

Architectural Restoration and the Concept of Built Heritage in Imperial Rome

Volume 1 of 2

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the practice of restoring public buildings in ancient Rome and attendant attitudes towards them in order to develop an understanding of the Roman concept of built heritage. Drawing on a combination of archaeological and textual evidence and focusing primarily on six decades from the Great Fire of AD 64 to the AD 120s, a period of dramatic urban transformation and architectural innovation, it explores the ways in which individual structures and the cityscape as a whole was rebuilt. With specific reference to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, it is shown how buildings developed through successive reconstructions and that the prevailing approach was to modernise the aesthetic and materiality of structures, rather than to restore them to their original appearance. Furthermore, by recognising the importance of religion as a potential agent in the restoration process, a new interpretation of the exceptional treatment of the casa Romuli is proposed.

With the intention of uncovering attitudes to built heritage in society more widely, the study goes beyond analysing the physical treatment of buildings to consider also how changes to the urban fabric were received by those who experienced them firsthand. Through examining descriptions of destruction and restoration in literature of the period, particularly in the works of Seneca the Younger, Pliny the Elder, Martial and Tacitus, an insight is gained into the ways that Rome's inhabitants responded to the redevelopment of their historic built environment. This thesis argues for a Roman concept of built heritage that is dramatically different from many modern ideas on the subject. The findings question the extent to which the historical value and identity of a structure resided in its physicality, and demonstrates that the Roman concern for historic buildings did not equate to preservation of historic architecture.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

- ANRW* Temporini, H. 1972-. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* (Berlin).
- CIL* (1893-), *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin).
- DEL* Johnson, S. 1798 8th ed. *A Dictionary of the English Language* (Dublin).
- ILS* Dessau, H. 1892-1916. *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (Berlin).
- L&S* Lewis, C. and Short, C. 1879. *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford).
- LSJ* Liddell, H. and Scott, R. 1940 9th ed. *A Greek-English Lexicon, Revised and Augmented Throughout by H. Stuart Jones with a Supplement*, 1968 (Oxford).
- LTUR* Steinby, M. 1993-1999. *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (Rome).
- MED* Kurath, H., Sherman, M., and Reidy, J. 1952-2001. *Middle English Dictionary* (Ann Arbor).
- OCD* Hornblower, S. and Spawforth, A. 1996. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* 3rd ed. (Oxford).
- OLD* Glare, P. 1969-82. *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford)
- RE* Pauly, A. and Wissowa, G. 1893-1980. *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart).

Abbreviations of ancient authors and works follow the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Abbreviations of Journals follow the conventions of the *American Journal of Archaeology* (<http://www.ajaonline.org/submissions/journals-series>).

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction: Starting From an Unexpected Premise

Communities which inhabit the same space for more than one generation are typically forced to deal with structures left by those who came before them. To preserve, restore, reuse, alter, or destroy these buildings are all actions which constitute a form of engagement with the material past. It can therefore be argued that most societies display an attitude, even if it is one of ambivalence, towards their historic built environment. Managing the architectural legacies inherited from earlier generations is a subject with considerable contemporary resonance. In the modern world enormous importance is often accorded to notionally historic buildings, and recent decades have seen a significant rise of interest in matters of preservation and restoration. Since the mid-twentieth century there has also been an increasing theorisation and codification regarding the appropriate ways to treat these structures. Such regulation arguably presents the impression that on some basic fundamental level there is a common outlook.¹ Yet attitudes to built heritage are not inherent but are socially and culturally conditioned; it is people in the present who give meaning and value to relics of the past, and therefore the potential for variation over how historic buildings are conceptualised and treated is considerable. This is a point that is neatly illustrated by a dialogue in Douglas Adams' 1990 travel book *Last Chance to See*:

I remembered once, in Japan, having been to see the Gold Pavilion Temple in Kyoto and being mildly surprised at quite how well it had weathered the passage of time since it was first built in the fourteenth century. I was told it hadn't weathered well at all, and had in fact been burnt to the ground twice in this century.
 "So it isn't the original building?" I had asked my Japanese guide.
 "But yes, of course it is," he insisted, rather surprised at my question.
 "But it's burnt down?"
 "Yes."

¹ The second half of the twentieth century brought an increased degree of uniformity in Western practices through the establishment of bodies such as English Heritage (1983) and, at an international level, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (1965). These organisations in their advisory capacities aim to regulate the management of built heritage through the promotion and implementation of key principles, see Jokilehto 1999: 287-289; Glendinning 2013: 390-413.

“Twice.”

“Many times.”

“And rebuilt.”

“Of course. It is an important and historic building.”

“With completely new materials.”

“But of course. It was burnt down.”

“So how can it be the same building?”

“It is always the same building.”

I had to admit to myself that this was in fact a perfectly rational point of view, it merely started from an unexpected premise. The idea of the building, the intention of it, its design, are all immutable and are the essence of the building. The intention of the original builders is what survives. The wood of which the design is constructed decays and is replaced when necessary. To be overly concerned with the original materials, which are merely sentimental souvenirs of the past, is to fail to see the living building itself.²

The difference in outlook that Adams highlights here is not simply over how to appropriately restore a historic building, but concerns the very conception of what makes it a historic building.³ This passage illustrates that there might be fundamental variations between the attitudes of societies in the modern world. So, too, there are observable differences to how built heritage was perceived and treated in the past, and there is no reason to think that it is a subject that was less relevant to societies in antiquity.⁴

It is apparent that the cityscape of Rome in the first and second centuries AD was invested with historic significance by its inhabitants, and present generations meaningfully associated many of its buildings with events and figures from the recent and distant past (an idea discussed throughout the thesis). Yet this historic built environment was not static, but subject to destruction and redevelopment. Consequently, Rome’s historic buildings could not simply exist independent of any intervention, but they needed to be physically engaged with by the city’s inhabitants. It is the manner in which this was done and how this was perceived that is the focus of my thesis. This study examines practices of, and attitudes towards, the restoration of buildings in order to develop an understanding of the Roman concept of built heritage. Covering a period of six decades between AD 64 and the AD 120s, and focusing specifically on public buildings in the city of Rome, I consider the

² Adams 1991: 149.

³ Jokilehto 1999: 278-81.

⁴ A survey of past approaches, with an emphasis on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, is given by Jokilehto 1999; 2005; Miles 2013.

treatment of structures when they were restored, and how such activity was received by those who witnessed it.

As is made apparent throughout this thesis, the restoration of public buildings was of great importance to the inhabitants of ancient Rome and central to the functionality, identity, and majesty of the city. Restoration was a pervasive issue: structures suffered from natural wear and tear as well as exceptional damage, and numerous public buildings from the ancient city display evidence of having received some degree of alteration in antiquity. Consequentially, there are so many potential examples available that my study of this topic cannot be exhaustive, and the parameters of the investigation are outlined and explained below. While I do examine restoration practices and instances of rebuilding in detail, this is not a study in Roman engineering. I am interested in uncovering societal attitudes. The thesis looks beyond just how the buildings were treated to consider the attendant attitudes to this activity. By examining how instances of restoration and destruction were written about in literature, I am able to explore how changes to the historic built environment were received and perceived by the city's inhabitants. Elements of the methodology are outlined below in this introduction, as well as at greater length in Chapters Three and Six where it is of direct relevance to the discussion. The approaches that I adopt in this study present a particular and, I argue, effective way of uncovering attitudes to built heritage in ancient Roman society. My treatment of the subject is not intended to be definitive, I cannot cover all possible material and no doubt alternative methods emphasising different aspects could be proposed.

The remainder of this chapter will explain the concept of heritage and its applicability to the study of ancient Rome; present a review of modern scholarship; establish the parameters of the study in further detail; and summarise how the arguments will unfold over the course of eight chapters, setting out the main hypotheses. First, I will begin by considering the extent to which historic buildings and restoration were subjects of interest or scholarly inquiry for the Romans themselves, thereby establishing a context for the idea of restoration in ancient Rome.

1.2 Architectural History and Restoration in Ancient Rome

In the corpus of surviving Latin literature from the late republic and early imperial periods, there is a scarcity of works that take either the buildings of the city of Rome or Roman architecture as their explicit subjects: even fewer treat the historic built environment. Although modern scholarship on the topography and buildings of ancient Rome draws on a vast array of literary evidence, much of this information is scattered across various texts and does not come from dedicated treatises on these topics.⁵ Of authors who give specific attention to Rome's historic cityscape, from the period that is the focus of my thesis, Pliny the Elder in his *Natural History* devotes the most space to this subject. However, as I highlight in Chapter Seven, Pliny's interest when discussing Rome's public buildings is directed more at detailing the splendours of the city in his own time rather than documenting its historic architecture.⁶ Certainly, there is no surviving equivalent of Pausanias' text for Rome.⁷ Indeed, Latin authors' comments on buildings are often frustratingly uninformative in regard to the architecture, and it is interesting that some of the lengthier descriptions that we have of Rome's built environment are by Greek authors, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus.⁸ As explored in Chapter Six, even when Roman writers do include details of old buildings this frequently seems to have had a moralising or rhetorical rather than a historical purpose.⁹ For a temple at Rome there is nothing comparable to the lengthy and detailed description that Josephus gives of the one in Jerusalem.¹⁰

Of course, only a fraction of Roman writing from this period survives and it is entirely possible that there were volumes dedicated to the subject of Rome's historic buildings. It has been suggested that Cincius, an antiquarian of

⁵ The literary sources for the city of Rome are discussed further in Chapter Six.

⁶ Pliny's remarks on buildings and architectural developments are considered at various point in the thesis: Chapter Two discusses his observations on the use of certain decorative stones; Chapters Four and Five his comments on the alterations to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and restoration of the Pons Sublicius; Chapter Six his assessment of the development of elite housing; and Chapter Seven on how the buildings of Rome feature in the *Natural History* more generally.

⁷ Wiseman (1979: 45) suggests 'a Pausanias-like guide' was written by L.Cincius, but see comments on Cincius below.

⁸ On Dionysius and the monuments of Rome: Andr n 1960: 88-140; cf. the discussion of Dionysius' description of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and casa Romuli in Chapters Four and Five respectively. Also on the topography and buildings of Rome see comments by Strabo 5.3.7-8.

⁹ On architecture and buildings in Greek and Roman writing: Edwards 1993: 141-49; Thomas 2007: 213-20.

¹⁰ Joseph *BJ* 5.5.1-6.

the late republican or early Augustan era, might have written on precisely this subject.¹¹ Although because his work, the *Mystagogica*, is known only from fragments the way in which he treated architecture is rather unclear.¹² Varro's discussion of Rome's buildings in the surviving books of *De Lingua Latina* seems more concerned with place, origin and etymology than the physicality of the structures.¹³ It is possible that they received more extensive treatment in his *Antiquitates Rerum Humanarum et Divinarum*, as quotations and citations by later authors do seem to indicate that Varro commented on such matters somewhere in his corpus of works.¹⁴ Varro did dedicate a book of the *Disciplinae* to architecture, although the tenor of the discussion is unknown.¹⁵ At any rate, it is perhaps telling, or at least noticeable, that the city's historic built environment is not one of areas onto which Cicero claims Varro's works had shed light.¹⁶ Roman antiquarians documented and discussed literature, etymology, religion, laws, customs, topography, art and a range of other matters; the buildings of Rome do feature in their works, but rarely would it appear that this was an explicit subject of inquiry in its own right.¹⁷ Certainly, the evidence for there having been anything like either a *History of Roman Architecture* or a *Guide to the Old Buildings of the City of Rome* is currently lacking.

There were works in Latin specifically on architecture, notably Vitruvius. However, he observes an apparent lack of Roman authors who previously had written about the subject:

¹¹ Wiseman 1979: 15; 45. Cf. Rawson 1985: 247-8.

¹² A reference in Livy (7.3.5-7) perhaps indicates that Cincius' focus was more on inscriptions, origins and etymology than architectural developments, cf. Rawson 1985: 200.

¹³ For example, on the Saturnian gate (Varro, *Ling.* 5.41), the Lacus Curtius (5.148), the Circus Maximus (5.154), the Capitolium Vetus (5.158).

¹⁴ In particular, see Pliny's (*HN* 35.154) description of the restoration of the temple of Ceres in the Circus Maximus, the details of which he ascribes to having come from Varro.

¹⁵ Vitr. 7. praef. 14.

¹⁶ Cic. *Acad.* 1.3.9: "What you say, Varro, is true," I rejoined, "for we were wandering and straying about like visitors in our own city, and your books led us, so to speak, right home, and enabled us at last to realize who and where we were. You have revealed the age of our native city, the chronology of its history, the laws of its religion and its priesthood, its civil and its military institutions, the topography of its districts and its sites, the terminology, classification and moral and rational basis of all our religious and secular institutions, and you have likewise shed a flood of light upon our poets and generally on Latin literature and the Latin language, and you have yourself composed graceful poetry of various styles in almost every metre, and have sketched an outline of philosophy."

¹⁷ On Roman antiquarians: Wiseman 1979: 4-53; Rawson 1985: 233-49; 1990: 158-73; Cornell 1995: 18-23; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 231-7.

...I realised how many Greek books have been published on the subject, but how few have been written by our own people. For Fufius, surprisingly, first of all, undertook to publish a volume; likewise Terentius Varro devoted one volume of his *Disciplinarum Libri IX* to architecture. Publius Septimus wrote two. So far, no one seems to have devoted himself to this kind of writing beyond one or two volumes, although our ancient citizens were great architects who could have composed writings no less elegantly [than they built].¹⁸

Vitruvius' own work, as the only surviving architectural treatise from classical antiquity, is a fundamental source for matters of Roman architecture.¹⁹ Even though he is writing in the late first century BC (seemingly the 20s BC), his text is still relevant to the later period under consideration in this thesis.²⁰ However, it is important to recognise that he is a professional in his field. Also, as is now generally acknowledged, Vitruvius' theories are not the embodiment of late first century BC practices and his work was not simply a handbook on how to build.²¹ As only one of many architects from this period, we should be cautious in assuming that Vitruvius' approaches, interests and sentiments are wholly reflective of others in his field, let alone society more widely.²² We would not generally assume that the writings of Walter Gropius encapsulate early twentieth-century ideas on building.²³

Vitruvius, as might be expected, discusses buildings in greater detail than other Latin authors. He also explicitly refers to the practices of earlier generations and comments on examples of what for him would be *antiquus* buildings and architecture throughout the treatise.²⁴ However, his text does not contain anything like a systematic inquiry into the history of Rome's architecture. While he states, in the beginning of book two, that he will set out the origins of 'building' (*aedificium*), the subsequent excursus is more an

¹⁸ Vitr. 7.praef.14: *...in ea re ab Graecis volumina plura edita, ab nostris oppido quam pauca. Fufidius enim mirum de his rebus primus instituit edere volumen, item Terentius Varro de novem disciplinis unum de architectura, P. Septimius duo.* (Translation Rowland and Howe 1999). Additionally, Suetonius claims Augustus (*Aug.* 89.2) read Rutilius' *De Modo Aedificiorum*. The evidence for known Roman architects is given by Anderson 1997: 3-67.

¹⁹ A treatise by the fourth century AD writer M. Cetus Faventinus (*De Diversis Fabricis Architectonicae*) does also survive, although much of it is derived from Vitruvius.

²⁰ On the publication date of *De Architectura*: Baldwin 1990: 425-34; Rowland and Howe 1999: 3-5; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 147 with n. 10.

²¹ On Vitruvius and Roman identity as a theme in *De Arcitectura*: Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 144-210. On the *De Architectura* also see McEwen 2003; Gros 2006. On Vitruvian theory: Wilson Jones 2000: 33-46.

²² Cf. MacDonald 1998: 616-7.

²³ A comparison mentioned to me by Robert Coates-Stephens.

²⁴ Vitruvius refers to structures built by previous generations on a number of occasions in *De Architecture* (for example, 7.3.3), as well as to earlier builders (7.praef.1-18) and older types of statuary (2.7.2).

anthropological musing on how humans first came to create dwellings.²⁵ Vitruvius does advocate the study of *historia* in his ideal education of an architect.²⁶ But his reason for this, with reference to the example of Caryatids, is so that the builder may be able to explain the meaning behind his inclusion of certain architectural features by having knowledge of their original use. Interestingly, there is no indication that an awareness of architectural history might be useful in restoring old buildings.

Indeed, the subject of restoration is more or less entirely absent from *De Architectura*. On various occasions Vitruvius provides practical information regarding the use of building materials in order to prevent damage, but, as argued by Aylward in his study on Roman conservation practices, this advice is more about ensuring the longevity of new buildings than patching up old ones.²⁷ It is perhaps presumptuous to suggest that Vitruvius' silence on the subject of architectural restoration is surprising. Yet given that the work is dedicated to Augustus in the purported hope he might take advice on building from it, and that the emperor at this date was very conspicuously conducting a widespread regeneration of Rome's urban fabric, then it is at least noteworthy that the theme 'restoration' is not addressed.²⁸ There is nothing in Vitruvius' text, or indeed any extant Roman source I have come across, that seems indicative of a particular ideological approach to restoration and how the buildings of past generations should be treated.²⁹

Certain individual structures were governed by specific conditions regarding their restoration, but, as argued in Chapters Four and Five, these seem to have been primarily religious stipulations and do not represent a theory of architectural restoration. Also, in late republican and early imperial Italy, there was legislation pertaining to matters of demolition and restoration in the urban fabric. Charters of Tarentum (before 62 BC) and Urso (c.44 BC) contain clauses prohibiting individuals from the un-roofing (*detegio*) or outright demolition (*demolitio et disturbato*) of buildings.³⁰ So, too, the *senatus consulta* of AD 45

²⁵ Vitr. 2.praef.5; 2.1.1-9.

²⁶ Vitr. 1.1.5-6.

²⁷ Vitr. 2.9.6; 2.3.2; 7.1.7; Aylward 2014: 463-4; 470-1.

²⁸ Vitr. 1.praef.1. On Vitruvius' preface: Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 148-9.

²⁹ Cf. Aylward 2014: 463-4.

³⁰ *Lex Municipii Tarentini*: CIL 1 (2), 590 = ILS 6086, 32-35; *Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae Ursonensis*: CIL 1 (2), 594 = ILS 6087, 75. Analogous edicts from this period regarding the city of Rome are unknown, although Phillips (1973: 86-87) makes the plausible suggestion that the

and AD 56 attempt to regulate demolition, as does the Flavian *Lex Irnitana* and the later *senatus consultum Acilianum* (AD 122).³¹ These laws are considered further in Chapter Three; however, it is useful to note here that the apparent purpose behind the rulings was to prevent property speculation and to ensure the well-maintained appearance of urban centres.³² There is no sense that the motivation for any of the stipulations was the preservation of the fabric or appearance of buildings because of their cultural or historical significance. These laws, therefore, should not be mistaken for a codified set of principles intended to regulate the treatment of built heritage, such as can be found in the modern world.³³

Yet the evident absence of an established Roman theory of restoration does not mean that there were no common practices, standards and approaches: restoration clearly was a concept in ancient Rome. Although, occasionally, instances of construction that would be more appropriately deemed 'rebuilding' were presented as having been built *ex novo*, the repair or wholesale reconstruction of a building was often explicitly framed as a 'restoration'.³⁴ There was a particular vocabulary that the Romans applied to instances of restoration, and Thomas and Witschel have pointed to the use in inscriptions of *restituere*, *reficere*, *reparare*, *reformare*, *renovare*, *reponere*, *restaurare* and *recurare*.³⁵ To an extent, these terms appear to have been applied rather inconsistently, with no evident pattern in different words denoting particular degrees of physical intervention. For example, Thomas and Witschel argue that *restituere*, one of the most commonly used terms, is more a symbolic expression with 'several connotations which may be projected onto an operation, no matter what its nature'.³⁶ Specific terms are considered where relevant throughout the thesis, and I want simply to note here that their number and use points to the importance of restoration as an idea in ancient Rome.

municipal charters reflect laws in the capital. Contra Yavetz 1958: 512-3; Crawford 1996: 301-12; 393-454.

³¹ *Senatus Consultum Hosidianum*: ILS 6048; Phillips 1973: 91-2; Robinson 1992: 43-44. *Lex Iuritana*: González and Crawford 1986: 190; 218. *Senatus Consultum Acilianum*: Boatwright 1987: 22-24; Just. *Dig.* 30.1.41.6-5.

³² On Roman legislation on the demolition of buildings: Garnsey 1976: 133-6; Thomas and Witschel 1992: 140-142; Alchermes 1994: 167-78; Van Den Bergh 2003: 473-6.

³³ On modern legislation and principles: Jokilehto 1999: 287-289; Glendinning 2013: 390-413.

³⁴ For example, in the *Res Gestae* (19.2), *facere* is used to describe the restoration of the temples of Jupiter Feretrius, Quirinus, Libertas, the Lares and Di Penates. Cf. Thomas and Witschel 1992: 138; 149-51.

³⁵ Thomas and Witschel 1992: 135-77 esp. 157-8.

³⁶ Thomas and Witschel 1992: 157.

Indeed, builders cast themselves in the role of restorer and their interventions in the fabric of a structure were situated in the context of the construction history of the building.³⁷ In terms of architectural design a restoration might be approached as if it were a new building, but conceptually and nominally it was understood as a rebuilding. Much of this is explored and expanded on in Chapter Three, but I will further clarify here what is meant by 'restoration' in this thesis.

Studies on the subject of the restoration of historic buildings in more modern periods often frame their discussion in terms of architectural 'conservation' or 'preservation.'³⁸ However, there is an implied supposition in both of these terms that the activity is concerned with maintaining or protecting the architectural status quo of buildings. The term 'restoration' is not neutral, in modern theory it has a technical meaning relating to the degree of structural intervention (the removal of later additions to bring a structure back to its original state), and this differs considerably to how it was understood in the nineteenth century.³⁹ However, in the context of this thesis, and in accordance with common usage of the term, 'restoration' refers to the practice of repairing or reconstructing a pre-existent building. In this way restoration might be understood as covering a sliding scale of activity from relatively minor repairs to wholesale rebuilding, although it is instances of the latter that will form the primary focus of this study (a decision explained in Chapter Three). Importantly, the use of the term restoration on its own is not intended to carry any implicit meaning as to the degree of reconstruction work carried out.

1.3 Defining Heritage: Meaning and Appropriateness

While it seems evident that there were ancient concepts of restoration, the same is not immediately apparent for heritage. Therefore, the following discussion examines the meaning of the current English term 'heritage;' argues for the appropriateness of its use in relation to ancient Rome; and establishes its relevance to my thesis.

³⁷ On this see Chapter Three.

³⁸ For example Fawcett 1976; Fitch 1982; Jokilehto 1999; Wilkinson 2003; Karmon 2011; Miles 2013.

³⁹ On the modern technical definition of architectural restoration: Venice Charter 1964. On the nineteenth century understanding of 'stylistic' restoration: Jokilehto 1999: 137-73. Cf. Karmon 2011: 17-20.

Heritage can often be found in the title of studies on the reception of the Roman world in later ages, as well as discussions about how the material remains of antiquity should be treated today.⁴⁰ But only occasionally does it feature in the titles of studies concerned with the ancient world itself, and its use in these instances is typically without explanation as to its possible meanings.⁴¹ The word heritage is not absent from classical scholarship, as it is a common word in everyday English.⁴² Similarly, themes and subjects closely related to the concept have been explored using different terminology, and there is an increasing body of research on various aspects of the reception and treatment of antiquity in antiquity (see literature review below).⁴³ However, the explicit conceptualising or labelling of activity in the Roman world as heritage is limited. This is also true of scholarship in Heritage Studies, which is a growing area of research in a number of humanities and social science disciplines (notably, archaeology and geography). Various studies in this field do draw upon elements of the classical world, but attempts to explore concepts of heritage in Greco-Roman societies are again limited.⁴⁴

Yet it does not appear that there is any reason to avoid the term heritage in this context. While it might be anachronistic when applied to ancient Rome, this does not mean it cannot be used to describe practices and attitudes in antiquity. In an important 2001 study of the history of heritage, Harvey questions why Heritage Studies is predominately concerned with the modern period and the phenomenon of heritage is rarely seen as having existed before the late nineteenth century.⁴⁵ In contrast to what he sees as this prevalent bias in scholarship, Harvey argues that:

...heritage has always been with us and has always been produced by people according to their contemporary concerns and experiences...Although most authors [of studies of heritage] have restricted themselves to talking about the very recent past, there is rarely anything in their definitions of heritage that necessarily supports their dating heritage to this recent past.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ For example Bolgar 1954; Sandy 2002; Hökerberg 2013.

⁴¹ Rawson 1975b; Brenk 1980; Brenk 1987.

⁴² For example, Rutledge (2012: 82; 85; 88; 87; 118; 169; 170; 304; 312), in his work on 'cultural property' in ancient Rome, uses the term sporadically to refer to the Romans' own past, as does Alcock (2002: 68; 97; 99; 172) in regard to the Greek world.

⁴³ This phrase is borrowed from Gardner and Osterloh 2008.

⁴⁴ Olwig 2001: 339-354; Harvey 2008: 22.

⁴⁵ Harvey 2001: 321-327; Harvey 2008: 19-36.

⁴⁶ Harvey 2001: 320.

Harvey's premise is appealing and, in a number of case studies on pre-modern societies, he demonstrates that certain activity which could now be considered in terms of heritage also occurred then.⁴⁷ The word heritage might not have been used in these various historical contexts but 'people still had a relationship with the past, and they still actively preserved and managed aspects or interpretations of that past; they were just nurtured into a different experience of this heritage.'⁴⁸

In order to make this assessment Harvey argues for a broad and self-confessed simple definition of heritage as 'a contemporary product shaped from history.'⁴⁹ What is meant by this definition requires further explanation and later in this section I return to Harvey's premise. First, given the complexities surrounding the term heritage and the difficulties associated with its definition, I think it is worth looking at the origins and changing usage of the word in order to help clarify what it can mean.

Transmitted into English from Old French, heritage derives from the Late Latin *hereditare* 'to inherit', which in turn comes from *heres* 'heir'.⁵⁰ Although the Latin definition does not fit with the modern understanding of heritage and all of its potential meanings, this notion of inheritance is still important, as it places emphasis on the present receiving something of the past. In Middle English, heritage retained its meaning of inheritance between individuals, for example with regard to property, as well as gaining a less tangible, more religious meaning in the sense of God's inheritance.⁵¹ This persisted into the Early Modern period, where 'heritage' is defined in Samuel Johnson's 1755 dictionary as '1. Inheritance; estate devolved by succession; estate in general. 2. In divinity: the people of God.'⁵²

Although still notionally connected to inheritance today, heritage has acquired additional meanings and a common understanding is summarised by Cowell:

⁴⁷ Harvey 2001: 327-337.

⁴⁸ Harvey 2001: 333.

⁴⁹ Harvey 2001: 327; 2008: 20. Harvey borrows this definition from Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996: 20.

⁵⁰ Klein 1966: 723; Barnhart 1988: 1478; *L&S* s.v. *Hereditarius*; *OLD* s.v. *Heres*.

⁵¹ *MED* s.v. *Heritage*.

⁵² *DEL* s.v. *Heritage*.

[T]he survival into the present day of things (objects, works of art, buildings, landscapes, traditions, ideas) that were created, used or valued by our ancestors ... [it can] refer both to the relics of the past (whether tangible or intangible) and to the processes by which those remnants have been [treated]...to [allow] their continuing existence into the present.⁵³

Typically, scholars trace the origins of this modern conception of heritage (in Britain, at least) to the late nineteenth century, with the passing of the 'Ancient Monuments Act' by Parliament (1882) and the formation of bodies such as The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (1877) and The National Trust (1884).⁵⁴ In this period, key personalities such as John Ruskin, William Morris and Octavia Hill, among others, are credited as pioneering new attitudes on how to treat cultural and natural features inherited from the past and to transmit them to the future.⁵⁵ It is then in the twentieth century – particularly the second half, with notable events such as the Charter of Venice (1964) and the World Heritage Convention (1972) – that the modern understanding of heritage is usually seen as having fully developed, and the meanings outlined by Cowell above to have become synonymous with the term.⁵⁶

However, it is also apparent that with its increased usage and application heritage has now become difficult to define, as noted in a number of studies on the subject. Harrison calls it a 'broad and slippery term...[that] is constantly evolving';⁵⁷ Cowell states that it 'is loaded with a complex multiplicity of meanings';⁵⁸ Lowenthal, pointing to the word's 'overuse', suggests that heritage now 'defies definition';⁵⁹ and in response to this, Harvey questions 'whether we really need a tight definition at all.'⁶⁰ Certainly, despite the extensive scholarship on the subject, as well as various codifications such as that drawn up by UNESCO, no definitive, universally accepted definition exists.⁶¹ In part, this is because the understanding of what heritage is and what can be classified as such fluctuates in meaning and scope. Heritage can now refer to 'natural'

⁵³ Cowell 2008: 9.

⁵⁴ Discussed by Harvey 2001: 319-27; 2008: 19-36.

⁵⁵ Jokilehto 1999: 174-86

⁵⁶ More detailed assessments can be found in Smith 2006: 16-28; Harrison 2013: 43-113.

⁵⁷ Harrison 2013: 5-6

⁵⁸ Cowell 2008: 9.

⁵⁹ Lowenthal: 1998: 94.

⁶⁰ Harvey 2001: 319-320.

⁶¹ UNESCO 1972: 2-3; Jokilehto 2005:4-5.

features (for example, the Great Barrier Reef) as well as ‘cultural’ (manmade) objects, it can mean both ‘tangible’ and ‘intangible’ things and range from buildings, paintings and shipwrecks, to music, festivals and language. Heritage might be of local, national or international concern and classified as a social, cultural, economic or political issue.⁶² Indeed, the present ubiquity of the term heritage is reflected in the way it is now used not only as a noun, but also, in what Cowell suggests are typically more tangential and hollow ways, as an adjective.⁶³ This point is illustrated by a Google search for ‘heritage.’ The top two results are ‘English Heritage’ – an organisation that protects and promotes the country’s historic places – and ‘Heritage Bathrooms’ – a company that sells toilets.

I am not here attempting to provide a comprehensive summary of the numerous contexts in which the word heritage is now used, but rather to highlight the recent diffusion of the term and illustrate the potential difficulties with its definition. In part, this is necessary in order to clarify my use of it in this current study and to situate this within the wider established understandings of the concept. An awareness of contemporary issues also allows me to highlight the differences between the ancient and modern mindsets, an approach that proves very useful in later chapters. So, too, an explicit understanding of modern ideas on the subject arguably helps immunise against (as far as is possible) inadvertently applying them inappropriately to situations in the ancient world, a point that is explored further in Chapter Five.

Important to recent understandings of heritage is the emphasis that it is not simply a label that is applied to ‘things’ from the past, but that it is the *process* of engagement with those ‘things,’ and that it is via this that they acquire meaning.⁶⁴ This notion is central to Harvey’s aforementioned study of heritage in pre-modern societies, where he describes it as a process ‘related to human action and agency.’⁶⁵ The understanding is encapsulated in his short but

⁶² On the multiplicity of the term heritage, its different forms, uses and contexts in the modern world: Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996: 1-3; Harrison 2013: 1-7; 14-20. On the political element Littler and Naidoo 2005: 4-5; 2004: 331-4. It is simply not possible to list the ‘things’ that heritage is now applied to but an impression is given by UNESCO 1974: 2-3; Lowenthal 1998: 94-97; Harrison 2013: 5-7.

⁶³ Cowell 2008: 9.

⁶⁴ On heritage as a process: Harvey 2001: 320; 27; 2008: 19-22; Smith 2006: 44; Harrison 2013: 14.

⁶⁵ Harvey 2001: 320; 27.

broad definition of heritage that I quoted earlier in this section: 'a contemporary product shaped from history.' Harvey further explains:

This concise definition conveys that heritage is subjective and filtered with reference to the present, whenever that 'present' actually is. It is a value-laden concept, related to processes of commodification, but intrinsically reflective of a relationship with the past, however that 'past' is perceived and defined.⁶⁶

Harvey's definition sets out the key point that heritage is a 'product' of the present.⁶⁷ For while perhaps the most evident feature of heritage is that it concerns the past, the identification of particular relics left by earlier generations as being important and relevant is a conscious selection made by contemporaries. This raises the question of whether objects of the past have any intrinsic cultural or historical value, or if such worth derives entirely from the meanings that are subsequently invested in them.⁶⁸ In regard to considering the restoration of buildings, recognising where such meaning might lie has potential implications for understanding why certain elements are retained or discarded.

The understanding of heritage as something that is 'created, shaped and managed' by those of the present, irrespective of when in the past that present was, is partly why it is a term which can be appropriately used in discussing the built environment of ancient Rome.⁶⁹ It is quite apparent that Romans of the first and second centuries AD attached historical associations to various buildings and that they physically engaged with structures that were perceived as being an inheritance from earlier generations.⁷⁰ This, by many modern definitions, would be considered a process of heritage and the particular buildings labelled as such.⁷¹ Therefore, there appears to be no particular problem in using this term in my discussion.

To define and clarify: in this study the term 'built heritage' is understood as specifically referring to buildings that are associated by those of a contemporary period with prominent individuals, events, and activities of the past, and that it is in respect of these historical associations that the building is

⁶⁶ Harvey, 2001: 327; cf. 2008: 20.

⁶⁷ Cf. Lowenthal 1998: xv; Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge 2007: 3; Graham and Howard 2008: 1-2.

⁶⁸ Lowenthal 1998: 13; Smith 2006: 3; Graham and Howard 2008: 4.

⁶⁹ Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge 2007: 3; Harvey 2008: 23.

⁷⁰ This is an idea that is explored throughout the thesis.

⁷¹ Cf. Harvey 2001: 320; 327.

viewed, valued and engaged with.⁷² Throughout this study I also use the term ‘historic building’, by which I mean a structure that is perceived as having been initially built by earlier generations.⁷³ It is this conscious investment of particular historical associations in any such building that is important. Age alone is not a guarantee of historic meaning, an old structure in itself is not necessarily anything more than a well put together pile of stones.

I have very purposefully adopted the term ‘built’ rather than ‘architectural’ heritage, although the two might be used interchangeably in modern studies on the subject.⁷⁴ This is not an intention to try and separate what makes something a piece of architecture compared to it being just a building – as in Pevsner’s famous distinction between Lincoln cathedral and a bike shed – but clarifying my use of the labels building and architecture in the context of this thesis is important.⁷⁵ Architecture is a component part of a building. In referring to the architecture of a structure I mean its particular design, appearance and materiality. The label building, however, can refer to the structure in its entirety, in both a physical sense as well as the intangible idea of that particular edifice. Part of the reason that the labels building and architecture are used so interchangeably in modern discussions of heritage and restoration is because the architecture of a building is often deemed integral to it being considered historic. However, there is no reason to assume that this was the case in ancient Rome. A key premise of this thesis is that in certain ways a building could be conceived of as separate to its architecture and that the historical associations of a building were not necessarily invested in this element. Such a mindset has a significant impact on approaches to restoration and, I argue, forms a central part of the Roman concept of built heritage.

⁷² Although some understandings of built heritage include all manmade elements of the urban environment, my meaning here is buildings only.

⁷³ It is difficult to assign a precise number of years to what the Romans might have thought of as being old (*antiquus*). Indeed it seems a source of debate and uncertainty in antiquity: Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.18-92; Tac. *Dial.* 16.4-17.3; Vell. Pat. 1.17.2-4. On the Roman conception of old and the terms *antiquus* and *vetus*: Thomas and Witschel 1992: 140-9. Cf. Pieper and Ker 2014: 5-14; Wiseman 1979: 44-5: ‘The favourite phrase ‘in the time of our ancestors’ referred to an undifferentiated continuum which included everything from the regal period to the generation immediately before that of the speaker’s oldest living contemporaries.’

⁷⁴ For example, Sharma 2003: 11.

⁷⁵ Pevsner (1948: xix) made the often quoted and disputed distinction that ‘A bicycle shed is a building; Lincoln Cathedral is a piece of architecture. Nearly everything that encloses space on a scale sufficient for a human being to move in is a building; the term architecture applies only to buildings designed with a view to aesthetic appeal.’ Cf. Graham 2005: 555-6; 61-4.

1.4.1 Scholarship on Restoration in Ancient Rome

The way in which societies engage with their built heritage is an exciting area of research that is growing rapidly in other disciplines as well as in the wider public consciousness. In particular, there is a profusion of interest in architectural history and the appropriate way to deal with the physical relics of the past. Often framed in terms of architectural restoration, preservation, and conservation, there are numerous scholarly, technical and popular publications in this field.⁷⁶ While much of this interest revolves around contemporary issues and how to treat historic buildings today, historical attitudes and approaches have also received attention. In particular, as pointed out in regard to heritage studies above, much of this research has focused on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁷⁷ There is also increasing interest regarding the treatment of classical monuments in Italy in the late middle ages and early modern period.⁷⁸ However, restoration as a subject for study in its own right, and explicitly framed in such terms, has been relatively neglected in regard to ancient Rome.

This is noticeable from the large survey studies of approaches to restoration through history. Jokilehto's extensive *A History of Architectural Conservation* (1999) devotes only six pages to antiquity, and this comprises a series of un-contextualised examples from Egypt, Persia, Greece and Rome.⁷⁹ Miles' more recent *The Conservation Movement: a History of Architectural Preservation* (2013) purports to give a survey from 'antiquity to modernity,' but again the classical world is under-represented and lumped together with Christendom and the Renaissance.⁸⁰ While Miles does attempt to give his discussion a more theoretical underpinning (based around the concept of *pietas*), the brevity with which he treats the period means that no coherent picture is developed.⁸¹ An important contribution to the subject of restoration in pre-modern times is Karmon's *The Ruin of the Eternal City* (2011), which primarily focuses on the preservation of ancient Roman structures in the

⁷⁶ For example Fawcett 1976; Fitch 1982; Jokilehto 1999; Wilkinson 2003; Miles 2013 with bibliography.

⁷⁷ For example Fawcett 1976; Cowell 2009; *Heritage: Battle for Britain's Past* 2013.

⁷⁸ Krautheimer 1980; Karmon 2011.

⁷⁹ Jokilehto 1999: 1-6.

⁸⁰ Miles 2013: esp. 9-14.

⁸¹ Miles 2013: 14.

Renaissance. Karmon argues that contrary to the notion of the wanton pillaging of ruins in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there was evident contemporary concern for these monuments. In order to contextualise his study, Karmon examines attitudes in earlier periods and gives specific attention to Augustan Rome.⁸² However, his interpretation of the evidence for this period is strongly influenced by the idea that there is a degree of continuity between certain approaches in the Renaissance and those in antiquity, which in part leads to the unfounded claim that Augustus had a 'state policy' on preservation.⁸³ The premise of there being continuity is tenuous and, as I argue throughout this thesis, attitudes in early imperial Rome were markedly different to those of later periods.

Architectural conservation is the subject of a chapter by Aylward in *A Companion to Roman Architecture* (2014), and it is one of the few studies to specifically consider matters of restoration in ancient Rome with explicit reference to modern approaches. Focusing on the late first century BC and early first century AD, Aylward highlights a number of examples which he classifies as conservation, and I consider his comments on the *casa Romuli* in Chapter Five.⁸⁴ Aylward underscores the apparent absence of a 'theory of conservation' in antiquity, but his other conclusions regarding practices and attitudes in Rome are, to an extent, limited by the brevity of his study.⁸⁵

The subject of the preservation of buildings in antiquity is considered by Thomas in his wide ranging architectural study *Monumentality and the Roman Empire* (2007). The chapter 'Preserving the Monuments of the Past' in part concerns how buildings were treated, and the discussion is also framed around the way such monuments were interpreted by Greek and Roman audiences.⁸⁶ Thomas argues that the concept of *monumentum* and the function of physical monuments are important for understanding the Roman impetus behind the restoration of buildings.⁸⁷ Although Thomas' monograph is on the Eastern Mediterranean in the mid- to late second century AD, he draws upon a geographically and chronologically wider range of material in order to construct

⁸² Karmon 2011: 23-33.

⁸³ Karmon 2011: 24-34; cf. Aylward 2014: 467; 79.

⁸⁴ Aylward 2014: 466-8.

⁸⁵ Aylward 2014: 463-4. The questionableness of Aylward's assertion that particular fidelity was paid to the restoration of buildings connected to Rome's foundation stories is considered in Chapter Five.

⁸⁶ Thomas 2007: 166-78.

⁸⁷ Thomas 2007: 168-70.

his arguments, meaning they are often relevant to periods outside of his nominal focus. Indeed, I consider his observations on monuments throughout this thesis and, in particular, his ideas on interpreting literary responses to architecture in Chapter Six.

Thomas' co-authored 1992 paper with Witschel 'Constructing Reconstruction: Claim and Reality of Roman Rebuilding Inscriptions for the Latin West,' is also a significant contribution to understanding Roman concepts of restoration.⁸⁸ The discussion revolves around the terminology used in these texts, which Thomas and Witschel contend is often symbolic rather than a literal reflection of the building work that was actually carried out.⁸⁹ While their emphasis is on epigraphy, this study also presents one of the clearest attempts to theorise the issue of the restoration of buildings in Roman society more generally, and I discuss elements of their conclusions in Chapter Three. A critical response to Thomas and Witschel's work was published by Fagan in a 1996 article 'The Reliability of Roman Rebuilding Inscriptions.' Fagan questions their methodology on a number of points and, in particular, argues that in many cases ancient buildings have not survived in a sufficient state in order to judge whether the claims made about the extent of their restoration in inscriptions were accurate or not, a point I discuss in Chapter Three.⁹⁰ Fagan's critique also raises the important matter of the social function of restoration inscriptions, considering how the information in the texts might have been received by contemporaries.⁹¹

While there is a relatively limited number of studies which treat restoration as a subject in its own right, in various ways the restoration of Rome's public buildings has received a great deal of scholarly attention. As mentioned above, there are few buildings in the ancient city which do not show signs of having received some form of physical alteration in antiquity; consequently, studies on various structures often discuss instances and phases of restoration.⁹² Although some of these do consider the wider implications of their findings on restoration, the analysis is primarily, if not exclusively, focused

⁸⁸ Thomas and Witschel 1992: 135-77.

⁸⁹ On restoration inscriptions also see Stuart 1905: 427-443; Boatwright 2013: 19-30.

⁹⁰ Fagan 1996: 81-93.

⁹¹ Fagan 1996: 89-93.

⁹² It would be unwieldy and is unnecessary to attempt a comprehensive list of all such studies here and scholarship on examples that are relevant to my thesis is discussed at the appropriate junctures.

on what is observable regarding that particular building.⁹³ The interest of these various studies ranges from the ideological and political impetus behind a restoration, to the practical process of repair, this last aspect also featuring in scholarship on Roman architecture and engineering.⁹⁴ Notably, the restoration of Rome's buildings and the cityscape more generally is frequently considered in the context of politics and the building programmes of different emperors. The Augustan age has received particular attention in regard to this issue, but as destruction and restoration were so prevalent in imperial Rome the subject has also figured in discussions concerning most emperors, as is discussed further in Chapter Three.⁹⁵ Rather than detailing here the studies that specifically relate to the buildings and emperors I focus on, I instead consider the scholarship for these examples where it is most relevant in the body of the thesis.

1.4.2 Related but Outside: Associated Areas of Research

One area in particular where there is an increasing body of scholarship on matters specifically relating to the preservation and restoration of the urban fabric is in regard to late antique Rome.⁹⁶ The management and redevelopment of the city in the context of its declining fortunes from the fourth century onwards is a fascinating subject, but my study does not generally venture into this territory.⁹⁷ In part, this is because I suspect that there was a significant shift in attitudes at some point between the period I focus on in this thesis and late antiquity. To an extent, this seems to be indicated by the way the rebuilding of certain monuments was carried out after the sack of AD 410, as well as the sentiments expressed in certain letters of Cassiodorus.⁹⁸ This being said, a potential implication of my study is to better contextualise this later activity, and develop an understanding of when and why a change in attitudes occurred, which I begin to consider in Chapter Eight. Often discussed in the context of late antique building activity is the subject of material reuse, frequently referred to as

⁹³ Some observations on wider practices are made by Korres 1997: 197-207.

⁹⁴ On processes of repair: Adam 1994: 151-55; Lancaster 1998: 146-74; 2007: 133-44.

⁹⁵ On the restoration of the urban fabric in Augustan Rome: Favro 1996: 79-120; Stamper 2005: 105-29; Haselberger 2007.

⁹⁶ Including Ward-Perkins 1984 (with a focus on Italy); Machado 2006: 157-92.

⁹⁷ On urbanism in late antique Rome: Harris 1998; Behrwald and Witschel 2012.

⁹⁸ Cassiod. *Var.* 2.39; 4.51; 7.44; 10.28. On rebuilding after the sack: Machado 2006: 157-62.

‘spolia.’⁹⁹ Although perhaps more often encountered in the archaeological evidence relating to the later city, the recycling of building materials (structural or decorative and artistic) was clearly a prevalent practice throughout the imperial period.¹⁰⁰ Examining instances of spolia would quite probably offer an instructive and complementary approach to understanding certain aspects of the Roman concept of built heritage. However, it is a separate issue and while the reuse of materials is at times considered in this thesis, it is not necessary to treat the topic at great length for the specific purposes here.

Architecture is not the only medium of material culture that has seemingly received relatively limited attention in regard to how the Romans perceived and treated relics of their own past. Rojas notes that the whole material dimension of the subject of antiquity in antiquity, which he terms ‘antiquarianism,’ has been neglected in scholarship of the Roman period.¹⁰¹ Rojas’ own study on this issue considers primarily the case of late antique Sardis, and his analysis highlights an apparent importance attached by those in the fourth century AD to certain sculptural elements from the archaic period.¹⁰² It is particularly in regard to art that there have been a number of other important contributions to this area, and there is clear evidence for the conservation of art works in antiquity.¹⁰³ In a 1994 monograph Hannestad undertook a close examination of several early imperial monuments in Rome, including the Ara Pacis, concluding that the relief sculpture had been noticeably restored in late antiquity.¹⁰⁴ Recently, Miles’ *Art as Plunder* (2008) has explored the Roman understanding of art as ‘cultural property,’ and some of the questions she asks concerning value, ownership, and restitution are familiar to

⁹⁹ Brenk 1987: 103-9; Alchermes 1994: 167-78; Kinney 1997: 117-148; 2001: 138-161; Elsner 2000: 149-84; Coates-Stephens 2003: 339-58; Greenhalgh 2009; Brilliant and Kinney 2011.

¹⁰⁰ As is apparent from the fabric of various buildings, for example the Severan restoration of Porticus Octavia. Also see Barker 2010: 127-42.

¹⁰¹ Rojas (forthcoming, I am grateful to Felipe Rojas for supplying me with an advance copy of his article); cf. Strong 1994a: 1-12; Machado 2009: 331-354. On the use of material evidence for examining perceptions of the past in the past with regard to Greece: Alcock 1993; 2002. That there is an emphasis in scholarship on concepts of antiquity in antiquity towards a literary rather than material focus is, to an extent, illustrated by the subjects of the essays in Pieper and Ker 2014.

¹⁰² Rojas (forthcoming).

¹⁰³ For evidence of Roman restoration and conversation of works of art: Paus. 1.15.4; 5.11.10-11; 9.41.7; Vitruvius 7.9.3; Suetonius *Caes.* 75.4; *Vesp.* 18; Plutarch *Caes.* 57.6; Pliny *HN* 15.32; 33.121-2; 34.99; 35.182; *CIL* 6.9403; *Dig.* 6.1.23; cf. Harrison 1990: 163-184.

¹⁰⁴ Hannestad 1994.

modern debates on matters of cultural heritage.¹⁰⁵ Roman interest in works of art and various curios is the subject of Rutledge's *Ancient Rome as a Museum* (2012), which examines ideas of Roman identity and power through the 'historical clutter' of the ancient city.¹⁰⁶ The collecting and preservation of physical objects that Rutledge observes as having taken place might well be considered along the lines of antiquarian activity, as defined by Rojas, and seems indicative of the Romans' conscious engagement with the material past.¹⁰⁷ In this sense, the activity observed in these studies might seem closely related to the interests of my thesis.¹⁰⁸ However, in the course of my research I have become increasingly persuaded that the Romans conceived of architecture as quite a distinct medium from art and other cultural objects, and that it is therefore potentially risky to attempt to draw conclusions about the treatment of one from the other. This is brought out in the discussion in Chapter Seven and the implications of it are then considered in Chapter Eight. As discussed there, a detailed comparison of how the various media were treated would be instructive but is beyond the remit of my thesis.

Scholars of Heritage Studies draw an apparent connection between the concept of heritage and theories of memory.¹⁰⁹ McDowell notes 'accepting that heritage is the selective use of the past as a resource for the present ... it should be of little surprise to find that memory and commemoration are inexorably connected to the heritage process.'¹¹⁰ For collective memory, too, as Bal describes it, is an 'activity occurring in the present, in which the past is continuously modified and re-described.'¹¹¹ It is not my purpose here to try and establish the precise relationship between the two; however, in light of the recent attention that the subject of memory has received in studies of the ancient world, it seems necessary to consider its possible application to my

¹⁰⁵ Miles 2008: esp. 8; Miles 2013: 598-610. On the issues of value, ownership, locality and restitution as part of the subject of heritage: Greenfield 1996; Hoffman 2006.

¹⁰⁶ Rutledge 2012: 5; 8-9.

¹⁰⁷ On this subject also see Strong 1994b: 13-30; Carey 2003: 75-102; Bounia 2004; Gahtan and Pegazzano 2012.

¹⁰⁸ Indeed, as with Miles, some of the subjects that Rutledge considers in terms of 'cultural property' can be closely connected to issues of 'heritage,' a term he used intermittently throughout (2012: 82; 85; 88; 87; 118; 169; 170; 304; 312.).

¹⁰⁹ Benton and Cecil 2010: 7-41.

¹¹⁰ McDowell 2008: 40.

¹¹¹ For Bal 1999 see Benton 2010: 15.

investigation.¹¹² Indeed, given that my study concerns the restoration of buildings that might be deemed *monumenta*, and by definition a *monumentum* was intended to commemorate, then the notion of memory is on a certain level relevant.¹¹³

The last two decades have seen a 'boom' of interest in classical scholarship around ideas of memory and how it was created, shaped and used. While some studies have explored this subject in regard to ancient Rome without specific use of theory,¹¹⁴ a considerable number explicitly frame their work in terms of 'collective,' 'cultural,' or 'social' memory.¹¹⁵ The definitions of these concepts and the overlaps and distinctions between them have been set out by others elsewhere, and it is not necessary to discuss this at length here.¹¹⁶ A conflated and summary understanding is that an individual's memories are to some degree created by shared experiences and can therefore be common to those of others. These collective memories go beyond just direct experience and can also be formed by an awareness of the past, which is derived from aspects of a society's culture such as rituals, oral tradition, literature and the arts.¹¹⁷ In turn, these memories as they adapt, then shape that society's collective understanding of its past and are seen as influencing the group's 'self-image' or identity.¹¹⁸

Of particular interest to studies in Roman urbanism and topography has been the concept of *lieux de mémoire*. The term, coined by Nora in his multi-volume work on memory and identity in France, is now often used by scholars in reference to various buildings in ancient Rome.¹¹⁹ In essence, it is the idea that Roman society consciously connected sites and structures with events and individuals of the past, that collective memories were derived from places,

¹¹² For a bibliography on memory and ancient Rome see the Memoria Romana Project (www.utexas.edu/research/memoria/bibliography.htm).

¹¹³ Galinsky 2014: 2. On *monumenta* Wiseman 1986: 89; Thomas 2007: 168-70.

¹¹⁴ Wiseman 1986: 37-48; 1994; Beard 1987: 1-15; Edwards 1996; Favro 1996; Jaeger 1997: esp. 94-131; Small 1997: esp. 230-5; Davies 2000a; Thomas 2007: 165-204; Sumi 2009: 167-186.

¹¹⁵ Walter 2004; Gowing 2005; Flower 2006; Larmour and Spencer 2007 (collected essays); Spencer 2010; Roller 2010: 117-180; Rutledge 2012; Gallia 2012; Shaya 2013: 83-110; Galinsky 2014 (collected essays).

¹¹⁶ On collective memory: Halbwachs: 1992; Coser 1992: 21-34. On cultural memory: Assmann 1995; 2011; Harth 2008: 85-96. On social memory: Alcock 2002: 1 with n.1; Alcock and Van Dyke 2003: 2. Wiseman (2014: 43-62) suggests the term 'popular' memory. Gowing (2005: 8-9) and Gallia (2012: 3-4) question the need to distinguish between the types when considering the ancient world.

¹¹⁷ Gallia 2012: 4-5.

¹¹⁸ Assmann 1995: 132.

¹¹⁹ Nora 1996: 14.

which were then understood and treated in accordance with this. Indeed, some have found it instructive to discuss instances of Roman architectural restoration in such terms.¹²⁰

However, without challenging the relevance of such theory to other studies on ancient Rome (although *lieux de mémoire* and collective memory are not uncontested concepts), I would question the usefulness of its application to my current investigation.¹²¹ It is very possible that what I refer to as the historical associations of a building might be framed by others in terms of memory, but I can see little advantage in using this abstraction here. To describe, for example, the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus as a *lieu de mémoire* does not meaningfully contribute to the arguments I make in regard to it in Chapters Four and Six.¹²² I am able to point out that the Romans associated the temple in various ways with events and individuals of the past, and that in this way it was a historic building, without explicit recourse to the notion of collective memory, which might be seen to unnecessarily complicate matters.¹²³ Indeed, a possible danger in applying the concept to the subject matter of my study is that it potentially implies the importance of some kind of collective consciousness as a factor governing how buildings were restored; a point I argue specifically against in regard to the examples in Chapters Four and Five. Also, there is sometimes an apparent tendency for studies which consider Rome's built environment in terms of memory, to speak about a building as a *lieu de mémoire* in its entirety.¹²⁴ This would not seem to allow for the possibility that the historical associations of that building were only relevant to, or invested in, particular elements of it. Yet as mentioned above, an important argument in my thesis is that the historic identity of a building could be conceived of as separate to its architecture.¹²⁵

¹²⁰ On *lieux de mémoire* in ancient Rome: Gowing 2005: 5;133; Machado 2006: 158; Hölkeskamp 2006: 478-95; 2014: 65 with n. 20 for bibliography; Gallia 2012: 4; 9; 56; Galinsky 2014: 2; 6.

¹²¹ For a critique of *lieux de mémoire* and collective memory, Legg 2005: 481-504; Wiseman 2014: 43-62; cf. a note of caution by Gallia 2012: 4.

¹²² Pace Gallia (2012: 9) 'The Capitoline temple was a quintessentially Roman *lieu de mémoire*, a place inscribed with a rich and well-known history.'

¹²³ For a critical view of the application of theories of memory to ancient sources: Wiseman 2014: 43-62; contra Hölkeskamp 2014: 63-70

¹²⁴ Gallia 2012: 47-85.

¹²⁵ Jenkyns (2014: 15-23; cf. 2013: 257-74) also questions the extent to which memory was held in the architecture of Rome's buildings cf. Galinsky 2014: 6.

1.5 *Rome and Only Rome: Definitions and Parameters*

The word 'Roman' is applied throughout this thesis as a relatively straightforward and loose label to articulate certain practices and attitudes. By the first and second centuries AD being Roman was arguably more a legal and cultural rather than an ethnic or geographical distinction, as Edwards asserts 'to be at home in Rome was not to be born there (how many Romans could make that boast). It was rather to be master of Roman knowledge.'¹²⁶ For my purposes it is not necessary to attempt to define the characteristics of Roman identity or establish the extent to which particular persons viewed themselves as such.¹²⁷ When I refer to Roman attitudes and practices I am concerned with what occurred in Rome itself: the restoration of buildings in the capital is classified as Roman activity, the responses of its inhabitants constitute Roman attitudes. The reality of the situation is not as simplistic as this, individuals in the city had diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds, which I take account of where relevant (especially in Chapter Seven). My understanding of 'Roman' is intended as a working definition; it is refined in the section below as well as in later chapters, and it is more a shorthand label than a definitive marker.

There are a number of reasons why the city of Rome presents the best prospects for examining Roman attitudes to built heritage; indeed, not to take the capital into account would perhaps seem more contentious. However, Rome is not without problems and there are other sites that, in some respects, can give a more detailed insight into how buildings were treated. For example, the earthquake of AD 62 meant that many public buildings in Pompeii were undergoing extensive restoration at the time of the town's destruction in AD 79, presenting a freeze-frame of work-in-progress.¹²⁸ Also, many of the city's buildings have been comparatively well preserved, including their decorative elements. In Rome much of this evidence has been lost: painted stuccos have vanished and decorative stones have been spoliated.¹²⁹ As pointed out by Fagan, even in regard to the Pantheon, 'one of the most complete Roman buildings to survive,' a fair degree of its decoration is missing, including the

¹²⁶ Edwards 1996: 17. On Rome as a world city: Edwards and Woolf 2003: 1-20; cf. Noy 2000.

¹²⁷ On Roman identity Dench 2002; cf. Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 3-7.

¹²⁸ On the restoration of public buildings at Pompeii: Dobbins 1994: 629-94; Adam 1994: 151-55.

¹²⁹ On the destruction of Rome's monuments in and after antiquity: Lanciani 1901.

facing of the rotunda, the roof tiles, the bronze of the porch, elements of the interior and all of the pediment decoration.¹³⁰ Such gaps make an accurate assessment of the Severan restoration of the building in AD 202 difficult, rendering the assertions that it was relatively superficial, problematic.¹³¹

The sometimes more extant archaeological evidence from Pompeii might be more helpful in answering particular questions regarding the physical restoration of structures. However, this thesis is not primarily concerned with the technical processes of how buildings were repaired. Rather, an important focus is the Roman responses to, and understanding of, restoration. This can best be realised when the material evidence is taken in conjunction with literary sources, and it is in this respect that the city of Rome comes into its own. While it has not been quantified, I would be unsurprised to find that there are more references in surviving ancient literature to the topography and buildings of Rome than any other city.¹³² Such references are fundamental for reconstructing details about certain buildings, but they also give an insight into how the urban fabric was perceived and understood. A central part of the usefulness of the city of Rome as the primary case study for examining attitudes to heritage is the existence of sources which reveal the inhabitants' experiences of, and attitudes towards, the built environment.

There are also other determining factors behind Rome being the focus of this thesis. In the first and second centuries AD it was the centre of empire, the largest city in the Mediterranean, arguably, the cultural hub of the Roman world.¹³³ The city was subject to enormous economic investment and was a place of vibrancy, growth, innovation and change. Boom periods can often necessitate development, as the urban fabric is altered to both physically cope with, and symbolically reflect, the changing circumstances of a city. This forces the developers and inhabitants to confront older structures and to make

¹³⁰ Fagan 1996: 87-89; on the pediment decoration: Barry 2014: 89-105.

¹³¹ Fagan's assertion is in response to Thomas and Witschel's (1992: 135-6) argument that the claims of restoration in the Severan inscription on the Pantheon's facade are a rhetorical exaggeration. On identified Severan elements in the building: Guey 1936: 198-249 esp. 239; De Fine Licht 1968: 190 with n. 44-47; Waddell (2008: 128-38) suggests that much of the portico is actually Severan; Wilson Jones: 2013 42-43. On the surviving ancient decoration of the interior being contemporary with the initial construction: Wilson Jones 2000: 177-196.

¹³² The topographical dictionaries and various sourcebooks give an indication of this wealth of information (Platner and Ashby 1929; Nash 1961-2; Dudley 1967; Richardson 1992; Aicher 2004; cf. Scheithauer 2000), as does Lugli's (incomplete) *Fontes ad Topographiam Veteris Urbis Romae Pertinentes* (1952-62); and the entries in *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (1993-1999).

¹³³ On the population of Rome: Morley 2013: 29-44. On Rome as a cultural capital: Woolf 2003: 204-6.

decisions regarding preservation, adaptation and demolition. Consequently, it is in such conditions that we might expect attitudes towards built heritage to be most visible. This line of thought was also one of the considerations in determining the chronological focus of the investigation. AD 64 was the year of the Great Fire; it is my starting date because it began what might be seen as a six-decade-long rebuilding of the city. As is detailed in Chapter Two, over the course of this period considerable parts of the urban fabric were reshaped and numerous public buildings were subject to restoration. The extent of the destruction and rebuilding during these decades meant that engagement with older structures was a frequent necessity.

Adopting a relatively narrow focus – the city of Rome – is not only a practical but also a methodological consideration. For due to the nature of this subject, combining data from multiple sites from across the Roman empire has the potential to distort any conclusions. Examples from the modern world demonstrate how diverse attitudes to built heritage can be between cultures and even within the same society.¹³⁴ In light of this, it is reasonable to not anticipate homogeneity on such issues between different communities across the Roman empire or even ancient Italy. Indeed, this seems apparent from a glance at activity on the Greek mainland. For instance, the wholesale relocation of a fifth century BC temple of Ares to the Athenian Agora in the early first century AD, or the careful preservation of the ruins of what was believed to be the ‘house’ of Oinomaos at Olympia into the second century AD, have no obvious parallels in Rome.¹³⁵ Just as it is inherently problematic to define what *the* modern attitude to heritage is, so too it would seem mistaken to suppose there to have been a single ancient attitude. Therefore, in an effort to avoid mistaking local for more general attitudes and practices, it seems prudent – in this present study, at least

¹³⁴ On the celebrated and heated debate on practices of restoration in the nineteenth century between the architect George Gilbert-Scott and the critique John Ruskin: Pevsner 1976: 44-50; Jokilehto 1999: 159-63; Glendinning 2013: 116-137; 174-6. The twentieth century might have brought an increased degree of uniformity in practices through the establishment of advisory and regulatory bodies (for example, English Heritage), but codes of good practice do not equate to consensus. In Britain today the treatment of historic buildings continues to provoke controversy and divide opinion at both ideological and local interest levels. There are simply far too many examples to list, but the fortnightly column by Gavin Stamp (a.k.a. Piloti) in *Private Eye* highlights continuing controversies on such matters.

¹³⁵ On the temple of Ares in the Agora: Borg 2011: 220; 226-7. On the ‘house’ of Oinomaos: Pausanias 5.20.6-8; Brulotte 1994: 53-64. Also, the apparant debate over Dio Chrysostom’s (*Or.* 47; 40) rebuilding of Prusa is suggestive of various attitudes.

– to focus on a single site, Rome.¹³⁶ A possibility for future study will be to test the conclusions I reach here against the situation elsewhere.

This study is primarily concerned with public buildings; what is included in this, and the reason for the specific focus requires explanation. The meaning of public in the context of Rome's built environment is not straightforward, and it is my intention here to establish a working definition rather than to try and provide an exhaustive explanation. To an extent, I follow the distinctions generally adopted by studies of Roman architecture and what scholars typically classify as public buildings might be divided into three broad categories: municipal and civic (for example *curiae*, porticoes and basilicas); recreational and entertainment (for example baths and theatres); religious and sacred (for example temples and altars).¹³⁷ It is these types of structures that I am referring to with the term public building.¹³⁸

While public in the sense that many people have had access to them, I am not specifically looking at what might be deemed industrial buildings (for example, *horrea*, workshops or bakeries). Nor am I taking into consideration infrastructure such as aqueducts or roads, although the cityscape as a whole is the focus of Chapter Seven. On a number of occasions, particularly when considering the urban fabric more generally, I refer to *domus*, *insulae* and *villae*; however, I have chosen to exclude any in-depth examination of domestic architecture.¹³⁹ In part, this is because there is not adequate space in the thesis to take account of all building types satisfactorily. But there are also concerns about the appropriateness of considering examples of domestic buildings alongside public ones in regard to this subject. Heritage is an emotive issue and people can have quite different attitudes towards, and feelings of attachment to, buildings that they themselves own and live in. Irrespective of the cultural or

¹³⁶ This being said, there is perhaps a danger of over-emphasising the potential for fundamental differences in outlooks across the Roman world and particularly within Italy. Attitudes to heritage are not innate, but shaped by culture and experience. Given that by the early Imperial period Roman culture extended far beyond the bounds of the capital, then the existence in various locations of common values relating to built heritage seems very likely.

¹³⁷ This tripartite division follows Anderson 1997: 241-87. Cf. Ward-Perkins 1970; Sear 1982; Barton 1989; Gros 1996. In addition to the examples given above, a list of building types that are typically classed as public is given by Macdonald 1986: 111-42.

¹³⁸ The divisions are useful for clarity but are not unproblematic due to the potential for overlap. For example, civic building could also be sacred spaces, entertainment venues contained religious components, and temples might be used for commercial activity. On the different functions of Roman temples: Stambaugh 1978: 554-608; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2007: 206-221.

¹³⁹ I favour the term 'domestic' here, especially given the potentially problematic connotations of the term 'private' in the context of buildings and spaces, see Anderson 1997: 243.

historical significance of a public building, the immediate walls of a home might well have a different, perhaps greater, resonance to the individual. A consequence of this is that the destruction and restoration of domestic and public buildings will potentially elicit very different responses. To take account of such evidence would potentially distort rather than add to the picture I am attempting to develop. Also, the way in which these respective building types are treated physically can vary significantly, with residences more subject to frequent changes, major and minor, on account of the whims or needs of their successive occupants.¹⁴⁰ To appropriately consider the subject of built heritage in regard to Roman domestic buildings would potentially require a quite different approach to that which I take to examining public buildings, and would need to be the focus of a separate study.¹⁴¹

1.6 Structure and Outline

Including this introduction and the conclusion the thesis is divided into eight chapters, with the core of my argument presented in Chapters Two to Seven. Chapter Two sets out the situation in the city of Rome in the period under discussion, and establishes the urban and architectural context for the study. It presents a survey of the dramatic transformation that the cityscape underwent in the six decades from the Great Fire of AD 64 to the early AD 120s, with a specific focus on the widespread destruction and subsequent rebuilding. While changes to the urban fabric of Rome were certainly not unique to this period, I argue that these sixty years were extraordinary in the cumulative scale of the redevelopment. The chapter also looks at the considerable (perhaps 'revolutionary') changes in Roman architecture at this time, and the way in which construction was perceived. I suggest that there was a sense that ability in this field was at a pinnacle, and that what was achievable in the present surpassed that of the past. In regard to building this period is characterised by confidence and progress, an idea that is later developed in this study as relevant to the Roman approach to, and perception of, restoration.

Chapter Three concerns the practice of rebuilding in Rome. It considers the basic and yet fundamental matter of why structures were rebuilt in the first

¹⁴⁰ Brand 1994:7.

¹⁴¹ It is for similar reasons that funerary buildings are not being considered either.

place, underscoring the importance of both ideology as well as functionality. The issue of who was responsible for restoring the city's built heritage is also examined. I highlight that the restoration of public buildings in the capital had become the preserve of the imperial family by this period, although I go beyond this to question the extent to which emperors actually influenced the design of structures. The discussion emphasises the potential importance of identifying the agency behind certain design decisions, a factor that then becomes relevant to Chapters Four and Five. In the final part of this chapter I present the initial case for a key premise regarding the restoration of buildings in Rome. I argue that the rebuilding of structures was carried out in an innovative manner. This involved designs being made grander and updated in line with contemporary architectural practices, and little overt attempt being made to purposefully preserve the original aesthetic.

To an extent, this idea is then tested in Chapter Four, which is a detailed study of the three reconstructions of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The first part of the chapter establishes the particular importance of this temple to Roman society, before then presenting an interpretation of how the building developed through its successive phases. Through noting which features were altered or changed each time it was rebuilt, I argue that it was repeatedly done in a manner consistent with the premise of innovative restoration. An apparent exception to this would appear to be the deliberate retention of the original floor plan in the subsequent versions. However, I contend that this continuity was not on account of any desire to preserve a vestige of the historic appearance of the building, but was due to a specific stipulation made on religious grounds.

Chapter Five considers the hut of Romulus (*casa Romuli*). In part, the importance of this building is that it would seem to be the most evident example which appears to contradict the premise of innovative rebuilding, as it was consistently restored with the same form and the same type of materials. However, I argue that in this case, too, the architectural continuity was not motivated by an overt attempt to preserve the historic appearance of the building. Instead, it is shown to be a consequence of other influences. By drawing a comparison with the maintenance of the Pons Sublicius, the relevance of religious agency in matters of built heritage is again brought to the fore.

Chapter Six adopts a different approach and moves from examining how buildings were restored to considering the way in which their restoration was received by those not directly involved in the construction. Through a close reading of literary sources, I look at contemporaries' responses to instances of rebuilding and what this indicates about attitudes in Roman society more widely. The discussion focuses on the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the restoration of which is detailed in Chapter Four. By considering the way in which its successive phases were written about, I argue that a debate can be detected over how the building was changed, and that while some at the time embraced its increasing grandeur, there were dissenting voices. Importantly, however, those opposed to the manner of the rebuilding appear to have had a very specific objection, which was related to moral sensibilities and not any notion of valuing historic architecture.

Chapter Seven also explores how Rome's inhabitants responded to instances of destruction and rebuilding. Although, rather than focusing on an individual structure, the city as a whole is considered. The discussion revolves around three authors (Seneca the Elder, Martial and Tacitus) who experienced and wrote about the dramatic transformation of Rome's urban fabric in this period, as already detailed in Chapter Two. Expanding on ideas raised in the previous chapter, I argue that the way in which these three authors characterise the development of the cityscape is indicative of, and informed by, a series of related attitudes towards built heritage. In short: that innovative restoration tended to be positively received; that the destruction of existing buildings could often be perceived as a positive occurrence; and that there was no sense of nostalgia for lost buildings as architectural relics or *monumenta* of the past. Chapter Eight is the conclusion. It draws together the line of argument made throughout the preceding chapters and sets out the final case for the Roman concept for built heritage. More than this, I look beyond what has been achievable in this study and make an initial argument regarding the status of architects in Roman society being a contributory factor in the treatment of historic buildings. So, too, I posit a number of suggestions as to where the research might lead and the future possibilities in expanding it into late antiquity.

The arguments that I put forward regarding the practices of, and attitudes towards, instances of restoration are intended to build an impression of the

Roman concept of built heritage. It is not a picture that is purposefully presented or articulated by the ancients themselves; as noted above, this was not a subject of specific inquiry in antiquity. Nevertheless, from examining material and literary sources an understanding can be uncovered. Running throughout the chapters are a series of key ideas which help to develop the thesis, the foremost being that the historical associations of buildings were not invested in their architecture. Such a conception of built heritage dramatically differs from prevailing modern ideas on the subject, and it permitted Rome to be at one and the same time a city of historic buildings and modern architecture.

Chapter Two: Urban Transformation and Architectural Innovation

2.1.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the ways in which Rome was transformed and its architecture developed during the six decades between the Neronian fire and the early years of Hadrian's principate (AD 64-120s). This survey does not expand on each topographical dispute or list every structure that is known to have been built during these years. Rather, the discussion aims to convey the scale and significance of changes that occurred in the city at this time, thereby demonstrating the relevance of this period for assessing the Roman attitudes to built heritage. It also establishes much of the historical context for the study as a whole and a framework within which the arguments made throughout the rest of the thesis can be placed.

The first part of this chapter chronologically charts the cumulative transformation of the cityscape, highlighting the way in which destruction led to the alteration of individual buildings and the redevelopment of entire areas of the capital. In particular, understanding this picture is essential to the arguments made in Chapter Seven, which considers how contemporaries responded to the changes. The discussion then turns to consider developments in Roman architecture at this time, noting the increasing grandeur of buildings and the progressive innovativeness of designs. Again, the assessment here is central to the key premise of how the Romans approached restoration that is later set out in Chapter Three. This current chapter concludes by arguing that these developments were symptomatic of and encouraged a sense of ability, progress and confidence in matters of construction at this time. The relevance of this mindset for my investigation is brought out further in Chapters Three, Six and Seven. In these ways, this chapter looks forward to, and provides the critical background for, much of the rest of the study. Understanding the way the city was transformed and its architecture developed in these years is essential to later arguments. The importance of these discussions to matters of heritage and restoration will become increasingly apparent as the thesis progresses.

2.1.2 The Great Fire of AD 64

Outbreaks of fire were not unusual in Rome. While often relatively localised, the high density of buildings and extensive use of wood in construction meant that on a number of occasions they spread to engulf large areas of the city.¹ The most infamous of these, now commonly referred to as the Great Fire of Rome, is that of AD 64. Its enduring prominence is in part due to Tacitus' vivid and emotive account of the conflagration, as well as to the allegations that the emperor Nero deliberately started the blaze and then sang of Troy while watching the spectacle.² The notoriety of the fire was also enhanced from late antiquity onwards by its immediate repercussions, which saw the first 'official' persecution of the city's Christian inhabitants.³ Yet the principal reason for this fire warranting the title Great is due to the extent of the devastation it caused.⁴ It was an event that set in motion the transformation of the city and establishing its impact is important to understanding this.

The fire started in *tabernae* of the Circus Maximus on the night of the 18th of July and was not extinguished for at least another six or possibly nine days.⁵ Tacitus charts the progress of the fire through the city and states that of Rome's fourteen regions 'four remained intact, while three were laid level with the ground: in the other seven nothing survived but a few dilapidated and half-

¹ On the frequency of fires in ancient Rome: Rainbird 1976: 346-77; cf. Canter 1932: 270-88. On fire prevention measures: Rainbird 1986: 147-69; Daugherty 1992: 229-40; Robinson: 1992 106-10.

² Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.38-40) appears to refrain from overtly blaming Nero, although Ryberg (1942: 398-400) argues that it is clearly implied in the narrative. The emperor is consistently implicated in the accounts of Suetonius (*Nero* 38), Pliny the Elder (*HN* 17.5), Dio (62.16.1) and the author of the *Octavia* (831-3). On the possible source of these accounts: Townend 1960: 111-113. The likelihood of Nero's culpability is discussed by Hülse 1909: 45-8; Griffin 1987: 132-3; Champlin 2003: 178-191. On the seventeenth century origin of the expression that Nero 'fiddled' while Rome burned: Gyles: 1947: 211-17.

³ Tac. *Ann.* 15.44. On the Neronian fire and the Christians: Furneaux 1907: 416-427; Gyles 1947: 213; Gray-Fow 1998: 595-616.

⁴ Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.38) refers to the disaster as 'graver and more terrible (*gravior atque atrocior*) than any other which has befallen this city by the ravages of fire'. In Flavian Rome it appears to have been known as the Neronian fire: Plin. *HN* 17.5: *Neronis principis incendia*; *CIL*, 6.826, 30837 = *ILS* 4914: *arsit Neronianis temporibus*.

⁵ The length of the fire is disputed. The inscription on the so-called *Arae Incendii Neroniani* (*CIL*, 6.826, 30837 = *ILS* 4914.), erected in the reign of Domitian, states it lasted nine days. Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.40), the nearest contemporary writer to the fire, records that it burnt for six days. This discrepancy is explained away by pointing to Tacitus' claim that after the sixth day the fire started up again. However, Tacitus does not state how many days it continued for, and Suetonius (*Ner.* 38.2) also reports that the fire lasted for six days and seven nights, as does Orosius (7.74). There is no immediate reason to favour the claim on the altar and I think the question over its duration remains open.

burned relics of houses.⁶ The accuracy of Tacitus' claims have been questioned and it is possible that his account is hyperbolic as to the extent that certain areas were wholly laid waste.⁷ Nevertheless, I do not think that there is any reason to doubt the enormity of the devastation. Tacitus had access both to written and eyewitness accounts of the fire, and his picture is corroborated by other writers.⁸ Cassius Dio rather imprecisely writes that two-thirds of the city were destroyed,⁹ Suetonius is vague but still indicates the number of dwellings burned was immense (*immensum*),¹⁰ and one of the forged letters between Seneca the Younger and Saint Paul, possibly dating to the fourth century AD, adds the unverifiable but not implausible detail that 132 *domus* and 4000 *insulae* were destroyed.¹¹ In addition to these accounts, scattered comments by Pliny the Elder on what no longer existed at the time he was writing in the mid-70s AD adds to our knowledge of the buildings lost in the fire.¹² The picture is further supplemented by excavations, which have uncovered evidence of fire damage and rebuilding that can be plausibly linked to this event.¹³ Based on this cumulative information attempts have been made to map the destruction, one of the most recent being that by Panella for the 2011 *Nerone* exhibition in Rome (Fig. 2.1). The reconstruction is helpful in visualising an impression of the scale of the fire, but it is conjectural regarding the precise limits and is a hypothetical guide rather than a definitive representation.

The enormity of the fire is not in question and its impact is highlighted by what we are told the immediate responses to it were. Tacitus and Dio attest to the distraught mindset of survivors and allegedly suicidal desperation of some.¹⁴ While, to an extent, these accounts are drawing on tropes of 'disaster narrative' and *urbs capta* motifs, there seems little reason to doubt the basic detail of the

⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 15.38-40: *Quippe in regiones quattuordecim Roma dividitur, quarum quattuor integrae manebant, tres solo tenuis deiectae: septem reliquis pauca tectorum vestigia supererant, lacera et semusta.* (Translation Jackson 1937). On the Regions affected: Panella 2011a: 82.

⁷ Newbold 1974:858.

⁸ On Tacitus' sources for this event and these years: Townend 1960: 111-113; Morford 1990: 1587-1589. Cf. Syme 1958: 176-77; 299-301; Potter 2012: 127.

⁹ Dio (62.18.2) adds that the amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus was destroyed.

¹⁰ Suet. *Ner.* 38.2.

¹¹ *Epistulae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam* 11(12).20-21. Barlow (1938: 83-4) argues that the figures do not look like an invention of the letter and posits that they were instead taken from a late chronicle, although they are clearly rounded. After an earlier fire Tiberius appointed four officials to investigate the losses of claimants (Tac. *Ann.* 6.45) and so it is plausible that records of the damage in AD 64 were also made.

¹² Plin. *HN* 17.4-5; 36.163.

¹³ Panella 2011a: 76-91.

¹⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 15.38; Dio 62.17.2.

immediate anguish of the *populus*.¹⁵ The fire seems to have featured prominently in near contemporary literature: it is alluded to in Seneca's *Epistulae Morales*; was almost certainly the subject of Lucan's now lost *De Incendio Urbis*; and is referred to in the play *Octavia*.¹⁶ An idea of the way its scale was perceived might also be inferred from authors comparing it to the Gallic sack of Rome in the fourth century BC, which was believed to have affected the entire city except the Capitoline Hill.¹⁷ Likewise, Tacitus' labelling of the Rome that emerged from the flames as *urbs nova* impresses the extent of change that the fire brought about.¹⁸ It is to this rebuilding of the city that I now want to turn.

The idea of Nero constructing a new Rome has proved popular in modern scholarship. It is referred to in the titles of Boëthius, Balland and Phillips' studies of the emperor, and the notion is encapsulated by a scene in the 1951 film adaptation of *Quo Vadis*, where Peter Ustinov, cast as a megalomaniacal and cowardly Nero, unveils a Gismondi-esque model detailing his plans for the city (Fig. 2.2).¹⁹ It is actually only Tacitus who describes post-fire Neronian Rome as *urbs nova*, although the idea of a grand, citywide rebuilding is implied by Suetonius' allegation that there was an intention to rename Rome *Neropolis*.²⁰ As to whether any credence should be attached to this claim is made indeterminable by Nero's posthumous reputation, which significantly colours ancient accounts of his building activity.²¹ Indeed, an interesting possibility is that *Neropolis* is a deliberate corruption of the Greek *Neapolis*.²² While the notion that Rome was to be renamed after the emperor

¹⁵ On 'disaster narrative' and Tacitus' account of the fire: Keitel 2010a: 142-44; 2010b: 331-352. On the fire's possible economic impact on private individuals: Newbold 1974: 858-69.

¹⁶ Sen. *Ep.* 91 (discussed in Chapter Seven); *Octavia* 831-3. On the possible content of Lucan's *De Incendio Urbis*: Ahl 1971: 5-9. cf. McGann 1975: 213-17. On Lucan and the fire: Torgerson 2011: 10-12; 305 n. 39. On the context and date of the *Octavia*: Barnes 1982: 215-17; Ferri 2003: 26-7; Wiseman 2008: 200-09.

¹⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 15.43; Dio 62.17.3. Griffin 1987: 129; Rouveret 1991: 3067; O'Gorman 2000: 172-5; Champlin 2003: 194-200. On the Gallic Sack: Cornell 1995: 313-18; Williams 2001: 140-184. Cf. Allusions in Livy's account of the Gallic sack to the destruction of Troy: Kraus 1994: 267-289 esp. 286-7; Edwards 2011: 653.

¹⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 15.40: *urbis novae*; 15.43: *novae urbi*; 15.41: *resurgentis urbis*. On a possible allusion to Livy's description of Rome: Shannon 2012: 752.

¹⁹ Boëthius 1932; Balland 1965; Phillips 1978.

²⁰ Suet. *Ner.* 55. Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.40) also reports that it seemed Nero intended to give the capital his own name: Bradley 1978: 101.

²¹ Balland 1965: 367-9; 377; 392-3; Griffin 1987: 131; Woodman 1992: 173-188. On hostility of ancient authors to Nero: Rubies 1994: 29-35; Flower 2006: 197-233; Hurley 2013: 29-44.

²² An idea suggested to me by Amber Gartrell.

might be the product of a hostile tradition, it is quite possible that the presentation of the large-scale rebuilding of Rome as a *new* city would not in itself have been perceived negatively. This is indicated both by Martial's favourable characterisation of the Domitianic city as *nova Roma*, as well as the optimistic terms in which Livy described Rome's reconstruction following the Gallic sack.²³ Due to the immense scale of the rebuilding that occurred after the fire of AD 64, the label 'new' was not necessarily unwarranted. Yet there is a danger of interpreting the rhetorical turn of phrase too literally. The extent to which Nero actually had a 'grand plan' for the urban redesign of the entire capital, as imagined in *Quo Vadis* and advocated by some scholars, is far from certain.²⁴ Robinson is perhaps closer to the mark in her assessment of Nero as a builder rather than a planner, who responded to necessity and opportunity.²⁵

Studies on the building activity of Nero in Rome typically follow rather formulaic divisions. Projects are separated into those which occurred either before or after the fire, and this latter category is then further divided into the emperor's residence (the Domus Aurea), and the new building regulations concerned with the construction of *insulae* and the layout of streets.²⁶ These divisions are not just a feature of modern scholarship, as both Tacitus and Suetonius also split Nero's building activity in this way. It is a contrivance which permits the Domus Aurea and the building reforms to be separately characterised as negative and positive.²⁷ To these, a third category, regarding

²³ Livy's (5.55; 6.1) perceived criticism of the way in which Rome was rebuilt needs to be read alongside his positive characterisation of the new city at opening of the next book. It is a sentiment later echoed in similar terms by Florus 1.13.18-19. The positive perception of the restoration of the *urbs* is discussed in Chapters Three and Seven. Also, as noted by Shannon (2012: 752), *urbs nova* is an expression that recurs in book one of Livy (2.3; 3.3; 6.4; 9.8; 19.1), and it seems that Tacitus is alluding to the Augustan historian in his account of the rebuilding of the city, as is discussed below.

²⁴ MacDonald (1982: 28) is mistaken in declaring that both Tacitus and Suetonius 'speak unhesitatingly of the creation of an *urbs nova*', as it is only Tacitus who calls it this; Darwall-Smith (1996: 39) points out that Suetonius (*Ner.* 16.1) alludes to *formam aedificiorum urbis novam*, not a *formam urbis novam*. Balland (1965: 351) suggests that the term is applied more specifically to districts that were rebuilt rather than the city as a whole, although given the implied totality of the term *urbs*, this is unconvincing, see Bradley 1978:101. On the notion of Nero having a 'construction policy': Beste and Hesberg 2013: 314-31 esp. 314; cf. Robinson 1992: 20; Darwell-Smith 1996: 39-40; Scheithauer 2000: 122-6; 258-9.

²⁵ Robinson 1992: 20. Indeed, far from a top-down or centralised rebuilding of Rome, it seems that much of the work relied on private investors, who were offered incentives: Tac. *Ann.* 15.43; Suet. *Vesp.* 8.5; Gaius *Inst.* 1.33; Robinson 1992: 26.

²⁶ For example Griffin 1987:145-142; Champlin 2003: 178-208; Shotter 2008: 111-126.

²⁷ Tacitus' descriptions of the Domus Aurea (*Ann.* 15.42) and the rest of the city (15.43) are sequential but quite distinct. The separation is more evident in Suetonius, where his comments on the new building types (*Ner.* 16.1) are completely divorced from his remarks on the fire of Rome (38) and description of the Domus Aurea (31). As Bradley (1978: 100) notes, this is because of the division of the bibliography into Nero's positive and negative actions, cf.

the restoration of public buildings, should be added and is discussed later in this chapter.

2.1.3 The Domus Aurea and the Redefinition of Space in the City

As explained in the previous chapter, this study is not primarily concerned with domestic buildings. As to whether the imperial palaces can appropriately be labelled 'domestic' is perhaps a matter of debate. At any rate, so great was the impact of the Domus Aurea on the cityscape, and such is its perceived importance in the development of Roman architecture, that it needs to be taken into account in my discussion here. For not only was the palatial complex a key part of the urban development of Rome after the fire of AD 64, but the alteration by later emperors of the space occupied by the palace is also of consequence to this chapter. Therefore, establishing its impact is significant to understanding the transformation of the city under Nero.

Designed by the *magister* Severus and *machinator* Celer, the Domus Aurea was intended to replace Nero's Domus Transitoria, which along with parts of the other imperial residences on the Palatine Hill had been damaged in the fire.²⁸ Details about the palace are reported by a number of authors and the fullest description is Suetonius', although he reveals little about the actual appearance of the buildings.²⁹ Instead, Suetonius' comments are intended to convey an idea of its 'size and splendour' (*spatio atque cultu*), to which end he lists a number of features including the hundred and twenty foot high colossal statue, a mile-long triple colonnade and a circular dining hall with a revolving roof.³⁰ Suetonius also records that within the complex there was a pool like a sea (*stagnum maris instar*) and 'tracts of country, varied by tilled fields, vineyards, pastures and woods, with great numbers of wild and domestic

Lounsbury 1991: 3751-3760; Barton 1994: 52-3. The perception of the Domus Aurea having been affected by the vilification of Nero: Morford 1968: 158-179; Elsner 1994: 112-124; Flower 2006: 229-230.

²⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 43. On Severus and Celer: Anderson 1997: 52-5; Ball 2003: 7-8; 258-264. Interestingly, Suetonius (*Ner.* 31) describes the Domus Aurea as a restoration (*restitutere*) of the Domus Transitoria. On the relationship between the two buildings: MacDonald 1982: 20-25; Vos 1995: 199-202; Ball 2003.

²⁹ Suet. *Ner.* 31.1-2. Collected references: Platner and Ashby 1929: 166-172.

³⁰ Suet. *Ner.* 31.1-2. Blason (1998: 619) makes the obvious but often unmentioned point that Suetonius would not have personally known the building in its Neronian phase

animals.³¹ The accuracy of Suetonius' account is challenged by Blaison, who argues that the biographer's passage is more an exercise in ecphrasis than a literal description, and notes similarities between Suetonius' description of the Domus Aurea and Ovid's depiction of the palace of the Sun in the *Metamorphoses*.³² That Suetonius is directly borrowing from Ovid is quite possible, and any attempted reconstruction of the Domus Aurea needs to consider the influence of these rhetorical considerations in shaping the selectivity and language of Suetonius' account. However, it does not follow that Suetonius' description must therefore be a total fabrication and not based on reality.³³

The inclusion of natural features within the confines of the palace is corroborated by Tacitus, who states that its marvels lay in the 'fields and lakes and the air of solitude given by wooded ground alternating with clear tracts and open landscapes.'³⁴ These descriptions generate the idea that Nero built a villa in Rome, thereby bringing the country into the city – *rus in urbe*.³⁵ The accounts also help to establish the impression as put by Warden, and to an extent confirmed by excavations, that the entire complex

...was much more than a villa... it was a landscape park in which the villa was but a component. Buildings, perhaps more correctly termed "pavilions", would have been scattered about, and the individual sections would have been linked conceptually rather than physically.³⁶

Such a description encapsulates the idea that the Domus Aurea should be thought of as more than a building.

This impression relates to the expansive scale of the complex, a characteristic that was repeatedly emphasised in antiquity. Tacitus sardonically talks about areas of the city being spared by the palace,³⁷ Pliny the Elder

³¹ Suet. *Ner.* 31.1: *rura insuper arvis atque vinetis et pascuīs silvisque varia, cum multitudine omnis generis pecudum ac ferarum.* (Translation Rolfe 1914).

³² Blaison 1998: 620-623; Ov. *Met.* 2.1-18. On the sophistication of Suetonius' writing: Lounsbury 1991: 3770-7; Barton 1994: 48.

³³ Contra Blaison (1998: 621).

³⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 15.42: *quam arva et stagna et in modum solitudinum hinc silvae, inde aperta spatia et prospectus.* (Translation Jackson 1937).

³⁵ The expression is known from Martial (*Ep.* 12.57). On the concept: Purcell 1987: 187-203; esp. 197-203. On the controversy of the Domus Aurea for this feature: Elsner 1994: 121-122.

³⁶ Warden: 1981: 271-2; cf. Boethius 1960: 113-5.

³⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 15.43: *urbis quae domui supereant*; Millar 1973: 94.

figuratively alludes to it encircling Rome,³⁸ Martial speaks of it being the only dwelling in the entire city³⁹ and Suetonius records a lampooning verse:

Rome is becoming one house; off with you to Veii, Quirites!
If that house does not soon seize upon Veii as well.⁴⁰

This jibe seemingly dates to the reign of Nero, which suggests that the objection to the size of the palace was not solely a product of the posthumous hatchet job done on the emperor's reputation. Indeed, given that this remark was originally unpublished and anonymous, then it potentially represents a rare candid response to a contemporary building project (the significance of this type of evidence is discussed in Chapter Six).⁴¹

The exact area covered by the Palace is indeterminable and modern estimates have varied from around fifty to over one hundred acres.⁴² The location and extent of the Domus Aurea is reconstructed from textual sources as well as archaeological evidence, and central to this is the 'wing' that was rediscovered on the Oppian Hill in the fifteenth century.⁴³ This building, which comprises one hundred and fifty known rooms, is the largest and most complete part of the Domus Aurea to have survived.⁴⁴ Excavations elsewhere have revealed details about the appearance of the palace and its relationship to the rest of the city. An idea of its overall expanse is given by Figure 2.3, which highlights the known remains associated with the complex and the extent to which it must have transformed this quarter of the city.⁴⁵

2.1.4 Building Regulations and Nero's New City

Next to the Domus Aurea, the post-fire building activity which has received most attention in scholarship might be collectively categorised under

³⁸ Plin. *HN* 33.54.

³⁹ Mart. *Spec.* 2.

⁴⁰ Suet. *Nero* 39.2: *Roma domus fiet; Veios migrate, Quirites, Si non et Veios occupat ista domus.* (Translation Rolfe 1914).

⁴¹ This verse is anonymous, but Suetonius (*Ner.* 39.3) does record other insults levelled at the emperor that came from an actor and a philosopher.

⁴² Warden 1981: 273-275; Cassatella 1995: 49-50; Moormann, 2002: 385-87; Viscogliosi 2011: 156-159; Panella 2011b: 160-169; Beste 2011: 170-175; Beste and Hesberg 2013: 324.

⁴³ For a summary of the early 'excavations' see Lanciani 1897: 358-363; Segala and Sciortino 1999: 47-53.

⁴⁴ Fabbrini 1995: 56-63; Segala and Sciortino 1999: 19-39; Claridge 2010: 326-8.

⁴⁵ For recent discoveries: Medri 1996: 180-8; Coates-Stephens 2010: 292-3; 2012: 327-8.

the title of 'building regulations.'⁴⁶ These were a series of planning measures which affected the organisation of streets and the construction of residential buildings, with the intention of tackling issues of fire safety and making urban areas more attractive. Part of the initiatives is briefly summarised by Suetonius:

He [Nero] devised a new form for the buildings of the city and in front of the houses and apartments he erected porches (*ante insulas ac domos porticus essent*), from the flat roofs of which fires could be fought; and these he put up at his own cost.⁴⁷

Suetonius detaches this information from his remarks on the Great Fire, but this is due to the structure of the biography.⁴⁸ Tacitus, however, explicitly places them as responses to the conflagration and also provides further details.⁴⁹ Tacitus' account of the rebuilding is analysed at length in Chapter Seven, but it is useful to outline the substance of the measures here. I have separated these into five distinct components, listed in the order Tacitus presents them (for the text in full, see Appendix A).

Districts were rebuilt 'in measured lines of streets, with broad thoroughfares.'⁵⁰

Restrictions were placed on the height of buildings (*aedifici* is usually interpreted here to mean multi-storey *insulae*).⁵¹

Open spaces (*areae*) were included in the rebuilt districts, although precisely what is meant by the rather non-descript use of *area* is unclear.⁵²

⁴⁶ Occasionally titled *Lex Neronis de modo aedificiorum urbis*: Yavetz 1958: 513; Ellis 2011: 169-70. On building regulations and planning in Rome: Robinson 1992: 14-32; 33-42.

⁴⁷ Suet. *Ner.* 16. 1: *Formam aedificiorum urbis novam excogitavit et ut ante insulas ac domos porticus essent, de quarum solariis incendia arcerentur; easque sumptu suo exstruxit.* (Translation Rolfe 1914).

⁴⁸ Bradley 1978: 100.

⁴⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 15.43.

⁵⁰ Tacitus seems to place this observation in opposition to the notion, recorded by Livy (5.55), that after the Gallic fire the city was rebuilt with no overall plan and irregular streets: Kraus 1994: 286-7. The importance of regularising the streets might also be inferred from Suet. *Ner.* 38.1. This widening of the streets should not be connected, as Furneaux (1907: 372) does, with a ruling of Domitian which clears the streets of vendors (Mart. 7.61.3).

⁵¹ No specific height is given by Tacitus but the possible range might be inferred from similar regulations made in the reigns of Augustus (seventy Roman feet) and Trajan (sixty Roman feet): Strabo 5.3.7; Vict. *Ep. De. Caes.* 13.13; Robinson 1992: 35-7. Strabo (5.3.7) implies that Augustus' restriction was also brought in due to concerns over fire.

Porticoes were added to the front of *insulae* at the emperor's expense (compare with Suetonius above, who indicates that they had a practical fire-fighting purpose).⁵³

The *insulae* themselves were to be made without timber, and using Sabine or Alban tufa due to their fire proof qualities.⁵⁴ Additionally, 'there were to be no joint partitions between buildings, but each was to be surrounded by its own wall'.⁵⁵

Taken together these initiatives had a twofold purpose: to improve the fire-safety of individual buildings and to reorganise certain areas of the city on a more regular plan, which had both practical and aesthetic benefits.⁵⁶

It is argued by some scholars that the straightening and widening of streets represents an element of Nero's 'grand plan' for his new Rome.⁵⁷ Such a notion also seems to have been present in antiquity, as Suetonius claims that Nero burnt the city 'under cover of displeasure at the ugliness (*deformitas*) of the old buildings and the narrow, crooked streets'.⁵⁸ The extent to which areas of the city were rebuilt according to the measures outlined above is not clear. Little has been found in the archaeological record, but then other than in regard to the stipulations about the construction of *insulae*, it is difficult to know what should be looked for – how broad is a broad street?⁵⁹ MacDonald, however, is probably mistaken to suggest that Nero's plan was 'as little followed as that of Wren's for London'.⁶⁰ Wren's street plan was never meant to be implemented, but was one of a number of proposals put forward after London's Great Fire of

⁵² The form of these *areae* is unclear: Millar 1973: 95.

⁵³ MacDonald 1982: 29-30; Robinson 1992: 36.

⁵⁴ On Roman knowledge of fire proof tuffs: Vit. 2.7.2; Jackson *et al* 2005: 506-7; 2006: 1695-6.

⁵⁵ There is limited archaeological evidence for buildings matching these criteria. A possible example is the *insula* in l'area archeologica del Vicus Caparius. The extent to which later *insulae* at Ostia can provide an impression of those at Rome is disputed: Phillips 1978: 306; Quenemoen 2014: 69.

⁵⁶ Tacitus also records measures relating to water supply and the provision of fire fighting equipment for public use.

⁵⁷ Balland 1965: 353; Phillips 1978: 304; MacDonald 1982: 28-31.

⁵⁸ Suet. *Ner.* 38.1: *Nam quasi offensus deformitate veterum aedificiorum et angustiis flexurisque vicorum, incendit urbem tam palam.* (Translation Rolfe 1914).

⁵⁹ In the wake of the fire, the via Sacra near the precinct of Vesta underwent a substantial refashioning including the construction of a porticus. However Castagnoli (1964: 195-199), Carandini (1988, 373-381) and Scott (2009 58-72) have shown that much of this work in this area is Flavian, not Neronian, as Van Deman (1923: 383-424) previously proposed.

⁶⁰ MacDonald 1982: 28.

AD 1666. Yet it is clear that enough of Rome was rebuilt along the lines of Nero's decrees to make an impression on Tacitus and Suetonius writing about them five decades later.

Given the scale of the fire a substantial part of Nero's rebuilding of Rome must also have concerned public buildings. Yet while individual structures have been studied, the restoration of public buildings in general is an aspect of the Neronian city that has received comparatively little attention in scholarship.⁶¹ In a way, this corresponds to the interests of ancient authors, who supply few details about the fate of these buildings. For example, Tacitus lists just five structures that were damaged in the blaze and Cassius Dio only names the amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus.⁶² Despite the absence of information about this subject, what evidence there is corresponds to the overall impression that the fire of AD 64 provided an opportunity for change, with structures being restored in an innovative fashion, a subject which is explored in the next chapter. Therefore, the last four years of Nero's reign can be seen as a pivotal moment in the urban development of Rome. The Great Fire was a catastrophe, but it was one presenting an opportunity for change and set in motion the transformation of the city and its buildings.⁶³

2.1.5 Continuing Development in the Vespasianic Capital

The rebuilding of Rome after the Great Fire was not complete by the death of Nero. Suetonius reports that when Vespasian returned to Rome for the first time as emperor, he found the 'city unsightly from old fires and collapses' (*deformis urbs veteribus incendiis ac ruinis erat*) and reputedly attempted to remedy this by 'allowing anyone to take possession of vacant sites and build on them.'⁶⁴ Yet the fire of AD 64 was only partly responsible for this state of affairs. Considerable damage had also been caused by a serious flood in AD 69, as well as when the civil wars of that year had raged through the streets.⁶⁵ The overall extent of the injury to the urban fabric is unclear, but most significant

⁶¹ A list of buildings is provided in Thornton and Thornton 1989: 138-9.

⁶² Tac. *Ann.* 15.41; Dio 62.17.

⁶³ On the idea of disaster as opportunity: Lancaster 2005: 169-70; Toner 2013: 3; 58-9; 76.

⁶⁴ Suet. *Vesp.* 8.5 (adapted from Rolfe 1914). On the condition of Rome at this time: Lanciani 1897: 362-3; Griffin 1987: 130; Flower 2006: 228-232; Graham, 2013: 286-7.

⁶⁵ Tac. *Hist.* 1.86; Plut. *Otho* 4.5.

was the burning of the Capitoline Hill, which destroyed a number of structures including the city's principal temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.⁶⁶ This event and the subsequent construction of a new temple are the subject of Chapter Four.

Vespasian is credited with a number of other restorations, including the *scaenae frons* of the theatre of Marcellus, the temple of Honos and Virtus near the Porta Capena, and the completion of the temple of Claudius.⁶⁷ He also initiated the construction of several new projects, the most grandiose and significant of which were the Flavian amphitheatre (hereafter the Colosseum) and the temple (forum) of Peace.⁶⁸ Both have been the focus of extensive study and it is not necessary here to give a detailed account of either building. Instead, the element I want to highlight is the impact that their construction had on changing land use and redefining a part of the city.

The Colosseum, as attested by ancient sources and now confirmed by excavation, was built over the artificial lake of the Domus Aurea (Fig. 2.4).⁶⁹ The ideological message seems evident and is spelled out by Martial in the *Liber de Spectaculis*:

Rome has been restored to herself and under your rule, Caesar, the pleasures that belonged to a master now belong to the people.⁷⁰

The personal lodgings of the emperor were reappropriated and transformed into a venue for popular entertainment.⁷¹ The temple of Peace, constructed between AD 71 and 75, was located behind the Basilica Aemilia and on an axial alignment with the forum of Augustus.⁷² It was constructed in part on top of the

⁶⁶ An impression of the wider damage to the Capitoline is given by Tacitus (*Hist.* 3.71-74), but the totality is impossible to estimate.

⁶⁷ Suet. *Vesp.* 19.1; Plin. *HN* 35.120.

⁶⁸ A survey of Vespasian's building works is given in Ward-Perkins 1970: 217-224; Darwall-Smith 1996: 32-74; cf. collected essays in Coarelli 2009.

⁶⁹ Medri 1996: 180-8; Rea, Beste and Lancaster 2002: 342-344. On history and construction of the Colosseum: Rea 1993:30-35; Welch 2003: 128-162; Lancaster 2005b: 57-82.

⁷⁰ Mart. *Spec.* 2.11-12: *reddita Roma sibi est et sunt te praeside, Caesar, deliciae populi, quae fuerant domini.* (Translation Shackleton Bailey 1993).

⁷¹ Welch 2003: 130-134; Flower 2006: 208-9; 228-232; Coleman 2006: 14-36. It has been suggested that far than being a strictly 'private' palace built on appropriated land, the complex was partially open to the public (Hemsoll 1990: 16; Champlin 2003: 207; more cautiously Griffin 1984: 140-141), and that much of was covered ground already belonging to the imperial family: Morford 1968: 159-163; Darwall-Smith 1996: 36-40; Flower 2006: 230-231.

⁷² On the Templum Pacis: La Rocca 2001; Packer 2003: 169-172; Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007.

republican era *macellum* and a number of residential properties.⁷³ As pointed out by Noreña, it was more akin to the monumental porticus complexes of the Campus Martius than the two existing *fora* of Caesar and Augustus (Fig. 2.5-6).⁷⁴ Its precise function is not explicitly clear, but Noreña is probably correct in emphasising that the space – with its colonnaded portico, water features and collection of statuary – was primarily for *otium*.⁷⁵

It is possible to see significance in these building works that went beyond the importance of the individual structures. The projects initiated a redefinition of this part of the city into a place of public entertainment and *otium*, a picture which is consistent with the buildings of the subsequent emperors in this area. To the north of the Colosseum, the public baths of Titus (in conception, perhaps Vespasianic) were built over what was part of the Oppian area of the Domus Aurea, and were physically related to the amphitheatre by a monumental stair and portico.⁷⁶ To the immediate east of the Colosseum, Domitian constructed four gladiatorial *ludi*, and the three thousand seat capacity of the Ludus Magnus suggests its purpose extended beyond being a training ground to also providing public spectacle.⁷⁷ Trajan, too, enhanced this area along the lines of recreation when he further re-appropriated part of the Domus Aurea for the construction of his monumental *thermae*, begun after AD 104.⁷⁸ A consequence of this building activity is that the character, appearance and function of this area of the city were completely transformed into what in some respects might be seen as a second Campus Martius (Fig. 2.7).⁷⁹

Given the substantial replanning of Rome that had occurred first under Nero and then the Flavians, it is perhaps no coincidence that a monumental marble map of the layout of the city – a predecessor to the Severan *Forma Urbis* – was probably created at this time.⁸⁰ It was a conscious proclamation

⁷³ Anderson 1984: 102-5; contra Tortorici 1991: 36-47; 64-5; cf. Sartorio 1996: 202.

⁷⁴ Noreña 2003: 26-7; cf. Senseny 2011: 422-424. On its later title of 'Forum': Platner and Ashby 1929: 386-8.

⁷⁵ Noreña 2003: 26-27; cf. Zanker 2010: 59.

⁷⁶ On the monumental stair: Richardson 1992: 396. On the baths: Darwall-Smith 1996: 90-96; Caruso 1999: 66-7; Ball 2003: 249-54.

⁷⁷ Golvin 1988: 150; Pavolini 1996: 196-7; Darwall-Smith 1996: 218-220.

⁷⁸ On a Domitianic date: Anderson 1983: 103-4; 1985: 499-509. Contra: Yegül 1992: 144 with n. 41; Darwall-Smith 1996: 244-246; Coarelli 2007: 187.

⁷⁹ The monumental character would also have been enhanced by features such as the Neronian Colossus of Sol and the rebuilt and enlarged Meta Sudans: Longfellow 2010: 275-279; 2011: 31-39.

⁸⁰ On a possible Flavian marble plan: Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 303-8; Trimble 2008: 70-78. Tucci (2013: 284-5) suggests the Flavian map belonged to a Domitianic intervention. Taub (1993: 9-19) argues for a pre-Severan painted map.

and immortalisation of the *new* city that Martial and Tacitus allude to. Although, in light of the development that was to occur in the decades after Vespasian, it must have been quickly out of date.⁸¹

2.1.6 The Fire of AD 80 and its Aftermath

The brief principate of Vespasian's successor Titus was marked by a catastrophic fire in AD 80. The conflagration engulfed the Capitoline Hill, destroying the newly rebuilt temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. It also appears to have affected parts of the imperial residences on the Palatine Hill and possibly structures in the Forum Romanum as well.⁸² Most notably, the blaze tore through areas of the city which had escaped in AD 64, including much of the Campus Martius. Suetonius records that it lasted three days and nights⁸³ and the most detailed account of the damage is from Cassius Dio:

It consumed the temple of Serapis, the temple of Isis, the Saepta, the temple of Neptune, the baths of Agrippa, the Pantheon, the Diribitorium, the theatre of Balbus, the stage building of Pompey's theatre, the Octavian buildings together with their books, and the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus with their surrounding temples. Hence the disaster seemed to be not of human but of divine origin; for anyone can estimate, from the list of buildings that I have given, how many others must have been destroyed.⁸⁴

Excavations have revealed some of the other buildings seemingly alluded to by Dio. In particular, the restorations in the late first century AD of a number of Republican 'victory' temples in the Campus Martius have been very plausibly

⁸¹ There are several notable anachronisms on the Severan Forma Urbis regarding the form of certain buildings: Trimble 2008: 76-78; Muzzioli 2014: 107-22.

⁸² The destruction of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus is discussed in Chapter Four. On damage to another temple on the Capitoline Hill: Coarelli 2010: 111-115. For possible damage to the Palatine: Stat. *Sil.* 1.1.34-5; Darwall-Smith 1996: 96-7. There were repairs to buildings in the Forum Romanum and the forum of Caesar during the Domitianic period (discussed below), but whether these were necessitated by the fire of AD 80 is not clear.

⁸³ Suet. *Tit.* 8.3.

⁸⁴ Dio 66.24.2-3: *καὶ γὰρ τὸ Σεραπεῖον καὶ τὸ Ἰσεῖον τὰ τε σέπτα καὶ τὸ Ποσειδώνιον τὸ τε βαλανεῖον τὸ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου καὶ τὸ πάνθειον τὸ τε διριβιτώριον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Βάλβου θέατρον καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου σκηνὴν, καὶ τὰ Ὀκταοῦεῖα οἰκήματα μετὰ τῶν βιβλίων, τὸν τε νεών τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου μετὰ τῶν συννάων αὐτοῦ κατέκαυσεν. οὕτω τὸ κακὸν οὐκ ἀνθρώπινον ἀλλὰ δαιμόνιον ἐγένετο· πάρεστι γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ὧν κατέλεξα παντὶ τῷ τεκμήρασθαι καὶ ἄλλα τὰ ἀπολλύμενα.* (Translation Cary 1925).

connected to this event.⁸⁵ Although the actual limits of the fire are again difficult to determine, Figure 2.8 helps to illustrate its extent and the areas it affected.⁸⁶

Titus's reaction to the fire, as told by Suetonius, seems to have been deliberately reported or managed to contrast him positively to Nero. For rather than marvelling in the spectacle of Rome being ablaze, Suetonius claims that when Titus heard about the conflagration the only response he uttered was 'I am ruined'.⁸⁷ Rather than this being a remark that reflects his own self-interests, Toner interprets it as intended to highlight the extent to which Titus felt Rome's loss as a personal tragedy.⁸⁸ Likewise, while Nero was portrayed as appropriating works of art for his private residence, Suetonius claims that Titus 'set aside all the ornaments of his villas for the public buildings and temples.'⁸⁹ Although Titus died in AD 81, it seems that restoration work was initiated in his reign. Suetonius notes that he appointed a number of equestrians to oversee the work and the *Acta Arvalium* records that Titus began the rebuilding of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.⁹⁰ However, his demise the following year meant that much of the rebuilding of the city would fall to his brother.

In a 1942 article, Dorothy Robathan suggested that in comparison to Augustus, Nero, Trajan and Hadrian, Domitian's impact on the urban fabric of Rome is less appreciated.⁹¹ This view was echoed five decades later by Darwall-Smith, who attempted to 'plug this unfortunate gap' with his monograph *Emperors and Architecture: a Study of Flavian Rome*.⁹² Since then, there have been numerous publications on a host of specific buildings that Domitian was involved with – his is a name which is omnipresent in the study of Imperial Rome's topography. However, there remain relatively few studies which consider Domitian's building activity in its entirety or as programmatic.⁹³ This

⁸⁵ Including the four temples in the Area Sacra di Largo Argentina (Coarelli 1981: 11-49) and the temple on via delle Botteghe Oscure: Coarelli 1997: 329-336; Claridge 2010: 246.

⁸⁶ A list of recorded damage is given by Richardson 1992: 454; Darwall-Smith 1996: 96-7.

⁸⁷ Suet. *Tit.* 7.4.

⁸⁸ Toner 2013: 54; Rolfe 1914: 315.

⁸⁹ Suet. *Tit.* 8.4: *Urbis incendio nihil publice nisi periisse testatus, cuncta praetoriorum suorum ornamenta operibus ac templis destinavit praeposuitque compluris ex equestri ordine, quo quaeque maturius peragerentur.* (Translation Rolfe 1914). On this comparison to Nero also see Suet. *Tit.* 7.2

⁹⁰ Suet. *Titus* 8.4; *CIL* 6.32363.11-13. On Titus' building projects: Bourne 1946: 61-3; Darwall-Smith 1996: 75-99.

⁹¹ Robathan 1942: 130.

⁹² Darwall-Smith 1996: 19.

⁹³ Darwall-Smith (1996: 103-252) provides one of the more comprehensive assessments; a catalogue of construction for the Flavian period can be found in Blake (1959: 87-157);

deficiency is apparent when compared to the wealth of research that has been conducted in recent decades on the Augustan city, for example there is no *The Power of Images in the Age of Domitian* or *Mapping Domitianic Rome*.⁹⁴ Yet, allowing for the disparity of Domitian reigning for thirty years less than Augustus, his impact on the capital is, arguably, comparable. Indeed, with the exception of Augustus, Domitian's name might be associated with the restoration or construction *ex novo* of more public buildings in Rome than any other emperor. I say 'associated with' because the Domitianic contribution to a project is not always clear-cut or possible to fully ascertain. In a number of instances it seems that Domitian completed and took credit for works begun by his predecessors, while due to the manner of his death and subsequent *damnatio*, his successors then did the same.⁹⁵ The sheer scale of Domitianic building and its impact is perhaps best conveyed and appreciated through charting his interventions in the different areas of the city.

In the Forum Romanum, Domitianic activity seems to have involved the completion of the temple of Vespasian (and then Titus), as well as restorations of the Curia Julia, the temple of Castor and Pollux, and probably the Porticus Deorum Consentium.⁹⁶ To the south west of the Forum at the foot of the Palatine, Domitian also carried out a rebuilding of the temple of Augustus.⁹⁷ While behind the temple of Castor and Pollux, a large hall of Domitianic date, but uncertain purpose, adjoins a covered ramp leading to the imperial residences on the Palatine Hill.⁹⁸ During Domitian's principate the Palatine underwent a complete transformation with the construction of the Domus Augustana. This vast complex sprawled across much of the hill, artificially

Scheithauer (2000: 127-53) assesses the literary evidence for Flavian buildings; and detailed summaries are also given by Gsell 1894: 90-130; Ward-Perkins 1970: 226-235; Jones 1992: 79-98; Packer 2003: 167-98. Also Robathan (1942: 130-44), although this is primarily as response to Syme (1930: 55-70) on the state of Imperial finances, cf. Rogers (1984: 60-78). Torelli (1987:563-582) presents the idea of a Flavian programme. Domitianic plans for the city are also discussed by Davies (2000a: 19-26) and D'Ambra (1993: 19-46) in the context of specific monuments. Domitian's building activity is also the subject of a series of publications by Anderson (1981: 41-8; 1982: 101-110; 1983: 93-105; 1984: 101-140; 1985: 499-509), although as with other studies listed above, the interpretations of certain buildings are now outdated due to more recent excavations.

⁹⁴ Adapted from the influential studies of Augustan Rome by Zanker 1988 and Haselberger 2002.

⁹⁵ On Domitian's *damnatio*: Flower 2006: 234-275.

⁹⁶ On the temple of Vespasian: De Angeli 1999: 124-5. On the Curia and the temple of Castor and Pollux: Anderson 1983: 100-1. Porticus Deorum Consentium: Richardson 1992: 313; Claridge 2010: 83.

⁹⁷ Plin. *HN* 12.94; Richardson 1992: 45; Torelli 1993: 146.

⁹⁸ Hurst 1995: 197-9; Claridge 2010: 95-6.

extending its size, subsuming the earlier residences and surpassing them in scale and opulence (Fig. 2.9).⁹⁹

In the valley to the north east of the Palatine, Domitian continued the redevelopment of the area where the Domus Aurea had stood. The Colosseum was either completed or modified, and a greatly enlarged Meta Sudans was rebuilt in front of the amphitheatre (Fig. 2.10).¹⁰⁰ On the opposite side, the four *ludi* were constructed, along with the Castra Misenatium somewhere in the vicinity (Fig. 2.7).¹⁰¹ In the area to the west of the Colosseum, it seems that Domitian made further changes to the temple of Peace and abutting to it he constructed the new Forum Transitorium, with temples to Minerva and Janus. This project involved altering the forum of Augustus by demolishing the smaller of its southern *exedrae*,¹⁰² and it is also possible that the extensive remodelling and restoration of the forum of Caesar and its temple of Venus Genetrix was begun during his principate.¹⁰³

The Capitoline Hill, on account of it having been damaged by fire twice in eleven years, saw some significant interventions, most notably the magnificent rebuilding of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, as is detailed in Chapter Four. A reference in Martial suggests that the Capitoline casa Romuli was also rebuilt at this time, as was the temple of Veiovis, and further restorations in this area were almost certainly carried out.¹⁰⁴ The hill also received a temple of Fortuna Redux¹⁰⁵ and two new shrines to Jupiter: a *sacellum* of Jupiter Conservator and an allegedly huge (*ingens*) temple to Jupiter Custos.¹⁰⁶

It is in the Campus Martius that there appears to have been the most Domitianic building activity, which is perhaps not surprising given that this area

⁹⁹ On the Domus Augustana: MacDonald 1982: 45-74; Sasso D'Elia 1995: 40-45. Wiseman (2012: 384) makes the plausible suggestion that its very name derives from it being sited over the Domus Augusta.

¹⁰⁰ On the Domitianic contribution to the Colosseum: Rea 1993: 31; Darwall-Smith 1996: 215-6. Meta Sudans: Longfellow 2011: 31-39.

¹⁰¹ Ludi Dacius, Gallicus, Magnus and Matutinus: Richardson 1992: 237-8; Darwall-Smith 1996: 218-220. Castra Misenatium: Richardson: 77-8.

¹⁰² Coates-Stephens 2008: 300; Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2010: 105-26.

¹⁰³ Anderson 1981: 41-48; Morselli: 1995: 300-1; 304-5; Gros 1995b: 307; Darwall-Smith 1996: 243-4; Boatwright 2000a:76-77; La Rocca 2001: 174-78; Rizzo 2001: 224-30.

¹⁰⁴ Casa Romuli: Mart. 8.80.6 (discussed in Chapter Five). Temple of Veiovis: Albertoni 1999: 100. On other temple remains in this area dated to this period: Coarelli 2010: 111-115.

¹⁰⁵ Richardson 1992: 157; Coarelli 1995b: 275-6.

¹⁰⁶ Tac. *Hist.* 3.74; Suet. *Dom.* 5. Tacitus relates that the impetus behind the construction of both of these buildings was Domitian's escape from the Capitoline in AD 69. His comments have been read as implying that the later temple replaced the shrine (Platner and Ashby 1929: 292; Richardson 1992: 218; cf. Arata 2009: 211-15). There is, however, no evident reason to follow this interpretation.

was particularly badly affected in the fire of AD 80. Restorations included the Saepta Julia, the Iseum and Serapeum, the baths of Agrippa, the Diribitorium, the Porticus Octaviae, the Porticus Minucia, the theatre and *crypta* of Balbus, the *scaenae frons* of the theatre of Pompey, and the 'horologium' of Augustus.¹⁰⁷ Additionally, excavations indicate that the sacred area now commonly known as Largo Argentina was repaved at this time, with repairs and alterations made to the four republican era temples in the precinct.¹⁰⁸ Likewise, the republican temple on via delle Botteghe Oscure was also restored at this time.¹⁰⁹ Beyond repairing old buildings, Domitian also significantly enhanced the Campus Martius with the construction of new ones. These included an odeum with a possible capacity of c.10,000 persons,¹¹⁰ a stadium that could seat possibly c.30,000 spectators,¹¹¹ a large porticoed space enclosing shrines of Vespasian and Titus known as the Templum Divorum,¹¹² and a temple of Minerva Chalcidica (Fig. 2.11).¹¹³ It is also possible that a Naumachia built by Domitian stood in the Campus Martius but no trace has yet been found, in part because the structure was dismantled by Trajan in order to build an extension to the Circus Maximus.¹¹⁴

It is also probable that one of the so-called *arae incendii Neroniani* was located in the Campus Martius. These altars were constructed by Domitian in the fulfilment of a vow that Nero had supposedly failed to discharge after the fire of AD 64.¹¹⁵ Others are known on the Aventine and Quirinal Hills, and the altars appear to have stood within large paved precincts – that on the Quirinal measures an impressive 35 metres in length.¹¹⁶ Domitian also built on the Quirinal, over or around the house in which he was born, the Templum Gentis

¹⁰⁷ Respectively: Gatti 1999: 228. Coarelli 1996: 107-109. Ghini 1999: 41. Torelli 1995: 18. Viscogliosi 1999: 142. Manacorda 1999: 135-6; Coarelli 1999c: 137-8. Manacorda 1995: 30-31; 1993: 326-8. Gros 1999a: 37. Helsin 2007: 16-20.

¹⁰⁸ Various identified but commonly referred to as temples A, B (Fortuna Huius Diei) C and D; see Coarelli 1981: 11-49; Claridge 2010: 241-246.

¹⁰⁹ Coarelli 1997: 329-336; Claridge 2010: 246. Given both the evident damage to these buildings and the estimated extent of the fire, it is quite probable that a number of the other 'victory' temples that stood in this area also needed attention after AD 80. For a list of temples in the area: Coarelli 2007: 267; Claridge 2010: 250-1.

¹¹⁰ Varying estimates of the capacity are given by Platner and Ashby 1929: 371; Richardson 1992: 276; Claridge 2010: 238.

¹¹¹ Virgili 1999: 341; Claridge 2010: 237.

¹¹² On the possibility that it replaced the Villa Publica: Richardson 1992: 111; 431; cf. Coarelli 1995a: 19-20.

¹¹³ Richardson 1992: 256. Discussed below.

¹¹⁴ Suet. *Dom.* 5; Richardson 1992: 265-6.

¹¹⁵ Almeida 1993: 76; Cline 2009: 15-23.

¹¹⁶ Lanciani 1889: 331-335; 379-391; Almeida 1993: 76.

Flaviae.¹¹⁷ It is thought to have been the Flavian mausoleum, and a number of Pentelic marble sculptural fragments, now commonly associated with the complex, as well as the testimony of contemporary literary sources, confirm its majesty.¹¹⁸

The above summary lists over fifty buildings from across the city that were constructed, altered or restored during the reign of Domitian.¹¹⁹ It conveys the importance of his principate in the formation of the urban fabric, highlighting the scale of activity and the ways in which the city continued to be transformed.

2.1.7 After the Flavians

Just as Nero died leaving Rome only partially rebuilt, so Domitian was assassinated before a number of his building projects were finished.¹²⁰ Some were completed by his immediate successors, including the Forum Transitorium which was dedicated by Nerva.¹²¹ The early years of Trajan's reign also appear to have primarily concerned restorations or completing the work of others.¹²² This is an impression that seems reflected in Pliny the Younger's *Panegyricus*, delivered to Trajan on the event of his consulship in AD 100. Pliny alludes to Trajan having built *porticus* and *delubra* but the only structure he actually names is the Circus Maximus, which he indicates had been restored, beautified and enlarged by a further five thousand seats.¹²³ Roche plausibly suggests that the brevity and vagueness of Pliny's remarks simply reflect what little building work Trajan had so far carried out.¹²⁴

Irrespective of this slow start, Trajan's nineteen-year principate in its entirety was one which continued to see significant changes to the city. Indeed,

¹¹⁷ Davies 2000a: 24-7; 148-58.

¹¹⁸ Stat. *Sil.* 4.3.19; Mart. *Ep.* 9.1.8-9; Davies 2000a: 148-58; La Rocca 2009: 224-33.

¹¹⁹ There are other buildings that have not been included owing to insufficient evidence concerning their identification or location, and almost certainly others that are still currently unknown, for example the unidentified temples of Juno and Mars mentioned by Martial (*Ep.* 9.3.9-11). On the financing of such enormous undertakings: Rogers 1984: esp. 68-75.

¹²⁰ Darwall-Smith 1996: 240-252.

¹²¹ On forum of Nerva: D'Ambra 1993; Bauer and Morselli 1995: 307-311; Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007. Additionally, Nerva restored the Atrium Libertatis (*CIL* 6.472 = *ILS* 274). On building in the city of Rome in AD 96: Boatwright 2000a: 67-90.

¹²² Trajan did supposedly undertake the construction of a temple to the divine Nerva, although the only reference to this temple is in Pliny the Younger's *Panegyricus* (11.2-3). On Trajan's building activity in Rome: Blake and Bishop 1973: 10-39; Richardson 1992: 454-5; Bennett 1997: 145-65. Trajan's building projects were also widely promoted via coin issues: Boatwright 1987: 30; Marzano 2009: 125-58; Elkins 2011: 645-55.

¹²³ Plin. *Pan.* 51.3-5. Cf. Suet. *Dom.* 5; Dio 68.7.2; *CIL* 6.955 = *ILS* 286.

¹²⁴ Roche 2011: 48-50.

the scale of Trajan's activity seems to have been recognised in antiquity. Writing in the fourth century AD, Ammianus Marcellus reports that Trajan's name was attached to so many restored buildings that he was called 'old-wallflower' (*herbam parietinam*).¹²⁵ Certainly, he restored some of the most high-profile monuments in Rome, including the temple of Venus Genetrix, the *aedes* and *atrium Vestae*, as well as arguably the Pantheon (discussed below).¹²⁶ Among Trajan's various new projects, two in particular stand out for their innovativeness, scale and impact on the cityscape.

The baths of Trajan were constructed on the Oppian Hill after a fire in AD 104 had damaged part of what still remained of the Domus Aurea in this area (Fig. 2.12).¹²⁷ Designed by Apollodorus of Damascus, the bath complex was at this point the largest in the city, standing within a colonnaded precinct that measured c.300 by c.200 metres.¹²⁸ The baths are hugely important both in terms of their construction, as well as their influence in the development of imperial *thermae*.¹²⁹ For the purposes of this current discussion, however, the significance of the complex lies in the scale of the undertaking and, as mentioned above, the effect which it had on the continued transformation of this area of Rome as a place of monumentalised recreation and *otium*.¹³⁰

The other major Trajanic intervention was to the north east of the forum of Augustus, between the Capitoline and Quirinal hills. It comprised a series of 'contemporary and complementary' structures now collectively referred to as the forum and markets of Trajan (Fig. 2.13).¹³¹ The first of these includes a number of distinct, although connected, structures dedicated between AD 112-113. These are the forum proper, the Basilica Ulpia, and the column of Trajan with its associated rooms.¹³² To this ensemble might also be added the still elusive temple of Trajan, as well as a lavishly decorated public building uncovered to

¹²⁵ Amm. 27.3.7. On Trajan's reputation in late antiquity for building: Marzano 2009: 129 n. 17.

¹²⁶ On Trajanic rebuilding of the forum of Caesar and temple of Venus Genetrix: Morselli: 1995: 300-1; 304-5; La Rocca 2001: 174-78; Rizzo 2001: 224-30; Lancaster 2005: 191. On the *Atrium* and *Aedes* of Vesta: Bloch 1947: 67-85; Scott 1993: 140-141; 1999:126-7; 2009: 58-7.

¹²⁷ Darwall-Smith 1996: 244-6.

¹²⁸ Claridge 2010: 324.

¹²⁹ Nielsen 1993: 50-2; Yegül 2010: 107-9.

¹³⁰ The scale of the undertaking can be appreciated by comparison with DeLaine's 1997 assessment of the construction of the Baths of Caracalla. On construction times for the Baths of Trajan: Volpe 2010; 81-91 with Rossi 2012: 69-81.

¹³¹ Ward-Perkins 1970: 242.

¹³² On the forum: Packer 1997; 2001. On findings from recent excavations: Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007; Claridge 2010: 181-196. On column: Lepper and Frere 1988; Wilson Jones 2000: 161-174. Meneghini (2002: 655-92) questions the traditional identification of the two halls flanking the column as libraries; cf. Claridge 2007: 54-93; 2013: 9.

the south west of the column.¹³³ Made up of three 'curia-like' halls this has been tentatively identified as the Athenaeum, and possibly along with the temple of Trajan, belongs to a later intervention by Hadrian (Fig. 2.14).¹³⁴ Taken together, the scale of this complex is exceptional: the basilica was the largest in Rome (176 by 59 metres); the forum itself twice the size of Augustus' (240 by 175 metres); and the column unprecedented in height (38 metres) and design.¹³⁵ The buildings were sumptuously decorated with coloured marbles and granites, and the sculptural decoration proclaimed a message of the military triumphalism of Rome and the emperor.

Adjoining the forum is Trajan's 'markets'.¹³⁶ Primarily built after AD 107 and contemporaneous with the forum, the complex is a multi-storey structure that follows the curvature of the forum's hemicycle and terraces up the Quirinal hill.¹³⁷ The enormous building directs two roads through it and comprises one hundred and seventy known rooms (Fig. 2.15).¹³⁸ Many of these are small *tabernae*, and while the function of the entire complex was not commercial, it is possible that some of the activities which had been moved to make room for the forum were relocated here.¹³⁹ The markets present a monumental façade to the Quirinal and are impressive for their scale and as a feat of engineering. Claridge describes them as 'easily the best illustration of what Roman urban architecture could achieve in the capital in the heyday of the Middle Empire.'¹⁴⁰

While the forum and markets are an imposing series of structures in their own right, their construction also involved the wholesale reshaping of Rome's natural topography, including the partial levelling of the Quirinal and further excavation of the Capitoline. Indeed, the inscription on the base of Trajan's column famously boasts that the height of the monument corresponds to the size of the *mons* removed for the site of these 'great works' (*tan[tis oper]ibus*) (Fig. 2.16).¹⁴¹ Although the Latin is ambiguous and there is debate over

¹³³ On the location of the temple: Claridge 2007: 54-94; 2013: 8-15; Patterson 2010: 228-9.

¹³⁴ On the 'Athenaeum': Coates-Stephens 2012: 326-8 with n. 6. Claridge 2013: 9-10. Boatwright (1987: 78-98) argues for the temple being entirely Hadrianic; cf. Meneghini (2002: 655-92).

¹³⁵ Claridge 2010: 180; 182.

¹³⁶ 'Markets' is a modern name for the complex coined by Ricci 1929: 4-23.

¹³⁷ Lancaster 1995: 25-44.

¹³⁸ MacDonald 1982: 77-8.

¹³⁹ Platner and Ashby 1929: 238-9; MacDonald 1982: 78-9. It has been suggested that the Basilica Ulpia replaced the Atrium Libertatis: Coarelli 2007: 115.

¹⁴⁰ Claridge 2010: 193. Cf. MacDonald 1982: 79. On the construction of the 'markets': Lancaster, 1998: 283-308; 2000: 755-785.

¹⁴¹ *CIL* 6.960 = *ILS* 294; cf. Dio 68.16.3.

precisely how the claim should be interpreted (the column does not stand where the *mons* was), that there was an enormous reworking of the landscape is not in question.¹⁴² It also seems that the process was begun during the reign of Domitian, although the idea that the forum and markets as they were realised were in origin Domitianic rather than Trajanic seems unlikely.¹⁴³

It has been suggested that following the completion of Trajan's forum in AD 113, and the emperor's subsequent departure to campaign against Parthia in AD 114, that 'monumental building virtually ceased in the city' until Hadrian ushered in a new wave of activity in AD 117.¹⁴⁴ However, the accuracy of this picture is questionable. For example, the Pantheon has been held up as the flagship rebuilding project of the early Hadrianic period. Yet the Domitianic structure that it replaced was destroyed in AD 110, and while the rebuilding was undoubtedly dedicated by Hadrian, the possibility that this version was begun during the last years of the reign of Trajan has gained considerable scholarly support.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, while there was a relative easing off in imperial building at this time, the suggestion of a complete cessation is probably mistaken.

Hadrian's principate was to see an extensive programme of public works across the city.¹⁴⁶ In particular, the Campus Martius appears to have been the focus of substantial attention from the first years of his reign into the mid-120s AD.¹⁴⁷ Boatwright has highlighted how in the fifty years since Vespasian, the ground level of the Campus Martius had risen almost three metres, and textual and archaeological evidence indicates the restoration at this time of a number of significant structures.¹⁴⁸ Besides the Pantheon, these included the Saepta Julia,

¹⁴² On the ambiguity in the inscription: Platner and Ashby 1929: 238-9; Lepper and Frere 1988: 20-1; 203-7.

¹⁴³ Lancaster (1995: 25-44); Darwall-Smith 1996: 241-3. On pre-Trajanic clearance and levelling and the so called 'terrace' of Domitian: Longfellow 2011: 50-60 with n. 71; 72; Tortorici 1993: 7-24; Anderson 1981: 41-48.

¹⁴⁴ Boatwright 1987: 20.

¹⁴⁵ The Trajanic identification was put forward by Heilmeyer (1975: 316-47) based on the design and style (contra Boatwright 1987: 13), the idea was revived and has been furthered by Hetland's (2007: 95-112; 2009: 107-17) analysis of brick stamps. Cf. discussion in Wilson Jones; 2009: 82 with n. 35; 2013: esp. 38-46.

¹⁴⁶ A survey of Hadrian's building activity in Rome is given by Blake and Bishop 1973: 40-65; Boatwright 1987: 263-272; cf. discussions in Taylor 2004: 223-66; Opper 2008: 100-127.

¹⁴⁷ Boatwright 1987: 33-73. What prompted such involvement in this part of the city is not entirely clear, as the only building that is recorded as having been damaged close to this date is the Pantheon, which burnt after a lightning strike in AD 110: Oros. 7.12.5; Jer. *Chron. P.* 195H. The possibility of a larger fire in the Campus Martius is postulated but has not been confirmed by excavation: Coarelli 1977: 844.

¹⁴⁸ Boatwright 1987: 64-7.

the basilica of Neptune, the baths of Agrippa, the Divorum and the Crypta Balbi.¹⁴⁹ In addition to restoring these monuments, Hadrian also enhanced this area with the construction of a large temple complex to his deified mother-in-law Matidia, as well as two basilicas of Matidia and Marciana (Trajan's sister).¹⁵⁰

Elsewhere, Hadrian constructed the temple of Venus and Roma, one of the largest in the city and situated on an enormous podium measuring 145 by 100 metres.¹⁵¹ Vowed in AD 121 and possibly not completed until after Hadrian's death, its construction involved reorganising the area immediately west of the Colosseum, including the demolition of the vestibule of the Domus Aurea and the relocation of Nero's bronze Colossus.¹⁵² Likewise, Hadrian's mausoleum, built on the west side of the Tiber and designed to complement and emulate but also surpass that of Augustus opposite, was (and remains) one of the most imposing buildings on the skyline (Fig. 2.17).¹⁵³

The biography of Hadrian in the *Historia Augusta* claims that he also in some way restored (*instaurare*) the forum of Augustus, as well as *sacras aedes plurimas*.¹⁵⁴ While the extent of any intervention in the forum is unclear, epigraphic and archaeological evidence does indicate that a number of republican era temples, on account of fire damage and old age, were restored in his principate.¹⁵⁵ These include the temples of Janus, Juno Sospita and Spes in the Forum Holitorium, as well as the temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium, both of which were given new facades and travertine *cellae* (Fig. 2.18).¹⁵⁶

2.1.8 One Long Reconstruction, One Big Building Site

This assessment of the city of Rome from the Great Fire of Nero to the reign of Hadrian has attempted to illustrate the enormous amount of public building activity that took place during these years, and its cumulative effect in

¹⁴⁹ Boatwright 1987: 33-73; on the Crypta Balbi: Manacorda 1993: 327.

¹⁵⁰ On the Temple of Matidia: Boatwright 1987: 58-61. On the basilicas: Boatwright 1987: 58-62. Boatwright (1987: 48-50; 54-58; 62-3) also discusses a series of as yet unidentified structures of Hadrianic date in the Campus Martius.

¹⁵¹ Cassatella 1999: 122; cf. discussions in Stamper (2005: 206-12) and Boatwright (1987: 119-33), although her plan of the Hadrianic phase is out of date.

¹⁵² On the Colossus: *SHA Hadr.* 19.12-13; Suet. *Ner.* 31.1; Plin. *HN* 34.45; Lega 1993: 295-298; Varner 2004: 66-67.

¹⁵³ Boatwright 1987: 161-181; Davies 2000a: 34-40.

¹⁵⁴ *SHA Hadr.* 19.10.

¹⁵⁵ Stuart 1905: 444.

¹⁵⁶ Mucci 1987: 97-98; Coarelli 2007: 315; Boatwright 2013: 22-23.

significantly transforming areas of the city. While not excluding new projects from the discussion, I have sought in particular to highlight the scale of restoration work. There is much regarding urbanism that has not been discussed here; for example, my focus is on public buildings, and consequently I have made few comments on developments in regard to residential, commercial or infrastructural matters. I have also only given limited details about many of the buildings that are mentioned, although specific cases are discussed further throughout the thesis.

That the study ends during the reign of Hadrian is not because public building totally ceased at this point. Sear's claim that 'after Hadrian great building projects were few and far between in Rome' is an exaggeration.¹⁵⁷ There was, however, a marked decline in activity after this period until the emergence of the Severan dynasty sparked a wave of building at the turn of the third century.¹⁵⁸ Shifts in a society's attitudes to built heritage do not necessarily correspond to political changes. Therefore, in the same way that the study does not open with the beginning of a reign, neither does it need to close with the end of one. Chronologically, the last examples I consider in detail in this thesis – the Pantheon and Tacitus' *Annals* – are complete by the AD 120s.¹⁵⁹

Acknowledging that it is unnecessary to define the parameters of the study by regime change raises questions over the merit in even separating building activity along the lines of individual emperors' reigns. It is quite evident that different emperors did have distinct plans and ambitions regarding the fabric of the city, and on occasion clear changes in approach are evident (for example, Nero's decision to abandon construction of the temple of Claudius, or Vespasian's partial destruction of the Domus Aurea).¹⁶⁰ However, there was also a considerable degree of continuity that transcended individual reigns. In part, this is illustrated by the frequency with which a new emperor could seamlessly adopt the unfinished and unrealised projects of a predecessor. Indeed, the difficulty of tying a building to just one emperor is illustrated by the Colosseum, which was allegedly conceived of by Augustus, built by Vespasian,

¹⁵⁷ Sear 1982: 166.

¹⁵⁸ On building activity in the reign of Antoninus Pius: Thomas 2007; Boatwright 2010: 169-197. On Severan activity: Ward-Perkins 1970: 269-275; Richardson 1992: 455-6; Gorrie 2007: 1-17; Dyson 2010: 201-213. On fire of AD 191: Tucci 2008: 133-49; Canter 1932: 277.

¹⁵⁹ On the composition or revision of the *Annals* being after AD 117: Pagán 2012: cf. Syme 1958: 465-480; Benario 2012: 104-5.

¹⁶⁰ Suet. *Vesp.* 9.1.

inaugurated by Titus, and then completed by Domitian, thereby making the collective implication of its title the Flavian amphitheatre rather apt.¹⁶¹ The consistency in building is further indicated by the difficulty that scholars often have in ascertaining to whose reign the different phases of a structure actually belong.

With this in mind, it is worth considering the extent to which Rome's ancient inhabitants would have always separated building activity by principate, as modern scholarship often tends to. It is possible to picture a situation where the rebuilding activity after AD 64 would have blended into the restorations after the fires of AD 69 and then AD 80.¹⁶² It is conceivable that the physical transformation of the city in these years was perceived as a continual process, and that the 'new Rome' to which Martial and Tacitus allude, is representative not of a single emperor's activity but rather the sustained development of the city over a period of time. This is an idea that is considered further in Chapter Seven. In any case, what the above survey shows is that Rome was a building site from AD 64 onwards. For six decades it was a place of destruction and construction, restoration and renewal, which provided opportunity for urban development and transformed the city.¹⁶³ In part, this is what makes these years particularly useful for attempting to understand Roman attitudes to built heritage, for in these circumstances they were forced to actively engage with the buildings of the past and make decisions over how to treat them.

2.2.1 Architectural Innovation at Rome

It was initially unintentional, but perhaps not coincidental, that the years this study focuses on correspond to what is recognised as one of the most significant periods of architectural innovation in Roman history. The construction of the Domus Aurea is frequently cited as the beginning of the 'Roman architectural (or concrete) revolution,' which then culminates in the reign of

¹⁶¹ The only reference to Augustus' plan is Suetonius (*Vesp* 9.1), who suggests Vespasian drew a deliberate link to the first princeps: 'He also undertook new works...an amphitheatre in the heart of the city, a plan which he learned that Augustus had cherished' (Translation Rolfe 1914).

¹⁶² Indeed, this is implied by the text of the so-called *arae incendii Neroniani*, which states that the fire of AD 80 resulted from an unfulfilled vow of AD 64.

¹⁶³ On Rome as a building site and the quantities of material that needed to be brought to the city for various projects: DeLaine 1997: 175-194; Graham 2013: 278-296; Russell 2014: 228-232.

Hadrian, with the Pantheon and the Villa Adriana near Tivoli.¹⁶⁴ The framework in which this ‘revolution’ is understood was largely set by the influential studies of MacDonald and Ward-Perkins, who emphasised that in this period the possibilities of *opus caementicium* in creating new and dramatic architecture became more fully realised.¹⁶⁵

Concrete was not a new material and had been used in the construction of buildings in Rome since the second century BC.¹⁶⁶ An increase in its quality and application occurred in the first century AD, and brick faced concrete (*opus testaceum*) emerged as the dominant construction method.¹⁶⁷ However, it is the developments in concrete vaulting at this time which are most noticeable. Although as pointed out by Lancaster, the significance ‘...is not so much in the immediate creation of new vaulting *techniques* as it is in a new *attitude* toward design and the control of light and space.’¹⁶⁸ This apparently new way of thinking involved architects moving beyond the consideration of a building’s mass, to explore the concept of interior space. As Ward-Perkins observed, ‘in a subtle but significant way the emphasis has suddenly shifted from the solids to the voids.’¹⁶⁹ This manifested itself in novel and expansive vaulted interiors, including the octagonal hall of the Domus Aurea, various rooms of the Domus Augustana, the semi-domed *exedrae* of the baths of Trajan, the cross-vaulting of the central hall of his markets, the pavilions of the Villa Adriana, and the dome of the Pantheon (Fig. 2.19-25). The last of these, with an internal diameter of 44.4 metres, was both the largest vaulted space as well as the highest ceiling in the ancient world – it was a masterpiece of technical achievement and a stunning piece of design.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁴ Macdonald 1982 41-46; Ward-Perkins 1970: 148.

¹⁶⁵ Ward-Perkins 1970 revised in 1984 and published under the title *Roman Imperial Architecture*, and MacDonald 1965 revised in 1982. Ball 2003; Lancaster 2005a: esp. 1-12; Quenemoen 2014: 63-81.

¹⁶⁶ On the use of concrete in Republican Rome: Ward-Perkins 1970: 247; Quenemoen 2014: 65. The concrete structure, supposedly the first in Rome, between the Tiber and Monte Testaccio has long been identified as the Porticus Aemilia, although this has been convincingly challenged by Cozza and Tucci (2006: 175-202) who identify it as the *navalia*; questioned by Tuck 2013: 330.

¹⁶⁷ Ward-Perkins 1970: 248; Lancaster 2005a: 3-6; Quenemoen 2014: 66.

¹⁶⁸ Lancaster 2005a: 11-12; cf. Ball 2003: 25.

¹⁶⁹ Ward-Perkins 1970:250; cf. MacDonald 1982: 167-183; Quenemoen 2014: 70-74.

¹⁷⁰ These structures, in particular, are discussed in the context of the ‘architectural revolution’: Ward-Perkins 1956: 209-219; 1970: 245-63; MacDonald 1982: 20-121; Ball 2003: 219-276; Lancaster 2005a: 149-165. Pantheon dimensions from Claridge 2010: 230.

The degree to which it is appropriate to call the architectural developments at this time 'revolutionary' has been questioned.¹⁷¹ Certainly, there are examples from before this period where the possibilities of concrete vaulting for creating impressive interior spaces were explored. One of the most notable precedents is the so-called temple of Mercury at Baia (Fig. 2.26). This rotunda was part of an Augustan era bath complex and has a dome measuring over 21 metres in diameter.¹⁷² To an extent, applying the label 'revolution' to the developments apparent in the six decades following the construction of the Domus Aurea is relative. Revolutionary or not, what is agreed on is that this was a period of remarkable innovation in building design, and that the structures listed above were peerless.¹⁷³ Indeed, while the temple of Mercury was undoubtedly impressive for its time (and still is), the effect of the interior is incomparable to that of the Pantheon. The Pantheon is more than just a dome that is double the size; it presents a dramatically different realisation of interior space and aesthetic, which evokes a distinct sensory response from the visitor.¹⁷⁴

2.2.2 Innovations in Ornamentation

It was not just in concrete vaulting that this period saw innovation and advances in building design. For example, Ball points to the novel and complex way in which multiple spaces in the Oppian wing of the Domus Aurea were interwoven, and DeLaine has highlighted the development of other construction techniques.¹⁷⁵ These decades also saw significant developments in the decorative ornament of buildings. While it is not necessary here to go into the various stylistic changes in the carving of architectural details, it is useful to note certain developments that had a dramatic impact on the aesthetic of individual structures and the city overall.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷¹ Mark and Hutchinson 1986: 33-4; Hemsoll 1990: 17; Quenemoen 2014: 64; 80.

¹⁷² On the 'temple of Mercury' and other precedents: Ward-Perkins 1970: 259; Hemsoll 1990: 17; Ball 2003: 230-1; Lancaster 2005a: 156-7.

¹⁷³ Hemsoll (1990: 17) objects to the term revolutionary but still considers the architecture inventive, as does Hutchinson 1986: 33-4.

¹⁷⁴ On sensory impact: Ward-Perkins 1970: 269; MacDonald: 1982: 176-9.

¹⁷⁵ Ball 2003: esp. 26; DeLaine (1990: 408-421) the corbel, lintel arch and metal tie-bar.

¹⁷⁶ On certain stylistic changes in architectural details in this period: Strong 1953: 118-151; Boatwright 2000a: 67-90.

During these years there was an amplification of elaborate architectural features within buildings. This included an increase in the use of, and experimentation with, curvilinear forms, as exemplified by the pavilions of the Villa Adriana (Fig. 2.27).¹⁷⁷ The idea of a Roman 'Baroque' has been strongly advocated by MacDonald, who sees similarities between the innovative vibrancy of certain Roman buildings from across the empire, and those of the seventeenth-century Italian movement.¹⁷⁸ The creative development of architecture at this time also comes across, as Ward-Perkins describes it, in the 'growing divorce of the decorative forms from the real framework of the underlying structure', and he points to the ornamental rather than supportive purpose of columns and pilasters of the interior of the Pantheon (Fig. 2.28).¹⁷⁹

Decorative materials too were an important part in the development of Roman architecture. Coloured marbles (a term I use broadly to also include porphyries and granites as well) were being uncovered, exploited and brought to Rome from across the empire on a larger scale than ever before. Imported marble had been used in the construction of the city's temples since the mid-second century BC, and by the late republic marble columns were a not uncommon feature of both public buildings and high status residences.¹⁸⁰ An increase in the use of marble is often connected to the Augustan age, as the presence of these decorative stones in public buildings became standard during his principate.¹⁸¹ Many new and rebuilt temples were fitted out with elaborate coloured interiors, while their exteriors gleamed with white marble from the relatively new Luni quarries in northern Italy.¹⁸²

Therefore, while there was nothing novel in itself about the presence of marble in public buildings by the mid-first century AD, the period under

¹⁷⁷ Ward-Perkins 1970: 251-6; MacDonald 1982: 167-176; Ball 2003: 262-9. Stambaugh (1988: 78-80) memorably describes the complex as analogous to Disneyland.

¹⁷⁸ MacDonald 1986: 221-247; cf. Lyttelton 1974 (although her focus is on the eastern Mediterranean); La Regina 2000: 9-14; Wilson Jones 2000: 118-9.

¹⁷⁹ Ward-Perkins 1970: 261-2; cf. Quenemoen 2014: 74-79.

¹⁸⁰ Velleius Paterculus (1.11.2-5) records that Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus was the first to construct a temple in Rome made predominately from marble (c. 146 BC). On the presence and use of marble in the republican city: Blake and Van Deman 1947: 50-60; Ward-Perkins 1980a: 326; Fant 1999: 277-280; Bernard 2010: 35-54; Russell 2014: 12-18; cf. comments by Wallace-Hadrill (2008: 361-3) on the marble contents of the Mahdia wreck.

¹⁸¹ On Augustan temples in Rome: Gros 1976: 70-77; Favro 1996: 182-89; Stamper 2005: 105-50. On marble in the Augustan city: Blake 1947: 50-60; Fant 1999: 277-280; Bruno *et al* 2002: 284-300.

¹⁸² For example, the temples of Apollo Sosianus, Apollo Palatinus, Mars Ultor, Castor and Pollux, Concordia Augusta. The Luni quarries were later taken into imperial control by Tiberius: Ward-Perkins 1980a: 326.

discussion nevertheless saw a profusion of, and innovative developments in, its use. New types of stone continued to appear in the city. For example, we are told by Pliny the Elder that a translucent Cappadocian stone used to rebuild the temple of Fortuna Seiani first arrived in the Rome during the reign of Nero.¹⁸³ Also, the overall quantity of marble being imported continued to increase. For instance, the Flavian period saw a renewed influx of Pentelic marble, while pink granite from Aswan and grey granite from the recently opened Mons Claudianus quarries in Egypt became characteristic of Trajanic and Hadrianic buildings.¹⁸⁴ The rise in stone coming into the city at specifically this time is further suggested both by the Trajanic rebuilding and expansion of the Tiber wharves at the Emporium between the Aventine and Monte Testaccio, and then their apparent decline in use after Hadrian's reign.¹⁸⁵ Despite the spoliation in later periods, the sheer profusion of different marbles brought to the city in the period from mid-first to early second century AD is still evident in the archaeology, from the grey and pink granite columns of the portico of the Pantheon and its polychrome interior, to the complex opus sectile floors and walls of the Palatine palaces of Nero and Domitian (Fig. 2. 29-30).

An impression of the magnitude and richness of marble decoration in the city is also conveyed by the literature of the period. In a verse thanking Domitian for a dinner party at the Domus Augustana, the coloured marbles of the hall are one of the features that Statius deems worthy of attention:

Here stone competes with stone, Numidian yellow rivalled by Phrygian purple, granite from Egypt, blushing marbles, and sea-green stone; Luna is relegated to the bases of columns.¹⁸⁶

Irrespective of the poet's motivations in writing his gushing thank you note, the ephrastic account impresses a sense of the effect of the marbles, and suggests that it was the variety of origin and colour of the stones which merited

¹⁸³ Plin. *HN* 36.163. This temple is discussed in Chapter Three.

¹⁸⁴ Dodge 1988: 65-69; Claridge 2010: 40-44.

¹⁸⁵ Bennett 1997: 146-8; Fant 2001: 186-197. Ward-Perkins (1980a: 327; 1980b: 26-7) suggested that such was the surplus of marble brought to the city at this time, that much of it was stockpiled and only used decades and, in some cases, centuries later. This interpretation is questioned by Fant 2001: 177- 182; Russell 2014: 234- 239.

¹⁸⁶ Stat. *Silv.* 4.2.26-29: *aemulus illic mons Libys Iliacusque nitet, <tum> multa Syene et Chios et glaucae certantia Doridi saxa Lunaque portandis tantum suffecta columnis.* (Translation adapted from Aicher 2004).

praise.¹⁸⁷ Notably, it is a picture mirrored by the interior of the Pantheon, where the only Luna marble used was for the capitals and bases of columns and the architrave. So, too, marble features prominently in books thirty-four to thirty-six of Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, and he charts the first known use of particular stones in architectural contexts in Rome.¹⁸⁸ In the introduction to book thirty-six, he sermonises on the subject:

Headlands are laid open to the sea, and nature is flattened. We remove the barriers created to serve as the boundaries of nations, and ships are built specially for marble. And so, over the waves of the sea, Nature's wildest element, mountain ranges are transported to and fro.¹⁸⁹

Pliny's is a moralising voice; his rich imagery is intended to conjure up the unnaturalness of the excessive quarrying and long-distance transportation of stone for the purpose of adorning the capital's buildings.¹⁹⁰ Yet alongside the disapproving tone, his rhetoric also communicates the vast scale of activity that he perceived to be occurring at this time.

The innovative use of coloured stones in certain contexts also hints at a change in aesthetic attitudes. For example, when marble was used for the exterior columns and veneer of Rome's late republican and early imperial temples then it was almost always white.¹⁹¹ A degree of coloured paint and gilding might be applied to certain elements, as in the case of the temple of Apollo Palatinus, but this was done sparingly and enhanced, not masked, the candidness of the stone (Fig 2.31).¹⁹² While theatres, basilicas, porticoes and domestic residences began to adopt polychromic decorative schemes throughout, from the second century BC well into the first century AD there is a

¹⁸⁷ The relationship between Flavian poets and Domitian is considered in Chapter Six.

¹⁸⁸ Pliny (*HN* 17.6; 36.7; 36.49; 36.49; 36.50; 36. 60) records that Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus had six marble columns from his theatre transported to his house; Lucius Crassus (cos. 95 BC) was the first to bring foreign marble columns into his house; Marcus Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 78 BC) was the first to use Numidian marble as door-sills in his domus; Lucius Licinius Lucullus (cos. 74 BC) introduced to Rome the eponymous Lucullan marble; Marcus Aemilius Scaurus first decorated theatre walls with marble (58 BC); Lucius Cornelius Balbus caused a stir by having four columns of onyx installed in his theatre (dedicated 13 BC).

¹⁸⁹ Plin. *HN* 36.2: *promunturia aperiuntur mari, et rerum natura agitur in planum; evehimus ea quae separandis gentibus pro terminis constituta erant, navesque marmorum causa fiunt, ac per fluctus, saevissimam rerum naturae partem, huc illuc portantur iuga.* (Translation Eichholz 1962).

¹⁹⁰ On this passage and unnaturalness in Pliny: Wallace-Hadrill 1990a esp. 85-90; Isager 1991: 114-5; 144-7. Cf. Plin. *HN* 35.1-3. Pliny and *luxuria* is also discussed Chapter Six.

¹⁹¹ Barry 2011: 32-33. On types and use of white marbles in the city: Bruno, *et al.* 2002: 284-300.

¹⁹² Zink and Piening 2009: 109-22.

remarkable degree of consistency in the white exteriors of the city's temples.¹⁹³ When this changed, as it clearly did at some point in the period under discussion, is not entirely certain. Barry states that the first temple he is aware of to have had coloured marble columns (in this case Cipollino) is that of Minerva Chalcidica, attributed by the fourth-century chroniclers to Domitian.¹⁹⁴ Barry's interpretation is based on the identification of a *tholos* uncovered and destroyed in the sixteenth century, which he accepts as the temple of Minerva. This association is not certain; for while it is thought to be in the correct location, a sketch of the *tholos* by Onofrio Panvinio differs considerably from the building that Nash identifies as the temple of Minerva on the Severan *Forma Urbis* (Fig. 2.32-3).¹⁹⁵ The discrepancy is not irreconcilable as these images might represent separate phases of the same building (as discussed below, a rebuilt temple might depart significantly from its former incarnation), but the total absence of columns on the *Forma Urbis* structure is problematic and prevents its secure identification.¹⁹⁶

If this temple is discounted, then it is not until the late Trajanic/early Hadrianic period that there are definite examples of temples in Rome being constructed with coloured stone used for major exterior elements.¹⁹⁷ It is of course necessary to bear in mind our very fragmentary knowledge of the appearance of many of the city's temples. Nevertheless, from available evidence it seems that in regard to temple exteriors there was an overwhelming favouring of white marbles and exclusion of coloured stones before the early second century AD. This cannot have been due to a lack of resources or a religious taboo, as confirmed by the interiors of *cellae*, which often had

¹⁹³ Barry 2011: 32-3. Cf. Bruno, *et al.* 2002: 284-300. Even temples that were constructed from brown, grey and yellow tuffs were stuccoed to appear white.

¹⁹⁴ Barry 2011: 32 with n. 10.

¹⁹⁵ See Nash 1959: 134-137; cf. Castagnoli 1960: 91-95.

¹⁹⁶ There are notable similarities: their location, circular form and the unusual feature of four flights of steps. It is possible that these are different phases of the same building. Richardson (1992: 256) suggests that the Panvinio drawing is either inaccurate or represents a later rebuilding of the Domitianic temple shown on the *Forma Urbis*. However, another possibility is that Domitian did not construct it *ex novo* but rebuilt it, and that the Panvinio drawing represents his version, while the *Forma Urbis* shows it in its earlier phase. There are indeed a number of anachronisms on the *Forma Urbis* which show buildings in their pre-Severan form, including the temple B in l'Area Sacra di Largo Argentina: Trimble 2008: 76-78; Muzzioli 2014: 107-22.

¹⁹⁷ Both the Pantheon and possibly the temple of Trajan have columns of Egyptian granite. On the Pantheon as a temple Barry: 2014: 95-98; cf. Wilson Jones 2013: 35 with n. 29; contra Ziolkowski 2009: 34-39. Although yet to be found (see above) the fragment of an enormous granite column of sixty Roman feet near the base of Trajan's column is often associated with his temple. On the 'missing' temple: Claridge 2007: 54-94; 2013: 8-15; Patterson 2010: 228-9. D'Ambra (1993: 25) mentions that the Domitianic temple of Minerva in the forum Transitorium had either Phrygian or Africano marble columns, but I have been unable to confirm this.

elaborate polychromatic decorative schemes.¹⁹⁸ Instead, as Barry argues, it seems to have been a wilful aesthetic choice.¹⁹⁹ Therefore, as with the developments in the use of concrete vaulting in this period, it is also possible to see changes in the application of, and attitudes towards, architectural ornamentation.

2.2.3 Progress and Confidence

Returning to an issue mentioned above, Quenemoen questions whether the Romans themselves would actually have considered the architectural developments of this period 'revolutionary.'²⁰⁰ It is also true that the Romans never explicitly refer to an architectural revolution taking place. Yet while it is quite possible that the connotations of the term 'revolution' are too strong, I think it is plausible that contemporaries did recognise the exceptionality of this period. There is a discernable impression that this was a time of architectural confidence and progress, which, to an extent, is manifest in the buildings themselves. Structures were progressively bigger and more daring than ever before, employing novel and more elaborate ornamentation, and pushing the boundaries of technology and moral appropriateness, as is explored further in the next chapter.

That the Romans perceived their ability in construction and design to be at a pinnacle, comes across in the way that authors describe both individual buildings and the city of Rome in general. In superlative and comparative terms, new structures are presented as surpassing existing buildings in physical scale and material magnificence (a subject explored in Chapters Six and Seven). In regard to certain other cultural media, some individuals of the period seemingly look to the past for *exempla* and questioned whether modern abilities and standards matched those of earlier generations (for example, the possible decline of oratory is the subject of Tacitus' *Dialogus*).²⁰¹ Yet, in regard to architecture this does not seem to have been the case. Older structures might be wistfully spoken of in a moralising context, but there is little sense that the past was thought to have produced superior or even comparable buildings to

¹⁹⁸ For example the temples of Apollo Sosianus and Mars Ultor. Barry 2011: 33; cf. Blake 1947: 55-60; Fant 1999: 277-280.

¹⁹⁹ Barry 2011: 33.

²⁰⁰ Quenemoen 2014: 64-80.

²⁰¹ Peterson:1980: 221-2.

those of the present (again, the subject of architecture and morality is returned to in Chapters Six).

Confidence in the ingenuity and ability of construction at this time also comes across in the way that buildings and engineering projects were seen to take on and transgress nature and natural limitations. Examples include Nero's ambitious, if abortive, attempt to dig a 110-mile navigable channel between Lake Avernus and the mouth of the Tiber; Trajan's excavation of the hexagonal basin at Portus; his bridging of the Danube; and the flattening of Rome's hills to build his forum complex.²⁰² The idea of man defying or altering the natural world through construction was not new. Xerxes had famously whipped, shackled and bridged the Hellespont, while the architect Dinocrates had reputedly sought to create a city on Mount Athos and carve the mountain's face into the likeness of Alexander the Great.²⁰³ Rome, too, had a long tradition of reshaping the landscape through engineering, going back to the draining of the forum valley in the seventh century BC, and exemplified in later centuries by its roads and aqueducts. Of particular note in the years immediately preceding the period being studied was Claudius' draining of the Fucine Lake, an eleven year undertaking that involved digging an underground tunnel nearly four miles in length through a mountain.²⁰⁴ Yet while controlling nature through construction was clearly a well established idea, it does appear to take on a new impetus and significance during the period this study is concerned with.

The presentation of construction projects as overcoming natural elements is not a modern projection but an ancient perception. In the inscription on the base of Trajan's column, it is the excavation of the *mons* that is emphasised and celebrated; indeed, the professed reason for the very existence of the monument is to illustrate this feat.²⁰⁵ Elsewhere, Kleiner makes the compelling argument that the presence of triumphal arches on certain bridges and roads of the Domitianic and Trajanic periods are not simply an assertion of Rome's military prowess, but allude to the successful subjugation of

²⁰² On the channel from Misenum: Tac. *Ann.* 15.42.2; Suet. *Ner.* 31.3.

²⁰³ On Xerxes and the Hellespont: Herodotus 7.3-36. On Dinocrates: Vitruvius 2.1-4; on these examples and other precedents in a Roman context: Purcell 1987: 190-193; cf. Onians 1988: 48-51.

²⁰⁴ On this episode, its representation in literature, and the idea of conquering nature: Reitz 2013: 65-100 (I am grateful to Bettina Reitz for supplying me with a copy of her thesis).

²⁰⁵ On the inscription: Platner and Ashby 1929: 238-9; Lepper and Frere 1988: 20-1; 203-7; Zanker 2010: 79-80. A similar idea is expressed in the *tabula Traiana* celebrating the construction of a road in Dacia, *CIL* 3 1699 = *ILS* 5863.

nature that the projects entailed.²⁰⁶ In literature, too, the importance of this theme at this time seems apparent. Armstrong notes that while Augustan era poets could express appreciation of architectural marvels, there was also a noted degree of scepticism and aversion towards transgressive construction, which derives from a moral anxiety towards such undertakings.²⁰⁷ This concern is still evident in certain authors of the Flavian period, notably Pliny the Elder.²⁰⁸ However, as Pavlovskis argues, there also appears to be a marked change in the tone of poetry by the second half of the first century AD. She suggests that Statius 'may well have been the first to devote whole poems to the praise of technological progress, as well as the delights of a life spent in a setting not natural but improved by man's skill.'²⁰⁹ Certainly this theme is notable in the *Silvae*, where Statius praises the way in which the construction of the via Domitiana as well as Pollius' villa and temple to Hercules involved the reshaping of the landscape.²¹⁰ There is no moral censoring in the verses and instead, as Pavlovskis writes, there is a 'feeling of great optimism that pervades most of the *Silvae*. Statius feels and expresses a genuine joy in man's subjugation of nature'.²¹¹

Such sentiments can be detected in other authors of the period. Pliny the Younger, for example, in a letter to the architect Mustius detailing how a temple to Ceres is to be rebuilt, leaves the decision of where to place a new porticus to Mustius' discretion.²¹² He does this by praising the architect's ability 'to conquer (*superare*) the difficulties of terrain by skill (*arte*).'²¹³ Tacitus, too, is very aware of this idea. In his reference to Nero's planned channel between Misenum and the Tiber, he refers to its instigators Severus and Celer '...who had the genius and audacity to try through skill even that which nature had denied' (*quibus ingenium et audacia erat etiam quae natura denegavisset per artem temptare*).²¹⁴ Tacitus disapproves of the undertaking, yet his use of *ingenium* nevertheless suggests a degree of admiration for the *ars*. The condemnation of

²⁰⁶ Kleiner 1991: 182-92.

²⁰⁷ Armstrong 2009: 75-94. Cf. Dyson and Prior 1995: 245-63; Newlands 2002: 3-7. Roman attitudes to morality and construction are discussed further in Chapter Six.

²⁰⁸ Pliny's views on architecture and morality are discussed in Chapters Six and Seven.

²⁰⁹ Pavlovskis 1973:1.

²¹⁰ Stat. *Silv.* 4.3; 2.2; 3.1; Pavlovskis 1973: 1-25; Newlands 2002: 36-7; 42; 154-198; Nauta 2002: 320-1.

²¹¹ Pavlovskis 1973: 2; Cf. discussion in Newmeyer 1984: 1-7.

²¹² Plin. *Ep.* 9.39.

²¹³ Plin. *Ep.* 9.39: *...nisi quid tu melius inveneris, qui soles locorum difficultates arte superare*. Cf. Pavlovskis 1973: 25-33.

²¹⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 15.42.2.

a project is perhaps more due to its association with Nero rather than the plan itself.²¹⁵

To conclude, this chapter has attempted to demonstrate the enormous changes in this period to the urban fabric of Rome, both in regard to individual buildings and the cityscape as a whole, as well as to highlight the significant developments in architectural design, technology and aesthetics. In doing so, a key part of the contextual background for the rest of the study has been established, and the importance of the above discussion will become apparent as the thesis unfolds. Importantly, I also want to suggest that this was a period of architectural progress defined by opportunity, ability and confidence. Achievement in building was perceived as being at a pinnacle – not in the sense that it could not get better, but that it has never been better. Such an attitude, as explored below, was to be influential in decisions regarding the treatment of Rome's built heritage. It is to the subjects of why and how buildings were restored that we will now turn.

²¹⁵ Cf. Reitz 2013: 66-68.

Chapter Three: Practices of Restoration

3.1.1 Introduction

In his *Panegyricus*, composed during the 380s BC, Isocrates refers to the decision of the Ionians not to rebuild the temples that had been destroyed by the Persians a century earlier.¹ Later commentators include this stipulation as part of the Plataean oath of 479 BC, and a version is recorded by Diodorus Siculus:

...nor will I rebuild any one of the sanctuaries which have been burnt or demolished, but I will let them be and leave them as a reminder to coming generations of the impiety of the barbarians.²

Theopompus of Chios had already questioned whether the Plataean oath was actually contemporary with the battle itself and modern scholars have debated the authenticity of this clause in particular.³ It does seem that at certain sites, including the Acropolis at Athens, there was a generational delay in rebuilding work being carried out following the Persian invasion, although whether this can be directly related to the oath is uncertain.⁴ In any case, the veracity of the vow and the extent to which it was adhered to is not of concern here. All I want to note is that in the Greek tradition, from Isocrates to Pausanias, it was considered credible that buildings might be purposefully preserved in a ruinous state for commemorative purposes.

At the time Isocrates began composing the *Panegyricus*, Rome, according to tradition, was recovering from being sacked by the Gauls, who had reputedly destroyed most of the city except for the Capitoline Hill.⁵ Following the decision to remain at the site by the Tiber and not relocate to Veii, Plutarch describes how the bounds of the temples which had been violated by the Gauls were retraced and the structures rebuilt, a detail also mentioned by Livy.⁶ Again, I do not wish to comment on the questionable validity of these later chroniclers'

¹ Isocr. *Paneg.* 155-6.

² Diod. Sic. 11.29.3 ...καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἐμπρησθέντων καὶ καταβληθέντων οὐδὲν ἀνοικοδομήσω, ἀλλ' ὑπόμνημα τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις ἐάσω καὶ καταλείψω τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀσεβείας. (Translation Oldfather 1946).

³ Theopomp. *FGH* 88 F 153. Meiggs 1972: 504-7; Ferrari 2002: 12-14; Miles 2014: 129-33.

⁴ Meiggs 1972: 504-7; Ferrari 2002: 11-35; Hurweit, J. 2004: 49-86; Miles 2014: 122-6.

⁵ On the date of the Gallic sack: Cornell 1995: 113-4.

⁶ Plut. *Cam.* 30.3-32.4; Liv. 5.50; 55.

accounts of the Gallic sack and its aftermath. Rather, my point in mentioning the incident is simply to highlight the comparison that Rome's buildings *were* rebuilt.⁷ Neither in the accounts of this episode nor in any literary source pertaining to republican or imperial Rome have I been able to find a reference to the purposeful preservation of ruins in the city.⁸ So, too, there seems little evidence in the archaeological record to suggest that structures were deliberately preserved and displayed in a ruinous state.⁹ To do so was not an unfamiliar concept on the Greek mainland, and modern landscapes are littered with the partial remains of buildings which are valued for historic, aesthetic and ideological reasons.¹⁰ Yet such activity is seemingly absent from ancient Rome. There were of course buildings in the city that were in a ruinous state for protracted periods: structures deteriorated through neglect and particular buildings and even entire districts could remain unrepaired for years following disasters.¹¹ But such tardiness over restoration is different to buildings being deliberately kept in such a state.

The Roman approach to the restoration of their city is the subject of this Chapter, and in it I address three interrelated issues. Following on from the observation made above regarding the absence of ruins, the first section considers why buildings were restored, presenting the practical, political, and more deep-seated ideological reasons behind such activity. The chapter then turns to the issue of agency and examines who carried out the restoration of the city's public buildings. The discussion highlights how the nominal responsibility for Rome's urban fabric had, by this period, become the preserve of the imperial

⁷ On the tradition of the Gallic sack: Cornell 1995: 113-8; Williams 2001: 140-184.

⁸ Places in the city were associated with events of the sack, for example the *busta Gallica* mentioned by Livy (5.48) as the site where the Gauls burned their dead. But there is no indication of any built memorial that was preserved. One context in which it seems that ruins might have been displayed at Rome is in instances of *damnatio memoriae*, where the private residence of the condemned individual could be demolished as an example: Roller 2010: 121-2; 159 with n. 106; 167.

⁹ It might be argued that the structures under the Lapis Niger were, in a way, preserved. However, they were not visible but covered up. Indeed, that the damaged structures were not left exposed can be seen to support the idea that ruins were unwelcome in the cityscape and not deliberately displayed. On the *Lapis Niger*: Coarelli 1983: 161-99; 1999: 209-11; Claridge 2010: 75-7. Another example of a 'buried' altar can be found in the Area Sacra di Largo Argentina and Area Sacra Sant'Omobono.

¹⁰ This apparent contrast between Greece and Rome is also drawn by Edwards 2011: 646; 2013: 542; cf. Kahane (2011: 631-44) for the concept of ruin in antiquity. On attitudes to ruins in Western Europe from the eighteenth century to present day: Woodward 2001.

¹¹ For example, it was nineteen years between the fire that necessitated the Tiberian rebuilding of the temple of Concordia (9 BC), and its rededication (AD 10). Although the extent to which it was in a ruinous state for all this time is uncertain. Also, as discussed in Chapter Two, there is evidence to suggest that the areas of the capital were not fully repaired for a number of years following the fire of AD 64.

family, but it also goes beyond this to consider the extent to which emperors were actually involved with the design process. The final section looks directly at the practices of restoration and sets out the prevailing Roman approach to the physical treatment of built heritage. I argue that buildings were commonly restored in an innovative manner, whereby structures were aesthetically and materially updated but without the loss of their historic identity. This is a key premise which informs much of the rest of the thesis.

3.1.2 No Ruins in Rome

To a large extent, restoration is an act of necessity. For a building to perform its function efficiently and for the city as a whole to work, structures and infrastructure must be in good condition. To leave a building in disrepair can indicate that it is no longer needed for its original purpose, and I think that this functional consideration was undoubtedly a driving factor behind restoration in Rome. There are also instances where it would seem that buildings were not rebuilt. Although our ignorance regarding the precise usage of many buildings makes it difficult to affirm whether this was because they no longer served a purpose, what is apparent is that the structures were removed from the cityscape and not left as inert memorials.¹² Arguably though, the emphasis on restoration and rebuilding in ancient Rome was not just practical but part of a more deep-seated aversion to ruins.

Despite the apparent absence of ruins from the cityscape, noted above, there was evident interest in ruined buildings among some in Roman society. The physical remains of abandoned settlements in Italy are remarked on by various authors, although it is from Greeks such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Strabo that many such references come.¹³ A particular interest for Roman writers appears to have been the theme of how buildings decay. The transience of physical structures is a *topos* which features with regularity from the first century BC to the second century AD in a number of genres, including poetry

¹² For example, it is argued that the Basilica Opimia was removed and its site built over by Tiberius' enlarged temple of Concordia (Coarelli 2007: 67); Richardson (1992:111) suggests that the Flavian Divorum replaced the Villa Publica; Livy (40.40; 44) records that a temple to Fortuna Equestris was vowed in 180 BC, but a remark in Tacitus (*Ann.* 3.71.) indicates that by AD 22 nothing seems to have remained of it, cf. Richardson 1992: 155-6.

¹³ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.14.2-3; 3.31.4; 4.53.1; Strabo 5.2.6; 5.3.6; 6.2.5; 6.3.1; Cic. *Planc.* 23; Luc. 7.392-402; Plin. *HN.* 3.70; Juv. 3.2-3.

and philosophy.¹⁴ The imagery of ruined cities is also explored in Latin literature of the early imperial period, and Edwards highlights how the contemplation of the ruins of Troy and Carthage in Virgil, Ovid and Lucan is indicative of a concern for the eventual destruction of the supposedly 'Eternal City'.¹⁵ But an awareness of, and interest in, ruined buildings does not equate to an appreciation of them. There seems little indication that the Romans viewed such remains as picturesque or valued them as historic artefacts or *monumenta*.¹⁶ Recently, Settis has challenged the notion put forward by the nineteenth century Romantic author Chateaubriand that 'all men have a secret attraction to ruins.'¹⁷ Pointing to Chinese, Japanese and Indian cultures, Settis argues that the appreciation of ruins is not universal.¹⁸ This notion is supported by the writings of the Luxembourg-born architect, theorist and polemicist Leon Krier, who denounces the modern western approach to historic buildings:

Archaeology that does not dare to reconstruct is but a form of necrophilia and fetishism. The cult of ruins is not an achievement and has no cultural merit of any sort. It is, rather, a form of contempt for the ancients. The love of ruins celebrates merely the ruin of imagination.¹⁹

In regard to the urban fabric of imperial Rome, far from being appreciated, ruins are typically cast in a wholly negative light. As mentioned in Chapter One, a number of surviving republican and imperial decrees pertain to the demolition of privately owned and public buildings in *municipia* and the capital. It is noticeable that these laws do not prohibit demolition *per se*, but rather they usually insist that reconstruction must follow.²⁰ It seems quite probable that these decrees were primarily concerned with matters of property speculation, but it has also been suggested that they are intended to ensure a degree of protection for the aesthetic of the cityscape.²¹ That this was a concern

¹⁴ Sen. *Q Nat.* 6.1.1-3; 12; Lucr. 5.306-323; cf. 1.311-318; 4.1286-7; M. Aul. *Med.* 9.33; 36; 6.59; Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.1-9; Prop. 3.2.17-29; Ov. *Pont.* 4.8.31; *Am.* 1.15.7; *Met.* 15.235; *Fast.* 2.55. Cf. Fowler 2000: 193-217; cf. Porter 2011: 685-696. This theme is discussed in Chapter Seven.

¹⁵ Edwards 2011: 646-50; 2013: 541-557. On the ruins of Troy in Tacitus and Lucan also see Alston 2011: 697-716.

¹⁶ Strong 1994a: 8.

¹⁷ Settis 2011: 717: *Tous les hommes ont un secret attrait pour les ruines.*

¹⁸ Settis 2011: esp. 728-38.

¹⁹ Krier 1987: 47; cf. 73-81.

²⁰ Phillips 1973: 86-95; Garnsey 1976: 133-6; Thomas and Witschel 1992: 140-1; Robinson 1992: 42-4.

²¹ Thomas and Witschel 1992: 140-1; Robinson 1992: 44; 46; Favro 1992: 63-5; Thomas 2007: 175.

is apparent in a *senatus consultum* of AD 46, which warns that unscrupulous speculation will create ‘an appearance (*faciem*) most incompatible with peace by the demolition of houses and villas.’²² So, too, a *senatus consultum* of AD 56 emphasises the detrimental effect of physical *ruinae*.²³

That the Romans perceived the ruination of buildings as undesirable and something to be prevented is also emphasised by Thomas and Witschel’s study on rebuilding inscriptions. It highlights how time, nature, *invidia*, and *vetustas* were characterised as factors bringing about the destruction of buildings, and that restoration was presented as the means of negating this.²⁴ Thomas and Witschel argue that there was a ‘general Imperial ideal of architectural reconstruction as the symbolic reassertion of social value after notional destruction.’²⁵ That emperors were presented as responsible for the restoration of the cityscape is apparent in a number of sources. For example, in the *senatus consultum* of AD 46 mentioned above, Claudius is directly credited with being behind the legislation to keep the urban fabric free of ruins:

Whereas the foresight of our most excellent emperor has also made provision for the permanence of the buildings of our city and of the whole of Italy...²⁶

Suetonius’ description of Vespasian’s building activity in his *Life* of the emperor is also indicative of these ideas. For he places Vespasian’s measures to restore Rome in the context of the city being ‘unsightly (*deformis*) from former fires and ruins (*ruinis*),’ also reporting that the emperor personally carried away some of the rubble from the Capitoline, an episode considered in Chapter Six.²⁷ So, too, Ramage has highlighted how the language of Vespasian’s public inscriptions

²² *CIL* 10.1401 = *ILS* 6043; Thomas and Witschel 1992: 141.

²³ *CIL* 10.1401 = *ILS* 6043; Thomas and Witschel 1992: 141; 2007: 175. On ruins being an unsightly blot on the cityscape in late antiquity: Cassiod. *Var.* 2.29.1-2; 4.30.3; 4.51.

²⁴ Thomas and Witschel 1992: esp. 140-49

²⁵ Thomas and Witschel 1992: 141.

²⁶ *CIL* 10.1401; *ILS* 6043: *cum providentia optumi principis tectis quoque urbis nostrae et totius Italiae aeternitati prospexerit...* (Translation Lomas 1996). Philips (1973: 91) suggests that the language is perhaps indicative of the stipulation being Claudius’ own initiative. Another example is discussed in Chapter Seven, where Martial (*Ep.* 5.7.1) directly ascribes to Domitian the credit for the rebuilding and renewal (*renovare*) of Rome following the fire of AD 80, cf. *Ep.* 8.80. For other instances of emperors making statements about restoration: Thomas and Witschel 1992: 141 with n. 29.

²⁷ Suet. *Vesp.* 8.5: *Deformis urbs veteribus incendiis ac ruinis erat.*

frames his acts of restoring the city's *viae* and aqueducts against the *neglecta et dilapsa* into which they had supposedly fallen.²⁸

Vespasian's considerable programme of public works has been detailed in the previous chapter and, as noted there, this included the restoration of individual buildings and the urban fabric in general. Elements of this activity were promulgated on coinage of the period: on a sesterius of AD 71, the legend *ROMA RESVRGES* features alongside an image of what appears to be the emperor raising the personification of Roma to her feet (Fig. 3.1).²⁹ This example is referred to again in Chapter Seven, but here I only want to note its message of restoration. The idea of restoration extended beyond just the reconstruction of buildings. There was a sense that physical renewal might be the embodiment of societal and political restoration more widely.³⁰ Nowhere is this link more apparent or has it received more scholarly attention than in regard to Augustus, whose attempts at religious revival, cultural renewal and political restoration are seen as reflected in, and associated with, aspects of his building activity in the city of Rome.³¹

Related to this is the idea that the condition of the urban fabric could be equated with the state of affairs more generally: the majesty and beauty of the capital – as ensured by embellishment and restoration – should appropriately reflect the magnificence of the empire. This is a view articulated by Vitruvius in the dedication of his work to Augustus:

When, however, I perceived that you were solicitous not only for the establishment of community life and of the body politic, but also for the construction of suitable public buildings, so that by your agency not only had the state been rendered more august by the annexation of entire

²⁸ Ramage 1983: 213; *CIL* 6.1257 *ILS* 218; cf. *CIL* 6.1258 *ILS* 218.

²⁹ Mattingly 1968: 2.51; 2.65 2.76; 2.101; cf. Thomas and Witschel 1992: 167.

³⁰ Early in Vespasian's reign the notion of *libertas restituta* was also promoted: Ramage 1983: 207; 209-10; Boyle 2003b: 4-7; Gowing 2005: 102-5. For the correlation between architectural and political restoration also see Gallia (2012: 44-85) on Vespasian's rebuilding of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The connection between urban regeneration and moral and societal restoration is also apparent in Martial's remarks relating to Domitian in epigram 8.80; Roman 2010: 108-9. Also see Thomas and Witschel (1992: 164-5) on the metaphorical implications of reconstruction.

³¹ On the restoration of the urban fabric in Augustan Rome: Favro 1992: 71-84; 1996: 79-120; Stamper 2005: 105-29; Haselberger 2007; cf. comments by Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 147-8. On the message of renewal and restoration more generally: Zanker 1988: 89-98; 101-166. On *res publica restituta*: Syme 1939: 323-4; Galinsky 1996: 42-79. On religion, restoration and rebuilding temples: Wardman 1982: 70-72; Beard, North and Price 1998: 167-210; Scheid 2005: 175-94. On the theme of restoration in the Augustan era: Hor. *Carm.* 3.6; *RG* 8.5; 20.4; Suet. *Aug.* 30-1; 35; 37; 40.2; 43.2; Vell. *Pat.* 2.89.

provinces, but indeed the majesty of the Empire had found conspicuous proof in its public works...³²

The notion is also echoed by Suetonius in his *Life of Augustus*, where before listing certain of the emperor's building projects he remarks:

Since the city was not adorned as the dignity of the empire demanded, and was exposed to flood and fire, he so beautified it that he could justly boast that he had found it built of brick and left it in marble.³³

A version of the often cited last line is also reported by Cassius Dio, although interestingly he contradicts Suetonius' use of the sound bite by adding that Augustus 'did not thereby refer literally to the appearance of its buildings, but rather to the strength of the empire.'³⁴ The possibility that Augustus' claim might be an analogy often goes unacknowledged by scholars and Suetonius' version is commonly cited solely in relation to the emperor's embellishment of the city.³⁵ However, for my present purposes it is not necessary to try and establish the correct context in which Augustus intended it, for in both cases the ancient authors and the princeps connect the majesty of the city to the greatness of the empire.³⁶

Rebuilding in Rome was therefore more than just a functional necessity; it was also an ideological and political concern. Indeed, it seems apparent that from Augustus onwards the responsibility for the physical appearance of the capital was primarily assumed by (or foisted upon) the emperor, and that restoration activity can be seen in the context of euergetism and *publica*

³² Vitr. 1.pref.2: *Cum vero adtenderem te non solum de vita communi omnium curam publicaeque rei constitutionem habere sed etiam de opportunitate publicorum aedificiorum, ut civitas per te non solum provinciis esset aucta, verum etiam ut maiestas imperii publicorum aedificiorum egregias haberet auctoritates...* (Translation Rowland and Howe 1999). On this passage: Veyne 1990: 364; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 148.

³³ Suet. *Aug.* 28.3: *Urbem neque pro maiestate imperii ornatam et inundationibus incendiisque obnoxiam excoluit adeo, ut iure sit gloriatus marmoream se relinquere, quam latericiam accepisset. Tutam vero, quantum provideri humana ratione potuit, etiam in posterum praestitit.* (Translation Rolfe 1914).

³⁴ Cass. Dio. 56.30.4: *τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐ πρὸς τὸ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων αὐτῆς ἀκριβὲς ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἰσχυρὸν ἐνεδείξατο* (Translation Cary 1924).

³⁵ For example, Favro 1992: 61; Fant 1999: 277-80. I am inclined to favour Dio's version. Not only does Dio give greater detail regarding the context in which it was said, but also its positioning in Suetonius *Life*, immediately after a quote from Augustus regarding the condition of the state, is perhaps not coincidental.

³⁶ Zanker 1988: 18-25; Lamp 2011: 1-2. The notion of the majesty of a city's buildings relating to the extent of Rome's power is also referred to by Livy (1.38.7) and Tacitus (*Hist.* 3.72) in regard to the foundation of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Both historians see the enormous size of the temple as inappropriate to Tarquinian Rome, but fitting for the capital's future greatness.

magnificentia.³⁷ Yet beyond nominal recognition, the extent to which the emperor was directly involved in the restoration of buildings is open to question. For the interests of this study it is an issue that merits further consideration.

3.2.1 Questions of Agency

Adapting Barbara Bender's remarks on landscape, Harvey comments that 'heritage is never inert, people engage with it, re-work it, appropriate it and contest it.'³⁸ These factors make questions of agency highly relevant in considering the treatment of built heritage. Establishing who was actually responsible for the restoration of Rome's buildings potentially allows for a greater understanding of why certain decisions were taken and, as becomes particularly apparent in Chapters Four and Five, can have a significant bearing on interpreting the reason behind the treatment of a structure. Therefore, this section of the chapter explores the extent to which individuals or groups might be seen to have influenced the design of a building. First, it considers who was officially responsible for the restoration of Rome's built heritage, prior to delving deeper into who actually made the decisions. Before coming to the period that is the primary focus of this study, it is helpful to establish the situation in the years preceding it. In doing so, I outline the way in which responsibility for the city's buildings shifted from the different magistracies to direct imperial control. Again, I want to reiterate that the discussion concerns public, not domestic, buildings and the situation in Rome, not Italy or the provinces, where local patronage of civic projects was another factor.³⁹

In the *De Lingua Latina* Varro states that the title *aedile* derived from the curatorial responsibility of that magistracy for *aedis sacras et privatas*.⁴⁰ Irrespective of the correctness of this etymology, prominent among the aediles'

³⁷ On Augustus' duty of care for the city: RG 19-21; Favro 1992: 61-84; cf. Thomas and Witschel 1992: 165; Veyne 1990: 364-5. On Tiberius not fulfilling the role of physically enhancing the city: Rouveret 1991: 364-5. Interestingly, Suetonius (*Ner.* 38.1) states that Nero set fire to Rome so as he might improve on the ugliness (*deformitas*) of the old buildings. It might be seen therefore, that in a twisted way Nero was performing his duty of improving the grandeur of the capital. On *publica magnificentia* and euergetism through public building: Zanker 1988: 135-43; 2010: 45-87; Veyne 1990: esp. 364-81. On public building generating employment: Delaine 2000: 135.

³⁸ Harvey 2001: 336.

³⁹ On the situation in Italy: Ward-Perkins 1984: 3-25 esp. 12-13; Chelotti 1996: 55-69; Gros 2000: 307-26; Lomas 2003: 28-45; Patterson 2003: 89-96; 2006 89-183 esp. 125-69.

⁴⁰ Varro *Ling.* 5.81

duties in the mid- to late republic was the maintenance of elements of the urban fabric, including the upkeep of temples.⁴¹ So, too, from at least the fourth century BC, censors let contracts for the construction and restoration of public buildings.⁴² By the early first century BC other magistrates were also directly involved in the maintenance of the city. For example, it was as urban praetors that Gaius Verres and Publius Caelius undertook to repair and right the supposedly damaged columns of the temple of Castor and Pollux in the forum in 74 BC.⁴³ Although the reason they were assigned this task was actually because the consuls of the previous year had not completed the repairs.⁴⁴ A distinction can probably be drawn between the duties of the different magistrates in relation to the varying degrees of restoration required, with aediles being responsible for what might be more appropriately termed maintenance and consuls taking charge of projects that involved a greater degree of physical intervention or wholesale rebuilding.⁴⁵

By the time of the late republic it seems apparent that consuls were increasingly carrying out the restoration of public buildings, a development which was perhaps accentuated by the neglect of the post of censor in the first century BC. It was as consul that Catulus was awarded the rebuilding of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus by the senate in 78 BC, following the death of Sulla, an example I discuss in Chapters Four and Six. Despite the rebuilding of this temple taking a decade, the responsibility was not removed from Catulus after his term in office, as in certain circumstances an individual might be made the *curator* of that building, a post which they held until the work was completed.⁴⁶ Additionally, it seems that certain senatorial families began to claim personal responsibility for the restoration of particular public structures that had been built by their ancestors, a point that is considered further below.

Arguably, a perceptible shift in the responsibility for the buildings of Rome and the urban fabric more generally occurred during Julius Caesar's dictatorship. Beginning in the mid-50s BC, Caesar had initiated a programme of

⁴¹ Strong 1967: 99; Robinson 1992: 49-50.

⁴² Strong 1967: 97-8.

⁴³ Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.128-48. On the Urban Prefect: Strong 1967: 99; Robinson 1992: 53.

⁴⁴ Brennan 2000: 446. Indeed, it seems that Metellus and Sulla, as consuls, had initially let contracts for repair of the temple back in 80 BC, but the work had not been completed.

⁴⁵ On the maintenance and restoration duties of the various magistrates: Strong 1967: 97-109. ; Favro 1992: 65-9.

⁴⁶ On Catulus as *curator*: Aul. Gell. 2.10.2; Polo 2011: 270-1; Gallia 2012: 67-70. On *curatores* more generally also see Strong 1967: 99.

public works which, while perhaps in line with precedents set by other late republican politicians (namely Sulla and Pompey), were more widespread than any of his predecessors or peers.⁴⁷ By the time of his assassination, Caesar's building projects aimed at further developing the Campus Martius and re-orientating the north-eastern end of the forum, in the course of which a number of key political structures would be rebuilt and appropriated to his name.⁴⁸ However, it is not just the extensive amount of building that Caesar undertook which suggests his assumption of responsibility for the city, but also the grandiose proposal in 45 BC to divert the Tiber via the Vatican hills.⁴⁹ While the project never came to anything, it is indicative of Caesar's personal control over the urban fabric as a whole.⁵⁰

It was during the Augustan principate that the most significant changes regarding the restoration of public buildings occurred, and the move towards one individual being nominally responsible for the upkeep of the city crystallised. It has been argued that during the civil wars of the second half of the first century BC, the physical condition of Rome's urban fabric deteriorated.⁵¹ The *Tabula Heracleensis* indicates efforts by Caesar to improve how maintenance was administered, but it was under Augustus that wide-ranging reforms were implemented.⁵² Although it was in the role of aedile that Agrippa had begun his vast programme of urban renewal in the late 30s and early 20s BC, the responsibilities of this post pertaining to the city's buildings were stripped back.⁵³ Instead, duties were taken over by a number of *curae operum locorumque publicorum*.⁵⁴ These bodies had a permanent professional staff, and while normally they appear to have been headed by senators, the

⁴⁷ Stambaugh 1988: 43-45; Ulrich 1993: 49-80; Dyson 2010: 79-116; Suet. *Iul.* 44.1-3.

⁴⁸ The *Saepta Julia* was constructed in the Campus Martius, while in the Forum Romanum the old Curia was replaced by the Curia Julia orientated to be parallel to Caesar's new forum to the north. The Rostra was moved from the Comitium and centred on the forum square and rededicated by Antony (Cass. Dio. 43.49); Coarelli 1983: 211-57; Ulrich 1993: 49-80; Purcell 1995b: 336-7; Clark 2007: 229-32.

⁴⁹ Cic. *Ad. Att.* 13.33; Aldrete 2007: 181-4. An implication in the letter is that there is no point opposing this plan because if Caesar wills it, it will happen.

⁵⁰ Strong 1967: 102; Robinson 1992: 17; FAVOR 1992: 69-71. On reaction to Caesar remodelling the city also see. Cic. *Ad. Att.* 13.35.

⁵¹ Robinson 1992: 49-50; Favro 1992: 69-71; 75-6; Anderson 1997: 86-8; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.

⁵² On Caesar's reforms: Robinson 1992: 62-82; Favro 1992: 70-71. Crawford 1996: 355-91.

⁵³ Strong 1967: 103; Robinson 1992: 51; Favro 1992: 76.

⁵⁴ Robinson 1992: 54; 67-73; 86-8; 99-105; Favro 1992: 75-9; Strong 1967 103-4; cf. Suet. *Vit.* 5.

reorganisation is seen as bringing the maintenance of the urban fabric under permanent imperial control.⁵⁵

This model was retained and expanded by later emperors into the period covered by this study. Strong points out that under Claudius the *curae* 'operated *ex auctoritate Caesaris* not *ex decreto senatus*,' and he argues that in the Flavian period an *Opera Caesaris* was established.⁵⁶ Although the precise role, extent, or even existence of this body is uncertain, and there is not the evidence to support the assertion of it being a powerful 'department of works.'⁵⁷ One final point which is relevant to mention here is the possible trend for emperors to delegate major restoration projects to members of the Equestrian order. Equestrians gained increasing prominence in a number of capacities in the imperial period. In regard to restoration, Suetonius records that Titus gave several individuals responsibility for the city in the aftermath of the AD 80 fire, and Tacitus states that Vespasian charged the equestrian Julius Vestinus with managing the rebuilding of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in AD 70, an incident that is detailed in the next Chapter.⁵⁸

During the Augustan period the parameters for who could undertake the construction of new public buildings in Rome shifted dramatically, as did the responsibility for the rebuilding of old ones. The triumviral years and the first decade of the principate had seen a number of high profile monuments erected in the capital by various individuals, but this very noticeably dropped off towards the close of the first century BC.⁵⁹ While some later exceptions can be found, it is generally accepted that the last large public building to be constructed by a person who was not connected to the imperial family was the theatre of Balbus, which was dedicated in 13 BC.⁶⁰ Aristocratic rivalries in the third to first

⁵⁵ Robinson 1992: 55; Favro 1992: 75-9.

⁵⁶ Strong 1967: 104-5; cf. Robinson 1992: 21; Anderson 1997: 91.

⁵⁷ The evidence cited for this seems to revolve primarily around the inscription (*CIL* 6.9034) of a contractor reporting he was [*rede*]mptor operum Caesar(is). Scepticism over the existence of the office is expressed by Lancaster 2005: 19 with n. 71.

⁵⁸ Suet. *Tit.* 8.3; Tac. *Hist.* 4.53.

⁵⁹ These include the rebuilding of the temple of Saturn by Plancus in 42 BC, and in the 30s BC the rebuilding of the Regia by Calvinus, the rebuilding of the temple of Diana by Cornificius, the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo by Sosius, the rebuilding of the Atrium Libertatis by Pollio, the construction of the first stone amphitheatre by Statilius Taurus, and of the Porticus Philippi by Philippus. Suet. *Aug.* 29.4; Tac. *Ann.* 3.72; Shipley 1930: 9-32; Eck 1984: 137-42; Patterson 2015 (I am grateful to John Patterson for supplying me with an advance copy of his article).

⁶⁰ Eck 1984: 137-42; 2010: 92-3; Patterson 2015. An exception appears to have been the baths of Sura constructed during the reign of Trajan, although the actual extent of Imperial involvement in this project is unclear: Eck 1984: 140; 2010: 93; Richardson 1992: 395-6. Robert

centuries BC had manifested themselves in construction projects: competition between individuals and families had pushed the development of Roman architecture and aggrandised the city with temples, porticoes and basilicas.⁶¹ Yet the changed conditions brought about with the imposition of an autocratic government largely ended this. As Eck points out, after Balbus and until the Flavians there were no more triumphal monuments built by non-Julio-Claudians, because after Balbus there were no more non-Julio-Claudian triumphators.⁶²

It is a similar situation regarding rebuilding. While it seems that nominal permission of the senate was still sought in certain instances, Augustus and his family took responsibility for almost all major restorations of public buildings.⁶³ Suetonius highlights that other nobles did rebuild certain structures during this period, but none of the examples he cites are from after the 20s BC.⁶⁴ Also, Cassius Dio states that in 28 BC the emperor ordered that temples in the city which had been initially constructed by private individuals should be repaired by their surviving descendents.⁶⁵ However, there is little evidence to suggest that many rose to this task, or if they did, we do not hear about it.⁶⁶

A public building which did continue to be restored by family members of a previous dedicator was the Basilica Aemilia.⁶⁷ As censors, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior and possibly Marcus Aemilius Lepidus let the contracts for the building

Coates-Stephens has pointed out to me that although no 'major' public buildings are constructed in Rome by private individuals after Augustus (until the 4th century AD), there are a number of very large *horrea* constructed by private individuals who can name them.

⁶¹ Coarelli 1977a: 1-23; Pietilä-Castrén 1987; Ziolkowski 1992; Stamper 2005: 49-104.

⁶² Eck 1984: 138; 2010: 92-3.

⁶³ On senatorial approval: Strong 1967: 103. On Augustus' rebuilding in Rome: Shipley 1930: 7-60; Favro 1992: 71-84; 1996: 79-120; Stamper 2005: 105-29; Haselberger 2007.

⁶⁴ Suet. Aug 29.4; Eck 2010: 93; Patterson 2015. Less grand restoration projects might still be credited to consuls, for example the arch of Dolabella and Silanus is probably a rebuilding of one of the gates in the Servian Walls in AD 10 (*CIL* 6.1384), while the Carcer was restored and credited to the consuls responsible as late as AD 39-43 (*CIL* 6.1539; Fortini 1998: 28-31). Interestingly, an inscription indicates that a restoration of the Capitolium Vetus was carried out by a Flavian during the reign of Hadrian (*CIL* 6.401; Flower 2006: 253).

⁶⁵ Cass. Dio. 52.2.4.

⁶⁶ Famously, Augustus claims to have restored eighty-two temples himself that year, *RG* 20.4.

⁶⁷ This structure was also sometimes referred to as the Basilica Fulvia or Paulli. There is a debate as to the whether they were one and the same. In particular, Steinby (1987: esp. 167-84; 1993: 167-169; 2012: 73-5) has argued that the Basilica Aemilia should not be identified with the building running along the north side of the forum square, but was instead in front of the Regia on the eastern edge. Steinby suggests the building traditionally thought to be the Basilica Aemilia is actually the Basilica Paulli (previously Fulvia) On this debate: Patterson 1992: 193; 2015; Bernard 2013: 515-7 cf. Wiseman 1998: 106-20. It is not necessary to try and establish the actuality of the situation any further here, as for my purposes it is enough to note that the Aemilii came to take responsibility for a basilica. For collected references and summary of restorations: Platner and Ashby 1929: 72-5; Patterson 2015.

in 179 BC.⁶⁸ It was embellished with *imagines clipeatae* of ancestors by a later Marcus Aemilius Lepidus in 78 BC,⁶⁹ and then underwent a substantial rebuilding in the 50s BC by possibly another Marcus Aemilius Lepidus.⁷⁰ This version was seemingly not finished until 34 BC when it was dedicated by the son Paullus Aemilius Lepidus.⁷¹ Damaged by a fire in 14 BC, the basilica was again restored by an Aemilius, although with the financial backing of Augustus.⁷² Finally, Tacitus records that in AD 22 Paullus' son Marcus Aemilius Lepidus sought permission to repair and decorate (*firmaret ornaretque*) this Aemilian monument (*Aemilia monimenta*).⁷³ However, this is an unusual instance and, irrespective of any family associations to particular monuments, from the early first century AD onwards it is rare to find individuals who are not directly connected to the imperial household involved with this type of construction.⁷⁴ Cassius Dio reports that Claudius did incentivise others to carry out the repair of buildings by promising those who did a public statue in the city, but his success in this is unclear.⁷⁵

My assessment of this subject has been relatively cursory, but it establishes a key point: by the period under consideration in this study (AD 64-120s) the restoration of public buildings in Rome appears to have been the preserve of the emperor and members of the imperial family. Indeed, in regard to the urban fabric as a whole, it is noticeable that the vast rebuilding programme following the fire of AD 64 is attributed in its entirety to Nero and his staff, while by the AD 80s Rome is being characterised and described as Domitian's city, a point returned to in Chapter Seven.

3.2.2 Patrons and Architects

While the emperor might have been officially responsible for the restoration of a building and made the initial resolution to restore it, the extent to which he was directly involved in decisions regarding the way it was carried out

⁶⁸ Livy (40.51) only names Fulvius Nobilior as letting the contract, but see Platner and Ashby 1929: 72.

⁶⁹ Plin. *HN*. 35.13; cf. *RRC* 419/3a-b.

⁷⁰ Cic. *Ad Att.* 4.17 (4.17.14); App. *B Civ.* 2.26; Suet. *Iul.* 29.

⁷¹ Cass. Dio 49.42.2.

⁷² Cass. Dio 54.24.2-3.

⁷³ Tac. *Ann.* 3.72.

⁷⁴ Tacitus (*Ann.* 3.72) reports that Tiberius claims only to have restored the theatre of Pompey himself because none of that family was capable of doing so.

⁷⁵ Cass. Dio 60.25.3.

is open to question. It is perhaps necessary for reasons of clarity to speak in terms of ‘emperor x building temple y,’ but so straightforward a picture is potentially misleading if attempting to understand the impetus behind certain decisions relating to the specifics of designs.⁷⁶ The construction of a building is a collaborative project, and even if in its inception it is the brainchild of an individual patron, the finished product is often shaped by the input of various professionals, as well as physical, legal and economic compromises.⁷⁷ This is perhaps even more the case in instances of restoration, where the intentions and actions of the original designers also have to be contended with. Being able to attribute particular elements of the design of a building to the specific influence of different persons or groups potentially allows for a far better understanding of a restoration. Too often in discussions of the buildings of Rome, design decisions are considered in regard to the wishes and wants of the patron. Yet if particular elements are attributable to others then this can lead to a very different interpretation as to why certain features might have been retained or discarded when a structure was restored. In most cases, establishing the extent of the patron’s direct involvement with a building project is simply not possible due to a lack of evidence.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, examining the subject further here is instructive for understanding the processes of restoration, and it is a matter that is central to the arguments put forward in Chapters Four and Five.

At a literal level a structure was built by labourers, masons and craftsmen, and the potential influence that these workers might have had over certain details should not be marginalised.⁷⁹ However, these types of roles are not the focus of this discussion, as my study is primarily concerned with more substantial, planning level aspects of design. The ancient title *architectus* does not correspond precisely to modern understandings of the job of an architect.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Taylor (2003: 11) points out ‘nobody would have claimed that Augustus wrote the *Aeneid*, even though he was Virgil’s Patron. Why, then, do we allow that he was the *constructeur* of the forum of Augustus in Rome when we know that it was the creation of anonymous professional artisans?’ The analogy is perhaps somewhat false, but it does give pause for thought.

⁷⁷ On a building project as a process and the involvement of different groups see Delaine 1997: 66-8; 2000: 119-41; Wilson Jones 2000: 19-30; Taylor 2003.

⁷⁸ An interesting and rare document is an inscribed building contract of late second century BC from Puteoli, detailing construction work to be carried out in front of a temple to Serapis (*CIL* 1.698 = *ILS* 5317; Warmington 1940: 275-9). Unfortunately nothing similar survives from Rome for the period covered by this study.

⁷⁹ On the importance of the masons see ‘The Art of Making in Antiquity: Stoneworking in the Roman World’ (<http://www.artofmaking.ac.uk>).

⁸⁰ Anderson 1997: 3.

Indeed, the role of an *architectus* in Roman society is quite difficult to define. His responsibilities in a project were not standardised and at times he might perform the function of designer, draftsman, foreman, surveyor, accountant, administrator, contractor and engineer.⁸¹ Conversely, the *architectus* might be responsible solely for the plans of the building, and some of the other tasks just listed would be assigned to specialists. Indeed, it might not be an *architectus* at all but rather the *machinator* (engineer), *redemptor* (contractor), and *magister* or *praefectus fabrum* (project supervisor) who took the lead in designing a structure.⁸² It is beyond the requirements of this study to expand further on the ambiguity regarding these titles and roles. Rather, my concern is more the extent to which it is possible to distinguish between the input of such individuals from that of the patron (*auctor*). Therefore, given the common understanding of the term architect in modern usage, I use it throughout as an umbrella term for professional builders and make any further distinctions only where directly relevant.⁸³

On the question of the patron-architect relationship, there is not an insignificant amount of evidence from the late republic to mid-imperial periods pertaining to privately funded projects and domestic buildings. While this is a subject which merits further investigation, the instances have been documented by others and to explore them here would take my study too far away from its focus on the public building of Rome.⁸⁴ Also, given that the level of a patron's intervention and interest in a building seems highly variable depending on the specific project and persons involved, then the comparative picture is arguably of only limited use. Indeed, the extent to which it is appropriate to compare the way in which a patron was involved with a house constructed on private land

⁸¹ On the roles of architects in Roman society: MacDonald 1982: 122-66; Anderson 1997: 3-67 esp. 3-15; Delaine 1997: 66-8; 2000: 20-25; Wilson Jones 2000 19-31; Taylor 2003: 9-14. On architects in late antiquity: Cuomo 2007: 131-64. The potential variation of the role of the architect is in part illustrated by the expansiveness of Vitruvius' (1.1.1-18) idealised education for them.

⁸² For example, Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.42) draws a distinction between the creators of Nero's Domus Aurea, and referring to Severus as the *magister* and Celer as the *machinator*, see MacDonald 1982: 125-6; Ball 2003: 258-76. Interestingly, on his funerary inscription (*CIL* 1(2).2961) Lucius Cornelius refers to himself as the *praefectus fabrum* of Quintus Catulus when he was consul (78 BC) and his *architectus* when he was censor (65 BC), see Anderson 1997: 26-32. On *redemptor* see Delaine 1997: 2000: 120-5; Lancaster 2005: 18-21. On the different titles and positions: Anderson 1997: 3-118; Cuomo 2007: 134-145.

⁸³ Also see Taylor 2003: 14.

⁸⁴ MacDonald 1982: 122-42; Anderson 1997: 3-67; 2014: 127-39; Wilson Jones 2000: 19-25; Taylor 2003: 9-12; Thomas 2007: 70-103.

from personal resources, to how an emperor undertook the construction of a public building in the capital is questionable. This being said, an apparently common theme from such cases, which is worth highlighting for this current discussion, is the evident interest in building among members of the senatorial class.⁸⁵ It is also noticeable that there was collaboration between parties, with often a seemingly high-level of deferment regarding the specifics of design to the judgement of the architect.

This picture emerges, for example, in a letter by Pliny the Younger to the architect Mustius, concerning his rebuilding of a temple to Ceres on private land which may have been near his villa in the neighbourhood of Tifernum.⁸⁶ I quote the letter at length as I also refer to parts of it with a different emphasis below as well as in Chapter Four.

At the warning of the haruspices it is necessary for me to rebuild (*reficienda*) the temple of Ceres on my land better (*melius*) and larger (*maius*), for it is certainly old (*vetus*) and too small (*angusta*) considering how crowded it is on its special anniversary [... also] there is no shelter nearby from rain or sun, so I think it will be an act of generosity (*munifice*) and piety (*religioseque*) alike to build as beautiful (*pulcherrimam*) a temple as I can and add porticoes – the temple for the goddess and the porticoes for the people. Will you then please buy me four marble columns, any kind you deem suitable, and marble for improving the floor and walls; and we shall also have to have made a statue of the goddess, for several pieces are broken off the original wooden one as it is so old. As for the porticoes, at the moment I can't think of anything I want from you, unless you will draw me a plan suitable for the position. They cannot be built round the temple, for the site has a river with steep banks on one side and a road on the other. On the far side of the road is a large meadow where they might quite well stand facing the temple; unless you can think of a better solution from your skill (*arte*) of overcoming difficulties of terrain.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ For collected references and discussion: Anderson 1997: 3-67.

⁸⁶ Sherwin-White 1966: 522-3. Anderson (2014: 137) does not think that this temple of Ceres should be associated with an unnamed temple which Pliny (*Ep.* 4.1.3-6) mentions in another letter as having built at Tifernum. Mustius is not here titled *architectus* but see Anderson 1997: 63-4. The letter was perhaps composed between AD 107-10 but on the difficulty of dating the letters of book nine see Syme 1985: 176-85.

⁸⁷ Plin. *Ep.* 9.39 *Haruspicum monitu reficienda est mihi aedes Cereris in praediis in melius et in maius, vetus sane et angusta, cum sit alioqui stato die frequentissima. Nam idibus Septembribus magnus e regione tota coit populus, multae res aguntur, multa vota suscipiuntur, multa redduntur; sed nullum in proximo suffugium aut imbris aut solis. Videor ergo munifice simul religioseque facturus, si aedem quam pulcherrimam extruxero, addidero porticus aedi, illam ad usum deae has ad hominum. Velim ergo emas quattuor marmoreas columnas, cuius tibi videbitur generis, emas marmora quibus solum, quibus parietes excolantur. Erit etiam faciendum ipsius deae signum, quia antiquum illud e ligno quibusdam sui partibus vetustate truncatum est. Quantum ad porticus, nihil interim occurrit, quod videatur istinc esse repetendum, nisi tamen ut formam secundum rationem loci scribas. Neque enim possunt circumdari templo: nam solum templi hinc flumine et abruptissimis ripis, hinc via cingitur. Est ultra viam latissimum pratum, in quo satis apte*

The relevance of the religious impetus behind the decision to rebuild is discussed in Chapter Four, and here I want only to note Pliny's instructions to Mustius. For while he requests that the columns, flooring and wall revetment be of marble (in line with his idea that the temple should be most beautiful), he explicitly defers to Mustius' judgement over the type. Seemingly this did not refer to just the quality of the stone, but also the colours and its arrangement on the floor and walls. Mustius' discretion regarding the selection of the columns is perhaps even more significant, for as Du Prey points out, on account of architectural rules of proportionality, the choice of column order would potentially govern the overall height of the structure.⁸⁸

Therefore, while Pliny does make stipulations pertaining to the general aesthetic of the temple, fundamental details regarding both its form and decoration were in the hands of the architect. Indeed, Pliny's interest seems to be not so much in the architecture of the temple, as in the act of restoration itself and its implications of pietas and munificence; the former, he asserts, being achieved through the reconstruction of the temple and the latter by the addition of the porticoes. It is also interesting to note that although Pliny mentions the original cult statue, there is no indication as to how the fabric of the old building should be treated or its design respected. It might be deduced from his request for just four columns that the temple was to have (retain?) an Italic plan, but the only specific reference to the old building is that the new one be made better (*melius*) and larger (*maius*), the wider significance of which is examined in the final section of the chapter. This letter is not a comprehensive document of the rebuilding and it is clear that there must have been further communication between Pliny and Mustius about the temple.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, it does give an impression of the collaboration between the two, of Pliny's awareness of his own limitations and familiarity with Mustius' ability, as well as where interests and responsibilities might lie. Likewise, it is Pliny's decision to build a porticus for the site and he suggests where it might stand, but again defers on this point to the *ars* of Mustius, although indicating that he does want to see plans.⁹⁰

contra templum ipsum porticus explicabuntur; nisi quid tu melius inuenies, qui soles locorum difficultates arte superare. Vale. (Translation adapted from Radice 1969).

⁸⁸ Du Prey 1994: 9.

⁸⁹ Sherwin-White 1966: 524; Radice 1969: 161 n. 1.

⁹⁰ The sentiment of Mustius' *ars* shaping the landscape corresponds to the idea of construction overcoming nature discussed in Chapter Two.

3.2.3 Emperors as Agents in Design

A problem in attempting to understand the relationship between emperors as patrons and architects is the way in which ancient authors tended to write about imperial building projects. Often, full credit for construction is accorded to the patron and only rarely is reference made to others who were involved in it. Not only does this partiality provide little by way of evidence for how buildings were actually designed, but it also maintains the potentially misleading impression of the patron being the primary agent behind it. This is a point that is neatly illustrated by Cassius Dio's comments on the extraordinary bridge constructed over the Danube for the second Dacian war (AD 105-6). Dio frames his relatively lengthy description of the form and dimensions of the bridge with the following assertions:

Trajan constructed over the Ister a stone bridge for which I cannot sufficiently admire him. Brilliant indeed are his other achievements, this surpasses them... [the bridge] is one of the achievements that show the magnitude of Trajan's designs.⁹¹

However, from Procopius' account we find out the actual architect (*ἀρχιτέκτων*) behind this supposedly wondrous structure was Apollodorus of Damascus.⁹² In his brief reference to the project, Procopius also indicates that Apollodorus wrote some kind of a treatise about the construction of the bridge, which was still in circulation in the sixth century AD. Given the level of detail regarding the dimensions of the bridge in another part of Dio's description, it is quite plausible that he too had access to this work.⁹³ Yet nowhere does he refer to Apollodorus, instead according all credit to Trajan. This is not a criticism of Dio, my point is simply to illustrate one of the problems faced with attempting to find out who was responsible for the design of buildings in antiquity.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Cass. Dio 68.13.1-5 *Τραϊανὸς δὲ γέφυραν λιθίνην ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰστρου κατασκευάσατο, περὶ ἧς οὐκ ἔχω πῶς ἂν ἀξίως αὐτὸν θαυμάσω... ἡ μὲν οὖν μεγαλόνοια τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ καὶ ἐκ τούτων δέικνυται* (Translation Cary 1925).

⁹² Procop. *Aed.* 4.6.13. Cuomo (2007: 132) points out that this is the only time in *On Buildings* that Procopius uses the term, although he does use various other titles.

⁹³ Dio 68.13.1 'For it has twenty piers of squared stone one hundred and fifty feet in height above the foundations and sixty in width, and these, standing at a distance of one hundred and seventy feet from one another, are connected by arches.' (Translation Cary 1925).

⁹⁴ For a summary of evidence of known architects operating in Rome: Toynbee 1951: 310-6; Anderson 1997: 3-66.

In comparison to the huge number of buildings that we know were constructed and restored in Rome during the first two centuries AD, our knowledge about the architects who built them is exceptionally poor. Indeed, as noted by Anderson, 'from the age of Augustus, we do not know the name of a single architect who participated in the design or construction of the great monuments of the time.'⁹⁵ From the specific period that is under consideration in this study (AD 64-120s), we have only five names that can be tied to public buildings in the city: Tacitus names Severus and Celer as the *magister* and *machinator* responsible for Nero's Domus Aurea;⁹⁶ an epigram of Martial's implies that Rabirius built Domitian's Domus Augustana;⁹⁷ Cassius Dio claims Apollodorus constructed an *odeum*, as well as the Esquiline *thermae* and forum of Trajan;⁹⁸ and the biography of Hadrian in the *Historia Augusta* records that the *architectus* Decrianus moved the Colossus of Sol to allow for the construction of Hadrian's temple of Venus and Roma.⁹⁹ A consequence of having these few names has been the tendency among some scholars to ascribe all of the major building work in Rome that occurred during the reign of a particular emperor to the one architect we know to have been operating at that time. In particular, Rabirius has been cast behind much of Domitian's rebuilding of the city, and Apollodorus credited with many more of Trajan's projects (as well as some of Hadrian's) than those which Dio mentions.¹⁰⁰ Observable similarities in the style and design of certain structures – for example, between the hemicycles of the baths of Trajan and the dome of the Pantheon – perhaps imply there having been a common hand in the designs.¹⁰¹ However, it is important to be cautious about stretching what is very limited evidence. There is only one reference to each of the architects mentioned above working in Rome and it is very probable that there were others involved in imperial projects at this time of which no mention survives.

⁹⁵ Anderson 1997: 44.

⁹⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 15.42.

⁹⁷ Mart. *Ep.* 7.56. Sullivan 1991: 151; Vioque and Zoltowski 2002: 335-8; McNelis 2008: 270.

⁹⁸ Cass. Dio 69.4.1.

⁹⁹ *SHA Hadr.* 19.12. On these architects as well as their possible relationship to each other: MacDonald 1982: 122-36; Anderson 1997: 50-65. Additionally, the so-called tomb of the Haterii would seem to belong to some kind of architect, builder or contractor who, it has been argued based on the iconography of the reliefs, worked on Imperial commissions during the Flavian period. On the Haterii tomb and reliefs: Leach 2006: 1-17 with bibliography.

¹⁰⁰ MacDonald 1982: 127-9; Wilson Jones 2000: 22.

¹⁰¹ Heilmeyer 1975: 316-47; Wilson Jones 2000:191-3; 2013: 35-6.

In most of these cases there is not enough information to judge how the different emperors and architects might have collaborated on particular projects. Only in Dio's comments about Apollodorus is there any indication of this. Dio's account revolves around two anecdotes intended to illustrate Apollodorus' relationship with Hadrian which are possibly told to accentuate the emperor's jealous and petty nature.¹⁰² The setting for the first story is the emperor Trajan consulting with Apollodorus, a point which in itself has been taken as evidence of the emperor working closely with his architects, although no details are supplied as to the content of the conversation.¹⁰³ In this context, Dio relates that Hadrian attempted to interject but was roughly rebuked by Apollodorus:

“Go away and draw your gourds (*κολοκύντας*). You don't understand any of these matters.” It happened that Hadrian at the time was priding himself upon some such drawing.¹⁰⁴

Dio goes on to tell how Hadrian was to remember this slight when he became emperor, and that after Apollodorus also appeared to criticise the plans for the temple of Venus and Roma, he had him executed.

[Hadrian sent Apollodorus] the plan of the temple of Venus and Roma by way of showing him that a great work could be accomplished without his aid, and asked Apollodorus whether the proposed structure was satisfactory. The architect in his reply stated, first, in regard to the temple, that it ought to have been built on high ground and that the earth should have been excavated beneath it, so that it might have stood out more conspicuously on the Sacred Way from its higher position, and might also have accommodated the machines in its basement, so that they could be put together unobserved and brought into the theatre without anyone's being aware of them beforehand. Secondly, in regard to the statues, he said that they had been made too tall for the height of the cella. “For now,” he said, “if the goddesses wish to get up and go out, they will be unable to do so.” When he wrote this so bluntly to Hadrian, the emperor was both vexed and exceedingly grieved because he had fallen into a mistake that could not be righted, and he restrained neither his anger nor his grief, but slew the man.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² On Dio's hostile picture of Hadrian: Millar 1964b: 60-72 esp. 65-6; Swain 1989: 150-8; Bowie 1997: 1-15.

¹⁰³ Toynbee 1951: 314-5; MacDonald 1982: 133.

¹⁰⁴ Cass. Dio 69.4.2: “ἄπελθε καὶ τὰς κολοκύντας γράψε· τούτων γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐπίστασαι.” ἐτύγγανε δὲ ἄρα τότε ἐκεῖνος τοιοῦτω τινὶ γράμματι σεμνυνόμενος. (Adapted from Cary 1925).

¹⁰⁵ Cass. Dio 69.4.3-5: αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ τοῦ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς τε Ῥώμης ναοῦ τὸ διάγραμμα αὐτῶ πέμψας, δι' ἐνδειξίν ὅτι καὶ ἄνευ ἐκείνου μέγα ἔργον γίνεσθαι δύναται, ἤρετο εἰ εὖ ἔχοι τὸ κατασκευάσμα· ὁ δ' ἀντεπέστειλε περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ ὅτι καὶ μετέωρον αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπεκκεκνωμένον γενέσθαι ἐχρήν, ἴν' ἔς τε τὴν ἱερὰν ὁδὸν ἐκφανέστερος ἐξ ὑψηλοτέρου εἴη καὶ ἔς τὸ κοῖλον τὰ μηχανήματα ἐσδέχοιτο, ὥστε καὶ ἀφανῶς συμπήγνυσθαι καὶ ἐξ οὐ προειδότης ἔς τὸ θέατρον

The credibility of both anecdotes as well as Hadrian's execution of Apollodorus has been questioned.¹⁰⁶ It is even suggested that Apollodorus' remark about the goddess might be read as a compliment, for it echoes and perhaps alludes to a story recorded by Strabo about Pheidias' statue in the temple of Olympian Zeus.¹⁰⁷ Despite the weight of modern scepticism towards elements of Dio's account, it is nevertheless frequently taken as indicative of the emperor Hadrian being directly involved in the design of structures.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, modern scholarship has characterised Hadrian as an 'architect-emperor', and more than any other princeps he is seen as having had a personal hand in certain building projects.¹⁰⁹ However, I would argue that the evidence for such a picture is far from conclusive and in the following discussion I set out the case against it. It is not that I am attempting to remove Hadrian from the building process completely or suggesting that he was not interested in architectural matters, but I do want to emphasise the tenuousness of the often repeated idea that he can be directly credited with certain designs.

The story of Apollodorus telling Hadrian to go away and draw his gourds has been read by scholars as indicative of the emperor's ability as a draftsman.¹¹⁰ In a 1964 article Brown takes this further and connects Apollodorus' comment to a type of concrete dome, the construction of which gives it the appearance of being segmented, which Brown argues resembles a gourd.¹¹¹ A variant of this particular type of vaulting does appear around the Hadrianic period and it is found in particular at the Villa Adriana at Tivoli (Fig.

ἐσάγεσθαι, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ὅτι μείζονα ἢ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ ὕψους τοῦ μεγάρου λόγον ἐποιήθη· “ἂν γὰρ αἱ θεαί” ἔφη “ἐξαναστήσεσθαί τε καὶ ἐξελεθεῖν ἐθελήσωσιν, οὐ δυναθήσονται.” ταῦτα γὰρ ἄντικρυς αὐτοῦ γράψαντος καὶ ἡγανάκτησε καὶ ὑπερήγησεν ὅτι καὶ ἐς ἀδιόρθωτον ἁμαρτίαν ἐπεπτώκει, καὶ οὔτε τὴν ὀργὴν οὔτε τὴν λύπην κατέσχευε, ἀλλ' ἐφόνευσεν αὐτόν. (Translation Cary 1925).

¹⁰⁶ Paribeni 1943: 124-30; MacDonald 1982: 133; Ridley 1989: 551-65; Bowie 1997: 7-11; Wilson Jones 2000: 23-4.

¹⁰⁷ Strabo 5.3.30. Noticeably, it was also to Pheidias that Martial (*Ep.* 7.56) compared Rabirius.

¹⁰⁸ For example, the elements of the story which cast Hadrian in a bad light are rejected by MacDonald (1982: 133) and Boatwright (1987: 14 n. 30), yet other parts are accepted as being indicative of the emperor being involved with the design of buildings.

¹⁰⁹ MacDonald 1982: 135-6 with n. 46 for summary of earlier scholarship; Boatwright 1987: 14; 128-9; Gros 1996: 174-8; Anderson 1997: 64-5; 2014: 136-7; Thomas 1997: 176-8; Wilson Jones 2000: 24; Waddell 2008: 22-4.

¹¹⁰ For example MacDonald 1982: 136; Thomas 1997: 176; Anderson 1997: 64; Waddell 2008: 23-4

¹¹¹ Brown 1964: 55-9.

3.2-3).¹¹² Brown's hypothesis has found widespread favour and the type is now often referred to as 'pumpkin' domes. Yet this connection is far less certain than is usually acknowledged.¹¹³

It is important to note that the segmenting of the dome is a structural feature. To develop or even realise the potential for a new type of vaulting would require the skills of an engineer with knowledge of stresses and materials. There seems little reason to suppose that Hadrian would have undergone such training, making it unlikely that he would have included or developed such a feature on his own initiative. Also, it should be noted that Dio does not actually state Apollodorus' insult was in reference to the drawings of buildings. Indeed, *γράφω* and *γράμμα* have no specific connotation of architectural plan.¹¹⁴ Instead, it is not implausible that Apollodorus was being literal and that Hadrian used to draw still-life. Certainly, in the preceding chapter Dio observes that Hadrian modelled and painted, but makes no reference to drafting.¹¹⁵ Alternatively, it can also be argued that Apollodorus' insult does not have to refer to a specific form. For the labelling of something as gourd-like appears to have been a more general description for that which is distorted, as in the case of the *Apocolocyntosis* (*ἀποκολοκύντωσις*) of Claudius.¹¹⁶ One final question regarding Brown's often repeated assertion about the domes is the extent to which they do actually resemble an ancient gourd. There are a range of gourd varieties from across the Mediterranean, and in some cases it is arguably not the segmented skin, but the bulbous forms and thick stems that are the more distinctive features (Fig. 3.4-5).¹¹⁷ Likewise, it seems quite clear from the fantastical description of boats made from colossal hollowed-out gourds, belonging to the gourd-pirates (*Κολοκυνθοπειραταίς*) of Lucian's *True History*, that the fruit might be envisaged as long and narrow not spherical.¹¹⁸ In fact, the lack of similarity between the domes and a gourd might explain why

¹¹² Lancaster 2005a: 46-7; 50. Examples in Rome include a building from the Gardens of Sallust (Hartswick 2003: 42) and the so-called Tempio di Siepe (Boatwright 1987: 62-3), although the latter is known only from seventeenth-century drawings and is dated to the Hadrianic period due to the segmented vault. Examples from elsewhere in Italy include the so called 'temple of Venus' at Baiae and the bath at Otricoli.

¹¹³ For example, MacDonald 1982: 135; Sear 1982: 176; Ridley 1989: 563; 182-3; Anderson 1997: 61; Thomas 1997: 176; Ball 2003: 274-6.

¹¹⁴ Indeed, in the next sentence Dio uses *διάγραμμα* to refer to the plan of the temple of Venus and Roma.

¹¹⁵ Cass. Dio. 69.3.2.

¹¹⁶ In fact, it is from Cassius Dio (61.35.3) that we know this title.

¹¹⁷ On ancient gourd varieties: Andrews 1958: 368-75; Janick, Paris and Parrish 2007: 1441-57.

¹¹⁸ Luc. *Ver. Hist.* 2.37.

κολοκύνθη is frequently and incorrectly translated as pumpkin, a fruit which is more akin to the form of the domes, but is native to the Americas and so wholly anachronistic.¹¹⁹ I am sceptical of the attempt to link the domes to the anecdote in Dio, and while it might be correct to associate this particular type of construction with the Hadrianic principate, there is no reason to think that it was the emperor himself and not one of his architects who was behind its use. For, as argued above, it is not clear that Hadrian drew architectural plans and, even if he did, there is an enormous gulf between sketching buildings and accomplished draftsmanship.

Dio's comments regarding Apollodorus and the temple of Venus and Roma have also been used to argue for Hadrian's direct involvement in the design of a building. Yet while they do certainly seem indicative of Hadrian's personal interest in the project, and perhaps architecture as a subject more widely, caution should be urged in extrapolating from this that he himself was responsible for the design, as scholars sometimes claim he was.¹²⁰ Dio records that Hadrian proudly sent plans to Apollodorus, and the emperor's alleged anger over the architect's subsequent criticism seems to be indicative of his involvement with and approval of the building, but it does not automatically follow that he designed it.¹²¹

In this section I am not seeking to question that Hadrian promoted public building and took an interest in architecture. The substantial number of works that were undertaken in Rome and across the empire in Hadrian's name are suggestive of the considerable importance he attached to the patronising of public building projects.¹²² However, I do think that his direct involvement in certain structures in the capital has been exaggerated. The idea that Hadrian was exceptionally interested in architectural matters perhaps in part derives

¹¹⁹ Indeed, a more appropriate term for such a dome might have been melon (*μηλοπέπων*), cf. Janick, Paris and Parrish 2007: fig 5. Also, given that the domes were originally covered with stucco or tile, then the extent to which the aesthetic of the domes appeared in anyway gourd-like might be further questioned. Lancaster (2005: 50) plausibly suggests that the desired effect was an allusion to fabric canopies.

¹²⁰ For example Platner and Ashby 1929: 552; MacDonald 1982: 135.; Boatwright 1987: 14; 128-9; Richardson 1992: 409; Stamper 2005: 206; Waddell 2008: 22-4; Claridge 2010: 119.

¹²¹ It is possible that the *architectus* Decranus, who is credited with moving the colossal statue of Sol so that the temple could be built, might have had a hand in the project (*SHA Hadr.* 19.12).

¹²² On Hadrianic projects outside of Rome: Boatwright 2000b: 111-43; Fraser 2006. Also, the correspondence between Trajan and Pliny are revealing of the extent of that emperor's concerns with certain public buildings going up in his name elsewhere in the empire. The interest appears to be in their overall magnificence, religious implications and cost, however specifics of architecture or appearance are not discussed (Plin. *Ep.* 10. 23; 24; 37; 38; 39; 40; 49; 50; 70; 71; 76; 98; 99).

from his attested practising of the liberal arts, but architecture is not one of the named disciplines.¹²³ Indeed, as to whether Hadrian was any more involved in the design of buildings at Rome than certain other emperors were is open to question. After all, we are told that Augustus read Rutilius' *De Modo Aedificiorum* to the senate,¹²⁴ that Tiberius was so jealous of the skills of an architect who restored a *porticus* in Rome that he exiled him,¹²⁵ and that an engineer was granted an audience with Vespasian to discuss matters of construction.¹²⁶ Taken at face value, these incidents do attest to the general interest of emperors in building matters (and an expectation from the sources that they could be), but they offer no clues as to the specifics regarding an emperor's input into the design of particular structures. Also, the last two examples are anecdotal, even apocryphal, stories, and yet it has been argued that so too are Dio's tales about Hadrian and Apollodorus.¹²⁷

The intention of this discussion has not meant to be negative but cautionary, for questions regarding who was responsible for different elements of a building's design are fundamental to the interpretation of the structure. To stay with Hadrian and take the Pantheon as an example, it has been suggested that the polychromatic floor of the interior, made up of marbles from Egypt, Numidia, Asia Minor and Greece, projected a message of 'Rome's terrestrial domain.'¹²⁸ Yet if, like Pliny's temple to Ceres, the decision regarding the types of marble that were used was left to the discretion of an architect, then where does this leave this idea of it purposefully reflecting Roman imperialism? I am not rejecting the possibility that there was a deliberate message behind the choices, and it seems reasonable to suppose that greater thought might have gone into such details in a large public temple at Rome compared to one on private land in Umbria. Nevertheless, questioning the agency behind the decision gives pause for thought as to whether the supposed message should

¹²³ On Hadrian's interest in the liberal arts: Cass. Dio 69.3.1-2; *SHA Hadr.* 14-16; 19; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 14.2. These accounts do not support characterisations such as MacDonald's (1982:136) of Hadrian as a 'brilliant dilettante' in architectural matters; cf. Toynbee 1934: xxiii; Boatwright 1987: 30-1.

¹²⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 89.2.

¹²⁵ Cass. Dio. 57.21.5-7. This incident is part of the 'unbreakable glass' fable, a variant of which is told in Petron. *Sat.* 51; Plin. *HN* 36.195.

¹²⁶ Suet. *Vesp.* 18. Later, Procopius (*Aed.* 1.1.67-73) records a story indicative of Justinian's direct involvement with the construction of the church of Hagia Sophia; cf. Cuomo 2007: 132-3.

¹²⁷ Paribeni 1943: 124-30; MacDonald 1982: 133; Ridley 1989: 551-65; Swain 1989: 1508; Bowie 1997: 7-11.

¹²⁸ Wilson Jones 2000: 184; cf. Zanker 2010: 81. In fact, similar arrangement of polychromatic paving can be found in a number of public buildings from the first and second centuries AD, including the temple of Peace and forum of Trajan.

be tied to the policies or characteristics of a particular emperor.¹²⁹ Indeed, the danger of directly connecting the design of a building to the mind of an emperor without adequate evidence, and then interpreting the design based on what is known about that emperor's personality is evident in light of the recent reinterpretation of the dating of the Pantheon. Previously, it was not uncommon in scholarship to centre interpretations of the building on it being a Hadrianic conception.¹³⁰ Yet as mentioned in Chapter Two, it is now argued by some that the structure which stands today was begun during the reign of Trajan.¹³¹

The typically exclusive attention that ancient writers give to the patron of a building means that in the majority of cases there is simply not enough information with which to judge who was actually responsible for particular elements. I do not wish to dwell on comparative data from outside of classical antiquity, but a glance at later periods of history for which we have more evidence relating to this issue reveals that there is often enormous variation in how rulers manage building projects. This is further suggestive of the pitfalls in attempting to establish rules of what might have been the case in ancient Rome. I suspect that interest and involvement changed from emperor to emperor, project to project, and element to element. There is evidence, as in the case of Pliny's instructions to Mustius, of patrons giving relatively broad instructions that a building was to be, for example, 'most beautiful,' made from a particular quality of material, or the biggest and best.¹³² It is quite possible that emperors had considerable input and they ultimately held the purse strings for most projects – I do not want to detach the emperors from the construction process of public buildings at Rome.¹³³ Rather, I am attempting to highlight the

¹²⁹ Jenkyns (2013: 353), too, suggests that in the study of Roman buildings there is a 'tendency of modern scholarship to move from the aesthetic to the ideological' in interpreting certain architectural features.

¹³⁰ For example, MacDonald (1976: 12) acknowledges that Hadrian was 'almost certainly' not the architect of the Pantheon, but that 'there can be no doubt that the conception of the building and the motivating personality behind its creation were Hadrian's.' Jenkyns (2013: 351-9) gives a more sceptical assessment of the Pantheon's meaning as conveyed through its architecture.

¹³¹ The Trajanic identification was put forward by Heilmeyer (1975: 316-47) based on the design and style (contra Boatwright 1987: 13), the idea was revived and has been furthered by Hetland's (2007: 95-112; 2009: 107-17) analysis of brick stamps. For a discussion of the arguments: Wilson Jones 2009: 82 with n. 35; 2013: esp. 38-46.

¹³² Cf. Liv. 42.3.1. Also, when Pliny (*Ep.* 10.37) writes to Trajan to persuade him to continue supporting the construction of an aqueduct in Bithynia, it is in the broad terms of beauty and utility, not architectural specifics, that he praises the structure.

¹³³ On the nominal and actual separation between the emperor's *fiscus* and the state *aerarium*: Millar 1963: 29-42; 1964a: 33-40; Brunt 1966: 75-91. On Imperial financing of building outside of Rome see discussion in Duncan-Jones 1985: 28-35; Mitchell 1987: 18-25; Patterson 2003: 89-104.

potential importance of others influencing the design. In instances of restoration, realising who did what, helps to explain why a building was treated that way, a consideration which is pivotal to the arguments made in Chapters Four and Five. Interestingly though, irrespective of who actually conceived of, designed, or constructed a public building, the work was typically presented as being the patron's *monumentum*, a point which I return to later in Chapter Eight.¹³⁴

3.3.1 Approaches to Restoration

Having considered the division of responsibility and involvement of those who restored public buildings at Rome, I now want to examine how they did so. The final section of this chapter sets out what I argue was the prevailing approach to restoration. It is a key premise that is then developed further in later chapters. On account of the extensive destruction and redevelopment of the city over the six decades covered by this study, there are many attested examples of buildings being restored in this period. However, some instances are more useful than others for examining the subject of attitudes to built heritage, because they are more revealing of the practices involved. As mentioned in Chapter One, there are varying degrees of restoration ranging from maintenance and minimal repair to wholesale rebuilding. It is examples of the latter that are of particular use to my study, although the reason for this requires explanation.

Firstly, it is important to note that it is typically very difficult to judge the extent to which a building was damaged and then repaired in antiquity, a problem summarised by Fagan:

For the most part, ancient buildings survive to a height often only slightly above the foundations. Even when the building is nearly intact, only the bare shell survives, and that can be a sorry state due to the ravages of time. These circumstances make it all but impossible to draw firm conclusions about the scope and scale of ancient restoration carried out on the now vanished or poorly preserved superstructures.¹³⁵

This is not always the case. Studies such as that by Lancaster on the restoration of the Colosseum after the fire of AD 218, demonstrate that in regard

¹³⁴ On the concept and definition of buildings as a patron's *monumenta*: Thomas 2007: 70-90; 168-70; cf. Wiseman 1986: 89; Fowler 2000: 197-8; Meadows and Williams 2001: 41-2.

¹³⁵ Fagan 1994: 87.

to certain structures much can be gained from a close reading of a building's fabric.¹³⁶ However, in many instances Fagan's pessimistic assessment is justified. In particular, it is decorative elements that suffer the most: stucco and wood are perishable, terracotta brittle, and marble desirable for reuse. These losses are significant to the examination of how buildings were restored and treated over time. This is because such surface features were often exposed and so in frequent need of attention. Also, decoration is visible and typically a key part of the overall appearance of a building. Therefore, understanding how these elements were treated could offer important insights as to whether a restoration sought to preserve or alter the original aesthetic. In light of these problems, caution should be exercised in drawing conclusions about the development of a building from an absence of evidence. To take the Regia as an example, the structure appears to have undergone only minimal alteration from the late first century BC onwards, and it has been suggested that Tacitus exaggerated or even invented his claim that it was 'consumed' (*exurere*) by the fire of AD 64.¹³⁷ This interpretation is based primarily on a few fragments of marble and the floor plan of the building remaining constant. Yet it is entirely plausible that much of the superstructure, which is now lost, was significantly damaged.

Assessing the extent of a restoration is not just dependent on the archaeological record; as becomes evident in Chapters Four and Five, textual sources can be of central importance to this issue. However, literary descriptions of such instances often lack details pertaining to the specifics of the restored structure, and accounts of destruction are typically vague and generic, rendering it difficult to deduce the extent of the damage.¹³⁸ In a number of instances, inscriptions associated with particular buildings appear to provide information about the level of restoration carried out. For example, structures are referred to as being enlarged (*ampliare*) or rebuilt from the foundations and ground up (*a fundamento, a fundamentis, a solo*). However, in their survey of Roman restoration inscriptions, Thomas and Witschel caution against always accepting such assertions at face value.¹³⁹ Indeed, they are sceptical as to the extent that these inscriptions can be used to judge the degree of restoration

¹³⁶ Lancaster 1998: 146-74.

¹³⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 15.41 (this passage is examined in Chapter Seven); Scott 1999b: 189-92; Platner and Ashby 1929: 441.

¹³⁸ Discussed further in Chapters Six and Seven.

¹³⁹ Thomas and Witschel 1992: 159-63; cf. Fagan 1996: 85-6.

carried out. Their study also highlights how different terms do not seem to have singular connotations, but rather that words such as *reficere* or *restituere* were applied to a range of activity, from low-level repair to large-scale reconstruction.¹⁴⁰ Inscriptions sometimes also record the reason that a restoration was necessary, such as fire or old age, and this information gives clues as to what type of work might have been carried out. However, Thomas and Witschel also argue that these details too can be potentially misleading. In particular, they suggest that claims over restoration being required on account of deterioration over time (*vetustate corruptus*) might be more a conceptual *topos* than a literal description.¹⁴¹ In fact, comparative examples suggest that even an extensive blaze rarely reduces stone buildings entirely to rubble (Fig. 3.6).

The physical condition of most of Rome's buildings most of the time is largely unknowable, and gaps in our evidence mean that assessing the extent to which a building was damaged and then restored is exceptionally problematic. Therefore, it is large scale restorations that have to be considered, for these interventions are often more apparent in the surviving record. I would also argue that it is at the more extreme end of restoration where practices are most evident and so attitudes to built heritage are more likely to be observable. Extensive damage to, or the near complete destruction of, a building necessitates decisions to be made over how to restore it. It is these instances, where there is the greatest opportunity for change, that are most likely to show the clearest indication of whether certain elements of a building were purposefully retained or altered.

Conversely, in instances of relatively minor repair work the intent behind the decisions is potentially more ambiguous. For example, at some point, probably in the first half of the first century AD, the round temple in the Forum Boarium (dating from the between the mid-second to early first century BC) was damaged, which meant that ten of its Pentelic marble columns needed to be replaced.¹⁴² This was accomplished using Italian Luna marble, and even relatively close up it is difficult to tell which are the original Pentelic marble and

¹⁴⁰ Thomas and Witschel 1992: 137-8; 152-9; cf. Fagan 1996: 85.

¹⁴¹ Thomas and Witschel 1992: 140-9; cf. Fagan 1996: 83-6.

¹⁴² The identity of this temple, while now usually associated with Hercules, is disputed, as is its date: Strong and Ward-Perkins 1960: 7-32; Rakob and Heilmeyer 1973; Coarelli 1988: 180-204; Ziolkowski 1988 309-33; Palmer 1990: 237-39

which are the replacement Luna marble columns (Fig. 3.7).¹⁴³ While it appears that the overall aim was to loosely match the repair work with the original elements, a detailed examination reveals differences in the length of the drums, and most noticeably, in the style of the Corinthian capitals (Fig. 3.8-9). Based on this evidence, different positions might be argued as to the reason behind the treatment of the building. It is possible that there was a desire to preserve the appearance of the building *because* that was what it had originally looked like, and so the damaged columns were replaced but further alterations resisted. However, it might also have been that the restorer simply sought to minimise costs, and as the damage was only partial then it was decided to patch up the temple rather than conduct a wholesale rebuilding, which if undertaken would have allowed for significant alterations to the design. An idea familiar to modern approaches to restoration would be that the difference in marbles and slight variance in style of Corinthian capitals were deliberately chosen so that those elements which were replacements could be distinguished from the original, somewhat akin to Stern's and Valadier's restoration of the arch of Titus (Fig. 3.10a-b).¹⁴⁴ In the course of my research, however, I have found nothing to suggest that such an approach was adopted in ancient Rome, and concerns over the authenticity of materials in architecture appear to be anachronistic.

Therefore, while the result of the restoration was that the aesthetic of the temple was maintained, the intention behind why this happened is open to question. If considered in light of the premise that I forward below, then I suspect that the reason behind the restoration being carried out in this manner was on account of practical or economic considerations, rather than it being from a desire to keep the building as a faithful example of mid-/late republican architecture. This notion is supported by the use of Italian Luna rather than Greek Pentelic marble, as the former was perceived to be an inferior and less expensive type. Nevertheless, there is a lingering ambiguity, which is a consequence of relying on instances of restoration that involved relatively minor repairs for drawing conclusions about the principles and intentions behind the work. Such examples are not ignored in my research, but the conclusions I suggest are more evident when large scale restoration was undertaken.

¹⁴³ Gorgoni *et al*, 2002: 289-300.

¹⁴⁴ Jokilehto 1999: 83-5.

Therefore, this study primarily focuses on instances of extensive or even wholesale restoration (also referred to throughout as rebuilding).

3.3.2 Innovative Restoration

A key premise of this thesis is that when given the opportunity, structures in ancient Rome were habitually rebuilt in an innovative manner. In order to illustrate what I mean by this, it is helpful to consider more recent approaches to the restoration of historic buildings. A practice that has been prevalent across Europe since the late nineteenth century, sometimes known as *restauro storico* and akin to stylistic restoration, is to faithfully reconstruct a damaged building so that it visually resembles its former appearance.¹⁴⁵ A good example of this is the rebuilding of the sixteenth-century campanile of St Mark's Basilica in Venice. After it was reduced to rubble by an earthquake in 1902, the city council immediately decided that the campanile should be rebuilt to look exactly as it had previously (Fig. 3.11-12). The project was defined by the slogan *com'era e dov'era* 'as it was and where it was', and the accuracy of this claim is apparent in the before and after images (Fig. 3.13-14).¹⁴⁶ Although this approach is subject to criticism from some quarters, the restoration of historic buildings to look like they are of the age that they are associated with remains popular.¹⁴⁷

Yet this is exactly *not* how historic public buildings were treated in ancient Rome.¹⁴⁸ The destruction of a building can be both a calamity and an opportunity. In urban centres where space is typically at a premium and the prospect for new construction therefore limited, the necessity of rebuilding presents the chance to update what is old and create something new. The previous chapter explained how the period under discussion was one of confidence in building and architectural development. While such advances in design and construction were features of new buildings, they were also applied to the rebuilding of old ones. It is perceptible that the standard practice was not to reconstruct faithful replicas, but rather to rebuild in an innovative fashion, with the architecture of the newly arisen structures brought into line with

¹⁴⁵ Jokilehto 1999: 137-173; 205-7.

¹⁴⁶ On the rebuilding and responses to it: Glendinning 2013: 192-3; Plant 2002: 234-38; Konody 1912.

¹⁴⁷ Other examples, to name but three, include the Cloth Hall at Ypres, Dresden Cathedral, Uppark House in West Sussex (an example suggested to me by Stephen Heyworth).

¹⁴⁸ The casa Romuli, an apparent exception, is the subject of Chapter Five.

contemporary trends – the designs looking to the present not the past.¹⁴⁹ A building would retain its nominal identity – the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus remained the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus – but was restored in a way which departed from, or at the very least did not attempt to deliberately replicate, its former appearance.¹⁵⁰

My use of the term innovation in the context of restoration is relatively straightforward and refers to the notion that the rebuilt structure visually differs from the earlier incarnation. Such innovation might come about through changes to the spatial layout, an expansion of the overall size, the utilisation of more modern construction techniques, the inclusion of up-to-date materials, the adoption of contemporary styles, or an increase in expenditure on ornamentation. Rebuilding in an innovative manner does not preclude borrowing from the previous design, and there are examples of architectural continuity between the successive versions of some structures. Indeed, it is questionable as to whether a rebuilding can ever start from a *tabula rasa*. Yet there is a significant difference between the retention of individual elements and a deliberate attempt to replicate the overall aesthetic of the previous structure, as in the case of St Mark's Campanile. This idea can best be demonstrated through specific examples, and Chapter Four presents a detailed assessment of the development of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, part of which supports the assertions made above. To further illustrate the nature and prevalence of this approach, it is helpful to highlight here a number of other notable cases from this period.

An example that has already been mentioned in this chapter is Pliny's temple of Ceres near Tifernum. Although no archaeological remains have been associated with the temple, it seems clear from the content of Pliny's letter to the architect Mustius that when rebuilt the new version was to appear substantially different from the old.¹⁵¹ Pliny stipulates that it was to be made physically larger (*maius*) to accommodate the crowds, and that marble was to be used for the floor, walls and columns. Although the materiality of the original building is not mentioned, given its rural location and the perception that it was

¹⁴⁹ This point that the Romans typically sought to rebuild in a way that improved the original structure has been made by others, including Thomas and Witschel 1992: 149-50; 72; Favro 1996: 150-55; Thomas 2007: 170; Jenkyns 2013: 264-5; 2014: 17; cf. Zanker 2010: 80.

¹⁵⁰ Also see 'substitution theory' in the context of the Renaissance proposed by Nagel and Wood 2010: 29-4; 51.

¹⁵¹ Plin. *Ep.* 9.39.

old (*vetus*), it is very plausible that it was of a local stone (presumably tufa) construction. Therefore, these marble elements were quite probably a novel introduction of the rebuilding, as is indicated by their being characterised as an improvement. Even from this limited picture, it seems that the overall effect of these developments would be the creation of a temple that looked notably different to its predecessor.

The upgrading of the materiality of a building by using contemporaneously fashionable and more lavish ornamentation is attested in a number of instances at Rome. The idea of experimenting and using the very latest types of materials in historic buildings is encapsulated by the reconstruction of the temple of Fortuna Seiani. Very little is known about this structure: the Roman tradition credited it to king Servius Tullius, it burned in the fire of AD 64, was rebuilt immediately afterwards, and stood within the bounds of the Domus Aurea.¹⁵² Notably, for my purposes, the Neronian version departed dramatically in appearance from its earlier incarnation, as Pliny the Elder records that a newly discovered translucent stone from Cappadocia was used in its construction.¹⁵³ The reported effect of using this material was that ‘it was as light as day in the temple, even when the doors were shut.’¹⁵⁴

Arguably, the most impressive surviving rebuilding from this period is the Pantheon. Originally built by Agrippa in the 20s BC, it was burnt in the fire of AD 80 and restored in the reign of Domitian. Having then caught fire again in AD 110, the structure standing today is either a Hadrianic or, in part, a Trajanic rebuilding.¹⁵⁵ Excavations in and around the building in the late nineteenth century led scholars, principally Lanciani, to conclude that contrary to the form of the present building, Agrippa’s Pantheon had been south facing and with a transverse cella not a rotunda (Fig. 3.15).¹⁵⁶ However, excavations carried out in 1996-97 provided evidence for a reinterpretation, and it is now generally (though not universally) thought that the original version, like its successor, faced north and comprised a rectangular portico leading to a circular structure

¹⁵² Anselmino and Strazzulla 1995: 278.

¹⁵³ Plin. *HN* 36.163.

¹⁵⁴ Plin. *HN* 36.163: *quare etiam foribus opertis interdum claritas ibi diurna erat alio quam specularium modo tamquam inclusa luce, non transmissa.* (Translation Eichholz 1962). On this type of stone: Beckmann: 1880: 66; Eichholz 1962: 130 n. a.

¹⁵⁵ On the history of the Pantheon: Thomas 1997: 163-186; Wilson Jones 2013: 31-49. An interesting interpretation of the Domitianic phase has been suggested by Broucke (2009: 28), but is yet to be published in full.

¹⁵⁶ Lanciani 1897: 473-86 esp. 478-81.

(Fig. 3.16).¹⁵⁷ Indeed, it seems that while the portico of the Agrippan building was wider than the Hadrianic one, with a decastyle not octastyle arrangement, the current rotunda sits on a very similar footprint as the boundary wall of the original.¹⁵⁸ Therefore, it appears that certain elements of the design were retained and carried over into the later building.

It is not the similarities but rather the differences that are striking though. For the few ancient writers that remark on the Pantheon, as well as for centuries of later commentators, the defining feature of the building is the powerful interior space created by its remarkable concrete dome (Fig. 3.17).¹⁵⁹ Importantly, the Agrippan building could not have been roofed in this manner. As discussed in Chapter Two, while concrete domes were being constructed in Italy during the late first century BC, there is no evidence that anything comparable to the Pantheon's 44.4-metre internal diameter could be achieved or was being attempted at this date.¹⁶⁰ The form of the roof of the Agrippan Pantheon is disputed and it is very possible that it was largely unroofed.¹⁶¹ In any case, the addition of the concrete vault in the rebuilding was a sensational innovation which dramatically transformed the appearance and sensory experience of the interior. Externally too, the dome, covered as it was with gilded bronze, would have made a striking new addition to the cityscape (Fig. 3.18).

It also seems that the architect of the later building did not seek to simply replicate the Agrippan portico either. Ten Roman feet (RF) higher than the portico is an unusual blind, second pediment (Fig. 3.19). Davies, Hemsoll and

¹⁵⁷ Questions over the traditional interpretation of Agrippa's Pantheon were raised before the 1996-97 excavations: Simpson 1997: 169-70 with n. 1. On an Agrippan rotunda: Thomas 1997: 167-70; Virgili and Battistelli 1999: 137-54; Wilson Jones 2000: 180-2; 2013: 34-5 Brouke 2009: 27-8. Contra Ziolkowski 2009: 29-39.

¹⁵⁸ The dating of the wider portico phase is uncertain and Taylor (2004: 247-51) thinks it belongs to an abandoned part of the Hadrianic rebuilding, but acknowledges the ambiguity, cf. Broucke 2009: 27.

¹⁵⁹ Cass. Dio 53.27.2; Amm. Marc. 16.10.14. On some later, medieval and Renaissance responses: Karmon 2011: 165-8.

¹⁶⁰ The largest known dome from the Augustan period is the so-called 'temple of Mercury' at Baia, which is 21 metres in diameter, less than half the 44.4-metre span of the Pantheon. On the 'temple of Mercury' and other early concrete domes: Ward-Perkins 1970: 259; Hemsoll 1990: 17; Ball 2003: 230-1; Lancaster 2005a: 156-7.

¹⁶¹ On the Agrippan Pantheon as an open space: Thomas 1997: 169-70. Tortorici (1990: 28-42) suggests that that it may have been covered by a roof supported by an inner concentric circle of columns, which Simpson (1997: 175 with n. 35) sees as being along the likes of S. Stefano Rotondo. It is on this principle that the model inside the Museo dell'Ara Pacis has been reconstructed. However, no evidence for any such columns has yet been detected in the earlier pavement. If it did have a wooden roof then its omission from Pliny's *Natural History* is curious, for he states that the largest span covered by a wooden roof in Rome was the *Diribitorium*, a structure also built by Agrippa in the Campus Martius (Plin. *NH* 16.201). This he claims was nearly thirty metres, but the Pantheon would have required one of over forty.

Wilson Jones have argued plausibly that this is a remnant of the architect's original intention to include column shafts that were 50RF, but that in the event, shafts of 40RF had to be used instead (Fig. 3.20-21).¹⁶² The height of the Agrippan portico is unknown, but in any case, the presence of two designs for the Hadrianic version indicates that rigidly adhering to the appearance of the original was not an overriding concern. Likewise, it seems unlikely that the columns of the Agrippan Pantheon would have been grey and red granite monoliths akin to those of the current building.¹⁶³ Partly, this is because the Mons Claudianus quarry from where the grey granite comes was not exploited until the mid-first century AD, and also no Augustan era building is known to have had monolithic shafts of a comparable size.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, as was highlighted in Chapter Two, it seems that no temple in Rome used polychromatic columns for its exterior order until at least the second half of the first century AD. Therefore, if the Pantheon was a temple, it seems likely that the Agrippan building would have had predominately white columns, which would have been in keeping with the aesthetic of other large temples of the Augustan era.¹⁶⁵

Despite the continuities between the Agrippan and Hadrianic Pantheons, the latter is not trying to replicate the appearance of the former (irrespective of the explicit claim in the inscription to actually be it).¹⁶⁶ The intent of the latter design departs from its predecessor; it is physically more impressive, technologically more advanced, and materially more lavish. The twentieth-century Campanile at Venice was meant to look like a sixteenth-century building, the second-century AD Pantheon was not meant to look like a first-century BC building.

The practice of innovative restoration is certainly not confined to the six decades I am focusing on. Indeed, many of the most evident and striking examples come from the late republican and Augustan periods. To take just a

¹⁶² Davies, Hemsoll and Wilson Jones 1987: 133-53; Wilson Jones 2000: 199-212; Cf. Taylor 2004: 244-7. Contra Haselberger in Wilson Jones 2009: 86; cf. Waddell (2008: 128-38) who argues the current portico is Severan.

¹⁶³ An alternative interpretation is put forward by Taylor (2004: 223-66), who argues that Proconnesian marble columns were originally intended for the Hadrianic Pantheon.

¹⁶⁴ Claridge 2010: 43. For example, the 50RF high shafts of the temple of Mars Ultor are drums.

¹⁶⁵ That the Pantheon was a temple of some kind is convincingly argued by Barry: 2014: 95-98; cf. Wilson Jones 2013: 35 with n. 29; contra Ziolkowski 2007: 465-76; 2009: 34-39; Waddell 2008: 22-3.

¹⁶⁶ On the inscription: Stuart 1905: 441-9; Simpson 2009: 150-5; Boatwright 2013: 19-30.

selection of buildings in the forum: in 80 BC Sulla expanded the ancient Curia Hostilia over part of the Comitium;¹⁶⁷ the Rostra was relocated by Caesar and Antony in the mid-40s BC, and then later, built over, reshaped and enlarged by Augustus.¹⁶⁸ The *Res Gestae* boasts that Augustus was doing likewise (*ampliare*) to the Basilica Julia, while the basilica on the opposite side of the forum square had also been extended in the course of its rebuilding by Aemilius Lepidus in the 50s BC.¹⁶⁹ In 36 BC Domitius Calvinus rebuilt the Regia using white marble,¹⁷⁰ so, too, did Munatius Plancus the temple of Saturn in 42 BC.¹⁷¹ From archaeological and textual evidence we know that between 9 BC and AD 10 Tiberius carried out a splendid rebuilding of the temple of Concordia.¹⁷² The earlier structure was encased by the new larger podium and the significant increase in its width gave the temple a transverse form. The interior of the cella was possibly decorated with polychromatic stone and, in keeping with the aesthetic favoured for new temples of this period, the exterior was built of white marble. Roughly contemporary to this, Tiberius was also responsible for rebuilding the temple of Castor and Pollux. The re-excavation of the structure in the mid-1980s permits a detailed picture to be formed of how the building developed through successive restorations.¹⁷³ First constructed in the early fifth century BC as an Italic-Tuscan type with a triple cella, its design was dramatically changed when Metellus rebuilt it as octastyle and with either a *peripteros* or *peripteros sine postico* arrangement in 117 BC.¹⁷⁴ The Tiberian version, dedicated in AD 6, appears to have retained this arrangement but enlarged the podium and cella, and replaced the stuccoed tufa superstructure with one of Italian Luna marble.¹⁷⁵

The above summaries are a sample of Rome's public buildings that are known to have been significantly altered when rebuilt. Hopefully, they serve to illustrate how prevalent the practice of innovative restoration was.¹⁷⁶ My

¹⁶⁷ Plin. *NH* 34.26; Cass. Dio. 40.49.2-3.

¹⁶⁸ Cass. Dio. 43.49; Coarelli 1983: 237-55.

¹⁶⁹ Cic. *Ad Att.* 4.17 (4.17.14). Bauer 1993: 185 with fig. 94. Also see discussion above.

¹⁷⁰ Cass. Dio 48.42.4-6; Brown 1935: 83-88;

¹⁷¹ Suet. *Aug.* 29.5; Ward-Perkins 1981: 22; Coarelli 1999: 234-6.

¹⁷² Gasparri 1979; Heyworth 2011: 56-69.

¹⁷³ Nielsen and Poulsen 1992a; Nilson, Persson, Sande and Zahle 2009.

¹⁷⁴ Nielsen and Poulsen 1992b: 61-79; 1992c 80-6; Nielsen 1992: 87-117.

¹⁷⁵ Nilson, Persson, Sande and Zahle 2009; Strong and Ward-Perkins 1962: 1-30.

¹⁷⁶ The Augustan restoration of the temple of Magna Mater on the Palatine is not, as is sometimes claimed (Favro 1996: 188; Beard, North and Price 1998: 198; Jenkyns 2013: 264), an attempt at archaising and so an exception to this rule. The supposition is based on the fact that Peperino tufa columns were retained in the restoration rather than changed to marble,

comments on these buildings are only a cursory assessment of the way in which they developed and are intended to give an impression of the how the size, form and materiality of such structures might be modified and modernised. In the next chapter I take a single case, the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and document in detail how the building physically developed through successive phases.

3.3.3 Continuity, Difference and Conclusion

My emphasis in the discussion immediately above has been on the changes that occurred when restorations took place, but there is also typically some degree of architectural continuity between the different versions of a building, for example in the floor plan. However, this continuity should not necessarily be seen as indicative of a purposeful attempt to present a vestige of a building's earlier appearance. To a large extent, many of the apparent continuities can be seen as a consequence of pragmatic, structural or spatial considerations, as well as the standard requirements of a building type or, as is argued in Chapters Four and Five, the result of specific religious stipulations. Also, while there might be perceptible continuity in certain architectural elements, if the overall building is considered as the sum of its part, then it becomes more difficult to maintain that such features represent a deliberate attempt to create an overt pastiche of the original edifice.

For example, when the Regia was rebuilt by Calvinus in the 30s BC it maintained a similar (although not identical) plan to its late third/early second century BC incarnation, which in turn followed the layout of the fourth century BC phase (Fig. 3.22-28).¹⁷⁷ The original structure on the site, which is dated to the seventh century BC, appears to have been orientated to the cardinal points, and it is possible that a stipulation did limit the extent to which the plan might be changed in a restoration.¹⁷⁸ However, when attempting to account for the

although whether these columns should be assigned to the Augustan restoration or one by Metellus after 111 BC is not clear. In any case, there is no indication that in an architectural context tufa was considered a historic material and it is used extensively in the monuments of Augustan Rome. Indeed, that the columns were tufa would not have been obvious, as they were covered with white stucco, the very purpose of which was to mask the stone and imitate marble.

¹⁷⁷ There was a building on this site going back to at least the seventh century: Scott 1999b: 189-192 with fig. 75-81; Brown 1935: 67-88.

¹⁷⁸ Brown 1935: 68; 75; 79.

consistency of the building's relatively small size and unusual trapezoidal shape, then it should also be noted that it sat in between the fork of two roads (vicus Vestae and via Sacra) and so did not have the space to expand laterally (Fig. 3.29). It seems unlikely that the continuity observable in Calvinus' version can be considered an attempt to preserve a visual impression of what the original building looked like, for as mentioned above, the superstructure was innovatively constructed with solid marble walls, thereby giving it an entirely new aesthetic.

This is a key point more generally. With the exception of the casa Romuli which is discussed in Chapter Five, there does not appear to be any instance of a large-scale rebuilding project purposefully having aimed to replicate the appearance of the structure that preceded it – certainly there is nothing akin to the Campanile at Venice.¹⁷⁹ On the contrary, there appears to have been a degree of consistency in the way that structures were often made physically larger and materially grander. Thomas and Witschel have noted how restoration inscriptions might characterise a rebuilt structure as being better adorned (*melior cultus*), and it is noticeable that references to enlargement (*ampliare*) also feature in such inscriptions.¹⁸⁰ So, too, the idea of buildings being made bigger and better figures perceptibly in the literature of the first and second centuries AD, and it is a subject that will be considered in Chapters Six and Seven. The practice of innovative restoration corresponds well with the notion discussed above, about the splendour of the city being a reflection of the magnificence of empire. For not only did it keep the capital free of ruins, but meant that it became increasingly grand. As argued in later chapters, there was a sense that destruction presents opportunity.

This chapter has forwarded several separate but related arguments on aspects of the Roman approach to the restoration of buildings. In doing so, it has also set out a number of points that will become central to developing an understanding of the Roman concept of built heritage. Firstly, I sought to underscore the seemingly elementary yet crucial point that the Romans *did* restore public buildings. While there were evident practical and political reasons

¹⁷⁹ Thomas and Witschel (1992: 176-7) point to the Constantinian rebuilding of the theatre at Mérida which apparently does try and replicate the Domitianic-Trajanic original, however this is outside both the geographical and chronological limits of my study.

¹⁸⁰ Thomas and Witschel 1992: 156-7.

for this, the discussion also brought out an aversion to ruins in the capital and the ideological importance of restoration. Secondly, I turned to the matter of agency, highlighting that although different individuals and magistracies had previously been responsible for the restoration of large public buildings in Rome, by the period that is the focus of this thesis, it increasingly became the preserve of the imperial family. The examination went further than considering who was nominally responsible for instances of restoration, and explored the extent to which different groups or individuals might have influenced the design of a building. Although it is difficult to draw conclusions in most cases, the discussion emphasised the importance of acknowledging the role of persons other than the patron in architectural decisions and cautioned against assuming the direct input of the emperor in all aspects of a project. The final section of this chapter looked at how buildings were treated when they were restored. I suggested that it is in instances of large-scale intervention or wholesale rebuilding that attitudes are most perceptible, and through a number of examples I outlined the key premise of innovative restoration.

With reference to more modern periods and the example of the Campanile at Venice, the discussion also touched upon the practice of restoring a building as a faithful replica of what it originally looked like. The specific reasons why this approach has been adopted vary from case to case, but a seemingly consistent underlying perception is that the historical identity of a building is linked to its appearance. Indeed, issues of respecting and presenting history are central to modern discussions about how to treat the fabric and aesthetic of historic buildings.¹⁸¹ As suggested above, it is very difficult to find evidence of there having been a similar approach to rebuilding in early imperial Rome (Chapter Five considers the supposed exception of the casa Romuli). Yet the apparent disregard for the architecture of earlier generations should not be interpreted as the Romans being disinterested in the history of their city's built

¹⁸¹ The importance of appearance is evident in the restoration of Venice's Campanile, for the reconstructed tower was not in all parts an exact replica of a sixteenth-century building. To the viewer standing before the tower it may have looked the same, but modern reinforced concrete was used throughout, new foundations were laid, and understandably it was made structurally sounder than the original building (Konody 1912; Jokilehto 1999: 206). Like other examples, the architectural faithfulness is only skin-deep, a point which reinforces the idea that the importance lay primarily with retaining a visual impression of the past. Indeed, the modern preoccupation in preserving and presenting an appearance of historic architecture is illustrated by the trend for 'façadism' in European cities. This practice involves the keeping the original frontage or shell of an older building, but then entirely removing and rebuilding the rest of the building to suit modern needs.

environment. Rather, I argue that it is symptomatic of an alternative concept of built heritage. The Romans were very aware of the historical associations of certain buildings, and the decision to rebuild them might therefore have been a deliberate engagement with the past. However, this did not directly manifest itself in the architecture. Instead, the historical identity of a building could be separated from its physical appearance, which meant that it was not necessary to preserve or reproduce its architecture. Such a mindset allowed Rome to be a city that preserved and displayed its past and yet at the same time renew its appearance.

The validity of these ideas is tested and argued for in later chapters, and while my discussion of particular instances of restoration has so far been relatively cursory, I now want to consider a particular example in detail. The analysis of how the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus developed through successive restorations supports the assertions made in this chapter, and also presents a more nuanced picture of Roman practices, permitting an understanding of the intent behind decisions and the attitudes which informed them.

Chapter Four: The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus

4.1.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I proposed that one of the core tenets of Roman restoration practice was to rebuild in an innovative manner. This is where a building would retain its nominal identity but could be physically transformed, with the materials and design being updated in line with contemporary trends. Following on from this, I will now examine in detail a specific instance of rebuilding. This illustrates the particular complexity of a restoration, and not only enables the validity of the premise outlined above to be demonstrated, but also moves the study forward into other relevant areas. This is because the discussion also highlights elements of continuity between the successive versions of the same building. Examining the reason behind the retention of these particular features brings into focus the importance of religion as a factor in determining the treatment of Rome's historic buildings. Given the amount of building activity that took place during the six decades covered here, there are other instances of rebuilding that I might have chosen. However, for considering the subject of built heritage, by far the most useful and intriguing example is the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (also referred to as the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the Capitolium).¹

This chapter aims to demonstrate how one of the most important public buildings in the capital was treated when it was restored, the reasons behind this, and what such actions reveal about Roman attitudes to built heritage. It is a complex example and the evidence relating to its different phases will require careful unpacking. The chapter, therefore, has two main parts. The first part details the history and significance of the building; it examines the evidence for its overall plan and argues for the innovative development of the appearance of the temple through its successive phases. The second part turns to the matter of continuity; it traces the purposeful retention of the plan of the temple through its successive phases and argues that this resulted from religious stipulations. The chapter concludes by making a further case for the key thesis developed throughout the study: historical associations of buildings were not invested in

¹ Capitolium might refer to either the temple or the hill (Platner and Ashby 1929: 96-7). In my thesis it consistently refers to the temple.

their architecture, and instances of restoration in Rome need to be understood in light of this.

4.1.2 The Case for the Capitolium

A number of factors combine to make the temple of Jupiter particularly relevant to my study. Significantly, the temple had burnt down and was rebuilt from the ground up not once but twice within the period under discussion, and three times overall. The archaeological record for these phases of the building is relatively limited, but the picture of its development and appearance is supplemented by considerable iconographic and textual evidence. This literary testimony is particularly important for interpreting the way in which Rome's inhabitants responded to instances of rebuilding, which, as argued in Chapter Six, is especially valuable for understanding attitudes towards heritage.

That the temple features so prominently in literature is due in part to its status. On account of its history and monumentality, as well as its religious, ceremonial and political associations, the Capitolium was the principal temple of the city of Rome. Few shrines would surpass it in physical size and, arguably, none in symbolic resonance.² From its position on the Capitoline Hill, it dominated the skyline at the heart of the city (Fig. 4.1). It was here that new consuls made their first public sacrifices and where for centuries the celebratory processions of the triumph and *transvectio equitum* culminated.³ The temple was understood as a symbol of the Republic, the capital and the security of the empire; its physical presence on the hill was a guarantor of Rome's eternity and dominance.⁴ In fact, the significance of the temple is demonstrated both by the evident consternation and alarm with which its destruction was viewed, as well as the importance and honour attached to its restoration.⁵ The considerable

² The size was seemingly not surpassed until Hadrian's temple of Venus and Roma. Fears (1981: 56-65) suggests that under Augustus Jupiter Optimus Maximus was marginalised in favour of Apollo. Yet even when the cults of other deities would seem to gain spectacular prominence this was often temporary. What makes the Capitoline triad stand out is its enduring centrality.

³ Weinstock 1937: 2180; Orlin 1997: 36-40; Holliday 1997: 133.

⁴ On the symbolic importance and resonances of the Capitolium: Fears 1981: 7-97; Martin 1983: 20-23; 24-29; Edwards 1996: 69-85; Jaeger 1997: 3-5; 76; 79-80; Williams 2001: 140-84; Rea 2007: 44-54; Flower 2008: 76-77; Thein 2014: 284-319. Also Purcell (2003: 26-31) on the importance of the temple's foundation in the Roman concept of time; cf. Feeney 2007: 141-2; Flower 2010: 179-80.

⁵ On the importance and impact of its destruction, with a particular emphasis on that of 83 BC: Flower 2008: 74-92. With specific regard to Tacitus' narrative of the AD 69 destruction: Edwards

extent to which this building mattered to the Romans and the idea of its communal significance to the *populus* at large is considered in Chapter Six. Indeed, many of the points mentioned above are developed further elsewhere, which in itself is perhaps indicative of the relevance of this temple for examining of the subject of built heritage.

Before discussing the actual structure, it is useful to give a brief overview of the history of the temple in order to establish a basic chronological framework of important developments. Although all of the occasions on which the temple was rebuilt are noted, it is only the Augustan restoration that is considered at any length in this initial discussion. This is because unlike the other instances of rebuilding, it does not feature again in the rest of the chapter.

It was the established tradition, at least by the late republic, that the temple of Jupiter, which was also dedicated to the goddesses Juno and Minerva, had been vowed and largely constructed by Rome's Etruscan kings in the sixth century BC.⁶ There is a degree of variation among ancient authors as to what work was carried out by kings Tarquinius Priscus and Servius Tullius, but it is agreed that the temple was virtually complete by the last king Tarquinius Superbus.⁷ His expulsion from the city, however, meant that the Capitolium was dedicated by the consul Horatius Pulvillus in 509 BC, thereby establishing its symbolic status as the first temple of the new republic.⁸ Irrespective of the validity of this tradition in assigning the construction and dedication to these specific dates and individuals, archaeological evidence, discussed below, seems to confirm that the first incarnation of the monumental temple does indeed belong to the late sixth century BC.⁹

Although it has been suggested by scholars that the temple was rebuilt in the early fourth century BC following the Gallic sack, there is no actual evidence

1996: 74-82; Woodman 1997: 96; Davies 2004: 206-8; Ash 2007: 229-236; Sailor 2008: 205-13; Joseph 2012: 98-106; Gallia 2012: 52-6. On the political importance of, and activity surrounding, the Catullan rebuilding: Sauron 1994: 170-248; De Angeli 1996: 149-50. On the temple being unfinished at the dedication: Coarelli 1977a: 7 with n. 36. On the events of the Vespasianic restoration: Townend 1987: 243-48; Wardle 1996: 208-222; Darwall-Smith 1996: 41-47; also see Chapter Five. Notably, the temple of Jupiter is the only building to appear on a Roman coin issue with a legend specifically alluding to a restoration *CAPIT RESIT* (Fig. 4.17): Darwall-Smith 1996:106-7.

⁶ The temple also housed cults to Terminus and Juventas: Martin 1983: 10-11.

⁷ On this confusion in the tradition: Cornell 1995: 128-30; Ridley 2005: 96.

⁸ For collected references to the foundation and dedication: Platner and Ashby 1929: 297; Tagliamonte 1996: 144-5.

⁹ Mura Sommella 2000: 21-23; Danti 2001: 329-346.

to support such a supposition.¹⁰ A number of relatively small alterations to the temple are reported to have been made during the third and second centuries BC. These included adding bronze thresholds in 296 BC,¹¹ the placement of gilded shields on the roof in 193 BC,¹² the re-stuccoing of the temple's columns in 179 BC,¹³ the addition of a mosaic pavement during the third Punic War,¹⁴ and the gilding of the ceiling in 142 BC.¹⁵ This first temple burnt down in 83 BC, amid fighting on the Capitoline Hill between the supporters of Sulla and the younger Marius.¹⁶ The rebuilding of the temple was initiated by Sulla, but following his death it was entrusted by the senate to Lutatius Catulus, who dedicated the new version in 69 BC.¹⁷

The next recorded intervention was made by Augustus, who in his *Res Gestae* claimed: 'I restored the Capitolium and the theatre of Pompey, both works at great expense without inscribing my own name on either' (*Capitolium et Pompeium theatrum utrumque opus impensa grandi refeci sine ulla inscriptione nominis mei*).¹⁸ This is the only reference to Augustus' involvement with the temple, and the inscription itself gives little indication as to what the restoration entailed. *Impensa grandi* is unquantifiable and, as argued by Thomas and Witschel, the use of *reficere* in rebuilding inscriptions is unspecific, sometimes projecting 'a general ideal of reconstruction onto what would have been more accurately described as modification.'¹⁹ Cassius Dio records that in 9 BC a storm damaged the temple and scholars have plausibly thought this to be what necessitated the Augustan intervention.²⁰ Dio, however, provides no specifics over how the temple was affected. While buildings are known to have burned as a result of lightning strikes (for example, the Pantheon in AD 110) there is no indication that this was the case here. Augustus' apparent reluctance

¹⁰ On the idea of a fourth-century rebuilding: Castagnoli: 1955: 142; Alföldi 1965: 323-30. On the possible tradition that the Capitolium was sacked by the Gauls: Williams 2001: 40-50. There is, however, no textual reference or archaeological evidence which points to a phase in-between the original sixth-century version and the Catulan rebuilding: Coarelli 2007: 33.

¹¹ Liv. 10.23.12; Plin. *HN* 28.16; 35.157; Platner and Ashby 1929: 298.

¹² Liv. 35.10.11.

¹³ Liv. 40.51.3.

¹⁴ Plin. *HN* 36.185.

¹⁵ Plin. *HN* 33.57. On this passage see Chapter Six.

¹⁶ For collected references: Platner and Ashby 1929: 299; Tagliamonte 1996:146-7. On the destruction and aftermath: Flower 2008: 75-84.

¹⁷ De Angeli 1996: 149.

¹⁸ *RG* 20.1. (Translation by Brunt and Moore 1967)

¹⁹ Thomas and Witschel 1992: 152.

²⁰ Cass. Dio 55.1.1. De Angeli (1996: 150) connects the Augustan restoration with this event; Platner and Ashby (1929: 300) place it without explanation in 26 BC.

to put his name on the building is presented as a gesture of modesty, yet it might also be an indication of how little work was actually carried out.²¹ The limited nature of any intervention at this time is further suggested by its omission from both Tacitus' and Plutarch's accounts of the temple, as they list its successive phases but make no mention of Augustus.²² If a storm was the reason for the restoration then it is possible that the damage was superficial, not structural, and primarily affected the exterior ornamentation.²³ Any suggestion that Augustus actually rebuilt the temple seems unfounded.²⁴

The Catulan Capitolium was destroyed by fire in AD 69, again as a result of civil strife.²⁵ The senate voted that its rebuilding be awarded to the new emperor Vespasian and construction was begun the following year. Within a decade the temple had burned down again, falling victim to the fire of AD 80, as detailed in Chapter Two. The building of a fourth temple was initiated by Titus but completed by, and credited to, Domitian.²⁶ This final incarnation of the temple appears to have remained largely unscathed until its despoliation, which began in the fifth century AD.²⁷ Therefore, although various alterations were made to the temple over the course of its thousand-year history, four distinct versions existed: the original and three reconstructions. The first rebuilding was by Catulus, the second by Vespasian and the third by Domitian.²⁸ Of direct relevance to the chronological focus of this study (AD 64-120s) are the two Flavian incarnations. However, as will become apparent, it is not possible to fully understand these later restorations without considering the original temple and also the Catulan rebuilding. Therefore, my investigation here moves beyond the study's declared chronological limits to take account of, and examine, these earlier examples.

²¹ Stuart 1905: 432-4; Boatwright 2013: 22.

²² Tac. *Hist.* 3.72; Plut. *Pub.* 14.1-4.

²³ Given the richness of the temple's ornament, which included gilded roof tiles, then even a restoration to just this element would not be incompatible with Augustus' claim to have repaired it at great expense.

²⁴ As suggested, for example, by Brunt and Moore 1967: 61. A comparison to his work on the theatre of Pompey, mentioned in the same sentence of the *Res Gestae*, is also instructive. As there is no evidence that this involved anything more than repairing storm damage to its ornament (Cass. Dio. 50.8.2-3) and possible minor alterations to the complex (Suet. *Aug.* 31).

²⁵ Wiseman 1979: 163-78; Townend 1987: 243-48; Wardle 1996: 208-222; Darwall-Smith 1996: 41-47.

²⁶ De Angeli 1996: 151; Darwell-Smith 1996: 105-6.

²⁷ On its spoliation, destruction and later history: Lanciani 1901: 74; 205; 208; 259-261; Ridley 2005: 83-92. On its continuing symbolic importance into late antiquity Grig 2009: 279-291.

²⁸ Although Sulla and Titus initiated the rebuilding of the second and fourth temples, I typically refer to the buildings by their dedicators Catulus and Domitian.

4.1.3 Uncertain Plans: Substructures and Superstructures

Despite the importance and monumentality of the Capitolium, as well as the existence of textual, iconographic and archaeological evidence relating to the temple, surprisingly little can be said with full confidence about the appearance of the various versions. Nevertheless, I think that a credible, if inevitably incomplete picture of how the temple developed through its successive phases can be established, which is what the first part of this chapter aims to do. To this end, the following discussion begins by determining the plan of the building, before moving on to its elevation and ornamentation.

One of the most notable and, for my purposes, important features of the rebuilding of the Capitolium is that, unlike other elements, the plan of the building did not change. Both the second-Catullan and third-Vespasianic versions purposefully retained the footprint (*vestigium*) of the original temple. This, as argued below, quite probably meant that the lateral dimensions of the structure, along with the positioning and arrangement of columns and cella walls remained constant in the successive phases. The case for this comes from textual rather than archaeological evidence and is made in the second part of the chapter, where the significance of this exceptional decision to keep the same plan is also considered. However, it is highlighted here because the continuity explains why it is possible to consider the plan of all four versions of the temple collectively rather than in their separate phases.

The plan of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, as well as its overall size, is a matter of some debate. Reconstructions are based primarily on a combination of archaeological evidence and a passage of Dionysius of Halicarnassus who, amid his account of the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, digresses to describe elements of the temple, including some of its dimensions:

It stood on a high base and was eight hundred feet in circuit, each side measuring close to two hundred feet; indeed one would find the excess of the length over the width to be but slight, in fact not a full fifteen feet.²⁹

²⁹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.61.3: ἐποιήθη δ' ἐπὶ κρηπίδος ὑψηλῆς βεβηκῶς ὀκτάπλεθρος τὴν περίσδον, διακοσίων ποδῶν ἔγγιστα τὴν πλευρὰν ἔχων ἐκάστην: ὀλίγον δέ τι τὸ διαλλάττον εὔροι τις ἂν τῆς ὑπεροχῆς τοῦ μήκους παρὰ τὸ πλάτος οὐδ' ὄλων πεντεκαίδεκα ποδῶν. (Translation Cary 1939).

Dionysius, who lived in Rome for twenty-two years following Augustus' victory over Mark Antony, would have been familiar with the Catulan rebuilding of the Capitolium, not the original sixth-century temple.³⁰ Although because as he observes the later building had been 'erected upon the same foundations' as the original, then the measurements he records are often accepted as referring to both versions of the temple.³¹ How Dionysius came by these figures is not clear. Andr n rightly emphasises that the two decades Dionysius spent in Rome should be taken into account when considering his remarks about the city's topography.³² He argues that Dionysius' observations on a number of monuments, including the Capitolium, derive from first-hand autopsy rather than the written accounts of others.³³ It is questionable as to whether Dionysius would have actually measured the building himself, in the same way as it is highly unlikely that he counted the 150,000 seats of the Circus Maximus that he similarly records in the *Roman Antiquities*.³⁴ Nevertheless, it would be difficult to maintain that this inquisitively minded, long-term resident had no knowledge of the building, and the likelihood of Dionysius' personal experience lends credibility both to some of his other remarks about the structure discussed below, as well as the probability that he would not have accepted a perceptibly absurd figure for its dimensions.³⁵

The temple of Jupiter is now associated with the enormous structure built of Cappellaccio tufa blocks that sits underneath the sixteenth-century Palazzo dei Conservatori (Fig. 4.2). Although no textual or iconographic evidence has ever been found to directly confirm that these remains are the temple, there is a current consensus over the identification. This is due to the location, date and, in particular, estimated size of the structure (not that this has been definitively established).³⁶ Since Paribeni's study of 1921, the length of the building was consistently measured as c.61-62 metres, while the width, as noted by Ridley,

³⁰ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.7.2.

³¹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.61.4: * πὶ γὰρ τοῖς αὐτοῖς θεμελίοις*. The veracity of the claim that the plan of the second temple directly corresponded to the first is discussed below.

³² Andr n 1960: 88-104.

³³ On the accuracy of Dionysius' remarks on the Capitolium: Andr n 1960: 91-92; Hopkins 2012: 115-117.

³⁴ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.68.3.

³⁵ Dionysius' (*Ant. Rom.* 3.68; 9.68.3) interest in recording figures relating to Rome's buildings is also apparent in his comments on the Circus Maximus and Servian Wall.

³⁶ On the history of the site of the temple and its rediscovery: Ridley 2005: 83-104.

has been variously estimated as between 53 and 57 metres.³⁷ It has been argued that these figures support Dionysius' account, as not only do they accord with his observation that the length was marginally greater than the width, but if calculated in Roman feet, then the measurements appear not too far from the figures he provides.³⁸ The excavations carried out between 1998 and 2000 reiterated that the dimensions of the temple should be reconstructed as c.54 by c.62 metres. However, the excavators' plans also acknowledged that the tufa structure extended a further 12 metres behind where the cella was traditionally placed in reconstructions, bringing its total length to 74 metres (Fig. 4.3).³⁹ These new dimensions would not seem to fit with Dionysius' assessment, and it brings into focus the problem of what it was that Dionysius was describing, and which part of the temple the archaeological remains accord with.

Nothing of the superstructure of the temple remains *in situ*. Instead, the tufa blocks belong to what is variously identified as the podium, platform, foundations or substructures of the temple (hereafter substructures).⁴⁰ A point of current contention is the question of whether the lost superstructure directly corresponded to the dimensions of these substructures, as became the prevalent scholarly view after the publishing of Gjerstad's influential reconstruction in the 1960s (Fig. 4.4).⁴¹ Although modified in accordance with the new discoveries, most notably the addition of rooms to the rear of the cella to account for the previously unknown twelve-metre extension of the substructures, Gjerstad's plan was largely followed by Mura Sommella after the 1998-2000 excavations (Fig 4.5).⁴² In turn, this interpretation has been the basis for other reconstructions, and the idea of a large Capitoline temple that maps directly onto the substructures remains popular.⁴³

The temple, as reconstructed in this way, is enormous. In width, it would have exceeded the temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens and been comparable to

³⁷ Paribeni 1921: 38-49. On the various estimates: Ridley 2005: 102; Cifani 2008: 104-5.

³⁸ Hopkins 2012: 117 with n. 27. Cf. Tagliamonte 1996: 147. Contra Boethius (1970: 41-42). Stamper (2005: 22) reconstructs Dionysius' figures as 180 by 210RF (0.296 metres), which converts to 53.28 by 62.16 metres. On divergent views as to whether Dionysius used the Greek, Roman or Greco-Roman foot: Ridley 2005: 94-95; 102.

³⁹ Mura Sommella 2000a: 20-21; 2000b: 57-79; 2001: 263-4.

⁴⁰ Ridley 2005: 99; Poucet 1992: 224: "bases", "foundations", "substructions", "podium", "plate-forme" "terre-plein."

⁴¹ Gjerstad 1960:168-189; 1962: 35-40; cf. Boëthius 1962: 27-33. For further studies that have followed this proposal, see summary in Stamper 1998-99: 121 with n. 31.

⁴² Mura Sommella 2000a: 24-5; 2000b 57-79.

⁴³ Cifani 2008: 102-109; Hopkins 2012; 2010.

the temple of Artemis at Ephesus – one of the wonders of the ancient world.⁴⁴ Partly due to this comparative vastness, the reconstructions of Gjerstad and Mura Sommella have met with scepticism. Some scholars have questioned whether Rome in the sixth century BC could have accomplished such a feat and if a temple of the proposed proportions would have been structurally viable.⁴⁵ In particular, it is the difficulty of roofing such a large temple that is highlighted by the critics and Stamper points to the problem of spanning the wide central intercolumniation.⁴⁶ As an alternative, Stamper reconstructs a reduced, but still very sizable, temple which sits in the middle of the substructures rather than corresponding to its edges (Fig. 4.6-7).⁴⁷

The notion of a smaller superstructure has found support, although Stamper's reconstruction itself seems rather arbitrary in certain details.⁴⁸ For example, there is no evidence in favour of his proposal that the substructures were terraced, and Hopkins, who favours a large Capitolium, criticises the plan for seemingly ignoring the positioning of the supporting walls within the substructures.⁴⁹ Indeed, Hopkins' assertion that the heavy elements of the superstructure, cella walls and columns, must for practical reasons align to the intersecting tufa walls of the substructure is a compelling argument in support of a large temple reconstruction (Fig. 4.8).⁵⁰ Likewise, his solution to the roofing problem, suggesting that a truss rather than post-and-lintel system was used, further illustrates that the large Capitolium plan cannot simply be discarded because it *seems* too big.⁵¹

The debate over the size of the temple is unresolved and will probably remain so until evidence of the actual superstructure is uncovered.⁵² Importantly

⁴⁴ Stamper (2005: 26; 1998/99: 123) provides a table of comparative dimensions; cf. comparisons in Ridley 2005: 104; Hopkins 2012: 119-126.

⁴⁵ Giuliani 1982: 29-31. Earlier, Lake (1935: 108) had already opposed the idea of a huge temple; cf. discussion of scholarship on this issue in Ridley 2005: 99-104. In favour of sixth-century BC Rome being capable of undertaking vast construction projects: Hopkins 2010 19-29; 2012:112.

⁴⁶ Stamper 2005: 24-5; Ridley 2005: 103-4.

⁴⁷ Stamper 2005: 25-33; 1998-99: 120-138.

⁴⁸ Ridley 2005: 104; Tucci 2006: 386-91; Arata 2010: 608-622.

⁴⁹ Hopkins 2010: 27-30; 2012: 115.

⁵⁰ Hopkins 2010: 27-33; 2012: 114-5. Cf. Cifani 2008: 105-6 with fig. 86. On the problem of the fragmentary nature of the remains making reconstruction ambiguous: Sobocinski 2014: 456.

⁵¹ Hopkins 2010: 21-8; 2012:114; cf. Cifani (2008: 102-7) who also defends the large temple reconstruction.

⁵² Tucci: 2006: 391. Other supporting arguments have been put forward based on the measurements of the associated terracotta revetments (Hopkins 2012: 115; Mura Sommella 2000a: 22-26), as well as from plausibility through comparisons to other contemporary temples

though, even those who advocate a smaller plan still agree that the Capitolium was in relative terms very sizable and larger than any nearby contemporaneous temple.⁵³ Certainly, this is an impression that is also conveyed by the literary sources, which stress the enormous undertaking that its construction must have entailed. Both Livy and Tacitus express that the scale of the original temple reflected Rome's future greatness rather than the early city's condition.⁵⁴ While it is highly questionable as to whether these later sources were accurately reporting sixth-century BC opinions, their comments are indicative of the impressive size of the Capitolium.

4.1.4 The Arrangement of the Columns

It is not just the dimensions of the temple that are disputed but also its arrangement. Dionysius records that the temple faced south and had three *cellae* separated by party walls; the one in the centre was occupied by Jupiter, with Minerva and Juno on either side.⁵⁵ A triple cella configuration is known in other sixth- and fifth-century Tuscan–Italic temples, and that of the Capitolium seems confirmed by a number of iconographic sources (Fig. 4.9-11).⁵⁶ Recent reconstructions that advocate the large temple idea, estimate the dimensions and positioning of the *cellae* by aligning them with the tufa walls of the substructure (Fig. 4.5; 4.12). As already noted, this seems logical, as some, however not necessarily all, of the intersecting walls were surely intended to act as foundational supports for elements of the superstructure above.⁵⁷ However, the proposed configurations are still to a large extent conjectural, particularly in regard to the respective lengths of the *cellae* walls and the position of their thresholds.⁵⁸

Also, while acknowledging that the podium is 74 metres in length, most reconstructions continue to place the rear wall of the cella along a transverse

(Hopkins 2012: 119-12; contra Stamper 1998/99: 122-124; 2005: 24-6). Cf. discussion of previous scholarship in Ridley 2005: 95-104.

⁵³ Stamper 2005: 30; Tucci 2006: 391.

⁵⁴ Liv. 1.28.7; Tac. *Hist.* 3.72.

⁵⁵ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.61.4. Livy (7.3.5) indicates that Minerva was in the right-hand cella.

⁵⁶ For example, the temple of Castor and Pollux in the forum had in its first phase three *cellae*: Nielsen and Poulsen 1992b: 75-79.

⁵⁷ Hopkins 2010; 15-33; 2012: 114-5. This type of construction can also be observed in other near contemporary temples, for example that of Castor and Pollux in the forum: Nielsen and Poulsen 1992b: 75-79.

⁵⁸ Acknowledged by Hopkins 2012: 117.

line of tufa blocks 62 metres from the front of the substructures (Fig. 4.5; 4.12; 4.13).⁵⁹ In part, this reluctance to move the back wall of the cella from the 62 metre mark seems to be because it corresponds to Dionysius' measurements.⁶⁰ The additional 12 metres to the rear are presented as some kind of extension, reconstructed by Mura Sommella (initially) and then Hopkins as a series of rooms of undefined purpose.⁶¹ However, such spaces are otherwise unattested in Italic temple design and their inclusion here seems somewhat arbitrary.⁶² Indeed, the ease with which they can be discounted is demonstrated by Mura Sommella's recent revision of her initial reconstruction, which involves replacing the rooms with a colonnade (Fig. 4.14).⁶³

Nor is the precise number and positioning of the columns of the temple conclusively established. Dionysius states that the temple had '...three rows of columns on the front, facing the south, and a single row on each side.'⁶⁴ There seems little reason to doubt that the portico was three rows deep, as it is an arrangement known from other near contemporary Tuscan–Italic temples.⁶⁵ The reference to a single row of columns along each side has meant that modern studies almost always reconstructed the temple as *peripteros sine postico*. As mentioned above, however, Mura Sommella has gone back on her earlier plan and reinterpreted Dionysius' statement *ἐκ δὲ τῶν πλαγίων ἀπλῶ* as referring to all three other sides, not just the flanks.⁶⁶ Mura Sommella therefore reconstructs the temple as *peripteros*, replacing the aforementioned rooms at the back of the substructures with columns (Fig. 4.14). The interpretation is plausible, but again, the absence of archaeological evidence relating to the superstructure limits the argument. Indeed, that the most recent excavator of the site can so radically change her interpretation highlights just how hypothetical these elements of the reconstructions are.

⁵⁹ For example, Mura Sommella 2000a; 2009; Hopkins 2010; 2012. Even Stamper (1998/99; 2005) who, as noted above, does not follow the podium's intersecting walls elsewhere, keeps the back wall of the *cellae* in this position.

⁶⁰ On Dionysius: Hopkins 2010: 27-9; 2012: 117 with n. 27. However, accepting such a degree of accuracy from Dionysius is perhaps unrealistic. He was a historian attempting to give an impression of the building's monumentality, not an architect trying to document a plan for purposes of reproduction.

⁶¹ Mura Sommella 2000a: 20-21 with fig. 26; Cifani 2008: 10 Fig. 85; Hopkins 2010: 20.

⁶² Mura Sommella (2000a: 20-21) looks to Greek examples; cf. Cifani 2008: 100.

⁶³ Mura Sommella 2009: 333–72.

⁶⁴ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.61.4: *τοῦ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν βλέποντος τριπλῶ περιλαμβανόμενος στοίχῳ κίωνων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πλαγίων ἀπλῶ*: (Translation Cary 1937).

⁶⁵ For example, the first version of the temple of Castor and Pollux in the forum: Nielsen and Poulsen 1992b: 75-79.

⁶⁶ Mura Sommella 2009: 333–72.

It is received orthodoxy that the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was hexastyle and all modern plans show it as such. Yet neither Dionysius nor any other source actually says anything to this effect.⁶⁷ Recently, Sobocinski has questioned why the hexastyle model persists unchallenged; she does not pursue the point, but asks why no one has proposed adding more columns to the façade and also notes that earlier studies reconstructed it with just four.⁶⁸ Sobocinski's objection is based on highlighting both the absence of evidence as well as the contradictory nature of that which does exist. Yet the alternatives to a hexastyle temple do not seem very likely.

Firstly, increasing the number of columns across the facade would give the temple an octastyle arrangement (at the very least), which, as far as I know, is unprecedented for the Tuscan–Italic type. Even the proposed hexastyle facade appears to have been very unusual in this type of temple at this date. Also, among all of the representations of the Capitolium that have been identified, none depicts the building with more than six columns.⁶⁹ This is not proof in itself; as discussed below, the numbers of columns depicted on reliefs and coins were not always accurate reflections of the building they portrayed. However, given the quite considerable number of images of the Capitolium, the total absence of any showing more than six columns is compelling.⁷⁰

In addition, it is unlikely that the Capitolium had only four columns across the façade. Tellingly, most suggestions that the temple was tetrastyle were made before excavations had revealed the potentially enormous scale of the building.⁷¹ For given the structural difficulties identified in roofing a hexastyle temple of that size, then any reconstruction based on just four columns would clearly need to be significantly smaller. Indeed, as mentioned above, the configuration of the intersecting walls of the podium, which Hopkins argues are load-bearing, seem to correspond best with a hexastyle arrangement.

The primary reason for suggestions that the Capitolium could have been tetrastyle is because it is depicted this way on a number of occasions. A

⁶⁷ So accepted has it become that the temple was hexastyle that this detail is sometimes assumed to have been part of Dionysius' description, as Hopkins (2012: 117) does.

⁶⁸ Sobocinski 2014: 456.

⁶⁹ For collected numismatic depictions: Lake 1935: 138-143; Hill 1989: 24-26. On the Boscoreale cup: Kuttner 1995: 127-31. See below for relief panels.

⁷⁰ When deemed appropriate, octastyle and decastyle could be depicted on coins: Brown 1940: pl. 4.3;4;5.

⁷¹ On this: Ridley 2005: 90; 91; 98; Sobocinski 2014: 456.

denarius minted at Rome c.78–76 BC is the only known image that might plausibly be identified as representing the original temple and shows it with this arrangement (Fig. 4.9).⁷² The Catulan rebuilding is likewise depicted as tetrastyle on one of the Boscoreale cups, as well as on an as of AD 69 (Fig. 4.15-16).⁷³ An image of the Capitolium with four columns also appears on a cistophorus of Titus, and is later reused on a Domitianic issue of AD 82 (Fig. 4.17).⁷⁴ A monumental relief of Marcus Aurelius includes the Domitianic version of the temple in the background, showing it again with only four columns across the façade (Fig. 4.11).⁷⁵ In quantitative terms, this evidence is not insubstantial although it is no greater than that which depicts the temple as hexastyle: a late Republican denarius, a Vespasianic as and sestertius, a denarius of Domitian, and monumental relief of probably Trajanic date (Fig. 4.10; 4.18-22).⁷⁶ The evident contradiction of the same versions of the temple being shown with different numbers of columns highlights the problem of using such evidence to reconstruct lost details of actual buildings. As recent studies, particularly in numismatics, have shown, images were not necessarily accurate reflections of reality.⁷⁷ Presenting precise architectural details need not have been a priority or even a consideration for the die cutter or relief sculptor, who instead was able to convey the building's identity through a small number of well chosen features.⁷⁸ Structures are often shown in an abbreviated form, with the prioritising of certain details, and the omission, alteration or even wholesale invention of others.⁷⁹

⁷² Crawford 1974a: 399-400; Sydenham and Haines 1975: 127.

⁷³ On the cup: Kuttner 1995: 127-31. On the as: Hill 1989: 25.

⁷⁴ Darwall-Smith 1996: 106.

⁷⁵ Ryberg 1967: 24-26.

⁷⁶ On the Republican denarius: Crawford 1974a: 400; 1974b: 497. On the Vespasianic as: Mattingly and Sydenham 1968: 74. On the Vespasianic sestertius: Mattingly and Sydenham 1968: 82; this image of the temple is also found on a medallion of the period: Donaldson 1859: 6-8. On the Domitianic denarius: Hill 1989: 26; Darwall-Smith 1996: 107; pl. 20.34. On the Trajanic relief: Wace 1907: 237-244. On other possible representations of the temple on coins of Domitian: Sobocinski 2006: 593 with n. 72.

⁷⁷ The accuracy of the depiction of buildings in ancient coinage is raised by Brown (1940: 13-20) and a sceptical stance is taken by Drew-Bear (1974: 27-63). Against this position, Price and Trell (1977) and, with specific regard to Rome's building, Hill (1989) express confidence in the general faithfulness of the images. Discussions surrounding the usefulness of architectural images as evidence are advanced beyond questions of accuracy by Burnett (1999: 137-164). So, too Sobocinski (2002; 2006) and Marzano (2009) have taken new approaches to the material. For a critique of scholarship on architectural representations on Roman reliefs and coins see Sobocinski 2002: 3-12.

⁷⁸ Sobocinski 2006: 596; 2014: 447-8. In regard to the Capitolium, the most common identifying features are the inclusion of three sets of doors representing the triple *cellae* or the depiction of the three deities between the columns.

⁷⁹ Drew-Bear 1974: 63; Kuttner 1995: 127-125; Burnett 1999: 146-8; Sobocinski 2006: 593-6.

In particular, it is noted that there is often demonstrable inconsistency and inaccuracy regarding the number of columns that are included on temple façades.⁸⁰ For example, on a large freestanding relief showing an *adlocutio* of either Trajan or Hadrian in the Forum Romanum, the octastyle temple of Castor and Pollux is carelessly represented with an impossible five columns (Fig. 4.23).⁸¹ Likewise, denarii of AD 68-9 unrealistically portray the Catullan temple of Jupiter Capitolinus with just two (Fig. 4.24). Of course, images were accurate in some details, and each case should be considered on its own merits rather than this type of evidence just being dismissed altogether.⁸² However, while some modern studies have placed great emphasis on counting the number of columns depicted on a building's façade as a determining factor in its identification, it seems evident that this feature was not always of importance in antiquity.

There is a danger of circularity in arguing that representations of the temple with six columns demonstrate that those of it with four are incorrect.⁸³ Further conclusions about the potential accuracy of individual images can be made based on criteria such as dating, provenance and levels of detail, but there is no consistent pattern that it is always the tetrastyle or hexastyle representations that might be deemed the more reliable.⁸⁴ More pertinent is the observation by Brown, that while temples on Roman coins might be shown as having fewer columns than they are known to have actually had, as far as can be determined, they are never depicted as having more.⁸⁵ The limitations of surviving evidence mean that not all examples can be tested, but I have yet to find an exception to this rule, and I think it an important consideration in favour of the Capitolium being hexastyle.

⁸⁰ Brown 1940: 14-16; Hill 1989: 25; Burnett 1999: 146-7; Sobocinski 2006: 593-4.

⁸¹ On the Anaglypha Traiani: Sobocinski 2002: 113-123.

⁸² See Kleiner's (1985) assessment of the different depictions of the arch of Nero. Cf. comments on this issue by Price-Trell 1977: 19; Burnett 1999: 148; 152; Metcalf 1999: 12-13.

⁸³ Sobocinski 2014: 450.

⁸⁴ The accuracy of a number of the representations might be questioned on various grounds. For instance, the denarius of Voltius (Fig. 4.9) dates to the years between the destruction of the first temple and the construction of the second. It is therefore questionable as to whether it is a memory of the old building or a projection of the new that is being depicted (Crawford 1974a: 400; De Angeli 1996: 149). Likewise, the Vespasianic temple was not dedicated until AD 75 but appears on coins of AD 71-2 (Fig. 4.20) That the temple at that point was to a degree and in a sense non-existent might have encouraged the die cutter to be less concerned with realism in his representation. A further point to consider regarding reliability is where the coin was minted. Kleiner (1985: 125-38), in his study on issues that depict the arch of Nero highlights how the representation on those from Lyon differs considerably from those minted in Rome, and he argues that the provincial coins are less accurate in architectural detail.

⁸⁵ Brown 1940: 15.

In their recent studies on the Capitolium, both Arata and Sobocinski have highlighted the substantial number of reconstructions of the plan of the temple that have been put forward in the last fifty years.⁸⁶ Even if there are notable similarities between most of the proposals, that there are so many is in itself indicative of the uncertainty that surrounds this element of the temple's design. Nevertheless, certain details about its plan can be asserted with a high degree of probability. The temple had a hexastyle façade, according to the arguments presented above, with a porch three columns deep and a row extending down either side of three *cellae* (the rear remains uncertain). The possibility that the walls and columns of the superstructure would have followed the intersecting walls of the substructure, and that the design should be reconstructed accordingly is also a suggestion that needs to be considered seriously. The substructure itself dates to the sixth century BC in line with the historical tradition and, importantly, it was enormous. Even if it is still disputed as to whether the superstructure covered the entirety of the surface of this area, the overall monumentality of the temple seems evident and, as will be argued in the second section, its plan – the column arrangement, positioning of the *cellae* and lateral dimension – did not change when it was rebuilt.⁸⁷

It was, however, only these elements of the design that remained the same and I now will set out how the appearance of the temple developed through its successive phases. It will be argued that the Catulan, Vespasianic and Domitianic restorations were all carried out in an innovative manner, with the temple becoming physically larger (in respect to its height) and materially grander, as each version sought to enhance the *magnificentia* of the Capitolium. The developments suggest that builders looked to contemporary architectural trends rather than historical precedents, with the result that the fourth incarnation of the temple, aside from the floor plan, bore only limited visual resemblance to the original.

I have chosen not to offer my own reconstructions of the temple plan or overall appearance of the different phases of the building. While it might be

⁸⁶ Arata 2010: 608- 14; Sobocinski 2014: 435-7.

⁸⁷ As mentioned above, the argument for this is set out in the second half of the chapter, but it is relevant to note here that there seems to be nothing in the archaeological record (such as a lateral expansion of the superstructure) to contradict the claim.

useful for illustrative purposes, the uncertainty regarding so many details would either render it unhelpful through omission or misleading through conjecture. It is, however, helpful to present a summary of how the building developed from one version to the next, which the reader might choose to refer back to. Therefore, the table immediately below is a simplified impression of the key changes to the temple of Jupiter that are argued for in the following section.

	Predominant Materiality and Exterior Aesthetic	Column Order	Overall Height	Roof
First-Tarquian Temple	Stuccoed tufa	Tuscan	Low	Terracotta
Second-Catulan Temple	Stuccoed tufa and travertine	Tuscan	Low	Gilded
Third-Vespasianic Temple	Marble	Corinthian/ Composite	Higher	Gilded (?)
Fourth-Domitianic Temple	Marble	Corinthian/ Composite	Higher still	Gilded

4.1.5 The Second-Catulan Temple

Dionysius states that the Capitolium of his day ‘...differed from the ancient structure in nothing but the extravagance of its materials.’⁸⁸ Although Dionysius does not go into specifics, his assertion that Catulus rebuilt the temple (dedicated 69 BC) with increased material splendour is corroborated by Cicero’s description of it being *praeclarius magnificentiusque*.⁸⁹ The veracity of this judgement seems most evident in the decision to roof the new building with gold, as is noted by Pliny the Elder ‘...various judgements were passed on

⁸⁸ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.61.4. ...τῆ πολυτελεία τῆς ὕλης ὄνον ἰαλλάττωντοῦ ἀρχαίου. (Translation Cary 1937).

⁸⁹ Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.69. Cicero’s comments are examined in Chapter Six.

Catulus by his contemporaries for having gilded the bronze tiles of the Capitolium.⁹⁰ The addition was undoubtedly visually striking and its impact might be inferred from the way in which, by the Augustan period, this feature had become emblematic of the temple. Propertius, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Seneca the Elder and Valerius Maximus all characterise the Capitolium as golden (*aureus*) and shining (*fulgens*).⁹¹ The gilded roof would have been recognised as a clear departure from the original building and this distinction is spelt out by Ovid in the *Ars Amatoria*:

There was rude simplicity of old, but now golden Rome possesses the vast wealth of the conquered world. See what the Capitol is now, and what it was: you would say they belonged to different Jupiters.⁹²

Ovid's assessment, along with the comments of all of the Latin authors cited above, is situated within a discourse about present-day splendour and the rustic simplicity of the past.⁹³ I return to this subject and the example of the Capitolium in Chapter Six, where the relationship between architecture and *luxuria* is explored. For the moment though, I want only to highlight the way in which the temple physically developed and not to digress too far onto how the changes were received.

It is difficult to overestimate just how innovative Catulus' decision to cover the temple in gold was.⁹⁴ While roofs had been sheathed with bronze before, I can find no precedent for the use of gilded tiles on a large public building at Rome, or indeed anywhere else in the Mediterranean at this time.⁹⁵ Livy records that Antiochus IV (r. 175-164 BC) built a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus at Antioch which had a golden ceiling and walls, while Pliny the Elder notes that in 142 BC the ceiling of the original Capitolium in Rome was

⁹⁰ Plin. *HN* 33.57 ...*varie sua aetas de Catulo existimaverit, quod tegulas aereas Capitoli inaurasset.* (Translation adapted from Rackham 1952). This passage is examined in Chapter Six.

⁹¹ Prop. 4.1.5-8; Verg. *Aen.* 8.347-8; Hor. *Car.* 3.3.42-44; Ov. *Ars am.* 3.113; Sen. *Cont.* 1.6.4; 2.1.1; Val. Max. 6.9.5. Edwards (1996: 70) describes it as 'the proverbial golden roof' and suggests that '[Augustan] Rome as the golden city...can perhaps be read as a metaphorical extension of the goldenness of Rome's chief temple.'

⁹² Ov. *Ars am.* 3.113-6: *Simplicitas rudis ante fuit: nunc aurea Roma est, Et domiti magnas possidet orbis opes. Aspice quae nunc sunt Capitolia, quaeque fuerunt: Alterius dices illa fuisse Iovis.* (Translation Mozely 1979).

⁹³ Gibson 2003: 134-37

⁹⁴ There is no suggestion that the roof of the original temple was anything but terracotta. On the terracotta fragments possibly relating to the roof of the sixth-century temple: Gjerstad 1960: 189-90; Cristofani 1990: 68-76; Mura Sommella 2000a: 23; 26.

⁹⁵ According to Pliny (*HN* 34.13) the temple of Vesta had a bronze roof.

gilded.⁹⁶ However, these were interior decorations. The Catulan roof, therefore, marked not just a dramatic departure from the previous incarnation of the temple, but it was pioneering in itself.

Other than the roof, little else is known with any certainty about the materiality of either the exterior or interior of the second temple. Unsurprisingly, given that the Capitolium was to be rebuilt a further two times, no remains of the superstructure have been conclusively identified.⁹⁷ Nor is there any indication in textual sources as to whether the cella was constructed of tufa and coated with stucco or covered with marble panelling. However, looking at near contemporary buildings in the city suggests possibilities as to what might have been the case.⁹⁸

As detailed in Chapter Two, the use of imported marble in the construction of temples at Rome dates back to the mid-second century BC. By the late first century BC, it had become the favoured choice.⁹⁹ Therefore, it is entirely plausible that marble could have been used for elements of the temple of Jupiter. Indeed, the extensive employment of imported marble would correspond with the material extravagance referred to by Dionysius and Cicero (see above). Equally, however, temples from around this period were still being built predominantly from relatively local materials. For example, the temple of Castor and Pollux, one of the most prominent buildings in the forum, was rebuilt after a fire in 117 BC on a new plan and with a stucco-coated tufa superstructure.¹⁰⁰ The temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, vowed by Catulus' father in 101 BC and based on a Greek *tholos* was similarly built in this manner (Fig. 4.25).¹⁰¹ So, too, Marius' purportedly magnificent temple of Honos and Virtus was built at the turn of the first century BC without marble.¹⁰² Indeed,

⁹⁶ Liv. *Per.* 41.20; Plin. *HN* 33.56. Polybius (10.27.7-13) also describes a palace in Media as having once had a gilded ceiling as well as columns covered with gold or silver (an example mentioned to me by Boris Chrubasik); cf. Winter 2006: 25-6.

⁹⁷ Although Arata (2010: 623-4) has tentatively identified a tufa capital as belonging to the building, discussed below.

⁹⁸ On building in this period and the preceding century: Coarelli 1977a: 1-23.

⁹⁹ Marble temples before the Augustan era include the temples of Jupiter Stator, Mars in Campo, Venus Genetrix, and the round temple in the Forum Boarium.

¹⁰⁰ On this version of the temple: Nielsen 1992: 87-115. Metellus was also responsible for rebuilding the temple of Magna Mater on the Palatine (111-102 BC), which was similarly constructed using stucco-covered tufa.

¹⁰¹ Gros 1995a: 269-70. Pentelic marble was seemingly used for the ornamented architrave.

¹⁰² Vitruvius 7.praef.17: 'Indeed, if this temple had been of marble, so that the authority it had for its magnificence and expense were equal to that earned by the refinement of its art, it would be named among the foremost works of architecture' (*Id vero si marmoreum fuisset, ut haberet*

contemporary to Catulus' Capitolium, the temple of Portunus in the Forum Boarium exhibits a sophisticated combination of tufa and travertine for different elements of the cella and columns (Fig. 4.26).¹⁰³

Arguably, the closest parallel to the Capitolium is the structure associated with the 'Tabularium,' a building that is also known to have been constructed by Catulus at probably the same time and using the same architect as the temple of Jupiter.¹⁰⁴ The impressive, multi-storey, arcaded structure that fronts the Capitoline Hill and overlooks the western end of the forum is commonly referred to as the 'Tabularium,' although this identification is highly contentious (Fig. 4.27).¹⁰⁵ In any case, 'Tabularium' or not, it is often accepted that this large complex, built predominately of tufa and with travertine employed for the capitals and architrave of the engaged doric columns, belongs to the Sullan-Catulan building programme (Fig. 4.28).¹⁰⁶ The upper part of the building is lost under the Palazzo Senatorio. Recently, Coarelli has persuasively argued that the structure formed a monumental platform for three temples, which he associates with a number of travertine fragments belonging to a large, late Republican, Corinthian order (Fig. 4.29-30).¹⁰⁷ Although the association cannot yet be confirmed, if correct, then it further indicates that this sister project of Catulus' rebuilding of the Capitolium seems to have primarily employed stuccoed tufa and travertine. This is not, of course, proof that the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus did not have a predominantly marble exterior, but given that the projects shared the same patron and architect, it is at least a distinct possibility.

Contrary to this proposal, an often cited claim is that the columns of the Capitolium were changed during the Catulan rebuilding from tufa ones with a

quemadmodum ab arte subtilitatem, sic ab magnificentia et inpensis auctoritatem, in primis et summis operibus nominaretur. (Translation Rowland and Howe 1999).

¹⁰³ Jackson, *et al.* 2005: 504-506. On the date of the temple: Coarelli 2007: 316; Claridge 2010: 286.

¹⁰⁴ We know that the architect was Lucius Cornelius from his funerary inscription (*CIL* 1².2961): Anderson 1997: 26-34; 2014: 129-130; Coarelli 2010: 123-4.

¹⁰⁵ The name is based upon a now missing inscription: Coarelli 2010: 107 with n. 2; 121. On the identification see discussions in Purcell 1993: esp. 135-142; Mura Sommella 1999: 17-20; Tucci 2005: 7-33.

¹⁰⁶ Coarelli 2010: 121. Purcell (1993: 142) gives it a broader late republican date and Claridge (2010: 272) suggests it could be fifty years earlier or later than Sulla.

¹⁰⁷ Coarelli 2010: 111-115; cf. Tucci 2005: 26-7; 2013/2014: 43-123.

Tuscan order to Pentelic marble ones with a Corinthian order.¹⁰⁸ Such a change would have significantly altered the appearance of the temple, not only because of the evident visual differences between Tuscan and Corinthian columns as well as stucco and marble, but also because the height of the building would have been increased in line with the appropriate proportions of its new order.¹⁰⁹ However, there is good evidence to suggest that the Catulan version retained a Tuscan order and that the transformation instead occurred later with the Vespasianic rebuilding. Given the importance of this matter to understanding the development of the appearance of the temple, as well as the frequency with which the idea of the Catulan version having Corinthian columns is repeated, it is necessary to consider the arguments in some detail.

The primary piece of evidence cited in support of the case for Corinthian columns is a remark by Pliny the Elder, who as part of his discussion on the properties and uses of marble in book thirty-six of the *Natural History*, claims that from the temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens ‘...Sulla brought columns to be used for temples on the Capitoline’ (...*ex quo Sulla Capitolinis aedibus advexerat columnas*).¹¹⁰ The temple of Olympian Zeus was a project of the late sixth century BC, abandoned in the early fifth century BC. It was then restarted in the mid-second century BC by Antiochus IV.¹¹¹ His architect, a Roman named Cossutius, redesigned the structure and substituted the original limestone Doric columns for Pentelic Corinthian ones.¹¹² Pliny’s comment has been interpreted as meaning that it was these Corinthian columns which were transported to Rome and then incorporated into the Sullan-Catulan rebuilding of the Capitolium.¹¹³ In particular, the symbolism of Rome constructing its principal temple of Jupiter with columns taken from Athens’ temple of Zeus makes this an appealing idea.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸ Boëthius 1970: 137; Perry 2012: 179-183. Stamper (2005: 82; 2014: 217) suggests an unlikely compromise of Corinthian capital on Tuscan shafts. On the original columns being stone not wood: Hopkins 2010: 21-22. The columns had been stuccoed since at least 179 BC: Liv. 40.51.3.

¹⁰⁹ On the Corinthian order and proportional ratios: Wilson Jones 2000: 109-133; 134-158; 221-225.

¹¹⁰ Plin. *HN* 36.45.

¹¹¹ This version too was to remain unfinished and the temple was only finally completed during the reign of Hadrian: Wycherley 1964: 161-179; Abramson 1974a: 1-5; 22-25.

¹¹² On Cossutius: Vitruvius 7. praef.15; Rawson 1975a: 36-47.

¹¹³ Among others, Robertson 1929: 160; Gjerstad 1962: 35-40; Boëthius 1970: 137; Stamper 2005: 82; Perry 2012: 179-183. Richardson (1992: 222-3) suggests the improbable scenario that Sulla transported the original sixth-century limestone columns back to Rome. Wycherley (1964: 170-1) proposes that only the capitals were brought back.

¹¹⁴ Perry 2012: 181.

Yet this interpretation is based on a possible misreading of Pliny's comment, as was argued by Abramson back in 1974, an objection that later studies have tended to ignore.¹¹⁵ Significantly, Abramson notes that Pliny here uses the plural *Capitolinis aedibus*, which indicates that the columns were brought for multiple unidentified temples on the Capitoline hill, not expressly the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.¹¹⁶ In support of this reading, Abramson highlights that throughout the *Natural History* Pliny is consistent in use of *aedes* in the singular form to refer to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.¹¹⁷ The implication of this is that either Sulla intended the columns for more than one temple, or that Pliny was unaware of which one they had been brought for.¹¹⁸ In either case it cannot be sustained that this passage unequivocally demonstrates the columns of the second temple of Jupiter Capitolinus were those of the Olympieion.¹¹⁹ A further objection from Abramson, rarely considered by other studies, is that Sulla was in Greece and sacked Athens between 86-85 BC, yet the Capitolium would not have required the columns until its destruction in 83 BC.

The other evidence presented in support of the Catulan temple having Corinthian columns is numismatic. Hill points to an *as* of Vitellius minted in AD 69, which shows the temple, identified by the legend *IO MAX CAPITO*, with Corinthian capitals (Fig. 4.16).¹²⁰ Other coins of the same year represent the temple quite differently, but are consistent in their depiction of a Corinthian order (Fig. 4.24). The questionable extent to which the details of buildings as represented on coins accurately reflect reality has been commented on above. Here, the two images show the same temple in the same year, but are almost irreconcilable; they differ on the number of columns (neither being hexastyle), the steps, the entablature, and the pediment sculpture. On both, emphasis appears to be primarily placed on the cult statue of Jupiter (Minerva and Juno are omitted). A correct rendering of the architecture seems to have been of little

¹¹⁵ Abramson 1974a: 1-25. For instance, Stamper (2005); Perry (2012) and Sobocinski (2014) do not include his study in their bibliography. Perry (2012: 180 with n. 14) acknowledges in a footnote that Pliny refers to temples plural but does not engage with the implications of this.

¹¹⁶ Abramson 1974a: 18-19. Cf. De Angeli 1996: 149. Abramson (1974a: 19-20; 1974b: 160) also suggests that the passage might refer to the interior columns of the temple of Zeus rather than those of the exterior order as is usually assumed.

¹¹⁷ Abramson 1974a: 18-19.

¹¹⁸ Perry (2012: 180-1) argues that Pliny was undoubtedly personally familiar with the Catulan Capitolium and that this is an important reason in favour of thinking he would have been able to observe that its columns were those from the temple of Zeus. Yet, actually, the very imprecision of Pliny's statement argues against this.

¹¹⁹ Abramson 1974: 17-20; De Angeli 1996: 149.

¹²⁰ Hill 1989: 25.

consequence, as further indicated by the die cutters perceiving the need to identify the temple by means of a legend.¹²¹ In support of the veracity of the depiction of Corinthian columns, Sobocinski suggests that the die cutters' inclusion of 'complex' capitals is 'likely to reflect underlying facts.'¹²² However, in this instance the complexity of the detailing would actually seem to demonstrate the opposite. The columns on the silver denarius of AD 68/9 are shown with considerable clarity to be semi-fluted (Fig. 4.24). Yet in Rome at this time, such rendering seems to have been primarily reserved for smaller or interior columns, not large exterior orders, which were either fully fluted or un-fluted.

Rather than the Catulan Capitolium changing to a Corinthian order, there is instead good reason to think it was rebuilt using Tuscan columns. Denarii minted in Rome between the late 40s and early 30s BC depict this version of the temple with a hexastyle facade and, what is sometimes claimed to be, a Tuscan order (Fig. 4.18-19).¹²³ However, those who argue for Corinthian columns dismiss this evidence on the grounds that the capitals are 'impressionistic' and 'indistinct.'¹²⁴ Far more compelling, though, is the literary evidence. In book three of *De Architectura*, Vitruvius distinguishes five *species* of temple, the fourth of which is *araeostyle*:

The appearance of these temples is splayed, top heavy, low and broad, while their roofs are decorated with terracotta ornaments or gilded bronze in Tuscan style, as in the temple of Ceres near the Circus Maximus, the temple of Hercules built by Pompey, and also the Capitolium.¹²⁵

Et ipsarum aedium species sunt varicae, barycephalae, humiles, latae, ornaturque signis fictilibus aut aereis inauratis earum fastigia tuscanico more, uti est ad Circum Maximum Cereris et Herculis Pompeiani, item Capitoli.

¹²¹ On the necessity of the legend: Sobocinski 2014: 454-5; cf. 2002: 16-18. Hill (1989: 25) is perhaps correct in his suggestion that the reduction of the columns is done in order to show the god inside, but it hardly inspires confidence that the rest of building is rendered correctly; cf. Burnett 1999: 146-147.

¹²² Sobocinski 2014: 455; cf. Brown 1940: 15-16.

¹²³ Crawford 1974a: 400; 1974b: 497; De Angeli 1996: 149; cf. Perry 2012: 179 with n. 12.

¹²⁴ Stamper 2005: 238 n. 92; Perry 2012: 180; Sobocinski 2014: 454.

¹²⁵ Vitr. 3.3.5.

Capitoli refers to the temple of Jupiter. As Vitruvius was writing towards the end of the first century BC, he must be commenting upon the Catulan version.¹²⁶ Tuscan-Italic *araeostyle* temples were characterised by a broad roof, supported on relatively short, thick Tuscan order columns, with wide intercolumniations and the first version of the Capitolium would have been of this type (Fig. 4.31).¹²⁷ That Vitruvius also classifies the second temple as such is suggestive of its form and appearance, as, indeed, is the language which Vitruvius uses to describe *araeostyle* temples. Lake points out that the adjectives *barycephalus*, *humilis* and *latus* would hardly be fitting to describe a temple that employed the seventeen-metre columns of the Olympieion.¹²⁸ Instead, this characterisation of the temple as low is surely more appropriate of a building with a Tuscan not a Corinthian order.

This impression is furthered by Tacitus' comment on the third-Vespasianic rebuilding of the Capitolium:

The [Vespasianic] temple was given greater height than the old [Catulan]: this was the only change that religious scruples allowed, and the only feature that was thought wanting in the magnificence of the old structure (*Altitudo aedibus adiecta: id solum religio adnuere et prioris templi magnificentiae defuisse credebatur*).¹²⁹

There is a lot going on in this passage and I return to it again later in this chapter. Here, I want only to highlight that the third temple was made visibly taller than the Catulan version because the apparently diminutive height was judged to have detracted from the *magnificentia* of the monument. Given that no example of an *araeostyle* temple with a Tuscan order is known to have been built in the capital for over a century before the Flavian period, then Tacitus' assessment is a likely reflection of how such a building would have been perceived by the late first century AD.¹³⁰ Importantly, though, the very

¹²⁶ On the publication date of *De Architectura*: Baldwin 1990: 425-34; Rowland and Howe 1999: 3-5; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 147 with n. 10.

¹²⁷ Lake 1935: 89-149; Boëthius 1970: 27-54; Sear 1982: 11; Gros 1996: 123-127; Stamper 2005: 19-48. On the original Capitolium as an archetypal Italic-Tuscan temple: Tagliamonte 1996: 144-148; Albertoni and Damiani 2008: 14-17.

¹²⁸ Lake 1935: 103. An element of this passage is corrupt in the manuscript, but the resulting difficulty concerns the word *varicae* and not the terms quoted above: Ridley 2005: 96.

¹²⁹ Tac. *Hist.* 4.53.

¹³⁰ The last known temple to be constructed in Rome with a Tuscan order is Hercules Pompeianus, dedicated by Pompey at some point between the 70-50s BC (Vitr. 3.3.5). On this being restored rather than construction *ex novo* by Pompey: Platner and Ashby 1929: 256; Beard 2007: 21-22. Arata (2010: 623-4) dates an unpublished large Tuscan capital found on the

implication that the temple was not tall supports the idea that the Catulan version did not have a large Corinthian order.

One further possible piece of evidence in favour of the above assertions is a large Tuscan capital of Alban tufa, which was discovered on the Campidoglio during works there in 1939 (Fig. 4.32).¹³¹ Based on the measurable dimensions of the capital, Arata proposes two possible reconstructions for the height of the column: 9.67 and 8.47 metres.¹³² The capital clearly belonged to a large building with a Tuscan order and Arata argues the workmanship dates it to the first century BC.¹³³ This leads him to tentatively identify it as being from the Catulan Capitolium. While the association must remain hypothetical, due to the find spot, it is not implausible.

If, as I have argued, the temple retained a Tuscan order when it was rebuilt by Catulus, then it possibly meant that the height of the superstructure might not have been significantly altered. However, a remark by Varro (as recorded by Aulus Gellius) indicates that there was a desire to increase the perceived height of the overall building and allow for a longer staircase up to its façade.¹³⁴ Varro states that Catulus sought to achieve this by lowering the *area Capitolina* around the podium, but was prevented from doing so by the presence of *favisae* – underground chambers used for the storage of votives and old statuary that had come from the temple.¹³⁵ Still visible on top of the remains of the podium are several additional courses of Cappellaccio tufa as well as a layer of concrete.¹³⁶ These are ancient interventions and it is likely that the Cappellaccio additions belong to the Catulan rebuilding. As Gjerstad points out, this type of tufa was no longer used for monumental building in the Flavian

Capitolium to the late Republican period, see below. Also, it seems quite possible that the Augustan rebuilding of the temple of Quirinus had a Doric order (Richardson 1992: 326-7). On ambiguity in ancient Rome over the distinction between Tuscan and Doric: Wilson Jones 2000: 210. So, too, the southernmost temple (possibly of Spes) in the Forum Holitorium was restored in AD 17 with Doric columns.

¹³¹ With the exception of the brief note by Arata (2010: 623-4), the capital and what are possibly associated fragments of column shaft and huge two huge tufa brackets are seemingly unpublished.

¹³² From Arata 2010: 2010: 623-4. In order to appreciate the relative size of these dimensions, it is worth noting that the Doric columns of large late sixth-century temple of Athena at Paestum measure 6.12 metres: Pedley 1993: 170.

¹³³ Arata 2010: 2010: 623-4.

¹³⁴ Aul. Gell. 2.10.1-3.

¹³⁵ Cornell 1995: 28.

¹³⁶ Gjerstad 1960: 176-7.

period.¹³⁷ As Catulus was unable to make the podium appear larger by lowering the area around it, then it is possible that these additional courses were an attempt to achieve the effect by instead raising the entire podium.¹³⁸

By the early to mid-first century BC *araeostyle* temples were going out of fashion in Rome. Yet the rebuilding of the temple of Jupiter in this manner was not a throwback to some remote architectural past and other examples are known from this period.¹³⁹ Likewise, while built on the same foundations and to the same plan, the Catulan version of the Capitolium was not an architectural imitation, but differed significantly in appearance from the original. The reported increase in material splendour was possibly manifest in a number of ways, which are now unknown, but it is very evident in the gilded roof of the new building – a radical innovation that dramatically altered the appearance of the temple. Because no single aesthetic, material, or mode of construction predominated in public architecture at this time, drawing any firm conclusions about the rest of the Capitolium is difficult. As suggested above though, it is quite possible that the temple was largely constructed using stuccoed tufa and travertine rather than marble. If so, the tufa construction to an extent may have been similar to that of the original Capitolium, but this does not mean the buildings looked the same. It is apparent that the new temple was not designed to be a facsimile of the old.

4.1.6 The Third-Vespasianic Temple

From conception to destruction, the fire of AD 80 meant that the third-Vespasianic temple of Jupiter Capitolinus lasted just ten years, which in part accounts for why there is so little information about it.¹⁴⁰ A sestertius of the second half of the AD 70s presents a magnificent impression of the temple, emphasising the richness of its statuary and detailing certain refinements of the architecture (Fig. 4.21).¹⁴¹ The temple is shown as hexastyle and with a

¹³⁷ Gjerstad 1960: 176-7.

¹³⁸ Gjerstad 1960: 176-7.

¹³⁹ See footnote above on first-century BC Tuscan temples in Rome. Also, outside of the capital, temples were still being built with Doric and Tuscan columns, for example the elegant temple of Hercules at Cori built in the 80s BC.

¹⁴⁰ That little was known about this temple even in antiquity is perhaps indicated by its absence in Ausonius' (*Ordo Nob. Urb.* 19.14-17) list of the versions of the Capitolium.

¹⁴¹ Mattingly and Sydenham (1968: 82) date the coin to AD 76.

Corinthian or Composite order (for ease, hereafter referred to by just Corinthian).¹⁴² The high level of detail might inspire confidence in the faithfulness of the depiction, but as pointed out above, it is no guarantee. However, the use of a very similar representation on a medallion of the period is perhaps a further indication of its accuracy (Fig. 4.34).¹⁴³ In any case, because it is certain that the fourth-Domitianic temple had Corinthian columns, as argued below, there is good reason to suspect that it was in this, the Vespasianic rebuilding, that the change was introduced.

In part, this is because Corinthian was the default external order by the Flavian period.¹⁴⁴ Indeed, there appears to be no large temple constructed in Rome at this time which did not have Corinthian or Composite columns.¹⁴⁵ Tuscan, Doric and Ionic columns still appear in public buildings, but by the mid-first century AD they are no longer employed as the primary order for temples in the city.¹⁴⁶ For the Vespasianic temple of Jupiter to go against this general trend seems unlikely. That it was at this moment that the order of the temple was changed might also be inferred from the passage of Tacitus quoted above, which, as discussed, records a noticeable increase in the height of the temple. While this could have been achieved through adding to the mass of the podium, it would almost certainly have been a consequence of substituting the orders from Tuscan to Corinthian.¹⁴⁷

Although little is known about the materiality of the third temple, a plausible scenario might be put together by looking again at near contemporary practice.¹⁴⁸ As noted in Chapter Two, the extensive use of marble in public architecture had by this date become the standard in Rome. While elsewhere in Italy stuccoed local stone was still being used in public buildings, every temple

¹⁴² It is always assumed that the order is Corinthian but it is possible they were Composite capitals. On Composite capitals from the first century AD: Strong 1960: 119-128; Onians 1988 42-48.

¹⁴³ Donaldson 1859: 6-8.

¹⁴⁴ On the dominance of the Corinthian order by the Augustan era: Onians 1988: 41-48; Wilson Jones 2000: 110-111; 135-140; cf. Stamper 2005: 68-83.

¹⁴⁵ The fourth-century restoration of the temple of Saturn, which employed Ionic capitals, is much later.

¹⁴⁶ The other orders were used in conjunction with one another (the stacked façade of the Colosseum) or in exceptional projects (the column of Trajan has a Tuscan capital). Also, the other orders were still used extensively in interiors and domestic architecture.

¹⁴⁷ Based on the proportional ratio that Vitruvius (4.7.2-3) suggests for a Tuscan order, attempts might be made to reconstruct the height of the Tuscan columns of the Capitolium. But this is speculative given that there was no canonical ratio and Vitruvius does not state that this applies to the Capitolium.

¹⁴⁸ Darwell-Smith (1996: 46) mistakenly assigns to the Capitolium a reference by Pliny the Elder (36.50) to the solid marble walls of the temple of Jupiter Tonans.

built in the Flavian capital had, as far as can be ascertained, marble elements. It seems, therefore, extremely unlikely that the city's principal temple – the restoration of which was a celebrated feature of Vespasian's Principate – would have received anything less than marble columns and revetment on the exterior, as well as lavish ornamentation in the interiors of the *cellae*.¹⁴⁹ Also, while the possible types of marble used are evidently unknown, it would have been in line with contemporary aesthetics for the interiors to be polychromatic and the exterior to be predominantly white (see Chapter Two). That the subsequent, Domitianic version of the Capitolium was built with white marble, as discussed below, further suggests that this was the case. So, too, because the Catulan and the Domitianic temples had gilded roof tiles, it is tempting to think that this version did as well, but there is simply no evidence to corroborate this detail.¹⁵⁰

In summary, I think it very probable that the Vespasianic intervention made significant alterations to the appearance of the Capitolium. The exterior column order was changed to Corinthian, which also meant that the overall height of the superstructure would have increased. It is likely that marble, possibly for the first time, was used as the dominant decorative material throughout the building. This resulted in a Capitolium that retained its enormous lateral size and traditional layout, but which was updated in accordance with contemporary temple design and looked notably different to its Catulan predecessor.

A possible objection to this proposed reconstruction comes from an alleged implication in the passage of Tacitus quoted above. Perry interprets Tacitus' remark that an increase in the height of the temple was the only change that religion permitted (*Altitudo aedibus adiecta: id solum religio adnuere et prioris templi magnificentiae defuisse credebatur*), as meaning that *everything* else, including the materials, were kept the same.¹⁵¹ However, throughout this passage Tacitus is explicitly talking about the form of the building – its floor plan and elevation – and there seems little reason to think he is now suddenly

¹⁴⁹ On the Vespasianic restoration: Darwall-Smith 1996: 41-47. On fragments of alabaster flooring that have been associated with the later, Domitianic cella: Arata 2010: 608.

¹⁵⁰ That gilded elements were intended to feature in the temple might be inferred from the instructions given by the haruspices that when the temple was to be rebuilt only 'new' gold should be used in its construction (Tac. *Hist.* 3.53). However, there is no indication of quantity or application, and this reference cannot be used to argue for the presence of a golden roof.

¹⁵¹ Perry 2012: 183-4.

referring to its materiality. In Chapter Six I consider how the term *magnificentia* had more than one meaning when used in an architectural context. While it can refer to the actual material splendour of a structure, it is also used to allude to the overall grandeur and metaphorical illustriousness of a building.¹⁵² The latter meaning seems entirely appropriate here and is consistent with the idea that Tacitus is referring to the form of the temple and not suggesting that everything about it was replicated. Rather, as argued above, I think that there is good evidence for a change in the materiality and column order of the Capitolium between the Catullan and Vespasianic phases. Indeed, a further and very significant point in favour of this interpretation is the possibility that the two versions were governed by the same stipulations. Therefore, as a change in materiality very evidently occurred when the Catullan temple was built, so, too, there was no restriction imposed on this aspect of the Vespasianic rebuilding. The case for both restorations being subject to a common proviso is made in the second part of this Chapter.

4.1.7 The Fourth-Domitianic Temple

The Vespasianic temple was destroyed in the fire of AD 80. There is no specific information as to the extent of the damage, but the subsequent rebuilding set in motion by Titus and completed by Domitian (arguably in AD 89) appears to have been from the ground up.¹⁵³ In comparative terms there is considerable evidence relating to the appearance of this version, although confirmation that the temple, like its two predecessors, retained the same plan is lacking.¹⁵⁴ What is extremely likely, though, is that the temple had a Corinthian order. This conclusion is in part based on the observation already outlined above, that by the Flavian period Corinthian columns dominated temple design in Rome. Also, every visual depiction of this version of the building presents the capitals as Corinthian (Fig. 4.10-11).¹⁵⁵ Importantly, there also

¹⁵² OLD s.v. *Magnificentia*.

¹⁵³ De Angeli 1996: 151; Darwell-Smith 1996: 105-6.

¹⁵⁴ Despite this, there is a feeling among some scholars that because of the previous precedent 'it probably was' (Perry 2012: 184). In favour of this position there is the absence of any evidence for a lateral expansion of the podium.

¹⁵⁵ Of particular note is the appearance of the temple on two monumental relief panels from large public buildings of the second century AD. That showing an *extispicium* scene has been dated to the Trajanic period (Fig. 4.10), and show the temple as hexastyle, with a highly detailed pediment and roof, see Wace 1907: 228-276; Albertson 1987: 447 with n. 33). The other relief is

seems to be archaeological confirmation of the order of the temple. Going back to the fifteenth century, remains of marble column shafts, capitals, and ornamented architrave were being uncovered from the vicinity of the Capitolium.¹⁵⁶ Towards the end of the nineteenth century, further fragments of column drum as well as part of an Attic base and Corinthian capital were discovered (Fig. 4.35-36).¹⁵⁷ Based on the approximate find spot of these fragments, their being of Pentelic marble (the significance of which is explained below), as well as their seemingly enormous dimensions, these remains tend to be identified as belonging to the Domitianic temple of Jupiter.¹⁵⁸

From the fragment of the column drum, attempts have been made to reconstruct the overall height of the shaft although projections vary due to differing estimates of the diameter. Including the base and capital, it has been proposed that the columns could have been a staggering 21 metres in length, which would mean that the Capitolium was the tallest temple in Rome (even surpassing the huge second-century AD temple of Jupiter at Baalbek).¹⁵⁹ However, estimates by others have revised the diameter of the drum fragment and instead suggested that the temple's order was closer to c.17-18 metres.¹⁶⁰ This is still remarkably tall, and the only comparable temple in the city at that time would have been Mars Ultor.¹⁶¹ Estimating the actual size of columns is problematic because the shaft will have tapered, with the top having a smaller diameter than the base, and it is not clear from which part the surviving fragment comes.¹⁶² Yet even if the exact figure remains conjectural, either of the estimates would mean that the order was of exceptional size.

Part of the reason that these Pentelic remains have been so readily associated with the Domitianic Capitolium is because Plutarch explicitly informs

one of twelve from possibly an arch of Marcus Aurelius (Fig. 4.11). Again, the pediment is well detailed, but the temple is erroneously depicted as tetrastyle, see Ryberg 1967: 21-27. On similarities and differences between the depictions: Albertson 1987: 448; Sobocinski; 2002: 26; 33.

¹⁵⁶ Hülsen 1888: 150-155; Lanciani 1897: 299; 1901: 259-261; Arata 2010: 606-8.

¹⁵⁷ Marquand 1898: 19-25; Arata 2010: 606-8.

¹⁵⁸ De Angeli 1996: 153; Arata 2010: 606-8.

¹⁵⁹ Lugli: 21.58 metres (from Richardson 1992: 224); Claridge 2010: 270: 21.3 metres. Wilson Jones (2000: 224) measures the height of the columns of the temple of Jupiter at Baalbek at 19.82 metres.

¹⁶⁰ Marquand (1898: 24) notes the error of Lanciani in estimating the drum at 2.1 metres and, based on a smaller diameter, estimates the height of the column to have been 18.21 metres. Arata (2010: 606-7; 620) places the diameter at 1.70 metres and notes that it could not have been less than 14.17 metres, but was probably much higher.

¹⁶¹ Wilson Jones (2000: 224) places the column height of the temple of Mars Ultor at 17.74 metres.

¹⁶² The uncertainty is noted by Arata 2010: 606-7.

us that this type of marble was used. In the *Life of Publicola* Plutarch narrates the dedication of the original temple and uses the opportunity to document its subsequent phases.¹⁶³ This includes a number of observations about the version that stood in his day:

Its pillars are of Pentelic marble, and their thickness was once most happily proportioned to their length; for we saw them at Athens. But when they were struck (*πλήσσω*) and scraped (*ἀναξύω*) at Rome, they did not gain as much in polish as they lost in symmetry (*συμμετρία*) and beauty (*καλός*), and they now look too slender and thin.¹⁶⁴

As with the excerpt of Tacitus quoted above, there is a lot going on in this passage. Plutarch's remarks can only be fully understood in the context of his chapter as a whole, and now is not the appropriate juncture to expand on this. Here, I want only to highlight Plutarch's assertion about the use of Pentelic marble. The meaning behind this passage and his ambiguous claim to have previously seen the columns at Athens is discussed in Chapter Six.

Plutarch also records that 12,000 talents were spent on the gilding of the building, a figure which he clearly considers to have been both exceptional and immoderate (as is argued in Chapter Six).¹⁶⁵ A reference in Zosimus indicates that a layer of this gold covered the doors of the *cellae*, while other authors attest to the temple being roofed with gilt bronze tiles.¹⁶⁶ The introduction of gold doors seems to have been a novelty, while the gilding of the roof clearly echoes the Catulan temple. As mentioned above, by the Augustan period the golden Capitolium was an iconic feature of Rome's skyline and, due to the Domitianic rebuilding, it would remain a defining feature of the temple into the sixth century AD.¹⁶⁷ However, I would hesitate to suggest that the primary reason that this element was included in the rebuilding was from a desire to replicate the earlier design. In regard to a roof, gilding was the pinnacle of

¹⁶³ Plut. *Pub.* 15.1-4.

¹⁶⁴ Plut. *Pub.* 15.4: *οἱ δὲ κίονες ἐκ τοῦ Πεντελῆσιν ἐτήθησαν λίθου, κάλλιστα τῷ πάχει πρὸς τὸ μήκος ἔχοντες: εἶδομεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς Ἀθήνησιν. ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ πληγέντες αὐθιςκαὶ ἀναξυσθέντες οὐ τοσοῦτον ἔσχον γλαφυρίας ὅσον ἀπώλεσαν συμμετρίας καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ, διάκενοι καὶ λαγαροὶ φανέντες.* (Translation Perrin 1965).

¹⁶⁵ Rodgers (1984: 68) calculates this to be 288,000,000 HS, this is based on one talent = 6000 denarii = 24,000 HS. This is a quarter of what Rodgers (1984: 61 with n. 6) estimates the average total income per year for Vespasian's reign to have been.

¹⁶⁶ Zos. 5.38; Sil. *Pun.* 3.623; Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.188; Procop. *Bell.* 3.4.4; Auson. *Ordo nob. Urb.* 19.17.

¹⁶⁷ Procopius (*Bell.* 3.4.4) reports that Gaiseric had removed half the roof, but he still appears to have admired the quality of the building. On the enduring symbolism of its golden roof: Sil. *Pun.* 3.623; Auson. *Ordo nob. Urb.* 19.17; cf. Grig 2012: 135-139.

material splendour. It is difficult to see how Domitian would have been able to surpass it in terms of grandeur, and if he wanted his temple to at least rival Catulus' in this aspect then he had to follow suit. Indeed, that Domitian actually attempted to outdo the previous version might be inferred from both Plutarch's condemnation of the inordinate amount spent, as well as Procopius' claim that the gilt layer on the tiles was exceptionally thick.¹⁶⁸ The implication of this is that the quantity of gold used was deliberately extraordinary. The very fact that Plutarch is able to report the amount spent suggests that the figure was made public, perhaps in order to emphasise the temple's magnificence and Domitian's *pietas*, even if the Greek biographer would later use the information against him.

In view of the fact that so little is known about the third Capitolium, it is difficult to document precisely how this, the fourth version, varied. In spite of this, there does seem to be a sense that the Domitianic incarnation of the temple was thought to be the most magnificent.¹⁶⁹ The temple features prominently in contemporary Flavian poetry, as is elaborated on in Chapter Six, and an impression of the grandeur of the building is also conveyed through the comments of later authors. In the second half of the fourth century AD, Ammianus Marcellinus wrote in eulogising terms about the Capitolium, stating that it surpassed the splendour of the Serapium at Alexandria and that nothing else on earth could compare to it.¹⁷⁰ Indeed, even after the temple had been subjected to spoliation by Stilicho and Gaiseric in the fifth century, its size and majesty still impressed Procopius and Cassiodorus.¹⁷¹ It is difficult to quantify or translate unspecific praise of the apparent magnificence of the building into actual details about its appearance. Nevertheless, given that the apparent spirit of the age was to rebuild on a physically bigger scale and in a materially more splendid manner, then it would not be surprising if the Domitianic temple did surpass the grandeur of its predecessor.

Even if it is not possible to detail precisely how the Vespasianic and Domitianic versions differed, the two projects can be considered together to highlight just how much the Capitolium changed during the Flavian period as a

¹⁶⁸ Procop. *Bell.* 3.4.4

¹⁶⁹ Stamper 2005: 154.

¹⁷⁰ Amm. 22.16.12; cf. 16.10.14. On the temple of Serapis: McKenzie, Gibson and Reyes 2004: 90-113.

¹⁷¹ Procop *Bell.* 3.4.4; Cassiod. *Var.* 7.6.1.

whole. Notably, at this time the material extravagance of the building significantly increased, with the gilding of the *cellae* doors and Pentelic marble being used on the exterior. While in a move which considerably altered the elevation of the building, the column order was changed from Tuscan to Corinthian. Corresponding with the premise of innovative restoration set out in the previous chapter, the Flavian reconstructions were carried out in a way which increased the physical scale of the building, made it materially grander, and updated the temple in line with contemporary trends. So, too, the Catulan temple had significantly differed from its predecessor on account of a marked increase in its material splendour, exemplified by its innovative golden roof.

Perry, in her recent study on the different versions of the Capitolium, characterises the building as having been reconstructed ‘conservatively,’ a judgement that is based primarily on the consistent retention of the floor plan of the temple.¹⁷² Yet while the continuity in this element of the design will have created a degree of similarity between the successive phases, the changes in materiality and height ensured that the appearance of each incarnation was visually distinct from its predecessor. As argued below, the retention of the plan was not an architectural decision made by the builders or patrons of the temples, but rather a stipulation forced upon them by an external religious authority. Indeed, it would seem that working within the confines of this restriction, the designers did everything to make sure that the rebuilt temples were not simply conservative facsimiles, but distinct architectural *monumenta*, with each seeking to surpass not imitate what it replaced. Consequently, while nominally the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus remained the same building, the Capitolium that was standing by the end of the first century AD was aesthetically and materially different to that which had stood at the beginning of the first century BC.

Part Two

4.2.1 The Retention of the Plan in AD 70

It is not simply that ancient sources claim (and there is nothing in the archaeology to contradict them) that the floor plan (*vestigium*) of the Capitolium

¹⁷² Perry 2012: 176.

did not change when the temple was rebuilt but, explicitly, that it was retained. The distinction is important, for the continuity was neither accidental nor incidental, but the consequence of a direct stipulation. Also, it was not simply that the temple was rebuilt in the same location, but, reportedly, that the precise layout was followed. In our extant sources, this instance of continuity is exceptional in ancient Rome. Attempting to account for it is not only fundamental to interpreting the rebuilding of this specific temple, but also for understanding Roman restoration practices more generally. For, to an extent, this instance of deliberate and explicit architectural continuity might seem to complicate or even contradict the premise I proposed above: that the Romans did not purposefully preserve the historic architecture of buildings when they were reconstructed. Indeed, explanations for this unusual act are typically sought in its apparent political expediency or ideological relevance and it is seen as a physical manifestation of the Romans consciously engaging with their past. However, in the following discussion I argue that the continuity derived not from historical interests but rather from religious adherence. What emerges is the relevance of religion as a key factor in the treatment of Rome's built heritage, a point which is central to the discussion here and taken further in the next chapter as well.

In book four of the *Histories* Tacitus narrates the ceremony which preceded the construction of the Vespasianic temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in AD 70.¹⁷³ His account offers a unique insight into this element of the rebuilding process and highlights the communal importance and pageantry of the event. It also brings into focus the centrality of religion in determining how the structure would be physically restored. For these reasons it is worth quoting at length.

The charge of restoring the Capitol was given by Vespasian to Lucius Vestinus, a member of the equestrian order, but one whose influence and reputation put him on an equality with the nobility. The haruspices when assembled by him advised that the ruins of the old shrine (*prioris delubri*) should be carried away to the marshes and the [new] temple (*templum*) should be erected on exactly the same footprint (*isdem vestigiis*): the gods were unwilling to have the old plan (*veterem formam*) changed. On the twenty-first of June, under a cloudless sky, the area that was dedicated to the temple (*templo*) was surrounded with fillets and

¹⁷³ On the events surrounding the Vespasianic restoration: Townend 1987: 243-48; Wardle 1996: 208-222; Darwall-Smith 1996: 41-47.

garlands... A shower of gold and silver and of virgin ores, never smelted in any furnace, but in their natural state, was thrown everywhere into the foundations: the haruspices had warned against the profanation of the work by the use of stone or gold intended for any other purpose. The temple (*aedibus*) was given greater height than the old: this was the only change that religious scruples (*religio*) allowed and the only feature that was thought wanting in the magnificence (*magnificentiae*) of the old structure (*prioris templi*).¹⁷⁴

*Curam restituendi Capitolii in Lucium Vestinum confert, equestris ordinis virum, sed auctoritate famaue inter proceres. Ab eo contracti haruspices monuere ut reliquiae prioris delubri in paludes aveherentur, templum isdem vestigiis sisteretur*¹⁷⁵: *nolle deos mutari veterem formam. XI kalendas Iulias serena luce spatium imne quod templo dicabatur evinctum vittis coronisque... Passimque iniectae fundamentis argenti aurique stipes et metallorum primitiae, nullis fornacibus victae, sed ut gignuntur: praedixere haruspices ne temeraretur opus saxo aurove in aliud destinato. Altitudo aedibus adiecta: id solum religio adnuere et prioris templi magnificentiae defuisse credebatur.*

From the details provided by Tacitus it is possible to discern three separate stipulations placed on how the restoration should be carried out:

- (1) The temple should be rebuilt on exactly the same plan (*vestigium*) as the previous incarnation, although with no restrictions pertaining to the height.
- (2) The remains of the *prioris delubri* should be cleared from the site and taken to the marshes.¹⁷⁶
- (3) Only stone and gold intended for the rebuilding (so, presumably, not recycled material) should be used in the construction of the new temple.

It is the first of these that I want to focus on here. The significance of this ruling is considerable, for I see it as regulating the lateral dimensions and plan of the building, which would have impacted enormously on its overall physical presence and appearance. However, this understanding of the passage is neither incontestable nor immediately apparent. Therefore, in order to

¹⁷⁴ Tac. *Hist.* 4.53 (Translation adapted from Moore 1931).

¹⁷⁵ Spooner (1891: 417) notes that *sistere* is also used elsewhere by Tacitus (*Ann.* 4.37) to describe the erection of a temple.

¹⁷⁶ These *paludes* were very probably those at Ostia, where Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.43) also records that the rubble of the city following the Great Fire was taken.

substantiate the interpretation, the specific terminology used by Tacitus needs to be carefully unpacked and explained.

In this one passage Tacitus uses three separate words to describe the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus: *templum*, *delubrum*, *aedes*. Depending on the context, these three terms can have quite distinct meanings that could affect how the statements about the rebuilding should be read. In reference to a religious building, *aedes* typically refers to the superstructure and the term is often equated with the word temple as understood in modern English.¹⁷⁷ Its usage in this sense was common and in this passage, too, *aedes* relates to the physical structure.¹⁷⁸ The word *delubrum* can have slightly more ambiguous connotations, as it was originally a technical classification that perhaps referred to the area in front of a temple building.¹⁷⁹ Although by the period under discussion, *delubrum* was being used by Latin authors to refer to the structure itself and was employed interchangeably with *aedes*.¹⁸⁰ That it is in this physical sense that Tacitus uses it here seems evident: ‘the ruins of the old shrine (*delubri*) should be carried away to the marshes.’

The term *templum* has two very distinct meanings, and to understand the rebuilding of the Capitolium it is necessary to clarify which is intended in the context: ‘...the temple (*templum*) should be erected on exactly the same footprint.’¹⁸¹ The technical meaning of *templum*, as defined by the Roman antiquarian Varro, is a space which has been ritually demarcated by the process of an *inauguratio* performed by the augurs.¹⁸² According to Varro a *templum* could be created in the sky, on the ground, and even, somehow, underneath it. It is the second of these, the *templum* as a physical *locus*, which is of relevance to this discussion.¹⁸³ Studies in Roman architecture and urbanism frequently point out that *templum* does not mean temple building, but refers specifically to the inaugurated ground in which an *aedes* might be

¹⁷⁷ Jordan 1879: 567-83; Castagnoli 1984: 3-6; Scheid 2003: 66; *OLD* s.v. *Aedes*.

¹⁷⁸ It is difficult to see what else *altitudo aedibus adiecta* could refer to in this context, other than the building itself.

¹⁷⁹ Jordan 1879: 579-80; Castagnoli 1984: 4; Graf and Frateantonio 2004: 228-9; *OLD* s.v. *Delubrum*.

¹⁸⁰ For example, the temple of Ceres on the Aventine is referred to by Pliny the Elder (35.24; 35.99) as both *cereris delubro* and *aede cereris*. On *delubrum*: Castagnoli 1984: 4.

¹⁸¹ Tac. *Hist.* 4.53.

¹⁸² Varro *Ling.* 7.8; cf. Serv. *Aen.* 1.92; Festus P. 148; Linderski 1986: 2263-2272; cf. Ziolkowski (1992: 209-214) on *locatio* and *inauguratio*.

¹⁸³ Linderski (1986: 2256-96) offers a critical assessment of what the *templum* was and how it functioned; cf. Catalano 1978: 467-479.

situated.¹⁸⁴ The *templum* was marked out before the construction of an *aedes* began, and it is typically assumed that almost all shrines in Rome were situated within *templa* – a noted exception being the shrine of Vesta in the forum.¹⁸⁵ However, there is a difference between this technical meaning of the word and how it came to be used in common speech. Rather confusingly, the second way in which Latin authors use *templum* is to refer to the temple building.¹⁸⁶ For example, the *aedes* of Vesta, despite not being within an inaugurated space, was on occasion called the *templum Vestae*.¹⁸⁷ Similarly, although at certain points in his text Vitruvius uses *aedes* to refer to a building and *templum* to mean a space, he also uses *templum* to refer to physical structures (temples).¹⁸⁸ The use of *templum* in this way is not uncommon and, in particular, it is relevant to note that Tacitus calls shrines *templa* elsewhere in his works, and that other authors refer to the actual temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in this way.¹⁸⁹

In the passage above, Tacitus uses *templum* three times and in both senses of the word. When commenting on the *spatium* being surrounded by ‘fillets and garlands,’ *templum* is perhaps best understood as meaning a space. In the other two instances, *templum* refers to the building proper, as is unequivocally clear from the context. For it is used in relation to plan (*vestigiiis*), design (*forma*), and height (*altitudo*), statements which would only make sense if *templum* were referring to an actual building, not a precinct.¹⁹⁰ Acknowledging this distinction is crucial, for it means that the haruspices were not stipulating that the inaugurated area be kept the same (whatever that might have been), but that the dimensions of the earlier structure itself be retained.¹⁹¹ That Tacitus

¹⁸⁴ For example Barton 1989: 67; Gros 1996: 122-123; Scheid 2003: 60-61. A more detailed assessment is provided by Castagnoli 1984: 3-20.

¹⁸⁵ Ziolkowski 1992: 193-4; 209-214. On Vesta: Aul. Gell. 14.7.7; Serv. *Aen.* 7.153. In addition to shrines, the comitium, pre-Caesarian rostra, and the *curiae* of Hostilius, Pompey and Caesar were also within inaugurated *templa*.

¹⁸⁶ Stambaugh 1978: 557; 562-3; *OLD* s.v. *Templum*.

¹⁸⁷ Ov. *Fast.* 6.265; 281; Liv. 5.52; *Epit.* 19.

¹⁸⁸ On a number of occasions Vitruvius (3.4.4; 7.pref.17) uses *templum* to refer to a temple building. Also, Vitruvius (1.1.11; 1.2.7; 1.7.2; 3.2.8; 4.1.3; 8) freely interchanges between *aedes* and *templum* in his discussion on the proportions of Tuscan temples. Cf. Vit. 4.7.2; Rowland and Howe 1999: 229.

¹⁸⁹ Tac. *Hist.* 1.40; 1.43; 2.78; 3.33. Both Livy (1.55.5) and Suetonius (*Vit.* 15.3) refer to the physical structure of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus as *templum*.

¹⁹⁰ The meaning of *forma* here is discussed below.

¹⁹¹ It is sometimes claimed that a building, when reconstructed, could not exceed the area of its inaugurated *templum* (Thomas 1997: 171). However, there are so many clear instances where the building did expand (for example the Curia Hostilia, the temple of Castor and Pollux, the

here uses three separate words to refer to the temple might seem unnecessarily complicated, but I suspect that their significance is more literary rather than literal.¹⁹² It perhaps comes from an attempt to vary the narrative and this same technique can be observed in the *Annals* when he recounts a search by the Equestrians for a temple of Fortuna Equestris, which he also interchangeably refers to as a *templum*, *delubrum* and *aedes*.¹⁹³

The notion that the plan of the third temple followed that of its predecessors can be further argued on the basis of Tacitus' use of specific terminology, namely *vestigium* (*templum isdem vestigiis sisteretur*). Outside of an architectural context, the word commonly means a track or footprint in the literal sense of the impression made by a person's step.¹⁹⁴ This has a certain connotation of precision and its use in relation to the Capitolium implies that the new building sat over the imprint of the old.¹⁹⁵ The phrase seems to have been an established way of describing the floor plan of a building. For example, Dionysius of Halicarnassus talks about the footprint (*ἵχνος*) of the old temple of Jupiter Feretrius that could still be seen in his day.¹⁹⁶ Likewise, Vitruvius distinguishes between the plan and elevation of a building by calling the former the *ichnographia* (a transliteration of *ἰχνογραφία*).¹⁹⁷ This understanding of the rebuilding is supported by Tacitus' corresponding observation that the gods had demanded the *forma* of the Capitolium should not be altered.¹⁹⁸ In relation to a building, *forma* can refer to the idea of its overall shape and appearance, but such a general meaning would be incompatible with this particular rebuilding as the height of the Capitolium was noticeably altered (see above). Instead, *forma* can also refer specifically to a building's floor plan, and notably, when Vitruvius

temple of Concordia, the Rostra) that this cannot have been a rule by at least the first century BC.

¹⁹² The use of *aedes* makes a neat alliteration: *altitudo aedibus adiecta*.

¹⁹³ Tac. *Ann.* 3.71. In describing buildings destroyed in the fire of AD 64, Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.41) uses the *templum*, *delubrum*, *aedes* as well as *fanum* in the same chapter. For other instances of temples being variously referred to by these terms: Platner and Ashby 1929: 149-150; Richardson 1992: 81.

¹⁹⁴ For example, Tac. *Ann.* 16.26.3; *Hist.* 3.2.4. OLD s.v. *Vestigium*.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Perry 2012: 183-4.

¹⁹⁶ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.34. On Dionysius' slightly ambiguous remarks about the rebuilding and what exactly he saw: Platner and Ashby 1929: 293-4; Gros 1976: 44-5.

¹⁹⁷ Vitruv. 1.2.2. On the *ichnographia* referring to the plan of the building: Gros 1990: 109. Cf. McEwen 2003: 53; 138; 181. Vitruvius (4.1.7) also uses *vestigium* to refer to the plan of a building.

¹⁹⁸ Tac. *Hist.* 4.53: *nolle deos mutari veterem formam*.

uses the term it is in conjunction with *ichnographia* to denote the arrangement of the structural elements of a building.¹⁹⁹

The implication from Tacitus' language in this passage is that the stipulation over how to rebuild the Capitolium related specifically to the plan of the temple. The likelihood of his accuracy on this matter is furthered by the possibility that for these details Tacitus was quite closely following some kind of 'official' document. Chilver and Townend suggest that the middle section of the passage (beginning *XI kalendas Iulias...*), in part due to it opening with a date and comprising short sentences, is more characteristic of religious *acta* than it is of Tacitus' narrative style.²⁰⁰ Likewise, given the rather precise detailing of the stipulations pertaining to the temple in the preceding sentence (beginning *Ab eo contracti...*), it is not implausible that Tacitus was here, too, drawing on an 'official' document on the event, and the instructions do have a certain 'list' quality akin to the manner of a contract.²⁰¹

This point brings into focus the centrality of religion to this entire episode and that the decision to rebuild the temple on the same plan was made on explicitly these grounds. Tacitus could not be clearer about this; he states that 'the gods were unwilling to have the old plan changed' (*nolle deos mutari veterem formam*) and that increasing the height 'was the only change that *religio* allowed (*id solum religio adnuere*).²⁰² The retention of the plan was fundamental to governing how the rebuilding would be carried out and the new temple would appear. Yet, it is apparent from Tacitus' account that this decision was made not by the building's patron Vespasian, nor the magistrate charged with overseeing the restoration Vestinus, nor the unnamed architect employed to design it, but rather by the haruspices.

4.2.2 Architecture and Religion

I will go on to argue that the haruspices, and by extension religion, were a major factor in the rebuilding of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. *Religio* can

¹⁹⁹ Vitruvius' (1.2.2) use of *forma* seems to indicate that it includes the structural features within a building, not just the outline of the entire edifice. This understanding of the term is also implied by Cicero's (*ad fam.* 2.8.1) use of it in reference to a gladiatorial school; cf. *OLD* s.v. *Forma*.

²⁰⁰ Chilver and Townend 1985: 64; cf. Spooner 1891: 418; Wuilleumier, Bonniec, and Hellegouarc'h 1992: 150.

²⁰¹ Especially: *reliquiae prioris delubri in paludes aveherentur, templum isdem vestigiis sisteretur: nolle deos mutari veterem formam*.

²⁰² Tac. *Hist.* 4.53 (Translation adapted from Moore 1931).

be understood in a broad sense as pertaining to the perceived relationship between humans and gods, which concerned the observance of obligations to deities and the maintenance of the *pax deorum*.²⁰³ It is in these terms that I am speaking when referring to a decision or action being on religious grounds. However, before examining the precise role of the haruspices in the reconstruction of the temple of Jupiter, I first want to consider the potential influence of religion in architectural decisions more widely. This discussion is important for establishing a context in which the retention of the plan in the Vespasianic Capitolium might be better understood.

Vitruvius, towards the conclusion of his exposition on the dispositions of temple architecture, remarks that:

Types of temples are adapted for the purposes of sacrificial ritual. Temples should not be made according to the same principles for every god, because each has its own particular procedure of sacred rituals (*sacrorum religionum*).²⁰⁴

Gros points out that this statement is regrettably vague and that it lacks details to corroborate or illustrate the point.²⁰⁵ Elsewhere in *De Architectura*, though, Vitruvius does elaborate on which locations and column orders are appropriate for the temples of particular deities.²⁰⁶ As mentioned in Chapter One, Vitruvius is no longer taken to be the mouthpiece for Roman building practices as he once was, and these specific proscriptions for the manner in which temples should be built were clearly not consistently followed by contemporary architects.²⁰⁷ Nevertheless, the sentiment of the above comment is pertinent; the clear implication is that Vitruvius perceived religious considerations to be an integral part of religious architecture.²⁰⁸

²⁰³ On the *pax deorum*: Scheid 1996: 1307; Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.2.5; *Inv. Rhet.* 2.65-5; 160-1. On the contested correlation between ancient *religio* and modern concepts of religion: Scheid 1985: 10; Ando 2003: 1-15.

²⁰⁴ Vitr. 4.8.6: *Haec autem genera propter usum sacrificarum convertuntur. Non enim omnibus diis isdem rationibus aedes sunt faciundae, quod alius alia varietate sacrorum religionum habet effectus.* (Translation Rowland and Howe 1999).

²⁰⁵ Gros 1992: 213.

²⁰⁶ Vitr. 1.7.1-2; 1.2.5.

²⁰⁷ For example, temples in Italy at this time were not being built with the column orders that he prescribes for particular deities. On Vitruvius and his contemporary relevance see Chapter One.

²⁰⁸ On the notion of Greek and Roman architecture being shaped by religious practice and belief: Wescoat and Ousterhout 2012 (collected essays); cf. cautionary note by Elsner 2012: 18. For a broader cross-cultural approach to the subject: Barrie 1996.

That the Romans built temples for the worship of deities and that the designs would have been shaped accordingly is perhaps a simplistic observation. However, the point is worth emphasising in light of the recent scholarly focus on political considerations being the primary factor in temple building.²⁰⁹ As is outlined by Stambaugh, the construction of a temple might be undertaken for a variety of reasons and the building itself could serve a multiplicity of functions.²¹⁰ This means its design could be the product of a number of different influences, although the potential importance of religious considerations as part of this should not be marginalised.²¹¹ Recent scholarship on Roman religion has placed considerable emphasis on demonstrating the complexity of the relationship between religion and politics. The traditional view of religion being simply a tool that was manipulated for political ends has been criticised, and more nuanced approaches to the subject have instead underscored the close interaction and mutual dependence of these spheres.²¹² In some instances, attempting to establish whether certain actions were of either a distinctly religious or political nature is not possible nor, perhaps, appropriate.²¹³ With regard to public building in Rome, the danger of trying to make sharp distinctions between blurred spheres is recognised by Wallace-Hadrill, who in a response to Gruen's suggestion that Republican Rome's resistance to the construction of permanent theatres in the capital was a cultural rather than political decision, asserts:

...an attempt to separate out the cultural from the political, the social and religious, and to give primacy to one factor against others understates

²⁰⁹ Notably, Pietila-Castren 1987; Ziolkowski 1992; Orlin 1997; Stamper 2005; 2014: 207-227; Muccigrosso 2006. On a scholarly bias towards political factors in building see comments by Jenkyns 2013: 311-313; cf. Wiseman 2014: 50-51.

²¹⁰ Stambaugh 1978: 554-608.

²¹¹ For example, commercial interests might have brought about the inclusion of *tabernae* in the podia of the temples of Castor and Pollux in the Forum Romanum and Juno Sospita in the Forum Holitorium, while various needs might have influenced the decision to build 'speakers platforms' in front of the temples of Divus Julius, Castor and Pollux, Venus Genetrix and the Pantheon. On different functions and use of space in religious buildings also see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2007: 206-221

²¹² On the relationship between religion and politics: Beard 1990: 30-34; 1992: 733-742; Beard, North and Price 1998: 105-6; Gradel 2002: 4-6. The interrelatedness of religion and politics is symbolised by, but also goes beyond, the fact that civic magistrates held priestly offices, and that meetings of the senate were only permitted within inaugurated buildings. On priesthoods and politics: Rawson 1974: 193-212; Beard and North 1990: 6-9; Beard, North and Price 1998: 24; 99-108; Gordon 2003: 78-82; Thomas 2005: 119-126; Salzman 2013: 377-79.

²¹³ On the omnipresence and inseparableness of religion from Roman society and public life: Gradel 2002: 4-6; Orlin 2007: 58; cf. Rüpke 2007: 3-5.

the intimacy with which these aspects were intermeshed, and reduces the complexity of ideologies to conscious and overt motivations.²¹⁴

This cautioning against categorising practices and attitudes into distinct boxes should also be borne in mind when considering why temples were built and rebuilt in the way they were.

This being said, religion could act as a conceptually separate authority.²¹⁵ There may well have been a number of factors that led to a certain course of action being taken, but the grounds on which it was justified or the manner in which it was carried out, could be characterised as deriving from overtly religious concerns.²¹⁶ This extended to building matters and in certain instances religious considerations can be seen as directly informing architectural decisions. For example, when governor of Bithynia in c. AD 110-112 Pliny the Younger wrote to the emperor Trajan:

Before my arrival, sir, the citizens of Nicomedia had begun to build a new forum adjacent to their existing one. In one corner of the new area is an ancient temple of Magna Mater, which needs to be rebuilt or moved to a new site, mainly because it is much lower than the buildings now going up. I made a personal inquiry whether the temple was protected by any specific condition, only to find that the form of consecration practised here is quite different from ours. Would you then consider, sir, whether you think that a temple thus unprotected can be moved without loss of sanctity? This would be the most convenient solution if there are no religious objections (*si religio non impedit*).²¹⁷

As is clear in the letter, the proposed reconstruction of the temple of Magna Mater was part of a wider urban scheme.²¹⁸ It was quite probably driven by a range of factors including perhaps local politics and civic identity, while Pliny's desire to move the temple seems to be primarily on aesthetic grounds. Yet the religious nature of the building and how this might be affected by the redevelopment is clearly of concern. Pliny's question to Trajan is framed around

²¹⁴ Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 161.

²¹⁵ As argued by Rüpke 2007: 3-4.

²¹⁶ On this line of reasoning: Thomas 2005: 131-135; Rüpke 2007: 3-5.

²¹⁷ Plin. *Ep.* 10.49: *Ante adventum meum, domine, Nicomedenses priori foro novum adicere coeperunt, cuius in angulo est aedes vetustissima Matris Magnae aut reficienda aut transferenda, ob hoc praecipue quod est multo depressior opere eo quod cum maxime surgit. Ego cum quaererem, num esset aliqua lex dicta templo, cognovi alium hic, alium apud nos esse morem dedicationis. Dispice ergo, domine, an putes aedem, cui nulla lex dicta est, salva religione posse transferri; alioqui commodissimum est, si religio non impedit.* (Translation Radice 1969).

²¹⁸ Sherwin-White 1966: 631. On civic activity in Roman Asia Minor at this time: Magie 1950: 593-610 esp. 596-8.

the sanctity of the temple and there is an expectation that the decision will be made on explicitly these grounds. Why Pliny might have thought there to be an issue in moving the temple and what the significance of this was is not of direct concern here. Rather, I want simply to highlight that the potential religious objections are presented as a consideration distinct from any other possible influences affecting the project.

This perception is furthered by Trajan's reply:

You need have no religious scruple, my dear Pliny, about moving the temple of the Mother of the Gods to a more convenient place if a change of site seems desirable; nor need you worry if you can find no conditions laid down for consecration, as the soil of an alien country is not capable of being consecrated according to our laws.²¹⁹

Trajan here dismisses Pliny's worry that moving the temple might violate its sanctity, but his response still frames the question as an entirely religious matter.²²⁰ Indeed, the opening line *sollicitudine religionis* explicitly establishes that *religio* could be perceived as an independent factor with the potential to influence a building project.²²¹ It does not matter that this example relates to a temple in Nicomedia – the views expressed by Pliny and Trajan are not those of Bithynians, but of members of the Roman elite. In a similar manner to this example, I think that religion can be recognised as a separate and fundamental influence in determining how the Capitolium was rebuilt, which I will now return to.

4.2.3 Haruspices and Public Buildings

Tacitus is quite explicit in his assertion that the stipulations concerning the rebuilding of the temple came from the haruspices. Despite this, their active involvement in the restoration of the temple is often marginalised in modern studies and the extent of their influence is rarely fully appreciated.²²² As

²¹⁹ Plin. *Ep.* 10.50: *Potes, mi Secunde carissime, sine sollicitudine religionis, si loci positio videtur hoc desiderare, aedem Matris Deum transferre in eam quae est accommodatior; nec te moveat, quod lex dedicationis nulla reperitur, cum solum peregrinae civitatis capax non sit dedicationis, quae fit nostro iure.* (Translation Radice 1969).

²²⁰ That it was in his capacity as Pontifex Maximus that Trajan had the authority to make this ruling is suggested in Plin. *Ep.* 10.69; contra Sherwin-White 1966: 632.

²²¹ Cf. Thomas 2005: 131-135.

²²² So much so that Darwall-Smith (1996: 44) confuses them with augurs, while Townend (1987: 243-248) and Wardle (1996: 208-222) barely mention the haruspices in their discussions.

discussed in Chapter Three, identifying the agency involved in decisions can be crucial for understanding why a rebuilding project was carried out in the way it was. So, too, neglecting this issue can lead to the *consequence* of a decision being mistakenly conflated with the original *intent* behind it. Recognising and explaining the role of the haruspices is essential to understanding the rebuilding of the Capitolium. Yet why they were involved in the first place is not self-evident.

Haruspices were a presence in Rome from the regal period to Alaric's march on the city.²²³ They are often classified as diviners who were called upon to interpret lightning strikes, freak-occurrences, and entrails, although, as Haack highlights, there are actually considerable uncertainties concerning the functions, composition and status of haruspices in Roman society.²²⁴ Etruscan in origin, haruspices initially seem to have been characterised in republican Rome as outsiders.²²⁵ By the Second Punic War, though, they were regularly being 'summoned' (*ex Etruria acciti*) by the senate for consultation on prodigies and they subsequently featured prominently in late republican politics.²²⁶ Traditionally, haruspices were not *sacerdotes publici*, but at some point, possibly in the first century BC, an *ordo* of sixty haruspices was formed, giving them a recognised place in Roman state religion.²²⁷ Alongside this 'official' group, other haruspices operated independently with some individuals being attached to the personal retinues of Roman magistrates and later, emperors.²²⁸

²²³ Liv. 1.31; 1.55. Although their presence is attested in Rome in the regal period, Santangelo (2013: 84-5) suggests that they did not advise the Roman Republic on prophesy until the third century BC; cf. MacBain 1982: 43-59; Cornell 1995: 167.

²²⁴ Haack 2003. On the haruspices' roles, functions and status: Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.10-11; Thulin 1905-1909; Rawson 1978: 140-1; MacBain 1982; Santangelo 2013: 84-114; North 1990: 49-71; Beard, North and Price 1998: 19-20; 101-2; De Grummond and Simon 2006: 39-42.

²²⁵ On foreign status: Beard, North and Price 1998: 20. On perceived hostility at Rome: Rawson 1978: 145; Liebeschuetz 1979: 22; contra North 1990: 58-9; cf. MacBain 1982: 43 with n. 99.

²²⁶ For *ex Etruria acciti* see Liv. 27.37; Aul. Gell. 4.5; cf. Liv. 1.55; Cic. *Cat.* 3.19. On the utilisation of the haruspices by the Roman state from the third century BC onwards: MacBain 1982: 43-59; Cornell 1995: 167; Santangelo 2013: 84-5. On their political involvement more generally: Rawson 1978: 140-6; North 1990: 65-71; Santangelo 2013: 89-98.

²²⁷ Haack 2003: 85-103; Santangelo 2013: 89-98. Torelli (1975: 119-121) argues the *ordo* was formed at an earlier, mid-republican date; contra North (1990: 67-8) and Rawson (1978: 140) who suggests it may actually have been an Augustan reform; cf. MacBain 1982: 47-50. On its members being drawn from Etruscan elites: Rawson 1978: 139-40; Liebeschuetz 1979: 19-20. On the possible supervision of the *ordo* by the *quindecimviri*: Rawson 1978: 140-2; cf. MacBain 1982: 58-9. On the general integration of the haruspices into Roman religion and society in the early Imperial period see Beard, North and Price 1998: 19-20; 101-103.

²²⁸ For example, the haruspex Postumius accompanied Sulla on campaign (Plut. *Sul.* 93; 27.4). On haruspices in personal retinues: Torelli 2011: 37-40. On the varying types of religious persons the title haruspices might be applied to, including the possible distinction between 'elite' and 'village' haruspex: Rawson 1978: 140-2; MacBain 1982: 43 with n. 99; North 1990: 53; Beard, North and Price 1998: 20; Santangelo 2013: 95-8; cf. Plaut. *Poen.* 449-66.

In AD 47 the emperor Claudius consulted with the senate as to whether a *collegium* of haruspices should be formed. The episode is recorded by Tacitus, who reveals that Claudius' concern for reviving the *disciplina Etrusca* stemmed from it being neglected and contaminated by *externae superstitiones*.²²⁹ The senate instructed the pontiffs to consider the matter but their conclusions are unknown, as is whether a *collegium Haruspicum* was ever established.²³⁰ Despite this apparent revival of interest under Claudius and their continued presence in later periods, attested instances of the haruspices acting at the behest of the senate are few in the second half of the first century AD, indicating an apparent decline in the relevance of these specific priests to Roman public religion.²³¹

Although not perceived to have been one of their customary roles, in theory it seems it was possible for haruspices to influence how the building of a religious structure would be carried out. The knowledge of the *disciplina Etrusca* was based on three sets of texts: the *libri haruspices*, *libri fulgurales*, and *libri rituales*.²³² Details about what was contained in these books are scarce, although a reference in the second-century AD grammarian Festus indicates that an element of the *libri rituales* did concern matters of building and urbanism.²³³ That there was Etruscan lore on such issues is confirmed by other sources. For example, a text ascribed to Frontinus includes rules credited to the *disciplina Etrusca* about the ritualised division of land.²³⁴ Also, in book one of *De Architectura*, Vitruvius explicitly states that some of his proscriptions on the placement of temples derive from the writings of the *haruspices*.²³⁵ From what is

²²⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 11.15. Claudius' interests in Etruscan history and culture are well documented: Huzar 1984: 622-3; Levick 1990: 18.

²³⁰ Given that Claudius made the proposal and was head of the Pontifical College it is not unreasonable to think that the outcome might have been favourable. Claudius' reforms are discussed by Torelli 1975: 105-35; cf. Heurgon 1953: 402-17; 1978: 101-104. On Claudius' religious 'policy' more generally: Levick 1990: 87; Riesner 1998: 105-107; Suet. *Claud.* 22.

²³¹ MacBain 1982: 104-106. Besides the attempted Claudian reform in AD 47, there is a lustrum of the city due to lightning strikes in AD 54 (Tac. *Ann.* 13.24), and the interpretation of monstrous births in AD 64 and 112. At this time haruspices were also still used by private individuals, for example the emperor Galba (Tac. *Hist.* 1.21.1) and Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* 9.39). On haruspices and emperors in the early Principate: Haack 2003: 85-136; Torelli 2011: 43-41.

²³² On the *libri haruspices* (books of divination), *libri fulgurales* (books of lightning), and the *libri rituales* (books of rituals): Hall 1986: 2568 with n. 18; Takács 2003: 22-5; Meer 2011: 82-97; Cic. *Div.* 1.72; Censorinus 14.6. Cf. Weinstock 1951: 122-53; Linderski 1985: 207-234.

²³³ Festus P. 285; cf. Takács 2003: 22-5; Meer 2011: 82-97.

²³⁴ Frontin. *De Limitibus* 23-34. It has been suggested that Frontinus drew on Varro for this information: Gargola 1995:42; Campbell 2000: 325-6.

²³⁵ Vitr. 1.7.7. Fleury (1990: 192) suggests that the lore on temples would have been in the *libri rituales*. It is probable that Vitruvius would have had access to this information via Latin

known about the content of these *libri* there is nothing that directly compares to the stipulations laid down for rebuilding of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, as reported by Tacitus. But our knowledge of the inner workings of the *disciplina Etrusca* is exceptionally limited and, at the very least, the above examples show that in certain contexts haruspices could be involved in building matters.

At Rome, references to the interference of any religious officials or bodies (priests and colleges), in the design of a building on specifically religious grounds, are relatively scarce.²³⁶ In particular, the haruspices seem to have had very limited involvement with decisions concerning the city's urban fabric, although it is useful to document other instances so as to place the case of the Capitolium in a fuller context. A well-known example is their interpretation of an unusual noise that was heard outside of Rome in 56 BC, which led to Clodius calling for Cicero's rebuilt Palatine house to be demolished.²³⁷ However, it is important to note that the haruspices themselves appear to have made no suggestions over what was to be done. They reported that there had been the profanation of sacred spaces, but it was Clodius who argued that this referred to the shrine to *Libertas* and Cicero's house.²³⁸ Haruspices were also involved with the foundation of the temple of Apollo Palatinus, but again in a very limited capacity. The temple was vowed by Octavian in 36 BC, and Suetonius reports that the site on the Palatine was chosen after haruspices interpreted a lightning strike as meaning that the ground should be dedicated to Apollo.²³⁹ As pointed out by Hekster and Rich, the lightning strike and the subsequent pronouncement by haruspices did not necessitate the construction of the

translations of the texts made in the first century BC; on the translations of Etruscan religious texts into Latin, and their use by later authors: Weinstock 1951: 124-5; Rawson 1978: 139.

²³⁶ Of course, many of the patrons and dedicators of temples also held religious office, but I am interested in instances where it was specifically religious considerations that were claimed to have affected the design of the building. On occasion other priestly orders were involved in such decisions. The augurs controlled the dimensions of a sacred space through their function of demarcating the *templum* (Linderski 1986: 2257-96; Beard 1990: 40), and could exercise their authority to alter or remove structures that interfered with the taking of the auspices (on the house of Centumalus: Cicero, *Off.* 3. 66; Val. Max. 8.2.1; on Marius' temple of Honos and Virtus: Festus P. 344. The pontiffs ruled on whether religious sensibilities had been violated by building work. For example, they forced alterations to Marcellus' design of the temple of Honos and Virtus (Val. Max.1.1.8), and ruled in regard to the rebuilding of Cicero's Palatine house (Thomas 2005: 119-135; cf. Beard 1990: 32; 38). It is also probable that the Pontiffs had direct responsibility for the pons Sublicius and possibly the casa Romuli, as is discussed in Chapter Five. After the Gallic sack Livy (5.50) records that it was the duumviri who consulted the sibylline books for instructions over appropriately rebuilding the city's temples. On the duumviri and temples more generally: Ziolkowski 1992: 204-8; Orlin 1997: 147-158.

²³⁷ The case is detailed by Cicero in the speech *de haruspicum responso*. The context of the speech and an outline of events are detailed in Lenaghan 1969: 11-28.

²³⁸ Cic. *Har. Resp.* 9. Beard, North and Price 1998: 137-8.

²³⁹ Suet. *Aug.* 29.3.

temple, simply that the ground should be considered sacred to Apollo.²⁴⁰ Instead, the decision to build a temple rested with Octavian and the senate, and there is no reason to think that the haruspices had any further role in shaping its construction.²⁴¹

Other than the Capitolium, there is only one attested instance of haruspices being involved with the restoration of a temple in the period covered by this study.²⁴² This is Pliny the Younger's rebuilding of a temple to Ceres, as is detailed in a letter to the architect Mustius and was discussed in Chapter Three.²⁴³ In the letter Pliny professes that the impetus for restoring the temple in the first place is due to the advice of, or admonishment by, certain haruspices: 'At the warning of the haruspices it is necessary for me to rebuild the temple of Ceres on my land better and greater' (*Haruspicum monitu reficienda est mihi aedes Cereris in praediis in melius et in maius*).²⁴⁴ As mentioned above, haruspices were not one homogenous group. Whether these particular individuals were part of the *ordo* from Rome, attached to Pliny's household, or local freelancers is not made clear.²⁴⁵ Similarly, it is unknown what the circumstances were that prompted their advice. There is no mention of a prodigy and nothing in the letter suggests that the temple had been recently damaged, only that it was old (*vetus*) and considered too small (*angusta*).²⁴⁶ Pliny's statement would seem to indicate that it was the haruspices who stipulated the temple should be made physically 'larger' (*maius*) and materially 'grander' (*melius*).²⁴⁷ But this seems to have been the extent of their involvement, as it is apparent from the rest of the letter that Pliny and Mustius had total autonomy over the design of the building (see Chapter Three). Therefore, the contribution of the haruspices in this instance seems in no way comparable to the input that others of their discipline had into the rebuilding of Capitolium, where their stipulations did directly affect the design.

²⁴⁰ Hekster and Rich 2006: 159-60.

²⁴¹ On Octavian and the haruspices: Santangelo 2013: 139-40. On the senate's responsibility for the implementation of *responsa*: Beard 1990: 30-34; North 1990: 52.

²⁴² Other instances include their false advice on the moving of a statue of Horatius Cocles in the fourth century BC (Aul. Gell. 4.5.1-5); the relocation of a statue of Jupiter in 65 BC (Rasmussen 2003: 106); possibly advising on the reconstruction of the Curia Hostilia in 43 BC (Cass. Dio. 45.17.1-9); much later (third century AD) the prevention of Alexander Severus making alterations to the Septizodium (*SHA Alex. Sev.* 24.5). For a survey of known activity by haruspices: MacBain 1982: 82-106; cf. Rasmussen 2003: 35-116.

²⁴³ Plin. *Ep.* 9.39.

²⁴⁴ Plin. *Ep.* 9.39.

²⁴⁵ Pliny (*Ep.* 2.20.4) also refers to a certain Regulus consulting with a haruspex.

²⁴⁶ Plin. *Ep.* 9.39.

²⁴⁷ These terms in the context of rebuilding are discussed in Chapters Six and Seven.

This brief survey of the haruspices' involvement with building activity highlights just how exceptional their actions in AD 70 were, not only in terms of the content of their rulings, but also the fact that it concerned a public building at Rome. Indeed, amid all of the urban renewal that took place during the period under discussion, there is no other recorded example of them being consulted over the restoration of a temple in the city. The exceptionality of the episode suggests it had a very specific context.

4.2.4 Why Vestinus Assembled the Haruspices

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the construction of the third Capitolium was delegated by Vespasian to the equestrian Lucius Vestinus, and Tacitus records that it was he who assembled (*contracti*) the haruspices.²⁴⁸ There is no information as to who these particular haruspices were, but as Torelli argues, it seems reasonable to think that they were part of Rome's established *ordo* or, if it had been created, *collegium*.²⁴⁹ Although the explicit reason for their being assembled is not mentioned, given the role they had traditionally performed for the Roman senate, it is likely to have been for consultation regarding prodigies that accompanied the destruction of the temple, an event which in itself was surely considered portentous.²⁵⁰ Yet, while their expertise had been utilised in this capacity with some frequency during the republican period, as outlined above, by the latter half of the first century AD, the haruspices' role in public matters at Rome appears greatly diminished. Vestinus' decision to assemble them at this date is anomalous and difficult to explain satisfactorily. However, instead of attempting to account for this incident by looking at it purely in the context of AD 70, I think it is necessary to consider the episode in light of the destruction and rebuilding of the first temple in 83 BC. The reason for this is that a conspicuous and very significant commonality between the two restorations suggests that they should be understood in relation to each other.

Just as the third-Vespasianic Capitolium is reported to have adhered to the floor plan of the second, so both Dionysius and Tacitus report that the

²⁴⁸ Tac. *Hist.* 4.53: *Ab eo contracti haruspices monuere ut reliquiae prioris delubri in paludes aveherentur...*

²⁴⁹ Torelli 2011: 40; Rawson 1978: 140-1. Tacitus' use of *contrahere* as opposed to *ex Etruria acciti* further suggest that they were 'in-house' haruspices.

²⁵⁰ This is also implied from Tacitus' (*Hist.* 4.54) account of the Gallic reaction to the destruction. On the portents that accompanied the destruction of the first temple: Flower 2008: 81-2; cf. Tac. *Hist.* 1.86; App. *Bell. Civ.* 1.83

second-Catulan version had been rebuilt on the foundations and *vestigium* of the first temple.²⁵¹ Although it was usual for Rome's temples to be rebuilt in the same location, and archaeology shows that in some instances successive versions might closely follow the layout of the original, the Catulan and Vespasianic *Capitolia* are the sole examples where we are explicitly told by an ancient source of a reconstruction purposefully conforming to the plan of its previous incarnation.²⁵² That the only two known instances of this exceptional requirement are different versions of the same monument is surely not a coincidence.²⁵³ A reasonable conclusion to draw would be that the stipulations on both occasions came from the same source, and as we know that the agency behind the AD 70 ruling was the haruspices, then I would argue their involvement should be projected back to the first rebuilding as well. In this way, Vestinus' assembling of the haruspices can be seen as following a precedent set when the temple was first rebuilt, meaning that the reason for the connection of the haruspices with the Capitolium in the first place should be understood in a late republican rather than a mid imperial context.

There are, indeed, a number of reasons that make this scenario more plausible. Firstly, when the original temple was destroyed in 83 BC, unlike the period of the Vespasianic rebuilding, the haruspices were still very active at Rome and a number of the reported prodigies for that year would have necessitated their consultation.²⁵⁴ Also, the possibility that their advice would have been sought in regard to the restoration of the temple is made more plausible due to the unavailability of the Sibylline books at this time. On other notable occasions when temples in Rome had been destroyed it was the Sibylline books that were consulted, but these documents had burned along with the Capitolium in 83 BC, and a new compilation of oracles was not

²⁵¹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.61.4: *ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς αὐτοῖς θεμελίοις*. Tac. *Hist.* 3.72: *Isdem rursus vestigiis situm est*.

²⁵² Additionally, the temple of Vesta appears to have retained the plan through successive restorations from at least the third century BC to third century AD (Scott 1999a: 127). However, this goes unremarked upon by the sources.

²⁵³ Dionysius does not refer to the other stipulations that Tacitus records were a part of the later rebuilding, but as Dionysius' account of the temple is about detailing its physical size this is not surprising and nothing need be inferred from the apparent omission.

²⁵⁴ App. *Bell. Civ.* 1.83; Jul. *Ob.* 57. On the prodigy lists and their reliability: MacBain 1982: 8-24; contra Rawson 1971: 158. On other activity of the haruspices in this immediate period see Plut. *Sul.* 7; Sall. *Bel. Jug.* 63; MacBain 1982: 23-4; 99-102. For other prophesies in these decades specifically involving in some way the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus: Cic. *Cat.* 3.9; Sall. *BC* 47.2; Flower 2008: 85-88.

gathered until the 70s BC.²⁵⁵ The destruction of Rome's principal temple would surely have been considered a portentous incident, requiring interpretation and perhaps expiation, and in the absence of the Sibylline books, it is possible that the lore of the *disciplina Etrusca* might have been turned to instead.²⁵⁶

It is also worth remembering that it was Sulla, not Catulus, who was responsible for initiating the construction of the temple.²⁵⁷ During his military campaigns of the 80s BC, Sulla had called upon the services of haruspices and even retained the haruspex Postumius among his entourage.²⁵⁸ Sulla's recourse to the *disciplina Etrusca* features prominently in surviving sources and appears to have been publicised by Sulla himself in his memoirs.²⁵⁹ At the very least this demonstrates Sulla embracing and publicly utilising the practices of haruspices, and his personal interests could have influenced the decision to involve them in the rebuilding of the Capitolium. For although the decision to consult haruspices on public matters was traditionally made by the senate, after his victory at the Colline Gate in November of 82 BC, Sulla as dictator dominated the senate.

A reason why the haruspices might have been relevant to the reconstruction of the Capitolium more generally is because of the various traditions and stories that surrounded the original building.²⁶⁰ According to late republican and early imperial writers, the foundation of the temple was innately connected to Etruscan individuals, culture and religion. It was vowed by Rome's first Etruscan king and almost brought to completion by its last,²⁶¹ workmen for

²⁵⁵ On the burning and replacement of the Sibylline books: Liv. 5.50; Tac. *Ann.* 6.12; 15.46. Santangelo 2013: 134-9. McBain (1982:59) suggests that the new collection contained books attributed to the Etruscan prophetess Vegoia

²⁵⁶ The seriousness with which the destruction was taken by contemporaries, their reactions to it, and the possibility of its divine nature are discussed by Flower 2008: 74-92; cf. Plut. *Sul.* 27.12. Also, MacBain (1982: 57) notes that on other occasions haruspices had adapted expiation for Roman audiences: a *supplicatio* in 199 BC; *Iudi* in 65 BC; *lustratio* in AD 55. It is also worth noting that in the decades following the destruction the haruspices made prophecies relating to the Capitolium on a number of occasions: Cic. *In Cat.* 3.9; Sall. *BC* 47.2.

²⁵⁷ It is unclear how far work on the temple had progressed by Sulla's death in 78 BC, but it is agreed he began it: Tac. *Hist.* 3.72; Plin. *HN* 7.138; Val. Max. 9.3.8.

²⁵⁸ On Postumius and Sulla: Cic. *Div.* 1.72; Plut. *Sul.* 9.3.3; 27.4; August. *De civ. D.* 2.24; cf. Rawson 1978: 141. On Sulla and haruspices more generally: Plut. *Sulla* 6.6-7; 7; 17.3; Plin. *HN* 2.144; Jul. Ob. 56; possibly Plut. *Sulla* 17.3; cf. MacBain 1982: 122.

²⁵⁹ Plut. *Sul.* 6.6-7; Cic. *Div.* 1.72; Rawson 1982: 141.

²⁶⁰ This connection is posited by Gallia (2012: 73-4), but he suggests, incorrectly in my view, that this is in order to 'steer attention away from the memory' of the Catulan rebuilding. The possibility that the Catulan rebuilding might also have involved haruspices is not considered by Gallia.

²⁶¹ Although the tradition appears slightly confused, the version of events that appears to have been settled upon by the first century BC was that the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus had been vowed by the fifth king of Rome – its first (part) Etruscan monarch – Tarquinius Priscus during a

its construction were brought *ex Etruria*,²⁶² and tradition has it that the acroterion decoration and cult statue were produced in Veii.²⁶³ Haruspices, too, are specifically linked to the temple's origins and importance. When a human head was discovered while the foundations of the temple were being dug, it was they who interpreted it as foretelling Rome's future greatness.²⁶⁴ Likewise, according to tradition, it was the haruspices who claimed that the terracotta chariot which was to be placed on the roof of the temple was a signifier of Roman dominance.²⁶⁵ Although these two stories seem to have been told in part to demonstrate the perfidy of the priests, they also highlight the perceived central role of the haruspices in establishing the Capitolium as a symbol of Rome's power and eternity.²⁶⁶

Irrespective of whether the traditions outlined above had any basis in actual events at the end of the sixth century BC, it is evident that by the early first century BC the Etruscans were deeply woven into the narrative of the origins of the temple.²⁶⁷ Demonstrating a direct link between the Etruscans' significance in the foundation stories and the involvement of the haruspices in the rebuilding process is simply not possible from available evidence. However, promoting the notion of an Etruscan connection to Rome's most important temple would arguably have had a particular relevance at the time of the Sullan-Catulan restoration. The Capitolium was rebuilt in the wake of both the Italian

war with the Sabines. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 3.69.1), he began terracing the hill and levelling the summit (cf. Plut. *Pop.* 14; Tac. *Hist.* 3.72. Liv. 1.38: states he started the foundations as well). Tacitus (*Hist.* 3.72) asserts that Servius Tullius – the sixth king and also Etruscan – continued the building, but that the temple's superstructure was not built until the reign of the seventh and final king – also of Etruscan descent – Tarquinius Superbus (Liv. 1.55-6; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.59.1; Plut. *Pop.* 13; 14; Tac. *Hist.* 3.72). On the chronology of the Etruscan kings of Rome: Cornell 1995: 119-41. On attitudes in the sources to the Etruscan nature of the kings: Cornell 1995: 158-9.

²⁶² Liv. 1.56: *fabris undique ex Etruria accitis*; Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.48.

²⁶³ Pliny (*HN* 35.157) claims that the cult statue was made by Vulca of Veii who was 'summoned' (*accitum*) to Rome. Also supposedly the work of Vulca was the quadriga of Jupiter that stood at the apex of the roof and was commissioned by Tarquinius Superbus: Plut. *Pub.* 13; Plin. *HN* 28.16. Festus P. 274.

²⁶⁴ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.59.2-61.2; Livy 1.55-6; 5.54.7; Plin. *HN* 28.5. The versions differ in certain details but are consistent in the role of the haruspices and the site of the discovery as the Capitoline; indeed, it is supposedly this event which gives the hill its name. On the story: MacBain 1982: 53-4.

²⁶⁵ Plut. *Pub.* 13; Plin. *HN* 28.16. Festus P. 274.

²⁶⁶ The importance of the proclamation should not be underestimated as it conferred on Rome a divine right to rule and established the Capitoline as the symbolic centre (head) of the empire: Edwards 1996: 82-85; Jaeger 1997: 3-5; 76; 79-80. Aulus Gellius (4.5.1-5) records another early (possibly fourth-century BC) story which casts haruspices as seeking to harm Rome through trickery.

²⁶⁷ MacBain 1982: (48-56) suggests the head and chariot stories date to the early third century BC; cf. Ogilvie 1965: 211-212; De Grummond and Simon 2006: 39.

Social War of 91-89 BC, as well as the protracted civil wars of the 80s BC. In these conflicts certain Etruscan cities had fought against Rome and also later sided with Marian supporters in opposition to Sulla.²⁶⁸ Indeed, Sullan forces were still campaigning in Etruria in 79 BC as the temple was being rebuilt.²⁶⁹ In his study on prodigies in the republican period, MacBain suggests that Rome's increased public use of haruspices in the years between the Second Punic War and the Social War were political attempts to stimulate support among the Etruscan elites.²⁷⁰ In particular, MacBain argues that the prominence accorded by the senate to haruspices between the agrarian crisis of Tiberius Gracchus and the Social War (c.133-90 BC) was to a large extent 'politically conditioned'.²⁷¹ Although MacBain perhaps oversimplifies the presence of haruspices in Rome to a single factor, the general assertion that their employment by the senate could be motivated by political considerations and inter-city relations is well argued. Given the context of the fraught relationship between elements of Etruria and Rome that existed between the late 90s to 70s BC, highlighting the Etruscan role in the foundation of Rome's principal temple by including haruspices in its re-founding, might have had a particular resonance and political pertinence.²⁷²

While much of the argument presented above is circumstantial, the involvement of the haruspices in the first-Catullan rebuilding is certainly credible. As mentioned above, a strong indication in favour of this idea is that the rebuilding of the Capitolium in 83 BC and AD 70 are the only two recorded instances of a temple in Rome being explicitly rebuilt on the same plan. While this common factor between the two restorations is often noted by studies of the temple, very little is actually made of it. The possibility that the reason for this commonality was because the haruspices were present at both is ignored, and

²⁶⁸ The relationship between Sulla and the Etruscan cities is not straightforward, but both Rawson (1978: 141-2) and Santangelo (2007: 172-82; 189-91) have shown that there was some support for Sulla among the Etruscan elites.

²⁶⁹ Volaterrae was not subdued until 79 BC: Santangelo 2007: 173.

²⁷⁰ MacBain 1982: esp. 7; 60-79; cf. North 1986: 155.

²⁷¹ MacBain 1982: 73-8.

²⁷² Santangelo (2007: 172-82; 189-91) argues that in the post-war period Etruscan and Roman elites do seem to have attempted to form new relationships. Therefore, it is conceivable that the idea of the Etruscans having a collective role in building the temple was politically and socially significant to reiterate at that time. Notably, in Livy's (1.56) version of events, which possibly followed Valerius Antias writing c.80-60 BC, those working on the temple were not just from Veii or Tarquinia, but all Etruria (Ogilvie 1965: 12-16).

instead the events of AD 70 are typically considered in isolation.²⁷³ I have attempted to demonstrate, however, that the two restorations should be understood in light of each other. This leads to the conclusion that it was the haruspices who were behind the retention of the plan in the Catulan rebuilding and, therefore, that Vestinus' decision to assemble them in AD 70 was in emulation of this earlier precedent.

4.2.5 Religion Not Politics

An issue still not fully addressed is why the haruspices made these specific stipulations; what was it about the destruction or rebuilding of the Capitolium that meant the plan of the original temple should be retained, its debris cleared, and only unused gold and stone employed in the construction of the new. Unfortunately, the answer to this seems impenetrably masked by our lack of knowledge about the workings of the *disciplina Etrusca* and the contents of their *libri*.²⁷⁴ With current evidence it is simply not possible to state or even plausibly postulate how and why these rulings were reached.²⁷⁵ Although, as outlined above, there is evidence to suggest that the *disciplina Etrusca* did have doctrine pertaining to buildings, perhaps contained in the *libri rituales*. Even if this cannot be established though, what the above discussion has highlighted is that the deliberate continuity in the plan of the Capitolium was in origin and purpose a religious action. Vestinus' decision to assemble the haruspices might well have been motivated by political concerns or historical precedent rather than any notion of *pietas*, and the haruspices themselves were quite possibly political actors. But the instruction that they gave was a religious formulation.²⁷⁶ This is an important distinction, and is brought out by Rüpke in his assessment of the relationship between religion and politics:

²⁷³ For example, Perry (2012: 177) states that the Catulan rebuilding was on the same plan for practical reasons, and makes no explicit link to either the later rebuilding or the possible involvement of the haruspices. Gallia (2012: 73-4) actually argues that the inclusion of the haruspices in Vespasianic rebuilding was intended to evoke memories of the foundation of the original temple and actively overlook the Catulan version.

²⁷⁴ On the workings of divination and the haruspices' interpretation: Santangelo 2013: 99-107.

²⁷⁵ See Meer 2011: 97-9.

²⁷⁶ It does not matter that Vestinus assembled the haruspices, the actual ruling was their own not his (a distinction blurred by Gallia 2012: 72), cf. remarks on this in Meer 2011: 97-9. On the contested matter of the extent to which Roman priests and their decisions had political independence: Scheid 1985: 47-51; Thomas 2005: 119-126; Rüpke 2007: 27-29; Salzman 2013 377-79.

...religion remained independent in a peculiar sense: gods could be asked to move, but not ordered to do so; priesthoods could be presented with candidates, but co-opted them in their own right; the transfer of public property to imported gods was the subject of political decisions, but their rituals were not.²⁷⁷

Likewise, I think it is entirely possible to view the stipulation to retain the plan of the temple in the framework of religious observance.

In its emphasis, this interpretation differs from how the retention of the plan has been perceived by others. As noted above, much recent scholarship on Rome's temples has focused on how political considerations shaped the buildings; so, too, the notion of consciously constructing identity has been emphasised as a factor in explaining building decisions.²⁷⁸ Such ideas are central to two of the most recent assessments of the restoration of the temple of Jupiter, and as their interpretations differ significantly to mine, it is necessary to consider them further.²⁷⁹

Perry argues that the theme of 'repetition' in the successive rebuilding of the temple was 'a way of establishing and reinforcing shared identity' in Roman society.²⁸⁰ In regard to certain elements connected to the Capitolium where there is apparent continuity – rituals, cult furniture and statuary – this claim might be valid.²⁸¹ But it does not automatically follow that *all* purposeful repetition, namely that involving the architecture, was intended to serve this end. Perry's interpretation of the retention of the plan seems, in part, to derive from not fully acknowledging the haruspices as the agents who made this decision. Rather, Perry refers in general terms to it being 'the Romans' who affected how the temple was rebuilt, which potentially leads to the sense that

²⁷⁷ Rüpke: 2007: 4. Further scholarship on the relation between religion and politics at Rome has been given above. So, too, the potential for *religio* to be conceived of as a separate consideration and authority is discussed earlier in this chapter using the example of the temple of Magna Mater at Nicomedia.

²⁷⁸ Cf. Jenkyns 2013: 311-313.

²⁷⁹ Perry 2012: 175-199; Gallia 2012: 47-85.

²⁸⁰ Perry 2012: 195. Perry (2005: 28-31) elaborates on this idea of 'repetition as a means of expressing and reinforcing traditional value' in an earlier work, and equates what can be observed in sculpture and societal practices with instances where it occurs in architecture. But, as I argue in Chapters Seven and Eight, architecture is a distinct medium which was treated and perceived in a different way.

²⁸¹ Perry (2012: 175-196) notes other elements of apparent repetition in the building, but these are not architectural. Also, it seems that elements of the roof sculpture may have been in some way 'copied' through successive versions, including a *quadriga* with Jupiter at the apex and *bigae* with victories on the sides, as depicted on a number of images and referred to by Plut. *Pub.* 13; Plin. *HN* 28.4; Liv. 10.23; Plut. *Otho* 4.4.4. Although, again, it is unlikely that the materiality or aesthetic of this statuary remained the same as it was replaced on successive versions of the temple.

the retention of the plan was in some way either a communal decision or a decision made with the collective Roman people in mind.²⁸² Yet as I argue above, this was not the case; irrespective of Vestinus' reasons for assembling the haruspices, the ruling over the plan was very specifically theirs, derived from religious lore not a sense of 'Roman self definition.'²⁸³

A similar objection exists to Perry's related suggestion that it was '... perhaps, the patriotic and legendary resonances of the temple that made accurate reproduction, or at least the perception of accurate reproduction, a priority'.²⁸⁴ Earlier in this section I, too, argued for the possibility that the traditions which surrounded the temple – specifically those involving the Etruscans in its foundation – might have been a factor in how the restoration was managed. However, there is an important distinction between a response to the history of the temple having influenced the decision to call on the services of the haruspices and the historical associations directly affecting the actual design of the building. Again, the independence of the details of the haruspices' stipulation needs to be recognised. This is not to dismiss the possibility that a Roman audience might have read various messages into the retention of the temple's plan, but these would have been a by-product of the action, not the reason for it. Intent and interpretation should be separated, and how audiences respond to architectural decisions can be distinct from the motivations behind them – a point which is crucial to understanding the restoration of the *casa Romuli* in the next chapter.²⁸⁵

A marginalisation of the input of the haruspices also leads to Gallia arguably conflating intent and interpretation in his assessment of the Vespasianic restoration of the temple. Gallia connects the story of the human head being discovered while the first temple's foundations were being dug, to the haruspices' stipulation to reconstruct the later version of the temple on the same plan.²⁸⁶ Noting the association of the prodigy with Rome's dominance and safety, he suggests the continuity 'could be read as a sign that the Capitolium still might be rebuilt in such a way as to preserve its significance as a guarantee

²⁸² Perry 2012: 194-6.

²⁸³ Perry 2012: 195.

²⁸⁴ Perry 2012: 176.

²⁸⁵ A further objection, suggested to me by Barbara Borg, is that 'to any real viewer, the temple would in fact have looked rather different after each rebuild as the floor plan is not necessarily the most obvious thing to notice.'

²⁸⁶ Gallia 2012: 74.

of empire.²⁸⁷ Yet while the act of rebuilding the temple in itself might quite possibly have been viewed in light of this earlier tradition of guaranteeing Rome's *imperium*, at no point is there any indication that the original prodigy of the head related to the plan of the temple. It is the building's location not its *vestigia* that is important to the story. Again, I agree with the idea that the believed involvement of haruspices in the foundation of the temple might have been a factor for assembling them for its rebuilding. But Gallia's interpretation, like Perry's, assumes that this interest in the historical associations of the building directly influenced the specifics of their stipulations and was the reason for the architectural continuity.

Both Perry and Gallia acknowledge that the stipulation about the temple being rebuilt on the same plan was made by the haruspices, but the full implication of this is not followed through. Their explanations for this unusual act of architectural continuity are sought in its apparent political expediency or ideological relevance, and seen as a physical manifestation of the Romans consciously engaging with their past. It is possible that contemporaries or later commentators might have read such messages into the retention of the plan (although there is no evidence for this), but these considerations were not the actual reason for it. There is no indication that the requirements of Flavian policy or concerns over Roman identity would have influenced how the haruspices practised the intricacies of their discipline and reached their conclusions. Indeed, that the decision was one that came entirely from religious considerations is exactly what Tacitus, the only source who comments on the incident, states.²⁸⁸ As discussed earlier in this chapter, Tacitus reports that the retention of the plan was what the gods demanded – the continuity was carried out to maintain the *pax deorum*.

In part, the readiness to interpret acts of deliberate architectural continuity as having overt cultural, political or historical motivations might come from embedded modern attitudes to built heritage. We are used to seeing the faithful restoration of historic buildings as a way in which political messages or notions of identity might be asserted. For example, immediately following the Second World War, the decision to rebuild the centre of Warsaw in a traditional manner was, in part, an attempt to affirm Polish nationalism through

²⁸⁷ Gallia 2012: 74.

²⁸⁸ Tac. *Hist.* 4.53.

architecture.²⁸⁹ So, too, the recent controversy over the decision to replace the 1970s Palast der Republik in Berlin with a superficial replica of the eighteenth century Hohenzollern Stadtschloss, that originally stood on the site, is seen as an attempt to reaffirm nationalism after the reunification of Germany. The building is perceived as being more than just an aesthetic preference for classical baroque over modernist architecture, it is also considered a politically charged decision that seeks to inform the identity of post-Cold War Berlin (Fig. 4.37-39). Yet, as discussed in Chapter One, the Roman concept of built heritage was potentially very different from that familiar to modern societies. There is an inherent danger of assuming that seemingly recognisable practices, in this instance architectural continuity, would have a common origin or meaning.

4.2.6 A Historic Building in a Modern Guise

This chapter has set out the physical development of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus through its four incarnations. The interpretation presented is that each version was rebuilt in an increasingly grand manner, with the builders displaying little apparent concern for preserving the aesthetic of the previous structure. The implication of the exceptional instance of architectural continuity, whereby the plan of the temple was purposefully retained through successive phases, has also been examined. Yet while this action did have a significant impact on the physicality of the building, it is argued that this deliberate adherence was not an attempt by the builders to preserve some vestige of the original temple's appearance. Instead, by highlighting the importance of the haruspices as agents in the rebuilding process, the case is made that this was a religious stipulation not an architectural decision. The argument, therefore, corroborates the key premise of innovative rebuilding set out in the previous chapter. It also brings into focus the importance and relevance of religion as a key influence in governing how a restoration might be carried out (of religious buildings at least), opening up a different perspective on how to view other instances of architectural continuity, which is central to the next chapter. Furthermore, these conclusions have wider implications for understanding the Roman concept of built heritage.

²⁸⁹ Jokilehto 1990 285.

The example at the centre of this chapter is not just a temple, it was *the* temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. As detailed above, it was a hugely symbolic and important building and the way in which it was treated mattered to the Romans. The temple also had enormous historical resonance due to the stories, traditions and events that were associated with it. It is significant that *even* in this case, the historical associations of the building were not factors that seemed to directly influence architectural decisions. In modern thought the perceived historical significance of a building is often linked to its appearance. As outlined in Chapter Three, for a building to be considered of a particular period from the past, it is expected to look of that age. Yet this appears not to have been part of the understanding of historic buildings in ancient Rome. The Capitolium retained its nominal identity and accumulated historical associations, but the architecture of the original building was not preserved, nor was a visual facsimile created in order to underscore this. It is not that the Romans were either unaware of, or did not care about, the cultural and historical value of their built heritage, but rather that they had a wholly different concept of it. As explored further in later chapters, the identity of a building could be separated from its appearance, and architecture was not used as a medium through which history was manifested. In ancient Rome, I do not think that there was any perceived inconsistency in a historic building looking modern.

If, as I am proposing, it was the case that buildings in Rome were conceived of as being historic irrespective of their possibly anachronistic appearance. Then I think that where instances of deliberate architectural continuity are observable, factors other than an attempt to present a historic appearance might be considered as the reason behind it. This line of argument can be extended to an example which, on the face of it, appears to be a very apparent exception and contradiction to the case I have set out above – the *casa Romuli*, which we go on to explore next.

Chapter Five: The Anomaly of the Casa Romuli

5.1 Introduction

In Chapter One, I observed that Roman attitudes towards built heritage has received very little attention as a subject in its own right. Among those studies which do consider this topic, perhaps the most frequently cited example of ancient restoration practice is the casa Romuli (hut of Romulus).¹ This is unsurprising, as it is an instance where the appearance of the building is carefully preserved through successive restorations, with its materials being repaired in a like-for-like manner and there being no discernable attempt to upgrade the structure in line with contemporary trends. Indeed, its enduring appeal is surely because more than any other building in the ancient city, the treatment of this structure is the closest to modern ideas on restoration and conservation. However, as Hopkins warned in his study on Roman attitudes to death, it is when the ancient experiences appear most familiar to our own that we need to be the most cautious in drawing conclusions.² In the case of the casa Romuli, I think the very fact that it appears to relate to some modern sensibilities on built heritage has been misleading, and this chapter presents an alternative interpretation of how the peculiar manner of its restoration might be understood.

It should be noted that most of the evidence for the casa Romuli falls outside the chronological parameters of this study and primarily relates to the late first century BC and early first century AD. Nevertheless, as will be shown below, the casa Romuli existed throughout the period of my thesis and so the conclusions reached are directly relevant. The casa Romuli provides a fascinating insight into Roman attitudes to built heritage; its exceptionality and importance in this regard is in itself perhaps justification enough to be included in this study. More than this though, its pervasiveness as an example in discussions of Roman restoration practices means that it would be a glaring omission if I were not to consider it. This is particularly true because the treatment of the hut, in a way, might seem to contradict a premise that is central to my thesis: that the historical associations of buildings were not invested in

¹ Nagel and Wood 2010: 51-53; Karmon 2011 26-7; Glendinning 2013: 14; Aylward 2014: 466-8.

² Hopkins 1983: xv.

their architecture. Likewise, it might also seem to be an exception to the premise of innovative restoration. However, despite appearances, I do not think that this is the case.

The chapter begins by setting out the situation regarding the location and dating of the casa Romuli, before detailing its distinctive appearance and the exceptional way in which it was treated. The discussion moves on to consider, and refute, the political and ideological explanations that other studies have proposed, emphasising their apparent marginalisation of agency in the decision-making process. The final section of the chapter presents my own interpretation for how the casa Romuli should be understood, and draws upon the Pons Sublicius as an illuminating, comparative example. The interpretation presented here means that the casa Romuli fits into, rather than conflicts with, the overall Roman concept of built heritage that I am arguing for in this study.

5.2 Two Homes for Romulus

By the first century BC, there were in fact two huts in Rome associated with the city's founder and going under the name casa Romuli. One was located on the Palatine Hill and the other on the Capitoline Hill (Fig. 5.1).³ As will be discussed below, the buildings not only shared a name but also an aesthetic, both being constructed from wood and thatch. A number of suggestions have been put forward as to why there was this duality, but interestingly, the ancients themselves appear to have felt no compulsion to account for the situation; indeed, no source ever refers to both buildings.⁴ On account of their apparent similarities regarding identity and physicality, it is in some instances appropriate to discuss the buildings together, as certain observations made about one could also be applied to the other.⁵ Indeed, it is sometimes unclear as to which casa Romuli ancient authors are referring.⁶ However, while there are clear parallels between the two structures, due to the current state of evidence it is not

³ For collected references: Platner and Ashby 1929: 101-2; Coarelli 1995: 141-142.

⁴ Suggestions for why there were two huts of Romulus have been made but are to be treated with caution: Balland 1984: 57-80; Nagel and Wood 2010: 51-53 with n. 7; Rutledge 2012: 166; cf. Poucet 1967: 300; Grandazzi 1997: 169. There are other instances of dual monuments in the city, for example the two houses of Numa (Plut. *Num.* 14.1).

⁵ Siwicki 2012: 19.

⁶ Liv. 5.53.8; Val. Max. 2.8. Pref; 4.4.11; Sen. *Dial.* 9.3. Conon *Narr.* 48.8. Cass. Dio. 48.43.4; 54.29.8. Cf. Wiseman 1987a: 197 with n. 3.

possible to say whether they were directly analogous and the implications of this complication are taken into account in the discussion below.

Despite their nominal identification it is unlikely that the huts, either physically or conceptually, were products of the eighth century BC, although the date when they first appeared is far from certain. The earliest reference to the Capitoline hut is in Vitruvius, but I do not agree with the frequently cited suggestion, first proposed by Balland, that this hut was an Augustan creation.⁷ The argument is explored at length below, but it is also worth noting here that the context in which Vitruvius refers to the *casa Romuli* would seem to suggest he already considered it to be of some age by the mid-first century BC.

In Athens, on the Areopagus, to this day there is an ancient example of a house daubed with mud. Likewise, on the Capitol, the hut of Romulus calls to mind and is indicative of the ancient ways.⁸

Athenis Areopagi antiquitatis exemplar ad hoc tempus luto tectum. Item in Capitolio commonefacere potest et significare mores vetustatis Romuli casa.

This reference to the *casa Romuli* comes amid a wider discussion of archaic and vernacular building techniques.⁹ Tellingly, Vitruvius states that the hut is illustrative of *mores vetustatis* and he compares it to another rustic structure in Athens that he characterises as *antiquitatis*. There is nothing in this passage to imply Vitruvius thought the Capitoline *casa Romuli* to be a recent (Augustan) addition to the city. Brown's suggestion that the building could not predate 83 BC because the Capitoline fire of that year would have destroyed it seems to ignore the possibility that the hut, like the temple of Jupiter which also burned in that conflagration, could be rebuilt.¹⁰ Without further evidence it is difficult to posit a date for the conception of the Capitoline hut, but, as discussed below, there appears to be no reason to suppose it did not predate the first century BC.¹¹

⁷ Vitr. 2.1.5; Balland 1984: 57-80.

⁸ Vitr. 2.1.5. (Translation adapted from Rowland and Howe 1999).

⁹ Gros 1999b: 64-74.

¹⁰ Brown 1976: 8 n. 13.

¹¹ On suggested early dates: Poucet 1967: 300 (contra Balland 1984: 73); Alfoldi 1974: 111; 117; Grandazzi 1997: 169. Interestingly, Ward-Perkins (1961: 27-8) has suggested that domestic architecture at Veii continued to be wooden framed wattle and daub structures up until its destruction in the early fourth century BC.

There is greater evidence for establishing the date of the Palatine casa Romuli. The first probable reference to the building appears in the list of the *Argeorum sacraria* cited by Varro.¹² This document formulaically noted the location of the shrines of the *Argei* by their proximity to other topographical features, and it is in this context that the hut is possibly mentioned: ‘Germalian: fifth shrine by the *aedem Romuli*’.¹³ Importantly, it places the structure on the Germalus (Cermalus) peak of the Palatine, which is where later sources also locate the hut of Romulus.¹⁴ In addition, this seems to approximate with the position of the archaeological remains frequently associated with the casa Romuli (discussed below). Given this apparent proximity, as well as the absence of any other appropriate building nominally identified with Romulus on this part of this hill, the idea that the structure mentioned by Varro and the casa Romuli are one and the same is appealing and generally accepted.¹⁵ Varro wrote *De Lingua Latina* in the mid-first century BC, but the list of *Argei* shrines which he partially transcribes is thought to date from at least the mid-third century, indicating that the hut was already in existence and associated with Romulus by this date.¹⁶

That the text refers to it as an *aedes* rather than a *casa* should not necessarily be seen as problematic, for the hut is referred to by various names in a number of different sources.¹⁷ The fourth-century AD Regionary Catalogues label it the casa Romuli, but the Augustan poet Propertius calls it the *domus* of Remus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes it as the *σκηνή* where Romulus and Remus grew up, and Julius Solinus, writing in the third century AD, names it the *tugurium* of Faustulus, the twins’ adoptive father.¹⁸ Although an element of doubt persists, it is generally accepted that these authors are all referring to the

¹² Varro *Ling.* 5.47-54. On the *Argeorum sacraria*: Holland 1961: 313-31; Palmer 1970: 82-87; Richardson 1992: 37-39.

¹³ Varro *Ling.* 5.54: *Germalense quinticeps apud aedem Romuli*.

¹⁴ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.79.11; Castagnoli 1964: 174; Richardson 1992: 74; Coarelli 1995: 141-142.

¹⁵ Platner and Ashby 1929: 53; Castagnoli 1964: 174; Richardson 1992: 74; Coarelli 1995: 141-142.

¹⁶ Palmer 1970: 84-87; Richardson 1992: 37-8.

¹⁷ The significance of *aedes* in this instance is discussed below.

¹⁸ *Cur., Not.* Regio X; Prop. 4.1.9; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.79.11; Solin. 1.18; cf. Plut. *Rom.* 20.4. The suggestion by Watt (1975: 155-156) that Propertius might be referring to the Temple of Quirinus is not generally followed: Debroun, 2006: 43. On the casa Romuli and tugurium Faustuli being the same building: Castagnoli 1964: 174; Pensabene 1990/91: 117; 157; Coarelli 1995: 141; 2012: 127-132; contra: Wiseman 2012: 379-386.

same structure.¹⁹ Noticeably, the common denominator in these names is the association, direct or otherwise, with Romulus. Therefore, it seems plausible that the hut could at one time also have been known as *aedes Romuli*. The further significance of this title is discussed below.²⁰

Given that the huts were built of wood and thatch it is hardly surprising that no trace of either superstructure has been found. However, excavations on the south-west corner of the Palatine uncovered a series of postholes which are proposed by Pensabene, among others, to be the *casa Romuli* (Fig. 5.2).²¹ This hut is not to be conflated with the series of archaic (ninth to eighth century BC) dwellings that were discovered nearby. Somewhat confusingly, these structures are occasionally associated by scholars with the foundation story, but they belong to a different and earlier much context than the postholes thought to be the *casa Romuli* mentioned in the literary sources (Fig. 5.3).²² This hut stood within an enclosure constructed from tufa blocks that has been dated to around the late fourth to early third century BC (Fig. 5.4).²³ Dionysius of Halicarnassus states that the hut of Romulus was on the slope of the Palatine overlooking the Circus Maximus, and Solinus and Plutarch add that it stood near a flight of steps known as the *scalae Caci*.²⁴ The structure excavated on the Palatine seems to accord with this: it is on the side of the hill above the Circus Maximus, and is directly adjacent to a stair that is thought by some to be the *scalae Caci*.²⁵

If the identification of this structure with the *casa Romuli* is correct, then it would provide an indication of the physical dimensions of the hut, its setting within the urban environment, and an approximate date for its origin. This date

¹⁹ Recently, Wiseman (2012: 379-386; cf. 1982: 475-476) has suggested that there were in fact two huts of Romulus on the Palatine hill, one adjacent to the *scalae Caci* and another on the summit near the Roma Quadrata (the possibility of two distinct huts of the hill was earlier posited by Palmer 1970: 86). However, this suggestion is contestable and, in any case, does not affect my conclusions in this chapter.

²⁰ It has been suggested that an *oikía* of Caci (a legendary inhabitant of the pre-Romulean Palatine) located near the *scalae Caci* and mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (4.21.2) might also be referring to the *casa Romuli* (Wiseman 1987a: 196). However, we have no information as to what this building looked like and there is no reason to rule out that this was an entirely separate edifice.

²¹ Pensabene 1990: 86-90; 1990-1991: 115-62; cf. Angelelli and Falzone 1999: 25-30; Battistelli 2001: 79-144; Pensabene and D'Alessio 2006 31-40; contra Coarelli 2012: 131-2

²² On these structures and the development of this area: Angelelli, and Falzone 2001: 5-13; Battistelli 2001: 135-144. Cf. remarks in Claridge 2010: 131-2.

²³ Pensabene 1990: 86-90; 1990-1991: esp. 116-118; 157-9; cf. Angelelli and Falzone 1999: 25-30; Pensabene and D'Alessio 2006 31-40.

²⁴ Dion. Hal *Ant. Rom.* 1.79.11; Solin. 1.18; Plut., *Rom.* 20.4 (although note apparent corruption in the text regarding the name of the stair).

²⁵ Richardson 1992: 334; Coarelli 2012: 131-2

of the late fourth to early third century BC roughly corresponds to when it has been suggested, if contentiously, that the tradition of Romulus and Remus gained prominence.²⁶ Indeed, the potential relevance of the foundation story to this specific area of Rome at this time might be inferred from the apparent monumentalisation of the *figus Ruminalis*, through the addition of a bronze statue group of the she-wolf and twins in 296 BC.²⁷ Therefore, the association of these postholes with the *casa Romuli* mentioned in textual sources is appealing. However, it should be borne in mind that there is no explicit evidence which connects this hut-like structure to the famous edifice and it is possible that what has been discovered is another timber-framed building.²⁸ In either case, while securing the connection would be helpful and considering this evidence is important, a conclusive identification is not essential to the main arguments that are made in this chapter.

Much of the textual evidence for the two *casae Romuli* comes from the mid-first century BC to mid-first century AD, yet there is good reason to think that both structures were maintained throughout the period that is the primary focus of this study. A comment by Martial highlights that the Capitoline hut was still in existence and probably restored during the Domitianic principate, and a reference to the building in Macrobius might indicate that it was still present in the fourth century AD.²⁹ So, too, the continued existence of the Palatine hut into the fourth century is attested to by both its appearance in the *Regionary Catalogues* and a reference to it by Jerome.³⁰ Therefore, even by relatively cautious estimates, the Palatine *casa Romuli* was a feature of the cityscape from at least the third century BC into the fourth century AD. So, too, the Capitoline hut quite probably predates the first century BC, was present at the end of the first century AD and also, perhaps, still standing into late antiquity.

²⁶ Wiseman 1995; cf. comments on the tradition by Cornell 1995 60-63. It has been proposed that redevelopment of this area in the fourth century BC uncovered the remains of huts which then influenced the idea of Romulus' settlement having been in this location: Battistelli 2001: 139.

²⁷ Liv. 10. 23.12. What exactly the Ogulnii brothers set up and where is the subject of some dispute: Wiseman 1995: 72-76; Evans 1992: 75-83; cf. Hunt 2012: 111-128. Elsewhere in the city at this time the temple of Quirinus was (re)built in 293 BC.

²⁸ For example the *oikía* of Caciús (see above), or an *Argei* shrine. Against the identification: Coarelli 2012: 131-2.

²⁹ Mart. *Ep.* 8.80.6. Cecamore (2002: 114 n. 112) thinks that Martial is referring to the Palatine hut. Macrobius *Sat.* 1.15.9-10. cf. *CIL* 16.23 = *ILS* 9052.

³⁰ *Cur., Not.* Regio X; Jer. *Hieron. Praef. In libr. Didymi de Spiritu Sancto* 2. 105. Cf. Brouwers 1960: 215-218.

5.3 The Peculiar Appearance and Restoration of the Casa Romuli

Of specific interest to this study is the physical composition and treatment of the huts when restored. Except for the postholes, which as discussed above might relate to the casa Romuli on the Palatine, the evidence for these details derives entirely from literary sources of the late first century BC onward, principally Dionysius of Halicarnassus:

But their life was that of herdsmen, and they lived by their own labour, generally upon the mountains in huts which they built, roofs and all, out of sticks and reeds. One of these, called the hut of Romulus, remained even to my day on the flank of the Palatine hill which faces towards the Circus, and it is preserved holy by those charged with these matters; they add nothing to it to render it more stately, but if any part of it is injured, either by storms or by the lapse of time, they repair the damage and restore the hut as nearly as possible to its former condition.³¹

βίος δ' αὐτοῖς ἦν βουκολικὸς καὶ δίαιτα αὐτουργὸς ἐν ὄρεσι τὰ πολλὰ πηξαμένοις διὰ ξύλων καὶ καλάμων σκηνὰς αὐτορόφους· ὧν ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἦν τις τοῦ Παλλαντίου ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἵππόδρομον στρεφούσης λαγόνος Ἰρωμύλου λεγομένη, ἣν φυλάττουσιν ἱερὰν οἷς τούτων ἐπιμελὲς οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνότερον ἐξάγοντες, εἰ δέ τι πονήσειεν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἢ χρόνου τὸ λεῖπον ἐξακούμενοι καὶ τῷ πρόσθεν ἐξομοιοῦντες εἰς δύναμιν.

This passage is crucial and certain details, including who was responsible for the restoration, will be returned to throughout the chapter. It comes amid Dionysius' account of the origins of the city and the life of its founder, and he interrupts the historical narrative in order to comment on the situation at Rome during his own time.³² There seems little reason to doubt the accuracy of Dionysius' observations about the hut. As noted in Chapter Four, the Greek historian lived in Rome for over two decades and seems to have had first-hand knowledge of the buildings he describes.³³ Indeed, his wider account of the Palatine in this chapter reads as if he was personally familiar with the topography of this area, and his time in Rome overlaps with the period when

³¹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.79.11. (Translation Cary 1937).

³² Such interruptions occur elsewhere in the *Roman Antiquities*, as has already been noted in regard to his discussion of the Capitolium in Chapter Four, and in this section Dionysius further illustrates his story of Rome's foundation by pointing to other physical memorials such as the Lupercal: Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.61.3; 1.79.8; cf. Dionysius (6.13.4) on the Dioscuri at Rome. On Rome's monuments in Dionysius' *Roman Antiquities*: Andrén 1960: 88-104.

³³ Dionysius (*Ant. Rom.* 4.61.3-4) states that he arrived in Rome as Octavian ended the civil wars and then stayed for twenty two years (c. 30-8 BC).

one of the *casae Romuli* is recorded as having been destroyed and rebuilt in 12 BC.³⁴

Dionysius' description of it being constructed from wood (*ξύλων*) and reed or straw thatch (*κάλαμος*) is both corroborated by other authors and mirrored in the descriptions of the Capitoline *casa Romuli*.³⁵ While there are no known representations of the building, it should not be dismissed out of hand that the ancient hut bore a resemblance to the shepherds' cabins that continued to exist in rural Lazio into the early twentieth century (Fig. 5.5-6).³⁶ They were after all constructed from largely the same materials and quite possibly by similar techniques. However, any direct equation is wholly conjectural and the potential for variation is illustrated by Boni's hypothetical reconstruction of the hut c.1900 (Fig. 5.7).³⁷ Even if precise details of the appearance of the *casa Romuli* cannot be pinned down, crucially, its relative smallness and simplistic materiality is consistently attested in the literary sources.

It is these aspects that Dionysius states were purposefully retained through careful maintenance. Wooden and thatch buildings are particularly vulnerable to the natural elements and susceptible to rapid decay: exposed wood is rotted by fungi and eaten by insects, while thatch is weakened by the perennial battering of wind and rain.³⁸ Such buildings are in constant need of maintenance and at risk if neglected. It is to this sort of continual repair that Dionysius seems to be alluding in the passage above when he refers to damage resulting from 'storms' (*χειμών*) and 'lapse of time' (*χρόνος*). The materials of the hut were also particularly at risk from fire. One *casa Romuli* (it is not clear which) is attested as having burnt down in 38 and 12 BC, after which point it was evidently rebuilt in the traditional manner.³⁹ Based on Dionysius' passage and the attested consistency of the materiality, it appears that the Palatine *casa Romuli* was purposefully repaired in a like-for-like manner with no attempt to upgrade the structure or change its aesthetic.

³⁴ Cass. Dio. 54.29.8.

³⁵ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.79.11. On *κάλαμος* in this context: Cary 1937: 268. On the thatch construction and diminutive size of the huts: Ov. *Fast.* 1.199; 3.184; Vitruvius 2.4.5; Verg. *Aen.* 8.654. Conon *Narr.* 48.8.

³⁶ Brown 1976: 5-12. On shepherd cabins: Close-Brooks and Gibson 1966: 349-52. Lanciani (1897: 131) looks to the Iron Age "hut urns" for an impression of the appearance of the *casa Romuli*; cf. Rykwert 1981: 175.

³⁷ On wooden hut construction: Ulrich 2007: 90-97.

³⁸ Ashurst and Ashurst 1988: 2-3; 5.

³⁹ Cass. Dio 48.43.4 (38 BC); 54.29.8 (12 BC).

Whether the Capitoline casa Romuli was treated in a similar manner is not clear, but the very fact that it was made of damage-prone thatch and yet continued to exist into the second half of the first century BC and even late antiquity is suggestive that it probably was. In support of this assertion is the possibility that it is this hut which is the subject of a comment by the late first-century BC mythographer Conon. While the majority of Conon's fifty stories in the *Narratives* (*Diegeseis*) concern Greek myths, he does include a brief account of the Romulus and Remus foundation story.⁴⁰ He concludes this tale by mentioning certain physical features still present in the cityscape that were believed to relate to the events:

...and in the precinct of Zeus a kind of hut [is shown] as a reminder of Phaistylus' way of life, which they preserve by bracing it with scrap material and with new twigs.⁴¹

...καὶ καλύβη τις ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερῷ γνώρισμα τῆς Φαιστύλου διαίτης, ἣν ἐκ φορυτῶν καὶ νέων φρυγάνων συνιστῶντες διασώζουσιν.

Conon's language here is a slightly unclear. The reference to fresh twigs (*νέων φρυγάνων*) is quite plausibly indicative of thatch, although what is meant by *φορυτός* is less apparent. Brown translates it as 'wood scraps,' seemingly based on the knowledge that the hut had wooden elements, although Wiseman's translation 'scrap material' is more literal.⁴² Yet even if the phrasing is ambiguous, the general impression is that this thatched hut of Faustulus was restored using basic materials, an idea which seems compatible with how Dionysius asserts the Palatine casa Romuli was repaired.⁴³ The precinct of Zeus might be reasonably associated with the *area Capitolina*, which is where Vitruvius states the Capitoline casa Romuli stood.⁴⁴ However, Conon's association of the structure with Faustulus (who reputedly dwelt on the Palatine) is problematic and means that there is a question as to which hut he is referring to. Although I think it is more plausible that Conon's comments do refer to the Capitoline hut (the case for this is set out in Appendix B), the identification is

⁴⁰ Conon. *Narr.* 48. The only other Roman tale Conon (*Narr* 46) relates is Aeneas' landing in Italy.

⁴¹ Conon *Narr.* 48.7-8. (Translation adapted from Brown 2002).

⁴² Wiseman 2012: 382. Cf. *LSJ* s.v. *φορυτός*: 'whatever the wind carries along: hence, rubbish'.

⁴³ Given other notable differences in their accounts of the foundation myth it is highlight unlikely that Conon used Dionysius' *Roman Antiquities*.

⁴⁴ Vitr. 2.1.5.

contested and unverifiable based on current evidence. Therefore, much of the argument in the rest of this chapter refers primarily to the Palatine hut, since, on account of Dionysius' observations, we can be more assured about the way it was treated.

What can be asserted with confidence is that both huts were of a small size with a wood and thatch construction, which projected a rustic, archaic, and/or primitive image to late republican and early imperial audiences, as discussed below. Importantly, the observations by Dionysius indicate that, for the Palatine *casa Romuli*, this was an aesthetic that was carefully preserved. The decision to deliberately not alter the appearance or materiality of a building contrasts greatly with what I argue above was the prevalent Roman practice of innovative restoration. Indeed, the approach taken towards the *casa Romuli* appears not too far removed from some modern ideas on restoration, whereby efforts were made retain and replicate the aesthetic of the original incarnation on account of the appearance and materiality being seen as an integral part of the building's historic identity. However, as argued below, this apparent similarity is misleading and fundamental in understanding why the hut or huts were restored in this manner is the matter of agency. Recognising who was actually responsible for the practice illuminates the impetus behind it. Yet before coming to my own hypothesis on this, it is necessary to consider the often cited explanations that have been proposed by others.

5.4 The Casa Romuli and Augustan Ideology

Scholars often consider the two *casae Romuli* in the context of the Augustan principate.⁴⁵ A major reason for this is that the majority of information about them comes from texts of this period, as well as the imagery of rustic and archaic huts being a recurrent feature in Augustan poetry.⁴⁶ It seems apparent that the huts did have a particular resonance at this time but scholars frequently go further and credit, tacitly and explicitly, Augustus as being responsible for restoring the buildings and, indeed, even creating the Capitoline *casa Romuli*.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Including Balland 1984: 57-80; Edwards 1996: 30-43; Royo 1999 174-81; Walter 2004: 181-182; Rea 2007: 21-43; Karmon 2011: 26-27; Aylward 2014: 466-8.

⁴⁶ *Ov. Fast.* 1.199; 3.183; *Prop.* 4.1.1; 2.16.19-21 *Verg. Aen.* 8.359-365; 8.640; *Tib.* 2.5.23.

⁴⁷ Including Balland 1984: 57-80; Stambaugh 1988: 49; Favro 1996: 203; Edwards 1996: 36-7; Rea 2007: 21-43; Thomas 2007: 22; Karmon 2011: 26-27. Aylward (2014: 466-7) sees the restoration of the hut as being of special interest to the 'ruling elite.'

Attributing to Augustus the manner in which the huts were treated allows for various ideas to be put forward as to their meaning in relation to the emperor's ideology, and their exceptional appearance is sometimes explained in this context.⁴⁸ However, any direct connection between Augustus and either *casa Romuli* is far more tenuous than is often assumed. That the huts of Romulus were particularly relevant to Augustan ideology does not mean he influenced the way they were treated. Considering first the Palatine and then the Capitoline hut, I will now set out the case against this prevalent idea of Augustan agency. Crucially, it helps to dispel the notion that there was this political impetus behind the peculiar restoration of the huts.

A factor cited in support of Augustus having had an active interest in the *casa Romuli* is its assumed proximity to his residence on the Palatine.⁴⁹ As was surely intended to be recognised by contemporaries, Augustus drew explicit parallels between himself and Rome's first king. This included his reputed sighting of twelve vultures while taking auspices (the same sign that had conferred the right to rule on Romulus) and his contemplation of adopting the founder's name.⁵⁰ Augustus' decision to move to the house of Hortensius on the Palatine between the late forties and early thirties BC has also been related to this ideological programme, a point that was not lost on Cassius Dio:

The royal residence is called *Palatium*, not because it was ever decreed that this be its name, but because Augustus dwelt on the Palatine and had his military headquarters there, and his residence gained a certain degree of fame from the hill as a whole also, because Romulus had once lived there.⁵¹

That the location of Augustus' residence strengthened his association with Romulus is implicit in Dio's comment. Yet neither this passage nor any other ancient source suggests that Hortensius' house was specifically chosen

⁴⁸ Balland 1984: 57-80; Royo 1999: 174-81; Rea 2007: 21-43; Karmon 2011: 26-7.

⁴⁹ For example Miles 1986: 16-17; Stambaugh 1988: 60; Edwards 1996: 32-33; 40; Royo 1999: 43-44; 154-7 175; Walter 2004: 181-182; Beck 2009: 379; Rea 2007: 21-43; Dyson 2011: 133.

⁵⁰ Suet. *Aug.* 7; 95; Cass. Dio 53.16.6-8; Scott 1925: 82-105; Balland 1984: 63-66; Zanker 1988: 201-210; Haselberger 2007: 52; 54; 90; cf. comments by Fears 1981: 56 n. 256.

⁵¹ Cass. Dio 53.16.5: *καλεῖται δὲ τὰ βασιλεία παλάτιον, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἔδοξέ ποτε οὕτως αὐτὰ ὀνομάζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐν τε τῷ Παλατίῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὤκει καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸ στρατήγιον εἶχε, καὶ τινα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ἰωμόλου προενοίησιν φήμην ἢ οἰκία αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ παντὸς ὄρους ἔλαβε.* (Translation adapted from Cary 1937).

because of its proximity to the *casa Romuli*.⁵² Indeed, it is noteworthy that Dio's passage implies that the Romulean association came from the hill in general, rather than a specific part of it or a particular structure on it. Also, the topography and archaeology of this area of the Palatine is subject to considerable dispute, as is the precise location and layout of the *Domus Augusta*.⁵³ Therefore, while scholars have written about the house of Augustus being near the *casa Romuli*, how exactly the two structures might have related to one another, if at all, is far from clear.⁵⁴

As the *casa Romuli* was a physical reference to the founder, it is certainly plausible that Augustus might have attempted to highlight its proximity to his own residence. But this in itself does not demonstrate that Augustus chose the location of his house because of the advantageous link. This could just have been a consequence of the decision to move there rather than the motivation behind it. Indeed, the scholarly emphasis on the possible ideological implications of the location of his residence perhaps overshadows other reasons why he initially moved into Hortensius' *domus*. Given the proscription of the presumed former owner after the battle of Philippi, the house, which stood in an exceptionally desirable area of the city, might simply have been available at the right price.⁵⁵ In any case, there is no clear justification for making the leap from Augustus living near the *casa Romuli*, to him having an influence over its restoration, as some have suggested.

Both huts are entirely absent from Augustus' carefully compiled and extensive *Res Gestae*, in which almost all of his other known restorations of public buildings in Rome are either named or alluded to.⁵⁶ Any suggestion that a wooden hut was too insignificant to be recorded is negated by the inclusion of the Lupercal, where tradition claimed the she-wolf had suckled the twins.⁵⁷ By the late first century BC, it seems that the Lupercal consisted of a cave, a spring

⁵² For example, Suetonius (*Aug.* 72) gives the most detailed account but never mentions the *casa Romuli* in this context once.

⁵³ There is a considerable bibliography on this subject: Iacopi and Tedone, 2005/6: 351-78; Carandini and Bruno 2008: esp. 30-104; 138-198, with extensive critical review and alternative reconstruction by Wiseman 2009: 527-545; cf. 2012: 371-387; 2013: 255-62; Coarelli 2012 347-399.

⁵⁴ Indeed, if the *casa Romuli* is to be identified with the postholes in the tufa enclosure discussed above, then it would seem to have faced a solid wall of what is presumed to be part of the *Domus Augusta*. See Wiseman (2012: 384-5) for alternative interpretation of the relationship between a hut and the later imperial palaces.

⁵⁵ On the proscription of Hortensius and the fate of the house: Smith 1867: 528; Corbier 1992, 889-891; cf. Papi 1995: 116-7.

⁵⁶ *RG* 19-20.

⁵⁷ *RG* 19.1.

and assorted statuary.⁵⁸ In the *Res Gestae* Augustus claims to have built (*facere*) the Lupercal, and as the cave already existed this presumably refers to a restoration or embellishment, the choice of *facere* over *reficere* perhaps being indicative of its extensiveness.⁵⁹ Physically, the Lupercal was a relatively minor monument and its inclusion in the *Res Gestae* is probably on symbolic merit. Therefore, if Augustus was similarly responsible for restoring the casa Romuli, which was rebuilt during his Principate, its omission from the document seems surprising.

There is, of course, an inherent danger in arguing from silence, but a more damning, if basic, objection to Augustan involvement in the restoration of the hut can be raised. As already noted above, the existence of the Palatine hut can probably be traced back to at least the third century BC, and owing to the nature of its materials it would have required periodic if not frequent maintenance. Also, this area of the Palatine underwent a significant renovation following a major fire in 111BC, which seems to have affected the tufa enclosure of the casa Romuli.⁶⁰ So prior to Augustus there must already have been an established process for repairing the hut, and the decision to retain its original form and replace the materials in a like-for-like manner clearly predates his principate. This renders the attempts to attribute the specific restoration practice to Augustan ideology untenable.⁶¹

It is also necessary to briefly comment here on the assertion that the Capitoline casa Romuli was an entirely Augustan conception. First argued by Balland in a 1984 article, the notion is often repeated and is seen as Augustus attempting to promote a symbolic link between the Palatine and Capitoline hills.⁶² There is, however, no direct evidence which indicates that the hut was Augustan in origin. The principal factor that permits such a date to be proposed

⁵⁸ See description in Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.79.8; cf. Livy (10.23.12) on the wolf and twins statue at the ficus. *CIL* 6.912b attests to the presence of a statue to the elder Drusus. For collected references: Platner and Ashby 1929: 321. On the disputed recent identification of a decorated 'grotto' with the cave: Coates-Stephens 2008: 301 (although this structure seems to have been known since the sixteenth century; Lanciani 1897: 129 n. 1).

⁵⁹ *Reficere* is used elsewhere in the *Res Gestae* (20.4-5) in reference to the restoration of eighty-two temples and bridges. On *facere* and *reficere* in Roman building inscriptions: Thomas and Witschel 1992: 138; 152.

⁶⁰ Pensabene and D'Alessio 2006: 40-47; Davies 2014: 40.

⁶¹ In particular, Stambaugh (1988: 49), Rea (2007: 21-43) and Karmon (2011: 26-7) directly credit Augustus with the restoration.

⁶² Balland (1984: 57-80) dates its construction to the remodelling of the *area Capitolina* between 26-20 BC. Followed by Edwards 1996: 37; Cecamore 2002: 111; Thein 2002: 53; Thomas 2007: 22; Rea 2007: 55.

is that Vitruvius is the first source to mention the structure.⁶³ Yet, as I have argued above, everything about the context in which Vitruvius refers to *casa Romuli* implies he considered it an old building. It is possible the recent willingness to ascribe a late date to the conception of the hut derives, in part, from the way in which scholarship has often perceived the Capitoline *casa Romuli* as secondary to the Palatine hut, as evidenced by it being labelled a ‘replica’ and ‘duplicate’ in topographical dictionaries.⁶⁴ Such a judgement is not expressed by those ancient writers who mention the hut, and given that we know so little about the origins and purpose of either *casa Romuli*, such labels are not necessarily accurate or helpful. Ultimately, there is no direct evidence that the Capitoline hut dated to the Augustan period or that the emperor had anything to do with it.⁶⁵

When considering the reasons behind architectural decisions there is a danger of conflating intent and consequence. In regard to both *casae Romuli*, their possible relevance to the Augustan era does not mean they were products of it. Similarly, a distinction might be recognised between the structures being restored *by* Augustus and being restored simply *during* Augustus’ reign. The Palatine hut existed independent of the princeps and the reason for the exceptional manner of its restoration should be sought somewhere other than Augustan ideology. Indeed, as maintaining the Palatine hut was a recurrent and continual process that seems to have spanned several centuries, it suggests that the peculiar approach was not reliant on the decision of an individual but was embedded in societal practice. I will now go on to consider the other common explanation for the existence and appearance of the huts, which concerns the notion of them being historical and moral symbols.

5.5 Architecture as Exempla

In her study of how literary texts interact with the physicality of the city of Rome, Edwards singles out the *casa Romuli* as a building that for Roman

⁶³ Vitr 2.1.5; Balland 1984: 66; 73-75.

⁶⁴ Platner and Ashby 1929: 101; Richardson 1992: 74.

⁶⁵ The idea that in the Augustan age the two huts were promoted or highlighted in order to further a comparison between the Palatine and Capitoline Hills is not necessarily invalid, but in itself this does not constitute evidence of when *casa Romuli* came into being (Balland 1984: 73-5).

audiences ‘functioned as a vivid symbol of Rome’s past’.⁶⁶ For Vitruvius, in the passage quoted above, it was literally a structure he could point to as an example of archaic building practices, while to Valerius Maximus, the simple hut symbolised progress and was an illustration of Rome’s development from being a small settlement on the banks of the Tiber, to its present state as the head of a world empire:

Military discipline jealously conserved won the leadership of Italy for the Roman empire, bestowed rule over many cities, great kings, mighty nations, opened the jaws of the Pontic gulf, handed over the shattered barriers of the Alps and Taurus, made it from its origin in Romulus’s little hut into the summit of the entire globe.⁶⁷

That the *casa Romuli* might be looked upon as a physical reminder of Rome’s past is also explicit in Seneca the Elder’s *Controversiae*. In arguing for the limited merits of a distinguished ancestry, the orator Julius Bassus points to Romulus’ hut in support of his argument:

Once these hills stood bare; among such wide-flung walls there is nothing more distinguished than a lowly hut (*humili casa*), though above it shines out the Capitol with its sloping roofs, gleaming in pure gold. Can you reproach the Romans? They might cover up their humble beginnings, but instead they make a show of them, and do not regard all this as great unless it is made obvious that it rose from a tiny start.⁶⁸

Although this reference is specifically to the Capitoline *casa Romuli*, given that the appearance of the Palatine hut was similar, then there seems every reason to think that such sentiments were applicable to both. My purpose here is not to further unpick these passages, for irrespective of the appropriateness of Seneca’s Bassus using the building in his argument, what I want to underscore is that the huts could function as visual references of the city’s origins.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Edwards 1996: 37; 27-43.

⁶⁷ Val. Max. 2. 8: *Disciplina militaris acriter retenta principatum Italiae Romano imperio peperit, multarum urbium, magnorum regum, validissimarum gentium, regimen largita est, fauces Pontici sinus patefecit, Alpium Taurique montis convulsa claustra tradidit, ortumque e parvula Romuli casa totius terrarum orbis fecit columen.* (Translation Shackleton Bailey 2000).

⁶⁸ Sen. *Controv.* 1.6.4: *Nudi <hi> stetero colles, interque tam effusa moenia nihil est humili casa nobilius: fastigatis supra tectis auro puro fulgens praelucet Capitolium. Potes obiurgare Romanos quod humilitatem suam cum obscurare possint ostendunt, et haec non putant magna nisi apparuerit ex parvis surrexisse.* (Translation Winterbottom 1974).

⁶⁹ On this passage: Edwards 1996: 37-8.

In a number of instances it is apparent that there was also another dimension to this. Edwards demonstrates how by the first century AD the *casa Romuli* had become a ‘familiar trope of Roman moralising.’⁷⁰ Latin authors highlight the archaic origins of the huts in order to draw comparative judgements about the present day; their rusticity is seen to contrast with the contemporary material luxury.⁷¹ An excerpt, again from Valerius Maximus, illustrates this point:

Rather let our hearts rise up and let us refresh our spirits, enfeebled by gazing upon money, with the memory of the day of yore. For I swear it by Romulus’s hut and the humble roofs of the ancient Capitol and Vesta’s ever lasting fire, content even today with utensils of clay: no riches can be preferred to the poverty of men like these.⁷²

This passage looks to both the simplicity and antiquity of the hut in order to make a contrast with the alleged materialism of the present-day. Such sentiments are expressed also by Ovid, Propertius and Seneca the Elder; indeed, so frequently was the *casa Romuli* used in this way, that Edwards suggests Seneca the Younger later found it a rather ‘tired symbol.’⁷³

The symbolism and messages that various Romans authors saw in, and derived from, the appearance of the huts has had considerable influence on the explanations that some scholars have advanced for the existence and purpose of the buildings. Rykwert, in his study of the ‘primitive hut’ in architectural history, seems to echo the sentiments of Valerius Maximus by suggesting that the *casa Romuli* was to the Romans a guarantee of their antiquity and a witness to the city’s development.⁷⁴ Denecke sees the faithfulness with which it was rebuilt as intended to be physically representative of ‘the uncorrupted ancient Roman customs and values.’⁷⁵ Rea claims that the restoration of the *casa Romuli* was a way to ‘emphasize the community’s renewal and preservation of

⁷⁰ Edwards 1996: 39.

⁷¹ Edwards 1996: 38-40.

⁷² Val. Max. 4.4.11: *exurgamus potius animis pecuniaeque aspectu debilitatos spiritus pristini temporis memoria recreemus: namque per Romuli casam perque veteris Capitolii humilia tecta et aeternos Vestae focos, fictilibus etiam nunc vasis contentos, iuro nullas divitias talium virorum paupertati posse praeferri.* (Translation Shackleton Bailey 2000).

⁷³ Ov. *Fast.* 1. 199; Prop. 4.1.1; Sen. *Controv.* 1.6.4; Val. Max. 2.8; 4.4.11; Sen. *Dial.* 12. 9.3; Edwards 1996: 38. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8.359-365; 640; Tib. 2.5.23; Ov. *Fast.* 3. 183. The relationship of morality and *luxuria* to architecture is returned to in Chapter Six.

⁷⁴ Rykwert 1981: 181

⁷⁵ Denecke 2014: 157.

the values associated with Rome's humble founding.⁷⁶ Expanding on this, Rea concludes:

...the ongoing maintenance of the hut served two purposes: first, it established a visible ritual that was important for the community, as it served as a way for them to commemorate their founding father and added to their sense of civic identity. And it also gave the Romans the impression that they had not strayed too far from their original foundations.⁷⁷

Yet how valid are such interpretations?

That both *casae Romuli* were used as *exempla* by ancient writers to recall former times and make moralising assertions is evident, and I am not questioning that central to the suitability of the huts for this purpose was their archaic and rustic appearance. Yet the way in which poets and moralists might respond to and utilise the appearance of the huts in literary works, does not necessarily equate with the reason why they were maintained and restored in such a manner. The authors' comments reflect an element of the huts' relevance and meaning to their contemporaries, but they are a consequence of their presence rather than an explanation for it.⁷⁸ There is no direct evidence that the unique manner in which the huts were maintained was done in order to propagate moral messages or illustrate what the city used to look like.

Nagel and Wood also speculate as to what attitudes Roman writers' responses to the Palatine *casa Romuli* might be indicative of, asserting:

the rites of the hut and the periodic reconstructions stood for the idea of architectural continuity at a time when the city's temples were one by one being reconstructed in new forms and new materials...The *casa Romuli* was a stabilizer in response to these changes in building practice...designed to reassure everyone that Rome was still bound together by sinews of memory.⁷⁹

Karmon, too, sees a similar purpose in its presence, suggesting that 'the preserved physical integrity of this unchanged artefact spoke directly to profound concerns associated with the ongoing transformation of imperial

⁷⁶ Rea 2007: 36.

⁷⁷ Rea 2007: 38.

⁷⁸ Siwicki 2012: 22.

⁷⁹ Nagel and Wood 2010: 52.

Rome.⁸⁰ Both Nagel and Wood's and Karmon's studies take a *longue durée* approach to concepts of preservation and restoration, and they project onto antiquity ideas from later periods and other cultures.⁸¹ This, arguably, has influenced their conclusions about the casa Romuli, which seem to owe more to attitudes they find in the Renaissance period than to ancient evidence. For while unease at contemporary materialism had become a familiar trope by the first century BC, there is no indication that the maintenance of the casa Romuli was a purposeful attempt to alleviate these concerns.⁸² Certain Roman observers might have seen the huts as a counterpoint to architectural progress, but again, this can be a consequence of their presence not a reason for it. In these interpretations by scholars the restoration of the hut of Romulus is framed, explicitly or implicitly, as a conscious act of 'the Romans' constructing identity.⁸³ Yet in emphasising the possibility that the exceptional manner of its maintenance had some wider communal significance, there is perhaps a tendency to gloss over the matter of agency, the significance of which is returned to below.

That the huts of Romulus were monuments, in the sense of commemorating the past, and specifically an individual, is not being questioned here.⁸⁴ As discussed below, the precise function of the hut is not entirely clear, but it is quite possible that a reason why successive generations retained (rather than removed or built over) a hut of Romulus as part of the cityscape was to memorialise the founder.⁸⁵ What I am arguing, is that this in itself was not the reason behind the way it was preserved. As contrary as it may seem to modern sensibilities on restoration, I do not think that the conservation of the supposedly archaic appearance stemmed from a purposeful attempt to present an image of the past or preserve the historic associations of the structure.

In part, this is because it was not necessary. As discussed in Chapters Three and Four, new appearances did not strip buildings of their old identity. A

⁸⁰ Karmon 2011: 26. cf. Ewald and Noreña 2010: 19; Denecke 2014: 156-8.

⁸¹ Karmon 2011: 23-5. Nagel and Wood (2010: 51-54) discuss the casa Romuli in the context of early modern examples. The desire to see the casa Romuli in comparison to other cultures also arguably affects Denecke's (2014: 157-9) interpretation.

⁸² Rawson (1976: 706-7) suggests that such moralising sentiments went back to the second century BC. The theme of *luxuria* and architecture is discussed in Chapter Six.

⁸³ Cf. Perry 2012: 195.

⁸⁴ On *monumentum*: Wiseman 1986: 89; Thomas 2007: 168-170.

⁸⁵ Pensabene and D'Alessio 2006: 33.

building might be aesthetically contemporised and the fabric changed, but its historical associations remained. In Rome, a building could commemorate the past by its very presence and did not need to appear to be of that historic period. In reference to the *casa Romuli*, Aylward asserts that greater fidelity was paid to the appearance of 'monuments connected to Rome's foundation legends.'⁸⁶ But Aylward cites only the huts in support of this assertion which seems demonstrably false, as a number of buildings connected to Rome's early history were evidently rebuilt in an innovative manner, including for example, the temple of Vesta, the Lacus Juturnae, and the Regia.⁸⁷ Supposedly, once the residence of Rome's second king, by the late first century BC the Regia had been rebuilt as a marble structure (as has been detailed in Chapter Three), and yet it was still identified as the place where King Numa was supposed to have lived in the seventh century BC.⁸⁸ It would seem that maintaining the archaic appearance of the *casa Romuli* was not necessary for the purpose of commemorating either Romulus or Rome's origins, and another explanation should be sought.⁸⁹

To reiterate, the manner in which Dionysius states the *casa Romuli* was maintained is exceptional. The purposeful like-for-like replacement of materials and faithful replication of its aesthetic does not seem to have been required of any other structure in the city (almost, see below).⁹⁰ I find it difficult to accept that if Roman society did place value on the preservation and replication of historic appearance and did invest the historical associations of a building in its architecture, then it would only have manifested itself in regard to these particular huts and no other building type. Instead, I think that a plausible conclusion to draw from such exceptionality is that what was going on was not strictly speaking architectural restoration, and that in order to understand the situation, a different approach is needed. The huts are buildings and as a consequence their restoration has been typically perceived as building activity.

⁸⁶ Aylward 2014: 466. Cf. Perry 2012: 176-7; 195.

⁸⁷ Aylward (2014: 466) cites the temple of Vesta in support of his case, suggesting that it was still thatched until an Augustan restoration in 14BC. However, Scott (1999:126) has argued against the idea of an Augustan restoration at this date, and excavations suggest the Republican temple was a stone structure. In any case, that it was updated at some point – as it clearly was – counters Aylward's suggestion that it was treated comparably to the *casa Romuli*. On the Lacus Juturna: Steinby 1996: 168-70.

⁸⁸ Plut. *Num.* 14.1; Tac. *Ann.* 15.38. On the Regia see Chapter Three.

⁸⁹ Jenkyns (2013: 262-3), too, thinks that it was the site not necessarily the appearance that had historic meaning.

⁹⁰ The other exception, the Pons Sublicius, is discussed below.

However, a better understanding might be reached if the process of restoration in this instance is viewed through the lens of religious observance.

5.6 A Sacred Structure

Beyond the possible commemorative purpose, the actual function or status of the hut is not entirely clear. The suggestion by Pensabene that the Palatine *casa Romuli* was some form of heroon – as existed at Lavinium to Aeneas – is not implausible, but this site was never connected with the death or burial of Romulus, as the *Lapis Niger* sometimes was.⁹¹ Also, the flexibility of the hut's association with Romulus, Remus and Faustulus mitigates against the idea of it having been for the worship of a specific 'hero'. There was, however, some kind of sacred element to the building. Scholars tend to acknowledge this, but its exact nature is rarely explored and the significance of what it might mean for interpreting the manner of the maintenance of the hut has been overlooked.

The likelihood of its sacred status is first indicated by the reference to it as an *aedes* in the third century BC list of the *Argeorum sacra* mentioned above.⁹² *Aedes* can refer to the abodes of either mortals or gods, and while 'house' would be an understandable translation given that the building is later called a *casa* and *tugurium*, in this instance I suggest that the more appropriate interpretation would be along the lines of shrine or sanctuary. In part, this is because of the rarity with which the term *aedes* is used in the singular to refer to a dwelling.⁹³ Also, in the other known excerpts of the list of *Argei* shrines, *aedes* is used consistently and exclusively to refer to religious structures.⁹⁴ Indeed, the document formulaically notes the location of the *Argeorum sacra* by their proximity to other topographical features (for example, 'Germalian: fifth shrine by the *aedes* of Romulus') and, tellingly, by far the most common of the

⁹¹ On the *Lapis Niger*: Coarelli 1983: 161-99; 1999d: 209-11; Richardson 1992: 267-8. For collected reference to the *sepulcrum Romuli*: Platner and Ashby 1929: 482-4. On the *casa Romuli* as a heroon: Pensabene 1990: 90; 1990-1991: 156-157. Cf. Palmer 1970 86-87. For the 'grave' on the Germalus: Angelelli and Falzone, 1999: 23-8; Wiseman 2007: 109-10. On the Lavinium heroon: see Galinsky 1974: 2-11.

⁹² Varro *Ling.* 5.54.

⁹³ *OLD*: s.v. *Aedes*; *L&S* s.v. *Aedes*

⁹⁴ Varro *Ling.* 5.47-54.

references are to temples (seven in number), while there are none to secular buildings.⁹⁵

That the hut was a sacred edifice and retained this status into later periods is possibly further indicated by a reference in Cassius Dio, as he includes the destruction of a *casa Romuli* among a list of portents for the year 38 BC: 'The hut of Romulus was burned as a result of a ceremony which the Pontiffs were performing in it' (*ἡ τε γὰρ σκηνὴ ἢ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου ἐξίερουργίας πινός, ἦν οἱ ποντίφικες ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπεποιήκεσαν, ἐκαύθη*).⁹⁶ Writing two centuries after the event, it is suggested that Dio most probably drew his information about Rome's public portents from an annalistic source.⁹⁷ His accuracy in reporting the burning of the hut has never been questioned and there seems no immediate reason to cast doubt upon the incident or to reject the detail about the Pontiffs' involvement. Dio does not specify the precise nature of the religious activity that took place – *ίερουργία* can refer to a sacrifice as well as religious ceremony more generally – however the implication is that it involved an open flame and so suggests some form of burnt offering.⁹⁸ Also, the very fact that the destruction of the hut on both this occasion as well as in 12 BC seems to have been considered a portentous event, adds to the impression of its sacredness.⁹⁹

Importantly, the incident also suggests that the *casa Romuli* was a functioning building rather than simply an inert memorial in the sense of a *curio*. Indeed, the notion that it had a purpose beyond commemoration helps to explain why there was an impetus to retain and rebuild it in the first place. However, there is a problem with this passage, for while Dio makes two references to a hut of Romulus in the *Roman Histories*, on neither occasion is there any indication as to which one he is referring.¹⁰⁰ It is typically assumed that in both instances Dio means the Palatine hut, but there is no basis for

⁹⁵ These include temples or shrines to Minerva, Quirinus, Juno Lacina, Salus, Dei Fidi and the Penates. Cf. Palmer 1970: 82-87.

⁹⁶ Cass. Dio 48.43.4. (Translation Cary 1937).

⁹⁷ Rasmussen 2003: 23; Swan 2004: 8-12.

⁹⁸ *LSJ* s.v. *ίερουργία*.

⁹⁹ Cass. Dio 54.29.8.

¹⁰⁰ Cass. Dio 48.43.4; 54.29.8.

confidently asserting this identification over that of the Capitoline casa Romuli.¹⁰¹

In any case, the religious nature of the Palatine hut seems to be confirmed by the manner in which Dionysius describes it in the passage already discussed above: 'It is preserved sacred by those charged with these matters; they add nothing to it to render it more stately' (*ἦν φυλάττουσιν ἱεράν οἷς τούτων ἐπιμελὲς οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνότερον ἐξάγοντες*).¹⁰² Significantly, *ἱερός* indicates the sacredness of the hut and Dionysius seems to explicitly link this to the specific way that it was restored. Dionysius is, however, frustratingly imprecise in detailing who was responsible for the maintenance of the hut. Scholars sometimes assert that it was the Pontiffs, however this claim is usually made without any supporting argument.¹⁰³ In any case, Dionysius' language – which claims that they do not simply repair the hut but preserve its sanctity – clearly implies the involvement of *sacerdotes*.

Although the exact nature and function still remains unclear, it seems apparent that the Palatine casa Romuli was a religious structure. Fully appreciating the significance of this is central to understanding its treatment. The previous chapter set out the case for how the design of religious buildings in Rome could be influenced by religious considerations. Specifically, I argue that the purposeful continuity in the plan of the Capitolium came not from political ideology or some notion of architectural preservation, but rather as a consequence of a religious stipulation. The casa Romuli, too, is a rare attested instance of purposeful continuity in design and, again, I think that this came from a religious directive. This suggestion gains support by taking into account the only other structure in Rome from this period that is known to have been purposefully restored with strict and explicit adherence to its materiality, the Pons Sublicius.

5.7 The Wooden Bridge over the Tiber

Like the casa Romuli, the Pons Sublicius was thought by the Romans to belong to their city's early history. It was reputedly constructed in the seventh

¹⁰¹ It is possible that this assumption is sometimes made due to the belief that the Capitoline hut was an Augustan creation, and so postdates 38 BC when Dio states the hut was destroyed. The argument against an Augustan date for the hut is set out above.

¹⁰² Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.79.11. (Translation Cary 1937).

¹⁰³ For example, Edwards 1996: 34; Rea 2007: 37; Denecke 2014: 157.

century BC by King Ancus Marcius and was considered to be the first bridge to span the Tiber, which Livy states was in order to link the city with the fortified Janiculum on the west bank.¹⁰⁴ As with many details that later writers allege about Rome's regal period, caution should be exercised in accepting this association and purpose, although an early date for its construction is certainly not implausible.¹⁰⁵ However, for the purposes of this current discussion, establishing the precise age of the bridge is not necessary and it is enough to note that by the first century BC it was clearly believed to be of considerable antiquity.¹⁰⁶

Famously, this was the bridge which Horatius Cocles was said to have kept against the army of Lars Porsena in the brave days of the late sixth century BC,¹⁰⁷ it was the scene of Gaius Gracchus' flight in 121 BC,¹⁰⁸ and the spot from which straw effigies known as *Argei* were annually cast into the Tiber in the continuation of an apparently archaic ritual.¹⁰⁹ So far, no archaeological remains have been conclusively identified with the bridge and its exact location, usually thought to have been downstream of the Ponte Rotto, is disputed (Fig. 5.8).¹¹⁰ Prior to the construction of the enormous embankments at the end of the nineteenth century, the Tiber was prone to severe flooding and in antiquity the Pons Sublicius is recorded to have been destroyed on a number of occasions.¹¹¹ Importantly, the bridge seems to have been consistently rebuilt and its continued existence is attested into the fourth century AD by its presence in the Regionary Catalogues.¹¹²

For writers in the first centuries BC and AD, the defining characteristic of the bridge was its wooden construction, an aspect that is also reflected in the name *sublicius*, deriving from *sublica* – stake or pile.¹¹³ Knowledge about the appearance of the bridge is limited, but based on its name as well as textual descriptions and a medallion from the reign of Antoninus Pius (Fig. 5.9) the

¹⁰⁴ Liv. 1.33. For collected references: Platner and Ashby 1929: 401-402; Coarelli 1999b: 112-3.

¹⁰⁵ On the dating of the bridge: Griffith 2009: 303-308. On the Regal period: Cornell 1995: 121-127.

¹⁰⁶ Griffith 2009: 305.

¹⁰⁷ Polyb. 6.55; Liv. 2.10-11; Val. Max. 3.2.1.

¹⁰⁸ Plut. *C. Gracch.* 17.1; Val. Max. 4.7.2

¹⁰⁹ Varro *Ling.* 7.44; Dion Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.38.2-3; Ov. *Fast.* 5.621-622.

¹¹⁰ On the location: Le Gall 1953: 82-84; Tucci 2004: 199; 2012 177-212; Griffith 2009: 308-310.

¹¹¹ Platner and Ashby 1929: 401-402; Coarelli, 1999: 112-113. On the floods of the Tiber: Lanciani 1897: 10-16; Aldrete 2007.

¹¹² Platner and Ashby 1929: 401-402; Coarelli, 1999: 112-113; cf. discussion in Tucci 2011/2012: 202-9.

¹¹³ Pariente 1952a: 398-401; 1952b: 491-2; Holland 1961: 338. Both Ovid (*Fast.* 5.622) and Cassius Dio (37.58.3-4) refer to it in terms of the wooden bridge.

Pons Sublicius is typically reconstructed as a ‘pile-bridge.’¹¹⁴ This was a type of construction that involved driving bound stakes into the river bed to support the deck that rested on top.¹¹⁵ In the first century BC, wooden pile bridges were still being constructed and a description is given by Julius Caesar of one he built across the Rhine in 55 BC.¹¹⁶ The choice of a wooden bridge in this military context would probably have been influenced by the necessity for speed, the understanding that it would be temporary and the available resources. Yet these conditions did not apply to bridge-building in the city of Rome, where, in the first century BC, a wooden bridge was anachronistic and unnecessary. A stone bridge, the Pons Aemilius, had already been constructed across the Tiber in the mid-second century BC.¹¹⁷ Yet, at virtually the same time as the Pons Fabricius was being constructed in dressed tufa and travertine (62 BC), the Pons Sublicius was once again being rebuilt in wood after a flood in 60 BC.¹¹⁸

It was not just the use of wood that was the peculiar feature of the Pons Sublicius. A number of ancient writers separately confirm that certain metals were prohibited from being included in its structure. In his account of Ancus Marcius’ reign, Dionysius of Halicarnassus again deviates from the historical narrative to comment on contemporary Rome:

He [Ancus Marcius] also is said to have built the wooden bridge over the Tiber, which was required to be constructed without bronze or iron, being held together by its beams alone. This bridge they preserve to the present day, looking upon it as sacred; and if any part of it gives out the pontiffs attend to it, offering certain traditional sacrifices while it is being repaired.¹¹⁹

καὶ τὴν ξυλίνην γέφυραν, ἣν ἄνευ χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου δεδέσθαι θέμις ὑπ’ αὐτῶν διακρατουμένην τῶν ξυλίνων, ἐκεῖνος ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ Τεβέρει λέγεται, ἣν ἄχρι τοῦ παρόντος διαφυλάττουσιν ἱερὰν εἶναι νομίζοντες. εἰ δέ τι πονήσειεν αὐτῆς μέρος οἱ ἱεροφάνται θεραπεύουσι θυσίας τινὰς ἐπιτελοῦντες ἅμα τῇ ἐπισκευῇ πατρίους.

¹¹⁴ The medallion was struck after Pius’ third consulship (AD 140-3): Weigel 1984: 187; cf. Rowan 2014: 109-125.

¹¹⁵ Ulrich 2007: 78-80.

¹¹⁶ Caes. *De B. Gall.* 4.17. On the possible connection between the construction of Caesar’s bridge over the Rhine and the Pons Sublicius: Ulrich 2007: 80; Griffith 2009: 297-301.

¹¹⁷ Taylor 2002: 4-5.

¹¹⁸ On the flood of 60 BC: Cass. Dio 37.58.3-4.

¹¹⁹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.45.2 (Translation adapted from Cary 1937).

This is the earliest known description of how the Pons Sublicius was maintained, but it is widely agreed that the practice of restoring it using only wood and with the exclusion of certain metals was considerably older.¹²⁰

Writing around eight decades after Dionysius, Pliny the Elder made a similar observation about the bridge in his *Natural History*:

At Cyzicus, also, is the Bouleuterion, constructed without a nail of iron; the rafting being so contrived as to admit of the beams being removed and replaced without the use of stays. A similar case too with the Sublician Bridge at Rome; and this by enactment, on religious grounds, as there had been difficulty experienced in breaking it down when Horatius Cocles defended it.¹²¹

Cyzici et buleuterium vocant aedificium amplum, sine ferreo clavo ita disposita contignatione ut eximantur trabes sine fulturis ac reponantur. quod item Romae in ponte sublicio religiosum est, posteaquam Coclite Horatio defendente aegre revolsus est.

This passage comes at the end of Pliny's observations on foreign architectural wonders and just before his chapter on the public buildings of the city of Rome, the Pons Sublicius acting as the literary bridge between the discussions. His use of the present tense implies that the bridge continued to be maintained in this fashion in his own day. Plutarch, too, writing around three decades later was also aware of these specific details concerning its construction.¹²² Pliny and Plutarch mention only that iron was excluded from the structure, but this does not necessarily mean that Dionysius was incorrect to specify bronze as well. That all metals were prohibited from its construction seems to be indicated by Plutarch's observation that wooden pins were used to fix it together, and is implied by the very notion of it being called the wooden bridge.¹²³

There is little idea as to how, or even if, the form and appearance of the bridge developed over time and through its successive reconstructions. The only certain representation of the Pons Sublicius is the medallion of Antonius Pius mentioned above, which shows the final scene of Horatius Cocles' defence (Fig. 5.9). It is depicted as a relatively simple humpbacked bridge, supported on piles and with what is perhaps a lattice balustrade. As discussed in the Chapter Four, the representations of structures in numismatic iconography were not

¹²⁰ Griffith 2009: 304-5.

¹²¹ Plin. *HN* 36.100. (Translation Eichholz 1962).

¹²² Plutarch *Num.* 9.3. Contra Tucci 2011/2012: 201-3.

¹²³ Plutarch *Num.* 9.3. On it being called wooden: Ov. *Fast.* 5.622; Cass. Dio 37.58.3-4.

necessarily faithful renderings. Here, while the detail of the piles seems to be correct, there is simply not enough comparative information to confirm how much store should be set in the overall accuracy of the image. In any case, what is clear from the accounts cited above, is that the superstructure of the bridge was consistently rebuilt using one specific material and with the total exclusion of another.¹²⁴ Importantly, these measures concerning the materiality of the structure and the adherence to like-for-like replacement never seems to have been categorised in terms of preserving the historic appearance of the bridge. Instead, as I here argue, it seems evident that the peculiar conditions of its maintenance were stipulations of a religious nature.

Pliny, in the passage cited above, attempts to link the practice of not using metal to the defensive advantage of the bridge being relatively easy to take down.¹²⁵ This is not an unreasonable idea but one that surely would have been redundant after the construction of the stone Pons Aemilia in the mid-second century BC. Pliny's rationalisation of the maintenance of the Pons Sublicius appears to derive from the legend of Horatius Cocles, where the swift dismantling of the bridge saved the city from Lars Porsena of Clusium.¹²⁶ The validity of this as an explanation for the wooden nature of the bridge and its retention into later periods is questionable, and it is usually thought to be a retrospective explanation based on the story.¹²⁷ Also, the idea of metal being excluded due to strategic concerns does not seem to tally with it being the specific duty of the Pontiffs to maintain the bridge in this way, as is discussed below. Despite his attempt to rationalise the practices, in this same sentence Pliny explicitly categorises the restoration of the bridge as a matter of religious observance: *ponte sublicio religiosum est*.¹²⁸ Dionysius' account also indicates that there was a religious element to the maintenance of the bridge and he refers to sacrifices being carried out when it was repaired.¹²⁹ Notably, his language in the passage above *διαφυλάττουσιν ἱερὰν* 'they maintain it as holy' is reminiscent of his description of the *casa Romuli*: *φυλάττουσιν ἱερὰν*.¹³⁰

¹²⁴ On the possibility that the piers of the bridge were stone: Galliazzo 1994: 26; Tucci 2011/2012: 186; 201; contra Griffith 2009: 301.

¹²⁵ Plin. *HN* 36.100.

¹²⁶ Polyb. 6.55; Liv. 2.10-11; Val. Max. 3.2.1.

¹²⁷ Lanciani 1897:16; Platner and Ashby 1929: 402; Holland 1961: 339.

¹²⁸ Plin. *HN* 36.100.

¹²⁹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.45.2

¹³⁰ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.45.2; 1.79.11.

The sanctity of the bridge is also brought out in a discussion on the etymology of *pontifices*.¹³¹ The origin of the title Pontifex was disputed in antiquity (as it is in modern scholarship), and by the first century BC it was being suggested that the name derived from the priests' duty of building and maintaining bridges: *pons – facere*.¹³² This was the view put forward by Varro in his *De Lingua Latina*, however it was rejected by Plutarch in the *Life of Numa*.¹³³ Irrespective of the correct etymology, what all sources unequivocally seem to agree on is that the maintenance of the Pons Sublicius was the responsibility of the Pontiffs.¹³⁴ Why exactly this was is not clear, but it further indicates that the manner in which the bridge was restored was a religious issue. Indeed, Plutarch claims that damage to the bridge was considered by the Romans as 'not simply unlawful (*θεμιτός*) but sacrilegious (*ἐπάρατος*)'.¹³⁵ This also corresponds to how Cassius Dio and Tacitus characterise the destruction of the bridge, which occurred on five separate occasions during the first centuries BC and AD, as a prodigy which required interpretation and expiation.¹³⁶

It can, therefore, be asserted with some confidence that the use of wood and the exclusion of metal from the bridge was considered a religious observance, at least by the first century BC. Even if it is unclear how and why this stipulation had come about in the first place. An explanation has been sought in the supposedly archaic origins of the Pons Sublicius, but given how little is known about Rome in the seventh century BC or even the precise date of the bridge, this remains rather speculative.¹³⁷ Interestingly, Plutarch claims that the restoration was done 'in accordance with an oracle' (*κατὰ δὴ τι λόγιον*). While *λόγιον* is a rather general term for prophecy, Plutarch does use it elsewhere to refer to instructions from the Sibylline Books.¹³⁸ Plutarch is the only source to suggest that the peculiar maintenance of the bridge was the direct result of an oracular direction, yet given the evident role of *sacerdotes* in the process as well as the exceptionality of this maintenance (no other bridges

¹³¹ Plut. *Num.* 9.

¹³² Szemler 1978: 334-335; Hallett 1970: 218-227; Kavanagh 2000: 59-65.

¹³³ Varro *Ling.* 5.83; Plut. *Num.* 9.1-3.

¹³⁴ It evidently seems to predate the first century BC as Varro cites Quintus Scaevola, who was Pontifex Maximus in the 90s and 80s BC.

¹³⁵ Plut. *Num.* 9.3

¹³⁶ Cass. Dio 37.58 (60 BC); 50.8 (32 BC); 53.33 (23 BC); 55.22 (AD 5); Tac. *Hist.* 1.86 (AD 69); cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.76. Contra Griffith (2009: 316-319).

¹³⁷ Lanciani 1898: 41-2; 1979: 16. contra Holland 1967: 339

¹³⁸ Plut. *Marc.* 3.4; *Fab.* 4.4.

were governed by such rules) then a command from the Sibylline books is a possibility.¹³⁹

It seems quite feasible that by the late republic the Romans themselves were ignorant of the reason why the bridge was treated in such an exceptional manner, just as they were over the correct etymology of *Pontifices*, as well as the origins of other practices and ceremonies that they nevertheless continued to perform.¹⁴⁰ At any rate, irrespective of when or why the stipulations governing the maintenance of the bridge were actually established, what is important for this current discussion is that by the first century BC it was clearly considered to be a specifically religious matter. There is no indication that the restoration of the Pons Sublicius using exclusively wood was an attempt to preserve an image of the past or make the structure look like it might have at the time of Ancus Marcius. Such an effect might well have been a consequence of the way it was restored, but it seems clear that the architectural and aesthetic continuity resulted from an attempt to preserve the *pax deorum*, not to create a historical pastiche.

The treatment of the Pons Sublicius is a relevant and instructive comparison with which to consider the restoration of the casa Romuli. Both were sacred structures whose physical maintenance seems very probably to have been directly managed by priests, a condition which in itself was highly unusual (as discussed in Chapter Four). Most importantly, these are the only two examples that I could find from Rome in this period where the practice of restoration involved continuous, purposeful and precise like-for-like material replacement.¹⁴¹ This is not to suggest that the treatment of the structures arose from exactly the same conditions, and there appears to be evident divergences in the specifics. However, in a broader sense there is a clear parallel in the way that the materials of both structures were so carefully controlled, a commonality made more apparent by its exceptionality, as well as the anachronistic nature of the chosen materials. Therefore, in light of the reason behind the treatment of the Pons Sublicius outlined above, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that the continuity of the materials and design of the casa Romuli was a

¹³⁹ Contra Holland 1961: 339.

¹⁴⁰ Griffith (2009: 318-19) also suggests that the Romans of the first century had little idea why the bridge was maintained in this way. On the ancients' uncertainties over why they performed rituals in a certain way: Finley 2000: 13-4.

¹⁴¹ As mentioned in Chapter One, structures that are not buildings, such as the Sororium Tigillum, are excluded from my discussion.

religious consideration.¹⁴² Details about the precise religious nature of the hut are unclear, and there is no indication as to what circumstances led to the decree that the building should be treated in this way. Nevertheless, it is perhaps indicative that the only other example whereby we are explicitly informed of purposeful architectural continuity concerns the plan of the Capitolium, which, as argued in Chapter Four, was also the consequence of a stipulation made on religious grounds.

5.8 Conclusion

Not far from Charleston in rural Illinois USA is the Lincoln Log Cabin State Historic Site, an eighty-six-acre park which contains, as the name suggests, a cabin associated with Abraham Lincoln (Fig. 5.10). In fact, the building Lincoln knew was destroyed and what stands today is a replica built in 1935. This is not the only log cabin in the USA which is associated with the President; another is preserved at his birthplace in Kentucky, but this too is a nineteenth-century reconstruction (Fig. 5.11).¹⁴³ The entire purpose of the parks in both Illinois and Kentucky is to promote the history of Abraham Lincoln, and in part this is achieved through displaying a reproduction of his rustic home, as the humble background of the sixteenth president is central to his story. There are several apparent parallels between the cabins of Lincoln and the huts of Romulus, and it is appealing to see the latter as performing some kind of similar function and being the result of a similar motivation.

Yet, as noted at the beginning of this chapter, such familiarity can be misleading. To understand the seemingly anomalous treatment of the *casa Romuli*, looking for similar activity in ancient Rome is more revealing than supposed parallels in the modern world. I can find no examples of buildings in Rome where it is clearly indicated that the architecture was purposefully retained through successive restorations in order to preserve its historic appearance. In contrast, however, the Pons Sublicius and Capitolium present two notable instances of purposeful architectural continuity resulting from religious stipulations. Viewing the treatment of the *casa Romuli* in a similar light

¹⁴² A reference by Martial (*Ep.* 8.80) to the Capitoline hut having a *numen* perhaps implies it also had a sacred status, cf. Jenkyns 2013: 262 with n. 31.

¹⁴³ There is in fact another nineteenth century cabin memorialising Lincoln nearby this site at Knob Creek, bringing the number to three wooden huts associated with Lincoln.

means that it is no longer an uncomfortable and, arguably, inexplicable exception to the Roman restoration practices, as it actually belongs to an entirely different context.¹⁴⁴ Rykwert draws the distinction that while Rome's temples were reliquaries, the *casa Romuli* was itself a relic.¹⁴⁵ While I am not certain as to the appropriateness of using such terminology to describe either Roman temples or the huts, the dichotomy he suggests is helpful in thinking about them.¹⁴⁶ For the restoration of the *casa Romuli* was not an architectural decision but a religious observance.

Viewing the hut of Romulus in this framework underscores the potential relevance of religion as a factor that influenced decisions regarding built heritage. It also means that the *casa Romuli* is neither contrary to the premise of innovative restoration nor at odds with the idea that the historical associations of a building were not invested in its architecture. For while the hut might have functioned as 'a vivid symbol of Rome's past,' this, I argue, was not what lay behind the continuity in its materiality and appearance. First-century Rome was not a museum; through their nominal identity and inscriptions its public buildings might have acted as memorials and attested to the antiquity of the city, but their architecture was not designed to reflect this history.

¹⁴⁴ Aylward (2014: 467) notes the unusualness of the treatment of the *casa Romuli* in comparison to how other buildings were treated, but considers it an exception.

¹⁴⁵ Rykwert 1981: 177.

¹⁴⁶ On the term 'relic' and its use in regard to the *casa Romuli*: Nagel and Wood 2010: 51-53.

Chapter Six: Responses to Restoration

6.1.1 Introduction

So far my research has concentrated on *how* the Romans treated their built heritage and the reasons behind certain decisions about the way restorations were carried out. In Chapter Three I argued that it was the prevalent practice for public buildings to be restored in an innovative manner, whereby structures were usually reconstructed on a larger scale, using grander materials and in contemporary styles. Chapters Four and Five expanded on this and demonstrated that only in exceptional circumstances was the design and aesthetic of the original building purposefully replicated. In the instances where such architectural continuity can be seen, I argued that it arose from religious stipulations and was not an attempt to faithfully preserve the historic appearance of the building. From the findings in these chapters, I have been able to posit what I think is a principal tenet of the Roman concept of built heritage: that while a particular building might be thought of as historic, the historical associations and identity of that building were not invested in its architecture. However, considering the way in which buildings were treated only gets my investigation so far. In order to develop a fuller and more meaningful understanding of the ways in which the historic built environment was conceived, it is necessary to look at how the changes to it were perceived. Therefore, the next two chapters move beyond documenting how restorations were carried out and explore the way in which inhabitants of Rome responded to such activity. To this end, this present chapter examines the reception of the restoration of a specific building. But before coming to this, it is useful to explain what is meant by 'response' in the context of this study and also necessary to consider some of the methodological issues of getting at these ancient responses.

6.1.2 Silent Structures

Buildings themselves can only tell us so much about Roman society's attitudes to architecture and built heritage. Physical remains can show how a building was changed when it was restored but less about how these changes

were perceived. Likewise, rarely does the archaeological record reveal the possibility that there might have been more than one proposal for how to rebuild a structure. If there was a debate over the manner in which a rebuilding should be carried out – for instance, in either a historical or innovative style – only the prevailing side can be detected in the material remains.¹ The way in which a building was restored signifies what the patron or architect (and, on occasion, interested parties such as priests) deemed appropriate or desirable, but it does not indicate how the restoration was received by others. It should not be taken for granted, or even expected, that a rebuilding would have been received and judged in the same way by all who encountered it. As mentioned in Chapter One, examples from the modern world show that attitudes as to what constitutes an appropriate approach to rebuilding can differ with regards to the historical, cultural or aesthetic values accorded to the original structure, as well as its proposed replacement, and often wider interests conflict with local feeling. Just as there is an inherent problem in stating, for example, what *the* modern British attitude towards built heritage is, so, too, we should not assume or expect there to be a Roman attitude.

Of course, as the patrons and architects were part of society, then it might be expected that their actions were in accordance with the general attitudes and outlook of the wider population.² On the basis of the prevalence of a particular practice, it is also possible to make a judgement about how it was received. For instance, the replication and persistent use of a particular form or style might be indicative of its positive reception, while its limited use and rapid disappearance could suggest the opposite.³ However, this cannot be taken for granted; examples from the modern world suggest that the reality is not necessarily so straightforward, that architecture generates a variety of opinions, and that contrary responses to instances of restoration are manifested through other media. These points are illustrated by a relatively recent example.

¹ On occasion it is possible to see changes and compromises in design that have seemingly occurred when building work was in progress (for example, the second pediment of the Pantheon: Wilson Jones 2000: 199-212). However, this is seemingly from practical considerations and is not indicative of there having been a debate over the overall style or aesthetic of the structure.

² Cf. comments by Stewart (2003: 15) in regard to statuary in the Roman world, where he points to the commonality in the attitudes and expectations of the 'viewer' and 'maker.'

³ For instance, that the use of the distinctive style of rusticated stone associated with certain Claudian monuments (Porta Maggiore, temple of Claudius, Portus) is limited beyond his reign, outside of Rome and its environs, nor imitated in non-imperial commissions, might be suggestive of an unfavourable reception. On Claudian rustication: Coates-Stephens 2004: 43-6; Thomas 2007: 29 with n. 8-13.

Following the recovery of further fragments of the Ara Pacis in the mid-1930s, Ballio Morpurgo was commissioned by the government of Benito Mussolini to design a pavilion to house the reconstructed altar.⁴ Located on a site adjacent to the mausoleum of Augustus, it was inaugurated on the 23rd of September 1938, the bimillennium of the emperor's birth (Fig. 6.1). The pavilion was never what it should have been; time and financial constraints limited the realisation of Morpurgo's vision, with painted concrete standing in for bronze and porphyry ornamentation. Then, in 1943, the building's glass windows were blown out by bombing and were not replaced until 1970. By the 1990s it had been decided, supposedly due to concerns over the conservation of the altar, that the pavilion needed to be replaced. In 1996 Rome's mayor Francesco Rutelli appointed the American 'starchitect' Richard Meier to design a new museum for the site. Due to archaeological investigations as well as political posturing, it would take a further decade for the building to be completed.

Except for retaining the wall inscribed with Augustus' *Res Gestae*, Meier's design departed radically from Morpurgo's (Fig. 6.2-3). Indeed, while the original pavilion was effectively a shell intended to house the Ara Pacis, Meier's rebuilding was a museum, with an additional gallery space, auditorium and gift shop. As the first large public building to be constructed within the Aurelian Walls since the 1940s, the project was always going to arouse interest. However, both the destruction of Morpurgo's monument, as well as the unfamiliarity of Meier's design, led to widespread controversy. A considerable number of articles in architectural journals as well as newspapers attest to the varying positive and negative opinions, with some critics praising its bold inventiveness, while others condemned the building's lack of harmony with, and respect for, its surroundings.⁵ Rome's subsequent mayor Gianni Alemanno threatened to tear the building down, while Italy's former culture minister Vittorio Sgarbi labelled it a 'Texan gas station' in reference to Meier's home State and publicly burned a model of the museum.⁶ Yet such responses will leave no trace in the archaeological record, and to excavators of the future,

⁴ The information in this paragraph is primarily from the information notice 'From Morpurgo to Meier' at the Museo dell'Ara Pacis [accessed 26/5/2013].

⁵ Seabrook 2005; Ouroussoff 2006; Davey 2006; Riding 2006; Rose 2006.

⁶ Rose 2006.

the building itself will reveal no clues as to the fierce controversy that surrounded its construction nor the reasons for this.⁷

It is this type of ‘response’ that is the focus of these next two chapters. In an architectural context, the term can have other connotations and scholars sometimes connect ‘response’ with the notion of ‘experience.’⁸ For instance, recent research on Roman urbanism has considered how people moved through the city, viewing and interacting with its buildings.⁹ So, too, attempts have been made to explore the sensory experiences of the ancient built environment by considering the sensational impact of architectural spaces.¹⁰ Such approaches are concerned with reconstructing an individual’s literal and real experience of a structure, but they do not deal directly with how that individual actually responded to the building in terms of what they thought of it. By ‘response’ I mean how people reacted to and received changes to their historic built environment, their perceptions and opinions of the way in which buildings were treated and restorations carried out.¹¹ At a basic level, this involves attempting to interpret whether an act of rebuilding was liked or not and assessing the reasons behind any such judgements.

⁷ Also see Vitruvius’ (7.5.2-4) disparaging comments on the style of fresco painting now known commonly as Third Pompeian, which demonstrates the presence of dissenting voices to what the archaeological record would suggest was an otherwise popular style. On Third Pompeian style: Ling 2006: 52-70.

⁸ See Thomas 2007: 207-220.

⁹ On the subject of moving through and experiencing the ancient built environment: Laurence 1994; 2013: 399-411; Laurence and Newsome 2011 (collected essays). Favro (1996) attempts to recreate the ‘urban experience’ of Augustan Rome by adopting the perspective of a visitor touring the ancient city. Cf. Purcell 1987: 185-204. An alternative approach is taken by Favro and Johanson (2010), who use 3D modelling to try and understand the relationship between spaces, buildings and people during a Roman funeral procession in the Forum Romanum. Bek (1985: 139-48) also explores the idea of aesthetic principles and ‘view planning’ in Roman urbanism, emphasising the importance of sightlines on the ancient viewer’s visual experience of buildings and spaces; cf. Bek 1976: 154–66.

¹⁰ MacDonald 1982: 176-8; Betts 2011: 118–132.

¹¹ An explanation and definition of response closer to this is used by Thomas (2007: esp. 207-235), who considers how audiences articulated their aesthetic experience of monumental architecture. Both here and elsewhere Thomas (Thomas 2007: 207; 2010: 854; 2015) has noted the potential of ancient responses to architecture as a subject for scholarly research and the limited focused attention that it has so far received. On the problematic and sometimes ambiguous use of the term ‘viewer’ in regard to studies of ancient visual culture: Stewart 2003: 13-15. Other studies that consider responses to building in Roman society include Delaine (2002: 205), who focuses on attitudes to ‘exceptional construction,’ and Scheithauer (2000), who analyses the literary evidence of Rome’s buildings from Augustus to Constantine. An attempt to gauge the reaction of Roman audiences to public building projects through numismatic evidence has been made by Marzano (2009: 125-158). Also, Nasrallah’s recent monograph claims in its title to assess second-century AD *Christian Responses to Roman Art and Architecture* (2011). Although this involves juxtaposing art and architecture with Christian texts rather than examining direct responses to actual buildings and is not the kind of response that my study is concerned with. The subject of Roman responses to destruction is considered by Toner (2013).

This approach involves taking into account individuals other than those who are traditionally assumed to have had an active concern in architectural matters. Even if not involved in the construction process, the residents of a city still have a stake in the appearance and functionality of the environment in which they live. At an elementary level, I think it can be presumed with a high degree of confidence that people are aware of the structures that they encounter in their everyday lives, albeit in varying ways and to different extents. Similarly, changes to buildings that are either personally familiar or communally significant can prompt emotional responses. In particular, the loss or alteration of a well-known building can instinctively provoke positive or negative judgements as to whether the 'new' is better or worse than that which existed before. Such information can be very revealing of attitudes to built heritage, but detecting it in the ancient world is not straightforward.

6.1.3 Responding through Texts

The Ara Pacis example highlights some of the potential sources of evidence for studies of modern attitudes to built heritage which are simply not available to a historical investigation of the subject. If there ever were ancient equivalents to the journal and newspaper articles referred to above, they are now lost. In fact, as discussed in Chapter One, architectural restoration and built heritage did not seem to have been an explicit subject for written works in antiquity. However, despite this factor, there are ways of uncovering ancient responses to restoration.

For example, the mixed reaction to Meier's museum could also be found scrawled in graffiti across a signboard in front of the construction site, showing how the museum would look when finished (Fig. 6.4). A choice selection of the comments reads: *meligio gli architetti di secoli fa...* (better architects of centuries ago...); *sembra un cesso* (looks like a toilet); *bellissimo* (it's beautiful). Graffiti, due to the typical anonymity of its author, has the potential to express a candid reaction free from fear of censure, and might therefore reveal views not articulated in published works.¹² Unfortunately, I am yet to find a single piece from ancient Italy for the period of my study that appears to express a response

¹² Indeed the very act of graffiti itself might say something about how that individual perceived the building, a point briefly considered in relation to Pompeii by Varone 1990: 26-8.

to a rebuilding. Nevertheless, the possibility that graffiti might have been used by some to comment on building activity in antiquity is indicated by Suetonius, who relates that in response to Domitian erecting so many triumphal arches in the city, someone wrote on one of them ‘Enough!’¹³ So, too, in response to the construction of the temple of Concordia following the murder of Gaius Gracchus and his supporters in 121 BC, Plutarch reports that ‘at night, beneath the inscription on the temple, somebody carved this verse: “A work of mad discord produces a temple of Concord.”’¹⁴

It is perhaps obvious, but still necessary to say, that the foremost source of evidence which is irretrievably lost to us, is the verbally articulated response. In dialogues ranging from purposeful discussions to off-the-cuff remarks, conversation must have been the most common form in which perceptions of a restoration were expressed.¹⁵ Almost uniquely, such a medium has the potential to be immediate and unscripted. Conversely, almost all of the ancient works looked at in this thesis, with the possible exception of private correspondences, were written with the expectation that they would be published.¹⁶ This does not mean the views expressed are necessarily disingenuous, but the motives for writing them and the way they are articulated needs careful consideration. Indeed, one of the problems to be negotiated is that remarks on architecture are sometimes couched in rather formulaic language, and it is important not to mistake literary tropes and allusions for original observations.¹⁷ Nevertheless, in spite of certain limitations, literary evidence has considerable potential for revealing ancient responses to the treatment of the historic built environment, and it is the primary source of information for this discussion.¹⁸

¹³ Suet., *Dom.* 13.2; Newsome 2013: 74.

¹⁴ Plut. *G. Gracch.* 17.6: “Ἔργον ἀπονοίας ναὸν ὁμονοίας ποιεῖ.” (Translation Perrin 1921).

¹⁵ Cf. Thomas 2007: 207.

¹⁶ Although lacking immediacy, the possibility for conversation-like dialogue does exist in personal correspondence. Certain letters of Cicero (*Ad Att.* 4.17.7; 13.35), owing in part to the expectation that they were of a private nature, might be taken as open reflections of the statesman’s attitude to the rebuilding of the Basilica Aemilia, as well as Caesar’s decision to employ a Greek architect to remodel to the city.

¹⁷ On descriptions of architecture in ancient literature: Edwards 1993: 141-49; Thomas 2007: 213-220. On ecphrasis: Hardie 1983: 119-36; Elsner 1995: esp. 26-7; Newlands 2002: 38; 42. A relatively recent example of controversy over whether an author’s architectural description is a reflection of reality or a rhetorical exercise involves Pliny the Younger’s letters on his villa: Bergmann 1995: 406-420 esp. 407-9; Chinn 2007: 265-280; Gibson and Morello 2012: 214-233. Also, In Chapter Two I mentioned the possibility that Suetonius’ account of Nero’s Domus Aurea was derived from Ovid’s description of the palace of Sol: Blaison 1998: 620-23.

¹⁸ On the importance of literary evidence for examining questions of response: Stewart 2003: 13-18; Thomas 2007: 207.

There is a wealth of literary evidence relating to the built environment of the city of Rome. Vitruvius' *De Architectura* might be the only surviving architectural treatise, but buildings feature prominently in all genres of Latin literature, and the way in which they are written about can be revealing as to how architectural matters were perceived in Roman society.¹⁹ Besides just using textual references to reconstruct details about certain structures, scholarship in the last two decades has shown an increasing interest in how the city of Rome and its buildings were conceptualised and feature in the writings of Latin authors, in particular of the late first century BC to the early second century AD.²⁰ These next two chapters involve the close reading of certain texts in order to try and tease out responses to instances of destruction and restoration, uncovering inherent attitudes to built heritage that informed such reactions. In most instances, the messages that the ancient writers want to convey and the questions that I want to explore do not correspond. Therefore, it is often not what is purposefully being asserted by an author that is of most use to my investigation, but rather what is revealed through a combination of seemingly incidental references, insinuations and implicit assumptions. Frequently, the judgements and attitudes are betrayed, rather than directly or explicitly stated.²¹

The arguments made in the following chapters rely not on a single piece of evidence, but rather, a picture that is formed from the cumulative impression of a range of comments from texts of varied genres. However, any attempt to assess attitudes among Rome's wider populace based on the evidence of literary sources is confronted with the problem that the social pool from which authors come is relatively narrow.²² Of the writers considered below – Cicero, Martial, Velleius Paterculus, Ovid, Seneca the Elder, Pliny the Elder, Plutarch, Seneca the Younger and Tacitus – all were either part of the political elite or,

¹⁹ Thomas (2007: 213-20) provides a succinct account of the way in which buildings and architectural description feature in different genres of literature. Cf. Reitz 2013: 5-6; Benediktson 2000: esp. 6; 90-1; 101-3; 110-14.

²⁰ Of considerable influence has been Edwards' 1996 monograph *Writing Rome*, which aims to 'chart selected aspects of Rome's resonance in literature and the literary resonance of Rome.' (1996: i). The way in which Augustan authors interacted with, and wrote about, the city, has received a considerable amount of attention, for example, Jaeger (1997) on Livy; Boyle (2003a) on Ovid; Welch (2005) on Propertius. On authors of the period of this study: Sullivan (1991: 147-155), Rimell (2008), Roman (2010) and Laurence (2011: 81-99) on Martial. Roche (2011: 45-66) on Pliny the Younger. Rouveret (1991: 3051-3099), Davies (2004: 143-225) and Ash (2007: 211-237) on Tacitus. Also see collected essays in Larmour and Spencer 2007; Sears, Keegan and Laurence 2013.

²¹ On implicit meanings in ancient texts: Gustafsson 2000: 15-16.

²² See remarks in Gruen 1986: 250; Woolf 2003: 206.

what might be called, the urban literati. There is no possibility of hearing directly from the *Romanus in vico*. Yet while it cannot be suggested that these individuals represent a balanced cross-section of Rome's inhabitants, it is still possible to argue that the views revealed in their writings are representative of wider societal attitudes. In regard to this, it is helpful to consider Stewart's approach in his 2003 study *Statues in Roman Society*. In order to explore the Roman reception of statues (how the ancients represented and responded to them) Stewart, too, draws primarily on textual evidence. He attempts to negate the relatively fragmentary nature of this material by stressing the sources' status as 'products of Roman thought.'²³ This phrase is helpful when considering the literary responses to destruction and rebuilding. For while the references that are discussed in these next two chapters are, on one level, the views of distinct individuals, their perceptions were shaped, consciously or unconsciously, by society. Therefore, aspects of what authors articulate might be deemed 'socially embedded responses' and as a consequence, be reflective of contemporary attitudes more broadly.²⁴ The degree to which this is a justifiable and demonstrable supposition is considered where relevant below.

Both the rest of this chapter and the next one examine literary responses to destruction and restoration. First, Chapter Six focuses on a single, specifically chosen building, and in considering how certain authors described and characterised its reconstruction, I argue that it is possible to detect a disagreement over the way in which this was carried out. For while the innovative restoration of the structure appears to have been welcomed by some contemporaries, there were also dissenting voices, which objected to the building's new appearance. Recognising the grounds on which these contrary views were held has a significant bearing for understanding Roman attitudes to built heritage, as well as architecture more generally. Chapter Seven picks up and expands on some of these arguments, but takes a different approach by considering responses not to a single instance of restoration but of rebuilding at a citywide level.

²³ Stewart 2003: 13-14. The working definition of 'response' in Stewart's study differs from what I am specifically interested in, as he is more concerned with how response and representation give meaning to statuary.

²⁴ Trimble 2007: 399.

6.2 The People's Temple

The emperor Tiberius' actions sparked outrage among the *populus Romanus* when he moved the Lysippan *Apoxyomenos* statue from its position in front of the baths of Agrippa to his private chambers.²⁵ In the face of popular protests and heckling at the theatre, Pliny the Elder records that Tiberius reluctantly returned the statue to its former location.²⁶ This story concerns a piece of art, not a building, but it is nevertheless indicative of the potential for the Roman people to assume a de facto right to public dedications.²⁷ In this vein, it would not be surprising if among the wider populace there were feelings of attachment to, and even some form of claim over other physical features of *their* cityscape, including public buildings. Rome's inhabitants, or at least a discernible number of them, *were* interested in the monumental built environment, and there is reason to suspect that they would have been neither impassive nor indifferent to changes to it. As mentioned above, an individual does not need to have a direct link to the construction or ownership of a building in order to care about it. Even though most public buildings in Rome were on one level the *monumenta* of the individuals responsible for constructing them, they were also gifts to the city and consequently, the inhabitants would have felt a shared interest in them. Arguably, there is one structure above all others that the people would have felt a particular affinity with and justifiably held a collective claim over – the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. This building is the focus of the rest of this chapter.

The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus has been of central importance to my study so far, and its relevance for exploring Roman attitudes to built heritage was made apparent in Chapter Four. Here, too, I suggest that the Capitolium is an excellent example for considering the subject of how the Romans responded to restoration, not least, because it can be argued that this temple *mattered* to Rome's inhabitants. This is important, as it makes it more likely that changes to the building would be noted and critiqued. It seems reasonable to think that people were more likely to make meaningful judgements on a building that they cared about. Therefore, before coming to the responses of different individuals

²⁵ Plin. *HN* 34.62.

²⁶ The removal of public works of art to a private context was also one of Cicero's accusations against Verres and a charge levelled at Nero, on this: Stewart 2003: 139-42; Miles 2008: 259.

²⁷ Cf. Stewart 2003: 140-8.

to the restorations of the temple, I want first to make the case for its communal significance to the Roman people as a whole for the period under study.

In part, this status is encapsulated by the wider symbolic meanings accorded to the building. As outlined in the introduction to Chapter Four, by the first century BC at the latest, the temple could be evoked as representing the entire city. Its existence was looked upon as a guarantee of Rome's empire and, as the first public building dedicated after the expulsion of the last king, it was emblematic of the *res publica*. These associations are indicative of how the temple was perceived as being more than just a *monumentum* to its individual builders, and a number of other incidents suggest that the temple was thought of as a monument of the entire *populus Romanus*.

This special relationship between the people and the Capitolium is apparent in the traditions about how it was first built. Livy records that Tarquinius Superbus pressed the Roman *plebs* into assisting with various construction projects and that, while they resented being forced to construct the Cloaca Maxima and Circus Maximus, they set about willingly building the temple 'with their own hands.'²⁸ While the story is told in part to highlight the tyrannical oppressiveness of Tarquinius, it also emphasises the communal act of building, thereby establishing the temple as a unique collective enterprise that belongs to the Romans as a whole.²⁹

The existence and persistence of this attitude towards the Capitolium might be behind a seemingly noteworthy action by Vespasian during his rebuilding of it in AD 70. As detailed in Chapter Four, the temple had been burnt amid the civil war in AD 69 and, upon returning to Rome, Suetonius writes, the new emperor 'began the restoration of the Capitolium in person, his was the first hand (*manus primus*) to clear away the debris, and carried some of it off on his own neck.'³⁰ As far as I am aware, this was an unprecedented act; there is no other recorded instance of an emperor getting his hands dirty in this way, or being so physically involved in the construction of a temple.³¹ There are several potential messages that this, surely choreographed, episode might have been

²⁸ Liv. 1.56.2: *minus tamen plebs gravabatur se templa deum exaedificare manibus suis quam postquam et ad alia ut specie minora*. Cf. Cic. Verr. 2.5.48.

²⁹ Cf. Cic. Verr. 2.5.48.

³⁰ Suet. Vesp. 8.5: *Ipse restitutionem Capitolii adgressus ruderibus purgandis manus primus admovit ac suo collo quaedam extulit*. (Translation adapted from Rolfe 1914).

³¹ Vespasian's actions are also reported by Cassius Dio 65.10.2.

intended to convey.³² On one level, Vespasian's personal involvement in the rebuilding of the Capitolium embodies his message of the literal and figurative restoration of Rome, as mentioned in Chapter Three. Interestingly, the event also recalls the foundation story. For unlike the archetypical tyrant Tarquinius Superbus, who haughtily pressed the people into building the temple, Vespasian takes his share in the work, reinforcing his place as the 'first among equals' and the temple's status as a collective enterprise.³³

The extent to which the temple was of consequence to the Roman people is also suggested by the conspicuously inclusive nature of the ceremonies connected to its rebuilding. Valerius Maximus and Pliny the Elder record that for the dedication of the second temple, Catulus had linen awnings stretched over a theatre to provide shade for the spectators.³⁴ Although both authors report this detail in order to highlight the presence of 'Campanian luxury' in Rome, the act itself indicates that the dedication was a large, celebratory occasion.³⁵ The notion that the rebuilding of the Capitolium was an event that involved citywide participation also comes out in Tacitus' account of the clearing of the site in preparation for the construction of the third-Vespasianic temple.³⁶ For, in addition to the officiating magistrates and priests, he notes the participation of other members of society, including soldiers with lucky names and children with both parents living.³⁷ Indeed, Tacitus states that the *saxum ingens* (possibly the foundation stone, but argued by Townend to be cult stone of Terminus) was moved into place by 'magistrates, priests, senators, knights and a great part of the people.'³⁸ Again, there is a distinct impression that the construction of the temple was an activity that the community took part in.

That the 'official' status of the Capitolium also differed in some way from most other temples in the city is possibly indicated by a passage in Cassius Dio, where he states that by at least the late first century BC, the temple of Jupiter

³² On this incident and a possible inconsistency in the chronology of events: Townend 1987: 244-7; Wardle 1996: 216-7.

³³ The image of Vespasian carrying rubble in the manner of a labourer or a soldier (as depicted on Trajan's column) might also help propagate his more 'down to earth' persona. Cassius Dio (65.10.2) suggests that it was to set an example to Rome's other leading men.

³⁴ Val. Max. 2.4.6; Plin. *HN* 19.23.

³⁵ Val. Max. 2.4.6.

³⁶ Tac. *Hist.* 4.53; Chapter Four.

³⁷ Tac. *Hist.* 4.53.

³⁸ Tac. *Hist.* 4.53: *simul ceteri magistratus et sacerdotes et senatus et eques et magna pars populi, studio laetitiae conixi, saxum ingens traxere.* Townend 1987: 245-7.

Capitolinus was specifically cared for by the senate.³⁹ Although what precisely he means is not entirely clear, it is a distinction that he states was afforded only to two other temples in the city, Apollo (Palatinus?) and Mars Ultor.⁴⁰ That the senate might have felt a direct responsibility for the Capitolium is perhaps also reflected in Helvidius Priscus' proclamation in AD 70 that Vespasian should not automatically rebuild the temple, but rather that it should be done at public expense and with the senate inviting the emperor to assist.⁴¹ Tacitus reports that this apparently controversial suggestion was passed over in silence by those who were prudent.⁴² In the event Priscus' assertion was seemingly ignored, as it was Vespasian who appointed Lucius Vestinus to oversee the rebuilding (see Chapter Four) and it is highly probable that it was the emperor's name that was inscribed on the facade.⁴³ Nevertheless, the proposal is indicative of an ideal and sentiment that the Capitolium was not the preserve of one man.⁴⁴

In reference to the earlier second rebuilding of the Capitolium, Cicero, Valerius Maximus and Tacitus all refer to it as Catulus' *monumentum*.⁴⁵ However, Gallia also notes the emphasis placed on senatorial authority in texts relating the rebuilding.⁴⁶ He suggests that an impression of the temple's now lost inscription might be gleaned from that which belonged to the Tabularium and Capitoline Hill substructures, the two projects that Catulus was responsible for at the same time as the temple (as discussed in Chapter Four).⁴⁷

³⁹ Cass. Dio 55.10.5

⁴⁰ Cass. Dio 55.10.5; Swan 2004: 99. It might also be noted that until the Flavians the Capitolium was funded by the public purse, which further adds to the idea of a collective claim to the temple. Indeed, Julius Caesar made a legal challenge against Catulus over his alleged misuse of funds allocated to the rebuilding (Suet. *Jul.* 15; Cass. Dio 37.44.1-2). Sulla seems to have collected contributions from Italy for the reconstruction of the temple (Val. Max. 9.3.8). The third-Vespasianic temple in part seems to have been funded by a tax on the Jewish communities (Cass. Dio. 65.7.2) and, as discussed below, also by Vespasian directly. Cf. Gallia 2012: 68; Cic. *Verr* 2.5.48.

⁴¹ Tac. *Hist.* 4.9.

⁴² Tac. *Hist.* 4.9.

⁴³ On the inscription: the remark by Tacitus (*Hist.* 3.72) would suggest that Catulus' name did not go back on the rebuilding when Vespasian restored it. This seems contradictory to the statement by Dio (65.10.1a) that Vespasian restored buildings with the name of the original dedicator alongside his own.

⁴⁴ On Helvidius Priscus' involvement in the rebuilding: Townend 1987: 243-48; Darwall-Smith 1996: 41-47.

⁴⁵ Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.69-70; 2.4.82; Val. Max 4.9.5; Tac. *Hist.* 3.72.

⁴⁶ Gallia 2012: 68-9

⁴⁷ Gallia 2012: 68-9; cf. Polo 2011: 269-70.

The consul Q. Lutatius Catulus, son of Quintus, grandson of Quintus, by a vote of the senate, oversaw the building of this substructure and the Tabularium and approved the same.⁴⁸

Gallia suggests that the language is indicative of Catulus' authority being 'subordinate to the collective will and interests of the senate.'⁴⁹ He notes that such an impression also seems apparent in a passage of Cicero's *In Verrem*, where the orator directly addresses the juror Catulus on the matter of his rebuilding of the temple: '...by the favour of the senate and Roman people, your honour and the eternal memory of your name is consecrated along with the temple.'⁵⁰ Again, the clear implication is that Catulus was awarded the task with the approval of the senate and in association with the Roman people.⁵¹ Therefore, while on one level it was a *monumentum* to Catulus, the temple was not his in the sense of a dynastic monument, in the way, for example, that the Basilica Aemilia was to the Aemilii.⁵² Although such a status would not have been unique, and a number of buildings will have sported the words *Senatus Populusque Romanus*, it is still relevant to note that Catulus was presented as the *curator restituendi Capitolii* and that the temple ultimately remained a concern of the *res publica* more widely.⁵³

The various points made above confirm that the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus held a particular resonance for the Roman people. If any public building mattered to the capital's inhabitants, it was this one, and such a status makes it a particularly relevant example for considering responses to the way a structure was treated. As detailed in Chapter Four, there were three restorations of the Capitolium, and in the remainder of this chapter, I consider responses to two of these – the restorations by Catulus and Domitian. The Catulan rebuilding (83-69 BC), as discussed previously, falls outside the chronological parameters of this study. However, given that it has already been necessary to discuss the

⁴⁸ CIL 6.1314, 31596: Q. Lutatius Q. f. Q. [n.] Catulus co(n)s(ul) substructionem et tabularium de s(enatus) s(ententia) faciundum coeravit [ei]demque prob[avit]. Translation Gallia 2012: 69; cf. Polo 2011: 270.

⁴⁹ Gallia 2012: 69.

⁵⁰ Cic. Verr. 2.4.69: *tuus enim honos illo templo senatus populi que Romani beneficio, tui nominis aeterna memoria simul cum templo illo consecratur.* (Translation adapted from Gallia 2012).

⁵¹ Gallia 2012: 68.

⁵² Although some individuals (possibly Scipio Africanus) do try to associate themselves with the temple and notably Catulus adopts it as a cognomen.

⁵³ Aul. Gell. 2.10.2; cf. Polo 2011: 270-1; Gallia 2012: 67-70.

specifics of this restoration at length in Chapter Four, it is included here too. A more important consideration is that the response to the Catulan temple has a considerable bearing on the understanding of the reception of the later Domitianic rebuilding. Indeed, some of the sentiments that I argue are present in Cicero's response to the Catulan restoration are relevant to the wider discussions both in this chapter as well as the next, and it is to his remarks on the temple that I now want to turn.

6.3.1 Cicero on the Capitolium

In 70 BC Cicero undertook his now famous prosecution of Gaius Verres for the abuses he had committed during his governorship of Sicily (73-71 BC). Despite Verres' flight to Massilia after just the *prima actio* had been delivered, Cicero went on to publish the speeches in full.⁵⁴ In the undelivered second of these, Cicero details the governor's rapacious theft of art works from the Island, and among a host of apparent injustices he brings up Verres' acquisition of a bejewelled candelabrum.⁵⁵ Although occurring in Sicily, this incident was of direct relevance to the city of Rome, as the item had originally been brought to the capital by Antiochus, son of *rex Syriae*, with the intention that it should be placed in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.⁵⁶ According to Cicero, the Hellenistic prince was unable to dedicate the candelabrum on account of the temple still being in an unfinished state, following its destruction in 83 BC. Antiochus had left Rome with the intention that the candelabrum would be returned to be dedicated once the Capitolium had been inaugurated, however, while the prince was staying in Sicily it was seized by Verres.⁵⁷

Although this incident was not one of the formal charges brought against Verres, its inclusion in the speech further builds Cicero's picture of the defendant's unscrupulous character, impiety and predatory lust for art.⁵⁸ Cicero goes on to argue that the theft of the candelabrum and a failure to prosecute the

⁵⁴ On the context of the trial and the dissemination of the orations: Miles 2008: 105-151.

⁵⁵ Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.64-69.

⁵⁶ As pointed out by Frazel (2009: 87), Antiochus was not actually king at this time, but rather it was Tigranes who ruled Syria, cf. Baldo 2004: 370.

⁵⁷ Cic. *Verr.* 2.64-67. A more detailed discussion of the theft and its context is given by Frazel 2009: 87-89.

⁵⁸ On the formal charges see Miles 2008: 129. Frazel (2009:71-96) notes that Cicero's description of the episode portrays the act as sacrilegious and furthers his picture of Verres as a 'temple-robber.' Cf. Vasaly 1993:116.

perpetrator would be poorly received outside of Rome, both lessening the republic's standing, as well as deterring other foreign monarchs from making future dedications in the city.⁵⁹ In this way he asserts that the theft affected the Roman people as a whole, including by implication the members of the jury. Indeed, Cicero singles out one juror in particular for whom he alleges Verres' actions had damaging consequences, Quintus Lutatius Catulus.⁶⁰

As discussed in Chapter Four, after the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus burned in 83 BC its restoration was undertaken first by Sulla and then, following his death, awarded by the senate to Catulus. The new temple was dedicated in 69 BC and while there appears to be some question regarding the extent to which it was entirely finished at this date, it seems certain that during Verres' trial of August 70 BC the superstructure would have been in a state of near, if not total, completion.⁶¹ That the candelabrum was destined for a building constructed by a member of the jury, who also happened to be one of Rome's preeminent statesmen, was not lost on Cicero.⁶² His praise of the temple is undisguised and he describes the building in superlative terms, which seem partially intended to flatter Catulus.⁶³ Cicero presents Verres' affront to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus as an insult to Catulus personally and provocatively suggests that if Catulus were not on the jury then he should be prosecuting the defendant himself.⁶⁴ Indeed, he repeatedly links the temple to the man responsible for building it, classifying it as Catulus' *monumentum*.⁶⁵

The apparent purpose behind Cicero directly addressing Catulus about his temple is to induce the support of an influential juror, but it is the way in which he characterises the rebuilding that I am specifically interested in.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.68

⁶⁰ Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.69-70; 82. On the composition of the jury: McDermott 1977: 64-75; Miles 2008: 143; Lintott 2008: 87 f. 30.

⁶¹ Discussed in Chapter Four

⁶² On Catulus' career: Gruen 1974: 50-51.

⁶³ Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.69.

⁶⁴ Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.70.

⁶⁵ Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.69: '...your own glory (*tibi enim honos*) is being hallowed within that temple; and together with that temple, the memory of your own name (*tui nominis*) is being made sacred for all time.' (Translation Greenwood 1935). Cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.70; 82; *Cael.* 72.

⁶⁶ The rhetorical device of directly addressing a particular member of the jury is used by Cicero elsewhere in *In Verrem* (2.4.90), as he attempts to prompt Marcellus into action by speaking of Verres' affront to the memory his ancestor in Sicily. That Cicero felt it necessary to direct an appeal specifically towards Catulus might not only be a reflection of the latter's perceived influence, but also because his brother-in-law Hortensius was Verres' advocate. On the relationship between Hortensius and Catulus see Gruen 1974: 50-53. On the political positioning of key figures involved in the trial: Vasaly 2009: 103-107.

And in this matter I appeal to you Quintus Catulus; for it is of your own most illustrious and most beautiful monument that I am speaking...It is you who must concern yourself, and you who must exert yourself, to ensure that as the Capitolium has been rebuilt more magnificently, so it shall be adorned with greater richness than before; so that it seems the conflagration to have been the will of heaven, and its purpose not to destroy the temple of Jupiter the Greatest and Best, but to require of us one more splendid and magnificent.⁶⁷

Hoc loco, Q Catule, te appello; loquor enim de tuo clarissimo pulcherrimoque monumento...tibi haec cura suscipienda tibi haec opera sumenda est, ut Capitolium, quem ad modum magnificentius est restitutum, sic copiosius ornatum sit quam fuit, ut illa flamma divinitus exstissee videatur, non quae deleret Iovis Optimi Maximi templum, sed quae praeclarius magnificentiusque deposceret.

Cicero's description of the temple as 'most illustrious' (*clarissimum*) and 'most beautiful' (*pulcherrimum*) is unquestioningly a positive assessment of the building.⁶⁸ Although beyond this general impression, these superlatives are not overly enlightening, as elsewhere in *In Verrem* he describes other temples in similar terms and, indeed, the use of superlatives for praising buildings seems a relatively commonplace rhetorical convention – not that this meant such accolades were necessarily insincere or without meaning.⁶⁹ What is more significant for this current discussion is that Cicero makes the comparative judgement that the new version of the temple is unequivocally better than the old one, explicitly describing it as being rebuilt 'more magnificently' (*magnificentius*). Although *magnifice* can have the meaning of splendid in the sense of an abstract quality, given that it is being used here in the context of a rebuilding, Cicero might also be referring to the physicality of the temple being literally more materially splendid.⁷⁰ That he does, in fact, mean the physical building is implied by his assertion in the subsequent and related clause, that the temple 'should be adorned with greater riches.'⁷¹ For this allusion to the temple's ornamental fittings suggests that the entire sentence refers to the building in a tangible sense.

⁶⁷ Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.69. (Translation adapted from Greenwood 1935).

⁶⁸ Cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.184. Here he again refers to the building as *pulcherrimo templo*.

⁶⁹ Cicero (*Verr.* 2.4.108) describes the temple of Ceres at Henna as *pulcherrimum et magnificentissimum*. On the commonplace use of superlatives in the context of competition between the elite: Wiseman 1985: 3-10. On literary tropes and rhetorical language being a reflection of actual sentiments: Edwards 1993: 141-3.

⁷⁰ OLD s.v. *Magnifice*. Cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.108.

⁷¹ Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.69: *sic copiosius ornatum sit quam fuit*.

A fuller understanding of what Cicero might possibly mean by *magnifice* can perhaps be gained from considering the use of *magnificentia* in architectural contexts elsewhere in his works. For example, when in *De Officiis* and *De Legibus* Cicero criticises the opulence of Lucius Lucullus' residences, *magnificentia* is used to refer to their material grandeur.⁷² As suggested above, His description of the Capitolium as having been rebuilt *magnificentius* might similarly signify that he thought the new temple was not just figuratively but also materially grander than the original version. Given what is known about the Catulan rebuilding this would certainly have been an appropriate observation, for in an unprecedented act the new temple was covered by a roof of gilded tiles, as was discussed in Chapter Four. Indeed, it is possible that Cicero is making an allusion to this specific feature in his description of the building as being *clarissimus*. For alongside the meaning 'illustrious,' *clarus* can also refer to a reflective object being visually 'bright' or 'gleaming.'⁷³ Such would be the effect created by a golden roof in the Italian sun, and it is a double meaning that Cicero's audience – imagined to be seated in the forum, in sight of the Capitolium – might have been expected to pick up on.⁷⁴ Indeed, such an allusion was even more pertinent in light of Pliny the Elder's indication that Catulus' gilding of the roof drew criticism from some contemporaries (an important point that is also return to later in the chapter).⁷⁵ If this was the case, then Cicero's public endorsement of the temple and its material grandeur, specifically the golden roof, might have been an even greater resonance in his attempt to garner Catulus' support.

⁷² Cic. *Off.* 1.140: 'One must be careful, too, not to go beyond proper bounds in expense and display (*sumpta et magnificentia*), especially if one is building for oneself...For people imitate zealously the foibles of the great, particularly in this direction: for example, who copies the virtues of Lucius Lucullus, excellent man that he was? But how many there are who have copied the magnificence of his villas (*villarum magnificentiam*).' (Translation 1913: Miller). *Leg.* 3.13.30: 'A reply made by our common friend, the eminent Lucius Lucullus, to a criticism of the sumptuousness of his villa at Tusculum (*magnificentia villae Tusculanae*) was considered a very neat one.' (Translation adapted from Keyes 1928). On Lucullus' residences also see Plut. *Luc.* 39; Plin. *HN* 18.32.

⁷³ OLD s.v. *Clarus*. Cf. Cicero's (*Verr.* 2.4.64) uses it in the sense of bright/gleaming elsewhere in *In Verrem*. On Cicero's use of *Clarissimus* in reference to individuals: Whitehead 2005: 141-207.

⁷⁴ On the location of the trial in the forum: Taylor 1949: 98-99. The importance of the location at this moment in the speech might be indicated by *hoc loco* - usually translation as 'this matter' (see above), but it could also mean 'this place.' In *pro Scauro* (46) Cicero also uses the surrounding topography in his speech, and highlights the temple of Castor and Pollux when addressing Metellus, whose ancestor had restored the temple.

⁷⁵ Plin. *HN* 33.57.

A key point in the above discussion is that Cicero's language indicates not just his approval for Catulus' reconstruction of the temple of Jupiter, but that he deems the new building superior to the original, arguably, on account of its increased material magnificence. This is an impression that is enhanced by other elements of his characterisation of the rebuilding.

6.3.2 Divine Intervention

At the end of the passage quoted above Cicero emphatically repeats his judgement that the rebuilt temple is superior to its predecessor. This is underscored both through his description of the new building as *praeclarius magnificentiusque*, as well as the rather dramatic assertion that the fire which destroyed the old structure seemed to have been of divine origin, sent specifically in order that a better temple could be raised in its place.⁷⁶ That the Romans interpreted disasters and destruction as being heaven-sent seems a relatively commonplace response.⁷⁷ The notion that it was a direct request for a superior temple seems unusual, yet there are other alleged examples of gods revealing themselves for the express purpose of having their shrines restored or improved. For instance, in *De Divinatione* Cicero records that a temple of Juno Sospita was restored (*reficere*) in 90 BC by order of the senate, following a dream of Caecilia Metella.⁷⁸ Julius Obsequens adds the further detail that Juno actually appeared in the dream complaining of the dilapidated state of her temple, and in this way can be seen as having directly brought about its restoration.⁷⁹ In the later and very different context of Statius' *Silvae*, the poet eulogises about Pollius Felix's rebuilding of a temple of Hercules near Surrentum.⁸⁰ Central to the poem is the role that Statius ascribes to Hercules himself, claiming that the god appeared to Pollius to personally ask for a grander temple.⁸¹ Statius' account of Hercules' conversation with Pollius is

⁷⁶ Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.69: *ut illa flamma divinitus exstitisse videatur, non quae deleret Iovis Optimi Maximi templum, sed quae praeclarius magnificentiusque deposceret.*

⁷⁷ On prodigies: Rasmussen 2003.

⁷⁸ Cic. *Div.* 1.2 (4); 1.44 (99). Which temple of Juno Sospita is not entirely clear; there was one in Rome in the Forum Holitorium, although it has also been suggested that the dream might have related to the famous one at Lanuvium: Hermans 2012: 334-5.

⁷⁹ Jul. *Obs.* 55.

⁸⁰ On Pollius and Statius' relationship: Hardie 1983: 67; Nauta 2002: 222-223.

⁸¹ Stat. *Sil.* 3.1.52-116

rhetorical, and Hardie notes the epic-style conventions of the poem.⁸² Nevertheless, the idea is present of a god desiring and directly acting to ensure that his temple is rebuilt in a more magnificent fashion.

Noticeably, however, Cicero is not actually claiming that Jupiter *did* destroy the temple, only that the grandeur of the Catulan version made it *seem* (*videatur*) like he could conceivably have done so. In part, Cicero's comment might relate to, and reflect his stance on, a then current debate over the contentious issue of actually who was culpable for destroying the temple in 83 BC.⁸³ Irrespective of this, what I want to emphasise is that the figurative insinuation reaffirms the perceived superiority of the new temple to the old, highlighting that the building is not simply a replacement but an improvement, and is indeed so much better that the loss of the original might be deemed desirable.

Cicero's remarks are a contemporary's response to the innovative restoration of Rome's principal temple. Also, as it might be presumed that Cicero thought the direction of his argument would be appealing to at least a portion of his audience, this suggests that the views articulated were not just his (although, that there was opposition to Catulus' rebuilding is highlighted later in this chapter). The impression we are left with is that Cicero liked the new version of the building and that he approved of it being materially more splendid than its predecessor. Indeed, Cicero's stance is not just that the magnificence of the new compensates for the loss of the old, but that it is *because* the rebuilt temple is so much better that it is preferable to the earlier version. Given that Cicero's reason for mentioning the temple of Jupiter is probably to elicit the support of its patron Catulus, it is not unreasonable to question the sincerity of his enthusiastic endorsement. Yet, even if this accounts to some extent for Cicero's language being hyperbolic, it does not necessarily follow that his judgement regarding the superiority of the new temple over the old is disingenuous. Indeed, if Cicero wished to praise Catulus' temple, this could have been achieved by asserting that the new building was magnificent in its own right, and there is no immediate, discernible reason for him to denigrate the original temple by making the comparison. Certainly, he does not need to go so

⁸² On this poem: Hardie 1983: 125-128; Newlands 2002: 175-178.

⁸³ On the destruction of the temple and certainty over who was responsible: Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 131; App. *B. Civ.* 1.83; 86; Tac. *Hist.* 3.72; Plut. *Sull.* 27.12; Flower 2008: 82-3.

far as to suggest that it is actually in some sense positive that the old temple was destroyed.⁸⁴

Interestingly, Cicero's comments reveal no impression of any nostalgia for the first temple or any sense that a historic building has been lost. Rather, there is only exultation that a materially grander structure has arisen in its place.⁸⁵ To an extent, this assertion relies on arguing for what is not said and is inevitably, therefore, problematic. However, that Cicero does not touch upon the notion of nostalgia or architectural loss at all, even in anticipation of a response to this part of his position, is suggestive it was not a concern. Furthermore, while it is not apparent from this evidence alone, I suggest that the sentiments present in Cicero's speech correspond to, and are indicative of, widely held attitudes to built heritage. This revolves around the notion that while the inadvertent destruction of a building might in itself be considered regrettable, even a calamitous event, the loss of the building as an architectural creation was not mourned. Instead, destruction could be seen as opportunity, the loss of an old structure embraced due to the possibilities that this afforded to the current generation to improve on what had existed before. This premise will be developed further in this chapter and more so in the next. Indeed, Cicero's comments on the temple introduce several important ideas which are expanded upon throughout the next two chapters and are also relevant for contextualising the responses to the subsequent destruction and rebuilding of the Capitolium. It is to these later instances that I will now turn.

6.4 Tacitus on the Capitolium

In Chapter Four I noted that it is regarding the third-Vespasianic phase of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus that we have the least information (perhaps on account of it only having existed for ten years). Almost all of what is known about the destruction of the Catulan temple and the subsequent rebuilding by Vespasian comes from Tacitus' *Histories*. While I do not want to dwell on this example, but rather move on to examine responses to the fourth-Domitianic

⁸⁴ Although this is not to suggest that Cicero trivialises the destruction of the Capitolium, and he would later use fear of the Capitolium burning again in his case against Catiline: Cic. *Cat.* 3.22; 4.18; cf. *Amic.* 11.37; Flower 2008:74-92; Gallia 2012: 51 n 8.

⁸⁵ The only possible indication of what Cicero thought of the appearance of the original temple is a favourable assessment of the beauty of its pediment, put into the mouth of Licinius Crassus the Elder in *De Oratore* 3.180.

temple, for which there is greater evidence, Tacitus' remarks do support, arguably, the point just made regarding the lack of concern over the loss of historic architecture, and considering the comments gives further weight to this premise.

In book three of the *Histories*, Tacitus recounts at length the storming of the Capitoline Hill by Vitellius' forces in an effort to dislodge the supporters of Vespasian who had taken refuge there.⁸⁶ The climactic and central event of this episode was the burning of the Catullan temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (quoted in full in Appendix C).⁸⁷ The account has received a considerable amount of attention, both from scholars seeking to reconstruct details of the event, as well as those interested in Tacitus as an author.⁸⁸ Following the description of its burning, Tacitus summarises the history of the temple from its foundation to its second destruction (509 BC – AD 69).⁸⁹ This passage has been likened to a funeral oration and obituary for the building, comparable to that which a prominent individual might have received.⁹⁰ Tacitus' mortification and vexation over to the destruction of the building are palpable in his language, describing the incident as 'the saddest and most shameful crime that the Roman state had ever suffered since its foundation.'⁹¹ However, what is interesting for my purposes is that there is not even a hint in Tacitus' narrative that the sorrow and regret over the temple's destruction is because a work of historic architecture has been lost.⁹² Instead, the vehemence of his speech seems primarily to be because the fire occurred as a result of civil war and was consequently an act of self-mutilation.⁹³ He certainly does not refer to the notion that a historically interesting building had been destroyed.

What makes this absence of concern even more evident is that Tacitus' account of the event seems intended to emphasise the hallowed antiquity of the

⁸⁶ Tac. *Hist.* 3.71-74.

⁸⁷ Tac. *Hist.* 3.71.

⁸⁸ Edwards 1996: 74-82; Ash 2007: 229-236; Sailor 2008: 205-13; Joseph 2012: 98-106; Gallia 2012: 52-6; Woodman 1997: 96; Davies 2004: 206-8; cf. Flower 2008: 89-91 Keitel 2010b: 349-51. On Tacitus' sources for the event: Syme 1958: 176-181.

⁸⁹ Tac. *Hist.* 3.71.

⁹⁰ Fraenkel 1964: 594; Currie 1989: 352; Sage 1991: 3397-8; Sailor 2008: 217; Flower 2008: 90.

⁹¹ Tac. *Hist.* 3.72: *Id facinus post conditam urbem luctuosissimum foedissimumque rei publicae populi Romani accidit.* (translation Moore 1925).

⁹² Tacitus' (*Hist.* 3.71) only mention of details of the architecture of the building is a reference to the carved wooden eagles underneath the roof.

⁹³ On the significance of the destruction occurring amid civil strife: Davies 2004: 206-8; Gallia 2012: 53. On idea of the temple mutilated and Rome decapitated: Ash 2007: 233; Sailor 2008: 99 with n. 53.

site. When the Vitellian troops advanced up the hill they passed by Romulus' Asylum, the Tarpeian Rock, as well as old colonnades (*antiquitus porticus*), and piled up as a barrier in their way were honorific statues of ancestors '*statuas, decora maiorum*.'⁹⁴ Then, in his 'obituary' for the temple, Tacitus again highlights the sense of history and age associated with the Capitolium, by charting a timeline of notable past events.⁹⁵ Yet despite the apparent importance of drawing attention to the antiquity of the Capitolium to underscore the seriousness of its destruction, the loss of the actual structure as an architectural creation of the past is passed over in silence.⁹⁶ As noted above, I think that this discernible lack of concern over the loss of historic architecture is actually a deep-seated part of an attitude towards built heritage, which will be examined in detail in Chapter Seven.

I will now move on to consider responses to the final and fourth-Domitianic version of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The discussion revolves primarily around comments by Martial and Plutarch on the temple. However, in order to understand the significance of these, it is necessary to bring in evidence from a much wider range of authors, as well as to explore a particular framework through which buildings were judged in antiquity. In doing so, an ancient debate over the appropriateness of the way in which the temple was rebuilt emerges.

6.5 Martial on the Capitolium

The restoration of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus looms large in the poetry of Domitian's principate, featuring prominently in Martial's *Epigrams*, Statius' *Silvae* and even Silius Italicus' historical epic *Punica*.⁹⁷ In part, this attention is probably indicative of the enormous symbolic significance attached to the destruction and restoration of Rome's principal temple. It is also possibly a response to the extraordinary and grandiose manner in which the Domitianic

⁹⁴ Tac. *Hist.* 3.72. Cf. Ash 2007: 231-2.

⁹⁵ On Tacitus' description purposefully emphasising the antiquity of the temple: Rouveret 1991: 3069; Sage 1991: 3398; Edwards 1996: 80-1. On Tacitus highlighting the specifically republican past: Syme 1958: 311; Flower 2008: 91; Sailor 2008: 210-12; Gallia 2012: 52-6.

⁹⁶ Joseph (2008: 100) connects the emphasised antiquity of the temple to the severity of its destruction.

⁹⁷ Mart. *Ep.* 5.1.7-8; 5.10.6; 7.73.4; 8.80.6; 9.3.6-7; 9.101.21-22; Stat. *Sil.* 1.6.102; 4.3.16; *Sil. It.* 3.623. Probable allusions are also made in Mart. *Ep.* 6.4.3; 6.10.1-4; 9.101.21-22; 12.15; Stat. *Sil.* 5.1.188

rebuilding was carried out, as has been detailed in Chapter Four. The remarks that these authors make about the temple are overtly positive and, notwithstanding the possibility that the praise might be disingenuous (as is discussed below), seem reflective of a welcoming reception of the new Capitolium.⁹⁸ Unfortunately, this is as much as the majority of the comments reveal about the contemporary response to the rebuilding, as the authors rarely elaborate in detail on the subject. An important exception is in Martial's fifth book of epigrams, which was published within a year of when the temple was rededicated in AD 89.⁹⁹ Martial's reference to the Capitolium occupies only a single line, yet it is nevertheless of considerable consequence for understanding reactions to the restoration.

Before looking at this specific epigram however, it is worth briefly reflecting on the recent approaches to Martial that argue his writings present neither a straightforward expression of the poet's opinions nor a wholly realistic picture of Roman society.¹⁰⁰ Scholars have questioned whether various situations presented in the *Epigrams* faithfully detail actual circumstances, as well as the extent to which the characters referred to, and even the authorial voice of Martial himself are anything more than literary *personae*.¹⁰¹ While unresolved, such debates impact on reading Martial's works as a historical source and expose the necessity of thinking about the possible literary considerations which might influence his representation of certain situations. This being said, it is equally important not to reduce the *Epigrams* to nothing more than literary exercises that wholly fabricate rather than reflect aspects of Roman society. Even if some of the accuracy of the conditions Martial describes and the sincerity of the views he propounds are to be doubted, this does not automatically lead to the conclusion that the content has no basis in reality. For the verses to have any meaning to his audience, the society and characters that are portrayed must be recognisable and credible, elements might be fictional

⁹⁸ Contra Garthwaite (2009: 424) regarding Mart. *Ep.* 9.3. The idea that Martial's praise of Domitian might be insincere and in some way subversive is discussed in Chapter Seven.

⁹⁹ On the publication of Martial's fifth book: Canobbio (2011: 12-58) argues for AD 89; Sullivan (1991: 35) suggests AD 90. On the dating of Martial's *Epigrams* more generally: Citroni 1988: 3-39; Sullivan 1991: 6-55; contra Holzberg 2002: 35-9; 124-151; 2004/5: 209-224. On the dedication of the temple in AD 89: Jer. *Ab. Abr.* 2105.

¹⁰⁰ The bibliography on Martial is considerable, including Sullivan 1991; Holzberg 2002; Spisak 2007; Fitzgerald 2007. For a general overview on the state of scholarship, see Larash 2008: esp. 234-7.

¹⁰¹ On the 'reality' of the epigrams content: Fowler 1995: 51; Gold 2003: 591-7; Fitzgerald 2007: 7-13; Roman 2010: 88-9. On the idea of Martial, as revealed by his first person voice, being a literary *persona*: Roman 2001: 114-7; Garthwaite 2009: 405-7.

but not fantastical, invented but not alien. My study looks at certain epigrams of Martial both here and in Chapter Seven, and where appropriate such considerations are expanded upon. I now want to examine epigram 5.10 and what his comments on the Capitolium reveal about how its rebuilding was perceived.

What am I to make of the fact that fame is denied to the living and few readers love their own time?' This, Regulus, I take to be envy's way: she always prefers the old to the new. Just so we ingrates seek out Pompey's ancient shade, just so old men praise Catulus' cheap temple. You read Ennius, Rome, while Maro lived, even Maeonides was scoffed at by his contemporaries; seldom did the theatres applaud a crowned Menander, only Corinna knew of her Naso. But you, my little books, don't be too eager. If glory comes after death I am in no hurry.¹⁰²

*Esse quid hoc dicam vivis quod fama negatur
st sua quod rarus tempora lector amat?
hi sunt invidiae nimirum, Regule, mores,
praeferat antiquos semper ut illa novis.
Sic veterem ingrati Pompei quaerimus umbram, [5]
sic laudant Catuli vilia templa senes;
Ennius est lectus salvo tibi, Roma, Marone,
et sua riserunt saecula Maeoniden;
rara coronato plausere theatra Menandro;
norat Nasonem sola Corinna suum. [10]
vos tamen o nostri ne festinate libelli:
si post fata venit gloria, non propero.*

The theme of the epigram is of not being appreciated in one's own time; it is a complaint which appears elsewhere in Martial's work, as well as that of other Latin poets, and indeed seems to be a sentiment familiar to artists and writers of all eras.¹⁰³ His grievance is not just that present-day talent goes unrecognised, but that contemporaries favour works of the past.¹⁰⁴ The topic is broached in the opening lines by means of a question from his patron Aquilius Regulus, which Martial then proceeds to answer, in part by pointing to other poets who he suggests were not valued until after their death.¹⁰⁵ The epigram concludes with Martial expressing concern over the state of his own fame and

¹⁰² Mart. *Ep.* 5.10. (Translation adapted from Shackleton Bailey 1993).

¹⁰³ The theme also appears in Mart. *Ep.* 1.1; 1.25; 8.69; 11.90. Cf. Sullivan 1991: 89; 112. Canobbio (2011: 158-61) notes that the roots of this theme is Callimachean poetry and highlights Ovid as being a particularly important influence for Martial in this poem.

¹⁰⁴ On Martial's attitude to archaising: Canobbio 2011: 160. It is a theme that appears elsewhere in Latin literature of the period: Sen. *Ep.* 97.1; Plin. *Ep.* 1.16.8; 6.21.1; Tac. *Ann.* 1.116.8; 3.55.5; 5.17.6.

¹⁰⁵ On Martial and Regulus: Sullivan 1991: 17; cf. Rutledge 2001: 192-198.

the fate of his works in the future.¹⁰⁶ However, some of these details are rather misleading. Cannobio points out that the assertion that Ovid was only appreciated by Corinna in his own day is unfounded, and Garthwaite notes that Martial clearly contradicts the comment about his own lack of celebrity just three epigrams later in the same book.¹⁰⁷ The extent to which these seemingly deliberate inconsistencies are witty playfulness or pointed irony is not immediately evident.¹⁰⁸ In any case, they indicate the possibility that not everything in this epigram is necessarily as it seems.

In addition to poets, Martial also uses buildings as comparative examples in support of his main point. The apparent implication is that certain new public buildings – one of which is the Capitolium – are not currently appreciated because some people prefer older structures. On the face of it this might appear to be contrary to the premise outlined above: that innovative rebuilding was welcomed and the loss of historic architecture not regretted.¹⁰⁹ However, while the epigram indicates there was opposition towards the rebuilt Capitolium, I do not think that this was on strictly architectural grounds, as will now be shown.

Martial alludes to two buildings in the epigram and it is useful to consider his comments on both. The first – *veterem...Pompei...umbram* – refers to the theatre complex built by Pompey in the Campus Martius. Dedicated in 55 BC, it was Rome's first permanent theatre and, having undergone a number of potentially extensive restorations in the imperial period, remained a celebrated monument into late antiquity.¹¹⁰ Martial's reference to 'shade' alludes not to the theatre itself, but rather to the large portico situated behind the *scaenae frons*. Martial uses *umbra* in other epigrams to describe the colonnaded walkway of a portico, although in the context of Pompey's theatre it might also be a reference to leafy plane trees which adorned the space.¹¹¹ Indeed, the shade of Pompey's

¹⁰⁶ On Martial and posthumous fame: Roman 2001: 115-7.

¹⁰⁷ Cannobio 2011: 159; Garthwaite 1998: 162-4; 2009: 411-12; cf. Mart. *Ep.* 5.13.

¹⁰⁸ Garthwaite (2009: 411-412) suggests that this apparently deliberate contradiction appears to give a sense of 'witty dramatic performance' to the epigrams, although he sees this as serving a more serious function of criticism; cf. Garthwaite 1998: 162-4.

¹⁰⁹ Jenkyns 2013: 262; 2014: 16-7.

¹¹⁰ On the theatre of Pompey: Gros, 1999: 35-38; Gagliardo and Packer 2006: 93-122.

¹¹¹ Mart. *Ep.* 1.12; 2.14.10: 'Pompey's gift with its double groves' (*Pompei dona nemusque duplex*). Cf. Cannobio 2011: 163. On this aspect of the portico: Gleason 1990: 8-13; 1994: 13-27.

portico was already one of its defining characteristics and is commented upon by Propertius in his *Elegies* and Ovid in the *Ars Amatoria*.¹¹²

Martial accuses those who actively 'seek out' (*quaerere*) the shade of this space as being 'ungrateful' (*ingratus*). Howell and Canobbio see this as implying that individuals were neglecting the porticoes recently built or restored by Domitian.¹¹³ This interpretation is plausible if not entirely satisfactory. For which supposedly neglected building(s) Martial might be alluding to is not evident, but it is difficult to posit an alternative meaning behind the accusation.¹¹⁴ Martial adopts a scornful stance towards those who seek out Pompey's portico, which corresponds to the overall anti-archaising position of the epigram, although interestingly Martial includes himself among the ungrateful (*ingrati... quaerimus*).¹¹⁵ As to whether Martial's 'we' is a reference to the poets who frequented the porticus or the populace of Rome more generally is unclear.¹¹⁶ In either case, the presentation of his hypocrisy for using the porticus is not inconsistent with other contradictory and self-deprecating elements of the poem mentioned above.¹¹⁷

Just as it is not evident what buildings people preferred Pompey's portico to, it is similarly ambiguous as to why they actually liked his complex. Richard Prior suggests that Martial's reference indicates the building was 'esteemed for its age,' but I am not so certain.¹¹⁸ Pompey's portico is included in the poem as an example of an older structure that is favoured in the present day, but this does not equate to it being favoured *because* it is an older structure. Alternatively, it might be inferred from the reference to shade, as well as the active sense in which Martial describes the portico as being sought out (rather than simply admired), that it was the sensory experience of buildings and the environment it created that was valued, and not the architectural appearance,

¹¹² Prop. 2.32.11-16; 6.8.75. Ov. *Ars. Am.* 1.63.

¹¹³ Howell 1995: 86; Canobbio 2011: 162-3.

¹¹⁴ I am not wholly convinced that this idea of individuals not frequenting porticoes would really be a cause for complaint.

¹¹⁵ The probable negative connotations of *ingratus* seems confirmed by the context of its used elsewhere in book five (Mart. *Ep.* 5.19.8).

¹¹⁶ The impression that Pompey's Portico was popular place for socialites is indicated by references both elsewhere in Martial (*Ep.* 2.14; 11.1) as well as other poets (Catull. 55.6; Ov. *Ars. Am.* 1.67; Prop 2.32.11-16): Howell 1995: 86-7.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Garthwaite 2009: 411-412.

¹¹⁸ Prior 1996: 135.

nor simply because it was old.¹¹⁹ Certainly, I can find no references in any ancient author to this effect.

The line following the allusion to Pompey's portico – *sic laudant Catuli vilia templa senes* – unequivocally refers to the second-Catulan version of the Capitolium. Given the overall sentiment of the epigram, the evident implication is that some preferred this older version of the temple to the new incarnation (the intermediate Vespasianic phase goes unmentioned). Therefore, in this one line two opposing responses to the Domitianic rebuilding of the temple can be detected and, through unpacking how Martial presents this, it seems probable that the cause of the objection is on the ground of *luxuria*.

Martial positions himself as a supporter of Domitian's innovative reconstruction. Not only is he on the side of anti-archaising throughout the epigram, but in this specific matter he clearly distances himself from 'they' who praise (*laudant*) the Catulan temple, categorising those who do as *senes*. The term *senex* is commonly used to denote an elder person and while technically in Roman society this was someone beyond their mid-forties, Parkin argues that attention to the exact number of years was often ignored.¹²⁰ *Senex* was not necessarily a neutrally descriptive label and could have both positive and negative connotations. It might be used as indicative of a person's wisdom and experience, yet conversely also their miserliness, lust and anger (the outraged or dim-witted old man was a known character of Roman comedy).¹²¹ Martial uses *senex* as a negative description at various points throughout his works, and in light of his generally hostile attitude in this epigram to that which is old, here, too, the label seems intended as a derogatory putdown.¹²²

That Martial is attempting to portray those who praise the older Catulan temple in a negative manner is further indicated by his description of the monument as *villis*. Shackleton Bailey translates this as 'humble,' but the ambiguity of the English word – which could be taken in the sense of noble modesty – does not convey the vehement negativity of the Latin. Instead, I suggest the more pejorative terms 'cheap,' 'poor,' 'common' are closer to

¹¹⁹ The importance of shade is discussed in Chapter Seven.

¹²⁰ Parkin 2003: 15-16 with n.3; 20.

¹²¹ Although see Duckworth 1994: 242.

¹²² Mart. *Ep.* 4.50; 4.53.3; 4.78; 10.5.16; 11.81. Indeed, it seems that it was not uncommon for Latin authors to refer to those who praised older structures as *senes*: Plin. *HN* 36.104; Tac. *Ann.* 15.42. Discussed further in Chapter Seven

Martial's meaning.¹²³ Degrading the materiality of the old temple acts both to mock the *senes* who prefer it and, by implication, to emphasise the superior splendour of the Domitianic version.

However, by all accounts Catulus' temple was certainly not 'cheap.' Its gilded roof tiles were at the time an unprecedented extravagance and, as discussed above, its material magnificence was emphasised by Cicero. It is perhaps possible that by the late first century AD, over a century and a half after the construction of the Catulan temple, Martial genuinely did consider it materially inferior. At this time Roman architecture had moved on significantly: the extensive use of marble throughout buildings was now standard, while araeostyle temples – as Catulus' Capitolium was – were outdated, with none having been constructed in Rome for over a century.¹²⁴ Consequently, by the benchmark of Martial's day, elements of the temple might well have seemed relatively modest or perhaps old-fashioned.¹²⁵ Yet I am not sure that this equates to it being cheap in the scornful way that Martial describes it. Although it was no longer unique that the temple had gilded roof tiles in the late first century AD, it was in no way commonplace, and it is difficult to accept that such a feature would not still have been seen as lavish, as comes out in the discussion on *luxuria* below.¹²⁶ Indeed, as has been highlighted in studies on Roman architecture by Thomas, Delaine, and Scheithauer, physical size was a key criterion by which the impressiveness of a building was judged.¹²⁷ The Catulan Capitolium, while perhaps appearing relatively low by the norms of Flavian architecture, was still the largest temple in the city in terms of its footprint.¹²⁸ Therefore, Martial's denouncement of the temple as *villis* seems disproportionate and inaccurate, although I think this is deliberately and ironically so.

By calling attention to the alleged poverty of the old temple, Martial is emphasising the splendour of the new. Martial's exaggeration not only affirms that it is in this regard that he considers Domitian's temple worthy of praise, but

¹²³ *OLD* s.v. *Villis*.

¹²⁴ As discussed in Chapter Four

¹²⁵ Cf. *Vitr.* 3.3.5.

¹²⁶ The lavishness of using gold in an architectural context in the second half of the first century AD is illustrated by Nero's covering the interior of the theatre of Pompey with gold for a day in AD 66: *Plin. HN* 33.54; *Cass. Dio* 63.6.1.

¹²⁷ Scheithauer 2002: 221–86; Delaine 2002: 207–8; Thomas 2007: 2–4; 207–15.

¹²⁸ Indeed, Pliny the Elder (36.104) seemed impressed, if not by the superstructure (on which he is silent), at least by its substructures.

it also reveals the root of the objection of the *senes*. For as with those who sought out Pompey's portico, I do not think that the praise of Catulus' temple derived from an appreciation for historic architecture. Rather, Martial's description of the old building as cheap might be seen as a sardonic response to an accusation that the new version was too opulent. In doing so, Martial is engaging with an existing discourse over how the Capitolium had been rebuilt and, specifically, a controversy over its material lavishness. His remark is a direct response to the building's detractors, mockingly inverting their criticism, which, as I argue below, was related to the idea of *luxuria*.

If based solely on this example then such an interpretation might appear unduly ambitious, however, this conclusion has not been reached from considering Martial in isolation. Instead, it is possible to detect further evidence of the controversy over Domitian's rebuilding in the comments of another contemporary, Plutarch. When taken together a picture emerges of two opposing reactions to the manner of the restoration, and establishing the reasons behind these responses has significant implications for understanding an aspect of Roman attitudes to built heritage more generally. Central to this is recognising the relevance and importance of the concept of *luxuria* and the relationship between architecture and morality in Roman society. Therefore, before considering the response of Plutarch to the Domitianic rebuilding of the Capitolium, it is first necessary to explore this subject. Indeed, that it is a matter of specific relevance to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus becomes evident in the course of the discussion.

6.6.1 Architecture and Morality

It is difficult to overstate the importance of the concept of *luxuria* to elements in Roman society from the mid-republic to early imperial period.¹²⁹ The moral implications of overindulgence in, and unnatural consumption of, material luxury was a concern which pervaded numerous aspects of Roman life and was seen as a degenerative influence both on individuals and society as a whole.¹³⁰ The moral decline of Rome is a popular theme for Latin authors.¹³¹ It

¹²⁹ On the term *luxuria* and its derivation from *luxus*: Lapatin 2008: 31.

was commonly seen as having come about through the conquest of the Hellenistic world and was retrospectively traced back by various commentators to the century after the second Punic war, with the arrival in Rome of particular corrupting commodities or cultural practices.¹³² For example, Livy saw Gnaeus Manilius Vulso's triumph of 186 BC as responsible for sowing seeds (*semina*) of luxury in Rome, in part through the seemingly rather innocuous introduction of splendid domestic furniture brought from Asia Minor.¹³³ The range of material goods that were at various times subject to social or even legal censure was considerable; it included jewellery, foodstuffs, clothing, and importantly for my purposes, building activity (*aedificatio*).¹³⁴

Unlike food and clothing, however, buildings were never subject to official sumptuary laws – a fact lamented by Pliny the Elder.¹³⁵ Nevertheless, descriptions of buildings are often framed in moral terms and it seems to have been central to how architecture might be viewed. As Edwards argues ‘the moralising tone is not something we should edit out in an attempt to recover how Romans “really” responded to what they saw. It was a fundamental part of those responses.’¹³⁶ It is often in regard to the domestic sphere – the *domus* and *villae* of the Italian elites – that the relationship between building activity and ideas of luxury and morality are considered in scholarship.¹³⁷ From the late republic onwards, there is a noticeable concern in Latin literature over how individuals were reshaping nature in order to build their residences, which were then adorned with extravagant and foreign materials.¹³⁸ Such sentiments continued to be expressed in the period that is the focus of this thesis and are

¹³⁰ The concept of *luxuria* in Roman society has been the subject of considerable scholarly attention, in particular: Wallace-Hadrill 1990b: 145-192; Edwards 1993; Dalby 2000; Zanda 2011: esp. 7-26.

¹³¹ Edwards 1993: 17-19; 137-172; Lapatin, 2008: 31-32.

¹³² This view can be found expressed in the works of, among others, Polybius, Posidonius, Sallust, Livy and Pliny the Elder: Levick 1982: 53-62; Lintott 1972: 626-38; cf. Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 315-9.

¹³³ Liv. 39.6.7-9; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 315.

¹³⁴ On consumption of luxury goods: Edwards 1993; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 315-355. On sumptuary laws: Zanda 2011. On *aedificatio*: Wallace-Hadrill 1988: 44-45; Thomas 2008: 21; 103.

¹³⁵ Plin. *HN* 36. 4-6.

¹³⁶ Edwards 1993: 142; cf. 137-72.

¹³⁷ For a recent discussion of scholarship on this subject: Nichols 2010: 142. Cf. Whitehorne 1969: 28-39; D'Arms 1970: 40-72; Bek 1976: 156-161; Zanker 25-31 1988; Wallace-Hadrill 1988: 44-7; 1994: 143-74; Edwards 1993: 137-72; Elsner 1995: 49-62; Zarmakoupi 2014: esp. 1-24. On morality and architecture more generally: Scott 1914: 159-164; Thomas 2007: 103;

¹³⁸ Edwards 1993: 137-172; Nichols 2010: 39-61.

particularly noticeable in the work of Pliny the Elder.¹³⁹ It is in these terms that Pliny notes when different imported marbles were first used in a domestic context at Rome, and summarises the development of increasingly extravagant residences in the city:

Our most scrupulous authorities are agreed that in the consulship of Marcus Lepidus and Quintus Catulus (78 BC) as beautiful a house as any in Rome was that of Lepidus himself; but, by Hercules, within 35 years the same house was not among the first hundred.¹⁴⁰

The continuing relevance of the discourse on *luxuria* in this period is emphasised by the notion that Vespasian's behaviour actively contrasted to the lifestyle of Nero, under whose reign Tacitus claims luxury and licentiousness had reached its zenith.¹⁴¹ That it also remained a framework through which building activity might be critiqued is evident in the responses to Nero's *Domus Aurea* and Domitian's *Domus Augustana*, both of which were attacked on account of their material and unnatural excesses.¹⁴²

However, the continuing presence of the discourse did not mean that attitudes were constant or opinions consistent. That many in Roman society looked favourably on luxurious domestic residences seems an evident reality – otherwise so many would not have been built in the first place.¹⁴³ Pavlovskis and Edwards point to an apparent change during the mid- to late first century AD, where Statius and Martial write in approving terms of the luxuriousness and material grandeur of domestic buildings.¹⁴⁴ Interestingly, it is precisely the features which these writers single out for praise that others criticise. For example, Statius waxes lyrical over the variety of imported marble used in Domitian's *Domus Augustana*, as well as elsewhere praising the general sumptuousness of Manilius Vopiscus' villa and the way in which its construction

¹³⁹ Cf. Sen. *Ep.* 89.21; 114.21; 122.5; Edwards 1993: 145.

¹⁴⁰ Plin. *HN* 36.109: *M. Lepido Q. Catulo cos., ut constat inter diligentissimos auctores, domus pulchrior non fuit Romae quam Lepidi ipsius, at, Hercules, intra annos xxxv eadem centesimum locum non optinuit.* (Translation adapted from Eichholz 1962). On marble as an 'expression of *luxuria*' in Pliny: Isager 1991: 144-7; 183-186; Carey 2003: 91-101.

¹⁴¹ Tac. *Ann.* 3.55. Pliny (*N.H* 31.41) also alleges the reign of Vespasian heralded a pulling back from the decline and depravity of Nero. Edwards (1993: 28; 170) urges caution in accepting this as the reality of the actual situation; cf. Wallace-Hadrill 1990b: 146.

¹⁴² On immoral luxury and the imperial palaces: Edwards 1993: 163-172. On criticism of the *Domus Aurea*: Morford 1968: 158-179; Elsner 1994: 112-124; Flower 2006: 229-230. On criticism of *Domus Augustana*: Plin. *Pan.* 51.1; Plut. *Pub.* 15.5; Stadter 2002: 232-4.

¹⁴³ See remarks by Wallace-Hadrill 1988: 44-5; Edwards 1993: 157; Cic. *Off.* 1.38-9.

¹⁴⁴ Pavlovskis 1973; Edwards 1993: 141-142; cf. Dyson and Prior 1995: 245-63; Newlands 2002: 3-7; Armstrong 2009: 75-94.

forcefully took on the natural world.¹⁴⁵ This apparent potential for varying views regarding the subject of *luxuria* is in line with the differing opinions that can be detected in Martial's remarks about the Domitianic Capitolium, and its significance is returned to in regard to Plutarch's comments further below.

Studies which consider the relationship between architecture and *luxuria* have typically focused on domestic building activity. The sometimes ambiguous distinction between domestic and public buildings has been commented on in Chapter One, and it is a separation that is seemingly relevant to this current subject. There is a sense that while vast expenditure on personal projects might be condemned, a large financial outlay for the benefit of a city and its people could be deemed acceptable.¹⁴⁶ This is a distinction that the Romans themselves seem to have made and is encapsulated by Cicero's comment that 'the Roman people hate private luxury (*privatam luxuriam*), but love public magnificence (*publicam magnificentiam*).'¹⁴⁷ However, while this frequently cited remark is perhaps broadly accurate, it is undoubtedly an oversimplified generalisation.¹⁴⁸ Even if commented upon less frequently, public building activity was not free from moral censure.¹⁴⁹

An explicit assertion to this effect is made by Velleius Paterculus, where after describing Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus' victories in Greece, he notes:

'This same Metellus was the first to build a temple of marble...thereby becoming the pioneer in this form of magnificence (*magnificentiae*), or shall we call it luxury (*luxuriae*)?'¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵ Stat. *Silv.* 4.2.18-33; 2.2.85-97. Cf. Pavolvskis 1973: 17-20; Edwards 1993: 142; 163. The notion of construction transgressing nature is discussed in Chapter Two.

¹⁴⁶ Edwards 1993: 157-160. Cf. Thomas (2007: 21; 28): '*aedificatio* the self-indulgent and trivial pursuit of building for its own sake, and *publica magnificentia*, concern for embellishing the buildings of the state and serving the public good.'

¹⁴⁷ Cic. *Mur.* 76: *Odit populus Romanus privatam luxuriam, publicam magnificentiam diligit.*

¹⁴⁸ See comments by Edwards 1993: 157.

¹⁴⁹ A particular type of public building that did come in for moral censure was the theatre, both in terms of the extravagance of specific ones (notably those built by Scaurus and Curio: Isager 1991: 199-202; Carey 2003: 96-99), but also the concept of constructing a permanent theatre at Rome: Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 160-169.

¹⁵⁰ Vell. Pat.1.11.5: *Hic idem primus omnium Romae aedem ex marmore in iis ipsis monumentis molitus huius vel magnificentiae vel luxuriae princeps fuit* (translation adapted from Shipley 1961). It is very probable that the temple referred to is that of Jupiter Stator in the Porticus Metellus.

Velleius here derisively conflates *publica magnificentia* with *luxuria*, presenting the use of foreign marbles for building as a corrupting act even when used in the construction of temples.¹⁵¹ Allowing for the fact that Velleius wrote several decades prior to the period currently under discussion, his comment highlights that public temples too could be subject to moralising judgements, a point I now want to take further with direct reference to the Capitolium.¹⁵²

6.6.2 Gold on the Capitolium

The subject of moral concerns over the materiality of religious structures has tended to receive relatively little attention in scholarship.¹⁵³ Yet tension regarding the appropriateness of certain materials in this context can be detected, particularly regarding the use of gold. In book one of Ovid's *Fasti* the god Janus draws a comparison between early and modern Rome, unfavourably noting the moral deterioration of the present day.¹⁵⁴ Ovid's Janus observes that Rome's ruler once lived in a thatched hut and that Jupiter stood in a cramped shrine with a clay thunderbolt, but that now only money mattered, and bronze coinage and gifts had been replaced by gold ones. Janus concludes by noting that it is not just men who like opulence and splendour:

We, too, like golden temples, although we praise
The ancient ones: majesty suits a god.
We eulogise olden years, but enjoy our own;
Yet each custom merits equal respect.¹⁵⁵

The contrasting of present-day splendour with the material poverty of the past is a recurrent theme in Augustan literature.¹⁵⁶ I do not intend to discuss here the message that lay behind these lines or to posit any assertion about its

¹⁵¹ On this passage: Schmitzer 2011: 195-6; Jenkyns 2013: 80; Cf. Vell. Pat. 2.1.2.

¹⁵² Cf. Pitcher 2011: 257-9.

¹⁵³ Edwards 1993: 157; Jenkyns 2013: 80. The significance of Cato the Elder's well-known complaint regarding the mocking of Rome's temples' terracotta antefixes, as reported by Livy (34.1-8) in the context of a speech against repealing the *Lex Oppia*, has received some attention in scholarship: Gruen 1992: 70 with n. 118; cf. Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 333-335. Although this complaint, like that of Pliny's (*HN* 35.158), actually concerns statuary rather than architecture.

¹⁵⁴ *Ov. Fast.* 1.193-226. On this passage: Green 2004: 96-112.

¹⁵⁵ *Ov. Fast.* 1.223-6: *nos quoque templa iuuant, quamuis antiqua probemus, aurea. Maiestas conuenit ipsa deo. laudamus ueteres, sed nostris utimur annis. mos tamen est aequae dignus uterque coli.* (Translation Boyle 2003a).

¹⁵⁶ Prop. 4.1.6.

consequence for understanding Ovid's perception of his own day.¹⁵⁷ Rather, I simply want to note the apparent ambiguity and self-aware inconsistency regarding the construction of gilded temples that is inherent in these lines.¹⁵⁸ It is not explicit which temple(s) Ovid might be alluding to. Green dismisses the idea that it refers to the temple of Janus in the Forum Holitorium, and his suggestion that it is a general rather than specific allusion is possible.¹⁵⁹ Tellingly though, Ovid explicitly mentions the once humble state of the Capitolium only twenty-one lines earlier in the same speech by Janus, and I suspect that the reference to golden temples here might be expected to evoke thoughts of that temple of Jupiter.¹⁶⁰ For, as discussed in Chapter Four, the gilded roof of the Catulan temple was a recurrent motif for Augustan writers and had become an identifying feature of the building. Although Ovid is writing before the period of my investigation, this example helps to establish the presence of uneasiness, even contentiousness, regarding the use of gold in temple architecture and, perhaps specifically, the Capitolium (this apparent conflict with Cicero's praise for the temple is discussed below). Importantly, such a sentiment can continue to be detected further into the first century AD.

Compiled in the late AD 30s, Seneca the Elder's *Controversiae* is an anthology of fictitious lawsuits, and in the second book he sets out the case of a rich father's disinheritance of his son.¹⁶¹ The defence of the son's position opens with a moral diatribe on the dangers and illusoriness of material wealth, a point he illustrates with a brief allusion: 'When we were poor, times were peaceful; when the Capitolium was gilded we fought civil wars.'¹⁶² Given that this case is about family strife then the mentioning of civil war is apt, although the reference to the Capitolium here is largely rhetorical. It is illustrative of the wider theme of the corrupting effect of riches and is incidental to the actual specifics of the case.¹⁶³ However, it adds further weight to the idea that there existed a concern over the excessive use of gold in religious buildings and, explicitly, the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

¹⁵⁷ On this: Green 2004: 96-112.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Prop 3.13.47.

¹⁵⁹ Green 2004: 111.

¹⁶⁰ Ov. *Fast.* 1.201-2

¹⁶¹ Sen. *Controv.* 2.1. On the publication and composition date of the work: Griffin 1972: 11; Sussman 1978: 91-93.

¹⁶² Sen. *Controv.* 2.1.1: *Quietiora tempora pauperes habuimus; bella civilia aurato Capitolio gessimus.*

¹⁶³ The subject of civil war is referred to again later in the case (Sen. *Controv.* 2.1.10-11), as is the corrupting effect of wealth (*Controv.* 2.1.6-8; 11-12); cf. Anderson 1995: 79.

It is apparent from other references in his works, particularly the preface to the *Controversiae*, that the theme of *luxuria* heralding Rome's moral decline was important to Seneca.¹⁶⁴ Although as the above line is put into the mouth of one of his characters, it is not possible to categorically state that this opinion of the corrupting effect of the gilding of the Capitolium was one he personally held. At any rate, it seems very unlikely that he came up with the connection. Indeed, as Seneca claims the material in the *Controversiae* is drawn from across his long career, it is entirely possible that he heard this idea long before then repeating it in his work.¹⁶⁵ Although the law case is fictitious it is still intended to reflect reality, and there seems no reason to assume that the sentiment expressed here was not one that was current in Rome. Its inclusion shows that the discourse over the corrupting effect of gold in public temples resonated beyond poetic contexts and was still relevant in the mid-first century AD. Also, it is a further indication of an unease regarding the appropriateness of the materiality of the Capitolium, a view that is also found in Pliny's *Natural History*.

In the final five books of his encyclopaedic work, Pliny turns his attention to materials that need to be extracted from the ground: metals, marbles, pigments and precious gemstones.¹⁶⁶ He presents the obsessive toiling for, and removal of, these materials from the earth as a perversion of nature. Part of his discussion is preoccupied with the notion of *luxuria* and how the (mis)use of these materials has contributed to decline in Roman society.¹⁶⁷ This is apparent in his long discussion on gold and Isager suggests that Pliny is more interested in the 'moral implications' of the use of the metal than of its 'metallurgical context'.¹⁶⁸ In book thirty-three Pliny provides an outline of the developing applications of gold in Roman society, which culminates in a brief remark on its use in architecture:

Now even the ceilings of private houses are covered with gold, a practice first carried out in the Capitolium during the censorship of Lucius Mummius after the overthrow of Carthage. From this it passed over also to roofs and walls, which are now themselves gilded like vessels,

¹⁶⁴ Sen. *Controv.* 1. pref. 7-11; Sussman 1978 85-9; Fairweather 1981: 332-3; Anderson 1995: 77-79.

¹⁶⁵ Sen. *Controv.* 1. pref. 1-5. On Seneca's sources: Sussman 1978: 75-83.

¹⁶⁶ Book thirty-three: Gold and Silver; thirty-four: bronze; thirty-five: pigments extracted from stones and soil; thirty-six: marbles; thirty-seven: gems. On these chapters: Isager 1991.

¹⁶⁷ Wallace-Hadrill 1990a: 85-96; Isager 1991: esp. 52-5; Carey 2003: 75-9 with n. 8 for bibliography.

¹⁶⁸ Plin. *HN* 33.4-93; Isager 1991: 57-66.

whereas various judgements were passed by the contemporaries of Catulus, because he gilded the bronze roof-tiles of the Capitolium.¹⁶⁹

That Pliny is making a point about luxury and decline in this passage is apparent from the way the events referred to are dated. The censorship of Lucius Mummius (142 BC) is named as the year when the ceiling of the Capitolium was gilded, but it is also placed in the context of the fall of Carthage four years earlier. Since the late second century BC, the destruction of Carthage had been perceived by some as a pivotal moment in the moral decline of Roman society, and it is a view that Pliny himself subscribes to later in the same book.¹⁷⁰ For the purposes of dating, the reference to Carthage in this passage is wholly superfluous; however, what it does do is to place the remarks on use of gold in architecture within the established narrative of decline, and is an indicator of how Pliny wanted the developments to be read.¹⁷¹

Criticism of gilded ceilings in domestic residences was a familiar feature of the discourse on *luxuria*, but what I want to highlight is how the questionable appropriateness of using gold in public temples – namely that of Jupiter Capitolinus – is again brought into question.¹⁷² Indeed, Pliny seems to be suggesting that the presence of luxury in public buildings paved the way for use in domestic contexts. This is an idea that is articulated more clearly by Velleius Paterculus, who similarly perceived 146 BC as a defining moment in the rise of luxury and the decline of Roman society:

For, when Rome was freed of the fear of Carthage, and her rival in empire was out of her way, the path of virtue was abandoned for that of corruption, not gradually, but in headlong course... It was at this time that there were built, on the Capitol, the porticoes of Scipio Nasica, the porticoes of Metellus already mentioned, and, in the Circus, the portico of Gnaeus Octavius, the most splendid of them all; and private luxury soon

¹⁶⁹ Plin. *HN* 33.57: *Laquearia, quae nunc et in privatis domibus auro teguntur, post Carthaginem eversam primo in Capitolio inaurata sunt censura L. Mummi. inde transiere in camaras quoque et parietes, qui iam et ipsi tamquam vasa inaurantur, cum varie sua aetas de Catulo existimaverit, quod tegulas aereas Capitolii inaurasset.* (Translation adapted from Rackham 1952). Zehnacker (1983: 169) notes that *Capitolium*, as used by Pliny here, is shorthand for the temple specifically and not a general reference to structures on the hill.

¹⁷⁰ Plin. *HN* 33.150. On the tradition of Rome's decline after the fall of Carthage: Lintott 1972: 628-636; Levick 1982: 53-54. cf. Purcell 1995a: 133-148.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Plin. *HN* 35.158

¹⁷² On gilded ceilings in domestic residences: Lucr. 2.20-31; Hor. *Carm.* 2.18.1-6; 3.1; Prop. 3.13.47; Luc. 9.516; 10.111-113; Sen. *Ep.* 90.42; 114.9; Stat. *Theb.* 1.144-151; Freeman 1975: 254-66; Percy 1977: 772-81.

followed public extravagance (*publicamque magnificentiam secuta privata luxuria est*).¹⁷³

Velleius here, as in the other passage from his *Roman History* quoted above, associates *luxuria* with *publica magnificentia*, and his observation adds further weight to the notion that public building activity might be subject to criticism on these grounds.

In addition to the gilding of the ceiling of the Capitolium in 142 BC, Pliny also refers to the golden roof that was added at the time of the second-Catulan rebuilding. Intriguingly, he indicates that at the time of construction there were varying opinions on the innovation and from the context of the passage the clear implication is that this was due to concerns over *luxuria*. It would suggest that Cicero's favourable characterisation of the rebuilding discussed above was not universally held, also supporting the suggestion that his praise of the temple might in part be a defence of Catulus.¹⁷⁴ Therefore, it is possible to detect a disagreement over the way in which the temple was first reconstructed, and that this was in regard to the appropriateness of its materiality: Cicero's enthusiastic praise for the *magnificentia* of the building and its shining roof, as argued above, was seemingly not shared by all. Also, while Pliny might be giving a historic example, it seems evident from both the tone of this passage as well as remarks made elsewhere, that he was similarly uncomfortable with the application of certain materials in public buildings and disapproved of the lavishness of the temple of Jupiter.¹⁷⁵

In this discussion I have highlighted the relevance of morality and *luxuria* to the Roman perception of building activity. In particular, I have observed that it was a framework through which not just domestic, but also public buildings and even temples might be critiqued. The sources cited reveal that there was anxiety over the materiality of such buildings and, in particular, that there was concern regarding the lavishness of the Capitolium, exemplified by its gilding. Opposition to this appears to have gone back to Catulus' rebuilding of the temple and his decision to include a golden roof as part of the design. As

¹⁷³ Vell. Pat. 2.1.2. Gnaeus Octavius built his porticus following his victory over Perseus' fleet in 168 BC, and so Velleius' implication that it came after the fall of Carthage is misleading.

¹⁷⁴ For other reasons, too, Catulus' rebuilding came in for criticism: Caesar, when praetor in 62 BC, contested Catulus' right to dedicate the temple and according to Cassius Dio (37.44) pursued a prosecution over the misuse of the funds (Suet. Jul. 15).

¹⁷⁵ Plin. *HN* 35. 158.

illustrated by the remarks in Ovid and Seneca, it remained a relevant issue for subsequent generations, and Pliny's comments suggest that the view was still present in the Flavian period. Therefore, it is entirely possible that the issue surfaced again when Domitian came to restore the temple. Indeed, given that the Domitianic version appears to have surpassed its predecessors in material extravagance, then the disquiet would have been particularly pertinent. Recognising the relevance of how architecture was judged on moral grounds in general, as well as the discourse regarding this specific temple is key to understanding the responses to its rebuilding. For, as argued above, inappropriate *luxuria* is the root of the criticism of the *senes* that is detectable in Martial's epigram and which the poet himself rejects. This is an interpretation that is supported by Plutarch, and it helps to explain his comments on the restoration that were mentioned in Chapter four and which we move onto next.

6.7 Plutarch on the Capitolium

In his *Life of Publicola* Plutarch relates the story of the original dedication of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in the first year of the Republic.¹⁷⁶ He uses this opportunity to then digress onto the subsequent history of the temple and charts the occasions on which it was destroyed and rebuilt, culminating in a description of the final Domitianic version.¹⁷⁷

The fourth temple was both completed and consecrated by Domitian. It is said that Tarquin expended upon the foundations [of the original building] forty thousand pounds of silver. But the greatest wealth now attributed to any private citizen of Rome would not pay the cost of the gilding alone of the present temple, which was more than twelve thousand talents. Its columns are of Pentelic marble, and their thickness was once proportioned to their length; for we saw them at Athens. But when they were struck and scraped at Rome, they did not gain as much in polish as they lost in symmetry and beauty, and they now look too slender and thin. However, if anyone who is amazed at the costliness of the Capitolium had seen a single colonnade in the house of Domitian, or a basilica or a bath or the apartments for concubines, would recall the saying of Epicharmus to the prodigal, "you aren't generous, you are diseased: you delight in giving away," and he would be led to say to Domitian, "you aren't pious or munificent, you are diseased: you delight in building; just like Midas you want everything to be gold and stone."¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ Plut. *Pub.* 14.

¹⁷⁷ Plut. *Pub.* 15.1-3.

¹⁷⁸ Plut. *Pub.* 15.3-5. (Translation adapted from Perrin 1914).

Ο δὲ τέταρτος οὗτος ὑπὸ Δομετιανοῦ καὶ συνετελέσθη καὶ καθιερώθη. λέγεται δὲ Ταρκύνιον εἰς τοὺς θεμελίους ἀναλῶσαι λίτρας ἀργυρίου τετρακισμυρίας· τούτου δὲ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς τὸν μέγιστον ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν πλοῦτον ἐκλογισθέντα τὸ τῆς χρυσώσεως μὴ τελέσαι ἂν ἀνάλωμα, πλέον ἢ δισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων ταλάντων γενόμενον. οἱ δὲ κίονες ἐκ τοῦ Πεντελῆσιν ἐτμήθησαν λίθου, κάλλιστα τῷ πάχει πρὸς τὸ μῆκος ἔχοντες· εἶδομεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς Ἀθήνησιν. ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ πληγέντες αὖθις καὶ ἀναξυσθέντες οὐ τοσοῦτον ἔσχον γλαφυρίας ὅσον ἀπώλεσαν συμμετρίας καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ, διάκενοι καὶ λαγαροὶ φανέντες. ὁ μέντοι θαυμάσας τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τὴν πολυτέλειαν, εἰ μίαν εἶδεν ἐν οἰκίᾳ Δομετιανοῦ στοὰν ἢ βασιλικὴν ἢ βαλανεῖον ἢ παλλακίδων δαίταν, οἷόν ἐστι τὸ λεγόμενον Ἐπιχάρμου πρὸς τὸν ἄσωτον, Οὐ φιλόνητος τί γ' ἔσσ'· ἔχεις νόσον· χαίρεις διδοῦς, τοιοῦτον ἂν τι πρὸς Δομετιανὸν εἶπεῖν προήχθη· “Οὐκ εὐσεβὴς οὐδὲ φιλότιμος τί γ' ἔσσί· ἔχεις νόσον· χαίρεις κατοικοδομῶν, ὡσπερ ὁ Μίδα ἐκεῖνος, ἅπαντά σοι χρυσᾶ καὶ λίθινα βουλόμενος γίνεσθαι.”

As pointed out by Barrow, in the *Lives* it is rare for Plutarch to directly comment on contemporary matters or current conditions at Rome.¹⁷⁹ That he chooses to do so here, therefore, suggests that the remarks are not inconsequential. Indeed, it seems that his purpose in this passage is not primarily to inform his readers about an element of Rome's built environment but rather to expound on a moral theme.¹⁸⁰

The *Life of Publicola* was very probably written after the death of Domitian, and the criticism of the emperor in this passage is manifested through an attack on his building activity.¹⁸¹ Stadter highlights an apparent contrast between Plutarch's comments on the excesses of Domitian's palace in this passage and a story related five chapters earlier. Here, Publicola, the virtuous republican politician and eponymous hero of the *Life*, voluntarily demolished his own house when he realised its grandeur and pretensions were perceived to be inappropriate.¹⁸² However, Plutarch's criticism in the lines above is directed at more than just Domitian's private residence, and relates to the emperor's attitude towards building more generally. The enormity of Domitian's expenditure is emphasised, his use of gold characterised as a 'disease' (*νόσος*)

¹⁷⁹ Barrow 1967: 146; cf. Swain 1995: 229; Stadter 2002: 232-4; Whitmarsh 2004. On Plutarch's interest in the city of Rome, Roman culture and his knowledge of Latin: Plut. *Dem.* 2.2; Barrow 1967: 151-2; Swain 1995: 229.

¹⁸⁰ Affortunati and Scardigli (1992: 109) note that there are a number of digressions in this *Life*, and suggest that this was perhaps partly to pad out what is relatively paltry information about Publicola.

¹⁸¹ Jones 1966: 106-114; esp. 111-112.

¹⁸² Plut. *Pub.* 10; Stadter 2002: 232-4.

and his building activity was claimed to be neither 'pious' (εὐσεβής) nor 'munificent' (φιλότιμος).¹⁸³

Plutarch's critique also extends to the rebuilt temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and would seem to be the reason for his reporting that the extraordinary amount of twelve thousand talents was spent on its gilding. For given how Plutarch presents Domitian's feverish obsession with gold in the rest of the chapter, not least by the comparison to King Midas, then the negative connotation of this expenditure seems evident. Plutarch's digression on the temple emphasises the building's impropriety in order to highlight the degeneracy of the emperor. Recognising this is potentially important for interpreting his seemingly ambiguous remarks on its columns. Plutarch states that 'we' saw the columns in Athens, but the precise context in which Plutarch might have done so is not clear.¹⁸⁴

The quarries of Mount Pentelikon are just to the east of the city, and Perry suggests that Plutarch saw the columns here or at the docks of Piraeus.¹⁸⁵ In an effort to prevent breakages in transit, it was standard practice for marble columns to be only roughly hewn at the quarries and then finished-off on the building site.¹⁸⁶ Therefore, the suggestion that they were 'struck' (πλήσσω) and 'scraped' (ἀναξύω) in Rome might seem to support Perry's idea. Yet if this were the case, then Plutarch's assessment of the columns losing their 'beauty' (καλός) and *symmetria* (συμμετρία) would not seem to make sense. For how could he have made such a judgement if they were in an unfinished state when he first saw them, especially as the shafts were drums not monoliths?¹⁸⁷

Alternatively, it has been proposed that the columns were taken from an existing building at Athens, but this interpretation is not unproblematic either. Firstly, there is no other evidence that the columns of the Domitianic phase were spolia.¹⁸⁸ Indeed, given that the height of the columns of the Capitolium

¹⁸³ Plut. *Pub.* 15.5.

¹⁸⁴ Plutarch use of the plural here (εἶδομεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς Ἀθήνησιν) is interesting but its significance unclear, as who 'we' refers to is not evident. On the uncertainty of Plutarch's narratees being Greek or Roman with specific regard to this passage: Pelling 2002: 271.

¹⁸⁵ Perry 2012: 184.

¹⁸⁶ Russell 2014: 214-220. There is some evidence for architectural elements being finished at the Pentelic quarries, although this would seem to be uncommon: Russell 2014: 214 n. 59.

¹⁸⁷ They could not have been monolithic shafts as the maximum length of single blocks of Pentelic marble seems to have been eight metres due to weaknesses in the stone: Wilson Jones 2000: 210 with n. 49.

¹⁸⁸ While the spoliation of the architectural elements of Greek temples by Romans is attested for in earlier periods, it is unclear to what extent this practice continued into the late first century AD.

have been variously estimated as between around seventeen to twenty-one metres, then the only building they could have come from (and only then if the lowest estimate is accepted) was the unfinished temple of Olympian Zeus, which has columns nearly seventeen metres tall.¹⁸⁹ However, as discussed in Chapter Four, this suggestion is entirely conjectural. Also, the extent to which they were reportedly reworked on arrival in Rome seems unusually extreme. For even if the polishing of recycled shafts might not be remarkable, Plutarch's language is indicative of a wholesale refashioning so extensive that it visibly altered their proportions.¹⁹⁰

For reconstructing details about the temple Plutarch's comments seem frustratingly unclear, but as mentioned above, this was not the purpose of his description. Instead, he is presenting a critique of Domitian and making a point about the moral implications of material luxury, and with this in mind the remarks about the columns and the building as a whole take on a different meaning. As a principle of ancient architectural design *συμμετρία* – *symmetria*, in a general sense, can be understood as 'the commensurability of parts' and is related to, but not to be equated with, notions of proportion.¹⁹¹ Something being physically out of proportion might also be perceived as being unbalanced in an abstract sense. So, too, the word *καλός* can mean beauty in an aesthetic sense, but it also has a moral dimension of nobility and virtuousness.¹⁹² It is possible that these judgements about the columns should be read figuratively, which when taken in conjunction with the criticism over the excessive gilding, act as an allusion to, and an analogy for, Domitian – the temple, like its patron, was distorted, lacked nobility, and overstepped the bounds of appropriateness.¹⁹³

This reading does not necessarily resolve the ambiguities relating to the columns, and I am not suggesting that just because the details have a rhetorical function they are wholly invented. But recognising Plutarch's wider purpose cautions against too literal a reading, as through omission or exaggeration his characterisation might twist reality to better serve a rhetorical purpose. That

¹⁸⁹ Stamper 2005: 154. Wilson Jones (2000: 224) gives the total height of the Olympieion columns as 16.83 m.

¹⁹⁰ The suggestion by Stamper (2005: 154) and Perry (2012: 184) that Plutarch simply perceived the columns as being too slender because of the wide intercolumniation spacing in their new context of the Capitolium, does not take account of Plutarch's very clear statement that the reason was because they had been reworked.

¹⁹¹ On the difficulty of defining *symmetria*: Wilson Jones 2000: 41-3; cf. Vitruvius 1.2.4.

¹⁹² *LSJ* s.v. *καλός*

¹⁹³ Similarly, Stadter (2002: 234) suggests that part of Plutarch's criticism of Domitian's palace comes because it is un-proportional, both aesthetically and politically.

Plutarch's very selective picture of the temple of Jupiter was included for this moralising end is consistent with themes in his work more generally. Duff points out that 'the *Lives* are, above all, moral tracts, and that Plutarch often shapes his narrative to privilege the moral import.'¹⁹⁴ Elsewhere, including in the *Life of Solon*, the parallel of the *Publicola*, Plutarch highlights the dangers of excessive material wealth and expresses distain for it.¹⁹⁵ Indeed, Plutarch appears to have been quite aware of Roman thought on the connection between material luxury and moral and social decline.¹⁹⁶

Plutarch's remarks constitute a near contemporary response to the rebuilding of the Capitolium from an individual who was personally familiar with the building.¹⁹⁷ It might be suggested that his criticism primarily derives from a general hostility towards Domitian. But just because these remarks are made after Domitian's death, it does not mean that the objections should simply be dismissed as posthumous vitriol. Indeed, any such attack on the emperor or his building activity could have been achieved without commenting on the Capitolium, as Pliny the Younger does in his *Panegyricus*.¹⁹⁸ Also, even though there is a greater purpose to Plutarch voicing his disapproval of the Capitolium in this passage, there is no reason to doubt that it is a genuine critique of the building itself. Importantly, Plutarch's objection to the new building is not because it departed from the appearance of the old version, but because the excessiveness of its materiality crossed the boundary of appropriateness.

6.8 Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented the case for there having been opposing opinions regarding the Domitianic restoration of the Capitolium. On the one hand there were those who welcomed the innovative rebuilding and its new splendour. Representative of this side is Martial, who mockingly disparages those that do not approve of the temple's magnificence. Also, Statius and Silius

¹⁹⁴ Duff 1997: 169. On morality in Plutarch also see Russell 1973: 84-99 esp. 85-6; Pelling 2002: 237-51.

¹⁹⁵ Plut. *Sol.* 27.2-4. Stadter (2014: 19) sees a link between this passage in the *Life of Solon* and the passage in *Life of Publicola* discussed above. Cf. Swain 2002: 232.

¹⁹⁶ Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 18; *Mar.* 34.2; *Luc.* 39.2; Swain 2002: 299-33.

¹⁹⁷ On Plutarch in Rome: Barrow 1967: 38-9.

¹⁹⁸ Plin. *Pan.* 47.4; 51.1; Stadter 2002: 232-4; Roche 2011: 49; 60-6.

Italicus both write in ostensibly favourable terms about the restoration.¹⁹⁹ It can surely be taken for granted that Domitian and Titus (who actually initiated the rebuilding) also approved, and it is very probable that they were not alone. As discussed above, given that it appears to have been a common and enduring practice to rebuild structures in an innovative manner with increased material magnificence, then the positive reception of the Capitolium by either a sizable or influential proportion of society seems likely. Indeed, as mentioned in Chapter Four, that Plutarch purportedly knew the actual figure that was spent on the gilding of the temple might be indicative of it being something that was actively promoted by the builders at the time of the restoration. Just because Plutarch highlighted the information as a criticism does not rule out the possibility that it was originally made available as a boast.

That there was also opposition to the rebuilding seems apparent. As argued above, Plutarch is openly critical of the temple, while Martial's support for the building comes in response to detractors. Significantly, the condemnation voiced by Plutarch and implied by Martial appears to have had a common root, which is that the temple was too materially extravagant. It would seem that this complaint was neither new nor unique to the Domitianic rebuilding, and that the Catullan version had also come in for moral censure. Other than the authors referred to in this chapter, it is extremely difficult to gauge how widespread such views on the Capitolium were. Although, that Martial is responding to critics, is in itself indicative that their views were known. Indeed, as discussed above, it would seem that a concern over *luxuria* and public building was not simply the preserve of philosophers and so-called moralisers. However, there seems to be no discernible indication that this discourse ever influenced how Rome's public buildings were actually treated. Of course, due to the very fragmentary nature of surviving textual and archaeological evidence, making such an assertion is tenuous and open to question. But it does seem that the trend for increasingly lavish structures went unchecked, and calls for restraint went unheeded.

Therefore, a debate can be seen to have existed over how the restoration of one of Rome's most symbolically significant and historically charged buildings was carried out. Some liked it, some did not. Interestingly,

¹⁹⁹ Stat. *Sil.* 1.6.102; 4.3.16; Sil. It. 3.623. Statius' praise should be nuanced with an awareness of the generally positive presentation of the Domitian in his *Silvae*, a subject that is discussed in relation to Martial and Domitian in the next chapter.

however, there is no indication either that the objections to the appearance of the rebuilt temple were because it did not replicate the earlier structure, nor that people were opposed to innovative restoration per se, just excessive materialism. It is on moral, not aesthetic or historical grounds that the Domitianic temple is criticised. Notably, these are not the terms on which modern discussions about the restoration of historic buildings usually take place. Today, controversy often revolves around the extent to which the appearance of the original building might either be retained or altered, and concerns are expressed over the potential loss of historic architecture. Yet such sentiments do not feature at all in either the positive or negative responses to this instance of restoration, an idea I now want to go on and examine further in Chapter Seven.

Chapter Seven: Responses to the Destruction and Restoration of the City

7.1 Introduction

While Chapter Six considered responses to the restoration of a single building, this chapter explores responses to the destruction and rebuilding of Rome as a whole. The dramatic transformation that the urban fabric underwent during the six decades covered by this study was set out at length in Chapter Two, and I will now examine how this redevelopment was received by those who experienced it. In particular, the discussion picks up, and takes further, a hypothesis that was proposed at various points in the last chapter but the full significance of which was not explored. This revolves around a series of interrelated attitudes that form an integral part of the Roman concept of built heritage and which informed the approach to restoration at the time. In essence: (1) that innovative rebuilding (as defined in Chapter Three) tended to be positively received and was deemed to have improved on what existed before;¹ (2) that because this had been made possible through the demolition (accidental or otherwise) of existing structures, then the destruction of buildings could often be perceived as a positive occurrence and, in a way, disaster be construed as opportunity; and (3) that there was no apparent sense of loss over, or nostalgia for, these destroyed buildings as pieces of historic architecture or relics of the past.

The discussion focuses primarily on three residents of Rome who lived through and wrote about its redevelopment. Their personal experience of the city at this time is, I suggest, relevant to the way they approach and conceive of the subject matter in their writings. The chapter begins by considering Seneca the Younger's response to the Great Fire of AD 64, it then moves on to look at the way Martial characterises the Domitianic city in his *Epigrams*, before returning again to the Neronian fire and unravelling the significance of Tacitus' account of the destruction and rebuilding. I argue that the attitudes outlined above are present in the works of all three authors, although rarely are the views explicitly stated; they are instead implicit in and inform the way that the topics of destruction and restoration are written about. There is no 'smoking

¹ There were exceptions to its positive reception, as discussed in regard to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, although these objections appear to have been made on very specific grounds such as *luxuria*.

gun' in this argument, but rather the premise relies on the impression of cumulative evidence, and therefore the implications and plausibility of what I am suggesting becomes apparent as the chapter unfolds.

7.2.1 Seneca on the Fire of Lyon

The purported subject of Seneca the Younger's *epistula* 91 to Gaius Lucilius Junior concerns the consolation that he was offering to their mutual friend Aebutius Liberalis, in response to the latter's native city of Lyon (*Lugdunum*) having been recently devastated by a fire.² Scholarship is divided as to the extent that Seneca's *Epistulae Morales* represent an actual correspondence. It has been argued both that they are real letters which were then revised before circulation, and that they were composed solely for publication as a collective work.³ In a way, Inwood sidesteps this contention by noting that 'whatever their relationship might have been to a real correspondence, [they] are creations of the writer's craft'.⁴ That the letters as we have them were crafted for the purpose of publication now seems to be the prevailing view, and it is generally accepted that Seneca wrote them with a wider audience in mind than just Lucilius.⁵ Consequently, the content of *epistula* 91 cannot necessarily be taken as an unguarded expression of Seneca's views, and it is also, unsurprisingly, about more than just the fire at Lyon.⁶ Much of the letter does not refer specifically to Lyon but instead concerns Seneca making a broader point on the consolation of loss. Ker suggests that it has 'the more general purpose of using the case of Lyon to prepare "us" for all types of disaster.'⁷ Certainly, the letter draws on a variety of illustrative examples beyond Lyon (cities in Asia, Achaëa, Syria, Macedonia and Cyprus) and branches out into the themes of mortality, the inevitability of decay, and how to deal with the vicissitudes of fortune.⁸

² Sen. *Ep.* 91.1. On Seneca and Liberalis: Griffin 2013: 96-98.

³ Griffin 1976: 416-419. For discussion with bibliography, also see Wilson 1987: 103-104 with n 3; Richardson-Hay 2006: 34 with n. 55; Ker 2009: 149 with n. 10.

⁴ Inwood 2007: xii; cf. Inwood 2005: 347.

⁵ Ker 2009: 149.

⁶ On the problem of interpreting Seneca's letters as containing 'self-revelations' about the author: Edwards 1997: 23-24.

⁷ Ker 2009: 108.

⁸ Sen. *Ep.* 91. 9; 10-12; 15-16. Mazzoli 1989: 1840. On these themes in Seneca: Inwood 2005: 237-8; 243-5; Ker 2009: 87-112; Edwards 2011: 651. On this letter as a *consolatio*: Ker 2009:

The letter was composed in the second half of AD 64 shortly after the fire of Lyon, which is now widely accepted to have occurred between late July and September of that year.⁹ Notably, this was perhaps only a matter of weeks after the Great Fire of Rome that raged from the 19-25th or 28th of July (as detailed in Chapter Two). Seneca never explicitly mentions the fire of Rome in any of the letters which, considering the scale and ramifications of the event, is, as André observes a curious omission, or as Edwards suggests, a telling absence.¹⁰ Yet despite no overt references to this fire, it has been convincingly argued, first by Bedon and then by Ker and Edwards, that certain passages of *epistula* 91 make indirect but quite evident allusions to the event.¹¹ Such veiling of contemporary comments on the situation in Neronian Rome is a device that André has argued Seneca also uses in other letters, for instance regarding Nero's palace.¹² Therefore, through a discussion of Lyon's destruction, Seneca can also be seen as passing comment on Rome's destruction in the Great Fire and, likewise, the consolation being offered to Liberalis might also have been intended for the inhabitants of the capital. With this context in mind, I want to focus on a particular passage of the letter which comments upon both the destruction of buildings and the manner in which they are subsequently rebuilt.

7.2.2 Seneca on the Great Fire of Rome

In sections 9-12 Seneca considers at some length the notion that all material entities, including cities, inevitably decay or are ruined over time; a premise which he presents as a form of consolation rather than a pessimistic observation.¹³ Then in the next two sections (13-14) he goes further by stating that destruction can also present opportunity:

Therefore it is thoughts like these, and of this kind, which I am offering as consolation to our friend Liberalis, who burns with a love for his country

108. On the genre of *consolatio* and Seneca's engagement with it more generally: Atkinson 1985 867-9. Cf. Wilson 1997: 63; 99.

⁹ On the date of fire: Bedon 1991: 47-48.

¹⁰ André 2002: 171. Edwards 2011: 651. Although, I do not agree with the idea implied by Edwards and André, and stated by Bedon (1991: 55), that Seneca's silence on the matter is an indication of his view that Nero was guilty for starting the blaze; cf. Henderson 2004: 158-9.

¹¹ Bedon 1991: 45-61; esp. 54-57; Ker 2009: 108-9; Edwards 2011: 651. Cf. Gummere 1920: 437 n. d.

¹² André 2002: 174-77.

¹³ The sentiment that all objects decay appears elsewhere in Seneca's work in *On Consolation to Polybius* (1. 1-4) and *The Natural questions* (4.12).

that is beyond belief, perhaps this destruction occurred so that it [the city] may be rebuilt better. Oftentimes a reverse has but made room for more prosperous fortune. Many structures have fallen only to rise to a greater height. Timagenes who had a grudge against Rome and her prosperity, used to say that the only reason he was grieved when conflagrations occurred in Rome was his knowledge that better buildings would arise than those which had gone down in the flames. Probably in this city too, all will strive so that they rebuild on a greater and loftier scale than that which they lost. May it be built to endure and, under happier auspices, for a longer existence.¹⁴

Haec ergo atque eiusmodi solacia admoveo Liberali nostro incredibili quodam patriae suae amore flagranti, quae fortasse consumpta est ut in melius excitaretur. Saepe maiori fortunae locum fecit iniuria: multa ceciderunt ut altius surgerent. Timagenes, felicitati urbis inimicus, aiebat Romae sibi incendia ob hoc unum dolori esse, quod sciret meliora surrectura quam arsissent. In hac quoque urbe veri simile est certaturos omnes ut maiora celsioraque quam amisere restituant. Sint utinam diuturna et melioribus auspiciis in aevum longius condita!

Seneca may be discussing disaster, but the message which comes through is ultimately positive. In essence, his statement that ‘perhaps this destruction occurred so that it may be rebuilt better’ suggests that on a material level the loss to the city fabric can be construed as a beneficial occurrence, because now it could be ‘rebuilt better’ (*melius excitaretur*) than before.¹⁵ The use of *melius* here does not seem to have any specific architectural connotations; it does not indicate precisely how the city might be improved only that it will be. While the reference to Liberalis at the beginning of this excerpt might imply that Seneca is commenting on Lyon, *saepe* in the subsequent sentence removes the discussion from this immediate geographical context: ‘oftentimes (*saepe*) a reverse has but made room for more prosperous fortune’. Likewise, the unspecific nature of *multus* in the next clause – ‘many structures (*multa*) have fallen only to rise to a greater height (*altius*)’ – indicates that the assertion is being presented as relevant to more than just the case of Lyon.¹⁶ The use of *altius* (which like *melius* is comparative) furthers the impression that new buildings would be superior to the old, and *altius* here might be interpreted as having a double meaning of ‘loftier’ in the sense of an abstract quality, as

¹⁴ Sen. *Ep.* 91.13-14. (Translation adapted from Gummere 1920).

¹⁵ *Excitare* can mean to ‘build’ or ‘construct’ *ex novo* (cf. Sen., *Ep.* 52.5), although in the context of this passage rebuild is an appropriate understanding, cf. *OLD* s.v. *Excito*.

¹⁶ Although Seneca does not specifically write *multa aedificia* here, I have accepted the standard interpretation that he is referring to buildings as seems evident from the context.

well as literally that the buildings are physically taller.¹⁷ As already mentioned in Chapter Six, scale and height were often presented as positive characteristics for public buildings.¹⁸

The apparent sentiment that is being expressed by Seneca is that better buildings replace those that are destroyed, and in this way their loss is tempered and can be viewed as positive. That Seneca wanted this attitude to be considered in regard to not just Lyon but also Rome is hinted at in the lines considered above, but it is also made evident through his direct reference to the capital:

Timagenes who had a grudge against Rome and her prosperity, used to say that the only reason he was grieved when conflagrations (*incendia*) occurred in Rome was his knowledge that better buildings would arise (*meliora surrectura*) than those which had gone down in the flames (*arsissent*).¹⁹

For this current discussion it is not necessary to establish whether Timagenes – an Alexandrian writer who was taken to Rome as a captive in 55 BC – made this remark or not.²⁰ Instead, what is important is that Seneca reiterates the alleged comment and turns it for his purposes into a positive observation. The sentiment expressed here is in line with what has already been discussed above, for the use of *meliora*, coupled with the reason for Timagenes' complaint, reiterates the idea of the newer buildings being better than the old.²¹ Significantly, however, by giving an example set specifically in Rome and making repeated reference to fire (*incendium*; *ardere*), Seneca is further developing the allusion to Rome's recent conflagration of AD 64. I do not think it matters that the Timagenes example is set two generations earlier, as for a Roman audience living in the still smouldering ruins of their city, noting the connection to their own plight would not have taken a huge leap of imagination.

Seneca follows up the Timagenes example with a further statement that reiterates the message:

¹⁷ *OLD* s.v. *Altus*.

¹⁸ Delaine 2002: 207-8; Thomas 2007: esp. 2-4; 19; 22; 208.

¹⁹ Sen. *Ep.* 91.13.

²⁰ On Seneca's characterisation of Timagenes: Bowersock 1965: 109-111; 125-6. On Timagenes and Rome: Gruen, 1986: 354 with n. 201.

²¹ *Meliora* and its connotations here are discussion below.

Probably in this city (*urbe*) too, all will strive so that they rebuild (*restituant*) on a greater (*maiora*) and loftier (*celsioraque*) scale than that which they lost.²²

Gummere assumes that Seneca is referring to Lyon here, however the use of *urbe* rather than the specific name of the city creates a degree of ambiguity, especially given that by this date *urbs* on its own was commonly used by Latin authors to denote Rome.²³ This further implies that Seneca is again alluding to the capital and therefore, that his accompanying remarks also apply to the situation there. Like *meliora* above, *maiora* and *celsior* here are quite general comments. But they do nevertheless reflect the notion that an increase in physical scale constitutes improvement and, as in the case of *altius* discussed above, it is quite possible that they have the double meaning of ‘greater’ and ‘loftier’ as abstract qualities as well.²⁴

At no point in the excerpt discussed above, or in fact the entire letter, does Seneca name any specific buildings, but instead he writes in general terms about the city’s urban fabric (an approach which allows his assertions to be relevant to more than just Lyon). His message seems clear: the loss of buildings, even if they are ‘most beautiful’ (as he describes those of Lyon – and arguably by extension those of Rome – in the opening of the letter), is not an occurrence that should be mourned, because they can be replaced by better ones.²⁵ It is noticeable that when speaking about rebuilding or replacement Seneca consistently uses comparatives. There is no suggestion of buildings being constructed to be as ‘good as they were before’ or as ‘like for like’ replacements of what previously existed, instead he is explicit that the new buildings – and so the urban fabric more generally – will be superior. Indeed, his suggestion that the fire might have come about ‘so that (*ut*) it may be rebuilt better’ positively infers that destruction can be of benefit, as it provides the opportunity for improvement.²⁶ Noticeably, this is a sentiment that was also present in Cicero’s attitude towards the rebuilding of the Capitolium, as argued in Chapter Six.

²² Sen. *Ep.* 91.14.

²³ Gummere 1920: 441. On *urbs* as Rome: Quint. *Inst.* 6.3.103; 8.2.8. L&S s.v. *Urbs*

²⁴ *OLD* s.v. *Maior*; *Celsus*.

²⁵ Sen. *Ep.* 91.2: *Tot pulcherrima opera.*

²⁶ Sen. *Ep.* 91.14.

By his making the point that better buildings would replace those that existed before, it might be inferred that there was possibly an opposing view which Seneca was responding to, and that some people lamented the loss of their city's buildings. That this should have been the case seems perfectly reasonable, and it would be extremely difficult to argue that inhabitants of either Rome or Lyon were wholly ambivalent about the destruction of the urban environment. Yet it does not automatically follow that any possible mourning was connected to a concern over the loss of historic architecture, and there is absolutely no indication in Seneca's text to suggest that this was the case. Indeed, Seneca is responding not to the loss of buildings as individual architectural creations, but to a destructive event of which damage to the built environment was a part. In this way, his comments on better buildings arising from the flames are made as a consolation that good can come from disaster, and they are not a riposte to some kind of unspoken sentiment of regret regarding the loss of historic buildings.

In fact, what is wholly absent from Seneca's remarks is the notion that buildings might be irreplaceable. There is no sense that the loss of a piece of architecture, irrespective of perhaps the skill of its design or antiquity of its fabric, could not be compensated for by the erection of an improved structure in its place. Both the explicit and implicit impression given by Seneca's comments is that buildings are entirely replaceable, as any attachment to the built environment of the past can be negated by the promised splendours of the future, and he offers no caveat for buildings which might be deemed historically significant. Perhaps this is not too surprising given the context of the letter and Seneca's purpose in writing it, but I have been unable to find such a concern over the loss of historic architecture in any text from this period which discusses similar instances of destruction, as will be considered later in this chapter. The destruction of a building might be cast as a negative event in and of itself, but the loss of the building as a piece of architecture is not really remarked upon, a point that is developed further below.

7.2.3 Replaceable Buildings

In the context of *epistula* 91, Seneca's comments on buildings seem to have had the very deliberate purpose of providing consolation. However, that

Seneca did not just formulate or adopt the attitudes that lay behind the remarks for the immediate purposes of this letter is suggested by their presence in a different context elsewhere in his work. Written perhaps only a short while earlier, the sixth of Seneca's *On Benefits* essays considers whether a 'benefit' can be taken away.²⁷ Here, as in the other essays, Seneca draws on historical examples to illustrate or support particular points.²⁸ In the final third of the essay, Seneca digresses on the importance of rulers having people around who will offer good advice, and as an example he points to Augustus' poor management of his daughter Julia's disgrace.²⁹ Seneca claims that Augustus himself recognised that the unwanted situation had come about due to his loss of good council following the deaths of Maecenas and Agrippa, and that the emperor used to exclaim:

"If either Agrippa or Maecenas had lived, none of this would have happened to me!" So difficult was it for one [Augustus] who had so many thousands of men to repair the loss of two! When his legions were slaughtered, others were at once enrolled; when his fleet was wrecked, within a few days a new one was afloat; when public buildings were swept away by fire, better ones than those destroyed arose in their place. But the place of Agrippa and Maecenas remained empty.³⁰

"Horum mihi nihil accidisset, si aut Agrippa aut Maecenas vixisset!" Adeo tot habenti milia hominum duos reparare difficile est. Caesae sunt legiones et protinus scriptae; fracta classis et intra paucos dies natavit nova; saevitum est in opera publica ignibus, surrexerunt meliora consumptis. Tota vita Agrippae et Maecenatis vacavit locus.

The remark that 'when public buildings were swept away by fire, better ones than those destroyed arose in their place' in essence betrays the same attitude as that is expressed in *epistula* 91: that destruction in the urban fabric can lead to its improvement. It is also noticeable that Seneca uses similar language, as in both texts he alludes to 'better' buildings 'rising up' (*meliora surrectura; surrexerunt meliora*).³¹

The comment on public buildings is in itself incidental to Seneca's main point. Rather it is one of three illustrative examples (along with legions and

²⁷ The date of composition can be established as sometime between the death of the consul Caninius Rebilus in AD 56 and before the fire of Rome in 64: Griffin 2013: 91-96.

²⁸ For example, Sen. *Ben.* 6.2.1. On Seneca's use of historical *exempla*: Roller (2001: 88-97).

²⁹ Sen. *De Ben.* 6.30-32. On this section Griffin (2013: 303-09).

³⁰ Sen. *De Ben.* 6.32.2-3. (Translation Basore 1932).

³¹ Respectively: Sen. *Ep.* 91. 13; *De Ben.* 6.32.3.

fleets) which he includes solely to add rhetorical emphasis to his point on the value and difficulty of replacing individuals who can provide good counsel (Maecenas and Agrippa). Yet because this comment is incidental it is arguably a more candid reflection of an actual attitude, as it has not been included to make a point in its own right. Seneca does not feel the need to argue for the assertion, he simply states it as a given. Interestingly, the implication of the remark is that the replacement of destroyed buildings with superior ones was as admirable, necessary, and even natural as replacing ships that are sunk and legions that are lost.

Beyond a general sense of improvement, exactly what Seneca means by *meliora* here is not immediately obvious.³² Indeed, other than the feature of greater height mentioned in *epistula* 91, Seneca does not directly elaborate on what physical characteristics might make a building 'better'. This current passage, however, does shed more light on the issue. The remark should not be taken as evidence of how rebuilding was seen in the Augustan era, but as an indication of how Seneca perceived the rebuilding of Augustan Rome. The value judgement of the new buildings being 'better' is his. That Seneca was qualified to make this assertion from firsthand experience is entirely possible. He seems to have been living in Rome by AD 5 and so was present in the city when the rebuilt temples of Castor and Pollux and Concordia were dedicated by Tiberius in AD 6 and AD 10 respectively.³³ As detailed in Chapter Two, both of these were completed in a grandiose new manner which departed dramatically from their former appearance, achieved in part by increasing their physical size and replacing the terracotta, tufa and painted stucco with Luna marble.³⁴ Seneca would also have been on hand when the Basilica Julia was rebuilt and enlarged by Augustus in AD 12, and in all three cases it had been fires which necessitated the rebuilding.³⁵

Although there are obvious dangers in speculating what Seneca would have seen or paid attention to during this time (he was after all a child no older than nine or ten when he moved to Rome), it seems extremely likely that he was aware of, and had probably even witnessed, how certain public buildings

³² *OLD* s.v. *Melior*.

³³ On Seneca's life: Griffin 1976: 34-43.

³⁴ On the temple of Castor and Pollux and Concordia see Chapter Two.

³⁵ *RG* 20.3; Cass. Dio 56.27; Suet. *Aug.* 29; Giuliani and Verduchi 1993: 177-9.

were rebuilt in Augustan Rome.³⁶ The typical practice in this period, as at the time when Seneca wrote, was to reconstruct in an innovative manner, which could involve an increase in physical scale, the application of contemporary styles, and the use of more modern, often lavish, materials. Arguably, these are the criteria by which Seneca judged a building to be 'better.'

7.2.4 Beyond Philosophy

As with any view expressed in Seneca's writings it is important to consider the extent to which Stoic philosophy might have been a direct influence.³⁷ The destruction of buildings and cities is not an uncommon subject in Seneca's works. For example in *The Natural Questions* he describes the devastation wrought on Pompeii and Herculaneum by the earthquake of AD 62 and goes on to consider other cities that in the past had also been laid low by disasters.³⁸ In part connected to this is the recurrent theme that all buildings and physical monuments will inevitably decay into a ruinous state.³⁹ This is a notion with which he opens *On Consolation to Polybius* and raises again in *On the Shortness of Life*.⁴⁰ It can also be found in other Roman Stoic as well as Epicurean writings, and is connected to the wider notion of the mortality and transience of all things, from human life to physical *monumenta*.⁴¹ Indeed, the idea appears to have been present in Roman society more widely, and poets in particular pick up on it to contrast with the enduring nature of their own literary compositions.⁴²

To some extent, elements of Seneca's comments on the destruction of buildings in the passages above should be seen in the light of this existing

³⁶ Indeed, that this essay was written before AD 64 means that the city was very much still as Augustus had left it.

³⁷ Costa 1988: 2-3.

³⁸ Sen. *Q Nat.* 6.1.1-3; 12. Ker (2009: 106-108) connects the consolation in this essay with that of *Epistula* 91.

³⁹ See Fowler 2000: 193-217; Edwards 2011: 645-61.

⁴⁰ Sen. *Consol. ad Poly.* 1.1-4; *Brev. Vit.* 15.4-5; cf. *Q. Nat.* 6.12. On this: Inwood 2005: 237; 245; 2007: 328; Ker 2009: 106 with n. 67; Edwards 2011: 651;. On Seneca and *consolatio*: Atkinson 1985: esp. 867-9; cf Wilson 1997: 48-67.

⁴¹ Lucr. 5.306-323; cf. 1.311-318; 4.1286-7; M. Aul. *Med.* 9.33; 36; cf. 6.59.

⁴² Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.1-9; Prop. 3.2.17-29; Ov. *Pont.* 4.8.31; *Am.* 1.15.7; *Met.* 15.235; *Fast.* 2.55. Cf. Fowler 2000: 193-217. On the impact of philosophical ideas in Roman society more widely: Griffin 2007: 451-2. The pervasiveness of this attitude is in itself this is an interesting issue in regard to the subject of built heritage. Although I am unable to explore the question here, it is worth pondering that if individuals actively considered the decay of buildings to be inevitable, then might this affect their attitude towards the retention or preservation of historic structures?

philosophical discourse. However, the sentiments that I am interested in go beyond and are separate from, or at least not exclusively a part of, the philosophy. In particular, the stance that the destruction of buildings should not be mourned because better ones will arise in their place is not part of this philosophical position, nor is it an idea created just for the purpose of consolation. Instead, it appears to be indicative of a prevailing Roman attitude towards built heritage. Indeed, the resonance of this outlook in Roman society more widely might be inferred from Seneca's assertions being posited without any need of qualification or explanation. But also the same attitude towards buildings can be found in other authors. It has already been noted in the previous chapter in regard to Cicero's remarks on the destruction of the Capitolium, and the passages discussed in the rest of this chapter add further evidence to the notion of its pervasiveness.

In this section I have argued that Seneca's writings reveal a series of interrelated attitudes towards the built environment: that better buildings (those constructed in an innovative manner) will replace what is destroyed, that destruction presents opportunity, and that the loss of buildings as irreplaceable monuments or works of architecture was not a concern. As suggested in the introduction, these are informed by a Roman mind-set towards built heritage and represent key tenets thereof. In order both to substantiate this claim further and introduce new elements to the developing understanding, I will now consider how Martial responds to the burning of Rome and characterises its reconstruction.

7.3.1 Martial's Building Site

Urban life and the buildings and topography of Rome feature prominently throughout Martial's works. Luke Roman points out that 'Martial's *Epigrams* offer richer and more varied depictions of the city's innumerable places, objects and structures, than any previous work in the Roman poetic tradition.'⁴³ This subject has been the focus of attention in recent scholarship on the poet. Sullivan suggests that Martial's frequent references to the topography of the city and the buildings of the Flavians serves a dual purpose, adding realism to his

⁴³ Roman 2010: 89. Cf. Rimell: 2008: 8.

verses and glorifying the monuments of the dynasty.⁴⁴ A different approach is adopted by Laurence, who draws on his earlier work on the 'spatial turn' to examine the 'representation of the spatial and temporal contexts' in the *Epigrams*.⁴⁵ Luke Roman too considers movement through the city and the itineraries by which Martial has his characters navigate their way around the capital, as well as discussing the 'literary Rome' that the poet creates and the presentation of the Imperial buildings in various epigrams.⁴⁶ These studies also consider the possible bearing that Martial's relationship to Domitian has on interpreting his comments about the emperor's building activity, a subject I return to at the end of this section.⁴⁷

There is no reason to have expected that Rome's built environment would feature so prominently in Martial's *Epigrams*. The celebration of buildings was a subject of eulogistic writing going back to Classical Greece, and a number of Martial's comments could certainly be construed as panegyric in tone.⁴⁸ However, while the praising of construction could be the subject of Hellenistic epigrams, Coleman has pointed out that there is a scarcity of surviving Latin epigrams from the late republic and early empire which specifically commemorate public buildings.⁴⁹ Because we know Martial wrote about Rome's buildings, it is easy to take for granted that he *would* write about them. Yet this interest in the monumental built environment was not predetermined by the expectations of his genre. Martial's impulse to refer to it so frequently is, therefore, perhaps indicative of its relevance to him and his audience.⁵⁰ Indeed, as Luke Roman suggests in reference to this: 'it does not seem accidental that a form of poetry featuring a new density and explicitness

⁴⁴ Sullivan 1991: 147-153.

⁴⁵ Laurence 2011: 81-99.

⁴⁶ Roman 2010: 88-117. On Martial, topography and moving through the city also see Prior 1996: 121-141; Geysen 1999: 718-36; cf. Dyson and Prior 1995: 145-64.

⁴⁷ Additionally, the subject of Martial and the city of Rome has been considered elsewhere. On references to the city's topography in the *Epigrams*: Castagnoli 1950: 67-7; Lugli 1961: 1-17; Rodriguez-Almeida 1994: 197-217; 2003. On the potential pitfalls of 'mining' Martial for topographical references: Prior 1996: 121; Roman 2010: 88-90. Garthwaite (2009: 423-7) looks at the description of buildings in the *Epigrams* to consider the issue of authorial intent. On Martial and the Flavian amphitheatre: Coleman 2006; Fitzgerald 2007: 34-76; Rimell 2008: 116-222. Despite the title of Rimell's book (*Martial's Rome*, 2010), the study is more concerned with the *turba* and lived experience of the city rather than the urban fabric; on this also see Fitzgerald 2007: 6-7; 177-86.

⁴⁸ Roche 2011: 47.

⁴⁹ Coleman 2006: lxxvi-lxxviii. On the tradition of epigram and Martial's Greek and Latin models: Sullivan 1991: 78-114.

⁵⁰ Also see comments by Sullivan 1991: 47-9.

of topographical references emerges in a period of frenetic building.⁵¹ This is a point which can be taken further.

Prominent in Martial's references to the physical city is the repeated impression of it being restored, both in a literal and figurative sense. In his first surviving work the *Liber Spectaculorum*, possibly written for the inauguration of the Colosseum, Martial talks about how the building programmes of Vespasian and Titus have 'restored Rome to herself' (*reddita Roma sibi est*).⁵² This remark is made in the very specific context of the public baths of Titus and the Flavian amphitheatre being constructed on land once occupied by Nero's Domus Aurea (as was detailed in Chapter Two).⁵³ However, similar language is present in his later verses written during the reign of Domitian, where he alludes to Rome as being 'renewed' (*renovare*) and its temples 'reborn' (*renascor*).⁵⁴ I do not think that this is incidental, but is instead representative of Martial's experience of the capital.

Although Spanish by birth, Martial writes not as a stranger but as a long-term inhabitant of the city, which he affectionately calls *mea Roma*.⁵⁵ Martial came to Rome in AD 64, arriving either just before or in the wake of the Great fire.⁵⁶ Although it is speculative to propose how this event impacted on him, it is worth bearing in mind that Martial will have seen the effects of the fire and perhaps even experienced the event first-hand. Indeed, as a resident of the city for the next three decades, Martial would then also have witnessed Nero's efforts at rebuilding, which were interrupted by the fighting that raged through Rome's streets and public places in AD 69, culminating in the destruction of the Capitolium. He will have seen the considerable efforts by Vespasian to restore and embellish the city, but he would also have witnessed the devastating conflagration of AD 80, which again destroyed the Capitolium along with many of the public buildings spared by the fire of AD 64.⁵⁷ Martial knew Rome as a ruin and a construction site, and when he began to publish his books of epigrams, the city was once again undergoing an enormous programme of

⁵¹ Roman 2010: 89. Cf. Newlands (2002: 3-7) on Statius' interest in architecture.

⁵² Mart. *Spect.* 2.11 Buttrey (2007: 101-12) argues for an alternative Domitianic date for the poem, cf. Coleman 2006: liv-lvi; 104.

⁵³ On this verse: Coleman 2006: 14-35 esp. 35.

⁵⁴ Mart. *Ep.* 5.7.1 (see below); 6.4.3. On the correlation between urban regeneration and moral restoration: Mart. *Ep.* 8.80; cf. Roman 2010: 108-9.

⁵⁵ Mart. *Ep.* 6.60; Rimell 2008: 4.

⁵⁶ On Martial's early life: Sullivan 1991: 1-3. On the idea of Martial as a Romano-Spanish poet and his work in a provincial context, see remarks by Woolf 2003: 218-221.

⁵⁷ This activity was detailed in Chapter Two.

rebuilding.⁵⁸ As set out in Chapter Two, the urban transformation of Rome under the Flavians was comparable to that of the Augustan era, yet in a way perhaps made more extreme due to the devastation caused in the fires of AD 64, 69 and 80. Martial's experience of Rome was of a city being destroyed and rebuilt. It seems reasonable that this would have impacted on his decision to write about it and inform the way he did so.⁵⁹

With this context in mind, I now want to look specifically at two epigrams from book five, which was published in around AD 89, the year of the rededication of the Capitolium.⁶⁰ The verses refer to the transformation of Rome, and I argue that the attitudes which I suggested above are present in Seneca's writing also inform Martial's characterisation of the city.

7.3.2 Rising like a Phoenix

Epigram 5.7 presents a succinct and allegorical yet revealing review of Rome's destruction and rebuilding:

Just as fire renews Assyrian nests, when the one and only bird has lived ten cycles, so now has a new Rome thrown off her ancient length of days and taken on the countenance of her ruler. Now, I pray, forgetful of your well-known grievance, Vulcan, spare us. We are Mars' people, but Venus's too. Spare us, father: so may your wanton consort forgive the chains of Lemnos and love in moderation.⁶¹

*Qualiter Assyrios renovant incendia nidos,
una decem quotiens saecula vixit avis,
taliter exuta est veterem nova Roma senectam
et sumpsit vultus praesidis ipsa sui.
Iam precor oblitus notae, Vulcane, querellae [5]
parce: sumus Martis turba sed et Veneris:
parce, pater: sic Lemniacis lasciva catenis
ignoscat coniunx et patienter amet.*

The Assyrian nest of the opening line refers to the legend of the Phoenix bird and, as is made clear by the rest of the poem, alludes to the destruction of Rome by fire. The phoenix appears to have been a source of some interest in

⁵⁸ On the dating of Martial's *Epigrams*: Citroni 1988: 3-39; Sullivan 1991: 6-55; contra Holzberg 2002: 35-9; 124-151; 2004/5: 209-224.

⁵⁹ On the relevance of building activity to Martial: Lugli 1961: 1-4; Roman (2010: 89-91) and Laurence (2011: 82:); cf. Geysen (1995 723-9;36).

⁶⁰ On the publication of Martial's fifth book: Canobbio (2011: 12-58) argues for AD 89; Sullivan (1991: 35) suggests AD 90.

⁶¹ Mart. *Ep.* 5.7. (Translation adapted from Shackleton Bailey 1993).

early Imperial Rome: Tacitus has a sizeable digression on the creature in his *Annals* and alleges it was seen in Egypt in AD 34;⁶² Pliny the Elder provides a lengthy account of its characteristics and even claims that one was brought to Rome in AD 47;⁶³ while Ovid, Lucan and Statius, too, all comment on the bird in their works.⁶⁴ Although certain details concerning the phoenix vary between the authors, all accounts refer to connection between fire and renewal, and it seems apparent that a Roman audience would have recognised the allusion Martial is making.⁶⁵

It is a modern misconception about the myth of the phoenix that the bird itself was believed to have been reborn from fire. The tradition known to Roman authors is slightly more complex, and understanding it adds to the significance of Martial's allusion. Ovid, Pliny and Tacitus all highlight the role and importance of the nest (*nidus*) to this element of the phoenix legend. They describe it as being built from various precious and scented spices and state that it was only constructed at the end of the bird's long life, in order to serve as its death bed.⁶⁶ Once the old bird was dead, the new phoenix – which had mysteriously developed from either its predecessor's *corpore* (Ovid), *ossibus...et medullis* (Pliny), or *vim genitalem* (Tacitus) – then carried the nest with the remains of its parent to an altar to Sol in the City of the Sun, where it was burnt as a funerary bier.⁶⁷

The emphasis that Roman authors place on the role of the *nidus* in the story is important for reading Martial's comment in epigram 5.7, for it means he is not comparing the city of Rome directly to the bird itself, but rather to the renewal of the nest. This distinction is typically overlooked in discussions of the epigram; yet recognising it, gives greater meaning to the allusion, as it makes the comparison with Rome more apt.⁶⁸ In part, this is because the slow decay of the dying phoenix bird is hardly a fitting analogy to the sudden destruction caused by fire. More significant is the evident parallel between a nest and a city, as both are built, man/bird-made structures. Also, key to the myth is how each

⁶² Tac. *Ann.* 6.28. Pliny (*HN* 10.5) and Cassius Dio (58.27.1) place the visit two years later. On the digression of the Phoenix in Tacitus' narrative: Keitel 1999: 429-442.

⁶³ Plin. *HN* 10.3-5. Although Pliny expresses scepticism as to whether it was the actual bird.

⁶⁴ Ov. *Met.* 15.391-407; Luc. 6.680; Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.114.

⁶⁵ Martial and Ovid refer to the bird as being Assyrian while Pliny and Tacitus state it is Egyptian. On the Phoenix in Roman tradition: Evans 2003: 286-91; cf. McDonald 1960: 187-206.

⁶⁶ Ov. *Met.* 15.396-400; Plin. *HN* 10.4; Tac. *Ann.* 6.28; Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.114.

⁶⁷ Ov. *Met.* 15.401-7; Plin. *HN* 10.4-5; Tac. *Ann.* 6.28. Evans 2003: 286-291.

⁶⁸ The distinction is overlooked by Sullivan 1991: 153; Roman 2010: 109.

phoenix constructs a new nest distinct from that of its predecessor, and tellingly, Martial here refers to Rome rebuilt as *nova*, the further connotations of which are considered below.

This reading helps to confirm that Martial is talking about Rome in the physical sense of its built environment. For in contrast, it might be postulated that his mentioning of the phoenix and use of the title *nova Roma* actually alludes to Rome's *saeculum*, which had been celebrated recently in AD 88.⁶⁹ However, recognising that it is the nest which is being compared to Rome and acknowledging the connotations that go with it supports the idea that Martial's allusion is not to a new or renewed Rome in a purely figurative sense. That the epigram concerns the physical destruction and rebuilding of the city is made further apparent by Martial's prayer to Vulcan. Lines five to eight are a direct call to the god of destructive fire, asking him to ignore Mars' indiscretion with Venus and refrain from taking further vengeance on Rome, whose founder and namesake had been fathered by the promiscuous god of war.⁷⁰ Therefore, it is quite evident that this epigram concerns the very real restoration of the city following its actual destruction.⁷¹ As book five of the *Epigrams* is thought to have been published around AD 89-90, it is likely that Martial has the devastating fire of AD 80 in mind.⁷²

7.3.3 Rome: Better than Before

The light in which Martial presents this rebuilding of the city in the epigram is unequivocally positive: the phoenix was considered a beautiful, dignified and pious bird, and its nest is described as being made from the finest materials – appropriate to be associated with Rome;⁷³ Martial's use of *renovare*

⁶⁹ On connections between the *saeculum* and the Phoenix: Syme 1958: 471-3; Poe 1984: 78-9. On Domitian's *ludi saecularis* of AD 88: Sobocinski 2006: 581-602. In Roman thought the Phoenix was also associated with *Aeternitas*, although an explicit connection (in iconography at any rate) does not seem to appear until the Antonine period: Evans 2003: 290-291.

⁷⁰ Martial here seems to draw on Virgil's (*Aen.* 8.393-4) account of Vulcan and Venus' reconciliation, where Vulcan is also referred to as *pater* and Venus as his *coniunx*.

⁷¹ On the dedication of the temple in AD 89: Jer. *Ab. Abr.* 2105.

⁷² On the publication of Martial's fifth book see notes 58 and 60 above.

⁷³ On the Phoenix as a dutiful, pious bird, and its positive qualities: Ov. *Am.* 2.6.51; Mans 1991: 133-4. On the materials used in the construction of the nest: Ovid (*Met.* 15.396-400) describes the nest as made from 'cassiabark, light spokes of nard, broken cinnamon and yellow myrrh;' Pliny (*HN* 10.4) adds 'sprigs of wild cinnamon and frankincense;' and Tacitus (*Ann.* 6.28) mentions myrrh. The nest also figures in Statius' (*Silv.* 3.2.114) account. Interestingly, in epigram 5.37 Martial seems to suggest that the Phoenix metaphor can be rather clichéd: Mans 1991: 129-38; Howell 1995: 83; Canobbio 2011: 370.

has the constructive connotation of renewal; and the city is construed as having 'taken on the countenance (*vultus*) of her guardian (*praesidis*).'⁷⁴ The guardian is Domitian; and in the context of the vast amount of building work that had occurred in his reign up to this point, the assertion that Rome now looked a Domitianic city is not just hyperbolic rhetoric but, to an extent, a reflection of reality. Martial's equation of the countenance of the emperor with Rome is surely to be interpreted, overtly at least, as a positive appraisal of the appearance of the new city (the possible subversiveness of Martial is considered below).⁷⁵ Indeed, as noted by Garthwaite, the reference to Domitian's face here deliberately recalls, and should be read in conjunction with, the previous epigram (5.6), where the emperor's countenance is praised as *placidus*.⁷⁶

Importantly, what also stands out is not just that Rome has taken on a new guise, but that Martial describes it as having proactively 'cast off' (*exuta est*) its 'ancient old age' (*veterem senectam*). Here, there is no hint of nostalgic longing for what the city used to look like. Instead, the throwing off of its past appearance is presented as positive, the implication being that while Martial might profess to fear fires of the future, those of the recent past are in a way beneficial because they permitted the city to take on its current guise.

This impression of rebuilt Rome is also arguably apparent in another epigram of book five, where again the present-day city is compared positively to what existed before. Epigram 5.19 is concerned with the plight of the literary pauper who is without a generous patron.⁷⁷ Martial bemoans the current meanness of private individuals and concludes the poem by addressing Domitian directly with an unashamed, but self-aware, appeal for imperial

⁷⁴ OLD s.v. *Renovo*.

⁷⁵ A further positive connotation of *praeses* is its use to refer to the way that the gods protected the city (Cic. *Dom.* 57;144; Tac. *Hist.* 4.53). Interestingly, the direct equation of Domitian with the city of Rome is attested elsewhere. In a now erased inscription erected by the community of Puteoli to celebrate the construction of the Via Domitiana (AD 95), Rome is referred to as 'your [Domitian's] city' (*urbi eius*): Flower 2001: 625-648; esp. 629-632.

⁷⁶ Mart. *Ep.* 5.6.10; Garthwaite 1998: 162. In epigram 5.6 Martial actually refers to Jupiter not Domitian, but, as noted by Canobbio (2011: 124-8), this was a common equation in Martial and the reference to the countenance should be read as the emperor's. On epigrams within books relating to one another: Fowler 1995; Holzberg 2004/5: 209; contra White 1974; 1996.

⁷⁷ Howell 1995: 97-8; Canobbio 2011 238-251; Watson 2002: 252-3.

patronage to fill the void.⁷⁸ In an effort to emphasise the problem, Martial opens the epigram with a list of what is better about Rome today compared to the past:

If truth be believed, great Caesar, no epochs can be thought superior to your times. When could men watch triumphs better deserved? When did the gods of the Palatine merit more? Under what Leader was Mars' Rome more beautiful and grander? Under what prince did liberty so flourish?⁷⁹

*Si qua fides veris, praeferri, maxime Caesar,
temporibus possunt saecula nulla tuis.
quando magis dignos licuit spectare triumphos?
quando Palatini plus meruere dei?
pulchrior et maior quo sub duce Martia Roma? [5]
sub quo libertas principe tanta fuit?*

Through a rhetorical question, the fifth line asserts that never before has Rome been 'more beautiful' (*pulchrior*) and 'grander' (*maior*) than it is at the present time. Both Canobbio and Howell interpret these judgments as referring to the capital's urban fabric.⁸⁰ The characterisation of the cityscape as more beautiful seems unambiguously positive, and *pulcher* is a not uncommon description used to express approval of buildings (as with Cicero's description of the Capitolium in Chapter Six and Tacitus' comments on Rome below).⁸¹ The precise meaning of *maior* in the epigram is not entirely clear. Howell suggests that it does not specifically signify a geographical expansion of Rome; instead, it might be intended to encapsulate an impression of the cityscape as a whole.⁸² In any case, the characterisation of the city in this line seems expressly positive and reinforces the impression of Martial's approval of the recent building activity. Of particular note is the comparative framing of his judgments, which advance the opinion that the city of Rome, as it had been rebuilt and now as it appeared, was superior to how it had been before – a sentiment which mirrors that expressed in epigram 5.7.

7.3.4 Martial and Domitian

⁷⁸ Mart. *Ep.* 5.19.7-18. Howell (1995: 97) highlights that problems with patrons is a common theme for Martial (cf. Sullivan 1991: 119-20; Spisak 2007: 58-68), although this interpretation of this epigram is questioned by Bartsch 1994: 135.

⁷⁹ Mart. *Ep.* 5.19. 1-6. The epigram is quoted in full in Appendix D.

⁸⁰ Howell 1995: 97-98; Canobbio 2011: 242.

⁸¹ Canobbio (2011: 242) argues Martial's use of *pulcher* is meant in the sense of aesthetic beauty.

⁸² Howell 1995: 98.

The comment on the cityscape in epigram 5.19 is a comparative example and seems largely incidental to the central message of the poem on patronage. However, along with the reference to Rome in epigram 5.7, it might reasonably be deemed an attempt to flatter Domitian. Martial's complex and contested perception of the emperor has been the subject of considerable scholarly attention, and the potential implications that this might have had on understanding his characterisation of the city's built environment need to be considered.

The traditionally negative perception of the emperor Domitian has been justly questioned in revisionist studies.⁸³ Without going so far as to suggest that Domitian was actually some kind of misunderstood and maligned saint, it does seem apparent that much of the hostile picture of him stems from a posthumous hatchet job on his reputation.⁸⁴ Martial's relationship to Domitian is particularly interesting. The emperor is present throughout the first ten books of the *Epigrams* and on the face of it appears to receive unreserved praise.⁸⁵ Then, following Domitian's overthrow in AD 96, Martial renounces his allegiance and denounces the reign.⁸⁶ Martial's actual opinion of Domitian, and the sincerity of first, the praise, and then later, the denunciation, has generated considerable disagreement among scholars. The traditional view that he was either an opportunistic sycophant or loyal court poet has been strongly questioned by those who see Martial's writing as subtly subversive.⁸⁷ This interpretation has in turn met with resistance, and while it is accepted that there might be elements of irony and jest in some of Martial's comments regarding Domitian, the notion that he is deliberately subverting the emperor is treated with skepticism by a number of scholars.⁸⁸ Studies have also stressed the difficulty of reading

⁸³ For a discussion of this subject with bibliography and review of scholarship: Saller 2000: 4-18. Cf. Jones 1992; Flower 2006: 235-69.

⁸⁴ On Domitian's *damnatio*: Flower 2006: 235-69.

⁸⁵ On the emperor being ever-present in the works: Henriksen 2002: 320. On the importance of Domitian to book five in particular: Sullivan 1991: 35-6; Howell 1995: 65; Holzberg 2002: 68-70; FitzGerald 2007: 112.

⁸⁶ On Martial's predicament and actions after the fall of Domitian: Sullivan 1991: 44-52.

⁸⁷ The traditional view is sensationally articulated by Post (1908: xxxi), who calls him a 'consummate lickspittle and time-serving hypocrite.' On Martial as subversive see in particular the work of Garthwaite 1993: 78-102; 1998: 162-3; 67; 70-71; 2009: 423-27. On possible criticism of Domitian in Martial's contemporary Statius: Ahl 1984a; 40-124; Ahl 1984b: 174-208; contra Newlands 2002: 18-21.

⁸⁸ Nauta 2002: 421-36; Holzberg 2002: 9 (who renounces his earlier favouring of a subversive reading of Martial); Watson and Watson 2003: 9-10; Lorenz 2004: 258; Spisak 2007: 53-71;

Martial's panegyric writing in our modern world and have emphasised the necessity of trying to appreciate the flattery he dispenses in its historical and social context.⁸⁹ While this has not resolved questions over Martial's attitude to Domitian, it has helped move the debate on from accusations of sycophancy, and has also led to questions over the usefulness of terms such as sincerity and subversion.⁹⁰

Irrespective of Martial's overall opinion of Domitian as an emperor (if indeed there was *one*), that his verses convey a positive impression of the rebuilt city is often accepted.⁹¹ Indeed, even if Martial does express disapproval towards some of Domitian's activities, it does not have to follow that this hostility would extend to *all* aspects of his reign – even Mussolini is still alleged to have made the trains run on time.⁹² An individual did not have to approve of the regime or everything it did, in order to view the way in which the city had been rebuilt as positive (as is argued below in regard to Nero). Similarly, even if it is maintained that Martial's praise of Domitian's building activity had the cynical purpose of attempting to garner Imperial patronage, while the flattery might be self-serving, it does not mean it was unwarranted or disingenuous. Indeed, given the scale of the emperor's impact on Rome's urban fabric, it is difficult to argue that Martial needed to falsely inflate Domitian's achievements in this area.⁹³

Therefore, that Martial would speak in approving terms about Domitian's building activity is neither without reason nor, I think, necessarily surprising. As highlighted in Chapter Three, it was expected that the emperor would at the very least maintain if not improve the urban fabric of the city, both in a functional and aesthetic sense. By rebuilding damaged structures as well as instigating

Larash 2008: 234-235; 258-61; Howell 2009: 67. On reading Martial's comments as 'jest' rather than subversion: Fitzgerald 2007: 11-13.

⁸⁹ Sullivan 1991: 127; Spisak 2007: 53-71; Fusi 2008: 235-6.

⁹⁰ Fitzgerald 2007: 114-5; Dominik, Garthwaite and Roche 2009: 4.

⁹¹ Sullivan 1991: 147-55; Roman 2010: 109-117. The apparent complaints about building material moving through the city should not be dismissed, but they concern a different response to what is being considered here (Mart. *Ep.* 5.22; cf. Plin. *Pane.* 51.1). A contrary interpretation has been proposed by Garthwaite, who argues that Martial's references to Domitianic buildings, particularly in book nine, invite an ironic reading (Garthwaite 2009: 423-6). Yet Garthwaite's perception of hostility towards Domitian's buildings projects is informed by his opinion that Martial is critical of the emperor in general. His assessment in part relies on reading jest as evidence of pointed irony or disapproval (contra Fitzgerald 2007: 11-13). Also, he appears not to consider the possibility that an emperor's expenditure on public and private works might have provoked different reactions.

⁹² On this expression: Cathcart 1994.

⁹³ Domitian's building activity has been detailed in Chapter Two.

the construction of new ones, Domitian undoubtedly ticked this box. Martial's personal experiences are also worth bearing in mind. As outlined above, the poet saw parts of the city destroyed on a number of occasions, lived in it when it was a ruin, and then watched as it was rebuilt on an increasingly more monumental scale. Recent studies on Martial have exposed how difficult it is to make claims over what the poet actually thought on certain issues, but it would seem counterintuitive to suggest that this experience did not have an impact on him.⁹⁴ As a resident of Rome, Martial was a direct beneficiary of Domitian's investment in the city, and it seems entirely plausible that he would have welcomed its rebuilding, aggrandisement and improvement, as his writings suggest he did.

The two epigrams discussed above are indicative of Martial's positive perception of Rome's urban fabric. Importantly, however, it is not only that he deemed Rome as it had been rebuilt to be praiseworthy, but that he judged the city to be better than it was before. There is no sense of nostalgia or regret regarding the elements of the city that have been destroyed, and instead he presents the loss as allowing progress. If considered on their own, then it might be tenuous to try and argue that a particular outlook on built heritage lay behind Martial's comments. However, as I have pointed out above, the same attitudes can be identified in Seneca's writings, and I will now go on to suggest that they are also present in Tacitus' work. The rest of this chapter examines Tacitus' characterisation of the Neronian fire of AD 64 and the reported response to the subsequent rebuilding of the city. The assessment both presents further evidence in support of the arguments made above, as well as taking the discussion into new areas.

7.4.1 Tacitus on the Buildings of Rome

The Great fire of AD 64 and its consequences is an episode to which Tacitus devotes considerable attention (a full seven chapters).⁹⁵ On the conflagration itself, he provides a fast paced and emotive narrative, describing

⁹⁴ Rimell 2008: 12-13.

⁹⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 15.38-44.

the actions and sufferings of those caught up in the blaze.⁹⁶ This is not based on firsthand experience, as Tacitus was less than ten years old and possibly still living in Gaul in AD 64.⁹⁷ He most probably derived his information from written accounts of the event and eyewitness testimony.⁹⁸ His vivid conveyance of the emotional experiences of Rome's inhabitants might also, to an extent, be a literary dramatisation based partly on the conventions of 'disaster narrative' and *urbs capta* motifs, and his own experiences of later fires in Rome (particularly that of AD 80) should not be discounted as an influence.⁹⁹ Following on from this, it is also evident that much of the pre-AD 64 city would similarly have been unfamiliar to Tacitus, and in his assessment of what was lost in the fire he explicitly defers to the assertions of *seniores*.¹⁰⁰ This does not mean, however, that the remarks and judgements only reflect the attitudes of his sources, for rather than simply regurgitating the views of others, Tacitus carefully selects material to advance his own assessment of the situation, as we shall see below.¹⁰¹

When considering how Tacitus writes about Rome's urban fabric it is worth reflecting on the kind of city he would have known. This cannot be done in a detailed biographical sense, whereby the years that Tacitus was definitely in Rome are precisely matched with when certain buildings were constructed, as there is simply not the evidence for this. However, it is possible to present a broad picture of the Rome that he was personally familiar with and its development during his time there. Tacitus moved to Rome to finish his education at some point between the late 60s to early 70s AD.¹⁰² Then,

⁹⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 15.38. On Tacitus' description of the fire compared to that given by Cassius Dio (62.17-18): Keitel 2010a: 142-43.

⁹⁷ Syme (1958:63) assigns Tacitus' birth to AD 56 or 57. On Tacitus' early life: Benario 2012: 101-2.

⁹⁸ On Tacitus' sources for this event and these years: Morford 1990: 1587-1589. On Tacitus' use of eyewitnesses and oral tradition in his works: Tac., *Ann.* 3.16.1; 15.41; Syme 1958: 176-77; 299-301; Potter 2012: 127.

⁹⁹ Keitel (2010: 142-43) discusses Tacitus' account of the fire of AD 64 in relation to the conventions of disaster narrative, and highlights how it borrows from *urbs capta* motifs familiar to how Quintilian (*Inst.* 8.3.67-70) set out that such an event should be described. Cf. Santoro (2006:248-50) on Tacitus' narrative of the fire as a tragic plot. Kraus (1994: 270-8; 86-7) convincingly argued for an allusion in the text to both the sack of Troy as well as Livy's account of the rebuilding after the Gallic sack (cf. Edwards 2011: 654-5). O'Gorman (2000: 172-3) suggests that in addition to Troy, Tacitus might also be alluding to the sack of Carthage, as Nero's singing parallels Scipio's weeping.

¹⁰⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 15.41; 43. These passages are discussed below.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Goodyear's (1970: 25) comments on considering the extent to which Tacitus followed his sources.

¹⁰² Tac. *Dial.* 2; Martin 1981: 26. He was certainly in Rome by AD 75 when the *Dialogus* was composed: Syme 1958: 63.

notwithstanding periods of sustained absence due to service abroad (including AD 89-93; 112/3), he probably maintained a residence in the city through to the writing of the *Annals* around the late Trajanic to early Hadrianic periods.¹⁰³

Like Martial, Tacitus would have seen firsthand the devastation caused by the fire of AD 80, and even if he did not witness the fires of AD 64 or 69, the scars of these disasters would still have been evident when he arrived. So, too, he would have lived through the exceptional architectural and urban transformation of Rome. Again, as with Martial, Tacitus' Rome was at various times a ruin and a construction site. He would have seen the creation of new buildings and districts and witnessed the old ones change appearance. Such a context should be borne in mind when considering the way in which Tacitus comments on urban matters in his works. He was not in some way detached from events or an impassive, uninformed commentator on the physical city; it was his primary residence for much of his adult life, a place he had a personal connection to and vested interest in.

Before coming to Tacitus' accounts of the AD 64 fire and the subsequent restoration of the city, his complexity as an author makes it necessary to consider briefly how buildings and architecture feature in his works more generally. Rouveret, who has made the most comprehensive study of this subject, highlights the significance of a comment Tacitus makes in the *Annals* at the beginning of the year AD 57.¹⁰⁴

In the consulate of Nero, for the second time, and of Lucius Piso, little occurred that deserves remembrance, unless anyone is pleased to fill his rolls with praise (*laudandis*) of the foundations (*fundamentis*) and the beams (*trabibus*) on which that Caesar reared his vast amphitheatre in the Campus Martius; although, in accordance with the dignity of the Roman people, it has been held fitting to consign great events to the page of history and details such as these to the urban gazette.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ On Tacitus abroad: Pagán 2012: 3. On the composition date of the *Annals*: Syme 1958: 465-480; Benario 2012: 104-5.

¹⁰⁴ Rouveret 1991: 3059. The subject of buildings in Tacitus has been considered most thoroughly by Malissard 1983; Rouveret 1991; Bérard 1991; cf. remarks by Thomas 2007: 215-216.

¹⁰⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 13.31: *Nerone iterum L. Pisone consulibus pauca memoria digna evenere, nisi cui libeat laudandis fundamentis et trabibus, quis molem amphitheatri apud campum Martis Caesar extruxerat, volumina implere, cum ex dignitate populi Romani repertum sit res inlustres annalibus, talia diurnis urbis actis mandare.* (Translation Jackson 1937).

This remark has been taken as Tacitus dismissing discussions of buildings as an inappropriate subject matter for the genre of history, and the comment on the praising of foundations (*fundamenta*) and beams (*trabes*) is suggested to be a snide jab at Pliny the Elder's works.¹⁰⁶ However, I do not think that this passage indicates that Tacitus thought all references to buildings should be omitted from historical works; indeed, he comments on structures throughout the *Histories* and *Annals*.¹⁰⁷ Rather, his objections seem to be directed at authors devoting too much space to eulogising (*laudare*) over buildings, a notion consistent with Malissard's observation that there are few *lengthy* descriptions of structures in his works.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, Tacitus often mentions little more than the name of a public building and adds few or sometimes no specific details about its appearance.¹⁰⁹ Where he does provide information pertaining to the physicality of a structure, this is often for purposes other than to convey an impression of the building's appearance for the sake of architectural interest.¹¹⁰ Malissard, Rouveret and Thomas highlight that buildings in Tacitus' works are frequently framed negatively, in terms of degeneracy and folly, and that in this way his discussion of a particular building often serves a wider narrative, rhetorical, or moral purpose.¹¹¹ Providing readers with descriptions of either individual buildings or the built environment of Rome more generally appears not to have been of independent interest for Tacitus in the *Histories* and the *Annals*. Therefore, when he does comment on such subject matter it seems reasonable to suspect that the descriptions and the reason for their inclusion are of some significance.

7.4.2 Tacitus on the Destruction of Rome

The following discussion examines Tacitus' remarks on the destruction caused by the fire of AD 64 (his overall narrative on the conflagration is also referred to in Chapter Two). His comments on this subject are important to my

¹⁰⁶ On this passage: Syme 1958: 292; Rouveret 1991: 3059. On the possible allusion to Pliny (*HN* 16.200): Jackson 1937: 50 with n.1; Thomas 2007: 215.

¹⁰⁷ References have been collated by Rouveret (1991: 3053-3056) who argues that Tacitus' references to buildings can be grouped into three categories: digression, annalistic record, the notion of *monumenta*. Cf. Thomas 2007: 216.

¹⁰⁸ Malissard 1983: 46-7; Rouveret 1991: 3060; Thomas 2007: 215.

¹⁰⁹ Malissard (1983: 47) notes that this lack of interest in the architectural details of buildings is common to a number of Latin historians, including Sallust, Livy and Suetonius.

¹¹⁰ Malissard 1983: 47-49.

¹¹¹ Malissard 1983: 50-53; Rouveret 1999: 3061; Thomas 2007: 215-216.

investigation for two reasons. Firstly, they highlight the total absence of interest in the historic architecture that was lost in the fire, reinforcing one of the central arguments that has been made in this chapter. Secondly, Tacitus' passage also presents a significant piece of evidence in support of the distinction that I have been forwarding throughout the thesis: that the identity of a building could be conceived of as separate to its architecture. This idea is fundamental to understanding the Roman treatment of, and attitudes towards, built heritage.

Despite providing the longest extant account of the AD 64 fire, Tacitus mentions very few of the buildings that were damaged as a direct result of it. He makes a rather general comment about the destruction of unspecific *delubra* and *porticus* while narrating the progress of the fire, but he only identifies five buildings in a summary paragraph on what had been lost:

It would not be easy to attempt an estimate of the private houses (*domuum*), *insulae*, and temples (*templorum*), which were lost; yet the most ancient sanctity was consumed in the fire, the temple of Luna of Servius Tullius, the Great Altar (*magna ara*) and Shrine (*fanum*) which Arcadian Evander dedicated to the Present Hercules, the temple (*aedes*) of Jupiter Stator vowed by Romulus, and Numa's Regia and shrine (*delubrum*) of Vesta with the Penates of the Roman people. Besides these (*iam*), so many treasures (*opes*) acquired in victories and splendours of Greek art (*Graecarum artium decora*), and furthermore old (*antiqua*) and uncorrupted (*incorrupta*) monuments of genius; so that, however great the beauty of the re-arisen city, the elderly recall much which is impossible to replace.

*Domuum et insularum et templorum, quae amissa sunt, numerum inire haud promptum fuerit: sed vetustissima religione, quod Servius Tullius Lunae, et magna ara fanumque, quae praesenti Herculi Arcas Evander sacraverat, aedesque Statoris Iovis vota Romuli Numaque regia et delubrum Vestae cum Penatibus populi Romani exusta; iam opes tot victoriis quaesitae et Graecarum artium decora, exim monumenta ingeniorum antiqua et incorrupta, ut quamvis in tanta resurgentis urbis pulchritudine multa seniores meminerint, quae reparari nequibant.*¹¹²

Irrespective of the questionable validity of Tacitus' claim that too many *domus*, *insulae* and *templa* were destroyed to provide an actual figure, his reluctance to make any attempt implies that his interest did not lie in simply

¹¹² Tac. *Ann.* 15.41. (Translation adapted from Jackson 1937).

giving a list of damages.¹¹³ Instead, from the widespread devastation he chooses to single out only five buildings by name. (1) *Servius Tullius Lunae* is probably the temple to Luna on the northern side of the Aventine, which was thought to have been founded by Rome's sixth king.¹¹⁴ (2) The *magna ara* and its associated *fanum* was dedicated to Hercules, and dated by Roman tradition to Evander's pre-Romulean settlement.¹¹⁵ (3) The *aedes Statoris Iovis* was originally vowed by Romulus to try and halt his fleeing army in a battle with Titus Tatius' Sabines.¹¹⁶ (4) The *Regia* was believed to have been King Numa's palace, but by the Republican period, it was a sacred building closely connected to the office of the Pontifex Maximus.¹¹⁷ (5) The *delubrum Vestae* was also credited to Numa, and famously housed the 'eternal' flame tended by the priestesses of Vesta.¹¹⁸ A degree of ambiguity surrounds Tacitus' final remark in the list *cum Penatibus*. One possibility is that it refers to the temple of the Penates on the Velia, meaning that Tacitus actually names six buildings. But given the quite apparent link to the temple of Vesta (*delubrum Vestae cum Penatibus*), it is more probable that Tacitus means the images of the Penates,

¹¹³ I suspect that a record of damages could actually have been compiled, particularly in regard to public buildings, as contracts would have needed to have been let for their restoration. After an earlier fire Tiberius appointed four officials to investigate the losses of claimants (Tac. *Ann.* 6.45) and so it is plausible that records of the damage in AD 64 were also made. Indeed, as pointed out in Chapter Two, that attempts were made to quantify the number of *domus* and *insulae* affected in the fire is suggested by the figures recorded in the forged correspondence between Saint Paul to Seneca.

¹¹⁴ The temple's existence is not attested until the early second century BC, but there is no particular reason to doubt that its foundation was associated in the Roman tradition with King Servius Tullius. Because no other ancient reference connects the building with Servius Tullius it is suggested by Furneaux (1907: 368) and recently Shannon (2011: 751) that Tacitus confused the building with the neighbouring temple of Diana (also believed to have been founded by Servius Tullius). However, there is no direct evidence to support either an accidental or deliberate conflation of the two temples on Tacitus' part. For collected references: Platner and Ashby 1929: 320. On location see Richardson 1992: 238.

¹¹⁵ For collected references see Platner and Ashby (1929: 253-54) who point out it is typically described as *maxima* rather than *magna*. *Fanum* by this date could be used to mean either a shrine or a religious precinct: Castagnoli 1984: 3-6. Tacitus' use of it here might simply be rhetorical in order to provide variation in his list, as it is noticeable in this list of buildings he uses the words *fanum*, *aedes* and *delubrum* each once without repetition, and as noted in Chapter Four, he does this elsewhere in his work too (Tac. *Ann.* 3.71; Tac. *Hist.* 4.53).

¹¹⁶ There were two temples to Jupiter Stator in Rome. Tacitus is referring to the older one located on the Via Sacra to the East of the Forum Romanum. For collected references Platner and Ashby 1929: 303-4.

¹¹⁷ Not to be confused with the Domus Publica where the Pontifex Maximus resided. For collected references to the Regia: Platner and Ashby 1929: 440-441.

¹¹⁸ On disagreement in antiquity as to whether the temple was founded by Romulus or Numa: Platner and Ashby 1929: 557. On phases of the building: Scott 1999a: 125-7. Excavations have revealed little to support the assertion that either the temple of Vesta or the Regia was destroyed in the fire of AD 64, which has led to questioning the accuracy of Tacitus' claim (Scott 2009: 52). However, as discussed in Chapter Three, given how little of either the Regia or this phase of the temple of Vesta survives for examination, then it cannot be stated with any certainty that extensive damage did not occur.

which had supposedly been brought from Troy and were housed in Vesta's sanctuary.¹¹⁹

Tacitus's decision to name just these five and no other buildings suggests they have a particular significance. He directly indicates an element of this importance by classifying them all as *vetustissima religione*. That these were religious buildings is clearly of consequence: the destruction of temples signalled a rift in the *pax deorum*, and harm to the cult of Vesta threatened the very survival of Rome.¹²⁰ Shannon, in her study on Tacitus' account of the fire, has highlighted his text as a presentation of a religiously inept and sacrilegious Nero.¹²¹ She suggests that Tacitus' focus on the destruction of exclusively religious structures here ties in with, and acts to accentuate, this alleged impiety in Neronian Rome.¹²² That the five buildings are 'most ancient' (*vetustissima*) is also clearly of relevance and seems to have influenced their selection. Rouveret observes that the buildings are almost an epitome of Rome's early religious history, an idea echoed by Shannon who sees them as 'symbols of the piety of Rome's founding figures.'¹²³ Therefore, in mentioning these specific buildings, Tacitus seems to have been highlighting that the fire destroyed the religious foundations of the city.¹²⁴ His purpose in doing this is not of direct relevance to my investigation; instead, what is interesting is how he describes the buildings.

In an attempt to accentuate the antiquity of the structures Tacitus names the figures associated with their construction: Servius Tullius, Evander, Romulus and Numa. Yet by doing so he distorts reality and gives a highly selective presentation of the histories of the buildings. For while Romulus was believed to have vowed a temple to Jupiter Stator, Roman tradition acknowledged an actual edifice was not built until the early third century BC, when Atilius Regulus made a similar vow in a battle against the Samnites in 294 BC.¹²⁵ Likewise, although it may have been thought that Numa was originally

¹¹⁹ Furneaux 1907: 368; Shannon 2012: 752.

¹²⁰ On the eternal flame and responsibilities of the Vestals: see Beard, North and Price 1998: 52-54. Cf. Shannon 2012: 752.

¹²¹ Shannon 2012: 756-62. Cf. Rubiés (1994: 35-42) on Tacitus' characterisation of Nero in the *Annals*.

¹²² Shannon 2012: 751.

¹²³ Rouveret 1991: 3066-67; Shannon 2012: 751-2. Shannon here also highlights a probable link to Livy's history. As noted above, the relevance of the Gallic sack to Tacitus' narrative has been convincingly argued for by Kraus 1994: 286-7; cf. Edwards 2011: 654-5.

¹²⁴ Rouveret 1991: 3068; Shannon 2012: 753-6.

¹²⁵ Platner and Ashby 1929: 303.

responsible for the Regia, it had burned down on a number of occasions, and the marble structure that was standing in AD 64 had been built after 36 BC by Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus (as detailed in Chapter Three).¹²⁶ The temple of Vesta too was no longer the one believed to have been constructed by Numa, which Ovid imagined as having been thatched.¹²⁷ By at least the mid-third century BC it had been rebuilt as a stone structure with a roof sheathed in bronze, and the temple destroyed in the Neronian fire was more likely a product of the mid-first century BC.¹²⁸

Tacitus completely avoids mentioning the development history of these buildings; instead, he gives the impression that it was, for example, *the* Regia of Numa that was destroyed. Tacitus has consciously done this in order to strengthen his point about it having been the ‘most ancient’ buildings that were burned. It is not an error arising from ignorance, as it is surely impossible that Tacitus thought these buildings to have been their original incarnations in AD 64. Nor was Tacitus so disinterested in building matters that he would never have contemplated mentioning the development history of a building, as elsewhere in the *Annals* he carefully details the successive restorations of the three temples in the Forum Holitorium.¹²⁹ It is simply that here it served his purpose not to do so. While modern readers might see this as a falsification on the historian’s part, I do not think that Tacitus would have seen his characterisation of the buildings as misleading. Instead, it reflects (and is another example in favour of) the argument made earlier, that the Romans did not necessary tie a building’s identity to its material reality or appearance. The Regia that burned in AD 64 could be a marble structure built in the first century BC, but this did not mean that it ceased to be Numa’s *monumentum* and it could

¹²⁶ In the historical period the Regia burned in 148 BC and then again in 36 BC, after which Domitius Calvinus rebuilt it in magnificent contemporary fashion using marble: Platner and Ashby 1929: 440-3; Scott 1999b: 189-92; see discussion in Chapter Three.

¹²⁷ Ov. *Fast.* 6.261-2; cf. Plin. *HN* 34.13.

¹²⁸ On the bronze roof Ov. *Fast.* 6.261-2; cf. Plin. *HN* 34.13. The occasions on which the temple was destroyed and rebuilt is contested, but before the fire of AD 64 it seems that it was rebuilt following a fire in 241 BC and again in the mid first century BC (the remains of the superstructure on site today date from a Severan restoration): Scott 1999a 125-7.

¹²⁹ Tac., *Ann.* 2.49: ‘They included a temple to Liber, Libera, and Ceres, close to the Circus Maximus, and vowed by Aulus Postumius, the dictator; another, on the same site, to Flora, founded by Lucius and Marcus Publicius in their aedileship, and a shrine of Janus, built in the Herb Market by Gaius Duilius, who first carried the Roman cause to success on sea and earned a naval triumph over the Carthaginians. The temple of Hope, vowed by Aulus Atilius in the same war, was dedicated by Germanicus.’ (Translation Jackson 1931). These are the three temples now partially encased by S. Nicola in Carcere: Coarelli 2007: 313-5; Claridge 2010: 272-82. Also see Fig. 2.18.

be conceptualised as such. Equally, if it had suited Tacitus' purpose, then I do not doubt that he would have referred to the very same building in terms of Calvinus' *monumentum*.

One of the other implications of this is that it suggests a total absence of interest on Tacitus' part in the historic architecture that was lost in the fire. His characterisation of the buildings is about highlighting the destruction of Rome's monuments that in an emblematic sense belong to the early city, he is not concerned with commenting on which genuinely old structures were destroyed, and any lamenting that may exist in this passage about the loss of these buildings does not extend to their architecture. The disinterest in reporting the destruction of historic architecture here is consistent with his entire narrative of the fire, where at no point is there a hint that the loss of a building as a work of architecture is, or should be, mourned. Notably, this outlook corresponds to the attitudes identified in the writings of Seneca and Martial discussed above. This supports the observation that an apparent lack of concern for the loss of historic architecture was not simply the view of one individual, but rather, a prevalent attitude in Roman society. That this actually was the case is reinforced by considering the rest of Tacitus' passage on the fire of AD 64, and in particular by noting what exactly he does indicate was mourned.

7.4.3 That which is Irreplaceable

Immediately following his selective account of the buildings which were engulfed in the fire, Tacitus goes on to name several other categories of objects that were greatly affected. To reiterate:

Besides these [buildings], so many treasures acquired in victories and splendours of Greek art, and furthermore the old and uncorrupted monuments of genius [were destroyed]; so that, however much the great beauty of the re-arisen city the elderly recall much which is impossible to replace.

*iam opes tot victoriis quaesitae et Graecarum artium decora, exim monumenta ingeniorum antiqua et incorrupta, ut quamvis in tanta resurgentis urbis pulchritudine multa seniores meminerint, quae reparari nequibant.*¹³⁰

¹³⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 15.41. (Translation adapted from Jackson 1937).

As noted in Chapter Six, the term *senex* is typically used to denote an elder or senior person. While the label could have either positive or negative connotations, here Tacitus' employs *seniores* in a seemingly neutral sense, his apparent purpose being to indicate the source of the judgement that is being made.¹³¹ Tacitus refers directly to the testimony and opinions of *seniores* elsewhere in the *Annals* for events which he was too young to personally witness.¹³² In commenting on the appearance of the pre-AD 64 city it is not overly surprising that he does so here. The possible relevance of Tacitus' explicit claim that this was the view of *seniores* is returned to below, but first it is necessary to consider what exactly was 'impossible to replace.'

That which was irreplaceable is set in opposition to the 'great beauty of the re-arisen city,' and Furneaux highlights the allusion to Rome's *pulchritudo* as demonstrating that it is physical objects which are being thought of here.¹³³ Unlike Furneaux, however, I think that the 'impossible to replace' remark refers *only* to the three categories of objects immediately preceding it – *opes tot victoriis quaesitae; Graecarum artium decora; monumenta ingeniorum* – and not to the previously listed buildings as well.¹³⁴ In light of the discussion above on how Tacitus characterises these buildings, it would seem wholly inconsistent and incomprehensible if he were to call the monuments irreplaceable, as they had already been rebuilt a number of times before and, indeed, were again after the fire. Instead, the presence of *iam* serves to separate the list of buildings from the subsequent three categories of objects, and it is to these alone that the 'impossible to replace' comment applies. The division that Tacitus makes is indicative of a conceptual distinction: while the identity of certain items is linked to their materiality and content and, as a consequence, considered irreplaceable if destroyed, this was not true in the case of buildings, the identity of which did not rest on their physical appearance or material authenticity. In order to develop and demonstrate the validity of this assertion, it is necessary to consider the three groups of objects that I maintain are here being categorised as irreplaceable.

¹³¹ Parkin 2003: 15-16; 20.

¹³² Tacitus (*Ann.* 3.16.1) refers to *seniores* telling him about the trial of Piso. On Tacitus' use of eyewitness testimony for the reign of Nero: Syme 1954: 299-301.

¹³³ Furneaux 1907: 369.

¹³⁴ An observation to this effect is made but without a supporting argument by Jenkyns 2013: 265.

Opes tot victoriis quaesitae might be loosely interpreted as meaning spoils of war, although whether this is intended to explicitly refer to *spolia* in terms of arms and armour or precious objects that might more generally be classed as 'booty' is unclear.¹³⁵ It is quite possible that in his ambiguity Tacitus is referring to both, and the probability that arms and armour should be included in this is suggested by Suetonius also having highlighted them as something lost in the fire: 'The houses of leaders of old were burned, still adorned with trophies of victory (*spoliis*)'.¹³⁶ The arms and armour taken from Rome's numerous defeated enemies were displayed prominently in both public and domestic settings. The dedication of such objects in temples across the city was commonplace, having a long tradition which the Romans dated back to Romulus placing the *spolia opima* in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius.¹³⁷ In the domestic sphere, too, as indicated¹³⁵ by Suetonius' comment above, the display of martial spoils was very prominent. In a practice perhaps started in the fourth century BC and continuing through to the late republic, the houses of statesmen were decked out with the arms of enemies that they had taken from the battlefield.¹³⁸

For the individual, his family, and *populus Romanus*, the public exhibiting of spoils was more than just decoration and had considerable symbolic meaning.¹³⁹ The objects themselves once dedicated in a temple or placed in a *domus* seemed to take on a sacred status whereby they became inviolable. Pliny the Elder records that it was impermissible for the buyer of a house to remove the *spolia* of the previous owners.¹⁴⁰ When such a ruling came into existence is unclear and the extent to which it was consistently adhered to is questionable; there are recorded instances where in times of crisis, weapons

¹³⁵ Jackson 1937: 'trophies won on so many fields'; Furneaux 1907: 368: 'precious objects'. On different categories of spoils and what might be considered 'booty': Östenberg 2010: 22-111.

¹³⁶ Suet. *Ner.* 38.2.

¹³⁷ On the *spolia opima* as a possible late development: Flower 2000: 34-64; cf. Sailor 2006: 329-88; Beard 2007: 192-194. On *spolia* and their public display in Rome: Rawson 1990: 158-166; Rutledge 2012: 123-135. In a triumphal context and on permanent display: Östenberg 2010: 19-57 esp. 19-22.

¹³⁸ On *spolia* in a domestic context: Rawson 1990: 158-161; Wiseman 1994: 99-100; Östenberg 2010 21-22.

¹³⁹ Wiseman 1994: 98-100; Rutledge 2012: 123-135. On *spolia* (in the sense of booty) symbolising the past see Lucan (*Phar.* 3.155- 167), where the wealth from the temple of Saturn represents the history of Rome's Republican conquests: Hunink 1992: 96-7.

¹⁴⁰ Plin. *HN* 35.7. On this passage and the law: Croisille 1985: 136; Flower 1996: 41 n. 54. One of the most noted instances of a new occupant retaining the *spolia* of the previous owner is when Mark Antony moved into Pompey's residence. The removal of spoils from a tomb also seems to have been considered a desecration: Quint. *Decl. Min.* 369; Sen. *Cont.* 4.4.

were removed from temples and houses to again be used for their original purpose.¹⁴¹ That being said, as Rawson highlights, the very presence of arms and armour to be destroyed in the fire of AD 64 seems to indicate that successive generations and owners did to some degree retain them.¹⁴²

As objects, their identity seems to have been innately tied to their physical existence and materiality, and I have found no suggestion of *spolia* being replicated or substituted if inadvertently destroyed.¹⁴³ Indeed, this is precisely the impression that is given by Plutarch in the *Roman Questions*, where in regard to a Roman custom he asks:

Why is it that of all the things dedicated to the gods it is the custom to allow only spoils of war (*σκῦλα*) to disintegrate with the passage of time, and not to move them beforehand nor repair them?¹⁴⁴

In his answer Plutarch gives two possible explanations for this practice, both concerning the notion of the spoils being only temporary memorials to the deeds of the past, although the validity of neither response is relevant to the current argument.¹⁴⁵ Rather, it is the question itself which indicates the importance of the material integrity of *σκῦλα* in Roman culture. The reference is not without problems which are to an extent unanswerable: where did Plutarch get his information from? And what is the prevalence or date of this practice?¹⁴⁶ While these questions have not been adequately answered, the passage nevertheless would appear to be another affirmation of the point I am making: that the materiality of spoils were integral to their being. Arms and armour belonged to, and were relics of, a particular event at a particular time which could not simply be replicated.¹⁴⁷ If weapons taken from Hannibal's army were

¹⁴¹ After Cannae men were said to have armed with weapons from temples and colonnades (Liv. 22.57). In the lead up to Gaius Gracchus' death, Fulvius equipped his partisans with Gallic spoils from his house (Plut. *G.Grac.* 15.1). Scaevinus removed a dagger from the temple of Safety or Fortune at Ferentium with which to try and kill Nero (Tac., *Ann.* 15.53).

¹⁴² Rawson 1990: 160.

¹⁴³ Rawson (1990: 160-1) suggests that Cato the Elder's speech, of which only the title survives (*ne spolia figerentur nisi de hoste capta*), is more plausibly about people purchasing spoils that they had not earned, rather than replicating old ones with replicas.

¹⁴⁴ Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 37 (273c-d): "Διὰ τί τῶν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνατιθεμένων μόνα τὰ σκῦλα νενόμισται περιορᾶν ἀφανιζόμενα τῷ χρόνῳ, καὶ μήτε προκινεῖν μήτ' ἐπισκευάζειν." (Translation Babbitt 1936).

¹⁴⁵ Rose 1924: 186; Boulogne 2002: 346.

¹⁴⁶ Rose (1924: 186) suggests that it was based on personal observation.

¹⁴⁷ There might of course be forgeries, but central to the notion of forgery is the belief that it is authentic.

destroyed or lost, it was not possible to rerun the battle of Zama and win some more. In this way, unlike buildings, they were perceived as irreplaceable.

Graecarum artium decora here refers to the works of art which had been brought to Rome, by force or other means, from across the Hellenistic world and which adorned public and domestic spaces throughout the city.¹⁴⁸ The sheer quantity of statues and paintings that had arrived in Rome since Marcellus sacked Syracuse in 211 BC and Fabius left Tarentum with nothing but their angry gods in 209 BC was enormous, and it included works by the most renowned Greek artists from the Classical and Hellenistic periods.¹⁴⁹ As with spoils, it is quite clear that in certain conditions the Romans thought of particular works of art as unique and irreplaceable items. For while pieces were replicated and reproduced, there seems to have been a clear appreciation for the 'original.' I do not wish to enter into a discussion over Roman 'copies' here or the questionable appropriateness of this and related terms as used in modern scholarship (this is a different subject), but rather to simply note that in Roman society a distinction was drawn between that which was made *by* a particular artist and that which was produced in imitation of that artist.¹⁵⁰ Both cultural and monetary value was attached to an object on account of its provenance and having been touched by the hand of the craftsman himself.¹⁵¹ This is an impression furthered by the instances of Roman connoisseurs and collectors paying large sums of money for signed pieces, as well as the

¹⁴⁸ Although *ars* can have many meanings (*OLD* s.v. *Ars*) that it refers to works of art in this passage seems implicit from the description and context, and it is always read as such.

¹⁴⁹ For collected sources: Pollitt 1983: 29-81; cf. discussions in Pollitt 1978: 155-74; Gruen 1992: 84-182; Strong 1994b: 13-30; Miles 2008 with bibliography; Rutledge 2012: 31-158.

¹⁵⁰ On the notion of the Roman 'copy' see Perry 2005 with bibliography.

¹⁵¹ On works of art and the hand of the craftsman touching the original, see Velleius Paterculus (1.13.4, discussed below), as well as the story of Tiberius and the Lysippan *Apoxyomenos* mentioned in Chapter Six (Plin. *HN* 34.62). Manuscripts written in the hand of the original author were also valued for this reason: Plin. *HN* 13.83; Aul. Gell. 2.3.5; Fronto *Ep. Ad M. Caes* 1.7. Indeed, the increased cultural and monetary value of objects due to their provenance, and having been owned by a famous historical figure seems to have applied to a range of items. Seneca (*consol. Helv.* 9.3) bemoans the fad of paying over the odds for silver plate just because it 'boasts the names of ancient artists;' Juvenal (6.156-8) scorns wives who are enticed by stall-owners selling 'a legendary diamond, enhanced by Queen Berenice's finger.' According to Cassius Dio (78.7.1-2; 59.21.5-6) Caracalla used cups he believed had been owned by Alexander the Great, and that Caligula attempted to increase the value of the heirlooms he was selling by declaring 'this belonged to my father, this to my mother, this to my great-grandfather.' It does not matter whether any of the above objects were actually genuine, it is that they could conceivably be and were valued accordingly that is relevant.

frequency with which works on public display were alluded to not only by their content but also creator.¹⁵²

An example in Velleius Paterculus helps to illustrate the point that works of art could be conceived of as irreplaceable. In a chapter critiquing the impact of Hellenistic culture on Rome, Velleius relates an anecdote intended to expose the second-century BC statesman Lucius Mummius' cultural boorishness:

Mummius was so uncultivated that when, after the capture of Corinth, he was contracting for the transportation to Italy of pictures and statues by the hands of the greatest artists (*maximorum artificum perfectas manibus*), he gave instructions that the contractors should be warned that if they lost them, they would have to replace them with new ones (*novas eos reddituros*).¹⁵³

This story belongs to the established tradition of Roman unease over elements of Greek culture and it is quite possible that this is an apocryphal tale; however its validity is not of concern here.¹⁵⁴ What matters is that the joke, which Velleius expects his first-century AD audience to get, entirely depends on a conception that works of art by great masters could be perceived as unique and irreplaceable.¹⁵⁵

Monumenta ingeniorum antiqua et incorrupta is the most ambiguous of the three categories. A literal translation might be 'ancient and uncorrupted monuments of intellect', although *ingenium* is a difficult term to translate in English, and what precisely Tacitus is referring to here is unclear.¹⁵⁶ Edwards suggests that the phrase evokes a 'general category of lost treasures,' but the most common interpretation is that Tacitus means works of literature.¹⁵⁷ Certainly, *monumentum* can refer to written documents and *ingenium* is also

¹⁵² Strong 1994b: 25-7; Miles 2008: 263-272; Rutledge 2012: 31-158.

¹⁵³ Vell. Pat. 1.13.4: *Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut capta Corintho cum maximorum artificum perfectas manibus tabulas ac statuas in Italiam portandas locaret, iuberet praedici conducentibus, si eas perdidissent, novas eos reddituros*. (Translation Shipley 1924).

¹⁵⁴ On the characterisation of Mummius as a cultural bumpkin and the possible falsity of this picture: Gruen 1992: 123-129.

¹⁵⁵ In one sense the loss of works of art was compensated for by Nero pillaging Greek sites for others to adorn his palace and the city with. In this way they were arguably replaced, but not in the way I mean it. On this episode: Miles 2008: 255-259; Shannon 2012: 759-60.

¹⁵⁶ OLD s.v. *Ingenium*; cf. Hillard 2005: 2. In this passage of Tacitus, Woodman (2004) and Jackson (1937) translate it as 'genius,' but I favour the word 'intellect' given the potentially very strong connotations of genius in English.

¹⁵⁷ Furneaux 1907: 368; Jackson 1937; Edwards 2011: 652. Shannon 2012: 752-3.

used in relation to literature.¹⁵⁸ Indeed, in the *Agricola* Tacitus uses the same language – *monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum* – to describe the books of authors whose works Domitian had instructed to be destroyed.¹⁵⁹ From this interpretation it has been suggested that Tacitus is referring to old documents and original versions of manuscripts, housed in public and personal libraries, which were destroyed in the fire.¹⁶⁰ The loss of such texts was not insignificant, for although certain literary works were obviously copied numerous times, great store was set by the original manuscript due to the possibility of errors having crept in during the process of transcription.¹⁶¹ Indeed, it is precisely this matter that Galen raises in his letter *On the Avoidance of Grief*, a response to the personal losses he suffered in Rome's fire of AD 191.¹⁶² Galen details how not only were a number of his works lost, but that the conflagration engulfed the Palatine libraries as well. He considered this a more terrible occurrence because it destroyed rare and unique books, as well as manuscripts that were sought out on account of their accuracy.¹⁶³ Such an understanding tallies with Tacitus referring to the *monumenta ingeniorum* as being *antiqua* and *incorrupta*, and, important to my current argument, it highlights that this category of objects, too, was considered irreplaceable.

This interpretation is certainly plausible. It is also the most commonly accepted reading so I do not wish to dismiss it. However, given that Tacitus' account of what was lost in the fire is otherwise concerned with that which made a visual impact in the capital (buildings, spoils, works of art, and the beauty of the re-arisen city), then the inclusion of manuscripts, hidden away in storage, seems out of place. This does not mean that the above interpretation is incorrect, but I suggest that the *monumenta ingeniorum* might be extended to

¹⁵⁸ Shannon 2012: 752, who also notes the allusion of the phrase to Livy's remarks on the foundation of the city. Tacitus (*Hist.* 2. 101) refers to works of history as *monumenta* and Pliny (*HN* 13.83) describes texts written in the hand of Gaius and Tiberius Gracchus '*monimenta*.' Tacitus (*Ann.* 5.4.3; 16.29.2; *Dial.* 2.2.) uses *ingenium* in reference to authors on a number of occasions, although his use of the term is certainly not reserved just for writers, as he also uses it to in relation to the architects Severus and Celer, and oratorical talent (*Ann.* 15.42.1; *Dial.* 10.3).

¹⁵⁹ Tac. *Agr.* 2.1. Furneaux 1907: 368; Shannon 2012: 753.

¹⁶⁰ Furneaux (1907: 368) suggests that it is in reference to the burning of the Palatine libraries, but there is no other evidence that they were destroyed at this time. Both Furneaux (1907: 368) and Shannon (2012: 752 n. 16) also favour the idea of it referring to family records that were held in households.

¹⁶¹ Aul. Gel. 2.14.1-3; 5.4.1-2; 9.14.26; 18.9.5; Lucian *Ind.* 1.

¹⁶² On the discovery of the text in 2005: Rothschild and Thompson 2012: 131-145.

¹⁶³ Gal. *Ind.* 7-37 esp. 12b -13. On the topographical implications of the text: Tucci 2008: 133-49.

epigraphic texts as well. Public inscriptions, ranging from the dedicatory and eulogistic to the mundane and legalistic, littered the city of Rome; they were carved into, attached to, or painted on all manner of buildings and bases. Inscriptions had an immediate purpose for which they initially were set up, but also came to serve as important sources of information for historical and antiquarian enquiry.¹⁶⁴ The Romans drew on epigraphic texts perhaps more than any other medium as evidence about their past, as is indicated by how frequently their content is referred and deferred to by ancient authors.¹⁶⁵

The importance that was attached to certain texts is demonstrated by the efforts that were made to ensure their survival. From the late republic and early imperial periods there are clear examples of older inscriptions having been copied onto new blocks of stone, seemingly as a result of damage to the original.¹⁶⁶ Indeed, Suetonius records that after the fire on the Capitoline in AD 69, Vespasian:

Undertook to restore three thousand bronze tablets which were destroyed in same fire, making a thorough search for copies: most illustrious (*pulcherrimum*) and most ancient (*vetustissimum*) records of empire, containing the decrees of the senate and the acts of the commons almost from the foundation of the city, regarding alliances, treaties, and special privileges granted to individuals.¹⁶⁷

Vespasian's activity attests to the importance which was attached to inscriptions, and the practice of copying the original text into new stone seems to indicate that it was the content of an inscription not the material object which was considered most significant.

The epigraphic losses in the Neronian fire six years earlier would have been just as great, if not greater, than that of the Capitolium, and there is no reason to think it would have been felt any less keenly. Even if efforts were made to find copies of inscriptions that had been engulfed in the flames, it

¹⁶⁴ On the importance of inscriptions in Roman society, Wiseman 1979: 45-6; 1986: 37-48; Williamson 1987: 160-83; Thomas and Witschel 1992: 135-177; Woolf 1996: 22-39; Flower 2006: 241-247; Keegan, Sears and Laurence 2013 (collected essays). On Roman antiquarians and their sources for the early city including inscriptions: Cornell 1995: 18-26.

¹⁶⁵ For example, Cic. *Or.* 1.43.93; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.73.1; 2.54.2; Liv. 40.52; Quint. *Inst.* 1.4.15-16; Joseph *AJ* 15.8.2 Plin. *HN* 16.87; Tac. *Ann.* 6.12; Aul. Gell. 10.1.8-9.

¹⁶⁶ On the inscriptions found on the Capitoline hill: Flower 2006: 241-7; Perry 2012: 189. An interesting example is the inscription relating to the column of Duilius, which appears to be a third century BC text inscribed on a first-century AD slab of marble: Frank 1919: 74-82; Gordon 1983: 124-7; Kondratieff 2004: esp. 10-14.

¹⁶⁷ Suet. *Vesp.* 8.5. (Translation adapted from Rolfe 1914).

seems evident that after such devastation there would have been much that could not be recovered. Therefore, I think that it is probable it is to these that Tacitus is alluding. Many inscriptions were *antiquus*. Also, due to their permanent 'set in stone' or 'incised in bronze' (*in aes incisa*) nature, they might be considered *incorruptus*. Certainly, many were *monumenta*.¹⁶⁸ Given that works of verse seem to have been common, then *ingenium* is not necessarily an inappropriate characterisation either.¹⁶⁹ While not dismissing the notion that Tacitus was alluding to other textual documents, I think that his comment can be read as meaning, or at least extended to include, inscriptions. In both cases, manuscripts and inscriptions, it is clear that in Roman society such works could be considered irreplaceable.

This discussion of these three categories (spoils, art, texts) has aimed to illustrate that Tacitus' statement 'impossible to replace' could be justifiably applied to such objects in a way which, I have previously argued, it would not have been to buildings. Therefore, the presence of *iam* in the passage above is of significance. For it does not simply act as a rhetorical device which moves the account of what was destroyed in the fire on from buildings to other items, but it also creates a necessary separation between what the remark 'impossible to replace' was, and was not, applied to.

In summation, Tacitus' passage on the destruction of Rome contributes in two important ways to our understanding of Roman attitudes to built heritage. Firstly, it highlights the notion that buildings in a physical sense were conceived of as replaceable, which reinforces the premise that a building's identity was not inexorably tied to its architecture and appearance. Secondly, it is another piece of evidence in favour of the premise that when buildings were destroyed, the Romans did not express concern over the loss of the historic architecture.

With regard to this last point, it might be suggested that the absence of apparent interest in the destruction of architecture is not only an attitude of Tacitus', but also of the *seniores*, for it is after all to them Tacitus credits the list of objects deemed 'impossible to replace.' Who precisely these *seniores* were is unknowable. However, we do have an important work which refers on a number of occasions to the city of Rome, written about a decade after the fire by an

¹⁶⁸ On this expression in Roman society: Williamson 1987: 170-1.

¹⁶⁹ On Latin verse inscriptions: Courtney 1995.

individual who would, technically, have fallen into this age bracket. Therefore, while I continue my assessment of Tacitus' response to the rebuilding of the city of Rome below, I first want to consider what correlation there is between his remarks about the opinions of the *seniores* and how Pliny the Elder comments on the subject in his *Natural History*.

7.4.4 Pliny the *Senex*

It is quite probable from the content of his work, that Pliny had both learned and had first-hand knowledge of the Rome as it was before and after the fire of AD 64.¹⁷⁰ He was, therefore, in a position to pass comment on the changes that had occurred. Indeed, given that works of art and buildings in the city feature prominently in the *Natural History*, then it might be expected that he would remark on both the event and the losses. Yet while Pliny does mention some aspects of the cityscape which no longer existed at the time he was writing, he is consistent with the other authors examined in this chapter in not concerning himself with lost architecture. Instead, the observations predominantly refer to curios and works of art.¹⁷¹

Pliny does on occasion mention the fire, but he tends not to dwell on what was destroyed in it.¹⁷² Instead, it seems apparent that he is interested in discussing and presenting his readers with the Rome of the present, not of the past.¹⁷³ For instance, following his account of bronze sculpture in book thirty-four, he notes that the most famous pieces can be 'found in Rome now (*iam*)', and as Isager has argued, Pliny's extensive account of Greek masterpieces in book thirty-six focuses on their display in the contemporary city.¹⁷⁴ So, too, in his lengthiest passage on the public buildings of Rome (also in book thirty-six) Pliny does not talk about what no longer existed but seeks to convey a sense of the city's present majesty.¹⁷⁵ Following an account of wondrous structures from across the world, Pliny turns to the architectural *miracula* at Rome, his apparent

¹⁷⁰ On Pliny: Syme 1969: 201-236

¹⁷¹ For works of art no longer in Rome due to their having being destroyed: Plin. *HN* 35. 69; 35. 83; 35. 94-5; 35. 99; 35.108; 35. 25; 35.66; 36.40;41; 36.60; 36.110.

¹⁷² Pliny (*HN* 17.5) does refer to the loss of the trees in the house of Crassus in the fire.

¹⁷³ On the notion of Rome as a marvel in Pliny's *Natural History*: Naas 2011: 57-70; cf. Carey 2003: 41-74. On Rome as a museum in Pliny: Isager 2006: 124-5.

¹⁷⁴ Plin. *HN* 34.84; Isager 2006: 124-5. For Pliny's list of Greek sculptural masterpieces in its Roman context: 34.32-39; 36.22-45. On works of art in the *Natural History*: Isager 1991; Carey 2003: esp. 75-101.

¹⁷⁵ Plin. *HN* 36.101-108.

purpose being to demonstrate that in terms of buildings, Rome is now the equal of any great city.¹⁷⁶

In terms of age and experience, Pliny could have been a contemporary of Tacitus' *seniores*, but the impression gained from his surviving work only partially corresponds to their alleged views. For while Pliny too seems to display no sense of regret over the loss of architecture, it appears he did not share their sentiments that the new city was lacking in some way on account of other material losses. Instead, the overwhelming impression given by Pliny is of the splendour of the city in its present state. This is in part due to its marvellous public buildings and the presence of so many masterpieces of Greek art. There is no sense in his text that the city has been irrevocably diminished by the fire of AD 64. This is not to cast doubt on Tacitus' assertion that some *seniores* might have dwelt on the losses which almost certainly must have occurred, but rather it highlights Pliny's positive perception of the *urbs nova*.¹⁷⁷ His optimistic view of Rome's urban fabric in this period is worth noting, as it is consistent with how other authors – namely Seneca and Martial – write about the way the city recovered after fires, and it is to Tacitus' portrayal of Rome as it was rebuilt that I now want to turn.

7.4.5 Tacitus and Rome Rebuilt

An important premise developed throughout the previous two chapters on various authors' responses to the destruction and rebuilding of Rome is the idea that what comes after is deemed better than what existed before. In Chapter Six this was apparent in how Cicero described Catulus' restoration of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and it is also central to Seneca's and Martial's characterisations of the rebuilt city, as discussed already in this chapter. The seemingly prevalent outlook that better buildings will arise from those destroyed relates to the aforementioned notion of disaster being perceived as presenting opportunity. This appears to be a fundamental component in understanding the Roman treatment of their built heritage.¹⁷⁸ Here, I want to extend the sense that

¹⁷⁶ On the buildings of Rome in the *Natural History*: Isager 1986: 37-50; 1991: 195-202; Carey 2003: 41-74.

¹⁷⁷ The expressions *urbs nova* and *Roma nova* and their use in relation to the Neronian and Domitianic city is discussed below and in Chapter Two.

¹⁷⁸ On destruction as opportunity also see remarks in Lancaster 2005: 169-70; Toner 2013: 3; 58-9; 76.

it was a pervasive attitude by arguing that it can also be seen in how Tacitus describes the reconstructed city. Notably, Tacitus' comments while characterising Rome in a positive light, also reveal that there were critics of Nero's reforms. However, these objections have a very specific context and the inclusion of dissenting voices in the narrative does not mean, as Edwards claims, that Tacitus is 'ambivalent about the new version' of Rome.¹⁷⁹

To reiterate part the passage of the *Annals* quoted in full above:

Besides these [buildings], so many treasures acquired in victories and splendours of Greek art, and furthermore the old and uncorrupted monuments of genius [were destroyed]; so that, however much the great beauty of the re-arisen city the elderly recall much which is impossible to replace.¹⁸⁰

It is significant to note the objects deemed impossible to replace are situated in the context of the 'great beauty of the re-arisen city' (*tanta resurgentis urbis pulchritudine*). It cannot be stated with certainty whether the description of new Rome as *pulchritudo* is the reported view of the *seniores* or the opinion of Tacitus himself.¹⁸¹ In either case, there is nothing in the passage to suggest that this judgement about the city is sardonic or ironic. Post-AD 64, Rome might be lacking certain works of Greek art, *spolia* and texts, but in highlighting their absence the passage actually emphasises the received perception of the rebuilt city's physical appeal ('however much (*quamvis*) the great beauty...').¹⁸² It is a positive judgement that is then reiterated by Tacitus with slightly more detail two chapters later.

Following his account of what was lost in the fire, Tacitus moves on to discuss the more extreme elements of Nero's building activity, namely the Domus Aurea and the failed attempt to construct a navigable canal stretching from Lake Avernus to Ostia.¹⁸³ Then, in the chapter after this he turns his attention to how the rest of the city was rebuilt.¹⁸⁴ Tacitus' interest is not in the

¹⁷⁹ Edwards 2011: 656.

¹⁸⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 15.41: *iam opes tot victoriis quaesitae et Graecarum artium decora, exim monumenta ingeniorum antiqua et incorrupta, ut quamvis in tanta resurgentis urbis pulchritudine multa seniores meminerint, quae reparari nequibant.* (Translation adapted from Jackson 1937).

¹⁸¹ Syme (1958: 401) suggests that in regard to a story regarding the trial of Piso Tacitus uses the testimony of *seniores* to distance himself from an assertion. On the difficulty of attempting to find Tacitean opinions: Syme 1959: 520-44; Luce 1986: 143-47; Pelling 2010: 147-152.

¹⁸² Tac. *Ann.* 15.42.

¹⁸³ Tac. *Ann.* 15.42. Also discussed in Chapter Two.

¹⁸⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 15.43.

restoration of specific public buildings, but rather he concentrates on describing town planning measures and building regulations.¹⁸⁵ These, as set out in Chapter Two, entailed the creation of new open spaces (*areae*), the imposition of wide, regular streets that were lined by porticoes, and behind which stood *insulae* built to new specifications.¹⁸⁶ Following what is for Tacitus a lengthy account of relatively mundane planning decisions, he concludes:

These reforms, welcomed for their utility, were also beneficial to the appearance of the new city. Still, there were those who believed that the old form had been the more salubrious, as the narrow streets and high-built structures were not so easily penetrated by the warmth of the sun; while now the broad expanses, with no protecting shade, burnt under a more oppressive heat.¹⁸⁷

Ea ex utilitate accepta decorem quoque novae urbi attulere. Erant tamen qui crederent, veterem illam formam salubritati magis conduxisse, quoniam angustiae itinerum et altitudo tectorum non perinde solis vapore perrumperentur: at nunc patulam latitudinem et nulla umbra defensam graviore aestu ardescere.

Tacitus' comments here offer an intriguing, although far from straightforward, insight into how these 'improvements' were received. For while Tacitus records the welcoming of the changes (which I shall come to), he also states they were not universally approved of, and it is these dissenting voices that need addressing first.

7.4.6 Shade and Oppression

Tacitus is unspecific about who it was that objected to the new urban plan, but the reason for their professed preference for the city's old form (*veterem...formam*) is because the narrow streets (*angustiae itinerum*) and high buildings (*altitudo tectorum*) offered greater protection from the sun, thereby creating a more salubrious (*salubritati*) environment. I see little reason to suppose that this was not a genuine concern and one that was far from trivial. In

¹⁸⁵ As noted in Chapter Two, there is little comment in the sources of the restoration of public buildings following the fire of AD 64.

¹⁸⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 15.43. Tacitus' account of these measures is discussed in Chapter Two. As has been noted above, Tacitus' comments on rebuilding have echoes of Livy's account of the Gallic sack (Kraus 1994: 286-287). Noticeably, the straight wide boulevards of the Neronian city contrast with the windy streets of Livy's fourth-century Rome.

¹⁸⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 15.43. (Translation adapted from Jackson 1937).

hot dry climates, shade is paramount for offering relief from the sun's rays. In cities, shade contributes to comfortable living and facilitates outdoor communal gathering. The huge importance that Romans attached to shade as a key means of providing respite from the summer heat, can be inferred from the frequency with which it is mentioned. The provision of shaded spaces at public events was seen as a noteworthy act of euergetism and, as noted above, the porticus of Pompey's theatre was most commonly praised, not for its art or architecture, but on account of the shade afforded by its colonnade and leafy plane trees.¹⁸⁸

Despite the evident importance attached to shade and the quite probable genuineness of this complaint, it nevertheless seems a rather unusual detail for Tacitus to have recorded. For given that, as noted above, Tacitus is not typically interested in detailing building activity in the city, then his decision to include a lengthy account of rather mundane building regulations is in itself surprising. This is even more so as he ignores all other instances of the post-fire rebuilding (for example, he makes no mention of public buildings). The exceptionality of this passage, therefore, suggests that something other than simply the detailing of building specifications lay behind its inclusion.¹⁸⁹ Indeed, the colourfully evocative language he uses to articulate the objection to the new city plan both indicates and conveys a double and more subtle meaning to the passage.¹⁹⁰

Perrumpere carries with it the meaning of force, even violence, and suggests that the sun's warmth or rays (*solis vapore*) breaks through into the streets, resulting in the city burning (*ardescere*) from its 'oppressive heat' (*graviore aestu*).¹⁹¹ Such is the vividness of Tacitus' language here, that it is

¹⁸⁸ Pliny (*HN* 19.23) mentions the use awnings at public spectacles by Catulus, Caesar and Marcellus (nephew of Augustus) as a noteworthy act; cf. *Val. Max.* 2.4.6. Also, advertisements for public shows in Pompeii single out the provision of awnings (*velaria*): *CIL* 6.3884; 6.1190. On Pompey's shady colonnade: *Ov. Ars Am.* 1.67-8; 3.387-8; *Prop.* 2.32.11-16; *Mart. Ep.* 2.14.9-10. So, too, the deprivation of shade is presented as a cruelty by Suetonius (*Calig.* 26.5), who alleges that at gladiatorial games Caligula would 'sometimes draw back the awnings when the sun was hottest and give orders that no one be allowed to leave.'

¹⁸⁹ Cf. O'Gorman 2000: 174-5.

¹⁹⁰ That Tacitus is an erudite writer, possessing considerable literary skills, and that his historical works are not straightforward narratives but multi-layered texts which do more than just report what happened has been increasingly emphasised in scholarship on the author (recently, among others, Ash 2007: 211-237; Sailor 2008; Joseph 2012; cf. comments by Rubriés 1994: 35-46). In particular, the work of Woodman (1997: 88-118; 1998) has been important in allowing for a greater understanding of his historical works, by emphasising the rhetorical and literary elements. Although on a cautionary note, it is important not to forget that Tacitus is a historian, and he is still attempting to present an interpretation of past events not simply to provide a subject for literary criticism.

¹⁹¹ *OLD* s.v. *Perrumpo*.

difficult to accept he is merely alluding to a complaint about the loss of shade. Instead, I suggest that his remarks might be intended to evoke thoughts of Neronian tyranny. For while the full extent to which Nero directly equated himself with the deity Sol is disputed, it seems clear that he promoted some form of an association between himself and the sun god; a connection which then persisted after his death.¹⁹² With this context in mind, another reading of the passage might be that the sun represents Nero who, due to the imposition of his new city plan, now bears down on Rome with a terrible and fiery intensity. Indeed, if Nero is the sun, then the reference to it causing the city's burning (*ardescere*) might be an allusion to the rumour that the emperor set fire to the city. Unlike Pliny the Elder and Suetonius, Tacitus refrains from explicitly passing judgement on this accusation.¹⁹³ However, Ryberg has demonstrated how, through insinuation and suggestion, Tacitus leads his readers to the conclusion that Nero was culpable, and the allusion I am suggesting here fits with this picture.¹⁹⁴ Such an interpretation also relates to Gowers' argument that Nero was represented in certain literature of the period as extremes of temperature and associated with the sensation of heat.¹⁹⁵ Gowers recognises the potential relevance of this chapter to her proposed concept, suggesting that Tacitus 'sees a sinister new twist in Nero's modernisation programme.'¹⁹⁶ While Gowers does not suggest a direct equation of Nero with the sun in this passage, I think it can be taken this step further, and that Tacitus is inviting his audience to make this connection and to read the severity of the sun's heat as the oppression of Nero's reign.

In favour of this reading is another suggestion by Gowers, that Neronian literature plays on the theme of the inability to find shade. With particular reference to the *Eclogues* of Calpurnius Siculus, Gowers argues for the notion that 'the sun-king always penetrates the dark studies and rural retreats that

¹⁹² Griffin (1987: 215-218) rejects the idea of a Nero founding a 'solar monarchy,' as was argued by L'Orange 1942: 68-100; cf. Toynbee 1948: 160-1; Boëthius 1960: 119; Bergmann 1998: 133-230; 2013: 332-62; Smith 2000: 532-42; Champlin 2003: 112-44.

¹⁹³ Tacitus *Ann.* 15.38-40. Suetonius (*Ner.* 38), Pliny (*HN* 17.5), Cassius Dio (62.16.1) and the author of the *Octavia* (831-3) all give accounts which implicate the emperor. On the likelihood of Nero's culpability: Hülsen 1909: 45-8; Griffin 1987: 132-3; Champlin 2003: 178-91. Also see discussion in Chapter Two.

¹⁹⁴ Ryberg (1942: 398-400); cf. O'Gorman 2000: 171-2; Santoro 2006: 248-50.

¹⁹⁵ Gowers 1994: 131-2; 137-8.

¹⁹⁶ Gowers 1994: 137.

confine Neronian writing' (not exclusively in a negative sense).¹⁹⁷ That Tacitus might have been tapping into this existent literary theme associated with Nero can be seen in his remark that the building reforms meant there was 'no protecting shade' (*nulla umbra defensa*). The idea of protection, or rather lack of it, from the emperor's gaze also ties in with an argument by David Fredrick, that in late first- and early-second century AD literature, links were drawn between ideas of privacy and the monitoring of citizens by imperial agents, with descriptions of architecture and the physical city of Rome.¹⁹⁸ The threat from informants and *delatores* in Neronian and Flavian Rome seems to have been very real, and the idea of imperial surveillance and absence of privacy features elsewhere in Tacitus' work.¹⁹⁹

It is important not to stray into Orwellian territory: any temptation to see the bronze Colossus as a physical manifestation of this idea – of Nero as a literal *Magnus Frater* looking down on the city – should be resisted. However, that Tacitus might be alluding to the themes of oppression and surveillance through his remarks about the rebuilt city is further enhanced by the context and positioning of the passage in book fifteen of the *Annals*. For immediately after his comments on the city, Tacitus' narrative turns to suppression and persecution: first of the Christian population, and then in regard to the so-called Pisonian conspiracy, an affair which occupies the rest of the book.²⁰⁰ According to Tacitus, Nero's reaction to the conspiracy was a brutal quashing that involved high-profile murders and forced suicides, which was then followed by an intensification of proscriptions.²⁰¹ The plot was exposed due to betrayal, and there are references to persecution and informers both throughout these chapters and into book sixteen, which continues with the picture of sinister imperial spying.²⁰² Notably, in light of the above discussion on a relationship between architecture and surveillance, Tacitus does allude to a correlation between Nero's suppression of the conspiracy and his oppression of the physical city itself:

¹⁹⁷ Gowers 131-2. The dating of the Calpurnius Siculus' *Eclogues* is contested. A Neronian date is favoured by Townend 1980: 166-174; Mayer 1980: 175-6; Wiseman 1982a: 57-67; contra Champlin 1978: 95-110; Baldwin 1995: 157-67.

¹⁹⁸ Fredrick 2003: 209-11.

¹⁹⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 4.69; 6.7. On *delatores* in imperial Rome and Tacitus' works: Flint 1912: 37-42; Rutledge 2001.

²⁰⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 15.44; 48-74. The Pisonian conspiracy is the longest episode in the entirety of the surviving books of the *Annals*.

²⁰¹ Tac. *Ann.* 15.57-74.

²⁰² Tac. *Ann.* 16.2; 8; 14; 18.

[Nero] placed the very capital under occupation: maniples held the walls; the sea and the river themselves were put in custody. And through forums and houses, even through the country districts and nearest towns, flew infantry and cavalry, interspersed with Germans, trusted by the emperor because they were foreign.²⁰³

A final and significant point supporting my reading of Tacitus' remarks on rebuilt Rome is his assertion in chapter 74, which brings the Pisonian episode and book fifteen to a close, that special thanks were awarded to the deity Sol at his temple in the Circus Maximus, this honour being bestowed specifically on account of the god's power in having revealed 'the secrets of the conspiracy'.²⁰⁴ Importantly, it had been Nero's building reforms which removed the shade and permitted the sun to see into the city. Therefore, I propose that Tacitus' comments about the rebuilding of Rome might actually be read as a metaphorical critique on the climate of surveillance and increased oppression that developed in the second half of Nero's reign.²⁰⁵ The physical city is characterised as reflecting the political situation: in the new Rome, there was no shelter from the sun or hiding from the emperor. Such a reading would fit with wider themes in Tacitus' narrative, provide a veiled forewarning of what was to come in the Pisonian conspiracy, and explain why Tacitus decided to include mention of such mundane building reforms in the first place.

This reading does not invalidate the possibility that a genuine complaint lay at the root of Tacitus' remarks. As noted above, shade was a major concern in ancient Rome and it is quite probable that Tacitus did not simply invent the criticism of the rebuilt city. However, its inclusion in the narrative and the way in which he presents it is intended to make a more profound point. Therefore, while not nullifying the authenticity of the objection, it does call into question how pervasive the purported hostility to the rebuilt city actually was.

²⁰³ Tac. *Ann.* 15.58: *Quin et urbem per manipulos occupatis moenibus, incesso etiam mari et amne, velut in custodiam dedit. Volitabantque per fora, per domos, rura quoque et proxima municipiorum pedites equitesque, permixti Germanis, quibus fidebat princeps quasi externis.* (Translation adapted from Jackson 1937). On Tacitus presenting Rome as a city captured by Nero: Keitel 1984: 307-309; Edwards 2011: 654-5.

²⁰⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 15.74.

²⁰⁵ It is also noticeable that the imagery of shade and the sun's heat are present in the *Laus Pisonis* (224,233), the subject of which has been suggested to be Calpurnius Piso of the Neronian conspiracy. On the idea of Nero's reign being perceived in antiquity as having good and bad halves: Hind 1971: 488-505.

Even if the complaint is to be taken at face value, it is important to recognise that it is not a professed preference for the old city on aesthetic grounds. There is no indication that the windy streets were thought of as ‘charming’ or ‘having character’, in the way that older parts of modern cities are now sometimes branded. Nor is there any sense that the old city was favoured *because* it was old and thereby valued for historical reasons. Rather, the objection is on very specific grounds relating to the environmental conditions that the reforms created. So that even if in a rhetorical sense Tacitus’ portrayal of new Rome serves to cast Nero in a negative light, on a literal level his remarks about the city as physically rebuilt are actually positive, as I will now go on to argue.

7.4.7 A Better City

As mentioned above, Tacitus had already alluded to the ‘great beauty of the re-arisen city’ (*tanta resurgentis urbis pulchritudine*) in his remarks on what was destroyed in the fire.²⁰⁶ Then, in his passage on the rebuilding of Rome, he repeats this sentiment: ‘These reforms, welcomed for their utility, were also beneficial to the appearance of the new city’ (*Ea ex utilitate accepta decorem quoque novae urbi attulere*).²⁰⁷ The terms with which he describes Rome here are revealing and require closer consideration.

In the context of buildings and architecture, *utilitas* is best understood as meaning usefulness or functionality.²⁰⁸ From the late republic to mid imperial period it was an important criterion by which the Romans judged building projects, and along with *venustas* (attractiveness) and *firmitas* (solidity) it is one of Vitruvius’ key principles of architectural design.²⁰⁹ The measures which Tacitus states were implemented are to a large degree of a practical nature: improving fire safety and traffic flow through the city (detailed in Chapter Two).²¹⁰ It seems, therefore, perfectly appropriate that they would have been praised on the grounds of *utilitas*.

²⁰⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 15.41.

²⁰⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 15.43.

²⁰⁸ *OLD* s.v. *Utilitas*.

²⁰⁹ Vit. 1.3.2; cf. Cic. *Or.* 3.180; Quint. *Inst.* 3.7.27. On *utilitas* and Roman architecture: Taylor 2003: 22-4; Wilson Jones 2000: 44-5.

²¹⁰ Indeed, regarding the widening of streets, not only would this have been perceived as useful from a fire safety point of view (as implied by the context in which Tacitus mentions it), but it

In addition to this, Tacitus also states that the new measures added to the *decor* of the city. This is commonly translated in the sense of attractive appearance, which is quite correct, although in an architectural context and particularly when paired with *utilitas*, it does have a more complex meaning.²¹¹ As Perry states, the concept of *decor* was ‘an essential Roman value that found applications in almost all realms of public life,’ it was used in judging the quality of literature and rhetoric, as well as the visual arts.²¹² The principle of *decor* is most commonly understood as ‘appropriateness’ and can have both a moral and aesthetic dimension.²¹³ The concept was also important for the Roman perception of architecture. Wilson Jones points out that in theory it meant that ‘each aspect of a building should reflect its social, religious and economic status.’²¹⁴ This is apparent in *De Architectura*, where Vitruvius argues for the pervasiveness and importance of *decor* in governing the design of buildings, including, for example, a temple having a column order appropriate for the particular deity, or the majesty of a house being appropriate to the status of the occupant.²¹⁵ In the same way, it is quite possible that Tacitus is here alluding to the notion that the appearance of the physical city of Rome was made appropriate to the magnitude of its power and empire, an idea discussed in Chapter Three.

To an extent, Tacitus’ language seems to draw on an existing framework for how to praise buildings and cities. In the *Institutio Oratoria*, Quintilian explains that when writing panegyric, public works can be praised for their *utilitas* and *pulchritudo* (notably, the latter is a term also used by Tacitus to describe the re-arisen city).²¹⁶ Given his educational background, Tacitus would have been familiar with the appropriate language usage to express approval of the rebuilt capital. However, just because the phraseology he employs is formulaic, it does not follow that it was mindlessly reiterated or devoid of

must also have improved general circulation of traffic and people through the streets, a point on which Martial (*Ep.* 7.61.3) was later to praise an act of Domitian.

²¹¹ *Decor* is translated here as ‘appearance’ by Ramsey (1909) and Jackson (1937); ‘beauty’ by Church and Brodribb (1942); ‘beautifulness’ by Grant (1956); and ‘lustre’ by Woodman (2004).

²¹² Perry 2005: 31. cf. *OLD* s.v. *Decor*.

²¹³ Pollitt 1974: 69-70; Perry 2005: 31-38. On the possible distinction between *decor* and *decorum* see Pollitt 1974: 343; contra Perry 2005: 31 with n. 8.

²¹⁴ Wilson Jones 2003: 43.

²¹⁵ *Vitr.* 1.2.5; 6.5.1-3. On *decor* in Vitruvius: Pollitt 1974: 68-9; Rowland and Howe 1999: 150-151; Wilson Jones 2000: 43-44; Perry 2005: 31-38 Rowland 2005: 26-7.

²¹⁶ Quint. *Inst.* 3.7.27; cf. Plin. *Ep.* 10.37.

meaning.²¹⁷ Rather, these stock terms represent the values that were relevant to society; that they were commonplace does not detract from their potency, but instead highlights their importance. Therefore, while the judgements that Tacitus reports about the rebuilt city might be unoriginal, there is no reason to assume that his characterisation of it as beautiful (*pulchritudo*), functional (*utilitas*), and appropriate (*decor*) was empty rhetoric.²¹⁸

With Nero dead, his memory damned, and the Julio-Claudian dynasty finished, Tacitus did not need to present a positive picture of the rebuilt city. That he speaks in complimentary terms about Nero's rebuilding programme has been remarked upon with surprise by a number of scholars, who see it as contradictory to his typically hostile attitude towards the emperor.²¹⁹ This apparent inconsistency led Hanslik to suggest there had been a contamination of Tacitus' source material, whereby he followed accounts both favourable and hostile to Nero.²²⁰ While this is possible, perhaps it does a disservice to the complexity and independence of Tacitus as an author and commentator. I would also question the extent to which it is actually surprising that Tacitus praises Nero's rebuilding of the city.

A building certainly could be condemned, literally and rhetorically, on account of its patron's posthumous reputation and as part of the practice of *damnatio memoriae*. However, the notion that building projects were automatically disliked on the grounds of who built them is too simplistic a picture, and this has been challenged by Davies.²²¹ In certain instances, a clear effort was made to disassociate an individual from a building by erasing his name from the inscriptions, yet the actual structure was retained, presumably because it was appreciated, or perhaps on functional, religious, utilitarian or just aesthetic grounds.²²² The notion that good buildings built by 'bad' emperors could still be appreciated is encapsulated in a remark by Martial in epigram 7.34. Here he heaps unequivocal praise of the baths that Nero built in the Campus Martius and poses the rhetorical question 'What was worse than Nero?

²¹⁷ See Edwards 1993: 140-3.

²¹⁸ On the pairing of *decor* and *utilitas*: Leen 1991: 235-9; Delaine 2002: 226.

²¹⁹ See MacDonald 1982: 27-8; Sailor 2008: 214; cf. Edwards 2011: 656.

²²⁰ Hanslik 1963: 95.

²²¹ Davies 2000b: 27-44.

²²² See Davies 2000b: 34-37.

What is better than Nero's baths?'²²³ Likewise, I do not see it as inconsistent for Tacitus to present a generally hostile assessment of Nero and yet praise elements of his rebuilding of Rome.

This also raises the question of to what extent the opinions on the city are Tacitus' own. Ostensibly, it seems that Tacitus is purporting to present the judgements as how unnamed others reacted to Nero's reforms. This might be inferred from his use of the perfect tense in the passage quoted above, as well as the reference to *seniores* in the earlier passage on the destruction caused by the fire.²²⁴ If so, then this is an interesting insight into how contemporaries responded to the rebuilding of, and changes to, Rome in the late 60s AD. It is also possible that the way Tacitus has crafted his presentation of the city is informed by his own experience of, and opinions on, the restoration of Rome. Tacitus may have been placing these opinions in the past, but during his time at Rome he would have been able to personally observe certain developments that belonged to the reign of Nero, and made his own judgement on whether they were beautiful, functional, and appropriate.²²⁵

As pointed out by Luce, attempting to get at Tacitean opinions is far from straightforward, and this is even more difficult when, as here, there is the absence of his personal voice.²²⁶ Nevertheless, it is worth thinking about the possibility that when Tacitus talks in positive terms about the *nova urbs*, he might have had in mind not just the city as it was rebuilt by Nero, but rather the overall transformation of Rome in the decades following AD 64.²²⁷ As outlined at length in Chapter Two, the rebuilding of Rome did not end with the death of Nero, and the city underwent a dramatic redevelopment under the Flavian dynasty, in part necessitated by two further fires in AD 69 and 80. It need not be presumed that Tacitus would have viewed the rebuilding of the city in terms of a periodisation defined by the reigns of successive emperors. Rather, it might be imagined that a long-term resident of Rome had a more fluid understanding of the rebuilding and development of the city, especially given that construction projects and building programmes often spanned the reign of more than one emperor, a point also made in Chapter Two. It is conceivable that Tacitus

²²³ Mart. *Ep.* 7.34.

²²⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 15.41.

²²⁵ The extent to which Nero's reforms were implemented is discussed in Chapter Two.

²²⁶ Luce 1986: 143-47; cf. Syme 1959: 520-44; Pelling 2010: 147-152.

²²⁷ Also see discussion in Furneaux (1907: 369) on this point with reference to the manuscript tradition.

perceived the urban renovation as a continuous process from AD 64 onwards, and that the ‘beautiful’ city he is thinking about is the Rome he knew, which had been created through cumulative building in the decades since the Great Fire.

The possibility that Tacitus thought in this way is arguably hinted at in the language he uses. For instance, his use of *resurgere* to refer to Rome (‘the great beauty of the re-arisen city’)²²⁸ is reminiscent of the Vespasianic slogan *ROMA RESVRGES*, which was propagated on coins of early AD 70s (**Fig 3.1**) and is a term that seems only to have been used in conjunction with the capital after this date.²²⁹ Likewise, the phrase *urbs nova* that Tacitus uses in the passage quoted above is noticeably similar to *Roma nova*, an expression which Martial uses to describe the Domitianic city in epigram 5.7, discussed above. In Chapter Two I considered the meanings of the expression ‘new city’ and the extent to which it was an apt title for Nero’s building programme. While it was quite plausibly a phrase used at the time of the Neronian rebuilding, it is also possible that the idea of a ‘new’ Rome was something that came to be applied to the rebuilding of the city more widely in the decades that followed. It is not unrealistic to think that Tacitus’ own experience of how Rome was physically transformed in the half century following the fire of AD 64 would have influenced his presentation of the Neronian rebuilding. For Tacitus, Martial, and their readers, ‘new Rome’ potentially meant far more than just the actions of a single emperor.²³⁰

In any case, whether the characterisation of Rome belongs to Tacitus or the contemporaries of Nero, or both, what is most significant for my argument is that the response to, and portrayal of, the rebuilt city is positive. Importantly, it is also presented as being superior to what had existed before; a sentiment that corresponds to the wider theme I have attempted to highlight throughout Chapters Six and Seven that in regard to individual buildings and the built environment more generally, the new is frequently deemed better than the

²²⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 15.41.

²²⁹ On coin issues with legends *ROMA RESVRGENS/RESVRGES*: Mattingly and Sydenham 1968: 2.51; 65; 76; 101. Cf. Stevenson, Smith and Madden (1889: 695), who also note the similarity of this legend to the phrase in Tacitus. In support of my point, while *resurgere* was used by Latin authors to refer to various cities when they were rebuilt (notably Troy, *OLD* s.v. *Resurgo*), it only appears in reference to Rome until the Flavian period. Also, Florus (1.13.19), who came to Rome during the AD 90s, uses the term in reference to the rebuilding of Rome after the Gallic sack, yet his probable source for the event, Livy, does not.

²³⁰ As noted in chapter two, despite the expression *urbs nova* being strongly associated by scholars with the Neronian city, Tacitus is actually the only author to use the phrase in this context.

old.²³¹ In turn, this relates to the apparent lack of regret over the loss of historic architecture, as demonstrated in both chapters. In regard to Tacitus' comments on the rebuilding of Rome, there is apparent opposition to the new form of the city, but this is either a rhetorical construction, or if real, then it is based on environmental grounds. Importantly, it is not an aesthetic criticism and nor does it stem from any sense of nostalgia.

7.4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the responses of three authors to the dramatic transformation that Rome's built environment underwent in the decades following the fire of AD 64. I suggest that the way in which the destruction of the city is discussed and its rebuilding is characterised reveals a series of attitudes which are indicative of a particular conception of built heritage, and one that informed the Roman approach to restoration.

It is noticeable that in reference to the built environment, the rebuilding of the city is consistently viewed in positive terms and, more importantly, that the new is described as being (or will be) better than what existed before. Indeed, I think that there is a sense, particularly apparent from Seneca's comments, that the destruction of the old urban fabric was perceived as an opportunity and the loss, tempered, even welcomed by the promise of what will replace it. The idea and expectation of improvement accords with the sentiment argued for in Chapter Two: that this was a period characterised by progress and confidence in construction. To an extent, the positive reception of the redevelopment of the city would also appear to be a general endorsement of the innovative manner in which buildings at this time were restored. For although the passages discussed above refer to the cityscape as a whole rather than to individual structures, there is still a clear sense of change being welcomed. This also suggests that the practice of innovative restoration was well received by others not directly involved with the actual building projects. Indeed, I have attempted to highlight the likelihood that the views expressed by these three authors were pervasive in society more widely.

The discussion has also underscored the apparent lack of mourning for the destruction of the built environment on the grounds of it being historic.

²³¹ Objections on moral grounds were discussed in Chapter Six.

Tacitus' account of the fire records and appears to display regret regarding the loss of spoils, artworks and texts, but importantly not architecture. Indeed, outside of a moral framework, where there is sometimes a longing for the simplicity of the earlier buildings, as argued in Chapter Six, I can find no sense of nostalgia for Rome's vanished historic architecture in this period. Noticeably, this outlook contrasts dramatically to some prominent modern sensibilities on built heritage whereby, as discussed in Chapter Three, the loss of historic architecture is lamented and concerted efforts are often made to preserve and replicate the historic appearance of a building. I think that the apparent lack of concern over architecture in ancient Rome at this time is related to the conceptual distinction of what the building was. As outlined in previous chapters and then argued for regarding Tacitus' comments in this chapter, I think that the historical identity of a building was not necessarily tied to its architecture. Historical associations were not invested in the appearance or materiality of a structure, meaning it could be rebuilt with an innovative design and new aesthetic. This is a mindset that allowed the city of Rome to both redevelop in line with contemporary styles, as befitted its status as the capital of a world empire, and yet also preserve the historic cityscape, if in name only.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

8.1 Conclusion

The thesis opens with an extract from Douglas Adams' travel book *Last Chance to See*, regarding the Golden Pavilion temple in Kyoto and the tenet that the meaning and identity of the structure did not lie in its materiality. Although not in relation to a building, Plutarch records a similar question being asked in antiquity:

The ship on which Theseus sailed with the youths and returned in safety, the thirty-oared galley, was preserved by the Athenians down to the time of Demetrius Phalereus. They took away the old timbers from time to time, and put new and sound ones in their places, so that the vessel became a standing illustration for the philosophers in the mooted question of growth, some declaring that it remained the same, others that it was not the same vessel.¹

This example concerns philosophers musing over a ship in fourth-century BC Greece; there is no indication that people were asking such questions about buildings in first- and second-century AD Rome. Yet if they were, to the hypothetical question of 'is it the same building if all the bricks were replaced?' my findings suggest that the prevailing answer would have been 'yes, of course it is.'

This study examines the practice of restoring public buildings and attendant attitudes towards them in order to develop an understanding of the Roman concept of built heritage. The core of the thesis is built up and presented in six main chapters each of which, while making their own self-contained arguments, contributes to the development of a key premise that runs throughout. The historical associations of the built environment of ancient Rome were not invested in the architecture of the buildings. Theirs was a concept of heritage that placed historic value on buildings as nominal entities without tying

¹ Plut. *Thes.* 23.1: Τὸ δὲ πλοῖον ἐν ᾧ μετὰ τῶν ἡϊθέων ἐπλευσε καὶ πάλιν ἐσώθη, τὴν τριακόντορον, ἄχρι τῶν Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως χρόνων διεφύλαττον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ τῶν ξύλων ὑφαιροῦντες, ἄλλα δὲ ἐμβάλλοντες ἰσχυρὰ καὶ συμπηγνύντες οὕτως ὥστε καὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις εἰς τὸν αὐξόμενον λόγον ἀμφιδοξούμενον παράδειγμα τὸ πλοῖον εἶναι, τῶν μὲν ὡς τὸ αὐτό, τῶν δὲ ὡς οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ διαμένονι λεγόντων. (Translation Perrin 1914).

it to the physicality – the authenticity of appearance or originality of materials – of the structure. The Romans cared about historic buildings but not historic architecture, and while many modern understandings of heritage often consider the two as inseparable, they did not. Reconstruction looked to the present not the past, but the identity of a building was not lost when its appearance changed as its essence was nominal not physical.

This is evidenced in the innovative ways in which buildings were restored, with older structures being rebuilt on a larger scale, using more lavish materials, and stylistically updated in line with contemporary trends. Little regard was paid to retaining the original design of a building or attempting to replicate its former aesthetic. That this was the dominant approach to restoration is demonstrated through a number of examples, the most detailed being the three reconstructions of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Each version of the Capitolium is shown to have differed from its predecessor, resulting in the design of the fourth-Domitianic building bearing almost no discernible resemblance to the original. Consistent with this, the purposeful retention of the floor plan through the successive phases is revealed to be not an attempt to preserve a vestige of the earlier appearance of the temple, but a religious directive. The relevance of religion in explaining an apparent example of architectural continuity is also evident in the case of the casa Romuli. Even in this instance of restoration, which more than any other from ancient Rome seems to resemble certain modern practices, a comparison with the Pons Sublicius helps to illuminate that the exceptional treatment of the hut was not motivated by the wish to reproduce a historically faithful pastiche.

The emphasis on modernising the city's built heritage and lack of concern for the preservation of its historic architecture was not just on the part of the builders. These attitudes ran through society more widely, as is apparent from the responses of individuals to changes in the urban fabric, revealed by examining descriptions of destruction and restoration in literature of the period. In regard to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, alongside the positive reception of the increasingly lavish reconstructions it is also possible to detect dissenting voices. Importantly, however, these objections to the new versions of the temple concerned *luxuria* and are not indicative of opposition to innovative restoration per se, nor a preference for older architecture styles. The picture is supported and further developed by the ways in which the dramatic transformation of city

more generally, as occurred between the Great Fire of AD 64 and the reign of Hadrian, was written about by those who experienced it firsthand. In particular, the cumulative impression of evidence from the works of Seneca, Martial and Tacitus indicates an absence of concern and nostalgia over the loss of architecture on the basis that it was historic, and instead that destruction was perceived as an opportunity for improvement.

While such approaches and attitudes to restoration were not unique to the six decades under discussion, this period was exceptional due to the vast scale of the city's redevelopment and the significant advances in architectural design. If there was a spirit of the age in regard to building activity it was one of progress and confidence – a sense that what was achievable in the present surpassed that of the past.² This outlook is reflected in how reconstruction sought to enhance, not replicate, with works explicitly judged in comparative terms as being better than what existed before.

A consequence of the mindset whereby the historical associations of a building were not invested in its physicality was that individual structures and the cityscape as a whole could, at one and the same time, be historic and modern. A Roman in the first century AD could look at a building and reflect on both the long tradition of his city as well as its present day splendour. In the light of this, any idea that the urban fabric of Rome was 'like a museum,' that monuments acted as 'historical documents,' or that buildings were *lieux de mémoire* needs to be carefully nuanced.³ On account of the innovative way in which buildings were restored, the bricks, mortar and marble alone did not reveal their history. For example, following its restoration in the early first century AD, the fifth-century BC temple of Castor and Pollux in the Forum Romanum was aesthetically and materially akin to the temple of Apollo Palatinus vowed in 36 BC. Based on their appearance alone, both temples seemed to be Augustan era buildings.

Rather than from its fabric, a building derived and maintained its historical meaning from what was said and written about it. The accompanying inscription was more important than the architecture in transmitting the historical

² For a critique of the idea of the architectural Zeitgeist: Watkin 2001: esp. 9-12.

³ On the monuments of Rome as *lieux de mémoire* see discussion in Chapter One.

associations.⁴ In ancient Rome, it was epigraphic texts not the materiality or style of a structure that were deferred to as a source for antiquarian research.⁵ This comes back to a point made in the Introduction of the study, that architectural history was seemingly not a field of inquiry or even of great interest in this period. Indeed, this thesis proposes that the ways in which buildings were treated and perceived indicates that architecture was not a medium through which history was presented. Also, while not adhering to the design of an earlier structure is never mentioned in the sources as a negative act, one of the things for which a restorer could be censured was not including the name of the original dedicator on the inscription of the reconstructed building.⁶ The root of the criticism might have been that it displayed the re-dedicator's arrogance or lack of piety, yet the objection to the loss of specifically this element may also be because it constitutes breaking one of the few visible signs of the historical narrative associated with the building.⁷

The Roman concept of built heritage that I am proposing differs radically from many modern ideas on the subject. It is at odds with the core values of bodies such as English Heritage and UNESCO, especially in regard to their emphasis on the preservation of the original aesthetic and materials of a building, elements that are deemed integral to its historical value. Alternative approaches that are in some ways closer to those of ancient Rome can be observed in other cultures, such as the treatment of the Golden Pavilion temple mentioned above. That I have found nothing directly analogous to the Romans' divorce of a building's historical associations from its physicality begs the question, why did they have this understanding – what prejudices and perceptions informed such a mindset? This study outlined Roman attitudes and approaches to the historic built environment, but has not directly addressed the reasons for them. Attempting to answer this is beyond my scope at present and would probably require another thesis-length piece of research to do it justice. Asking what lay behind a society's attitudes to built heritage requires other approaches and methodologies, even potentially branching out into fields such

⁴ A similar point has been well argued by Wiseman (2014: 47-8) in regard to ancestral *imagines*.

⁵ The sources available to Roman antiquarians were mentioned in Chapter One.

⁶ On restoration inscriptions and this practice: Stuart 1905: 427-443; Thomas and Witschel 1992: 135-77; Simpson 2009: 149-57; Boatwright 2013: 19-30; Patterson 2015.

⁷ Even an instance of what might be considered good practice can be misleading. For example, Hadrian placing Marcus Agrippa's name on the Pantheon without his own appears to have inadvertently fooled people, from Cassius Dio (53.27.1-2) to the late nineteenth century (Thomas 1997: 167-8), as to when the present structure was built.

as sociology.⁸ Nevertheless, while being unable to go into depth on the subject, I want to propose one tentative idea that may have had a bearing on why the Romans in this period treated historic buildings the way they did – architects!

8.2 Where Next? Tentative Ideas and Future Possibilities

Today, certain architects enjoy enormous prestige and public attention. Large organisations and cities see merit in having buildings by so-called ‘starchitects’ including Norman Foster, Richard Rogers or Frank Gehry – their name, arguably, being more important than the design. So, too, some twentieth century architects such as Le Corbusier, Frank Lloyd Wright and Antoni Gaudí have acquired the status of household names. Hundreds of publications have been produced about their works, fan clubs set up to honour them, and their buildings turned into tourist destinations. There is also widespread interest in individuals who designed celebrated buildings from the more distant past. This is evident in the way that structures are commonly described by reference to the architect alone: Bramante’s Tempietto on the Janiculum Hill, Wren’s St Paul’s Cathedral in London, and Palladio’s villas in the Venetian countryside. While a generalisation, I think that this picture is broadly representative of a recognisable situation in the modern world and it is one that contrasts to that in ancient Rome. In order to demonstrate what I think was a significant reason behind the Roman approach to built heritage, outlined above, it is instructive to explore this distinction further, reflecting on the differing status of architects and the extent to which they were actively associated with the buildings they designed.

Chapter Three discussed how architects are rarely mentioned in surviving Latin literature and noted that from the first and second centuries AD, we know only five names from literary sources connected with building projects in the capital.⁹ I do not agree with Anderson that it is an anomaly ‘of the random preservation of information’; instead, I suspect that it is actually representative of a lack of interest among many Roman writers.¹⁰ As pointed out in Chapter Three, Latin historians recorded who patronised or let the contracts for a

⁸ Indeed, recent research on how the human brain responds differently to ‘genuine’ or ‘fake’ works of art suggests that perhaps even neuroscience has a part to play: Huang, Bridge, Kemp, and Parker 2011.

⁹ Severus, Celer, Rabirius, Apollodorus, and Decranus.

¹⁰ Anderson (1997: 44) makes this comment with specific reference to the Augustan period.

building, but only very occasionally mention the involvement of others. Even if an author acknowledges the role of a professional in the construction process, that individual often remains unnamed. For example, when Pliny the Elder disapprovingly details the construction of the remarkable yet dangerous revolving theatres of 52 BC, he rhetorically asks who should be admonished for their invention, the patron or the designer.¹¹ Yet while Pliny names the *auctor* of the project (Scribonius Curio), he is either unaware of, or unconcerned with, the identity of the architect, simply referring to him as the *artifex*.¹²

This perceived absence of interest in architects is arguably symptomatic of an attitude of apathy to architecture more generally. Chapter One highlighted how, with the exception of Vitruvius, Roman authors tend not to provide detailed descriptions of buildings or go into structural specifics, apart from when it is a literary exercise.¹³ In a way, this may also correspond to the observations I have made, with specific reference to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, regarding the often inaccurate and imprecise rendering of the details of a building in numismatic and sculptural relief iconography. In some instances, such as the relief of Marcus Aurelius sacrificing before the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus or the Vespasianic medallion showing the earlier version of that temple (Figs 4.11; 4.35), it seems that far more attention was paid to depicting the statuary of the building than the structure itself. This is indicative of where greater interest lay, and it is worth noting that when Martial praised the achievements of Rabirius in constructing the Domus Augustana, he compared him not to a Roman architect of the past, but rather to the Greek sculptor Pheidias.¹⁴

The relationship between architecture and art is returned to below. I am suggesting here that architectural appreciation was in some ways rather limited among the general populace in Roman society. Beautiful buildings, novel undertakings and monumental construction projects clearly did impress, attracting widespread attention (as has been observed throughout this thesis),

¹¹ Plin. *NH.* 36.118: 'Truly, what should first astonish one in this, the inventor or the invention, the designer or the sponsor, the fact that a man dared to plan the work, or to undertake it, or to commission it?' (*Quid enim miretur quisque in hoc primum, inventorem an inventum, artificem an auctorem, ausum aliquem hoc excogitare an suscipere an iubere?*) (Translation Eichholz 1962).

¹² *Artifex* might also be used to refer to other professionals such as doctors (*OLD* s.v. *Artifex*). Further examples where the architect goes unnamed: Cicero *Ad Att.* 13.35/6; Cass. Dio. 57.21.5-7; Macrobius *Sat.* 2.4.9.

¹³ On descriptions of architecture in ancient literature: Edwards 1993: 141-49; Thomas 2007: 213-220. Also see the controversy over the extent to which Pliny the Younger's letters on his villa were rhetorical exercises: Bergmann 1995: 406-420 esp. 407-9; Chinn 2007: 265-280; Gibson and Morello 2012: 214-233.

¹⁴ Mart. *Ep.* 8.36.

but this is not the same as an interest in the specifics of architectural designs. Such an assertion merits a longer and more nuanced discussion than can be provided in this conclusion; however, I want to stress that, outside of Vitruvius' treatise, there is only limited evidence for Romans of this period displaying interest in the work of specific architects. While it is likely that certain practitioners were renowned in their lifetime, they did not enjoy the level of celebrity that their present-day counterparts do.¹⁵ Likewise, their works seem not to have been posthumously admired or visited in the same way. Today, 160,000 people a year visit the Pennsylvanian house Falling Water *because* its architect was Frank Lloyd Wright. In ancient Rome, there is no sense that certain monuments of the city were similarly sought out on account of who designed them.¹⁶

The distinction in attitudes that this contrast demonstrates can potentially help to further understand the Roman treatment of built heritage. Today, buildings can have historic value because of their architect. Indeed, it is one of the grounds on which a structure in Britain might be granted listed status. When, in 2014, the Glasgow School of Art designed by Charles Rennie Mackintosh caught fire, the accompanying dismay was not just that elements of an interesting, old building were lost, but that a unique creation by a celebrated architect had been damaged.¹⁷ Consequently, it is argued that the restoration work should reflect Mackintosh's intention.¹⁸ However, if a society did not typically set great store by architects, then it is reasonable to suppose that their buildings would be valued and respected accordingly, meaning that there might be no impulse for restorations to adhere to the intent of the original designer. That this was the case in ancient Rome helps to explain why innovative restoration was so readily adopted. It also corresponds with the idea discussed in Chapter Three that a building was primarily the *monumentum* of its patron, not of the architect. Unlike the commonplace, modern habit of referring to a building by the name of its designer, in ancient Rome, sources typically award

¹⁵ On the status of architects in Roman society: Gros 1983: 425-452; Anderson 1997: 3-67; Wilson-Jones 2000: 19-30. On the possibility that the status of architects changed and their prestige increased in late antiquity: Cuomo 2007: 145-152.

¹⁶ When abroad, Romans would visit various historic sites and monuments (Perrottet 2002; Jenkyns 2013: 242-7) but this is not the same as seeking out the works of particular architects. I am grateful to Renee Seifert of the Western Pennsylvania Conservancy for the figure of the number of visitors to Falling Water.

¹⁷ On the reaction: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-27556659>.

¹⁸ Stamp 2014.

nominal possession to the patron.¹⁹ Even when Vitruvius discusses and names the architect of the temple of Honos and Virtus (Gaius Mucius), he still labels it Marius' temple (*aedes Honoris et Virtutis Marianae*).²⁰

This situation was peculiar to architecture, and there appears to have been markedly different attitudes to other media, notably art. In first- and second-century AD Rome, certain past and present artists were lauded and their works appreciated as irreplaceable, as was discussed in Chapter Seven. Sculptures and paintings could acquire historical, cultural and monetary value based on the perception that they were original, in the sense of having been touched by the hand of the craftsman. Even in the production of 'copies' it seems that conveying the intent of the original artist was important.²¹ This is a further instance of there having been differing attitudes in Roman society towards art and architecture. Arguably, this dichotomy did not just apply to freestanding pieces of art, but also those that in some sense might be considered part of a building, such as pediment sculptures or wall frescos. The separation of works of art from their architectural setting is often discussed by scholars in the context of spoils of war: Roman generals stripping Greek temples of their decorations.²² Possibly behind this practice was the underlying mindset that a piece of art, even if created to be part of a building, was conceptually as well as physically divisible from the structure. This impression is supported by examples from Rome in a non-military context. For instance, Pliny the Elder, drawing on Varro, records that when the temple of Ceres on the Aventine was rebuilt (*reficere*) in the first century BC, the fresco paintings of the earlier structure by the two fifth-century artists Damophilus and Gorgasus were saved, being cut away from the walls and framed.²³

This example encapsulates the contrasting approach to historic works of art and architecture, for while the structure of the temple was seemingly replaced, the art was deemed worthy of preservation.²⁴ The distinction between the Roman conceptions of art and architecture is a subject that deserves fuller treatment in future research. Nevertheless, what this discussion has

¹⁹ As Wiseman (2014: 44-5) notes: 'One might refer to "Catulus's temple," "Pompey's temple," "Metellus' temple," or to "the Marian temple of Honos," "the Aemilian temple of Hercules."

²⁰ Vitr. 7.praef.17.

²¹ See discussion in Perry 2005; Anguissola 2014: 118-34

²² On art as spoils of war: Miles 2008; Östenberg 2010.

²³ Plin. *HN* 154. cf. Moorman 2011: 18. For other examples of this practice: Vitr. 2.8.9; Plin. *HN*. 35.18.

²⁴ On the temple of Ceres: Platner and Ashby 1929: 109-10.

emphasised is the potential relevance of the renown of the artisan or practitioner in giving a work historical and cultural value.²⁵ The lack of prestige typically accorded to architects in Roman society, as suggested above, might be one factor in explaining the treatment of built heritage.²⁶

In order to test this premise it will be necessary to examine the situation in a period where Roman attitudes towards built heritage had changed. Indeed, at its inception, the proposed scope of this study was to cover a period of six centuries, from the dictatorship of Sulla to the reign of Theodoric. The reasoning behind this was that a shift in attitudes seemed to have occurred by the fifth and sixth centuries AD, as indicated by the concerns expressed in the correspondence of Cassiodorus, as well as the way in which certain buildings were restored after the sack of AD 410.²⁷ In the event, it has been advantageous to focus on a smaller timeframe thereby allowing a greater depth of analysis. Nevertheless, the potential for taking a *longue durée* approach remains. This study has established the prevailing Roman concept of built heritage in the first and second centuries AD, a situation which was discernibly different by late antiquity. Finding out when the change occurred and what factors lay behind it is an exciting next step.

²⁵ On the Roman appreciation of works of art based on age and aesthetics rather than the artist: Perry 2005: 177-81.

²⁶ It is quite possible that the situation was different in Greece as is seemingly indicated by Pausanias' interests, although establishing this will require further research.

²⁷ Cassiod. *Var.* 2.39; 4.51; 7.44; 10.28. On the restoration of buildings after the sack: Machado 2006: 157-62.

Appendices

Appendix A: Tacitus *Ann.* 15.43

In the capital, however, the districts spared by the palace were rebuilt, not, as after the Gallic fire, indiscriminately and piecemeal, but in measured lines of streets, with broad thoroughfares, buildings of restricted height, and open spaces, while colonnades were added as a protection to the front of the tenement-blocks. These colonnades Nero offered to erect at his own expense, and also to hand over the building-sites, clear of rubbish, to the owners. He made a further offer of rewards, proportioned to the rank and resources of the various claimants, and fixed a term within which houses or blocks of tenements must be completed, if the bounty was to be secured. As the receptacle of the refuse he settled upon the Ostian Marshes, and gave orders that vessels which had carried grain up the Tiber must run down-stream laden with debris. The buildings themselves, to an extent definitely specified, were to be solid, untimbered structures of Gabine or Alban stone, that particular stone being proof against fire. Again, there was to be a guard to ensure that the water-supply—intercepted by private lawlessness—should be available for public purposes in greater quantities and at more points; appliances for checking fire were to be kept by everyone in the open; there were to be no joint partitions between buildings, but each was to be surrounded by its own walls. These reforms, welcomed for their utility, were also beneficial to the appearance of the new city. Still, there were those who believed that the old form had been the more salubrious, as the narrow streets and high-built structures were not so easily penetrated by the warmth of the sun; while now the broad expanses, with no protecting shade, burnt under a more oppressive heat.¹

Ceterum urbis quae domui supererant non, ut post Gallica incendia, nulla distinctione nec passim erecta, sed dimensis vicorum ordinibus et latis viarum spatiis cohibitaque aedificiorum altitudine ac patefactis areis additisque porticibus, quae frontem insularum protegerent. Eas porticus Nero sua pecunia exstructurum purgatasque areas dominis traditurum pollicitus est. Addidit praemia pro cuiusque ordine et rei familiaris copiis, finivitque tempus, intra quod effectis domibus aut insulis apiscerentur. Ruderum accipiendi Ostiensis paludes destinabat, utique naves, quae frumentum Tiberi subvectassent, onustae rudere decurrerent, aedificiaque ipsa certa sui parte sine trabibus saxo Gabino Albanove solidarentur, quod is lapis ignibus impervius est; iam aqua privatorum licentia intercepta quo largior et pluribus locis in publicum flueret, custodes adessent; et subsidia reprimendis ignibus in propatulo quisque haberet; nec communione parietum, sed propriis quaeque muris ambirentur. Ea ex utilitate accepta decorem quoque novae urbi attulere. Erant tamen qui crederent, veterem illam formam salubritati magis conduxisse, quoniam angustiae itinerum et altitudo tectorum non perinde solis vapore perurperentur: at nunc patulam latitudinem et nulla umbra defensam graviore aestu ardescere.

¹ Tac. *Ann.* 15.43. (Translation adapted from Jackson 1937).

Appendix B: Conon and Two Huts on the Palatine

It has been thought that the precinct of Zeus referred to by Conon means the monumentalised space adjacent to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus known as the *area Capitolina*.¹ Therefore the hut in this passage is identified with the one mentioned by Vitruvius.² A difficulty with this interpretation is Conon's association of the building with Faustulus, as in all versions of the foundation story Romulus' adoptive father resided on the Palatine and it is on that hill that Solinus locates the *tugurium Faustuli*.³ In a 1981 article Wiseman questions the identification with the *area Capitolina* and instead argues that Conon is referring to the Palatine casa Romuli, suggesting the 'precinct of Zeus' actually relates to the temple of Jupiter Victor, which the *Notitia* places in *Regio X* on the Palatine Hill.⁴ Yet this idea is problematic, as the location of the temple of Jupiter Victor has not been established and there is seemingly little space for it near where the casa Romuli is currently sited at the top of the *scalae Caci*.⁵

Later, in a 2012 article Wiseman maintains his assertion that Conon is referring to the temple of Jupiter Victor on the Palatine, but revises his argument by suggesting instead that there was a second hut on the Palatine, located near the *Roma Quadrata* and distinct from the one at the *scalae Caci*.⁶ The argument for the presence of the two huts on the Palatine is questionable and I do not think that Conon's passage makes it any more convincing. Indeed, if Conon is discounted, then there are no other references anywhere to a specific precinct for the temple of Jupiter Victor or that a thatched building was located near it. Rather, it seems more likely that the comment actually refers to the Capitoline hut, as had been previously thought. The *area Capitolina* was a famous monument in its own right, making it more likely to be used as a topographical identifier – as Conon does here. Also, and crucially, we already know from Vitruvius that a thatched hut connected to the founder stood in this space. The reference to Faustulus would seem to complicate the matter, but the connection should not automatically be ruled out on the basis that it seems inconsistent

¹ Conon. *Narr.* 48.

² Vitr. 2.1.5; Gros 1999b: 73.

³ Solin 1.18.

⁴ Wiseman 1981: 194-8.

⁵ Contra Cecamore (2002: 122-126) who suggests that the structure usually identified as the temple of Victory is that of Jupiter Victor.

⁶ Wiseman 2012: 371-87.

with the stories about his life. According to the known traditions Romulus had no residential connection to the Capitoline either, and yet Vitruvius, Seneca the Elder and Martial all unquestioningly attest to his hut as being there.⁷ Therefore, it remains entirely plausible that Conon's passage is seen as referring to the Capitoline rather than the Palatine hut.

There is also the very real possibility the reference is inaccurate. Conon's *Narratives* have only survived in a heavily epitomised form as part of the ninth-century Byzantine scholar Photios' compendium *Bibliotheca*. Given Photios' alleged method of working primarily from memory and notes, it is possible that at the time of transcription he did not even have direct access to Conon's work.⁸ The discovery of fragments of the *Narratives* on papyri has demonstrated that Photios' transcription both abridged the text and changed the language.⁹ Also, the extent to which Conon himself was accurately reporting the situation in Rome might be questioned. Very little is known of the mythographer other than that his work was dedicated to Archelaos Philopatris, a ruler of Cappadocia during the Augustan period.¹⁰ Where Conon acquired his information about Rome can only be surmised, and it has been suggested that he worked from epitomes.¹¹ There is little reason to think that his observations on the hut were firsthand and, in fact, he seems to make errors regarding the role of certain figures in Rome's foundation story.¹² It is not impossible that the reference to the hut in the precinct of Zeus (Jupiter) being associated with Faustulus was a confused conflation on the part of the author.

⁷ Vitr. 2.1.5; Sen. *Controv.* 6.1.4; Mart. *Ep.* 8.80.6

⁸ Brown 2002: 35-7.

⁹ Brown (2002 37-9; 317-20) is nevertheless 'cautiously optimistic' over the relative faithfulness of Photios in following Conon.

¹⁰ Brown 2002: 1-6.

¹¹ On Conon's sources: Brown 2002: 12; 31-35.

¹² Doubt might be cast on Conon's familiarity with Rome's foundation story by the claim elsewhere in the text that Amulius killed Numitor (*Narr.* 48). This departure from the traditional account suggests he is either reporting an otherwise unknown version or is mistaken. Cf. Brown 2002: 336.

Appendix C: Tacitus *Hist.* 3.71

Martialis had hardly returned to the Capitol when the soldiers arrived in fury. They had no leader; each directed his own movements. Rushing through the forum and past the temples that rise above it, they advanced in column up the hill, as far as the first gates of the Capitoline citadel. There were then some old colonnades on the right as you go up the slopes; the defenders came out on the roofs of these and showered stones and tiles on their assailants. The latter had no arms except their swords, and they thought that it would cost too much time to send for artillery and missiles; consequently they threw firebrands on a projecting colonnade, and then followed in the path of the flames; they actually burned the gates of the Capitol and would have forced their way through, if Sabinus had not torn down all the statues, memorials to the glory of our ancestors, and piled them up across the entrance as a barricade. Then the assailants tried different approaches to the Capitol, one by the grove of the asylum and another by the hundred steps that lead up to the Tarpeian Rock. Both attacks were unexpected; but the one by the asylum was closer and more threatening. Moreover, the defenders were unable to stop those who climbed through neighbouring houses, which, built high in time of peace, reached the level of the Capitol. It is a question here whether it was the besiegers or the besieged who threw fire on the roofs. The more common tradition says this was done by the latter in their attempts to repel their assailants, who were climbing up or had reached the top. From the houses the fire spread to the colonnades adjoining the temple; then the "eagles" which supported the roof, being of old wood, caught and fed the flames. So the Capitol burned with its doors closed; none defended it, none pillaged it.¹

Vixdum regresso in Capitolium Martiale furens miles aderat, nullo duce, sibi quisque auctor. Cito agmine forum et imminetia foro templa praetervecti erigunt aciem per adversum collem usque ad primas Capitolinae arcis fores. Erant antiquitus porticus in latere clivi dextrae subeuntibus, in quarum tectum egressi saxis tegulisque Vitellianos obruebant. Neque illis manus nisi gladiis armatae, et arcessere tormenta aut missilia tela longum videbatur: faces in prominentem porticum iecere et sequebantur ignem ambustasque Capitolii fores penetrassent, ni Sabinus revulsas undique statuas, decora maiorum, in ipso aditu vice muri obiecisset. Tum diversos Capitolii aditus invadunt iuxta lucum asyli et qua Tarpeia rupes centum gradibus aditur. Improvisa utraque vis; propior atque acrior per asylum ingruerat. Nec sisti poterant scandentes per coniuncta aedificia, quae ut in multa pace in altum edita solum Capitolii aequabant. Hic ambigitur, ignem tectis obpugnatores iniecerint, an obsessi, quae crebrior fama, dum nitentis ac progressos depellunt. Inde lapsus ignis in porticus adpositas aedibus; mox sustententes fastigium aquilae vetere ligno traxerunt flammam alueruntque. Sic Capitolium clausis foribus indefensum et indireptum conflagravit.

¹ Tac. *Hist.* 3.71. (Translation Moore 1925).

Appendix D: Martial *Ep.* 5.19

If truth be believed, great Caesar, no epochs can be thought superior to your times. When could men watch triumphs better deserved? When did the gods of the Palatine merit more? Under what Leader was Mars' Rome more beautiful and grander? Under what prince did liberty so flourish?' But there is a flaw, and no slight one, though it be the only one: the friendships that the poor man cultivates are thankless. Who lavishes riches on an old and faithful comrade, who is escorted by a knight of his own making? To send a spoon out of half-a-pound of Saturnalian silver or even ten scruples in all to a poor client is extravagance, and our proud patrons call such items gifts. Perhaps there will be just one who chinks gold pieces. Since these are no friends, be you, Caesar, a friend; no virtue in a leader can be sweeter. All this while, Germanicus, you have been smiling in silent mockery because I give you advice to my own advantage.¹

*Si qua fides veris, praeferri, maxime Caesar,
temporibus possunt saecula nulla tuis.
quando magis dignos licuit spectare triumphos?
quando Palatini plus meruere dei? [5]
pulchrior et maior quo sub duce Martia Roma?
sub quo libertas principe tanta fuit?
est tamen hoc vitium sed non leve, sit licet unum,
quod colit ingratas pauper amicitias.
quis largitur opes veteri fidoque sodali, [10]
aut quem prosequitur non alienus eques?
Saturnaliciae ligulam misisse selibrae
flammarisve togae scripula tota decem
luxuria est, tumidique vocant haec munera reges:
qui crepet aureolos forsitan unus erit. [15]
quatenus hi non sunt, esto tu, Caesar, amicus:
nulla ducis virtus dulcior esse potest.
iam dudum tacito rides, Germanice, naso
utile quod nobis do tibi consilium.*

¹ Mart. *Ep.* 5.19 (Translation adapted from Shackleton Bailey 1993)

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Architectural Restoration and the Concept of Built Heritage in Imperial Rome

Volume 2 of 2

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FIGURES

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Fig 2.1 Reconstruction of the extent of Great Fire.

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Fig 2.2 *Quo Vadis*, 1951.

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Fig. 2.3 Excavated remains associated with the Domus Aurea in bright red.

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Fig. 2.4 Reconstruction of the stagnum superimposed over the Colosseum.

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Fig. 2.5 Plan of the temple of Peace.

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Fig. 2.6 Artist's impression of the temple of Peace.

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Fig. 2.7 A new recreational district: (1) Colosseum. (3) Meta Sudans. (5) Ludus Matutinus. (6) Ludus Magnus. (11) Baths of Titus. (12) Baths of Trajan. (13) Nymphaeum and temple of Claudius. Red arrow indicates the immediate location of the temple of Peace.

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Fig. 2.8 A conservative estimate of the extent of the fire of AD 80 based on the buildings that are known to have been affected.

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Fig. 2.9 Palatine Hill, areas associated with the Domus Augustana marked by the red dotted line, cf. **Fig. 2.20**.

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Fig. 2.10 Reconstruction of the Augustan (orange) and Flavian Meta Sudans, also showing the change in ground level.

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Fig. 2.11 Domitianic interventions in the Campus Martius: (1) theatre and *crypta* of Balbus. (2) Four republican era temples of Area Sacra di Largo Argentina (3). Porticus Minucia and temple on via delle Botteghe Oscure (4-5). Porticus and theatre of Pompey. (6) Odeon. (8) Baths of Agrippa. (9) Diribitorium. (10-11) Temples of Isis and Serapis. (12) Temple of Minerva Chalcidica. (13) Divorum. (14) Ara Martis? (16) Pantheon. Also note the Stadium of Domitian.

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Fig. 2.12 Plan of the substructures of the baths of Trajan (thick black lines) intersecting with the Esquiline wing of the Domus Aurea.

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Fig. 2.13 Plan of the imperial fora within the modern city.

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Fig. 2.14 Restored plan showing the three curia-like rooms of the 'Athenaeum,' with a fragment of the Forma Urbis of one of the 'libraries' of the Forum of Trajan.

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Fig. 2.15 Reconstruction of the 'markets' of Trajan.



Fig. 2.16 Inscription on the base of the column of Trajan.



Fig. 2.17 The mausoleum of Hadrian, rebuilt as Castel Sant'Angelo, still dominates the west bank of the Tiber and Vatican plain.

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Fig. 2.18 Forum Boarium, the three temples of the Forum Holitorium and two temple of the Area Sacra Sant'Omobono are circled in blue.

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Fig. 2.19 Octagonal hall of the Domus Aurea.

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Fig. 2.20 Reconstruction of the Domus Augustana, cf. **Fig. 2.9**.



Fig. 2.21 Exedra of the baths of Trajan on the Esquiline.



Fig. 2.22 Central hall of the 'markets' of Trajan.



Fig. 2.23 Serapeum, Villa Adriana Tivoli, cf. Fig. 3.2-3.



Fig. 2.24 'Hall of the philosophers,' Villa Adriana Tivoli.



Fig. 2.25 Pantheon ceiling.

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Fig 2.26 'Temple of Mercury', Baia.

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Fig. 2.27 Plans showing the curvilinear designs of the 'maritime theatre' (top) and a pavilion of piazza d'Oro (bottom), Villa Adriana Tivoli.

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Fig. 2.28 Interior of the Pantheon, showing 'ornamental' columns.

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Fig 2.29 Reconstruction of the interior of the Pantheon.

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Fig. 2.30 Reconstructed opus sectile floors of the Domus Transitoria on the Palatine.

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Fig. 2.31 Reconstruction of the temple of Apollo Palatinus.

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Fig. 2.32 Renaissance drawing of a fragment of the Forma Urbis (now lost) showing a circular building labelled *VACHA*, reconstructed as the temple of Minerva Chalcidica.

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Fig. 2.33 Drawing of remains associated with the temple of Minerva Chalcidica (right), by Onofrio Panvinio with accompanying notes on Cipollino marble columns by Pirro Ligorio.

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Fig. 3.1 Vespasianic sestertius, AD 71, reverse: *ROMA RESVRGES S C.*



Fig. 3.2 'Pumpkin' dome, Serapeum, Villa Adriana Tivoli, cf. Fig. 2.23.



Fig. 3.3 'Pumpkin' dome, piazza d'Oro, Villa Adriana, Tivoli.

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Fig. 3.4 Mosaic showing a 'melon' and two 'bottle' gourds. Late fourth to fifth century AD, Tegea-Episkopi, Peloponnese.

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Fig. 3.5 Various types of 'bottle' gourd – *lagenaria siceraria*.

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Fig. 3.6 The nave and aisles of the fourth century AD Basilica San Paolo Fuori le Mura following a fire in 1823. Despite the loss of the wooden roof, much of the stone superstructure is still standing.



Fig. 3.7 Round temple in the Forum Boarium.



Fig. 3.8 Original capital on the left, replacement on the right. Note the different symbols (wheat and snake) in the flower, as well as the difference in leaves and use of drilling on the replacement.

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Fig. 3.9. Original capital on the left, replacement on the right.



Fig. 3.10a Arch of Titus, Forum Romanum.



Fig. 3.10b Detail showing the deliberate absence of detailing on the restored elements of the arch.

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Fig. 3.11 Campanile, Venice, c.1890-1900

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Fig. 3.12 Ruins of the Campanile, 1902

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Fig. 3.13 Campanile under construction, 1911

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Fig. 3.14 Campanile as rebuilt, present-day.

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Fig. 3.15 Plan of the Pantheon, Lanciani's reconstruction of a south facing Agrippan version with a transverse cella (underlying the present building) is outlined in red.

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Fig. 3.16 Plan of the Pantheon in its Hadrianic phase.

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Fig. 3.17 Interior of the Pantheon, by Giovanni Paolo Panini, c. 1734.



Fig 3.18 View of the Pantheon from the column of Marcus Aurelius.



Fig. 3.19 Second, blind pediment.

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Fig. 3.20 Pantheon elevation with 40RF columns (right) and reconstructed with 50RF columns (left).

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Fig. 3.21 Pantheon elevation with 40RF columns (right) and reconstructed with 50RF columns (left).

From right to left:

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Fig. 3.22 Regia, first phase, beginning of the sixth century BC.

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Fig. 3.23 Regia, first phase modified, first quarter of the sixth century BC.

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Fig. 3.24 Regia, second phase, after 570 BC.

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Fig. 3.25 Regia, third phase, after 525 BC.

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Fig. 3.26 Regia, fourth phase, end of the sixth century BC.

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Fig. 3.27 Regia, fifth phase, end of the third to beginning of the second century BC.

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Fig. 3.28 Regia, sixth phase, 36 BC.

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Fig. 3.29 Regia circled in red.

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Fig. 4.1 The Capitoline Hill with excavated substructures of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus circled in red.



Fig. 4.2 Cappellaccio tufa blocks of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus substructures, Palazzo dei Conservatori.

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Fig. 4.3 Excavated remains and reconstruction of the temple substructures. The remains (12 meters) above the red dotted line were only discovered during the 1998-2000 excavations.

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Fig 4.4 Gjerstad's reconstruction without the twelve-meter extension.

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Fig. 4.5 Sommella's reconstruction, including rooms to the rear of the cellae.

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Fig 4.6 Stamper's reconstruction.

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Fig 4.7 Stamper's reconstruction.

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Fig. 4.8 Stamper's plan imposed over the excavated and reconstructed substructure, the mismatch between the cellae and columns is apparent.

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Fig. 4.9 Denarius of 78 BC.

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Fig. 4.10 Monumental relief showing an *extispicium* before the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

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Fig. 4.11 Monumental relief panel of Marcus Aurelius sacrificing before the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

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Fig. 4.12 Hopkins' reconstruction.

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Fig. 4.13 Cifani's reconstruction.

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Fig. 4.14 Sommella's alternative reconstruction.

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Fig 4.15 Sacrifice in front of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, Boscoreale Cup, first half of the first century AD.

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Fig. 4.16 Vitellian as, AD 69, reverse: *IO MAX CAPITO*.

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Fig. 4.17 Cistophorus of Titus, AD 80-81, Rome, reverse: *CAPIT RESTIT*.

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Fig. 4.18 Denarius, 43 BC, Rome.

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Fig. 4.19 Denarius, 43 BC, Rome.

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Fig. 4.20 Vespasianic as (head of Domitian), AD 72, Rome.

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Fig. 4.21 Vespasianic Sestertius, AD 74, Rome.

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Fig. 4.22 Domitianic Denarius, AD 95-6, Rome, reverse: Jupiter in temple flanked by two other deities, quadriga on roof, *IMP CAESAR* on architrave.



Fig. 4.23 Temple of Castor and Pollux in the Forum Romanum, as depicted on Anaglypha Traiani.

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Fig 4.24 Denarius, AD 68-9, Gaul and Spain, reverse: *CAPITOLINUS IO MAX*.



Fig 4.25 Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei (temple B), Area Sacra di Largo Argentina.

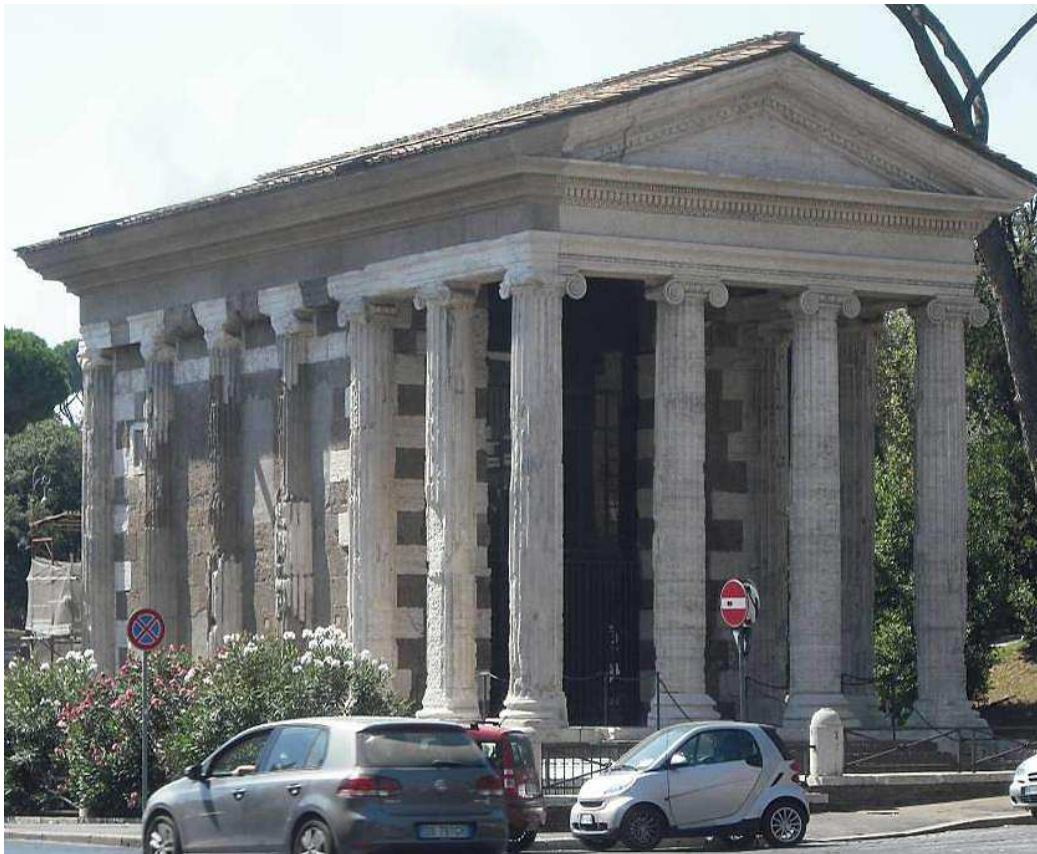


Fig 4.26 Temple of Portunus, Forum Boarium. Travertine is used for the bases and capitals of the engaged columns of cella, as well as the shafts of the corner columns, where it is also mixed with the tufa blocks in the walls to reinforce these elements.

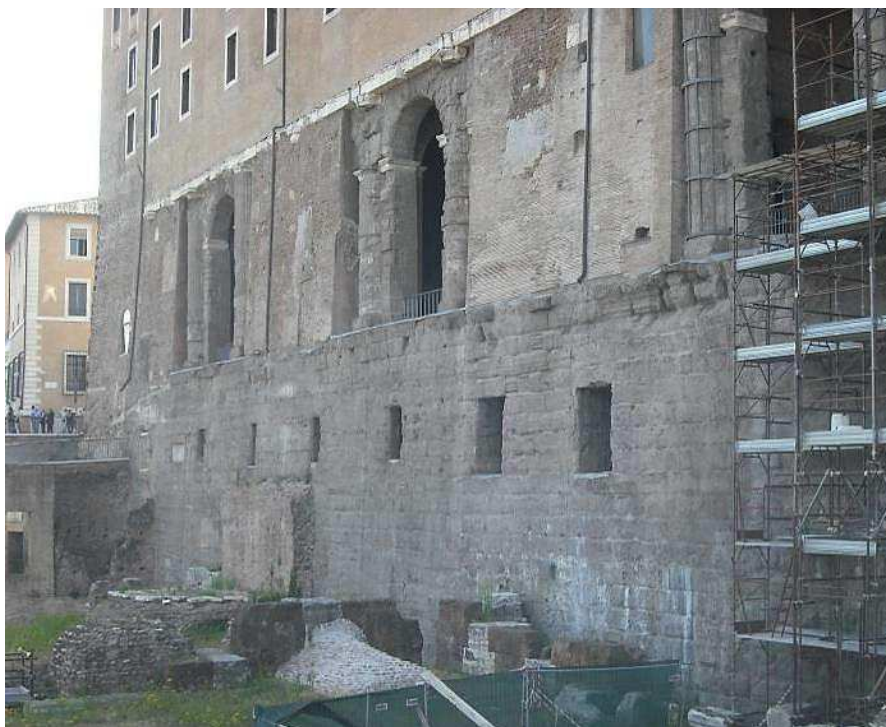


Fig 4.27 The lower level and first arcade of the 'Tabularium,' with Palazzo Senatorio above.



Fig. 4.28 Travertine (white elements) used for the architrave and capitals of the 'Tabularium' arcade.



Fig. 4.29 Travertine fragments of a large Corinthian order, below the Capitoline Hill next to the Portico Dii Consentes.

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Fig. 4.30 Coarelli's reconstruction of the temples on top of the 'Tabularium.'

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Fig. 4.31 Model of sixth-fifth century BC araeostyle temple of Minerva at Veii.



Fig. 4.32 Large tufa Tuscan capital. An indication of scale might be gauged from the sun glasses in the foreground.



Fig. 4.33 Cappellaccio tufa blocks of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus substructures with concrete visible on top.

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Fig. 4.34 Vespasianic medallion, Cabinet des Médailles.

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Fig. 4.35 Fragment of a Pentelic marble Corinthian capital.

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Fig. 4.36 Fragment of a Pentelic marble column shaft.

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Fig. 4.37 Hohenzollern Stadtschloss.

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Fig. 4.38 Palast der Republik.

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Fig.4.39 Artist's impression of the reconstructed Stadtschloss.

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Fig. 5.1 Approximate location of the Palatine and Capitoline casae Romuli indicated by blue circles.

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Fig 5.2 South west corner of the Palatine. The location of the casa Romuli postholes are marked by a blue circle and the archaic postholes by a red circle. Other features include the temple of Apollo (A), the temple of Victory (L), and the stair of Cacus (O).

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Fig. 5.3 Detail of south-west corner of the Palatine, the casa Romuli circled in blue, the archaic postholes in red.

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Fig. 5.4 Tufa enclosure and postholes associated with the casa Romuli indicated by blue circle.

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Fig. 5.5 Thatched hut under construction, between Rome and Lunghezza, 1890-1901.

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Fig. 5.6 Reconstruction of a thatched hut, near the via Latina.

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Fig. 5.7 The hut of Romulus as reconstructed by Boni on the Palatine Hill, c. 1900.

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Fig. 5.8 Map of the Tiber with locations for the Pons Sublicius as suggested by Galliazzo, Le Gall and Coarelli. Tucci places it at the Pons Theodosii.

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Fig. 5.9 Medallion of Antoninus Pius showing the Pons Sublicius.

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Fig. 5.10 Lincoln's cabin, Illinois.

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Fig 5.11 Lincoln's cabin, Kentucky.

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Fig. 6.1 Morpurgo's Ara Pacis pavilion 1938.

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Fig. 6.2 Meier's Ara Pacis museum.

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Fig 6.3 Meier's Ara Pacis museum.

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Fig 6.4 Graffiti covered signboard at the construction site of the Ara Pacis showing an impression of the finished museum.