The Temple of Peace and the Temple of Divus Claudius

A study into the functions of the Temple of Peace and the Temple of Divus Claudius and their role within the ideology of Vespasian.

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The Temple of Peace and the Temple of Divus Claudius on the map of ancient Rome

Map 1. Plan of Ancient Rome; 1 Temple of Peace, 2 Temple of Divus Claudius

Source: Markus Milligan, *Thinglink- map of Ancient Rome,*

https://www.thinglink.com/scene/939184883480133633 (retrieved on 12-06-2018).

Introduction

When Vespasian came to power, Rome had still not recovered from the fire of AD 64 and the damages of the civil war of AD 69. Suetonius stated that: *Vespasian took over an ugly city, a city which was still unsightly from former fires and fallen buildings*.[1] Vespasian endeavors to rebuild the city gave him the reputation of one of the greatest builders of ancient Rome. However, Vespasian only (re-)built four buildings, including the most famous building of ancient Rome, the *Amphitheatrum Flavium*, better known as the Colosseum. Besides the Colosseum Vespasian, (re-)built the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, which was destroyed during the civil war, the Temple of Peace and the Temple of Divus Claudius. These last two buildings enjoyed the least scholarly attention, yet they are central to this research. The function of these temples and motives for the construction of these buildings are less clear than is the case of the *Amphitheatrum Flavium* or the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Especially the Temple of Divus Claudius is still a 'mystery'; almost no literary or archeological evidence has survived.

The Romans did, just like the Greeks, make a clear distinction between private and public buildings. The Temple of Peace and the Temple of Divus Claudius where both constructed for the latter purpose. As Robin Hayden Darwall-Smith states, 'public architecture was often used for ideological ends, as buildings came to express something about their builders' ideology'.[2] This is exactly what this research aims to do. To indicate the ideological motives behind these temples, the focus will not be on the shape or architecture of the buildings, but on the function of the buildings and how did this related to the ideology of Vespasian. The question central to this research is: Which role(s) did the function of the Temple of Peace and the Temple of Divus Claudius fulfil in Vespasian's ideology?

As you can see, ideology is a central concept in this research. Before we can start to look at Vespasian's ideology, it is necessary to define what 'ideology' means for this particular research. Ideology, a concept from the nineteenth century, is described by the Oxford Dictionary as 'a system of ideas and ideals, especially one which forms the basis of economic or political theory and policy'.[3] If we can even speak of the existence of such a 'system' in ancient Rome, how do we have to interpret ideology in an imperial Roman context? According to Clifford Ando, the success of the Roman Empire and its ability to control a wide range of provinces was the result of an ideology.[4] The success of the empire

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[1] Suetonius, *Life of Vespasian* 8.5.

[2] R. Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture: a Study of Flavian Rome* (Brussels 1996) 18.

[3] English Oxford Dictionary – Ideology, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/ideology (retrieved 12-06-2018).

[4] C. Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (California 2000) 5.

depended heavily on the people's believe in a social order and the feeling of belonging to an imagined community of 'Romans'.[5] Ando sees the mechanism to establish this goal as proof for the existence of a Roman imperial ideology.[6] Ando describes two central aspects of ideology in ancient Rome: on the one hand it functioned to legitimate rights of sovereignty, and on the other hand, the legal obligation to obey it.[7] The Roman emperor played a central role in the ideology.[8] Ando's vision on the concept of ideology fits perfectly in this research. Central to this research is the emperor Vespasian and his ideology; the system of communicating ideas and ideals to establish a legitimate reign in the context of Flavian Rome.

Vespasian came to power in the year AD 69, which is better known as the 'year of the four emperors'. After the death of Nero in June AD 68, Servius Sulpicius Galba was recognized as the new emperor. M. Salvius Otho was disappointed that he was not appointed as the successor of Nero. He gained the support over the *Praetorian* Guard in Rome and had Galba assassinated. In the meantime, the troops of Vitellius marched into the Italian peninsula and defeated Otho. One day after his defeat Otho committed suicide, while Vitellius marched on to Rome. In Rome, Vitellius ran up against the armies of Vespasian.[9]

A lot of studies have already been published on this subject. In the past century there have been four full-length studies in English, by Henderson, Greenhalgh, Wellesley and Morgan. The work of Greenhalgh, 'The Year of the Four Emperors' and Wellesley's 'The Long Year A.D. 69' both appeared in 1975. Both authors realized there was a vivid subject untreated in detail since Henderson's 'Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman Empire AD 69/70', originally published in 1908. Tacitus' 'Histories' is for any modern account of the year of the four emperors the most dominant source. This also applies to the works of Greenhalgh and Wellesley.[10]

The earlier of the two was Peter Greenhalgh, who wrote his monograph for two types of audience: 'the general reader' and 'the student of this period'.[11] The major shortcoming of Greenhalgh's work is the misinterpretation of the classical sources. According to professor Keith Bradley, Greenhalgh presents speeches from Tacitus' 'Histories' frequently as historically accurate. The parts about Nero are also full of stereotypical views and opinions, based on the literary tradition on

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[5] Ando, *Imperial Ideology,* 19.

[6] Ibidem, 23.

[7] Ibidem, 24.

[8] Ibidem, 23.

[9] B. Levick, *Vespasian* (London 1999) 43.

[10] P. Greenhalgh, *The Year of the Four Emperors* (New York 1975) xiii; K. Wellesley, *The Long Year A.D. 69* (London 1975) xi.

[11] Greenhalgh, *The Year of the Four* Emperors, xii.

the Julian-Claudian emperors. On the other side, Greenhalgh's case about the 'Flavian propaganda' is over argued.[12]

Kenneth Wellesley succeeded better in the analysis of the ancient sources. Wellesley is best known as a Tacitean scholar and the translator of Tacitus' 'Histories' in the Penguin series. The work of Wellesley is written in standard annalistic fashion, beginning with January AD 69 and ending with January 70. Compared to the work of Greenhalgh, Wellesley is less clear on Flavian ideology. Wellesley mainly based his study on the accounts of Tacitus, but also incorporated much other material, not found in Tacitus. This resulted in a more independent account of the events than the work of both Greenhalgh and Henderson.

Despite these previous works, Gwyn Morgan, specialized in Roman history and Latin literature, sees the appearance of his own work as essential. Just like the others, Tacitus is the framework for this study.[13] Morgan states that his predecessors failed to deal with the texts of Tacitus.[14] Morgan has a negative view on Vespasian and sees the cause for his power in the fact that he was simply 'the last man standing'.[15] Morgan quotes Tacitus to typify the situation after Vespasian came to power: 'There was no emperor, and there were no laws'.[16] According to Morgan, there were others like Mucianus, who actually brought peace to the empire.

In 1958, Sir Ronald Syme was of the opinion that in January of AD 69, Mucianus seemed the stronger candidate.[17] Gerda de Kleijn investigated the leadership of Mucianus in the story of Vespasian's bid for power.[18] According to Kleijn, the idea that Vespasian was the leader of the revolt against Vitellius is a product of the historiography, which suits the opinion of Greenhalgh on the influence of the Flavian propaganda.[19] Kleijn also uses Tacitus' 'Histories' as the main source, but takes Tacitus' own opinion on leadership and partiality, which influenced his image of Vespasian, into account. She suggests that Mucianus' opinion was that the empire would be served best by Titus, and the reign of Vespasian had to ensure this.[20] Werner Eck, expert in imperial Rome, elaborates on this by stating that Vespasian's priority was Egypt, where his legion declared him emperor. In the meantime,

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[12] K. Bradley, *review* P. Greenhalgh, *The Year of the Four Emperors* (New York 1975): *Classical Philology* 74:3 (July 1979) 259.

[13] G. Morgan, *69 A.D.: The Year of Four Emperors* (Oxford 2006) 10.

[14] Morgan, *69 A.D.,* 2.

[15] Ibidem, 263.

[16] Ibidem, 257.

[17] R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford 1958) 195.

[18] G. de Kleijn,'C. Licinius Mucianus, Leader in Time of Crisis', *Historia: zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 58:3 (2009) 311-324, particularly 312.

[19] Greenhalgh, *The Year of the Four Emperors,* 115-117.

[20] Kleijn, 'Licinius Mucianus', *312.*

Mucianus defeated Vitellius in Rome. The stories of his victories were scattered all over the empire, as a form of legitimation of Vespasian's power.[21]

This brings us to the central theme in Vespasian's ideology, the legitimization of the new Flavian regime. As we have seen, the legitimization of power was one of the two dominant functions within Roman ideology, according to Ando.[22] One can think of several reasons why the legitimization of their reign was such a prominent aspect of their ideology. According to Eck, Vespasian's humble origins from a non-senatorial family amplified the need to legitimize his position as emperor. This found expression in various kinds of media, such as coins, laws, but also his building program.[23] In the next part, I will elaborate on the different ideological aspects of Vespasian's attempts to establish a legitimate dynasty.

Famous for his biographies about the life of the first twelve emperors is the ancient historian Suetonius. In Book VIII, Suetonius describes the lives of the Flavian emperors Vespasian, Titus and Domitian. Trevor Luke, specialized in imperial ideology, wrote about ideology in Suetonius' 'Life of Vespasian'. In his analysis, Luke recognizes three important aspects of Vespasian's ideology. Luke sees 'restoring' as an important similarity between the ideologies of Augustus and Vespasian. To Augustus 'restoring' meant to restore the 'Republic', to Vespasian it meant restoring the Empire.[24]

Chapter seven of Suetonius' 'Life of Vespasian' functions as a *Res Gestae.* This part opens with a reference to the victory in civil war and proceeds with a list of Vespasian's magistracies.[25] According to Luke, by using the same model as the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, Suetonius compared Vespasian to Augustus.[26] Werner Eck states that the title Vespasian gave himself, *Imperator Caesar Vespasianus Augustus,* also proofs that Vespasian tried to link himself to Augustus.[27] Not only did the way Augustus ruled serve as a model, but also his visual language in art and architecture. Vespasian presented himself as the 'new Augustus'.[28] As we shall see in this research, establishing a link with Augustus was an important aspect of Vespasian's ideology.

The third important aspect of Vespasian's ideology, besides 'restoring the empire' and showing continuity with the Julian-Claudians, was the response of the Flavian regime to the problems which persisted from the reign of Nero. This response had a prominent role within Vespasian's ideology

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[21] W. Eck, 'Vespasianus'*, Brill's New Pauly* (April 2018) doi:.10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e12202340.

[22] Ando, *Imperial Ideology,* 24.

[23] Eck, Vespasianus*.*

[24] T. Luke, 'Ideology and Humor in Suetonius' Life of Vespasian 8', *The Classical World* 103:4 (2010) 511-527, particularly 512.

[25] Luke, 'Ideology'*,* 512.

[26] Ibidem, 513.

[27] Eck, Vespasianus*.*

[28] O. Hekster, 'Imagining Power: Reality Gaps in the Roman Empire', *Babesh* 86 (2011) 111-124, particularly 114.

because the memory of Nero was still alive. This was mostly caused by Otho and Vitellius, who had openly supported the former emperor.[29] The image of Vespasian had to be a clear break between the new Flavian regime and the Neronian past.[30] One way to do this was to honor Nero's predecessor Claudius.[31] Admiration for Claudius was combined with criticism of Nero. In the first chapter of this research I will elaborate more on this specific aspect of Vespasian ideology.

In 1999, Barbara Levick, a British historian, wrote an influential biography on Vespasian. The aim of Levick was to present a more truthful overview of the life of Vespasian instead of the success story, which is mostly based on ancient but also medieval traditions. According to Levick, the image of the 'noble emperor' is a story influenced by almost 2000 years of propaganda.[32] We have already noticed this in the work of Greenhalgh 'The Year of the Four Emperors', in which he struggled with this 'created image' of the Flavians. Another aspect which Levick examines is the image of Vespasian as the emperor who 'changed' the empire. Levick asks herself in what way Vespasian 'changed' rather than 'restore' the empire?[33] By doing so, Levick agrees with Luke, who saw that 'restoring' the empire was also a powerful ideological message for Vespasian. The focus of Levick's work is mainly on politics and the military achievements of Vespasian. She argues that the military experiences in Britain put him in charge of the rebellious areas of Judea. His successes during the Jewish wars and the prestigious connection with the previous regime gave him the kind of legitimacy for the position of princeps.[34]

Miriam Griffin, expert in Roman history, elaborates on the aspect of 'continuity' and its importance within Vespasian's ideology. According to Griffin, Vespasian's relation with the Julian-Claudians has to be seen in a broader perspective. Vespasian tried to show continuity with several members of the Julian-Claudians, namely: Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius.[35] The *Lex de Imporio Vespasiani* was one way to advertise these relations. One could also recognize the aspect of continuity in the coinage program of Vespasian. Depictions of *Pax, Libertas Concorida, Aeternitas* and *Populus Romanus* showed that the new regime proved that the Principate and Rome had survived together.[36]

Other topics which appeared frequently on coins were both his sons, Titus and Domitian. This adds another dimension of 'continuity' to Vespasian Ideology. Apart from the continuity with the past,

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[29] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture,* 53.

[30] Luke, 'Ideology', 523.

[31] M. Griffin, 'The Flavians' in: A. Bowman, P. Garnsey, D. Rathbone eds., *The Cambridge Ancient History: XI The High Empire, AD 70–192* (Cambridge 2008) 1-83, particularly 14; B. Levick, *Claudius* (London 1990) 187.

[32] Levick, *Vespasian*, 3.

[33] Ibidem*,* 2.

[34] Ibidem, 1.

[35] M. Griffin, 'The Flavians', 11.

[36] Ibidem*,*14.

it was also important to proclaim continuity with the future. Family became a principal theme in Flavian ideology. This reflected the importance for an emperor to be able to offer a peaceful and secure successor. The triumph and the victory of the Jewish Revolt were others themes depicted on coins. These coins reflected the virtue and dignity of the Flavians. Noteworthy is the fact that the building program of Vespasian did not have a central role in his coinage program. However, as Levick states, buildings had a prominent role within the ideology of Vespasian.[37]

Although buildings had an important role within Vespasian's ideology, the ideological meaning of the Temple of Peace and the Temple of Divus Claudius are almost never examined in scholarly studies. The Temple of Peace and the Temple of Divus Claudius appear mainly in studies on imperial architecture. Most of these studies only examine the design and architecture of these building, but almost never focus on its function or ideological role. Robin Haydon Darwall- Smith was the first one who studied Flavian architecture as a whole. His vision that buildings were ideological instruments is the basis for this research. Darwall-Smith shows how the Flavian dynasty mingled architecture and ideology, and how their own work was influenced by earlier builders.[38] However, there is not much published on the ideological motives behind the construction of the Temple of Peace and Temple of Divus Claudius.

In case of the Temple of Peace, there is a scholarly debate on how the site has to be identified. James Anderson, professor in Roman architecture and archaeology, stated that the Temple of Peace was an imperial forum instead of a temple.[39] Fillipo Coarelli, expert in the topography of ancient Rome, also ranks the Temple of Peace under the imperial fora, yet calls it a *templum*.[40] Malcom Colledge typifies the name 'Forum of Peace' as incorrect, but never explains this.[41] Darwall-Smith talks specifically about ideology, and is the only one who doubts if it was always seen as a forum. Darwall-Smith refers to Pliny the Elder and Suetonius who both named it a *templum*, and suggests that it is only from the fourth century that people talk about the 'Forum of Peace'.[42] Anderson thinks the shift in naming the site was not only because it functioned more or less as a forum. The location was the main reason to call it a forum, because the location was closely connected to other imperial fora (map 2).[43] Apart from this discussion, there was little attention for the Temple of Peace very recently.

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[37] Levick, *Vespasian,* 65.

[38] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture,* 33.

[39] Ibidem, 56.

[40] F. Coarelli, *Rome and Environs: An Archaeological Guide* (London 2007) 125.

[41] M. Colledge, 'Art and Architecture' in: A. Bowman, P. Garnsey, D. Rathbone eds*., The Cambridge Ancient History: XI The High Empire, AD 70–192* (Cambridge 2008) 966-983, particularly, 967.

[42] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture,* 56.

[43] J. Anderson, *The Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora* (Brussels 1984) 112.

At the end of 2017, when this research had already been started, Pier Luigi Tucci published a full length study on the Temple of Peace. Tucci, specialized in history of architecture and art, is the first one to publish a full length study on the Temple of Peace. Tucci also thinks the Temple of Peace was a temple instead of a forum.[44] In this book 'The Temple of Peace in Rome' he examines design, function and significance of the temple, but his focus is on the conversion of the building into the basilica dedicated to Cosmas and Damian. Even in this full length publication, the function and its relation to Vespasian's ideology enjoy minor attention. The same applies to the Temple of Divus Claudius. It is remarkable how little literary and archaeological evidence has survived. John Stamper, professor in architectural history, does not even mention existence of the Temple of Divus Claudius in his study on the architecture of Roman temples.[45]

The Flavian emperors are considered as one of the biggest contributors to imperial architecture in ancient Rome.[46] Historiography shows that the Temple of Peace and especially the Temple of Divus Claudius were not the focal point of studies on Flavian or imperial Roman architecture. The recently published study of Pier Luigi Tucci is an exception on this. He is the first one who tried to give a complete overview of the Temple of Peace from its construction onwards. Unfortunately, the focus is mainly on the architecture and technical aspects of the building, thereby Tucci is mostly interested in the transitions of the temple after the Flavian regime.

Modern scholarship on ideology states that an ideology depends heavily on the existence of systems of mass communication.[47] Such a modern system of mass communication can simply not be projected on ancient Rome. However, also in ancient Rome there were various forms of media which were important mechanisms to communicate imperial ideas and ideals. Barbara Levcik already stated that during the reign of Vespasian, buildings were such an important instrument to communicate ideological messages.[48] It is interesting to see what the ideological motives were behind the construction of these relatively unknown buildings. This research aims to explain why historiography has so little attention for this buildings. The focus of this research is on the function of the buildings because architectural studies never go into detail on this. Knowing how the Temple of Peace and Temple of Divus Claudius functioned in practice helps us to relate them to Vespasian's ideology and discover his motives for the construction of both temples. The results of this research will provide

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[44] P. Tucci, *The Temple of Peace in Rome: Volume I: Art and Culture in Imperial Rome* (Cambridge 2017) VII.

[45] J. Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples: The Republic to the Middle Empire* (Cambridge 2005) 151-172

[46] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture,* 17.

[47] J. Thompson, *Ideology and Modern Culture: Critical Social Theory in Era of Mass Communication* (Stanford 1990) 1.

[48] Levick, *Vespasian,* 65.

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possible explanations for the construction of the temples, but also what their influence was within the ideology of Vespasian. By doing so, this research is a contribution to the scholarly discourse on these buildings and in which the motives for the construction and ideological influences are subordinated to the technical aspects of the temples.

The first chapter examines the role of *Pax* and the memory of Divus Claudius in Vespasian's ideology. The Temple of Peace was dedicated to the personification of peace, *Pax*, and the Temple of Divus Claudius was rebuilt in honor of the deified emperor Claudius. It is important to look at how the messages of *Pax* and Divus Claudius were communicated in other forms of media. This provides us with a general idea of the position of *Pax* and the memory of Divus Claudius within Vespasian's ideology. The analysis in this chapter is based on various sources, for example coins, ancient literature, but also modern scholarly research. The results of this first chapter will help to put all the different elements of the temples in the right perspective.

The Temple of Peace is central in the second chapter. This chapter contains an analysis of the ancient literary sources on the Temple of Peace. In case of the Temple of Peace we have seen that there is a discussion on whether the building functioned as a temple, or an imperial forum. Ancient authors provide us with descriptions of several elements in the temple, which evokes the question if this building really functioned as a temple. By analyzing the writings of ancient authors, I will try to investigate how the Temple of Peace functioned in real life. Eventually I will relate this function to the results of the previous chapter, to see how this relates to the ideology of Vespasian. Chapter three examines the literary and archeological evidence on the Temple of Divus Claudius. The first aim of this chapter is to identity the function of the Temple of Divus Claudius. Compared to the Temple of Peace, this is much harder because fewer evidence has survived. We only know that it the building was dedicated as a temple but no records of any worship have survived. Eventually I will also relate the function of the Temple of Divus Claudius to the results of the first chapter in order to recognize the ideological motives behind the construction of this temple. The fourth chapter compares both temples to each other. This comparison is inspired on an article of Robert Lloyd from 1982, who was the first one to compare the Temple of Peace to the Temple of Divus Claudius. By comparing these sites with each other I tried to fill the gap of knowledge on the Temple of Divus Claudius and evaluate the position and importance of both temples within Vespasian's ideology. The conclusion will provide an overview of how the Temple of Peace and the Temple of Claudius functioned during the reign of Vespasian, but more important, shows how these temples functioned within Vespasian's ideology.

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'Pax' and the memory of Divus Claudius

When Vitellius was dead, the war had indeed come to an end, but peace had yet to begin.[49]

With this phrase Tacitus opens his fourth book of 'The Histories'. After the defeat of Vitellius, the situation in the capital was relatively stable, but old wars continued at the borders. People saw their opportunity to express anti-Roman and national feelings.[50] It was clear that there was not peace everywhere in the empire. Nevertheless, Vespasian built a temple dedicated to the Goddess of peace, *Pax*. The image of *Pax* also appeared regularly on coins, just like other concepts related to peace, such as *VICTORIA* or *PACIS EVENTVS.* In this chapter, I will firstly look at the role of *Pax* in Vespasian's ideology. After this, I will look at the memory of Claudius, to which Vespasian also dedicated a temple.

Ideology could find expression in various forms of media. Coinage was an important way for Vespasian to communicate with the people and pass on an ideological message. Imperial coinage was perhaps the most important vehicle for the official commemoration of *Pax* under Vespasian.[51] During the civil war, Vespasian gained a lot of support. First in the provinces, especially in the east, and later in other regions as well. The great cities of Antioch and Alexandria where the first to declare Vespasian emperor. Regions in Asia, Spain and Gaul followed this example. Rome fell in hands of the Flavians on December 21 in the year AD 69. The coinage of Vespasian reflects this chronology. The regions which accepted him first as the new ruler, were also the first regions to strike Flavian coins. Rome was almost the last city to strike coins for Vespasian. [52]

The goddess *Pax* frequently appeared on the reverse side of Flavian coins between AD 69-79. In the catalogue of Harold Mattingly from 1930, sixteen different kinds of *Pax* can be identified as being from the reign of Vespasian. According to Mattingly, the reason for this was the desire for peace after the civil war.[53] The depiction of the goddess *Pax* started during the reign of Augustus. Several types of *Pax* on Vespasian coins can be identified as types that already existed under the reign of Augustus (BMC, Augustus 605). Coins of Vespasian almost all refer to the *PAX AUGUSTA/I*. In this way Vespasian would be seen as the 'preserver of the Augustan peace'.[54] The common importance of peace was also reflected in the altars of the *Ara Pacis* and *Fortuna Redux*.[55]

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[49] Tacitus, *The Histories* 4.1.
[50] Levick, *Vespasian,* 107.
[51] Noreña, C., 'Medium and Message in Vespasian's Templum Pacis', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 48 (2003) 25-43, particularly 29.
[52] H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum: Volume II Vespasian to Domitian* (London 1930) XI.
[53] Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire,* XXXIII.
[54] Levick, *Vespasian,* 70.
[55] Ibidem.

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There are also types of *Pax* on Vespasian coins which can be related to other predecessors than Augustus. Other images of *Pax* show similarity with coins from the reign of Nero (BMC, Nero 109) and Galba (BMC, Galba 70, 123, 125). Different attempts have been made to identify one specific depiction of *Pax* as a 'new type' of *Pax,* belonging to the cult of Vespasian.[56] The first type of *Pax* which cannot be related to any of his predecessors, is a type of the year of AD 75. Is it a coincidence that a new kind of *Pax* appeared in the same year as the inauguration of the Temple of Peace? In other words, is this the image of the cult of *Pax* of Vespasian, as it was depicted in the Temple of Peace, as Darwall-Smith suggests?[57]

According to Noreña, academics in the past never showed 'how dominant' or frequent the Goddess *Pax* appeared on Vespasian's coins. In order to make useful statements about the role played by *Pax* in the visual language of Vespasian's coinage, Noreña looked at the relative frequency of all the different reverse types of *Pax* on Vespasian's coinage and based his results on empirical evidence. Noreña focused on Vespasian coins found in published hoards. Based on this hoard evidence, it is possible to determine the significance in quantitative terms of *Pax* on Vespasian's coinage.[58]

Pax appeared on several coin types during the period of AD 69-79. Noreña focused on the appearance of *Pax* on the *denarii,* because this was the most heavily minted coin in ancient Rome. The relative frequency of the *denarii,* with a type of *Pax* on the reverse, varies by year.[59] This suits the observation of Buttery, who stated that coin types under Vespasian tended to change on an annual basis.[60] Two peaks in the appearance of *Pax* type coins can be recognized, the year AD 69-70 and the year AD 75. *Pax* type coins were also produced on a relatively low scale in the years AD 71 and 76. Regarding the other years there is no evidence for the production of a *Pax* type *denarius.*

According to Noreña, the historical context gives an explanation for those two peaks. The prominence of the *Pax* type coins in the year AD 69-70 was a direct result of the period before Vespasian came to power. The revolt of Vindex, the civil war and the several attempts of Otho, Galba, Vitellius, and Vespasian to gain power in the year AD 68-69, concluded the worst period of violence since the civil wars during the transition from Republic to Principate. After this period of suffering, it was Vespasian who could claim to be the one who brought peace to the empire. Producing *Pax* type coins was one way to propagate this victory. *Pax* can thus be seen as a very dominant aspect of Vespasian ideology at the beginning of his reign.

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[56] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture,* 63.

[57] Ibidem.

[58] Noreña, 'Medium and Message', 29.

[59] Ibidem, 30.

[60] T. Buttrey, 'Vespasian as Moneyer', *The Numismatic Chronicle* 12:7 (1972) 89-109, particularly 95.

After the year AD 71 the *Pax* type coins disappeared and were not minted again until the year 75.[61] The year AD 75 shows the second peak in the production of *Pax* type coins. *Pax* was depicted on 81% of the coins of this year. Noreña sees the inauguration of the Temple of Peace, in the same year, as an explanation for this peak.[62] During this period, the *Pax* type coins were used to proclaim the inauguration of Vespasian's first large-scale monument.[63] Correspondence between the inauguration of an imperial monument and the proliferation of a specific coin type was not merely coincidental. The massive peak of *Pax* issued coins of AD 75 should be seen as part of a coordinated campaign to articulate a core imperial ideal across a range of official media.[64]

Pax Civilis or *Parta Victoriis Pax?*

Other evidence for the importance of *Pax* in Vespasian's ideology can be found in symbolic actions and references to peace. A first example of a symbolic action which referred to *Pax* was the closing of the Temple of Janus after the conquest of Judea in AD 70.[65] Closing the temple was a traditional sign that peace reigned throughout the empire.[66] Various predecessors of Vespasian did the same, but it was Augustus who was able to close the temple three times during his reign. This emphasized the image of Augustus as the preserver of peace.[67]

Showing the people that he had brought peace to the Roman World was important to Vespasian. Like Augustus, Vespasian named a colony after peace, *Colonia Flavia Pacis Deultensium,* in the province of Thrace*.* Stefan Weinstock suggests that the *Vicus Pacis* at Divodorum was also created during the reign of Vespasian.[68]

As we have seen before, *Pax* appeared frequently in various media, which points out the importance of *Pax* in Vespasian's ideology. In ancient Rome there where different kinds of *Pax*; each stood for a different kind of peace. For this research it is important which *Pax* was probably visualized in the Temple of Peace. The *Pax Civilis,* was the domestic and civilian kind of peace*.* This kind denoted above all, the absence of civil war. The *Pax Civilis* symbolized the period of peace after civil war, like the cultivation of the fields, respect for religion and safety for all men.[69] The other kind of *Pax* was the sort of peace which the Romans imposed upon conquered people. The Romans called this *Parta*

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[61] Noreña, 'Medium and Message'*,* 31.
[62] Ibidem.
[63] Ibidem.
[64] Ibidem.
[65] Levick, *Vespasian,* 71.
[66] Noreña, 'Medium and Message'*,* 31.
[67] Augustus, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 13*.*
[68] S. Weinstock, 'Pax and the 'Ara Pacis'*, Journal of Roman Studies* 50 (1960) 44-58, particularly 48.
[69] Noreña, 'Medium and Message'*,* 34.

Victoriis Pax, peace gained through military victories.[70] An example where this military *Pax* was visualized was the *Ara Pacis.*

The two kinds of *Pax* are quite different from each other, so it is unlikely that the Temple of Peace celebrated both kinds of *Pax.*[71] The start of the building in AD 71, after the conquest of Judea, suggests that military *Pax* was celebrated by the Temple of Peace. The fact that the complex housed several spoils from Jerusalem underlines this hypothesis. A parallel can be made with the later Forum of Trajan, which celebrated the victory on the Dacians. This was without a doubt a military complex. Just like the Forum of Trajan, the Temple of Peace celebrated peace that had been imposed, forcibly as a result of military conquest on the population of Judea. Like the *Ara Pacis* and the Forum of Trajan, it expressed martial ideals.[72] Thanks to the effort of Géza Alföldi, we do now know that the Colosseum, the *Amphitheatrum Flavium* has to be seen as a monument which symbolized the victory of the Flavians over the population of Judea.[73]

Celebrating the *Pax Civilis* could have as a consequence that the people would remember the tragedies of the civil war. The building would then serve as a permanent reminder of the violence that enabled his ascent to the throne.[74] Celebrating a victory in civil war, by constructing a public building, was something that never happened until the erection of the arch of Constantine in 315. Instead of this, the military *Pax* visualized the military achievements of Vespasian, which helped him to legitimize his position as emperor.

To conclude, *Pax* played a prominent role in Vespasian's ideology. It was more likely that the military *Pax,* instead of the *Pax Civilis,* was displayed and symbolized at the Temple of Peace*.* The victory over the Judeans was the reason *Pax* got a dominant role in Vespasian Ideology. By this victory Vespasian claimed his virtue and showed he was the right man for the emperorship, in short: it seemed a way to legitimize his position.

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[70] Ibidem.

[71] Levick, *Vespasian,* 70.

[72] Noreña, 'Medium and Message'*,* 35.

[73] G. Alföldi, 'Eine Bauinschrift aus dem Colosseum', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie un Epigraphik* 109 (1995) 195-226, particularly 223.

[74] Noreña, Medium and Message*,* 35.

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The memory on Divus Claudius

Showing the people that he brought peace was not the only way to legitimize his power. For the first time since the birth of the Principate, the emperor was not a member of the Julian-Claudian family. Vespasian, a new player at the stage of politics, was not the first one who had to deal with the legacy of the Julian-Claudians. Otho and Vitellius had tried to assuage this by honoring the memory of Nero, but Vespasian did something different.[75] As already stated in the introduction of this thesis, Vespasian tried to associate himself with the *gens* of the Julian-Claudians, especially Augustus, but Claudius was also an important model for Vespasian.[76] By rebuilding the Temple of Divus Claudius, Vespasian chose very explicitly to remember one of his predecessors whose reputation had sunk very low. In the second part of this chapter, I will examine the role of the memory of Divus Claudius within Vespasian's Ideology.

Vespasian probably sympathized with Claudius' political plight, because he was, just like Claudius, a new man in power whose reputation was lacking prestige. This narrative is mostly based on the writings of Suetonius. According to Suetonius the main reason for the 'lack of prestige' were the humble origins of the Flavian house.[77] Sir Ronald Syme called the Sabine family 'small people', but this should not to be exaggerated.[78] The grandfather of Vespasian was a centurion in Pompey's army and his father became a tax collector in Asia. There was no reason for a soldier like Vespasian to be ashamed of his antecedents.[79]

Vespasian saw Claudius as a reasonable ruler, and he appeared in the *LEX DE IMPERIO VESPASIANI* of the year AD 70, together with Augustus and Tiberius as emperors whose practice legitimated actions that Vespasian himself was now to be permitted by law.[80] With this law, Vespasian placed himself on the throne of the Julian-Claudians and continued the tradition of the co-operation between *princeps* and the senate, in the same way as Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius had done.[81]

After the death of Claudius, his memory and reputation were characterized by ups and downs. Nero, Claudius' stepson and successor distanced himself from him. The accession speech of Nero, drafted by Seneca, listed all the political failings of Claudius. The title of *Divus,* which Claudius received after his death was kept not in use for a long time. In the literature, the name Claudius was not

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[75] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture,* 53.

[76] A. Boyle, 'Reading Flavian Rome' in: Idem and W. Dominik eds., *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text* (Boston 2003) 1-68, particularly 6.

[77] Suetonius, *Vespasian* 1.

[78] Syme, *Tacitus,* 44.

[79] R. Mellor, 'The New Aristocracy of Power' in: A. Boyle and W. Dominik eds., *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text* (Boston 2003) 69-102, particularly 71.

[80] Mellor, 'The New Aristocracy of Power', 71

[81] Ibidem, 69.

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accompanied with the title of *Divus*. Literary men simply ignored the title.[82] During the reign of Vespasian, however, the period of Claudius underwent a partial rehabilitation.[83]

The rehabilitation of the memory of Claudius was a way for Vespasian to dissociate himself with the last member of the Julian-Claudian, Nero. The two vices of profligacy and egoism, had made Nero forget the reality that the power and authority of an emperor was mostly based on the support and control of the armies.[84] Nero sacrificed the loyalty of his troops by delaying their payments and by the execution of the popular general Corbulo. He also lost a lot of his popularity with the Roman elite. His quest for victories as a singer and his fawning to Greek audiences disgusted both senators and equestrians.[85] Bread and circus were an important way for Nero to obtain popular support in the capital. After the fire of AD 64, Nero lost more and more of his support, mainly from the elite. His reputation became much worse when Nero had to raise the taxes due to financial mismanagement.

A great example of how the Flavians dissociated with the last emperor of the Julian-Claudians, and the rehabilitation of Claudius and the *Julii*, was the dramatic play *Octavia fabula praetexta.* Joseph Smith looked at the text to construct the ideological motives behind the play which was written for an imperial Roman audience.[86] Most likely, *Octavia* was written and performed during the reign of Vespasian, probably at the opening of the restored theatre of Marcellus.[87] All the historic personages: Octavia, Seneca, Nero Agrippina and Popaea were dead at that time. Because of this, the audience was expected to have a collective memory on the history of the Julian-Claudians.

Octavia resurrects Nero as the paradigmatic hated and hateful tyrant.[88] The play helped Vespasian's attempts to portray Claudius as the last 'good' emperor of the Julian-Claudians.[89] According to Smith, the motive behind the depiction of Nero as a tyrant, was that the people of Rome would try to forget him. Vespasian hoped to erase the memory of Nero with this strategy. At the same time, Vespasian modelled himself as the 'new' Claudius, suggesting continuity and stability at the center of power.[90]

In the play, Octavia is the personification of the doomed Claudian family. Several scenes in the play reflect the achievements of the Flavians. The play starts with an evocation of Claudius as naval

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[82] B. Levick, *Claudius* (London 1990) 187.

[83] Levick, *Claudius,* 190.

[84] Mellor, 'The New Aristocracy of Power'*,* 70.

[85] Ibidem.

[86] J. Smith, 'Flavian Drama: Looking Back with Octavia' in: A. Boyle and W. Dominik eds., *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text* (Boston 2003) 391-430, particularly 393.

[87] Smith, 'Flavian Drama', 427.

[88] Ibidem, 397.

[89] Ibidem, 428.

[90] Ibidem.

conqueror of Britain, the province where Vespasian gained his first military prestige.[91] At the end of the play, Octavia is exiled to Egypt. Nero himself saw Alexandria as his own haven of refuge where the Egyptian prefect, Tiberius Iulius Alexander, was waiting for him. That same Alexander, however, was the first to have his legions swear allegiance to Vespasian as emperor.[92] During the civil war, Alexandria could be seen as the base of Vespasian's power. Octavia traveling from Britain to Alexandria once again shows the similarity between Vespasian and the Julian-Claudian family.[93]

Showing similarities between Claudius and the Flavian family was an important aspect of their ideology. Vespasian's son, Titus, was also very close to the Claudian family. Titus had been educated alongside Britannicus, the son and intended successor of Claudius. The Flavians made every effort to identify Titus with Britannicus, even propagating the story that Titus had been sitting next to Britannicus at the fatal banquet in AD 55 when he was poisoned. Titus had even taken a sip of the poison himself.[94] In Flavian propaganda, Claudius was a legitimate emperor and Britannicus the legitimate successor, whose place had been usurped by Nero. To keep Britannicus' memory alive, statues of him were erected and his equestrian statue was carried during processions in the days of Suetonius.[95] When Titus became emperor, after the death of his father in AD 79, coins were struck in Britannicus' honor.[96]

Other similarities between the Flavians and Claudius can be seen in the way Vespasian and Claudius ruled. Like Claudius, Vespasian kept on good terms with the 'normal' people, exploiting the common touch. The relation with the elite was extremely important for a Roman emperor. Nero had surrounded himself with sycophants, but Vespasian saw the need for a new group of talented men, like himself.[97] Tacitus saw this new ruling class dominate Roman politics for a long time, also during the following decades. Vespasian expanded the senatorial and the equestrian order, to bring new talent into the administration of the empire.[98] Within this new ruling class, the Flavians followed the example of Claudius by always holding the strategic position of *censor*.[99]

When Augustus came to power, he also 'renewed' the senatorial and equestrian orders, but Claudius and later Vespasian went even further. Vespasian brought not only Italian men into the senate, but also people from the provinces. The expertise of the aristocracy continued to grow. Political

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[91] Ibidem, 429.

[92] Levick, *Claudius,* 47.

[93] Smith, 'Flavian Drama', 429.

[94] Levick, *Claudius,* 190.

[95] B. Jones, R. Milns, *Suetonius: The Flavian Emperors* (London 2002) 23.

[96] Levick, *Claudius,* 191.

[97] Mellor, 'The New Aristocracy of Power', 84.

[98] Ibidem, 84-85.

[99] Levick, *Claudius,* 191.

leaders as Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius could all trace their ancestry to men promoted by Vespasian.[100]

Claudius was the best and only option for Vespasian to show the link between him and the old dynasty of the Julian-Claudians. Vespasian personally knew Claudius, who had favoured Vespasian his first important military position. Besides that, the reign of Claudius was not that far away as other 'good' emperors like Augustus and Tiberius. Nero was no option for Vespasian, who could pointedly emphasize his bad behavior.[101] The Temple of Divus Claudius functioned as an unignorably landmark of his cult. It is ironic that Vespasian and Agrippina, who were on very bad terms, should have agreed over the deification of Claudius, albeit for different reasons.[102]

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[100] Mellor, 'The New Aristocracy of Power', 85.

[101] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture,* 55.

[102] Ibidem.

The Temple of Peace

The Temple of Peace, built by his Imperial Majesty the Emperor Vespasian, belonged to the most beautiful buildings the world has ever seen.[103]

Pliny the Elder, who was a close friend of Vespasian, ranked the Temple of Peace, together with the *Circus Maximus,* the *Basilica Aemlia* and the *Forum of Augustus*, among the most beautiful buildings of the Roman empire.[104] The Temple of Peace was the first new building of Vespasian, inaugurated in the year AD 75. Today we know almost for certain, that the temple was built on the site of the former *Macellum*, which had been built there by Fulvius Nobilior in 179 BC.[105] The *Macellum* was never mentioned again after the fire of AD 64, so most scholars think that this building burned down and was never rebuilt again. Central to this chapter is the function of the Temple of Peace and how this function fitted in Vespasian ideology.

In the introduction, the academic debate about the Temple of Peace was introduced. Central to this debate is the question if the temple was a forum or an actual temple. According to Darwall-Smith, Fillipo Coarelli and James Anderson, this temple functioned as a forum.[106] The main argument of these scholars is the location of the temple, which was closely connected to the Forum Romano and the imperial fora of Caesar and Augustus. But this fact alone does not prove that this complex also functioned as an imperial forum.

Was the Temple of Peace in reality so different from an imperial forum? When we look at the shape of the buildings, there are a lot similarities between the imperial fora and the Temple of Peace. In fact, both were originally shaped in a 'Hellenistic' style. The temples were located in a central position at the back, all surrounded by porticoes.[107] In their outline, these complexes looked very similar, but why did the Romans make this specific distinction between the imperial fora and naming the Temple of Peace a *templum*?*[108]*

For some reason the building was called a 'temple', but why did Vespasian not dedicate the building to himself or his family, like he did with the *Amphitheatrum Flavium* the Colosseum? Was it

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[103] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 36.102.

[104] Pliny, *Natural History* 36.102.

[105] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture,* 55.

[106] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture,* 56; F. Coarelli, *Rome and Environs,* 125; J. Anderson, *The Historical Topography,* 112.

[107] The *forum of Caesar* included a temple dedicated to *Venus Genetrix,* the *Forum of Augustus* housed the temple of *Mars Ultor.*

[108] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture,* 56: Josephus originally refers to the building as the 'Temple to Peace', Pliny and Suetonius both define it as a '*templum'.* The title *Forum of Peace* appeared in the fourth century.

so important for him to show, once again, that he was the one who brought peace to the empire? Or, perhaps, was the temple function of the Temple of Peace more important in comparison with the temples at the imperial fora of Caesar and Augustus? Maybe, Vespasian position as emperor was not strong enough to dedicate an imperial forum to himself? It is not until the fourth century when the name 'Forum of Peace' emerges for the first time. Maybe, by then, the building functioned as an imperial forum, or the originally cult of *Pax* was not worshipped anymore.[109] Last but not least, categorizing all these different buildings in ancient Rome is something we do nowadays but which the Romans perhaps did not do or find particularly important.[110]

The only way to answer these question is to look at the function of the Temple of Peace. Did it function as an imperial forum, or was the worship of the goddess the most important aspect of the building? This thesis tries to examine what actually happened at the Temple of Peace, but more importantly, why did Vespasian's architect design the building this way?

To start with, the shape of a building often tells us a lot about the function. The shape of the Temple of Peace, however, which was in design somewhat similar to an imperial forum, was unusual.[111] The central gardens, the library, the different art treasures and spoils from the Judean wars, turn up the question how a building like this can be best categorized. From the outside, the building looked more like a portico than an imperial forum.[112] This suits the hypothesis of Macaulay-Lewis who states that the function of the Temple of Peace was designed for leisure walks.[113] The gardens, the art and spoils in the building are important arguments which underline her hypothesis. If the Temple of Peace functioned as an 'open-air museum', it was certainly not unique. The *Porticus Octaviae* also hosted many works of art for public display, but the structure of the building itself was much more complicated than the Temple of Peace, even if it seems that both buildings were designed for a similar purpose. [114]

One specific category of art exposed at the Temple of Peace consisted of the different masterpieces from the Golden House of Nero. What Nero's original intentions were with the art are unknown. But of course, there is a world of difference between exposing art in an imperial palace or in a public building like the Temple of Peace. Both Josephus and Pliny praise Vespasian for displaying the world greatest art to all the people in Rome.[115] This suggests that the art in the Golden House was not accessible to everyone. Pliny the Elder was very uncomplimentary about Nero's Golden House. He

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[109] Tucci, *The Temple of Peace in Rome,* 12.

[110] Ibidem, 11-12.

[111] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture,* 65.

[112] Ibidem.

[113] E. Macaulay-Lewis, 'Walking for Transport & Leisure in Rome' in: D. Newsome, R. Laurence eds., *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space* (Oxford 2011) 262-289, particularly 262.

[114] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture,* 65.

[115] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture,* 66; Pliny, *Natural History* 34.84.

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described the imperial palace as a prison, where the talent of famous artists like Famulus was wasted.[116] Modern scholars do interpret this as an act of Vespasian dissociating himself from his predecessor, something very common in Vespasian ideology, as chapter one already proved.[117]

The similarities with porticoes can only be recognized in some parts of the architecture and the public display of art. By looking at the shape of the building it was indeed probably the closest to the porticoes, but there were also a lot of important differences. One aspect which differentiated the Temple of Peace from all the other porticoes in the city were the spoils from Jerusalem. These spoils displayed the military credentials of the Flavians. The victory in the Jewish Wars was an important aspect in Flavian ideology. It symbolized the military abilities of the Sabine family. Displaying the spoils in the Temple of Peace intended to evoke the memory of the war and a positive image of the Flavians military achievements. Dedicating the building to *Pax* can be seen in the same way, as the first chapter of this research underlines. But this does not tell us what actually happened in this building complex of Vespasian. Before we can say something about the function and its role within Vespasian ideology, we have to turn to the ancient writers and look what they tell us about the activities in the Temple of Peace. In the end I will also examine the possible presence a Flavian predecessor of the *Forma Urbis Romae* and the office of the *Praefectus Urbi* within the Temple of Peace.

Pliny the Elder

We will firstly return to Pliny the Elder, who was very close to Vespasian and his son Titus. Pliny the Elder lived from AD 23 until the year 79. The first part of the *Natural History* probably appeared in the year AD 70. Hence, while Pliny was writing, Vespasian was attempting to re-establish peace and reassert control over an empire recently fraught with civil war, economic crises and provincial revolts.[118] Pliny talks about the Temple of Peace in several parts of his *Natural History.* Most passages give us information about the different kind of arts, that were exposed in the temple.[119] In the preface we can read something about the importance of Greek arts also displayed in the Temple of Peace. An important aspect of the Roman identity was the constant comparison with the images of Greek heroes and athletes, symbols of a different culture that were finally brought under control of the Romans.[120]

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[116] Pliny, *Natural History* 35.120.

[117] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture,* 67.

[118] E. Pollard, 'Pliny's Natural History and the Flavian Templum Pacis: Botanical Imperialism in First-Century C. E. Rome'*, Journal of World History* 20:3 (2009) 309-338, particularly 312.

[119] Pliny, *Natural History* 34. 84: The different art treasures from the Golden House of Nero; Pliny, *Natural History* 36.27: The statue of Venus of an unknown artist in the Temple of Peace; Pliny, *Natural History* 36.58; A Egyptian Basanites, a colored stone; Pliny, *Natural History* 35.102: A picture of Ialysus holding a palm.

[120] Tucci, *The Temple of Peace,* 10.

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The writings of Pliny are also useful for analyzing other features of the Temple of Peace. The huge gardens, which surrounded the altar, can be regarded as yet another notable aspect of the temple. Several villa's and gardens in Pompeii demonstrate that the Romans were willing and able to grow nonindigenous plants on Roman soil.[121] Conquerors often built city gardens to celebrate their conquests, by exposing exotic plants from conquered areas.[122] Were the gardens in the Temple of Peace also filled with pants from all over the empire, and was it a way for Vespasian to claim he conquered the 'world'?

Pliny never directly states that the gardens in the Temple of Peace were some sort of 'colonial botanical' gardens nor does he explicitly state that all the plants he describes were planted in such gardens. There are, however, a number of comments in Pliny's *Natural History* that can be related to the Temple of Peace.[123] In book twelve, Pliny talks about the difficulties about moving luxury and exotic plants like, citron, cassia, frankincense and pepper to Rome. This shows that the transplantation of these luxury goods was taking place, even if, of course, this does not proof that these plants were moved to the Temple of Peace.[124] What is more convincing for putting 'colonial botany' together with the Temple of Peace is Pliny's religious view on the phenomenon 'nature'.[125] According to Elizabeth Ann Pollard, Pliny's description of the relation between nature and peace, proves that these plants probably were part of the worship at the Temple of Peace, and for this reason located in the Temple of Peace.[126]

However, the relation between the gardens in the temple and the worship of the cult of *Pax* is highly suggestive. According to Pollard, the combination of Pliny's proof of 'imperial botany' and the imperial association of the building itself makes it acceptable to link the gardens in some way to the ideology of Vespasian. The example of the Balsam tree underlines this hypothesis. This tree originally grew only at two places, both belonging to the king of Judea, who was recently defeated by the Flavians. Since Pompey the Great, this tree was carried on in triumphal processions. We know from Josephus that the objects of the triumph of the Flavians ended up in the Temple of Peace.[127] Exposing the Balsam tree in the gardens of the Temple of Peace, probably evoked the memory of the triumphal procession and the victory in the Judean war, the region where these trees originally grew. This, in relation with the spoils displayed in the same building complex, makes it very likely that the Balsam

[121] Pollard, 'Pliny's Natural History', 321.
[122] Ibidem.
[123] Ibidem, 324.
[124] Ibidem, 325.
[125] Ibidem.
[126] Ibidem, 326.
[127] Josephus, *Jewish War* 7.5.

trees also functioned as some sort of spoil. According to Pollard, the gardens in the Temple of Peace would be symbolic references for the literal fruits of the empire as established by Vespasian.[128]

Titus Flavius Josephus

The next author who mentions the Temple of Peace is Titus Flavius Josephus, a Jewish-Roman historian and hagiographer, who was born in Jerusalem AD 37. During the first Roman-Jewish war, Josephus was the leader of the Jewish forces in Galilee. When the Jewish troops surrendered in AD 67, Josephus became a slave and interpreter of Vespasian. After Vespasian had become emperor, he was liberated and even became a Roman citizen. Later, Josephus became the adviser and a close friend of Vespasian's son Titus. Josephus wrote his work *The Jewish Wars* in AD 75, which contains a description of the Jewish revolt from AD 66 until 70.

The Temple of Peace appears in chapter five of the seventh book of *De Bello Judaico*, the Jewish War.[129] The Temple of Peace is mentioned in the last paragraph of this chapter, right after his famous and detailed description of the Flavian triumph.[130] This triumph took place in the year AD 71, the same year in which Vespasian decided to dedicate a temple to *Pax*. Josephus states that after the triumph, an end had come to their civil miseries, and the future would be full of prosperity and happiness.[131]

Josephus continues: 'After these triumphs were over, and after the affairs of the Romans were settled on the surest foundations, Vespasian resolved to build a temple to Peace'.[132] It is obvious that Josephus makes a connection between the Temple of Peace, the Flavian triumph and the victory of the Romans in the Jewish wars. This seems to prove the hypothesis that the military *Pax* was celebrated with the inauguration of this temple. After this, Josephus, just like Pliny, emphasizes the beauty and glory of the building, which was beyond all human expectation.

Next, he praises Vespasian for accumulating a vast quantity of wealth. The different pieces of art and statues reflected this. The exhibition of art made sure that the people of Rome became acquainted with other parts of the known world, in the same way as people in the past had done.[133] After the people had seen all these pieces of art and exotic objects, the people could behold the different treasures and spoils from the temple of Jerusalem. Josephus calls these spoils signs of Vespasian's glory.

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[128] Pollard, 'Pliny's Natural History', 329.
[129] Josephus, *Jewish War* 7.5.4.
[130] Ibidem, 5.4-5.6
[131] Ibidem, 5.6.
[132] Ibidem, 5.7.
[133] Ibidem.

It is very clear that Josephus had a positive view on the Flavian regime, which is not so strange given the fact that they saved his life in AD 69 and eventually gave him the Roman citizenship. Josephus underlines the view that the kind of *Pax* celebrated by the Temple of Peace is the military *Pax* and not the *Pax civilis.* Josephus never mentions the civil war or even the spoils from the Golden House of Nero, in relation with the Temple of Peace. According to Josephus, the pieces of art exposed in the temple functioned as a way for people to wander away from daily life and gain knowledge about other areas in the habitant world.[134] Once again, this seems to suit the vision of Macaulay-Lewis, who believed that the Temple of Peace would have functioned as a place for leisure walks. In the end Josephus stated, that above all, it was a place which stood symbol for Vespasian's victory in the Jewish war and glory of the Flavians.

Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus

The following author, the work of whom I will examine, is Suetonius. Suetonius is famous for his works on the lives of the first 12 emperors, from Julius Caesar (who was in fact dictator for life, instead of 'princeps') until to the reign of Domitian. Suetonius was born in the year AD 70, during the reign of Vespasian, and the first episode of his series on the 'Lives of the Caesars' appeared in the year 121, some fifty years after the reign of Vespasian and the end of the Julian-Claudian emperors.

Suetonius was able to publish works on emperors of the Julian-Claudian dynasty because he was the director of the imperial libraries and chief secretary. This meant he had access to the archives of the emperors.[135] In 'The life of the Deified Vespasian'*,* Suetonius only mentions the Temple of Peace once. In chapter nine, Suetonius continues to talk about Vespasian restoring the city after the fires of 64 and AD 68. He mentions the Temple of Peace when he starts to name the new buildings Vespasian built. Suetonius himself already makes the connection with the fora by saying that the Temple of Peace was located right next to the Fora, but he still refers to it as a '*templum'.[136]*

Suetonius mentions the Temple of Peace in the same sentence as the Temple of Divus Claudius. This does not necessarily have to mean anything, but one could ask why Suetonius ranked these buildings in the same order? Maybe Suetonius ranked these building in the same order because their functions were similar? The only thing that is certain, it that Suetonius names the complex a '*templum'.* In the days of Suetonius it is very likely that the building was called a temple, instead of the term 'Forum', which evokes a discussion until today.

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[134] Ibidem.

[135] Jones, Milns, *Suetonius,* 3.

[136] Ibidem, 17.

Publius Cornelius Tacitus

The last author to be, examined in this chapter is the Roman historian, writer and consul, Publius Cornelius Tacitus. Tacitus, often seen as one of the most important historians of ancient Rome, was born in AD 56 and died in the year 120. His two most important works are the 'Annals' and the 'Histories'. Both works examine the reign of several emperors after the death of Augustus. In the year AD 14 Tacitus wrote extensively about the year AD 69, of the four emperors.

Tacitus does not mention anything about the building of the Temple of Peace, but according to Tucci his text can add another dimension to the discussion on the kind of *Pax* celebrated by the Temple of Peace. In book 4.3 of Tacitus' 'Histories', Tucci sees an indirect reference to the kind of *Pax* celebrated in the Temple of Peace.[137]

At Rome the senators voted to Vespasian all the honors and privileges usually given the emperors. They were filled with joy and confident hope, for it seemed to them that civil warfare, which, breaking out in the Gallic and Spanish provinces, had moved to arms first the Germanies, the Illyricum, and which had traversed Egypt, Judea, Syria, and all provinces and armies, was now at an end, as if the expiration of the whole world had been completed.[138]

In the above passage, Tucci sees the evidence for the celebration of both *Pax civilis* and the military *Pax.* Tacitus refers to wars in the provinces, although, it is more likely that this is misunderstood as *Pax civilis* by Tucci. Tacitus does clearly not refer to the civil war prior to the reign of Vespasian. He refers to the wars between Rome and the provinces.

The *Forma Urbis Romae*

Finally, I will examine the presence of the *Forma Urbis Romae* in the Temple of Peace. It is well known that the *Forma Urbis Romae*, better known as the 'Severan Marble Plan', was located in the Temple of Peace during the reign of Septimius Severus. It is very likely that this map of Rome had a predecessor from the time of Vespasian and the inauguration of the Temple of Peace. In the year AD 192 a fire destroyed the Temple of Peace, which was then rebuilt by Septimius Severus. Because of this, many scholars think this also meant the recreation of a marble plan.[139] The main evidence for the existence

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[137] Tucci, *The Temple of Peace,* 10.

[138] Tacitus, *Histories* 4.3.

[139] D. Reynolds, *Forma Urbis Romae: The Severan Marble Plan and the Urban Form of Ancient Rome* (Michigan 1996) 53.

of a Flavian predecessor of the Marble Plan is based on the writings of Pliny and archaeological evidence of other maps dated from the reign of Vespasian.

Many scholars agree that if there was a Flavian marble plan, it was probably inspired on a predecessor from the Augustan period. This idea is based on the 'map of the world', started by Agrippa and completed after his death by Augustus, but also the urban reorganizations of the city during that time.[140] The evidence for these maps is even more suggestive, and as Anderson observed: 'Agrippa's map seems to me to have little to do with the *Forma Urbis* except to confirm the Roman taste for using maps as wall decoration'.[141] According to Reynolds, all the evidence is not convincing enough and still too suggestive to prove the existence of a Augustan or a Flavian marble plan.[142] However, Reynolds noticed that it is more likely that there was an Flavian marble plan than an Augustan. The variety and quantity of evidence that in some way can prove the existence of a Flavian marble plan makes it a hypothetical possibility.[143]

This discussion about whether there was an Flavian marble plan is closely related to discussion on the office of the *Praefectus Urbi* in the Temple of Peace. In his work on the historical topography on the imperial fora, Anderson refers to Rodolfo Lanciani, who related the office of the *Praefectus Urbi* to the presence of a marble plan in the Temple of Peace.[144] According to Coarelli, the hypothesis that the office of the *Praefectus Urbi* was located in the Temple of Peace can serve as an explanation for the presence of the *Forma Urbis* in the building.[145] If the office of the *Praefectus Urbi* was located in the Temple of Peace, this part of the building was probably not accessible to the visitors of the Temple. This would mean that not the whole complex served as a place for leisure, as Macaulay-Lewis stated.[146] If the office of the *Praefecus Urbi* was located elsewhere in the city, the opposite is true.

During the reign of Trajan the office of the *Praefectus Urbi* was 'moved' to his imperial forum.[147] From the reign of Hadrian on, the legal work and the prefect's office grew in influence.[148] However, we do not know if the office was previously located in the Temple of Peace. This could be an explanation for Septimius Severus to move the office and the marble plan back to the Temple of Peace.[149] However, according to Stamper, the *Forma Urbis Romae* was not used for official record

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[140] Coarelli, *Rome and Environs,* 127-128.

[141] Anderson, *The Historical Topography,* 177.

[142] Reynolds, *Forma Urbis Romae,* 53-57*.*

[143] Ibidem, 59.

[144] Anderson, *The Historical Topography,* 116-117.

[145] Coarelli, *Rome and Environs,* 128.

[146] Macaulay-Lewis, 'Walking for Transport & Leisure in Rome'*,* 262.

[147] Anderson, *The Historical Topography,* 165.

[148] Ibidem, 116.

[149] Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples,* 158.

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keeping, but was a symbol of the *Prafectus Urbis* office.[150] The only thing which is certain is that the office of the *Praefectus Urbi* was closely associated with the imperial fora, especially in the second, third and fourth century.

It is important to keep in mind that there is still no clarifying evidence for the existence of a Flavian marble plan, but the association of the *Praefectus Urbi* with the Temple of Peace is far from surprising.[151] However, just like the existence of a Flavian marble plan, this is all pure hypothetical. Essential for this research is the possible function of this map within the building. If there was a Flavian map, it could perhaps be regarded as a votive offer dedicated to the goddess *Pax*. In this way, the city and the empire in miniature, were under protection of the goddess.[152] This adds another aspect to the building complex related to *Pax*.

To conclude, it remains hard to say something about the function of the Temple of Peace itself, because the building contains so many different elements which can be related to different functions. This is why a building with this many different elements can hardly be identified as a building with just one, or one dominant function. The combination of the art, the gardens, the library, the possible presence of a marble plan, the spoils of war and of course the temple dedicated to *Pax*, make this building so unique. One can analyze all these different elements separately in relation to Vespasian ideology, but I will try to combine them all in one overarching term.

By looking at Vespasian's ideology I tried to identify the function of this building, which includes all the different elements. I suggest to consider this building as a complex focused on the communication of ideological messages to the people of Rome. Within this definition, a number of interpretations, such as the one by Macaulay-Lewis can be seen as a contribution to this hypothesis. Stating that the Temple of Peace was designed for leisure can be an explanation for the type of movement within the temple, where all these ideological messages would be communicated.

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[150] Ibidem, 159.

[151] Ibidem, 117.

[152] Tucci, *Temple of Peace,* VIII.

The Temple of Divus Claudius

He (Vespasian) also built as new works the Temple of Peace next to the Forum and the Temple of the

Deified Claudius on the Caelian Hill, which had been begun by Agrippina but had been almost totally

destroyed by Nero.[153]

The evidence of Vespasian rebuilding the temple of Divus Claudius is provided by Suetonius, who clearly states that it was Vespasian's choice to rebuild the temple. Vespasian also rebuild the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. However, there are a lot of differences between those two buildings. The senate had obligated Vespasian to rebuild the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. This temple had always been in use and its sanctity was undisputed.[154] The case of the Temple of Divus Claudius was totally different: Vespasian himself chose to rebuild the temple. This chapter tries to identify the motivation behind the choice to rebuild the Temple of Divus Claudius. In short, what where the benefits for Vespasian rebuilding this temple?

The first chapter of this research already showed, that the memory of Claudius had not always been a good one. Agrippina initiated the temple in honor of the deified emperor. Claudius was deified even before his funeral, mainly because Nero's own position demanded it.[155] For Agrippina, the construction of the temple was a way to visualize the divinity of Claudius. It was an instrument to legitimize the power of her son, Nero. Apart from that, it was also a clear reference to Augustus, the son of the Divine Julius Caesar. Augustus styled himself as the *Divus Filius,* son of the divine one. Now, Nero the adoptive son of Claudius was also *Divus Filius,* son of a deified emperor. This was powerful justification of his position as emperor.[156]

What follows next is the discussion on what happened with the Temple of Divus Claudius during the reign of Nero. We have seen that Suetonius clearly states that Nero almost totally destroyed the Temple of Divus Claudius. Darwall-Smith does not believe in a total demolition by Nero. He states that it is highly unlikely that Nero would not use the platform of the temple for the construction of his Golden House.[157] One thing is sure, the temple of Divus Claudius was at some point dismantled.[158] This happened probably after the fire of AD 64 when the temple was heavily damaged and there was little left to demolish.[159] Eric Moormann, professor in classical archeology elaborates on this. According to

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[153] Suetonius, *Vespasian* 9.1.

[154] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture,* 48.

[155] Levick, *Claudius,* 222.

[156] M. Griffin, *Nero: the End of a Dynasty* (London 2000) 96.

[157] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture,* 48.

[158] Griffin, *Nero,* 139.

[159] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture,* 49.

Moormann it is remarkable that Nero was never accused, besides by Suetonius, of any insulting actions such as demolishing a sanctuary.[160] He argues that the construction of the temple was barely begun, and that after her exile in AD 55, Agrippina lacked the power and money to have it finished by others.[161] He even states that one might even question whether it was Vespasian who in fact started the building project.[162]

This statement of Moormann brings up the discussion whether Vespasian did 'built' or 'rebuilt' the Temple of Divus Claudius. Flavian propaganda accused Nero of stopping the construction of a temple and offending the *pietas*.[163] The fact that Vespasian had to rebuild the temple was a stronger message than if it was a new project of Vespasian himself. Using the word 'rebuilding' emphasizes the fact that Nero stopped the construction of the temple or even had it demolished. This had two important benefits for Vespasian. Firstly, he showed to the people that he was the one who restored the dignity of a defied emperor. The people of Rome would see and recognize the restauration of the memory of Divus Claudius. The other benefit by emphasizing the fact that Vespasian rebuilt the temple instead of building it up from scratch, was that Vespasian reacted against an insulting act of Nero. In this way, Vespasian distanced himself from Nero.

Literary and archeological evidence

The main problem with the Temple of Divus Claudius is that it is almost never mentioned in our sources, besides from Suetonius, Martial and Frontinus.[164] In 'On the Spectacles', Martial mentions a certain 'Claudian colonnade'.[165] Although we do not know what Martial exactly meant with this 'Claudian colonnade', it is very likely that it was connected to the Temple of Divus Claudius. The poem aims to describe every part of the area redeveloped by Nero, and the Caelian Hill is the only part as yet unmentioned.[166] This is why this 'Claudian colonnade' is often interpreted as a part of the Temple of Divus Claudius.

The work of Sextus Iulius Frontinus, a Roman consul, civil engineer and *curator aquarum,* on the aqueducts of Rome briefly mentions the Temple of Divus Claudius. Frontinus was a contemporary of Vespasian and lived between AD 35 and 103. In his second book on the aqueducts of Rome he talks

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[160] E. Moormann, 'Some Observation on Nero and the City of Rome' in: L. de Blois eds., *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power* (Amsterdam 2003) 376-388, particularly 384; refers to Andrea Scheithauer, *Kaiserliche Bautätigkeit in Rom: das Echo in der antiken Literatur* (Stuttgart 2000) 116.
[161] Moormann, 'Some Observation on Nero', 384.
[162] Ibidem, 385.
[163] Ibidem.
[164] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture,* 50.
[165] Martial, *On the Spectacles* 2.9.
[166] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture,* 49.

about the connection between the Aqua Claudia and the Temple of Divus Claudius, which had provided the Caelian Hill with water since the reign of Nero.[167] Unfortunately, this is the only time Frontinus mentions the temple. One can see that all these references to the temple are not the kind of information which provides us with an idea of how the Temple of Divus Claudius functioned, nor of its role within Vespasian's ideology.

The limited amount of literary sources and archaeological evidence is striking, but also in modern scholarly publication there is scarcely any information to be found about the Temple of Divus Claudius. For example, in his chapter on the 'Temples and Fora of the Flavian emperors' John Stamper does not even mention to the Temple of Divus Claudius.[168] Why do we know so much more about other temples and buildings in the city than about this particular temple? This is especially interesting as soon as one realizes how big the building complex and also its visibility must have been, and the fact that the building remained intact for a relatively long period.[169] It must have been hard to overlook this temple.

In order to be able to say something about the design of the building and its possible function we must turn to the archaeological evidence. No remains, apart from the platform itself have survived. The site, however, was also never completely excavated. The most useful source about this building is the *Forma Urbis Romae* from the early third century. The Temple of Divus Claudius does appear on several fragments of this marble plan. Thanks to the remaining parts of this plan, a reconstruction of the temple is possible.[170] However, it is important to mention that some parts of the Temple of Divus Claudius were inaccurately placed in the *Forma Urbis Romae*.[171]

Despite these small inaccuracies, the *Forma Urbis Romae* is still the most important source for studies on the temple. One of the few publications on this building is an article by Robert Lloyd from 1982, who stated that the Temple of Divus Claudius was a 'monumental garden'.[172] Lloyd looked at the *Forma Urbis Romae* and recognized three monumental gardens on this plan. Besides the Temple of Divus Claudius, the Temple of Peace and the Adonaea also have to be interpreted as monumental gardens.[173] An important argument for Lloyd to regard the Temple of Divus Claudius as a monumental garden are the similarities between the temple and the palace gardens at Fishbourne. Based on garden

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[167] Frontinus, *Aqueducts of Rome* 2.76.

[168] Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples,* 151 -172.

[169] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture,* 50.

[170] Ibidem, 48.

[171] Macaulay-Lewis, 'Walking for Transport', 265.

[172] R. Lloyd, 'Three Monumental Gardens on the Marble Plan'*, American Journal of Archaeology* 86:1 (1982) 91-100, particularly 91.

[173] Lloyd, 'Three Monumental on the Gardens'*,* 91.

excavations at the palace, Lloyd interpreted the longs strips on the *Forma Urbis Romae* as plantings.[174] The finding of cistern-like tanks discovered in the buttress wall of the north side of the platform confirms the hypothesis of Lloyd.[175]

Lloyd is one of the few who tried to identify the function of the Temple of Divus Claudius. His hypothesis on this building inspired Macaulay-Lewis to make a comparison between the Temple of Divus Claudius and the Temple of Peace.[176] She ascribes a similar leisure function to the Temple of Divus Claudius. In the next chapter I will elaborate more on this.

Another source which can provide any useful information on the Temple of Divus Claudius are coins from the reign of Vespasian. We have seen in the first chapter that coins were an influential instrument for the communication of imperial messages. The coinage of the Flavian emperors is considered as one of the most varied, interesting and attractive ever produced by Romans.[177] Especially interesting for this research are the architectural monuments on the coins of Vespasian.

Vespasian's reign produced several architectural coin types at Rome.[178] Three of these architectural coin types depicted temples. The Temple of Vesta, the Temple of Isis and the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus were all depicted on coins produced during the reign of Vespasian.[179] All these temples had in one way or another a prominent function within Vespasian's ideology. The most interesting example for this particular research is the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. We have seen that, just like the Temple of Divus Claudius, the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus was rebuilt by Vespasian. One can ask himself why Vespasian chose to depict the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus instead of the Temple of Divus Claudius? This clearly shows that rebuilding the Temple of Jupiter Optimius Maximus was a stronger and more important message to proclaim than the Temple of Divus Claudius.

As we have noticed in the previous chapters, the Temple of Peace was also never depicted on Vespasian coins. However, there are 16 different kinds of coins found with a depiction of *Pax* on it.[180] This reflects the importance of the personification of peace in Vespasian's ideology. *Pax* had a prominent role in the coinage program of Vespasian. In contrast to *Pax*, there are no coins found with

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[174] Ibidem, 95.

[175] Ibidem.

[176] Macaulay-Lewis, 'Walking for Transport', 279.

[177] I. Carradice, T. Buttrey, *The Roman Imperial Coinage: Volume II – Part I Second Fully Revised Edition, From AD 69-96 Vespasian to Domitian* (London 2007) 1.

[178] N. Elkins, *Monuments in Miniature: Architecture on Roman Coinage.* Numismatic studies 29 (New York 2015) 78.

[179] Elkins, *Monuments in Miniature,* 79.

[180] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture,* 62-63.

a reference to Divus Claudius.[181] Divus Claudius, but also the temple dedicated to him were apparently not the focal point in the coinage program of Vespasian.

In this chapter I tried to identity the function of the Temple of Divus Claudius within Vespasian's ideology. In the first chapter we have seen how the memory of Claudius could be integrated in the ideology of Vespasian. A central theme, related to the memory of Claudius, was the memory of Vespasian's predecessor Nero. The memory of Nero is also a central theme at the Temple of Divus Claudius.

The discussion whether the temple had been demolished by Nero, or if he simply interrupted the construction, is not that relevant for this research. Important is how Vespasian projected the role of Nero in this. Flavian propaganda openly accused Nero stopping the construction to extend his private grounds in a selfish way.[182] By rebuilding this temple Vespasian visualized what Nero had done. For Vespasian it was important to make it very clear that he had rebuild the temple instead of building it up from the ground. It was a powerful tool for Vespasian to distance himself from Nero, who had demolished a sanctuary for selfish reasons. This fits perfectly in the narrative of Vespasian erasing the memory of Nero and his Golden House, a *damnatio memoriae*, together with relocating the statues out of the Golden House to the Temple of Peace, the construction of the *Amphitheatrum Flavium* on the site of the former lake of the Golden House and the adaption of Nero's colossus statue. In this way the process of rebuilding the temple had a clear function within Vespasian ideology.

Another benefit of rebuilding the temple in honor of Claudius was the fact that he could now link himself to the Julian-Claudian dynasty. As we have seen in the first chapter of this research, this was the only option for Vespasian to link himself to the gens of the Julian-Claudians. The Sabine family were not related to, or even, closely involved with the reign of the Julian-Claudian emperors. Vespasian's personal bond with Claudius, who gave him his first important military command of the legions in Britain, was a way to solve this problem. In fact, most important was that Vespasian could link himself, by Claudius, to Augustus. This fits perfectly in the narrative on the *LEX DE IMPERIO VESPASIANI,* were Augustus and Claudian were both mentioned in the same order as reasonable rulers.[183]

It is remarkable that all these possible functions of the temple within Vespasian's ideology are based on other sources than texts or archeological evidence on the temple itself. The only information we

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[181] Carradice, Buttrey, *The Roman Imperial Coinage,* 18-174.

[182] Moormann, 'Some Observation on Nero', 384.

[183] Mellor, 'The New Aristocracy of Power', 69.

have from literary sources is the fact that the temple exists and was possible demolished by Nero.[184] Macauley-Lewis and Lloyd based their articles on archeological evidence, mostly the *Forma Urbis Romae.* Their hypotheses are interesting, but also questionable, and are not really a big contribution to this research. The fact that there is so little literary and archeological evidence is probably its value.

   I would like to suggest that the missing evidence on the Temple of Divus Claudius is illustrative for the little importance of the building from the late first century AD onwards. The numismatic evidence is most convincing because this clearly shows that, for example, rebuilding the Temple of Optimus Jupiter Maximus had a much more prominent place within Vespasian's ideology than the Temple of Divus Claudius. One can imagine this because of the importance of this temple. However, the Temple of Divus Claudius or Divus Claudius do not occur on any of Vespasian's coins. This underlines the thesis that the building and the memory of Divus Claudius probably were not that important for Vespasian. This still raises the question of why he did choose to rebuild it. Were the two possible ideological ends, mentioned at the beginning of this conclusion, the only motives to rebuild this temple? In the next chapter I will compare the Temple of Peace to the Temple of Divus Claudius in order to find more motives, or possible ideological functions of the two buildings.

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[184] Suetonius, *Vespasian* 9.1.

The Temple of Peace and the Temple of Divus Claudius: a comparison

We have seen that the Temple of Peace and the Temple of Divus Claudius were quite different from each other. However, one could also recognize some comparable elements between the two temples. In this chapter I will elaborate on this. The information of the previous chapters already provided us with some ideas of how these temples could function within Vespasian's ideology. By comparing the two temples with each other I will try to discover new elements which shed different light on the function of both temples within Vespasian's ideology.

The most significant difference between the Temple of Peace and the Temple of Divus Claudius is, without any doubt, the name. The first one is dedicated to the personification of peace, *Pax,* the other building is dedicated to a deified emperor. Another simple fact we have to state out at the beginning of this chapter is the fact that the Temple of Peace was built up from the ground, while the building process of the Temple of Divus Claudius had already started under Agrippina, but was interrupted by Nero. Apart from the differences, the most obvious similarity is that both buildings were called temples.

Apart from the discussion whether the Temple of Peace was a forum or not, both buildings were originally dedicated as *templa*. It is not until the fourth century that Temple of Peace was mentioned as a forum.[185] This important similarity is an excellent point to start the comparison between the two buildings. The function of a Roman temple was primarily a religious one. We know that in ancient Rome religion, politics and the daily life were much stronger intermingled than today. Temples often referred to historical and mythical events to promote the achievements of an emperor or general.[186] What we have seen about the Temple of Peace until now fits this image perfectly.

According to Stamper, the concept of authority is extremely important in relation to the dedication of temples.[187] He based his statement on the writings of Vitruvius, who wrote about the architecture of Rome, which he addressed to Augustus.

> *But I observed that you cared not only about the common life of all men, and the constitution of the state, but also about the provision of suitable public buildings; so that the state was not only made greater through you by its new provinces, but the majesty of the empire also was expressed through the eminent dignity of its public buildings.[188]*

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[185] Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples,* 156.

[186] Ibidem*,* 151.

[187] Ibidem, 1.

[188] Vitruvius, *On Architecture* 1.2.

Vitruvius was concerned about the public buildings in Rome, and whether they possessed enough dignity and authority appropriate for Augustus' virtue.[189] Vitruvius' opinion was that the public buildings in Rome had to express the power of Augustus. Stamper recognizes a motivation behind large-scale public building projects in Vitruvius' writings. Costly and grandiose structures were important tools for politicians to display their power and authority. There is an obvious link between the authority in architecture and in political leadership.[190] It is important to keep in mind that Vitruvius was a contemporary of Augustus. At this time it was absolutely unclear how the political feature of Rome would look like. For example, Augustus himself had officially restored the Republic, yet Vitruvius could not know that this was the beginning of the Principate.[191] It is simply impossible to relate the writings of Vitruvius to the position of an emperor. Nevertheless, the interpretation of Stamper adds another dimension to the construction of both temples and their role within Vespasian's ideology.

In contrast to other emperors, it was a bit of a surprise that Vespasian became the *princeps*. As we have seen in the writings of Suetonius, the Sabine family did not belong to the upper class family of Rome.[192] Vespasian was not educated to reign over the empire, nor could he continue the same way his predecessor ruled. I suggest that in the beginning of his reign, AD 71 Vespasian had to 'improvise' a lot and that he used every opportunity to legitimize his power. Authority in architecture as Stamper would call it, was an important way to display political authority.[193] The constructing of these two temples was a contribution to the visualization of the political authority of Vespasian. Therefore, temples referred often to the achievements of the emperor, such as the conquest of Judea, which was a very dominant aspect of the Temple of Peace.[194]

This last aspect did not apply to the Temple of Divus Claudius, yet having an unfinished temple on the Caelian Hill, dedicated to a deified emperor, was easy scoring for Vespasian. According to Stamper, temples were often constructed during times characterized by changes. Temples were a symbol of continuity in the empire's culture, religion, and politics.[195] When he gave the order to finish the temple, Vespasian showed his dignity and authority once again, but also showed continuity with the Julian-Claudian dynasty. This fits perfectly in what we have seen in chapter one and three on the temple and memory of Divus Claudius. To conclude, the Temple of Divus CLaudius was an excellent way to show the continuity of the empire, visualize his dignity and authority, link the Flavian dynasty to the Julian-Claudian, but also to deal with the negative heritage of Nero.

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[189] Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples,* 1.
[190] Ibidem.
[191] O. Hekster, 'Imagining Power', 112.
[192] Suetonius, *Vespasian* 1.
[193] Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples,* 1.
[194] Ibidem*,* 156.
[195] Ibidem.

The location

The next aspect in the comparison of both buildings is the location. The Temple of Peace was located next to Forum Romanum and the imperial fora (on map 2 indicated as 'Templum Pacis'). We have seen in the introduction and the second chapter that the location of the Temple of Peace was the cause for the discussion whether the building was a forum or not. The Temple of Divus Claudius was situated on the Caelian Hill, looking down on the valley where soon the *Amphitheatrum Flavium* would rise (map 4).

The Temple of Peace was situated next to the Forum Romanum and close to the imperial fora of Caesar and Augustus. The Forum Romanum and the imperial fora of Caesar and Augustus constituted the political, religious and economic heart of the city. The Temple of Divus Claudius was located just outside the busy area of the Forum Romanum and imperial fora, on the Caelian Hill. In the Flavian age, this area was not fully cropped with buildings. One could suggest that the Temple of Peace was located more centrally than the Temple of Divus Claudius. However, as we shall see, both temples were constructed on prominent sites in the city of Rome.

The potential visibility of both structures was enormous. The Temple of Peace was easily accessible, and located in the heart of the capital. This temple was situated next to the Argiletum, a great thoroughfare connecting the Forum Romanum with the Suburra, a commercial and residential neighborhood behind the forum of Augustus.[196] This meant that many people would pass by the temple, which made it a prominent place in the urban landscape of Rome. This particular site was a huge contribution in the display of the authority of the emperor, as Stamper would recognize[197]

At the time of the construction of the Temple of Peace, the Argiletum was not monumentalized as depicted on map 2. To connect the Temple of Peace with the imperial fora, Domitian transformed the Argiletum into the Forum Transitorium, which required extensive alternations of the area.[198] During the reign of Vespasian, the Temple of Peace was thus physically not connected by the Forum Transitorium to the imperial fora of Caesar and Augustus. Nevertheless, it

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[196] Anderson, *The Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora,* 119; Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture,* 116.

[197] Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples,* 1.

[198] Anderson, *The Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora,* 125.

was still close to the center of Rome between the Forum Romanum and the busy Suburra neighborhood.
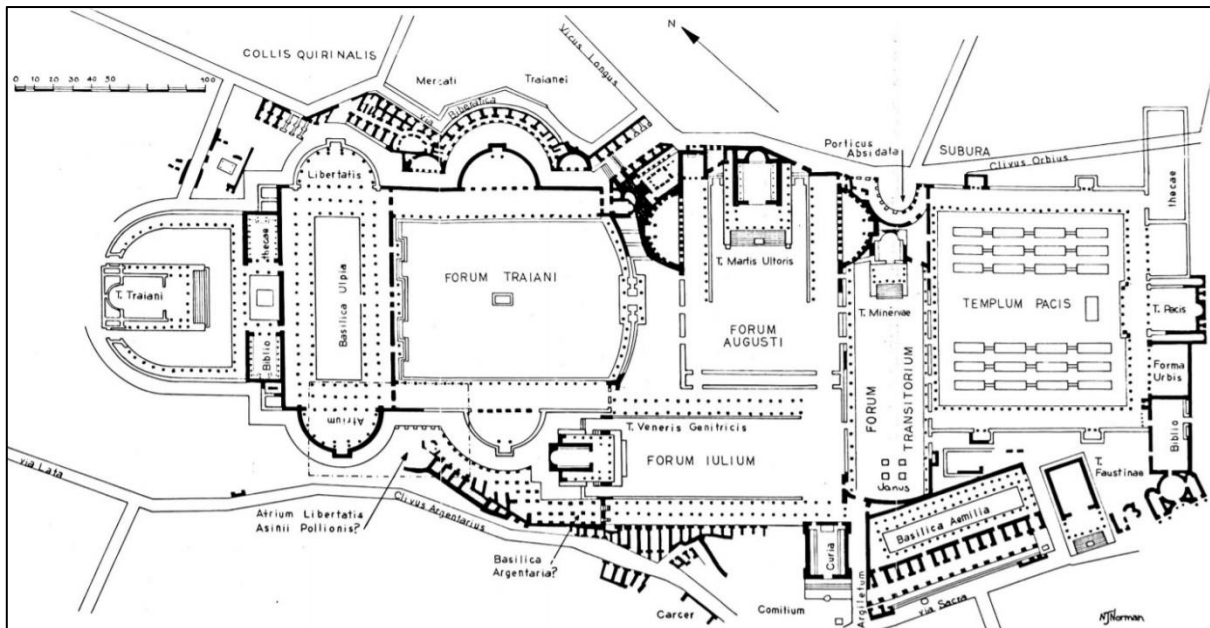
Map 2. Plan of the Imperial Fora (drawn by N.J. Norman).

Source: J. Anderson, *The Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora* (Brussels 1984) 200.

The Temple of Divus Caudius was located on the Caelian Hill, near to the Forum Romanum, the Palatine Hill and the Circus Maximus (map 3 & 4). The visibility of the Temple of Divus Claudius was probably equal to the one of the Temple of Peace, maybe even better. The Caelian Hill and the podium strengthened the visibility of the building complex. This meant that from the Forum Romanum, the Circus Maximus and the imperial palaces on the Palatine Hill one could see the structures of the Temple of Divus Claudius. Especially the imperial palaces on the Palatine Hill had an excellent view on the Temple of Divus Claudius. As you can see on map 4, the Palatine Hill and Caelian Hill where located almost next to each other, but more importantly both structures were situated on a similar eye level.

Another important site, wherefrom you could see the Temple of Divus Claudius was the Circus Maximus, depicted on the bottom left of map 3 and 4. This immense stadium could host more than two hundred thousand spectators, a big part of them had a view on the temple. We can conclude that the Temple of Divus Claudius was spectacularly well visible at a very prominent place of the city. Its visibility was important for Vespasian, otherwise he would probably never had rebuilt the temple and would have used the site for other purposes. Related to what we have seen in the previous chapters, the temple visualized two important processes. Firstly Vespasian rebuilding a sanctuary of a deified emperor. On the other hand, it visualized the demolition of the Golden House of Nero, who had also interrupted the building process of the temple of Divus Claudius. The enormous visibility of the building

strengthened these messages. In this way, the Temple of Divus Claudius was an important symbol within Vespasian ideology.
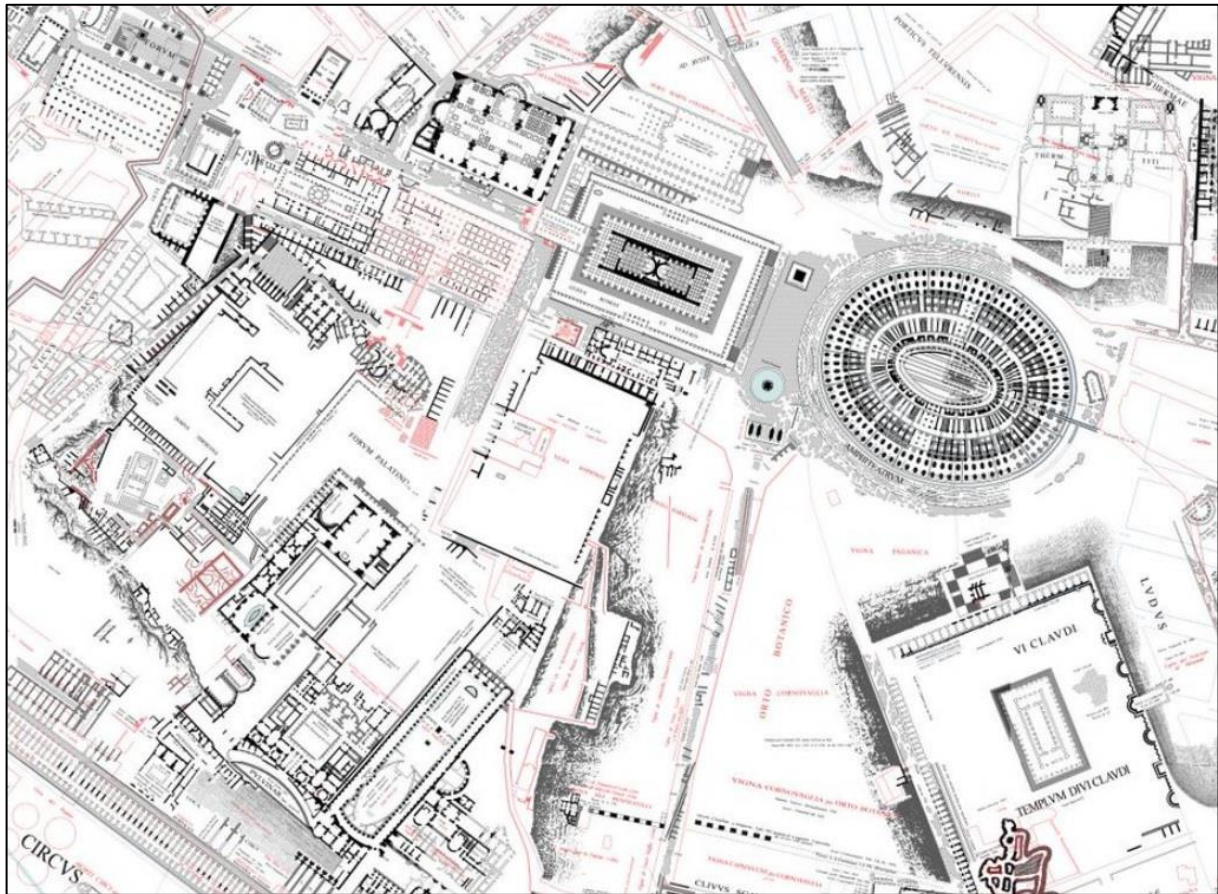
Map 3: Fragments of sheet 29 and 30 of the Forma Urbis Romae from Rodolfo Lanciani.

Source: R. Lanciani*, The Forma Urbis Romae* (Rome 1989) 29-30.
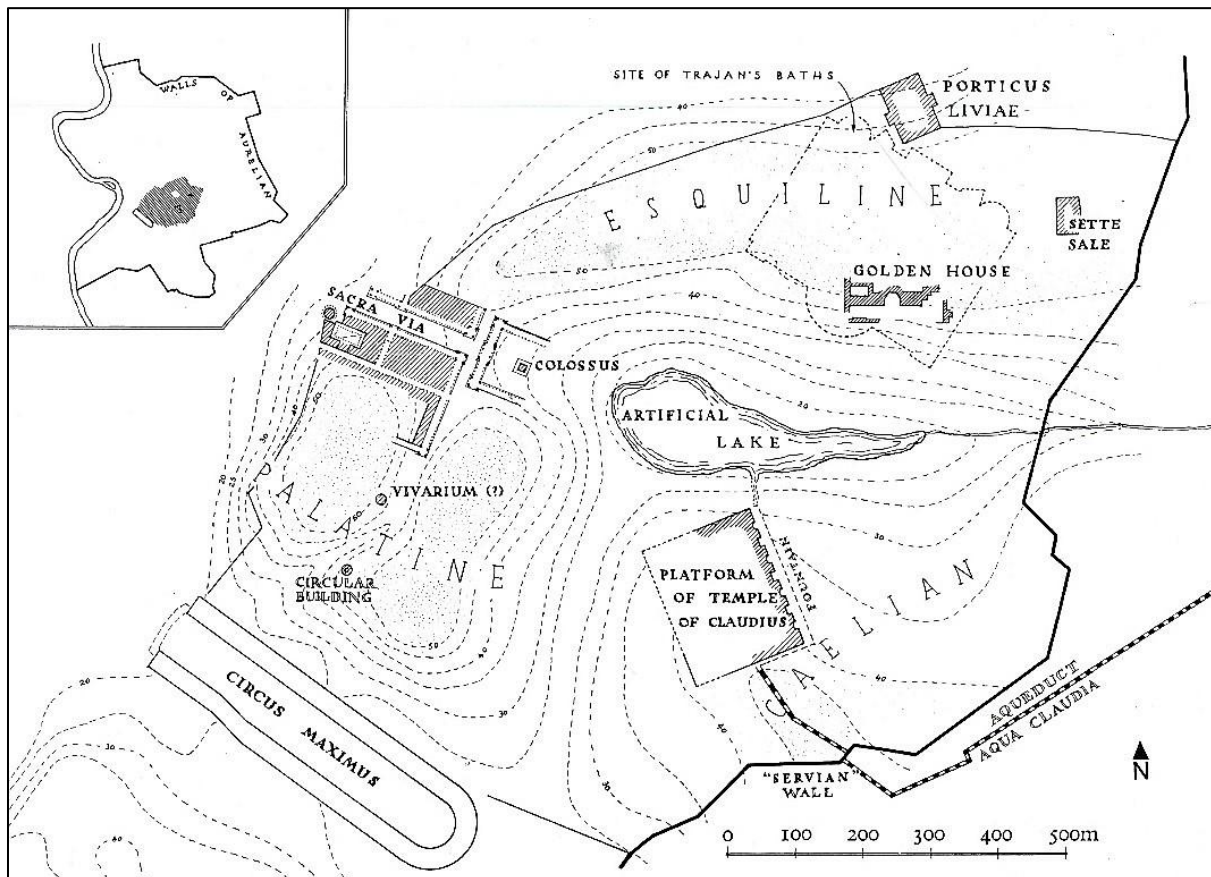
Map 4: Rome, Nero's Golden House, A.D. 64-8. Sketch-plan of the probable extent of the park, showing the known structures

Source: J. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture* (London 1981) 60.

Design and function

This part of the comparison is mostly based on the similar design and possible similar function. An important aspect within these similarities is the presence of gardens at both temples. Lloyd was the first one to compare the Temple of Peace with the Temple of Divus Claudius. Based on archaeological evidence and the *Forma Urbis Romae*, it seemed that bot complexes had some sort of gardens and planting in the courtyard. These gardens have a dominant role within Lloyd's thesis that these buildings have to be seen as monumental gardens.[199] Macaulay-Lewis elaborates on this by also seeing a similar function for both buildings. Central to her thesis is the leisure function of both temples.[200]

The similar elements of both temples, such as the design, the porticoes and gardens are important arguments for comparing these two sites with each other. In case of the Temple of Peace, the hypothesis about the leisure function is much more convincing, because of suitable archeological and literary evidence.[201] This makes the Temple of Peace much easier to relate to the ideology of Vespasian. The knowledge of the presence of art and spoils in the Temple of Peace, make it more likely that this building could function in some way for leisure purposes. The difference in naming the design of the building by different scholars is also significant. Apart from the monumental gardens of Lloy, Macaulay-Lewis referred to both buildings as 'monumental porticoes' and Carlos Noreña called the style of the buildings 'Hellenistic peristyles'.[202]

The similar design and presence of gardens, are in fact the only arguments for comparing those two buildings with each other. Remarkable is that architectural studies do not make any comparison between the two temples, nor do they describe what actually happened in the buildings. Apart from this possibility that there was a similar leisure function and the similarities in the design, this does not guarantee that both temples had a similar role within Vespasian's ideology.

Literary and archeological evidence

Before I conclude, I will focus on the differences in literary evidence regarding the Temple of Peace and the Temple of Divus Claudius. In case of the Temple of Peace, there is far more literary evidence than on the Temple of Divus Claudius. As we have seen, authors like Pliny and Josephus mention the Temple of Peace several times in their work. These writings are important to reconstruct what the

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[199] Lloyd, 'Three Monumental on the Gardens', 91.
[200] Macaulay-Lewis, 'Walking for Transport', 279.
[201] Lloyd, 'Three Monumental on the Gardens', 95; Pliny, *Natural History,* 34.84: The different art treasures from the Golden House of Nero; Pliny, *Natural History* 36.27: The statue of Venus of an unknown artist in the Temple of Peace; Pliny, *Natural History* 36.58; A Egyptian Basanites, a colored stone; Pliny, *Natural History* 35.102: A picture of Ialysus holding a palm.
[202] Macaulay-Lewis, 'Walking for Transport', 279; Noreña, 'Medium and Message', 25.

actual function of the Temple of Peace was, which helps us to examine why the building was constructed this way. The opposite is true for the Temple of Divus Claudius: as we have seen in the previous chapter, no relevant literary evidence has survived.

The difference in the amount of literary evidence on the buildings is remarkable. An important question to ask is: why do we have so little evidence about the Temple of Divus Claudius in comparison with the Temple of Peace? Is there a relationship between the limited literary and archeological evidence? I think this emphasizes the importance of the Temple of Peace. The fact that many of these authors were close friends to the imperial court of the Flavians enhances this hypothesis. This might indicate that Vespasian himself found the Temple of Peace more important than the Temple of Divus Claudius. In other words, the role of the Temple of Peace was much more important within his ideology than the Temple of Divus Claudius. It is highly likely that Vespasian wanted the people to know what was displayed in the Temple of Peace, otherwise authors like Josephus and Pliny would not elaborate that much on this. I would suggest, that if Vespasian had regarded the Temple of Divus Claudius just as important as the Temple of Peace, authors would have spent more ink on this building. The function of the Temple of Divus Claudius within the ideology of Vespasian was probably less important than the one of the Temple of Peace.

Closely related to this difference in literary evidence is the evidence from Vespasian's coins. We have already seen in the second and third chapter, that no coins were produced with a depiction of any of the two temples. However, there are other important differences in the coinage program which are very useful for this research. We have seen that the personification of *Pax* had an important role within Vespasian coinage program. Sixteen different kind of coins were produced with a depiction of *Pax*.[203] In contrast to *Pax,* there are no coins found with a depiction of Divus Claudius. The evidence from coins is remarkably similar to the literary evidence. In both kind of sources there is a very clear focus on the Temple of Peace, or *Pax.*

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[203] Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture,* 62-63.

Conclusion

Before I conclude, I will first return to aim of this research. Central are the functions of the Temple of Peace and the Temple of Divus Claudius and the way these functions related to the ideology of Vespasian. The chapters of this research all looked at a minor aspect within the bigger theme of this research. I start by presenting a short summery of the results of this research and describe how these results relate to the historiography. After that, I will formulate an answer to the research question; Which role(s) did the function of the Temple of Peace and the Temple of Divus Claudius fulfil in Vespasian's ideology?

The historiography showed us that the legitimization of his reign was central to the ideology of Vespasian. The message of *Pax* and the memory of Divus Claudius both played a role in the legitimization of Vespasian's position as emperor. Central in the first chapter is the role of *Pax* and the memory of Divus Claudius. Several forms of media proclaimed the message of *Pax* and the memory of Divus Claudius. For example, *Pax* played an important role in the coinage program of Vespasian. One of the two peaks on the production of *Pax* coins can even be directly related to the inauguration of the Temple of Peace. By investigating the different kinds of *Pax*, we have also seen that it was probably the military *Pax* which was celebrated by the erection of the Temple of Peace instead of the *Pax Civilis.*

The role of the memory of Divus Claudius seems to be smaller than the role of *Pax* in the ideology of Vespasian. We have identified two different motives behind the rehabilitation of the memory of Claudius. Firstly it was used by Vespasian to link himself to the Julian-Claudian dynasty, especially Augustus. By doing so he showed continuity with the previous dynasty. Secondly, the memory of Divus Claudius was also useful to Vespasian in order to distance himself from the successor of Claudius, Nero. Admiration for Claudius was combined with criticism of Nero.

The second chapter tried to identify the function of the Temple of Peace and how this function can be related to the ideology of Vespasian. As we have seen, the Temple of Peace was quite a unique building because it contained so many different elements. Central to the writings of Pliny and Josephus were the display of different art works and the spoils from the Judean war. The spoils from Judea seem to confirm the hypothesis that the Temple of Peace proclaimed the message of military *Pax.* The presence of the different types of artworks from the Golden House of Nero were another way for Vespasian to distance himself from Nero. We have also seen that the presence of gardens and the possible Flavian predecessor of the *Forma Urbis Romae* can also be related to Vespasian's ideology. In short, the many different elements within the Temple of Peace, in one way or another, all fit the narrative on the ideology of Vespasian. Remarkable is that there are no records of the worship of the cult of *Pax* in this building.

On the Temple of Divus Claudius almost no literary and archeological evidence has survived. The *Forma Urbis Romae* is the most important source on this temple. Lloyd provided us with a possible function of the temple as a monumental garden. Macaulay-Lewis stated that the Temple of Divus Claudius was designed for leisure purposes just like the Temple of Peace. It is very hard to relate these possible functions to the ideology of Vespasian. Literary and archeological evidence do not provide us with other suggestions of how the temple possible functioned during the reign of Vespasian. By looking at the historiography and the results of the first chapter, however, it was possible to suggest some ideological motives behind the construction of this building. The memory of Divus Claudius was a central aspect in creating a link with the Julian-Claudian dynasty and Augustus in particular. Thereby, it was also a way for Vespasian to distance himself from Nero. Rebuilding the temple also visualized its demolition by Nero, who had used the site of the temple for his imperial palace. This way the temple could be seen as a symbol on the Caecilian Hill which symbolized the 'good' emperor Vespasian but also the 'bad' emperor Nero.

The last chapter emphasizes on this. The visibility of the Temple of Divus Claudius made the temple a strong symbol. The fact that both buildings were dedicated as *templa* brought some new ideological aspect to light. Temples were important symbols of continuity, especially in times of change. Temples visualized the continuity in the empire's, culture, religion and politics. We have seen that continuity was an important aspect within Vespasian's ideology; this was especially important at the Temple of Divus Claudius. Temples also visualized the authority and dignity of its builder. This was a prominent aspect within the Temple of Peace. Continuity, authority, and dignity were al important aspects which helped Vespasian to legitimize his reign.

Buildings were an important way to do this, however, historiography is limited on the ideological motives behind the construction of these temples. By focusing on the function of the temples we recognized how Vespasian's ideology was at work within the Temple of Peace and the Temple of Divus Claudius. Because this research focused on a broad spectrum of literature, it was possible to give a complete overview of the different elements of the temples, especially at the Temple of Peace. This was essential, because most studies only focus on a few aspects.

As I have already suggested, I would identify the function of the Temple of Peace as a building which central function was the communication of ideological messages. Several aspects of this building underline this thesis. The first aspect was the location of the site; the former *Macellum*. Having an empty site in the centrum of Rome provided a perfect opportunity for Vespasian to build a temple in which he could display a positive view on the Flavian regime. There are multiple different elements within this building which al communicated their own message. In fact, walking around in the Temple of Peace would give the people a complete and very positive view of the new emperor Vespasian. The

hypothesis of Macaulay-Lewis that the Temple of Peace was designed for leisure movement underlines this thesis. The place was designed to walk in peace and admire all the greatness the Flavian regime had brought to the empire.

This vision on the Temple of Peace does still not provide a clear answer on de question whether the temple has to be seen as a temple or as an imperial forum. The fact that it was not until the fourth century for it to be first called a forum, shows that it was Vespasian's intention to dedicate the building as a temple. One can imagine that Vespasian's position as emperor was not strong enough to dedicate a forum to himself at the beginning of his reign in AD 71. Dedicating a temple was much safer, and *Pax* was a perfect goddess to show that he was the one who brought peace to the empire and was victorious in the Judean wars. However, this does not exclude the option that the temple complex in practice functioned as an imperial fora where the authority and dignity of the new regime was the central ideological message.

The ideological role of the Temple of Divus Claudius was slightly different. Apart from the thesis that the temple of Divus Claudius functioned as a monumental garden, or was designed for leisure walks, it remains hard to say anything about the function of the Temple of Divus Claudius. The fact that there is almost no literary and archeological evidence on this building is remarkable. This raised the question why there is so little evidence and why do we know so much more about other buildings and temples in Rome than about the Temple of Divus Claudius? Historiography never looked at this question, yet only mentioned its existence and how it may have looked like. In this research I tried to answer these questions.

Just like with the Temple of Peace, the position of Vespasian as emperor at the beginning of his reign is essential. When Vespasian came to power, the Temple of Divus Claudius was demolished or interrupted by Nero, who had used the platform for the construction of his Golden House. The use of the term 'rebuilding' instead of 'building' showed that Vespasian had rebuilt a sanctuary which was demolished by Nero. A powerful message of Vespasian distancing himself from Nero, which visualized the selfishness of the former emperor. We have also seen that restoring the memory of Divus Claudius was a way to link the Flavian dynasty to the Julian-Claudian dynasty. In fact the temple had two functions within Vespasian's ideology, but this does still not explain why there is so little evidence on the temple. I think it is highly likely that the temple itself lost its importance soon after it was rebuild. The cult of Divus Claudius itself was not important. It is likely that the prescribed offers in honor of Divus Claudius still took place, because Roman religion customs obligated this. It explains why the temple lasted until the end of antiquity, because demolishing a temple of a deified emperor was something you simply did not do. The fact that Vespasian had rebuilt it, was its most important

function. The building itself, a strongly visible symbol on the Caelian Hill, was a constant reminder of the selfish emperor Nero and the 'good' Vespasian.

In closing, some suggestions for further research, because there are still a lot of uncertainties on both temples but also on Flavian architecture as a whole. Most of the literature on the architecture is already pretty old and mostly focusses on the technical aspects of the architecture. A broad study on how buildings of Vespasian functioned in the process of legitimization of his reign would be a great contribution to our knowledge on the Flavian dynasty. The work of Paul Zanker can function as an example for this. Only three days for the deadline of this thesis, the Roma 3 University started new excavations on the site of the Temple of Peace. Hopefully this will provide some new insights on this unique building. To end, it would be really great to see a similar development on the site of the Temple of Divus Claudius. This would definitely help to solve many of the unanswered questions on this temple.

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