

Lire la Ville 2

Fragments d'une archéologie littéraire de Rome à l'époque flavienne

Textes édités par
Lorenz E. BAUMER, Damien NELIS et Manuel ROYO



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de Rome à l'époque flavienne

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Shape and limits of the Flavian City: from *Fortuna Redux* to *Pax*

Paolo Liverani

This paper examines the topography of Rome during the Flavian age, taking as vantage point the significance and role of two cults to which the Flavian emperors gave great importance: those of *Pax* and *Fortuna Redux*.

The worship of these goddesses did not begin with the Flavians. On the contrary, both of them had an important role in the Augustan period. In the *Res Gestae*, listing the religious honours he received, Augustus devotes two subsequent chapters to the dedication of the altar of *Fortuna Redux* (chap. 11) and the *Ara Pacis* (chap. 12).

As for the first,

the Senate consecrated an altar of *Fortuna Redux* before the temple of *Honos* and *Virtus* at the *Porta Capena* for my return, at which [place] the [Senate] ordered that the pontifices and the Vestal Virgins make yearly sacrifices on that very day on which, during the consulship of Quintus Lucretius and Marcus Vinicius, I had arrived in the city from Syria and the [Senate] called the day *Augustalia* from our name¹.

In 19 BC Augustus came back to Rome after recovering through diplomatic channels the military standards lost by Crassus in the disastrous battle against the Parthians at *Carrhae*². The dedication of the altar was of great importance: it involved in the celebrations the pontiffs and the Vestal Virgins and associated the name of Augustus with the cult of *Fortuna Redux*. The feast was called *Augustalia*; later, Claudius expanded the holiday from a day-long festivity on October 12th to a ten day long festival. The games became known as the *Ludi divi Augusti et Fortunae Reducis* ("The Games of Divine Augustus and *Fortuna Redux*"). Unfortunately we cannot accurately place on the ground either the altar or the temples of *Honos* and *Virtus*, but their position was just outside the *Capena* Gate, the entrance to the city from the *Via Appia* (fig. 1.1).

The next chapter of the *Res Gestae*, on the other hand, is dedicated to the *Ara Pacis*:

On my return from Spain and Gaul during the consulship of Tiberius Nero and Publius Quintilius (13 BC) after successfully arranging affairs in those provinces, the Senate resolved that an altar of the Augustan Peace should be consecrated next to the *Campus Martius* in

1 *RGDA* 11: *Aram Fortunae Reducis ante aedes Honoris et Virtutis ad portam Capenam pro reditu meo senatus consecravit, in qua pontifices et virgines Vestales anniversarium sacrificium facere iussit eo die quo, consulibus Q. Lucretio et M. Vinicio, in urbem ex Syria redieram, et diem Augustalia ex cognomine nostro appellavit.* Translation: Brunt & Moore 1967, 33.

2 *BMCRE* I p.i. I, 2; 7-12; *RIC* I 322, 65.



Fig. 1. Map of Rome: 1. Fortuna Redux Altar; 2. Ara Pacis, Arco di Pertogallo, Templum Fortunae Reducis; 3. Republican Porta Triumphalis; 4. Templum Pacis.

honour of my return, and ordered that the magistrates and priests and Vestal Virgins should perform an annual sacrifice there³.

Again the pontiffs and Vestals were involved in the celebrations, but in fact the altar had two festivals: one commemorating its “constitution” on the 4th of July⁴, the day of Augustus’ return, and the other its dedication on the 30th of January, which coincided with the birthday of the Empress Livia⁵, highlighting even more the connection between the celebration and the imperial family.

3 *RGDA* 12.2: *Cum ex Hispania Galliaque rebus in iis provinciis prospere gestis Romam redi Ti. Nerone P. Quintilio consulibus, aram Pacis Augustae senatus pro reditu meo consecrandam censuit ad campum Martium, in qua magistratus et sacerdotes virginesque Vestales anniversarium sacrificium facere iussit.* Translation: Brunt & Moore 1967, 25.

4 *Fast. Amit.* 4 July: *Feriae ex s.c.q.e.d. ara Pacis Aug. in campo Mart. constituta est Nerone et Varo cos.*

5 *Fast. Praen.* 30 Jan.: *Feriae ex s.c. quod eo die ara Pacis Augustae in campo Martio dedicata est Druso et Crispino cos.*

The location of the *Ara Pacis* along the *Via Flaminia* is well known (fig. 1.2): it was one mile from the republican walls and the *Porta Triumphalis* (fig. 1.3). This observation by Mario Torelli⁶ was questioned by Lothar Haselberger⁷, but wrongly: it is obvious that a mile could not be measured on a map as the crow flies but only on the ground, where in fact the distance is correct. The boundary of a mile beyond the pomerial line is important: it was the limit of the *ius provocationis*⁸ (the right to appeal to the Roman people), as well as that of the jurisdiction of the Urban Prætor⁹, the *aediles*¹⁰ and the tribunes of the people¹¹.

The parallelism between the two dedications has already been pointed out¹², and we can add that they are the only two Augustan monuments for which two dates apiece are recorded in the imperial calendars. The altars mark the two main entrances to the city: the *via Appia* was used by the people who arrived from the east through the port of Brindisi, the *via Flaminia* by the people who arrived from the provinces north of the Alps. Augustus did not enter the city in triumph either in the year 19, when he came back from Syria, or in 13 from Spain, so that the meaning of the two altars was a sort of compensation for celebrating a victorious return in a different way. The recovery of the Parthian standards, in fact, although accomplished by purely diplomatic channels, was greeted with triumphal connotations and was commemorated by an arch in the Roman Forum.

To complete the discussion on the Augustan phase, we have to add one last detail: a Julio-Claudian inscription dedicated by an *aedituus* freedman of Tiberius, the keeper of the temple of *Fortuna Redux*¹³, testifies that a temple of this goddess existed in the first half of the first century AD. As we know, Filippo Coarelli proposed to identify this temple with one of the twin temples dedicated to *Fortuna* and *Mater Matuta*, near the modern church of Sant'Omobono at the foot of the Capitol¹⁴. However, the peculiarities of the two cults – the *Fortuna Redux* and the *Fortuna* of the *Forum Boarium* – are too different and the proposal cannot be accepted¹⁵. We should remember, instead, Flavius Josephus' description of Vespasian's triumph in 71: before entering the *Porta Triumphalis* at the foot of the Capitol

6 Torelli 1982, 29-30; Torelli 1996, 943-944.

7 Haselberger 2000, 525-526, with note 40 (repeated in n. 41). Haselberger writes that one Roman mile (c. 1480 meters) from the *Ara Pacis* would go far to the south of both the Capitoline Hill and the *Forum Romanum*. Several scholars repeated the criticism (Guilhemet 2006, n. 77; Arya 2002, 295; Noreña 2013, 59 n. 33) but without verifying it.

8 Livy 3.20.7.

9 Gai., *Inst.*, 4.104.

10 *CIJ.*, I², 593 = *ILS.*, 6085.

11 Livy 3.20.7.

12 Torelli 1982, 28-29. About the ideological link between Vespasian and Augustus cf. Isager 1976; Mastino 2012.

13 *CIJ.*, VI, 8705 : *Ti(berius) Iulius Aug(usti) lib(ertus) Limen Stabilianus aedituus / Fortunae Reducis sibi et libertis / libertabusque posterisque eorum / in agro p(edes) XIII s(emis) in fronte p(edes) XIII s(emis) / mesura acta accepit portionem omnium / HS CCCXXXVIII n(unnum) Ti(berius) Iulius Diocles curator.*

14 Coarelli 1968, 77-78; Coarelli 1988, 274-276, 363-414, 451-459; Coarelli 1995.

15 Liverani 2006-2007, 305-306, n. 43 with bibliography. I wonder if the fragments found at the roots of the Capitoline hill, which La Rocca (1994, 282-292) attributes to a hypothetical *Ara Reditus Claudii*, could be connected to this temple.

(thus not far from Sant’Omobono), the emperor “offered sacrifices to the gods that were placed at the gate”¹⁶. Maybe we can consider among these gods a small temple dedicated to *Fortuna Redux*.

We come now to the Flavian age. As soon as Vespasian became emperor, he showed he had clear ideas about some basic points. His measures show a remarkable consistency in achieving his program, which – as we shall see – will be brought to its logical conclusion by Domitian. When Vespasian on the 1st of October of the year 70 arrived in Rome, his first concern was to offer a sacrifice to the Capitoline Triad and *Fortuna Redux* performed by the Arval Brethren¹⁷. A few days later, on October 13th, the corporations of the *Succusana* tribe offered a dedication to *Fortuna Redux* and the *Domus Augusta*: the richly decorated base was found in the sixteenth century at the foot of the Capitol behind the Arch of Septimius Severus¹⁸. In the following years, between 69 and 79 AD, Vespasian featured the goddess on a total of thirteen coins and was the first to issue coins with her image¹⁹. Augustus, on the contrary, issued only one coin with her altar²⁰.

As for *Pax*, Vespasian’s interest is even more evident: in 75 he dedicated the *Templum Pacis* in the heart of Rome next to the *Fora* of Caesar and Augustus (fig. 1.4), a temple of great size with a *temenos* surrounded by porticos and elaborate decoration²¹, in which he concentrated the most important masterpieces he could recover from Nero’s properties. Here he also placed the spoils from the capture of Jerusalem and its temple. We know this monumental complex through Septimius Severus’ restoration; however most scholars agree in considering the Severan *Templum Pacis* as fairly faithful to the Flavian phase both in its general plan, and in many significant elements of its decoration. One such element is the *Forma Urbis*²²: the great plan of Rome carved on the marble revetment of a hall to the south of the temple. This impressive document in all probability dates back to the foundation of the temple, and Septimius Severus simply restored it. We will come back to the *Forma Urbis*, which plays a very important role, but for now we need to broaden our view to the city as a whole.

When Vespasian came to power, he found a city still partially cluttered with the ruins of Nero’s fire. Therefore, Vespasian began a massive reconstruction and modernization of the city, that was not limited to the restoration of individual buildings. For this purpose, in 73 and 74 he assumed the role of censor together with his son Titus and overhauled the cadastre of Rome. Traces of this operation remain in a famous passage of Pliny the Elder²³, the so-called *Descriptio Urbis*, and in the inscriptions of the boundary stone of the Tiber.

16 Jos., *BJ*, 7.5.4: τὰς θριαμβικὰς ἐσθῆτας ἀμφιασάμενοι τοῖς τε παριδρομένοις τῇ πύλῃ θύσαντες θεοῖς ἔπεμπον τὸν θρίαμβον διὰ τῶν θεάτρων διεξελεύοντες, ὅπως εἴη τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἡ θεὰ ῥάων (transl. William Whiston). Cf. Liverani 2006-2007, 311.

17 *CIH*, VI, 2052; Scheid 1998, III, nr. 41, l. 4.

18 *CIH*, VI, 196; Rausa 1997.

19 Perfect 2012, 56-64.

20 Perfect 2012, 55-56.

21 Coarelli 1999a; Meneghini 2009, 79-97; Tucci 2009; Meneghini & Rea 2014, 242-342; Tucci 2017.

22 Carettoni *et al.* 1960; Rodríguez Almeida 1981.

23 Plin., *Nat.*, 3.66-67. Hülsen 1897; Castagnoli 1981; Guilhembet 2006.

This was part of a more complex project concerning the administrative reorganization of the empire, with a more general cadastral revision documented by several passages of the *Gromatici Veteres*, the *Liber Coloniarum* and by epigraphic texts of a number of cities²⁴.

Closely connected to the cadastral revision was the extension of the *pomerium* of Rome, a measure Vespasian had had in mind since the beginning of his reign: the *Lex de imperio Vespasiani*²⁵, passed by the Senate in 69, includes a clause giving Vespasian the authority to extend the *pomerium* according to the model of the Emperor Claudius before him :

utique et fines pomerii proferre, promovere, cum ex republica censebit esse, liceat, ita ut licuit Ti. Claudio Caesari Augusto Germanico.

These measures are closely related: the expansion of the *pomerium* was justified by the inscriptions on the boundary stones with the technical expression *auctis p(opuli) R(omani) finibus*²⁶, “having extended the limits of the Roman people”. From a territorial point of view, this statement could be justified by Vespasian’s conquests in Commagene²⁷. On the other hand, the census was needed to provide a legal basis for the enlargement of the *pomerium* with the certification of the accretion of the population of the Roman Empire.

The extension of the *pomerium* represented a new beginning of the Empire, repairing the previous disorder of Nero’s reign. Alongside the practical and administrative reasons, there was also a political one for justifying an extension of the city only few years after a similar measure by Claudius.

We now return to *Pax* and *Fortuna Redux*. Elsewhere I have tried to show some consequences of the pomerial enlargement in the *Campus Martius*: the most obvious is the shift of the *Porta Triumphalis*, that is, the gate where the emperor entered the city beginning the triumphal procession or his *adventus*²⁸. We know the appearance of the *Porta Triumphalis*: it was built by Domitian according to a famous passage by Martial²⁹:

*Hic ubi Fortuna Reducis fulgentia late
Templa nitent, felix area nuper erat:
hic stetit Arctoi formosus pulvere belli
purpureum fundens Caesar ab ore iubar;
5 hic lauru redimita comas et candida cultu
Roma salutavit voce manumque ducem.
Grande loci meritum testantur et altera dona:
stat sacer et domitis gentibus arcus ovat;
hic gemini currus numerant elephanta frequentem,
10 sufficit immensis aureus ipse iugis.
Haec est digna tuis, Germanice, porta triumphis:
hos aditus urbem Martialis habere decet*

24 Castagnoli 1981, 256.

25 *CIJ.*, VI, 930; Capogrossi Colognesi & Tassi Scandone, ed. 2009.

26 *CIJ.*, VI, 1232 = *IIS.*, 248.

27 Mommsen 1887, 735-796; on the juridical problems of the *pomerium* cf. Giardina 1995; Maccari 2015; Maccari 2016.

28 Liverani 2005; Liverani 2006-2007; Liverani 2016, 488-493.

29 Mart. 8.65.1-12.

Here, where the temple dedicated to *Fortuna Redux* glistens
 resplendent far and wide, was formerly a spot of ground of great celebrity.
 Here Domitian, graced with the dust of the Sarmatian war,
 halted, his countenance radiating with glory.
 Here, with locks wreathed with bays, and in white garb,
 Rome saluted her general with voice and gesture.
 The great merits of the spot are attested by the other monuments with which it has been
 honoured;
 a sacred arch is there erected in memory of our triumphs over subdued nations.
 Here two chariots number many an elephant yoked to them;
 the prince himself cast in gold, guides alone the mighty team.
 This gate, Germanicus, is worthy of your triumphs;
 such an entrance it is fit the city of Mars should possess³⁰.



Fig. 2. Domitian's Sestertius, RIC II,1
 796, 95-96 AD British Museum 1978, 1018.1
 (Creative Commons BY-NC-SA 4.0).

The gate was depicted on a sestertius of 95-96 AD³¹: (fig. 2) it was a four-fronted arch decorated with two elephant chariots facing in the opposite directions and driven by a statue of the emperor. The same image returns on several marble reliefs and some coins and medallions³². Its position has been discussed, but now it can be identified on the basis of a passage of Claudian, in the Panegyric for the sixth consulate of Honorius in 404 AD. The emperor assumed the consulate during his visit to

Rome, when he also celebrated the victories over Alaric at *Pollentia* and Verona in 402. The reference that interests us comes in the speech Claudian puts into the mouth of the goddess Roma³³. She reproaches the emperor for having neglected her:

*Ast ego frenabam geminos, quibus altior ires,
 electi candoris equos et nominis arcum
 iam molita tui, per quem radiante decorus
 ingrediere toga, pugnae monumenta dicabam
 defensam titulo Libyam testata perenni
 iamque parabantur pompae simulacra futurae
 Tarpeio spectanda Iovi (...)*³⁴.

And I was already harnessing to the chariot twin horses of outstanding whiteness to make you more exalted in your progress, and having already constructed an arch that bore your name through which, resplendent in your shining toga, you might march into the City, I was busy dedicating monuments to your battles that bore witness in everlasting inscriptions to

30 Transl. Bohn's Classical Library, 1897.

31 Carradice 1982.

32 Liverani 2005; Liverani 2006-2007.

33 Claudian., *VI Cons.*, 356-425.

34 Claudian., *VI Cons.*, 369-373.

Libya's defence. And for the procession that was to take place, tableaux were already being prepared, for Tarpeian Jove to gaze upon³⁵ ...

Some years earlier, the City of Rome had intended to celebrate an imperial triumph for the victory in 398 over Gildo, the rebel *magister militum* of Africa. Everything had been made ready for the emperor's *adventus*, and Rome herself was preparing the white horses that were to pull the imperial chariot. An arch through which the emperor would have made his entrance had been built in Honorius' name, and the inscribed monuments were ready, as well as *simulacra*, illustrating the battle, to be carried in the triumphal procession.

The emperor arrived from Milan, through the *Via Flaminia* as usual in this period. This arch cannot be interpreted simply as the city gate of the Aurelian Walls, but rather as an arch situated on the *pomerium* for the official entrance "resplendent in his shining toga" (according to Claudian). We know of three arches on the *Via Lata*, the urban stretch of the *via Flaminia*. Working outwards from the city-centre (fig. 3), the first is Diocletian's *Arcus Novus* (303 AD), and the second the Arch of Claudius (54 AD)³⁶, both of which clearly possessed triumphal connotations. However, they are both too early for the period we are dealing

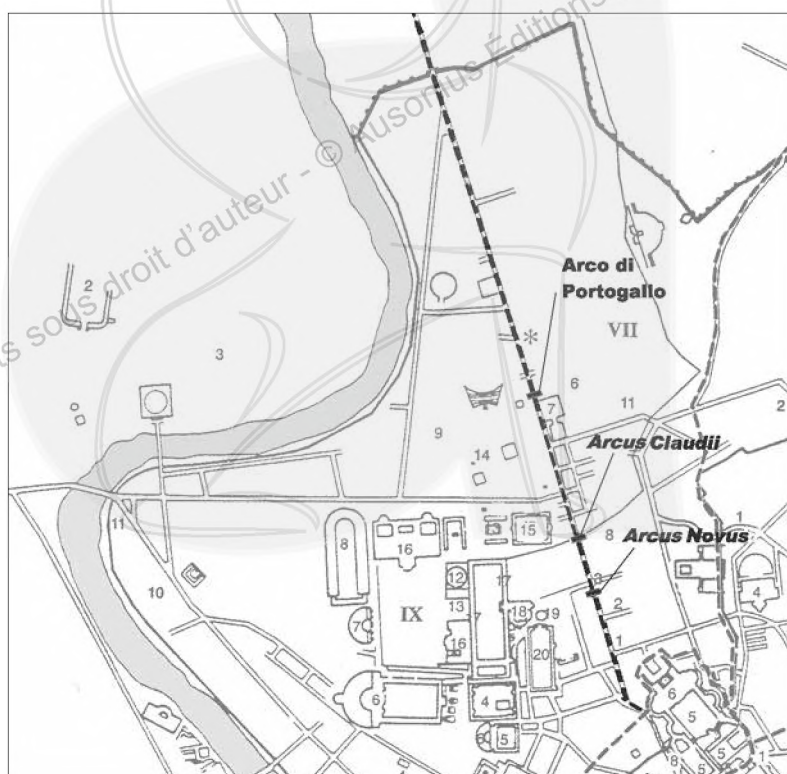


Fig. 3. The arches along the Via Lata.

35 Transl. M. J. Dewar, with small modifications.

36 Laubscher 1976.



Fig. 4. Israel Silvestre, *The Arco di Portogallo on the Via Lata*, etching, second half of the 17th cent. (<http://israel.silvestre.fr/israel-silvestre/gravure-5-3-veue-de-l-arc-de-portugal-situe-dans-la-rue-du-cours-a-rome>).

with here. The third arch, farthest out along the road, is the *Arco di Portogallo*³⁷ (fig. 4), a late antique monument which has for a long time been thought to mark the position of the *pomerium*³⁸. That the arch served as a form of monumental entrance is also suggested by the fact that (as far as we know) it was decorated only on its external (that is northern) side³⁹. There is also an interesting detail in the panegyric: on one side an arch was “already constructed” (*iam molita ... arcum*). On the other side, Rome “dedicated” the monuments commemorating the victory: among them there was at least the base in the Roman Forum dedicated to Arcadius and Honorius⁴⁰. What is the difference between the two verbs *molita* and *dicabam*? Is it too subtle to hypothesize that Claudian implies that the arch already existed and was not built expressly for the victory, but only renamed and adapted for the occasion? Anyway, its topographical position and the peculiarity of the structure, documented by the 17th century sources, allow us to consider the arch of Honorius—that is the *Arco di Portogallo*—as the late antique version of Domitian’s *Porta Triumphalis*. One further confirmation comes from the boundary stones of the *pomerium*.

37 Stucchi 1949-1950; La Rocca 1986, 24-32; Torelli 1992; Liverani 2004; Liverani 2005. The arch was demolished in 1662.

38 Lugli 1934, 95; Lugli 1938, 270; Castagnoli 1980, 67; Rakob 1987, 704, n. 39.

39 The drawings documenting the arch before its demolition depict always this side: cfr. Stucchi 1949-1950.

40 *CLL*, VI, 1187 = 31256; Hülsen 1895; Hülsen 1905, 82-83; Lanciani 1897, 261; Nash 1962, II, s.u. *Quadriga Arcadii et Honorii*, 262-263; Cameron 1970, 114-115. Verduchi, in: Giuliani & Verduchi 1987, 69-73, nr. 1.



Fig. 5. Marcus Aurelius' adventus, relief from the Arch of Constantine.



Fig. 6. Marcus Aurelius' adventus, relief, Capitoline Museums (Photo Museums).

One of them was found just outside the *Porta Flaminia*⁴¹, immediately to the north of the Aurelian Walls and to the east of the street, while another came to light to the west of the *Arco di Portogallo*⁴². The point where the *pomerium* crossed the *Via Lata* must be between these two positions and certainly, the arch of Honorius is the best candidate.

Having established this main point, we can deduce some topographic consequences. As we have seen, according to Martial, Domitian also built the Temple of *Fortuna Redux* near the *Porta Triumphalis*. Two reliefs with Marcus Aurelius' arrival help us to understand its location: the first was reused on the Arch of Constantine⁴³ (fig. 5) and the second is preserved at the Capitoline Museums⁴⁴ (fig. 6). Both depict the *Porta Triumphalis* viewed from the north with the Temple of *Fortuna Redux* on the left, easily recognizable from the image in

41 *CII.*, VI, 1231.

42 *CII.*, VI, 40854.

43 Angelicoussis 1984, 151, pl. 166.6; Koeppl 1986, 70-72, nr. 32, fig. 38; Liverani 2006-2007, 294-300, fig. 3.

44 Angelicoussis 1984, 152-154, pl. 66.2; Koeppl 1986, 50, nr. 24, fig. 28; Caferio 1986, 39-40, pl. XXXI; Liverani 2006-2007, 294-300, fig. 5.

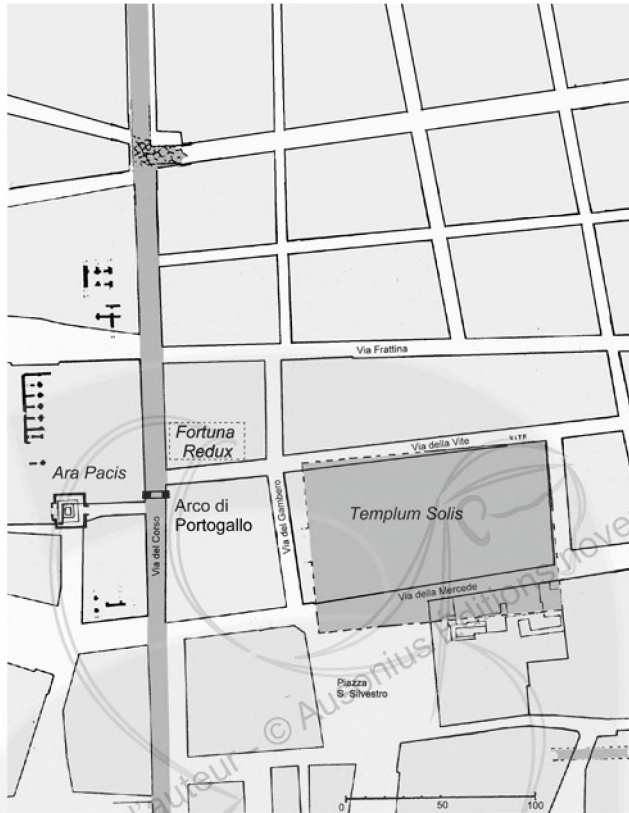


Fig. 7. Hypothetical position of the temple of Fortuna Redux outside Domitian's Porta Triumphalis.

the pediment. Its position, therefore, is to the east of the *Via Flaminia*, just north of the gate⁴⁵. We can propose its location on a map even if only approximately (fig. 7). We could also note that in the Regionary Catalogues, the *Notitia*⁴⁶ mentions in *Regio VII*: *templa duo nova Spei et Fortunae* ("the two new temples of Fortune and Hope"). As I have tried to show elsewhere⁴⁷, the *templum Fortunae Novae* could be identified with that of *Fortuna Redux* built by Domitian: the *Templum Fortunae Veteris*, on the other hand, could be one of the many temples in Rome dedicated to *Fortuna*⁴⁸, or that of *Fortuna Redux* attested by the inscription of the *aedituus* freedman of Tiberius mentioned above⁴⁹. We can find confirmation of this

45 Sobocinski 2009, without knowledge of Liverani 2006-2007, proposed a similar position for the temple of *Fortuna Redux*.

46 Valentini & Zucchetti 1940, 172: *Iacum Ganymedis, Cohortem I vigilum, Arcum Novum, Nymfeum Iovis, Aediculam Caprariam, Campum Agrippae, Templum Solis et Castra, Porticum Gypsiani et Constantini, Tempa duo nova Spei et Fortunae, Equum Tiridatis regis Armeniorum, Forum Suarium, Hortos I argianos, Mansuetas, Lapidem Pertusum*.

47 Liverani 2006-2007.

48 *ITUR* II 1995, 267-287

49 *Supra*, n. 13.

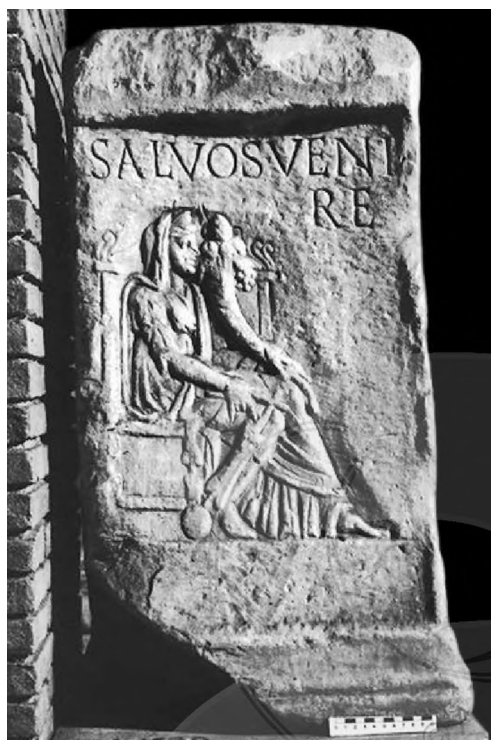


Fig. 8. Altar CIL, VI, 830, left side:
Capitoline Museums.



Fig. 9. Altar CIL, VI, 830, right side:
Capitoline Museums.

reconstruction in an altar of the Capitoline Museums⁵⁰ dedicated by a soldier to the imperial family in the first half of the third century. On the left side (fig. 8) a seated *Fortuna Redux* is portrayed under the inscription *salvos venire*, on the right (fig. 9) is the personification of a street, probably the *Via Flaminia*, with the milestone of the first mile and the inscription *salvos ire*. The altar acquires its full meaning if we connect the images to the rites of *adventus* and *profectio* at the *Porta Triumphalis* and the Temple of *Fortuna Redux* on the first mile of the *Via Flaminia / Via Lata*.

We have to take into account that in the high imperial age most of the imperial arrivals occurred from the north along the *Via Flaminia* and the importance of this route will increase more and more in late antiquity. The proximity of the *Ara Pacis* and *Fortuna Redux* temple acquires a new meaning in relation to the *Porta Triumphalis*. The two cults formed a coherent system: *Fortuna Redux* was just outside the *pomerium*, because it was there that – before making his entrance into the city – the emperor could express his thanksgiving for his victorious return, while just inside was the *Ara Pacis*, the goddess whose presence was a necessary condition for the city's civic life. The pair of cults embodied and demonstrated

50 CIL., VI, 830: (in front) *In h(onorem) D(omus) D(ivinae) | T(itus) Albanus | Principia/nus evok(atus) Aug(usti) n(ostri)*; (left) *salvos veni/re*, (right) *salvos ire*. Cf. Stuart Jones 1912, 51, n. 8, tav. 10; Koeppl 1969, 138, 151-152; Rausa 1997, 131, nr. 100.



Fig. 10. Vespasian's pomerium across the Campus Martius.

in a clear way the famous Latin expression *domi bellique*. If this reconstruction is correct, we can solve a topographic puzzle concerning the *pomerium* in *Campus Martius*. The line of Vespasian's boundary, after crossing the *Via Flaminia*, outlined a whimsical elbow including the *Ara Pacis*, then returned close to *Via Flaminia* itself, running southwards in order to avoid the Imperial *ustrina* and the temple of Isis and Serapis (fig. 10). The reason for this oddity must be recognized in the will to include the altar of Peace inside the city limits.

We now return to the *Templum Pacis*, for some final considerations. We mentioned the marble plan of Rome – the *Forma Urbis* – on display in a hall of the sanctuary, probably since the Flavian age⁵¹. The reason of the presence of this plan has

long been discussed, but without a satisfying solution. In ancient times the decoration of a building was not a purely aesthetic matter as it is in the modern age. *Decus* means something appropriate to the building's function⁵². In the past, some scholars proposed to locate the headquarters of the urban prefect in the *Templum Pacis* and therefore the plan would have served this office and that of the urban cadastre nearby⁵³. The evidence, however, suggests a different location for the prefect's office: somewhere between the Baths of Titus and Trajan. More recently, new discoveries led to reevaluate and precise Lanciani's location⁵⁴ and to identify the prefecture with the remains in this area of a large building decorated with a fresco, depicting the panorama of a city, and some wall mosaics of the finest quality⁵⁵.

Probably a different explanation for the marble plan is more interesting: Vespasian built the *Templum Pacis* not only to celebrate his victories, and particularly the conquest of Jerusalem, but also to highlight the consequences of this victory and the peace of the empire after civil struggles. These consequences were embodied in a new imperial order and in a renovation of the city of Rome, through its administrative reorganization. The *Forma*

51 *Supra*, n. 22.

52 For a decorative purpose of the *Forma Urbis* cf. Castagnoli 1961, 609 (=1993, 120); Castagnoli 1980, 19.

53 Jordan 1874, 9; Gatti, in: Carettoni *et al.* 1960, 214-17; Coarelli 1986, 23; Coarelli 1999a; Coarelli 1999b; Coarelli 2005.

54 Lanciani 1892.

55 Caruso & Volpe 2000, 53-56; cf. Carnabuci 2006, 186-192.

Urbis was a clear proof of the technical and administrative capacities of the emperor: the marble plan included most of the urban territory inside the *pomerium*⁵⁶, and painted lines highlighted administrative subdivisions: as is well known, traces of a red line between the *Circus Maximus* and the Palatine should be interpreted as the remains of the boundaries between two of the fourteen districts of the city⁵⁷. In other words, the *Forma Urbis* was a manifesto of the imperial propaganda to proclaim the restored order and the recovered peace.

Finally, due emphasis must be given to the importance of Vespasian's measures: the censorship of 73-74 with the new cadastral survey is a premise for the expansion of the *pomerium* and the dedication of the *Templum Pacis* in 75. The extension of the city limits – as I said – was the sign of a new beginning of the Empire and *Pax* watched over the reacquired prosperity with her temple in the urban center and her altar to guard the city limits just inside the *Porta Triumphalis*. When the victorious emperor crossed through this gate, he left behind the war and entered a city, kingdom of peace and order. For Vespasian (and Domitian) the cults of *Fortuna Redux* and *Pax* became a political program speaking through the topographical structure of the city of Rome.

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56 Gatti, in: Carettoni *et al.* 1960, 231-233; Coarelli 2005, 63.

57 Ciancio Rossetto 2006, 135-140; Meneghini 2008, 190-191.

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Le présent ouvrage rassemble des communications tenues à Genève en août 2016 au rapport entre la littérature latine et l'espace urbain. Une première série d'études, parue en 2014 (*Lire la Ville. Fragments d'une archéologie littéraire de Rome antique*, Scripta Antiqua 65), prenait pour objet des textes essentiellement d'époque augustéenne. Elle montrait comment les allusions littéraires à l'espace urbain de la ville ne se limitaient pas à de simples informations topographiques mais reflétaient aussi un imaginaire lié aux programmes politiques et monumentaux que la paix octroyée sous l'égide de l'empereur Auguste avait pu mettre en œuvre.

Il a paru intéressant de vérifier si, à distance de quelques générations et après la fin de la première dynastie impériale, ces mêmes mécanismes ne se retrouvaient pas après l'établissement d'une nouvelle dynastie et la seconde grande transformation urbaine de Rome. L'incendie de 64 p. C., les bouleversements qui accompagnent la mort de Néron et la nouvelle guerre civile qui lui ont creusé les contours ont créé un cycle de reconstructions et de constructions comparable à celui qui suit les événements de la fin de la République. L'originalité vient à ce que poètes et prosateurs flaviens qui en parlent s'inspirent de leurs prédécesseurs, que ce soit pour les imiter ou au contraire pour s'en démarquer. Ce système de références plus ou moins explicites fait echo à la manière dont la nouvelle dynastie entend se positionner par rapport à l'ancienne. Onze communications composent ce portrait littéraire de Rome autour de poètes et d'écrivains comme Sénèque, Martial ou Pline l'Aîné, un portrait qui recoupe les grandes lignes du nouveau paysage urbain et des monuments qu'élevèrent alors les Flavians. L'entreprise littéraire servira même de modèle à la Renaissance pour représenter à son tour la Florence des Médicis, preuve s'il en est de son importance.

This book gathers together a set of papers first delivered as lectures *à la conférence held in Geneva in 2016*. The aim of the colloquium was to study the relationship between Latin literature and urban space in Flavian Rome. An earlier volume, published in the same series in 2014 (*Lire la Ville. Fragments d'une archéologie littéraire de Rome antique*, Scripta Antiqua 65), had focused mainly on texts from the Augustan period, in an attempt to show how literary allusions to the real spaces of Rome and its environs were not limited to the communication of simple topographical information, but also reflected an entire imaginary closely linked to the political and monumental building programmes of Augustus.

In light of that study, it seemed appropriate to try to investigate these same literary allusions after the end of the first imperial dynasty, and to see whether they were still to be found in operation after the advent of a new dynasty and in relation to the second great urban transformation of Rome. The fire of 64 AD, the upheavals which accompanied the death of Nero, and the civil war which followed all created the conditions for a cycle of reconstructions and constructions comparable to that which followed the events of the end of the Republic. But an original aspect of the Flavian context is that its poets and prose writers are greatly inspired by their Augustan predecessors, both following them to a considerable extent but also taking new paths. This more or less explicit literary system reflects the way in which the new dynasty intends to position itself in relation to the old. Eleven contributions make up this literary portrait of Rome around poets and writers like Seneca, Martial, and Pliny the Elder, a portrait that reflects the main outlines of the new urban landscape and the major monuments built by the Flavians. This literary enterprise went on to serve as a model for the representations of Renaissance Florence of the Medici, a striking proof of its longevity and influence.



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