasion of his birthday on May 12th, comprising the title of the book, carrying the date of that day.

Mario Torelli was kind enough as to write me by E-mail of 18th July 2020 his comments, which he has kindly allowed me to publish here as his *Contribution*'':

*The Contribution by Mario Torelli*  
*on the Templum Gentis Flaviae*

Mia cara,

... Riprendo il mio ragionamento, in cui volevo segnalarti la mia scheda sui rilievi della Cancelleria, pubblicata nel Manuale di Bianchi Bandinelli e mio (\*Arte etrusca, Arte Romana\*, UTET, Torino 1976), dove sono esposti molti dei tuoi argomenti. Sono molto commosso per il continuo ricordo della mia persona, a partire dall'enfasi data alla mia data di nascita. Naturalmente mi fa molto piacere che in un lavoro dedicato a Rose Mary ti sia ricordata l'occasione napoletana della nostra conoscenza; quindi entusiastica approvazione della mia menzione in questo contesto.

Una cosa volevo aggiungere al tuo testo: l'idea di Coarelli (ma già in Lugli) del tempio della *gens Flavia* a pianta circolare nasce da una notizia credo seicentesca di un "tempio ovato": la disciplina (già in Vitruvio) che i templi rotondi sono riservati a Venere ed Ercole è sufficiente a smentire questa ipotesi. Ma le cose sarebbero molte e lo spazio di una mail non consente discussioni scientifiche.

Grazie, cara amica, e a presto,

Mario

Comment by the editor Chrystina Häuber:

Mario Torelli passed away on 15th September 2020. Not being able to anticipate this great loss, I hope at least the thoughts from his vast scholarly oeuvre that have been discussed in this volume will add to the memory of all of those people who appreciate his work, and especially of those who had the great privilege of knowing him personally.

Note by the editor Chrystina Häuber to Mario Torelli's *Contribution*:

On 18th July 2020, after receiving his reply, I called Mario Torelli again and told him that I should like to publish some passages from his above-quoted E-mail as his *Contribution* to this volume. In addition, I mentioned to him that the publication by Bianchi Bandinelli and himself (1976), which he mentions in this note, was already on my to-do-list that I intended to check as soon as the libraries would reopen again after the Corona pandemic.

This I have actually done. For discussions of the hypotheses concerning the Cancellaria Reliefs of Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli and Mario Torelli (1976, *ARTE ROMANA*, scheda n. 105):

cf. *supra*, n. 32, in Chapter I.1.; n. 208, in Chapter I.1.1.; one passage is quoted *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.; cf. Chapter V.1.i.3.b); at Section IV.); and at n. 475, in Chapter VI.3.

On 19th July 2020, Torelli kindly granted me by E-mail the permission to publish his E-mail here.

My following note was written immediately after this. See now also *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a), where these first ideas concerning those subjects have now been complemented by the relevant findings of those authors, who have contributed essays to the exhibition-catalogue, edited by Claudio Parisi Presicce, Massimiliano Munzi and Maria Paola Del Moro (*Domiziano Imperatore. Odio e amore*, 2023).

With his remark: "una notizia credo seicentesca di un `tempio ovato`", Mario Torelli refers in his above-quoted *Contribution* to Flaminio Vacca (*mem.* 38): "Mi ricordo presso ... strada (Pia) [*i.e.*, the Strada di Porta Pia, today: Via del Quirinale; cf. here Fig. 59] verso s. Vitale vi fu trovato un tempietto con colonne di bigio africano, di venti palmi l'una (m. 4, 46); non sovvenendomi se detto tempio fosse di pianta rotonda ovvero ovata", quoted after: Rodolfo Lanciani (III 1990, 209; cf. *id.* III, 194).

For the fact that Flaminio Vacca's (*mem.* 38): "... strada (Pia)" may be identified with the current Via del Quirinale; cf. the Rome map by Giambattista Falda (1676), label: STRADA DI PORTA PIA. Cf. Francesco Ehrle (1931).

I have found Lanciani's above-mentioned account in the article by Maria Cristina Capanna (2008, 175 with n. 2), and thank Eric M. Moormann for providing me with this article. Capanna describes how Lanciani had combined information, provided by Pirro Ligorio and Flaminio Vacca. She discusses two different locations that have been suggested for the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; cf. her map Fig. 1 ("Le ipotesi A e B sul Quirinale"), the hypothesis mentioned here is Capanna's hypothesis A.

Cf. Capanna (2008, 175): "*Ipotesi A*. Area tra le attuali via del Quirinale, via delle Quattro Fontane, via di S. Vitale, Via Genova. L'ipotesi, avanzata da R. Lanciani, si basa su notizie fornite da Pirro Ligorio e Flaminio Vacca. Il primo [*i.e.*, Pirro Ligorio] riferisce che nella vigna del Cardinale Sadoletto - localizzabile lungo la via del Quirinale, tra le chiese di S. Andrea e di S. Carlo [alle Quattro Fontane] al centro della <<Casa Flavia>> era il <<Tempio di Minerva Flavia>> (questa attribuzione era dovuta al rinvenimento nella zona di una statua di Minerva con scudo), tondo, periptero con pronao esastilo, **il secondo** [*i.e.*, Vacca, *mem.* 38] **descrive l'edificio come un `tempietto` ionico, rotondo (o ovale)**, con colonne di bigio africano alte 4.46 m (Fig. 1.4) [with n. 2, quoting R. LANCIANI III 1990, 209; *id.*, *FUR*]" (my emphasis).

Cf. *FUR*, foglio 16, labels: COLLIS QUIRINALIS; ALTA SEMITA [today: Via del Quirinale]; Via Quattro Fontane; VIGNA DEL CARD[inale] SADOLETO; TEMPLVM GENTIS FLAV.[iae]; Vacca *m.[emoria]* 37.38; DOMVS FLAVORUM; AD MALVM PVNICVM.

Lanciani believed that all the above-mentioned information referred to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. This has rightly been refuted by Capanna (2008, 175). The reason being that we know from Martial (3.34.1-2, 7-8) "che si trattava di un edificio di ampie dimensioni"; cf. Capanna (2008, 173 with ns. 5-6), which is why the 'tempietto', mentioned by Vacca, certainly did not qualify as a candidate for this temple. - For Vacca's *memorie*, written in 1594; cf. Häuber (2014a, 419. For Pirro Ligorio, cf. pp. 268-269, 401-414).

After this text was written so far, I realized that, contrary to what Torelli asserts is his above-quoted *Contribution*, Filippo Coarelli had, on the contrary, already rejected Lanciani's identification of the finds at the Vigna of Cardinal Sadoletto, recorded by Vacca (*mem.* 38), with the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.

Cf. Coarelli ("Gens Flavia, Templum", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 368-369).

After (erroneously) locating the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* at the site of the *domus* of Domitian's paternal uncle Flavius Sabinus, for which he suggests a location, Coarelli ("Gens Flavia, Templum", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 368-369) concludes: "In base a questi dati va respinta la tradizionale localizzazione a NE [nord-est] della chiesa di S. Andrea al Quirinale (Lanciani, *FUR*, tav. 16) e l'identificazione con un 'tempietto ionico con colonne di marmo Africano di venti palmi l'una, non mi ricordo bene se era di pianta tonda ovvero ovata'" (Vacca, *Mem.* 38). L'edificio doveva infatti trovarsi assai più a NE [nord-est], non lungi alle Terme di Diocleziano, da dove provengono (a N [nord] dell'asedra delle Terme e quindi in prossimità di Via Firenze) anche alcuni frammenti di rilievi di età domiziana (i cosiddetti 'rilievi Hartwig') che appartengono quasi certamente a un arco di ingresso del *templum* ... [page 369] ... **L'aspetto del tempio è forse riconoscibile in una moneta della fine del regno di Domiziano** (*BMCEmp* II, 406 n. \*, tav. 81,3; Haberey, *BjB* 160 (1960), 292, tav. 42.1 [referring to his "Fig. 11", *corr.*: 12 = here **Fig. 30**]) **e in un rilievo diviso tra il Museo Lateranense e il Museo delle Terme** (A. Ambrogi, *Mus. Naz. Rom.* I.8 (1985), 104 s. [referring to his Figs. 180-181 = here **Fig. 31**]) [my emphasis].

The caption of Coarelli's Fig. 12 (= here **Fig. 30**) reads: "*Domus Augustana, Augustiana*. Sesterzio di Domiziano del 95-96 d.C. *BMCEmp* II, 406 n. \* (da R. Paris, in *Dono Hartwig* [*i.e.*, here R. PARIS 1994b], 26, fig. 14)". - This figure 12 belongs to the *lemma* of Luca Sasso D'Elia ("*Domus Augustana, Augustiana*", in: *LTUR* II [1995] 40-45, who refers to this coin on p. 43, and follows the hypothesis that this coin represents Domitian's *Domus Augustana*. For discussions; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Sections II. and XII.

The caption of Coarelli's Fig. 180 (= here **Fig. 31**) reads: "*Gens Flavia, templum*. Rilievo con rappresentazione di edificio decastilo e frontone. MNR [Museo Nazionale Romano] (da R. Paris, in *Dono Hartwig* [*i.e.*, here R. PARIS 1994b], 32, fig. 1 [= here **Fig. 31**]).

The caption of Coarelli's Fig. 181 reads: "*Gens Flavia, templum*. Rilievo con processione. Città del Vaticano, Museo Gregoriano Profano (da R. Paris, in *Dono Hartwig* [*i.e.*, here R. PARIS 1994b] , 32, fig. 2 [= here **Fig. 31**]).

**Fig. 56. Archaeological plan of the area of the Baths of Diocletian. Cf. C. Pietrangeli 1977, tav. 2 (drawing: C. Buzzetti and E. Gatti). From: E. La Rocca (2020b, Fig. 8): "1. Area dove era ubicato il *templum gentis Flaviae*; 2. Il luogo dove è stata rinvenuta la testa colossale di Tito [cf. here Fig. 53]; 3. Edificio in laterizio dove è stato rinvenuto il mosaico con tiaso marino e le tre Grazie; 4. Il luogo dove sono stati rinvenuti i rilievi Hartwig [for those; cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.a), and here Figs. 33; 34]".**

**Fig. 57. Archaeological plan of the Baths of Diocletian (detail). Cf. C. Pietrangeli 1977, tav. 3, with additions by E. La Rocca. From: E. La Rocca (2020b, Fig. 10: detail of his Fig. 9). The caption of his Fig. 10 reads: "Dettaglio della pianta a fig. 09. Con una linea rossa è segnalato il perimetro della recinzione del *templum gentis Flaviae* (da Pietrangeli 1977, tav. 3, con aggiunte dell'a.[utore])".**



In this *lemma* "Gens Flavia, Templum" in the *LTUR* II (1995, 368-369), Filippo Coarelli had still (erroneously) assumed the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* at the site of the *domus* of Domitian's paternal uncle, Flavius Sabinus, an opinion, which he would later correct; cf. Coarelli (1999a, 183), assuming the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* now at the site of Vespasian's *domus*, and both at the site of the (later) Baths of Diocletian. See also Coarelli (2009b, 93-94); Coarelli 2014 (194-207; pp. 204-207, quoted *verbatim supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.a)); cf. Chapter IV.1.1.h). See also *LTUR* V (1999) 262. But Coarelli had also followed in this *lemma* Torelli (1987) in suggesting that the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* is possibly represented on Domitian's *sestertius* of 95/96 (cf. here **Fig. 30**) and on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here **Fig. 31**). With those two assumptions he had followed Torelli (1987) (discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix VI.*; at Sections II.; XII:), also with his third suggestion to attribute the Rilievi Hartwig (for those; cf. *supra*, at Chapter V.1.i.3.a), and here **Figs. 33; 34**) to an arch, (taken back by F. COARELLI 2009b, 94, with n. 312, thus now following R. Paris (1994b).

Concerning the date of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, Coarelli (2009b, 94) writes: "**La menzione che ne se trova in Stazio e in Marziale costituisce comunque un sicuro terminus ante quem non di 94 di C.** [with n. 311; my emphasis].

Una testimonianza importante per la sua localizzazione è nota da tempo: si tratta del luogo di ritrovamento dei cosiddetti rilievi Hartwig, di cui è stata dimostrata la pertinenza alla tomba-sacrario dei Flavi [with n. 312], che furono scoperti nel 1901, costruendo gli edifici che chiudono l'emiciclo settentrionale di Piazza della Repubblica".

In his **note 311**, Coarelli writes: "Stat. *Silv.* IV.3.18-19: *qui genti patriae futura semper / sancit limina Flaviumque caelum*; 4.2.59 sg. [segunte] (data di pubblicazione del IV libro: il 95): V.1.240 sg. [segunte]: *illius, aeternae modo qui sacra genti / condidit inque alio posuit sua sidera caelo* (il V libro venne pubblicato intorno al 96). In Marziale, il tempio è ricordato in IX.1.18 e in IX.3.12 (il IX libro venne pubblicato nell'estate del 94). Tuttavia è possibile che i lavori fossero sufficientemente avanzati già nell'89, se Giulia [Tit] vi fu sepolta subito dopo la morte, avvenuta quell'anno".

In his **note 312**, he writes: "Da ultimo, Paris 1994 [*i.e.*, here R. PARIS 1994b]".

For a detailed discussion of the locations of the *Domus* of Flavius Sabinus and of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; cf. Coarelli (2014, 71, 255-256, 263, 271-274, 277, 280-281), summarized *supra*, in Chapter V.1.i.3.a). Coarelli (2014, 247-256 with ns. 29, 30) bases his now corrected location of the *domus* of Flavius Sabinus *inter alia* on his research of the true location of the Vigna Sadoletto.

Cf. here **Figs. 58; 59**, labels: COLLIS QUIRINALIS; Servian city Wall; S. Susanna; Caserma dei Corazzieri; site of DOMUS; ALTA SEMITA / Via del Quirinale / Via XX Settembre; Via Firenze; site of DOMUS : T. FLAVIUS SABINUS / DOMUS : NUMMII; Piazza S. Bernardo; Via Torino; VICUS LONGUS; Baths of DIOCLETIAN; site of DOMUS : VESPASIAN / TEMPLUM GENTIS FLAVIAE;

Only after having finished writing this *Note by the editor*, did I - finally - realize that Eugenio La Rocca (2009, 225-228) has already discussed the just summarized complicated topographical subject in great detail.

In one of his most recent discussions of the subject, Eugenio La Rocca (2020b, 369 n. 9) writes:

"**Che il tempio** [*i.e.*, the temple-tomb proper of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*] **fosse a pianta circolare** (come hanno suggerito Jordan, Hülsen 1907, p. 426; Lugli 1938, p. 319; Scott 1936, p. 67; Ward-Perkins 1981, p. 77; e Coarelli 2014, pp. 200-204), **è solo una suggestiva ipotesi priva, purtroppo, di un valido sostegno archeologico** [my emphasis]".

For the most recent discussion of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* by Eugenio La Rocca and Lorenzo Kosmopoulos (2023); cf. *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.h).

*The Contribution by Walter Trillmich on the headless marble togati found in the so-called Marble Forum at Mérida in Spain, one of which looks like the togate youth on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs*

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter* :

**IV.1.1.h) The new findings by B.E. Borg (2019) concerning the Templum Gentis Flaviae support the hypothesis suggested here that Domitian's obelisk (cf. here Fig. 28) was commissioned for the Iseum Campense. With some observations concerning the Temple of Divus Traianus at Italica, and concerning the Marble Forum at the Colonia Augusta Emerita (Mérida) in Spain. With The Contributions by Eric M. Moormann, Mario Torelli, and Walter Trillmich, and with The second Contribution by Jörg Rüpke; at The Marble Forum at the Colonia Augusta Emerita (Mérida) in Spain**

The following is a quote from Chapter *IV.1.1.h*):

“Interesting in the context of this *Study* is the, at least to me so far unknown fact, that at this Marble Forum [in Mérida in Spain] togate marble statues were excavated, which are missing their heads, and that one of them, which Peña Jurado (2017, 206-207 with ns. 56, 57) discusses, looks very much like the togate youth (figure 12) on Frieze B of the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Fig. 2; Fig. 1 and 2 drawing: figure 12**), in my opinion Domitian.

**Because Peña Jurado (2017) refers in a footnote to Trillmich's (2004) dating of the Cancellaria Reliefs to the Neronian period, I repeat in the following, what was already said above (cf. *supra*, at n. 130, in Chapter *I.1.*) ...**

Since I could not find Walter Trillmich's publication of 2004, I called him in Wien and discussed the matter with him in an E-mail correspondence. On 15th April 2020, I sent him a detailed summary of the results of this *Study*, in which I have followed those scholars, who date the Cancellaria Reliefs (cf. here **Figs. 1; 2**) to the Flavian period. The relevant hypotheses are explained in the following Chapters of this *Study* ...”

Walter Trillmich was kind enough to answer me by E-mail on 25th April 2020, and on 28th April 2020, he has allowed me to publish here the relevant passage of his E-mail’’:

*The Contribution by Walter Trillmich :*

*on the headless marble togati found in the so-called Marble Forum  
at Mérida in Spain, one of which looks like the togate  
youth on Frieze B of the Cancelleria Reliefs*

Liebe Frau Häuber,

... In Einem haben Sie gewiss recht: der Anordnung von Fries A und B einander gegenüber auf zwei Seiten eines (Bogen ?) - Durchganges. Eine Frage bleibt mir offen für den Fall, dass die Reliefs genuin flavisch sein sollten: wer hat in Augusta Emerita in flavischer Zeit ein Interesse an einer Wiederholung des Programms vom Forum Augustum? Und wie erklärt man die enorme stilistische Ähnlichkeit unserer dortigen Togati mit den (doch wohl claudischen) Skulpturen von Leptis Magna, Cerveteri und Baia? Vielleicht müssen wir unsere Vorstellungen von ``Zeitstil`` überarbeiten und beträchtlich dehnen? ...

Mit herzlichen Grüßen,

Ihr

Walter Trillmich.

Notes by the editor Chrystina Häuber:

In his above-quoted *Contribution*, Walter Trillmich writes: "In Einem haben Sie gewiss recht: der Anordnung von Fries A und B einander gegenüber auf zwei Seiten eines (Bogen ?) - Durchganges".

Trillmich thus follows the visualization, made by Franz Xaver Schütz and myself of the Cancellaria Reliefs as two panels that were mounted on two parallel, opposite walls in the passageway of one of Domitian's many arches at Rome. For discussions of this visualization; cf. the caption of here **Figs. 1 and 2 of the Cancellaria Reliefs, drawing, 'in situ'**; and *supra*, in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*.

I answered Walter Trillmich on the same day by E-mail that (although not being familiar with the situation at Mérida), I imagine that both Vespasian and Domitian, because of their distinct Augustus-imitatio (cf. *supra*, in Chapter II.3.1.c); and *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix VI.*), could (in theory) perfectly well have had the idea to commission the Marble Forum at Mérida. - But see Eric M. Moormann's review of Vibeke Goldbeck's book (2015); cf. Moormann (2016, 285): a commission of the Marble Forum at Mérida by an emperor seems to be ruled out. Walter Trillmich replied to that on 27th April 2020, that there is hope to clarify the actual date of the building's marble decoration fairly soon, since Nicole Röring is in the course of studying its architecture, and has already arrived at many surprising results, which are so far unpublished.

In addition, he alerted me to the publication of this building by Vibeke Goldbeck (*Fora Augusta. Das Augustusforum und seine Rezeption im Westen des Imperium Romanum*, 2015, 60-80). On 28th April 2020, Walter Trillmich has generously allowed me to mention also this here.

#### *Post scriptum*

On 9th July 2023, I had the chance to talk again on the telephone to Walter Trillmich in Wien. He was kind enough to tell me that the research by Nicole Röring on the Marble Forum at Mérida, that he had mentioned to me in his E- mail of 27th April 2020, has so far not been published.

In the following, I repeat, what was written in more detail for *supra*, Chapter IV.1.1.h):

“When this volume was about to be sent to the press, I found the following publications that will, therefore, only be discussed in detail *infra*, in volume 3-2:

Nicole Röring ("Von einer Basilika (?) zu einem rezipierten Augustusforum. Das Marmorforum von Mérida", 2020). In Röring's opinion, two very different buildings had stood at this site: first an Augustan building (probably a Basilica), which was later replaced by the much larger 'Marmorforum'. Röring (2020, 249, n. 5) mentions the two well known hypotheses concerning the dating of the sculptural decoration of this 'Marmorforum': to the Claudian and to the Flavian periods. But contrary to what I had hoped, Röring does not provide new information concerning the so far excavated parts of the building itself, that would allow a precise dating of this later phase, when, for example, those headless marble *togati* were created, which had belonged to its marble decoration. According to Röring (2020, 264), this 'transformation' of the previous Augustan building into the larger Marble Forum had started in the middle of the 1st century AD.

In addition to this, I have found three more recent publications by Vibeke Goldbeck on the subject ("Architekturkopien? Terminologische Überlegungen zur Rezeption von Bauwerken und ihrer Ausstattung bei den Römern. Untersucht am Beispiel des Forum Augustum und der Porticus ad Nationes", 2017). Goldbeck herself quotes also another of her earlier publications ("Die Porticus ad Nationes des Augustus", 2015a); Vibeke Goldbeck ("Die Rezeption der stadtrömischen Monumente des Augustus im Imperium Romanum", 2020); and Vibeke Goldbeck ('Monuments Abroad' - Zur Rezeption kaiserlicher Monumente im Imperium Romanum", 2021)“.

For some remarks on all those publications; cf. *supra*, in Chapter IV.1.1.h); at *The Marble Forum at the Colonia Augusta Emerita (Mérida) in Spain*; in Chapter *The major results of this book on Domitian*; and for a detailed discussion; cf. *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.d.2.*)

*The first Contribution by Claudia Valeri on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here Fig. 31)*

This Contribution belongs to the following Chapter in volume 3-2:

*Appendix I.g.3.) A sestertius, issued by Domitian in AD 95/96 (cf. here Fig. 30), and the Flavian date of the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here Fig. 31), both of which possibly represent Domitian's Templum Gentis Flaviae. With The first Contribution by Claudia Valeri.*

*Appendix I.g.3.); IV. The observations made by Claudia Valeri and myself while studying together the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano". With The first Contribution by Claudia Valeri.*

The following is a quote from *Appendix I.g.3.)* in volume 3-2 :

``On 28th November 2019, I was able to study the "Rilievo Terme Vaticani" together with Claudia Valeri standing in front of the original fragment in the Museo Gregoriano Profano, using a lamp. Both of us agree with Torelli (1987) that the relief is datable in the Flavian period. Valeri was also kind enough to alert me to four facts that I had not as yet realized myself at that stage, and that she has kindly allowed me by E-mail (of 1st May 2020) to mention here``:

*The first Contribution by Claudia Valeri :  
on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here Fig. 31)*

- 1.) the proportions of the "Rilievi Valle Medici", and those of the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here **Fig. 31**) are completely different, the former being very small, when compared with the latter;
- 2.) these truly extraordinary, or rather unique proportions of the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano", a fact also stressed by Langer and Pfanner (2018, 153) in one of the above-quoted epigraphs of this Chapter [*Appendix I.g.3.*)], are, according to Claudia Valeri, another strong argument to attribute the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" to Domitian;
- 3.) Contrary to Langer and Pfanner's idea (*id.* 2018, 154, quoted *verbatim supra*, in *Appendix I.g.3.*); at *Section I.*), who suggest that the relief of the pediment, representing 'Rome's foundation story' (cf. here **Fig. 31**) could hint at Rome's founder hero's apotheosis, 'der zum Quirinus wurde', Claudia Valeri rightly observes that not Romulus' apotheosis is depicted in this pediment (here **Fig. 31**), but rather his childhood;
- 4.) According to Claudia Valeri, the real protagonist of the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" is the represented *temple*.

Comments by the editor Chrystina Häuber:

To Claudia Valeri's point 1.) I should like to add information that she was kind enough to give me: Unlike myself, she was able to study the "Della Valle Medici Reliefs" at the garden façade of the Villa Medici *in situ*, when those were accessible by means of a scaffolding.

In addition to this, Claudia Valeri wrote me on 1st May 2020 by E-mail:

"... In merito ai rilievi Della Valle-Medici, sono convinta che la loro datazione preceda quella del nostro rilievo [*i.e.*, here **Fig. 31**]. Inoltre, ho ricontrollato la pubblicazione di Cagianò de Azevedo (Le antichità di Villa Medici, Roma 1951) e le loro dimensioni sono decisamente più ridotte. Il rilievo con il tempio ottastilo è alto m. 1,55 e largo m. 1,22 (p. 37, n. 3); il rilievo con il tempio esastilo è alto m. 1,55 e largo m. 1,05 (p. 40, n. 11)". - This she has kindly allowed me by E-mail of 4th May 2020 to mention here as well.

For illustrations of the two above-mentioned reliefs Della Valle Medici; cf. also Rita Paris (1994b, 78, Figs. 4 a-b).

*The second Contribution by Claudia Valeri on the two headless cuirassed statues of Flavian emperors at the Museo Chiaramonti (inv. nos. 1250; 1254; cf. here Fig. 6, left and right)*

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter* in volume 3-2:

*Appendix IV.c.2.) The Ogulnian monument (a statue group representing the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, standing underneath the sacred fig tree ficus Ruminalis), and she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus on a headless cuirassed statue of a Flavian emperor (Domitian?) in the Vatican Museums (cf. here Fig. 6, right) and on Hadrian's cuirassed statue from Hierapydna at Istanbul (cf. here Fig. 29). Exactly like the statue of the ficus Ruminalis on the Anaglypha Hadriani (cf. here Figs. 21; 22), the lupa and the twins on those cuirasses symbolize Rome's claim to eternal power and divine mission, and that it was the task of the Roman emperor to fulfill this obligation (cf. C. Parisi Presicce 2000, 28, 29). With a discussion of the meaning of the lupa and the twins on the "Rilievo Terme Vaticano" (cf. here Fig. 31), and with The second Contribution by Claudia Valeri.*

The following is a quote from *Appendix VI.c.2.)* in volume 3-2 :

“Since that Monday of 9th March 2020, when Claudia Valeri and I had intended to study together the two headless cuirassed statues of Flavian emperors at the Museo Chiaramonti together (cf. here **Fig. 6, left and right**), we have been discussing those two sculptures by telephone- and E-mail conversations, exchanging ideas, whenever some new findings came up. In an E-mail of 18th December 2020, Claudia Valeri was kind enough to answer my questions: at that stage I was especially curious about her dating of those *torsi* to the Domitianic period (which she had written to me by E-mail of 14th February 2020), and whether or not the findspot of those sculptures at the Baths of Caracalla could contradict such a dating. Cf. *supra*, in volume 3-1, at *The second Contribution by Claudia Valeri*.

In the following, I translate what Claudia Valeri wrote to me on 18th December 2020 :

1.) the cuirassed *torsi* (inv. nos. 1250, 1254 [cf. here **Fig. 6, left and right**]) have already been dated to the Domitianic period by Andrae 1995, pls. 226-227; Parisi Presicce takes up this dating and suggests that this is a pair of Flavian emperors (Vespasian or Titus + Domitian). The late Antonine dating appears in Vermeule and was repeated by Liverani, also Amelung speaks of statues of late antique date. I have looked at those two sculptures, also together with Giandomenico [Spinola], and am of the opinion that their dating to the Domitianic period is the most likely one.

2) the certain provenance [of those two *torsi*; cf. here **Fig. 6, left and right**] from the Baths of Caracalla does not create a problem, it is widely known that the very rich sculpture decoration of the Antonine Baths was planned to comprise sculptures, including very important ones, that were much older, to begin with the Toro Farnese, but the list [of such older statues] is very long’.

Note that Valeri in her above-quoted point 1.) refers to Parisi Presicce's account (2000, 39, cat. no. 13, quoted *verbatim supra*, in *Appendix IV.c.2.)*= here **Fig. 6, right**), as well as to the references, provided by Parisi Presicce at this catalogic-entry, which were already quoted above in their entirety:

"Amelung, *Vat. Kat.*, I, p. 670, n. 543, tav. 71; C. Vermeule, *Hellenistic and Roman Cuirassed Statues*, in *Berytus*, XIII, 1959, p. 67, n. 281 ... P. Liverani, *Museo Chiaramonti* (Guide Cataloghi dei Musei Vaticani, 1), Roma 1989, p. 20, n. V.5 ... AA.VV., [B. ANDRAE] *Bildkatalog der Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museum I. Museo Chiaramonti*, Berlin 1995, p. 24, tavv. 226, 228, 230, 313 ...”’.

Claudia Valeri wrote me on 18th December 2020 the above-translated E-mail and kindly gave me on 22nd January 2021 permission to publish it here:



*The second Contribution by Claudia Valeri :*

*on the two headless cuirassed statues of Flavian emperors  
at the Museo Chiaramonti  
(inv. nos. 1250; 1254; cf. here Fig. 6, left and right)*

Carissima Chrystina,

cerco di rispondere ai quesiti premettendo che puoi servirtene per la tua pubblicazione, come già scritto per quanto concerne le rilievi della Cancelleria e sul rilievo Terme-Vaticano, in precedenti e-mail, in particolare una mia del 4 maggio 2020.

1) La datazione domiziana dei torsi loricati (invv. 1250, 1254) è espressa già in Andreae 1995, tavv. 226-227; Parisi Presicce la riprende ipotizzando una coppia di imperatori flavii (Domiziano + Vespasiano o Tito). La datazione tardo antonina compare in Vermeule e viene ripresa da Liverani, anche Amelung parla di statue della tarda età imperiale. Ho riguardato le sculture, anche con Giandomenico [Spinola], e ritengo sia più verosimile la datazione domiziana.

2) La provenienza certa dalle Terme di Caracalla non è un problema, è ampiamente noto che il ricchissimo arredo delle Terme Antoniniane prevedeva sculture, anche di grande impegno, ben più antiche, a partire dal Toro Farnese, ma l'elenco è ben nutrito! ...

Spero di aver soddisfatto le tue curiosità ...

Claudia.

*Post scriptum* by the editor Chrystina Häuber:

On 16th May 2022, Claudia Valeri and I were finally fortunate enough to study these two torsii together, to which she was kind enough as to accompany me on that day. Cf. *supra*, in Chapter *Introductory remarks and acknowledgements*; and for a detailed discussion, *infra*, in volume 3-2, at *Appendix IV.c.2.*

*The first Contribution by T.P. Wiseman on the identification of the L. Scribonius Libo, who was the dedicant of the puteal Scribonianus (or Libonis)*

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter* in volume 3-2:

*Appendix IV.c) The meaning of the statue group 'Marsyas and fig tree', which appears twice on the Anaglypha Hadriani (Figs. 21; 22), and of the Ogulnian monument (a statue group representing the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, standing underneath the sacred fig tree ficus Ruminialis in the Comitium). With The first Contribution by T.P. Wiseman*

The following is a quote from *Appendix IV.c)* in volume 3-2 :

“Cf. Torelli (1982, 101-102), where he explains, why the *puteal Scribonianus* (or *Libonis*) had been erected under the open sky; the structure was built by the *praetor peregrinus* L. Scribonius Libo in 204 BC [with n. 97]:

"Nobody has observed that the dedicant of the *puteal* was a *praetor peregrinus* and that this *puteal* was placed close to the *tabernae argentariae*, existing there from before 310 B.C. [with n. 98], and that, accordingly, the *puteal* was connected with *Janus medius* and with *faeneratores* [with n. 99], a profession certainly at the beginning practised by foreigners [with n. 100]. Porphyrius even credits Libo with having placed there *tribunal et subsellia* [with n. 101]. This furthermore explains the connection between this *tribunal*, the *basilica Aemilia* [he refers to the Basilica Paulli] with its *horologium sub tecto*, and the building of the *tribunal Aurelium* in this area after the Sullan reconstruction of the *Curia*".

In his **notes 97-98, 100-101**, Torelli provides references and further discussion.

In his **note 99**, he writes: "Passages in Welin 1953, loc.cit. However the scholion to Cic. *pro Sest.* 8.18 (*Schol. Bob.* p. 128 Stangl) refers to the other *puteal Atti Navi in Comitio*. We know (Fest. 333 L., s.v. *Scribonianum*) that Libo created the *puteal* there *ob sacella attacta*; which these *sacella* were we don't know ...".

Cf. Münzer, s.v. "Scribonius Libo; 16) L. Scribonius Libo war 538 = 216 [BC] Volkstribun ... 550 = 204 wurde er Praetor peregrinus ... das kann zugunsten der Vermutung angeführt werden, daß der damalige Praetor der Scribonianus Libo war ... der bei dieser Gelegenheit ein Blitzgrab auf dem Forum herstellen ließ, dessen Einfassung als Puteal Scribonianum oder Puteal Libonis bekannt ist ... es wird öfter, auch als Puteal schlechthin, erwähnt, weil neben ihm das Tribunal des Praetors stand ...", in: *RE II A 1-2* (1921) Sp. 880. - But, as we have seen above, it is debated, when this man actually lived: as was already quoted above: "According to Coarelli (2019a, 315) L. Scribonius Libo was: "tribuno della plebe del 149 [BC]"".

Since I could not judge this subject myself, I asked T.P. Wiseman for advice. On 23rd May 2020, he was kind enough to write me a discussion of this problem":

*The first Contribution by T.P. Wiseman :*

*on the identification of the L. Scribonius Libo,  
who was the dedicant of the puteal Scribonianus (or Libonis)*

Dear Chrystina,

... according to Porphyrio's commentary on Horace *Epistles* 1.19.8, ``the *puteal Libonis* was the seat of the *praetor*, near the Arch of Fabius, because the tribunal and benches were first placed there by Libo''. So we're looking for a Libo who was *praetor*; Muenzer found one in 204 BC (Livy 29.13.2), but there was another one in 192 BC (Livy 35.10.11, 35.21.1) who is equally possible. Filippo's [*i.e.*, Filippo Coarelli's] Libo of 149 BC was a tribune, not a *praetor*; but F.[ilippo] is committed to the belief that the *praetor's* tribunal was still in the Comitium in 161 BC (see [F. COARELLI] *Il foro Romano* II [1985] pp. 158-9 and 166-7, on Macrobius *Saturnalia* 3.16.15-16), so our Libo would have to be later than that. But I don't think the argument works: Macrobius was probably referring to the seat of the *praetor urbanus*, whereas the Libo of 204 and the Libo of 192 were both *praetor peregrinus*. Either of those two dates looks OK to me.

Hope that's some help!

All best,

Peter.

*The second Contribution by T.P. Wiseman on the questions which ancient author explicitly records that Domitian had restored the Templum (novum) Divi Augusti, and that he had dedicated this temple in AD 89 or 90*

This *Contribution* belongs to the following *Chapter* in volume 3-2 :

*Appendix V. Explanations concerning the ancient toponyms of the Palatine and its immediate surroundings, between the Velabrum and the Caelian, as marked on my map Fig. 73;*

*Appendix V.; Section I. The (new) temple of the deified Augustus, the Velabrum, the bibliotheca Domus Tiberianae, the Athenaeum, Livia's sacrum dedicated to Divus Augustus (his 'old' temple), and the Curiae veteres on the map Fig. 73. With The second Contribution by T.P. Wiseman.*

The following is a quote from a *Chapter* in volume 3-2:

*Appendix IV.d.4.b) Domitian's building project comprising the Campus Martius, the Capitoline Hill and the sella between Arx and Quirinal. With detailed discussion of the Templum Pacis, and some remarks on Domitian's Villa, called Albanum :*

“Domitian restored the *Templum (novum) Divi Augusti* after that had been destroyed by the fire of AD 80, and dedicated it in AD 89 or 90; cf. Stefano Tortorella (1992, 99 with n. 114), quoting for that: "Suet *Dom.* 20". Tortorella himself does not quote Torelli for that information. Cf. Mario Torelli ("Augustus, Divus, Templum (novum); Aedes", in: *LTUR* I [1993] 145-146, Figs. 78; 79; cf. p. 146: "Dobbiamo a Domiziano la ricostruzione totale (cfr. Suet. *Dom.* 20) e la dedica 89 o 90) del complesso"). Whereas the location of this temple (immediately to the south-west of the *Basilica Iulia*), as suggested by Torelli, is the one maintained here as well [cf. here **Fig. 73**], Suetonius (*Dom.* 20) does not provide the information Torelli asserts. Although I myself have been unable to find the correct literary source ... this is also suggested by other scholars, who based their conclusions on different literary sources, that Domitian actually restored the *Templum (novum) Divi Augusti*. Cf. Samuel Platner and Thomas Ashby (1929, 62-65 s.v. Augustus, Divus, Templum); Lawrence Richardson Jr. (1992, 45-46 s.v. Augustus, Divus, Templum).

Cf. *supra*, in volume 3-1, at Chapter II.3.1.c) ...; and *infra*, in *Appendix V.*; at Section I.)”.

Asking on 10th January 2021 T.P. Wiseman for advice in this matter, he was kind enough to answer me on the same day by E-mail:

*The second Contribution by T.P. Wiseman :*

*on the questions which ancient author explicitly records that Domitian  
had restored the Templum (novum) Divi Augusti,  
and that he had dedicated this temple in AD 89 or 90*

Dear Chrystina,

...

All I know about this is that Martial refers to the new temple, with Minerva attached (or nearby), at 4.53.1-2, normally dated to AD 88, and that military diplomas from about 90 were set up *in muro post templum diui Augusti ad Mineruam*. I hope that's the evidence you're looking for!

Love from us both,

Peter

Note by the editor Chrystina Häuber:

To this E-mail, I answered Peter Wiseman on 11th January 2021:

"Dear Peter,

thank you very much indeed! The quotation from Martial that you write me is precisely what is also to be found in Platner and Ashby (1929, 62 *s.v.* Augustus, Divus, Templum). But Martial does NOT say EXPLICITLY that Domitian restored the temple. Platner and Ashby write: "It was destroyed by fire at some time before 79 A.D. (Plin. loc.cit. [NH xii 94])", but that passage refers obviously to the *sacrarium Divi Augusti* on the Palatine, at the north-east corner of the Palatine, excavated by Clementina Panella [discussed *infra*, in volume 3-2, in *Appendix V.*; at Section I.]. Mario Torelli (*LTUR* I, 1993, 145-146 *s.v.* Augustus, Divus, Templum (novum), Aedes), who rightly observed that these two sanctuaries dedicated to Augustus were and still are constantly confused, was of the opinion that the *Templum novum Divi Augusti* had been destroyed between the fires of 69 and 80 that devastated the *Capitolium*. That the *Templum (novum) Divi Augusti* WAS restored is clear from the fact that it is mentioned in "testi giuridici come i *diplomata militaria* a partire di 90 d. C. (*CIL* XVI 36-156, p. 196 s.) o in testi derivati da fonti ufficiali [quoting literary sources for that]", as Torelli writes on p. 145. Perhaps this had led him [*i.e.*, Mario Torelli] to the conclusion that Domitian had restored this temple (as Platner and Ashby and Richardson Jr. had done before him).

Unfortunately we can't ask Mario Torelli HIMSELF any more.

Love from us both,

Chrystina".

For the coins, issued by Antoninus Pius in AD 159, which prove that definitely *this* emperor had restored the *Templum (novum) Divi Augusti*; see now above, at *The second Contribution by Angelo Geißen : Zum 'Hadrianeum' auf Münzen des Antoninus Pius*.