

GOD ON EARTH: EMPEROR DOMITIAN



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GOD ON EARTH: EMPEROR DOMITIAN

The re-invention of Rome at the end of the 1st century AD

edited by

Aurora Raimondi Cominesi, Nathalie de Haan,
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Contents

Preface: Anchoring a New Emperor André Lardinois & Ineke Sluiter	9
Introduction: Domitian, the Neglected Emperor Who Wished to Be God Aurora Raimondi Cominesi, Nathalie de Haan, Eric M. Moormann & Claire Stocks	13
Part I: Ruling the Empire	19
Emperorship and Emperors before the Flavians Came to Power Olivier Hekster	21
Rome AD 69: The City at The Crossroads Domenico Palombi	25
The Rise of the Flavians Barbara Levick	29
Impact of Empire: Cremona, Bedriacum and Brescia Francesca Morandini, Lilia Palmieri & Marina Volonté	35
Part II: Building the Empire	41
Domitian's Reshaping of Rome Eric M. Moormann	43
The Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus Claudio Parisi Presicce	51
Material Culture in Britannia under Domitian; a Northern Focus Barbara Birley & Frances McIntosh	57
Domitian and the Lower German <i>Limes</i> (The Netherlands) Jasper de Bruin	63

Part III: The Image of the Emperor	71
The Image of the Emperor: Seeing Domitian	73
Jane Fejfer	
Historical Reliefs and Architecture	83
Paolo Liverani	
The Image of the Emperor in Contemporary Epic Poetry	91
Claire Stocks	
Imperial Women and the Dynamics of Power. Managing the Soft Power of Domitia Longina and Julia Titi	97
Lien Foubert	
Part IV: The World of Domitian	103
Living Like the Emperor: A Portrayal of Domitian in his Villas and on the Palatine	105
Aurora Raimondi Cominesi & Claire Stocks	
Between Magnificence and Misery: Living Conditions in Metropolitan Rome	111
Nathalie de Haan	
Entertainment and Spectacles during Domitian's Rule	119
Daniëlle Slootjes	
Domitian and the Capitolia	125
Onno van Nijf, Robin van Vliet & Caroline van Toor	
Archaeological Evidence from Domitian's Palatine	131
Natascha Sojc	
<i>'Albanum Domitiani'</i> , Domitian's Villa in Castel Gandolfo	137
Claudia Valeri	
Part V: Man and God	145
Domitian and Religion	147
Frederick G. Naerebout	
Master and God: Domitian's Art and Architecture in Rome	153
Diane Atnally Conlin	
Man and God: Literature	159
Antony Augoustakis & Emma Buckley	

Part VI: Fall and Afterlife Regime Change/Reputation in Antiquity	167
Anchoring Egypt. The <i>Iseum Campense</i> and Flavian Rome Miguel John Versluys	169
Portraiture and Memory Sanctions Caroline Vout	175
Domitian and the Temples of Egypt Olaf E. Kaper	181
Domitian's Damned Memory in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries Maria Paolo Del Moro	185
'An Enemy of God' on the Imperial Throne? The Reception of Domitian during the Middle Ages Nine Miedema	189
Bibliography	197
Index	219

Rome AD 69: The City at the Crossroads

Domenico Palombi

“What an artist dies in me!”¹ The note of theatricality that Suetonius conveyed to his audience when narrating Nero’s last moments, highlights the amazing vision of imperial power conceived by the last heir of Augustus: “lover of the impossible”,² and eager, beyond all measure, “to perpetuate his memory and fame in eternity”.³ We can thus understand the magnitude of the monumental, urban and infrastructural programme conceived by Nero for Rome after the fire of 64 which had devastated the city: only four out of the fourteen regions were spared (I, V, VI, XIV), three were totally destroyed (XI, X, III) while the remaining seven were seriously damaged. The fire gave him the opportunity to “acquire glory by building a new city and calling it by its name.”⁴

The irreparable loss of “everything that had remained worthy of being seen or remembered from antiquity”⁵ would have been balanced by a *nova Urbs* (new city) that was founded upon a rational and efficient urban design: orthogonal, wide and straight streets; buildings of reduced height, built with fireproof materials; urban blocks with front porches and inside courtyards; efficient water network. These features were “things well accepted for their usefulness and which also gave beauty to the new city.”⁶ In the centre of Rome, the emperor planned an immense palace, called the *Domus Aurea*: it extended from the Palatine to the Esquiline, was accessible from the Forum Romanum through a gigantic *atrium* dominated by the Colossus of the Sun. The *domus* was scattered with pavilions of unusual richness, very long porticoes, vast gardens, and a pond that looked like a sea. All this happened because “there was nothing in which he was more prodigal than in building.”⁷

1 Suet. *Nero* 49.

2 Tac. *Ann.* 15.42.2.

3 Suet. *Nero* 55.

4 Tac. *Ann.* 15.40.2.

5 Suet. *Nero* 28, cf. Tac. *Ann.* 41.

6 Tac. *Ann.* 43.

7 Suet. *Nero* 31, Tac. *Ann.* 43. On Nero and Rome, see, among others, Cizek 1984, 276-281, Griffin 1984, Sordi 1999, 105-112, Champlin 2005, 230-269, for the image of Neron as a builder, see Elsner 1994. For Neronian urbanistics: Croisille/Perrin 2002 (essays C. Perassi, V.M. Strocka, E.M. Moormann/P.G.P. Meyboom, P. Gros, J.-P. Morel/F. Villedieu, S. Ensoli, K. Welch, M. Sordi, J.-M. Croisille, G. Mazzoli, J.-M. André, A. Malissard, R. Carré), Tomei/Rea 2011 (essays C. Panella, A. Viscogliosi, H. von Hesberg, M.A. Tomei, A. Carandini/D. Bruno/F. Fraioli, H.-J. Beste), de Souza/Devillers 2019 (essays F. Villedieu, M. Ippoliti, E. Brienza, M. Mimmo).

In fact, Nero's project should be considered the first coherent plan for the urban reorganization of imperial Rome, after the general renewal carried out by Augustus according to the new political-administrative organization and ideological-cultural needs of the city that had now become the *caput imperii* and the seat of the *Domus Augusta*. Had Fate not abandoned Nero – marking the end both of an era and of a dynasty⁸ – in the centuries to come Rome would certainly have preserved the layout and the forms of his *nova Urbs*, the completion of which, on the other hand, seemed inevitable to those who wished to succeed him.⁹ However, when the struggle for succession ended in 69, Vespasian found Rome still struck by the consequences of that terrible disaster, so that “being the *Urbs* disfigured by ruins and old fires, it allowed anyone to build in the empty areas if the owners had not done so.”¹⁰

In fact, as archaeological investigations reveal, the city's rebuilding after the fire of 64 was focused on the area of the imperial palace, while a vast urban planning had been drawn up – but only partly carried out – in the districts between the Palatine Hill and the Imperial Fora, around the Via Sacra and its extension towards the valley of the future Amphitheatre and along the Argiletum, in front of the Fora of Caesar and Augustus.¹¹

Elsewhere, it is very difficult to find archaeological evidence of rebuilding: the functional contents and ideological orientations of Nero's urban project emerge from what has been handed down from written sources.¹²

The particular attention paid to rebuilding the *Circus Maximus* (before 66-68), ties in with a more ambitious programme dedicated to the buildings for the spectacle which, even before 64, focused on the completion of the *Circus* of Caligula in the Vatican (with its bridge over the Tiber, the so-called *Pons Neronianus*) and the construction of an Amphitheatre in the *Campus Martius* (57) built as an entirely wooden structure but of extraordinary richness.¹³ In the same topographical context falls the construction, in 60 or 62, of the Neronian Baths and of the sumptuous *Gymnasium Neronis* (burnt-down soon after and not rebuilt), linked

to the celebrations of the *Neronia*, the five-yearly games in honour of the emperor abolished after his death.¹⁴

In addition to the *Macellum Magnum* on the *Caelius* (59) which replaced the traditional food market north of the *Forum*, other noteworthy public services and urban infrastructures include the completion of the Harbour of Claudius and the project of a navigable canal between Ostia and Pozzuoli, forming a direct connection of the two main food supply ports of Rome.¹⁵ *Annona* (grain), *balnea* (baths), and *spectacula* (spectacles) qualify Nero's *nova Urbs* as an expression of the emperor's *munificentia* (generosity) and *liberalitas* (kindness), whose *maiestas* (greatness) was expressed in an urban and monumental vision unprecedented in grandeur and coherence.

Thus, at the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, the substantial and symbolic requirements connected with the exercise of imperial power had resulted in a spectacular metamorphosis of the city, transforming it into an imperial megalopolis¹⁶ that extended well beyond the confines of its ancient walls (even if the gates retained a symbolic value):¹⁷ it was divided into fourteen regions and two hundred and sixty-five districts (this number had already been reached in the Flavian age),¹⁸ settled around the representative centres of power (the palace and the imperial *fora*),¹⁹ with an improved network of services and infrastructures (aqueducts, markets, thermal baths, entertainment buildings, etc.).²⁰ This new imperial megalopolis was also supplied by an efficient annona organization (the

8 Suet. *Galba* 1.1. See Olivier Hekster in this volume.

9 Suet. *Otho* 7, *Vitell.* 11. Cf. Cosme 2012, 212-217.

10 Suet. *Vesp.* 8.

11 Medri 1996, Brienza 2016, Palombi 2016, esp. 94-95. On the material and ideological ‘destiny’ of the *Domus Aurea*: Flower 2006, 228-232, Daguët-Gagey 2007, esp. 119-120, Rosso 2008, Leithoff 2014, 134-140.

12 For the edifices mentioned in the following, see the entries in *LTUR* I-IV (1993-2000).

13 On the circus in the Vatican: Coarelli 2008-2009 and Gee 2011-2012. For the *theatrum Neronis* in the same *horti* of Agrippina in the Vatican: Liverani 2000-2001.

14 On the recent discoveries pertaining these structures, see Filippi 2010.

15 On the *Macellum Magnum* of the *Caelius* and its representations on coins: Bocciarelli/Bizet 2013. On the *fossa Neronis*: Johannowski 1994 and Giardina 2004. On the evolution of the “Pozzuoli-Ostia-Roma system”: Zevi 2001 and 2000.

16 On the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of the Imperial megalopolis: Nicolet 2000. On its formation: Palombi 2012a.

17 On the extension of the town – based on Plin. *HN* 3.5.66-67 – and on the censure of Vespasian and Titus in 73-74, closed with the extension of the *pomerium* by Vespasian in 75, see Guilhembet 2006.

18 A. Fraschetti/D. Palombi, s.v. *Regiones quattuordecim*, *LTUR* IV (1999) 197-204, 518.

19 On the Imperial Fora within the new institutional and bureaucratic topography of the *Urbs*: Bonnefond 1987, Carnabuci 1996, Corbier 2006, 147-162, Bablitz 2007, De Angelis 2010 (essays F. De Angelis, M. Maiuro, E. Kondratieff, E. Metzger, R. Neudecker).

20 Indicative is the multiplication of aqueducts between Augustus (*aquae Iulia*, 33 BC, *Virgo* 19 BC, *Alsietina* 2 BC) and Claudius (*ANio Novus* and *aqua Claudia*): Bruun 1997, 121-155 and De Kleijn 2001. On the first public baths of Rome: Migliorati 2015. On the buildings for spectacles: Sear 2006, Moretti 2009, Ciancio Rossetto/Pisani Sartorio 2017. On the problem of the *macellum Liviae* on the Esquiline: Bertrand/Chillet 2016.

harbour of Ostia, Tiber harbours, and warehouses),²¹ was controlled by an extensive military and paramilitary system (with army and police barracks and garrisons),²² and was administered by a complex bureaucracy of officials (with their relevant administrative offices).²³ The physical and symbolic presence of the *princeps* and the *domus Augusta* was pervasive (with an extensive array of gardens and celebratory and funerary monuments in addition to the imperial palace)²⁴ and there were an increasing number of ceremonies and buildings dedicated to the imperial cult.²⁵

The radical transformation of the republican city had started with Augustus who, in forty years of ruling, had created that “city of marble” (more than one hundred documented monumental, building and infrastructural works) which, in symbolic and substantial terms, constituted the foundation of the new imperial capital.²⁶ After Augustus, the Julio-Claudian emperors had acted in the vein of continuity and dynastic legitimation. Tiberius faced the reconstruction of the quarters destroyed by the fire of 27, while he was himself responsible for the creation of several great functional and infrastructural works (the *Castra Praetoria* and the improvement of the Tiber banks). He also carried out vast restorations in the *Forum Holitorium* and in the *Campus Martius*. Caligula built a *Circus* in the Vatican and an Amphitheatre in the *Campus Martius*. Claudius took particular care of the water supply system (two new aqueducts and a general restoration of the existing ones), and of the *annona* with the possible construction of the new *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria* in *Campus Martius* and the creation of the Harbour of Ostia (from 42 onwards).²⁷

However, only Nero had the ambition – and the opportunity – to conceive a consistent urban project for the centre of Rome. His unfinished legacy influenced the monumental building activity of the Flavians who, at the crossroads between Augustan classicism and the Hellenizing utopia of Nero, interpreted it according to their specific perspectives, and passed it on to the Antonines and the Severans.²⁸

21 On the *annona* in Rome: *Mémoire* 1998 (essays E. Lo Cascio, S. Panciera, G.E. Rickman, B. Sirks, M. Tarpin, C. Virlouvet), Virlouvet 2000, Tchernia 2000, Hesnard 2001, Andreau 2001.

22 On the ‘militarisation’ of Rome: Sablayrolles 2001, Busch 2011.

23 On the imperial bureaucratic and administrative system, its offices and its ideological implications: Daguet-Gagey 2000, Coarelli 2019. For the development of the imperial system, see Olivier Hekster in this volume.

24 On the ‘symbiotic’ rapport between *princeps* and *Urbs*: Benoist 2005.

25 On times, protagonists, practices and manifestations of the imperial cult in Rome: Palombi 2013.

26 To be quoted from the vast bibliography: *Augustus* 1988, F. Castagnoli, s.v. Roma, in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* I (1988) 544-553, Zanker 1987, Frascchetti 1990, Wallace-Hadrill 1993, Favro 1996, D. Palombi, s.v. Roma, in *Enciclopedia Oraziana* I (1996) 533-553, Haselberger 2007, La Rocca 2014 (esp. essays E. La Rocca and A. Viscogliosi).

27 On the monumental and infrastructural policy of the Julio-Claudians: Thornton/Thornton 1989, Ghini 2015 (essays M. Barbera, F. Coarelli, H. Hurst), La Rocca 2018.

28 On Flavian Rome see, with bibliography: Darwall-Smith 1996, Boyle/Dominik 2003, Edmondson/Mason/Rives 2005, Cavalieri 2005, Coarelli 2009b, Gering 2012, Ruff 2012, Leithoff 2014, Tatarkiewicz 2014, Moormann 2018. On the urbanistic programmes of the Antonines: Palombi 2012b, Palombi 2017. On that of the Severi: Palombi 2018.

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